

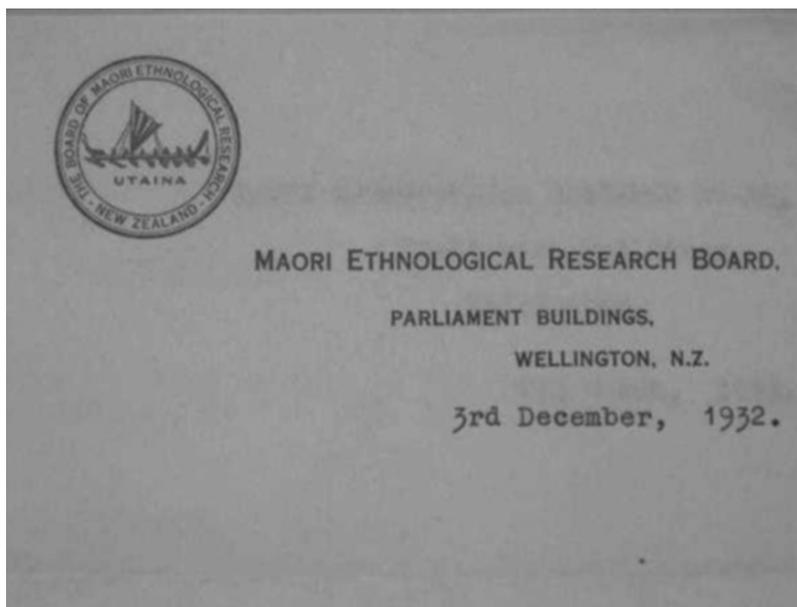
# Introduction: conceptualising Curatopia

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In Aotearoa New Zealand, bilingual museum titles reflect the Indigenous view of the world. Their Māori names liken museums to hills, caves, store houses and, commonly, to canoes (*waka*), either literally or figuratively through the image of a treasure box or carved vessel containing precious objects.<sup>1</sup> In other contexts, the word ‘waka’ can refer to the crews of, and those descended from, ancestral voyaging canoes, a flock of birds in flight and, today, to cars and other forms of transport. Nearly a century ago, Māori leaders used the same imagery in engagement with museum anthropology, as seen in the seal of the Board of Maori Ethnological Research showing a waka under sail. They urged their people to load on board this waka the ‘precious freight/heritage’ (*ngā morehu taonga*) of their ancestors, so that it could be preserved and disseminated ‘for all the world to see’.<sup>2</sup> (See Figure 0.1.)<sup>3</sup>

These images of mobility are in contrast with those associated with the history of European museums which have been critiqued as static mausoleums devoted to the preservation of the past. This is prominently displayed in Michel Foucault’s notion of heterotopias, in which he contrasts the ‘museum’ as an ‘immobile place’ with the ‘ship’ as ‘the greatest reserve of the imagination’.<sup>4</sup> In this introduction to *Curatopia*, we reimagine the museum as ship, and explore the ways in which the associated practice of curating can be turned around to face the future, as the crew of the waka navigate the ocean before them.

This book brings together curators, scholars and critics from a range of fields in international institutions to engage in debates about curatorial histories, theories and practices. Old models of the curator as scholar connoisseur have been discredited, while new types – curator as entrepreneur, facilitator, artist, activist etc. – need more testing. As museums continue to change in the twenty-first century, the ‘figure of the curator’<sup>5</sup> appears to be in flux. What is the future of curatorial practice? Is there a vision for an ideal curatorial model, an imagined future that we might call a ‘curatopia’?<sup>6</sup> Would this take the form of a utopia or even a dystopia? We see in the plurality of approaches evident in this collection a curatorial ‘heterotopia’ emerging.<sup>7</sup> It is this new, critical but ethical approach to curating that we set out to describe in this volume.



**0.1** The seal of the Board of Maori Ethnological Research, Wellington, New Zealand, showing an ocean-going waka (canoe) under sail. This seal was used on all Board correspondence from its establishment in 1923.

Other questions have to do with the current vogue for curators as co-creators, in the service of cultural diversity, social inclusion and non-Western museology.<sup>8</sup> How can we historicise, theorise and ethnographically analyse museums as profoundly cross-cultural spaces, and study curatorship as an inherently cross-cultural method that requires dialogical translation and interpretative reciprocity? By addressing this challenge, the collection sets out to give co-curation a different and more substantial quality, imbuing it with conceptual and methodological rigour, in contrast to critiques that dismiss it as a shallow political gesture.<sup>9</sup> *Curatopia* explores the ways in which the mutual, asymmetrical relations underpinning global, scientific entanglements of the past can be transformed into more reciprocal, symmetrical forms of cross-cultural curatorship in the present. We argue that this is the most meaningful direction for curating in museums today.

In this opening provocation, we survey critical perspectives on curating in general. In the first historical part of the proposed line of inquiry, we follow others to suggest that the 'European Enlightenment' should not be understood as a sovereign and autonomous Europe-bound achievement.<sup>10</sup> Given the emerging mutual dependence of scientific travel practices, materialities, and academic disciplines in the eighteenth century, it can be argued instead that the encounter with Pacific people, among others, and their material manifestations in objects, had a significant influence on the development of new ideas, such as the Enlightenment,<sup>11</sup> an intersection of

global encounters and European knowledge practices.<sup>12</sup> In other words, the Enlightenment should not be seen as a singular event originating in some (European) centre and radiating out into the global peripheries, rather it was a 'process of global circulation, translation, and transnational co-production'.<sup>13</sup> Since the same epoch in the eighteenth century, anthropology (and anthropological curatorship) has developed through scientific exploration and colonial expansion beyond Europe, as well as the establishment of ethnographic collections and museums in Europe, thus institutionalising and materialising the global circulation, translation and co-production of ideas.

Anthropological curatorship then and now can be understood as a mobile, cross-cultural form of knowledge production. We believe that what is needed today is a form of curating enacted not only through its analytical focus on cross-cultural action, traffic and appropriation but also at the level of method, interpretation and representation of the curatorial inquiry itself.<sup>14</sup> To address the second part of the proposed line of inquiry, and to shape *Curatopia* in more reciprocal, symmetrical forms, we explore how the relationships between Indigenous people in North America and the Pacific, collections in Euro-American institutions and curatorial knowledge in museums globally can be (re)conceptualised. How can we address the persistent problem that the majority of museological interventions produce and represent Indigenous visual and material cultures through the imposition of alien categories such as 'art' and 'artefact'? How can Indigenous histories, theories and practices drive their own visual language, representational mode, and thematic and spatial enactment through curatorial interventions in museum collections and exhibitions? We are accustomed to curators from 'the West' talking about objects and collections from 'the rest' of the world, but what happens when Indigenous curators interpret their own cultures using native and tribal frameworks? And what can European curators learn from this? On the analytical plane, we are accustomed to French and German social theory being exported into Anglophone museum and curatorial studies, but the ways in which Indigenous philosophies and ideas travel and speak back suggest that we can more effectively address the globalised world we inhabit and consider museums for what they are: profoundly cross-cultural spaces.

This volume follows these lines of enquiry by assessing the current state of play in curatorship, reviewing models and approaches operating in various museums, galleries and cultural organisations around the world, and debating emerging concerns, challenges and opportunities. The subject areas range over Native and tribal cultures, anthropology, art, history and philosophy. In some cases, authors look beyond Indigenous topics to consider how collecting, exhibiting and research in former settler colonies have developed in response to, or alongside, Indigenous people and culture; and/or discuss the implications of these developments for European institutions. The volume is international in scope and covers three broad regions – Europe, North America and the Pacific.

Chapters are grouped by regions for several reasons. The Eurocentric projection of anthropological or curatorial imaginations has come under intense pressure while (post)colonial renegotiations in North America and the Pacific have initiated dramatic changes to anthropology through Indigenous knowledge practices including curatorship.<sup>15</sup> The book creates a dialogue between those situations, enabling Indigenous perspectives from North America and the Pacific to directly intervene in European debates and institutions that hold material traces from these regions and their Indigenous inhabitants. While chapters are grouped by region, thematic layers across the chapters show how these regions are relationally constituted, demonstrating that cross-Indigenous initiatives and networks are indeed global in reach. This becomes obvious, for instance, when exploring the manifold linkages across the Pacific and the Americas in both the past and the present. We do not conceptualise these as two separate regions, but instead emphasise the Transpacific as a relational space so that the dynamic character of locations and their entanglements is foregrounded.<sup>16</sup> In this vein, most, if not all, chapters in this volume resist conventional territorial boundaries, which reflects what museum objects, collections and exhibitions inevitably do: they circulate, and in the process become translated and co-produced.

The book is itself the product of a scholarly network that radiates out in different directions and on several levels. It is the result of two events, a conference held at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich, Germany, in



**0.2** Delegates at the Curatopia conference, Munich, Germany, July 2015. They include, from left to right: Bronwyn Labrum, Paul Tapsell, Conal McCarthy, Billie Lythberg, Amiria Salmond, Ivan Gaskell, Philipp Schorch and Larissa Förster.

2015 (see Figure 0.2), and a seminar at Victoria University of Wellington in Aotearoa New Zealand in 2011. The contributors are leading and emerging scholars and practitioners in their respective fields. Furthermore, all contributors have worked in and with universities *and* museums, often in curatorial roles, and are therefore well positioned to enrich the dialogue between academia and the professional museum world. In this introduction, we refrain from the common trope of summarising and pre-interpreting individual contributions. Rather, we allow *Curatopia* to gradually unfold, seeing it as our task here, first, to situate it, then, second, to suggest how to study and enact it and, finally, to extend an invitation to (re)imagine and (re-)enact it.

### Situating Curatopia

In this section, we consider how curators and curating have been and are being transformed, situating this museological practice against the background from which it can be studied, imagined and enacted. Since the late twentieth century, curating seems to be everywhere. Indeed, one might argue that we already live in a kind of curatopia. The *New York Times* art critic Michael Brenson calls the 1990s ‘the age of the curator’;<sup>17</sup> Paul O’Neill refers to the ‘curatorial turn’;<sup>18</sup> and David Balzar claims that ‘curationism’ has taken over the world and everything in it.<sup>19</sup> Much of the confusion that surrounds curatorship has to do with what Hans-Ulrich Obrist has called ‘the amnesia of curatorial history’.<sup>20</sup> As with museums, curating is a modern, European invention with long historical roots.<sup>21</sup> By the twentieth century, the ‘grey’ literature of manuals, policies and other professional documents tells us that a museum curator was expected to acquire, research and manage collections, including their preservation (what we now call conservation), and, by extension, exhibitions (though these were in the main permanent displays).<sup>22</sup> But after the Second World War, the expansion of the number and type of museums brought diversification, specialisation and professionalisation with new roles such as collection managers and conservators taking over some curatorial duties, while the development of temporary exhibitions became more of a focus.<sup>23</sup>

Histories of curatorship tend to suggest a ‘pendulum swing’ during the last century going back and forth between scholarship and collections on the one hand, and exhibitions and the public experience on the other.<sup>24</sup> In the last thirty years, to put it simply, curatorial practice has changed ‘from caring to creating’.<sup>25</sup> Moving beyond collection care, various new models of ‘curator as’ have proliferated which emphasise their creative agency: curator as exhibition-maker, project manager, producer, artist and many more.<sup>26</sup> ‘The field of curating itself has changed from one of strict and specialised connoisseurship of individuals and their oeuvres,’ writes Sarah Cook, ‘to one that ... has more to do with public service, diplomatic management, and cutting-edge knowledge of the problems at play in contemporary society’.<sup>27</sup>

The age of the Internet from the late 1990s seems to promise democratised access to museum collections, and the opportunity for everyone to become their own curator.<sup>28</sup> In Beryl Graham and Sarah Cook's *Rethinking Curating*,<sup>29</sup> they challenge art curators to take account of distributive and participatory systems, and hybrid and collaborative ways of working, characteristic of a digital and networked world.<sup>30</sup> Whether or not this access has been realised, the apparent flattening and democratising of an activity once confined to academic specialists is often greeted with alarm by 'traditional' curators and with joy by advocates of new media.<sup>31</sup> There has consequently been much lament from conservative critics at the apparent 'erosion' of curatorial control in the face of the now not-so-new museology.<sup>32</sup>

By the 2000s, there was an explosion of books, seminars and courses on curatorial practice, mostly dealing with the contemporary visual arts (which is not the focus of this book).<sup>33</sup> If technological issues such as those above are mainly articulated in the visual arts, in the writing by or on curators of history, anthropology, science and popular culture, external social factors are grappled with in fruitful ways which, we believe, look ahead to new curatopian futures.<sup>34</sup> In anthropology and natural history museums, perhaps most closely associated with the legacy of colonialism, curators have struggled since the 1980s to reconcile tensions of race, identity, conflict and change.<sup>35</sup> Objects collected from colonised people were often alienated from their original contexts and reassembled in the museum, reflecting the widespread desire to 'grasp the world' and control its resources.<sup>36</sup> However, we argue that the postcolonial critique of anthropology and museums overlooks a long and fruitful history of engagement by Native and tribal people,<sup>37</sup> failing to engage meaningfully with Indigenous scholars, concepts and frameworks.<sup>38</sup> We look to work on colonial museums which figures them as *relational* entities interconnected with networks of institutions and processes, and objects as active things.<sup>39</sup>

While we have to be aware of the shortcomings of much work that rather glibly puts an optimistic spin on the difficult work of community engagement and collaboration,<sup>40</sup> in recent years there has been much impressive research showing how curators, particularly in former colonies, have attempted to work in dialogue with Indigenous people, in what has often been called co-curation.<sup>41</sup> In Canada in the 1980s, for example, the controversy over the Glenbow Museum exhibition *The Spirit Sings* wrenched curators from their museal enclave and plunged them into the midst of a changing society, transforming their practice in the process.<sup>42</sup> Earlier curators might have viewed their work as 'isolated academic inquiry', writes Phaedra Livingstone, but this event 'rendered such a stance untenable'. From then on, many curators in Canadian history and anthropology museums 'began to see themselves as public intellectuals whose work had relevance and repercussions for the living communities that were represented in exhibitions'.<sup>43</sup> Laura Peers and Alison Brown, in an important survey published in 2003, refer to the emerging collaborative approach as

the 'new curatorial praxis'.<sup>44</sup> As the anthropologist Christina Kreps has argued, these engagements with Indigenous people and material culture put curating into cross-cultural dialogue, which 'invariably entails viewing curatorial work as a continuing social process, and the acknowledgement of the social and cultural dimensions of peoples' relationships to objects'. Usefully for this volume, Kreps theorises 'curation as social practice and part of continuing social processes'.<sup>45</sup>

## Studying Curatopia

Decolonisation in former European colonies, as seen above in North America and the Pacific, has brought about dramatic changes to museums and anthropological practices. Indigenous curators drawing on Indigenous ontological perspectives have reshaped collecting, exhibiting, fieldwork and research (often conducted in partnership with nearby communities). However, the danger persists that some so-called ethnographic objects in European museums remain largely disconnected from the distant cultural environments of their Indigenous producers and sources.<sup>46</sup> We believe that the problem is even deeper. Apart from the claims for moral redress, political concessions and legal reparations, which tend to dominate museological discussions, the issue is essentially methodological.<sup>47</sup>

It seems to us that anthropology does offer tools and methods that can critically analyse, revise and galvanise curatorial theory and practice. The historical gap between the university and the museum is closing up; museums are re-engaging with anthropology, and curators employing its methods to reform their practice. The key concerns of this book – historicising, theorising and ethnographically analysing museums as cross-cultural spaces, and curatorship as a cross-cultural method – are of mutual benefit for both museums and universities. Acts of translation across social worlds have always been at the centre of anthropological research, including not only semantics and cultural concepts but also gesture and performance. Translation can be seen as a world-making process, in which realms of experience are brought together. These processes are always embedded in particular social contexts. Thus, the act of translating is imbued with power and legitimacy. Further, when we conceptualise translation not only as a method but also as a social practice, translation itself comes under scrutiny.<sup>48</sup>

While the notion of culture as a preset entity is now conceptualised as a dynamic and constantly changing phenomenon, we suggest placing more emphasis on the ways in which 'culture' becomes 'alive', hence how it is enacted and performed. The performative act shifts attention from the (postmodern) preoccupation with representation to practices through which meaning in the social world is actively constituted. We argue that both notions, enactment and performativity, can help us better understand the figure of the curator in his or her role of (re)constructing or creating culture in terms of a meaning-maker and relationship-creator.

As this book conceives of museums as spaces of cross-cultural encounters, it is worth investigating the various ways in which these take shape and evolve. How can theories on, and empirical findings of, cross-cultural encounters advance our understanding of the interactions at work in museums? Cosmopolitan and transcultural approaches come to mind, challenging dualities and dichotomies, and stressing by contrast entanglement and overlap – e.g. the permeability of cultural boundaries, which are in a constant state of flux and allow for appropriation and adoption of new cultural forms. However, we take issue with the idea that cross-cultural encounters are, *per se*, something positive, or ‘useful’ in order to widen one’s own horizon or to lay the ground for a better understanding of the ‘other’. More often than not, cross-cultural encounters cause friction, further essentialising otherness and difference while idealising one’s own cultural grounding. The task at stake is to investigate empirically the mechanisms that trigger different responses to face-to-face encounters and ask which theoretical conclusions, and practical – or, in a museum context, applicable – consequences can be drawn from these empirical findings.

Another important issue often addressed in museum contexts is questions of power and ownership of both objects and intangible treasures, and their ‘correct’ or adequate forms of representation, documentation and storage. We regard the quest for symmetrical relationships as an *aporia*, or even a *utopia*, that will hardly ever exist. Consequently, we suggest asking how hierarchy and authority are exercised and negotiated, how uneven power relations are installed and legitimised, and how they are challenged, appropriated and dealt with in subversive ways.

Further, we understand that with an eye to the so-called material turn and impulses from science and technology studies, evident in more recent work on museums, a strong focus was placed on the relationship between the curator and the object, or the space between them. However, we consider also the wider material structure in this interplay, that is, to include the structural framework in which museum processes are embedded and shaped. In this vein, it is worth studying which opportunities and challenges arise in specific social settings, such as the materiality of the museum building itself, and more specifically the spatial layout of the exhibition halls, the available budget and the institutional and wider political agendas. We could think along these lines about the practicalities of constraints and opportunities alike.

Another important impulse to be followed would be curatorial engagements with new (social) media, asking how physical materiality is transformed into the virtual presence of an object, and how virtuality changes and affects materiality. In which ways does the virtual go beyond, or complement, approaches that are currently widely discussed in the context of the so-called material turn and new material culture studies, along with ontological questions?<sup>49</sup> This might be of particular relevance with regard to one of the key questions addressed in this volume, that

is, how can objects and concepts be translated or transformed through curatorial work?

We do not mean to suggest that there is one single answer to these questions, nor do we think that they are all and always equally relevant. Indeed, curators are not the only staff in contemporary museums involved with collections and exhibitions. But we do feel that these questions might be useful tools to think through the topics explored in this book from a theoretical, yet empirically grounded and historically informed angle. These debates should be coupled with the visitors' engagements with exhibitions. While many exhibitions present themselves to the visitors' eyes as coherent 'finished' and 'polished' projects, this might hinder the understanding of the complex processes that take place in order to create this exhibitionary product, ready for experience and consumption. The curator as key actor often remains unknown to the wider public, as do the sometimes years-long preparations on many scales that precede the opening of an exhibition.

The same holds true for conceptual debates that are brought up in the process of exhibiting, when key approaches are shifted, adjusted, dropped or reinstalled in this negotiation process. Further, probably only a few visitors are aware of the wide range of actors who are involved in different phases of the exhibition process, ranging from scholars to carpenters, designers to concierges, security staff to insurance personnel. It is interesting to understand what kind of negotiation processes are shaping the relationships between these heterogeneous actors and how their power structure affects discourses and practices regarding intra- and inter-community relationships, including what has come to be called 'source communities'. A further layer of management that is barely made transparent is the negotiation with regard to the geographical scope and spatial array of an exhibition. What kinds of networks exist between museums that ultimately facilitate or hinder the exchange of objects? Where are the objects from, where and in which contexts have they already been on display and where do they travel to next? How are tours arranged and secured, and which actors meet in the context of these itineraries, accompanying the objects and thus expanding networks and social relationships?<sup>50</sup>

We are of course aware of the fact that all these questions cannot be addressed in every exhibition – this would be an exhibition project in its own right. But it should be possible to include some of these aspects so as to make the processes behind the scenes more transparent and understandable to the visitor, and thus make knowledge that is evident to the expert, but not necessarily for the wider public, more inclusive and participatory. The great promise of museums, to us, has always been the potential for 'making things public'<sup>51</sup> by revealing the contested processes leading to the definition of categories and the interpretation of cultural worlds, and by giving 'faces' to decisions and public expression to controversies, in short, by conceptualising exhibitions as *processes* to be revealed rather than *products* to be presented and experienced.<sup>52</sup>

It is one thing to reflect on our own intentions when developing, curating, interpreting and designing an exhibition, but another to analyse its reception in terms of intended and unintended consequences. What effects do exhibits have on the audience, and who are the visitors?<sup>53</sup> The classification ‘visitor’ most likely comprises an enormous range and is hard to pin down as a social category. And what about the inclusion of individuals who are not intellectuals and cosmopolitan travellers but rather the socially disadvantaged, with Indigenous or other affiliations? What would they make out of the term *Curatopia* or other intellectual concepts that are foreign to their vocabulary? There might be a risk that we actually produce new ‘elite’ discourses in the context of cutting-edge curatorial thinking, thus actually losing the connection to ‘non-elite’ audiences.

### **Re-enacting Curatopia**

The variety of disciplines, approaches and contexts in which curatorial work is practised today calls for an interdisciplinary framework which is not confined to specific media or collections. We propose that curation needs to develop its own theories and methods in a wider range of disciplinary settings and kinds of museums, in particular by drawing on specific, local, social and historical conditions, including Indigenous epistemologies and ontologies. Curators need varied, flexible, and practice-based frameworks for curating in a wider range of fields – anthropology, history, science, contemporary media and so on.

If curatorial or museum studies and anthropology lack Indigenous voices and perspectives, then the research feeding into this book, tapping a rich vein of contemporary Indigenous scholarship, offers much to think about, and to put into practice. This research shows clearly, if ever evidence were needed, not only that Indigenous curators themselves are aware of the global issues discussed in this Introduction but that in their practices they are pushing the boundaries and exploring new territory, decolonising and Indigenising curatorship in the process and lighting the way to a courageous future for museums.<sup>54</sup> As can be seen in the chapters that follow, they are working across diverse collections, and working with and for their people as well as scholarly research through collections and exhibitions. They are actively embracing digital technology, and ethnography/anthropology, and using it as a tool, despite all the detritus of colonialism and a history of strained relationships between museums, anthropology and Native people.<sup>55</sup> These Indigenous curators are also interested in social history and are collecting contemporary culture in a lively dialogue with young Indigenous audiences. Lastly, they are engaging with the natural environment, and issues such as climate change, not just objects in museums. Above all, even when they are dealing with the past, they bring it into the present and future.<sup>56</sup>

This is not to deny individual agendas and interests, or to draw an idealised picture. Importantly, what we see in the practice of these Indigenous

curators is a realistically utopian ‘curatorial dreaming’,<sup>57</sup> a conviction in the role of the curator and a concrete, ethical sense of value and mission for the museum. This brings us back to the title of this book, a word that postmodern scepticism and postcolonial critique might frown on – *Curatopia* – but which our dire current situation demands: a commitment to cultural futures. After decades of suspicion about grand narratives and universality, which rightly drew attention to the limits of Western paradigms, it is time to move beyond the postmodern/postcolonial impasse and imagine a museum curatorship that deals not just with the past, and the present, but also the future.

In pursuit of this aim, we offer in this volume building blocks towards *Curatopia*, an ideal of socially and politically engaged, interdisciplinary, and radically cross-cultural curatorial practice. Curatorship as cross-cultural translation makes sense, however, only if we do not commit the ‘the basic error of the translator’, which, according to Walter Benjamin, ‘is that he [or she] preserves the state in which his [or her] own language happens to be instead of allowing his [or her] language to be powerfully affected by the foreign tongue’.<sup>58</sup> Instead, Benjamin rightly insists, ‘he [or she] must expand and deepen his [or her] language by means of the foreign language’,<sup>59</sup> which is not confined to the linguistic domain but includes visual and ‘thing languages’<sup>60</sup> among others. Curatorship thus faces the constant challenge of engaging with the effects and opportunities as well as the limits and risks of dialogical translation through mutual transformation. On the historical level, colonialism has neither been complete in the past nor completed in the present – it is not an event but a process. In curatorship, then, we cannot escape the constant dialectical effort to consciously ‘inhabit histories’<sup>61</sup> while being placed into histories, that is – as Karl Marx famously noted – being thrown into ‘circumstances’ which are not ‘self-selected’ but are ‘existing already, given and transmitted from the past’. There has to be a constant analytical movement between the ‘here’ and ‘there’, the ‘now’ and ‘back then’, to make sense of these ‘messy entanglements’.<sup>62</sup>

On the theoretical and methodological level, such a dialectical effort requires a ‘recursive anthropology’<sup>63</sup> which is not content with generating ethnographic evidence for pre-conceived ideas but allows different cultural worlds to ‘dictate the terms of their own analysis’<sup>64</sup> while recursively reframing its own points of departure. That is, serious cross-cultural study searches for resonances between different culturally grounded analytical positions and their respective articulation and movement through a common sphere while opening spaces for dissonances,<sup>65</sup> which are provoked through the ‘untranslatable’.<sup>66</sup> The nature of such curatorial inquiry is, like ‘the very nature of exhibiting’, of course, ‘a contested terrain’.<sup>67</sup> Curatorial reciprocities/symmetries are never quite possible – but always worth striving for – through conscious attempts to produce heterotopian rather than hegemonic spaces.

We end by returning to our opening provocation to think of museums as moving vessels, inspired by the example of museums in Aotearoa New

Zealand which are figured as waka, vessels which move through time and space, joining and making worlds, people, ideas and things. Arapata Hakiwai, co-author of Chapter 13 in this book, works at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (which means a receptacle of treasured possessions). As the Māori co-director, he is the *Kaihautū*, or ‘navigator’ of the waka. Hakiwai’s vision for Māori curatorship is to use the past as a resource to facilitate the future cultural development of *iwi* (tribes), working in partnership with those tribes.<sup>68</sup> He and his colleagues have answered the call, mentioned at the start of this introduction, to load the precious heritage of their ancestors on board their canoe, and to sail on into unknown seas. Curators everywhere in any museum can learn to do likewise, steering their craft, the museum, into the future, through storms and currents, keeping everybody on board, even when the seas are rough. As the proverb says: *He moana pukepuke e ekengia e te waka* / Mountainous seas can be negotiated by a canoe.<sup>69</sup>

## Notes

- 1 Examples include the national museum (Museum of New Zealand / Te Papa Tongarewa), armed forces museums (National Museum of the Royal New Zealand Navy / Te Waka Huia o Te Taua Moana o Aotearoa) and regional museums (Golden Bay Museum / Te Waka Huia o Mohua). The 2017 national conference theme was *He Waka Eke Noa: Museums of Inclusion*. See [www.nzmu.seums.co.nz/](http://www.nzmu.seums.co.nz/). Accessed 15 March 2017.
- 2 See T.R. Balneavis, ‘Te Poari Whakapapa: Board of Maori Ethnological Research’, *Te Toa Takatini* (1 September 1924), p. 101; A. Ngata, ‘He whakamarama/Preface’, in A. Ngata (ed.), *Nga moteatea: he maramara rere no nga waka maha. He mea kohikohi na A.T. Ngata / The Songs: Scattered Pieces from Many Canoe Areas Collected by A.T. Ngata. Part I*, trans. Pei Te Hurunui Jones (Wellington: The Polynesian Society, 1959/1928), p. xiv.
- 3 For an explanation of the image, see Ngata, ‘He whakamarama/Preface’, p. xiv.
- 4 M. Foucault, ‘Of Other Spaces, Heterotopias’, *Architecture, Mouvement, Continuité*, 5 (1984), 46–9.
- 5 P. Schorch, ‘Assembling Communities: Curatorial Practices, Material Cultures, and Meanings’, in B. Onciul, M.L. Stefano and S. Hawke (eds), *Engaging Heritage, Engaging Communities* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2017).
- 6 S.R. Butler and E. Lehrer, *Curatorial Dreams: Critics Imagine Exhibitions* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2016).
- 7 Foucault, ‘Of Other Spaces, Heterotopias’.
- 8 V. Golding and W. Modest (eds), *Museums and Communities: Curators, Collections and Collaboration* (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2013).
- 9 S.R. Butler, ‘Reflexive Museology: Lost and Found’, in K. Message and A. Witcomb (eds), *The International Handbook of Museum Studies: Museum Theory: An Expanded Field* (Oxford and Boston: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), pp. 159–82. B. Lynch, ‘The Hole in the Wall: Beyond Happiness Making in Museums’, in Onciul, Stefano and Hawke (eds), *Engaging Heritage, Engaging Communities*, pp. 11–29.

- 10 S. Conrad, 'Enlightenment in Global History: A Historiographical Critique', *American Historical Review* (2012), 999–1027.
- 11 The 'discovery' of the Americas was key for the Enlightenment as it forced fundamental changes to European worldviews. One aspect of this was the question of whether Indigenous peoples have souls, that is, are human beings.
- 12 P. Schorch, C. McCarthy and A. Hakiwai, 'Globalizing Māori Museology: Reconceptualising Engagement, Knowledge and Virtuality through Mana Taonga', *Museum Anthropology*, 39:1 (2016), 48–69.
- 13 Conrad, 'Enlightenment in Global History'.
- 14 P. Schorch and A. Hakiwai, 'Mana Taonga and the Public Sphere: A Dialogue between Indigenous Practice and Western Theory', *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 17:2 (2014), 191–205; P. Schorch and N.M.K.Y. Kahanu, 'Anthropology's Interlocutors: Hawai'i Speaking Back to Ethnographic Museums in Europe', *Zeitschrift für Kulturwissenschaften*, 1 (2015), 114–17.
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