

Presentation Schedule

First Day : 10. 19 / Monday

Keynote Speech I·II

Place : Plaza Hotel Grand Ballroom

10: 30 - 11: 10

Chairperson : Yang Jongsung (Senior Curator, the National Folk Museum of Korea)

No.	Topic	Presenter	Nationality / Institution	Remark
1	“Better than any Monument”: Envisioning Museums of the Spoken Word	Richard Bauman	USA / Emeritus Professor of Indiana University	
2	Legislation and Government Policies for protecting Cultural Properties and Role of Museums	Koichi Igarashi	Japan / Vice-chairperson of Japanese National Committee for ICOM	

Session I

Place : Plaza Hotel Grand Ballroom A

13: 00 - 14: 30

Topic : Reconciliation and Peace

Chairperson : Choe Chong Pil (Chairman of ICOM Korea)

No.	Research Topic	Presenter	Nationality	Remark
1	Proposing a Museum of Memory : Reparations and the Maya Achi Genocide in Guatemala	Heidi McKinnon	Guatemala	
2	Concepts of Remembrance and Commemoration. Comments on Musealisation of German History and the Perception of transaxial Korean Parallels.	Bärbel Kerkhoff -Hader	Germany	
3	The Spirituality of Shamanism: <i>Gut</i> -Spirit of Reconciliation and Peace	Park Il-Young	Korea	
4	Roles of Ethnographic Artefacts in the Intercultural Reconciliation and Peace Education	Andrey V. Biriukov & Vladimir I. Ionesov	Russia	
5	Towards which Reconciliation? Different Aspects of Museological Approaches in Istrian Region	Mario Buletic	Croatia	
Open Discussion				

Session II

Place : Plaza Hotel Grand Ballroom B

13: 00 - 14: 30

Topic : Reconciliation and Peace

Chairperson : Lee Kwan Ho (Head of Exhibition Division, the National Folk Museum of Korea)

No.	Research Topic	Presenter	Nationality	Remark
1	The Getty Museum and Los Angeles : Can An Art Museum Help Us All Get Along?	Peter Tokofsky	US	
2	The Role of Ethnographic Museum in the world	Hari Prasad Shrestha	Nepal	
3	Visual Anthropology and Phenomenon of Beauty for Reconciliation and Peace Roles in the Intercultural Communication	Vladimir I. Ionesov	Russia	
4	THE ROLE OF THE SLOVENE ETHNOGRAPHIC MUSEUM IN THE PROCESS OF RECONCILIATION AND PEACE BETWEEN THE SLOVENES IN THE HOMELAND AND THE SLOVENE EMIGRANTS	Dasa Koprivec	Slovenia	
5	Xenophobia and Museums Reconsidered	Lothar Stein	Germany	
Open Discussion				

Session III

Place : Plaza Hotel Grand Ballroom A

15: 00 - 16: 30

Topic : Reconciliation and Peace Role of Ethnographic Museum/Collections

Chairperson : Daniel Winfree Papuga (Curator, Norway Ringve Museum)

No.	Research Topic	Presenter	Nationality	Remark
1	The traditional tools of peace in Benin's museums	Zphirin DAAVO	Benin	
2	The Kokdu on the Funeral Bier and the Kokdu Museum in Korea	Kim Ock-Rang	Korea	
3	Open storage in Museums	Peter Stanbury	Australia	
4	Intercultural Reconciliation through the Museum and Archives Enterprising : Samara Experience of Cultural Projecting	Artyom Scherbakov, Elena Gladun, Anna Borovlyova, Oksana Volostnikova	Russia	
5	A New Direction for an Ethnological Museum The Beyond the Rim Project at the Treganza Anthropology Museum, 2008	Yoshiko Yamamoto	US	
Open Discussion				

Session IV

Place : Plaza Hotel Grand Ballroom B

15: 00 - 16: 30

Topic : Diversity

Chairperson : Cheon Jin Gi (Head of Research Division, the National Folk Museum of Korea)

No.	Research Topic	Presenter	Nationality	Remark
1	WELCOME TO A NATIVE PLACE : THE IMPORTANCE OF INDIGENOUS RECRUITMENT AND RETENTION TO THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION	Martin Earring	US	
2	Mim – a way to do diversity in Norway	Tone Cecilie Simensen Karlgaard	Norway	
3	Ethnographic objects as collecting devices	Martin Petersen	Denmark	
4	Historical Memory, the Museum for Peace, and Visitors : The Case of Jeju April 3rd Peace Memorial Hall, Jeju Island, Korea	Yoo Chul-In	Korea	
5	Focusing on <i>Gut</i> of the Eastcoast	Heo Yong-Ho	Korea	
Open Discussion				

“Better than any monument”

: envisioning museums of the spoken word

Richard Bauman

“Better than any monument”: envisioning museums of the spoken word

Richard Bauman
Indiana University, Bloomington

Over the past several years, an apparently new kind of institution has appeared on the horizons of the museum world: the museum of language. The two most prominent exemplars of this new type of museum are the Museum of the Portuguese Language in São Paulo, Brazil, and the Museum of the Afrikaans Language in Paarl, South Africa.¹ Both institutions claim historical priority (though the South African museum is in fact the older of the two), and both make a point of their uniqueness, with the implication that they had no historical precedents on which to model themselves. In fact, however, the idea of museums of language is not at all new; it may be traced back at least a century and a quarter, to the time of the invention of the phonograph in 1877. An examination of the history of this idea and how it fared in the institutional world is instructive, both as a way of adding depth to the history of museums and their missions and as a critical vantage point on our own contemporary practice.

When Edison first announced his new invention to the public, in November, 1877, the most remarkable thing about the phonograph to contemporary observers was its capacity to overcome the ephemerality of the human voice, to capture and fix an utterance, detaching it from its originary source and endowing it with the qualities of an object: autonomy, durability, and even materiality. As framed in one early report, “Your words are preserved in the tin-foil.”² In one of the very first assessments of Edison’s new invention, his sometime associate, George B. Prescott, envisioned among the “public uses” of the phonograph the establishment of galleries in which “The utterances of great

speakers and singers will there be kept for a thousand years. In these galleries spoken languages will be preserved from century to century.” These new public spaces, Preston imagined, would include facilities in which “these treasures of speech and song” would be “brought out and reproduced” before the public (Prescott 1877:857). Here, within weeks of Edison’s introduction of the phonograph, is the recognition of its potential to serve as the basis for the collection, preservation, and display of oral language, conceived of as the “treasures” of oral expression.

While Preston’s vision for galleries of oral heritage gave pride of place to recorded displays of verbal virtuosity, others advanced different motivating principles for the development of collections to preserve and present the spoken word. Edison himself foresaw an application more scientific than artistic for the phonograph, anticipating that “Philologists will use it to compare different tongues. You see,” he told a visiting journalist, “its articulation is perfect.”³

To be sure, the agendas of connoisseurship and science are not incompatible, and the most ambitious of the early, speculative visions for the collection, preservation, and presentation of the spoken word combined them both. Writing in 1890, a far-seeing observer of the phonograph’s potential for the preservation of intangible heritage predicted that “The phonograph will make philology an exact science. It will do an equal service to art by enabling our descendants to compare their music and oratory with those produced by the masters of previous ages.”⁴

By 1890, it appears, the time was ripe: phonographic technology had improved sufficiently to allow its application to fieldwork and Jesse Walter Fewkes famously undertook to test its suitability for “the preservation of the languages of the aborigines of

the United States” (Fewkes 1890:267). In March of 1890, Fewkes traveled to Calais, Maine, to record the speech and oral traditions of the Passamaquoddy people, and later that year, he recorded a corpus of Zuni materials as well. Fewkes’s pioneering efforts have been well documented, not least by his own assiduous efforts at publicizing his work, so I will not discuss them further here (Brady 1999:53-56). It is worth noting, however, that Fewkes’s colleague, Benjamin Ives Gilman, recognized in Fewkes’s collection of phonograph cylinders the basis for “a permanent museum” of sonic culture (Gilman 1891:68).

In the decade following Fewkes’s pathbreaking fieldwork, the use of the phonograph in the documentation of language and oral tradition gained momentum, though much of the work continued to be of an experimental cast as scholars explored the capacities of the new technology (Brady 1999). By the turn of the 20th century, the phonograph had proven itself sufficiently to encourage a French linguist and anthropologist, M. L. Azoulay, to offer to the Paris Anthropological Society in May, 1900, a far more ambitious, concrete, and detailed plan for the establishment of phonographic museums (*musées phonographiques*) (Azoulay 1900). In Azoulay’s view, the phonograph had achieved the capacity to “fix, preserve and reproduce” sound, fundamental operations of “all true science” (Azoulay 1900:173).⁵ Azoulay emphasized the revolutionary potential of recording technology to capture “the vocal, phonic” aspects of language, such as vocalic harmony, whistle language, and the like, that linguistics was incapable of treating adequately with available methods of transcription and analysis (Azoulay 1900:175). Especially notable, for our purposes, he maintained that “The proper tradition in the art of saying and of singing, so difficult to transmit to the student and to

posterity by means of the signs of punctuation and of music, becomes an easy matter” (Azoulay 1900:174). Azoulay is thus foregrounding the potential of phonographic collections for the intergenerational transmission of traditional performance styles, an essential concern in the safeguarding and perpetuation of cultural heritage.

Azoulay’s proposal was persuasive, aided by the enthusiasm surrounding the ethnological exhibits featuring living peoples that were a prominent feature of the Paris Exposition of 1900, and the Society established the Phonographic Museum of the Society of Anthropology in May, 1900 (Azoulay 1911:453). In the space of five months, with the aid of colleagues, and taking advantage of the accessibility of speakers of exotic languages at the Exposition, Azoulay was able to record more than 400 cylinders for the Museum’s collection. His recordings included stories, folktales, conversations, songs, music, and linguistic data on more than 74 languages, dialects, and patois from what he described as “a large number of the world’s regions” (Azoulay 1911:453). At the close of the Exposition, however, enthusiasm for the Museum waned, and to Azoulay’s evident and vocal disappointment, the Society ceased to support it in 1904 (Azoulay 1911:450 n. 1).

It is not unlikely, though, that Azoulay’s thwarted effort to establish his museum of spoken language helped to lay the groundwork—seven years later—for an institution that was more fully realized, the Archives of Speech (*Les Archives de la Parole*) established at the Sorbonne in 1911 under the directorship of the linguist, Ferdinand Brunot. A professor of the history of the French language, Brunot had a special interest in the non-standard, vernacular varieties of the language, and became one of the pioneers of the study of phonetics, recognizing sound patterns as a significant dimension of variation

among regional and local dialects.⁶ He had been interested for some years in setting up an institute of phonetics at the Sorbonne and published a number of articles in which he proposed the creation of a Museum of Speech (*Musée de la Parole*) (Veken 1984:47). In 1911, through the generosity of Émile Pathé, co-founder of the Pathé Brothers phonograph company, Brunot was finally able to get his project off the ground. Pathé offered to establish at the Sorbonne a laboratory dedicated to the recording of speech and to underwrite the expenses of the laboratory for ten years. Satisfied that the equipment Pathé proposed to provide would yield scientifically reliable data, a university committee established for the purpose recommended acceptance of Pathé's offer and the immediate establishment of the Archives of Speech that would be the basis of the future Institute of Phonetics (Anon. 1911). Although the facility was officially designated as an archive, Brunot continued to refer to it as a museum (Veken 1984:47) and to conceive of it as an institution for the collection and preservation of linguistic objects. Brunot casts the special capacity of the phonograph explicitly in terms of its materialization of the intangible word. With the advent of sound recording, he observes, "speech inscribes itself in matter for all time" (Brunot 1911:9).

Although its charter was primarily linguistic, Brunot articulated an intellectually broad mission for his repository, extending its purview to anthropology and folklore as well (Brunot 1911:12-13). By the same token, he defined its reach as global: open "to the explorer who will bring us the echo of a conversation collected in Tibet, or on the edge of the Congo, it will be the refuge of ways of speaking termed savage as well as of the languages deemed classical" (Brunot 1911:13). Notwithstanding this breadth of vision, however, the task that Brunot considered most urgent was to rescue linguistic varieties in

France that were in danger of being lost. “We have all around us,” he wrote, “great elders who are dying, that is our dialects. One by one the villages, under the influence of the school, of the press, of commercial relations, multiplied a hundred times by the new means of communication, are abandoning their old venerable language. In several years, they will be deformed or will have vanished” (Brunot 1911:13).

Brunot’s dedication to the non-standard, local and regional varieties of French was conjoined to a broader nationalist frame of reference. He saw these vernacular dialects as “the direct products of the national genius, ...the popular spirit,” reflecting the *Volksgeist* in the conduct of “everyday life” (Veken 1984:47). That is to say, the dialects offered a vantage point on French national character from the bottom up, from the on-the-ground lived experience of everyday life. Moreover, these intangible features of everyday life are more revealing of a people’s character than tangible ones; “Better than any monument,” Brunot maintained, “the language of each village represents its personality” (Veken 1984:47).

Brunot’s initial plan included an ambitious program of field research to document the regional dialects of France that he considered so important to the study of French language and culture. To launch this documentary effort, Brunot and his colleague, Charles Bruneau, undertook summer recording trips to the Ardennes in 1912 and to Limousin and Berry in 1913, but the outbreak of World War I cut short their further plans (Veken 1984). The protocol guiding the project of field recording included several standardized procedures designed to elicit systematic and comparable lexical, phonological, and grammatical data. In the course of the fieldwork in the Ardennes, however, Brunot came to an important realization, with profound methodological and

epistemological implications. Concomitant with his realization that the existential domain of the vernacular dialects he sought was everyday life, Brunot realized as well that what was distinctive of each locale and its ways of speaking could only emerge to its fullest extent not in the reproduction of canned elicitation devices but in spontaneous, improvised talk: “The ideal would be to have instantaneous [talk]; not discourse repeated in the archives, but the original harangue as it falls from the lips during the debate, as the orator lives it, in full contest, in the emotions of an encounter.” Each disk recorded under these spontaneous circumstances, then, would be “a slice of life” (Veken 1984:53), akin to a cellular section that epitomizes in some way the living organism.

The three decades between the invention of the phonograph in 1877 and the establishment of the Archives of Speech in 1911 coincided with the heyday of the 19th-century “exhibitionary complex” identified by Tony Bennett (1988), characterized by a vigorous penchant for cultural displays that figured the triumph of modernity. Museums, together with other display formats like expositions, pageants, and the like, were often the semiotic mechanism of choice for cultural specialists and it is productive to consider the various imaginings, proposals, and undertakings that I have discussed relating to the establishment of museums of language and oral performance within that broader historical context.

In doing so, it is important to bear closely in mind that within the exhibitionary complex, museums were dedicated to the collection, preservation, and display of material objects: autonomous, durable, tangible. During the period we are considering, museum objects tended to be of two principal kinds, not necessarily mutually exclusive: (1) things that were in some wise extraordinary, whether curious, anomalous, or artistically

excellent, or (2) things that were the distressed remnants of a bygone time that indexed the advent of modernity. To think, then, of a museum of language and oral expression, was to assimilate them to this conventional frame of reference.

The first requirement was a means of making the spoken word, in all its ephemerality, into a stable object, collectable, preservable, displayable. The phonograph provided that capacity. Time and again, the historical sources we have considered emphasize this aspect of sound recording technology: it fixes the spoken word. Not surprisingly, the verbal forms singled out for preservation by recording were closely consistent with the predisposition of museums toward objects of artistic excellence—the verbal art forms of oratory, theater, song—or the language and oral traditions endangered by modernity—“primitive” languages, regional dialects, traditional tales, and the like. To be sure, the documentation of disappearing languages and distressed oral traditions was an enterprise of long standing at the time of the invention of the phonograph, part of the Herderian philological tradition established in the latter part of the 18th century (Bauman and Briggs 2003). It is also worth noting that the forms of spoken art to which that Romantic nationalist program directed attention—folktales, legends, folksongs, epics, etc.—already exhibited object-like properties by virtue of their textuality: bounded off to a degree in formal terms from their contextual surround, internally cohesive, susceptible to decontextualization and recontextualization, not to mention materializable through transcription as text objects (Bauman and Briggs 1990; Silverstein and Urban 1996). With the advent of the phonograph, however, it is not merely the text but the *performance*—itself a mode of communicative display—that can be fixed and objectified, brought “within the control of the hearer” (Gilman 1891:68), preserving features that

could not be captured adequately by written transcription, features that characterized all vocal utterances, such as timbre, intonation, and other suprasegmental features. What was also important, for intellectuals and cultural specialists of the day, was that these formerly evanescent and intangible forms could be fixed (at least arguably) with precision, sufficiently so to make them amenable to the kind of close, sustained observational and analytical scrutiny that science demanded. Recording made *speaking* a potential object of scientific inquiry, an increasingly important standard for many in the museum world of the day.

In addition to the necessity of stabilizing the spoken utterance, a second fundamental requirement for the development of museums of language was a conviction that language was worthy of being the organizing focus of a museum, that it warranted the investment of effort and resources that establishing and maintaining a museum would require and that it would be of sufficient interest to sustain public support. There were a number of qualities put forward as warrants for the establishment of museums of the spoken word. The very first plan, offered almost as soon as the phonograph was publicly announced, foregrounded artistic excellence, envisioning “galleries” for the preservation and presentation of “the utterances of great speakers and singers.” “Galleries” assimilates the collection and display of recordings to the model of fine arts museums, institutions for the cultivation of esthetic connoisseurship and symbolic capital. An alternative warrant was science, on the model of natural science museums. As Fewkes suggested in 1890 (Fewkes 1890:268), “What specimens are to the naturalist in describing genera and species, or what sections are to the histologist in the study of cellular structure, the cylinders made on the phonograph are to the student of language.” The phonograph was

lauded for its fidelity, for its ability to capture and fix aspects of spoken language inaccessible by other means, and to render these hitherto ephemeral and intangible aspects of language stable, observable, and susceptible to controlled examination. Also in the service of science, the preservation of recordings in museums would arrest the forces—like literacy, standardization, or the disappearance of speakers—that threatened the continued existence of “primitive” and vernacular languages. The speakers might disappear, but the speech would be preserved for scientific study.

Still another factor that might make linguistic forms museum-worthy were the associational (or *indexical*) resonances that accrued to them. A given way of speaking may thus stand as a metonym of the “national genius,” or the “popular spirit,” or the distinctive “personality” of a village. One especially persuasive way of framing the indexical resonance of a verbal form is as an expression of tradition, that is a saying again of what has been said before, an instantiation of an intertextually constituted series of iterations, extending back into the history of a community, a people, a tribe, a nation. The existence—or construction—of such a tradition serves as symbolic testimony to the persistence and durability of the people among whom it is current. This ideological nexus, in which language and oral tradition give voice to the *Volksgeist* of the nation was of long standing in Western romantic nationalism (Bauman and Briggs 2003), and represents the true core of what we have come to know as intangible cultural heritage. Such symbolic constructions depended upon the understanding that the traditions that stood as the underpinning of national identity were laid down in the distant past, handed down from the ancestral generations to the people of the present, their descendents and cultural heirs. Sound recording, however, opened up a new possibility: that the vernacular

forms and expressions recorded from contemporary individuals—ordinary conversations, perhaps, or the talk of everyday life—might serve as resources for future generations in their own construction of their heritage. That is to say, the planners of language museums understood their role, at least in part, to be that of heritage builders, documenting and preserving the ancient heritage while at the same time laying the groundwork for the heritage construction of the future by our descendants.

All of the factors we have enumerated that entered into the proposals for the development of museums of the spoken word were quite compatible with established conceptions of the nature and mission of museums and with prevailing ideologies of culture in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. And yet, interestingly enough, none of the proposals and plans for museums of language, based on the new technology of sound recording, ultimately succeeded. Why should this have been the case?

Certainly, one significant factor, with regard to the notion of having public galleries for the collection and presentation of oral art forms, was that by the mid-1890s, the phonograph became a private, rather than a public technology, a commodified means of home entertainment. Audiences who wanted to hear the great orators and singers outside live performance could buy commercial recordings, assemble their own collections, and play them at home on their own phonographs (Millard 1995:37-64).

During the same period that the phonograph became a mass medium, there was a shift in the institutional base for the study of anthropology and linguistics, away from museums and toward universities. From the 1860s until the first decade or so of the 20th century, most of the research on Native American language, including traditional texts, took place under the auspices of museums. Beginning in the early decades of the 20th

century, the center of gravity shifted to university departments of anthropology and linguistics, with a concomitant shift from museums to archives as sites for the collection and preservation of field materials, including recordings (Campbell 2000:77). In France, the Archives of Speech, conceived by Brunot sometimes as museum, sometimes as archive, and located from the start within the Sorbonne, was ultimately realized as an archive and never really functioned as a museum, with the mission to display as well as collect and preserve its materials. Regardless of geographical location or institutional base, however, the use of sound recording in the documentation of unwritten and vernacular languages and oral tradition became routinized as the 20th century progressed, and with the common, widespread use of sound recording technologies, sound recordings were no longer a focus of wonder. Ultimately, they dropped out of the exhibitionary complex.

Until recently, that is. Now, if only on a modest scale as yet, museums of language are coming back. The burgeoning of identity politics and ethnic nationalism, with continuing strong appeals to language and oral tradition as the touchstone of identity, the resurgence of museum building as an adjunct of tourist development, and the development of new communicative technologies on which the museum world has seized as a means of documenting, preserving, and displaying cultural forms remind us of conditions that prevailed during the period a century and a quarter ago when the first plans to develop museums of language were originally offered. At the same time—and not unrelatedly—the broad sway that protocols for the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage exert in the museum world and coordinate programs for the protection of endangered languages in linguistics and anthropology provide further stimulus to

program and institution building. We may well see more museums of language before very long.

Notes

¹ On the Museum of the Portuguese Language, see <http://www.museulinguaportuguesa.org>. On the Museum of the Afrikaans Language, see Burden (2007). A more modest institution is the National Museum of Language, in College Park, Maryland; see <http://www.languagemuseum.org>.

² “The man who invents.” *Washington Post* 4/19/1878, p. 1. Tin-foil was the matrix material for the earliest phonographs.

³ “Edison the magician.” *Cincinnati Commercial*, 4/1/1878; Edison Papers 27:790.

⁴ “A phonogram library.” *Public Opinion* 8(14), 1/11/1890, p. 348.

⁵ All translations from the French are mine.

⁶ On Brunot, see Serrailh et al. (1961) and Chaurand (1981).

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**Legislation and government policies
for protecting cultural properties
and role of museums**

oichi Igarashi (Japan)

Legislation and government policies for protecting cultural properties and role of museums

Koichi Igarashi (Japan)

Vice-chairperson of Japanese National Committee for ICOM

1 . Brief history of legislation for protecting cultural properties

The legislation of laws for protecting cultural properties dates back to 1897 when the Law for the Preservation of Ancient Shrines and Temples was enacted. Under the process of rapid modernization, traditional cultures were to be neglected and the buildings of those shrines and temples, and sculptures and paintings therein were in danger of destruction or being sold.

Under this law, specially guarded buildings and cultural objects worth the national treasury were designated and protected.

In 1919, the Law for Protecting Historic Sites, Places of Scenic Beauty and Natural Monuments was enacted to cope with land development. By this law, getting the permission from the local government was required before taking actions to change or to affect the conditions of designated sites, places and monuments.

In 1929, the Law for Preserving National Treasury was enacted. By this law, buildings and cultural objects owned by others than shrines and temples were included and all important cultural properties were designated as national treasury.

In 1931, the Law for Preserving Important Art Objects was enacted. By this law, the historic and artistic important objects other than national treasury were selected and exportation of these objects needed to get the permission of the minister concerned.

This legislation aimed at hindering flow of these objects abroad because of economic difficulties of owners due to the Great Depression and the following war with China.

In 1950, the comprehensive Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties (herein after “the Law”) was enacted integrating the preceding laws. In this law, the category of intangible cultural properties was included, but the criteria of cultural properties were limited to those in danger of disappearance.

This legislation aimed at protecting cultural properties in danger of destruction or being sold due to the economic difficulties of the owners including shrines and temples under social and economic turmoil after the World War II. And the burning of mural paintings of the Horyuji Temple, symbol of national treasury, and the following fires at

Kinkakuji Temple and several important castles were impetus to the legislation.

Under this law, designation of Important Cultural Properties were reexamined and newly designated and out of them, especially excellent ones were designated as National Treasure.

In 1954, the first major amendment of the Law was made.

In this amendment, the criteria of Important Cultural Properties was changed from “in danger of disappearance” to “ high historical or artistic value” and it is comprised of traditional performing arts such as Kabuki, Bunraku, Nohgaku, and traditional craft techniques such as textile weaving and dyeing, lacquer work.

In this framework, Important Intangible Cultural Property is designated and simultaneously the recognition of the holder or holders who have achieved advanced mastery of the pertinent techniques is done to ensure the transmission of traditional artistry.

In this amendment, Folk Materials was introduced as a new category separating from existing Tangible Cultural Properties and the system to designate Important Folk Materials, that are important to understand the transition of ways of life of Japanese people, begun.

In 1975, the second major amendment of the Law was made.

In this amendment, the denomination of Folk Materials was changed to Folk Cultural Properties and folk performing arts are included in addition to manners and customs in this category.

And the system to designate Important Intangible Folk Cultural Properties has newly begun. The system to designate tangible Important Folk Materials has changed to that of designating Important Tangible Folk Cultural Properties.

Also Conservation of Techniques for Cultural Properties was introduced as a new subject for preservation.

In this amendment, the selection system for Preservation Districts for Groups of Traditional Buildings was introduced and administrative procedures to protect Buried Cultural Properties were improved extensively to cope with rapid land development.

In 1996, the amendment of the Law was made to introduce a new Cultural Registration System that aims to provide moderate protection measures including notification, guidance, suggestion and advice. This system was only applied to buildings.

In 2004, the amendment of the Law was made.

In this amendment, Cultural Registration System was expanded to include all building and structures and the folk techniques were incorporated into Intangible Folk Cultural Properties.

Also Cultural Landscapes were established as cultural properties, which are defined as landscapes formed by peoples or work in a given region and the climate of the region in question such that they are indispensable for understanding the lives and work of the Japanese people.

The legislation for protecting cultural properties started to protect those of ancient shrines and temples against the frenzy modernization trends in Meiji Era. The scope and measures for protection were enlarged reflecting changing social and economic situations. But their target was limited to selected tangible cultural properties.

After the World War II, the legislation became comprehensive to include intangible cultural properties and human elements were introduced such as holders of intangible cultural properties who are commonly called “National Living Treasure”.

Folk cultural properties, tangible and intangible, begun to be recognized as independent categories and the initiatives of local communities and people who bears them are esteemed.

The notion of cultural properties extends horizontally like Preservation Districts for Groups of Traditional Buildings. In case of Cultural Landscapes, the interaction between people and land · climate, and the subsequently formed environment are taken into consideration like tiers of paddy rice fields called “Tanada”.

2. Schematic Diagram of Cultural Properties

The Cultural Properties preserved and utilized under the present Law are shown in the following “Schematic Diagram of Cultural Properties”.

Especially valuable Important Cultural Properties are designated as National Treasure.

Groups of Important Preservation Districts of Groups of Buildings are selected among those districts of groups of buildings designated by municipalities.

Important Cultural Landscapes are selected following proposals from prefectural or municipal governments.

Schematic Diagram of Cultural Properties

Cultural Properties →	Tangible Cultural Properties	Designation →	Important Cultural Properties
		Registration →	Registered Tangible Cultural Properties
	Intangible Cultural Properties	Designation →	Important Intangible Cultural Properties
		Selection →	Those require measures such as making records
	Folk Cultural Properties	Designation →	Important Tangible Folk Cultural Properties
		Designation →	Important Intangible Folk Cultural Properties
		Selection →	Those require measures such as making records
Monuments	Designation →	Historic Sites	
		→ Places of Scenic Beauty	
		→ Natural Monuments	
Cultural Landscapes	Selection →	Important Cultural Landscapes	
Groups of Traditional buildings	Selection →	Important Preservation Districts for Groups of Traditional Buildings	

Conservation Techniques for Cultural Properties Selection → Selected Conservation Techniques
 (Techniques necessary for the production of materials, repair, and restoration)

Buried Cultural Properties
 (Cultural properties buried underground)

3. The Government Organizations for Protection of Cultural Properties

In 1950, the Commission for Protection of Cultural Properties was set up as an agency of the Ministry of Education in accordance with the enactment of the Law.

In 1968, the above commission was merged with the Cultural Bureau of the above ministry and the Agency for Cultural Affairs (herein after “the Agency”) was established. It is now the agency of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology. It has two major assignments of preserving and utilizing cultural properties and promoting cultures and arts.

As for local governments, all prefectures and almost all municipalities establish ordinances for the protection of cultural properties. And both at prefectural and municipal level, they have their own officials in charge usually in the boards of education.

4. The System for Protecting Cultural Properties

Under the Law, the national government designates and selects important cultural properties and imposes restriction on such activities as alteration of existing state, repairs and exports. The government also implements diverse measures necessary for the preservation and utilization of cultural properties

Measures for tangible cultural properties (such as works of fine arts and crafts, buildings and folk materials) include preservation, disaster protection work and acquisition.

For intangible cultural properties (such as performing arts, craft techniques, manners and customs and folk performing arts), these measures include subsidies for programs for training successors or for compiling records.

In case of recognized Important Intangible Cultural Property holders, the national governments provides them special grants (2 million yen a year) and also subsidizes a portion of the expenses incurred for successor training progress or public performance/ programs conducted by recognized holders, local governments and other entities.

In addition, the registration system provides more moderate protective measures than those of the designation system. It is for cultural properties (tangible cultural properties, tangible folk cultural properties and monuments) of the modern period, whose protection is increasing necessary due to land development and changes in life style in recent years. Based on notification, guidance and advice, this system aims at voluntary protection of cultural properties by their owners.

The following table shows the number of cultural properties designated or selected by the national government.

Number of Cultural Properties Designated or Selected by the National Governments
as of April 1, 2008

Designation		
Important Cultural Properties(National Treasure)		12,611 (1,074)
Buildings		2,328 (213)
Works of Fine Arts and Crafts		10,283 (861)
Important Intangible Cultural Properties		(Number of holders and groups)
Performing Arts	Individual recognition	38 (56 people)
	Collective recognition	11 (11 groups)
Craft Techniques	Individual recognition	43 (55 people)
	Collective recognition	14 (14 groups)
Important Tangible Folk Cultural Properties		206
Important Intangible Folk Cultural Properties		257
Historic Sites, Places of Scenic Beauty, Natural Monument(special sites, places, monuments)		2,489 (161)
Historic Sites		1,597 (60)

Places of Scenic Beauty	311	(29)
Natural Monument	941	(72)
Selection		
Important Cultural Landscape	7	
Important Preservation Districts for Groups of Traditional Buildings)	80	
Registration		
Registered Tangible Cultural Properties(buildings)	6,824	
Registered Intangible Cultural Properties(works of fine arts and crafts) 6		
Registered Tangible Folk Cultural Properties	10	
Registered Monuments	28	
Selected Techniques for Preservation of Cultural Properties		
Holders	47	
Holding Groups	24	

Since cultural properties are located throughout Japan, it is essential for the national government and local governments to work closely to comprehensively advance the protection and administration of cultural properties. It is also the innate mission of local governments.

Almost all local governments establish ordinances for the protection of cultural properties. Based on such ordinances, they designate cultural properties of value to the region concerned and strive to preserve and utilize them. The quantities of cultural properties designated increases year by year.

Cultural Properties Designated by Prefectures, Cities, Towns or Villages

as of May 1, 2003

Categories		Prefectures	Cities, Towns or Villages
Tangible Cultural Properties	Structures	2,650	8,679
	Fine Arts and Crafts	9,278	38,922
Intangible Cultural Properties		164	828
Folk Cultural Properties	Tangible	653	5,458
	Intangible	1,672	5,732
Monuments	Historic Sites	2,597	13,282
	Places of Scenic Beauty	235	887
	Natural Monuments	2,905	11,054

Preservation Districts of Important Historic Buildings	-	63
Conservation Techniques	12	42

5. National Theaters and National Research Institute for Cultural Properties

The Japan Arts Council (Independent Administrative Institution) establishes and maintains the following National Theaters to carry out programs for activities that include presenting Japan's traditional performing arts to the public, training successors, and conducting investigation and research.

① National Theater of Japan

Mainly aiming at the presentation and promotion of Japan's traditional performing arts, it makes effort to release them as original form. It also conducts training for successors, investigation and collecting materials.

② National Noh Theater

Aiming at dissemination of Noh and getting new spectrum of people as audiences, it holds performances of Noh and Kyogen. It conducts training for successors, investigation and collecting materials.

③ National Bunraku Theater

Mainly Ningyo Jyoruri is staged. The theater aims to preserve and pass the arts in the Kyoto-Osaka area to the next generation. It also conducts training for successors, investigation and collecting materials.

④ National Theater Okinawa

It aims to become the base for exchange Asia-Pacific region through traditional culture. It shows Okinawa traditional arts such as Kumiodori, conducts training for successors and investigation, and collects materials.

⑤ National Research Institute for Cultural Properties

The institute is engaged in surveys and research primarily on tangible and intangible cultural properties, ranging from basic surveys to research using methods based on advanced science and research. It is one of affiliated institutes of National Institutes of Cultural Heritage (Independent Administrative Institution).

6. The Role of Museums in Preserving and Utilizing Folk Cultural Properties

① National Museums of Ethnology and History

In Japan, there are two Inter-University-Research Institutes, housing a research center and museum all in one. They also offer graduate programs at PhD level in the

related field. They are National Museum of Ethnology and National Museum of Japanese History.

(i)National Museum of Ethnology

While conducting field studies in many parts of the world, the academic staff of the museum has collected numerous ethnographic artifacts and audiovisual materials. The museum selects and displays them in the regular exhibition to provide the general public with accurate and updated information about various societies around the world. The regular exhibition consists of Regional Exhibitions and Cross-cultural Exhibition the themes of which are music and language.

The museum has developed the on-demand video library. It contains video programs that introduce rituals, performing arts, and the living cultures of people around the world, as well as information on the artifacts on exhibit.

(ii) National Museum of Japanese History.

The museum aims originally to link research, materials and exhibition, and secondly to improve and strengthen inter-university research.

On these research activities, the museum has developed five galleries; the first three ones covering from prehistoric and early Japan to its early modern periods, the fourth one presenting folk worlds of Japanese people, and the fifth and final one dealing with modern and contemporary Japan.

The fourth gallery depicts a variety of lifestyles of Japanese and their respective environments-urban areas; agricultural, mountain, and fishing villages; and the Ryukyu Islands. Its emphasis is on the spiritual, with displays that explore exchanges between the world of living and the “other world” of the dead.

In addition to actual artifacts, its exhibit uses life-size reproductions in its effort to convey aspects of the folk world of the Japanese.

② Museums in general

In Japan, there are 5,614 museums and out of them, 3,200 are history museums. Many of them have folk culture related sections and some specialize in folk culture itself. It is especially the case with municipal museums which have closer linkage with local communities.

Number of Museums by Establisher and by Kind

as of Oct. 1, 2005

	Total (percent)	National	Prefectural	Municipal	Private
Total	5,614 (100.0)	197	418	3,605	1,394
General	418 (7.4)	32	50	264	72

History	3,200 (57.0)	107	134	2,422	537
(percent)	(100.0)	(3.3)	(4.2)	(75.7)	(16.8)

Museums with folk department try to collect folk materials systematically, sometimes to the level of the Registered or Important Tangible Cultural Property. They also try to revive intangible folk cultural properties with the help of voluntary groups in their area. They also make efforts to show the characteristics of their folk culture by cooperating each other. To convey folk cultures to children, they organize workshops to offer them opportunities to experience traditional events, performances etc.

The following are those examples.

i) Special Exhibition “Tree and Bamboo”

The special exhibition “Tree and Bamboo” was held in 2007 to show characteristics of two folk cultures, one in the northern district of Mainland Japan based on trees and barks, and the other in its southern district based on bamboos.

This was done mainly by comparing articles of everyday use which are made of different materials, tree and bark or bamboo.

This exhibition was organized by two museums, one situated in the northern part of Mainland Japan, the other in the southern part (Fukushima Prefecture Museum and Kagoshima Prefecture History Center) and was held alternately in each museum.

International perspective was introduced by getting advice and borrowing artifacts from National Museum of Ethnology.

(ii) Revival of traditional “Kirinjishi (Kirin shaped lion) dance

In 1991, the Rishiri Town Museum found a Kirinjishi wooden head once used for a traditional dance in one of hamlet of the town. The museum is situated in the Rishiri Island of Hokkaido, where many people came from Mainland Japan to cultivate land in Meiji era. It began to search the root of the lion head and dance and found out that the dance came with the immigrants from a hamlet of Tottori City.

As part of research project on the immigration to the town conducted by Tottori City and Rishiri Town, the Tottori City Museum and a preserving group of Kirinjishi dance helped the Rishiri Town Museum to raise a performing group of the dance. Finally in 2004, the dance was revived and performed in a festival of the hamlet shrine of the island. Exchange programs of the two Kirinjishi dances continue.

(iii) Registered Tangible Cultural Property “Tools for producing Sayama tea”

Iruma City Museum in Saitma prefecture situates in the suburban area of the

Metropolis. Iruma City is famous for producing green tea well known as Sayama tea. The museum was established in 1994 to cover a broad field related to tea. Since opening, it tried to collect materials on tea and textile which is also main product of the city. Many people of the city have also offered materials they have. As the mechanization of tea production progresses, machine related collection has increased.

In 2005, an inquiry on the preservation and collection of tangible folk cultural properties was made to the museum from the Agency. It answered on cultivation, production, conservation/ transportation and sale of tea. After that, the officials of the agency and the prefectural bureau of education visited the museum and checked the collection. They looked satisfied and asked to submit the list of the collection with photos. It was painstaking to complete it and needed several consultations with the officials.

Finally in 2007, its collection related to cultivation and production of tea was registered as Registered Tangible Folk Cultural Property by the Agency. Though it only got the certificate of registration, it contributed a lot to increase public recognition and ties with young tea farmers were strengthened.

(iv) Important Tangible Folk Cultural Property “Tools for the Production of Yashu-Asa(hemp)”

Tochigi Museum is a prefectural general museum which has 9 departments covering from nature to history, arts and folk. Tochigi prefecture is known to be the biggest source of hemp, called Yashu-Asa(hemp), in Japan. But its production declined sharply in recent years. So in 1988, it took the documentary film “The Folk of Hemp Making”. From then, it began to study and collect systematically hemp production related materials. As a result, in 1999, it hold a special exhibition “Hemp- Great Fiber”.

In 2001, it published a report “Folk of Yashu-Asa(hemp)” and submitted it to the Agency. From its official in charge, the museum got an advice to collect materials focusing on production tools beginning from growing and harvesting hemp which lacked in its collection. It began to collect on his advice, making a list of materials and taking group pictures of related materials. It was also required take a picture of each material and its research record. The most difficult work was to draw a diagram of each tool which shows its figure and sizes from three dimensions. For this drawing, the museum trained volunteers and asked some specialists to help.

Finally it completed the necessary documents and submitted them to the Agency. The Agency designated the collection as Important Intangible Folk Cultural Property on the investigation report of Council for Cultural Affairs in 2008. In the same year, it held the

special exhibition “Yashu-Asa(hemp)-tools tell how it is produced”.

(v) Experiencing annual cultural events

Historical Village of Hokkaido is an open air museum where 52 historical buildings, which were built from Meiji exploitation period to the beginning of the Showa era, have been brought and rebuilt. There people can experience the industrial, economic and cultural aspects of life of inhabitants of Hokkaido Island during that period of time.

In order to offer children opportunities to experience traditional annual events, the museum organized a series of 11 workshops in different buildings from August to March in 2007. They are “The Star Festival”, “Full Moon Night”, “Autumn Festival, children sumo-wrestling competition”, “Cooking pumpkin porridge on the day of winter solstice”, “Steamed rice pounding to make rice cake preparing for New Year”, “Kite making and flying”, “Cooking porridge containing seven different vegetables of Spring”, “The Doll’s Festival for girls and making paper dolls by origami technique” etc.

In these workshops, in the beginning, a short explanation of each annual event is given and then real work follows, sometimes with demonstration by a lecturer. Lecturers are often volunteers. Parents also attend workshops. Communication between children and parents intensifies. Sometimes they try to repeat what they have learned.

This series of workshops was subsidized by the National Federation for Activating Traditional Cultures through the commission by the Agency.

7. Issues to be kept in mind

There might be many issues to be kept in mind by museums for the protection of folk cultures.

I take up some of them from my observation/

Folk tangible cultural properties are generally plain or inconspicuous so it is not easy to draw attention or raise interest of the general public to them. They were once used but they became rarely used or stopped being used in the course of changing way of life. So they tend to be neglected or left in sheds or yards.

When a museum begins to collect materials once used in daily or vocational life, sometimes it gets so many donations from local people that its storage is overflowed with them. It happens that it has to reject offers that might contain valuable materials.

So it is necessary to have a clear collection policy and to decide which materials to be kept or to be used for demonstration. For the latter, it needs to get a donor’s approval to use for that purpose. By demonstrating or offering opportunity to experience, people can understand the real use of utensils or tools.

It is also advisable to pick up stored folk materials which could demonstrate a characteristic of the daily or vocational life of the area or region where a museum exists. Getting advice from officials of the central or local government, the museum accumulates related materials systematically and keeps necessary records to get government recognition as a registered or designated property. By so doing, the museum can increase the public recognition of its collection.

Intangible cultural properties are usually transmitted by ordinary people in their way of life. So it is inevitable that they transform themselves with the times. It is difficult or impossible to keep it as the same way as they were. Museums with curators specialized in folk cultures are suitable facilities to take documentation to fill this gap.

Museums often exhibit annual traditional events or festivals related to religious beliefs showing their origin, history and originality and similarity with those in other areas. Sometimes they participate in events or festivals by letting use stored objects such as portable shrines or floats to the organizing groups. By so doing, they strengthen local ties.

During this decade, the central government policy to integrate cities, towns and villages has strengthened. As a result, the numbers of municipalities decreased rapidly from 3,232 in 1999 to 1,775 in 2009. This trend is especially remarkable in villages and towns. Since folk cultures are rooted in smaller local communities, to help and have closer ties with holders of tradition is more needed. The role of community museums to keep and vitalize community tradition is highly expected.

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**Proposing a Museum of Memory
: Reparations and the Maya Achi Genocide
in Guatemala**

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ABSTRACT: This paper will address the role of museums of memory in forging peace and reconciliation in a region of post-conflict Central America where tensions and violence related to the civil war are present dangers. Today, many Guatemalans are still in recovery from decades of genocide in which over 200,000 people were killed. One of the most well known series of atrocities, the Río Negro Massacres, occurred from 1980-82 in the states of Baja and Alta Verapaz, during the construction of a hydroelectric dam called Chixoy. The communities affected by the genocide related to Chixoy Dam are still recovering from internal displacement and the effects of cultural genocide.

In 2009, the ongoing historic reparation negotiation between the Maya Achí community and the Guatemalan government will result in a reparation package for over 13,000 affected peoples living in central Guatemala. The Maya Achí reparation proposal includes funding to develop a museum of historical memory in the affected regions. The focus for this museum complex will be to explore the history of the cultural genocide perpetrated on the Maya Achí communities and offer educational and public programming that will work towards the intellectual repatriation of Achí culture, religious traditions and intangible heritage.

Introduction

[Photo 1.1 Mourners at the burial of Pak'oxom massacre victims. Photo courtesy of FAFG, Guatemala.]

One can confidently say that every day somewhere in Guatemala someone commemorates a war crime. Yet, no national memorials museums or council of historic sites dedicated to the internal conflict exist. Fortunately, on the regional level, civil society organizations are creating spaces for reflection and dedicating important memorials to some of the worst episodes of the Guatemalan genocide. This paper will address the history of the attempted cultural genocide and displacement of the Maya Achí, as well as civil society efforts at reconciliation through memorials and museums in Achí communities, a recent proposal for a new Achí historical memory museum and cultural complex, and finally, the relevance and concerns related to such a reconciliation project in the context of similar efforts across Latin America.

The role of museums in reconciliation efforts in post-conflict countries such as Guatemala is nothing if not directly relevant to the ICME conference theme this year. Decades following the

political upheavals in Latin America during the 1970s, civil society actors are working to develop museums, monuments and exhibitions that commemorate the victims of violence and support reconciliation on the personal, community and national levels. In some cases, such as that of Guatemala, reconciliation involves both inter and intra-ethnic components as well.

Recent violence at Holocaust Museum in the United States, debates over the Museum of Memory in Lima, Peru, and consistent vandalism at genocide memorials worldwide underscore the validity these monuments and museums possess in maintaining a national and international consciousness regarding acts of genocide and torture perpetrated by a state against its citizens. In Guatemala, decades of civil war and genocide continue to play a tangible role in the collective memory of a society where more than 200,000 people were killed or disappeared during three decades of state-sponsored violence (1). As a continuing result of the trauma and brutality of that internal conflict, femicide (2), gang violence, drug trafficking and judicial impunity have increased at alarming rates over the last few years in Guatemala (3).

One of the most well known series of atrocities, the Río Negro Massacres, took place during the height of the internal conflict in central Guatemala, between 1980 and 1982 (4). Nearly five hundred people were murdered along the Chixoy River basin in the states of Baja and Alta Verapaz during the construction of the country's largest hydroelectric dam (5). To this day, the communities affected by the construction of Chixoy Dam are still experiencing both the trauma of internal displacement and the after effects of an attempted cultural genocide (6).

It is their demand for justice and reconciliation that led to some of the first exhumations, memorials and genocide cases in Guatemalan history (7). And it is their reparations struggle that may hopefully bring about the first unprecedented public-private collaboration on a museum of memory (8) project in the country.

Since May 2008, I have worked with Achí communities in the departments of Baja and Alta Verapaz through ADIVIMA, an indigenous human rights organization in the central highlands town of Rabinal, and The Advocacy Project in Washington, DC. My work has been to support ADIVIMA's political negotiation with the government of Guatemala and their economic development plan for the 13,000 Achí affected by Chixoy Dam.

The Internal Conflict in Guatemala and the Río Negro Massacres

[Photo 1.2 Chixoy River basin. Photo by Heidi McKinnon.]

The nexus of the Maya Achí political negotiation and memorialization projects is the story of the Río Negro Massacres, which occurred during the terms of President Romeo Lucas García and the leader of the military junta that deposed him, Efraín Ríos Montt (9).

The Chixoy (pronounced Chi-shoy) River Basin is the ancestral home of more than 75,000 Maya Achí (10). The river basin is located in the central highlands of the country, near the city of Coban. More than thirty Achí villages dotted the river basin before dam construction began and

more than forty archaeological sites were documented in the flood zone during construction (11). One large pyramid complex called Cauinal is said to rival Tikal in importance (12).

Since the 1950s, Guatemala had developed US-backed energy policies involving a series of large infrastructure projects that directly impacted the geographic regions of Guatemala most heavily affected by the violence of the 1980s (13). In 1975, the National Institute for Electrification (INDE), with funding from a host of international development banks (14) began construction on the largest hydroelectric facility in the country- in the midst of the Achí homeland along the Chixoy River. The Guatemalan government undertook this mega-development project without adequate community consultation or notification, and without clear title to the majority of the lands affected by the reservoir and the hydroelectric facilities (15).

In 1978, more than a decade into the political upheaval and civil war in Guatemala, newly elected President Lucas García began a 'scorched earth' campaign that shifted focus somewhat from the urban political opposition to the guerrilla insurgency that was consolidating and developing amid the rural, mostly indigenous communities in western and central Guatemala (16). His support of the Chixoy project was unequivocal. Guatemala was facing a severe economic downturn and creating reliable energy sources was crucial to the economic strength of the country.

Concurrent with Lucas García's 'scorched earth' policies, construction activities intensified along the Chixoy River. Throughout the basin, archaeological surveys were undertaken by a team led by the French archaeologist, Dr. Alain Ichon. Resettlement studies were conducted by Dr. Gaitan Sanchez, an anthropologist hired by INDE to document Achí lands and property in the flood zone (17). INDE used Dr. Gaitan's report as a starting point for negotiations with the Achí community in 1979 and 1980, four years after construction had begun. The village of Río Negro was consistently reluctant to submit to resettlement, which led to the tragic loss of nearly five hundred lives.

While negotiations between INDE and the affected communities were underway in 1980, the first of five massacres occurred in the region surrounding Chixoy Dam. It is alleged that INDE security forces disappeared and murdered two Achí negotiators and confiscated documentary proof of reparation guarantees INDE had offered to the communities. INDE's guarantees would have included land purchases, housing specifications and monetary compensation. The community negotiators had been asked to meet with INDE staff to demonstrate title documents for the lands in the flood zone. The two men left for the meeting carrying these documents as well as the community *acta*, or archival ledger, which was the only written documentation of INDE's promised reparations plan. Those documents and records disappeared with the community representatives.

Several months later, seven community leaders were shot dead in front of the church in the village of Río Negro by INDE security staff following a dispute. Over the next two years, tensions increased between INDE staff and community members.

When a military junta took power from President Lucas García during the coup of March 23 1982, they continued his policies and reframed them for their own purposes, which included

increased support for broad expansion of the energy sector. Soon after the takeover, the Constitution was suspended, Congress dissolved, electoral law ended and a 'National Plan for Security and Development' was issued. The plan included three strategies to combat an increasingly organized and centralized guerrilla insurgency and support internal development. The National Plan was implemented in the months to come under a nationwide 'state of siege' ordered by the junta (18).

The first strategy was a continuation of Lucas García's 'scorched earth' policy that allowed the Army to eradicate any perceived support for guerrilla movements. The expanding political involvement of the rural Mayan communities posed an increasing threat to then junta leader, Efraín Ríos Montt. Indigenous support for guerrilla activities proved to be the impetus for his intensified campaigns of cultural genocide in which many innocent indigenous farmers were labeled as revolutionaries. In Baja and Alta Verapaz, where the guerrilla movement was not as pervasive as in the state of Quiché, Achí communities in the Chixoy River basin did not have sustained, direct contact with revolutionary forces.

The second national security policy was to construct 'Model Villages' patrolled by the Army where refugees and resettled peoples could be kept under watch, intimidated and often tortured. Ríos Montt had originally intended to foster economic development through support of these villages, a policy that eventually did not gain traction.

The final strategy of the security plan was to establish "Civil Defense Patrols," or PACs (*Patrullas de Autodefensa Civil*), comprised of local citizens, often indigenous, who were coerced into patrolling and monitoring their villages and regions in search of 'guerrilleros'. Maya Achí Civil Defense Patrols, or PACs were instituted in the town of Rabinal and the nearby village of Xococ, where many people from the Chixoy River Basin regularly traded and purchased goods in the market.

[Photo 1.3 PAC patrol members receiving firearms in Rabinal, Guatemala, one week before the Pak'oxom massacre. March 6, 1982. Photo courtesy of ADIVIMA archive, Rabinal, Guatemala.]

The village of Rio Negro on the Chixoy River, at the epicenter of this story, were affected more than any other community by the Ríos Montt security strategies during the construction of Chixoy Dam. Given the guerrilla insurgency in Baja Verapaz at the time construction began on Chixoy, villagers who were opposed to being displaced by the dam were denounced and repeatedly accused of supporting the guerrilla movement and of being 'guerrilleros' themselves.

Ríos Montt's policies exacerbated existing local tensions created a cycle of intense violence in the region that began on February 13, 1982, when seventy-four men, women and children from the village of Río Negro were tortured, mutilated, strangled, shot and buried in mass graves in the village of Xococ by Army and PAC members (19). Men from nearby villages along the river basin began to flee to the mountains to hide from the PACs during this time.

One month later, on March 13th, 1982, one hundred seventy-seven women and children were rounded up in the village of Rio Negro and marched to a mountain called Pak'oxom where they were systematically raped, mutilated, beaten, beheaded, strangled and hanged by members of the

Guatemalan Army and Civil Defense Patrols (20). One hundred seven children were killed by machete or beaten to death with sticks (21). Only eighteen children and one woman survived the Pak'oxom massacre (22). Río Negro residents who did survive subsequently fled to the mountains or moved to neighboring villages, where they were pursued by the Army and PAC patrols. In May 1982, another massacre took place in the nearby hamlet of Los Encuentros (23).

Many fragmented families from Río Negro had taken refuge at Los Encuentros by May, when the Army arrived by helicopter. More than one hundred Achí died that day and at least fifty seniors and children were disappeared by helicopter, never to be found (24). Community members believe that their bodies were flung from the helicopter over the mountains in a remote region of Alta Verapaz (25).

In one final blow, the following September of 1982, more than one hundred people were locked in a house and burned alive in the village of Agua Fria during a raid by the local Army and PAC patrollers who were looking for survivors from the village of Río Negro (26). By the end of 1982, hundreds of people were hiding in the mountains, or living in resettlement villages, makeshift "Model Villages" and concentration camps.

Río Negro, Los Encuentros, Agua Fria and the last remaining villages along the Chixoy River basin were completely abandoned by 1983. Under reparations agreements with INDE, other communities in the basin relocated entirely. Intimidations had taken their toll on everyone. By late 1983, the Chixoy reservoir was filled and the dam began to generate electricity. Today Chixoy Dam supplies nearly 40% of all electricity used in Guatemala, while the Achí community still holds title to the majority of the property within the flood zone. There are currently at least thirty communities, totaling 13,000 people, both upstream and downstream from the Chixoy Dam that have been affected directly or indirectly by its construction.

Reconciliation, Museums and Memorials in the States of Baja and Alta Verapaz

[1.4 Memorial to Massacre Victims. Rabinal Achí Community Museum. Photo by Heidi McKinnon.]

To understand the process of recovery and reconciliation in central Guatemala, it is important to review how the Achí communities moved forward following the displacement and massacres. Actual reparations at the time of construction were minimal (27). By the early 1990s, Achí leaders and other community members began their slow struggle for justice. Internally displaced families had been living in Ríos Montt's "Model Villages" for close to a decade without formally denouncing the war crimes that had been perpetrated against them.

Leaders like Jesus Tecú Osorio (28) began by demanding exhumations and investigations of the massacres. Jesus, along with Carlos Chen (29) and a host of widows from Río Negro formed a civil society organization in 1993, which later became known as ADIVIMA, whose purpose was to prosecute war criminals, fight for the exhumation of massacre victims and the rights of those displaced by the internal conflict and the Chixoy Dam (30). Other civil society organizations emerged during the 1990s as well to help in the struggle (31). Collectively these civil society organizations in Rabinal have prosecuted important war crimes cases both nationally and

internationally (32). Their first major victory was the Pak'oxom exhumation conducted by EFAG in 1993 (33).

[Photo 1.5 Rio Negro Memorial in Rabinal, Guatemala. Photo by Heidi McKinnon.]

While working for justice through exhumations and in the national and international courts, ADIVIMA also funded the first memorialization efforts in Rabinal. These included construction of important massacre memorials in Rabinal and the first memorial museum in the country dedicated to a specific Mayan culture and their history of cultural genocide during the internal conflict (34). Massacre commemorations are the cornerstone of all memorialization activities, and whenever possible take place at the massacre sites, or alternately at memorials in the Rabinal cemetery.

The process of memorialization in the region began with the burial in the Rabinal cemetery of the remains exhumed from the Pak'oxom massacre site above Río Negro in 1993. The first monuments were vandalized and the replacement Monument to Truth memorial was dedicated in 1995 (35). There are currently nearly a dozen memorials in the Rabinal cemetery and nearby communities. Community members and ADIVIMA maintain the memorials related to the Río Negro massacres and cover costs for the commemorations on the anniversary of several massacres.

These memorials have had the effect of galvanizing the community behind the advocacy efforts of ADIVIMA and all civil society organizations working in and around Rabinal. They serve the purpose of commemorating the past, while their presence is a constant reminder of the work that lies ahead to create a better future for the survivors. I have attended numerous commemorations and burials in the Rabinal cemetery, and they truly are events in which the community not only reflects, but also gathers strength.

Constant determination to move forward with reconciliation and recognition of the violence in the 1980s also led Achi community leaders to develop the first memorial museum, the Rabinal Achi Community Museum, which was founded in 1999, by local civil society institutions, including ADIVIMA (36). Funding came from a variety of non-governmental organizations and a start-up grant from the Inter-American Foundation.

It was, at the time, the first museum of its kind to look at historical memory and address the local effects of the civil war in Guatemala. The museum is dedicated to highlighting local cultural practices as well, such as weaving, dancing, mask making and gourd painting. It serves as a dedicated commemorative space for the community that complements the memorials. Currently, two similar community museums are in development in nearby regions with the support of the Rabinal Achi Community Museum.

The Rabinal Achi museum is a civil society effort run by a small staff working under a severely restricted budget in limited space. While it dedicates a quarter of the exhibit space to the massacres that occurred in and around Rabinal during the internal conflict, this consists principally of displays of identity cards for as many victims as were able to be collected in the

local archives or from family members. Collecting this amount of archival material in itself was a monumental task, undertaken in large part by the head of the Board of Directors, Carlos Chen.

Staff regularly attends local massacre commemorations and documents them for the museum archive. However, museum programming does not actively promote civic or political dialogue, or a human rights agenda. These are the issues central to the need for an expanded museum complex in the Achí region.

Although not a memorial or site of conflict during the war itself, the museum serves a prescribed function within the Achí community as a solemn, commemorative space. Often people stop by to see the photograph of a relative or pray during the anniversary of a massacre or a birthday. The floor is regularly dotted with candle wax and the remnants of small offerings.

[Photo 1.6 Pak'oxom massacre site. Photo by Heidi McKinnon.]

Of all the memorial sites that exist in the Achí region of Guatemala, the Pak'oxom massacre site is most important. It is considered hallowed ground. Annually on March 13th, hundreds of Achí make the pilgrimage to Río Negro and hike into the mountains to Pak'oxom, where an all-night ceremony takes place. Candles are lit, food and flower offerings are left and music is played throughout the night. Entire schools close and bring their pupils to the site for an overnight stay to listen to elders recant their memories of life in Río Negro and the tragedy of the massacres. Dinner is served to everyone, and in the morning, a local priest or bishop performs services. Afterward, everyone descends the mountain in unison.

Intangible Reparations and the Proposal for a New Museum

[Photo 1.7 Protesters arriving at Chixoy Dam. Photo courtesy of Bert Janssens.]

Since the Pak'oxom exhumations in 1993, leaders of the Achí community, with international support, have become as adept at fighting for reparations as they have fighting for exhumations. After the signing of the Peace Accords in 1996, civil society actors in Rabinal redoubled their efforts for justice and reparations.

By September 2004, ADIVIMA organized a nonviolent protest and takeover of Chixoy Dam, with approximately one thousand Maya Achí attending. The two-day action resulted in the first agreement between the government of Guatemala and the affected communities to address the lack of a comprehensive reparation plan (37).

Following years of further agreements and government studies, formal reparation negotiations with the current Colom administration began after the signing of a March 2008 political accord, twenty-five years after the completion of Chixoy Dam (38). These last five years of negotiations will result in monetary and symbolic, or intangible reparations for the displacement of 13,000 Maya Achí to date. The latest political accord mandates a reparation package be finalized by the end of December 2009. Everyone involved eagerly awaits the conclusion of this chapter of an unnecessary and tragic story.

These communities had a full and rich life before the violence and relocation. Their loss was not solely monetary and therefore the reparation should not be solely monetary in nature. As the damages included the loss of lives, communal lands, properties, sacred sites and the total destruction of some Maya Achí villages, the communities expect a more sustainable, integral reparation plan that takes into account not only the economic loss, but the cultural, psychological and intellectual devastation as well.

Museo de la Memoria Achí

[Photo 1.8 The Mayan archaeological site, Cauinal, is flooded for half of the year. Photo by Heidi McKinnon.]

One aspect of my work with the Achí negotiators has been to offer a proposal for intangible reparations. The proposal that I have drafted to address cultural and intangible cultural heritage reparations includes a series of traditional councils, based on Achí political organization, to manage and implement all aspects of the cultural programs that arise from the reparation.

It is important to note that as a consequence of the building of Chixoy Dam, nearly fifty archaeological sites were flooded in the Chixoy River basin and sacred objects removed during salvage archaeology. Religious leaders, elders and culture bearers were targeted for assassination. Internal political and legal systems were disrupted or abandoned. Spanish was taught in refugee camps to discourage the use of Achí. Weaving skills were lost from one generation to the next and traditional dress discontinued in some communities (39).

In the resettlement villages today, there are many young children who do not know how to speak Achí. Plant knowledge and healing arts were all but lost to the more urban communities. Political leadership takes non-traditional forms now, and the sense of community responsibility is clearly fragmented in the larger 'Model Villages' of Pacux and Colonia Naranjo. All of this amounts to a well-documented campaign of cultural genocide.

What would be the best measures taken to address these concerns? Of these proposed series of councils, the Achí Cultural Council would oversee the development of a museum of memory dedicated to Achí history and the frank discussion of the effects of cultural genocide. Educational and public programming would work towards recovery of Achí cultural, religious and political traditions. An archival component to the museum would not only collect all extant oral histories from previous research in the Chixoy basin, but would include documentation projects with elders and culture bearers throughout the community to be used in complimentary programming aimed at the recovery of lost intangible heritage.

What the Achí Museum of Memory will contribute is a space to tell the Achí story, both past and future, on their own terms. As a member of the curatorial team that developed the inaugural exhibits for Smithsonian's National Museum of the American Indian, my thesis for the Achí museum proposal naturally envisions a clear focus on living culture and a much more narrative approach to exhibition development. To say that the process should be inclusive is not necessary, as Achí community members would be directing the research and content development themselves.

Beyond the need for systematic means to recover lost intangible cultural heritage and secure the continuation of these practices into the future, one of the central themes included in the proposal is a focus on social and political advocacy. The museum itself is meant to offer opportunities for civic dialogue and community political processes, called 'consultas,' to take place.

Engaging the community in regional and national political processes is highly relevant work for such a museum. Cultivating indigenous political leaders in a country where nearly 50% of the population is indigenous, and a region where Achí speakers dominate is of great importance to supporting the doctrine of "Never Again" which resonates throughout Latin America. It is important to mention that there are, to date, few Mayan elected politicians on the regional or national level.

Cultural tourism, archaeological restoration and repatriation projects also form important long-term aspects of the proposal. A brief outline of proposed cultural programming and projects for the Museum of Memory to be funded under the reparations plan, and managed by the Achí Cultural Council includes:

Design and installation of exhibitions for the Achí Museum of Memory to include: two permanent exhibitions on Achí culture and the history of the Río Negro massacres

Creation and management of an annual fund for massacre commemorations

Development of training programs for new Achí priests and spiritual guides

Development of programs for the study of traditional Achí political processes and training of new political leaders

Development of human rights curricula for local schools and community workshops

Development and implementation of an archive and historical memory project to include the collection of oral histories with elders and massacre survivors in the community

Workshops on culture and language retention for Achí children

Development and management of archaeological restoration projects in the Chixoy River basin and repatriation of significant cultural patrimony removed during excavations in the 1970s and 1980s

Development of Educational and public programming to support emphasis on human rights initiatives and museum advocacy

Development of sustainable tourism programs on the culture and archaeology of the Chixoy River basin

Development of Achí crafts and dance program in local school systems

Management of space for civic meetings, workshops, classes and cultural revitalization programs

Museums of Memory in Context

Reviewing the outline for the Achí Museum of Memory brings into question the fundamental role of museums of memory that marry ethnography and history with advocacy. What constitutes a successful model? How could any model be implemented in an unstable post-conflict political climate? And more importantly, should it?

I would argue that a well-developed advocacy component is critical to the mission of any museum of memory. It should be considered paramount to reconciliation and nation building in any post-conflict democracy. Equally important is the ability to forge partnerships between government and civil society in the creation of these memorials and museums. Without these partnerships, the creation of spaces for reflection and dialogue on a national level would be less effective and lacking in tangible expressions of acknowledgement or reconciliation from the state.

There are strong models developing for such efforts worldwide, such as the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum in Phnom Penh, the Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre in Rwanda, and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Within Latin America, there are several long-standing institutions. Villa Grimaldi Peace Park in Chile and Memoria Abierta in Argentina were some of the first historic sites to be transformed into museums of memory. All of these institutions work to assist civil society not only to revisit the past and learn from it, but to be present, responsive to current events and to look to the future.

Argentina, Peru and Chile will inaugurate new historical memory museums over the next three years. In Argentina, a former detention site, the Escuela de Mecánica de la Armada, is being remodeled into a historical memory museum. The governments of both Chile (40) and Peru (41) are constructing new museums of memory at the moment, both to be called *Museo de la Memoria*.

Conclusion

Where does the Achí proposal fit in the larger context of museums of memory? What, if anything, is different about proposing such a museum in Guatemala? First, the Achí proposal relates to a very specific attempt at cultural genocide of a distinct ethnic minority. Unlike other sites of conscience and museums of memory, such as those in Chile and Argentina, this project refers to a unique story of government expansion and multinational greed within the larger, national context of civil war. It does not represent a national effort at reconciliation, but rather, serves a prescribed constituency. Its accountability and responsibility would therefore be to the Achí community first and foremost.

Differences between Guatemala and other countries proposing such projects is clear. Social and political tensions in Guatemala could easily impede the implementation and success of such a museum. The proposal of a new museum dedicated to the memory of Guatemala's cultural genocide is no less controversial in 2009 than it would have been in 1985. The proposal may have support through the reparation process, but the development of such a project will be challenging, if not dangerous, given the current climate of corruption and impunity (42). In a

different political climate, in another country, the project might move forward with much more political will and civic support.

When the first memorial was built in Rabinal in 1993, there was constant vandalism. That initial rejection has abated, but tensions within the community remain. Men who supported the genocide or were PAC members themselves still live in these communities, sometimes next door to the families they persecuted. Clearly, reconciliation is paramount in a region where such profound trauma remains.

To offer but one example, the former junta leader, Efraín Ríos Montt, is currently a member of the Senate and ran for President recently. He is under order of extradition to stand trial in Spain for genocide. However, he and several former military leaders in the Senate have legal immunity from prosecution for war crimes, one of the perks of being a Senator.

This brings into question the fundamental role of museums of memory that marry ethnography and history with advocacy. What constitutes a successful model? And how could that model be implemented in an unstable post-conflict political climate? Should it?

To date, Central American nations have not been able to successfully undertake the construction of national museums of memory. It is hard to mend and repair in a climate of transitional justice that less than stable, as is the case in Guatemala. Notwithstanding the obstacles that face projects like the Achí Museum of Memory, they are essential.

The recent debates regarding the Museum of Memory in Peru stand as proof that symbolic reparations are critical for a people to move forward. And as Peruvian author, Mario Vargas Llosa stated in July 2009, *La civilización es una película que se quiebra fácilmente, por eso son necesarios museos de la memoria. Civilization is like a film that skips easily, therefore, we need museums of memory* (43).

For the strength of the Achí community, my sincerest hope is that the Achí Museum of Memory becomes a reality in the coming years. It remains to be seen how the negotiations will end, and how the proposal will fare. But whether in 2010 or 2030, this museum will open. It is theirs to design. It will be their narrative of the past and the future, told through their actions and their words. And Guatemala will be the better for it. *Utz, maltyoox.*

Endnotes

- (1) For further information, see Informe de la Comisión de Esclarecimiento Histórico (CEH). *Memoria en Silencio*. CEH, Feb. 1999; Oficina de Derechos Humanos del Arzobispado de Guatemala (CODHAG). “*Guatemala Nunca Mas.*” CODHAG, 1998.
- (2) Sanford, Victoria, “From Genocide to Femicide: Impunity and Human Rights in Twenty-First Century Guatemala” *Journal of Human Right*, 7:104-122, 2008.
- (3) See Freedom House, “Freedom in the World 2009 - Guatemala,” *UNHCR: Refworld*, 16 July 2009. <<http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4a6452b432.html>> (consulted 4th August 2009)
- (4) For further information, see *Oj K’aslik / Estamos Vivos: Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica de Rabinal (1944-1996)*. Rabinal, Guatemala: Museo Comunitario Rabinal Achi, Julio 2003; Informe de la Comisión de Esclarecimiento Histórico (CEH). Caso Ilustrativo No. 10: “Masacre y eliminación de la comunidad de Río Negro”. *Anexo I, Tomo I*, Feb. 1999; Witness for Peace (WFP). “A People Dammed- the Impact of the World Bank Chixoy Hydroelectric Project in Guatemala.” WFP, 1996.
- (5) Rose Johnston, Barbara et al. Center for Political Ecology: *Chixoy Dam Legacy Study, Vol. II*. 17 May 2005. Web. <<http://www.centerforpoliticecology.org/Study/chixoyvol2eng.pdf>> (consulted 9th August 2009)
- (6) Personal Interviews. 2008-2009.
- (7) Fundación de Antropología Forense de Guatemala (EFAG). “*Las Masacres de Rabinal. Estudio Hisotico-antropológico de las massacres de Plán de Sánchez, Chichupac y Río Negro.*” Guatemala City, Guatemala: EFAG, 1997; <www.aktivima.net>
- (8) Use of the term ‘museum of memory’ encompass institutions involved in managing memorials, historical memory museums and sites of conscience.
- (9) Colajacomo, Jaroslava and Carlos Chen. “The Chixoy Dam: The Maya Achí Genocide. The Story of Forced Resettlement.” *World Commission on Dams. Thematic Review 1.2: Dams, Indigenous People and Vulnerable Ethnic Minorities. World Commission on Dams Briefing Paper, 1*. <<http://www.dams.org/docs/kbase/contrib/soc211.pdf>> (consulted 12th January 2009)
- (10) Colajacomo and Chen 1.
- (11) Ichon, Alain. “Rescate Arqueológico en la Cuenca del Río Chixoy.” Vol. I: Informe Preliminar. Alain Ichon, Misión Científica Franco-Guatemalteco. C.N.R.S.-R.C.P. 500. July 1978.
- (12) Ichon, Alain et al. “Arqueologie sauvetage dans le vallee du Río Chixoy, 2.” C.N.R.S. Santa, Paris, Guatemala: Institut d’Ethnologie & Editorial Piedra.1980.
- (13) See Colajacomo and Chen 3.

(14) See Rose Johnston, Barbara et al. Center for Political Ecology: *Chixoy Dam Legacy Study*, Vol. II: 7-11. 17 May 2005. Web. <<http://www.centerforpoliticalecology.org/Study/chixoyvol2eng.pdf>> (consulted 9th August 2009)

The most heavily invested banks were the World Bank, Central American Bank of Economic Integration Investment, Fund of Venezuela and the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB).

(15) See Rose Johnston, Barbara et al. Center for Political Ecology: *Chixoy Dam Legacy Study*, Vol. I: 4. 17 May 2005. Web. <<http://www.centerforpoliticalecology.org/Study/Chixoyvol1eng.pdf>> (consulted 9th August 2009)

(16) “*The Consequences of Development Aid in Guatemala.*” Cultural Survival. n.d. <<http://www.culturalsurvival.org/ourpublications/csq/article/the-social-consequences-development-aid-guatemala>> (consulted 4th August 2009); See also Informe de la Comisión de Esclarecimiento Histórico (CEH). *Memoria en Silencio*. CEH, Feb. 1999; Oficina de Derechos Humanos del Arzobispado de Guatemala (CODHAG). “*Guatemala Nunca Mas.*” CODHAG, 1998.

(17) Gaitán, Gustavo Adolfo. *Las Comunidades de la Cuenca del Río Chixoy: Resultados de la encuesta socioeconomica-antropológica en parajes, caserios, fincas, aldeas donde se construye el embalse de la hidroeléctrica de Proyecto Pueblo Viejo-Quixal*. Comité de Reconstrucción Nacional. Informe Presentado por el Dr. Gustavo Gaitán Sánchez. Guatemala, Feb. 1979.

(18) “*The Consequences of Development Aid in Guatemala.*” Cultural Survival. n.d. <<http://www.culturalsurvival.org/ourpublications/csq/article/the-social-consequences-development-aid-guatemala>> (consulted 4th August 2009)

(19) See *Oj K’aslik / Estamos Vivos: Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica de Rabinal (1944-1996)*. Rabinal, Guatemala: Museo Comunitario Rabinal Achi, Julio 2003; Informe de la Comisión de Esclarecimiento Histórico (CEH). Caso Ilustrativo No. 10: “*Masacre y eliminación de la comunidad de Río Negro*”. Anexo I, Tomo I, Feb. 1999 CEH report.

In May 2008 seven ex-members of the Xococ PAC patrol were sentenced to 780 years in prison collectively for their role in the Xococ massacre. See Grave, Carlos and Coralia Orantes.

“*Condenan a Cinco por Massacre de Río Negro.*” *Prensa Libre* 29 May 2009. <<http://www.prensalibre.com/pl/2008/mayo/29/241200.html>> (consulted 12th August 2009)

(20) Uscap Iboy. Personal Interview. 7 Dec. 2008; IACHR. “*Report N° 13/08, Petition 844-05, Admissibility, Community of Río Negro of the Maya Achí Indigenous People and its Members*” Washington, DC: IACHR, 5 Mar.2008.

<<http://www.cidh.org/annualrep/2008eng/Guatemala844.05eng.htm>> (consulted 10th August 2009)

(21) IACHR (consulted August 10, 2009); Uscap Iboy, Juan. Personal Interview.

(22) Uscap Iboy. Personal interview; Tecú Osorio, Jesús. *Memoria de las Masacres de Río Negro: Recuerdo de Mis Padres y Memoria para Mis Hijos*. Fundación Nueva Esperanza, Río Negro. Rabinal, Guatemala: 2006.

(23) Personal Interviews. 2008-2009; Museo Comunitario Rabinal Achí. *Oj K’aslik / Estamos Vivos: Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica de Rabinal (1944-1996)*. Rabinal, Guatemala: Museo Comunitario Rabinal Achí, 2003.

(24) Sanchez Chen, Carmen. Personal Interview. 20 Aug. 2008.

(25) Sanchez Chen, Carmen. Personal Interview. 22 Aug. 2008

(26) Rose Johnston, Barbara et al. Center for Political Ecology: *Chixoy Dam Legacy Study*, Vol. II. 17 May 2005. Web. <<http://www.centerforpoliticalecology.org/Study/chixoyvol2eng.pdf>> (consulted 9th August 2009)

(27) Rose Johnston, Barbara et al. Center for Political Ecology: *Chixoy Dam Legacy Study*, Vol. II. 17 May 2005. Web. <<http://www.centerforpolitical ecology.org/Study/chixoyvol2eng.pdf>> (consulted 9th August 2009)

(28) Tecú Osorio, Jesús.

Jesus Tecú Osorio is a survivor of the Río Negro massacre. He spearheaded the exhumation efforts in Rabinal and is a founding member of both ADIVIMA and the Fundación Nueva Esperanza.

(29) Carlos Chen is Co-Director of COCAHICH, the coordinating body for the communities affected by Chixoy Dam, which is part of ADIVIMA. He is a survivor of the massacres, a founding member of ADIVIMA, a community leader and one of the three lead negotiators in the reparations negotiation with the government of Guatemala.

(30) See <www.quivima.net>

(31) The principal civil society organizations which emerged in Rabinal after the massacres include ASCRA (Asociación Campesina Río Negro Rabinal Achí) in 1992, ADIVIMA (Association for the Integral Development of Victims of Violence in the Verapaces, Maya Achí) in 1993, the New Hope Foundation (Fundación Nueva Esperanza) in 1997, and the Rabinal Legal Aid Clinic (Bufete Jurídico Popular) in 1999.

(32) Several main cases are listed on the ADIVIMA website including the Río Negro massacre case before the IACHR and the Destacamento Militar case <<http://quivima.net/es/human-rights-org.htm>>. The Rabinal Legal Aid Clinic led the Chichupac legal case and is currently involved in a second massacre cases before the IACHR <<http://mujerachi.interconnection.org/servicios.htm>>.

(33) Fundación de Antropología Forense de Guatemala (EFAG). “*Las Masacres de Rabinal. Estudio Historico-antropológico de las massacres de Plán de Sánchez, Chichupac y Río Negro.*” Guatemala City, Guatemala: EFAG, 1997.

(34) <<http://quivima.net/es/human-rights-org.htm>>

(35) ADIVIMA Staff. Personal Interviews. 2008.

(36) See Museo Comunitario Rabinal Achí.

<<http://www.enlacequiche.org.gt/centros/rabinal/historia.html>> (consulted 4th August 2009)

(37) Chun, Eduardo Sam and Francisco Gonzáles Arrecis. “Desalojaron Chixoy.” *Prensa Libre* 9 Sept. 2004. <http://www.prensalibre.com/pl/2004/septiembre/09/97189.html> (consulted 10th August 2009)

(38) Alvarado, Hugo. “Resarcirán a Víctimas Afectadas por la Construcción de Hidroeléctrica Chixoy.” *Prensa Libre* 18 March 2008.

<<http://www.prensalibre.com/pl/2008/marzo/18/226952.html>> (consulted August 10, 2009)

The negotiation process is mediated by the OAS and includes observers from the UN, The World Bank, Inter American Development Bank and the Human Rights Ombudsman in Guatemala.

(39) The sole use of traditional dress had been transformed by the introduction of manufactured clothing earlier in the century, but entire communities lost weaving skills in many areas already due to the displacement. Personal Interviews. 2008-2009.

(40) The Chilean Museum of Memory will open in 2010 in celebration of the Chilean bicentennial.

<<http://www.chilebicentenario.cl/frmArticuloObras.aspx?IdSeccion=27&idArticulo=45>> (consulted 14th August 2009)

(41) Gualdoni, Fernando. “Perú Consagra Su Memoria Histórica.” *El País* 27 July 27 2009.

<http://www.elpais.com/articulo/internacional/Peru/consagra/memoria/historica/elpepiint/20090727elpepiint_5/Tes> (consulted 14th August 2009)

(42) Recent events that underscore these problems include threats against those involved or visiting the newly opened Police Archives in Guatemala City. Staff of the Foundation for Forensic Anthropology of Guatemala regularly receive death threats. In May 2009, a team of forensic anthropologists exhuming a clandestine grave were doused with gasoline and threatened to be burned alive. See www.fafg.org. Corruption and violence have flourished unchecked for so long, that the United Nations has mandated an International Commission against Impunity, CICIG, tasked to assist the government in riding the legal system and judiciary of impunity. See < <http://cicig.org/index.php?page=mandato>>. In this climate, anyone involved with such a museum of memory is likely to face threats and intimidations.

(43) See Gualdoni, Fernando.

<<http://www.chilebicentenario.cl/firmArticuloObras.aspx?IdSeccion=27&idArticulo=45>>
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Concepts of Remembrance and Commemoration
Comments on Musealisation of German History
and the Perception of transatlantic Oceanic Parallels

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Concepts of Remembrance and Commemoration.
Comments on Musealisation of German History and the Perception of transaxial Korean
Parallels.

The historical framework

Territorial boundaries determine the fate of Europe from the early period of its history in ancient times to the present. Three exhibitions deal in 2009 with the decisive battle between Romans and Germans at the current German territory in the year 9 AD, 2000 years ago, which excluded a further advance towards the north.¹ This is an example. But the several-hundred-years rule of the Romans on the Rhine, as elsewhere, has left its mark. They are found in the German language as well as in the course of roads or in the relics of everyday life as archaeological findings and settlement features. When I'm at home, in Bonn on the Rhine, planting flowers in my garden, it can happen that I come across with fragments of Roman pottery, for here was once a Roman settlement. The European history full of change created many contact zones and traces of cultural exchange.² That remains true till today. "United in diversity" has become the leitmotif for the European Union (EU), which currently has 27 members. The EU is the result of an unprecedented unification. Even the European countries that have not joined this organization are part of the continental pacification, which the French writer Victor Hugo (1802 - 1885) in the middle of the 19th Century still - or should we say already - formulated as a vision: "A day will come when all the nations of this continent, without losing their distinct qualities or their glorious individuality, will fuse together in a higher unity and form the European brotherhood. A day will come when the only battlefield will be the marketplace for competing ideas. A day will come when bullets and bombs will be replaced by votes."³ It should become a long and difficult way, "because during that time, two world wars and countless other conflicts on European soil caused millions of deaths and there were times when all hope seemed lost. Today, the first decade of the 21st century offers brighter prospects, but it also brings Europe new difficulties and challenges."⁴ These words written by Pascal Fontaine, who accompanied the efforts for a United Europe for decades, in the booklet " Europe in 12 Lessons ", published in 22 languages and in many editions. After the bitter experiences of the German Nazi terror, of the Holocaust of six million Jews and the devastating effects of World War II (1939-1945) with millions of dead persons, in the armed forces as among the civilian population, and of

the destruction of cities to the ground the Declaration of Human Rights on 1 December 1948 by the United Nations, its 8th Secretary-General since 2007 is the South Korean Ban Ki-moon, put a clear sign to future.⁵

The peace process in Germany started 1945 with the division of the country into four occupied zones. Also the capital city of Berlin, surrounded by the Soviet occupation zone, was accordingly divided by the victorious powers (U.S., Britain, France, Soviet Union) in four sectors. The occupation forces started both, the prosecution of Nazi crimes as well as the elucidation of the population. Gravity of the post-war years was the displacement of more than ten million Germans from the eastern territories of the former German Empire, which came to the Soviet Union, (again) to Poland and Czechoslovakia.⁶ Many people died trying to escape, families were torn apart. Refugees and displaced persons, burdened with luggage, longed for a refuge in the devastated cities and country sides in West Germany. 1949, from the three western zones the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) has been founded and also in the soviet part the German Democratic Republic (GDR) closely tied to the Soviet Union Republic with a communist state regime. The onset of flight of three million people from the territory of the GDR led to its hermetic closing off. 1961 the order came to erect the Wall over a length of almost 1400 km. It was the "peaceful revolution" of the people of the GDR which led in 1989 to the overcoming. The consequences of the cold war' between East and West' and the divided country even today, twenty years after the Wall fell down, are not completely overcome. The political aim of re-emigration of Germans from Russia and Romania, where they emigrated in some centuries ago to settle there, to live and work, to build cities, industries and universities, etc. brought a lot of people back to Germany. Other migrants from southern Europe, Turkey and many other countries around the world on the German labour market is a whole chapter on migration, integration and intercultural communication that is not here meant, but it has changed society.

The question arises from this brief introduction to the underlying conditions of the present situation of Germany in an integrating Europe, after phases extremely rich in problems and repeatedly broken identity in its recent history. How does one handle the working up of the past? How museums could make a contribution? First I shall try to light up the role of museums as a depository and mediation place of history and cultural identity. Therefore I shall also discuss the role of museums as cultural memory storage between contemporary history, science and public relations. There will follow a next section that deals with the musealisation of memory and the development of museums in the context of social discourses. The final section will be confined essentially by a few historical

examples in museums or in museum sites. I would prefer to say examples of musealized history. At the same time raise up the important relationships between physical relics and their memory potential.

The museum as a memory storage

The museum as a place of collective memory of culture(s) achieved in the social discourse of the present an increased attention about its duties and possibilities. As an institution of preserving and presenting the museum in Europe has many precursors (e.g. treasuries of the churches since the Middle Ages, aristocratic cabinets of rarities and curiosities in the early modern period) until the 19th Century the history of public museums began to focus the testimonies of the past collecting, preserving, studying and exhibiting them in their showrooms. Since the second half of the 20th Cent. museums are a part of a general education campaign, but also an increased attitude to archive the past and present as a cultural heritage. Beside the collection activities the exhibit didactics and museum education were playing an important role. The object as a bearer and representative of information got a new and significant position, which took into account the environment of formation, function and meaning in people's everyday life.

Nevertheless, the object as proxy for broad relations to the past - and not only for its own sake - requires contextualization in an exhibition. Only then objects can 'tell a story'. They will become a representative for far-reaching contexts and may be the access to the highly complicated past. Because of their authenticity gives them the aura of an exemplary testimony, they will be at the museum part of the collective or cultural memory. Both do not simply exist. They are constituted as a consciousness of groups and are updated by them, even if the actors are individuals.

In the autumn of 1989, when the historical turning point by Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of perestroika and glasnost was discussed and in the Soviet bloc were coming up signs of détente became apparent, but its peaceful course end happy ending was not yet in sight in the GDR, in Göttingen (BRD) a congress of the German Society for European Ethnology took place. "Remembering and Forgetting" had been chosen for the main topic.⁷ In the wide spectrum of the Göttingen lectures were among others the importance of the demarcation line between the two German states for the lives of people (Sabine Künsting / Andreas Hartmann), such as the forced relocation of villagers after the annexation of Austria into the German Reich by the Nazis (Margot Schindler). But there were also on the program contributions to the cultural memory of the homecoming soldiers (Albrecht Lehmann), the importance of memory aids as objects or photographs (Paul Hugger, Ruth-E. Mohrmann, Andreas Kuntz) and forms of 'public' memory (Gottfried Korff). From today's perspective at this congress were pioneered by European Ethnology /

Cultural Anthropology specified themes and questions that should promote the research and the museum's work in many ways. The remembrance promoted by objects and also the change of memory by remembering were raised up as questions (e.g. Klara Löffler, Heike Müns, Bjarne Stoklund, Cornelia Brink). Themes of reminiscent-escorted workup of the past were accompanied by themes of edging out or repressing the past how to meet it in the opening speech of the President of the association, Helge Gerndt. Even more the question of the right to forget in our evocative documentary world has been raised, for "memory and forgetting processes have fundamental conditions of human life, one might say, the *breath of the cultural existence*." ⁸ "Remembering and forgetting" can be seen as cultural technologies of past coping by selection. Focusing our general theme of "Peace to Reconciliation" there is coming up the question, what remained in the storage of memory as a result of coping the trauma of war, flight, exile, isolation and overcome? What kind of selection has taken place? Familiarly, mentally and also materially? Are these not in fact primarily the objects and as a special kind of physical existence the photography, in which not only in the museum's presentation the past is concretized in one way, but is there not at the same time anchored the memory? Without the storage of things and photographs it falls into oblivion? This counts as experience teaches, for both, for the individual recollection as for the collective memory. To avoid repetitions of chapters of recent German history the mediation by museums and other places of commemoration can help to realize the thought of Siegfried Lenz, one of our significant writers of the post-war period: "To insist on memory can sometimes even be resistance", that avoids repetition. ⁹

"Museum landscape" and "Musealized landscape"

Recollection is a subject which occupies the humanities and cultural sciences as a paradigm for about three decades. Researches on remembrance and the categories of social and cultural memory have performed enormous results. They have found their precipitation in numerous publications. ¹⁰ Parallel to this development, or even as part of this is to recognize the orientation towards social environment, the living world of 'small people', how we say meaning the social and historical contribution of the lower and middle social classes in a history of everyday life. Their positioning in a new historiography was also a moving element in the numerical and substantive development of the museum and exhibition sector since the seventies of the 20th Century. This also applies to the sites of a specific commemorative culture and cultural memory storage as it is still to be described. An essential impulse for the expansion and removal of the museum landscape or museum scenery, particularly in the ethnological and cultural part since the 70s of the 20th Century is coming from a changed understanding of history that integrated the history of everyday life and respectively the history of single population groups. As a result this changed

interest led to new concepts and to the foundation of a huge number of large and smaller special museums, including also a big number which were founded to maintain the recollection in German people's homeland lost by escape and expulsion or other constraints and to support cultural their identity.

The trend towards the founding of museums was to be observed globally in recent decades. Along Waidacher the museum extension begun in the early 70s of the 20th Century, when worldwide 20.000 museums existed and in the early 80s an estimated number of 35.000. With an assumed annual increase rate of one per cent t must have been for the mid-90s of the 20th Century worldwide about 50.000 museums (Waidacher). For the line of arguments demonstrated here, however, it is particularly interesting that from the assumed 35.000 museums, more than half, namely 19.000, were situated in Europe and the highest proportion of 3.300 museums have been in Germany.¹¹ Meanwhile, the number of museums would have to lie after the extrapolation of Waidacher at nearly 5.000. Hans Joachim Klein estimated the number of museums in Germany in 2007 to around 6.000.¹² But in Bavaria, one of the 16 federal states in the southern part of Germany, there were ca. 1.250 museums around the year 2006.¹³ But museums are not static entities. In addition to the observed slowing growth of new museums is the revision of the exhibition concepts in a rapidly changing society a motive for the increasing reorganisation of existing museums.¹⁴ Following the educational mission of museums and to open access to the understanding of past of current issues resp. presence and looking at the interests of changing generations, temporary exhibitions contribute to a great extent. You may speak in view of the German museum scenery of an abundance of memory as almost an regenerated topographic survey where the past shines through or is alive in re-enactments. But also the sites which were put on the list of World Heritage of UNESCO since 1972 are numerous, and the law of conservation of monuments and historic buildings in the different German countries such as in Bavaria from 1973, is contributing a substantial part to the protection of cultural heritage even non-material.¹⁵ The question, rather rhetorically to understand, was not thrown up by Etienne François and Hagen Schulze who edited the books "German Places of Remembrance", without sense, whether Germany would not be "obviously occurred in an 'era of commemoration'" (Pierre Nora).¹⁶ 'Place' is used here as a metaphor, and remind a system of places full of notices like the "ars memoriae" of antiquity, the late medieval and early modern period to save things memorable and make them retrievable.¹⁷ However, the culture of memory extends beyond the institution of the museum and the general monuments culture, if here a connection to 'Peace and Reconciliation ' should be constructed. That is, in other words, a question of an ethical, moral and political obligation to perform a contribution to the processing of the past for the future. Not war memorials

are meant here, but places of terror and destruction in situ and the squares and streets on which the destiny of people has decided. The authenticity of the place makes it, together with the explaining media of museum presentation so strong. Already in 1965 such a commemorative place was built on the site of the concentration camp of Dachau (Bavaria).¹⁸ Since then it is to be registered an almost increasing number of memorials which have affiliated documentation centres of the Nazi period. An overview is obtained via the homepage of the memorial websites.¹⁹ There are currently registered about 180 topographical localizations of a dark and painful NS history. Further there are places of the infringement on the freedom dating from the socialist regime of the GDR which changed by 1989/1990 to a memorial for the victims of the dictatorship.

The fact that such a number of memorial sites and commemorative-places have been created is to be owed to the already mentioned fundamental change of understanding history and to the basic wish for social change which had his first climax with the "student revolution" in 1968.²⁰ A second important line of development fed itself from the unclaimed legal right of participation of the public in political decision-making. The planned stationing of Pershing II of the U.S. forces in southern Germany as a deterrent during the Cold War between East and West, brought people not only to Sit-ins as a protest reaction, but at the same time promoted the origin of peace movement, also by cultural researchers of universities, museums and other cultural institutions.²¹ Their initiative has to be seen in the context of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and was called "Cultural Researcher for Peace and Disarmament in East and West". The title already solved discussions in conservative circles because of the phrase "... and from the West" had for those an unacceptable connotation. Three international conferences and exhibitions accompanying the work of this cultural initiative sharpened the consciousness around the responsibility "for peace" and for the task "to secure cultural heritage of all peoples from further destruction".²² Whether organized or not, these discussions as other alternative discourses influenced one generation of scientists in the FRG in their commitment to the "examination of the past." In the GDR, the civil right movement and the general dissatisfaction with the living conditions led to the dynamic events of 1989 and the accession of the GDR to the FRG 1990th. Thus the German-German border that had separated the people for a length of almost 1400 miles and had become an extremely perilous line of demarcation, ceased to exist.²³ Today, twenty years after the opening of the border one must look for their traces in the inhabited areas as well in the landscape. But they are still to be found in somewhere and they are now preserved as a testimony of history. Just as in the 'post-revolution era' the remains of the Wall and other significant characters of the socialist past dividing Germany have been eliminated as quickly and thoroughly to be able to forget, now is blooming up also in folkloric items everywhere in

Berlin like the sale of (pseudo-) fragments of the Wall, (new) uniform caps of the Red Army (made in China), a student costumed as a "border guard" stamping a document, which allowed to go from West Berlin to East Berlin for one day before 1989. Are they nostalgic or economically lucrative events – street theatre for tourists 2009? Anyway, it is a kind of appropriation of the past, which is quite far away for the young people. Would it not be against its own history and against the interests of comprehension, understanding and self-assurance, if only the experience of authentic places of collective memory and the musealized construction of cultural memory spaces as forms of appropriation would find their place? There is a lot to think over and to discuss in a sensitive way.

Accesses to four resp. five examples

The huge number of memory locations, including the original memorial places, documentation centres, collections, museums and exhibitions does not allow to create an overall picture of this culture of remembrance for the period between 1933/1939 and 1989. Was there in the early 90s still complain about a deficit, the creation of museums on the history and culture of memory took then rapidly place.²⁴ But the generally situation of the museum landscape also applies here.²⁵ The heterogeneity of cause and purpose is also an incorrect base for a comparative summary. A look at museum handbooks and on the websites of museums and memorial associations reveals a diversity of affected populations, topographical conditions and ideological or political approaches that led to a reappraisal of what had happened with museological resources. Only the museum guide of Bavaria notes under "Museums of displaced people" nearly forty houses, under "Memorials" something more than thirty locations and for "Jewish culture" more than twenty institutions.²⁶ These are just examples from one federal state. Nationwide public institutions such as the "House of History of the Federal Republic of Germany", opened in 1994 in Bonn, carries out the all-German story "from the Second World War to the Present".²⁷ Temporary exhibitions everywhere are to add with appropriate themes, and they are doing a good job to create a place of learning without annoying the visitors. The frame of exhibits concerning German society in the last decades is a wide one. In 2007 there was shown in cooperation with the Jewish Museum Berlin the exhibition "Home and Exile. Emigration of German Jews after 1933" with more than 1.000 objects to see and to commemorate their owners' destiny.²⁸ In the Franconian Open-air Museum in Bad Windsheim 2008 was an exhibition to be seen of displaced people by the German army which were forced to work on the Franconian countryside during the Second World War meanwhile the farmers or their sons were warriors.²⁹ Objects, photographs, identity cards, letters etc. were found to make a personalized history of facts which long time has been

denied in the public opinion. Some of them remained at place after the end of the war and could be interviewed.

Always, however, the question arises, how does the teaching about places and objects? How it is to manage the encounter with the unknown and its affective character to be transformed into memorable recognition so that relationships can be identified and conclusions become possible? Bert Pampel in this context compares, referring Heiner Treinen, the traces left by a museum visit with a "sort of nodes to which is entwined a net-like knowledge."³⁰ But, "indeed how does work the translation from object to the idea and from there to recognition?"³¹ And there are to find objects to be the objectivity of questions and to be incorporated to teach contents, so the museum becomes a place of learning?³² The following selection of museums and memorial places is firstly made by four examples from which the last will generate a fifth. All are based on pointed situational approaches to contemporary history. They work on the historical conflict potential. Each of them makes a specific contribution to understand the recent past and to make reconciliation possible. The first two examples deal with the expulsion of Germans from there where are now Czech and Polish territories. Two other examples are depending to the inner-German frontiers between 1949 and 1989 and give like the others before an exemplary look inside to the musealized dealing of history with the potential of authentic places and relics as testimonies of a life which has gone by an now are activated. The fourth example provides the fifth, a transaxial link to Korea.

The "Egerland Museum" in Marktredwitz (Bavaria)³³

Opened in 1973 the Egerland Museum is today a regional museum. The reference space, the 'Egerland', is situated, with a small part also dealing with Germany, in the Czech Republic as a part of Bohemia. Today across the border lively economic and cultural exchanges are noticed. That was not at all like this before 1989. Without going into details on the repeated changing sovereignties until 1945, the Egerland was inhabited for 800 years by German people. The expulsion from their homeland, where their ancestors had settled the land and tilled, founded cities, industries and universities, was a traumatic turning point in their lives. They were among the nearly 10 million displaced people who were counted in 1946 by the Allies in Western Germany.³⁴ Many tried to settle near the border of the Iron Curtain till 1989. They founded "rooms of homeland" at their new places as in Marktredwitz, a sort of haven for those displaced people. There they had meetings and there they assembled objects, which they had brought off representing their identity. 1973 the Egerland-culture-house was founded as an official meeting place. 1998/2000 the building has been enlarged with an integrated museum newly planned as a regional museum. That made a fine difference towards the reconciliation across the border. The

new presentation includes a successful mixture of multimedia, but never too much of effects, and a bilingual display (German and Czech): The permanent exhibition focuses now the cultural history of the 19th and early 20th Century of the whole Egerland, but also integrates the displacement and starting up a new existence in Western-Germany. The dramatic situation of the forced displacement is shown in a combination of a large photo of a crowded wagon – normally for goods or beasts – and a ‘disorderly’ array of real luggage boxes in which the few things have been that one could take into the unknown. This depressing sight has its counterpart in the stairwell, where is hanging a huge authentic list of thirty names of people who had been taken away in such a freight wagon.

As part of the corresponding cross-border project Union "Euregio Egrensis" funded by the European Union, which is meant as the historical territory, now succeeds in spite of this dramatic experience a cultural exchange and cooperation with Czechs living today in the former German areas. These are the new objectives of these museums.³⁵ "Time heals wounds," a German proverb says, but it is not an easy way to go. And: "What remains is the memory," another proverb says. Anyone who is currently visiting the website of the Egerland-Museum is made aware of an exhibition of "special treasures", which are hidden in the museum and which now "tell their story". These objects were often taken around by their owners in adventurous circumstances like described, or they have other exiting stories to tell in relation to this chapter of history. Therefore, they all have – or have had - a high priority in the lives of the refugees or deported people. They are "relics" from the "old homeland" and keep remembrance alive. "Many personal experiences are associated with them."³⁶ A valuable collection of drinking glasses from the spas of Bohemia, where many statesmen or poets like Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749 - 1832) have been guests, is shown. A man, born in Egerland and one of the million displaced people, gathered them a lifetime long on antiques markets as a deep reference and relationship to his region of origin. "Story telling" has become now in many variants an impressive method of teaching history. This exhibition is a methodologically successful attempt of "story telling" because things are showing their memory potential. Balloons like in comic strips bring them to talk about facts from the life of the owners and their 'fictive' meanings about. A wooden box says: "For many, I'm just a cheap box and ready for the garbage. But not for Joseph Waidhaus. Especially in his later years he looked at me again and again. I realized exactly how slipped his mind back into the past. His memories of the lost home in Egerland were alive again. ..." And the wooden military box continues to tell the story about its owner, about his family and how he carefully had set up the old chest with 30 wooden tools, he had gone off with it in 1946 at the age of 74 years further on he had earned his maintenance with these tools at the new

place, where he often had looked thoughtfully his last years to his chest, remembering his life till he died in 1962 at the age of 90 years.

The "Silesian Museum Görlitz" in Görlitz (Saxony)

Millions of people settled in the German area of Silesia fled in the last icy winter of World War II westwards. Many didn't survive. Polish people fled from the eastern parts of their country into this area because of the invading Soviets. An additional purge of all rested Germans took place. When Germany then was divided in summer 1945 into four zones of occupation and the borders were finally established, at that time Silesia after changing sovereignties (Austrian, German, Polish) about centuries came again to Poland. From then the state border formed two rivers, the Oder and the Neisse River. A dramatic situation arose in Görlitz, a city which was situated on both sides of the Neisse. From there were existing Görlitz (West) in the Soviet occupation zone and further on in the GDR Görlitz (Ost), now called Zgorzelec as a Polish border town. Only since 1989, the situation has in a cautious approach gradually normalized.

Like other displaced groups in Western-Germany the Silesians incurred "Silesian rooms". But it has grown up the idea of a central museum, but also an institution for research and educational mission. With the opening of the "Silesian Museum Görlitz " 2006, situated in a famous historic building, the long time unsettled situation then found a happy ending with a clearly defined mandate: "The museum sees itself as the central facility for the cultural history of Silesia in Germany."³⁷ Organized on 2000 m² the museum shows thousand years of history in this Central European region and the superimposing cultural influences. Cultural change and exchanges are understandable. The museum has acquired Silesian art and decorative arts, which are representing the European level. Magnificent objects of silver, dignified images of citizens or simple industrial goods and commercial graphics etc. provide a balanced picture of material culture that is embedded in historical references. The recent history is not left out. "Wounds of war and displacement" are articulated by trying to explain the political circumstances.³⁸ Texts, images and audio-visual media seem creating a quiet environment to promote an intense attention. The incorporation of memory objects is nearly to be called classically and done in an impressive way to give room to imagination. Looking lost, but neatly hung on a board, house keys seem to wait. Their owners locked the houses and took the keys with them hoping to unlock the door again. Would we be able to realize this moment of pain locking the door and to go away without these keys hanging now in the museum? Would we think about the significant fact of losing house and homeland without this sustained demonstration? Is there coming up a moment of empathy? Or, there is preserved a little sheet of paper with a written list of garments ("... four shirts, a sweater ...") preparing the

flight. One toy had been allowed by the mother to her little girl. It was a small figure, which the little girl decided to take with her. It was a figure of the legendary 'Rübezahl' from the Silesian Mountains, a souvenir of a trip. 'Rübezahl' became a lifelong companion until she went to a nursing home. This touching doubly bound memory is a significant fine notation of the personalized and materialized cultural memory, which is at the same time a part of the immaterial cultural heritage of the Silesian area.

The "German-German Museum Mödlareuth" in Töpen-Mödlareuth (Bavaria)³⁹
American soldiers in the post-war times called Mödlareuth "Little Berlin", because it was divided like the former – and now again – capital city of Germany. But there was a great difference. Mödlareuth was only a village with nowadays a population of about 50 people. A small river, the Tannbach, decided the destiny of the inhabitants. The Tannbach was an old territorial border between Thuringia and Bavaria, which is also today the border between the two federal states of Germany. For 40 years the borderline between the FRG and the GDR and like this the Iron Curtain between West and East passed by here. The old border through the middle of the village seems to have been like that of today absurd, but the one between the two German states was dangerous. It has been systematically intensified over several stages, from a barbed wire fence to a double fenced wide barrier with a minefield in-between and to a complicated wall system to protect people against the "imperialism of the West". But the truth was it should prevent them from escaping. The wall system with observation towers, searchlights, patrolling soldiers with orders to fire destroyed the peaceful coexistence of the two parts of the village and cut off economic and political cooperation for decades. Literally in the last minute before the border has been set up, men jumped from the former mill at the riverside through a window into the 'freedom', to Bavaria. What seems to be legendarily told has been a real moment of the German history.

Here, in the almost idyllic landscape of meadows, fields and forests, the situation seems even stranger today, unreal, because part of the wall and the barrier remained as an open air museum with an affiliated museum, where material relics, information panels and film screenings give an insight look to this chapter of German-German history. Every year about 60.000 visitors come, many groups are also from Korea.⁴⁰

Films by Arndt E. Schaffner are telling the story of everyday life of this border village, of curious visitors in the Western part and the opening of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and its decommissioning 1990th – and also in Mödlareuth. The photographer and filmmaker Arndt Schaffner (1946 - 2007) grew up in the region and with the division of Germany. Even as a teenager, he took pictures. When he has grown up, the German-German border in its entire course became his profession.⁴¹ His documentations have become

also a part of visual memory of Mödlareuth. He was one of the stimulators for the conservation of a section of the wall system and for the foundation of a memorial and a museum, whose first director he became. For his services to the German-German history, he was awarded with the Federal Cross of Merit. Today there are 28 museums, memorials, monuments and documentation centres who work on the German-German memory, but his personality represents an example how memory culture is funded on individual interests.⁴² Schaffner's photographic documents are an essential counterpart to the reality on the ground of nowadays. They raise the imagination of visitors, teach them to understand the abnormal situation and further inferences drawn from this German-German tragedy.

The "Berlin Wall Memorial" at Bernauer Street in Berlin⁴³

Travelling to the capital Berlin in 2009, perhaps coming from the isolation of Mödlareuth, you will find yourself confronted with an abundance of museums, exhibitions, memorial sites, open-air shows on the squares and along the sidewalks, which have picked out the recent German history as a central theme.⁴⁴ Conferences and lectures are completing the program. To enumerate all, the result would be nearly an endless list of events. A central theme is the remembrance of the year 1989, the year of the Peaceful Revolution. Twenty years later, on the 9th of November 2009, the day of the "Wall Fall", will be commemorated with a symbolic event before the Brandenburg Gate. Pseudo wall-stones decorated by people will fall down as an art action. Among them will be the exemplars of Korean artists.⁴⁵ Already months before you may have a virtual look on it in the World Wide Web - because we are living in a globalized media orientated world.⁴⁶ A theatrical event like this or the nostalgic stamping of a pseudo-laissez-passer for a one day visit to East-Berlin for tourists is due to the spirit of the time. The slogan might be "anything goes." Looking to the stamping student in his costume of the East German border control the view is fallen by accident on a trail in the pavement and would follow the former city border, if there would not be a stele with pictures and texts to explain the border line, which wants to be read.

A special memorial place was and is to visit at Bernauer Strasse, where the history of the divided city is condensed. Windows to the western part of the city have been bricked and people come to death because they did not overcome the fence and later on the wall. Tunnels were dug beneath the houses to the free part of the city, but they were revealed. In 1985 a church with the nowadays prophetically sounding name "Church of Reconciliation" and situated just on the border, fell to victim to the obsession of the communist dictatorship to seal off people with higher and higher and more dangerous barriers.⁴⁷ In 2005, a new "Chapel of Reconciliation" was built. The building is visually

protected by a 'second skin', transparently constructed of wood. In summer 2009 grew here a grain field (maintained by the university) as a "symbol of life", where destruction, fear and terror has ruled.⁴⁸ An outdoor exhibition showed the plans for the enlargement of the memorial site beside this chapel. Till now there are located at the intersection Bernauer-/Ackerstraße a visitor's centre with exhibitions, library and a book shop and with a tower from where you can get a symbolic view over some metres of the original Wall, a Wall memorial to the formerly locked neighbourhoods. The result of the enlargement will be a national monument complex with a political mandate.⁴⁹ Looking at these plans, which are accessible on the Internet, it is undeniable that the musealisation of the German-German history is going on.

A transaxial link to Korea

When in the summer of 2007 four large billboards were put at the edge of the site of the Chapel of Reconciliation to use them as advertising space, there was protest.⁵⁰ The appeal was successful. The result could be seen till July 2009. Instead of advertising products there was to be seen the result of the cooperation between the Documentation Center "Berlin Wall", the Embassy of the Republic of Korea and the Art Gallery Son (Berlin). The visitors of the Berlin Wall Memorial - each year approximately 250,000 visitors and the countless passers-by might have been surprised, but the works of art offering an opportunity to reflect. Turned to the side of Bernauer Street and Acker Street four artists were responding to the political situation in their country: Lao Jiang from China, Andrej Barov, born in Russia, Robert Schätze from Germany and Sehwi Oh from South Korea. Inside, to the side of the Chapel of Reconciliation, four remodelled photographic assemblies of Mihyun Son caught attention for the process of the Korean unification, whose division is based on the Jalta Conference in 1945 like in the case of Germany.⁵¹ Each motif was commended with an impressive but simple metaphor in Korean and German language. They received their documentary evidence by the inscription underneath :

"Hand in Hand" - 14 June 2000. The meeting between President Kim Dae-jung (South Korea) and Kim Jong-il (North Korea)

"Step by Step" - 3 October 2007. The meeting between President Roh Moo-hyun (South Korea) and Kim Jong-il (North Korea)

"Train to train" - December 2004. Connecting the North and South Korean auto route "Donghae"

"To and from" - 17 May 2007. Opening of the North and South Korean railway "Kyongui"

Photographs in general are not equivalent to each other in their testimony. But some of

them you never will forget. Regarding a motif, memories are appearing. Have you seen already the motif? In the newspaper? On television? Is it a déjà vu? In our globalized world photographs have an exposed, visualized news character. How images become icons of contemporary history and dig themselves deep into the visual memory, was to be seen on 14th August 2009, when on the occasion of the death of Kim Dae-jung, who had "finally seen the gradual approximation of no alternative".⁵² The photo "Hand in hand", published in June 2000, was back again in German newspapers.

The summer of 2009 with its abundance of permanent and temporary memory locations, which until 9 November will still increase, even brought another example of Korean and German cooperation in correlation of their political experiences. The Women's Museum in Bonn presented in collaboration with the Korean Embassy, office Bonn, and the City of Bonn an exhibition of modern art by Korean female artists. The press-release announced: "The exhibition has a special meaning, since it takes place in Germany, and Germany, as a formerly divided country like Korea understands the pain of division."⁵³ The exhibition and the catalogue was entitled: "The last Wall. Exhibition on Dream and Hope". 'Dream and hope' are an inspiring alliance of heavenly winged spheres. 'Peace and reconciliation' are earthly allies of hard work. Museums are able to make a contribution.

Notice:

Recognition and thanks to those colleagues and institutions, where I got information or/ and the permission to reproduce pictures: Embassy of the Republic of Korea, Sub-Office Bonn; Art Gallery Son, Berlin; Berlin Wall Memorial, Berlin; Egerland-Museum, Marktredwitz; German-German Museum Mödlareuth, Töpen-Mödlareuth; House of History of the Federal Republic of Germany", Bonn; Silesian Museum Görlitz, Görlitz.

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The Spirituality of Shamanism
: *Gut* Spirit of Reconciliation and Peace

PARK, IL-YOUNG

The Spirituality of Shamanism: *Gut* Spirit of Reconciliation and Peace

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I Introduction

What is shamanism like in contemporary Korea? In a word, this can be called a primitive religion existing in a modern society . Shamanism has been survived around as a stern reality in the midst of the society changing heavily and swiftly. In spite of being long continued, it is still a religion contained full of vitality. Do these characteristics of shamanism merely show queer contrasts between old era and ultra modernity, or substitute for spiritual emptiness by material prosperity?

To answer this question, we can refer to such an indigenous religiosity of “primitive”[or primary] religion. Again it is drawing more attention to an industrial society. Does the religiosity of shamanism then still has reliability on a society where hi-tech science and classic religions have influenced strongly? Or is it merely a kind of sentimental nostalgia?

The religiosity of shamanism, often called *gut*-spirit, is regarded as the base of Korean s spiritual inheritance. This has been preserved in the succession of traditional shamanism. And at the same time this presents itself as new application through indigenization of “imported” religions.

When *gut*-spirit as religiosity of Shamanism comes up, it becomes on the one hand spiritual base of vital force(*force vitale*), and on the other hand it functions as a sort of escapism for common people. Sometimes it falls down as an instrument for the benefit of the ruling classes. Here is the reason for which shamanistic spirituality or ortho-practical enlightenment of religiosity is necessary. When shamanistic religiosity associates with vital force in Korean indigenous religion and social consciousness in “imported” world religions, it is possible for religions to meet one another and to make great reconciliation and to realize authentic peace.

II *Gut*-spirit of reconciliation and peace spirituality that shamanism would pursue

The belief of shamanism, closely associated with Korean lives until today, still reflects the existential experience of the Koreans: life and death, joy and grief, frustration and hope are melted in this belief. The dynamic and universal spirituality seen in shamanistic rituals let us show vividly the footing soil of Korean religious culture. With such spirituality, humans are tied with many elements of Mother Nature maintaining friendly relationship with the cosmos.

The reconciliation system of belief communal religiosity

In a religion which has no official canon and whose originator is not ascertained obviously, those who perform the religious function would do occupy the crucial position (Park Il-young, 1989: 106-107). In order to understand the spirit of Korean shamanism, the research on shaman should take priority most of all. Shaman could be classified in two patterns: *gangsinmu* [possessed shaman] and *seseummu* [hereditary

shaman]. In the process of becoming shaman, the former would do by having experience of deities at first hand and the latter, by being transmitted from generation to generation.

In reality, however, it is not easy to fix the boundary between these traditions. That is why the former case also shows up marks of the descent, and in the meantime similar phenomenon with *sinbyeong* [spiritualistic sickness] would be revealed in the case of the latter, when researching an actual spot-investigation.

The community of shamanistic believers is called *dan'golpan* [shamanistic community]. Within the line of northern *gangshinmu*, the community where a charismatic shaman is in the center of is consisted of. On the other hand in the line of southern *seseummu*, local communities are made up of generally. Shamanistic believers convinced themselves that they might have good luck or suffer a misfortune in accordance with their treatment for deities.

And they think good deity and evil one are not apart from each other. Rather deities can give fortune or misfortune to believers according to the mood of the moment. Even it is believed when family members of a deceased cajole the envoy from the world of the dead, the deceased can reach Elysium, and the family members left would live safely without being tormented by the departed soul (Park Il-young, 1992: 67-96).

Lots of deities exist in the shamanistic world. The mystic stories about the gods and ghosts come into being in the domestic or are flown from the alien and then some would disappear quietly. These gods and ghosts are believed to share existential experience with populace left in this world as being alive with them.

Thus the deities come to us with concrete appearances through the paintings(巫神圖). Only the Supreme God and minor demons are neither in concrete shape nor given paintings (Park Il-young, 1991: 79-106). Cho Heung-yun presents seven possibilities with which the divinity would be formed in Korean shamanistic tradition. These possibilities have one commonness: Shamanistic community that is bounded together, or the sympathy or empathy in the society.

Therefore when gods loses the communal sympathy, they would resign from shamanistic world. According to shamanistic view of the world, all the things except humans living in this mundane world have divine power. Among this power order of rank, Supreme God governs all things in the universe, standing at the uppermost stratum. But Supreme God transfers His authority to subordinate deities, so these deities are concerned in human affairs concretely and directly.

The religious contents and system in Korean shamanism were taken firm root with the relations among these three protagonists, namely deities, shamans and common believers. Divination enables humans to have a contact with gods at first, and the concluding remarks from it lead them to perform some belief conducts: *Bison/Binari* [fawning upon gods] at one's home by oneself, or stick pasting up an amulet somewhere wearing it on the body, or else *chiseong* [offering a fervent prayer] and performing *gut*-rituals.

Gut-rituals has a comprehensive character as a representative ritual of shamanism. The meaning of *gut*, which is a genuine Korean concept, can be known by etymology, if compared with other Altaic language. G. J. Ramstedt discovers that Tungus *qutu*, Mongol *qutuq*, Turkish *qut* mean all good luck or happiness (G. J. Ramstedt, 1949: 132). On the contrary *Yi Neung-hwa* suggests that Korean language *gut* is like the term indicating ominous and rough affair: Koreans call a rainy day an *gut-eun-nal* [꺄은 날.

ominous day], and an occasion for mourning as *gut-eun-il* [긋은 일. rough affair] (Yi Neung-hwa, 1927: 44).

These two interpretations are likely to be opposite to each other at a glimpse, but when putting them together, *gut* may be anticipated to take away ominous and rough affairs, and then call upon good luck. While *bison*, amulet, and fervent prayer are temporary remedies or effect - strengthening means for final solution, *gut*-rituals can be said to take away ominous and rough affairs (兇險之事) ultimately and accomplish new balance and/or reconciliation of cosmos through shaman, who is a mediator between gods and subjects offering a prayer.

In the procedure of *gut*-rituals, numerous gods are recalled(請神), cajoled with song and dance, along with many kinds of paraphernalia for a sacrifice(娛神), and then sent off again(送神) (Park Il-young, 1990: 11-27). In a word, the condition of relief (fortune) *in illo tempore* falls down present unrelieved condition (grudge, evil spirit, trouble, contrariness), and then *kut*-ritual would make us search for the relief again. Such extreme edges between the relief and the opposite can be released, turning into circulation through a triangular bandage of deity-shaman-believer [*hanpuri* - releasing grudge].

Sacramental character of everyday life - *hanpuri* and *hanmaji*

With their experience, shamanism believers claim that grudge (*han*, 恨) can be overcome. Renewed life after overcoming grudge shows up itself through rituals as a sort of symbolic language. Having an eye to healing effect of *gut*-ritual, Yi Bu-young proposed shamanistic ritual arranges a fixed pattern of happy-ending (Yi Bu-young, 1982: 163-164). At first, gods lay blame upon human negligence and indifference. At last, however, they give blessing to humans and promise to protect from misfortune.

1) Gods threat and blame: No wonder you have been suffering difficulties, because you did not treat gods well.

2) The subject offering prayer begs forgiveness: Please patronize me without blaming my ignorance.

3) Gods forgiveness with some strings attached: I will forgive you this once specially.

4) Admonition and blessing: Don't be afraid. Your affairs will go on smoothly from now on.

Through these steps, the relationship establishes newly between gods and humans, or between human and human. This is achieved by being settled already in psychology of optimistic outlook for future. So the essence of *gut* may be said to ensure good luck (*jaesu*) in the world filled with the potentialities of conflict and suffering. This concept of *jaesu* should be understood as the comprehensive meanings including security, protection, survival and so on.

This concept in shamanistic belief can be understood in the meaning of the whole relief from supernatural existence. It is just like *shalom* in Hebrew Scripture. There is a narrow-minded view claiming that shamanism is immoral and low grade because the belief has little guilt-consciousness and would not explicate about sin explicitly and

systematically. Judging from the light of religious history, this view would come out of the intention that the rulers suppress popular religions and inculcate their own ideology in that place. Rulers had been solidifying their footing for existence by vilifying popular religions taken firm root in the lives of populace as superstition and by forcing them to receive their conviction system (Choi Kyung-ho, 1996).

When participating in *gut* actually, We can recognize the wholesome ethics is alive in shamanism. For example, when we analyze the representative shamanistic myth, Shamanistic Epic Princess *Bari* which may be found out all over the country, the filial devotion to one's parents, loyalty to one's nation, charity, self-sacrifice and so on, advanced ethical elements are shown to be alive in Shamanism (Jo Hyung-kyung, 1996).

Shamanism not only connotes such ethical elements, but also stands aloof over the ethical level. Mediating between gods and humans, shaman explicates the question unsolved in relation with human affairs, and releases the grudge smoldered deeply in human's heart. After those who had suffered from misfortune that did not be understood pass through the process of healing by *hanpuri*, they are able to embrace grudge positively by *hanmaji*. Accordingly shamanism belief does not simply play a part as a place of releasing grudge but makes believers recognize the meaning of this world filled with suffering and grudges, and assume a posture of *hanmaji* to live in this world with optimistic attitude after the process of *hanpuri*.

The solidarity in ritual community realization of religious peace

The belief system of popular religion suggests that the harmony in society can be established when the realm of nature and the order of human society intersect each other, the elements of nature and humans are on universal friendship as well. While *gut*-ritual goes on, all participants including spectators are dealt with generous treatment in a familial atmosphere. During the mealtime in the interim or a kind of ritual, *daedongeumbok* [partaking of sacrificial food and drink together], peaceful atmospheres are made, too. *Gut-tang* [place performing *gut*-ritual] is usually a familiar place that is not different from our daily place of residence compared with its shape and scale. The import of *gut* is suitable to release grudge and grant a request keeping off bad luck and invoking blessing.

A. Pieris, an expert of popular religion in Sri Lanka, called such a religiosity of popular religion as cosmic religiosity (Aloysius Pieris, 1986: 135-138). The sense of belonging that is developed from this cosmic religiosity functions as an impellent power of joint life with communal members: living in company with each other, mealtime sharing together in community, communal efforts to solve life's conflict and contradiction, coping together against bad luck and calamity, and so on.

The language used in shamanistic rituals is said to be collective tradition for existential experience both clientele asking the ritual and shamans performing it would have, and a communication, too. Even in the flow of Korean religious history, we are able to see that rulers did not forbid the rituals from the populace that had a tendency to criticize rulers and their society. Rather in a sense, the rulers encouraged and enjoyed people's satires and critics.

For instance, there wasn't *talchum* (mask dance) at first in *Danoje*-festival in *Gangneung*, a city located in the East Coast of *Gangwon*-Province. The authorities were

sorry for it, so let slaves in public building make a play of mask dances. This is called *guanno gamyeon'geuk* (mask dance by slaves in public building) (Jang Jung-ryong, 1989).

That means the rituals of popular religion functioned as major medium that the dominator and the dominated can communicate and reconcile each other, rather than as only pastime for *yangban* (aristocrats). These stories revealed from popular rituals are ones taking place at poignant circumstances of life and the outcome making efforts to survive. So these stories are not merely transmitted verbally but the language itself that populace testify with the whole body.

Such a language representation enables us to perceive the sign of the time (*signum temporis*). The collective folklores those suffering had experienced, or the sensibilities of populace relating to such conquest of suffering are perceived in shamanistic ritual. The experience of suffering is usually revealed in tragic mood of *gongsu*-oracle. In contrast the conquest of such suffering is seen concretely in *deokdam*-fortunetelling, turned into comic mood.

Eh, eh, come today as a parent without face and prestige. In universal nature of world, alas couldn't play a parental role, took leave of this world, allowed that world the way to be able to come a wonder-working fountain again alas, oh, oh, Where do I empty this vexation, how do I feel my mind unburdened (*gongsu*-oracle in a ritual seance for forefathers, female shaman C, 1985: 10.17).

Look call upon our Excellency Ha, ha Make money and give to you? Ha, ha, ha The road our Excellency came once give our whole mind, we become rich, a new rich appears (*deokdam*-fortunetelling in a ritual seance for Excellency, female shaman U, 1984: 3.7).

III Conclusion

Today there are a variety of religions in the global society, which is unparalleled in the world history. In this context, the persons of every religion living in this world now are said to have particular task. They all must contribute liberation of the world and brethren with abundant bequest and vitality of each religion, sect, and further have to find a new principle to deliver the world that is changed a *mega-polis*, so-called the City Globe. This academic task of various religions can be designated "applied study of religions". Each religion will preserve its own tradition and identity as a subject of mutual mission, and at the same time it will contribute effectively for reconciliation and/or peace of the world, deepening on its own sacredness by giving itself as the object of the mission.

In this respect, members of various religions need to correct the vision about shamanistic belief. We should not denounce one-sidedly and hastily shamanism as primitive superstition, demon worship, and obstacle of modernization and development. At the same time, it is not desirable that we are favorably disposed toward shamanism vaguely without carrying out precise studies and research. We clearly do not need a lean-to-one-side attitude to praise shamanism unconditionally, saying shamanism is the *matrix* (mother's womb) of diverse religions or the basis of spiritual culture, and so on.

Besides we should appreciate the function and contribution of popular religiosity as

it stands. Furthermore, a kind of well-balanced attitude is asked that can find out its limits and even reverse function of the Shamanism. From time to time, it only speaks for the nature of stratum confined to the common people or religiosity of the dominated class.

The powerful energy and internal explosive force of popular religion may contribute to modern society filled with fetishism creatively when it encounters with classic religions that are predictable and have society-critical consciousness. In addition, the analysis about religiosity merely through Shamanism should be complemented by comparative study of various religions.

According to the context mentioned above, in the world getting smaller and smaller relatively, applied study of religions whose necessity increases gradually has the possibility enough to be a good example along with various religions of Korean. In concrete terms, it is a task that try to understand [the belief of content and] meaning of Shamanism, Buddhism, Confucianism and Christianity which cannot be divided into Korean culture as it is, and to discover the seed of Word concealed in it with joy and wonder (Seo Gong-seok, 1990: 252).

Because the task of reconciliation and peace through popular religion is what enables us to be well aware of divinity who cannot be confined within a specific history or culture, and to recognize various religions having appeared in the history of human spirit as diverse *epiphany* of the same divinity, so to illuminate again and deepen my spiritual experience.

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무교(巫敎)의 영성 - 화해와 평화의甯정신

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I. 들어가며

한국의 무교를 한마디로 무엇이라고 부를 수 있을까? 그것은 요컨대 “현대 사회 속의 원시종교” 라고 부를 수 있겠다. 즉, 심각하고도 신속하게 변화하는 사회 한 가운데 엄존하는, 오래된 그러나 생동하는 종교라고 말이다.

이러한 무교의 모습은 그러면 단순하게 구태와 첨단의 기묘한 대조인가, 아니면 무언가 물질적 풍요를 빌미로 잃어버린 정신적인 내용의 공허에 대한 보완인가? 이러한 문제의식을 풀어 가는 실마리는 바로 이것이다. 말하자면, 산업화하는 사회 속에서 다시 주목받는 원시종교의 시원종교성과 같은 것 말이다.

그런데 무교가 지닌 종교성은 오늘날 첨단과학과 고등종교들이 넘쳐나는 상황에서도 여전히 종교적 신빙성을 지니는가? 혹은 옛 시절을 그리는センチ멘탈한 향수에 지나지 않는가? 흔히 ‘甯정신’ 이라고 일컬어지는 무교적 종교성은 한국인이 지닌 정신적 유산의 기반이라고 여겨진다.

이러한 무교적 종교성은 전통적인 무교라는 형태로 고유종교의 계승이라는 형태로 보존되는가 하면, 자생적 민족종교의 창립이나 외래종교의 토착화를 통하여 무교의 새로운 적용이라는 모습으로 변형되어 나타나기도 한다. 후자의 모습으로 나타날 때 무교적 종교성으로서의甯정신은 한 편으로, 역동적인 생명력(force vitale)의 정신적 기반이 되는가 하면, 혹은 현실도피적 기복(민중)의 내용이거나, 지배 권력의 합리화(엘리트) 도구로 전락하기도 한다.

여기에서 무교적 영성(spirituality) 내지 종교성(religiosity)의 올바른(ortho-practical) 계발이 필요한 소이가 있다. 그리하여 무교적 종교성과 한국 민족종교의 생명력 그리고 외래 고등종교의 사회의식이 서로 만남으로써 한국이라는 ‘종교백화점’의 나라에서 종교 간에 실천적 대화와 협력이 가능하다고 본다.

II. 무교, 어떤 종교인가?

한국의 민간신앙 중에서 무당을 중심으로 하는 토착적인 종교현상을 흔히 “무속”(巫俗)이라고 부른다. 그러나 이러한 종교현상을 가리키는 용어로는 그 외에도 타종교와 동격으로 부른다는 의미에서 “무교”(巫敎)라고 한다든지(유동식, 1975: 표지), 무당들 스스로가 부르는 명칭을 존중한다고 그냥 “무”(巫)라고 부르는 경우도 있다(조흥윤, 1983: 표지). 엘리아데 등 종교학자들에 의하면 한국을 위시하여 중국, 일본, 몽골 등 동북아시아의 이와 같은 신앙체계는 북만주 지역에 분포하는 퉁구스족의 종교를 대표로 하는 시베리아형의 “샤머니즘”(shamanism)에 속한다는 것이 중론이다(M. Eliade, 1951: 4).

분명한 꼴을 갖추고 있는 종교 현상에 대하여 편견을 가지고 명칭을 정하는 일은 바람직하지 못하다고 본다. 또한 개별 종교의 명칭을 굳이 민간 습속의 일부분으로 폄하하거나, 그 종교 신봉자들이 사용하는 명칭만을 사용해야 한다고 고집할 필요는 없다. 특정 종교의 명칭은 당사자들이 정하기보다는 그 종교를 대하는 다른 사람들이 지어주는 경우가 종교사에서 비일비재하다. 타종교와 마찬가지로 한국의 대표적인 종교들을 부르는 ‘~교’(敎)라는 일반적인 관례에 따라 무교(巫敎)라고 칭함이 가장 적합하다고 필자는 생각한다.

한국의 무교를 부르는 명칭이 이렇게 다양하듯이, 전 세계적으로도 샤머니즘이 과연 무엇인가에 대한 논란이 끊이지 않고 있다. 샤만(shaman)이니 샤머니즘이니 하는 용어는 원래 한국어와 동일한 언어계통인 알타이어족에 속하는 퉁구스어에 그 기원을 두고 있다(I.M. Casanowicz, 1924: 419). 샤만이라는 단어의 어근은 알타이어의 동사 어근 ‘샤-’(sha-)에서 유래하는데, 그 의미는 “알다”라고 한다(Å. Hultkrantz, 1973: 27). 우리 나라 말에서도 ‘살다, 사되다, 사르다, 사랑하다’ 따위의 ‘사-’로 시작하는 동사들이 무엇인가를 인식한다는 의미와 상통한다고 볼 때, 공통점이 유추될 수도 있다고 본다.

퉁구스인들은 샤만이라는 말로써 특정한 부족의 종교기능자를 뜻한다. 이들 샤만은 특별한 신령들과 친밀한 관계를 유지하는 자들로 알려져 있다. 이들은 그러므로 신령들을 불러서 제 몸에 모시고 그 신령들이 자기 몸을 통하여 인간들에게 말을 하도록 할 수 있다고 여겨진다. 이러한 과제를 수행하기 위하여 샤만은 몰아경(沒我境, extasy) 내지는 탈아경(脫我境, soul-loss)에 돌입한다.

엄밀한 의미에서는 시베리아, 북아메리카, 중앙아시아의 토착인종들 사이에서 이상과 같은 종교적 기능을 행사하는 능력을 갖춘 사람들만을 샤만이라고 한다(D. Schröder, 1955: 852. 862-865). 그러나 최근 들어 샤머니즘이라는 용어는 세계 여러 문화권 안에서 다양한

종교적 과제들을 취급하는 사람들과 그 제도에 구별없이 마구 사용되어오는 경향이 늘고 있다. 즉 신비가, 주술사, 주술의(呪術醫, medicine-man) 등에게도 샤만이라는 호칭을 남용함으로써 혼란을 가중시키고 있다(원광대 민속학연구소, 1972: 138-146; H. Motzki, 1974).

탈아경과 함께 신들림을 의미하는 빙의(憑依, possession)라는 샤만의 종교 현상은 각 민족과 샤만 각자의 개인적 기질에 따라 그 정도에 있어서 차이가 난다. 여하 간에 순수한 샤만은 신령에 대한 종교적 체험을 한 사람들만을 일컫는다. 그러나 샤만이 처한 주변 여건에 따라 조금씩 변형되기도 한다. 한 가지 예를 들자면, 한국 남부 지방에서 집안 대대로 이어지는 무당인 소위 ‘세습무’는 무당 개인의 소명체험 보다 무당 집안의 세습적인 전래를 더 중시한다.

샤만의 신령체험 내지 소명체험의 첫 증상은 샤만 후보자의 지속적인 정신장애와 육체적 고통이다. 한국 무교에서는 이러한 현상을 신병(神病) 혹은 무병(巫病)이라고 부른다. 이와 같은 무당이 되는 증후군(症候群 syndrome)은 샤만의 직능을 수행함으로써 차차 극복된다. 영국 여성으로 사회인류학자였던 차플리카는 이러한 무당의 신병현상을 “북극권의 히스테리”라고 보았다(M.A. Czaplicka, 1914: 307). 덴마크의 인류학자 올마르크스는 차플리카의 이론을 받아서, 샤만의 강신체험 내지 종교체험을 “북극권에서 생존의 위협을 받는 생활조건으로 말미암아 희생된 현상”이라고 해석하였다. 그럼으로써 종교현상을 종교현상으로 보기보다는 다분히 서구 우월주의적인 왜곡된 시각을 드러내 보였다(Å. Ohlmarks, 1939).

한자문화권인 동북아시아에서는 민간신앙체계를 무(巫)라고 표기한다. 이 글자의 본래 뜻은 소매가 긴 옷을 입은 의례 집전자인 무당이 신령들을 즐겁게 만들어 주기 위해서 춤을 추는 형상이라고 한다(許慎, 1977: 100). 엄격한 의미에서 가장 순수한 형태의 샤머니즘(shamanism)이라고 알려진 시베리아의 샤머니즘과 비교해서 한국의 무교는 그 틀이 상당히 고정되어 있다.

그 중에서도 특히 남부지방의 무교는 강하게 의례화(儀禮化)된 모습을 보인다. 그래서 1930년대 이래 한국 무교를 연구한 임석재는 한국의 무교를 한국 고유의 독특한 종교현상이라고까지 본다. 그러므로 무교는 샤머니즘과 동일시할 수 없으며, 굳이 서양말로 번역하자면 “무이즘”(muism)이라고 표기해야 한다고 주장하기까지 하였다(Yim Suk-jai, 1978: 175).

그러나 시베리아와 한반도의 무교(shamanism)가 가지고 있는 이와 같은 차이는 서로 다른 역사적이고 지리적인 배경을 감안해서 보아야 할 터이다. 시베리아의 샤머니즘과 다른 한국

무교의 변형은 지리-기후적 차이로 인한 전이와 타종교와의 교섭에 따른 편차로 봄이 타당할 것이다. 예를 들면, 세계의 시작에 대하여 말하는 창세 신화가 시베리아의 영향을 강하게 받은 북방식 ‘천지창조형’ 신화와 남부의 ‘우주개벽형’ 신화가 보여주듯이 한반도 내에서마저도 남과 북이 서로 다르다.

또 하나 주목해야 할 현상은 시베리아의 샤머니즘이 사양길을 걷는 반면에, 한국의 무교는 여전히 활발하게 살아있는 종교현상이라는 점이다. 한국 무당들의 전국 조직인 대한승공경신연합회의 최근 통계에 따르면, 전국적으로 등록된 무당의 숫자가 10 만여 명에 이른다고 한다. 게다가 무당들은 점차 학력이 높아지고 평균연령은 낮아짐으로써 일종의 현대화 양상을 보인다.

역사적으로 보아도 한국의 무교는 가장 오래된 종교현상임을 부인하기 어렵다. 한국 무교의 신화적 유래를 단군신화에까지 소급하여, 단군이라는 명칭이 고대에 하늘에 제사를 지내던 제관인 천관(天官)이며, 몽골어에서 하늘이나 천신(天神)을 뜻하는 텡그리(tengri)와 관련이 있다는 주장도 있기는 하다(유동식, 1975: 25-35). 이러한 주장이 비교언어학적으로 아직 분명하게 증명되지 않아 전폭적으로 받아들이기에는 무리가 뒤따른다 하더라도, 무교 신앙이 한국 종교의 가장 오래된 형태의 적어도 한 부분임은 한국 고대종교를 다루는 다방면의 전문연구자들 사이에도 의견이 일치하는 사실이다.

고조선의 통치자인 단군은 정치권력과 종교적 권위를 한 몸에 지닌 절대 통치자라고 해석할 수 있다. 그러한 권위의 근거는 바로 땅으로 보내진 천신(天神)의 후손이라는 점이다. 땅으로 강림한 천신 환웅은 지모신(地母神) 웅녀와 결합하여 새로운 형태의 지배자를 창출하는데, 이러한 인물이 바로 단군이다.

‘하늘’의 아들임을 내세워서 지배자의 위치를 강화하는 메카니즘은 고조선뿐만 아니라, 부여와 고구려로 이어지는 주몽의 신화라든가 신라의 혁거세 신화에도 한결 같이 공통적으로 드러나는 사실이다. 여기에서 말하는 하늘은 구체적인 공간 개념이라기보다, 포괄적인 개념으로서 이 세상 모든 현상을 다스리는 “힘의 등장” [力顯 Kratophanie]을 말한다(정진홍, 1986: 59-68).

한국의 제례나 풍속을 기록한 가장 오래된 기록은, 중국 진(晉)나라의 진수(陳壽)라는 사람이 쓴 『삼국지』(三國誌) 「위지」(魏志) 「동이전」(東夷傳)의 기록이다. 이 기록에 의하면, 부여에서는 북을 쳐서 신을 맞이하는 영고(迎鼓)라는 제천의례가, 고구려에는 시조 동명왕에게 제사 지내는 동맹(東盟)이 있었고, 예에서는 춤으로써 하늘에 제사 지내는 무천(舞天)이 있었으며, 진한에서는 하늘에 제사 지내는 성역인 소도(蘇塗)에서 밤낮 없이

유주가무로 신들을 즐겁게 했다는 기록이 남아있다. 이러한 의례 풍속들은 당시 정치-종교적 지도자였던 무(巫)에 의하여 주도되었다(陳壽, 1994).

이들 지도자들이 무당이였다는 구체적인 증거는 고려시대까지 거슬러 올라간다. 승려 일연(一然, 1206~1289)이 기록한 『삼국유사』(三國遺事) 권 제일(券 第一) 신라 제 2 대 남해 차차웅(재위: 4~24 AD) 조에서 그 첫 증거를 찾을 수 있다. 우리나라의 역사 기록에 무(巫)라는 용어가 처음 나타나는 문헌이기도 하다:

“ 남해(南海) 거서간은 또한 차차웅(次次雄)이라고도 한다. 이것은 존장(尊長)을 칭하는 말인데, 오직 이 왕만을 일컫는다..... 신라에서는 왕을 거서간이라 하니..... 혹은 귀인(貴人)의 칭이라 한다. 혹은 (왕을) 차차웅 또는 자충(慈充)이라고도 하였는데, 김대문(金大問)은 말하기를 차차웅은 국어에 무당을 의미하는 말이니, 세상 사람들이 무당은 귀신을 섬기고 제사를 숭상하므로 그를 외경하여 마침내 존장을 자충이라 한다 하였다.” (李丙燾, 1982: 36.197)

전승에 의하면 기원전 1 세기에 한반도에는 삼국이 형성된다. 즉 신라(57 BC), 고구려(37 BC), 백제(18 BC)의 순서로 나라가 세워진다. 이들 국가들은 4 세기경 중국에서 유입된 권위적인 유교 이데올로기에 의거하여, 전제 왕권을 강화해 나간다. 그리하여 왕들은 점차 정치권력에만 치중하며, 종교적인 측면은 차차 전문 무당들이 담당하게 된다.

무당들은 이때부터 두 가지 종류로 나뉘어 지는데, 왕의 자문역 내지 보좌관으로 기능하는 나라무당[國巫, 師巫, 神巫]과 민중 종교전통을 형성하는 서민층 상대의 민간 무당이 그것이다. 그러나 국정 자문역으로서 나라무당의 위상은 세월이 지나면서 점점 약화되는 현상을 보여준다. 자문 내용이 왕의 마음에 들지 않으면 그들은 마침내 죽음까지도 각오해야 하였다. 유교, 도교, 불교 등이 한국에 전래되면서 한국 무교의 역사도 많은 변화를 가져온다.

유교 내지 유학의 한반도 전래는 한사군(108 BC - 313 AD)의 설치와 관련이 있으며, 도교는 대개 7 세기 초 이 땅에 들어온 것으로 알려져 있다. 무교 의례의 정형화는 바로 유교에서 영향을 받았음이 주지의 사실이고, 도교에서는 옥황상제라든가 칠성신(七星神) 등이 무신(巫神)의 세계에 유입되었다.

불교는 중국과 문화교류를 해오던 고구려(372 AD)나 백제(384 AD)에는 별 어려움 없이 유입되었다. 그러나 신라(528 AD)에는 이차돈의 순교 등 심한 저항을 겪은 후에야 불교가 들어오게 된다. 토착종교인 무교를 배경으로 하는 기성 귀족층과 외래종교인 불교를 통하여 지배권의 강화를 꾀하는 신흥 왕족과의 갈등은 왕족의 부분적인 승리로 일단락된다.

그것은 불교 사찰에 무교의 신령들을 받아들인다는 타협을 통하여 이루어진다(서영대, 1991: 241-255). 그래서 지금도 산신각(山神閣)은 불교사찰의 가장 높은 장소에 위치하고 있다. 사찰의 중심부에는 물론 본존불을 모시는 대웅전이 위치하지만, 제일 높은 곳은 산신에게 내어준다는 지리상의 절묘한 배합인 것이다.

신라가 삼국을 통일하는데 결정적인 역할을 한 화랑(花郎)은 귀족 자손들의 청소년 단체였다. 화랑도의 이념은 무. 불. 도. 유교에 두루 근거하고 있으나, 그 중에서도 근본바탕은 유오산수(游娛山水)하며 심신을 단련하는 무(巫)의 정신이었다. 현재도 경상도 일부 지방에서 남자 무당을 ‘화랑’ 혹은 ‘화랭이’라고 부르는데, 신라 시대의 화랑과 무관하지 않다고 보는 사람들도 있다(유동식, 1975: 82-97). 『삼국유사』에는 화랑의 우두머리를 화주(花主)라고 한다고 하였다. 지금도 경상도 일부 지방에서 마을굿인 별신제를 지낼 때에 선출하는 마을의 종교적인 대표자를 ‘화주’라고 부른다.

고려왕조(918~1392)는 처음부터 종교 혼합적이었다. 겉으로 나타난 지배이데올로기는 불교였으나, 실제 내용상으로는 여러 종교의 요소들이 뒤섞여 있었다. 연등회라든지 팔관회가 불교를 빙자한 무교적인 종교 행사였다든지, 태조의 훈요십조(943)가 천신(天神)신앙, 용신(龍神)신앙, 산신(山神)신앙을 강조한 것은 모두 이러한 고려왕조의 종교혼합적인 성격을 잘 드러내 보여준다.(高麗史: 券二, 太祖 26, 4).

신라 말 도선(道詵 827~898)에 의하여 체계화된 풍수참위(風水讖緯)는 고려에 와서 특히 활성화된다. 풍수참위설은 무의 기반 위에서 도교의 음양오행과 불교의 업(業 karma) 사상이 혼용되어, 생전과 사후를 막론하고 땅과 공기의 기운이 인간에게 영향을 끼친다는 이론이다. 이러한 기운은 마치 유동체(流動體 fluidum)처럼 퍼지는데, 어떤 방향으로든 흘러갈 수가 있다. 이러한 땅과 공기의 기운은 산이나 강물로 막을 때 보존할 수도 있다. 이렇게 유동하는 기운은 바람[風]과 물[水]을 타고 전해진다. 이러한 풍수참위의 생각은 신라 말에서 고려를 거쳐 오늘날까지도 한국의 민간 신앙에 강한 영향을 끼치고 있다(최창조, 1993).

고려조에 들어서서는 나라무당과 민간 무당의 분화도 심화된다. 나라무당은 천신제, 시조제 등 국가의 주요행사가 있을 때에 동원된다. 인종 조에는 무당 300 여명을 동원하여 기우제를 지낸 기록이 있다(유동식, 1975: 126-128).

그러나 이러한 종교적인 역할도 차츰 불교, 도교, 유교 등과 분담하게 되면서 그 영향력이 약해져 간다(조흥윤, 1983: 22). 특히 유학자들로부터 비판이 거세지면서, 무교는 사회적인 역기능을 담당하는 것으로 간주되어 음사(淫祀)로 매도되기도 한다. 저주술로서의 흑주술(黑呪術 black magic)이 등장하는 것도 이때이다.

흑주술의 등장은 한 편으로는 왕가와 지배층의 권력투쟁에 휘말리면서 상대방을 주술의 힘을 빌려 해코지하려는 원의의 발로라 하겠다. 다른 한 편으로는 사회의 양극화로 촉발된 불평등에 대한 의식이 민중 속에 차차 깨우쳐진 때문이기도 하다. 이와 같은 사회 불의에 향한 불만과 동시에 이를 뻔히 보면서도 개선할 수 없다는 무력감이 상대방에 대한 저주로 표출되었다고 보인다.

이규보(1168-1241)의 『동국이상국집』에 들어있는 시 「노무편」(老巫偏)은 그 당시 무의(巫儀)가 오늘날과 거의 흡사한 모습을 보인다. 이 때 벌써 무교가 유교의 영향을 받아 강하게 의례화되고 정형화되었음을 보여준다.(최길성, 1985: 38-47). 고려 말에 이르면 무당은 수도 개경으로부터 축출되는 운명을 겪으며 국교로서의 기능을 완전히 상실해 간다. 그 결과 이때부터 무교는 민간신앙을 전담하면서 민중에 더욱 밀착하게 된다.

조선(1392~1910)은 유교를 국교로 표방한 국가였다. 무당은 사회 최하층으로 전락하여 8 천민의 하나가 되었다. 조선조의 무당에 대한 멸시나 사회적인 차별은 오늘날까지도 이어지는 관습이 되었다.

그러나 왕족 부인네들에 의하여 무당들은 다시 왕궁에 출입하게 된다(유동식, 1975: 196-203). 결과적으로 조선의 왕녀들은 지배층 종교와 민중종교의 고리 역할을 담당하게 된다. 이렇게 보면 조선의 무당 박해는 제한된 박해였으며, 은근한 차별과 멸시였던 것으로 보인다.

그것은 무교가 이미 안정된 지배 이데올로기로서의 유교를 위협할 만큼 적수가 되지 못한다는 강자의 아량일 수도 있겠고, 민중들이 갖는 불만을 어느 정도 분출시키는 언로(言路)의 구실을 하였다고도 할 수 있다. 그 당시 양반세력이 체제 도전적인 성격이 다분히 들어있는 곳이나 탈춤을 장려하고 즐기기까지 하였다는 사실은 그러한 심증을 굳혀준다(장정룡, 1989).

국가와의 관계에서 보면, 무당들은 구병(救病)활동에 치중한다. 현 보건복지부에 해당하는 동서활인원이 무당들에 의하여 주도되었다. 궁중에서도 왕족들이 병이 나면 무당을 초청하여 굿을 벌인 기록도 여러 군데 보인다(이능화, 1927: 12. 16).

고종황제(재위: 1864-1907)비인 명성황후는 전국적으로 무당들의 조직화를 시도하였다. 그러한 조직화를 본격적으로 추진하기 위하여 어느 무당에게 ‘진노군’이라는 직위까지 수여하면서 그러한 조직화 작업을 진행하였으나, 일제 낭인들의 황후 시해로 뜻을 이루지 못하였다(최길성, 1969: 57-58).

일제의 강제 병합기에 식민당국은 한국인들의 민족의식 말살정책의 일환으로 민중종교를 탄압하게 된다. 민중의 유대감을 강화하는 무교적 종교 신앙은 일제 식민당국에게는

눈엣가시와도 같은 존재였다. 그들은 우선 전국 경찰조직 등을 동원하여 방대한 자료를 수집하고, 사회인류학 등의 방법론으로 철저히 연구하였다(秋葉隆. 赤松智城, 1937/38).

그렇게 치밀한 연구를 거친 후에 일제 당국은 민중종교의례에 사용되던 굿 음식과 같은 제수(祭需)를 비위생적이라는 등의 허울로 트집을 잡았다. 그래서 굿판을 순사의 구둣발로 뒤엎는 따위의 심한 탄압으로 일관하였다. 이렇게 되자 식민 당국의 감시하는 눈을 피할 요량으로 무교 의례가 간소화될 수밖에 없었다.

1945 년 해방 이래 현대의 상황은 급변하였다. 서양식 모델에 따른 무비판적인 민주화와 졸속한 현대화의 추진은 전통적인 가치체계에 대한 소실을 비롯한 근본적인 문화변동 (acculturation)을 겪게 하였다. 이러한 현상은 6. 25 한국전쟁으로 더욱 가속화하였다. 특히 미국식 가치체계에 따라 성장한 세대에게 있어서 “ 무속은 부끄러운 미신”이라는 등식이 설득력을 가지게 된다. 그래서 전통종교인 무교는 하루 빨리 버리고 극복해야 할 대상으로만 치부되고 있다.

무교 현장 내부의 현실도 이에 못지않다. 무당의 수련기간은 세대에 편승하여 점점 짧아지는 경향이며, 무의(巫儀)를 진행하는 시간도 자꾸 단축되기만 한다. 요즘 무당들은 종교적인 수련이나 희생 보다 물질적인 성공에만 관심이 가 있다는 전통 무당들의 개탄의 소리도 심심치 않게 들린다.

그들 전통 무당들은 단골신도들의 신앙태도도 전 같지 않다고 한다. 성주신, 조왕신, 터춧대감을 집에 모시는 이들은 적어지고, 무당들의 정기 의례인 진적굿에 참가하여 정성을 드리는 신도들도 뜸해진다고 한다. 한 무당을 정해놓고 다니는 제도인 단골판마저 사라지고, 어느 무당이 용하다면 그리로 우르르 몰려다니는 일이 다반사로 일어나고 있다는 것이다.

한 편으로 이즈음 고유문화에 대한 관심과 함께 새로운 영성을 찾는 시대적 요청이 있다. 이에 따라서 현대의 무교는 새로 득세하는 경향이 있다. 전국적 규모의 무당 조직인 ‘ 대한승공 경신연합회’ 에 의하면, 무당들은 수적으로 증가하면서 고학력, 저연령화의 현상과 동시에 물질적으로 현저한 향상의 모습을 보이고 있다는 것이다. 이 연합회는 『한국민속문화신문』이라는 제하의 주간신문을 창간하여 발행하고 있기도 하다. 덧붙여서 민족 주체적인 관심과 함께 무교를 연구하는 이들도 다양한 학문방법론에 의거해 무교에 접근함으로써 그 연구가 본격적으로 행해지고 있다.

III. 굿 정신 - 무교가 추구하는 종교성

오늘날에도 여전히 한국인의 삶에 밀접한 연관을 맺고 있는 무교신앙은 한국인의 실존적 체험을 반영한다: 삶과 죽음, 기쁨과 슬픔 그리고 좌절과 희망이 그 속에 용해되어 있는 것이다. 무교의 의례에서 나타나는 역동적이고 우주적인 종교성은 한국 종교문화의 기본토양을 여실히 드러내 보여준다. 이와 같은 종교성 안에서 인간은 대자연의 여러 요소들과 우주적인 친교를 이룸으로써 사회적인 조화를 이루게 된다.

1. 무교 신앙의 체계 - 공동체적 종교성

공인되는 경전이 없고 창시자가 분명하지 않은 종교에서는 종교적인 기능을 행사하는 자가 결정적인 위치를 차지한다(박일영, 1989: 106-107). 그런 의미에서 한국 무교의 정신을 알아보는 데에는 무당에 대한 연구가 우선시된다. 무당의 유형은 흔히 강신무와 세습무로 나누인다.

무당이 되는 과정에 있어서 강신무는 직접적인 신령 체험에 의하며 세습무는 집안 대대로 이어지는 가계 세습에 의한다. 하지만 실제에 있어서 이와 같은 신통(神統)과 가통(家統)의 경계는 모호하다. 현장 조사를 해보면, 강신무의 경우에 가계 세습의 흔적이 나타나다가 하면, 세습무의 경우에는 신병과 유사한 현상이 드러나기도 한다.

무교 신도들의 공동체를 ‘단골판’ 이라고 부른다. 북부의 강신무 계열에서는 특정 무당의 카리스마를 중심으로 하는 인물 위주 공동체가 형성된다., 남부 세습무 계열에서는 대체로 마을 단위 지역 공동체가 이루어진다.

무교의 신봉자들은 그들이 신령들을 어떻게 대우하는가에 따라서 행운을 얻기도 하고 불행을 당하기도 한다고 생각한다. 그리하여 그 자체로 선하거나 악한 신령이 있는 것이 아니라, 그때그때의 기분에 좌우된다는 것이다. 심지어는 저승사자마저도 잘 달래서 기분을 맞추어주면 고인이 어려움 없이 극락세계에 도달할 수 있으며, 그럴 때에 비로소 남아있는 유족들도 사령(死靈)의 시달림을 받지 않고 편안히 살 수 있다는 것이다(박일영, 1992: 67-96).

한국의 무교에는 수많은 신령들이 존재한다. 신령들에 대한 이야기인 신화는 국내에서 생겨나기도 하고, 외국에서 유입되기도 하다가 언젠가는 슬며시 사라지기도 한다. 이러한 신령들은 살아있는 인격체로서 이 세상에 남아있는 사람들과 실존적인 경험을 나누는 것으로 여겨진다.

무교의 신령들은 무신도(巫神圖)로 그려져서 구체적인 모습을 띠고 나타난다. 무신(巫神)들의 만신전(萬神殿)에서 예외적으로 지고신인 하느님과 잡귀잡신은 구체적인

형상으로 잘 나타나지 않는다. 그리하여 무신도로도 그려지지 않는다(박일영, 1991: 79-106).

조흥윤은 한국 무(巫) 전통에서 신격이 형성되는 일곱 가지의 가능성을 제시하였다(조흥윤, 1983: 104-111). 이러한 가능성들은 하나의 공통성을 가진다. 그것은 바로 무교 공동체 내지는 무교 사회의 공감(sympathy) 내지는 감정이입(empathy)이라는 것이다.

그래서 신령들은 공동체의 공감을 잃게 되면 곁판을 떠나게 된다. 무교의 세계관에 따르면, 이 세상에 현재 살고 있는 사람 이외의 모든 사물 안에는 신적인 힘이 들어있다. 이러한 힘의 위계질서 상 하느님이 최상위에 위치하여 우주 만물을 다스린다. 그러나 한국 무교에서 하느님은 자신의 능력을 하위 신령들에게 양도하며, 인간사에는 하위 신령들이 구체적으로 직접 관여한다.

한국 무교에 있어서 신앙의 내용과 체계는 이상에 언급한 세 주역들 사이의 관계에서 자리를 잡는다. 무꾸리[占卜]를 통하여 신령과 인간 사이에 처음으로 접촉이 이루어지며, 그 결과에 따라서 어떠한 신앙행위를 하여야 할지가 정해진다. 집에서 혼자 비손/비나리를 할 것인가, 부적을 써 붙이거나 몸에 지니든가, 아니면 본격적으로 치성을 드리거나 굿을 하게 된다.

굿은 특히 한국 무교의 대표적인 의례로서 포괄적 성격을 띠고 있다. 순수한 한국어 개념인 굿은 알타이어족의 다른 언어들과 비교하여 그 뜻을 유추해낼 수 있다. 람스테드는 통구스어의 쿠투, 몽골어의 쿠툽, 터어키어의 쿿이 모두 행운이나 행복을 가리키는 말이라는 것을 찾아내었다(G. J. Ramstedt, 1949: 132). 반면에 이능화(李能和)는 한국어의 굿이 흉하고 험한 일을 뜻하는 용어로 마치 비오는 날을 “굿은 날” 이라고 한다거나 상사(喪事)가 났을 경우 “굿은 일” 이라 하는 것과 같다고 보았다(이능화, 1927: 44). 언뜻 상반되어 보이는 이상의 두 가지 해석을 종합하면, 굿이란 “흉하고 험한 일을 물리치고 복과 행운을 청하는 것” 이라 하겠다.

비손, 부적, 치성이 재앙에 대한 미봉책이거나 최종적인 해결방안의 효력 강화 수단이라면, 굿은 신령과 기주(祈主) 사이에 중개자 역할을 하는 사제자인 무당을 통하여 “흉하고 험한 일” [兇險之事]을 최종적으로 거두어 버리고 새로이 조화를 이룩하는 일이라 할 수 있다. 그래서 굿에서는 수많은 신령들이 불려오고[請神], 노래와 춤과 온갖 제수로 달래어지고 나서[娛神], 다시 전송되는 절차[送神]를 밟는다(박일영, 1990: 11-27).

한마디로 정리하자면, 본래[태초에] 구원[재수]의 상황이던 것이 현재 비구원의 상황[한, 살, 탈, 역]으로 떨어짐으로 해서 다시 구원의 상황을 추구하게 된다. 이와 같은 구원과

비구원의 양극성이 신령-무당-신도의 삼각관계를 통하여 순환성으로 전환되어 풀어지는 것[한풀이]이다.

2. 한풀이와 한맞이 - 삶의 성사성

고난[恨]은 극복될 수 있다는 것이 무교 신봉자들의 경험이다. 고난이 극복된 새로운 삶이 일종의 상징 언어로서 의례에 나타난다. 굿의 치유효과에 착안한 정신과 의사 이부영은 무당굿이 일정한 해피 엔딩의 유형을 갖추고 있다고 본다(이부영, 1982: 163-164). 신령들이 처음에는 인간들의 게으름과 무관심을 탓하다가도 결국에는 축복을 하고 불운으로부터의 보호를 약속한다는 것이다.

- 1) 신령의 위협과 비난: “신령을 잘 못 모셨으니 지금 이 불행은 당연하다.”
- 2) 기주가 용서를 청함: “몰라서 그랬으니 보호해 달라.”
- 3) 신령의 조건부 용서: “이번만 특별히 용서해 준다.”
- 4) 훈시와 축복: “걱정마라. 앞으로는 잘 될 것이다.”

이러한 단계를 거쳐서 신령들과 인간 사이에 또는 인간들 상호간에 새로이 정립된 관계가 형성된다. 그것은 특히 미래에 대한 낙관적인 조망이라는 심리적인 기제를 통하여서 이루어진다. 이렇게 볼 때에 굿의 핵심은 갈등과 고통의 가능성으로 가득 찬 세계 안에서 ‘재수’를 확보하는 것이라고 말할 수 있다.

여기서 말하는 재수라는 개념은 안전, 보호, 생존 등을 포괄하는 의미로 이해되어야 한다. 한국 무교 신앙에서 이 개념은 마치 유대교나 그리스도교에서 샬롬(shalom)이 갖는 의미와 같다. 초자연적인 존재로부터 오는 총체적인 구원이라는 뜻에서 이해될 수 있다.

무교의 신앙 내에는 죄의식이 별로 없다는 주장이 있어 왔다. 그러나 죄에 대한 이야기를 명료하고 체계적으로 하지 않는다고 하여, 무교를 비윤리적이고 저급한 종교라고 보는 것은 편협한 시각이다. 그러한 시각을 종교사 속에서 살펴보면, 민중종교를 억누르고 그 자리에 지배자의 이데올로기를 심으려는 의도에서 나타나곤 하였다. 지배자들은 민중의 생활 깊숙이 자리 잡고 있는 토착종교를 “미신”(迷信)으로 매도하는 대신 자신들의 신념체계를 강요함으로써 존재기반을 강화해 왔다(최경호, 1996).

실제 굿의 의례에 참여하여 보면, 무교에도 건전한 윤리가 살아 있음을 확인할 수 있다. 일례로 전국적인 분포를 보이는 대표적인 무교의 서사시 ‘바리공주 무가’를 분석해 보면

부모에 대한 효심, 나라에 대한 충성심, 불쌍한 이를 도와주기, 자신을 희생하기 등 고도의 윤리적 요소가 곳곳에 들어 있다(조형경, 1996).

무교는 그러한 윤리적 요소들을 내포하면서도 윤리의 차원을 넘어선다. 무당은 신령과 인간을 이어주는 매개자 역할을 하면서, 인간관계만으로 해명되지 못했던 물음들을 해명해 주고 가슴깊이 맺힌 한을 풀어준다. 이해되지 않았던 불행들로 인해 고통 받던 사람들이 한풀이를 통해 치유되는 과정을 거치고 나면 적극적으로 한을 수용할 수 있는 ‘한-맞이’가 가능해진다. 따라서 무교의 신앙은 한풀이의 장으로 끝나는 것이 아니라, 한풀이의 과정을 거친 다음 고통으로 가득하고 한 많은 이 세상의 의미를 깊이 있게 체험하면서 적극적으로 살아가게 하는 한-맞이의 자세도 갖추게 해준다.

3. 의례공동체의 연대감 - 종교의 현장성

민중종교의 신앙체계 안에서는 자연계와 인간 사회의 질서가 서로 교차하면서, 자연의 요소들과 인간이 우주적인 친교를 이룸으로써 사회 안에 조화(harmony)가 확보된다고 한다. 무교 의례인 굿이 진행되는 동안에 구경꾼까지 포함한 모든 참석자들은 가족적인 분위기에서 풍성한 대접을 받게 된다.

굿 중간의 식사시간이나 제의적인 대동음복의 경우에 화기에애한 분위기가 이루어지곤 한다. 굿당은 일상생활을 영위하는 장소와 비교하여 그 크기나 모양에서 별 구별 없이 친근한 장소이다. 굿의 내용은 ‘재앙을 쫓고 복을 부름’으로써 한(恨)을 풀고 원(願)을 들어주는데 적합하다.

스리랑카의 민중 불교 전문가 알로이시우스 피에리스는 이와 같은 민중종교의 종교성을 우주적인 종교성(cosmic religiosity. Aloysius Pieris, 1986: 135-138)이라고 칭한다. 이렇게 우주적인 종교성에서 계발된 소속감은 공동체 구성원의 연대적인 삶의 추진력으로 작용한다. 그것은 즉 함께 나누는 생활, 함께 하는 식사, 삶의 갈등과 모순에 대한 공동해소 노력 그리고 불운이나 재앙에 대한 공동 대처로서 말이다.

무교 의례에서 사용되는 언어는 그 의례를 청한 단골이나 의례를 진행하는 무당이 겪은 실존적인 경험에 대한 집단 전승이요, 의사소통이라고 할 수 있다. 한국종교사의 흐름 속에서 보더라도 지배자들은 사회 비판적인 기능이 다분한 피지배자들[民衆]의 제의를 금지하지 않았을 뿐만 아니라, 어떤 의미에서는 장려하고 즐기기까지 하였다는 것을 알 수 있다. 예를 들어 강릉 단오제에는 원래 탈춤이 없었다고 한다. 그러한 사실을 관가에서

애석하게 여기어 관노(官奴)들을 시켜서 연회하게 한 탈춤이 바로 관노가면극이라는 것이다(장정룡, 1989).

이것은 민중종교의 제의가 단지 양반의 오락 거리였기 보다는 지배자와 피지배자간의 중요한 언로의 구실을 했다는 의미가 된다. 민중제의에서 드러난 이러한 이야기들은 절실한 삶의 현장에서 발생한 이야기들이고 생존을 위한 노력의 결과물이다. 그래서 이러한 이야기들은 단지 입으로만 전해지는 것이 아니라, 온 몸으로 증언되는 언어이다.

이와 같은 언표는 ‘시대의 징표’(sign of the time)를 깨닫도록 해준다. 고난 받는 이들이 경험한 집단적인 전승의 이야기라든가 그러한 고난의 극복과 관련한 민중의 감수성이 무교 제의에서 감지된다. 고난에 대한 경험이 주로 비극적인 분위기의 ‘공수’에서 잘 드러나고, 그러한 고난의 극복이 희극적인 분위기로 전환된 ‘덕담’에서 구체적으로 드러난다.

“에, 에, 오늘은 부모라구 닳 없구 면목 없이 왔노라. 세상천지 만물 중에, 아휴, 부모노릇 못하구, 이 세상 하직하구, 저 세상 허락하야, 다시 영천 오지 못할 길을... 아휴, 어허 어허, 원통한 말을 어데다 다 하구, 시원한 말을 어데다 다 하라!”(조상거리 공수. 무녀 C, 1985: 10. 17).

“이봅소! 우리 대감님 청해서, 하, 돈두 벌어다 줘야겠지? 하, 우리 양반대감 한번 오던 길에... 이 정성 드러놓고, 우리 부자 됐담네, 안암동 새 부자 나왔담네...”(대감거리 덕담. 무녀 U, 1984: 3.7).

IV. 나오며

오늘날 한국 사회는 세계에 유례가 없는 다종교 상황에 놓여있다. 이러한 맥락에서 오늘 이 땅에 사는 종교인들에게는 특별한 과제가 주어졌다고 본다. 종교인들은 누구나를 막론하고 각 종교. 종파의 풍부한 유산과 활력을 가지고 누리와 겨레의 해방에 공헌해야 하며, 나아가 하나의 거대한 도시로 변하고 있는 세계 즉 지구시(地球市)라는 세상의 구원을 위하여 하나의 새로운 원리를 찾아내야 한다: 각각의 종교는 상호선교의 주체로서 자기 전통과 정체를 보존하는 동시에, 자신을 피선교의 대상으로 내어놓음으로써 각자의 성스러움을 더욱 심화하여 세계평화를 위하여 효과적으로 공헌하게 될 것이다.

이러한 관점에서 한국의 종교인들은 무교 신앙을 보는 시각을 교정할 필요가 있다. 무교를 성급히 원시적 미신으로, 우상숭배로, 사회 근대화와 발전의 장애물이라고 일방적으로

때도할 것이 아니다. 반대로, 엄밀한 연구를 수행하지도 않은 상태에서 막연하게 호감을 나타내어, 무교야말로 한국 종교의 모태(母胎)라든지, 종교심성의 기반이라고 하는 등 무조건 찬양 일변도의 태도도 바람직하지 못하기는 마찬가지이다.

민간 종교성의 기능과 공헌을 제대로 평가하는 한 편, 민간 서민에 국한되는 계층성이나 피지배층의 종교성을 대변한다는 한계 내지 역기능을 균형 있게 보는 태도가 요구된다. 민중종교의 강한 역동성, 그 내적인 폭발력은 고등종교의 예언적이고 사회 비판적인 의식과 조우할 때에 물신주의가 팽배한 현대사회에 창조적으로 공헌할 것이다. 덧붙여서, 무교에 대한 연구를 통하여 주로 들여다보려 하는 한국인 고유의 종교성에 대한 분석과 그에 따른 그리스도교 토착화/한국화의 시도 역시 다양한 종교 간의 비교연구로 보완하여야 하리라 사료된다.

이상과 같은 맥락에서 보아, 상대적으로 점점 더 좁아지고 있는 세계 안에서 그 필요성이 점점해가는 종교 간의 대화와 협력은 오늘 한국의 다종교 상황에서 모범적으로 발전할 가능성을 충분히 지니고 있다. 구체적으로 그것은 “한국의 문화와 분리할 수 없는 무속. 불교. 유교의... [신앙내용과] 그 의미를 있는 그대로 바라다보고, 그 안에 숨겨져 있는 말씀의 씨를 기쁨과 경이를 가지고 발견하도록 노력” (서공석, 1990: 252)하려는 작업이다.

왜냐하면 종교 간의 대화와 협력은 결국 하나의 역사나 특정한 문화로 제한되지 않는 지혜와 진리를 더 잘 알아듣는 일이다. 그리하여 인류 정신사에 나타난 제(諸) 종교들이 같은 진리의 다양한 나타남[顯現]임을 살피고 표현하는 일이다. 그렇게 되었을 때 비로소 나의 신앙체험을 재조명하고, 세상 속에서 실천할 수 있다고 보기 때문이다.

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**Roles of Ethnographic Artefacts
in the Intercultural Reconciliation
and Peace Education**

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Roles of ethnographic Artefacts in the Intercultural Reconciliation and Peace Education

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The aim of this paper is to show the anthropological essence and social mission ethnographic artefacts in the intercultural reconciliation and peace education through urgent public tasks and museum visualization in changing world. A social mission of artifacts of culture lies in this that they make the world in which we are living visible, memorable and recognizable. The ethnographic artefacts and their exposing in museum are most aesthetic part of material culture. The humanistic traditions, social awareness and art-visual technologies by museum expositions are re-translated in cultural community from generation to generation thanks to ethnographical things and folk-creativity. The ethnographic artefacts are important communicators for unification and reconciliation of past and present experiences of peoples. A general role of these artefacts is in *structuring* of culture and supporting of social sustainability under conditions of innovative transformations and challenges. But *what is the fundamental problem of our time's culture* The basic problem in definition of a place and a role of things in modern culture consists in *amplifying rupture* of the objective/material world from the spiritual. During former times such communication existed in a kind ritualization and sacralization of culture artefacts, but today this communication is threateningly fragile. As result, dangerous *destructurization* or the morphological rupture involving structural violence and conflicts. As the modern culture is characterized by *structural rupture* material and spiritual, material samples of a cultural heritage mainly exist separately. We suppose that anthropological analysis of artefacts of traditional culture might enable us to move to comprehension of deep sense and great destination of ethnographical matters in human life.

1. The social and cultural transformation in global world is considered as challenge to sustainable development. In our opinion, the answer to this challenge could be in the growth of system of functional diversity or participating management with use the resources of cultural heritage as the base of sustainable development. Cultural and historical heritage is great resource of educational activity and social-spiritual practice. The folk culture, ethnographical landscapes, historical monuments, traditional artefacts are material manifestations of human creativity and cultural dialogue in time.

The heritage is great information complex and we should know how we can to use its creative potential. Management of cultural heritage becomes one of urgent task of contemporary educational policy and dialogue between past and present. The cultural-historical heritage is stages leading up us from past to future times. But we should not forget that heritage expressed the complicated configuration cultural and natural landscapes in human's environment. The cultural heritage of the Samara region is great and diverse. It has been developed by many generations of different nations. Here the ways of eastern and western, southern and northern cultures, ethnicities, religions were trans-crossing. By means of systematization and typological analysis of Mid-Volga region's traditional culture we came to conclusion of necessity of its inclusion in context institutional relations within the world heritage through the public museum projecting and social mobility/retranslation of archaeological and ethnographical artefacts. In this paper we will attempt to give a social interpretation of material culture through the comprehension of the symbolic nature of artefacts and the meanings of things in cultural process. We have evidence that cultural things are objects by which people tried to affect and influence their immediate environment. Such things, which acquired a social sense through becoming a focus of human activity and included in ritual and folk creativity, began to play a cultural role as an important means of overcoming of social conflicts.

2. The most important platforms of intercultural communication and interpenetration of the experience of the past and the present is *an ethnographical museum of intercultural reconciliation*. In the space of museum the past becomes the present and the present starts to serve the future. The ethnographic artifacts of peacemaking on account of its visual esthetics are very attractive and receptive by the public. The samples of peacemaking in culture, assembled in the museum, not only preserve and express the priceless experience of the previous generations in overcoming violence and wars, but also unite generations and make peace the most esthetically completed sphere of human activity. Peace is always up-to-date, but the present is not always in peace. Therefore it's so important to use an instructive experience of the past for the social mission of society to pave the way to the future with a human face and free world-order.

Our social mission is following. Human life is motion of ideas and things. But just culture makes this motion as peaceful and creative process. Cultural heritage of every nation has its specific great resource of humanistic development. Integrate these resources through the unity in diversity it means getting better all humanity. Culture leans against the traditions. That is why we try to do our activity as an open laboratory of scientific ideas, progressive projects, liberal democratic experience, aesthetic visions, intercultural relations and multicultural creativity through the different resources of ethnology, archaeology and museum practice. *The public aim of our undertaking* is to encourage and to promote international cooperation of scholars, teachers, social and cultural workers, volunteers, interested in the development of intercultural communication and sustainable development by means of the ethnological and archaeological knowledge and its interdisciplinary link

3. We are offering the following general theoretical postulates in the study of symbolic nature of archaeological and ethnographical things and their social expressions in cultural process: a) that every artifact is a means of transmitting vital issues of society, cultural meanings and social challenges; b) that material culture is a mode of regulating social relations, reflecting experiences of integration inside the cultural system; c) that every thing in culture is an art-mythological expression and abbreviated act, and symbolic action using a culturally recognized thing is connected with social attributes; and d) that any objects of material culture used in society are always focused on social relations and symbolic identification. We came to the conclusion that any or all objects of material culture, and especially ethnographical things, constitute a complicated semantic system of symbolic communication that is created within the social space. This process reflects the most important meanings of cultural transformation and social survival.

What is the subject of this study The report explores the anthropological nature of artefacts and their humanistic mission in cultural process. The ethnographical and archaeological artefacts of are more than only samples of material culture and objects of scientific interpretation; they are active participants of social life. We know many examples of archaeological and ethnographical things being used in political, ideological and religious and inter-ethnic relations. Archaeology and anthropological reports confirm that such things often become objects over which fierce fighting and conflicts evidently occur. A crucial point arises that things have human measure and they do not exist without their creators. So every object can be considered as a concentrated expression of human life. Things are also a great resource of humanistic and aesthetic development and especially educational activities. In spite of this knowledge, very little information is available about understanding of cultural mission of artefacts, or their explicit and implicit influence on social life of people. The matter is highly relevant theoretically because things are of such profound importance in today's cultures. The contemporary age is time of transitions. It is era of mega shift. And every transition launches a challenge against human being.

Who investigate the meanings of things before The scrutinize analysis of different manifestations of material culture and symbolic forms of things have been the subject of profound studies, for instance by Victor Turner, Garry Trompf, Luis Binford, Ian Hodder, Robert Layton, Miles Richardson, Christopher Tilley, in the English-speaking tradition. Work has been devoted to the phenomenology of things by Michel Foucault, Claude Levi-Strauss, Jean Baudrillard, Georges Didi-Huberman, Gilles Deleuze, Gaston Bachelard in the French-speaking tradition. Besides, we have large history of scholars pursuing this question in Russian science, thanks to publications by Vladimir Propp, Aleksey Losev, Yakob Golosovker, Victor Toporov, Leo Klein, Oleg Genisaretsky, I should naturally mention here the collection on 'The Meanings of Things' edited by Ian Hodder in special WAC series of the One World Archaeology, concentrated on the study of material culture and symbolic expressions through the artefacts of archaeology [1]. Among recent publications one should pay special attention to recent issue of *Current Anthropology* [2], where three articles

address the materiality of images. The authors concerned discuss particular sets of images as physical objects.

However vast the social anthropological and archaeological literature on this subject, we have some gap between ethnographical, archaeological and philosophical-anthropological knowledge. One can not propose here any means of bridging this gap, but we intend to provide clarification of the anthropological nature of artefacts as active cultural phenomena, daring to hope that such an analysis of things in society might enable us to move to a deeper comprehension of cultural matters in human life.

. *One of the current trends of our changing world is the archaeologization of culture and culturalization of archaeology* [3]. So we try to trace the social and cultural contexts in the movement of things in the discourse of anthropological examination and phenomenological analysis. We try to show the power of archaeological and ethnographical objects to provide a social environment for cross-cultural reconciliation and peacemaking in educational and civil relations. Historical artefacts and monuments of material culture serve as a powerful resource for dialogue of cultures, social harmony and intercultural reconciliation.

What is the Fundamental Problem of Culture in our Time We live in age of the virtualization of culture and the relativization of values. At the same time we have a crisis of identity. Structural rupture is as sign of contemporary times. As the modern culture is characterized by *structural rupture/conflicts* between material and spiritual, material samples of cultural heritage mainly exist separately. Objects of cultural heritage are often poorly treated during the social life of people and consequently quite often become victims of social violence, political struggles and ideological manipulation. In the meantime artefacts of culture have great force of aesthetic and humanistic influence to the life of the human being. The basic problem in the definition of a place and the role of things in modern culture consists in amplifying separation of the objective/material world from the spiritual. During many historical times such connections had been and were supported by way of ritualizing and sacralizing cultural artefacts, but today these connectings are very unstable.

Therefore we can to put forward a hypothesis that there is a structural deformation/destruction of contemporary culture. In answer, we define a *special social mission of ethnography and archaeology* as the means of forming institutional junctions/bridge between the worlds of things and ideas. Particularity, an material cultural object embodies the idea of constancy in a stream of historical variability. Things move together with the people in space, and in time. But when people of one generation leaves, they leave their creations for other generations after themselves. Leaning against them the culture moves further. As N.K. Rerih put it, *the stones of past are steps to future* . Every artefact of any antiquity bears in itself traces of the struggle of a life and death, the past and the present, the chaos and harmony, presence and absence. The culture is rescued from disintegration and destruction in these materialized essences in just artefacts.

Artefacts should be considered as last refuge of culture. The world has changed, but the artefact has remained. In history there are a lot of examples as to how the same thing/object served historically and positionally to different cultures and people. Clear samples of such 'services' are *inter alia* the Taj Mahal in Agra, Hagia Sophia in Istanbul, and the Jerusalem antiquities.

. *Artefacts and Policy.* The capacity of artefacts to overcome and memorialize time can often be subverted by the aggressive protest from religious and political fanatics. So the samples of material culture - memorial complexes and historical monuments have become the first victims of destruction during revolutionary transformation. Unfortunately, in our modern history - this tradition continues. For examples, we can consider the deconstruction of a bronze monument to the Soviet soldier-liberator in Tallinn, and the destruction of monuments in Iraq [4]. Artefacts can become the last victims of interethnic and interreligious conflicts. The barbarous destruction of monumental constructions of Buddha figures in Bamiyan Valley by the Taliban in Afghanistan (2000) is a sad acknowledgement and severe caution for all of us today. Even in those cases, though, when the religious and social fanaticism has captured all the vital space of culture, artefacts can still continue to offer resistance.

6. *Artefacts are always between sustainability and destruction.* In this connection archaeology has a very significant social mission in contemporary time. Artefacts always keep in itself some unchangeable essence during their moving from one culture to another one. We often find that though environments, societies and even cultures had changed, artefacts stayed. Therefore, I propose that the main social mission of artefacts is the *re-structuring* of the changing cultural reality. Artefacts enable us to link the parts of even most radical shifts in space and in time. And this link has a structuring nature. In history people do not stay, death taking them, but their creations/products (ideas, symbols and things) carry on. And peoples come back in a culture/life only through these products. That is why artefacts have a grand humanistic force. Our ancestors knew it better than us. They understood artefacts as the last refuge of culture. But perhaps they sometimes knew it too well, because if they wished to destroy the culture of the enemy, they destroyed his material objects at first. So we have to create and develop a flexible infrastructure of artefacts in order to get sustainability in situation of fast cultural changes.

The more fast of the speed of the transitions, the more important the points of constancy, represented in artefacts. Artefacts keep and link the time. The force of artefacts is in opposition to destruction. Ethnography and archaeology by artefacts of heritage and their museum exposing/screening extend the points/borders of constancy in culture. And simultaneously ethno-archaeological landscapes extends the points/borders of cultural diversity.

. *Challenges of time and artefacts.* At the present time, we can see that people change things more often than people change they self-visions, or mental structures. This is real problem. The material environment by its nature is a conservative essence. Things have been traditionally created for no changes, but they are created for the

keeping life in constancy. When culture is transformed, it needs counterpoints of such a keeping. The culture saves itself from destruction thanks to these 'counterpoints of keeping.' But contemporary culture has dangerous limitation on these points. Everything is too changeable and fragmentary. In ancient times, people attempted to find support against transformation or disruption by constant forms of ritual practice and sacral mythology. But in modern time we can see the complete de-sacralisation and de-ritualization of culture. Absolutely, the world has now almost nothing without shifts of time. This presents a great challenge to humanity. So it is quite pertinent to face the arresting challenge that 'just objects of cultural and historical heritage' could become saving point for the sustainable development of the changing world.

8. One of effective practical way to spreading of samples and experience of intercultural reconciliation by the artefacts is the project "*Culture of Peace Personalities Anthropology in Service of Humanity*". What is the idea of the project? It is to show the anthropological measuring of the culture of peace and non-violence through humanistic samples of personal selfless devotion in science and society. The culture of peace has many manifestations but each manifestation is but one human face, and only through the man and his activity does peace acquire not just an abstract matter but quite a concrete one for people. There is no peace without man just as there no man without peace. The history of peacemaking is a great school of thought and humanism. It is the most diverse, open, comprehensible, beautiful and effective school of all times and people. This school has many teachers, subjects, knowledge, creativity, but most of all it opens a great deal of opportunities for dialogue, mutual understanding and self-development. One can learn much in that school. But the principal lessons in that school are the lessons of beauty, humanism and freedom.

What is the humanistic mission of the project The culture of peace possesses truly huge human resources and these resources should be mastered for the good and salvation of the humankind. These resources consist of concrete samples of individual selfless devotion in culture. These resources should be used to serve the humankind. It should be important to be done in this way that the samples of the culture of peace in their utmost human concrete definition help to solve the most difficult tasks of modern development. Without these resources the world cannot develop steadily and harmoniously. Humankind not only has the culture of peace but also the culture of war. Unfortunately, the human nature is such that the voice of the culture of war, intolerance, aggression and destruction is much louder, unrulier, wider and more aggressive than the voice of peace. For everything is not enough for war, war is omnivorous and voracious, whereas peace is the ideal incarnation of truth, order and harmony. Peace has everything necessary for full-fledged human life, as long as peace is life in its true meaning. That is why the voice of peace and beauty is quiet, serene and balanced. But to our great happiness, as Sigmund Freud noted, this voice will speak until people can hear it.

Why should this be done? Although the voice of peace can be heard in each man, in order to hear it he/ she must tune himself/herself to the frequency of perception of another man. Just as the man perceives himself through a dialogue with another individual, the voice of peace becomes heard through the perception of another man.

Knowledge is perception of difference. Cultural noise or crisis of identity, which muffles the genuine voices of culture and begets fear, intolerance and xenophobia, leads to separatism and isolation. Cultural noise is the consequence of dysfunction, i.e. violation of individual cultural identity. A dialogue with other individuals/cultures clears the way of self-identification of person, removes the noise and gives sound to peace in the form of recognizable voices of concrete individualities. Owing to self-identification/self-assumption peace becomes visible and hearable for the man, for where there is peace there is the man. One can say it in a different way: the man holds as much human in himself as he holds peace. The state of complete peace encompasses the entire man and hence all his identified anthropological essence speaks inside of him. In other words, everything falls into place and performs its organic mission. Consequently, the man needs a dialogue with others in order to be heard. Just as he needs self-identification in order to be seen. But in order to be seen and heard power is needed that would make people reach for each other. And this power of attraction for people comes from beauty. Our eyes are blind, and the beauty looks for a mirror. Clean yourself of everything dark to get sparkling. Go through the state of a drop to become an ocean – sagaciously claimed a great poet of Hindustan Mirza Galib (1797-1869).

Why did we name the project *Culture of Peace Personalities: Anthropology in Service of Humanity* ? The culture of peace is a means of self-organization of the man and society. Owing to the culture of peace people maintain order and harmony in relations between each other even in the periods of the hardest trials. And if our thesis that the man holds as much human in himself as he holds peace is right, then it means that the brightest, the most comprehensible and instructive samples of peacemaking proceed from the people who have been successful in their individual human work. For all that, the more individualized (in ethno-cultural and confessional as well as concrete-individual manifestation) the peacemaking of an individual man is conceived, the more universal becomes his social concernment. One can also claim that only supreme achievements of a person within a limited sphere of activity usually acquire omni-human concernment. Theory of relativity of Einstein is one of many confirmations of it. The omni-human and universal becomes firmly established in their supreme social meaning only through individual and local self-expression. I am less than the little, I am bigger than the big – is said in *Upanishad* (the words of Shiva about himself). Karel Čapek also said these remarkable words about it:

Owing to what has Dickens, this very English of all the writers of England, become the world's author? Owing to what have Gogol and others who have created such literature, that you cannot imagine anything more Russian, acquired the world's reputation? ...Absolutely Nordic Gamsun? And many of those who voluntarily or not expressed the soul and character, drew types and life of their countries and their nations? ...The more English, more Russian, more Nordic is this or that work, the more thoroughly and evidently does it claim the world's value . Exactly this was the reason of our appeal to workers of science and culture, politics, economics and religion, musicians, sportsmen and artists with this international project *Culture of Peace Personalities: Anthropology in Service of Humanity* . It is hard to name such a

power that would influence groups of people and their minds stronger than the living samples of personal selfless devotion in culture.

. *What do the artifacts of peacemaking mean* We may claim that the peacemaking has its own culture, and we should not forget about its concrete artifacts. It is these artifacts that make this particular culture socially important. These artifacts are diverse, but each of them, even the tiniest and most unnoticeable can possess a great humanistic value for the society. For behind every artifact of culture there stands a real human being, with his ideas, feelings, emotional experiences, beliefs, hopes and loves. A social mission of artifacts of culture also consists in making the world in which we are living visible and recognizable for peaceful (and peace-making) purposes. Even the bravest and brightest thought is blind, helpless and lifeless without its material incarnation. Was not Michelangelo right when claiming that we cannot strongly love what isn't seen well ?

In conclusion we would like to remind us of an old tale. One day God decided to learn the most valuable thing on Earth what is, and he sent angels, commanding them to fetch the best of the Man's creations from Earth. The angels immediately flew to people, to Earth, and started to search thoroughly for what they thought was the most valuable and meaningful in the human culture. They were trying to find the most desired thing for three days and three nights. However they were unable to choose just a single thing. Therefore they selected three best things in their opinion. They took a weapon, money and an ancient artefact. But while flying back to God, the weapon became rusty, the money ran out, but the artefact remained.

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Towards which Reconciliation
ifferent Aspects
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Towards which Reconciliation?

Different Aspects of Museological Approaches in Istrian Region

ABSTRACT: This paper examines two concrete cases on how museums deal with reconciliation and peace topic. The focus is on the future display of *The Istrian, Fiuman and Dalmatian Cultural Civic Museum* in City of Trieste in Italy and on recent exhibition on Istrian emigration displayed in *Ethnographic Museum of Istria* in Pazin, Croatia. The reflection and comparison of two different museological approaches that basically have the same object of interest show us how tricky can be the representation of a specific conflict situation, and more generally, of a modern plural society. Especially when strong ideological conviction and political purposes are implicated. This problem recalls a more general questioning of what is and should be the role of ethnographic (and not only) museums and how to face such issues in a pragmatic way.

KEYWORDS: Ethnographic museums, Istria, reconciliation, migrations, oral history

The rhetoric of flag-rising and institutional mythology offer a posthumous and linear version of the history. But this linearity and the hagiography don't make us understand things. The made up phrases and repeated formulas from podiums, as from pulpits, hide the anger, the dirt, and the dynamite, giving to the present what it asks for.

To burry deeply inside our hearts forgotten or never told events is an insult to the present.

It is an unscrupulous and deliberate act.

(Hi)stories are nothing but war axes to be disinterred (1).

(*Asce di guerra*, by Vitaliano Ravagli and Wu Ming)

INTRODUCTION

In a current world scenario it is very hard not to be involved and/or surrounded by different past or present conflict situation. Even if we agree that it is a global phenomenon known to all humans, however, not every conflict has the same intensity, expression, social and cultural background as well as consequences. Life contexts vary from each other, different situations are supposed to use a different grammar in order to reestablish a kind of social peace and stability.

My personal life experience made me face abundance of situations where the dominant aspect of a daily life was a direct manifestation of an open conflict. From 1991 to 1995 I was a testimony of a civil war in former Yugoslavia between the people that were supposed to build the new society following the values of *brotherhood and unity* under the socialist doctrine. What we now have is a predominant nationalistic autism in our reinvented national communities where the dominant paradigm when interpreting differences between *us* and *them*, from an anthropological point of view, is cultural essentialism. The exclusive model that reflects very well today's Croatian society and produces a fertile ground for tomorrow's hostilities.

As an undergraduate student in Italy, I learned about the strong divisions and multilayered conflicts present in Italian society. Inner conflicts were evident in the economical and cultural antagonism between its Northern and Southern part. Also, the strong

political opposition and segregation inside Italian society between the left and the right wing and their most radical expressions, didn't facilitate the necessary dialogue on a variety of social issues, above all on those relative to the new social and cultural reality. This new reality is a result of recent migratory phenomenon in the area of southern Europe, which made the traditionally emigrant countries places of final or temporary destination for persons from so called Third World countries.

Life circumstances took me then to continue my postgraduate study and to work in the Catalan capital Barcelona, Spain. This experience made me understand how the consequences of a civil war can remain deeply cut inside the collective memory. This memory takes time to emerge; often is contested and dangerous for the official institutional memory, almost always surrounded by silences. Even if today's Spain is one of the most progressive, socially and economically affluent countries on the European and world map, the Spanish Civil War that took place in 1936 and Francisco Franco's dictatorship until the late 70s still play a fundamental role in the social, cultural and political design of whole country, especially in those parts where the repression was stronger during and after the Civil War, like in Catalonia and Bask Country.

The focus of this paper will remain in a borderland called Istria, with its Italian, Slovenian and Croatian part, where I was born and where at the moment I work as museum curator in the *Ethnographic Museum of Istria*. In the beginning of the paper, my attempt will be to contextualize briefly the Istrian historical, social and cultural context. I find it indispensable as it forges the core framework of this reflection where the central topic of the paper is situated. That is, the comparison and analysis of two different museological practices in Istria that deal with the same object of interest: the concept of the future permanent display of *The Istrian, Fiuman and Dalmatian Cultural Civic Museum* in City of Trieste in Italy and

the exhibition on Iстриan emigration *Suitcases Destinies Istria out of Istria*, displayed in *Ethnographic Museum of Istria in Pazin, Croatia*.

Besides, there will be a continuous reflection on concepts as *reconciliation, conflict, and dialogue* and about the possible social purposes and roles that ethnographic museums should have when dealing with these complex phenomena. In the conclusion, I propose a pragmatic methodological approach in ethnological research and museological practice as a response to conflict situations and contested histories with an ideological background (and not only). That is the implementation of oral history projects in our work, which could encompass and improve some of the fundamental levels of ethnographic museum activities: relationship with the local community, museums social purpose, research, museological representation and educational activities.

LOCAL CONTEXT, GLOBAL PROBLEMS

The north Adriatic peninsula Istria is a geographical area that is currently incorporated in three modern nation-states: Italy, Slovenia and Croatia. War scenarios, totalitarian political regimes, precarious economic situation and the migration phenomenon throughout the period which Eric Hobsbawm defines as *the age of extremes* (1914-1991), played the key role in the construction and transformation processes of Istria's contemporary social and cultural environment.

As in other European countries, economical reasons characterized migrations from Istria to North and South America at the end of 19th and the beginning of 20th century. During that era, the Iстриan territory first belonged to Austro-Hungarian Empire and then, after World War I, joined the Kingdom of Italy. In addition to economic situation, in the period between the two World Wars, the political facts expressed in fascist repressive and discriminatory

government further drove numerous migrations from Istria in traditional destination countries and also in recently formed (1918) Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

National animosities between the Slavic (both Croats and Slovenians) and Italian population had its culmination and most radical and violent manifestation after World War II, when Istria joined the Croatian Republic in the socialist federation of Yugoslavia. The change from one to another totalitarian regime (from fascism to communism) brought new injustices to a significant part of the population, and was reflected - as Lidija Nikočević affirms - in *nationalization of property, persecutions and punishment of political enemies and upper bourgeois class members. These were the crucial reasons why many Italians started to think about leaving Istria* (Nikočević, 2009), and why they finally left. In that very last period, precisely from 1945-1971, it is believed that about 225 000 people, mostly of Italian nationality, emigrated from Istria (Dukovski, 2000: 229-230). Further, hundreds of people were murdered and thrown into the deep natural carstic sinkholes, known as foibe . Foiba , later became the synonym of communist atrocities in Istria and Dalmatia and emblematic symbol of *esodo* (the exodus) of Italian population from this area, denominated *esuli* (the exiled people).

Reflections and interpretations of issues such as reconciliation and conflict often are presented in black and white technique. Binary oppositions emerge as something natural, the only lens which should help us to read and understand the complex situations. Truth/lie; conflict/peace; aggressor/victim; right/wrong; rich/poor; urban/rural; we/them; civilization/barbarity; and similar oppositions, emerge as the points of departure when questioning about problematic relations between two or more entities involved in a past or present conflict. Can we really find the solutions to the multifaceted realities by simplifying the dynamics of any conflict inside a particular social and cultural setting?

The president of Italian Parliament and leader of Alleanza Nazionale (*National Alliance*), Gianfranco Fini, said for the Italian minority daily newspaper printed in Croatian city Rijeka, that *the reconciliation with the former Yugoslavia countries on "foibe" and exodus will be possible when it becomes honest and based on truth, not on the convenience. Besides, Fini proposes [...] to continue with the verification of the truth and its dissemination [...] and to fight against lies and existing revisionism with the spirit of historical truth (2).* The question is - which truth? The truth of *esuli*, of the exiled Italian people, or the truth of Croatian and Slovenian antifascist that *liberated* their country? The truth which blindly serves a specific political agenda or each of these points of view should be considered and questioned? Paraphrasing Antonio Gramsci, a *struggle for the hegemony* of historical representation is always an open front.

Following the interpretative paradigm, the socio-cultural reality for an ethnologist can't be black or white - it is painted in numerous nuances of grey. Conflicts are always present on different levels with more or less intensity. Reconciliation - intended as a process of *restoring friendly relations between (3) two or more parties* - in my opinion, needs some implementation or change of agenda to become more pragmatic. What we need is to *respect our adversary* as Clifford Geertz suggests (Geertz, 1999: 100), to understand the variety of conflict agencies and to apply all possible strategies with the aim to create an open discussion; to establish a dialogue which would be able to analyze problems from more than one side, always when its purpose is to create the social peace, or at least to reduce the existing or the possible damage.

Therefore, I find more appropriate to use the term *dialogue* and *inclusion*, when thinking about concrete actions in order to restore or improve the social stability in a specific context. As museum ethnologists who have the opportunity to do the anthropology at home

and interpret the local cultural and social phenomena, we have the ethical responsibility to conceive our activities, following Diane Krouse, in a way

[...] to be more inclusive, more democratic, more representative of diverse communities [...] including groups linked by culture, ethnicity, race, nationality, neighborhood, sexual orientation, ability, and disability. (Krouse, 2006:170)

I would add that we should also establish a dialogue between different historical interpretations, especially the one that come from the *ordinary* and unknown people, and include other truths in our representations. In this way, we could be close to what Richard Sandell conceives as one of the most important social functions that museums should have, that is *the ability to influence and affect society* (Sandell, 2002: 3). Museums should not be servants of any political discourse, but to promote above all the equality, inclusion and other social values. In other words, grammar of ethnological research and language of the museological representation should have a clear political attitude in front of all dominant ideologies: an open critique.

REPRESENTING PLURALITY

Plurality is the trademark of Istrian society in present-day Croatia, or simply put using politicians vocabulary- *a brand*. Notion of multiculturalism is present in all tourist guides, cooking books and political discourses. Current official Istrian politics promotes an open and tolerant multicultural society based on peaceful cohabitation of all its inhabitants. However, it is still in-between a *weak* and a *strong* multiculturalism, as defined by Ralph Grillo. (Grillo, 2000) After all World War II traumas that remained strongly embedded in collective memory, Italian national community has the institutional recognition of cultural difference in the public sphere including the political representation. However, the cultural diversity of other ethnic groups (Bosnians, Roma, Albanians, etc.) is recognized almost only in the private

sphere, and a high degree of assimilation is expected in the public one. On the horizontal and symbolical level, those groups never gain (their singular members rarely) the same status as Croatian, Slovenian and Italian Istrians, there is no rule for how long time they will remain perceived in a daily life as *fure ti* (the foreigners).

How do we represent the dialogue in this specific case as museum professionals? In the specific case of Istria, even if the present cohabitation between different cultural and social communities does not have violent manifestations and is perceived by others in a wider area as a model to follow, when thinking about the last civil war in former Yugoslavia, on a local level we still have unresolved questions. On one side, we have the contested history animosities and concrete ideological discrepancy due to the consequences of the World War II and of what followed. On the other, we have numerous social and cultural realities that for long time had been put aside.

My intent with this paper is to tackle these questions comparing two concrete museological experiences in Istria that deal apparently with the same topics. The first one is the future *Istrian, Fiuman and Dalmatian Cultural Civic Museum* (4) in the City of Trieste (Italy) (5), which aims to *conserve and develop the historical and cultural patrimony and the traditions of the Istrian people* (6); and the exhibition *Suitcases Destinies Istria out of Istria*, displayed at the *Ethnographic Museum of Istria in Pazin* (Croatia), which portrays ethnographic aspects of Istrian emigration inserted in an universal context of shared immigrant experiences. Also, I will briefly expose the concept of the future permanent display of the *Ethnographic Museum of Istria*, which aims to change the anachronic and positivistic display in order to include and interpret differently the Istrian plurality.

According to its name, the *Istrian, Fiuman and Dalmatian Cultural Civic Museum* is supposed to be a very ambitious project which aims to cross the millenary history of people

that lived along the eastern part of Adriatic Sea and display the cultural plurality of this area and its transformation throughout the history. However, the concept of the museum is completely different. The director of the museum states that the permanent collection will be based on objects from the households that exiled Istrian people left behind in a warehouse in the old port of Trieste after the World War II. Photographs and other documents will also enrich the display. Furthermore, a traditional Istrian kitchen and a chapel will be displayed, which should symbolize the private sphere and religiosity of the families in that area. A portion of the museum will be dedicated to a collection of paintings of Istrian artists, and there will also be a well-documented archive, a library and space dedicated for scientific research. (7)

The central (and most controversial) installation of the museum, which from the roof to the ground goes across all four floors of the building, is an impressive, bluish monolith which symbolically represents a foiba – the physical place of massive executions in post-war period. The director defines it as a *memorial to all fallen Istrians, Fiumans and Dalmatians*. He argues that the museum will be *important for the world of Diaspora, as a testimony of their experience*. However, he continues, *the museum is not supposed to be a museum of exodus, but of the life and culture of Istrian and Dalmatian civilization*. As a long-term aim, the director sees in the museum project

[...] the challenge to keep the memories [...], to protect the past and, in the same time, to use it as the material of deepen studies, of debate for sons and grandsons of those who had to leave and of those who remained. (8)

The emblematic symbol of what the museum curators and other local and national institutions understand as Istrian, Fiuman and Dalmatian civilization or culture is materialized in foiba installation as a most dramatic manifestation of Italian exodus from Istria and Dalmatia. It seems that only the victims of the exodus - esuli - have right to be considered as

Istrians, while all others are almost excluded. Furthermore, they are supposed to represent and belong to a specific civilization, while the only place of the other, in opposition to the civilization, remains the one embodied in all meaning that *foiba* transmits barbarity. Such concept takes only one aspect of the common historical, social and cultural background, excluding other realities from its representation. It reflects more the actual political discourse of the Italian post-fascist party *Alleanza Nazionale* (*National Alliance*) than the intent to encompass cultural and social plurality present in Istrian territory along the history.

It is true that for a long time the Istrian exodus and *foibe* were a taboo for the public domain, especially during the era of Yugoslavia (1945-1991). Recently, the things have started to move on, but silences are still more than evident in the public life, scientific research, etc. *Ethnographic Museum of Istria* with the exhibition *Suitcases – Destinies Istria out of Istria* broke this silence. The exhibition's display is constructed on ethnological aspects of the Istrian emigration, inserted in a wider context, while the political and ideological issue serves only as a frame where the emigration experiences are inserted; it is not a spiritual guide of the display. Dealing with the emigration issue in Istria means dealing with past conflicts and its multilayered consequences evident in our present. Consequentially, dealing with Istrian emigration means opening a space for dialogue and reconciliation.

After two years of research in state archives, libraries, museums and different institutions, visiting Istrian communities on three continents, collecting life histories of Istrian emigrant(s), numerous objects and every kind of documentation that testify their unique experience, the exhibition was ready to be presented to the public in April 2009. There are two dimensions that cross the display narration. The first one explores the elements that most of the immigrants have in common: reasons of the departure, the ways by which they traveled, life in their temporary settlements, the arrival to the destination, their accommodation to the new reality, family and community life, connections and relationship with the homeland and

the way in which they invented for their needing Istria out of Istria. The second dimension constantly intercrosses the contextual one: it portrays twelve people that left Istria in different moments and for different reasons; the life history and memories of their emigrant experience, their intimacy and emotions, victories and defeats, imaginary of the homeland, intimate objects and words of their emigration destinies.

The concept of the exhibition and the selected objects, documents, photographs, film documentaries, interviews, music and other material does not have the pretension of representing totality - it is a fragmentary interpretation of different realities and destinies, the partial truth of Istrian migration phenomenon. Also, the documents, as it is the case of few proposed documentary films, show different aspects of the same fact, sometimes in complete contradiction to each other. Migration is a complex topic that never stops, that has so many nuances as much there are singular emigration and immigration experiences. Only by presenting multiple and sometimes contradictory voices we can establish a kind of dialogue between the differences, between contested histories, old and new hostilities.

Besides this exhibition, *Ethnographic Museum of Istria* is working intensively on the new permanent display of the museum. The actual one is a result of ideological heredity from other times, which in positivistic way had the objective to represent the *authentic* Istrian ethnographic character focused exclusively on Slavic components of Istrian pre-contemporary rural life. It is unbelievable that Istrian coasts, social and cultural phenomenon related to the life on the sea and from the sea, were totally neglected. But it is easy to understand when we know that Italian people mostly populated coastal areas. The strategy of voluntary exclusion of one of the constitutive entity of Istrian territory from the museological representation is more than evident. This kind of scientific and human policy I would not call ethnology or museology, but propaganda. From 70s this permanent display wasn't modified and it is about time to change it and include not only the once excluded reality, but also to

document and represent other cultural realities characteristics for people who live in Istria. Our aim is to unfreeze this manipulative and reductive vision of tradition and culture. Thus, the focus of the display will be on people and not on decontextualized objects, on transformation processes of our multiple identities, on different visions and reflections of Istrian plurality. That means that the display theoretically will never have its definitive form it is conceived as a flexible work in progress, susceptible to changes, a museological and ethnological practice of continuous rethinking of our surrounding reality.

CONCLUSIONS

I opened this paper with a quotation from a book written by an Italian collective of storytellers, a kind of manifesto of the literature they are writing. The idea they are trying to illuminate - the importance *to disinter the war axes* is a metaphor of contested (hi)stories and a necessity to discover and to show up the stories of common people that could contrast or be complementary to the institutionalized and official ones. This thought goes close to the pragmatic approach in ethnographic and museological practice that I find very useful when we deal with such delicate issues as conflict, reconciliation, plurality. It is about of using the method of oral history in ethnographic research, museum displays and museum educational activities.

In this specific examined case of contested Istrian history and apparently incompatible ideologies that cause the different perception and representation of its plurality in a institutional level (both museum and politics), we can arrive to the conclusion, according to Allesandro Portelli, that *the discrepancy between fact and memory ultimately enhances the value of the oral sources as historical documents* (Portelli, 1991: 26). I would add, also as ethnographic documents and data. On one side, the Trieste's museum reflects the political discourse and the way of reconciliation strategy of Italian inner social, political and historical

animosities, propagated by post-fascist party which political and historical aim is to equal fascism and communism. It goes by the hand of recently (2004) instituted “Il Giorno del Ricordo” (The Remembrance Day). Italian journalist Paolo Rumiz writes critically about this manifestation in Trieste’s daily newspaper *Il Piccolo*. He says:

The equivalency between “foibe” and Trieste’s concentration camp seems to make also a political equivalency: nazi-fascism=communism. [] It is from 1945 that the [Italian] Right wing pursues coherently this way of interpretation. Now apparently they reached this aim. By dint of insisting to establish The Remembrance Day on the 10th February, the date of the “betrayal” (peace treats that yield the territory to Tito’s Yugoslavia), it seems to me a voluntary choice in order to stir up revanchism. []

The result is that today Italy accepts to celebrate “foibe” evoking only the Slavic barbarities and ignoring the Italian one. The honesty would be satisfied if in the game of exchange of excuses the authentic symmetry substitutes the false one. Only in this way, in my opinion, the post-war on our borders will end. Without honesty the memory remains cripple, and the Remembrance Day might create tensions for a long time. Unless it is properly what someone wants. (9)

In this case, the institutionalized memory fits properly in what Portelli sees in dynamics of memory’s agency: *it manipulates factual details [...] in order to serve three major functions symbolic, psychological and formal.* (Portelli, 1991: 26) Foibe and esodo represent on the symbolic level the post-war experience of people from Istria, Fiume and Dalmatia in a whole. Psychologically, the dynamics, personal stories and causes of these tragedies are manipulated in order to create an emotional, victimized and unilateral narrative, with very little space, as one-sided, for any reconciliation. And formally, it rigidly separates *us* from *them*, assets the *civilization* value only to some, it turns the time on year zero at the 10 February of 1947, the day when on Paris Peace Treaty was decided that Istria would

joined the socialist Yugoslavia. It was on the same day in 2004 that Italian Government institutionalized “Il Giorno del Ricordo” (The Remembrance Day); the day dedicated to the memory of all foiba victims and exiled people from Istria, Fiume and Dalmatia.

Another institutional and ideological strategy to deal with these issues is silence, characteristic for Croatian-Istrian context. The silence takes on the collective amnesia, which is not less reductive approach of the one mentioned earlier. The *Suitcase Destinies Istria out of Istria* project had the challenge to listen to the personal silences in order to make suppressed and never told memories to emerge. That was only possible by privileging the oral sources in the research process and in the representation in order to create a necessary dialogue between different life experiences and ideological settings in the frame of Istrian migration phenomenon (or exodus, if someone prefers). In this way what one can perceive is not a linear narration whose ascertainments are taken for granted, but a *polyphonic* interpretation of singular experiences inserted in their social and cultural context - before the departure, in the transition, in a new land, and in the imaginary construction of their homeland(s). *The life was infused in our collections* (Thompson, 2000: 13) and a more active relationship with a local community was established. Only in this way it was possible to achieve our aim - to build the display around the unknown people disregarding the leaders or political discourses, to actuate a kind of bottom-up reconciliation process.

The utility of oral history projects for a variety of social purposes in public institutions as museums, libraries, schools, etc., is not a revolutionary new approach (10). However, in our context this is not the most common practice either. As a pedagogical tool, it can reach a variety of population of different ages and social background: it is cheap, interactive and inclusive. Also, recorded oral sources represent important scientific data and documentation material of local community life, past and present, of particular issues, of cultural transformation and social change.

Memories, as *structured narrations between present and past, between individuality and collectivity, between word and silence* (Passerini, 2006: 17) are constitutive part of intangible culture and people identities in any place of the world. As professionals, our duty and social responsibility is to individuate these silences and together with the local community, as the curators of this local knowledge, to find the way of how to translate and amplify it, in order to establish the indispensable dialogue between different memories.

This continuous and open dialogue, as a result of a shared knowledge, could be a possible solution to reduce the old, present and all future hostilities.

NOTES

(1) The official translation of this book does not exist, so it was me who did this rough translation from Italian. This is how sounds in original version:

La retorica degli alzabandiera e la mitologia istituzionale offrono una versione postuma e lineare della storia. Ma la linearità e l'agiografia non servono a capire le cose. Le frasi fatte e le formule ripetute dai palchi, come dai pulpiti, coprono la rabbia, lo sporco e la dinamite, consegnando al presente quello che chiede.

Scavare nel cuore oscuro di vicende dimenticate o mai raccontate un oltraggio al presente. Un atto spregiudicato e volontario.

Le storie non sono che asce di guerra da disseppellire.”

(2) Gianfranco Fini in newspaper article: Anonymous. Istria, serve una nuova italianità'. La voce del popolo 23 February 2009.

(3) AskOxford: Free online dictionary resources from Oxford University Press. 23 June 2009. Oxford University Press. 05 Aug. 2009. <<http://www.askoxford.com/?view=uk>>

(4) The name of the museum in Italian language is *Civico museo della Civiltà istriana, fiumana e dalmata*. Word *civiltà*, which means *civilization*, was translated in English with *cultural*. In my opinion, there is quite big semantic difference between the significations of these two words.

(5) Until this moment of writing, unfortunately, it was impossible to get in contact with the director of the future museum and of *IRCI - The Regional Institute for Istrian, Fiuman, Dalmatian Culture* in Trieste- the responsible institution of carrying on the museum project. During three weeks I wrote few emails, I left many messages to his colleagues when calling on the phone, but no feedback was received. In the last phone call I was pleased to call back after 20th of August. So the planned interview with him will be substituted by analysis of newspaper articles, the museum web-site and different opinions relative to the future *Istrian, Fiuman and Dalmatian Cultural Civic Museum*. Unfortunately, this is not a new practice in

“collaboration” with *IRCI*, but it is indeed a relevant data when reflecting on issues as dialogue and mutuality.

(6) *IRCI*. 11 Feb. 2009. Istituto Regionale per la Cultura Istriano-Fiumano-Dalmata. 2 Aug. 2009. <http://www.irci.it/Main.html>

(7) *Istrian, Fiuman and Dalmatian Cultural Civic Museum's* director Silvio Delbello in newspaper article: Giuricin, Guido. Un vettore di cultura memoria e ricerca. *Il Piccolo* 5 February 2009.

(8) Ibid.

(9) Rumiz, Paolo. Per arrivare a una pacificazione non sufficiente onorare soltanto i morti delle Foibe e della Risiera. *Il Piccolo* 10 February. 2009.

(10) Cfr. Thompson (2000: 1-24; 190-221)

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The Getty Museum and Los Angeles
: Can An Art Museum Help Us All Get Along

Peter Tokofsky

Full Title: The Getty Museum and Los Angeles: Can An Art Museum Help Us All Get Along?

Short Title: Getty and Los Angeles

Author: Peter Tokofsky

Abstract: This paper examines the emergence of the Getty Center as a premiere art and cultural institution in Los Angeles in light of the cultural composition, and conflict, within the city, paying particular attention to the Los Angeles riots which took place while the Center was being built. I explore the challenges faced by Getty leadership in making foundational decisions for the institution, including selection of a location and establishing a mission for the Getty Museum. The paper critiques the distinction between ethnographic museums and art museums as vehicles for peace and reconciliation, and reviews programs offered by the Getty Museum that serve these goals without reference to cultural heritage.

Address: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1200 Getty Center Drive, Los Angeles, CA 90049

The J. Paul Getty Museum was founded in 1954 as a small museum in the home the ranch house of Mr. Getty at the northwestern edge of Los Angeles. In 1974 the museum expanded into its new quarters next to the ranch house, the Getty Villa, which is modeled after the Villa dei Papiri of the first century A.D. Mr. Getty died two years later, in 1976, and left a large portion of his estate to the museum. These funds passed to the J. Paul Getty Trust in 1982. At that time, the trustees of this cultural, educational, and philanthropic organization decided on ways to make a greater contribution to the visual arts through an expanded museum as well as a range of new programs(1), namely the Getty Conservation Institute, the Getty Research Institute, and the Getty Grant Program (now known as the Getty Foundation).

All of these institutions are now housed at the Getty Center, which opened on a stunning hilltop location in the western portion of Los Angeles in December 1997. The fifteen years between the emergence of the Getty Trust as one of the wealthiest arts organizations in the world, and the opening of the Getty Center, were not only a period of tremendous planning and development for the Getty, but also a period of extraordinary events and shifts in the history of Los Angeles. The Getty selected the location and design for the Center, and made significant decisions about its role locally and globally. Los Angeles hosted the 1984 Olympics, witnessed tremendous growth and transformation economically and demographically, and also experienced a number of devastating episodes including the riots of 1992, which were precipitated by the acquittal of four police officers involved in the beating of motorist Rodney King. These two histories of the Getty and of Los Angeles intersect in the rise of Los Angeles as one of the top cultural destinations in the United States and the world. The website for Forbes business magazine recently listed Los Angeles as the number two destination for cultural tourism in the United States (behind New York) and observed that the Getty Museum is arguably *the most famous of Los Angeles' culture spots.* (2)

In light of these developments over the past quarter century, and in view of the important theme of the ICOM-ICME conference on peace and reconciliation and the role of ethnographic museums, it is worth considering how the Getty Museum, which has come of age during a tumultuous and transitional period in Los Angeles, has responded to its physical home and

contributed to peace and understanding among the local population around the Getty Center. When the Getty Center opened in 1997, the president of the Getty Trust, Harold M. Williams, observed that while *Los Angeles is the most ethnically diverse and culturally rich metropolitan area in the world* we generally do not celebrate, or even acknowledge, these qualities within ourselves. Moreover, Williams noted, to the rest of the world, *Los Angeles is known for the transitory and disastrous, a place that is always changing and struggling*. Thus he hoped that the new Getty Center would help us see ourselves be a place of community, a catalyst for celebration of all the city's varied peoples and cultures. (3)

In order to evaluate the success of these goals over the little more than a decade since the Getty Museum opened its new doors, it is first necessary to provide an overview of the geography and demographics of Los Angeles. I will then situate the Getty within the landscapes and ethnoscaapes of the city, as well as within the context of the full range of museums that are available to the same audience. The Getty is not, by any conventional definition, an ethnographic museum. Therefore, I will also raise the question, implied in the context of the ICME conference, whether ethnographic museums are more adequately equipped to serve the purposes of peace and reconciliation, or whether our division of museum categories does a disservice not only to these goals, but also to our understanding and expectations of what museums can achieve.

Los Angeles is frequently cited, as in the quotation above from Harold Williams, as the most culturally and ethnically diverse metropolitan area in the world. It is also one of the most populous regions in the world. It is difficult to support either of these claims statistically. The former because any true comparisons would depend on definitions of "culture," "ethnicity," and "diversity"; the later because it depends on how a metropolitan area or region is defined. Most delineations of metropolitan region rely on local political boundaries and do not account for varying access to transportation and mobility that determines the relationship between central and peripheral areas, or for the degree or lack of centralization within the region.

Regardless of any statistical validity of the diversity claim, experientially Los Angeles is indeed like very few other cities in the world in terms of the range of people who call it home. According to the United States Census in the year 2000, of approximately 10 million people residing in Los Angeles County, just over 31% were *White not Hispanic or Latino*, about 10% were black, 12% Asian, and 1% American Indian or Pacific Islander. Almost 45% identified as Hispanic or Latino, while over 23% were categorized as *Some Other Race* and almost 5% as *Two or More Races*. (4) While this might seem to be a significant stratification of the population even on the surface, when we recognize that each of these categories is quite broad and includes many sub-categories, we realize the remarkable diversity of the region. In Los Angeles, *Asians*, for instance, includes recognizable communities of Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Cambodian, Thai, Burmese, Indian, and Vietnamese, among others. Black includes both African Americans and Africans. In many cases, too, large ethnic populations live outside of Los Angeles County, and thus do not figure in this set of statistics, but nonetheless maintain very close connections to the city of Los Angeles. So, for instance, while the famous Koreatown of Los Angeles lies within the city limits, Little Saigon, the *cultural and commercial capital for nearly 300,000 Vietnamese Americans in Southern California, the largest concentration of Vietnamese people outside Vietnam*, lies in neighboring Orange County. (5)

Equally relevant for our consideration is the geographic distribution of these populations. Census data show that while a few small sections of the city and county now contain no single majority ethnic population (as is true, notably, for the county as a whole), more generally, ethnic groups cluster in distinct locations. (6) The Westside of Los Angeles, that is, the stretch of land

along the coastline and extending inland for several miles, remains predominantly white, as do the mountainous areas adjacent to the coast and extending southeast to Hollywood. Large areas east and southeast of downtown Los Angeles are majority Hispanic. Smaller areas in the cities of Inglewood and Compton, as well as south of downtown Los Angeles are majority black. A few small areas scattered east and south of Los Angeles are home to majority Asian and Pacific Islander communities. Very few areas in Los Angeles County do not have a majority of one of these populations (i.e., no single census category of race/ethnicity constituting over 50% of the population).

This is not the place to attempt a review or encapsulation of the riots that shook Los Angeles in 1992 and their possible relationship to demographics. Yet, to understand the significance of the siting of the Getty Center within the cityscape and the local imagination, we need to recognize the geographic parameters of the riots. The violent response set off by the acquittal, by a mostly white jury, of four white police officers in the beating of a black motorist was contained primarily in areas of the city with majority black and Latino populations. As the situation worsened, rumors circulated in these communities that the police department allowed the riots to grow, or even precipitated them, in order to harm black and Latino property as well as perception of these populations in the eyes of outsiders. The chief of police, it was later reported, spent the first few hours following the much-anticipated court verdict at a fund-raising event in the wealthy white enclave of Brentwood. (7)

In the relative calm that embraced the city following several days of rioting, great efforts were made, and continue to the present day, to reconcile groups that battled during the riot. Dialogues between blacks and Korean Americans (who suffered considerable property damage in the riots) were initiated, and a truce between two large gangs, the Crips and the Bloods, received media attention. In the aftermath of the riots, and with attention being given to these healing efforts, a pernicious rumor known as *The 3 B's* developed. For those who circulated this rumor, BBB was understood to be code among the feared gang members for the wealthy white areas of the city - Beverly Hills, Bel-Air, and Brentwood - that went untouched during the riots. The rumor stated that if the police officers were again acquitted in their federal trial the gangs would end their peaceful period and attack the three B's. (8)

Clearly, in the years leading up to the opening of the Getty Center, Los Angeles was much in need of peace and reconciliation, and urban geography could not be ignored by anyone concerned with the well-being of the local population. The leaders of the Getty Trust were keenly aware of these issues. Trust president and CEO Harold Williams, speaking at an event honoring another Getty trustee, stated that Los Angeles *is not a community. We are a cluster of governmental, economic and ethnic enclaves that are not coming together to address the difficult issues that will determine our future. If we are to achieve the vision, we must build community.* (9) The leaders of the Getty knew that an institution with the stature and visibility embodied by the new Getty Center could help achieve the vision. On the opening of the Center, Williams asked Los Angeles, *How can the Getty help us see ourselves differently How can we gain a greater appreciation for who we truly are* (10)

One issue that these leaders had already confronted by the time of the riots was the selection of a location for the Center. The original Getty Museum on Mr. Getty's personal property was as far away from the ethnic enclaves, and the riot damage, as possible while still remaining in the city of Los Angeles. The question of whether the new Center should occupy a more central location easily accessible to a cross-section of the Los Angeles population, and thus a distribution of the two Getty locations more evenly through the city, was considered, and is still

an issue that comes up to this day in various critical commentaries and discussions. The grounds of the defunct Ambassador Hotel, located on a large plot of land in a central location surrounded by a diverse population, received consideration. Because this location is not far from the Los Angeles County Museum (LACMA), Williams consulted with the president of that institution and determined that, despite the real estate mantra of *location, location, location*, the geographic placement of the Getty Center alone would not guarantee a multicultural audience. LACMA was not attracting this audience despite its quite accessible location on Wilshire Blvd. in the middle of the city. Williams concluded, instead, that the atmosphere and nature of the new Getty campus would serve as a greater attraction to new audiences than would proximity to their neighborhoods. (11)

With this in mind during the 1980s, the Trust acquired an undeveloped property perched on a hilltop in the western portion of the city, between two of the three B's, namely Brentwood and Bel-Air. A design for the new facility by architect Richard Meier was accepted, and over the subsequent decade many residents of the city watched in anticipation as the land was cleared and buildings began to rise. I recall watching the form emerge with colleagues through our windows at the nearby university, UCLA, frequently remarking on the newest elements visible month by month. The Meier design includes large plazas for the public to gather, a central garden created by artist Robert Irwin, and numerous areas for visitors to relax and enjoy the views and grounds.

Harold Williams and the Getty leadership knew that despite the extraordinary gift they were preparing for the people of Los Angeles, the location and function of the facility would pose logistical and cultural barriers for many Angelenos. To lower these hurdles, the Getty initiated a marketing campaign leading up to the opening of the Center that emphasized a welcoming attitude epitomized in the slogan, *It's Your Getty*, declared on banners throughout the city. Williams recalls that the marketing team very consciously made sure that these banners were as visible in East and South Los Angeles as they were on the western boulevards more frequently adorned with banners advertising cultural events and venues. He notes, moreover, that various promotions specifically depicted a diverse set of individuals, frequently clad in shorts and other casual attire, to remind and emphasize to the potential new audience that coming to the Getty does not need to be a formal occasion.

The underlying principle guiding the Getty, then and now, is *the conviction that cultural awareness, creativity, and aesthetic enjoyment are essential to a vital and civil society.* (12) Thus Williams answered his public question about how the Getty can help Los Angeles by observing that,

the arts have the unique ability to present the beauty, the values, the traditions, the history of various cultures in an authentic and nonpolemic way . . . Education and culture are nonbiased international ambassadors, connecting groups that seem far apart building bridges that cross geographic, ethnic and social boundaries imparting a sense of hope and promise and possibility. (13)

Although Williams seems to say that the arts at the Getty could bridge boundaries across Los Angeles, the collection housed in the museum does not present the traditions and history of the various cultures at home in Los Angeles. Mr. Getty collected Greek and Roman antiquities, pre-Revolution French decorative arts; and old master paintings. The collection has continued to grow since Getty's death, and has expanded its focus to include medieval European manuscripts as well as photographs spanning from the invention of the medium until the present day. The Getty Museum collection now tells a history of western art from antiquity to 1900. Some

exceptions exist, including modern outdoor sculptures, a few site-specific contemporary works, and international photography from the 20th century. The museum website summarizes the holdings as:

The . Paul Getty Museum at the Getty Center in Los Angeles houses European paintings, drawings, sculpture, illuminated manuscripts, decorative arts, and European and American photographs. (14)

Can a collection reflecting the heritage of a small minority of the population in Los Angeles help connect groups and build bridges? Did Williams anticipate an expansion of the collection, or did he have something different in mind than a representation of each individual culture within Los Angeles?

Asserting that the Getty Museum's collection can contribute to a civil society and impart a sense of hope, promise, and possibility implies beliefs about what museums can accomplish, and warrants closer inspection of how museums endeavor to accomplish this. Can any museum achieve these goals, or only certain types in certain locations? The call for proposals to this conference includes two questions, which presuppose further assumptions about museums and society:

*How committed are museums to collecting cultural materials representative of all cultures in the community-at-large
Are the history, cultural traditions, and values of all communities presented in exhibitions in an equal manner (15)*

Must a museum represent all local cultures in equal measure in order to achieve peace and reconciliation (as well as contribute to civil society)? Or perhaps only ethnographic museums should abide by this standard, while art museums such as the Getty base their efforts on a different set of assumptions about the positive impact of the museum experience. Even if we accept the assumptions underlying these two questions, we are left to wonder about what sort of cultural materials, what kinds of cultural traditions, should be collected and exhibited. Increasingly, many ethnographic museums rely on art, or aesthetic creations, to represent the traditions and values of a community. (16) The masterpieces found in the best art museums were created in specific cultural contexts, and exhibitions that purport to have art historical rather than ethnographic agendas inevitably offer contextualizing cultural information. Yet art museums generally do not feel obliged to represent all of the local cultures in their communities.

All of this does not reveal the mechanisms by which museums believe they achieve their lofty goals. If exhibiting all communities achieves peace, then presumably it is exposure to the artistic and cultural achievements of others that promotes mutual respect. But how do we ensure that a visitor makes the link between the creators of the artifacts displayed in the vitrine, on one hand, and their neighbors who share a heritage with the creators, on the other? Does Los Angeles need to add a museum of *more than one race or ethnicity* (a census category) to the existing Japanese, Korean, Pacific Asia, Latin American, African American, American Indian, Latino, and Jewish museums (to name only some of the major institutions)? If we need evidence that representation of all local ethnicities and cultures in museums will not necessarily lead to peace and reconciliation, perhaps Los Angeles provides it. It seems that the problem for Los Angeles is not inclusiveness (though certainly many groups are left out of this museum inventory), but

rather cohesiveness. These questions and challenges only begin to unpack the many complications implicit in a representational form of ethnographic museum practice.

The ICME call for papers further states that *museums stand poised as educational facilities to serve as neutral places where issues of difference and similarities and the historical, cultural, linguistic and religious particularities of their region can be presented and discussed openly*. Any claim about the neutrality of museum spaces must be met with skepticism.

Architectural style, location, operating hours, language, and other factors, let alone who selects and arranges the artifacts for presentation and discussion, cannot be neutral, and all of these factors affect accessibility to and perception of exhibitions. Yet the idea of a neutral, or at least egalitarian, space also informs museum practices at the Getty. Williams writes that the Getty will not so much introduce visitors to different cultures as *help us recognize and appreciate who and what we already are*. (17) It can do this not so much through exposure to works representing others, but through the unique qualities of art, particularly when experienced in a special environment removed from the very places of everyday intercultural encounter. Art museums tend to de-contextualize the works they show, emphasizing instead artistic qualities and techniques, in order to create cultural neutrality for their visitors. According to this approach to the mission of museums we might call it the aesthetic as opposed to the ethnographic - something about museum spaces and the aesthetic creations displayed there improves people and their societies. If these museums can attract diverse audience, it will be even better, because then all peoples in the community will improve themselves. Rarely is the mechanism by which the display of paintings, sculptures, or other artworks effect this improvement on individuals and societies explained, and either we must accept the conviction that we will be improved if we visit museums, or look to the programs offered at the museums to provide possible insights on how museums attempt to move the visitor from gallery experiences to a vital and civil society .

Many plans and programs in place at the Getty Museum now, at the start of our second decade, reflect these perceptions of what museums can and should accomplish. A number of upcoming exhibitions will illustrate bridges between the cultures that created the primarily historical European materials in the Getty collection and other cultures. In 2010 an exhibition at the Getty Villa will present masterworks of Aztec sculpture to draw analogies between the Aztec and Roman empires, and to bring Old World myths into confrontation with New World realities. An exhibition of Cambodian bronze masterworks at the Getty Center will offer visitors the possibility of seeing the range of artistic works in this medium across cultures and through time. A recent acquisition by the manuscripts department of the museum, a Christian Ethiopian gospel book from around 1500, will be displayed with other manuscripts, thus illustrating connections between East Africa to European manuscript traditions. A recent exhibition in the decorative arts department featured Japanese export lacquer created for the European market. And in the Center for Photographs at the Getty, exhibitions have and will feature artists from around the world.

In the Education Department our activities do not so much present cross-cultural materials as they create opportunities for diverse visitors to become comfortable with their experiences at the museum. At Getty Getaway Days school groups, including students, parents, and staff, are provided bus transportation to the Getty Center, where they are welcomed and encouraged to participate in a variety of activities designed for visitors not familiar with the museum experience. Other family art programs help to engage children with the European exhibitions by creating creative artistic exercises for them. Periodic family days at both Getty venues also offer opportunities to create new connections to the exhibitions. For instance, a family day during a Rembrandt exhibition highlighted the cultures of parts of the world which

were Dutch colonies during Rembrandt's life. Another festival during an exhibition of works by German illustrator Maria Sibylla Merian featured the culture of Surinam, which Merian visited to study plant and insect life.

Our programming for adult audiences has included a number of artists working in different cultural traditions than those featured in the museum. We ask these artists to make connections between their own work and the artistic traditions on view at the museum. For instance, graphic artist Artemio Rodriguez works in the traditions of Mexican and Mexican-American graphic arts. We invited him to speak at the museum when we featured prints from the workshop of Peter Paul Rubens, and Rodriguez compared his tastes and techniques with those on view in the galleries. We also invited painter Kehinde Wiley to speak about his work, which collides hip hop aesthetics with European old master paintings. We also offer daily tours and weekend family activities in Spanish in order to create additional bridges between our audience and our collections.

Harold Williams understood that, even if the design of the Getty Center is more important than the location for attracting diverse local audiences, the museum must do more than be inviting:

If the Getty really does belong to the people of Los Angeles and is to be truly accessible to them, we must also move far beyond the gates of the center and permeate the city, taking our public programs, educational projects and cultural heritage initiatives into neighborhoods and community centers. (18)

A number of Getty initiatives also take this approach. A new education program will send educators from the museum into school classrooms prior to their visits to the museum in order to prepare them and help them interpret the artworks they will see. *Pacific Standard Time*, a major undertaking by the Getty Foundation and the Getty Research Institute, is providing grants and resources in support of research and exhibitions on the Los Angeles arts scene since World War II. Individual exhibitions supported by the program will focus on African American and Chicano artists in Southern California, among many other areas. The Getty Conservation Institute, which works internationally to advance conservation practice in the visual arts, has also contributed to the diversity of Los Angeles arts with its role in the restoration of the mural *Am rica Tropical* by Mexican artist David Alfaro Siqueiros. This controversial mural representing the death of Mexican Indians was painted in 1932 on an exterior wall of a large building located at the historical center of Los Angeles. The Conservation Institute helped document and stabilize the mural.

The work that could be done to support the diverse arts and cultures in Los Angeles is almost limitless. Although many of the projects initiated by the Getty demonstrate particular interests and biases traceable to the history of its own collection, Getty programs at the Center, the Villa, and reaching outward into Southern California continue to support the mission of the Trust and the vision articulated by Harold Williams over a decade ago. Many of these programs, moreover, illustrate that in contemporary practice, distinctions between fine art and ethnographic museums can become blurred, if not break down altogether. Looking at the particular practices of individual museums also begins to give us some insights into the convictions expressed in many museum mission statements, that museum experiences will better individuals and society. It is through these programs, not the abstract idea of collection and display, that whatever

benefits museums offer most importantly, any contributions to peace and reconciliation in our troubled world can accrue.

Notes

- (1) <http://www.getty.edu/about/trust.html> (consulted on 28th August 2009).
- (2) Lauren Sherman, "America's Cultural Tourism Capitals," <http://www.forbes.com/2009/08/20/america-culture-capitals-lifestyle-travel-arts.html> (consulted on 28 August 2009). This article explains that its methodology for ranking American cities involved *measuring the number of 200 overnight visitors to each of the 0 largest metropolitan statistical areas in the country and then factoring in the number of cultural institutions--including museums, sports teams, and live theater and concert venues*. This methodology seems deeply flawed, but we do not need to concern ourselves with the problems here.
- (3) Harold M. Williams, "Perspective on Los Angeles: The Getty Can Help Us See Ourselves," *Los Angeles Times* 11 January 1998.
- (4) <http://www.laalmanac.com/population/po13.htm> (consulted on 28th August 2009). Although two or more races is a category, the percentages reveal that many respondents listed more than one of the other categories as well. The figure of 23% for *some other race* is also remarkable given the breadth of the given categories.
- (5) Anh Do, "Little Saigon," *Westways Magazine* 97 (Jan./Feb. 2005).
- (6) Useful census maps can be viewed at <http://cityplanning.lacity.org/DRU/HomeCwd.cfm> Race (as consulted on 28 August 2009).
- (7) Patricia A. Turner, *I Heard it Through the Grapevine Rumor in African-American Culture*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993, pp. 207-208.
- (8) Gary Alan Fine and Patricia A. Turner, *Whispers on the Color Line Rumor and Race in America*, Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 37-39.
- (9) Harold M. Williams, "Cluster of Enclaves Must Become a City," *Los Angeles Times* 21 February, 1996.
- (10) Williams, "Perspective on Los Angeles."
- (11) Personal communication 19 August 2009. Unless otherwise indicated, subsequent mention of Williams's views are based on this conversation.

- (12) Mission statement of the Getty Trust at http://www.getty.edu/about/governance/mission_statement.html (consulted on 28 August 2009).
- (13) Williams, "Perspective on Los Angeles."
- (14) <http://getty.edu/museum/about.html> (consulted on 28 August 2009)
- (15) <http://icme2009seoul.icom.museum> (consulted on 28 August 2009)
- (16) The Fowler Museum at UCLA, which no longer designates itself as an ethnographic museum, but which is based on the anthropological and ethnographic collections of a research university, now features an ongoing exhibition of works from its collection with the title "Intersections: World Arts, Local Lives." The museum website explains that the exhibition *explores the roles that art plays in creating meaning and purpose for people across the globe. It reveals the intersections between art and life, and considers how arts from diverse cultures have served as vehicles of action, knowledge, power, and transformation. The exhibition presents enduring traditions while also bringing attention to the dynamism and brilliance of world arts as they respond to a constantly changing world* (www.fowler.ucla consulted on 28 August 2009)
- (17) Williams, "Perspective on Los Angeles."
- (18) Ibid.

**The Role of Ethnographic Museum
in the world**

Hari Prasad Shrestha

The Role of Ethnographic Museum in the world

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This paper is proposed to be presented in the international conference on peace and reconciliation and the role of ethnographic museum being organized by The National Museum of Korea

Significance of Ethno Cultural diversity

The beauty of a nation and the world as a whole lies in the richness of its ethno-cultural diversity. The UNESCO declaration states that “Cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature”. Each human community has developed its own habits and social rules for centuries by means of slow and unceasing process of selection and growth, which have led to complexities. These processes provide living communities with a sense of continuity of the previous generations and are important to cultural identity and cultural diversity. Every little piece of culture contains many positive and productive elements that are invaluable for the entire humanity. The people and their culture produce a spectacular identity of a nation, which makes an astounding spectacle of the overall psyche and sentiments of a society. So, the loss of every little piece of culture irreparably impoverishes human species. The common sense knowledge is that it is essential to preserve the cultural diversity of a nation to ensure mankind’s survival with its identity.

Challenges

There are many things that are fast bringing permanent changes in the present day world and each of us should be primarily concerned with the preservation of human cultural inheritance in its multiplicity of forms and manifestations. Despite the significant role of ethno-cultural diversity, it faces serious threats for its existence. In some parts of the world the fast pace of modernization has been taking toll on it. The danger also comes from the rapid process of globalization, homogenization, and pervading influence of western culture. There is a more critical situation facing ethno-cultural diversity; the intense pressure of adopting the cultural framework of ruling class elite from within. Various ethnic minorities felt that their culture, religion and language are being intentionally curbed by a dominant group of monolithic state-backed elite. As a result, there are many identity-related conflicts prevalent around the world even after the decline of traditional state machinery.

The Ethnographic Museum Need of the time

Each community and culture should receive equal respect and dignity. Inter-cultural exchanges and peaceful relations rather than competition and conflicts should be encouraged. This perspective has not yet spread outside academic debates but there is a growing urgency for the dissemination of this philosophy and conviction now. The ethnographic museum can play a landmark role to enhance the conviction of “coexistence and cooperation” as the only viable means to counter the threats facing the modern world and enrich the psychological environment for peace and reconciliation.

The ethnographic museums are now evolving and redesigning their place in society with a wide-range of interest and functions, taking new forms and contents. Museums of today have a key task to play in providing and understanding identity and a sense of belonging to a place or community. Besides, the museums also have now intended to be of great significance and benefit to international community by presenting a broad yet integrated perspective of sharing knowledge about different people and culture throughout the world. The museums are not merely concerned with the procurement, care and display of the objects but they are also the information centres for understanding the past contribution. Besides this, the museums raise public awareness and stimulate interest to understand the people and culture within a country and the world as a whole.

National identity needs to be enhanced by protecting and developing languages, literatures, arts and traditional knowledge, skill and culture of marginalized communities. Many such communities and their cultures are endangered and have become dysfunctional because of its incompetence in the dominant cultural groups and the market economy. The ethnographic museum should give special attention to provide space for such endangered communities so as to preserve their cultural tradition and technical know-how.

Each country possesses a rich heritage of culture, coloured by different groups of people through various forms of customs and tradition. The ethnographic museum should have a clear concept and conviction to ascertain a continuous survival of those cultures. In order to achieve this goal, the ethnographic museum should be designed as a community cultural centre or developed as a habitat of all ethnic communities with their traditional home, traditional mode of economic production, cultural activities etc. As an open living museum, the ethnic communities introduce themselves by sharing their culture to other groups of people on various occasions and recognize the value of cultural diversity and the need to preserve it for national unity, integrity and progress.

The collection and display of the cultural objects and implements used by each ethnic group are a primary task of the ethnographic museum. But gradually it grows as a place for information and research as well. The museum should not be merely a storehouse of ethnic ritual materials, each ethnic object should be presented with its socio-cultural context with sound and visual actions. Training, seminar-workshop, publication, exhibition, trade-fairs can be important activities for promotion and make it sustainable as well.

From the vantage point of its nature and function, the ethnographic museum has to cater to the need and interest of all ethnic groups residing in the country to preserve, display and continue their culture. With the concerted effort from all concerned, it has to play a vital role as a centre of learning, information and achievement.

The ethnographic museum should be contained and further channelled to make it a common spot for all the culture and communities with the spirit of partnership by binding the people of different socio-cultural background together and glorify them

with their distinct identity and enrich the sense of belongingness to a place and community.

Theme oriented Museum

The ethnographic museum is a very specialized museum compared to other museums in the world. Looking through the identity-related conflicts around the world, the ethnographic museum can be a soft attempt to enhance harmony and mutual understanding among various groups of people. Giving equal respect and dignity to all cultures and communities, the ethnographic museum can deliver an effective message of peace and reconciliation with psychological empowerment of the ethnic communities.

The ethnographic museum can be a best example to enhance and highlight a “rainbow” nation with the people and culture of different colours and contours that can also avoid or minimize the identity-related conflicts within a country. In order to achieve the goal, the ethnographic museum should be developed as a theme-oriented museum with special reference to peace and reconciliation. Living together with equal status and equal privilege, having interaction with each other and developing collective approach to build something better, the ethnographic museum will enhance the sense of mutual understanding and inspire new energy for peace and reconciliation.

In the international level, there is a need of establishing an “International Ethnographic Village” in order to unite and understand the people of all the countries in the world. The distinct ethnic identification of each country will be represented and displayed in the international ethnographic village. This idea can help to promote universal brotherhood among all people and nations in the world.

The Nepalese Perspectives

Nepal is not only known for its beautiful natural resources, but also for its multiculturalism and indigenous identities. Nepal is rich in terms of cultural diversity, with more than one hundred ethnic and caste groups, where more than 92 languages and dialects are spoken. Given the present context of the country, the government and people of Nepal are now getting involved in building an ethnographic museum in the national level. At present, the initial work of collecting cultural materials of all the ethnic groups has been initiated by the national level committee consisted of the representatives of various ethnic communities. The master plan of Nepal National Ethnographic Museum has already been approved by the government and the construction of the buildings is being started in 200 ropanies of land provided by the government.

The proposed ethnographic museum of Nepal is designed to embrace all ethnic communities of the country and make it a habitat for them. It is designed with the concept of open air museum, where traditional homes of ethnic people are planned to be built in different phases of time. A selected group of ethnic people will stay there for all seasons performing their cultural practices on different occasions. They provide information about the social and cultural context of their tradition and the cultural significance of the traditional objects and instruments they used. They will follow their traditional mode of economic production for their living support from the

part of the government if they required. The museum has also planned to document the history of all ethnic communities residing in the country. Academic exchange, bilateral contact, training, publication, exhibition and coordination of all the ethnic museums are other goals to be achieved by the Nepal National Ethnographic Museum in the long run.

At present, there is a small ethnic museum in the capital city of Kathmandu, run by Nepal Tourism Board (NTB) and Nepal National Ethnographic Museum (NNEM) with a collection of few materials and ethnographic details of eleven ethnic communities of Nepal. The museum includes a diorama hall and an exhibition hall for periodic exhibition of individual ethnic community with ethnographic objects and instruments related to entire life-cycle ceremony. Besides, there are three more ethnographic museums opened and run by the indigenous Tharu people of central and western Nepal in the Tarai plains. With the increased awareness and interest, the Tharu people initiated the ethnographic museum to preserve their tangible and intangible cultural heritage, which has drawn good attention of both native and foreign observers. The Tharu ethnographic museums are entirely run by the Tharus and have generated a good source of income through foreign visitors as they used to show their typical traditional dances and other unique cultural practices on different occasions. Following an example of Tharu people, some other ethnic communities of Nepal are also planning to initiate their own ethnic museum in their habitat. The trend of forming individual ethnic museum in different parts of the country further helps the people come together to build an ethnographic museum collectively in the national level.

**Visual Anthropology and Phenomenon
of Beauty for Reconciliation and Peace Roles
in the Intercultural Communication**

Vladimir I. Ionesov

Visual Anthropology and Phenomenon of Beauty for Reconciliation and Peace Roles in the Intercultural Communication

Vladimir I Ioneso *

Since Culture has existed, a great multitude of words have sprung from men's lips, a huge variety, simple and complicated, sonorous and so-so: but probably none of them can compare in force, profundity and inherent sense with the concept of beauty.

Anyone who has ever tried to capture the sense of beauty has floundered or sunk into a pedantry. The ancient Chinese sage's warning was apposite: "Approach [beauty] from where you will, from before or behind, you will see neither a beginning nor an end" [14:212]. The surest way to put anyone to shame in the face of the truth is to allow him to expatiate on the subject of beauty. Beauty cannot be proven: it must be seen, heard, felt, for it is itself a demonstration. The insoluble paradox of beauty has silenced even the most voluble. This is what that ancient Chinese tradition by Lao-Tsi tells us [14:212]

Begin to analyse a five-colored ornament - your eyes will be dazzled,
Begin to distinguish the sounds in five-toned music - your ears will buzz,
Start to tease apart the five senses - you will be torn apart.

But the allure of the handsome is too great, and will always prompt people to analyse. It could scarcely be otherwise, for this is a topic that deserves to be talked about, even at the risk of scorching one's wings on the way to the sun.

I have deliberately allowed myself this introduction to ward off possible reproaches and to exonerate myself from any obligation to dig down to the truth. I shall hazard only a few of the thoughts that manifestation of beauty evoke in me.

Let me begin with the fact that the manifestations of beauty in this world are exceptionally many. We find beauty in nature, in people, in culture... But what is it that makes us consider that so many different phenomena are equally beautiful? What is beauty?

In the broadest sense, beauty is a category indicating complete harmony in an object, based on an ideal correspondence of form and concept. As Vladimir Solovyev put it, "we must define beauty as the transformation of material through the incarnation in it of another, transcendent principle" [12:358].

We can also distinguish three types of beauty: (1) emotional; (2) physical, and (3) spiritual.

Of course, no one kind of beauty can exist separately. We can only speak of one or another manifestation of beauty being dominant. But the highest form of beauty is

*Samara Society for Cultural Studies.

the union of the three in one. In Christianity, this is reflected in the famous Trinity: God the father. God the son and God the Holy Ghost.

The existence of beauty is indissolubly bound up with such universal human values as truth, love and goodness.

Truth shows itself through beauty, beauty shows itself through love, love shows itself through goodness, goodness shows itself through truth. This is the path to human salvation, the “bridge leading [man] from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of liberty” and true harmony.

Dostoevsky says, “Beauty is always useful”. “The need for beauty develops when a person is at odds with reality, in disharmony, in conflict, in other words, when he is most alive” [13:344-345]. Liberated by beauty, man recovers his lost link with nature and extends the boundaries of his existence.

In beauty, everything attains its culmination and acquires its true identity for man: work becomes creation, the output of labour becomes the products of art, feelings become love, duty becomes goodness, need becomes freedom, knowledge becomes truth, form becomes harmony and concepts become humanism [6].

In beauty man brings the world into harmony. This is why beauty always brings people good health, peace joy and self-fulfilment.

Man has always tried to make beauty his companion in life, hoping that it will bring fortune and success and protect him from evil. Hence he gives a new-born child the handsomest name, so that beauty will always be with him. Sometimes a handsome name has awaited an as yet unborn owner. The beauty that the imagination of oriental man has instilled into given names They are a veritable bouquet of sophistication and brilliance the like of which is hard to find. Here are some examples: Jamal is Arabic for beauty; Kamil is Arabic for perfection; Ainijamal is Persian for the essence of beauty; Ainikamil is Persian for the essence of perfection Burkhan is Arabic for beauty qua demonstration, light, protection; Gulchekhra is Persian for a face like a flower; Gulsara is Persian for the freshest, finest bloom or the bouquet of flowers lying atop the basket, Saonat is Tajik for art or beauty; Nigina is Persian for a precious stone [4].

It is absolutely no coincidence that in the languages of many peoples beauty, love and goodness combine into something integral and indivisible. In Russian culture such words are *blagoobrazje* and *blagolepie*, in ancient Greek *Kalokayatia* in ancient Chinese *shan-mei*, in ancient Iranian (oroastrian) *hvarenab*.

It is instructive that all these words trace their birth back to distant historical times. Through them, our ancestors seem to be telling us that beauty must not be dissociated from goodness or goodness from beauty. “And if the ancient trust in beauty leaves us, what will become of us?” writes S.S. Averintsev [1].

The contemplation of beauty is often regarded as admiration or veneration - veneration of a mystery, a miracle, a god, for “beauty is there where God dwells with man”,

as the “Tales of Ancient Times” say. Thus whenever he contemplates beauty man perceives truth and hence experiences spiritual joy, enchantment and veneration. It is in and through beauty that man becomes truly happy. Beauty is a veritable miracle-working force. It is no accident that in Russian the word “wonderful” is a synonym of “beautiful, handsome, fine”.

Another representation of beauty in world-wide culture has been light vanquishing darkness and bestowing life and well-being. The ancient East offers the best example:

My eyes wish to see the sun
I wish to be sated with light
If the darkness will withdraw,
what radiance there will be

- exclaims Gilgamesh in the famous Mesopotamian epic.

The starry sky overhead has since time immemorial been taken as a source of light, beauty, harmony, order and might. The image of beauty was assimilated to that of the heavenly beacon especially clearly in Zoroastrian tradition. Hvarenah, the bearer of godly beauty, is hymned in the Gend-Avesta as the radiant creation of Akhura-Mazda (the most-high) (Hymn to Hvarenah, 19,I,10) [2]. The handsome As-hi goddess of fate and fortune, is considered to be just as radiant, “shining down blessedness on men and giving good glory” (Hymn to As-hi, 17,I, 6) [2].

History has unremittingly attuned the human mind to the pure perception of beauty. World history is not only a great poet but also a brilliant artist. Thanks to it. We are better aware that genuine harmony in diversity can emerge only in dialogue among the cultures of the widest variety of peoples.

Only through dialogue among diverse traditions, lifestyles and values can the culture of each individual nation assume its rightful place under the sun and thus truly be brought within the reach of all mankind.

Beauty in its ultimate manifestation is always inimitable, while the ugly is characterless just as light enables us to distinguish between things, pinpointing their differences, but darkness neutralizes those differences, reducing them to an absence of character. Consequently, culture manifest in beauty always affirms nations individuality and establishes the colour and ornamentation of that individuality on the palette of universal human values. But any individuality is based on knowledge, of oneself, one's culture, one's heritage and so forth. And knowledge is the comprehension of differences. And any difference is comprehended through comparison. Consequently, the beauty of a culture, its national coloring and attractiveness cannot be enhanced without opening that culture up to the world, without cultural dialogue or comparisons [6].

The most important means of dialogue between cultures is art. Through art, culture reveals beauty to us. But, this is a two-way process. Art affirms itself in beauty, beauty affirms itself in art. Beauty and art are twins. Both are born in the imagination. A lively imagination is always a spiritual force shaping the plenitude of daily existence. Art,

as the acme of spirituality, is always oriented towards beauty on N Berdyaev [3]. And it is only in art that the spirit apprehends the plenitude and sense - in other words the purpose - of existence. In works of art, beauty looks us in the face, for there "the spirit becomes visible" (Plotin, Enneads, 31,3, 21) [11]. And that brings harmony to people's lives, a fusion of the spiritual and the material, the hidden and the overt, the finite and the infinite, the temporal and the eternal.

Art is always peace-loving and by its very nature more humanistic than any other thing. A need for high art is often more keenly felt at dramatic turns in history. Not a single historic turning point in the development of society has occurred without art and, through art. Beauty to support it. All revolutions are nihilistic, but for all their nihilism every one creates its own art since the romance of revolution can exist only in art. Art helps to overcome dread, dread of solitude, dread of the undefined, for it provides what people need what they lack. What soothes them "While we are enjoying something beautiful our entire nature is acting in its indivisible wholeness, integrity," wrote the Russian philosopher N.I Nadezhdin [10:369]. In art, man finds relief from the world's alienation "Art shows us, through experience of overcoming, the limits of the possible in life" (V. Kraus) [8 :249] and makes of man the true creator of daily existence, inculcating in him, according to Dostoevsky, a "universal responsiveness" [13:351].

Painting possesses especial emotional and inspirational force. Everything is subordinated to harmony and consonance peace: vanquishes violence; light, darkness; hood, life, death. Indeed, "the art of painting is the ability to hold the whole world in one's hands" (Dong Qigang) [9:187], and when the world founders in confrontation, sometimes only the artist can save it from destruction, as history eloquently testifies.

Who saved the culture of Egypt, ancient Greece and Rome and the civilizations of the Incas, the Maya and the Aztecs for us? Was it not first and foremost the creative artists, known and unknown, whose works, vanquishing time, have brought the vivid rays of light down to us? Greedy Time has carried off all it can, but art has proved stronger than Time. History teaches us that life can overcome death if it can turn to art for support.

Beauty teaches us not selfishness, but brotherhood. Some years ago Albert Camus remarked that "beauty has never yet enslaved a single person. On the contrary, for millennia it has brought comfort, every day, every moment, to millions of the oppressed, and has at times set some of them free forever." He drew a very important conclusion: "Beauty is bound to help ease man's pains and his attainment of freedom." People increasingly need such help during these transitional stages of their history [7:373-374].

Where do we turn in time of trouble? To our imaginations, which make up for foundering reality; to the beauty of an image or an ideal. Beauty, surely, is the embodiment of eternity, of the regular, of order, of harmony. And where else can man turn, given the constant changeability of this transitional era, when the old is everywhere at variance with the new, when ail is unstable, ail is in flux, all is indeterminate? In saying "to beauty, of course" I make no mistake. "In time of disaster, want and fear of the future, the need for art grows deeper and stronger than when life is easy" (V. Kraus) [8:245].

The first humans turned to the beauty of nature to save themselves from their physical weakness. The early prophets, Moses, arathustra, Jesus Christ and Mohammed in their confrontations with paganism drew on the beauty of the godhead. The artists of the Renaissance drew on the beauty of ancient realism in their struggles against mediaeval dogma. The creators of science drew on the beauty of reason as they steered culture into the technological age. All of us today at twenty-first century draw on the beauty of culture in our efforts to integrate the world anew.

Beauty is directly related to the present-day resurgence of historical and cultural heritage of Korea. Is Korea not drawing upon the beauty of its peoples historical legacy in strengthening its cultural, educational and scientific life? Is it not for the beauty of its monuments that it is known throughout the world? Is it not the beauty of its ethnographic traditions that gives sparkle and individuality to Korean culture?

The beauty embodied in the architecture of World Heritage of Korea has turned it into an eternal, indivisible city, and at time of global transformations it remains for many, many people a solitary source of comfort and support during the harsh years of change. And when we, reviving culture, turn to beauty I involuntarily recall the words of Dostoevsky: "If among a people there persists the ideal of and a need for beauty, this means there is also a need for health, for something regular, and the further development of that people is thus assured" [13:345]. Who knew better than Dostoevsky that a return to beauty is the most important condition for the resurgence of the "good reality" and, ultimately, the salvation of the world?

So, beauty is a great force and will save the world, but on one condition: that the world will save beauty [13:7].

Gustave Flaubert once remarked that one "must not touch idols, the gilding sticks to (one's) fingers". Well, I have been so bold as to disregard the great master's words, and gilding has stuck to my fingers. It remains for me now to mount the scaffold and pray/ hoping that the great force of beauty will save even me.

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T R T S V N T N GRAP ICM S M

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Da a Koprivec

Museums for Reconciliation and Peace

ICOM-ICME Annual Meeting

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Anna Kopriec, MA,

SLOVENE ETHNOGRAPHIC MUSEUM

THE ROLE OF THE SLOVENE ETHNOGRAPHIC MUSEUM IN THE PROCESS OF RECONCILIATION AND PEACE BETWEEN THE SLOVENES IN THE HOMELAND AND THE SLOVENE EMIGRANTS

This paper presents how a museum can play a very important role in the process of mediation and reconciliation between the mother nation in the homeland and the emigrants who have left the homeland. It concentrates on the role of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum in Ljubljana, Slovenia, in the 2003-2008 period, and the projects the museum carried out in collaboration with the Slovene diasporas in Argentina, Australia, and Bosnia (formerly a part of the common state of Yugoslavia).

It is important to point out that Slovene history in the period from the late 19th century to the present has been strongly marked by emigration, and that the period was highly traumatic to the Slovenes in all respects. Between 1914 and 1991, three wars raged in the territory of Slovenia: the First and Second World Wars, as well as several ethnic conflicts within the once common state of Yugoslavia in the 1990s, which led to the establishment of several independent states, among them Slovenia in 1991. The state borders thus changed several times in the past eighty years and the Slovenes lived in no less than five different states, while every war was followed by a period of huge political changes. These changes were followed by emigration in all cases. People migrated from the Slovene territory for economic as well as political reasons. Several Slovene emigrant communities thus established themselves, and the

attitude of the Slovenes in the homeland to them was suspicious, distrustful, and at times even hostile.

This was certainly the attitude to the Slovenes who emigrated from Slovenia as political refugees right after the Second World War, in May 1945, and who find refuge in Argentina in 1948. To the Slovenes, the Second World War was a liberation war against foreign aggressors, but it was in part also a civil war, in which one side was victorious and the other side defeated. The lives of the defeated, who after the war dissented from the new political system that emerged in Slovenia as part of the common state of Yugoslavia, were endangered. Those who were able to do so left the country for the transit camps in Italy and Austria. Over 12,000 Slovene war refugees lived in these camps until 1947/48, when they were allowed to immigrate to Argentina, Australia, Canada, and the USA. The strongest emigration community was established in Argentina, in the wider area of the capital Buenos Aires. In 1952, these people were joined by other relatives and communities of the “Slovene post-war political emigration” - the official designation of this anathematized Slovene diaspora established themselves in the towns of Buenos Aires, Mendoza, and Bariloche. These communities consisted of over six thousand men, women and children. In the homeland there was little information about their life, they were always presented with negative connotations, and most of them were not allowed to visit Slovenia. This aspect will be further dealt with below.

A second unmentionable community of Slovene expatriates were the illegal emigrants who fled across the Slovene, or rather Yugoslav, border in great numbers in the 1950s period. These were mainly young men and women from the poor rural areas of Slovenia, aged eighteen to twenty-two. Most of them left for economic reasons because they hoped for a better life abroad; in part, they also left for political reasons, aspiring greater freedom for their personal development in a non-socialist country. Emigration from Slovenia (Yugoslavia) was not allowed at the time, the borders were closed and had to be crossed illegally and this often meant that people had to risk their life to flee the country. However, the state's control was not extremely strict because its attitude to the young “rebels” was at least ambiguous: the departure of “dissatisfied young people” was discreetly tolerated because it meant that they were less of a threat to the progress of “socialist society”. Around 10,000 people left the country in the stated period, and most of them found a new home in Australia, some in Canada. In Slovenia, their native homeland, these departures were an official secret because

the 1950s in Slovenia (Yugoslavia) were the period of post-war socialist construction. The process of constructing the new state had no room for doubts that anything was wrong in the country, or that any young person would actually want to leave it. The negative attitude to these emigrants was thus perpetuated, pervaded by the notion that these people had left their homeland in the lurch in the most important period of its development, and that by leaving they had helped to develop other countries, for instance Australia, instead of contributing to the construction of their homeland. When the borders were finally opened in the early 1960s, many young people left to work in the neighbouring countries in Europe - Austria, Germany, Switzerland, as well as Sweden. Their official status was that of "*workers temporarily employed abroad*" in the sense that they were expected to return soon and assist their families. The attitude of the Slovene population at home to them was certainly much more positive. In fact, the highest share of Slovene expatriates who returned to the homeland is from this group. At least 60% of them returned to Slovenia when they retired in the 1990s, and the process continues.

A third specific group are the Slovenes who lived in Bosnia and who experienced the disaster of the Bosnian war in 1992-1996, when the horrors of Sarajevo and Srebrenica spread around the world. Slovenes migrated to Bosnia in different periods because Slovenia and Bosnia were part of the same states from 1878 on, first of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, then the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and later socialist Yugoslavia in the 1945-1991 period, ending with Slovenia's independence. Slovenes held good jobs in Bosnia: they were officials, railway employees, post employees, and the like, which were all very good government jobs in the past. In the more recent period, they were doctors, teachers, professors, engineers. From the 1970s onwards, many Slovene women moved to Bosnia when they married officers of the former common Yugoslav army. This led to a quite a lot of mixed-marriage families. The Slovenes in Bosnia did not live there as a special ethnically separate diaspora, but were well integrated into the Bosnian environment, identifying themselves as Yugoslavs in the sense of nationality. When the great Bosnian war broke out, the dilemma they faced was where to escape to from the horrors of war? By way of humanitarian convoys organised by the Slovene government and the Red Cross they sought asylum in Slovenia as war refugees. Most of them found refuge with their relatives. However, because everything went so quickly and Slovenia accepted around 45,000 refugees from Bosnia in a couple of months in 1992, the country was

not ready for such an inflow; the Slovene Bosnians were not always welcomed and often seen as a burden to Slovenia.

However, we may say that the return of the Slovene Bosnians meant that a specific circle was completed in Slovenia: from the time in 1948 when Slovenes were given asylum as political and war refugees in Argentina, until 1992 when Slovenia had to accept its own emigrants as war refugees and orphans from another war. Wars are horrendous and alleviating their consequences is a long-lasting process; this year's theme of the ICME ICOM conference is therefore highly topical, because I sincerely believe that museums can contribute to the road to peace, appeasement, and reconciliation. This brief historical survey of the developments in Slovenia was meant to illustrate the genuinely important role museums can play, and it is now time to answer the question what and how the Slovene Ethnographic Museum has contributed in concrete terms to the process of appeasement and reconciliation with the Slovene emigrants

The Slovene Ethnographic Museum in Ljubljana has been long since aware of the complex attitude the Slovenes have to their emigrants, and the museum therefore established a special department for the collection, research, and preservation of the cultural heritage of the Slovenes living in the diaspora in 1999. This year, the department celebrates the 10th anniversary of its operation and I would like to point out that we are the only museum in Slovenia that has such a special department. The development of the department was facilitated by the fact that the establishment of the independent state of Slovenia in 1991 and its integration in the international organisation made the Slovenes more self-confident; they also no longer felt threatened by among others the Slovene diaspora, which was thought to oppose our social system at the time we were still living in the former common state of Yugoslavia. By achieving stability and peace in the mother nation, the Slovenes were able to open up to others. It is then that they became aware that their attitude to the diaspora was pervaded by prejudices, stereotypes, and fear, and as such quite questionable. This attitude was now felt a problem, a burden the Slovenes had to shake off for the benefit of their own peace of mind and way of living for a better karma in the world as such, we may say.

In 1999 we therefore first visited Argentina, the most delicate community of the Slovene emigration. We wanted to learn how the Slovenes lived in Argentina, what their cultural

heritage was like, how they preserved it and what their contribution to the development of society in Argentina was. I spent two months among the Slovenes in Argentina in 2003 and the project proved to be highly successful as it was concluded with an exhibition entitled *Los Slovenes I* *Historia* *Argentina*, which was on view in the *Museo Nacional de la Inmigración* in Buenos Aires for several months. The exhibition was later on view in nine Argentine towns, as well as in the Slovene Ethnographic Museum in Ljubljana in 2005. What was the nature of this exhibition? First of all, this was the first exhibition in which all the different Slovene societies in Argentina cooperated, and it was also supported by the Embassy of the Republic of Slovenia. The reason I refer to *Los Slovenes I* *Historia* *Argentina* lies in the fact that the departure of the “political refugees” to Argentina after the Second World War somehow erased from our memory the historical fact that there had been earlier Slovene emigrants to Argentina - after the First World War. The numbers of these economic emigrants were quite high since no less than 25,000 Slovene emigrated to Argentina in 1924-1929, especially from the area of western Slovenia annexed by Italy after 1920. The attitude to the Slovene emigrants in Argentina as a whole was somehow overshadowed by the distrust of the political refugees from the period after the Second World War. This attitude was generalised, full of stereotypes and prejudices. Things went so far that the Slovenes from the two separate migration flows to Argentina refused to communicate, split into two groups, and called themselves “Old Slovenes” and “New Slovenes”. Nevertheless, the establishment of the independent state of Slovenia somehow made both groups aware that they were actually all Slovenes, and that they had a common homeland somewhere on the other side of the ocean, existing in spite of all political and other differences. And they now wanted to present themselves as Slovenes in Argentina as well. For this reason, they sought professional assistance from a relevant museum in Slovenia and the Slovene Ethnographic Museum met their expectations. This was a very fruitful period of cooperation. The exhibition was given great importance at our museum. When it was on view in Ljubljana we organised a lot of accompanying events: museum workshops, tango workshops, lectures on painting among the Slovenes in Argentina, guided tours of the exhibition, etc. In these efforts we were joined by many descendants of Slovene emigrants to Argentina, who at the time of the economic crisis in Argentina in 2002-2003 had moved to Slovenia - the homeland of their parents who had once been forced to leave it as refugees - in greater numbers. This created many personal ties between Slovenes on both sides of the ocean; our museum’s knowledge of the Slovenes in Argentina greatly increased. We continue to remain in touch with them and some objects from

the cultural heritage of the Slovene emigrants to Argentina have been included in our permanent exhibition.

The second project, in 2006, involved the Slovenes in Australia. With their cooperation the Slovene Ethnographic Museum created an online archive entitled *Archive of the Slovene Migrants in Australia*, as well as an online exhibition at www.rocnadela.org. I carried out research among the Slovenes in Melbourne in May and June 2006. I there met with Slovenes who had emigrated to Australia in the 1950s, who “had fled across the border”, as they put it themselves. When they got to the other side of the border, they often had no idea where life would take them. It was only later, in the transit camps in Austria and Italy, led by international refugee organisations under the wings of the United Nations, that their fate was decided. They had all lived in Australia for around five decades but had preserved their Slovene culture. The exhibition wanted to show that in spite of the fact that many of these Slovene emigrants to Australia are people who once crossed the border illegally, they are still Slovenes who lovingly preserve their original ethnic culture and who “carry their homeland” in their hearts as much as the Slovenes living at home. From 2007 on, this online archive is regularly complemented with the assistance of collaborators from Australia, and it will be enhanced with items made by Slovenes from Sydney and Brisbane in 2009.

In 2006 and 2007 we finished two ethnographic field researches in Sarajevo, Bosnia, in which we collected the life stories of Slovenes who remained in the city after the Bosnian war. This revealed the sad truth that most of the Slovenes who had remained in Sarajevo belonged to the older generation, aged between 60 and 75. All their children and grandchildren emigrated from Sarajevo/Bosnia and are today living in different parts of the world, mostly in Canada, Italy, and Slovenia. The war caused nearly all Slovenes living in Sarajevo to live their old age alone, without their children and grandchildren, because the families are separated. All the young people who had the opportunity to leave went abroad because the post-war situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina held only bleak prospects for them. In 2007, an extensive study entitled *Slovinci v Bosni in Hercegovini skozi pričevanja, spomine in literarne podobe* (3/2000) *The Slovenes in Bosnia through stories, memories, and literary images*, edited by Dr. Vera Kriznik Bukič, was published in Ljubljana. A second anthology is planned, because part of the collected material is waiting to be processed, including in our museum.

To conclude this article I would like to point out that today about 20% of all Slovenes live outside their homeland. To a large extent, this is a consequence of the war conflicts of the 20th century in our territory and the new state borders following every war. Slovenes thus live as ethnic minorities in the territory of the neighbouring countries - Italy, Austria, and Hungary - because the borders of our country with its neighbours changed several times; Slovenes further live in the territory of the former common state of Yugoslavia, and many live around the world as emigrants. As mentioned above, in the past fifty years Slovenes emigrated also as *refugees* or emigrated illegally. Every war, conflict, break of the peace inflicts wounds that take a very long time to heal. Stereotypes, prejudices and fear, generating negative feelings, aggressiveness, and hostility, first at the individual level, are a breeding ground for conflicts at all levels. They can lead to war as the most total and destructive form of aggression. To overcome stereotypes and prejudices at this first level of society, at the level of culture and of making people conscious. this is the level at which museums operate - is therefore the universally and humanely important mission of museums.

enophobia and Museums reconsidered

Lothar Stein

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Museums for Reconciliation and Peace:

enophobia and Museums reconsidered.

Mr Chairman,adies and Gentlemen

It is the first time for me and my wife to visit Korea.

So I want to thank you very much for our kind invitation, and we are eager to see

“The National Folk Museum of Korea” and learn to know its treasures - and our Korean colleagues, of course.

Now I would like to present to you my paper “Xenophobia and Museums reconsidered”.

I have to use the term “reconsidered” because our ICME-Committee had already 15 years ago, in November 1994, had vividly discussed these problems in a meeting that took place in Leipzig, Germany. On occasion of the 125th anniversary of the founding of our Ethnographical Museum. The contributions of this conference had been edited by our colleague Dr. Peter Bettenhausen in Den Haag (Netherlands), 1995.¹

During these 15 years, since our meeting in Leipzig was held, many things happened in our world, and it is worth to investigate the changes that have taken place in the world of

¹ Peter Bettenhausen (editor): Museums and Xenophobia“ ICOM/ICME publication, Den Haag 1995

museums and their role in combatting Xenophobia and what needs to be done in the future to join our forces and efforts for Reconciliation and Peace.

Introduction

At first I want to Xenophobia and answer the question what we understand by the word "Xenophobia": *x nos* is a Greek term meaning "foreign" and *phobos* means "fear", so it means literally "the fear of the foreign".

It is in general terms 1) an exaggerated fear of strangers

and can be also be: 2) a strong antipathy or aversion to strangers or foreigners.

In other words: a pathological fear or hatred of strangers or foreigners

This phenomenon can lead to a variety of hostile acts and harm other individuals or even the society as a whole.

We must be aware of the fact that we can influence by our Museum activities against Xenophobia only a very small part of the public. Sociological investigations have shown that in average not more than 10 % of a given population would ever visit a museum, and some of the visitors seem to believe, that one Museum visit in a lifetime is enough.

The question remains: how to attract the others and how to change their attitudes?

In Germany and the other German-speaking countries (Austria, Switzerland) we have many different expressions for characterizing the forms of Xenophobia:

Fremdenhass, Fremdenfeindlichkeit, Rassismus, Antisemitismus, Islamophobie;

their English equivalents, with nearly the same meaning, are: discrimination, nationalism, tribalism, racism, Islamophobia, Anti-Semitism, ethnic cleansing etc.

Official statistics of several European countries show, that acts of Xenophobia, in most of the fields mentioned, are growing year by year.

New methods against xenophobia in the Leipzig Museum by means of Trips around the world

After that let me explain to you, what we have done in Leipzig's Ethnographical Museum against Xenophobia and what we are planning for the future to conquer the different attitudes of Xenophobia. → (Sudan-Ausstellung 2012 mit Darstellung des Darfur-Konflikts.)

It seems that to arrange beautiful exhibitions about peoples and their culture in other countries is not enough. We also have to organize public lectures, seminars and workshops with a variety of topics, like: "How to beat African drums?" or "A visit in an Uzbekian Teahouse" and so on.

Hence, we invite representatives of other cultures who are residents in Leipzig and organize together with them open air festivals with traditional dances, theater, and instrumental music and songs from India, Sri Lanka, Turkey, Ethiopia, Ghana, Peru, and many others.

With our new exhibitions in the "Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig"² we invite the visitors to "Trips around One World" which cover an area of 4.200 sqm about the cultures of peoples from all continents.³

The exhibitions in the section South East Asia show the differences and relationships between selected cultures and ethnic groups and their skills as craftsmen.

The Section South Asia focuses on Sri Lanka, the Indian subcontinent with the cultures of the indigenous peoples of these areas.

The section Mongols and Tibetans introduces to a connected cultural area which starts in

² The Museum was founded in 1869 and had its exhibitions in several buildings of the town. The last one, called "Grassi-Museum" after the name of the sponsor, was destroyed during World War II, on December 4th, 1943. After the war, repairs were carried out as a makeshift, and a thorough reconstruction was only made during the years 2000 and 2005. After this period of hard work, all the exhibitions (4.200 sqm area in two storeys) had to be renewed. The last section of Australia and Oceania will be opened for the public on 26th November, 2009.

³The Leipzig Museum of Ethnography keeps in its stores collections of approximately 250.000 objects.

the Southern slopes of the Himalayans north and westward through six countries: India, Nepal, Bhutan, China, Mongolia, and Russia.

The East Asia section of China and Japan are represented in the next large section.

Greater Northeast Asia shows objects from Korea, Northern Japan and Northeast China.

The Oriental Section reflects the manifold population of this area as well as the interaction between nomads and sedentary people.

In our Section on Iraq we refer to the ethno-religious tensions between Sunnites and Shiis (Muslim factions), and different "Christian sects/confessions, Kurds and Arabs on the other hand.

In our Museum Africa is a very large and colourful exhibition with the famous Bronzes of Benin as a highlight of African Art. (References: Jones, Adam: The Benin Collection of Hans Meyer: An endangered part of Leipzig's Heritage. In: ICME Den Haag 1995: 16-18 and also Ashiwaju, Garba: The Study of Germany's Benin Art Collection. In: ICME den Haag 1995:18-19l.)

But you will also meet the San People ("Bushmen", as they were called in the past) and the herdsmen of the Massai, Nulu and Herero. Most impressive are the numerous masks of the Eastafrican Makonde, outstanding artists in wood carving.

Our America section conveys not only the diversity of Native American Indians culture but also the Afro-American cultures of Latin America in Brazil and Suriname, that go back to the life of former Slaves from Africa. Marvellous headdresses of featherwork from the Indians of the Amazonas-Region and extensive collections of ceramics from Peru and other Andine areas is presented and find the unanimous admiration of the visitors.

The Section Australia and Oceania which will be opened next month (26/11/2009) demonstrates the remarkable diversity of their traditional indigenous cultures. The Fiji collection is regarded as one of the oldest of its kind worldwide.

Finally I want to state, that there are other voices which simply refuse the idea that Museums of Ethnography are able to combat Xenophobia, and explain it like this:

“ because western ethnographic museums employ generally ethnocentric concepts for exhibitions on other cultures and peoples Here I will only deal with our own, with the occidental history of thought which categorises the world in dichotomies Our dualistic view of the world excludes notions which are not part of our own origin, history, and structure. Thus, if ethnographic museums exhibit the cultural heritage of other peoples with our ethnocentric concepts, they are, I conclude, unable to counter xenophobia.”

(Mey, Wolfgang: Cereals, Treasures and Showcases. About Objects and Objectivity in Museums of Ethnography. ICME-publication, Den Haag 1995:46-48).

There was a controversial debate about this topic during ICME 1994 in Leipzig and finally it was agreed upon to rethink ethnocentric concepts and and change such attitudes whenever possible.

educational Programmes for children against xenophobia

It is generally agreed that it is necessary to start educational programmes against Xenophobia as early as possible. So we invite Primary Schoolclasses to the museum and offer them special events with topics like:

“We visit a Bedouin tent” or

“Living in a Mongolian Yurt/*Gēr*”,

“The stories of Nasreddin from Bukhara”,

“Come to visit an Oriental teahouse” and the like.

Especially during the time of school vacation children programmes of this kind are in most cases booked out.

The “Center for European and Oriental Cultures” (EOK. Founded in 2004 in Leipzig)⁴ maintains close ties to the Ethnographic Museum at Leipzig and is engaged to promote the mutual cultural relations between Orient and Occident.

This Center is also concened with educational programmes for children, starting with the kindergarten, i.e. before they enter the primary school.

“The World Box” (in German: Weltkiste) is the name of such a project against right-wing extremism, antisemitism, and Xenophobia in general. Here follows a quotation from an article, that was recently published in the Journal *Simurgh*:

“How many expressions can you find for the colours of the skin? What is the right name for the colour of your hair? Questions like this were answered by many children in Kindergarten and School-classes. And they soon understood that the range of colours goes much further than white - brown black. “My skin looks like black Tea with milk, mine looks like a dried stone of a cherry, and mine is similar to a dry lentil”.⁵

There are joint efforts between organizations of this kind and Museums that have established already so called “Junior Museums”⁶ to exchange experiences with educational programmes for children and youth, that promote peace and mutual understanding between the peoples of the world.

⁴ This Center is an association of artists, scientists and other representatives. A cultural journal named *Simurgh* is published every year, and meetings and seminars are regularly organized to foster integration and the Dialogue of Cultures .

⁵ I e Seiler and Rudaba Bada hshi (Leipzig): Like black tea with milk“ Projekt “Weltkiste” In: *Simurgh Nr.* , Leipzig, 2008:58-59

⁶ The “Junior Museum“ of the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam as well as the Junior Museum in Berlin are well known for their interactive cooperation in the field of anti-xenophobic education. Cf. Andrea ohlwec : Child - orientated actions against Xenophobia. Antiracist Work of educational services at Museums of Ethnology in Germany. In: Museums and Xenophobia. ICOM-ICME publication. Amsterdam 1995:40-43

**The traditional tools of peace
in Benin s museums**

phirin DAAVO

phirin AAV

TIT R : The traditional tools of peace in Benin s museums

ABSTRACT

A museum is an education's tool that uses the collections to make exhibitions and publications. By those ways several messages are pointed out. This kind of activity is very important for the ethnographic collections of Africa that we show mainly because of their functions. In Benin, there are many objects in the tangible and intangible heritage of the museums that can be used to inform on peace and harmony. The messages of those collections concern also unit, fraternity and tolerance. Trough some examples, I'll try to show the traditional tools of peace and harmony in Benin.

**The Jo du on the Funeral Bier
and the Jo du Museum in Korea**

Kim, Ock-rang

The Kokdu on the Funeral Bier and the Kokdu Museum in Korea

Kim, Ock-rang (Director of the Kokdu Museum)

1. What is Kokdu?

The word “kokdu” is a native Korean term which refers to the domain as well as the existence located at the boundary beyond time and space.

Kokdu has a specific figure which displays an exceptional domain “beyond” this world. The reason why we need a non-daily figure like kokdu is so that our daily lives can be revived through kokdu.

This figure seems unfamiliar and strange which could appear positive or negative. However, as light and shadow are to be attached, so the strange world of kokdu must be required in order to enjoy our lives to the fullest. There are various shapes of kokdus inherited: the mask to express the “trans” state, the spiritual shrine symbolizing a ghost in the performance of exorcism, various figures and ritual tableware as grave goods. The Wooden figure attached to the funeral bier is a typical kokdu.

The kokdu on the traditional funeral bier displays the attribute of boundary. The funeral bier in which the kokdu is placed was used to transport a coffin to a burial site and was traditionally believed to be a temporary dwelling place for the deceased. The kokdu on the funeral bier takes the various shapes of human beings, animals, and plants. Extant kokdus had mostly been made in the late Joseon Dynasty and during the Japanese occupation. By estimation, the oldest extant kokdu was made in the 18th century. The sizes of the kokdu vary, but its height of human-shaped kokdu is usually in the range of 20 to 30 centimeters (7.87 to 11.8 inches). The kokdu on the funeral bier keeps the deceased company, overcoming their instability and sorrow. Their various facial expressions and gestures display their warm-hearted characters. The human-shaped kokdus are various in shapes but their functions can be classified into four categories as follows:

- 1) Guiding: the kokdu guiding the deceased to the world of death
- 2) Guarding: the kokdu protecting the deceased from evil spirits
- 3) Caring: the kokdu serving the deceased
- 4) Entertaining: the kokdu entertaining the deceased with musical instruments and dances in order to overcome their instability and sorrow.

Kokdu of the dragon and kokdu of the phoenix stand out in the kokdu on the funeral bier beside kokdu of the human.

Kokdu of the dragon and kokdu of the phoenix give a powerful impression with colorful and dynamic forms. Kokdu of the dragon is classified into three categories: the dragon-head plank, the horizontal dragon, and the T-shaped dragon. The dragon-headed plank is situated at the front and back of the bier to visualize the powerful force of the dragon. The horizontal dragon forms two dragons (one is blue and the other gold) whose tails are braided together horizontally. The T-shaped dragon forms vertical, which the intertwined blue and gold dragons in the lower half of the ensemble begin to separate from each other toward the upper half of the ensemble. Like the dragon-head plank, this T-shaped dragon is also located at the front and back of the funeral bier. Kokdu of the dragon does not only protect the deceased from evil spirit but transfer the deceased to the world of the dead with the soaring ability of dragons.

Phoenix is the most powerful and outstanding bird among several birds accompanying the funeral bier:

birds of paradise, birds from the world of the dead, flying cranes, and the phoenix. The phoenix generally perches on each of the four corners of the funeral bier and symbolizes transcendence and flight. The deceased will be transferred to a whole new world where gravity no longer holds with the help of the phoenix. In order to display this perspective the head of the phoenix often resembles a flame or plant stems rising toward the sky. The shapes of the phoenix are not fixed but rather diverse and unique in variations.

2. The Story of Collecting Kokdus by Kim, Ock-rang, the Founder of the Kokdu Museum

The first time I ever encountered a kokdu was more than 30 years ago. I had experienced endless instability and solitude in my 20's. My life was about to collapse and the people around me had tried to console me in vain. I could not get along with peers while living apart from my family. Meanwhile, I had met those who later on became my mentors and their deep affection toward the traditional Korean culture inspired me. Their guidance enabled me to get interested in the traditional Korean culture. They taught me how to appreciate the depth of traditional Korean culture in daily life, giving me wisdom. Back then, there were many antique shops in the Chonggye District of Seoul and I often went there with my mentors to look at old stones or wooden objects. One day I went there alone and happened to discover a kokdu in a neglected corner of the shop. As soon as I saw the kokdu, I felt confused as if I had been looking at myself. Looking at the neglected kokdu, I instantly felt bonded with her. I felt as though she had been waiting for me for a long time and offered me the consolation I had been longing for. Beginning with her, I started collecting kokdus.

3. About the Kokdu Museum

The Kokdu Museum consists of the Standing Exhibition Hall, the Special Exhibition Hall, the Educational Hall, the Art Shop and <Kokdurang Nolja>.

The Standing Exhibition Hall is an introductory place where the visitors can understand the traditional world of kokdus as a whole. The world of kokdus is so diverse that none of them are uniform in their manufacturing styles, forms, facial expressions and gestures. The visitors will experience the depth of the diverse world of traditional kokdus.

The Special Exhibition Hall is where Kokdus are reinterpreted in a modern sense. Kokdus are not only artifacts of the past, but also a living tradition newly revived in the current perspectives. The rebirth of kokdu has been accomplished through the various genres of art.

The Educational Hall is where visitors are allowed to make interesting experiences and gain useful information regarding kokdus. It provides educational programs for children to adults in different levels. The beauty and charm of kokdus can be noticed immediately once people are exposed to them. The cultural products of kokdus are intended to spread the charm of kokdus and to experience them easily in our daily lives. Kokdus will make a close approach to our daily lives through their cultural products in the Art Shop.

'Kokdurang Nolja' is a place for the performance of the kokdu on various themes. The Kokdu show is the performance of the kokdu as the main character whose types are diverse, such as puppet shows, storytelling and object shows.

한국의 상여꼭두와 꼭두박물관

김옥량 (꼭두박물관 관장)

1. 꼭두란 무엇인가

꼭두라는 말

꼭두라는 말은 우리 고유어로서, 일상의 시간과 공간을 벗어나거나 그 경계(境界)에 위치해 있는 영역 및 그에 해당하는 존재를 일컫는다.

꼭두라는 형상

꼭두는 구체적인 모습을 지니고 있지만, 그 모습이 보여주고 있는 것은 일상적인 것이 아니라, 이 세상을 벗어난 “저 너머”의 영역이다. 우리가 꼭두와 같은 비(非)일상성의 모습을 필요로 하는 이유는 그것을 통해 우리의 일상이 새롭고 전체적으로 나타나기 때문이다. 이 모습은 흔히 보던 것이 아니라서 낯설다. 낯설기 때문에 긍정적일 수 있고 부정적으로 보일 수도 있다. 하지만 빛과 그림자가 붙어 있을 수밖에 없듯이, 꼭두가 보여주는 낯선 세계는 우리의 삶이 제대로 영위되기 위해서 필수적으로 요청되는 것이다. 우리가 물려받은 꼭두의 형상은 여러 가지다. “트렌스” 상태에 있음을 나타내는 가면(假面), 곳에서 혼을 나타내는 냇전, 무덤 속의 부장품인 각종 형상과 명기(冥器)가 거기에 속한다. 상여에 부착되어 있는 여러 가지 형상은 나무로 만들어진 것으로, 꼭두 가운데 대표적인 것이다.

상여꼭두

전통 상여의 꼭두는 꼭두의 경계적 속성을 가장 잘 나타내고 있다는 점에서 꼭두를 대표한다. 상여 꼭두가 위치해 있는 상여는 망자(亡者)를 매장지까지 운반하는 것이며, 망자의 임시 숙소이기도 하다. 상여 꼭두에는 인물상도 있고 동물과 식물의 형상도 있다. 현재 남아있는 꼭두는 주로 조선 후기와 일제시대에 만들어진 것으로 가장 오래된 것은 18 세기의 것으로 추정된다. 꼭두의 크기는 다양하지만 인물상의 경우 대개 20-30 센티미터의 크기이다.

상여 꼭두는 망자와 같이 동행하면서 그의 불안을 달래주고, 슬픔을 위로하는 존재이다. 꼭두의 다양한 표정과 몸동작은 그런 성격을 잘 보여주고 있다. 인물상의 꼭두는 형태상 매우 다양하지만 다음과 같은 네 가지 기능 범주로 나눌 수 있다.

- 1) 안내하기(Guiding): 망자에게 길을 안내해 주는 역할을 하는 꼭두
- 2) 호위하기(Guarding): 망자가 나쁜 힘의 침입을 받지 않도록 지켜주는 꼭두
- 3) 시중들기(Caring): 망자에게 필요한 시중을 드는 꼭두
- 4) 즐겁게 하기(Entertaining): 슬퍼하고 불안해하는 망자를 위로하기 위하여 음악과 춤 등으로 즐거움을 주는 꼭두

상여꼭두에는 인물상의 꼭두 이외에 용 꼭두와 봉황 꼭두가 두드러진다. 용 꼭두와 봉황 꼭두는 화려하고 역동적인 형태와 색채로 말미암아 보는 이에게 강력한 인상을 심어준다.

용 꼭두는 형태에 따라 세 가지 종류로 나누어진다. 용수관, 일자(一字) 용, 정자(丁字) 용이 그것이다. 용수관은 상여의 앞과 뒤쪽에 각각 한 개씩 위치해 있으며, 용의 강력한 힘이 느껴지도록 형상화 되어 있다. 일자(一字) 용은 황룡과 청룡의 두 가지 용이 일자로 수평적으로 얹혀 있는 모습을 하고 있다. 정자(丁字) 용은 수직적인 용으로, 아래 부분에서 청룡과 황룡이 얹혀 올라가 위 부분에서 양쪽으로 갈라지는 모습을 하고 있다. 정자 용은 용수관처럼 상여의 앞과 뒤쪽에 위치해 있다. 용 꼭두는 망자를 위협적인 세력으로부터 지켜줄 뿐만 아니라, 용이 지닌 비상(飛翔) 능력으로 인하여 망자를 저승의 영역으로 이동시키는 역할을 한다.

봉황은 극락조, 저승새, 학 등 상여에 꽃혀 있는 여러 가지 새 가운데 가장 강력하고 두드러지는 존재이다. 봉황은 보통 상여의 네 귀퉁이에 자리 잡고 있으며, 초월과 비상(飛翔)을 상징한다. 망자는 봉황의 도움으로 지상의 중력이 작용하는 이승을 벗어나 전혀 새로운 영역으로 옮겨가게 된다. 이런 점을 나타내기 위해 종종 봉황의 머리 부분은 불꽃이 올라가는 모습과 위로 향해 올라가는 식물의 가지 모습을 하고 있다. 봉황의 모습은 정형화되어 있지만, 그 안에서 매우 다양하고 특이한 변이가 이루어지고 있다.

2. 꼭두박물관 설립자 김옥량의 꼭두 수집 이야기

제가 꼭두를 처음 만난 것은 지금부터 30년이 더 된 때입니다. 20대에 저는 끝없는 불안과 고독의 시기를 겪었습니다. 제 삶을 지탱해주었던 모든 것이 허물어지는 느낌이었고, 주변 사람들로부터 아무런 마음의 위로도 얻을 수 없었습니다. 또래 친구와 어울리지도 못했고 가족과도 동떨어져 지냈습니다. 하지만 그런 와중에서도 가끔 만나 뵈던 분들이 있었는데, 한국의 전통문화에 깊은 애정을 지니고 있었고, 모두 연배가

높으신 분들이었습니다. 제가 한국의 전통문화에 관심을 갖게 된 것은 이 분들의 가르침이 중요한 계기가 되었습니다. 툭툭 던져주는 말씀과 살아가는 자세 속에서 이 분들은 제게 전통문화의 깊이를 어떻게 느껴야 하는지 알려주셨습니다.

당시 청계천 근처에는 골동품 가게가 많았는데, 나는 이 분들과 함께 종종 거기에 가서 오래된 석물(石物)이나 목기 등을 살펴보곤 하였습니다. 어느 날, 혼자서 가게를 배회하고 있던 중에 가게 구석에 버려지다시피 놓여 있는 꼭두 하나를 우연히 보게 되었습니다. 그 꼭두를 보는 순간, 이상하게도 저는 마치 내 자신의 모습을 보는 듯한 느낌이 들었습니다. 아무도 관심을 기울이지 않고 내버려져 있던 꼭두를 보면서 저는 금방 꼭두와 친밀한 유대감을 느꼈던 것입니다. 그 꼭두는 아주 오랫동안 저를 기다리고 있던 것 같았고, 그 꼭두를 만나면서 저도 오랜만에 마음의 평안을 느꼈습니다. 그 일이 있은 후, 저는 꼭두를 모으기 시작했습니다.....

3. 꼭두박물관 소개

꼭두박물관은 상설전시실과 기획전시실, 교육 공간, 아트숍, <꼭두랑 놀자>로 이루어져 있다.

상설전시실

상설전시실은 관람객이 꼭두의 전통적 세계를 전체적으로 이해할 수 있도록 소개하는 곳이다. 꼭두의 세계는 매우 다채로워서, 제작 양식, 형태, 표정, 동작 등 어느 하나 획일적인 것이 없다. 여기에서는 관람객이 이처럼 전통적 꼭두의 다양한 세계를 경험하고, 그 깊이를 느낄 수 있다.

기획전시실

기획전시실은 꼭두가 현대인의 감각을 통해 어떻게 재해석되어 나타날 수 있는가를 보여주는 곳이다. 꼭두는 과거의 유물에 머물지 않고, 지금의 관점에서 새롭게 부활하여 살아있는 전통이 된다. 꼭두의 재탄생은 다양한 예술 장르에 걸쳐 이루어진다.

교육공간

교육공간은 꼭두에 관한 흥미로운 체험이 이루어지고, 유익한 지식이 전달되는 곳이다. 어린이와 청소년 프로그램뿐만 아니라 어른용 교양 프로그램도 마련되어 있어서 다양한 계층이 함께 참여할 수 있다.

아트숍

꼭두가 지닌 아름다움과 매력은 꼭두를 처음 접하자마자 금방 드러난다. 꼭두를 소재로 한 문화상품은 이런 꼭두의 매력을 확산하고, 일상에서 쉽게 느끼게 하기 위한 것이다. 아트숍의 꼭두 문화상품을 통해 꼭두는 우리에게 더욱 가깝고 친밀하게 다가와 그 따뜻한 마음을 전해줄 수 있다.

꼭두랑 놀자

꼭두랑 놀자는 여러 가지 방식으로 꼭두극을 공연하는 공간이다. 꼭두극은 꼭두가 주인공으로 등장하는 공연으로, 그 형식은 매우 다양하다. 인형극이나 구연동화, 물체극을 포함하여 여러 형태의 공연이 선보인다.

P N ST RAG IN M S MS

Peter Stanbury

OPEN STORAGE IN MUSEUMS

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Keyword: Storage; display; open storage

Abstract: Advantages and examples of open storage are presented. Open storage is particularly suited to those collections in which many examples of slightly differing artefacts are acquired during the process of research and field work. In the long run open storage saves curatorial time, relieves space problems and increases visitor interest and participation.

Background

It has been said many times that museums are supermarkets for the mind, places where you select what interests you today. Tomorrow you may choose something different because it looks interesting and you want to know more about it, or maybe the same thing because you are know something about it and are not yet tired of it.

Supermarkets are nothing but open storage. So if museums are supermarkets for the mind, shouldn't we be using more open storage in museums?

Museums started in Greek times more as closed storage in which objects used to teach were stored adjacent to a teacher's room. Students were the sole viewers. Later, museums evolved into the cabinets in which gentlemen displayed their collections in open shelves and cabinets to friends, rivals and invited acquaintances. Later still, mainly in the nineteenth century, curators of public museums filled their museums with as many objects as possible so that any visitor could be impressed and educated by the variety of forms exhibited by nature or manufactured by man.

It was the Director's job to collect curators and the curators' job to collect, identify and display. Visitors were expected to be seriously awed by what they saw.

More recently, in the second half of the 1900's, changes took place museums; instead of layers and rows of objects from which comparisons could be made, only the finest examples of a category were public ally shown. Audiences had more leisure time but also had to be wooed from the competing attractions of movies, television, sport, renovating houses and travel. Museums had to advertise the highlights of their collection to attract visitors. The advertising brought more first time visitors but they expected to see all the important items in the 30 or 60 minutes allowed by their schedule. Tourists, used to the ten second news item, won the day over the scholars wishing to

pore over masses of detail and amateur collectors wishing to identify their treasures. Museum directors, having to show their Boards and Committees increased attendance figures, formed partnerships with architects, designers, educators, survey people, publishers and web-designers to create a "WOW" effect. Too many objects became a hindrance.

Most of the too many objects were stored away, where they could be studied by the 'bone fide' scholar, but only after visitor registration, application, appointment, choice of specific items and supervision – all in all a time consuming process, costly to both museum and scholar.

Consider a library; which would you rather use; one in which the books are on open shelves or one in which the books are hidden away and to access them you need to fill in a form and wait for individual volumes to be brought to you?

This paper is a plea for museums, especially those that accumulate many examples of similar objects, to consider some open storage for their visitors. My contention is that there is for the average viewer a "WOW" factor in rows of objects that differ from one another in detail. For amateurs of the subject, there is both fascination and stimulus; for scholars, there is quick reference and for the museum, in the long run, both cost savings and increased visitation.

For example, consider a drawer or a small cupboard that visitors are invited to open, or a curtain that they may draw aside. How many times will the drawer or curtain be moved in a day, week or year (especially if children are involved)? There is natural curiosity in all of us.

Why are behind the scenes tours so popular? People want to see and learn more than is normally selected for them to see or think about. That is why radio and television stations now run websites that allow access to longer news items and interviews for those that want to know more. But behind the scenes visits for museums consume staff time, dent their enthusiasm, are costly in dollar terms and have a certain security risk, all reasons why this paper advocates at least some open storage in every museum.

I want to set out my experience in one small, specialised museum. I think the principles are adaptable, at least in part, in most museums.

One Plan for Open Storage

I work part time in the Harry Daly Museum in Sydney, Australia. This is owned by the Australian Society of Anaesthetists so I am going to attempt the impossible: to give you a short course in anaesthesia without putting you to sleep. The museum is part of an office complex that deals with membership, publishes a scientific journal, negotiates with Government over regulation and fees, houses a library and, of course, the museum. The museum collection has been in existence in storage and one form or another since the 1930s. About three years ago it was decided to make it easily accessible to the members and to the general public, including students - especially nurses - and others undertaking related studies.

Budget considerations led to the choice of combined display and open storage cabinets: an illuminated upper display section with sliding glass doors above a series of graduated

drawers, the open storage. These were constructed in inert craft wood faced with melamine. Figure 1 shows the general appearance of the units and the showcases leading to the museum's entrance.

The displays on the top of the units trace the evolution of anaesthesia from the dark ages prior to discovery of ether (rudimentary anaesthesia by rum, ice, opium or hypnotism followed by a fast and brutal operation), through the discovery of the anaesthetic properties of ether, chloroform and nitrous oxide (laughing gas) from the mid 1800s, through anaesthesia in disaster areas and wartime to the modern era of combined gases and injected drugs continuously monitored.

Modern anaesthetists work with complexity akin to an air traffic controller continually monitoring and modifying with a range of injected drugs and inspired gases the patient's respiration and heart rate, oxygen and carbon dioxide rate, muscle contraction and relaxation, consciousness and unconsciousness, regurgitation, coughing and phenomena about which one tries to avoid thinking. The anaesthetist must also keep his masks, tubes, wires, other equipment and himself (or herself) out of the way of the surgeon and his (or her) requirements and idiosyncrasies.

In a modern hospital complex electronic machine help monitor the process with a series of dials, oscilloscopes and switches that must also be observed and obeyed. In emergencies in the field, the anaesthetist relies on observations alone.

Compared to the surgeon with his knife, clamp, probe and needle, the anaesthetist over the years has used a great variety of equipment because most anaesthetists love to invent improvements and little gadgets that they swear does the job better. Maybe it does in their hands, but not always in the hands of others, so a museum of anaesthesia accumulates a mass of artefacts, each category containing objects slightly differing from one another, just as anthropologists and archaeologists are responsible for large collections of material, much of which looks similar on first glance to the casual observer.

Masks, needles, syringes, mouth props (to hold the mouth open), laryngoscopes (devices to hold down the tongue and look down the throat with a little light), inhalers, vaporizers, ventilators and so on all exist in a multiple of varieties. Serried rows of these are stored, and displayed, in clearly labelled drawers in the lower half of the museum's cabinets.

The drawers glide open with a gentle touch. Each drawer has a close fitting glass lid protecting its contents from environmental variations, pests, dust and theft. Removal of the glass can be prevented by screws, locks or a device that prevent the drawers from being fully opened except by the Curator.

The contents of the drawers are protected from colliding with one another if the drawer is jerked open by tearoom. This is an inert substance with long life, from which spaces can be precisely cut with a sharp knife to hold each object in position in relation to the other objects in the drawer. Most drawers contain two layers of tearoom, a thin layer on the bottom, and another layer on top, in which holes are cut to hold the objects. Each object is thus held in a tight-fitting nest of foam.

In practice, the artefacts destined for a drawer are carefully arranged on a layer of tearoom, their outline softly drawn with a pen or pencil and then, after removing the

objects, the holes are cut with a very sharp knife with the tearoom resting on a cutting board. (Fig. 2)

Tearoom is compressible to a certain extent and any mistakes in cutting, or for minor changes of a drawer's contents, can often be corrected or effected by inserting a new, small block of tearoom and/or re-cutting a specific space/spaces.

Ethafoam usually comes in a limited choice of non-colours: white or black, but can be covered with parsilk or other fabric.

The number of drawers in a unit will be determined by the space available, the design chosen and the nature of the collection. We chose to have banks of five drawers, graduated in size. The deeper drawers below, those that may contain larger and heavier objects, required stronger runners designed to support the greater weight.

The top drawer can be used to show smaller objects or to provide a general introductory text for the drawers below, perhaps accompanied by a few objects. (Fig 3) Alternatively, and I wish I had thought of this before construction was commenced, there could be a simple pull-out glass-covered board for introductory text relating to the display above or the drawers below.. This board could also be used as a resting place for a laptop computer or books when conducting research, or for objects when modifying a display,

The display cabinets are labelled at the top with stick-on plastic letters and the drawers with a similar, but smaller, font and with a subtle colour change. Stencilling could be used but the stick-on letters adhere firmly, are not picked off by our visitors and allow for quick changes when the displays are altered.

The illustrations show that the lighting system is low voltage, adjustable in direction and intensity and emitting little UV, Although the specimens displayed, mostly metal or glass, are relatively stable, LED lighting might be a wiser choice as it produces less heat.

Large anaesthetic equipment is displayed on low plinths. Casters on the plinths allow changes of position: in the centre of the room or around the walls. The plinths are specifically shaped to fit into corners and to allow many configurations, rather like a tan gram.

Other Open Storage

Open storage can take many forms. One particularly elegant example is in the Museum of Sydney. This museum is sited on land once occupied by first Government House. In the museum archaeological items recovered from the site are stored in drawers which when touched, open with a tantalising resistance, automatically light up to reveal the contents and then slowly retract by themselves. This means school children, for example, cannot wrench the drawers open and bang them shut for the pleasure of the noise rather than the observation of the contents. This system also ensures the contents do not move as the drawer opens or closes.

Open storage can itself be a large display. In the remote Museo Leymebamba in Northern Peru there is a room sized open storage display of scores of pre-Inca mummies removed from Laguna de les Condores high up in the Andes. One wall of this

storage area is a glass window through which the mummies can be seen. (Fig. 4) They are positioned in an embryonic posture, bound by textiles, with faces represented by simple stitching. Sometimes a person's work-tools or a simple possession are bound in. This embryonic posture simplified transportation in containers of wooden staves up the steep mountain slopes to the ancestors' caves. These caves are high above the villages of the living. The high double or triple layer arrangement in the store raises the mummies above the visitor, simulating their natural position in the caves overlooking the dwellings of the descendants.

In the open storage display the mummies have been wrapped in tulle, a fine muslin-like material to allow circulation of air but prevent the entry of insects. Natural herbs are used as insecticides and a gas lamp is used to raise the temperature and reduce the humidity when required as shown by monitors. The lit lamp produces an eerie cave-like illumination. Electricity cuts are common in the area and air-conditioning a rarely affordable luxury.

Another example from Peru is found in Lima, in a large, formerly privately owned museum, the Larco Collection, containing an extensive collection of Moche pottery. Here visitors are invited to walk into an open storage room lined from floor to ceiling with pot laden shelves, protected only by fine nylon wire. (Fig 5)

Another privately owned museum, the Angkor Museum in Siem Reap, Cambodia, has a dimly, but subtly lit, highly atmospheric temple of a room that contains 1,000 Buddhas. Large and small, each Buddha has its own carefully designed niche and lighting.

In Phnom Penh, the National Museum of Cambodia, which has four large galleries arranged around a central courtyard open to the sky, uses its shaded cloisters to house lintels and other architectural elements from temples. (Fig 6)

One can imagine smaller archaeological or ethnographic objects displayed on tightly packed shelves surrounding a simulated excavation or diorama. Displays of this type clearly convey the painstaking years of work and planning behind field research.

In Australia up country small museums often use simple open storage to exhibit local ingeniously crafted furniture. (Fig 7) Note the background of corrugated iron, the universal material for sheds and the roofs of houses in outback Australia.

Specific cultures sometimes permit the viewing of certain objects by a restricted group of people... In such cases, open storage drawers or displays may be unlocked or uncovered only by the initiated with a key or a code. (See the keys on the right hand side of Figs 1 & 8)

Museum staff are used to objects and their history, but technology is moving so fast today that young people have little understanding of the evolution of everyday objects. For example, rotary dial telephones are mysterious to today's cell phone addicted youth. And yet if you see someone you know passing on a bus and they want you to phone, they will sometimes make rotary movements of a finger. How is that a hand signal can outlast the physical object?

What child in the western world makes his or her own toys – don't they just come in boxes from shops as advertised on TV? Is a crystal wireless set recognisably related to i-tunes?

Open storage is especially suited to show evolutionary paths in easy to understand steps. Humans learn best by the step by step acquisition of knowledge. If the objects from the history of one's own culture are poorly understood; how much more difficult is it to understand those of other cultures? Open storage provides a means of presenting, explaining and discussing different cultural values, traditions and objects.

Conclusion

Nineteenth century museums and international exhibitions used open storage techniques to explain the wide world of nature; to acquaint visitors with the beauty and wide ranging geographical forms of other countries and to explain cultural similarities and differences. Today, the popularity of supermarkets, DIY stores, coffee table cook books and the internet are all based on the concept of open storage. They are all places where you are presented with variety from which you select what is relevant to you at a certain time.

Shouldn't we be using the same technique more in our museums? Why do we continually present the visitor with a few carefully selected aesthetic, rare, valuable, unique, beautifully lit objects that have as little significance to the average person as a diamond necklace in a forbiddingly impressive boutique in Paris or Rome?

Fig 1. The Harry Daly Museum of Anaesthesia. The introductory displays can be seen on the right; in the museum itself there are displays above and open storage drawers below. Larger objects are displayed on moveable plinths in the centre of the Museum.

Fig 2. Custom-made artefact spaces are cut into Ethafoam. This ensures that the objects are held safely in position as the drawers are opened or shut.

Fig 3. The top drawer of the open storage section in the Harry Daly Museum is sometimes used to introduce the artefacts in the drawers below, and/or the displays above. There may be, as in this example, both text and three dimensional objects.

Fig 4. Open storage of mummies in Museo Leymebamba, Northern Peru. A preventative conservator is checking the environmental conditions in the room-sized display, which is normally dimly lit. The mummies were carried up the mountain to special caves in wooden stave 'carriers' on llamas or on a person's back when the way up was too steep for the animals.

Fig 5. Open storage of Moche pottery in the Larco Collection, Lima, Peru. The artefacts are protected by nylon (fishing) line.

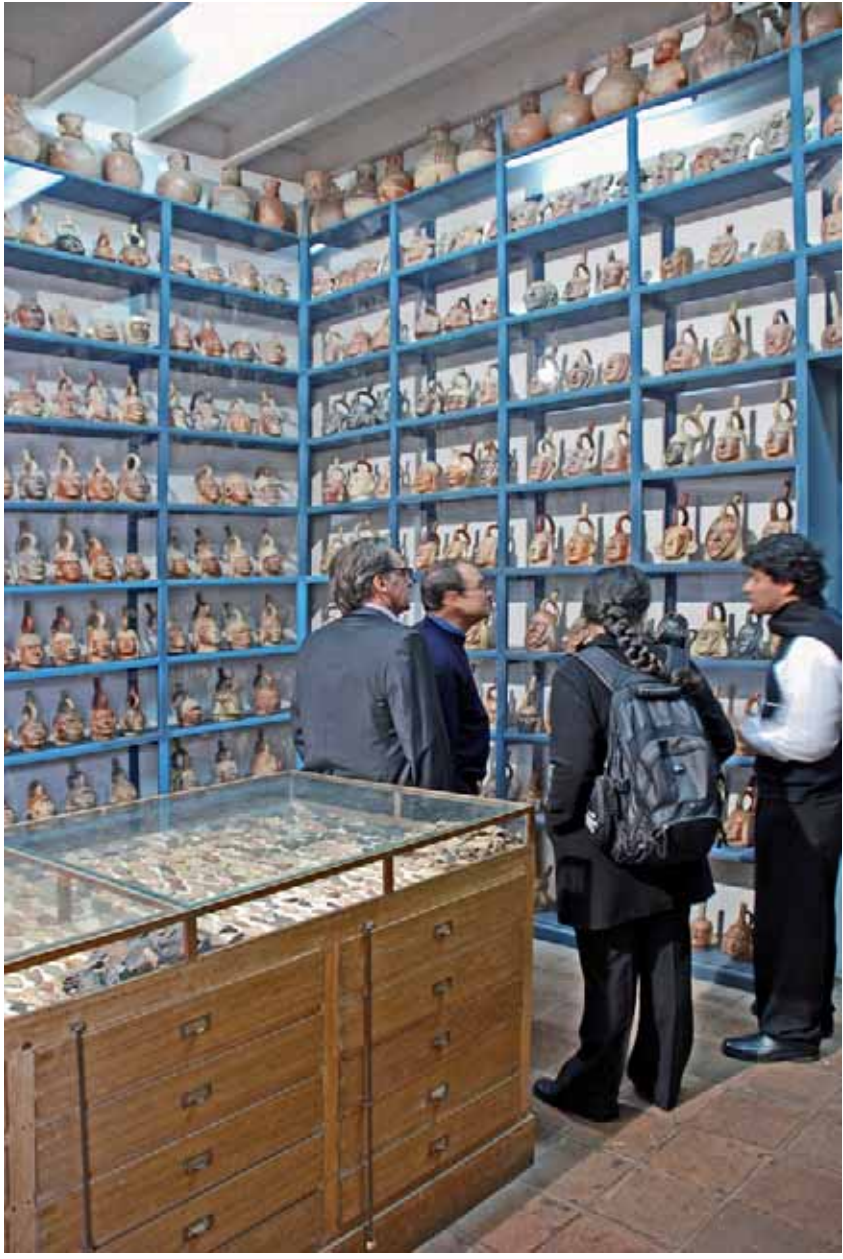
Fig 6. Large lintels and other stone artefacts displayed in open storage sheltered by only a roof around the central courtyard of the National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh, Cambodia.

Fig 7. Simple bush carpentry is displayed in these chairs in open storage at Uralla Mill, a local history museum in New South Wales, Australia.

Fig 8. When extra security is needed, or when certain displays should only be seen by specific groups of people, locks can be provided for open storage drawers. See the key on the right hand side of this Fig, and again in Fig 1.









Intercultural Reconciliation
through the Museum and Archives – Interprising
: Samara – Experience of Cultural Projecting

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**Intercultural Reconciliation through the Museum and Archives Entering: Samara
Experience of Cultural Projecting**

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The subject of this presentation is examination of the peace-building as a resource of intercultural reconciliation and overcoming conflicts in transitional society through the museum and archives entering in context of Samara experience of cultural projecting. Our research plan is following: 1. The collecting and selection of numerous data of peace-building in different cultures and traditional practices of world; 2. The comparative sociological analysis of the samples of peacemaking and personal achievements in culture; 3. The study of influence of personal peace-experience for intercultural reconciliation and sustainable development; 4. The models of applications of samples of personal peacemaking. One of the most important platforms of intercultural communication and interpenetration of the cultural experience of the past and the present is a museum and archives entering. The aim of our report is to encourage and to promote the development of intercultural communication and sustainable development through the ethnographical knowledge and its interdisciplinary links. Cultural heritage of every nation has its specific great resource of humanistic development. That is why we try to do our activity as an open laboratory of scientific ideas, progressive projects, liberal democratic experience, aesthetic visions, intercultural relations and multicultural creativity through the different resources of ethnography and archaeology. Our professional mission is the humanistic of ethnography that is based on the interdisciplinary integration and intercultural dialogue. Our thematic priorities are the anthropological resources of social transformations and development.

A New Direction for an Anthropological Museum

The Beyond the Rim Project

at the Treganza Anthropology Museum,

Yoshiko Yamamoto

A New Direction for an Ethnological Museum

The Beyond the Rim Project at the Treganza Anthropology Museum,

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The Treganza Museum's namesake, Adan E. Treganza, trained as geologist but later changed his emphasis to anthropology with a strong interest in the original inhabitants of California. He joined the faculty at San Francisco State College as a professor in geology and geography and in 1953 he introduced the first courses in anthropology at this institution. Treganza later founded the Department of Anthropology at the College, now San Francisco State University (Hohenthal 1969). The late Prof. Treganza's lab became a museum of Anthropology to continue his effort to disseminate anthropological knowledge through educating the public about anthropology. However, Treganza's goal has not been fully achieved as far as the museum activities are concerned as Anthropology faculty have virtually ceased to utilize the Museum collections in their teaching.

During Treganza's time the Museum accumulated not only archaeological but also ethnological collections. The collections include the field notes which came with the collections, audiovisual archives, and bibliographical material collected by faculty members. For decades this material was actively used in teaching both in the University and in other institutions. Treganza's teaching kit, for example, was used for decades after his death by student teachers teaching the public school required unit on Native Peoples of California.

The Hohenthal Gallery was added when the Anthropology Department moved to the Old Science Building in 1987. It was intended to serve as a venue for temporary exhibitions by students, faculty members in the department and visiting curators. No permanent exhibitions have been installed, but number of students has used our collections to install exhibits at local museums and some collections have been loaned to other museums for exhibit. In recent years, however, the Museum collections have less and less been used as teaching materials except for a few specimens as demonstration specimens in class, generally in archaeology classes. This is due both to the lack of interest in material manifestations of

cultural phenomena by socio-cultural faculty members and to the savage cutting of the Museum budget, including the cutting of work-study help.

The California basketry collection was one of the most frequently used of the Museum holdings. These baskets were donated by students and basket lovers to the Museum. This collection is now both extremely valuable and very useful in terms of understanding the history and evolution of Native Californian basket traditions. It was exhibited in 1998 in the gallery as “Dexterity of Tradition” but, since that time there has been progressively less funding of the Museum by the College of Behavioral and Social Sciences and there has been no possibility of a permanent exhibition of this important collection.

Native American basketry has been extensively researched throughout the United States. Otis Mason in 1902, in a now classic work, surveyed styles and techniques in detail. His book remains one of the most important contributions to the study of basketry traditions in the United States.

California basketry was very popular among Native American art collectors from the early 1900s, if not before. The journal *THE BASKET*, subtitled *The Journal of the Basket Fraternity or Lovers of Indian Baskets and Other Good Things*, was issued quarterly in the early 20th century. In recent years, there have been several new publications on the California basketry tradition using museum and private collections. (Bibby, 1997, 2004; Clarke Memorial Museum; Silva, 2004; Turnbaugh 2004). The most recent is by Dr. Beverly W. Ortiz titled “Beyond the Tangible: Baskets as Relationship” (2009). Dr. Ortiz is a cultural anthropologist, a basket weaver and is highly respected and recognized by basket weavers of California.

The California basket collection at the Treganza Museum totals 173 items. The first piece in the collection dates back to 1929; the latest is date around the 1970s. The collection includes almost all the styles of baskets from California and from a large number of distinct tribal groups. It is unfortunate that the number of California’s tribal groups has not been calculated accurately. The late anthropologist Robert Heizer writing in 1978, noted that about 60 tribes had been recognized. A recent unpublished survey notes that there are about 84 distinct groups, but with some uncertainty according to one of basketweavers who visited Treganza Museum. Among these tribal groups are a number of federally unrecognized groups.

California baskets are woven with either coiling or twining techniques. Since many baskets were used for cooking acorn mush with heated rocks (“stone boiling”), these had to be finely and tightly woven

so that they were water tight (Fig 1). Other characteristic functional forms are cradles, gift baskets (Fig 2), burden baskets, storage baskets (Fig 3), and winnowing trays. Yurok people's basketry hats may be beautifully woven and unique. Also there are uniquely shaped and sealed Paiute baskets (Fig) and beautifully decorated Pomo feathered or beaded baskets, ranging in size from as large as its diameter reaches as long as 50 cm in diameter to tiny pieces as small as the tip of a finger.

As California baskets became more and more collectors' items, it became difficult for the weavers themselves to get access to pieces from their culture to study and learn from. The prices of baskets at galleries and auctions had steadily increased over the years and they are now valuable prestige items, although in a totally different cultural setting. Furthermore the sale price, surprisingly, goes up when a dealer finds out that the buyer is Native American, according to one basket weaver. Published material on basket making is likewise not readily available to the basket weavers themselves, who often live in rural settings or in small towns without research libraries. A revival of older techniques has been attempted in recent years by associations such as the California Indian Basket Weavers Association (CIBA). However, basket weavers now also face shortages of raw materials. Raw materials used for basketry include grey willow, sugar pine, sitka spruce, redbud, and ferns and plants such as Woodwardia fern, five finger maidenhair fern, bear grass (See Clarke Memorial Museum, 1985: 49). Baskets are decorated with geometrical designs using dyed sticks. Shell beads are also used as decoration as seen Fig 4. Feathers are carefully woven into baskets as are porcupine quills. Porcupine quills are now rarely found by weavers.

The loss of habitat for raw materials has been important in the decline of California basketry. Wild lands have been replaced by farmlands or by subdivisions and country weekend homes. Collecting materials in state parks is generally discouraged or prohibited. Some plants are protected in limited areas by the basketweavers themselves. Another problem is that the plants use may be contaminated. They have been exposed to chemicals, including Roundup (glyphosate), Garlon 3A (triclopyr), and Velpar (hexazinone) (CIBA 1996:9), insecticides applied to prevent insect infestation of trees. As the weavers use their mouths to split materials for weaving, the contaminated materials have caused basketweavers to develop skin diseases.

In 2008, to draw a wider audience's interest, the Museum attempted to scan its slides of California baskets and printed them out to show to faculty in American Indian Studies to gain their interest and

cooperation in making this collection available to basket weavers (Fig 5). This project “Beyond the Rim” was designed to properly analyze, identify and record the Treganza Museum California Indian basket collection. The proposal states:

Many California Baskets) are not available to non-academic interested communities, (such) as traditional tribal practitioners, artists, students, and the general public. When exhibited these basket collections are often interpreted by experts from other cultures, rather than by practitioners of the cultures represented by the art.

By having participation by Native American artists and Native American students and faculty in every phase of this project, we will be more accurately representing and respecting the cultures represented in this collection. Proposal 200

The Cultural Conservancy TCC , is an indigenous-rights non-profit organization based in San Francisco, California found in . It is a small grassroots group funded by foundation grants and donations. Their mission is to protect and restore indigenous cultures, empowering them in the direct application of their traditional knowledge and practices on their ancestral lands. Through research, education, and advocacy we work to preserve the biological and cultural heritage of native peoples. TCC blends the issues of cultural survival and environmental justice with the concrete activities of land and resource conservation and cultural revitalization. Our guiding principles acknowledge the sacred relationship of native peoples to the land and the essential role of native peoples in preserving environmental integrity and biological diversity. (underline by author 2008).

The proposal was funded by a grant from the San Francisco Arts Commission. It was an excellent opportunity for the American Indian Studies (AIS) program to integrate teaching basketry traditions of California to students enrolled in AIS courses involved with teaching Native California cultural heritage. The basketweavers involved in the project Ms Kathy Wallace was familiar with the Central West Coast Californian traditions of basketry, the Karuk, Hoopa and Yurok. The photographer Ms L. Frank was a basketweaver of Southern California’s Tongva and Ajachmem (Luise o) descent. All were experienced in working at various museums in California. The project began with two seniors in the AIS program, two basketweavers and one non-Indian volunteer. Additional funding was provided by AIS, and the College of Behavioral Social Sciences purchased a unit of dehumidifier, air-purifier and vacuum cleaner. Personal lap top computers, digital cameras were brought in and the office printers and other office supplies were provided by the Department of Anthropology. Additional cabinets were purchased to store the collections when the research is finished. These cabinets will be placed at the Hohenthal Gallery in order for them and other tribal groups to be accessible in future. Work space was set up in the Hohenthal Gallery as this is the only room with satisfactory climate controlled space. All the California baskets were spread out and grouped by tribal affiliation as identified by the researchers (Fig 6). An inventory chart was printed to fill out information on respective basket as they analyze (Fig 7) (Appendix I).

The group's goals for the first phase of the project were:

- a. Make the basket collection safely available for community and university use
- b. Make a complete, accurate database of the collection
- c. Complete a detailed photo catalog of the collection
- d. Interpret the collection in a way that is guided by California Native American input and is educationally useful for teachers, students, the general public, and the Native American community
- e. Train students to work with basketry collection Nelson and Wallace, Oct. 22, 200 unpublished Treganza Museum

After brief chanting by L. Frank, analysis proceeded. Cardboard boxes were cut to hold baskets being cleaned by Kathy Wallace, the basketweaver and instructor at AIS (Fig 8). Under spot lights set inside these boxes, baskets were cleaned one at a time with brushes of various sizes and softness. Another section of the gallery was used for photographing baskets in long shots and in detail views. Close-ups of the designs or weaves were also made. As the basket weavers participating were born in different parts of California and are from different ethnic groups their exchange of information, as they conducted the research, was particularly interesting. Inter-marriage of tribal groups, especially geographically adjacent ones, has led to sharing of techniques and designs within basket traditions. This project then became a stimulating opportunity to discuss their own heritage, taking various features of basketry into consideration.

During the identification process, it was found that the Museum catalogue was incomplete. The inventory sheet basketweavers created will provide accurate information for the collection. Materials used and techniques applied are recorded in detail. References at the museum library also served for their curation of the baskets, and they notice some wrongly identified baskets as well. From brief conversations with the basketweavers I sensed their negative attitudes toward anthropologists and their activities, attitudes still prevalent among the Native Americans. At a presentation on the Museum collection, the Museum was introduced as the Treganza Museum to the audience of the Native Americans, but not as Treganza Anthropology Museum deleting Anthropology, as explained by the presenter as the term Anthropology has such connotations of prejudice to many Native Americans.

As they cleaned the baskets they were able to observe the features that only basketweavers would recognize, from a characteristic weaving techniques to a piece of hair woven into baskets. Their analysis hopefully brings out different perspectives as seen by basketweavers that is useful for anthropologists and museum curators and subsequent changes in analysis.

The basketweavers plan to circulate the finished results with images of the baskets on CD to be circulated among the tribal groups who request them. This technology is easily duplicatable as so copies can be given free of charge to requestors.

The cleaned, identified and photographed baskets are placed in the Museum cabinets, arranged according to the tribal affiliations. The Museum is very happy to note that one of the pieces can now be attributed to a known basket weaver. The collection itself is now available for visits of tribal groups, should they wish to see the pieces themselves as well as the photographic images.

At the final stage of filing the basket collection, the Museum staff faced some conflict. During the same time when the basketweavers and students were working, the Museum received a group of students under the supervision of a Museum Studies Program instructor. She and her students conducted an independent inventory and began storing the baskets ignoring the tribal affiliation grouping made by the Native American basketweavers. The Museum studies people went ahead and began storing the baskets by sizes to match storage cabinets with little attention to what the Native Americans tried. They ignored the basketweavers and made their own labels as well as groups. The basketweaver and her students were very upset and removed all the baskets from the cabinets and reorganized them according to their own classification. As the result, on the cabinets were two different labels. The contents were, however, organized according to the classification by the basket weavers. The Museum Studies people showed little ethnic knowledge or sensitivity in this instance.

Other conflicts also emerged. Some baskets of the Native American have been stored in the room where human remains of local Native Americans were in boxes for analysis. The fact annoyed the Native Americans who found out about it; they have objection to the mixture of the two in one storage room.

Conclusion

The project is still continuing although there has, as yet, been no exhibition as was originally planned. The project to date has greatly increased their instructional value of the basket collection of the Treganza Anthropology Museum and we hope to mount an exhibit with the interpretations of the basketweavers. The project was successful in that the baskets are now properly identified, cleaned and photographed and the collection is hence more accessible to researchers, Native American or others. The basketweavers involved had the opportunity to retrieve their traditions and to discuss changing cultural traditions. This project

suggests new directions that ethnological museums may take in the future. The Treganza Museum collections are now fully available for basketweavers and serve as useful references for Native Americans interested in the crafts. Their traditions serve as their source of ethnic identity. Through their investigation of museum collections it is hoped that working together may help override the prejudices existing among anthropologists, museum workers, and tribal groups. Perhaps Museum Studies programs will also come to understand ethnicity as an important aspect of research. Using collections as a means of communication, the role of ethnological museums is reconsidered by making the collections available to the people with rapidly changing cultural heritages and people who are losing their ethnic identity, as is the case with so many urbanized ethnic minorities.

It is hoped that many ethnological museums in the world, will welcome new interpretations of their collections by the producers of the different cultural groups and can use them in the future in exhibitions of collections. The Treganza Anthropology Museum itself may survive and once more serve to instruct people about Native American heritage, as was the original wish of the founder.

I would like to thank the following people for their contributions to write this paper: Karen O. Bruhns, Mariana Ferreira and her student assistants, L. Frank and her friend, Melisa Nelson, Kathy Wallace and AIS students, and Kimberly Yee.

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- Video Cassette 28 minutes color AV 82265
1962 Acorns - shows how acorns were harvested, sorted and prepared for eating by the Pomo Indians of California (available at SFSU Audio Visual Library)

APP N I I In entory orm of California Bas ets

Treganza Museum California Bas ets Collection

ate of In entory

ata collector s Name

Museum Status of item loan, gift

bject I

Museum ocation

weaver's Name if known

Basket Type

Cradle basket, round basket, seed beater, winnowing tray, etc

Cultural Affiliation

Accession Information according to catalog donor's name, accession date and cataloged by

Collector donor's name if different from the donor

Value at the time of the donation

Recent appraisal date, appraiser's name, value

Weaving Technique

<u>Coil</u>	<u>Stitch</u>	<u>Twist</u>
one stitch	Close stitch	Plain twined
Two stitch	Non interlocking	Twill twined
Three stitch	Gap stitch	strand twine
Bundle	with inter stitch	Reinforced rod
Rim		half or full twist
		overlay
		Closed or open

Measurement, Condition, Use inches cm

<u>Measurement</u>	<u>Condition</u>	<u>Use</u>
tall	old used	utility
wide	old unused	decorative
long	New	Commercial
diameter at rim	damaged undamaged	Gift
Max	Mended repaired	Shows ill
	form, Materials and	decoration

A color

innower
Tray
Bowl
Cone
ug
Bottle
Miniature
Cradle

Boy
Girl

Cap
ther

B M er l

arp stic
eft wea er
Start
Color design
ye stuff
ther

B e er l

Beads ind
Coating
eather ind
iber
eather
Cloth
Metal steel wire
ther paper, etc

idedd
andle
Nec
Pedestal base
Cylinder
Globular
lared bowl
al

Identification:

- I Based on TAM catalog
- II Identified by Name and ate Bac ground
- III References if suggested

Con on l e or

Cleaning treatment Information

dusted ate and Name of the person

cleaned ate and Name of the person and chemical techni ue used

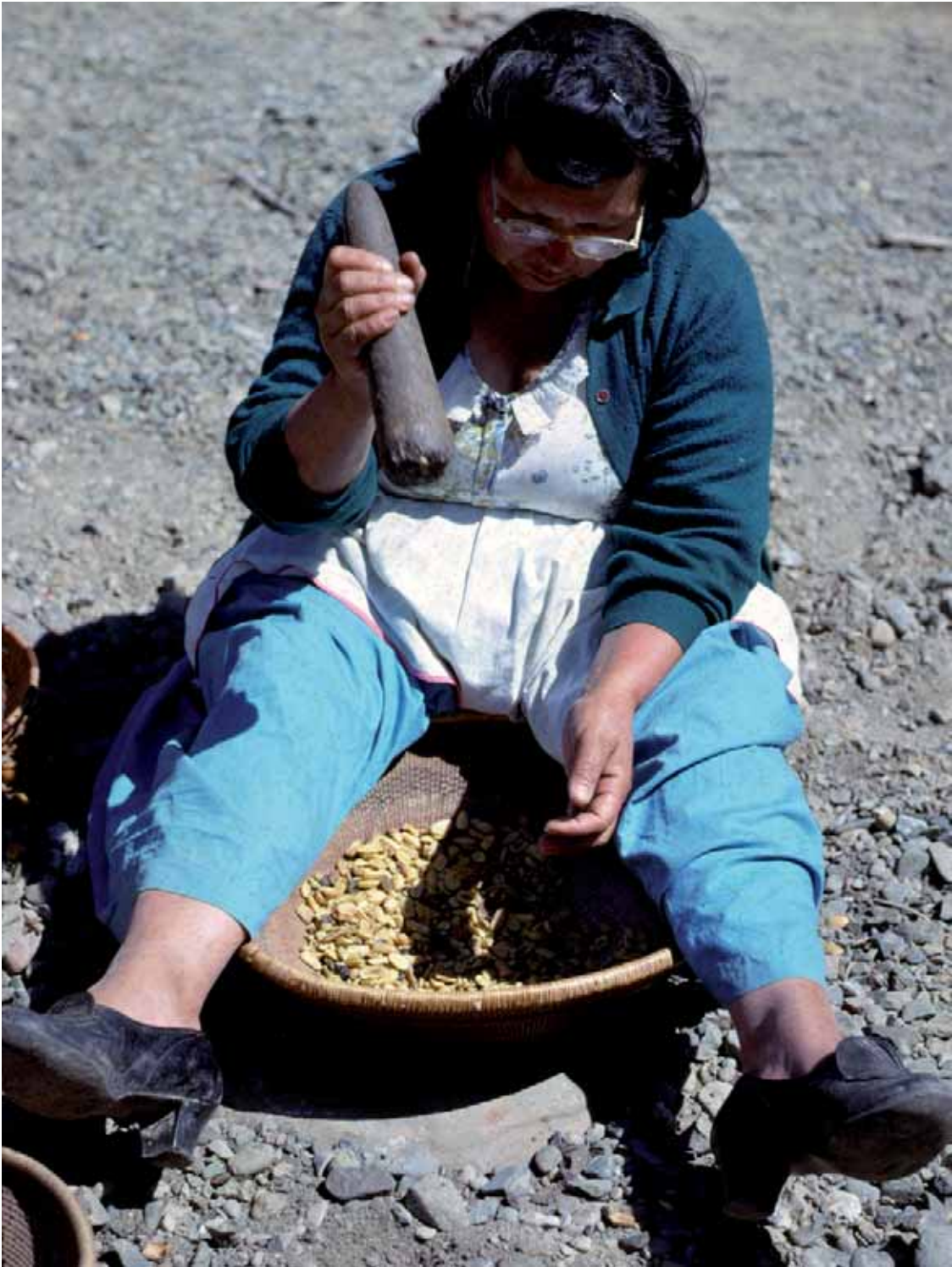


Fig 1 Pomo woman pounding acorns (1962).



Fig 3 Pomo storage basket (diam 43 cm)



Fig 2 Pomo gift basket (diam. 22 cm)



Fig 4 Northern Paiute basket (h 25cm)



Fig 5 The first meeting at Hohenthal Gallery, Treganza Anthropology Museum 2008



Fig 8 Kathy Wallace, distinguished basketweaver, preparing for dusting baskets



Fig 6 Grouping together baskets by tribal affiliation on tables at Hohenthal Gallery



Fig 7 Inventory form is being filled out by a student who is also basketweaver

C M T A NATIV P AC
:T IMP RTANC IN IG N SR CR ITM NT
AN R T NTI NT T NATI NA M S M
T AM RICAN IN IAN,
SMIT S NIAN INSTIT TI N

Martin Earring

C M T A NATIV P AC :T
IMP RTANC IN IG N S
R CR ITM NTAN R T NTI NT
T NATI NA M S M T
AM RICAN IN IAN, SMIT S NIAN
INSTIT TI N

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Abstract:

My project will explore the importance of the recruitment and retention of indigenous employees to the Cultural Interpreter Program, Department of Education, and the Visitor Services Program, Division of Museum Programs. I plan to interview past and present employees that have created the path for people such as me to work at this cultural institution.

The data should prove useful to NMAI as it seeks to affirm and build upon its commitment to including the Native voice in its educational and visitor services. The experiences of present and past employees will help the museum refine its program policies and procedures to ensure maximum recruitment and retention effectiveness.

Introduction

A phenomenal thing was about to happen in Washington on the afternoon of September 21, 2004. After many years of planning and an act of Congress passed on November 28, 1989 (Public Law 101-185), a new museum to the Smithsonian Institution was about to have its grand opening, the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI). Indigenous and non-indigenous peoples had been waiting for this moment for a very long time. This was a lifetime dream come true as witnessed on

opening day when 25,000 Native people from across the Western Hemisphere joined in a celebratory procession.

Native Voice

The NMAI mission statement commits to speaking on behalf of the indigenous communities of the Western Hemisphere. It states:

The National Museum of the American Indian NMAI is committed to advancing knowledge and understanding of the Native cultures of the Western Hemisphere, past, present, and future, through partnership with Native people and others. The Museum works to support the continuance of culture, traditional values, and transitions in contemporary Native life.

Douglas Cardinal (Blackfoot) designed a piece of abstract architecture that physically embodies the museum’s mission statement of welcoming the world to a Native place on the National Mall in Washington, DC. The museum strives to educate about indigenous peoples from the Western Hemisphere by offering the Native voice and absorbing its knowledge. *The Mall Museum is the public platform for teaching the wider community about Indian cultures, history, and current concerns, from Indian viewpoints, in an environment that looks and feels profoundly Indian. (Venturi: 1991)*

This paper will explore the importance of recruitment and retention of indigenous employees to the NMAI’s Cultural Interpreter (CI) and Visitor Services (VS) programs, Division of Museum Programs. This study is based on interviews with past and present employees that have created the path for people such as me to work at this cultural institution.

The Native voice cannot be heard unless there are indigenous employees to speak on behalf of their respective indigenous cultures. Without the CI and VS programs, the public would not be able to hear the Native voice and make first-

person connections to the exhibits, gallery halls, and overall museum. This can be achieved to some extent with public performances by Native artists, but the CI and VS programs interact with the public on a day to day basis and, therefore, the Native voice is always present.

Personal Introduction

The Dakota woman, Ella Deloria once said, as paraphrased by the Lakota artist, Arthur Amiotte (Oglala Lakota),

Know and appreciate your relatives. In knowing them, you will come to know your culture. In knowing your culture, you will begin to know yourself in relation to all that is. (NMAI Magazine, fall 2006)

Every now and then I read this woman's wise words to remind myself of who I am, culturally. I was raised to be a humble person, conditioned to know where I come from, what my responsibilities are, and where I will go in life.

I identify myself as Mnicoujou and Oglala Lakota. I am an enrolled member of the Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe (CRST) in Eagle Butte, South Dakota. I am a direct descendent of an Oglala chief named Standing Bear, who was my great-great paternal grandfather (Neihardt: 1932). My father and grandfather, the late George Earring, Jr. and George Earring Sr., were members from the CRST as well. My mother, Theresa Brave Eagle, is a member of the Oglala Sioux Tribe in Pine Ridge, South Dakota as were my paternal grandmother, maternal grandfather, and maternal grandmother. I am very proud of my genealogy as it is our self identity from a socio-centric social culture. I am taught to identify myself through my family and not my ego-centric/individual self (De Munck: 2000) as I am conditioned outside of my Lakota culture.

I spent the first year of my life in a small town on the reservation near Eagle Butte, South Dakota. Then, my family moved off the

reservation to Rapid City, South Dakota for an economically stable life. My mother, Theresa, wanted to stay relatively close to her family home near Manderson, South Dakota. I attained a Bachelor of Arts degree in Anthropology (emphasis in American Indian ethnography) and French Studies from the University of South Dakota in Vermillion, South Dakota and completed graduate courses in Liberal Studies at Dartmouth College in Hanover, New Hampshire.

I came to Washington DC in the summer of 2004 as an intern in the Department of Anthropology at the National Anthropological Archives, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution. While working on my project, I was informed that NMAI was slated to open in the fall of 2004 and that the museum was actively encouraging indigenous people to work there.

I began working at the NMAI in 2004. During my tenure, I have held three different positions in two different departments. From August of 2004 until May of 2006 I was a Visitor Services Representative. From May of 2006 until October of 2007 I was a Cultural Interpreter. Since October 2007 have I worked in the Mall Resource Center as a Cultural Information Assistant.

The Roles of Visitor Services and Cultural Interpreter Positions

Prior to the opening of the NMAI there was a manuscript titled *The Way of the People National Museum of the American Indian*. Based on many consultations in Native communities, this document set the course for the design of the museum. It states that indigenous staff should interact with the public:

Non-Indian visitors should encounter Indian staff when they enter the Mall Museum, and the Museum's programs should encourage dialogue. It is important that non-Indians understand that Indians have survived and adapted, and that

they have many cultures and lifestyles We wear Reeboks, too.' (Venturi: 1991)

The Visitor Services Representative is responsible for facilitating visitation to NMAI by welcoming every visitor to the museum. The primary duties focus on helping visitors find their way through the museum and crowd management, while providing a Native perspective when imparting information about the importance of the NMAI.

The Cultural Interpreter at the NMAI informs the museum visitors about Native perspectives with cultural/educational/self-reflective tours of the museum and its exhibition halls on a daily basis for school children and adults. The staff of this program serves everyone from people that walk into the museum to international diplomats.

Staff from both of these programs receive various types of professional training throughout the year (e.g. continuing education, cultural awareness, and museum operations), and contribute a Native voice with their own knowledge and experiences.

Indigenous Recruitment

Indigenous recruitment is essential to the NMAI. Museum visitors desire a better understanding of indigenous peoples and cultures and to make a human connection with the exhibits and items of material culture. Curators are not accessible to the public on a regular basis or without an appointment. However, the indigenous staff in the CI and VS programs has first hand cultural knowledge of the exhibits as many of them have their respective cultures on display, work on the museum floor on a daily basis, and are always accessible to the public.

There are a plethora of difficulties in recruiting indigenous peoples to work for the museum. The first is the location of the museum, in Washington, DC. Many of the indigenous peoples that work for the CI and VS programs

come from west of the Mississippi River. No compensation for relocating makes it difficult to transition from across the United States to the Washington, DC metro area. New arrivals are not accustomed to the high cost of living and various unexpected expenses (e.g. rent deposit, transportation). Emotionally, it is a cultural shock for new employees to leave the comfort of family and friends in their communities and face the isolation of a new location. Also, when starting a new position, you must build up annual and sick leave which takes time to accrue, so once the new employees have relocated they are not able to return to their communities for quite some time.

These are some examples of the difficulties endured by indigenous North Americans who are U.S. citizens when they relocate. The difficulties are compounded for indigenous peoples who do not have U.S. citizenship and would like to work for the NMAI. It is difficult for them to relocate to the NMAI because of the personal sacrifice needed to continue their professional dreams while still trying to maintain a strong sense of cultural identity (e.g. family ties and tribal lands).

Indigenous Retention

Indigenous employee retention is vital to the NMAI in order to provide the Native voice. It is vital to have a knowledgeable indigenous staff, both academically and culturally. The difficulties noted in recruiting Native staff make it especially important to retain employees once they are hired.

Recently, for the first time since the opening of the museum, the VS Manager found it necessary to hire non-indigenous staff members because qualified Native people did not apply. These new employees reflect the extreme difficulty of recruiting and retaining an indigenous staff in the Washington, DC metro area. Although they are eager to learn, the new non-indigenous employees are not as knowledgeable about indigenous cultures as their indigenous

colleagues are. Also, they cannot offer first-hand community perspective when interacting with the public. The CI program has managed to maintain an all indigenous staff because of the cultural knowledge requirements in the job description. Because of the group dynamic, peer acceptance of cultural integrity is a cohesive factor and, therefore, held to the utmost importance.

In the spring of 2007, museum administrators attempted to coordinate a transition house for new employees of the CI and VS programs. It was felt that this might have helped to ease the difficulties of moving from rural areas of the United States to the urban setting of Washington. Unfortunately, due to bad timing, the housing did not work out for current CI and VS employees as many have lease obligations or were not interested in a longer commute distance to the museum.

Another example of staff going above and beyond to help with the retention of indigenous employees was when an Education Program Specialist and the Education Unit Manager introduced a Diné (Navajo) spiritual healer and educational trainer to the CI and VS programs. The Education Program Specialist had worked with the spiritual educator before and she believed his guidance would revive and maintain the cultural/spiritual well being of the CI and VS programs and help non-Native staff understand Native traditions. The spiritual person is a healer in the Diné community and abroad. He visited the CI and VS Programs twice last year and many staff members found his guidance important to their spiritual well-being. This is an important factor in retention of Native staff.

Case Study

For this case study, I interviewed past and present indigenous employees in the Cultural Interpreter and Visitor Services programs. During the inaugural year there were six VS

employees, six VS interns, and nine CI employees.

Out of a possible 30 indigenous employees in the CI and VS Programs, I interviewed 11 individuals. I gave a written questionnaire to the interviewee pool. The written document had the same questions I asked the interviewees in subsequent interviews. 12 individuals replied in written form to the questionnaire. 11 participated in the oral interviews for the case study.

Interview questions:

1. Where are you from?
2. What is your background?
3. Why did you choose to come to the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI)?
4. How long have you been here?
5. What are your career goals?
6. What has your experience been like at the NMAI?
7. Do you have any advice/suggestions to make this experience better?

Native Geography

The interviewees were from the following locations:

- Page, AZ
- San Francisco, CA
- Fort Collins, CO
- Germantown, MD
- Washington, DC
- Fort Peck, MT
- Madison, WI
- Rapid City, SD
- Ganado, AZ

Past and present CI and VS employees are from the following American Indian tribal nations (Federal and State Recognized). This shows how diverse the Native employee community is in these programs:

Absentee Shawnee
 Aquinnah Wampanoag
 Assiniboine
 Blackfeet
 Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma
 Chickasaw
 Choctaw
 Comanche
 Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde
 Crow
 Diné
 Eastern Band of Cherokee
 Hopi Pueblo
 Hunkpapa Lakota
 Jemez Pueblo
 Jicarilla Apache
 Kiowa
 Lenni Lenapé
 Lumbee
 Lummi
 Menominee
 Mnicoujou Lakota
 Muscogee Creek
 Northern Cheyenne
 Oglala Lakota
 Oneida of New York
 Oto
 Paiute
 Pamunkey
 Pawnee
 Piscataway
 Sac and Fox
 San Carlos Apache
 Santa Domingo Pueblo
 Sicanju Lakota
 Southern Ute
 Tohono O'odham
 Turtle Mountain Chippewa

 Canadian Aboriginal Peoples: Beau Soliel 1st
 Nations Ojibwe and Métis.
 Meso and South American Peoples: Aymara and
 Chicana.

Self Identity

Identity is a theoretically an immense word. In the context of a museum, indigenous self-

identification becomes even more complex when groups are formed to represent the Native voice.

The interviewees had very diverse backgrounds. Some were born and grew up in urban environments. Many interviewees were second generation college educated individuals. Very few interviewees were born and grew up on their home reservations, perhaps a result of the twentieth century U.S. enculturation process into American society.

For example, a former cultural interpreter said,

I was born and raised in San Francisco, CA but my grandparents are from Arizona, southern Arizona near Tucson, so even though on my dad side I am fourth generation San Franciscan, so on my mom's side we're really from Arizona.

Another former cultural interpreter replied,

I was born on the Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation in Lame Deer, Montana. But, my tribes are Assiniboine/Hunkpapa Lakota How I ended up on the Cheyenne Indian reservation (is) because my grandparents coming from each different reservations met at a boarding school in Kansas and they decided they would go to a reservation where my grandmother's brother was living and ended up raising their family there and raising horses. And so they had four kids and one was my dad, so I ended up, growing up, spending the first part of my life there on [the] Northern Cheyenne [reservation].

A former Visitor Services Representative shared,

I was born in Illinois then I moved to Colorado and so I mostly stayed in Colorado. I was there for years, grew up and school, went to Colorado State University, that's where I'm from.

Several interviewees had more than one American Indian tribe of identity (e.g. Diné/Oneida of New York).

A current Visitor Services Representative discussed,

I'm from New Mexico. I'm icarilla Apache and Navajo. icarilla Apache being my mother's side and Navajo being my father's side. I grew up on close to those to reservations, the icarilla Apache and Navajo Reservation and Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Another Visitor Services Representative shared,

"My mother and father met one another in Milwaukee. She is Stockbridge-Munsee band of Mohican and my father is Menominee. Great grandma was Turtle Mountain Chippewa on Dad's side no idea how much. My father passed when I was six years old so I learned more about my mother's reservation though the Menominee reservation was just next door. I am also a mix of a million other cultures of which I am not sure Bulgarian, German, Norwegian.

In the interviews, some employees used the phrase "East Coast vs. West Coast Natives" referring to people west of the Mississippi River who have a different experience of colonization with American society and the complex history of the United States.

For example, a Visitor Services Representative said,

I would say come with a strong knowledge of who you are as a Native person because there are a lot of people that come from the West who come here and experience a lot of Eastern Native people who may not know too much about themselves. But as long as you can educate others about your culture and that's probably the best thing for the program and this museum.

Another Visitor Services Representative said,

The Kiowa tribe is, you know, very fierce and proud tribe, just like all tribes are but I can only speak of the Kiowa tribe and coming here not knowing a lot about the East Coast Indians, I'm finding that they, you know, are totally different from the Mid-west tribes and I'm still learning about them as well.

Career Progression

Nine CI and VS employees have been here since the museum opened and have moved into various departments (e.g. VS Program to CI Program, VS Program to International Relations and Museum Alliances, CI Program to Department of Education, CI Program to Cultural Arts, and CI Program to the Resource Center) throughout the museum. Some interviewees spoke of the frustration of not advancing into different positions as many of them feel they are qualified for various positions throughout the museum.

A former Visitor Services Representative shared,

It's been frustrating because the job advancement is virtually impossible. Often times, it seems as if the Native people are seen as tokens and not as well-educated and well-culturally knowledgeable, so it's interesting to experience a sense of cultural prejudice even working for an indigenous institution when I am an indigenous person.

A Visitor Services Representative remarked,

It has been a lot less than I expected. Somehow I ended up with this job that has not helped me progress very far. I know it is an entry level position, but I had no idea there would not be many opportunities to grow. Overall, I have learned a bit and I enjoy my co-workers to a great extent, but I am not very happy with where I am.

During the second year there were three new CI employees who transferred from VS.

A former Visitor Services Representative who moved into a different department shared her experience,

I do see a lot of promotional potential on the current position I'm in. I could move up, right now I'm the program assistant, I could possibly move up to the coordinator and from there, um, I don't know. [T]here's a lot of different places I can go with those experience within the museum and within the Smithsonian. Depending on what comes up here, or anywhere else in the world for that matter, if I choose to go back to [my previous employer] and work events there and it's a good place.

When asked about Native representation in the museum, a Visitor Services Representative shared,

I definitely feel that could be more, more Native presence in the museum, especially with staff. And just more opportunity given to Native people to progress up. Instead of just staying at one level.

There were two volunteers during the inaugural year who became VS employees during the second year.

In 2006 the VS program received the NMAI team award of the year and one Visitor Services Representative received the "Unsung Hero Award" from the museum as well.

Parting ways

During the past three years there have been ten VS interns whose tenure lasted less than four months. Ten were CI and VS employees who left in less than one year. During the inaugural year there were two CI employees who left the program for personal/cultural reasons. In the same year there were two VS interns who

became VS employees and left in less than one year. During the second and third years there were 14 new VS employees.

A former Visitor Services Representative discussed,

Dang, it was tough to move out and stay out there in Washington DC. I constantly had to ask my mom and dad for money to help out with my basic living expenses. I remember how buying groceries was a treat insert laugh . Finally, my parents told me to move home, so I wouldn't be so far away and work on paying off my debt I accumulated trying to survive in DC while working for the NMAI. What kept me out there so long were the friends I gained while working in the museum.

Reality

With the entering classes of CI and VS interviewees, many shared their personal narratives about the honor and privilege of working for the NMAI. However, those same individuals spoke of the difficulties the first year of adjustment (e.g. economically, emotionally, physically, and socially) encountered in relocating to the Washington, DC metro area.

A Cultural Interpreter said,

It was really scary for me to pick up and move to a city I had been to only once before. My whole family thought I was crazy. My grandparents still want to talk to me every morning to make sure that I'm okay. You know, that nobody got me on the way home. That I'm out here in the crazy big city I was very fortunate to have a good friend that let me stay on his couch, what turned out to be over a month. It just took that long for me to get established. It is very, very different here than it is at home and it was a real adjustment period and the museum

doesn't really do a lot to encourage people to come out here. You don't [come out here] especially if you have a family. Just to put one first month's rent and deposit the amount would be just astronomical.

A former Cultural Interpreter also discussed the challenges of qualifying and applying for a federal position,

I think you really have to have a support system. But number one, the first thing is getting your foot in the door. A lot of cultural experience is very important but this is still a federal institution so you need the degrees. So as much as you might have a lot of experience with your home community, the federal government really wants to see that bachelor's degree. They want to see the master's degree. And that's also a way for you to fight in order to get a higher pay raise or a higher step increase. So, degrees are important.

Believe

Many Native people come to work at NMAI because they believe in what the institution represents and the work it accomplishes. They are excited to work in a place where indigenous perspectives are valued and where they can represent their communities.

A former Cultural Interpreter said,

I believed in the mission statement. I always thought of the Smithsonian as one of the most academic/prestigious institutions to study and work at.

Another former Cultural Interpreter said,

I think the cultural interpreters and visitor services are where you get the young fresh blood people with bright ideas and also open to make changes.

Conclusion and Recommendations

There has been difficulty recruiting and retaining indigenous peoples to work for the NMAI. Recruiting and retaining efforts can be improved by creating an indigenous staff position specifically for that purpose. The NMAI recruiter would travel to the communities, tribal colleges, and universities to attend various indigenous themed conferences and encourage qualified applicants to apply to the NMAI. This person could also provide technical assistance in the application process for federal jobs. Another recommendation would be to create an NMAI position for an indigenous person who is a philosophical/spiritual healer and educational trainer for those indigenous employees who are inclined to use such cultural guidance as they are away from their loved ones and traditional homelands. The effects would be beneficial to the universal indigenous philosophical beliefs and the museum staff's well being.

Creating a professional track system for career advancement for Native employees would be beneficial to staff longevity at the NMAI, not only from a professional perspective but a personal as well. Many of us indigenous people who work for the museum believe in the mission statement, have relocated to the Washington, DC metro area, and are privileged to represent our communities on an international level of education. However, with the interviewees from this case study there is substantial growth that needs to occur for current and future indigenous employees in the CI and VS programs for furthering their careers at the NMAI.

Also, re-exploring the transition house for newly hired Native staff would be a worthy effort for investing in future employees. Location is important for potential Native staff that does not know the Washington, DC metro area. The transition house would make relocating to Washington much easier.

Indigenous employee recruitment and retention at the National Museum of the American Indian is essential if the Native voice is to be heard and the mission statement of the museum is to be met. Native people must consistently staff the CI and VS programs to educate the public about Indigenous peoples, historical and contemporary, of the Western Hemisphere.

Mim a way to do diversity in Norway

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Presentation for ICME 2009

Mim - a way to do diversity in Norway

Let me start to present the first group of trainees that have participated in the Mim-project so far. Mim is a diversity recruitment program in the museums in Norway. Imagine a group of eight people with their backgrounds from seven countries, from ages 26 to 64, three men and five women. All are interested in museum work. *Mahdy* is educated as an Egyptologist with a degree from the University of Cairo. *Anna* has barely completed seven years of schooling since childhood but this is exactly why she has the experience and knowledge about her own culture as a Tater, the travelling people, one of the five national minority groups in Norway. *Kristina* is an archaeologist from Russia. *Isabelle* has some college education from Democratic Republic of Congo. *Børre* is educated as a machine engineer and is of Sami background. *Telma* is from Mexico with a degree in dramatic arts from Japan. *Saynab* is a trained nurse, lived in Norway from the age of eleven and born in Somalia. *Gazi* holds a MA degree in religion from Norway; he was born in Turkey where he lived until the age of 20. I will get back to how some of these trainees have been experiencing their time within Mim later on in this presentation.

In response to this call for papers, I would like to share our experiences in developing and realizing the diversifying project *Mim*, a Norwegian abbreviation for: *Diversity in the Museums*. In this presentation I will go through the motivation for the project and give a brief explanation of how it is organized. Then I will highlight some of the challenges and themes for discussion that have emerged, thoughts about what we have learned so far and what we need to change. There are two distinct aims for this work: one is inclusion in the

museum sector, the other is to strengthen the diversity in society as a whole. I believe our experiences will be useful for fellow museums in ICME.

The project aims to improve diversify the workforce, particularly in Norwegian museums, by capturing the competence of individuals with a background from immigrant, refugee, national minority and indigenous groups in various museum professions. The project also aims to create openings for interested individuals to build their competence as professionals within the museums sector. We see this as one possible approach to combat social inequality, and in this way the museums involved are actively working towards a better and more inclusive society.

Motivation and background

The project is inspired by the Diversify programme in the UK. Diversify was launched by the MLA, Museums, libraries and Archive Authorities in Great Britain about ten years ago. For many obvious reasons, such as large differences in national history, immigration, and population, we could not copy the British version, but had to design our own way to do this. But we did learn from the hard-earned experiences they had in Great Britain. One of the main differences is maybe that we chose to create a program independent from the formal educational system; in Great Britain they offer the Diversify programme as a part of a MA degree to people who are already registered students. In Norway the MA degree in Museology has been absent, and will be offered at the University of Oslo from fall semester 2010. This fact is a positive point of departure when finding interested individuals to join the group of trainees. We had to go outside academia to find the trainees – and two of them represent national minorities; the Sami and the tater, with explicit knowledge that they have achieved precisely because they did not attend the system of higher education. They achieved their specific cultural competence and language rather from living and learning, by being part of the minority culture into which they were born.

Before we launched the Mim-project in Norway, we organized preparation seminars with, among others, Clara Arokiasamy, the chair of the London Mayor's Heritage and

Diversity Task Force, which is responsible for embedding equalities and cultural diversity in the Museum, Libraries and Archives sectors in London. She is also a board member of ICOM UK. This contact was established through a meeting between the ICOM-board members in Norway and in the UK (in April 2008).

In her article: *Diversity at the ICOM 2007: a Newcomer's Observations*, Arokiasamy is congratulating the Executive Council for their commitment to incorporate cultural diversity into ICOM's strategic plan. She says:

Empowerment of underrepresented communities to engage with heritage providers is critical to developing equitable partnerships between the sector and the community so that the outcomes are jointly designed and owned. And equitable partnerships must, as non-negotiable given, include minority representation at all levels in the workforce and not just in marginalised and therefore dispensable positions.

(p. 23 ICOM News no 3-4 2007)

This statement expresses the main motivation for the national Network, The Diversity Museums of Norway, to create the recruitment project Mim.

The network was established in the fall of 2006, in response to an initiative taken by the museum authorities. The network consists of 21 museums; folk and ethnographic museums; indigenous peoples' museums, the Sæmi; and the national minority group, the Tater. These institutions support the idea that museums have explicit social responsibilities, and see working towards a true diverse/multicultural society as an important challenge. The members share the opinion that the diverse society should be reflected in the museum staffs.

The Year of Diversity

Last year, 2008, was declared the "The Year of Diversity" by the ministry of Culture in Norway. As most countries in Europe, Norway's population has changed over the last two to three decades, a result of growing migration for various reasons. Refugees from various parts of the world, over the past years mainly from Sri Lanka, Somalia and Afghanistan, now make a living in Norway. People from Pakistan made up the first large group of migrant labour in the 1970s. The second and third generations appear and participate in shaping and

telling the history of Norway, which is changing from a more or less homogenic population to a more diverse blend of people. All artists, theatres, museums and art institutions were encouraged to create projects to enhance the awareness of our diverse society. In the museum sector, some of the institutions have all been working on this in various ways for many years now. When we look back most of the projects have been a one-way communication; the representative minorities entertain and educate the majority population of Norway about the custom, food, religious practises, dances etc. in the cultures they represent. By the majority I mean people with their background from families who have lived on this piece of land and have spoken Norwegian as their native language for generations. These projects have been valuable and necessary, but to move past this situation where artists from minority groups are invited in whenever museums need them to entertain the traditional museum public the Diversity network wanted to launch a project that might inspire to and create more lasting changes. As Richard Sandell notes in his article: *Museums and the combating of social inequality* (2002:18), the network wanted to stimulate a process to avoid unwanted social, class and ethnic boarders to be established in the museum sector.

According to a report made by *The Equality and Anti-Discrimination Ombud (LDO)* in 2008,¹ mapping the situation in the public sector, there was little awareness among the state companies that they actually are obliged by the anti discrimination act, to employ diversity and fight discrimination in the workplace. Of the 168 companies that responded, 78 entities did not respond at all, only the Police Directorate answered that they were aware of, or had acquired knowledge of ethnic discrimination within their own area of responsibility. Specific research on this topic has not been done within the sector of culture in Norway, but the majority of the institutions are owned by the state or run by public funding. The situation in the museums is very similar to what is registered elsewhere in the public sector. As one journalist put it in 2006, "*If you meet a person with non-European background in the museum he is most likely to be one of the cleaning personnel*".

Project structure

The project started out with a government funding of NOK 500 000, app. Euro 50 000. These funds were partly spent on employing a project coordinator: Gazi Zcan is engaged on a part time basis as the network coordinator. He is genuinely interested in museum work and was already working part time as a guide in an exhibition of the seven major religions that are present in Oslo. Gazi is the only person whose part time wage is totally covered by the project. The network is run by a working group consisting of seven representatives from four of the museums. The central institution is Intercultural Museum, a part of Oslo Museum. Apart from Gazi, the other six participants in the working group are all museum professionals employed fulltime in various positions in the network museums. Because the project does not have funding to cover wages for the participants, whom we call recruits or trainees, the process of finding the right people to participate was rather challenging. We based this on individual solutions; some participants are already receiving state income because they are single parents. Others receive assistance or they were working in the museum and already sponsored by the welfare system because they were in the process of applying for steady employment. For individual reasons, the recruits receive different amounts of funding from Mim depending on their situation. One person is working as a language interpreter and when joining Mim on a half time basis he receives app. 500 Euros pr. Month. Generally, the main qualification we are looking for in the potential recruits is a solid interest to find their work in the museums sector

Mim - a way to “do diversity”

The past and how we see it is continually shaped by the present. We claim we live in a post colonial era but we don't. Issues of cultural diversity appear often remote and unrecognised, and often of little interest to museum professionals. ... As I see it we are now moving forward and beginning to 'do diversity'.

Jack Lohman, Director, Museum of London said this when the Mayor's Commission on African & Asian Heritage report was published in 2005.²

This statement is very useful to think with when working on realizing such a project as Mim. Mim is a way to “do diversity”, as Lohman puts it. The working group of the Diversity Museums Network initiated Mim based on the idea that a useful way to secure and strengthen the representation of minorities in the museums would be to give interested individuals opportunities to practice various museums professions. In this way their competence would be strengthened, the museums would gain from the experience that these recruits bring into the museum sector and these will be important steps in the direction of diversifying the workforce. In a broader perspective this would have a positive effect on the national level, *promoting peace and reconciliation within the country* and, hopefully: *establishing greater awareness and international tolerance*, to quote the theme of the ICME-conference 2009.

Experiences so far – the Seminars

The network aspect in itself, establishing contacts within the sector is maybe one of the most valuable results of the project so far. By October 09 the first group of seven trainees will have participated in the project. They have had highly individual and varied positions and tasks within their respective museums. I will briefly mention four: Anna is mainly working to give guided tours in the Tater museum as well as interviewing Tater people about their lives and traditions. Saynab is doing wonderful work meeting school children in an exhibition about Somali culture also sharing her own history. Telma is doing registration work in the Theatre Museum and organizing children's activities. Berre is, among other tasks, working on ethical and political issues regarding a problematic case about material that was removed from Skolte Sami graves for scientific purposes about a century ago.

The communication between the participants has taken place during three seminars arranged in various locations, each seminar lasting for two to four days each. The topics for the seminars have been: What is a museum, Mediating educational activities in the museum, Documentation and Research. The seminars are put together as a blend of lectures by invited professionals, museum visits and group projects working on a

documentation project from a Sami festival the participants attended in August. This seminar takes place in small community in the far north of Norway, close to the boarder of Finland. And these days the Sami people on both sides of the border arrange a festival to celebrate a housing project that was established for this group in 1949. As a result of World War II, the Skolte Sami people's traditional areas were separated by a new border between Russia and Finland. The Skolte Sami community was allowed to choose what nation they wanted to live in, and the majority chose Finland. Still these people live in all three countries. The Mim-trainees were invited to assist in practical work and they wanted to produce some documentation from this festival. This seminar will be the most practical of all of the educational seminars arranged and an important experience in cultural exchange.

The trainees have to read literature, app. 200 pages, about museums work. By the end of the project they will have to complete a paper, a report or small exhibition to earn a diploma that documents their participation in the program. The Norwegian museum authorities will endorse the diploma and hopefully this will strengthen the participants' CVs when applying for jobs.

The importance of dialogue

Changing attitudes and perceptions is a long term investment in society. Because this is a diversity project, it is very important to stress the dialogical aspect. I have been rather surprised that some of the people engaged in supervising the trainees are preoccupied with teaching the trainees about how we do things in Norway and in the museums, but show little awareness of the fact that this is supposed to be a project about the process of shaping a diverse society. The trainees have experiences and ideas on how to practise the museum work, and this should be valued and given a chance to influence the culture inside the museum.

I will give one illustrating example of a situation where this was clearly expressed: When the staff in one of the participating museums organized their summer party before the holidays, the Mim-trainee was of course invited. She accepted happily, just mentioning that

she would bring her three-year old son along. Her supervisor responded that this is not the normal custom and then she explained how things are done in Norway. She explained how we do not usually bring our children to parties in Norway and how “we” separate the professional and the social life in the workplace and elsewhere. The trainee, with her background from Latin America, but also a resident of Norway for many years, ignored this advice. She brought her son along, joined the dinner with her colleagues and of course went home within reasonable time for her son’s bedtime. When I discussed this situation with the supervisor later, she told me that she felt that in her position it was very important to explain to the trainee how things are done in Norway and to try to get the trainee to adjust her behaviour more towards the “Norwegian” practice and values.

I do not agree with this attitude, this is exactly one situation where the institutions should open up and learn from the trainees. Perhaps we could realize that there are other ways of shaping the days and social activities in Norway and in the museum world. We are all joining this project to learn from each other, not to pressure the trainees into given patterns that already established. The conventional conceptions of what is the “Norwegian way” are absolutely essential to challenge through projects like Mim. It is interesting to bring forth this experience and look upon how unforeseen, maybe small incidents may be valuable to start fruitful discussions on how we perform, communicate and relate to each other.

The everyday work in the museum is also very much built upon how we deal with solving the small problems that emerge. This incident has been brought up later as a topic for discussion within the network. This example shows that dialogue and attitudes are challenged as trainees interact with museum hosts and workers, but also as museum professionals interact with each other.

Future work and Results

What we still need to develop is a well-formulated policy, establishing a task force, a board, to ground the project solidly within the sector. Mim also need to formulate a press strategy. It

is hard to establish new positions within the museums, especially in a time of economic crisis, but it is even more important to put some pressure on the politicians to support practical projects like Mim – it is a democratization project to include a wider variety in the workforce.

Based on our experiences so far there are many aspects that need to be developed.

As Gazi puts it when asked about how he suggests this should be organized in the future:

Primarily we should call a meeting for the network museums and find out who is really interested in participating in Mim. Those who are not may be recommended to join another network. Secondly we absolutely need to elaborate a more structured and detailed plan for the work, as well as shape a more explicit framework for the recruits – what may they expect and how are they expected to contribute. This will create a higher level of professionalism around the project, as I see it.

One very positive result has taken place already: the work of Isabelle, one of the Mim-trainees, is being appreciated in the host museum, The Norwegian Folk Museum. She now works there in the weekends with tasks in addition to her job within the project. She guides French-speaking tourists about Norwegian history in the milieu of traditional log houses. Another result is that Telma is realizing a wonderful children's activities day based on her own idea with the theme *Heart space* where the children will meet various thought-inspiring questions. They are given room to talk about their feelings, where their hearts are located etc. depending on their age and interest. They will also create their own heart-objects from recycled materials. As a result of Mim, the Folk museum and Oslo Museum have had the opportunity to engage Isabelle and Telma, excellent, skilful workers that they likely would not have employed without such a project. Hopefully the individuals participating in the future will be given similar chances to develop their own talents.

How can we keep Mim dynamic and in the process of getting better?

Often over the past decades, Museums have been criticized for reproducing social inequality. To cope with this problem and rather take responsibility to work against inequality, museums – as publicly funded institutions – are obligated to deliver benefits to society and to take a stand in democratization processes. Mim is one way to be an active part in the

process of shaping a better, more inclusive and diverse society. The plan is that the Mim-project will achieve more positive results in the future. The main, and maybe unrealistic vision, is to make the project itself unnecessary. I like to give a quote from one of the trainees as the final remarks in this presentation:

The museums should be for everyone from all layers of the society; it is very important that competent and interested people get a chance to contribute even if they lack a university degree. If the information from the museum, the texts and the exhibitions are always kept in a strict academic code, it is a sure way to exclude large groups in society.

B rre Mathiesen, trainee at the Skolte Sami museum in Neiden, Finnmark

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Abstract

Short title: Mim, a way to do diversity in Norway

Long title: Mim, a way to do diversity in Norway: Exploring Strategies to Diversify Museums

I would like to share our experiences in developing and realizing the diversifying project *Mim*, a Norwegian abbreviation for: *Diversity in the Museums*. In this presentation I will go through the motivation for the project and give a brief explanation of how it is organized. Then I will highlight some of the challenges and themes for discussion that have emerged, thoughts about what we have learned so far and what we need to change. There are two distinct aims for this work: one is inclusion in the museum sector, the other is to strengthen the diversity in society as a whole. I believe our experiences will be useful for fellow museums in ICME.

The network was established in the fall of 2006, in response to an initiative taken by the museum authorities. The network consists of 21 museums; folk and ethnographic museums; indigenous peoples' museums, the S mi; and the national minority group, the Tater. These institutions support the idea that museums have explicit social responsibilities, and see working towards a true diverse/multicultural society as an important challenge. The members share the opinion that the diverse society should be reflected in the museum staffs. By October 09 the first group of trainees will have participated in the project and their experiences will be useful for fellow museums in ICME.

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¹ http://www.ldo.no/upload/Rapporter/LDO_StatligDiskriminering.pdf

² http://www.london.gov.uk/view_press_release.jsp?releaseid_5346

ethnographic objects as collecting devices

Martin Petersen

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Summary:

The exploration of the biographies of the historical museum object is a quite basic undertaking amongst museum professionals working with various aspects of its meaning, interpretation and history. This article is an attempt to depart from this exploration and conceptualize historical ethnographic objects as collecting devices. The focus is thereby shifted from the historiography of the ethnographic object to the ways in which the object and its history can be employed as a device to stage a new empirical field for the museum anthropologist. As such it points towards a potential inherent to the ethnographic museum. Namely, the possibility that museum professionals and artists, university students and expatriates, businessmen, tourists and everyone else can employ ethnographic objects as a means of encountering people outside the museum and outside the social world that they consider their own and are familiar with.

ethnographic objects as collecting devices

Martin Petersen

Introduction

The exploration of the biographies of the historical museum object is a quite basic undertaking amongst museum professionals working with various aspects of its meaning, interpretation and history (O'Hanlon, 2000, 2001; Fihl, 2002, 2003). This following is an attempt to depart from this exploration and conceptualize historical ethnographic objects as collecting devices. The focus is thereby shifted from the historiography of the ethnographic object to the ways in which the object and its history can be employed as a device to stage a new empirical field for the museum anthropologist.¹

To put it differently, with the collecting device methodology proposed here, rather than merely collecting information on the biographies of museum objects as they have once been made, used, collected, made into ethnographic objects and exhibited, the museum anthropologist documents the particular responses, which the ethnographic objects elicits on being "returned" to social fields beyond the museum. He explores issues of the social agency of material culture in a current perspective.

This project is based on an examination of three ethnographic collections related to Korean shamanism located in the Ethnographic Collection in the National Museum of Denmark: The *anus F. Oiesen collection* of watercolours by the Korean genre painter, Kisan from 1892. The *Keijo Imperial University exchange collection* by Japanese colonial scholars in exchange for a collection of 'Eskimo specimen' partially consisting of shamanic objects sent to Denmark in 1934 and the *Shin Huy-dong collection* of shamanic objects from 1973 (Petersen, 2008).

This paper sets the empirical scene through a presentation of Shin Huy-dong's collecting activities in Korea, 1973. Next, the collecting device methodology is presented through excerpts of an interview session, I conducted in Korea in 2005 with a shop owner, who was involved in Shin Huy-dong's the scene of collecting. Lastly, I demonstrate shortly how the collecting device methodology was further explored through an ethnographic object collecting trip to Korea in 2007.

Methodology

Tracking the biographies of objects in Korea, Japan and Denmark in the period 2005-7, I experienced a wide range of reactions and responses when presenting these objects and their histories to individuals, whom I encountered in this biographic tracking.

Notably, far from all of these responses were related in any way with the concrete and specific biographies of these historical museum objects. Rather, some of these responses were the manifestations of abductions of the social agency of the ethnographic objects being presented (Gell, 1998a). Here we may take useful clues from the anthropologist, Alfred Gell. In *Vogel's net*, Gell ponders how ethnographic objects may be appropriated in exhibitions as works of art:

What the 'anthropological theory of art' ought to be about, in my opinion, is the provision of a critical context that would enfranchise 'artefacts' and allow for their circulation as artworks, displaying them as embodiments or residues of complex intentionalities. Anthropology should be part of art-making itself, insofar as art-making, art history and art criticism are a single enterprise nowadays. Partly this would consist of the provision of relevant ethnography [] and partly the discovery of connections between complex intentionalities in western artworks and the kind of intentionalities embodied in artworks and artefacts (now recontextualized as artworks) from elsewhere. This would be a one-sided transaction in art-making, in the sense that essentially metropolitan concepts of 'art' would be in play, not indigenous ones; but objects, as Thomas (1991) has shown are 'promiscuous' and can move freely between cultural/transactional domains without being essentially compromised. This they can do because they have indeed no essences, only an indefinite range of potentials. (Gell, 1998b: 37)

Extending from Alfred Gell's notion of anthropology as 'art-making' in museum display, the collecting device methodology constitutes the "return" of museum objects from the perimeters of the museum exhibition to explore agency in and around ethnographic objects in social fields.²

To put it differently, the construction of an empirical field with museum objects as collecting devices that are operated by the museum anthropologist beyond the physical boundaries of the museum institution is essentially an extension of the concept of the interactive museum exhibition. The museum objects transcend their institutional perimeters and 're-enter' the field in mobile, impromptu exhibitions.

In principle, thus, just like public museum exhibitions are intended for everyone, this staged exhibition of the ethnographic object in social fields beyond the museum is not a return to some sort of origins, or even to a specific social field. Nothing internal to the collecting device methodology would prevent me from realizing this by presenting Korean ethnographic objects to who ever I met on my way. As we shall see in the following, the

criteria of relevance delimiting the 'staged exhibition' of the ethnographic object in this paper evolve from the contact zones constituted in the biographic tracking. In practice, the museum anthropologist can only in rare cases bring the actual, tangible objects along with him out of the museum. Therefore, he must stage mobile, impromptu exhibitions in which the objects are presented in the form of digital images and on photocopies: Stored up on hard disks and wrapped up in loose-leaf binders.

What constitutes the methodology is in other words the presentation of a fixed materiality (the ethnographic objects), backed up by a narrative (mostly a verbal presentation) of the object's biography, and then the collecting of responses (whether as field notes, on tape or in video recordings) to this. As such, the methodology facilitates explorations into the interplay between things (ethnographic objects), narratives (the textual and verbal corpus that make up the museum anthropologist's presentation), and persons (social agents in the vicinity of material culture).

The collector's narrative

In the summer 1973, Shin Huy-dong (신희동) (1935-85), who taught Korean as an external lecturer at Copenhagen University and was a librarian at the Royal Library in Copenhagen, went to Seoul to make a collection of Korean shamanic objects.³ Some objects, he obtained by exchanging dresses and artefacts used by shamans with newly made dresses (A.2700-2739). Upon returning to Denmark in the late summer 1973 he sent a letter to Chief Curator, Helge Larsen, with the following narrative from the scene of collecting:

Dear Helge Larsen,

After my arrival to Seoul July 19 I had a meeting with the Director of the Emilie Museum (ethnographic museum), dr. Cho. On my questions on the possibilities to collect the various shamanic objects, he was of the opinion that it would be difficult to get hold of old things, whereas new ones could easily be obtained. In particular, it would be almost impossible to get hold of a used dress, because the shaman thinks, that the spirit of the god takes dwelling in the dress. It has to be kept in a special way and can be passed on to new shamans, but it cannot be sold. If it is not to be used any longer, it has to be burned. Dr. Cho suggested that I should hold a ceremony in the museum yard, and that he was willing to arrange it. In that way, I would come in possession of certain things (paper flowers and such for decoration), I would be able to make sound recordings, and take photos. Due to the high price of such a ceremony (approximately 4000 DKK.), I had to leave the question open for the time being. Thereafter I arranged a meeting a few days later with Mr. Seoh, with whom I have been corresponding. He also emphasized the difficulty in obtaining used "real" things.

In the meanwhile I met with one of my old friends, and it turned out that his aunt was the leader of the shaman's organization. Thanks to him I had a meeting with her, and she was extraordinarily sympathetic and helpful. She summoned a couple of other shamans to her assistance, and we agreed that in the due course of the following weeks they should collect old artefacts (used), which I would be allowed to obtain in exchange of buying new artefacts for

them. Dresses, 4-5 pieces, they were also willing to let me have, and the prices were absolutely reasonable. Both dr. Cho, Mr.Seoh, MiSook Chyung and Mr. Lee were almost chocked by my amazing luck, especially that I had also obtained dresses.

Concerning these objects, kindly see the enclosed documents. Photos and sound recordings of shamanic ceremonies that I attended will arrive in the near future.

The shamaness as well as Dr. Cho and the other mentioned are willing to continue assisting in the future to collect things, which the National Museum should be lacking as for Korean shamanism. - - - Now I just hope that these things will arrive in good order. They will arrive directly to the address of the National Museum in September or October.

Sincerely yours,

Shin H.D. (transl. from unpubl. doc.: J.nr. 1462)

As we can see from this letter, Shin established the point that as a collector he was faced with the basic dilemma that 'used' Korean shamanic material culture generally speaking was inaccessible. Shamanic material culture that had not been used by shamans was regarded as having a lesser authentic value for the ethnographic collector. Implicitly, we may surmise that shamanic material culture that has been in ritual contact with the spirits could not be appropriated with money. Within this paradigm, the 'art' of ethnographic collecting consists in transcending this paradox; a common theme in 20th century ethnographic collecting narratives. The art of the ethnographic collector is to be present in (if not generate) the poignant moments in which ethnographic authenticity in this case the uncollectible exceptionally becomes collectable.

In the earliest stage of collecting encounters between Danes and Koreans resulting in museum objects in the National Museum of Denmark related with Korean shamanism, British consul and a Commissioner of Customs in the Chinese Maritime Customs Service in the Korean open port town, Wõnsan, Janus F. Oiesen (1857-1928) around 1892 accessioned a representation of Korean shamanism through Kisan (Kim Chun-gun), a local artist, who mediated the experience of shamanism with watercolours and through a neat composition:



Fig.1

Shamanism merely being one among a wide variety of motifs, Kisan had translated cultural practices into aesthetically pleasing and didactically valuable genre paintings equally fit for the walls of expatriates and ethnographic museums.

In the period of Japanese colonization of Korea (1910-45), the distance to Korean shamanism had become reconfigured. Relying on colonial Japanese academics and their representation of Korean shamanic material culture Danish museum professionals in 1934 obtained a collection of Korean 'shamanism' and 'ethnography' in exchange for Greenland materials.

By 1973, the bridgehead between the Danish museum and Korean shamanic material culture was facilitated by an overseas Korean visiting his native country of birth, and relying on his personal relations in his collecting activities. Further dismantling the distance between ethnographic museum and shaman, the shamans engaged in the 1973 exchange were themselves fully in charge of the selection of objects, and entirely defined the terms and conditions of the interaction with Shin. In other words, Shin did not succeed because he insisted on collecting 'used' shamanic material culture such as dresses in which 'the spirit of the god takes dwelling'. He succeeded because some members of a shamanic organization suggested this exchange of new with old.

Shin had brought with him, and operationalized in the field conceptions of 'used vs. new' and 'real vs. commissioned' that can be tracked from Helge Larsen, over Henning Haslund-Christensen, Kaj Birket-Smith and Thomas Thomsen and back in time to Christian Jørgensen Thomsen in the history of Danish ethnographic object collecting activities (See for example Birket-Smith, 1931; Haslund-Christensen, 1944; Lundbæk, 1992). By bringing back

the 'used' and 'real' to the Danish museum, Shin seemingly bridged the gap between ethnographic collecting ideals and the shamanic conceptualization of material culture. In his letter, however, Shin did not reflect on the intricacies and ramifications of the exchange that he and the shaman's organization engaged in. While he obtained used, and as such, we may expect based on Shin's own explanations, sacred material culture, he did it in a manner that unavoidably entered these collected objects into a museum context that by definition cannot integrate this sacred aspect.

This raises various questions: Why were these particular shamans willing to engage in this exchange? Did they consider the museum institution to be an exception to the general rule, that a shaman's paraphernalia cannot enter re-circulation beyond the social sphere of the shaman? Was the exchange guided by an interest in establishing good relations with Shin, and the Danish museum? Were the dresses and paraphernalia, which they selected, not considered sacred? Or did the shamans have other reasons for handing over these particular objects? ⁴

Biographic tracking

In 2005, I attempted to track the Korean shamans through whom Shin collected shamanic objects in 1973. This was in order to explore these specific shamans' concepts of shamanic material culture and sacredness, and to get a fuller perspective on the 1973 scene of collecting and on the particular ethnographic objects involved in the exchange with Shin. In other words, the intention was to elucidate the general concepts of sacredness held by these particular shamans, how they would reflect on the exchange with Shin and the ritual implications of such exchange, and lastly what were their notions of sacredness of the specific dresses and paraphernalia collected by Shin. As already related, Shin was not very explicit in his letter on the particulars of the exchange with the shaman organization. He did not specify who his friend were, who the leader of the shaman's organization was, nor who the other shamans involved in the making of the collection were. On top of that, it was not possible to find Danish informants, who had a detailed knowledge / recollection of Shin's collecting activities in 1973. Further, there were a small number of nationwide shamanic organizations in the 1970s, but as these were sub organized into local units (김태곤, 1981: 455-460), it would be virtually impossible to identify the shamans in question by tracking shaman's organizations of the period. Shin, however, had enclosed some documents along with the collected objects,

which turned out to be useful. In *Journal* 62 there is a receipt addressed to Shin and with the date: July 22, 1973.⁵

Shin did not mention this shop in his collector's narrative, but obviously it had been involved in the exchange to some extent. Most likely, either Shin or the shamans had bought the new objects here that were to be exchanged for the shamans' used dresses and paraphernalia bound for the National Museum of Denmark.⁶ Under these circumstances, the shop appeared to be the best point of departure for further biographic tracking.

I visited the address indicated on the receipt. The shop was no longer on the location, but had been had moved to a nearby location in downtown Seoul. As it turned out, by 2005, the shop owner was the same person, who ran the shop in 1973. The shop owner did recognize the receipt as coming from her shop, but neither she nor her husband (who was also engaged in the shop) could recollect having met Shin Huy-dong, or being involved in the exchange between him and the members of a shaman's organization.⁷

From biography to collecting de ice

In practice, the biographic tracking of the 1973 Shin collection thus terminated here. On a hypothetical basis, however, the shop owner surmised that such an exchange of shaman's dresses taking place between a museum professional and shamans in the early seventies would have been possible. The chance of obtaining new clothes from one of the few shops that were around in those days in exchange for old, worn-out dresses could have been tempting to some, but far from all, shamans. Notably, the shop owner emphasized that such an action would be at odds with concepts (개념) and the nobility (존귀함) of the shamanic undertaking, and explicated that shamans with a high level (아주 수준있는 무당들) and very traditionalistic shamans (아주 전통적으로 센 무당이), for example, would never have engaged in such activities.

From that, however, did not necessarily follow that their motivation for engaging in the exchange with Shin was poverty:

This was a most prospering period. Our nation was developed then. At that time development started, and with the New Village Movement it was a time of much development on what ground I mean the people [of that time] strived for things to go well. They had a ritual [*kut*] held or went to consult the shamans at the time people did that a lot because of that, well, there were many opportunities to work and perform *kut*,

so when it came to preserving and keeping well, it was left behind. I guess that maybe it was out of a wish to dress and dance in new and really spick and span things. But shamans, people doing shamanism indeed also have levels. People of a certain level would not have let go [of their dresses] (transl. from Korean: Interview 26.5.2005)⁸

By paradox, the archive in the National Museum of Denmark related with the Shin collection avidly shows how in 1972 the New Village Movement became known to the Danish museum professionals as a threat of expulsion of shamanic material culture in the countryside. The autocratic president Park Chung-hee (朴正熙) (1917-1979; r.1961-1979) spearheaded the *New Village Movement*, (*Saemaul Undong*, 새마을운동) in the early seventies as part of an attempt to bring reform and development into rural Korea (Oh, 2003). In this call to modernize the Korean countryside, shamanism was identified as one of the evils, which had to be rooted out. In fact, this perceived threat became part of the *raison de entrée* for Shin's collecting of shamanic material culture in Korea.⁹ In the citation above, the shop owner mentions the selfsame movement as part and parcel of the economic boom of the 1970s that not only increased the demand for shamanic activities, but in her interpretation appears to have been instrumental in the societal processes in which these shamanic activities were impacted with concepts of 'new' and 'neat'.

While Shin presented the exchange as being exceptional, the shop owner pondered how Shin by providing the shamans with new dresses (unwittingly) mimicked the common interrelationship between shamans and their customers:

Well, there would be many cases in which the people, who ordered the clothes, [that is] the people, who commissioned a *kut*, wanting new clothes rather than used clothes, said to [the shaman] that they would supply them with clothes. [With such prospective of] dancing in neat and tidy dresses that is my thought maybe when the scholars came, if really they came like this, and said that they would supply [the shamans] with new clothes for used clothes, then it might have been possible. (Interview 26.5.2005)

Apparently, this propensity for new things also caused a dramatic reconceptualization of spirit dresses in which (if we take Shin's notes of how the spirit of the god takes dwelling in the dress as being the general concept at face value) these in some cases became regarded as old and worn, and thus useless.¹⁰

Importantly, Shin's letter from 1973 and the 2005 interview with the shop owner do not provide a contextual base to understand the social aspect of Korean shamanic material culture. By all concerns, the shop owner is located at the periphery of shamanic practices. Some of the shop owner's understandings and interpretations of the social contexts

of shamanic material culture may indeed be seen as mistaken in a conventional sense.¹¹ Evaluating these narratives on those terms, however, is not the primary concern here. Rather, the concern is to explore how persons respond to the presentation of ethnographic objects and their biographies. That being said, such apparent misconceptions of the social contextualization of shamanic material culture may in fact contribute to reconsider established scholarly knowledge from new angles to the extent that these are further tested in the field. In concrete terms, a shop owner's experiences with and perspective on shamanic material culture may produce information on shamanic material culture that offers alternative narratives to those produced by a thick ethnographic description based on fieldwork among Korean shamans.

Tradition

Also importantly, the shop owner's observations on the 'new' was closely related with another discursive feature which cannot be left out: Tradition. The shop owner continuously made it clear that shamans abide by tradition, and are shaped by it.

While the interview with the shop owner produced various cues for a deconstructionist analysis of the conceptualization of 'tradition', solely pursuing such an interpretation would be missing the whole point. Even while the shop owner spoke of 'new' and 'neat', and as we shall see soon was quite precise in her identification of the tangible changes that had come about in shamanic material culture in her time, she did this with frequent and recurrent reference to the continuity of tradition. The shop owner pinpointed one of the trappings that are particular to the perpetuation and continuity of tradition in Korean shamanism as follows:

More than they [the shamans] themselves choose that of old days, it is usually the spirit mother, who tells them to wear it. Generally speaking all clothing is almost without exception passed down from old days. And to that is added some embroidery or the like. (Interview 26.5.2005)

Furthermore, while conceiving herself as an innovator in the making of shamanic dresses, this innovative facility was firmly embedded in tradition, and so too were the changes requested by her shaman customers:

I am not doing the design, and the shamans are not doing the design. These are the folk customs objects of our nation [우리나라 토속품] that have been passed down from a long time ago. But there is this kind of thing While being passed down, there are things that the shamans request They say 'this is so heavy' and ask me to make it light or, 'make it a little smaller' 'my shoulders hurt' then the design is changed. In some cases slightly smaller lighter (Interview 1.7.2005)

‘These are the folk customs of our nation that have been passed down from a long time ago.’ This conceptualization of tradition cannot be reduced to the lingering effects of authoritarian cultural politics.¹² ‘Tradition’ is a master narrative that permeates contemporary Korean discourse from positions beyond those either supportive of, or pitted against authoritarian rhetoric.

T N GRAP IC B CTS AS C CTING VIC S

Having introduced the shop owner’s conceptualization of ‘new’ and ‘tradition’ I now turn to present my experiment with the ‘ethnographic objects as collecting devices’ methodology as it was conducted by presenting her with the Shin Huy-dong object collection on July 1, 2005.

¹³

The presentation is intended to give the reader a general idea of the potential for museum anthropologists in taking ethnographic objects out of the museums and utilize them as tools of research in local settings. To enable the reader to contextualize the experiment to the general study of Korean shamanic material culture, however, short descriptions and references to academic literature have been placed in the footnotes.

Presentation of image of A , General s dress 장군복



Fig. 2

This is a General's costume. You know? In old times there was such. Now this one There were also cases in which I sold it to shamans. It is not the 'real form' [진짜의 모양] but it is a General's costume. It is a General's costume worn by shamans, but you know *Hideyoshi Invasion* [임진왜란] on MBC.¹⁵ In which Yi Sun-shin is featured the drama called *Hideyoshi Invasion*, the historical tv-drama I supplied goods [납품] when they made that historical drama. It hangs in that room. That dress. (Interview 1.7.2005)

The shop owner here initially identifies A.2719 as a *General's dress* (장군복). She continues to subdivide the General's dress into two basic types: The 'real form' (진짜의 모양) dress from old days (옛날); in other words, the dress worn by generals in the Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910). Juxtaposed to this type are the dresses made in imitation of this 'real form' (흉내내는 거). By this definition, the category of the 'imitative' thus encompasses both the dresses she has made for shamans and for a historical television drama featuring the life and merits of the national hero, General Yi Sun-sin (1545-1598). By making the distinction between 'real form' and 'imitative' however, needless to say, the shop owner does not imply that shamanism is in the same 'imitative' category as television acting. These notions of fabrics and technique co-exist with and are dissociated from socio-religious conceptualizations.

But this [dress] is imitative; it cannot be made as the original. That's because of its heaviness due to the attached iron. [I] make it light. But it is [a kind of] general's costume There are many Generals. Well, General Yi Sun-sin, General Kyepaek.¹⁶ Shamans say that they worship Generals. They worship. Some shamans say that they worship General *Kyepaek*, other shamans say that they worship some other general [] It's that the general has entered the body [of the shaman]. It is such dress. I also sold such [dresses]. (Interview 1.7.2005)

While conveying the shamanic frame of explaining the interrelationship between the shaman and the spirit general in a matter of fact way, she, as a dressmaker and designer, launched notions of realness and originality that are nestled in the material itself. In concrete terms, the demarcation between the real and the imitative is constituted by iron (철) on the one hand, and lighter materials such as plastic and vinyl-leather on the other:

It could seem like I guided the direction a bit. Because this is not an abbreviation of the real general's costume. That's for shamans to dance easily, lightly For example, these clouts [징], if they are made in heavy steel [철], then they [the shamans] can't dance, right. So with something like thin sheet steel [양철] the so-called sheet steel is thin, no? Something like iron [쇠] is thick, and is like thin steel [철], by shearing aluminum and attaching it.... Later on, plastic came out. Plastic That's to make it light If plastic is

attached there is that unusually metal-like, iron-like leather. Something like vinyl-leather [비닐가죽]. If it is carved in such manner, then it aptly looks like steel [철]. (Interview 1.7.2005)

In successive waves of industrial development, artisans and designers have been enabled to substitute iron with aluminium, plastic and leather, which resembles iron. By extension, this has enabled shamans to dance ‘easily’ and ‘lightly’. In short, in this narrative the shop owner is in an intermediary role in transmitting technological changes into shamanic ritual sociality.

Thus far, I have dealt with the transmitting facility of the shop owner in the form of manufacturing techniques and materials to shamans. The shop owner did not only convey her awareness of this transmitting facility in words; being presented to the digitalized image of the General’s Dress, she indicated how she displayed her own merits: The MBC drama General Yi Sun-sin Dress hanging in the next room. Without pushing the argument too far, this display of the General’s Dress is analogous to the way the ethnographic museum ascribe value to used dresses and exhibit their authenticity: The shop owner had designed a General’s Dress, which had been used for nationwide broadcast, and had appropriated the now used dress in a display of self.

While tradition was a transcendental in the shop owner’s narrative of shamanism, this notion however was not necessarily nestled in material culture itself:

At the time life got a little better, and so there is also the thing that people want to free them of that which is heavy like old days they come to strive for what is light and easy When living standards improve, then they strive for convenience so with that, these things also change and become thinner Lighter Originally they were somewhat heavy. From then on [people] started to make them lighter Even not attaching iron [철], some people have gild there. (Interview 1.7.2005)

‘That which is heavy like old days’ was outside the definition of tradition, and as such designated as a past practice, which ‘people’ wished to escape from.¹⁷ The shop owner did, in other words, not see any paradox in the proliferation of tradition with the utilization of new materials.¹⁸

Presentation of image of official s at 대감모자 (Fig. 3)¹⁹



Fig. 3

That's an Official's Hat. Really, this is indeed an old times hat truly. These days it is not made like that. It was [made] with sponge or the like old times These days it is not made like that.

[]

Yes, it is a hat close to the old times original. (Interview 1.7.2005)

If the shop owner's response to the presentation of the General's Dress gave the impression that the changes that had occurred in shamanic material culture in the early seventies (and thus materialized in the Shin collection of spirit dresses) were successively continued into present day (2005), then her response to the Official God's Hat collected by Shin disconfigured these clear-cut notions. As an 'old times' item, the Official God's Hat is distinguished from current times, while simultaneously it is identified as being 'close to the old times original'. Judging from the answer, not least the inclusion of sponge in the hat contributes to propel this particular Official God's Hat into a status somewhere in-between 'old times' and 'old times original'.

Sponge being an inexpensive and easily accessible material, I expected the shop owner to categorize it along with plastic and iron-like leather as materials utilized for 'imitation'. On the contrary, the sponge gave her associations to 'old days original'. The presentation of the hat elicited an outburst of something that seemed like nostalgia. For a short moment, the shop owner was having a museum-like experience of her professional past as she was looking at a photo with the application of a material used for an Official's Hat that had come, and gone out of use. This incident illustrates how the categories of 'original' and 'real' do not refer exclusively to the pre-historical or even to the pre-modern period, but are rather relativized, and interconnected with personal memories of discontinued practices.

The shop owner's response to the presentation of the Shin Huy-dong collection amply indicates how the 'collecting device' methodology may be applied to recontextualize

historical museum objects. More than just a contribution to the tracking of object biographies, the methodological approach provides a venue for exploring what may broadly be termed the social lives of material culture in a current perspective.

In general terms, the responses of the shop owner facilitated observations on the embeddedness of these objects in the interaction between human social agents (the shop owner, shamans, clients/customers and scholars), and moreover on the interaction between these social agents and shamanic material culture.

As such, the 2005 interview sessions with the shop owner were not just the terminal point of the tracking of the biography of the 1973 Shin Huy-dong object collection. It was also the starting point for staging these objects and their biographies through intercultural encounters between collector and local informant in social fields beyond the museum to explore social agency in the vicinity of shamanic material culture.

Collecting de ice session,

In 2007 I returned to Korea to make an object collecting which took departure in the 1973 Shin collection, and the 2005 interview with the shop owner. Again I employed the collecting device notion and thus amongst others visited a hat-maker's factory through the network of the shop owner.

It was a small family-run business. They had started business in the 1980s and did not have any role in Shin's 1973 collecting activities. The factory produced hats for stage productions, dancing performances, museum exhibitions and fashion shows with traditional dresses, but also for shamans. I explained that I intended to make a collection of shaman's hats that reflected the 1973 Shin Official's Hat. Being presented with several photos of the Official's Hat, the eldest daughter responded by smiling to one of her sisters and then saying:

In old times it was made with sponge like that.

Yes. That's something, which was frequently made when I was young. That was a kind of fashion [come and gone]; it does look somewhat inexpensive [now]. Also at the time, there was no specific reason [for the usage of sponge]. It was easy to furl, and then the sponge was dyed. These days, woollen yarn and thread is used in stead. (Transl. from Korean.: Interview March 2007)

They were not impressed by the level of skills applied in the making of the 1973 Shin collection Official's Hat. The eldest daughter related what the various figures on top of the hat depicted. Namely, cicadas (매미), flowers (꽃) and three figures that she held were

abbreviations (간략하게 하느라고) of an original (원래) Five Direction colours figure. She showed me a sample of an *Officer's felt hat* (빙거지) as she designated the type of hat, which was named *Official's Hat* (대감모자) in the object list in the Shin collection made for shamans, and demonstrated how sponge had been replaced with other materials, but that features as such generally were unchanged.

The eldest daughter was well informed about the stylistic features of different periods, and explained the distinction between the *Officer's felt hat* worn by shamans, sword dancers, and actors in historical plays, and dramas respectively. Thus, for example, only shamans and sword dancers had cicadas on their *Officer's felt hat*. She was not aware of the specific religious implications of the cicada, however.²⁰ The eldest daughter said she focused on aesthetics and not religious aspects in the process of making these hats. However, she said that in the cases when shamans came to them with hats that had been in ritual use, the feeling was different; it was startling (그러면 좀 섬뜩하기도 하고).

When asked whether the shamans ordered the *Officer's felt hat* with certain specifications, the eldest daughter related that they mostly ordered this and the *Courtier's red hat* (朱笠) in a set. In the Shin collection there is indeed also a *Courtier's red hat* (A.2724; designated as *Red kat*, 홍갓). While being there, the hat maker made on commission such a set for the National Museum of Denmark.

The museum anthropologist as ethnographic fieldworker

If the aim of these collecting device sessions were to experiment with methods through which museums today can approach their historical ethnographic object collections, the methodological experiment unfolded in a manner in which it shares commonalities with ethnographic fieldworks on Korean shamanism.²¹

Considered from the perspective of these ethnographies on Korean shamanism, the current undertaking is merely the earliest stage of an ethnographic fieldwork; the exploratory phase in which the ethnographer grapples to set up the research design of his field work. The methodologies I have tested here certainly offer viable roads towards socially embedded collecting and towards ethnographic fieldwork on issues on Korean shamanism beyond its interrelationship with the history of ethnographic museums and collecting activities. Such

projects, however, are merely indicated here and beyond the boundaries of the current undertaking.

Further, arguably, the collecting device sessions arguably constitute a fertile outset from which to test and even challenge commonly held notions in the ethnographic corpus. Shop owners and craftsmen are not extensively researched informants in studies on Korean shamanism. Specifically, the interviews with these types of informants constitute an empirical basis from which it would be possible to consider ways to approach Korean shamanic material culture in future ethnographic fieldwork.

Interactive exhibition beyond the museum

The employment of the collecting device methodology in Korea in 2005 and again in 2007 in the encounters with shop owners and craftsmen among others had the character of an interactive exhibition. Surely, this exhibition was intermittent and spatially dispersed, and it only had a small and shifting audience. Here then, the term 'exhibition' has come to mean something like 'employment of historical museum objects as a means of transcending the museum to stage intercultural encounters'. Also, the 'ethnographic exhibition' is divested of its fixed spatial connotations to the inside of a Western (postcolonial) museum and refer to something like 'a means of initiating, conducting, negotiating, renewing and terminating intercultural encounters in the vicinity of historical ethnographic objects'.

Reconsidering here Gell's notions of a one-sided that is metropolitan - transaction in the anthropology of art-making, at first sight, this kind of exhibition of historical ethnographic objects by a Danish museum anthropologist to Korean shop owners and craftsmen is a perpetuation of the historical dichotomy of a Western, metropolitan, rational 'Self' and a non-Western local 'Other'. The employment of ethnographic objects related with shamanism a category of ethnographic objects with historically determined connotations to 'native religion' only serves to further polarize these binary relations. These aspects certainly needs due consideration. As isolated events, the 2005 and 2007 collecting device sessions do not dismantle this dichotomy. However, it points towards an immense potential inherent to the ethnographic museum. Namely, the possibility that museum professionals and artists, university students and expatriates, businessmen, tourists and everyone else can employ ethnographic objects as a means of encountering people outside the museum and outside the social world that they consider their own and are familiar with. If museums typically are considered as places where people go to in order to experience and understand, what I

suggest here is that the ethnographic museum may also be employed by people as a place they depart from in order to experience and understand the world through museum objects. Even if the things they bring out of the museum are stored on hard-disks and wrapped up in loose-leaf binders.

¹ Research on current intercultural encounters in the vicinity of historical ethnographic objects is quite commonplace in museum anthropology. Besides Clifford (1997) and o'Hanlon (2000, 2001), Fienup-Riordan (1998) in a project, which she designated 'visual repatriation' has documented the responses of a group of Yupik elders in their encounter with ethnographic objects from the Jacobsen collection, which they saw in Berlin Ethnologisches Museum. Presented in the form of travel-writing, Alexia Bloch and Laurel Kendall in *Museum at the End of the World* (2004) have also elaborated on this theme of visual repatriation: 'In August 1998, we travelled to Chukotka, Kamchatka, and Madagan in the Kolyma region, and Khabarovsk on the Amur river, carrying CDs of the collections in New York and exhibition catalogs of expedition photographs. We already knew that images of century-old artefacts would be useful not only to scholars but also to local artisans who were reviving traditional handicrafts. A few years previously, the American Museum of Natural History had commissioned a pair of gloves and a pouch designed by a Sakha master artisan, Anastasia Yegorovna Sivtseva. Anastasia Yegorovna Sivtseva was using motifs found on artifacts collected by Jochelson, designs she had seen in slides of our collections brought back to Yakutsk by two visiting scholars. An expedition odyssey could come full circle through acts of visual repatriation.' (2004: x-xi).

² For a discussion of intercultural encounters around ethnographic objects and museums, see also Clifford (1997).

³ This collection was included in the large temporary exhibition *Man and Spirits* (1974), which also featured shamanic objects from Greenland, Mongolia and Siberia, collected by Henning Haslund-Christensen (1896-1948), Knud Rasmussen (1879-1933) and others.

⁴ Another, equally relevant question to the biographic approach is what the absence of information in the museum archives and in the memories of the museum professionals about the social agency of the shamans with whom Shin interacted has for the 'museum life' of this particular collection, and what the general implications of such absence might be. Whatever the reason, the absence of such information implicitly enables the poignant moment of ethnographic collecting to fully manifest itself. In some cases, the ethnographic museum is reliant on magic, not terse facts. If the primary source of this magic derives from the people and the practices in which things are considered to be so, the secondary source of this magic is dependent on the ethnographic collector's narrative to transmit the sacred into the museum. Or render it in a narrative, which is comprehensible to the museum. The challenge inherent to current museum anthropology partially lies in working against these grains, and to break the spell of this 'museum magic'; to deconstruct 'museum fictions' in other words. If for no other reason, then to allow the primary source of the 'magic' of these museum objects to be resuscitated.

⁵ This receipt is written on business paper with the following specifications as to the specializations of the shop: Dancing implements (무용도구). Classic musical instruments (고전악기). Buddhist implements (불교용구). Folklore handicrafts (민속공예). Manufactured wholesale (제조도매) (transl. from unpubl. doc.: J.nr. 1462)

⁶ According to his letter, Shin arrived in Seoul on July 19 and the date on the receipt being July 22, only three days later, the purchase most likely were prior to the new/old exchange with the shamans, who first had to select the used paraphernalia before they could hand it over to Shin. Based on an on-site survey I made in the winter 2006 / 2007 of the objects in the Shin collection, it could also be that a part of the objects on the list showing no sign of use were commissioned directly from the shop to supplement the objects obtained from the shaman organization.

⁷ As a matter of fact, the shop owner did have records of the shop's activities going back to the 1970s, but these were mainly the measures of her clients for making dresses and not the receipts.

⁸ In these interview sessions, the shop owner made great efforts to make herself understandable to this foreign interviewer. This effort is clearly reflected in the shop owner's style of conversation. Frequently, she reiterates points with little variation and also searches for similar glosses to facilitate my understanding. Thus, what to the reader may come across as hesitation or even rhetorical shortcomings is in fact the opposite. Even so, I have chosen to translate the citations with this conversational style intact, and only made small changes where this direct translation was incomprehensible, as the main purpose is to convey the shop owner's responses in these intercultural encounters.

⁹ In a letter dated 24.7.72, associate professor, Jytte Lavrsen, Institute of Classical Archaeology and Archaeology of the Near Orient, Copenhagen University informs Chief Curator of the Ethnographic Collection, Helge Larsen about a recent visit to Korea: 'While being in Korea I amongst others heard Professor Whang refer to an aspect, which I find it suitable to inform

the Ethnographic Collection of. An organization or movement for the renewal of the villages is said to be tearing shamanistic temples down by thousands, after which the inventory is being destroyed. Ethnologists as well as village elders are said to have protested in vain. At the same time art collectors have begun to show interest in the paintings from these temples and other folk art. Professor Whang finds that the possibility to acquire shaman paintings etc. soon no longer will exist.' (transl. from unpubl. doc.: J.nr. 1392)

¹⁰ The shop owner mentioned having experienced a shaman, who while ordering new clothes abandoned her used clothes at the shop: Back then there also was someone like that here [She] came to have dresses made to order, and saying 'Ah It's all falling apart' she hurled [her used dress], saying 'I have no use for this', and gave it all away In fact those were valuable (transl. from unpubl. doc.: Interview 26.5.2005)

¹¹ This narrative is somewhat at odds with the interaction between shaman and client referred to in Shin's "On Korean shamanism" (1974, 1978). In *Shamans, Housewives and Other Restless Spirits* (1985), Laurel Kendall has the following observation on material culture in her informant shaman, Yongu's Mother's shrine: Incense burners, brass candleholders, aluminium fruit plates, water bowls, and stemmed offering vessels clutter the main and side altars. Each utensil and the three brass bells above the altar bear the engraved phrase: "Grant the wish of," followed by the name of the client. These are the client's gifts. The mansin advises a client to secure a particular god's good offices with appropriate tribute. [] Other clients gave the mansin her drum and battle trident, her cymbals and knives, her robes and hats, all the equipment she uses to perform kut. (54-55)

¹² For literature on how the conceptualizations of 'tradition' and 'Koreanness' in part are modern social constructs that have been utilized as a hegemonic tool in the post-colonial nation-building project, see for example *Constructing "Korean" origins a critical review of archaeology, historiography, and racial myth in Korean state-formation theories* (Pai, 2000), *Nationalism and the construction of Korean identity* (Pai & Tangherlini, 1998) and *Korea between Empires* - (Schmid, 2002).

¹³ I met the shop owner on four occasions during late Spring 2005. In the first encounter, on May 26, 2005, I introduced her to the biography of the Shin Huy-dong collection and showed her a few digital images of the objects. On the second encounter, July 1, from which I cite in the following, I showed her the major part of the ethnographic objects from the 1973 Shin Hyu-dong collection. I presented them one by one in the shape of digital images and photocopies, asking for comments. Conversation evolved as the shop owner elaborated on various aspects of the objects, and I followed-up with further questions. Strictly speaking, thus, the shop owner's responses were not exclusively in response to the mobile exhibition of digital images and photocopies of the ethnographic objects plus the receipt and verbal accounts of Shin Huy-dong collection, but (inevitably) also arose from the interactive context of interviewer and informant.

¹⁴ For comparison, see *Shamanic implements, connecting symbols of man and spirits* - Seoul city, Kyönggi Province, Kangwön Province (국립문화재연구소, 2005b: 65, 185, 234, 295). According to the Kangwön province (강원도) shaman, Pin Sun-ae (빈순애), the General's dress as a spirit dress is a recent development (국립문화재연구소, 2005b: 234). There is a glass-plate photo in the collection of Seoul National University Museum of Takashi Akiba wearing a similar type of General's dress (서울대학교박물관, 2004: 76).

¹⁵ *Munhwa Broadcasting Corporation* MBC is one of the major national South Korean television and radio networks.

¹⁶ General Kyepaek (?-660) is a renown character from the last part of the Paekche kingdom (18BCE-660AD)

¹⁷ This preference for the light presented by the shop owner cannot be regarded as a universal change. Among a rich variety of General's dresses on sale in the internet shop Sejon Mall, one of the more expensive items, 'General's Dress (6)' (장군의대(06)) sold for 800.000 won is marketed in the following manner: 'The material being iron, it is fairly heavy'. ('재질이 철이므로 상당히 무겁습니다.') <http://www.sejonmall.com/FrontStore/iGoodsView.phtml?iGoodsId=gb000072>).

¹⁸ Jytte Lavrsen's letter to Helge Larsen discerned the New Village Movement as a force that was eradicating shamanism in the villages as part and parcel of the modernization process. In that light, the introduction of aluminium, plastic and iron-like leather into shamanic material culture can be analysed as part and parcel of shamanism modernizing from within while simultaneously maintaining tradition.

¹⁹ For comparison, see *Shamanic implements, connecting symbols of man and spirits* - Seoul city, Kyönggi Province, Kangwön Province (국립문화재연구소, 2005b: 24,36, 45, 67-68, 131, 149, 187, 296). Photo 4 and 5 in Kim Tae-gon's *Catalogue of Korean Shamanism* (韓國巫俗圖錄) (김태곤, 1982: 9) display a shaman performing the Official's *köri* (大監거리) wearing a hat that is so similar to A.2721c in the Shin collection that it possibly could have been manufactured in the same place. The photos were taken in Yongsan, Seoul, August 2, 1971 (김태곤, 1982). Kim Tae-gon was acquainted with both Rolf Gilberg and Shin Huy-dong, but I have not been able to ascertain whether Kim knew Shin and Gilberg already by 1973.

²⁰ According to information on the *Sejon Mall* homepage the cicada derives from the hunting hat of former kings (예전 임금의 사냥모) and signifies that one will see and hear far (멀리 듣고 보라는 의미) (<http://www.sejonmall.com/FrontStore/iGoodsView.phtml?iCategoryId=&iGoodsId=gb000075>).

²¹ See for example, Laurel Kendall 1985, 1988, 1996.

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Shop owner: 1.7.2005

Hat maker: March 7-19, 2007

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Fig.1: Inv. Nr. A.1505 Ethnographic Collection, the National Museum of Denmark (photo by 정병모)

Fig.2: Inv. Nr. A.2719 Ethnographic Collection, the National Museum of Denmark (*GenReg* photo)

Fig.3: Inv. Nr. A.2721c Ethnographic Collection, the National Museum of Denmark (photo by Martin Petersen)

Photo Copyright: The National Museum of Denmark. Permission granted.

**Historical Memory, the Museum for Peace,
and Visitors: The case of Jeju April 4th Peace
Memorial Hall, Jeju Island, Korea**

Chul-In Yoo

The 2009 ICME Annual Conference

Historical Memory, the Museum for Peace, and Visitors:
The case of Jeju April 3rd Peace Memorial Hall, Jeju Island, Korea

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This presentation will introduce the exhibitions of Jeju April 3rd Peace Memorial Hall and its visitors' experiences. The Hall was opened in 2008, as a part of the Jeju April 3rd Peace Park that commemorates the Jeju April 3rd Incident (1948-1954) in Jeju Island, Korea.

Led by Communist guerilla bands, the people of Jeju Island rose up on April 3, 1948, in opposition to elections scheduled only for South Korea under the U.S. Military Government. It was followed by a massive massacre under the name of "hunting for the Reds." Until the Incident ended on September 21, 1954, the punitive forces and Communist guerillas had killed about 30,000 persons out of the island total population of 300,000. However, the Incident had been a taboo in Korea as well as in Jeju Island, and the painful memory of Jeju people had been repressed until late 1980s.

Based on the recommendations of the National Committee for Investigation of the Truth about the Jeju April 3 Incident that published the Final Report on Investigation of Jeju April 3 Incident in 2003, the Jeju April 3rd Peace Memorial Hall was designed to restore the historical memory of the Incident and ruminate on the value of peace and human rights. The Hall has 6 permanent exhibition halls: Cave of History, Rocking Island, Island Blowing in the Wind, Island in Flames, Lost Villages, and A New Beginning. I will interpret how the historical memory is restored in exhibitions, how the exhibitions ruminate on the value of pace and human rights, and what university students experience by visiting the exhibitions.

Carni al logic, Gut logic
ocusing on Gut of the astcoast

Heo Yong-Ho

Carnival logic, Gut logic

- Focusing on Gut of the Eastcoast-

허용호(고려대 HK 연구교수)

Donghaean Tal-Gut is worthy of notice in two respects. First, its story line that the death and revival puts complexion. The second point is femininity in Donghaean Byulsin-gut which Donghaean Tal-Gut consists in. This paper's main purpose is to make feature of two women and identity of desire clear, and distinguish carnival logic and Gut logic.

Donghaean Tal-Gut is the story about the conflict between Halmi(the old woman) and Seoul-Aegi. Halmi and Seoul-Aegi are opposing characters in different terms as appearance, motion, facing audience and relationship with Yeonggam(the old man) in the Gut. They pursue different desires. Halmi is the one of the sexual appetite. Seoul-Aegi on the other hand is the one of material desire. But their desires overlap in some aspects that they are self-centered and excessive.

Their desires have carnival property and then bring a collapse in Chosun's dualistic system which has supervised sexuality in women. Halmi overcomes the boundaries of sexuality which is limited to reproduction by the expression of sexual distinct. Seoul-Aegi is a kind of seductress and makes fun of men's sexual enjoyment. In the Gut, women's sexual taboos no longer taboo and men become the object of ridicule and marginalized. In brief, Donghaean Tal-Gut has woman-carnival property.

For the female centered carnival, there are many the ritual defense mechanisms which ensure the safety from stark realities and leave no seeds of future trouble. The defense mechanisms like ritual frame, shamanic meaning make it possible to talk and act freely, escaping from

reality. By the medium of the free act, woman turn marginal person in real world into key figure in the Gut.

There is another desire in Donghaean Tal-Gut. Halmi wants the reunion of the family members, while Seoul-Aegi wants to domiciliate as a concubine. Halmi's sexual appetite and Seoul-Aegi's material desire are the center of the Gut by and large but their new desire comes to the forefront as soon as Yeonggam felt down. According to the new desire, they intend to become stabilized, which is incongruous with transgression of taboos through sexual and material desire. The finale toward stabilization of living may seem unrefined but it is natural in the context of Gut.

Donghaean Tal-Gut comes to an end with the dance of reconciliation, led by a shamanic performance. Shaman plays important roles in rearrange of the female centered carnival with a departure from long-standing customs and also makes mutually exclusive characters coexist. And to conclude, Shaman supports the carnival and defense the female centered world.

This paper is significant from the point which reveal feature of Donghaean Tal-Gut's female characters and the desire which have been excluded owing to the disharmony with the female centered carnival. It is a product of this study that carnival logic which head for taboo-destruction and Gut logic which head for harmony are made of a structure. The view point that Gut logic as a defence mechanism to ensure the carnival is systematized is also a product of this study.