"No Visitors Beyond This Point:"

Rules of Conduct for Tourists in Native American Reservations and Their Cultural-Political Contexts in the USA

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One should not be an anthropologist of tourism to practice the anthropology of tourism, at least for a while. It is to the increasing and increasingly complicated impact of intercultural tourism as well as to my personal experience of it that I owe the subject of the present study. What follows is not an ethnographic case study. It is more of an essay on the cultural and political significance of certain requirements of behavior that tourists visiting the Pueblo Indian communities in the Southwest of the USA have to meet.

I made a journey to the American Southwest with my husband in July 2001 when we visited four different *pueblos* in Arizona and New Mexico, those of the Hopi, the Zuni, the Acoma and the Taos people. The original purpose of our trip had little to do with tourism as such. We drove from Lawrence, Kansas where we stayed down to Arizona to follow the trail of the excellent German art historian, Aby Warburg who visited the region in 1896. Touching *Mesa Verde,* the cliff dwellings of the ancient Anasazi people and crossing the Navajo Reservation, we intended to visit the places – natural sites as well as Native American pueblos—that Warburg himself visited. We wanted to get an impression about how the landscape and the people living there changed through more than one hundred years. The German art historian not only held a diary but took dozens of photographs during his journey so we had his files to compare to what we would see and experience. The final goal of our journey was to reach the reservation of the Hopi Indians in North-East Arizona and to learn whether the Native Americans living there know about the collection of Aby Warburg's photographs which had been published by the Warburg Institute, London and which contained a good many of the pictures taken in the Hopi as well as other pueblo Indian villages more than one hundred years ago (Cestelli Guidi and Mann 1998; Sz. Kristóf 2004 and 2014b).

This was a study trip of art history and the history of anthropology, but we stayed in places—motels and other lodging facilities—established for the *par excellence* tourists of the Southwest. We have visited national parks and cultural heritage centers, museums and shops of Indian "arts and crafts," and we have attended a number of the so-called Avillage tours organized by the local, Native American inhabitants of the region for their non-Native visitors. We have thus encountered people, programs and events in all our journey that seemed to serve the aims of international, national and also local tourism.

No one travelling in the American Southwest can avoid meeting the enormous industry of the "frontier tourism" functioning there. Its origins go back to the second half of the 19th century. Due to the arrival of the railroad in this region in 1879 and

Major John Wesley Powell's geographical and ethnographical explorations made during the 1880s and the 1890s, Grand Canyon tourism emerged first. It was developed and promoted primarily by the Fred Harvey Company. In the same period, due to the fieldwork of an increasing number of ethnographers and archeologists (e.g. Frank H. Cushing, Adolph F. Bandelier and Jesse W. Fewkes) the Native American cultures of the so-called Four Corners region (i.e. Colorado, Utah, Arizona and New Mexico) were "discovered" in the late 19th and early 20th century, Anglo-American historians used to say. According to the historical-philosophical ideas of the age, local indigenous cultures have been popularized in front of a Euro-American audience of ever growing size as relics of a distant and "half-primitive" past (Basso 1979; Hinsley 1994, 125–230; Weigle and Babcock 1996; Dilworth 1996; see also Sz. Kristóf 2004). From this period of flourishing evolutionary classifications and well into the 20th century, the Asemi-desert Pueblo Indian culture"—as it was designated in scholarly literature—was regularly depicted as a transitional (settled, agricultural and pottery-making) "stage" between the so-called "savage" (hunter and/or gatherer) societies of the Northern prairies and the "high civilizations" of Central America in the south. The Native American cultures of the Southwest as constituting an entire—and, as was imagined—unique cultural "stage" or (as was described later) "area"[2] have become a touristic commodity indeed for the North American as well as European visitors, together with their "primitivism" allegedly preserved (Kroeber 1928; Benedict 1963 [1935]: 41–42; Kirchhoff 1959; Hinsley 1994, 192; Weigle and Babcock 1996; Dilworth 1996). The picturesque ceremonial dances of the Pueblo Indians, held half a year round to invoke rain and render the corn harvest abundant attracted masses of Anglo-American visitors already in the turn of the 19th and the 20th centuries. There was another peculiar boom of tourism—this time, a "spiritual tourism"—later, in a different social and cultural context. During the 1960s and the 1970s, and especially after the publication of the rather controversial Hopi "ethnography" of Frank Waters, the *Book of the Hopi* (Waters 1977[1963]; Geertz 1983), hundreds of young American hippies arrived to the Southwest in order to live together with and learn from the Pueblo Indians. They considered the latter as their Agurus" possessing secret knowledge that would help them to find their right way (James 1974, 218–220; Geertz 1992, 342–350; Whiteley 1998, 163–187). Although *Book of the Hopi* is still on sale and, oddly enough, it can be purchased in the bookshops of the Hopi Indian Reservation itself, much has changed since.

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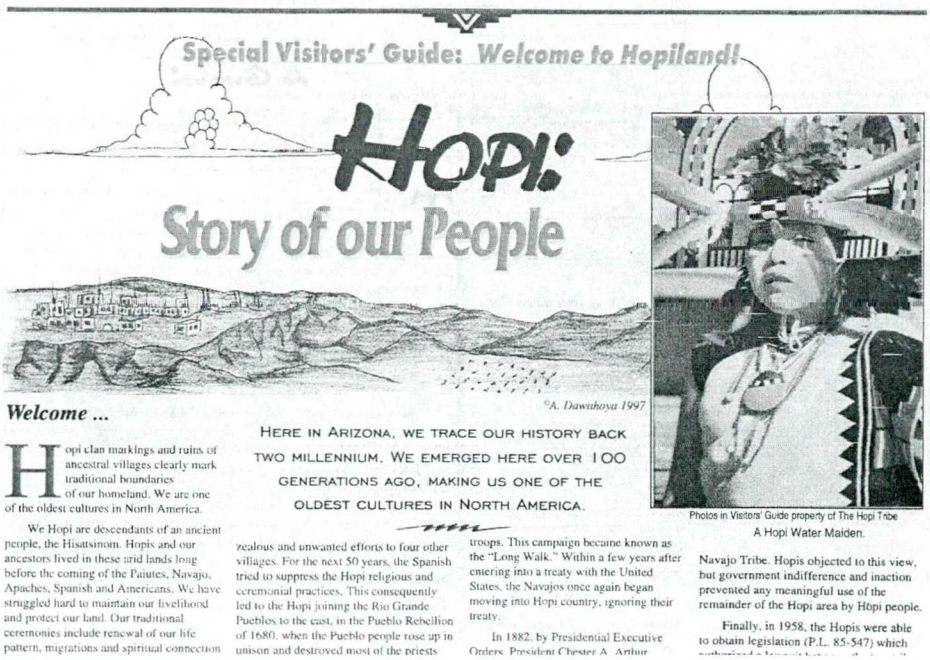
[2] American anthropologist Alfred Kroeber has criticized the prevailing – and in his view, all too generalizing – ethnological assumptions about a distinctive Pueblo unit or stage of the development of indigenous cultures which would consist of pottery making and Astoried masonry, community construction, the kiva [underground ceremonial chamber with ladders going down], cotton, the matrilineate, direction-color symbolism" and Aperhaps priesthood by learning to fill a recognized office, altars, masks, ancestor impersonation [the so-called *kachina* figures], the importance of the ideas of emergence from the underworld and of sex fertilization." Relying not so much on evolutional but ecological considerations, Kroeber argued for the existence of a Pueblo cultural "area". See Kroeber 1928 (citation from p. 379).

Nowadays, no one visiting the American Southwest can avoid experiencing the peculiar *reactions* of the Pueblo Indians to the tourist industry. The Native Americans seem to have learnt to use it for their own purposes. They make profits from it, but they also do their best in order to regulate it, to shape it according to their own ideas and way of life. This remarkable *indigenous regulation* of tourism is well worth considering and it is a particular aspect of it that I would like to focus on in the following. It is namely an etiquette for tourists, a body of normative texts compiled by the Native Americans themselves aiming to teach visitors how to behave in their communities.

Such normative texts proliferate inside as well as outside the Indian reservations of the Southwest; they can take every form and channel of (post)modern communication used there. They are to be found in travel books as well as in the homepages of the individual native communities on the Internet (for the Zuni Pueblo, see for example www.zuni.k12.nm.us/tribe/tourist.html); in the case of the Hopi Indians there are specific web pages for what "to do" and also what "not to do" in their reservation (see, for example, the following pages: www.hopi.nsn.us/Pages/Tourism/todo.html and www.nau.edu/-hcpo-p/visit/nottodo.htm). Rules of conduct are in information leaflets and colorful brochures published about the Pueblo communities which are allowed to be visited by foreigners, but you can find them also on paper-based as well as digital editions of specific newspapers for visitors (among the former, the Hopi Indians have for example a *Special Visitor's Guide: Welcome to Hopiland!* and a *Yee see Welcome to Hopi,* accessible at the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office in the village of Kykötsmovi, Arizona). The picture below shows my own copies of this leaflet:



Special Visitors' Guide: Welcome to Hopiland!

HOPI:

Story of our People

©A. Dawahoya 1997

Photos in Visitors' Guide property of The Hopi Tribe

A Hopi Water Maiden.

Welcome ...

HERE IN ARIZONA, WE TRACE OUR HISTORY BACK TWO MILLENNIUM. WE EMERGED HERE OVER 100 GENERATIONS AGO, MAKING US ONE OF THE OLDEST CULTURES IN NORTH AMERICA.

Hopi clan markings and ruins of ancestral villages clearly mark traditional boundaries of our homeland. We are one of the oldest cultures in North America.

We Hopi are descendants of an ancient people, the Hisatsinom. Hopis and our ancestors lived in these arid lands long before the coming of the Paiutes, Navajo, Apaches, Spanish and Americans. We have struggled hard to maintain our livelihood and protect our land. Our traditional ceremonies include renewal of our life pattern, migrations and spiritual connection

zealous and unwanted efforts to four other villages. For the next 50 years, the Spanish tried to suppress the Hopi religious and ceremonial practices. This consequently led to the Hopi joining the Rio Grande Pueblos to the east, in the Pueblo Rebellion of 1680, when the Pueblo people rose up in unison and destroyed most of the priests

troops. This campaign became known as the "Long Walk." Within a few years after entering into a treaty with the United States, the Navajos once again began moving into Hopi country, ignoring their treaty.

In 1882, by Presidential Executive Orders, President Chester A. Arthur

Navajo Tribe. Hopis objected to this view, but government indifference and inaction prevented any meaningful use of the remainder of the Hopi area by Hopi people.

Finally, in 1958, the Hopis were able to obtain legislation (P.L. 85-547) which

Furthermore, one finds such rules inscribed also on wooden boards, notice-boards on the border of the reservations and/or the entrance of the individual villages. Inscriptions and signs are to be seen all over in such places. They remind visitors of the Euro-American traffic signs; information, warnings, mandatory signs, prohibition signs, signs giving orders—signs that are used by the Native American communities to direct and control the ways of cultural encounter these days. They are sometimes purely textual, sometimes they form a mélange of textual and visual, figurative elements; and sometimes again you see a single visual sign and nothing else. Let me cite here from some of the written, textual etiquettes that testify to a wide range of requirements and rules of conduct that tourists are supposed to follow in an Indian reservation and, compared to one another, they also indicate how similar these requirements and rules are in the different Pueblo communities of Arizona and New Mexico. A big notice-board at the entrance of the Hopi Indian village of Kykötsmovi, Arizona says: "Welcome to Kykötsmovi. Please respect our privacy and obey our regulations. Absolutely not permitted: 1. Photographing, 2. Sound recording, 3. Hiking foot trails, 4. Removal of objects, 5. Sketching." In the sense that I did take photos of such etiquette boards, I have violated the ban on photography myself. This ban is the most frequent prohibition on the Native American reservations (see also Lippard 1992). I have taken pictures, however, only of those notice-boards, and we have asked the permission of the village leaders or those available for anything else that we were expected.

Photograph by Ildikó Sz. Kristóf

A small green leaflet accessible in the bookshop and information center in Old Oraibi, another village of the Hopi Reservation says: "Welcome to the Village of Old Oraibi. ✶If you wish to visit the village, PLEASE DO NOT pick up any objects from the ground. ✶Stay distance from the Kivas (Chambers with STEP LADDERS going down). ✶Walk only in the streets and NOT (beyond) the village AND NOT to the church. [A drawing of the ancient Mennonite mission church of the reservation is inserted in this place in the leaflet and then three visual signs follow: no cameras, no videos and no sketching. At the bottom the leaflet says:] Thank you and Have a nice day!" (My own leaflet copy with capitals and highlights as in the original text.)

Moreover, a huge notice-board in the entrance of Acoma Pueblo and Indian reservation, New Mexico announces: "Attention Visitors. A camera permit must be purchased before taking pictures. [A sign of no camera is drawn in this place in the text.] Absolutely no picture taking allowed inside the [ancient Catholic mission] church, the cemetery, or in the museum. Prior permission must be obtained before taking pictures of any individual or their art work. [A sign of no video camera is drawn in this place.] Absolutely no video cameras allowed on the entire Acoma reservation! Violators will have their videotapes confiscated." A smaller board painted in red and white and to be found in the entrance of the same pueblo, next to the huge one says: "No visitors beyond this point."

Photograph by Ildikó Sz. Kristóf

As for the Zuni Pueblo of New Mexico, a brochure printed in black and white and entitled *"Visitor Information"* contains the map of Zuni Indian village and details the following instructions: "Visitor's Etiquette. ✶ Absolutely no photography, video/ audio recording or drawing of ceremonial activities is allowed. ✶ Absolutely no interacting with ceremonial participants. ✶ Keep a distance from participants and ceremonial areas. ✶ Kivas, shrine areas and lower area of plaza are strictly off limits. Roof tops are designated for your viewing, if you wish to observe. ✶ No biking/hiking/ climbing on or around ruin areas. Removal of artifacts is strictly prohibited (e.g. pot sherds, flints). Violators of these rules are subject to penalties in accordance with tribal and federal laws." (My own leaflet copy.)

Finally, let me cite the rules of conduct distributed in the Zuni Museum and Heritage Center. It is a xeroxed sheet containing a list of regulations for tourists and consisting of seventeen different points. I would like to cite only nine here. These nine points, together with the Zunis' welcome of visitors (see below) can throw light on the very reasons for the existence of such etiquettes. The Zunis' list of regulations is one of the best sources to indicate in what ways former visitors (treasure hunters, tourists, hippies, New Agers and the like) intruded in Native American communities, their local social as well as private spheres, and clashed with the norms of the 'Other' culture. The welcome paragraph reads: "Welcome to Zuni Pueblo or Halona Idi:wanna, the Middle Place of the world. You are welcomed as a special guest to our community. Help us to preserve our ancient and honored way of life by observing the following guidelines *[and hereafter the seventeen rules of conduct can be read]:*

✦ BE RESPECTFUL AND USE COMMON COURTESY WHEN VISITING OUR COMMUNITY. Zuni Pueblo is not a "living museum" but a LIVING COMMUNITY comprised of private homes as well as sacred areas. Only enter a home after being invited. ✦ AVOID ENTERING OR DISTURBING PLAZAS, KIVAS, SHRINES, ROOFTOPS, AND GRAVEYARDS. ✦ OBSERVE OUR TRADITIONAL DANCES AND CEREMONIES WITH RESPECT AND QUIET ATTENTION. PLEASE UNDERSTAND THAT THESE ARE HIGHLY SACRED RELIGIOUS EVENTS AND ARE NOT PERFORMANCES. Avoid interrupting non-dancing participants' concentration by asking questions, talking, or visiting with friends. Applause after a dance is not appropriate. DO NOT APPROACH, TALK TO, OR TOUCH ANY COSTUMED DANCERS OR MEN DRESSED IN CEREMONIAL ATTIRE, because they are engaged in their solemn duties. ✦ ABSOLUTELY NO VIDEO / TAPE RECORDING, PHOTOGRAPHING, OR SKETCHING OF RELIGIOUS CEREMONIAL ACTIVITIES, including inside the Old Zuni Mission. [...] VIOLATORS OF THESE RULES ARE SUBJECT TO PENALTIES IN ACCORDANCE WITH ZUNI TRIBAL AS WELL AS FEDERAL LAWS" (My own leaflet copy with capitals and highlights as in the original text).

Such regulations emphasize particularly that a foreign visitor cannot even take a walk in these communities without getting a previous permission from the local indigenous authorities. It is also only with the local, Native guides or "cultural interpreters" as the Zunis say, that (s)he is allowed to enter the pueblos and/or the archaeological sites. The written regulations tend to be put in practice as we have experienced in many places. Similarly to their normative texts and figural signs, the Pueblo Indians

try hard to make a clear distinction between "todos" and "nottodos" during the official village walks, too that they organize for visitors. We attended two "walking tours" in two different pueblos, in Sichomovi on the Hopi Reservation, Arizona and in Acoma Pueblo, New Mexico. We wanted to visit the Zuni Pueblo, too, but we were informed in the Zuni Museum and Heritage Center of the old pueblo has been closed because tourists had violated the regulations during the previous week. The fact that the indigenous sanctions could go as far as closing down entire villages for tourists is testified for example by an earlier photograph made by Cradoc Bagshaw back in 1975. The year before that a big sign was placed outside the pueblo of Old Oraibi on the Hopi Reservation, Arizona by the village chief that said: "WARNING – NO OUTSIDE WHITE VISITORS ALLOWED BECAUSE OF YOUR FAILURE TO OBEY THE LAWS OF OUR TRIBE AS WELL AS THE LAWS OF YOUR OWN. THIS VILLAGE IS HEREBY CLOSED" (see Fig. 5 in Clemmer 1979, 537).

During the official walks, a rather restricted use of the space was imposed upon us, visitors by our indigenous guides (middle aged women in both cases). Showing us around in their pueblos, they have carefully constructed a proper frontier between spaces and places that were free and other spaces that were off limit and thus forbidden for us. Free spaces included primarily the places of sale and consummation; the "vendor tables" of the indigenous merchants and artists, the public places for the sale of the indigenous artifacts (mainly pottery and, for Sichomovi, *kachina dolls;* [3]see also Colton 1959 and Brody 1979). The forbidden spaces consisted mostly of the places of privacy, the more or less restricted, or secret spaces of the other aspects of their indigenous way of life (e.g. houses, ceremonial buildings, etc). We were allowed to stop and communicate with the indigenous inhabitants –let alone to enter their houses- only there and when the latter were selling their wares. This rather commercial aspect of the indigenous "walking tour" is clearly revealed by the so-called "*Tour Guide / Vendor Guide Evaluation*" of the Acoma people, a one-page questionnary that the visitors are asked to fill after having attended the tour. Questions like the following are to be found there: "Did [the tour guide] allow 2–3 minutes at vendor tables?", "Were you informed of the vendor guide system?", "Were you satisfied with the Vendor Guide System?" (*Acoma Sky City Tour/Vendor Guide Evaluation* sheet, my own copy). As for the forbidden spaces and restricted areas, they consisted not only of private houses, but also ceremonial places and buildings such as kivas, and "water cisterns, cliff edges," and finally ruins of ancient buildings together with a number of particular areas, like the one "behind the church" which was used as a cemetery in the Pueblo of Acoma (*Pueblo of Acoma – Acoma Sky City. Oldest Continuosly Inhabited City in the United States,* printed brochure for visitors, my own copy). The division of space for tourists was quite similar in the Hopi pueblo of Sichomovi, too. As our Hopi guide noticed a young American couple wandering around and entering an off limit space behind a shop of pottery and kachinas—this shop was to be found exactly on

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[3] The so-called "kachina dolls" are dolls of small size made of wood, clothes, feathers etc. by the Pueblo Indian artists for the purpose of selling them to tourists. In traditional Pueblo Indian culture, such dolls were crafted for children as a gift but also as a means of learning about the kachinas.

the boundary of the area which was designated for us to enter freely—, she cried out angrily, ran towards the youngsters, gesticulating wildly with her red umbrella and drove them back from there.

What we experienced in July 2001 in the Pueblo Indian reservations—a particular Native American use of tourism for their own (economic and other) purpose, with severe restrictions of the visit, that is a remarkable mix of making money and establishing cultural secrecy in the same time[4]—is inscribed in a broader historical-political context. Apart from its economic and artistic aspects, it has its roots in a cultural-political movement which goes back to the 1960s/1970s and which has become known as the "American Indian Ethnic Renewal" (Nagel 1996; Hertzberg 1988). Concerning especially the Native American tribes in the United States (but in some respects also those living in Canada) and studied by now by a number of sociologists, anthropologists, museologists, historians and legal scholars, this movement aimed/aims at reviving the specific American Indian values and ways of life while it accepts and uses various aspects of the surrounding Euro-American culture. According to its fundamental and widely shared Pan-Indian principles, being "Indian" should take on a new and honorable meaning in modern times. Native Americans should learn to be proud of their cultural heritage, they should preserve it and they should develop it while integrating in (post)modern American society in the same time. It is in the spirit of this new American Indian cultural pride that a good number of tribal museums were established from the 1970s, that elementary and secondary schools came into being on the reservations to (re-)teach children and adults their ancient language, that local newspapers were founded and, later, electronic homepages were made for the different Native American communities to find modern expression for their old/new indigenous identity (Archambault 1993; Nagel 1996). The Zuni Museum and Heritage Center, for example, which opened in 1991 demonstrates this newly formed identity in the very items of its permanent exhibit, aimed as much for visitors as tribal members. A drawing representing the Zuni clans in the exhibit says: "Our clans are the Zuni community. Celebrate with us our proud A:shiwi heritage!" The general message of the exhibit is written on a board above the huge, life-size photos of Zuni leaders: "Proud to be Zuni." (Text based on my photos; as an exception to the general prohibition, it was allowed to take photos *inside* the Zuni Museum and Heritage Center.) The general message of the Hopi Cultural Center Museum was similar, and big noticeboards were to be found in the streets of the community of Kykötsmovi announcing: "By embracing Hopi values, together we can heal and rehabilitate our future."

This is a completely different image (of the self) from the ones that the early Euro-American explorers or the late 19th and early 20th century US advertisements conveyed

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[4] In contrast, a touristic village walk organized by the indigenous inhabitants may include the exhibition of the local, "traditional" culture as other cases testify. This culture may even be constructed as "primitive" and "jungly" to meet the expectations of the visitors, like in the case of the Tharu villages in Nepal's Chitwan district (Guneratne 2001). Some of the Native American tribes themselves rely on such ways and means of representing their own culture; it is however not widespread in the North American reservations (Sz. Kristóf 2007 and 2012c).

of the Pueblo Indians. The latter do not like to be considered "archaic," "primitive," exotic any more. They appreciate their past, the ancient features of their indigenous culture and they make use of them in their own advertisements aimed at visitors. But this past is now considered entirely their own. Acoma pueblo for example is described in the local brochures for tourists as *"Pueblo of Acoma - Acoma Sky City. Oldest Continuously Inhabited City in the United States."* And it is the Acoma Indians themselves who want to tell *their* version of the colonial—and also postcolonial—past. Just like our tour guide did during the village walk. The communities of the Hopi Indian Reservation address visitors in a similar way: "Take a step back in time. Come visit the beautiful plateau country in northeastern Arizona, homeland of the Hopi, experience an ancient culture, tradition and history as it has continuously existed for thousands of years, one of the oldest cultures in North America" (*First Mesa Consolidated Villages, Walpi, Sichomovi, and Hano/Tewa. The Hopi Reservation,* xeroxed information sheet, my own copy). This "experience" is however restricted and controlled by the Hopi elders (and the village guides) themselves. The Hopis seem to use their past for their present purposes, like the Zunis. The latter announce: "Our community-directed eco-museum is committed to honoring, nurturing, and cultivating the dynamic process of A:shiwi culture. Join us as we celebrate the past for what it can teach us about our present and future!" (*A:shiwi A:wan Museum and Heritage Center,* brochure for visitors, my own copy).

The emergence of such a locally regulated tourism as well as the implied cultural secrecy are related to another important aspect of the contemporary efforts of the Native Americans to preserve their culture. Since 1990, a federal law on *Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act* (NAGPRA) established "a legal framework for repatriating human remains and ritual objects to Indian tribes that request them, provided that claimants can substantiate direct descent or, in the case of objects, prior ownership" (Brown 1998, 194). During the many years preparing the way to this legislation and in the spirit of the AAmerican Indian Ethnic Renewal", a number of Native American tribes submitted requests to the archeological and ethnographical museums, universities and other public collections of the US to claim back pieces of their "cultural patrimony" that have been possessed by the former. So did for example the Zunis, to whom the Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC gave back their Twin War Gods already in 1987. These sacred figures had been removed from the Zuni reservation by the anthropologists, Frank Hamilton Cushing and James Stevenson in the 1880s, and, following their repatriation, were placed back in their local, indigenous shrine (Merrill-Ladd-Ferguson 1993). Since NAGPRA being in effect, such requests from the various Native American tribes have multiplied (Mihesuah 2000; Thomas 2000). I would mention only one more case relating to the Pueblo Indians. In 1999, Jemez Pueblo, New Mexico got back the remains of not less than 2067 ancestors from the Peabody Museum in Harvard University, Cambridge, which had been removed in 1914 by archeologists. Having got them back, the people of Jemez Pueblo reburied them ceremonially on their reservation in 2004 (Tarpy and Block 2000; Reed 2004). The history of NAGPRA constitutes a success story for and of the American Indians. It adds to their indigenous pride, honor and self-consciousness which are emphasized both in visitors' etiquettes and organized village walks. It seems thus that the current forms and features of the Pueblo Indian tourism are embedded in a com-

plex—and as yet unfinished—historical-political process of the construction of a new Native American identity. They reveal a remarkable (post)modern indigenous cultural policy developed by the minorities oppressed in the past gradually finding their ways of controlling—and in the case of the visitors' etiquettes and the repatriation of indigenous cultural patrimony, even dominating—their ex-controllers/ex-dominators: the Anglo-American majority.

The question of repatriation seems, however, more complicated than that. As it was suggested by Michael F. Brown, anthropologist at Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts, the boundaries, the scope and the range of NAGPRA are rather vague. Consequently, the law itself can Aset the stage" for Native Americans to claim back cultural pieces *other* than human remains and ritual objects (Brown 1998, 194). To mention a case relating to the Pueblo Indians again, the chairman of the Hopi tribe sent a letter to the US museums in 1994 in which he expressed the tribe's Ainterest into all published and unpublished field notes derived from research of the Hopi Tribe. Of specific interest to us -as he put it- are field notes and other records that document esoteric, ritual and privileged information on religious and ceremonial practices and customs." The request of the Hopis went, however, even further. "We are also requesting that you place an immediate moratorium on all research activities which require access to Hopi archival material by universities, colleges, independent researchers and organizations not authorized by the Hopi Tribe and whose purpose do not address current repatriation efforts of the tribe. The archival material includes sensitive information contained in field notes, artifact/material collections and photo and film archives. This request is meant to address the 'last minute rush' by researchers to access Hopi information and collections before they are declared 'off limits' or are actually repatriated back to the tribe. All future research requests on the Hopi will be with the expressed written permission of the Hopi Tribe" (Haas 1996, 4; *emphasis added*).

The ongoing war of representation fought by the Native Americans for indigenous "cultural copyright" (Brown 1998) is also to be found in the background of the visitors' etiquettes. In this light, it seems no surprise what we learned in the summer of 2001 about the indigenous reception of the above-mentioned collection containing Aby Warburg's Pueblo Indian photographs (Cestelli Guidi–Mann 1998). We were informed in the Tribal Office in Kykötsmovi that the Hopi leaders have launched a proper campaign against the latter with which they want to stop the publication and distribution on the ground that Warburg's photos have been taken without Native permission claiming that they violate the intimacy and secrecy of the religious ceremonies of the tribe (information based on personal conversations in the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykötsmovi and on correspondence between the Hopi Tribe and the Warburg Institute, London; all in my possession and courtesy of the Hopi Tribe, not public; Sz. Kristóf 2004 and 2014b). Just as the notice-board says on the border of the village of Oraibi that Warburg himself visited in 1896: "Welcome to Old Oraibi. No pictures. Thank you."

Photograph by Ildikó Sz. Kristóf

It has by now become a scholarly commonplace inside as well as outside cultural anthropology that visiting 'Other' cultures is never an innocent, neutral procedure, neither culturally, nor politically (Geertz 1973 and 1988; Clifford and Marcus 1986; Rosaldo 1989). All the less it has been recently as we witness a rapidly increasing political self-consciousness of those "Others", that is, post-colonial minorities not only in the US, but also in Canada (Jacknis 2000), Australia (Whittaker 1994), New Zealand (McKenzie 1993), New Caledonia (Kasarhérou 1993) as well as in numerous countries in Africa (Adedze 1995; Schildkrout 1995; Hodgson 2002). These minorities–indigenous people living in those lands already before the arrival of the Europeans and Euro-Americans–themselves struggle these days to shape the new forms of the Encounter while asserting their indigenous Acultural property rights." Museologists and legal scholars have to learn to cope with the new challenges involved in this development (see especially Kahn 2000 on how the Burke Museum of Natural History in Seattle, Washington has established an exemplary Community Advisory Board consisting of Asian, Southeast Asian, Pacific Islander and Northwest Native American members to plan a new anthropological exhibit in 1990 about the multiplicity of cultures living on the Pacific Rim; similar issues were discussed in Rosenblum 1996; Handler 1997; Berman 1997; Tsosie 1997; and Welsh 1997). Scholars of the social sciences—anthropologists, sociologists, historians, etc. —should they elaborate, case by case, a compromise between their own ideas of the domain of the "public" and the various indigenous expectations and requirements of its restriction (George 1993; Zempléni

1996; Brown 1998; see also Sz. Kristóf 2007, 2008 and 2012c). As for my own compromise in the case of outlining the different aspects of the Hopi Indians' reception of Aby Warburg's photos, it is to be read in the paragraphs of the present essay. I have written about the history of the journey of Aby Warburg to the Southwest in my previous publications, too (see Sz. Kristóf 2004, 2014b), and have discussed the recent views of the Native Americans about the preservation of their culture and the implied cultural secrecy in further writings (see Sz. Kristóf 2007, 2008, 2012c).

However, my experience in the summer of 2001 on the Pueblo Indian reservations have confirmed my conviction that anyone attempting to understand recent (or, for that matter, older, historical) cultural phenomena—such as Pueblo tourism, Pueblo Indian identity in this case—needs a holistic approach, but in another sense than it has been used in cultural anthropology insofar. (S)he would need not only historical-sociological-anthropological viewpoints to apply, but also political and reflexive ones. The latter are needed to make the observer sensitive to the multiplicity of the local conflicts, social problems and the agents implied in them as well as to the various ethical considerations that emerge in and with them. If tourism is indeed an "anthropological subject" as it was suggested a long time ago (Nash 1981) and as it has become by now indeed, more researches would be necessary into the dynamics, the clashing and a possible reconciliation of the ideas about the freedom of information and cultural secrecy. In my view, this type of dynamics constitutes one of the most important issues of intercultural encounters at the beginning of the 21st century. In this context thus, the present essay is a mere modest contribution from a historian/anthropologist aiming to turn scholarly attention to these questions and also to emphasize the most fundamental implication of repatriation studies. In other words, the understanding of the broader, deeper historical-ethical contexts of the recent emergence of new indigenous identities can contribute to a better orientation in our post-colonial, post-modern world. We have to learn to respect one another's rules of conduct; we have to learn to accept one another.

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Note:

This is an updated version of my article published previously as "'Welcome to Old Oraibi! No Pictures.' Etiquettes for Tourists in the American Southwest in 2001" in *Touristic Construction and Consumption of Culture(s). Papers of the 8th Finnish–Hungarian Ethnological Symposium, Lakitelek, Hungary, August 25–31, 2003.* Miklós Cseri, Zoltán Fejős and Zsuzsa Szarvas, Eds., Budapest–Szentendre, 2004, pp. 73–84. I have not changed its argumentation and examples, I still hold them valid and hopefully convincing. I have also included my studies concerning the European representations of Native Americans that have been published since in it; I have been working on three particular aspects of those representations, namely a recent (Sz. Kristóf 2004, 2008 and forthcoming), a historical (Sz. Kristóf 2004, 2012a, 2012b, 2014a, 2014b), and a third aspect that takes the inner, Native point of view of the American Indians into consideration (Sz. Kristóf 2007, 2008, 2012c). I have inserted these studies in a number of relevant places in this text, with the source indicated at the end under the Works Cited. This study represents the beginning of my investigations in the historical approaches, as well as recent forms of Eurocentrism, colonialism and the indigenous responses to them.