

14th AMERICAN INDIAN WORKSHOP
EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION FOR NATIVE AMERICAN STUDIES

ATELIER ANNUEL DE L'ASSOCIATION POUR LA RECHERCHE
EN ANTHROPOLOGIE SOCIALE

TRADITION: CONTINUITE ET INVENTION
DANS
LES SOCIETES NORD-AMERINDIENNES

TRADITION: CONTINUITY AND INVENTION
IN
NATIVE NORTH AMERICAN SOCIETIES

3 - 4 juin 1993

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RECHERCHES EN COURS
CURRENT STUDIES

5 juin 1993

Jeudi 3 juin 1993

Collège de France - 11, Place Marcelin-Berthelot, 75005 Paris
Salle 3

TRADITION, CONTINUITY AND INVENTION IN NATIVE NORTH AMERICAN
STUDIES/TRADITION, CONTINUITÉ ET INVENTION DANS LES SOCIÉTÉS NORD-
AMÉRICAINES

9h MARIE MAUZE Centre national de la recherche scientifique
(CNRS), Paris. *Introduction/ Accueil des participants.*

FRANCOISE HERITIER-AUGE Professeur au Collège de France,
Directeur du Laboratoire d'anthropologie sociale, Paris.
Opening address/ Ouverture.

Chair/ Président PHILIPPE DESCOLA Ecole des Hautes études en
sciences sociales (EHESS), Paris.

9h30 JEAN POUILLON Secrétaire de la revue L'Homme, Paris.
L'Engendrement des pères. Les paradoxes de la tradition.

10h PASCAL BOYER King's College, Cambridge. *The Role of
Tradition in Cultural Transmission.*

10h30 GERARD LENCLUD CNRS, Paris. *Traditions et histoire.*

11h Coffee Break/ Pause café

11h15 MARLA POWERS Seton Hall University, South Orange, N.J.
WILLIAM POWERS Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N.J. *The
Perennial Past: Reflections on the Philosophy of
Tradition.*

12h15 Discussion/ Débat

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Chair/ Président ANNE CHRISTINE TAYLOR CNRS, Paris.

14h15 ARMIN GEERTZ University of Aarhus, Aarhus. *Tradition as
Knowledge: the End of the World for the Hopi Indians and
Those who Study Them.*

14h45 DOMINIQUE LEGROS Concordia University, Montréal, Québec.
*Continuity and Invention among Northern Tutchone:
First Nation Motivations.*

15h15 MICHELE THERRIEN Institut National des langues et civilisations orientales, Paris. *Tradition et transition: notion de dynamique et vision du monde chez les Inuit de l'Arctique canadien.*

15h45 Coffee Break/ Pause café

16h15 MASSIMILIANO CAROCCI Università di Roma, Rome. *The Berdache as Metahistorical Reference for the Urban Gay American Indian Community.*

16h45 Discussion/ Débat

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Vendredi 4 juin

Chair/ Président WILCOMB WASHBURN Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

9h JO ALLYN ARCHAMBAULT Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. *Innovations in Plains Indian Religious Practices.*

9h30 JOELLE ROSTKOWSKI UNESCO, EHESS, Paris. *Tradition Reinvented. New Forms of Worship on the Pine Ridge Reservation.*

10h JAMES A. CLIFTON Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Mi. *Shaman Becomes Medicine Man: Novel Traditions and New Age Religiosity Among Western Great Lakes Algonquians.*

10h30 Coffee Break/ Pause café

11h JAMES B. WALDRAM University of Saskatoon, Saskatoon, SK. *The Reification of Aboriginal Culture in Prison Spirituality Programs.*

11h30 Discussion/ Débat

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Chair/ Président NELCYA DELANOE Université Paris X, Nanterre.

14h15 JONATHAN KING British Museum, Londres. *Art and Tradition in North-America: the Dialectic between Native Art and Euro-American Patronage in Collecting, Crafts and Interior Decoration.*

14h45 CHRISTIAN FEEST Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienne. *Uses of the Past in Native American Art and Art History.*

15h15 WILLIAM STURTEVANT Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C. *Pictorial Representation and Misrepresentation.*

15h45 Coffee Break/ Pause café

16h JOHN STRONG Southampton Campus, Southampton, N.Y. *The Revival of Tradition among the Indians of Eastern Long Island.*

16h30 Discussion/ Débat

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Samedi 5 juin

Maison Suger, 16, rue Suger, 75006 Paris

CURRENT STUDIES / RECHERCHES EN COURS

Chair/Président MARIE MAUZE

- 9h COLIN TAYLOR Hastings. *Symbolic to Aesthetic ? A Report on an Ongoing Project Relating to Stability and Change in the Artistic Content of Northern and Central Plains Indian Ceremonial Regalia, circa 1820-1890.*
- 9h20 IMRE NAGY Tornyai Janos Museum, Hodmezövasarhely, Hongrie. *Cosmological Traditions - Symbolic Images on Plains Indians Shields.*
- 9h40 MAUREEN MILBURN University of British Columbia, Fulford Harbour, B.C. *Negotiated Histories: Collecting Strategies, Institutional Goals and the Documentation of Northwest Coast Indian Collections.*
- 10h SYLVIA S.KASPRYCKI European Review of Native, American Studies, Vienne. *Collected Culture: Menominee Identity and its Material Expressions, 1890-1930.*
- 10h20 Coffee Break/ Pause café
- 10h30 RENATE BARTL München Universität, Munich. *Groups of Native American Descent in the Eastern USA.*
- 10h50 Discussion/ Débat

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A B S T R A C T S / R E S U M E S

TRADITION, CONTINUITY AND INVENTION IN NATIVE NORTH AMERICAN SOCIETIES

JEAN POUILLON: Secrétaire général de la revue *L'Homme*,
Laboratoire d'anthropologie sociale, Paris.

"L'Engendrement des pères. Les paradoxes de la
tradition."

PASCAL BOYER: King's College, Cambridge, Grande-
Bretagne.

"The Role of Tradition in Cultural Transmission."

Cultural anthropology generally under-estimates the
contribution of universal, non-cultural cognitive
processes in cultural acquisition. Cultural competence
is seen as exhaustively acquired through cultural
transmission. It is however possible to show that
cultural transmission underdetermines cultural
representations. "Traditions" provide cues for cognitive
development, which would have no effect unless subjects
had strong predispositions to interpret them in
particular ways. Cognitive mechanisms therefore impose
strong constraints on the variability of cultural
representations.

GERARD LENCLUD: Chargé de recherche au CNRS,
Laboratoire d'anthropologie sociale, Paris.

"History and Tradition."

Due to the Enlightenment, two separate ideas have been
coalesced under the modern concept of history: first
that the past is an object of knowledge, secondly that
history is something that men can do by themselves.
Knowing about the past came to mean knowing that history
is a produce of human action and therefore that future
is open.

As a still on-going result of this conceptual invention,
there is a widespread though frequently tacit assumption
of a truly existing Great Divide between two types of
societies according to their use of the past, a sort of
Them/Us opposition. On one side, there are Western
societies which rescue their past from oblivion by the
means of historical narrative, based on search for the

evidence, using reliability for selecting and graduating events and implying the construction of sequential tables. On the other, there are societies that would bury, or simply ignore, their past through the making of tradition, even renewed or actually invented. Past would be for them a kind of plastic, symbolic resource, a boundless canvas for embroidery.

It is then commonly thought that societies provided with modern historical knowledge are allowed the privilege of keeping the past at distance and therefore of being critical about themselves since they are aware that things can be made otherwise by choice. On the contrary, societies without written history (or supplied with historical records collected by Western historians) would be unable, since living within the tradition, to call their past in question and therefore to raise doubts about the way things are done in the present. They would inherit their past under no beneficium inventorii.

My argument is that all societies, in some degree, regulate in a way or another the inherent debatability of the past (A.Appadurai). It is always a component of debate (and of division in the present). There is no substantive difference, from this point of view, between societies in which the past is largely organised in terms of orally transmitted "mythic" narratives and the ones in which the discourse on the past is mainly historical. Myth and ritual, as Leach said, is a language of argument, not a chorus of harmony. Dealing with the past, either historically or "traditionally", involves debate and therefore critical examination of actual experience.

WILLIAM POWERS: Department of Anthropology, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N.J. USA.

MARLA POWERS: Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Seton Hall University, South Orange, N.J. USA.

"The Perennial Past: Reflections on the Philosophy of Tradition."

Although it has been fashionable in anthropology and history to contrast the terms "traditional" and "modern," these terms do not have equal ontological status when applied to perceived notions of continuity and change in American Indian cultures.

Where modernity refers to a two-dimensional grid of time and space generally referred to as history and perceived to be moving forward in a unilateral, progressive motion, tradition is an imprecise reference to a

perceived past time and space, one established by social and cultural agreement between those for whom it serves as an opportunistic means to an otherwise unattainable end. Modernity moves with time and space; tradition remains embedded in an immutable past changed only by nonempirical recollections of it.

Tradition should thus be viewed as a form of philosophy brought about by contact with foreign cultures, particularly those that are politically hostile and threaten to annihilate those whom they subjugate. Several examples from contemporary Lakota of the Pine Ridge reservation will serve to illustrate their penchant for maintaining a perennial past as a means of survival in the white man's world.

ARMIN GEERTZ: Department of the Study of Religion, University of Aarhus, Aarhus, Denmark.

"Tradition as Knowledge: the End of the World for the Hopi Indians and Those who Study Them."

While studying Hopi millennial expectations, one cannot but notice the political ramifications of Hopi religion. When confronted with the questionable evidence, questionable statements, and questionable interpretations of and about Hopi prophecies, the obvious conclusion is that the fluid nature of these supposed revelations is primarily due to political intrigue and social strategy. I found that prophecy is a kind of intellectual currency which some people own and others try to get either properly or illicitly in order to gain social and political ends. I found prophets changing their apparent revelations, traditionalists changing their traditions, and believers who keep on believing in them. Faced with the specter of having to study changing meanings for each changing audience, I was forced to reevaluate our methods for interpreting religion. I found that studying prophetic claims (which are constantly changing) tells us very little about their function. Prophecy is clearly a mechanism for incorporating contemporary affairs into the framework of traditional religious values, for evaluating those affairs in terms of conceived tradition, and for interpreting and judging those affairs on the authority of conceived tradition. Seen in this light, prophecy is primarily a rhetorical device and is pivotal to social and political strategies.

In the course of this paper, I will not only discuss the indigenous use of millennial prophecy, but also the use of Hopi prophecy by activists, scholars, and Euro-American religious movements. I will therefore characterize the ways in which Hopi prophecies are used,

identify interest groups who manipulate the cosmological mythology of the Hopis, and identify the themes which are meaningful to these groups. In discussing the relationship between, for instance, the Hopi Traditionalist Movement and Ecology Movements as opposed to the relationship between the Hopis and ethnographers, I argue the paradox that whereas both relationships are properly defined in terms of the cultural (mis)representation of other cultures, the ethnographic endeavor can in principle draw nearer to, if not bridge, the gap between local epistemologies.

DOMINIQUE LEGROS: Department of Anthropology and Sociology, Concordia University, Montréal, Canada.

"Continuity and Invention among Northern Tutchone: First Nation Motivations."

Oral tradition is always a reworked product. This was true in the past and this is still so today. One striking example from years gone by is given by the manner in which, in the 1920's, young Yukon Tutchone Indian "rewrote" the myths they were hearing from their grand-parents. Not surprisingly, new elements are still introduced today. For example, submarines and motor boats, God, Virgin Mary and Jesus-Christ have become subject matters in the most recent version of the *Story of Crow*, the Tutchone equivalent of *Genesis*.

Taking this "updated" *Crow Story* as an example, the present paper describes why and how innovations are made. It shows that the intent is not to adapt, in a trivial sense of the term, the myth to the dominant Canadian technology and Christian ideology -or, so to speak, to dilute its content to make it a mere variant of a Canadian account of the world. True enough, the starting point of the "rewriting process" is the presence of the competing non-Indian cultural universe in today's Tutchone world. This competing universe adds "facts" and "objects" which were not accounted for in the myth's older version. But the innovations are only intended to bridge the gaps thus created. Far from diluting the myth's content, they consolidate its veracity and prevent its demise from the contemporary Tutchone religious order.

At this juncture I need to indicate how the subject matter of this study came about. Tutchone schools had no Indian written material for their pupils to work with. *Snow White* and other similar stories were what was read or written about. This was upsetting many Tutchone parents and grand-parents. In 1990, I was contacted by band officials and some elders. They argued that they had contributed to my research for many years and that

it was now time for me to "come up" with their stories in a written format which could be used in their schools. I was to work under Tommy McGinty, a traditionalist, a shaman, and a man known both for his intransigence about respecting the Tutchone ways and for his intelligence of the "modern world".

The text of the "updated" *Crow Story* is the product of our collaboration over several months. It will be circulated in advance and the type of innovations made clearly indicated. The "rewriting" process will be discussed in the paper. Re-adaptation of the text for actual class use will be made by the school boards. It will remain interesting to see whether M. McGinty's rather "earthy" style will be preserved and what sections will be censored.

MICHELE THERRIEN: Institut National des langues et civilisations orientales, Paris.

"Tradition et transition: notion de dynamique et vision du monde chez les Inuit de l'Arctique canadien."

Quel sens donner aux notions de *tradition* et *transition* chez les Inuit de l'Arctique oriental canadien ? S'agit-il de valeurs contradictoires, exclusives ou présentes-elles suffisamment de traits complémentaires pour que de la rencontre surgisse une voie pour l'avenir ?

La co-présence des contraires semble se situer au coeur de la dynamique des choix inuit et il n'est pas indifférent de noter que de la même manière que l'on valorise l'inévitable violence qui se déploie sur un terrain de chasse, la non-violence se trouve magnifiée dans les relations sociales. De la même manière que l'autonomie de la personne se trouve favorisée, la responsabilité et la sollicitude à l'égard de l'autre sont des comportements attendus malgré les pressions qu'ils exercent sur l'individu.

L'éducation inuit mettant au premier plan la résolution de valeurs conflictuelles, nous ne pouvons nous étonner que, dans le contexte actuel, les tensions entre tradition et transition fassent l'objet de délicates négociations entre un passé que d'aucun déclare révolu, un présent hybride puisqu'il est imposé et un avenir que l'on souhaite définir de façon parfaitement autonome.

La langue inuit exprime de manière saisissante ces tensions en opposant l'intériorité à l'extériorité et en rappelant que toute dynamique se fonde sur un modèle pré-existant, celui de la dynamique du corps humain et de l'univers.

MASSIMILIANO CAROCCI: Dipartimento di Etnologia,
Universita di Roma, Rome, Italie.

"The Berdache as Metahistorical Reference for the
Urban Gay American Indian Community."

The urban gay American Indian community offers an
extraordinary example of reinterpretation of models of
the past adapted to contemporary needs and
circumstances.

The impossibility of finding an outspoken space for
one's homosexuality in the vanishing social networks of
the reservations leads many lesbian and gay men to move
to the cities.

Here the concept of "Berdache" becomes a reference to a
universal "Indianness" in which the gay Native Americans
find a positive role model.

In the process of reappropriation of old concepts such
as the "Sacredness of the Third Gender" the modern
indian homosexuals hope to rebuild a renovated complete
spirituality to bring back to the reservations.

JOALLYN ARCHAMBAULT: Director, American Indian Program,
Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C., USA.

"Tradition and Invention in the American Plains in the
late 20th century."

Adaptability to changing ecological and cultural
environments can be documented for Plains societies for
hundreds of years. This is no less true today. Plains
Indian tribes have been resilient in the face of
colonization and are now in a period of enormous
cultural renewal and cultural invention. Some of the
sources of renewal and invention are anthropological
works written almost a century ago, as well as museum
collections, western movies and popular magazine. This
is in addition to the oral traditions of contemporary
tribal members. The inter-play between source and
cultural expression is a delicate one. Contemporary
arts, whether plastic, verbal, dance or music are
undergoing enormous change in the renewal process.
Contemporary cultural practices are also being renewed
and revitalized, and in some instances reinterpreted and
invented. Tradition has become an important ethnic
marker for contemporary Plains Indians.

JOELLE ROSTKOWSKI: UNESCO, Ecole des hautes études en
sciences sociales, Paris.

"Tradition Reinvented. New Forms of Worship on the Pine Ridge Reservation."

JAMES A. CLIFTON: Department of anthropology, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Mi., USA.

"Shaman Becomes Medicine Man: Novel Traditions and New Age Religiosity Among Western Great Lakes Algonquians."

An invitation to participate in an allegedly "recently reborn" Michigan Algonquian community's "Long House Religion" ceremony, as a sort of officially sanctioned anthropological observer, precipitated transitory sadness, then something thinking. Whatever the Long House Religion may construe for the Iroquoians of New York and Ontario, no such rite was ever known or practiced by the ancestors of the community whose self-proclaimed "Medicine Man" invited my presence to this resurgence of spiritualism.

On arrival, I found the group congregated around the "Long House", a lozenge-shaped sapling structure covered by an old canvas tarpaulin. With the wind gusting at 25 MPH, the whole thing threatened to blow away like the mainsail of an America's Cup racer, and the ritualists were rushing around trying unsuccessfully to hold it down. The "Assistant Medicine Man" took me in hand, leading me around, explaining: "This is our Sacred Long House. This is our Sacred Fire. This is our Sacred Drum. We will sing Sacred Songs, etc." Not to be sacrilegious, as I observed the proceedings, it was evident that the ad hoc congregation didn't know what they were doing. And they didn't know how to do it. They didn't know why they were doing it. And they didn't know what they were supposed to accomplish. All was confusion, with resulting frustration among themselves. I felt anguish - how far removed from the practices of their Algonquian ancestors (a minority fo this Euro-Indian group) were they. I was removed to reflection.

First, where had the simple recipe for this "Sacred Ceremonial" come from ? Certainly not handed down by Algonquians, generation-to-generation. Was it a recently invented "tradition" ? Well, not really. Where had the Medicine Man gotten the plan for this affair ? Most likely, from the Boy Scouts' Order of the Arrow Handbook, whence he had obtained much of his early "Indian" socialization. Here was MacIndianism come full circle. But more reflection was promoted, as well.

Historically, what transformative processes have deleted from, added to, and revised the ritual institutions of these Great Lakes Algonquians, who have been believing,

practicing Christians for a century and a half ? This query promotes a review of the passage of individual shamanism, the rise of ecclesiastical cults such as the Midewiwin and of communal cults such as the Dream Dance rite, the mass conversion to one or another Christian denomination early last century, and the recent rise of New Age spiritualism among modern Algonquians, who are Indian by ascribed ethnic identity, not by enculturation.

JAMES B. WALDRAM: Department of Native Studies, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, SK, Canada.

"The Reification of Aboriginal Culture in Prison Spirituality Programs."

Aboriginal males constitute about one-third of the total federal prison inmate population. Since the early 1980s, Aboriginal spirituality and cultural awareness programs have been developed in many prisons. These programs involve healing ceremonies, prayer, group discussion and spiritual/cultural instruction. This paper describes the effects of these programs on the cultural identity of Aboriginal inmates, and documents how a pan-Indian approach to spirituality has become a necessity given the prison context. The efficacy of spiritual approaches to treatment will also be discussed.

JONATHAN KING: Museum of Mankind, British Museum, Londres, Grande-Bretagne.

"Marketing Magic: process and identity in the creation and selling of Native art and material culture."

From the 18th century onwards native peoples have created materials specifically for the market. These have included embroidered birchbark materials from the Eastern Woodlands, pottery, jewellery, and textiles from Southwest, sculpture from the Arctic, and sculpture and jewellery from the Northwest Coast.

This paper examines three specific contemporary instances to identify the complex issues involved in the creation and marketing of native materials today. These are:

1. The factory production of Northwest Coast materials in Seattle. A. In one case a factory produces silver jewellery copied from native designs, for sale in the USA. The designs are taken from authentic sources and degraded in the production process. The marketing process involves providing inappropriate Euro-American names for these things. On sale in Alaska, however, items of jewellery may be re-enter native process

through acquisition by native people for use in potlatches and the feasting. B. A factory employs natives to carve in a factory workshop "authentic" Northwest Coast masks and other goods for sale in Alaska. These native products bear little resemblance to prototypes, and never gain acceptance in native contexts.

2. The native production of commercial lacrosse sticks by Quebec Mohawk. A Mohawk producer of lacrosse stick competes with imported Asian examples to his financial loss.

3. The native production of canoes, snowshoes and moccasins by Quebec Huron. Huron families in Quebec successfully produce a wide range of native goods for an entirely commercial market. These products include freighter canoes, moccasins and snowshoes.

These examples are presented to show a range of situations. They vary from a) the Seattle factories where there is little or no native input, but the products may eventually assume a role in native society. To b) the Quebec factories where in wholly native contexts of production semi- or non-traditional products are created for non-native use.

Two more general issues form a background to this: 1) the extent to which non-natives should be permitted and allowed to market non-native materials in the context of recent legislation 2) the relationship between the unacceptable appropriation of native art by non-natives, and the perceived benefits involved in the global use of native ikons. These might include a wider political recognition for native issues, and an enhanced demand for native produced art.

CHRISTIAN FEEST: Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienne, Autriche.

"Uses of the Past in Native American Art and Art History."

WILLIAM STURTEVANT: Department of Anthropology, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., USA.

"Pictorial Representation and Misrepresentation."

European and Euro-American traditions for depicting Indians, beginning in 1493, were only partly influenced by increasing knowledge of ethnographic reality in all its great variety. Sources are multiple and analogy is common. Images were often transferred to represent new

subjects, both appropriately and inappropriately. Each image should be deconstructed, as the constituent parts and the whole often have different validity and different meanings. Feedback effects are identifiable, in the manner by which allegorical and stereotypic representations of Indian appearance influence Indian representations of self, especially in situations of ethnic boundary marking, and these in turn influence non-Indian imaging.

JOHN STRONG: Department of History, Southampton Campus, Southampton, N.Y., USA.

"The Revival of Tradition among the Indians of Eastern Long Island."

The native Americans of the Shinnecock and Poosepatuck reservations have been reviving their customs and identity over the past half century. The remnant communities of Matinneck and Montauk who are scattered in small enclaves on Long Island have also begun to revive their community structures. The paper will focus on such cultural survivals as, yearly communal ceremonies, kinship patterns, and governance.

RESEARCH IN NATIVE NORTH AMERICAN SOCIETIES

COLIN TAYLOR: Hastings College, Hastings, Grande-Bretagne.

"Symbolic to aesthetic ? A Report on an ongoing project relating to stability and change in the artistic content of Northern and Central Plains Indian ceremonial regalia, circa 1820-1890."

Analysis of the literature and study of the North American Plains Indians ethnographical collections in the world's museums over a period of some thirty years, leads me to venture the opinion that most early Plains Indian ceremonial regalia was replete in symbolism. In contrast, much of that produced during the reservation period seems to put far more emphasis on beauty and aesthetic appeal -but what of the symbolism there ?

Thus, is it possible to classify the collections, so identifying artefacts which range from predominately symbolic to predominately aesthetic ? In the analysis, however, the aspect of beauty inherent in the combination of materials and colour in the former and the undoubted conventionalization in the latter, is also receiving attention and this will be reported on.

IMRE NAGY: Tornyai Janos Museum, Hodmezövasarhely, Hongrie.

"Cosmological Traditions - Symbolic Images on Plains Indians shields."

The purpose of the present paper is to reveal the multi-layered, sophisticated meanings of those symbolic images which were painted on the circular rawhide shields of the Plains Indians. Employing combined methodology of "classic" art historical typology, as well as iconography, and the socio-cultural approach of "new art history", the author tries to transcribe these images into a so-called "axonometric" visual system which would help our understanding of the codifying and remembering function of Native North American cosmological traditions.

MAUREEN MILBURN: University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C. Canada.

"Re-reading the Meaning of Collections: Institutions, Individuals and the Documentation of NWC Indian Objects."

Investigation of documentation related to collections of Northwest Coast Indian objects during the "museum age" (1880-1920) reveals that certain themes dominated the institutional perspective. These approaches were generally reflected in the allochronic presentation of native cultures within an impersonal past.

Less attention has been given to exploring the acquisition of objects from the perspective of the individual collector. For example, the Tlingit objects and documentation collected by naval Lieutenant George Thornton Emmons and Tlingit nobleman Louis Shortridge differ in certain subtle but consequential respects.

A comparison of ethnographic documentation, collections and ancillary material illuminates a collector/client dialogue which was outside of dominant institutional concerns and praxes. This discussion presents an opportunity to re-examine the institutional context of objects of objects from such alternative perspective as their relation to textualized oral history and contemporal native/white value systems.

SYLVIA S. KASPRYCKI: European Review of Native American Studies, Vienne, Autriche.

"Collected Culture: Menominee Identity and its Material Expressions, 1890-1930."

The paper will examine the image of Menominee culture as it emerges from the amassed ethnographic collections in American museums (the bulk of which date from the period between 1890 and 1930). It will analyze the role of material culture as an expression of Menominee identity and self-assertion (especially after decades of decisive change in traditional life), and what -on the other hand- was perceived to be distinctive in Menominee culture by ethnographers and collectors.

RENATE BARTL: Amerika-Institut, München Universität, Munich, Allemagne.

"Groups of Native American Descent in the Eastern USA."

My paper deals with the situation of the Native Americans living in the eastern part of the USA (i.e. East of the Mississippi River), to contradict the common and persistent belief, that all eastern Indians were deported to the West after 1830 ("Indian Removal Act") and that no -or not many- Native Americans are living in this area today.

The 1980 US Census counted nearly 30,000 people on federal or state recognized Indian reservations in the eastern USA. BIA publications of 1991 list 87 Indian tribes and groups of the eastern states, that have petitioned for federal acknowledgement as an Indian tribe up to that year. Eight of these groups succeeded and were acknowledged, the petition of 15 groups was dismissed, and 64 cases are still pending.

My paper will show that these petitions represent only the tip of the iceberg. For the eastern USA more than 100 further groups, classified as being of Native American or partly Native American descent, are mentioned in literature and historical sources. A big part of these groups still exist today and are in a process of revitalizing their cultures and social organizations, and many of those groups, who disintegrated or dissolved in the past, are trying to reorganize themselves as an Indian tribe by now. My paper will report on this situation and its presumable development.

CHRISTER LINDBERG: Department of Sociology, University of Lund, Lund, Suède.

"The Image of the Native American in the Early Days of Anthropology."

Under this heading I intend to discuss the image of the American Indian in the writings of pioneering anthropologists such as Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, John Wesley Powell, James Mooney, John Gregory Bourke, Georges Bird Grinnel, Edward Sheriff Curtis, Franz Uri Boas, Clark Wissler, and possible, also Baron Nordenskiöld. Although belonging to different theoretical schools, i.e. evolutionism, historicism, and diffusionism, they all shared certain images of the native American. In search of theoretical differences, and analysis of the progress of anthropology and Native American Studies those presumptions have often been neglected.

My paper will discuss the intellectual enterprise of anthropology in the late 19th century and early 20th century in a context of myth and reality. The reality of conquest and the number of myths pertaining to the American continent, i.e. the noble/ignoble savage, the wilderness and the garden, the frontier etc. Created was an image of the native American in a true "traditional society", a disappearing people and the call of "salvation ethnography".

ISABELLE SCHULTE-TENCKHOFF: Université de Zurich, Suisse.

"Legal Anthropology and Indian-White Relations in North America."

The current debate on the draft Declarations on the rights of indigenous peoples to be adopted within the framework of the United Nations clearly shows that indigenous peoples have specific ideas about the legal and political categories they wish to see applied in their future relations with states. Indigenous perceptions are nevertheless often viewed as controversial, since they tend to contradict vested interests and conventional wisdom alike. Broadly speaking, conflicting legal concepts regarding the status of indigenous peoples (which has yet to be defined in international law) can be traced back to the continuing primacy of the doctrine of discovery in the domestic law of the former European settler colonies of the Western hemisphere. While inconsistent with existing international human rights standard, this basically racist doctrine still prevails. To illustrate this, reference shall be made to the history of treaty-making between aboriginal peoples and European powers in North America (especially Canada), including the process of domestication of Indian-White relations; the specific dilemma of non-treaty peoples (e.g. in the case of the recent Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en decision) shall also be briefly addressed.

SUSAN PEREZ CASTILLO: Erasmus University Institute, Porto, Portugal.

"Native American Literature and Recent Approaches to Critical Theory."

In my paper, I shall examine the ways in which recent currents in literary theory are relevant (or irrelevant) to the interpretation of texts by Native American writers. It is often stated that the analysis of "minority" literatures by so-called "non-minority" scholars is a re-enactment of colonial violence. I shall thus briefly analyze major schools of critical thought (the New Criticism, Deconstruction, Feminism, Foucaultian Post-Structuralism, the New Historicism, and Contingency Theory), and attempt to draw conclusions regarding the ways in which they can be helpful in opening up texts emerging from a cultural background which is all too often unfamiliar to the general reading public, even at university level. I shall also deal with the issue of whether white European academics (whose position vis-a-vis Native American texts is rather like that of male scholars working in the area of feminism) are able to make minimally valid observations and interpretations of Native texts.

ANNA SECCO: University of Venice, Venice, Italie.

"Louise Erdrich and the New Historical Fiction."

History is very present in modern American Indian writing and in particular in the epic family sagas of Louise Erdrich.

In her narrative mode Erdrich incorporates all the new tendencies in fiction. This tendency proposes the relationship among history, myth and literature, all this in the collective and selective memories of her people. She recaptures for us the historical moment lived by her protagonists by drawing on oral traditions as well as on history seen as research and meditation on the past. In this way, like the ancient muse of history, she relates the origins of her people to their present conditions in a never ending time circle. By tracing back the names, she describes the processes of history as they weave in and out of the lives of her people, the Chippewa in an epic voice.