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Couvrant les Yeux, les Oreilles et la Bouche: How the Musée Royale de Batoufam Preserves Tradition and Culture for Multiple Audiences and Perspectives

Julia Hirsch
SIT Study Abroad

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Couvrant les Yeux, les Oreilles et la Bouche: How the Musée Royale de Batoufam Preserves Tradition and Culture for Multiple Audiences and Perspectives

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Abstract

*English:*

Museums are important to study as a way of representing, preserving, and teaching culture. In this study, I wanted to explore how James Clifford’s exhibitionary complex, about the interactions of the viewer, the museum, and the represented culture, applies in the unique case of Musée Royale de Batoufam, a living site museum full of art and rich with tradition. In studying this, I examined the way different audiences use the museum and how the museum can preserve the idea of the coexistence of modernity and tradition, which is integral to Batoufam life, for all audiences. In conducting 20 interviews with actors from all three perspectives and 17 observations, I found that while currently Batoufam people preserve tradition orally and foreigners learn it through written form, the best preservation method is symbolic art in the museum which bridges the two forms of preservation and the two groups of people in the museum.

*Français:*

Les musées sont importants d’étudier comme une façon de représenter, préserver, et enseigner la culture. Dans cette étude, j’ai voulu d’explorer comment Le Complex d’Exhibition de James Clifford, à propos des interactions du voyeur, le musée, et la culture représentée, applique dans le cas unique du Musée Royale de Batoufam, une musée vivant de site avec beaucoup d’art et riche avec la tradition. En étudiant ça, j’ai examiné comment les audences différentes utilisent le musée et comment le musée peut préserver l’idée de la coexistence de la tradition et de la modernité, qui est essentiel pour la vie de Batoufam, pour toutes les audences. En faisant 20 entretiens et 17 observations, j’ai trouvé que malgré que les Batoufams actuellement préexistent leurs traditions orallement et les étrangers les apprennent à travers l’écriture, la meilleure méthode de la préservation est l’art symbolique dans le musée, qui rejoint les deux types de la préservation et les deux groupes dans le musée.
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To my friends, both at SIT and at Macalester, for listening to me endlessly brainstorm and panic about changing topics CONSTANTLY, but for always supporting me and telling me that my ideas sound cool and interesting.

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To my parents, for letting me come to Cameroon in the first place and for teaching me about the importance of taking every possible opportunity to travel and learn about cultures other than my own.

To the Macalester Anthropology and French Departments, without the classes I had taken previous to studying abroad, conducting and transcribing 20 ethnographic interviews all in French would have been impossible.

And to all of the people and museums that have made me love art throughout my lifetime, thank you for inspiring the subject of and passion behind this paper!
Introduction

Museums are important institutions to study in that they are teachers and active visual representations of culture. They display objects in a way that makes them culturally valuable and thus function as a way of materializing culture.¹ Museums come in all kinds and as they are being further studied, the ideas of what defines a museum is constantly changing and expanding.² Some museums intend on functioning more as a way of preserving a culture through valuable or sacred objects, while other museums are more intended to teach about more contemporary stories and phenomena. However, all museums, no matter their original goals and intents, display, preserve, represent and teach through the inherent definitions of the museum setting. The museum tells a story, or multiple, because of all the actors present in the museum. But because of all these actors involved, the story may not be told in the way it was originally intended.

In an ideal situation, museums would be able to take traditional culturally significant objects and display them in a museum to preserve, represent and teach about that culture while maintaining that same traditionally important meaning and function. But by placing the object in a museum, the meaning of the object, how it appears, and how it is used in the learning experience of museum visitors changes. But how does this idea of the exhibitionary complex manifest differently at the Batoufam Chefferie in a museum created by Bamileke, for Bamileke, and representing Bamiléké, I am hoping to discover some differences in the interactions between the museum and its artifacts, the community whose culture is being represented, and outside visitors and tourists who are using this museum as a way of learning about Batoufam culture.

Main Research Question

In studying this topic, my main research question I wanted to explore was:

How does the Musée Royale de Batoufam represent the ways that Bamileke culture has maintained and adapted old traditions while integrating them into modern society today?

**Sub Research Questions**

My sub-research questions were as follows:

1. What are some Batoufam practices of the past that can still be seen in the museum today?
2. How can one see the changes to traditions that come with modernization within the museum?
3. How does the setting of the museum specifically change the meaning of the art and objects displayed?

**Main Research Hypothesis**

Based on my background knowledge and preliminary readings, before I entered the field for my primary research, I hypothesized that:

The Batoufam Chefferie Museum functions as a contemporary museum that shows a history full of traditions that are still very important to the people of Batoufam today. The Batoufam people have continued many traditional practices and adapted them to fit into the societal changes that come with constant influences of modernization. This integration and interplay of the past and present can be seen in the museum’s art and architecture, unique setting and background, and their educational programs.

**Sub Research Hypotheses**

My sub-research hypotheses were as follows:

1. The founding of the Batoufam Chefferie Museum through La Route de Chefferie places an emphasis on the importance of preserving Bamileke culture that is specific to Batoufam by making this display of history and culture available for audiences to access and learn from.
2. The site of the museum is rich with art and architecture about prominent people, values, and ceremonies that have existed since the founding of the chiefdom of Batoufam itself.

3. The Batoufam Chefferie Museum addresses and incorporates many practices and beliefs that still exist today. While these practices may have started in the pre-colonial era, the fact they are still used today is something that is still emphasized and represented in the museum.

Definition of Key Terms

Before diving into my findings on who and what I studied, it is important to first understand the exact definitions I use to describe these concepts. Some of the key terms I identified that I defined are: Museum, Site Museum, Tradition, Modernization, and Modernity.

A museum is defined by the International Commission of Museums (ICOM) as “a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment.”3 While many people have a basic understanding of museums, this definition is very open to interpretation and thus includes many different types of museums. The Musée Royale de Batoufam can be categorized as a site museum, another term that is open for interpretation. Site museums are defined by ICOM as museums “conceived and set up in order to protect natural or cultural property, movable and immovable, on its original site, that is, preserved at the place where such property has been.”4 I am categorizing the Chefferie Museum as such as it is on the site of both the past and present palace of the chief and the museum’s location is integral to how the museum functions in preserving, displaying, and teaching about the chiefdom and more general Batoufam

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3 Hudson, “Attempts to Define ‘Museum,’” 372.
Before studying the interplay of tradition and modernity at the Chefferie Museum, I had to study the complications surrounding these terms themselves. After in-depth background research, I define modernization as the process of a society shifting towards a particular goal of attaining new political and economic systems,\(^5\) which includes multiple perspectives on what it means to be modern depending on the society\(^6\) and modernity as the goal that is attempting to be reached through this process. The Bamiléké people highly value maintaining and adapting their traditions from the past in order to keep this culture in the present and future. In attempting to study this phenomenon with the Bamileke, I have defined tradition as a custom, opinion, or belief handed down to posterity either orally or through practice,\(^7\) whether held for many generations or recently invented, reinvented, or adapted,\(^8\) that not only preserves the past but helps to better understand the present and future.\(^9\)

Cultural preservation is defined as “The act of using deliberate and well-designed methodologies to maintain cultural heritage from the past for the benefit of the present and future generations.”\(^10\) Preservation can take several different forms including written, oral, and artistic/visual histories. Written history preserves culture and tradition through “documents that have recorded through the written word.”\(^11\) Oral history is “the recording, preservation and interpretation of historical information, based on the personal experiences and opinions of the

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\(^8\) Ibid, 129.
speaker.” Visual history is defined as a “way of learning about the past with our eyes,” whether through visual art, performative art, or other visible forms.

**Background on Museums & Bamileke Culture**

Museums play an incredibly important role in how people can learn about and view cultures other than their own. Many people believe that museums are merely a place for visitors to look at visually appealing objects and make meanings of these objects, whether it be the technique used in creating the object or the object’s original meaning and function. However, the placement of cultural objects in a museum setting often changes the meaning and function of the object itself by de-contextualizing the object. So while many believe it is merely the viewer looking at the object, this interaction involves the culture and original creator of the object, the individual viewing the object, and the museum that is displaying it in a different context and setting than where it was before. The viewer then must understand not just the object but the interactions and roles of all three actors in the museum and the ways that museums are contact zones where the viewer and the culture represented by the object are constantly interacting.

According to Clifford James in “Museums as Contact Zones,” because of the emergence of museums during an age of industry and capitalism, many museums address global diffusion and local adaptations. They tend to do so in a more consumer-oriented manner centered around

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16 Baxandall, “Exhibiting Intention,” 34.
appearance and aesthetics.\textsuperscript{18} This is especially relevant in the case of the Bamileke because of the central role that this interaction of modernity and tradition plays in their daily lives. It is very true that the Batoufam people are constantly experiencing outside pushes towards industrialization and capitalism, but they still find ways to keep their own traditions present and relevant despite these external forces.\textsuperscript{19} But in general, museums are often considered to be a Western concept and institution.

So do these Western theories still apply in an African context? In studying the Musée Royale de Batoufam, I am examining an institution created by Bamileke people, representing Bamileke people. In reading Baxandall’s theory about the interaction between the creator, curator, and viewer, I am curious to see how the effect of this changes when the creator and the curator are coming from the same culture. Do they still carry the same intentions? How much does the museum context change the museum of the object? Can the traditions of the Batoufam people still be effectively conveyed when traditionally significant objects and art are placed into the context of a museum?

While studying the interplay of tradition and modernity more broadly, I will take these museum theories into account. They not only bring up additional questions I should keep in mind during my research; they also help me better understand how the mere act of creating a contemporary museum out of a traditionally significant site, the Batoufam Chefferie, shows the upkeep and importance of old values, stories, and practices during this shift towards modernity. The institution of the Musée Royale de Batoufam not only represents the integration of tradition and modernity in Bamileke culture, but as an institution also further perpetuates the difficulties surrounding the changes in meaning and preservation of art and artifacts that arise with modernity.

\textsuperscript{18} Clifford, “Museums as Contact Zones,” 452.
\textsuperscript{19} Magnido, Why Batoufam? 2019.
and how they deal with important traditions.

**Methodology**

I knew before arriving in Cameroon that I wanted to do a museum-based study for my research. I have always enjoyed visiting museums and wanting to further explore this interest, I have more recently taken courses on and had internships at museums that confirmed my passion for them. However, these experiences have also allowed me the opportunity to view the institution of the museum more critically and caused me to want to do more research on the way that museums currently function and how they can improve in the future. I did not have a very good conception of how I could fit my interest areas into the focus of the program until I had the opportunity to visit several different museums in Cameroon. After visiting the National Museum in Yaoundé, the Royal Museum in Batoufam, and the Museum of Civilizations in Dschang, I found that I would probably find the most information regarding the representation and education about traditional practices in modern society, a topic I decided I wanted to further explore after learning about the Bamileke, at the Musée Royale de Batoufam. During our week-long visit to Batoufam, I had already met some of the people I worked with on this project, so I not only knew that the museum was fitting for my topic and interests, but I had also already established rapport with some of my future interview informants.

Batoufam is a chiefdom found in the West Region of Cameroon. The Batoufam chiefdom has its own language and culture that, while sharing some characteristics with other Bamileke groups, is unique in and of itself. Bamileke is the name of the larger ethnic group that includes Batoufam, along with 105 other chiefdoms and language groups.\(^{20}\) Bamileke people come from the West Region and make up about 20% of Cameroon’s population.\(^{21}\)

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\(^{21}\) Ibid.
Field Procedures

When I first arrived in Batoufam, I had already been in contact with several people I knew I would be interviewing, so the rapport was already partially there with people such as the manager and conservationist (Informant M3), the Chief (M5), and the museum sculptor (M2). With both these relationships and relationships with my other informants, I had to spend some time to familiarize myself with the people and the environment so that I would be trusted and be able to conduct effective interviews. For people who work at the museum, I have been spending a lot of time in the museum office, getting to know the staff and other interns as I am working on my project. Being in this office often has also allowed me to observe the everyday activities of the museum staff. Once I got to know them a little better and get settled, I started asking about the possibility of doing interviews. Similarly, with residents of the Batoufam community, I waited several days, so that I would familiarize myself with the local population who lives along the path I walk daily to get to the Chefferie. This is where I found my first two informants, whom I decided to approach based on how busy they appeared with other activities and also their friendliness in starting conversation with me along my walk. If I hadn’t already walked this path and spoken with these individuals, the interviews may not have gone as well, let alone happened at all. On the other hand, with tourists coming to visit the museum, I did not have days to establish rapport since many visitors only come for the day or maybe one or two nights. So I started interviewing museum visitors on my first day in the field. I used tour observations as a way to not only get a feel for what visitors were learning about Batoufam culture and how they reacted to the museum, but also to connect with visitors and gain access to these interviews.

Target Population and Sample Size
My target population in this project was museum staff, museum visitors, and the community represented in the museum. I narrowed this sample down specifically with regards to who I had access to at the Musée Royale de Batoufam. I had the goal of achieving 20 interviews in my two-week period in the field in Batoufam. Conducting 20 interviews gave me a wealth of information for this paper, but was still a relatively realistic number to complete during such a short timespan.

**Interviews**

My 20 interviews included interviews with five members of the museum’s staff, seven groups of museum visitors, six groups of Batoufam community members, one interview with several students working on a development project at the Chefferie, and one staff member at the National Museum in Yaoundé to provide comparison and a different expert perspective. Some of the interviews were with individuals, but others were with groups of between two and four people. I conducted interviews this way because people were often grouped this way when I approached them asking for an interview and I didn’t feel comfortable choosing or isolating people from their families and friends. While this may have limited the depth of information I got from individuals, participating with someone else familiar to them helped to make my informants more comfortable in the interviews. For each of these groups, I had a different set of interview questions (see Appendix). However, some informants revealed information or positions that caused me to ask questions not on my question guide or perhaps even cross over to a different set of questions intended for a different group of people.

I made sure my data is reliable by conducting multiple interviews from each perspective, the staff, the visitor, and the resident. This way I am not drawing any conclusions about the larger groups opinions from just one person, who could possibly be an outlier in their opinions on the
subject.

I decided to conduct interviews instead of surveys because it is a very opinions-based topic with lots of nuances to the questions I was asking, so I didn’t want to limit the responses to a choice of options or only a few lines to write out an answer. This way I could also include the voices of my informants in order to show the many complications surrounding the issues I am looking at. I chose to interview each of these different perspectives because they each have different ways of using and viewing the museum; this led me to expand on the importance of different perspectives in my research. The museum staff interviews gave me lots of background context and in-depth knowledge on specific piece and stories, the visitor interviews functioned in testing the effectiveness of the museum and tours in how they teach various audiences this history and its current existence, and the community interviews allowed me to see if the people who are represented in the museum actually use it and whether they think it represents them.

Observations

I also conducted 17 observations which included seven tour observations, four observations of visitors in the museum store, observations of two different community meetings at the Chefferie, three observations of art present in homes, and one participant observation of the manual work the museum interns do. For each of these I had a prewritten observation guide (see Appendix) to provide ideas for what I would be observing in each circumstance, but I didn’t follow this super strictly as things evolved differently from what I expected throughout this process.

I also tried to conduct multiple observations of each type, tour, store, homes and community meetings to ensure the reliability of my observation methods. If I observed something in only one place, I can’t make generalizations based off that one observation, but rather I can afterwards reflect on more general trends I saw across the multiple museum tours or multiple store
visits for instance.

It was important to conduct observations in order to see the daily small details of things that interviews cannot capture. The tour observations helped me make comparisons between the stories present in the museum and which ones the museum chooses to share with visitors, and which things visitors express most interest in by taking photos and asking questions. The store observations were to see if visitors are interested more in pieces similar to what they learned about on the tour or if they are attracted to other, more familiar things. The community meeting observations were to get a sense of the other ways the space of the chefferie is used other than a museum for community purposes. I did home observations to see if there is art similar to that in the museum present in Batoufam people’s homes, and if not, what other traditional Batoufam objects families have. I did participant observation to help interns with daily upkeep of the chefferie, which reflects on the importance of good physical appearance of the space so that visitors will have a good experience and potentially come back or encourage others to come.

Data Management, Analysis and Interpretation

For storing, analyzing and coding my interviews, I recorded all of the interviews on my iPhone and then AirDropped them to my laptop, where I uploaded them onto Express Scribe, a software used for transcribing. I then stored my transcriptions in their own designated Google Drive folder. I tried to transcribe as I go, daily, whenever I wasn’t doing interviews or observations. I was usually able to finish transcriptions within one or two days after they happened, but some of the longer ones took longer and caused me to get behind schedule on transcribing. As I transcribed, or as I read through the transcription afterwards, I highlighted quotes I would want to use in my paper, and I added comments about how I would incorporate this into my argument. Afterwards I would put the subject of the highlighted quote into a coding chart I made. Along one axis were
each of the informants and on the other were all of my different codes. This way I could not only have all my data in one place, but I could also see if there were certain answers that were more common or significant than others. I also added quotes into my outline to organize where I wanted them to go in my paper, which made the process of shifting from an outline to a draft much smoother. In the process of writing, I assigned numbers to each informant in place of a pseudonym. I chose to do this instead because it is more systematic and given the number of informants I have is easier for myself and readers to understand. The names are in the form of upper-case letter, number, and sometimes lower-case letter. The upper-case letter is for the type of informant (M for Museum worker, V for visitor, C for community member, and S for student), the number is for the number of the interview within that group (no higher than 6 in any case), and the lower-case letter is if it was a group interview, I assigned a different letter for each individual who spoke.

For storing, analyzing and coding my observations, I took notes by hand during the time of observations (minus the participant observation) and whenever I next sat down at my computer I typed them up in an ongoing Google Doc of all my observations that I expanded on with each new observation. I didn’t use an official coding method for my observations as I did for my interview, but as I realized their relevance to my paper, I started adding them into their outline along with how my observations support my argument.

Ethical Considerations

I also took lots of ethical concerns and human subject considerations into account during this project. Before interviewing individuals, I informed them that the information and their identities would remain anonymous and confidential, and that I will use pseudonyms for the people I mention in my paper. I also gave people the option to opt out of participating at any stage of the process, whether it be that the questions make them feel uncomfortable or they other places to be
and things to do. I always asked if it was okay to use a voice recorder, and for those who didn’t understand I explained what it was. Using the voice recorder is important because, while I must ask first to see if people are okay with it, it allows me to hear what people say word-for-word and to use their direct language and voice to further support my argument and analysis while still representing the original speaker of the information. For observations, I always asked people beforehand if it was okay to observe and explained what my project was and why I was observing them for it.

Strengths and Limitation of the Study

Some strengths of my research are that it is an interesting topic that almost anyone in Batoufam could contribute on, no matter their positionality. Because of my topic, it was important and helpful that I got multiple perspectives on the issue being studied. Everyone was able to give lots of enthusiastic answers and my questions were geared towards each group of informants slightly differently. However, some limitations were the language barrier, participants’ difficulties in understanding my questions, and gaining access to informants. As I was conducting all of my interviews in French, I was not always able to follow what informants were saying in the moment, especially once they started straying off-topic. This also sometimes made it hard for people to understand the questions I was asking them. This often led to lots of repeating myself and trying to rephrase the question so they could understand. This was especially an issue with the community members, and often once they thought they understood, they would answer a slightly different question than the one I had originally asked. In terms of access to informants, visitors didn’t always come every day, and when they did, they were often impatient to leave afterwards, so it was hard to find any who could talk for more than 25 minutes, causing some interviews to be much shorter than others. Community members were often busy inside their homes or in the fields, so most of
the people I approached were sitting outside of stores or bars. Because of the limited access to non-busy people, I didn’t get as many of these interviews as I would have liked and they were also fairly short. While the museum staff were thus my easiest-to-access group as they were always around, they were also very busy.

In other to limit the difficulties I could possibly face, I asked one of my most informative informants, the museum manager and conservationist, at the beginning of my time in the field who the best people would be to interview for those who work at the museum and she directed me to my other 4 museum staff informants. She also sometimes helped ask groups of visitors if they would be willing to speak since it was sometimes difficult to gage whether people had the time or interest, and if multiple did, who the individuals are that I should choose to speak to.

**The Musée Royale de Batoufam: A Unique Case Study**

Not only does the Musée Royal de Batoufam preserve and teach about the ways that traditions are still relevant and important today, but this can also be seen in the site of the museum itself, which is the Chefferie, the home of the current chief, and many past chiefs of Batoufam. “La Chefferie est un même tout un musée,” so all of the Chefferie is on the site of the museum, and all of the museum is part of the Chefferie. The museum was started officially in 2012, although the planning of it had been going on for several decades beforehand. The current chief of Batoufam, along with his father and grandfather, values the ability to keep the museum open to welcome in visitors from Batoufam, other parts of Cameroon, and all over the world. This continued value of opening the chefferie to the public in order to preserve and teach Batoufam culture was what led to the creation of Batoufam’s museum.

The museum was founded as part of a larger project called La Route de Chefferie, an attempt to preserve Bamileke culture by opening museums at each village’s chefferie. In their
involvement, la Route de Chefferie wanted to give Batoufam the form of the traditional museum where objects are arranged specifically for museum purposes, but the Chief wouldn’t allow it:

Le Roi de Batoufam a refusé, il ne peut pas enlever les objets puis qu’enfin de parcours, chaque cour a une histoire, chaque cour a ses objets qui sont utilisés pendant des cérémonies ponctuelles, donc c’est pour la. Pour la, d’enlever comme les autres ont voulu aussi, on a pensé qu’on doit les convaincre à dire “Non.” Ce sont les choses qui ont une histoire, faut pas enlever ces objets.

Thus these objects are not decontextualized in the way many museum artifacts are because they were never taken away from their original site and owner in the creation of the museum. While decontextualization often puts the artifacts in a position of being used in a way other than their original intent, that is not entirely the case here since they still continue to be used for their original function and not just to be on display in a museum. This aids the preservation of the true story behind these objects, but there are still many complications regarding the fact it is still a museum and who has access to this museum and this information.

Also unlike many traditional museums, these objects stayed in the places they were before the site became a museum. By not removing the objects from their original contexts, this also means that their acquisition is different from that of many other museums.

On a plusieurs modes d’acquisition. La plus importante est le commun de royale, c’est le plus important. Le commun royale, ça veut dire que c’est le Roi qui a besoin un objet, et il va aux artisans, aux sculpteurs, et c’est qui, les artisans et sculpteurs qui doit fabriquer l’objet qu’il veut. C’est dans le sens, la modification. La seconde méthode d’acquisition, c’est l’héritage. Ce sont les objets qu’ils ont transmis des générations aux autres. C’est la locale du plupart de la collection architecturale.

Informant M3. Personal Interview. 2019. English Translation: The King of Batoufam refused. He couldn’t remove the objects from their places because each courtyard has a story, and each courtyard has its objects that are used in current ceremonies. So they had to stay there for that. To remove the objects like how the others had wanted, we had to convince them, we had to say no. These things all have a stories, so we must not remove the objects.

Harrison, Byrne, and Clarke. 2013. Reassembling the Collection, 20.


Informant M1. Personal Interview. April 16, 2019. English Translation: We have several modes of acquisition. The most important is the everyday, ordinary objects that belong to the King. That’s the most important. These ordinary objects, this means that the king needs an object and he goes to artists, to sculptors and they make the
Since the museum is on the current site of the chefferie, the home of the man who created the museum, the objects can both be used not just in the sense of teaching about history, but can also continue to be used in the same ceremonies and other traditional uses that they were created for. Because of its unique role as a site museum that is still currently used for other contemporary purposes, the Musée Royale de Batoufam can both preserve these historically significant objects but continue to use them in modern society today. Many of these objects, while some are functional, are also pieces of art so visitors find that more than other site museums, “Le musée est très visuel parce que chaque fois tu vois quelque chose, un objet on s’imaginait plus concrètement,” and this helps engage and teach the viewers and visually preserve the culture but without in a way that is without writing. This multifunctional space also leads to some confusion among visitors regarding how it can be both a museum and a Chefferie. This makes it a unique museum to study with regards to the Exhibitionary Complex because if visitors don’t view it as a museum because it doesn’t follow the structure of the traditional museum, will they still react to it, learn from it, and interact with it in the same ways as they do with other cultural, historical, site, or art museums?

This museum is also unique among the other Route de Chefferie museums in the West Region because while the others also teach about tradition, this is the only museum that is actually composed of traditional architecture.

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object he wants. It’s in a sense modification. The second method of acquisition is heritage. These are the objects that are given from one generation to the next. This is the method of acquisition for most of the architectural parts of our collection.

Informant V6a, Personal Interview. April 26, 2019. English Translation: The museum is very visual because every time you see something, it’s an object that some imagined more concretely.
C’est conservé au maximum cette technique, c’est ceci qui est important et qui est unique parce que la site de la Chefferie de Batoufam et le Musée de Batoufam est très unique à cause de cette conservation du modèle architectural.27

This not only further supports the ways that the museum teaches about old traditions, their adaptations, and their continuations today, but also how like the other parts of the museum, the choice of the Batoufam Chefferie as the museum’s site leads to a unique demonstration of this phenomenon that is not necessarily present elsewhere.

In addition to a site museum, one can also categorize the Musée Royale de Batoufam as a “living museum.” The continued use of the museum’s space for multiple functions, both for visitors and members for the local community allows for visitors and the Batoufam people to view, interpret, and learn from this site differently. One visitor described her experience as:

C’est plus une visite à la chefferie qui toujours en fonctionne avec les objets qui permettent les explications qui sont plus les visiteurs communes. Pour moi, le terme “musée” par forcément même adapté, c’est parce que c’est encore réunion. Pour moi, c’est vraiment une chefferie à visiter, je ne sais pas un musée de chefferie.28

This further supports the idea that this museum may not necessarily be viewed as a museum by all who interact with it because of these different functions, but the fact that it is still intended as a museum means it functions like other museums in creating a contact zone between the viewer, the represented culture, and the museum itself. As a museum representing a group of people that are supposed to benefit from the space, they don’t benefit from the museum itself but from other ways, despite the fact they like sharing their culture with others. The fact that this whole group is most

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27 Informant M3, Personal Interview, 2019. English Translation: It’s conserved as much as possible with this technique, which is the most important and unique because the site of the Chefferie and Museum of Batoufam is very unique because of the conservation of this architectural style and technique.

28 Informant V1a, Personal Interview, April 15, 2019. English Translation: It’s more than a visit to the Cherie because it’s always functioning with objects that explain these common things to visitors. For me, the term “museum” has been adapted, because the space is still being used. For me, it’s truly a chefferie to visit, I don’t know as much if it’s a Chefferie Museum.
left out of the exhibitionary complex is a consideration that must be made when critically studying this museum and many others where this is also the case.

**Tradition and Modernity Coexisting in Musée Royale de Batoufam**

The main objective of the Musée Royale de Batoufam is to preserve history and tradition so that these stories can continue in the age of modernization. The King of Batoufam, who founded the museum, describes himself as “*le gardien des institutions traditionnelles, et surtout que donc, gardien de patrimoine,*” indicating that he himself plays a role and has a high level of control over the process and importance of preserving the museum’s collection. This ensures that with the right preservation methods, the stories and values of Batoufam and the existence of the museum itself will stay for a long time.\(^{29}\)

All of the customs and stories that were most discussed in tours and interviews can be seen in one way or another in the art and architecture of the museum. In museums like this one, the objects are not just art but also records, history, stories, and moral lessons.\(^ {30}\) Among these are traditions that are no longer used, traditions that are still relevant but have adapted to better fit and exist in today’s culture, those that have for the most part unchanged. One piece of art that represents a belief no longer maintained today is the sculpture of men holding brooms, which can be found around doorways and windows of buildings throughout the Chefferie (See Appendix).

> Sur le montagne du porte, tu vois un danseur qui tient la balai. Et tient le balai, ce n’est au niveau de dérange, ce balai, c’est balai pour reverence. Alors lorsqu’une personne importante, une notable qui a passé, c’est le balai pour balayer, dégager leurs son passage. Certaines personnes de rendre au marche à ce dernier de reconnaître qui est suprême, mais aujourd’hui, malheureusement, cette partie n’existe pas.\(^ {31}\)

\(^{29}\) Informant M5, Personal Interview, April 26 2019. English Translation: The guardian of the traditional institutions and all, so guardian of the patrimony.

\(^{30}\) Clifford, James. Museums as Contact Zones, 439.

\(^{31}\) Informant M1, Personal Interview, 2019. English Translation: Above the doorway, you see a dancer holding a broom. And holding the broom, it’s not to clean, this broom, it’s a broom for reverence. So when an important
While this used to be a symbol of reverence, it is now irrelevant in today’s society and no longer practiced today. When a visitor on a tour asked about what this symbol meant, the tour guide, rather than explaining the meaning written above, said it is just decoration, indicating that this is not a belief that Batoufam people still held close.\(^{32}\)

However, this is one of very few cases of a Batoufam tradition stopping altogether--many others have evolved in order to remain a part of Batoufam culture and identity. There are several places in the museum where visitors can directly observe this shift by viewing the original, the current, and anything in between. This can be seen in the types of pots used for cooking: the shift from ceramic to iron and also calabasse (See Appendix).\(^{33}\) However, Informant M3’s favorite example of this is in the architecture itself (See Appendix):

Si on voit sur le plan architectural, il y a les changements. Il y a des pièces comme plus que le musée le permet choses comme l’architecture. Sur le plan traditionnel, on voit les changements, l’évolution de la construction. Il y a les niveaux de l’architecture, l’architecture traditionnelle, l’architecture moderne, l’architecture--moi, je n’ai pas trop de termes architecturales. Moi, j’ai la terme de l’architecture qui est utilisée par les gens de Batoufam, et l’architecture qui a été importé qui est venu, le nouveau modèle d’architecture, voit très bien dans le musée.\(^{34}\)

She explains further that this change is because of outside influences, whether with non-Batoufam Cameroonians and other Africans or with the West. However, it is still modernization and not all Westernization because of the way the outside influences have been adapted to still fit within the

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32 Personal Observation, Museum Tour, 2019.
33 Ibid.
34 Informant M3, Personal Interview, 2019. English Translation: If you look at the architectural techniques, there have been changes. There are many pieces that the museum considers architecture. In the tradition style, we can see changes, the evolution of construction. There are levels of architecture--traditional architecture, modern architecture, architecture--I don’t know too many architectural terms. But I use the term architecture, which is used by the people of Batoufam and the architecture which is imported, which came here, new architectural styles seen frequently around the museum.
identity of Bamileke culture. This is similar to the way that democracy was adapted to fit into African culture, as African democracy rather than democracy in Africa, so that it can work alongside the traditional system of the chieftaincy, as seen in Batoufam.\footnote{Nyamnjoh, Francis. "‘Our Traditions are Modern, Our Modernities Traditional’: Chieftaincy and Democracy in Contemporary Cameroon and Botswana.” Modern Africa: Politics, History and Society [Online], 2.2 (2014): 13-62, 13.}

Informant M3’s use of the cooking pots and styles of architecture in showing adaptations caused by outside influences is something that can be seen in many recently emerging museums. Because museums for the most part started to exist during the age of industry and capitalism, many museums often address global diffusion and local adaptations, and tend to do so in a more consumer-oriented manner centered around appearance and aesthetics.\footnote{Clifford, Museums as Contact Zones, 452.} The ways that the Musée Royale du Batoufam uses art and architecture in order to demonstrate these adaptations shows how this museum despite its many unique characteristics, is still like many other museums in its methods of display, preservation, and representation. Artifacts like these pots, for example were previously used “\textit{mais maintenant ce n’est encore fonctionnel,}”\footnote{Informant M5, Personal Interview, 2019. English Translation: But now are no longer functional.} indicating that while the functionality of artifacts does make this museum somewhat unique, there are still some objects that are displayed more in the style of the traditional, non-living museum manner.

Another tradition that has adapted to continue today is the story behind the imagery of the men covering their eyes, ears, and mouths (See Appendix). The men covering their mouths, for example, are doing so because it’s important to keep in mind the things you say

\textit{Qui va créer le problème. Parce que parfois tu connais quelque chose, on te dire tu connais, si tu vois que c’est quelque chose qui cause des problèmes, dit que tu ne sais pourtant tu le sais. Juste pour protéger la personne parce que tu permets la personne dans le problème.} \footnote{Informant M2. Personal Interview. April 19, 2019. English Translation: [You shouldn’t say things] that create problems. Because each time you know something, we know that you know. If you see that it’s something that could}
Along with this idea come the values of respect and obedience towards others. However, this aspect of the morals behind covering the mouth are becoming less effective. As time has evolved, kids are more likely to push against their parents’ power and the things they are told to do. But while the morals behind this symbolism is less practiced than before, it is still an important story to Batoufam and still gets passed down through generations.

Some of the important symbols of Batoufam, the chameleon, the spider, and the turtle (See Appendix), have also changed their meanings to continue to be relevant in today’s society. Traditionally, the chameleon represents adaptability, the spider represents hard work, and the turtle represents wisdom. While these all had different applications at the time of Batoufam’s founding, they are still important values today “parce qu’on travaille, on a le stresse, on change l’argent, gagner à gauche, il faut gagner à droite” in the hard-working society that has developed in Batoufam by combining these values with the capitalism that comes with modernization.  

The Museum as a Modern Concept

In fact, the institution of the museum itself is an example of the interplay of tradition and modernity:

Déjà la présence du musée, c’est moderne. Dans une autre conception de cadre patrimoniale. Mais quand on traduit une langue locale, ça dit qu’on doit garder les choses du palais qui n’est pas accessible à tout le monde.  

So why do people take objects of the past and put them on display today if those objects are no longer used? The past helps us better understand the present because traditions constantly continue to cause problems, say that you don’t know just to protect the person because you are bringing that person into your problem.

39 Informant V3. Personal Interview. April 19, 2019. English Translation: Because we work, we’re stressed, we make money, we have to be winning and gaining left and right.

40 Informant V5a. Personal Interview. April 23, 2019. English Translation: Just the presence of the museum is modern. In another concept of the patrimonial setting. But when we translate the local language, it’s to say that we have to keep the things in the palace that aren’t accessible to everyone.
to adapt to the present and impact the future. People today often tend to look at things and try to understand their historical context, as modernity makes people aware of their history and tradition.\(^{41}\) Museums are viewed not only as representation of culture but also a site of progress, discovery, and accumulation that can help better shape and understand what is to come in the future.\(^{42}\) Thus tradition and modernity are not a dichotomy but rather work together in creating a modernity that is still true to Bamileke culture. To not have this museum would be an erasure of tradition and Bamiléké identity because “\textit{quand une peuple n’a plus les traditions, il n’a plus sa culture, il n’a plus sa coutume.”}\(^{43}\)

For Batoufam in particular, knowing one’s own history and tradition is important to see how they apply in the present because these traditions are more overtly preserved and are more similar to past practices than perhaps some traditions practiced by other cultures that may have more modified traditions or invented traditions.\(^{44}\) By looking at modernity through a Western lense, which causes people to associate modernization with Westernization, traditions are viewed as a thing of the past.\(^{45}\) However, this idea of the past seen in traditions is essential in the present because tradition is meaningless without its contemporary & dynamic interpretation and application.\(^{46}\)

Museums, in addition to being modern, are also often viewed as a western concept.\(^{47}\) This is also because of the false associations made between modernization and westernization. Thus the

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\(^{42}\) Clifford, Museums as Contact Zones, 451.

\(^{43}\) Informant C6, Personal Interview, 2019. English Translation: And when a people doesn’t have traditions, they don’t have a culture, they don’t have customs.


\(^{45}\) Venn & Featherstone. 2006. Modernity, 452.

\(^{46}\) Ibid, 456.

ways that many museums are established and curated fall into the trap of western views of how to display and preserve cultures, and this is often done by people who aren’t a part of that culture, and in ways that don’t work for the group represented.\(^{48}\) The Musée Royale de Batoufam, because of the permanence, contextualization, and continued use of the displayed artifacts, preserves Batoufam culture in a way that better fits Batoufam, what it needs, and how it uses the space as the Chefferie than the traditional form of museums.

However, because of the concept of the exhibitionary complex, it is important to consider not just whether the culture told by the museum is representative of its people, but also whether it actually involves those people and includes their voices in sharing these stories with others.\(^ {49}\) By sharing old Batoufam traditions and their modifications and, adaptations, and continuation today, the museum must also incorporate the Batoufam people into the telling and sharing of their history and contemporary culture to others through the institution of the museum.

**Different Cultural Perspectives & Visitor Comprehensions**

Museum tour guides spend most of the tours explaining the history and traditions of Batoufam but by using the architecture, sculptures, and other culturally significant objects around them on the site of the museum. Many tourists explain how they have learned the history, traditions, and their contemporary continuations through the ways the tours are given and that the tours are generally very effective in passing along this information. However, depending on the visitors’ cultural backgrounds and previous knowledge and exposure to Bamileke culture, the museum has to take into account how these things could be interpreted differently by the wide range of visitors that the museum receives.

\(^{49}\) Harrison, Byrne, and Clarke. 2013. *Reassembling the Collection*, 34.
Sometimes, visitors understand very well the idea that these practices of the past continue and adapt to fit in today's society:

C’est un musée, c’est pas du passé juste encore. C’est encore utilisé et le Chef habite ici . . . . Qu’est-ce qui est du passé? Qu’est-ce qui est vraiment encore aujourd’hui utilisé? Parce que la société a évolué beaucoup, c’est la tradition, c’est la mélange avec la capitaliste, avec la modernisation.50

But other visitors’ interpretations, and in some extreme cases, misunderstandings, of Batoufam history and culture can not just impact the actors in the exhibitionary complex—themselves, the museum, and the represented culture—but also the outside world. For example, if tourists take photos and post on social media, or if they buy and resell objects they purchase at the museum, but don’t tell the stories behind the art correctly, this incorrect information and representation of Batoufam tradition spreads even further.

Il vendent te dire par exemple, les statues, la statue de deuxième Roi de royaume de Batoufam. Parce qu’ils veulent vendre, pourtant c’est faux. Le carrément des informées, ça dit que c’est informants, ils ont biens informations. Les informations fausses, et ça peuvent peut-être affecté l’image de Batoufam et l’histoire.51

One of the ways the museum is trying to improve this is by increasing communication in order to reach and attract broader audiences from across the globe. When visitors misinterpret the information presented to them and share it with others, this hinders the effectiveness of the museum because people are learning the wrong things and getting the wrong impressions about Bamileke culture, Batoufam traditions, and the Musée Royale de Batoufam itself.

50 Informant V6b, Personal Interview, April 26, 2019. English Translation: It’s a museum, it’s not just of the past. It’s still used and the Chief lives here . . . . What are the things of the past? What is really still used today? Because the society evolved a lot, it’s tradition, it’s the mix with capitalism, with modernization.

51 Informant M1, Personal Interview, 2019. English Translation: I’m going to tell you, they sell statues, for example, of the second king of the kingdom of Batoufam. Because they want to sell, but the information is false. They tell them frankly, they say they are informed and that they have the correct information. But the information is false, and it could possibly affect the image of Batoufam and its history.
However, these misunderstandings are because of the ways that each individual’s cultural background affects the way they interpret information.

While everyone should try to understand other cultures as best as they can, there are always going to be certain parts that people can process better such as parts more similar to their own culture, but there are also always parts that will never be fully understood because they are so different. People often compare other cultures to their own when learning and this ethnocentrism and cultural relativism helps people in the learning process, but also potentially creates issues in how they look at other groups of people different from their own, often wrapped up in ideas stemming from mental slavery and colonization. The objects in the museum that people are most often interested in reflect their own cultures, whether it be that they are interested by something similar to their own culture, like the men covering their eyes, ears, and mouths, or things more unfamiliar such as the extremely small doorways built for defense. This further asserts that one’s cultural background as the visitor and viewer in the Exhibitionary Complex impacts the way one learns from the objects and views the culture being represented in the museum.

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52 Informant V5b, Personal Interview, April 23, 2019. English Translation: It isn’t truly how we bring to understanding our point of view because it is known--it is that which you leave convinced. Okay? But yet, you come with this logic that I must have defeated this history. We must take this thing that is presented to us, okay? And the west, the westerners come with particular paradigms not to have the same freedom because they want to see the things to understand their advantages.


54 Baxandall, “Exhibiting Intention,” 34.
Many of the misunderstandings that visitors hold when they leave the Musée Royale de Batoufam surround the previously discussed idea of how traditions of Batoufam continue to be practiced today and how these historical practices fit in the present. Many people confuse and misunderstand the differences between development, modernization, globalization, and westernization. Because of this confusion, people’s conceptions of what modernity and modernization are often includes aspects of Westernization and globalization. Through this confusion between modernization and Westernization, there is often the assumption that modernization is the development of democracy, neoliberalism, and capitalism in a society, which means many would then view non-Western cultures as non-modern. One visitor explicitly said “Pour moi, c’est plus d’une culture et communauté du passé,” and many other visitors expressed that the only continuation of these practices that they truly could see through the museum is just the fact that there is still a king and that he lives in the chefferie.

Ca dépend de comment on leur explique. Si la personne qui est en train de leur disons expliquer, se focalise seulement sur les anciens temps, sur le passé, ils peuvent croire qu’il n’y a aucun changements.

This can also be fixed easily by the guides explaining it along the lines of: “Voilà, maintenant, voilà ce qui se passe actuellement même comme avant ça se passait comme ça.” For example in the case of the men covering their mouths, the original meaning of this symbol is explained, but not the fact that it has shifted to be less relevant today despite the values it still represents. While

56 Informant V1a, Personal Interview, 2019. English Translation: For me it is more a community and a culture of the past.
57 Informant C6, Personal Interview, 2019. English Translation: It depends how we explain it to them. If the person is in the process of explaining in to them, and they focus only on the old times, on the past, they could believe that there haven’t been any changes.
58 Informant C6, Personal Interview, 2019. English Translation: “Here, now we have the things that happen now, and here are the things that used to happen like this.”
59 Personal Observation, Museum Tour, 2019.
it may be that the way the tour guides presented the information plants this idea of the past in visitors heads, it could also be that these visitors were coming from Belgium and France, and couldn’t understand that these traditions that seem old-fashioned are still important and widely used today.

**Community Ways of Using the Chefferie and Learning Tradition**

While visitors usually just take tours of the museum, walk around the chefferie, and sometimes stay overnight in the guest rooms, the people of Batoufam use the space of the museum and of the Chefferie more generally very differently. While some elite community members go to the Chefferie regularly for meetings with the chief and with various secret societies, most people in Batoufam go to the Chefferie only a few times a year for large community events and traditional ceremonies. They always involve dance and other things that are important values and parts of Batoufam life:


Like the art and architecture in the Musée Royale de Batoufam, objects used in these traditional ceremonies continue to be used, but their meanings change with time, just like other traditional objects, their stories, and their applications.

Aujourd’hui on tapait dans le tam-tam, on s’adapte à la modernité. La village adapté à la société adapte parce que pour communiquer, pour marcher, pour voyager, par exemple, on dirait d’aller aux parties de Yaoundé, Bafoussam, on marchait aux

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60 Personal Observation, Museum Tour, 2019.  
61 Informant C6, Personal Interview, 2019.  
62 Informant C1a. Personal Interview. April 18, 2019. English Translation: All the people of Batoufam, all the notables, we come [to the Chefferie]. And the women dance while holding their two kids like this (gestures). And they attach pants like this (gestures around waist). Wishes, and with fire of bread, fire of whatever, we pay. It’s lifted like this. We tap our feet and we dance. There aren’t any risks. We dance, they dance, we say, “Voom, voom, voom.”
Even though the drums are no longer used when walking long distances, they are still used during ceremonies for dances.

In addition to the elite meetings at the chefferie and the large community ceremonies, community members also use it as a place to greet their visitors and “Quand les étrangers viennent, on est fières de les accueillir” because the Chefferie is a beautiful, accessible place for them to share their culture. While the residents say they use the Chefferie to welcome visitors and that they are proud to share their culture with others, if visitors don’t actually interact face-to-face with Batoufam people and they just visit the museum, where many Batoufam people only go several times a year, the divide between the viewer in the museum and the culture represented by the museum continues. One visitor pointed out that because “en fait c’est plutôt que voient juste les objets, mais pas les gens dans actuelles vies,” it’s hard to confirm that the traditional practices and the site of the chefferie are still used today and that the museum actually well-represents the people of Batoufam. Because they don’t see the people living in the living museum, this, along with other reasons, hinders the visitors’ ability to view Batoufam as a modern culture.

Additionally the Chefferie offers to the youth of the Batoufam community the ability to work on the site:

On a des jeunes du lycée techniques. Par exemple, qui font toujours les stages ici.
Ce qui font l’électricité, l’énergie renouvelables. On a déjà des lycènes, pas

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63 Informant M3, Personal Interview, 2019; English Translation: Today, we play on the drums, but we have adapted it to modernity. The village adapted, the society adapted because to communicate, to walk, to travel for example. We say that to go to leave to Yaoundé or Bafoussam, we walked by foot. Today, we don’t walk by foot, we take cars that have replaced walking and reduced certain things.
64 Informant C1a, Personal Interview, 2019. English Translation: When foreigners come, we are proud to welcome them.
65 Informant V6a, Personal Interview, 2019. English Translation: In fact, it’s rather than just saying the objects, but not the people in their current daily lives.
The employment of Batoufam and Bamileke youth in technical positions at the Chefferie benefits the museum for several reasons. First, through the services they are providing the Chefferie in this work to make it a more pleasant place for the chief, for the people of Batoufam, and for visitors who come from outside Batoufam. For employed Batoufam youth, these interactions with the Chefferie allow them to further interact with their culture and traditions and to aid with the continuation of preserving this history. And for non-Batoufam employees, it allows them the opportunity to learn about Batoufam. However, because of the divide between the museum and the local community, how much of this learning and preservation truly is happening while they are at work?

Other community uses of the Chefferie I observed during my time there included a large community meeting to discuss plans for communications and special events such as the 30th anniversary of the Chief, and also a meeting of the Pan-African Development Institute. The Institute’s month-long project is to help the development of all of Batoufam as a whole. But their goals specifically for the Chefferie are to make the museum site more open and available for the community, tourists, and festival events, and to set a budget for conservation tools needed by the museum, which will have the museum better reach its goals of preserving Batoufam’s history, culture, and museum itself.

Because of these other functions and roles of the Chefferie, the community of Batoufam often don’t view the Chefferie as a museum. They view it as a sacred place that holds lots of

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66 Informant M1, Personal Interview, 2019. English Translation: We have kids from technical schools, for example, those who do internships here. They do electricity, renewable energy. We already have students not just from Batoufam but from all of the West region in general. The youth are heavily involved.
67 Personal Observation, Community Meeting, 2019.
68 Personal Observation, IDP Development Plan Meeting, 2019.
importance, but a place they only go to on special occasions. Thus they don’t learn their traditions in the same way that visitors who come to the museum do. Rather than learning through written history or museum tours describing the symbolism and meaning behind the art and architecture, the people of Batoufam are told these same traditions and stories orally as they get passed down from generation to generation. This is effective as a way of learning traditions because

On peut faire les livres, on peut faire les testes comme va écrire. Mais en lisant, elle n’a pas le même passion. Tu veux lire un document, c’est bien, mais le fait que quelqu’un soit en face, en train de tera contacté tu as l’impression que tu es en train de vivre cette histoire comme tu étais là quand les gens là existaient.

Oral history is better in that there is a certain charisma that stays with the stories when told face-to-face that can get lost in writing. It is also beneficial because there is no limit to how much can be preserved:

Quand on veut écrire, on va choisir certaines choses, certaines informations, qu’il va trouver importantes et on va les écrire . . . . Parce que si j’écris tout, ça va prendre un livre de 200 pages.

By not limiting how much of the history is preserved, the people of Batoufam can ensure that each story and value stays alive and that none will be forgotten or left behind in the future. While written history can be guaranteed to last much farther into the future, oral history is currently the most effective method of preservation among the Batoufam themselves for these reasons and also given the literacy of the community; writing was only introduced to the Batoufam in the 1970s.

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69 Informant C3a, Personal Interview, April 20, 2019.
70 Informant M3, Personal Interview, 2019. English Translation: We can write books, we can do examinations that will be written. But while reading the books, they don’t have the same passion. You want to read a document, that’s good. But the fact that someone has to be face-to-face to have closer contact--you have the impression that you’re living that history in that moment like you were there when the people existed back then.
71 Informant M3, Personal Interview, 2019. English Translation: When we want to write, we are going to choose certain things, certain information, that we find interesting that we are going to write. Because if I write it all, it’s going to take a 200-page book.
72 Ibid.
king mentioned that because of this and the other benefits of oral and performative preservation of traditions, it is important to keep these but also

Il faut les enseigners et c’est possible dans les mesures des possibles, il faut écrire. Comme ça, je pense que les--on a plus de chances à--c’est une façon de manipuler les chances de pas perdre. C’est patrimoinale.

Because while oral and performative histories can reach audiences now who can’t read, with the introduction and emphasis of writing in Batoufam education, the best methods of preservation for the local population could change very soon.

Different Preservation Methods for Different Perspectives

It is important that the museum itself is well-preserved for the future because:

C’est le témoin de l’histoire de Batoufam. Si cette collection disparaîse, c’est une grande partie de l’histoire de Batoufam qui sont vole également . . . . C’est pour cette raison que la conservation quotidienne a préservé cette collection à transmettre joue générations aux façons chaque vous voyez à l’intérieur du musée, et liée à l’histoire des peuples de Batoufam.

If Batoufam history is not preserved, it would not be able to continue to adapt in the modern day and continue into the future. While emphasized here that the loss of culture would most dramatically affect the Batoufam people and their upkeep of these traditions, it also affects outsiders and their ability to learn about Batoufam culture. The lack of preservation and potential loss of culture affects everyone involved, so it is important that the traditional culture is preserved so it is still accessible to all of these people.

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73 Informant M5, Personal Interview, 2019. English Translation: They must teach it and its possible with certain possible measures. We must write. Like that, I think that the--we have more chances at--it’s a way of manipulating the chances of not losing the culture. It’s patrimonial.

74 Informant M1, Personal Interview, 2019. English Translation: It [the museum collection] is the historical record of Batoufam. If the collection disappears, it’s a big part of the history of Batoufam that goes as well. It is for this reason that we conserve this collection daily to transmit towards generations the ways that we see inside the museum and how it connects to the stories of the people of Batoufam.
As mentioned earlier, oral history is currently the most effective method of preservation for the population of Batoufam because “le Musée de Batoufam essaie de conserver cet esprit de vivre ensemble, la sociabilité, le pouvoir d’échanger, le pouvoir à discuter” which occurs when telling stories verbally. This is especially true in the age of technology and social media, where the younger generation is less engaged in their family’s heritage.

La plupart des enfants copient plutôt ce qui–ou qu’est-ce qui n’est pas bien à la télévision. Donc, il faudrait que les parents soient là pour essayer de leurs encadrer.

The outside influences that are even more present with the many modes of communication today are putting Baotufam culture at risk by making children want to assimilate to other cultures. This exposure to non-Batoufam culture that is beginning to threaten to erase Batofuam tradition is thus a result of globalization, not Westernization.

This globalization has also caused more immigration including many Batoufam families living outside of Batoufam, This need to preserve tradition and culture for future generations is especially true in the case of Batoufam kids who grow up outside of Batoufam since they aren’t constantly surrounded by the traditions in the ways children in Batoufam are. These outside influences and potential lack of preserved traditions are even more of a threat, so the parents feel “le sense de venir au village pendant la vacance parce qu’il veut venir apprendre” to keep the traditions alive in their children. The schools in Batoufam are attempting to teach children their traditions in written form because of the other benefits of written history, but they still encourage the children to also learn these things orally from their parents because if they didn’t do both, there

75 Informant M3, Personal Interview., 2019. English Translation: The Museum of Batoufam tries to conserve this spirit of living together, the sociability, ability to exchange, ability to discuss.
76 Informant C6, Personal Interview, 2019. English Translation: Many children copy a lot of what they see that isn’t good on television. So it would be important for the parents to be there to try to set the children back in their place.
77 Informant C6, Personal Interview, 2019.
78 Ibid. English Translation: The need to come to the village during vacations because they want to come to learn
could possibly be a generational divide due to illiteracy and thus lack of access to written history for the older generations.\(^{79}\)

On the other hand, visitors and tourists who are not Batoufam would likely benefit more from written history than oral history. In the case of the Batoufam culture and the ways that tradition and modernity interact within it, this phenomenon could be better explained and understood by others if put in writing explicitly because “oral est très modelable. C’est à dire les gens modifient. Quand c’est orale, tu peux le compter en ajoutant le compter et la faisance que tu veux.”\(^{80}\) And then this core concept of what it means to be Batoufam would never die out—even if the things aren’t practiced, the stories aren’t lost.\(^{81}\) Having a written record of this history accessible outside of the Chefferie would make it even more accessible to outsiders who either can not or do not come to the museum.\(^{82}\) However, there are still limitations to written records in that people who read these still can’t truly understand the culture without being in it. The art, which is the most effective methods of transmission and sharing of culture to foreigners, is only accessible to those who can see it firsthand in the museum, in the context where it originally belongs. When visitors see the cultural artifacts “vraiment dans contexte! Il est avec en marche de terre rouge, il fait chaud, on a toutes les vraies sensations que les gens ont, et dans le contexte,” they can learn more effectively and better understand what daily life is like for Batoufam people.\(^{83}\) While it is important to get exposure to other cultures in this way and to “laisser chacun dans sa culture mais

\(^{79}\) Informant M5, Personal Interview, 2019.
\(^{80}\) Ibid. English Translation: Oral [history] is very moldable. It is to say that people modify it. When it’s oral, you can sum it up and add the things you want.
\(^{81}\) Informant M1, Personal Interview, 2019.
\(^{82}\) Ibid.
\(^{83}\) Informant V6d, Personal Interview, April 26, 2019. English Translation: Truly in their context! They walk on the red dirt, it’s hot, we all have these real sensations that people have, and it’s in that context.
leur respecter tel qui est,” it is still hard to truly understand what their life is like given our own perspectives. In order to increase accessibility of Batoufam history and culture for wider audiences outside of Batoufam, there are several written works in progress on Batoufam culture and tradition, including a book written by the Chief and several master’s theses written by current interns at Musée Royale de Batoufam.

Moi, je vais lire, voilà j’ai lu la culture américaine, j’ai lu la culture occidentale, et maintenant si aussi en ajoute la culture de Batoufam, au sens de cette lecture, je pense que va se connaître mieux.

This is not just in the case of visitors better understanding the culture, but also as the Batoufam population shifts towards literacy and written records, it can benefit them too in the long run. Also in the off-chance that the history does die out, it can remain in writing: “Si peut-être, la personne n’existe plus, et qui n’a pas transmis, comment est-ce que les gens, d’autres personnes, répondent, faut être comprendre l’histoire?” The museum is also working on alternative ways of preserving Batoufam identity and culture for the future and ways to make it accessible to more, and specifically younger, audiences. These efforts will hopefully improve the situation of some visitors misunderstanding and misrepresenting the culture. The museum’s current plans are to shift more in the technological route by creating a museum-specific website, videos, and specifically

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84 Informant M5, Personal Interview, 2019. English Translation: Leave each person in their own culture, but respect what their culture is.
85 Ibid. English Translation: I’m going to read, I read about American culture, I read about western culture, and now we are also adding in Batoufam culture. In the sense of this writing, I think this is going to be the most well known and used.
86 Informant M4. Personal Interview. April 23, 2019. English Translation: If perhaps, the people don’t exist anymore, and they didn’t transmit the stories, how can other people be able to understand these stories?
87 Informant C6, Personal Interview, 2019.
cartoons for kids to make the museum more accessible for all ages as the current tours don’t fully capture the attention of young children or truly cater to their interests and ways of learning.

Oral and written cultures manage knowledge very differently, and this idea further supports the fact that when the museum visitors and the local community are each using different forms of cultural preservation they are understanding, learning, and interpreting the same culture in two different ways. This is not just based on the background of the individual, but on the preservation itself and how they use the museum, or not, in learning these traditions. However, when saying that they function differently as ways of preserving culture it is often wrongly believed that oral history is of the past and written history is the current because oral history often indicates illiteracy because of the lack of written word, and thus many view it as old-fashioned.

It has also only recently started to be studied how oral and written forms can intermingle and one of the many ways this overlap is possible is to preserve through art.

The history and current traditions of Batoufam are also preserved through the art and architecture found throughout the chefferie and the museum, especially the symbolism in the sculptures, such as the animals, musical instruments, and men covering various body parts, as were discussed earlier. The art preserves the history in a way that is both oral and written, and that makes it the best possible form of preservation.

Même avec la conservatrice, elle n’a aucun livres entre les mains. Mais elle vous explique plutôt tout ce que vous voyez comme art. Plus que vous voyez descend à

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88 Informant M1, Personal Interview, 2019.
89 Personal Observation, Museum Tour, 2019.
92 Ibid, 60.
93 Ibid, 59.
Thus these symbols and stories told through art are an effective way of transmitting Batoufam culture to visitors:

Thus, these symbols and stories told through art are an effective way of transmitting Batoufam culture to visitors:

Je peux dire que c’est beaucoup d’histoire à travers une statue, ou une architecture qui est ensemble en général, la symbole de beaucoup de société, à travers ces choses.95

While the art is an effective way for visitors to learn the rich traditions of Batoufam, the people of Batoufam see this art perhaps when going to the Chefferie for other reasons, but they don’t use the art to learn these stories, perhaps because they use other methods like oral histories instead, or perhaps because they don’t know the art in the museum is accessible to themselves as well as for visitors. One Batoufam resident said “Je suis allé à revoir les arts d’âge de Batoufam,” and that he recognizes the Chefferie also as a museum.96 He sees the art and appreciates it but doesn't know the symbolism and this isn't how he learned his traditions. While this individual has closer ties with the museum than most, this case still demonstrates how there is a divide between the museum and the community it represents. Since he does see the art and appreciate it, we can conclude that Batoufam people who go to the Chefferie have seen the museum, they just haven’t been sensitized to the things the museum teaches in these specific spaces which they have already seen.

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94 Informant C6, Personal Interview, 2019. English Translation: With the conservationist, she doesn’t have a book in her hands! But she explains everything that you see in the art. More than you see down at the Chefferie when you see what’s there. . . . What constitutes the museum? It’s the art! Thus it is the best way to preserve.

95 Informant V6c, Personal Interview, April 26, 2019. English Translation: I can say that there is a lot of history through a statue, or through the architecture, or all of it together in general, lots of symbols of the society through these things.

96 Informant C5. Personal Interview. April 25, 2019. English Translation: I went to see the arts of the age of Batoufam.
The art is not just important in preserving tradition in the ways that the pieces pass down messages of Batoufam values and practices. The techniques themselves that are used in creating the art is something that has gotten passed down like other traditions:

J’ai commencé à travailler à l’âge de 8 ans. Et 8 ans parce que dans la famille, quand je me lèvai au matin, j’ai vu mes grands-parents travaillent, les exemples, en faisant l’art, j’ai mis aussi fait. À l’âge de 8 ans, j’ai pris la noix d’avocat. Quand c’était muir, il était--la noix d’avocat, je l’ai marqué, blessait de tracer avec le--l’âme de rasoir.\textsuperscript{97}

The ways that these artistic practices and techniques got passed down to the sculptor through his family need to continue for the preservation of the history. Because art is ideally the best way to tell these stories to all audiences, the art needs to continue for the stories to continue. Like other kinds of traditions, the techniques used have adapted somewhat to new technologies introduced in the modern, globalized world of today. But some key elements of the artistic techniques still remain. While it is easier for the Batoufam community to keep alive and adapt the stories told through the art, it is a lot harder for them to find people to continue sculpting their stories.\textsuperscript{98}

\textbf{The Visitor-Community Rupture and How it Can Be Fixed}

When I asked informants who benefits the most from this museum, almost all said the local population:

Parce que tu as un musée surtout le Royaume de Batoufam qui a plusieurs fonctions. Bon, au plusieurs, oui, c’est vie de régiment, la restauration, la salle des fêtes, l'espace de Watsi. Et donc, pour cela, on a une bouche qui a partagé à la population, pour qui s'en occupe. La vie de ça, c’est chômage dans la localité. Tu vois? C’est la population locale.\textsuperscript{99}

\textsuperscript{97} Informant M2, Personal Interview, 2019. English Translation: I started to work at the age of eight. At eight because in my family, I would wake up in the morning and I saw my grandparents working, as role models, creating art, and I would also make art. At the age of eight, I took the avocado pit and when it was wet, the avocado pit, I carved it, tracing with a razor blade.

\textsuperscript{98} Informant M2, Personal Interview, 2019.

\textsuperscript{99} Informant M4, Personal Interview, 2019. English Translation: Because you have a museum all about the kingdom of Batoufam that has several different functions. And with these several it’s the daily life, the restoration, the
However, for now, one could say that because of the lack of accessibility and sensitization of the local population, “pour l’existence du musée, la plus, les gens qui ont bénéficié le plus ce sont les étrangers.”\textsuperscript{100} If the Batoufam people received museum tours or found other ways to learn the symbols in the museum and their meanings, they would benefit the most from the preservation via art. The art carries the meanings of these traditions through certain symbols that represent important people, events, and values of Batoufam. This is then taught to tourists through the museum tours, but for residents of Batoufam, they still primarily learn it through oral storytelling.

Currently, the only access many community members have to some of these symbols are their appearance on notables’ clothing for traditional dances and ceremonies:

Il y avait les habilles avec ces symboles. Mais pour moi, je crois que c’est simplement sur ces habiles. Par exemple, quand tu vois les habilles dans cette culture, tu ne peux pas compter sa définition.\textsuperscript{101}

One example of a symbol seen often on these clothes is the circle divided into alternating sections to symbolize the duality of the living and the dead. This can also be seen on the site of the museum with the tree in Le Cour des Serviteurs (See Appendix).\textsuperscript{102} While a local may recognize the shape as like that on a notable’s clothes, they still most likely do not actually know what this symbol means. Although the local population doesn’t know these symbols, if the symbols die, so do the celebration room, the Watsi space. And then for that, we have someone who shares with the population the things that are happening. This life, it’s unemployment found locally. You see? It’s the local population.

\textsuperscript{100} Informant C6, Personal Interview, 2019. English Translation: For the existence of the museum, the people who most benefit are the foreigners.

\textsuperscript{101} Informant V3, Personal Interview, 2019. English Translation: There were clothes with these symbols. But for me, I believe that it’s simply on these clothes. For example, when you see the clothes in this culture, you can’t understand their definitions.

\textsuperscript{102} Personal Observation, Museum Tour, 2019.
people and their stories “parce que si ça disparaît, c’est la communauté de Batoufam qui a disparu.”

This lack of knowledge of symbols of their history leads to Batoufam residents lacking interest in continuing the practices of sculpting and visiting/working in the museum more broadly. But the issue of preserving culture can be fixed by also improving the recognition of symbols by the local population because “si tu comprends ce symbole, tu peux mieux comprendre la société et tu peux mieux t’organiser et vivre en partageant cette partie.” But they don’t use the museum as a museum and thus don’t learn the symbolism that could best preserve their traditions.

So it is important to inform the local population that the museum is not just reserved for expats, but is also open to themselves as well. This is not because they are denied access but just because they don’t know about the museum separately from the Chefferie:

103 Informant V5b. Personal Interview. April 23, 2019. English Translation: Because if it disappears, it is the community of Batoufam that will disappear.

104 Informant V3, Personal Interview, 2019. English Translation: If you understand this symbol, you can better understand the society, and you can better organize yourself in order to live and share it.

105 Informant M4, Personal Interview, 2019. English Translation: The local population isn’t interested in things related to the museum. So we receive more visitors, expats, here than we do locals, yes. This makes me believe that the local population isn’t interested.


107 Informant C6, Personal Interview, 2019. English Translation: It’s not the issue of accessibility, it’s that there hasn’t been a large sensitization effort. If we sensitized the population of Batoufam in this area, and they visited the museum, they should learn a lot about their tradition, culture, and customs. A lot of other things have to change. So
It is important for all museums to be accessible to all audiences and this is a goal all museums should work towards. Especially in this case, where the museum is representing a specific group of people, but that particular group has limited knowledge about the museum, this goal is extra important. After all, “la meilleure place idéale, c’est le musée où on peut trouver [...] et comprendre et préserver”\textsuperscript{108} one’s own and others’ traditions, customs, history, and contemporary culture.

**Limitations to the Study and Suggestions for Future Research**

Some limitations of my study include that I was not in the field for very long so this led to some constraints in terms of the information I accessed during my time in the field. I only spent two weeks collecting data in Batoufam, so if I had stayed longer I could have gotten more information or possibly different results. I would suggest further researchers studying this to look more closely at some of the other chefferie museums in the West Region and do a comparison of the traditions themselves, how the museum displays them, and how it is preserved similarly or differently. Museums juxtaposing multiple cultures are often more effective than ones only showing one culture.\textsuperscript{109} This allows people to do side-by-side comparisons where they can use one culture to learn more about the other.

**Conclusion**

In writing this paper, I learned and examined how the unique role and setting of the Musée Royale de Batoufam affects the way it preserves the history and culture of Batoufam for Batoufam

\textsuperscript{108} Informant M2, Personal Interview, 2019. English Translation: The best, most ideal place, it’s the museum, where we can find and understand and preserve.

and also shares it with others. In studying this, I looked at the ways that the traditions interact with modernity and are still relevant today, which is integral to understanding why the history in this museum specifically needs to stay alive and be preserved; how different audiences, both Batoufam and non-Batoufam understand, learn, preserve, and share these stories; how their different methods of learning and understanding could create a possible division between these groups, and how this division could be fixed.

The setting of the Batoufam museum on the current site of the Chefferie makes it function differently from many other museums. While the staff of the museum itself view it as a museum and can explain how it functions in this way, the members of the Batoufam community use the Chefferie for very different purposes than as a museum. And visitors attracted by Batoufam, the Chefferie and the Museum, even after receiving museum tours, still don’t view it completely as a museum because of these ways that it functions differently from what most people think of as museums. This museum uses its unique setting to teach about the living traditions of Batoufam, and for the Batoufam people, the Chefferie is still used as a place for these traditions to occur even after the introduction of the modern museum on the site of the old, original chief’s palace.

In reflecting upon my research process, my interview questions are still very closely tied to my original research question and hypothesis, but the answers I got to these questions significantly shifted the focus of my paper. I ended up focusing less on the examples of modernity and tradition themselves, and more on how the ways that the exhibitionary complex of the museum impacts different individuals’ knowledge of Batoufam traditions and how they exist in today’s modern society, and how preservation methods are different for each of the actors involved in the contact zone of the museum.

Not only do all three groups of people studied interact through the museum’s objects and
their meanings, but they also interact with each other face-to-face because of the role of the Musée Royale de Batoufam as a living site museum and also as a Chefferie. The gap created between tourists and community exists within the chefferie’s museum setting, but not as much within the chefferie in general. This is because of the ways different people preserve history and use it to teach to others. The exchange of tradition occurs differently for people from the community itself versus outsiders visiting the community.

This bridge that the Batoufam Chefferie creates between museum and non-museum functions in a way legitimizes the lack of understanding because different people are there for different purposes and each have different perspectives. While this is temporarily okay because the history is still being preserved for all in ways that they are accustomed to that work for them personally in their situations, there are ways this could still improve for the future. If art is the best method of preservation for visitors, but it could be accessible to the people of Batoufam as well, the local population needs to learn, understand and appreciate the art in order to continue creating it and teaching its meaning to others. Despite the different ways of preserving the culture and traditions for different audiences, it is still important to create this intercultural understanding and sharing of knowledge of traditions.

Tout le monde ne veut pas comprendre, mais si on veut comprendre . . . il faut encore mieux observer les plus prêts, qui est là et qui surrondé complètement . . . . On doit publier la compétence. Ou une personne qui a visité l’intérieur, il le fait, et simplement il assume les conséquences, les résultats.\footnote{Informant V5b, Personal Interview, 2019. English Translation: Not everybody wants to understand, but if they do want to understand . . . it’s still best to observe those who are ready to share their culture from the other side, who are there and who are completely surrounded. We have to show competence where a person who visited the inside [of the museum] does it and simply assumes the consequences, the results.}

In the Musée Royale de Batoufam, non-Batoufam viewers have the ability to compare the Batoufam culture to their own, and this is a common way of learning. Several visitors made
comparisons to art they had seen before in their home countries while at the Musée Royal de Batoufam. By studying two different chefferie museums, with similar goals and reasons for establishment, side-by-side, we can better understand the cultures being studied. Another concept that could be explored further is the idea of museums of history and tradition being an example of the interplay of tradition and modernity itself. This idea of the interaction of tradition via the objects in a museum with modernity through just the very existence and concept of the museum setting is an idea that could be studied across many other cases of museum displays of historical, culturally significant objects. Even in cases where the artifacts may not still be used like they are at the Musée Royale de Batoufam, just the fact they are still preserved in a museum setting shows the idea that traditions, normally viewed as from the past, are still important in that they are remembered today and affect how we do things in our daily lives.
References


Personal Observation. IDP Development Plan Meeting. April 17, 2019.
Appendixes
Appendix 1: Pictures (All photos are original, taken by me at the museum during my research period)

1. Sculptures of men with brooms found around a doorway

2. Evolution of cooking pots

From left to right (oldest to most recent): ceramic, calabasse, iron
3. Evolution of architectural styles

![Traditional palace with bamboo-style architecture (left) and more modern architectural style using cement (right)](image)

4. Doorway with important Batoufam symbols

![Doorway](image)

Across the top of the door (left to right): calabasse, spider, turtle, chameleon
Along the sides of door (clockwise from top left): covering eyes, covering mouth, covering sex, covering ears
5. Symbol for living-dead duality

Above: As seen in the museum in Court de Serviteurs, in the tree planter (left) and painted on the wall (right)
Below: As seen on notables’ clothing during Kak dance
Appendix 2: Interview Guides

Les Questions pour les Emplois du Musée

1. Le Contexte du Musée
   a. Quel est votre rôle dans le musée?
      *What is your role in the museum?*
   b. Quels sont les buts et objectifs du musée?
      *What are the missions and goals of this museum?*
   c. S’il vous plaît, décrivez un jour typique pour vous au musée?
      *Could you please describe what an average work day looks like for you at the museum?*
   d. Comment est-ce que vous avez commencé d’être impliqué avec le travail de ce musée?
      *Could you please describe how you first got involved with working at this museum?*
   e. S’il vous plaît, décrivez l’établissement et l’histoire de fondation du musée?
      *Please describe the founding and history of the Batoufam Chefferie Museum.*
      i. Quel est le rôle de La Route de Chefferie dans l’établissement du Musée de Batoufam à la Chefferie?
         *What role did La Route de Chefferie play in the founding of the Batoufam Chefferie Museum?*
      ii. Comment est-ce que la Route de Chefferie a commencé?
          *How did La Route de Chefferie start?*
      iii. Quels sont les buts et objectifs de la Route de Chefferie?
          *What are the goals of La Route de Chefferie?*

2. Les Signifiiances et Fonctions Traditionnelles
   a. Quelles sont quelques croyances et pratiques spécifiques du passé que le musée expose?
      *What are some of the specific beliefs and practices of the past that the museum displays?*
   b. S’il vous plaît, donnez un exemple d’une pièce d’art ou d’architecture spécifique qui représente une croyance du passé qui n’est pas pratiqué actuellement?
      *Could you please give an example of a particular piece in the museum that represents a belief no longer practiced today?*
      i. Quelle était sa signification et fonction originale?
         *What was its original meaning and function?*
   c. Pourquoi est-ce que cette pratique n’est pas utilisée encore aujourd’hui?
      *Why is this practice no longer used today?*
d. Pensez-vous que le musée réussit en représentant les pratiques du passé? Pourquoi ou pourquoi pas?
*Do you think that the museum succeeds at representing practices of the past? Why or why not?*

3. **Les Changements de la Modernisation**
   a. Quelles sont quelques croyances et pratiques spécifiques exposées dans le musée qui sont pratiquées actuellement?
   *What are some practices and beliefs represented in the museum that are still used today?*
   b. S’il vous plaît, donnez un exemple d’une pièce d’art ou d’architecture spécifique qui représente une adaptation d’une pratique du passé pour l’utilisation actuelle?
   *Could you please give an example of a particular piece in the museum that represents this adaptation of an old practice to fit into today’s society?*
   i. Quelles sont les significances et fonctions actuelles de cet objet?
   *What is the current meaning and function of this object?*
   c. Comment est-ce que l’introduction de cette nouvelle adaptation d’une vieille pratique se passait dans la société de Batoufam?
   *What brought about the introduction of this new practice or adaptation of an old practice into Batoufam society?*
   d. Pensez-vous que le musée réussit en représentant les pratiques actuelles? Pourquoi ou pourquoi pas?
   *Do you think the museum succeeds at representing present, current day practices?*

4. **Le Cadre du Musée et le Changement des Significations**
   a. Quel est le rôle des visiteurs étrangers et les résidents de la communauté de Batoufam en comprenant et interprétant les significations des objets au musée?
   *What role do you think outside visitors and members of the Batoufam community play in understanding and interpreting the meanings of the objects found at the museum?*
   b. Comment est-ce que vous incorporez les significations traditionnelles des objets dans comment elles sont exposées et discutées dans le cadre du musée?
   *How do you incorporate the objects’ traditional meaning into how they are displayed and discussed in the museum setting?*
   c. Pensez-vous que le musée réussit en préservant les traditions du passé pendant la modernité? Pourquoi ou pourquoi pas?
   *Do you think the museum succeeds at preserving old traditions during the age of modernity? Why or why not?*
d. Comment est-ce que le rôle unique du musée vivant affecte les signifactions des objets en essayant de préserver le passé aujourd’hui?

_How does the unique role of the “living museum” affect the objects’ meanings when trying to preserve the past today?_

5. **La Préservation, Les Méthodes, and Les Beneficiaires**

a. Comment pensez-vous que les visiteurs et la communauté de Batoufam comprennent et apprennent les traditions de Batoufam différemment?

_How do you think the visitors and the Batoufam community understand and learn Batoufam traditions differently?_

b. Qu’est-ce que vous pensez soit la meilleure préservation des traditions de Batoufam? Pourquoi?

_What do you think is the best form of preservation for Batoufam traditions? Why?_

c. Comment pensez-vous que les façons différentes à préserver la culture marchent différemment pour les perspectives différentes, comme les visiteurs et la population locale?

_How do you think the different ways of preserving culture work differently for different perspectives such as the visitors and the local population?_

d. Qui est-ce que vous pensez bénéficier la plus de ce musée? Pourquoi?

_Who do you think benefits the most from this museum? Why?_
Les Questions pour les Visiteurs
1. D’où venez-vous?
   Where do you come from?
2. Pourquoi est-ce que vous avez décidé de visiter le Musée de la Chefferie à Batoufam?
   Why did you decide to visit the Batoufam Chefferie Museum?
3. Quelle est votre partie préférée de votre expérience au musée?
   What was your favorite part of your museum experience?
4. Qu’est-ce que vous avez appris pendant votre visite au musée?
   What did you learn during your visit?
5. Quelles pièces d’art et d’architecture étaient signifiantes à vous en particulier?
   Which pieces of art and architecture stood out to you in particular?
   a. Quelles histoires ou faits avez-vous aimé à propos de ceux-ci?
      What stories or facts did you learn about this piece?
6. Pourquoi pensez-vous que le musée soit important?
   Why do you think this museum is important?
7. Comment est-ce que le musée enseigne à propos des pratiques du passé de Batoufam?
   How did this museum teach you about Batoufam’s past practices?
8. Comment est-ce que le musée représente les pratiques du passé existant encore ou changeant d'intégrer dans la société actuelle?
   How did this museum represent the way that practices either still exist or are changed fit in today’s society?
9. Pensez-vous que le musée réussit en représentant les changements à la société de Batoufam?
   Do you think the museum succeeds at representing the changes that have occured to Batoufam’s society?
Les Questions pour les Résidents

1. Est-ce que vous aviez visité la Chefferie de Batoufam?
   *Have you visited the Batoufam Chefferie?*

2. Combien de temps est-ce que vous allez ou passez à la Chefferie?
   *How often do you go to the Chefferie?*

3. Quelles sont les raisons pourquoi vous allez à la Chefferie?
   *What are your reasons for going to the Chefferie?*

4. Quels sont vos avis à propos de la chefferie en général?
   *What are your opinions on the chefferie in general?*

5. Qu’est-ce que vous pensez à propos des visiteurs qui viennent à la chefferie?
   *What do you think about the visitors who come to the chefferie?*

6. Est-ce que vous trouvez que la chefferie soit accessible à votre communauté?
   Pourquoi ou pourquoi pas?
   *Do you find the chefferie accessible to you and your community? Why or why not?*

7. Est-ce que vous pensez que la chefferie représente votre culture correctement?
   Pourquoi ou pourquoi pas?
   *Do you feel that the chefferie accurately represents your culture? Why or why not?*
Les Questions pour les Étudiants d'Institut

1. S’il vous plaît, décrivez votre projet à Batoufam.
   *Please describe your project in Batoufam.*

2. Quels sont vos objectifs pendant ce mois à Batoufam?
   *What are your goals during your month in Batoufam?*

3. Quel est votre rôle dans le projet?
   *What is your role in the project?*

4. Quelles choses faites-vous pour le musée spécifiquement?
   *What things are you doing for the museum specifically?*

5. Quels sont vos objectifs pour le musée spécifiquement?
   *What are your goals for the museum specifically?*

6. Quelles sont des choses qui doivent améliorer au musée?
   *What are some things that need improvement at the museum?*

7. Comment pensez-vous que votre projet va améliorer le musée en général?
   *How do you think your project is going to improve the museum in general?*

8. Comment pensez-vous que votre projet va améliorer la relation avec les visiteurs?
   *How do you think your project is going to improve the museum’s relation with its visitors?*

9. Comment pensez-vous que votre projet va améliorer la relation avec la communauté de Batoufam?
   *How do you think your project is going to improve the museum’s relation with the community of Batoufam?*

10. Comment pensez-vous que votre projet va améliorer l’efficacité de la préservation de l’histoire et culture?
    *How do you think your project is going to improve the museum’s effectiveness in preserving history and culture of Batoufam?*

11. Comment pensez-vous que votre projet va améliorer les efforts éducationnaux au musée?
    *How do you think your project is going to improve educational efforts at the museum?*
Appendix 3: Observation Guides

Museum Tours:
1. What are the main points being discussed by the tour guides?
2. What are the questions the visitors are asking?
3. What unusual things were included in certain tours but not others? Why?
4. Who are the visitors? Where are they coming from?
5. What are the parts of the chefferie people are looking at most? What do they take pictures of? What do they walk towards/look closer at? Why are these things attracting their attention the most?

Museum Stores:
1. Do museum visitors come to the museum’s shops?
2. How much time do they spend in these shops?
3. What items are they buying?
4. Are these items specifically from Batoufam or Bamileke/Cameroonian in general?

Homes:
1. What are art pieces that are found in homes?
2. What are the meaning/significance of the pieces?
3. What is the personal connection of the piece to the family?
4. Are similar pieces present at the chefferie, either in the museum or in the shops?
5. How does this indicate a shared integration of modernity and tradition between both the museum and the homes?

Community Meetings:
1. Who are the people in charge of the meeting?
2. What are they discussing?
3. Who are the other people attending the meeting? What ages? Gender split?
4. How are people dressed? How are people sitting?
5. Do people seem interested or distracted?
6. Is there specific discussion of the museum and/or art in these meetings?
Appendix 4: Contacts of Important Resources

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