

fieldworks as focused, sustain that intensive life in communities of distinctive difference is endangered, like endangered species. Obviously, many social and cultural anthropologists operate in the frame of limits governed by the Malinowskian complex. Marcus suggested that attempts to do multi-sited strategy push ethnography – and even “the culture of fieldwork” – to the limits of its classic professional aesthetic or “feel.” The creations and implementations of an alternative practice of research are possible where disciplinary metamethods are most effective. Where? “Where ethnographers are made at the critical point in the mode of professional reproduction”, Marcus answered. Multi-sited ethnography has been most critical, creative, and directly interesting where it has been involved in the study of distributed knowledge systems.

“Multi-sited ethnography. Problems and Possibilities in the Translocation of Research Methods” is a remarkable and important volume. The editors present an interesting debate on multi-sited ethnography. This original and highly significant collection not only regards the current condition of ethnographic fieldwork but the condition of the research method of human sciences as well. Obviously, Marcus’s project is controversial in many levels. But for me, one condition of ethnography – in any variants and situations – is permanent. Ethnography has always involved not only a single site but multiple sites: at the minimum, the field as a site of research and the academy as the site of interpretation. So it goes.

Waldemar Kuligowski

**Coté, Charlotte:** *Spirits of Our Whaling Ancestors. Revitalizing Makah and Nuu-chah-nulth Traditions.* Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011. 275 pp. ISBN 978-0-295-99046-0. Price: \$ 24.95

In “Spirits of Our Whaling Ancestors,” Charlotte Coté presents remarkable insights into how Makah and Nuu-chah-nulth concerns about their right to hunt whales are intertwined with cultural revitalization efforts. As a Native scholar, with family ties to the Aboriginal groups she has studied, Coté presents fishing rights issues from a perspective that is both compelling and challenging. Her “insider” position is still fairly rare within social science research and writing, which makes her contribution especially important. The book expands our understanding of the issues she addresses, and at the same time it presents an opportunity to rethink questions about how a researcher’s social/cultural/political position is relevant to the knowledge she or he produces.

In the foreword to Coté’s book, Micah McCarty (Vice-Chair of the Makah Tribal Council) introduces her as a Native ethnographer. He states that the book offers an “inside perspective on modern aboriginal self-determination” and is a “proud affirmation of family history” – it “sheds light on our sacred traditions and helps safeguard their endurance” (ix–x).

In the first sentence of her acknowledgment pages Coté identifies herself as a member of the Tseshah community, a subgroup of the Nuu-chah-nulth Nation, which is located in Canada, on Vancouver Island. Coté also has

family ties to nearby Makah communities, in the United States of America. She presents herself as someone pursuing “scholastic dreams” (p. xi) with the support of her family, her community, and her ancestors. The book is based on research done while at the University of California, Berkeley. Coté currently teaches at the University of Washington.

In the introduction chapter, “Honoring Our Whaling Ancestors,” the author begins by telling in a personal narrative style about the emotional excitement she experienced when her sister called her in 1999 with news that Makah community members had successfully hunted a grey whale. Coté introduces conflicts between aboriginal whaling supporters and environmentalist, and presents some background on cultural traditions associated with whale hunting. She notes that her book is aimed at explaining “how reviving our whaling tradition has cultural, social, and spiritual significance and will reaffirm our identities ... [and strengthen] our communities by reinforcing a sense of cultural pride” (6). Her claimed focus is more on cultural continuity than on cultural disruption.

Coté builds on “written and archival material and archaeological data, balancing these with Native oral stories and narratives” (10). In discussing efforts to “de-colonize” research, she cites several Native scholars. Her mention of Alex Thomas, who gathered cultural information in Coté’s own communities from 1910 to 1923 is especially interesting.

Chapter 1, “The Centrality of Whaling to Makah and Nuu-chah-nulth Life,” explains the economic, social/political, and religious importance of pre-contact whaling traditions. Versions of a traditional story concerning Thunderbird, Whale, and Lightning Serpent are provided as an introduction to her depictions of precontact social patterns and spiritual practices. A detailed discussion of a whaling chief’s *pa-chitile* (to give), or potlatch is included in this chapter as well.

Chapter 2, “Worldviews Collide. The Arrival of *Mamahn’i* in Indian Territory,” depicts colonial contact pressures on traditional practices and beliefs, with special attention to the demise of whaling activities. Coté sees missionary work and other “education” efforts as tied to the same assimilationist agenda that supported restrictions on cultural practices, new political structures, and outside control of economic activity.

Chapter 3, “Maintaining the Cultural Link to Whaling Ancestors,” shows that even when whaling practices ended, a social memory of whaling traditions lingered within naming systems, songs, stories, ceremonies, and artwork. Coté presents her own genealogy here as well, traced back to her great-great-grandfather Sayach’apis, who was noted in early ethnographic accounts.

Chapter 4, “The Makah Harvest a Whale,” explores how events during the 1960s and 1970s played a role in a renewal of self-determination and cultural revitalization efforts in subsequent decades, and how environmentalist and animal rights efforts figured into this. Coté notes legal challenges launched by Native groups starting in the late 1800s, and explains her community’s growing awareness of environmental protection issues with reference to

Nuu-chah-nulth actions to guard trees at Meares Island during the 1970s. The archaeological work at Ozette that her communities embraced as part of cultural revitalization efforts is also discussed as context for understanding more recent community decisions involving both whaling and cultural revitalization. Coté provides an in-depth account of efforts to assert whaling rights and rebuild communities in the face of challenges presented at provincial, state, national, and international levels.

Chapter 5, “Challenges to Our Right to Whale,” focuses directly on antiwhaling coalitions and the arguments they have presented. “Cultural authenticity” is questioned by antiwhaling spokespersons who see the use of technologies such as motorboats and rifles as nontraditional hunting tools that would not be used by “real Indians.” She ties her critique of this rhetoric to problematic images of “noble savages” and “savage Indians” and surveys other aspects of the ideological landscape of environmentalist camps.

Chapter 6, “Legal Impediments Spark a 2007 Whale Hunt,” tells of successes enjoyed by antiwhaling supporters and describes an illegal hunt carried out by renegade Native community members. This hunt, which was not authorized by tribal regulators, is described as in part a response to frustration over lengthy legal battles and negotiations and a lack of trust in a Federal “Trust” responsibility. She describes a “strange alliance ... [between] environmentalists and anti-Indian/anti-treaty/right-wing politicians” (167), and uncovers a range of complex regulatory processes that apply to whaling – noting how even environmental assessment requirements can become legal weapons used against Native whaling prospects. Coté explains such conflicts in terms of “culture” – as a form of “cultural imperialism” (192).

The final chapter, “Restoring *Nanash’aqtl* Communities,” asserts that regaining access to whale as a food source has important cultural, social, and dietary potentials. Her analysis here is linked to questions about indigenous food sovereignty (198) and concerns about “culinary imperialism” (204). Revitalizing whale hunting and “honoring the spirits of our whaling ancestors” (207), is thereby a far-reaching effort to improve community well-being.

Charlotte Coté’s book contributes along with other recent works such as Ann Tweedie’s “Drawing Back Culture. The Makah Struggle for Repatriation” (Seattle 2002) to a better understanding of cultural revitalization efforts in this and other regions. Coté’s in-depth look at the maze of legal and regulatory features that impact Aboriginal fishing interests contributes to a growing body of work on First Nations fishing issues in Canada and elsewhere (see, e.g., Ken Coates’ “The Marshall Decision and Native Rights.” Montréal 2000). Her insights into how ecological ethics are expressed within debates about Aboriginal fishing rights, and how they may be tied to assumptions about “cultural” identity and to cultural revitalization efforts, also contribute to emerging areas of research interest (see, e.g., E. Koenig’s “Cultures and Ecologies.” Toronto 2005).

Coté’s book is exceptional in terms of the scope of issues that the author skillfully addresses, and because

of the range of perspectives that she brings to her work. Building credible explanations based on both insider and outsider views is the goal of good ethnographic work, and Coté achieves this admirably here. Her strong abilities as a scholar are evident throughout her book, and her fluency as a “cultural-insider” is reflected in the high-quality fieldwork that she builds on and in the depth of her explanations. Coté’s work can be seen as part of an ongoing tradition of outstanding Native ethnography. She extends especially the contributions made by individuals from her own region who worked alongside Franz Boas and Edward Sapir. They may be regarded as her ancestors in both scholarly and cultural ways. Edwin Koenig

**Craig, Barry** (ed.): *Living Spirits with Fixed Abodes. The Masterpieces Exhibition Papua New Guinea National Museum and Art Gallery.* Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2010. 286 pp., photos. ISBN 978-0-8248-3151-6. Price: \$ 80.00

Die Kunstwerke Papua-Neuguineas seien “lebendige Geister mit festem Wohnsitz”, schrieb einmal der ehemalige Premierminister Sir Michael Somare, damit implizierend, dass die materielle Kultur des Landes weit mehr sei als nur die künstlerische Gestaltung von Material. Der Politiker deutet damit auch an, wohin diese Kunstwerke seiner Meinung nach gehören: in das Land, aus dem sie stammen. Zu diesem Zweck wurde in Port Moresby, der Hauptstadt Papua-Neuguineas, ein Museum gegründet. Das heutige National Museum existierte in anderer Form bereits, bevor das Land 1975 seine Unabhängigkeit erhielt. Nach einer Einführung von Barry Craig, dem ehemaligen Kurator des Museums, zeichnet Mark Busse, ebenfalls ehemaliger Kurator der Sammlung, im zweiten Kapitel die lange zurückreichende Geschichte dieser Institution nach, deren Vorläufer bereits 1911 errichtet wurde (6). Mit dem Entstehen der Nation wurden auch an das Museum neue Erwartungen geknüpft – es sollte nun mehr sein als eine Sammlung von schönen Gegenständen: ein Ort spiritueller Werte (14). Leider war die Sammlung jedoch unausgewogen, mit überproportional großen Objektgruppen aus manchen Regionen und wenigen Objekten aus anderen Gebieten. Zudem war die Dokumentation höchst lückenhaft (13). In den Dekaden nach der Unabhängigkeit wurden daher Sammlungen und Forschungen gleichermaßen betrieben und die Dauerausstellung der Meisterwerke ist sichtbares Zeugnis dieser Bemühungen.

Im dritten Kapitel erläutert Busse die Aufgaben des Museums, die in Sammlung, Bewahrung, Forschung und Wissensvermittlung bestehen, “protecting and understanding the country’s cultural and natural heritage and preserving it for the people of Papua New Guinea and their descendants” (15). Im vierten Kapitel schreibt Soroi Marepo Eoe, ehemaliger Direktor des National Museums, über die Rolle seines Hauses in der Gesellschaft, wobei er als Papua-Neuguineer eine besondere Perspektive einnimmt, die sich klar von europäischen Sichtweisen abhebt: “For many Pacific peoples ... certain artefacts should be destroyed after they have been used in ceremonies” (19). Er stellt fest, dass die Institution “Museum” für