Presença Karajá and the Fritz Krause collection: a critical understanding of “immaterial restitution” and the opportunities presented from collaborative “digital dissemination”

Presença Karajá e a coleção Fritz Krause: uma compreensão crítica da "restituição imaterial" e das oportunidades apresentadas pela "disseminação digital" colaborativa

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Abstract: This article describes the current cooperation between Presença Karajá, an interdisciplinary research project that maps and analyzes collections of *Iny-Karajá* dolls (*Ritxoko*) in museum collections, and the GRASSI Museum for Ethnology in Leipzig, Germany, part of the Staatliche KunstSAmmlungen Dresden (SKD). Together, the working group analyzed the collection of *Ritxoko* embedded in other *Iny-Karajá* materials, gathered and documented by Dr. Fritz Krause (1881-1963) in 1908. Based on Krause’s published works from his expedition, *Iny-Karajá* anthropological contributions, insights from *Iny-Karajá* representatives, and the *Ritxoko* themselves, the working group investigated the provenance, ethnography, and anthropological data together, gathering valuable research results for the collection history as well as for the *Iny-Karajá* themselves. Presença Karajá offered the Museum an opportunity to enhance the history of its collections as well as to contribute to a social museology, supporting the goals of what the Museum calls “immaterial restitution” or more aptly, “digital dissemination”: granting Indigenous cultures greater sovereignty over their heritage.

Key words: *Iny-Karajá*. *Ritxoko*. Immaterial Restitution. Provenance. Social Museology.

Resumo: Este artigo descreve a atual cooperação entre o projeto Presença Karajá, pesquisa interdisciplinar que mapeia e analisa coleções de bonecas Karajá (*Ritxoko*), preservadas em coleções de museus, e o GRASSI Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Alemanha, parte do Staatliche KunstSAmmlungen Dresden (SKD). O grupo de trabalho, formado por pesquisadores do Presença Karajá e do GRASSI, analisou a coleção de *Ritxoko* compilada em 1908 juntamente a outros materiais *Iny-Karajá*, reunidos e documentados por Dr. Fritz Krause (1881-1963). Com base nos trabalhos publicados de Krause sobre suas expedições, e considerando, também, contribuições antropológicas sobre os *Iny-Karajá*, percepções de representantes *Iny-Karajá* e as próprias *Ritxoko*, o grupo de trabalho, em conjunto, investigou a procedência, a etnografia e os dados antropológicos, reunindo valiosos resultados de pesquisa sobre a história da coleção, assim como sobre os *Iny-Karajá*. O trabalho cooperativo consistiu da análise de objetos, pesquisa de procedência e restauração de objetos. O Projeto Presença Karajá ofereceu ao Museu a oportunidade de acrescentar informações à história das suas coleções, tal como permitiu contribuir com uma museologia social, apoiando os objetivos do que o Museu chama de “restituição imaterial” ou mais preciSAmente "disseminação digital". In suma, fortalecer culturas Indígenas devolvendo à elas a soberania de seu patrimônio cultural.

Palavras-chave: *Iny-Karajá*. *Ritxoko*. Restituição Imaterial. Proveniência. Museologia Social.

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Introduction

This article describes the current cooperation between Presença Karajá, an interdisciplinary research project that maps and analyzes collections of *Iny-Karajá* dolls (*ritxoko*) in museum collections, and the GRASSI Museum for Ethnology in Leipzig, Germany, part of the Staatliche KunstSAmmlungen Dresden (SKD). Presença Karajá offered the Museum an opportunity to enhance the history of its collections as well as to contribute to a social museology, supporting the goals of what the Museum calls "immaterial restitution" or more aptly, "digital dissemination": granting Indigenous cultures greater sovereignty over their heritage.

Ritxoko are clay and wax dolls made by *Iny-Karajá* female ceramicists in the Rio Araguaia region. *Ceramistas* have produced *ritxoko* over generations and the dolls are still in use today, although some design and craft elements have changed over time. Older versions of dolls are still produced alongside new designs. The *ritxoko* depict different *Iny-Karajá* ways of life, including ceremonial dress and cosmology. The dolls are painted, carved, and sometimes additionally adorned with glass pearls, fiber cloth, feather jewelry, or miniature weapons. They are used for play and to teach children about their community. As travel to Brazil from Europe increased in the nineteenth and twentieth century, *ritxoko* became popular souvenirs and museum collectables. In 2012, the Brazilian Institute of National and Artistic Heritage listed *ritxoko* as immaterial cultural heritage (DUARTE CÂNDIDO, MARTINS et al, 2021, p. 91).

The cooperation between the Presença Karajá project and the GRASSI Museum (hereafter the Museum) has put into practice a social museology centered around the *ritxoko* and the *Iny-Karajá* people themselves. Social museology reconsiders the social role of

museums, based on the idea that that museums carry responsibility towards the well-being of the people or cultural groups who have contributed and still contribute material artifacts and immaterial knowledge. Social museology thereby asks museums to prioritize the people involved in heritage making, even if they are not within the museum's national boundaries (ICOM, 1972; Declaration of Quebec, 1984; MOUTINHO, 2010; DESVALLÉES, MAIRESSE, 2013). For example, as the COVID-19 pandemic reached Brazil in 2020, the Presença Karajá project members initiated a public health campaign as part of their heritage preservation agenda. This decision was based on the principle that the people who produce material artefacts should be supported just as much as their material culture. Dr. Manuelina Maria Duarte Cândido and her project members describe the process themselves in an article that outlines the scope of their engagement between cultural preservation and public health: "Actions based on Social Museology seek to engage local social groups in transforming heritage into an instrument of local development, including improving quality of life and acting on issues that are fundamental to these groups, even though, at first, they might seem outside the primary objectives" (DUARTE CÂNDIDO, VIAL et al, 2021, p. 81).

The social museology approach also includes more traditional museum practices in which they are led by or with the communities that created those objects. This case study will analyze how through the cooperation with Presença Karajá, the GRASSI Museum incorporated principles of social museology in their research methods, which in turn allowed *Iny-Karajá* representatives entry to *ritxoko* collections. This means a museological practice that not only conserves objects, but also involves communities of origin in museum practices.

Since 2017, the Presença Karajá project has invited 77

collecting institutions in 16 countries to collaborate on *ritxoko* collections. The project locates *ritxoko*, documents their construction and provenance, and further investigates the "processes of material and symbolic exchange between indigenous and non-indigenous people which mostly emerged from processes of colonial exploitation" (DUARTE CÂNDIDO, MARTINS et al, 2021, p. 92). They involve *Iny-Karajá* representatives as often as possible, considering the perspectives of cultural elders, *ceramistas,* and their descendants.

The largest collection of *ritxoko* in the GRASSI Museum was assembled in 1908 by Dr. Fritz Krause (1881–1963), ethnologist and America specialist based in Leipzig, Germany. Krause was a professor at Leipzig University and a researcher in the Museum's Americas department. He would eventually become the director of the GRASSI Museum in 1927 (FRIEDRICH, 2019). His collection is especially valuable because it represents examples among the earliest European collections of *Iny-Karajá* materials, not to mention that he collected those *ritxoko* alongside 479 other *Iny-Karajá* objects. In addition to collecting physical objects, Krause made meticulous documentation of his journey. His travel log, ethnographic documentation, and analysis of *Iny-Karajá* material culture comprise a rich depository of information.

This depository, consisting of photographs, sound recordings, observations, and published reports, contributes to immaterial heritage. This term is a partial result of the critique within heritage management that the concept was too focused on physical material, ignoring other relevant kinds of heritage. Such aspects include language, holidays, oral history, or craftsmanship. Immaterial or intangible heritage often surrounds material heritage or yields it, as it is related to the production or furthering of individual as well as cultural memory. Immaterial and material heritage are also

related to individual and cultural identity (HARRISON, 2013).

The 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage describes intangible cultural heritage as "the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith", which demonstrates its inevitably bound nature to materiality (UNESCO, 2020, p. 5). Immaterial or intangible heritage is also closely linked to social museology, as heritage is relocated from material things to people, meaning from museum spaces to persons and everyday life (LOGAN, 2007, p. 33). The group "Open Heritage" uses both terms in their work which spans over academic and practical productions and is where this paper's definition can be placed (VAN KIPPENBERG, VAN GILS, 2022). Critically, the UNESCO division between material/tangible and immaterial/intangible heritage reflects a Cartesian dualism of matter and mind, nature and culture, when for some cultures, these concepts may be understood as singular or more fractured. For this reason, this definition of immaterial and material heritage should not be understood as universal, but rather as an effort by some "western" institutions such as UNESCO to employ a specific heritage organizing system. An actor-network theory approach, where material things have social lives and interact in a network alongside human behavior, presents an opportunity for a different understanding of materiality and social life (HARRISON, 2013, p. 139). Arjun Appadurai has also written about the social lives of things and the way in which they inform social relationships (APPADURAI, 1986). Alfred Gell, as another example, makes the argument that artefacts are enmeshed in social relationships and activities, thereby harboring agency and, furthermore, that the ideas that they communicate are inherent to their materiality (GELL, 1998, p. 16-19, 221).

Immaterial heritage under the UNESCO definition and in the

Museum's participation in the Presença Karajá project branches "away from the conservation of material things" towards the protection of the surrounding practices and behavior, which is heavily documented in ethnographic work such as Krause's. Ethnographic data understood as immaterial heritage brings "listing and archiving as an end in itself," worthy of not just academia and exhibition but also Indigenous societies (HARRISON, 2013, p.137). "Immaterial restitution" therefore describes the return of such historical research and its conclusions, often involving digital copies of archival documents, data on language, craftsmanship, or traditions that have been forgotten or forcibly removed. "Immaterial restitution" can occur in lieu of returning physical objects and original written, auditory, and photographic material. Material restitutions are often accompanied by "immaterial restitutions", as the term describes not only returning what is found in archives, but rather the entire known history of an object or collection.

Although the *Iny-Karajá* representatives in the Presença Karajá project were not interested in initiating a material restitution at this time, their concern and involvement in the return of the information on *ritxoko* falls under the classification of what the Museum calls "immaterial restitution". This information describes the history of both objects and people.

The return of physical cultural heritage and human remains to descendants of formally colonized countries indisputably centers around material restitution. Significantly, the terms "immaterial restitution" or "digital restitution" are problematic. The word "restitution" carries the weight of reparations. Museums may be quick to embrace the terminology of "restitution" to assure their commitment to decolonization despite continuing other hierarchical practices with roots in colonial legacy, for example, by withholding physical objects. Dr. Friedrich von Bose, head

of the department for research and exhibition in the *Staatliche Ethnographische SAmmlungen Sachsen* thereby also the GRASSI Museum, has written about this calculated re-definition and called it *"strategische Reflexivität"* or strategic reflexivity. Speaking about the term *"multiperspectvität"* or "multiperspectivity", he writes that by using such phrasing, museums can broach postcolonial subjects and perspectives without the necessity of applying or experiencing the consequences. He states, "in a sense, a conceptual reinterpretation is taking place: Concepts and terms that have been formulated in critical engagement with powerful museum representational practices are being repurposed in such a way that they lend themselves to evading the critique originally associated with them" (BOSE, 2017, p. 416). It is thereby important to consider slippage between actions and words in museum policies, lending methods, and especially in marketing strategies.

Digital dissemination, a phrase used by the Presença Karajá team, aptly describes the transfer of information that each party aimed for in the cooperation, namely, a transfer of photographic and historic material to *Iny-Karajá* people through the Presença Karajá group. The group has also used the phrase "digital restitution" with the understanding that it is one of many strategies of collection management (DUARTE CÂNDIDO, MARTINS et al, 2021, p. 93). In this paper, I use the terminology "immaterial restitution" to directly reference the label that the GRASSI Museum uses in the cooperation. In doing so, I aim to place the term "digital dissemination" more prominently in conversation with "immaterial restitution" in part to argue for a more critical use of restitution terminology. Despite the problems associated with immaterial restitutions, to reduce restitution to the return of objects alone misses the broad spectrum of possibilities regarding what can be returned or shared. Claimants may glean valuable information

from restitutions that involve both immaterial as well as material forms of transfer or dissemination.

I am not an anthropologist nor is it my aim to describe the project's anthropological findings. That information will be available in the near future in the databank Tainacan and the online collection of the SKD in Portuguese, Inyribè, and German. Instead, this article describes the special circumstances of the well-documented provenance of the *ritxoko* in the GRASSI Museum and how the cooperation, led by the Presença Karajá project, could enrich the immaterial heritage of the *ritxoko* in Leipzig.

First, I will illustrate the history of the Krause 1908 *ritxoko* collection, starting with the collector and his biographical details. To describe the setting of collecting between Germany and Brazil in the late 1890s, I will compare his work to ethnographic expeditions by his contemporaries Herrmann Meyer (1871–1932), Paul Ehrenreich (1855-1914), and Theodor Koch-Grünberg (1872—1924) in both the Rio Araguaia region and neighboring areas. In this section I will also introduce Krause's documentation and published works on *ritxoko* and other *Iny-Karajá* cultural material. These documents will be considered within a post-colonial methodology.

Following this historical information, I will describe the recent collaboration between the Presença Karajá and the GRASSI Museum. Members of each party will be introduced and collaborative research performed—ethnographic, anthropological, museological, conservational—will be explained. Such examples include comparisons between archival documents, collection items, ethnohistoric research, and opinions from *Iny-Karajá* representatives. Images of the objects present in the Museum depot today as well as historical photographs illustrate the findings. Opportunities for future research will be discussed.[1]

1 - This article is based on my notes on the meetings between the GRASSI Museum and Presença Karajá between December 2020 to the present. I am happy to make this unpublished documentation available for further inquiry upon request. Furthermore, this research has been a combined endeavor between members of Presença Karajá and the staff at the GRASSI Museum. This article has been written with the full knowledge and consent of those members and partners: Andréa Dias Vial, Carola Grundmann, Frank Usbeck, Luciana de

Collection Significance

Krause's collection

The GRASSI Museum is one of the largest ethnographic museums in Germany with over 200,000 objects from all over the world. Its South America collection has inventoried about 25,000 items, of which only about 20,000 remain after the 1943 bombing of Leipzig in WWII. During the bombings, one fifth of the entire Museum's collection was destroyed (GRASSI Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig Homepage, GRASSI Museum, b). Of that regional assortment, there are 96 *ritxoko* from four collectors: Fritz Krause, Erich Wustmann (1907-1994), Georg Seitz (1920-??), and Gertrud Marta Lehmann (1901-??). Fritz Krause collected *ritxoko* in 1908, making his collection one of the oldest of its kind, of similar importance to the Karajá collection located in the *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin* or the *Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz*, collected by Paul Ehrenreich in 1888 (ZERRIES, 354, 1959; KRAUSE, 1911b, p. 2, 4).

The Krause collection of *Iny-Karajá* objects supplies unique provenance and ethnographic data for three reasons. First, Krause is a well-known ethnographer and collector in Germany, making his biography and university background easy to trace. Krause studied geography, ethnology, and geology at Leipzig University and began working at the Museum in the Americas department in 1905. He completed his doctoral studies in Leipzig and soon after traveled to central Brazil to do field research on life and material culture there (FRIEDRICH, 2019). Second, this expedition was under explicit commission from the GRASSI Museum. Such a commission provided public funding, meaning that Krause was obliged to write detailed reports and make his expenditures

Castro Mendonça, Manuelina Maria Duarte Cândido, Markus Garscha, Melanie Meier, Nei Clara de Lima, Renata de Sousa e Dias, and Tuinaki Koixaru Karajá.

transparent. Furthermore, Krause documented his journey in the ethnographic method, meaning he left behind meticulous observations of the people and environment he encountered. This report was donated to the Museum alongside his collection and provides a strong foundation on which to base comparisons to contemporary anthropological research as well as to what *Iny-Karajá* representatives can report today.

Krause traveled through central Brazil from January 29, 1908 to February 7, 1909. (KRAUSE, 1911a, p. III). Between June and October, he visited *Iny-Karajá* villages along the Araguaia River (see figure 1). In 1911, he published his principal work on this journey, "*In den Wildnissen Brasiliens; Bericht und Ergebnisse der Leipziger Araguaya-Expedition, 1908*" or "In the wilderness of Brazil: report and results of the Leipzig Araguaia Expedition of 1908". There, Krause described his encounters with Indigenous people with whom he trades and collects information. He was weary of stereotypes of Indigenous people as savages. For example, when he asked local people for information on *Iny-Karajá* villages, he remarked that he is told "harmless fairytales and stories of every kind", referring to racist and othering misinformation. He nevertheless uses categories and labels since abandoned by academia. For example, he considered the various cultures he studied within a hierarchy, for instance, he positions the Karajá against the Tapirapé, and refers to them both as "primitive" and "strange" (KRAUSE, 1911a, p. 3, 38-39).

Krause was intent on getting close to *Iny-Karajá* communities not only in observation, but also in his method of data collection. For example, he traveled without German colleagues to South America and prioritized finding staff who were themselves Indigenous. Village rivalries prevented some *Iny-Karajá* people from entering certain areas, which meant that Krause made frequent changes to his staff to make sure he would receive entry and not cause disturbance

upon arrival. (KRAUSE, 1911a, p. 16). He brought language resources from his predecessors. (KRAUSE, 1911a, p. 7, 54). Furthermore, Krause brought a phonograph, and he spent many evenings with *Iny-Karajá* people listening to waltzes and orchestra pieces as well as recording *Iny-Karajá* songs (KRAUSE, 1911a, p. 61). He also brought other items to communicate non-verbally, including various toys, picture books, a doll that cried on its own, and fireworks, which proved conducive in building camaraderie across the language barrier (KRAUSE, 1911a, p. 10, 67). Krause observed *ritxoko* on a number of occasions, trading them for items such as cloth and pearls (KRAUSE, 1911a, p. 5, 40-41).

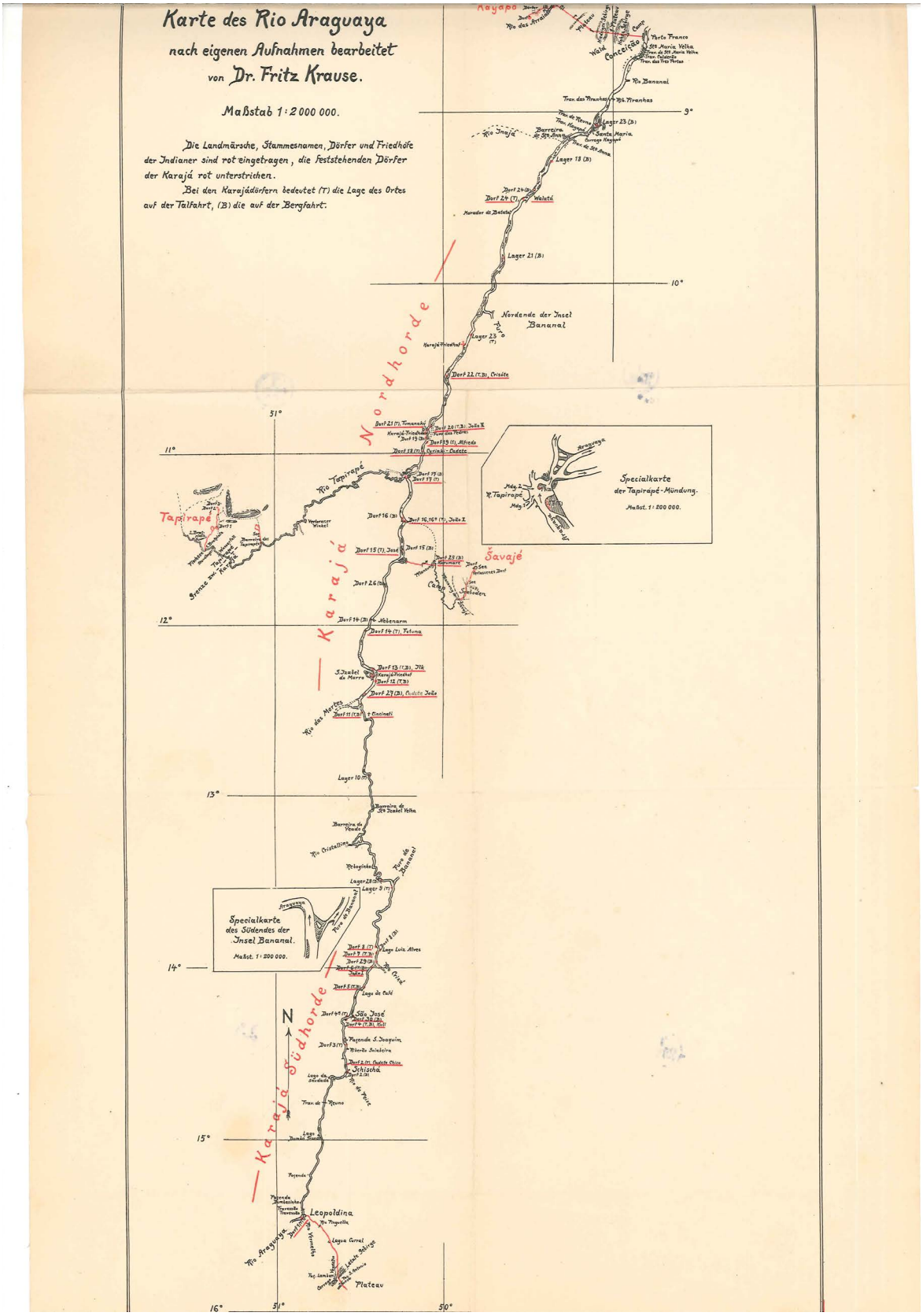
Krause analyzed his ethnographic observations in his work, "*Die Kunst der Karaja-Indianer: (Staat Goyaz, Brasilien)"* (1911) indexes the objects he collected, including images, their provenance, as well as sometimes the barter material used to acquire them. He spent a sizable portion of the publication on the *ritxoko* figurines and developed categorizations for the dolls as well as methods to decipher representations.

Krause collected 89 *ritxoko* which comprise over 90% of the *ritxoko* in the GRASSI Museum. He also collected 479 diverse Karajá objects as well as 115 Javahé objects. Items range between musical instruments, household items, jewelry, naturally growing plants, and weapons, to name a few examples. Also included in his collection are numerous photographs and phonographic recordings. These objects give context to the *ritxoko* collection.

It also important to mention that Krause eventually became the Museum's director between 1927 and 1944, making him the director as the National Socialists came to power in Germany. According to his biography on Saxony's regional biography databank, Krause had shown his loyalty to the Nazi *Volksgemeinschaft* or "national community" during National Socialism in his function

as director starting in 1933. He joined the NSDAP in 1937. His scientific work and teaching did not, however, apparently align with the Nazi race ideology. His travel reports do speak to conventions of ethnographic research of the period, as seen above, and include demeaning or exotifying descriptions of people he encounters as well an awareness and possible interest in collecting human remains (KRAUSE, 1911, p. 67). After WWII, Krause was prevented from reentering the ethnographic field in both museum and university settings because of his membership in the Nazi party and his involvement in art looting during the war (FRIEDRICH, 2019).

FIGURE 1: Map from Krause's "In den Wildnissen Brasiliens" 1911. Krause traveled from South to North along the Araguaia River. Each ritxoko he collected is associated with one of these villages.


Karte des Rio Araguaya
nach eigenen Aufnahmen bearbeitet
von Dr. Fritz Krause.
Maßstab 1:2 000 000.
Die Landmärsche, Stammesnamen, Dörfer und Friedhöfe der Indianer sind rot eingetragen, die feststehenden Dörfer der Karajá rot unterstrichen.
Bei den Karajádörfern bedeutet (T) die Lage des Ortes auf der Talfahrt, (B) die auf der Bergfahrt.
Nordhorde
Südhorde
Karajá
Tapirapé
Šavajé
Nordende der Insel Bananal
Specialkarte der Tapirapé-Mündung.
Maßst. 1:200 000.
Specialkarte des Südendes der Insel Bananal.
Maßst. 1:200 000.
Leopoldina
Plateau
N

Krause in Comparison

The *ritxoko* in the GRASSI Museum are embedded not only within *Iny-Karajá* material heritage and Fritz Krause's biography, but also collecting practices of the early twentieth century. Rather than describe Krause singularly, it is important to embed him among a network of collectors. Krause describes in his publications the current state of Karajá research known to him in 1908, including previous academic expeditions such as those of Karl von den Steinen (1855–1929), his cousin Wilhelm von den Steinen (1859–1934) in 1884/85 and 1887/88, respectively, as well as Paul Ehrenreich in 1888 (KRAUSE, 1911b, p. 2). Another collector Krause mentions is Dr. Herrmann Meyer (1871–1932), who was active in the neighboring Xingu area in the 1890s. Meyer provided critical funding for Krause's expedition and afterwards gave it an official review (KRAUSE, 1911a, p. 4). Both men worked at the GRASSI Museum at an executive level and collected for the institution. Their expeditions are for the SAme institution and stem from neighboring regions but vary widely in motivation, methodology and expedition tactics. Herrmann Meyer provides a useful comparison to Krause, offering a glimpse into the wide array of collectors and collecting practices in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Such relationships are important to understanding collections not as isolated acts of individuals, but as informed and entangled within historical events.

Meyer was born into an upper-class family who owned the *Bibliographisches Institut* publishing company in Leipzig (est. 1826 in Gotha). They were involved in the founding of the GRASSI Museum through the *Verein Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig* or the Society for the Ethnographic Museum in Leipzig in 1869. His older brother, Hans Meyer, a financial supporter of the society, became famous in the press as well as among ethnographic collecting circles for

his expeditions in colonial German East Africa (HERMANNSTÄDER, 2004, p. 407-408).

Meyer studied natural science in Heidelberg and geography and ethnography in Berlin and later entered the military on a voluntary service year. This path was available to upper-class students who could afford the fees, and the service year was later used to gain prestigious titles (HERMANSTÄDER, 2004, p. 407, 419). At the time of Krause's 1908 expedition to South America, Meyer had already been to Brazil three times. Using private funds, he traveled to Brazil in 1896, 1898, and 1900. Meyer's expedition goals are himself described as academic, primarily linguistic in nature, but analysis into his travel documents reveals that "prestige and public fame were important motivating factors for him during his expeditions" as well as additionally pursuing "economic interests that led to the establishment of settlement colonies for German emigrants." (HERMANSTÄDER, 2004, p. 403-404).

Meyer was motivated to collect marketable objects. He states in his journals that he is looking for items that "stood out" and had value "*drüben*" or "on the other side", meaning in Europe (KRAUS, 2004, 467). Furthermore, Meyer held the exclusive right from his staff to collect ethnographica and therefore the prestige of the collection (KRAUS, 2004, p. 462). For comparison, Krause's aims were more academic, stating that his aim was "to gather all existing types, so that my collection exhausts the types I encounter" (KRAUSE, 1911b, p. 10). He preferred to gather *ritxoko in situ* rather than ones made for him personally, although he did collect some of these as well (KRAUSE, 1911b, p.5). This comparison speaks to the various interests involved in expeditions.

Both Meyer's account as well as of his travel companions are characterized by his determination for fame that impeded research activity (HERMANNSTÄDER, 2004, p. 429). For the first trip

in 1896 along the Rio Grande do Sul, Meyer's large expedition of circa fifteen staff and thirty-six traveling animals made it incapable of adapting to conditions in the Amazon; as a result, it encountered numerous difficulties, including multiple capsizes. There was mass sickness among the crew, robbery, and physical injury. The mission therefore ended prematurely. Nevertheless, a second expedition set out in 1898 with similar motivations. Part of the inventory for this trip, which was also privately funded, included luxury goods such as caviar, champagne, items to celebrate German military holidays (HERMANNSTÄDER, 2004, p. 411). Undeterred by the difficulties of the first trip, the convoy composed of sixty-two animals and twenty staff. It was equally plagued by capsizes, sickness, and strife among the crew as well as food shortages (HERMANNSTÄDER, 2004, p. 410). For comparison, Krause located his pack animals on site and used far fewer (KRAUSE, 1911a, 15-16). He also relied mainly on regional sources for food and travel material (KRAUSE, 1911a, p. 6). Krause's journey was not without misfortune, not nearly to the scale of the Meyer expeditions.

Despite these challenges, Meyer returned to Leipzig with the claim of first contact among multiple Indigenous settlements as well as a large collection of 4,000 objects, many of which he then donated to the GRASSI Museum (HERMANNSTÄDER, 2004, p. 408-409). Krause's overall contribution of 1,100 South American objects to the GRASSI Museum may be meager in comparison, however, his catalog provides a valuable resource for the objects available (KRAUSE, 1911a, p. III) . Meyer planned to write a book about his travels but it never came to fruition (KRUSCHE, 1977, p. 178). His travel journal was published by his family publishing house, and a large archive of his documents as well as object research are present in the GRASSI Museum (HERMANNSTÄDER, 2004, p. 428). These documents have not yet been widely researched.

Later that year, Meyer returned to Brazil with economic motivations, showing his interest in colonial activities rather than exchange with Indigenous people (HERMANNSTÄDER, 2004, p. 422-423). Meyer was invested in creating settler colonies in the Amazon for German economic or political ex-patriates and purchased land for this purpose in 1896 in Southern Brazil (HERMANNSTÄDER, 2004, p. 426-427). This property hosted the first colonists in the region, and the settlements became a model for other colonies (BROGIATO, 2009). On his third journey, Meyer concentrated his efforts on the expansion of Germany into Brazil, a concept not unfamiliar to him based on his brother's engagement, Hans, with the SAme in German East Africa. (HERMANNSTÄDER, 2004, p. 427-428). These kinds of private settler colonies, invested in controlling foreign land, point to the national and colonial political interests of the German *Kaiserreich*. These involved violent military expansion and a political sentiment inspired by social Darwinism, which vindicated the establishment colonies on the basis of the inevitable expansion of civilized society (HERMANNSTÄDER, 2004, p. 422). It is also relevant to mention that settlers such as these may have also acquired objects that were eventually donated or sold to museums, offering vague or dubious provenience.

A postcolonial framing asks researchers to keep in mind such an ideology of expansion that operated as individuals embarked on collecting expeditions. Krause undertook his expedition and assembled his collection only ten years after Meyer's infamous second journey to the region, making Meyer still relevant to public memory in the Rio Araguaia region as well as in Leipzig, in the press as well as in academia (HERMANNSTÄDER, 2004, p. 411). This memory is evidenced by Krause's travelog, the most obvious examples in the high prices that his informants demand, as they already have many European goods (KRAUSE, 1911a, p. 40). More

sinister effects also remained in the region. Krause recounts how Ehrenreich also remained in public memory, stating: "*Mit Schauder erzählen einige Ältere unter ihnen, wie Ehrenreich 1888 Karajáleichen auf dem Friedhof ausgegraben hat*" meaning "Shuddering, quite a few of the Elders spoke of how Ehrenreich dug out Karajá corpses from the graveyard" (KRAUSE, 1911a, p. 57). The collectors of the period influenced each other's expeditions in both direct and indirect ways, and are therefore relevant in the framing of collecting of the period.

Meyer's methodology also differed from Krause's in terms of staff hierarchy. While Krause seeks out Indigenous informants, Meyer invests in a racialized hierarchy of his staff, disdaining especially local collaborators and Indigenous people (HERMANNSTÄDER, 2004, p. 413-414, 420). An account by his exasperated colleague Theodor Koch-Grünberg, who traveled with Meyer as a photographer research assistant, supports this. Strained relationships with Indigenous people blocked him from access to sites of potential research, local food supplies, and waterways that could have aided the logistics of his mission (HERMANNSTÄDER, 2004, p. 413).

Additionally, ethnographic analysis both of the period and today is employed in the industry of describing, classifying, type building, and organizing, something Anne Laura Stoler (2011) calls "grids of intelligibility" superimposed on ambiguous situations (STOLER, 2011, p. 1). Remembering that Krause was himself embedded in politics and ideology, as every researcher is, we can take his historical account seriously while considering his environment. Rather than pigeonhole collectors broadly, one can look at such archives comparatively to make judgements regarding their work. Such a comparative perspective includes scrutinizing what Krause may not have mentioned or emphasized.

Museums as well as their staff are today still caught in entanglements and hierarchies with roots in the colonial period.

This is notable on a material level: Many of the worlds priceless ethnographic artefacts are located in Europe and North America rather than in the regions from where they were once collected, especially notable for Sub-Saharan objects (SARR, SAVOY, 2018, p. 3). Furthermore, as museum projects such as the Humboldt Forum in Berlin aim to decolonize their perspectives and collections, their attempts meet abundant postcolonial critique (VON BOSE, 2016). A European-centric gaze still persists in museum exhibitions and research despite the encouragement of "mutliperspectivity" or "multivocality". Political actors, especially notable in the construction of the *Berliner Stadtschloss*, set "European" and "non-European" cultures as singular entities in a dialogue rather than consider their global histories (VON BOSE, 2017, p. 413) Many activists, scholars, museum staff, and Indigenous people argue that the museum "must become truly postcolonial, not only chronologically, but constitutionally" (VIVAN, 2014, p.196).

Although Krause did not participate in a military expedition, he was active at the time and place when the first colonialists from Germany were entering Brazil, often under forceful and militarized circumstances. It is therefore imperative to consider the conditions of object provenance. Museum leaders are today deeply concerned with the ethical placement of these collections in Europe when provenance cannot be determined. Clear provenance, however, does not excuse a collection from its restitution. Rather, it opens a pathway for more direct reparations, should a claimant community choose to engage in this way.

The Presença Karajá cooperation with the GRASSI Museum accords with Stoler's idea of reading against the grain of colonialism, but while simultaneously reading "along the archival grain" (STOLER, 2011). With this metaphor, Stoler implies that researchers should make judgements on historical situations by

remaining close to archival material, all the while considering the kinds of power structures, relationships, and ambiguous realities of historical events. Although Stoler writes specifically on Indonesian cases, her method provides a useful framework when considering historical sources collected in other colonial contexts.

Despite its extensive ethnographic collection and archive, the Museum does not currently employ a South American specialist. Three Leipzig-based researchers participate in the Presença Karajá cooperation: Dr. Frank Usbeck is a historian and the GRASSI Museum North America specialist. Melanie Meier is a historian and museologist and the Museum Americas conservator. Miriam Hamburger (the author) is a master's student in religious studies at Leipzig University and was primarily involved with the Museum in restitution and repatriation issues as a research assistant. The three researchers had some experience working with South American objects, especially the conservator, but not with the intimacy that the project Presença Karajá demanded.

Notwithstanding limited experience in the subject, each researcher saw a unique opportunity in being able to work with the *Iny-Karajá* community. The work with Presença Karajá presented an occasion to acquire much needed ethnographic data as well as a chance to address more political concerns. The Museum presented questions to *Iny-Karajá* members concerning *ritxoko*, but also about other topics, such as exhibition preferences, restoration practices, and, most importantly, what the Museum could give back to the *Iny-Karajá*. What excited each researcher the most was the opportunity to assist in recovering information that may have been missing from past *Iny-Karajá* historical documentation. The cooperation would, it was hoped, indicate what information was valuable or otherwise unavailable to the *Iny-Karajá*, and understand how this new information could be incorporated into current practices.

The Presença Karajá team consists of a network of international researchers. *Iny-Karajá* people are involved within the core network, but also as casual members. The main Presença Karajá members for the GRASSI related project were Dr. Manuelina Maria Duarte Cândido, who leads the project, Dr. Andréa Dias Vial, Luciana de Castro Mendonça, Renata de Sousa e Dias, and Tuinaki Koixaru Karajá. Dr. Duarte is the chair of museology at University of Liège, Belgium. Dr. Vial and Mendonça are independent researchers in São Paulo, Brazil and Spain, respectively. Dias is a museology student at the Federal University of Goiás. Koixaru Karajá is an *Iny-Karajá* person whose aunt, Kuaxiru Karajá, was a renowned ceramicist.

The methodology of the Presença Karajá project allows for each member to contribute his or her own skills towards the goal of constructing a holistic narrative of each *Ritxoko* from multiple angles, for example, one that highlights archival research as well as cultural knowledge. The Presença Karajá team brought to bear on the *Ritxoko* their anthropological, art-historical, and artistic expertise. Their knowledge of the ceramicists or their descendants, as well as, crucially, their ability to communicate in Portuguese and Inyribè, were important resources for the working cooperation. The Leipzig-based team were not *ritxoko* experts at the beginning of the cooperation, but they brought museum-based skills to the project. First, the Museum team had easy access to the objects and to archives, given that both the Krause collection and many of the related archival materials survived the 1943 bombing. The archival documents are currently being digitalized, but their physical storage remains in Leipzig. The Leipzig-based team could additionally transcribe the often difficult to decipher German script in those archives. Finally, the Museum team could offer their understanding of the collection of *Ritxoko* as part of a much larger collection of regional material in the Museum and in relation to its overall collection history.

In the bi-monthly meetings over the video conferencing tool Jitsi, the three colleagues from the GRASSI Museum met with the research team in Brazil, Belgium, Spain, the Netherlands, and of course, the Araguaia region. They met at this interval for just over one year. Researchers sifted through the entire collection of *Ritxoko* systematically, one at a time, and shared information based on the catalog cards and prior research. The kind of data collected was principally descriptive and to determine provenance. Each *Ritxoko* was examined closely for inventory number, subject of representation, regional origin, material, crafts(wo)manship, possibility to determine the artist, and form of acquisition. Translations occurred between German, English, Portuguese, and Inyribè.

The group made detailed formal analyses of each doll in the collection, using screen sharing and file transfers among as many as five different locations to examine one doll. When *Iny-Karajá* representatives were present, they could answer questions concerning the *ritxoko*. For example, objects were seen in a new light alongside explanations of *Iny-Karajá* mythology or contemporary items that are related to the historical objects. Furthermore, the group addressed museological questions together: curators asked questions about how to reference the ceramicists in the exhibition or the mechanics of the display of dolls (at what height, in what lighting, and in which context). The restoration department could consider ethical questions concerning *Ritxoko* repair. The group brought together *Iny-Karajá* knowledge, historical research, archival data, and ethnographic data and entered it into not only the Presença Karajá data collection system Tainacan but also the GRASSI Museum databank system Daphne. These results are currently being prepared for online release in German, Portuguese and Inyribè.

Research results in a historical setting

Looking beyond the gender binary in SAm 3264

FIGURE 2: Shows a catalog card in Fritz Krause's handwriting. Catalog cards are still maintained in physical formats in the GRASSI Museum's archives, a practice as old as the Museum's establishment. Today, the cards are digitized, but in 1909, the physical cards as well as detailed drawings served as the main organizing method.

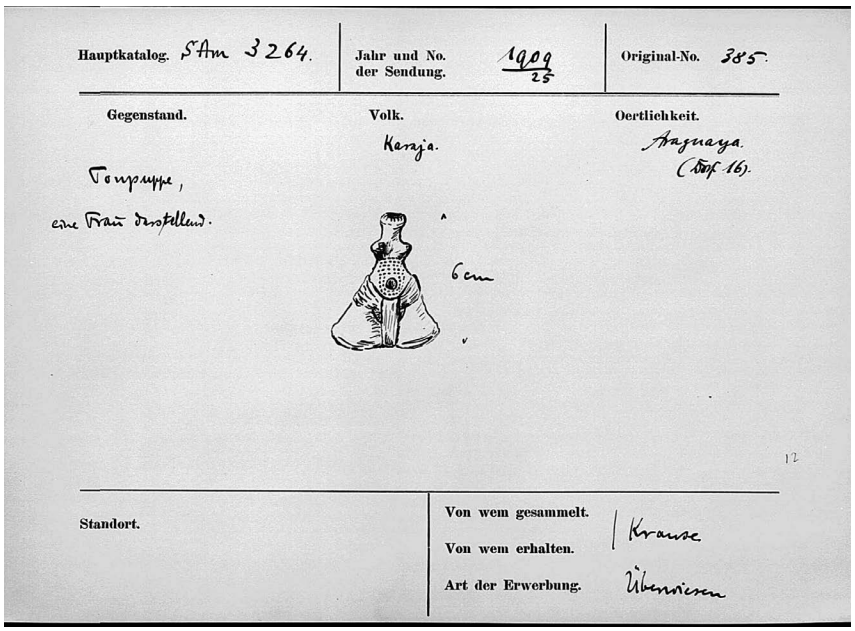


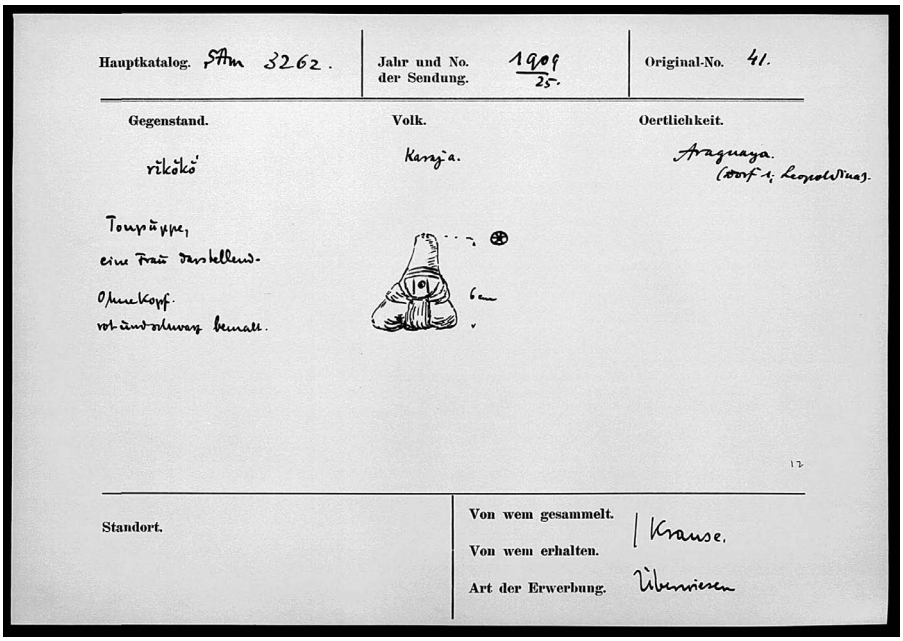
Figure 2: *Catalog Card SAm 03264 in Fritz Krause's handwriting, reading "Tonpuppe, eine Frau darstellend" or "Clay doll, representing a woman."*

The numbers at the top show the museum ordering system: the object is first located on a continent (SAm for "Süd Amerika") and then assigned an inventory number. This number can be used in the online databank and is painted onto the object (USBECK, 2021). The second number alludes to the archival material related to the object, organized by the year of object inventory (1909), and the corresponding file for that year (25). The last category contains any original numbers the object may have previously possessed, in this case, 385, which part of Krause's own numbering system (these numbers are sometimes still visible in pencil on the *ritxoko* themselves).

The catalog card also shows a description, reading “clay doll, representing a woman.” Next to this description is a sketch alongside rough measurements. The region and ethnicity of the group from which the doll was collected is labeled. In this case, Krause also listed the village from which he collected the doll. The village is labeled not by an *Iny-Karajá* name but after Krause’s own numeral system (village 16). The bottom squares show that Krause was both the collector as well as the previous owner, and that he transferred the object directly to the GRASSI Museum.

When describing *ritxoko*, Krause gives special attention to gender assignments. We see here that a gender assignment is the only information he writes on the card to describe the doll. He makes similar comments and sketches on other catalog cards (Figure 3). In his publication *Die Kunst der Karajá-Indianer* (1911), he creates an entire classification system to determine male and female depictions. As *ritxoko* made in the period do not have arms represented on their sides, but rather, arms are symbolized by small stumps on the front of the doll, depictions of arms have often been mistaken for breasts. Krause therefore spent significant time disentangling the difference (KRAUSE, 1911b, p. 5-11). He describes dolls that represent women as wearing a “*Bastbinde*” (fiber band or *tanga* in Portuguese) and male dolls as represented with a penis (KRAUSE, 1911b, p. 6). This kind of information is further qualified in the Presença Karajá meetings.

FIGURE 3: Catalog card SAm 03264 in Fritz Krause's handwriting, reading "Tonpuppe, eine Frau darstellend” or “Clay doll, representing a woman.” No head. Painted red and black."



Krause is also honest about his shortcomings: he admits to not knowing if body paint on the *ritxoko* matches body painting in real life:

> The different genders and ages, characterized by adornments, are usually present [on *ritxoko*]. Almost all figurines are painted, but whether the patterns on the dolls are the SAme as the patterns for body painting, I do not know. In any case, I never saw such patterns on the bodies of the people, but it should also be said that I rarely came across body painting at all. (KRAUSE, 1911b, p. 6.)

Despite Krause's detailed descriptions of *ritxoko* representation and his awareness of his own limits in assigning labels, it is still important to consider his "grid of intelligibility" with caution (STOLER, 2011, p.1). Firstly, Krause was not able to witness many formal ceremonies which may have used body paint, such as the *Hetohoky.* Secondly, Krause's projected gender binary overlooked a different way of categorizing dolls—as representations of supernatural beings.

Many of the *ritxoko* that represent supernatural dolls at the

Museum wear a *tanga*. They are identifiable via the markings on their heads. On such dolls, Krause mistakenly determined that no head was present at all and described it as missing ("*Ohne Kopf*" as seen in figure 2). The doll was mistaken as representing a female figure. Considering the incisions on the doll's head, it becomes clear that the doll represents something else. In the Presença Karajá discussions, *Iny-Karajá* representatives and the team's anthropologist, Dr. Nei Clara de Lima, could reconsider what Krause overlooked, and shared that this object was in fact a representation of *Hiré*, the crested caracara or vulture hawk, a bird that represents a wider mythology. The consultation provided information that the Museum staff was unaware of.

Where Presença Karajá members could relay ethnographic or anthropological information to the Museum staff, the GRASSI historians could offer data concerning location of dolls and the year of their production. By filling in the gaps of the others knowledge, a more complete picture of the *ritxoko* emerge. The joint effort brought out the opportunity to disseminate this information over a broader horizon, specifically to those who are culturally connected to the material.

Krause did not leave these markings without comment, but attributed them to matters of body paint. After describing the various other kinds of dolls that he saw and collected, he states:

> It appears that this kind of design is used to show different Indian tribes, whereas the previously mentioned design represents the Karajá themselves. (Krause, 1911b, p. 9)

Here, Krause makes an effort to classify the dolls that diverge from his system which points to his other expedition goals: Krause also planned to visit Tapirapé, Javajé, and Kayapo villages (KRAUSE,

1911b, p. 1). He makes individual comments for each of these divergent dolls, attributing SAm 3264 to a depiction of another tribe, the Dōbā̃ĭ´, a tribe he recognizes from Rio das Mortes. From there, he gives a formal description of the doll and does not make further comment on anything relating to mythological representation.

Although a gender-binary representation is a major ethnographic descriptor of the *ritxoko* in the Presença-Karajá meetings, this kind of binary may not be applicable in *Iny-Karajá* historical or contemporary cultural contexts. Current research into gender discourses as well as linguistic practices in Indigenous Brazil are highly skeptical of a reductionist gender categorization. It is especially difficult to discern if a gender binary is also applicable in the case of mythological or supernatural beings, where gender may not be understood to function in the SAme capacity among human beings (BAPTISTA, 2021). More research into *Iny-Karajá* gender representation and expression could provide insights by making closer examinations of *ritxoko*. Indigenous gender expression may differ from largely Christian-influenced dichotomies. This information may be of interest to the *Iny-Karajá* themselves, either for further artistic purposes in creating *ritxoko*, in understanding *Iny-Karajá* mythologies, or in active gender expression.

The research group still uses a binary of gender distinctions when discussing dolls based on the presence of a *tanga* or penis. After having worked with the project, however, the museum can now make a more nuanced distinctions when labeling *ritxoko*, making space for a wider range of perspectives concerning gender and mythology in *ritxoko*.

In the meeting concerning SAm 3264, the group also considered the *ceramista* artistic decisions. For example, when Koixaru Karajá, an *Iny-Karajá* representative involved with *ritxoko* through her family, did not recognize the doll's body paint, she

could work with Dr. Lima to discuss the pattern. After Koixaru Karajá conferred with her other older community members and Dr. Lima consulted her research, they conferred that that *ritxoko* paint and patterns do not always indicate a larger symbolic meaning, and indeed sometimes show individual artistry or the school of design with which the ceramicist is affiliated (HAMBURGER, Feb. 9, 2021).

Further research on body paint on *ritxoko* representing supernatural dolls could determine shifts in cultural practice. If individual artistry rather than representational body paint can be documented in more contemporary dolls, one could infer the ways in which *ritxoko* have been used by the ceramicists to express or represent themselves to different audiences. Krause's journey in South America was not the first contact between *Iny-Karajá* people and Europeans, yet it still predates the height of commercial tourism in the region. His collection, therefore, could prove a valuable point of comparison for more contemporary *ritxoko*. Such research could also contribute to the way in which *ritxoko* have been used to maintain cultural practices and traditions. By giving contemporary *Iny-Karajá* ceramists the opportunity to view such early examples, ceramicists can make these considerations themselves. Perhaps such designs or mythologies will be reincorporated into their work.

Comparisons between collection items

By making comparisons between *ritxoko*, *Iny-Karajá* objects, archives, and information from *Iny-Karajá* people today, researchers can ask more informed research questions about material history. Rather than only including *Iny-Karajá* representatives as informants for data, the Presença Karajá project considers Indigenous perspectives in creating research questions and designing research methods. This relational ethic is most evident when the Museum

and the Presença Karajá team view contemporary objects together, for example, in the case of the minari. describes a brightly colored necklace made of pearls. The pearls are woven into patterns and worn down the front of the body during special occasions. In photos the researchers viewed of *Iny-Karajá* people, it was highly present.

FIGURE 4: Iraci Hiwelaki dos Santos, wearing a marani Taken in the aldeia Buridina Village, Aruanã - Goiás, Brazil - September 6, 2017, by Markus Garscha.

After sorting through Krause's other collection items, Meier, the GRASSI Museum conservator, could not find a *marani* or anything similar. Meier found its conspicuous nature today peculiar: if this object is so relevant to the material heritage of the *Iny-Karajá*, how long has it been produced? Why is there no such object present in

Krause's collection? The ethnographer took great pains to identify and gather all aspects of *Iny-Karajá* life on his trip, so if such an object existed, why did he not collect an item so relevant?

There are a few ways in which to speculate about this absence. One option is that Krause was not permitted to collect *marani* because of its material value or social worth. But even if this were so, Krause does not mention witnessing *marani* in either of his publications. Perhaps it was made with different materials. Perhaps it was created only later.

When historical and contemporary items are compared, rather than understanding designs as a linear evolution, it becomes clear that some practices have remained while others have been adapted. Community participation in describing, analyzing, and comparing *ritxoko* as well as other *Iny-Karajá* material means that multiple perspectives are incorporated in both data collection and evaluation. These kinds of conversations are often initiated via a single *ritxoko*. When discussing *ritxoko* dress or adornment, for example, Meier could consider the objects in the Museum depot to identify similar objects in life size, or in this case, where an object is missing or the material stands out as divergent from what was otherwise collected. Some items make for satisfying comparisons, such as the bright orange feathers used in *Iny-Karajá* jewelry that also appear on the *ritxoko*. Other puzzling examples include long wooden lip piercings, which are present in the wider Krause collection, but less so on the *ritxoko* that he collected. Furthermore, hair ornaments are in the *Iny-Karajá* collections, but their presence on the *ritxoko* is still disputed in the research group.

Direct exchange with *Iny-Karajá* people provided missing information to this object. In this sense, the *ritxoko* provide a snapshot of the time period, however imperfect, as the dolls remain highly stylized. Nonetheless, they present an opportunity to learn about the

available dress and adornments of the time that could have been projected onto the figurines. Museum staff can include Indigenous representatives in creating these research questions, not only as informants or as data. The resulting collaborative research can be relevant for the *Iny-Karajá* themselves to further understand their own local histories. It furthermore adds complexity and accuracy to the Museum descriptions in online databases or in exhibitions.

Ritxoko restoration

This section will explore the restoration process of one *ritxoko,* namely inventory number SAm 03198 (South America object number 03198), within the cooperation between the GRASSI Museum and the Presença Karajá project. Decisions concerning how historic *ritxoko* should be preserved were made with *Iny-Karajá* representatives together with restoration experts. Restorers have methods and materials to make culturally informed choices concerning restoration, and with an exchange with crafts(wo) men, they can make even more apt decisions in the process. The exchange between the restoration department and *Iny-Karajá* representatives practices served to benefit both the conservation of the dolls and the *Iny-Karajá* people, as they were, in the process, informed of the care of their material heritage.

By investing in the restoration of *ritxoko*, restorer Carola Grundmann could document the history of museum processes on objects. This timeline included a historical photograph of SAm 03198, taken on Krause's 1908 expedition in the Rio Araguaia region (figure -5) and a 1911 image of that SAme doll after it had been transferred to Leipzig (figure -6). Also available is a sketch by Krause on the catalog card (figure -7). By using Krause's documentation as well as modern high-quality photographs and UV-scanning devices

(figures 8 and 9), restorer Grundmann discerned what changes had been made to this *ritxoko* during its time in Leipzig.[2]

SAm 03198 entered restoration because of obvious breaks in the material. The *ritxoko*'s wax hair had split in two pieces at the center, and its head was broken off. Before physical restoration begins, however, conservators first research the background of the object's use, how it was made, and which materials were employed in its creation. Such literature is not always available, especially in multiple languages, making a direct exchange with colleagues and creators of such objects significant. Such an exchange can help determine ethical, ritual, and cultural boundaries surrounding objects and their care so that restoration is carried out sensitively and in a relevant cultural context. This kind of exchange can assist in restoring the object in more ways than the obvious breaks in the material.

The preservation of museum objects involves scientific standards that incorporate chemistry as well as historical research. Ethical guidelines in Germany are also frequently updated in the *Verband der Restauratoren* and the *Museumsbund*. The Museum relies on these resources as it is not always possible to include representatives from cultures from which objects originate to discuss object restoration: For thirty years, the GRASSI Museum was behind the Iron Curtain in the German Democratic Republic and exchange with non-communist countries was uncommon. Furthermore, in some cases, objects are no longer made and their craftsmanship is forgotten. *Ritxoko*, however, are still in production today, providing a lived tradition from which restorers can learn. Additionally, video conferencing technology allows for more frequent exchanges on a low-budget. Through Presença

2 - The content of this section was researched and documented by Carola Grundmann, ceramic restorer at the GRASSI Musuem für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig.

Karajá, the restoration department was presented with a method to overcome these difficulties to involve *Iny-Karajá* community members and their cultural knowledge in the preservation of their own material heritage.

Grundmann was interested in asking *Iny-Karajá* representatives about next steps concerning the various changes that had occurred on the doll. The original photographs included a *tanga*, which was no longer present. The body painting on the *ritxoko* had also changed over time: the red paint visible today did not match the historic coloring of the doll (figure - 8). Furthermore, a crack in the doll's middle was already evident in 1911. This *ritxoko*'s transformation process was visible due to its museal documentation and showed what was originally *Iny-Karajá* crafts(wo)manship and what was an effort of museum conservation, an institutional effort of preserving authenticity.

The paint on SAm 03198 also stood out from the other dolls in Krause's collection. It's bright color, almost orange, was a stark contrast from the relatively colorless or yellowed dolls in the collection. The yellow color had already been determined to be Uruku-paint, which is normally red, but fades due to the fact that the pigment constituents of that ink are light sensitive and thereby unstable. This change is visible by comparing Krause's photographic documentation to the physical dolls in the collection today, but under UV lamps, the change is even more apparent (figure 8). Old paint is visible as yellow under the UV-light and the new paint reflects a brighter red. The paint is brighter and covers different areas than what the historical image illustrates. The glue used in the previous restoration effort reflects white.

FIGURE 5: Historical photograph by Fritz Krause, taken during his 1908 expedition.

FIGURE 6: Image of SAm 03198 in „Der Kunst der Karajá Indianer“, published 1911. The body paint of the doll has already changed between 1908 and 1911.

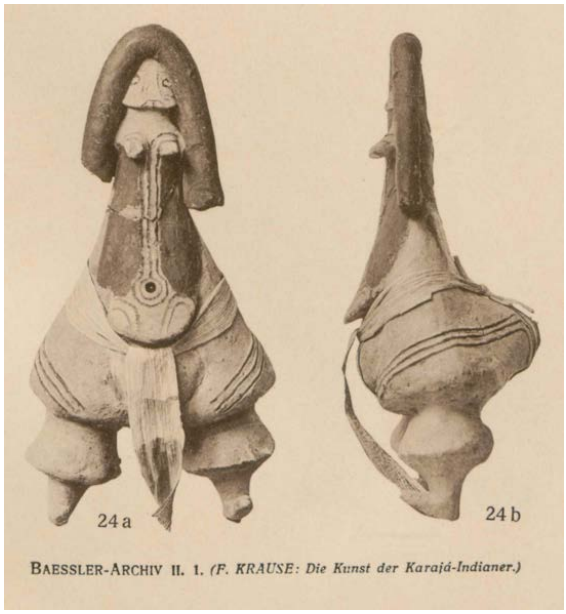


FIGURE 7: Catalog card of SAm 03198 reading “Tonpuppe, eine Darstellend, rot und schwarz bemalt. 25,5 cm lang” or "Clay doll, representing a woman, painted red and black, 25.5 cm long."

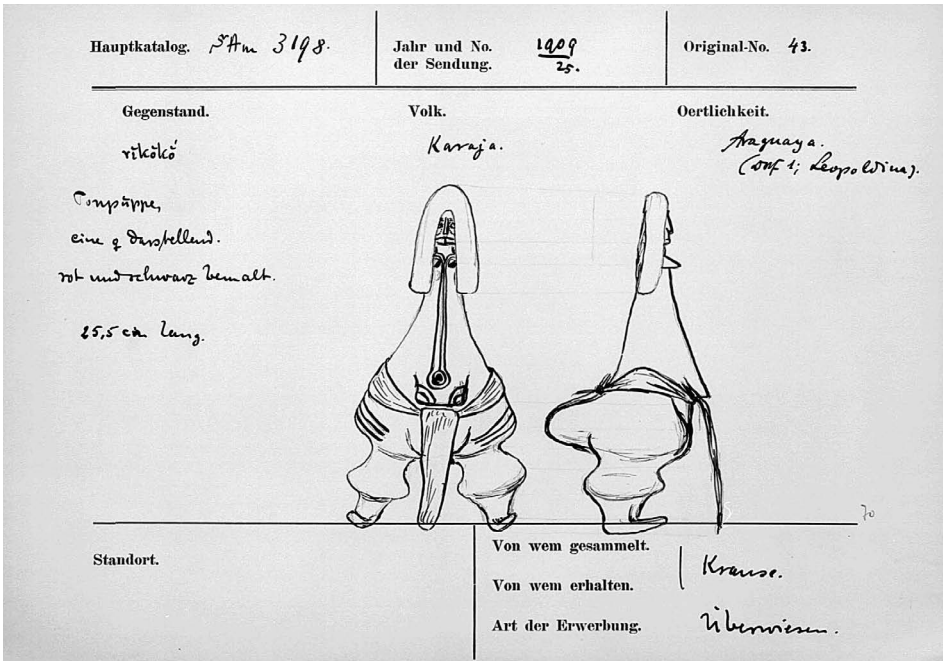


FIGURE 8 A AND B (2021): SAm 03198 head, hair, and body, broken. Attention to the stomach area reveals a previous restoration effort with glue as well as variations in paint.

FIGURE 9: SAm 03198 under UV light. White spots show where glue was used in previous repair efforts.

In light of this historical research, Grundmann considered the following questions for restoration:

- Should the restoration aim to replicate original image from Krause's documentation by supplementing the *ritxoko* with missing parts, for example, the tanga?

- If yes, should materials be used that are native to the river Araguaia region and *ritxoko* production, or should materials from the restoration laboratory be used?

- Should the previous restoration efforts be removed, such as the bright red paint? Should this be attempted even if it risks removing the original Uruku paint underneath?

There are guidelines for restoring ethnographic objects that provide possible answers to these questions. Nonetheless, the opportunity to engage with a cultural expert, particularly someone

who has a personal connection to display and understanding of historical *Ritxoko*, allows for a more socially engaged practice of conserving cultural heritage, offering the restorer the ability to consider ethical questions of restoration in praxis. The individual suggestions are necessarily taken into account within the context of the goals for preservation, curation, or exhibition. Furthermore, the restoration of the object does not have to replicate the original object.

During the restoration meeting, Museum staff shared the historical photographs with the tanga and body painting to show how the doll had been changed in its musealization. The results of the conversation were that the *Iny-Karajá* representatives expressed an interest to preserve and make visible the Museum's influence on *Ritxoko*. Grundmann will remove the redundant glue stains on the doll's torso and apply new glue to bring the hair pieces and head back together with the body. She will do this without filling or sanding the cracks to render them smooth, rather, she will bring the pieces together in a manner in that leaves the cracks visible. This will show the doll in its completion while still showing the museum process. Additionally, it will be less likely that the various pieces should be lost. The paint will remain. The group also decided to recreate a tanga for this doll using a material called tapa bark cloth from the Leipzig restoration laboratory. In this way, the *Ritxoko* is brought back into recognizable form, yet the restoration is visible. Furthermore, as in all restoration projects, Grundmann will also write a report containing the steps and materials she used to restore the doll, so that future restorers, curators, and *Iny-Karajá* will know how this doll's form and design have changed.

Rather than try and recreate a *ritxoko* with museum materials and methods, the consensus among the group was that the museum influence should remain apparent, even if the object should be used in a display. The museum impact, once considered

invisible or non-existent, has been called into question by scholars of museum-related topics and decolonial activists alike (HARRIS, 2015 and ARIESE & WRÓBLEWSKA, 2022). Understanding the museum's bearing on cultural material therefore includes resisting repair. Nevertheless, more developed technology is available since Krause's collection entered the Museum, and more visible restoration can be explored with *Iny-Karajá* ceramicists.

Through the restoration cooperation, *Iny-Karajá* representatives gain insight into the state of their cultural material in museums as well as agency in determining its future preservation and use in the collection. The goals of the restoration—to preserve the original condition of the object or to preserve museal transformation processes—can be determined together. Precisely this exchange contributes to the social museology of the Presença Karajá cooperation as it recenters *Iny-Karajá* people. It considers a holistic approach to conservation, asking "why so-called Western epistemologies and institutions are satisfied with preserving examples or fragments of cultural and natural heritage" rather than an entire environment of an object-creator, object, material, and future production, to name a few surroundings (DUARTE CÂNDIDO, VIAL et al, 2021, p. 82). This approach includes current creators in the process and brings the opportunity for other *Iny-Karajá* people to get involved. The Museum meanwhile incorporates more perspectives in their research and conservation methods, beneficial to academic study and to a relational ethic in museum practice.

Opportunities for future research

Digital dissemination, where historical documents and

high-quality photographs are transparent and legible for the communities from which that data is reclaimed, present multiple options for further research. Material restitution also presents important prospects to advance understanding of *ritxoko* as well as the history of their making. Indigenous partners can participate in forming research questions, making more equitable and informed research methods and results. At this point, investigations have just begun with questions formulated by the mutual effort between Museum staff and the Presença Karajá project.

Firstly, much work can be done in Leipzig archives to create a more holistic picture of the collection: Krause started his expedition just after completing his Ph.D. on Pueblo people in 1907 (FRIEDRICH, 2019). It would be relevant to consider how much expertise on South American cultures he brought with him when he started his journey, as well as how his training in Leipzig prepared him for his ethnographic study on the *Iny-Karajá*. His professional training, as well as the global-political situation of the period, should be considered in further research on how and in what political conditions Krause crafted his collection and carried out his analysis.

Meanwhile in Brazil, Krause's map of the Araguaia River presents an opportunity to retrace *Iny-Karajá* villages where *Ritxoko* were made. (Figure 1). For reasons undetermined, Krause did not publish the *Iny-Karajá* village names; rather, he used his own labeling system. This map has proved a useful research tool: *Iny-Karajá* representatives as well as anthropologists can examine the map and compare this data with the location of villages today. Such discussions can help pinpoint, eventually, where specific *Ritxoko* originated. In light of such information, it might be possible to determine certain schools of design. More research in this vein may even lead to learning the names of the women who created the *Ritxoko* in Krause's collection. As shown above, Krause was

particular to document many aspects of *Iny-Karajá* life, but he did not include the names of the women who made the objects that he so coveted. The names of artists and craftspeople remain a remarkable absence that ethnographic museums are certainly grappling with in many of their collections.

Retracing these villages is no easy task—many if not all of the villages have likely changed location in the region, and many individuals have moved to cities. Furthermore, older generations of *Iny-Karajá* who may carry family lore or oral history about *Ritxoko* have been made vulnerable because of the COVID-19 pandemic. The names of the village leaders that Krause documented could be especially relevant to further research with cultural elders, local historical societies, or *Iny-Karajá* ceramistas who have been trained in the history and methods of making *ritxoko*. Also relevant could be Meyer's demographic data as it includes documentation of intertribal trade and exchange (KRUSCHE, 1977, p. 183). Imperative to this research effort are *Iny-Karajá* people themselves.

Today, ceramistas enjoy a high social status as knowledge-keepers in their communities, making them ideal research partners. Moreover, as far as the Krause documents show, female ceramicists were not always in this social position. More research involving the women who make *ritxoko*, could also help document the process by which women in their community can augment their social status.

Curation can also be significantly aided by such cooperative partnerships. The GRASSI Museum worked with *Iny-Karajá* representatives to construct a vitrine in an exhibition that brought a narrative to the various restitution and repatriation efforts (repatriation refers in this case specifically the return of human remains). Before the construction began, Presença Karajá member Dr. Duarte as well as *Iny-Karajá* representative Tuinaki

Koixaru Karajá took a virtual tour of the old exhibition space to see previous methods of displaying *Iny-Karajá* material, including *Ritxoko*, which informed how the group designed the new vitrine space. Especially important in the new vitrine was the use of the pronoun "she" rather than multiple gender inclusive pronouns when describing *Iny-Karajá* ceramicists (as few to no males participate in their production) as well as the ability to view the objects from 360 degrees. Equally important was that the curators include photographs of contemporary *ritxoko* artisans. The *Ritxoko* held space in the exhibition in the context of the Presença Karajá partnership.

The *ritxoko* vitrine stands in conversation with other vitrines in the space that showcase stories of material restitutions and repatriations. The vitrine heading is therefore "immaterial restitution", something that the Presença Karajá team would not have chosen themselves (HAMBURGER, 2022). The Leipzig curators were certainly aware how museums are in many ways inevitably bound to their own narrative, and in this case, it becomes apparent that the Museum is telling the stories of restitutions in their own language, which, in some ways, is an inevitable positionality. Exhibitions make visible difficult attempts made by museums to share "Deutungsmacht" (power of interpretation) in institutional spaces in an effort not only to decolonize an exhibition, but to indigenize it. Museum spaces, arguably, cannot completely abandon their exhibition halls and therby grant autonomy of design to Indigenous curators. Inviting Indigenous opinions into the space also does not mean the space is "indigenized", either. The structures of who is ultimately making logistical decisions, who is financed, supported, or politically legible by the host institution or its nation-state may haunt an exhibition space despite the post-colonial ideals of the exhibition conception. These outside structures also

further complicate restitution practices, as restitution alone is only part of a broader decolonizing effort.

Whether or not the *ritxoko* are returned to the Araguaia region in physical form, the various methods of their collection management present a variety of opportunities: First, the reintroduction of a wide array of early twentieth-century dolls (digitally or physically) to contemporary ceramistas could recover older or forgotten methods of making and designing. Second, the comparisons between old and new dolls could bring about valuable anthropological and ethnographic research regarding this continued tradition. Additionally, the *Iny-Karajá* people in the region who cannot be present at the Presença Karajá meetings could gain access to their (im)material heritage.

If physical restitution is not possible or not currently demanded, physical high-quality images of the *ritxoko* could also be made available to resurface in the Rio Araguaia region. The photographs made by Markus Garscha are of such a high quality that details invisible to the naked eye are noticeable in photographs: grooves and paint, individual grains of sand, and even fingerprints become visible. Collecting institutions who finance these photographs for their own databases and catalogs could donate such photographs to *Iny-Karajá* members, which may bring about an opportunity for *Iny-Karajá* individuals who can recall specific designs or artistry to make worthwhile connections, including the other prospects mentioned above. Although the *Ritxoko* collection and research will be available online, not everyone interested in accessing this data has internet access. This obstacle in the transfer of knowledge shows how "immaterial restitution" or digital dissemination alone are not adequate replacements for restitution.

Conclusion

To peruse a more social museology, museums have the

ethical responsibility to make transparent the physical archives of ethnographic collections to the communities or descendants from which data was collected. Institutional knowledge of collection history can contribute to valuable digital dissemination files and strengthening of intangible heritage. To reduce reparations to this kind of return alone, however, is shortsighted. Direct cooperation with Indigenous communities in such transparent research can expand the kinds of relational ethics ethnographic collections seek to covet.

The GRASSI Museum has a wide range of opportunities when working with the *Iny-Karajá* through the Presença Karajá working group. First, the cooperation presents the opportunity to research in depth the collection history, establishing the provenance for mutual benefit of Indigenous partners and museum archives alike. This information is paramount to working with objects in ethnographic collections ethically. Second, the information gathered is relevant to supporting intangible heritage, something that can be disseminated among interested individuals and communities. Lastly, the ethnographic research that accompanies this kind of working group may introduce a kind of museum or collecting ethic, one that is in line with social museology. Museums can create relationships with artisans, supporting local communities not only by giving back information and historic objects, but also by purchasing new items and thereby supporting the continuation of cultural practices. Above all, the information that the Presença Karajá team collects together with Museum staff is given to the community for whom it is culturally and politically relevant. Such opportunities for future relationships present openings to continue anthropological, ethnographic, or provenance research and at the SAme time, set a standard for ethical collecting, restoration, and exhibition practices. Most importantly, it presents an opportunity

for the *Iny-Karajá* to incorporate knowledge back into their communities.

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