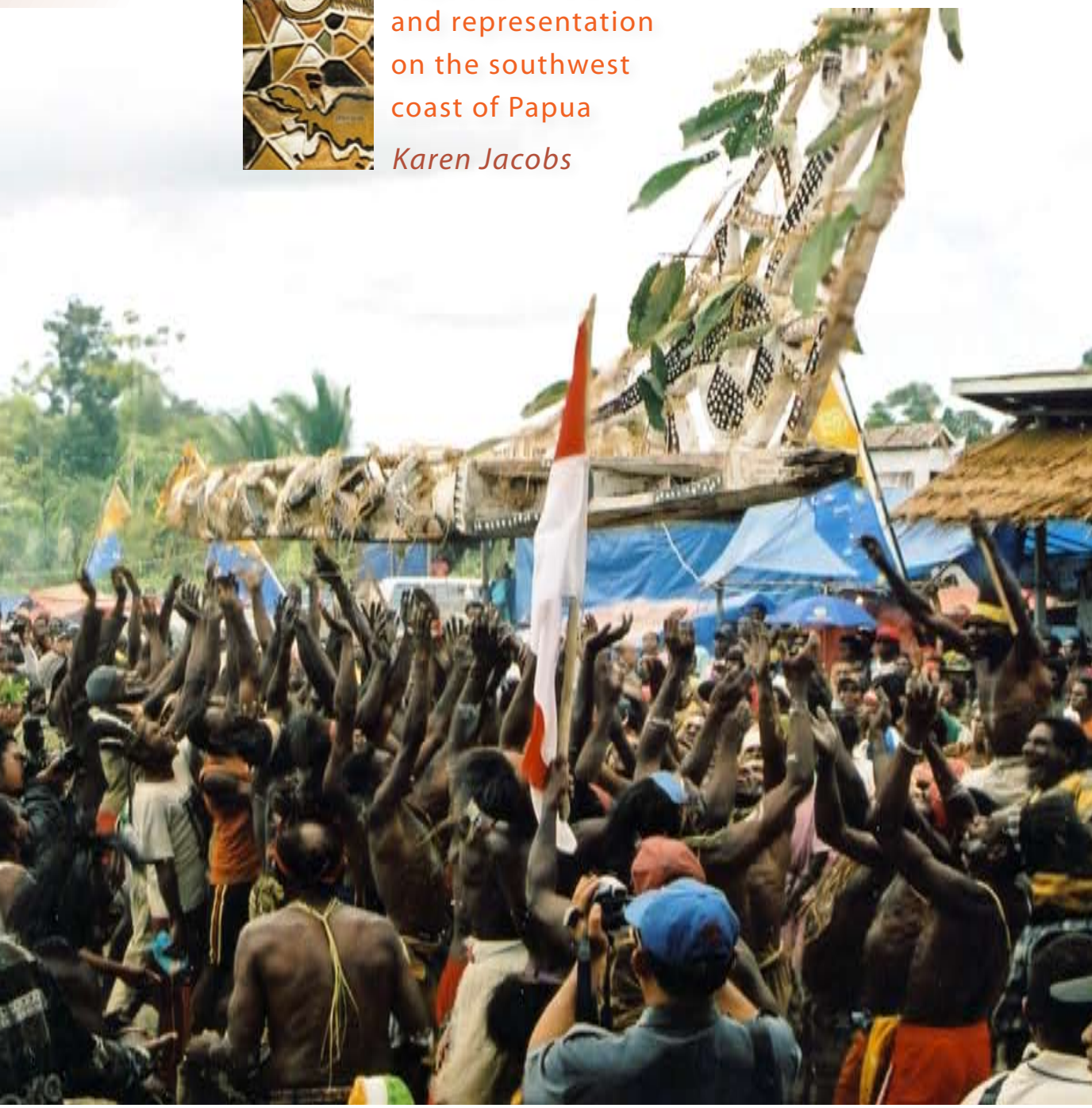
Collecting Kamoro

Objects, encounters and representation on the southwest coast of Papua

Karen Jacobs



Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden

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Sidestone Press

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Nº. 40

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ISBN 978-90-8890-088-4

Published by Sidestone Press, Leiden
www.sidestone.com
Sidestone registration number: SSP SSP55960003

Published in Cooperation with the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden
www.volkenkunde.nl
Head of Publications Committee: Fanny Wonu Veys

Lay-out: P.C. van Woerdekom, Sidestone Press
Cover design: K. Wentink, Sidestone Press
Object photography: Ben Grishaaver
Cover photographs: Moving a spirit pole (*mbitoro*) up and down is a manner to invite ancestors to enter the pole before erecting it, Kamoro Arts Festival Pigapu 2005 (Photo: K. Jacobs). Inset: detail of a *yamate* held in the National Museum of Ethnology (NME 2990-10).

Contents

Preface

This book is based on doctoral research conducted between 1999 and 2003, supplemented by additional collections research and two further visits to Papua in 2005 (to hand over my thesis) and 2011. During more than a decade of involvement with Kamoro people, children have grown up, elders have passed away, relationships have been strengthened and my own initially naive understandings of Kamoro art have been enhanced. Although the theoretical approaches and basic structure of this book are similar to those of my doctoral thesis (Jacobs 2003a), my visits in 2005 and 2011 have allowed me to adapt and update my original research findings, providing a more diachronic perspective on the circumstances of the Kamoro in recent years.

My PhD was undertaken at the Sainsbury Research Unit for Visual Arts, University of East Anglia, Norwich, within the framework of a Kamoro research project based at the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden. The original proposal emerged from my awareness of a lack of recent research into Kamoro art and material culture. A general ethnography had been provided by the Dutch anthropologist Dr Jan Pouwer, who conducted extensive research among the Kamoro in the 1950s, but the latter part of the twentieth century was barely documented. Only one general, collection-based overview of Kamoro arts had been undertaken by Simon Kooijman, published in 1984. Since the hand-over of the territory now known as Papua to Indonesia in 1962, the Kamoro received virtually no anthropological attention until Todd Harple's research between 1996 and 1998, mainly as a consultant for a nearby mining company (Harple 2000). From my perspective as a new doctoral student, while an 'update' on Kamoro arts would ideally involve long-term fieldwork, this was not straightforward in a politically delicate area such as Papua. Given that prospects for fieldwork in Papua were uncertain, I decided to focus on 'fieldwork' in The Netherlands and the United Kingdom by searching for Kamoro material in archives and collections and by tracing people who had worked in the Kamoro region. I was overwhelmed by the wealth of information available.

Fortunately, in addition to this study of archives and collections, I was also able to do fieldwork in Papua, because the recently inaugurated (1998) annual Kamoro Arts Festival offered me a legitimate reason to visit Papua and observe this dynamic development. I was able to attend the three festivals held in 2000, 2001 and 2002; the later trips in 2005 and 2011 focused on the festival's development and aftermath. Several relatively short fieldtrips are not comparable to long-term fieldwork of

eighteen months or more. However, even though the latter was not politically possible, the festivals enabled me to meet the same people every year, build up friendships, and discuss and verify my data. 'Fieldwork' in the Netherlands continued when a small group of Kamoro people visited the Kamoro Exhibition in Leiden for several weeks in 2003.

The wealth of information deriving from fieldwork, and archival and library research, collection-based study, and interviews with missionaries, ex-mining company (Freeport) staff, art collectors, and government officials outside Papua, encouraged me to focus on the diachronic impact of outside influences and the notion of collecting. The book is, to use Douglas Cole's words (1985: xi), a 'contact history', not an 'ethnohistory'. Inspired by Steiner (1994), I chose to take the transfer of the objects themselves as the focus of research, as Kamoro collections had not previously been linked to the historical framework in which they were collected. Elaborating further on Kopytoff's proposition (1986) that objects have different biographies, I aspired to locate Kamoro material culture and its collection by outsiders in a rigorous historical framework.

The variety of information sources that helped to shape this book will now be listed. The National Museum of Ethnology (*Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde*) in Leiden holds the largest Kamoro collection. As early as 1828, artefacts were acquired for this museum during the Triton Expedition. During subsequent expeditions more material was collected, for example by Captain W. de Jong, who travelled with Assistant Resident J.H. Kroesen in 1903, and during the First Military Exploration of New Guinea (1907-1915). Substantial additions to the collection were made by Dr Jan Pouwer in 1953-54, but later examples of Kamoro art up until the 1990s are virtually absent. In view of this situation, Dirk Smidt, Oceania Curator at Leiden, initated a research project entitled 'The Kamoro art of woodcarving in diachronic perspective (Southwest Coast Irian Jaya/ Papua)'. Knowledge of Kamoro woodcarving was to be updated through research and collecting activities, and my initial role in this project consisted of spending four months documenting the Kamoro collection at the museum (January-April 2000). My involvement in the project thereafter continued as mutual co-operation: I was introduced to a number of people in The Netherlands and elsewhere, and I observed the museum's collecting activities at the Kamoro Art Festivals in 2000 and 2002. Findings from my archival and collection-based research were shared with the museum, as was visual material that was obtained during interviews and archival visits.

While a certain number of artefacts collected during the Southwest New Guinea Expedition of 1904-05 are in Leiden, the majority are stored in the *Tropenmuseum* in Amsterdam. This museum also houses material collected during the Lorentz expeditions (1907, 1909) and by Carel Groenevelt in

the 1950s. The latter collector also acquired objects for the *Wereldmuseum* in Rotterdam, which has Kamoro objects collected as early as 1907 by Hondius van Herwerden. In Britain, the British Museum houses material collected during the first British Expedition to the Central Mountain Range in Papua (1910), which used the Kamoro region as a point of entry. The collections gathered during the second British Expedition (1912) were mainly placed in the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, while some other examples were deposited in the Horniman Museum, London. This study of collections showed that the majority of Kamoro artefacts in European museums were collected prior to 1914, with the exception of the more recent material acquired by the Leiden Museum.

In order to obtain a contemporary view of what was on the market outside Papua, I contacted art collectors and dealers, such as Koos Knol in The Netherlands, Ursula Konrad in Germany, and Steve Chiaramonte in USA. Todd Barlin in Sydney had collected Kamoro objects for the Musée des Arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie in Paris and the Tjibaou Cultural Centre in Nouméa, New Caledonia, amongst other institutions. In Bali, I benefited from conversations with local art dealers, and in Jakarta visits to the theme park *Taman Mini*, to the National Museum and to *gedungdua8*, a gallery focusing on Papuan art, which opened in 2001, added to my understandings of the marketing and display of Kamoro art.

Archival research was conducted in the State Archives, The Hague, where most information was located in the archive of the Bureau of Native Affairs. The work of Father Zegwaard was found in the Catholic Documentation Centre, Nijmegen. The archives of the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (MSC) mission house in Tilburg have particular strengths in their photographic collections and mission journals. The picture library of the Royal Geographical Society in London holds photographs made during the British Ornithologists' Union expedition of 1910.

My first fieldtrip was conducted in October 2000, together with Dirk Smidt and Dr Todd Harple. I soon learned that conducting research in Papua requires a certain degree of flexibility and serendipity. We were invited to visit the third Kamoro Arts Festival by the main sponsors, the Freeport Mining Company, which is engaged in mining copper and gold in the Amungme Highland region thereby affecting Amungme and Kamoro communities. Although I was initially concerned about the implications of this trip (being invited by a mining company that exploits the region and has been accused of environmental damage and human rights abuses seemed problematic to say the least), we rapidly realised that we learned more from these experiences than if we had refused to participate. I could not imagine a more striking introduction to the Kamoro Arts Festival than as a Freeport guest, experiencing the VIP treatment that is easy to criti-

cise and hard to imagine. It also helped me to discern the different 'faces' behind Freeport, some of whom could not be associated with the general critiques of the company. Unfortunately I did not have an opportunity to work closely with the Nawaripi-Koperapoka communities, who have been most affected by the mine's presence, because few of their carvers were involved in the Kamoro Arts Festival. While I observed the 2000 Festival as a guest arriving at the festival ground in the morning and returning to the main town, Timika, after the day's events, during subsequent visits I stayed on the festival ground in Pigapu village. During the 2001 visit, I chose to assume an active role by assisting the organising committee, which legitimised my presence at the event as an attendee not invited by Freeport. While subsequent trips, in 2002, 2005 and 2011, were also done independently from Freeport, I am grateful to Dr Kal Muller, who organised the festivals and collecting trips that I was studying, for allowing me to accompany him and observe his activities.

My different ways of entering the region meant I occupied different 'roles' in the field. In the eyes of the local police and army, I was likely to be associated with the Freeport Mining Company, as 'foreigners' in the area mostly are; for Freeport I was both a museum associate and a research student – as a museum associate I received support. For Kamoro people, the relationship grew from someone who, in their eyes, must be associated with Freeport and with a museum, to a student who was interested in their stories and artefacts. Not many non-Kamoro people return regularly to the Kamoro Arts Festival and reside on the festival ground during the event. It was reassuring when, in 2002, I was introduced to some Kamoro artists by a *kepala suku adat*, a Kamoro 'head of traditions' as 'a student without money' (*mahasiswi tidak dapat uang*) but interested in their culture (*kebudayaan*).

Interviews and conversations with Kamoro people were all conducted in *bahasa Indonesia*, the national language of Indonesia. Practically all Kamoro are bilingual and our conversations in Indonesian were interspersed with references to concepts in Kamoro language. While this is certainly not exceptional in research on the Kamoro region (only a few Dutch missionaries were considered able to speak a limited amount of Kamoro), it is still crucial to acknowledge that when Indonesian questions are asked, Indonesian answers are given. Although I realise that my lack of knowledge of the Kamoro language is a major hindrance, it is the case that the accepted language of the Kamoro Arts Festival, and subsequent collecting projects, is Indonesian. As an event sponsored by the Freeport Mining Company and partly by the local government, the organisation takes place in Indonesian, which is the official *lingua franca* of government, education, business and media in Indonesia. Interviews with Freeport staff (from different origins) were in English. Interviews

with previous government anthropologists (Dr Jan Pouwer, Dr Hein van der Schoot) and missionaries were conducted in Dutch. In this book, the various forms of communication will be differentiated: when notes were taken on the spot or when communication was taped, this information is denoted as 'interview'; when dialogues were written down later that day, it is marked as 'personal communication'. Interviews via email are marked as 'email'. I have decided to present my translations without inserting the quoted passages in the original language. However, key terms in the original language are included between brackets. Several notes from interviews were sent back for confirmation and verification by the interviewees. All the people mentioned agreed to be named.

Although there are many contentious and important issues in the Papua region concerning land rights, human rights, and ecological and environmental issues, (the anthropology of) art and material culture was the topic of my research because these were my chosen topics at university. The choice to focus on Kamoro art and culture was initially prompted by my earlier knowledge of Asmat art and culture. Only later would I learn that this is something that seemingly haunts Kamoro culture; they often remain in the shadow of their eastern neighbours when the art of the region is discussed. Focusing on artefacts provided unexpected data; objects were the focus of my discussions with missionaries and the Kamoro people, and often prompted narratives that I did not anticipate. I not only learned from what people told me, but also from objects that were given to me. In addition, I decided to act as a 'participant observer' by purchasing and collecting some Kamoro objects instead of just observing this process. I preferred to purchase artefacts outside the auction, as the main reason was to establish dialogue and discussion with the makers. I participated as a bidder on only one auction day during my first visit (15 October 2000), when I was helping the Leiden museum with translating and bidding – something that normally was done by other people. Apart from that day, I preferred to keep the auction as something which I closely examined, rather than in which I participated. Although my decision to focus on artefacts derived from my personal interests, artefacts also play a central role in Kamoro representations. In early European encounters, the Kamoro people were described as producers of an abundance of artefacts. Subsequently, the presence or absence of artefacts has remained central to Kamoro representations throughout their 'contact' history.

Acknowledgments

This book could not have been completed without the Kamoro people whose warmth and friendship is inspiring. A book is never an individual process and I am greatly indebted to a wide range of people. However, this study remains the sole responsibility of the author, who is to blame for errors or omissions.

Some of this material has been published previously in slightly different versions. Parts of Chapter Five appeared as "Kamoro Kakuru: The Kamoro Arts Festival in Pigapu Village, Southwest Coast of Papua" in Stevenson & Webb (2007) *Re-presenting Pacific Art* (Crawford House Publishing), a book which unfortunately is difficult to obtain, and I am grateful to the editors for allowing me to republish the data here. Related material can be found in Jacobs (2008) and Jacobs (2011) and I am grateful to the editors and anonymous reviewers for engaging with and supporting those publications.

The majority of research was carried out thanks to a three-year scholarship from the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) and annual grants from the Sainsbury Research Unit, University of East Anglia, Norwich. The 2001 fieldtrip was made possible by a grant from the Tweedie Exploration Fund, administered by the University of Edinburgh. The National Museum of Ethnology (NME) in Leiden assisted with research on the Kamoro collections between 2000 and 2003. Research on the West Papuan collection in the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology was conducted in 2004 thanks to a grant from the Crowther-Beynon Fund.

Two key people throughout the process were Professor Steven Hooper and Dirk Smidt. Steven Hooper was my supervisor during my PhD. Over the years, he became a colleague and friend and I cannot thank him enough for his constant encouragement, guidance and support. I am very grateful to Dirk Smidt, former curator of the Oceania Department at the NME in Leiden, who invited me to co-operate in the Kamoro project in the museum and who was a great mentor.

In Papua I am most grateful to the Kamoro people, in particular, Alo Kaukayahe and Maria Mawanemakapoka, and the children Leo, Leontina, Primus, Liburus, Josef, Beni and Meki for being wonderful hosts and giving me a glimpse of Kamoro family life. To Thom Mutaweyao, Mathea Mamoyau, Simon Pouwer Maneyau (†), Martinus Neyakowau (†), Timo Samin, Modesta Samin-Etewe, Yopi Kunareyau, Apollo Takati, Yohannes Mapareyau, Elegius Meyamaropukaro, Markus Yamaro, Charles Kamukupeyao, Chris Mapeko, Paulus Amareyau (†), Urbanus Emaru,

Anselmus Kupakereyau, Frederikus Manekopeyau, Yoakim Matameka: *Nimaowitimi*.

My warmest thanks to Dr Kal Muller for convincing me to come to Papua, when others did not support me, providing me with information and places to stay. Luluk Intarti always gave me reports and laughter; Jina Chia and Jefri Taroreh were good companions in the field. I would like to thank a range of Freeport staff members, many of whom are no longer working for the company: in Kuala Kencana: Roga Pendawa Lima, Befri Chandra (†), Yahya Alkatiri, Mindo Pangaribuan, Josep Ojong and Stan Batey: *terima kasih*. Thanks to the Freeport staff in Jakarta: Yuli Ismartono, Siddharta Moersjid, Hoediatmo Hoed, and to Greg Probst, Bruce Marsh, and Paul Murphy in the USA. A special thank you to Doug Learmont who spent much time elaborately answering my questions.

In the UK, I wish to thank the whole SRU team, in particular Pat Hewitt, Lynne Crossland, Dr George Lau and Lisa McDonald. I am grateful to Dr Anita Herle of the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Jill Hasell in the British Museum, and Clive Coward in the Royal Geographical Society's Photo Archive, London.

In The Netherlands I would like to thank staff at the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden, especially Steven Engelsman, Wonu Veys, David Stuart-Fox, Henk Imanse, Sijbrand de Rooij, Herman de Boer and the people in 's Gravezande for helping me study the Kamoro collection. I thank Kees van den Meiracker, formerly working at the Rotterdam Wereldmuseum, David van Duuren, now retired, and Yvonne Teffer at the Tropenmuseum, and Steven Vink of the Photo Archive of the Tropical Institute, Amsterdam. I am grateful to Dr Jan Pouwer (†) for sharing his invaluable Kamoro knowledge with me; his wide range of unpublished material was an indispensable source of information, while conversations with him were always rewarding. I am also grateful to Willem Dings of the Catholic Documentation Centre in Nijmegen, Hanneke Hollander for sending me her undergraduate dissertation on Groenevelt, and Dr Hein van der Schoot for sharing his experiences and unpublished information. In Tilburg I am grateful to the MSC mission for permitting me to consult the Zegwaard archives (in Nijmegen), and to Father Arie Vriens (†), Father Antoon Welling and Sister Pancratia for their assistance. OFM missionaries are spread over different places in The Netherlands and my gratitude goes to Jos Donkers, Huub Zwartjes (†), Bob Schijns, Felix Tijdink and Jan Koot for their hospitality, stories, photo material and other gifts. In Papua I would like to thank Bert Haagendoorn, Nico Dister and the late Father Bob Baudhuin, MM.

In Australia, my thanks go to Dr Chris Ballard at the Australian National University (ANU) for opening his office, which turned out to be a treasure trove of information, and Mike Cookson, for being a good friend and fel-

low Papua researcher, and my perfect host in Australia. I am very grateful to Dr Todd Harple, who at the time was based at ANU, for introducing Dirk Smidt and myself to the field. He was not only a skilful translator during the early days of my Indonesian language training, his knowledge about Kamoro culture was stimulating. Thanks to Dr Glenn Banks at the University of New South Wales for giving me much information.

Thanks are due to my friends – some of whom I have named already, but I am particularly referring to the 'old bunch' in Belgium. My sincere gratitude goes to my parents, to whom I dedicate this book, for their continuous love and support. Many thanks to my big brother and good friend Peter. Finally, a special and affectionate thank you to Dirk Goos, who stood by me for most of this process and could even bring himself to help me with the research that all too often regulated our plans: *Dank je wel liefie*.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Meet the Kamoro

Papua Leeft! Ontmoet de Kamoro (Papua Lives! Meet the Kamoro) was an exhibition title found in large letters near the entrance of the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden, The Netherlands, during six months in 2003. The title invites you to meet the Kamoro in a series of objects. Exhibitions necessarily objectify people; through a range of objects, photographs, or other tangible and material evidence, exhibitions attempt to tell the story of a group of artists, collectors, or 'cultures'. As such, exhibitions always entail the problem of representing something larger than themselves. However, during nearly three weeks (18 May-5 June 2003), the museum audience was able to meet five Kamoro people who had been invited to the museum, according to the museum's press release, to be 'available to give additional information and explanation with regard to the exhibition'. In addition, the presence of Timo(thius) Samin, Modesta Samin-Etewe, Martinus Neyakowau, Yopi Kunareyau and Mathea Mamoyau constituted an important statement about their right of self-representation.[1] During their stay, the five Kamoro visitors decided to produce more objects, and each day they installed themselves in the museum to carve and plait for the visiting public. There was no fixed schedule because the Kamoro people were at liberty to organise the use of their space. Their carving and plaiting was regularly interspersed with singing and drumming, and they invited members of the public to dance with them, bridging the distance between performers and audience. For the museum's Communications Department, the Kamoro presence was a means of attracting a wider public to an exhibition that was considered to have an 'unknown culture' as its subject. This was also the reason why the Kamoro visitors were asked to perform at an auction at the end of their stay. Inspired by the auction

1 The five invited Kamoro people came from various villages: Timo(thius) Samin (from Kokonao) and his wife Modesta Samin-Etewe (from Yaraya) both now live in Iwaka, Martinus Neyakowau from Mware (deceased 2011), Yopi Kunareyau from Iwaka, and Mathea Mamoyau from Timika (originally from Kokonao). Kal Muller and Georjina Chia accompanied them on this trip. Travel costs were financed by PT Freeport Indonesia (and Sandvik and PJP as Freeport contractors), while the Leiden Museum covered their stay. The five people were chosen by Kal Muller and Leiden Museum representatives for their carving skills and knowledge of Kamoro culture, but their reputation with regards to alcohol was another crucial criterion.

that took place each year during the Kamoro Arts Festival (1998-2006) in Papua, the museum's Communications Department copied the format and the Kamoro were asked to show a range of recently made Kamoro objects to a bidding audience.

The 'Leiden Kamoro Auction' took place on June 1, 2003, after five viewing days where the objects available for sale could be viewed in the museum's Information Centre. When the Kamoro visitors were preparing themselves for the auction by putting on grass skirts and cassowary feather headdresses, Modesta excitedly shouted '*seratus euro*' (100 euro), and Timo added '*seratus setenggah euro*' (150 euro), and so it continued, while Mathea shouted '*tambah, tambah*' (more, more). They entered the museum singing and drumming and performed a small dance to greet the museum visitors. The Kamoro took their place on the stage in front of a screen showing video fragments of the auction held during the 2002 Kamoro Arts Festival. The rules of the auction were explained: the Kamoro people would show the carving, each of which had an estimated price on a tag, and the bidding would start at half the estimated price. The first object to be offered was a coloured panel with a carved narrative scene. The panel showed human figures, a canoe, a feast house and a spirit pole; all vital elements in Kamoro life. The auction began when the men began to '*pukul tifa*', to beat the drum, while Timo Samin showed the first object. The women began to dance on the other side of the stage. Since the estimated price for the object was 100 euro, the bidding had to start at 50 euro. People showed interest and the bidding went smoothly, to everyone's relief. Kal Muller, who had been in charge of organising the Kamoro Arts Festival, acted as auctioneer and continually asked for more bids: 'Do I hear 60?, 'Now do I hear 70?'. When a price of 100 euro was reached, Kal Muller again enticed the public: 'Okay, we've got a reasonable price now, but will we go to an unreasonable price?'. The object eventually fetched 150 euro. The fairness or reasonableness of the prices continued to be a popular topic. The audience was invited to provide 'the Kamoro people with some extra money'. When a price tended to remain low, the auctioneer mentioned that it was a bargain. A total of 64 objects were sold for 6,430 euro at auction.[2]

Museum staff had been anxious that the auction might attract art dealers who would buy up objects to sell on at a profit. The relationship between tribal art collectors and ethnographic museums has long been a fraught one, saturated with ethical ambiguity and mistrust over intentions.

2 After the auction, people were able to purchase unsold objects, which led to a total sale of 78 objects for roughly 7,000 euro. The money raised at auction was shared between the museum (for objects that had been previously collected by the museum during festivals in Papua) and the Kamoro people and Kal Muller (for a larger number of objects which had been shipped to the museum at a later stage).

Therefore a rule had been introduced to restrict the number of purchases to two or three per person. However, the day itself was one of improvisation. The number of art dealers was small and they were not the main buyers. Still, the concept of having an auction in a museum environment was deemed controversial by critics, amongst whom were museum staff members who had expressed their concern before and during the auction. They felt that Kamoro cultural productions should not be assessed by their monetary value and that a museum is a place where an object should stop being a commodity and become 'a museum piece'. In contrast, auctions reveal the present state of the art market (MacClancy 1988: 174). Ethnographic museums portray themselves as economically disinterested, but nevertheless rely on collectors, auction houses, galleries and dealers to expand their collections. Museums do produce and promote value, but it is through intellectual engagement with objects that museums attempt to distance themselves from the market. This is not a new debate. Geismar (2001) describes how, because of the increasing popularity of 'tribal art' in auctions in the 1980s, there was growing concern at the invasion by the art market of the domain of anthropological endeavour. Both Benthall (1987) and Satov (1997) demonstrated how curators of anthropology museums preferred to distance themselves from auction houses because of their close association with the art market. However, the Leiden Museum justified its organisation of an auction in 2003 because it was part of Kamoro reality.

The Leiden auction audience was composed of a mixture of people with a mixture of responses. For some visitors, this performance of culture reminded them of the long history of exhibitionary practices during which human curiosities were exhibited in ways which degraded the indigenous actors (Rydell 1984; Bradford & Blume 1992; Corbey 1993; Poignant 2004). For others, the Kamoro presence authenticated the objects on display in the exhibition. Some genuinely felt they could help the Kamoro by purchasing carvings. Others were pleased to be able to bring back home a souvenir. Retired missionaries and sisters who had worked in Netherlands New Guinea were curious to see a glimpse of an area where they had spent a considerable part of their lives. Mathea even met her previous teachers from school in Kokonao village. Papuan people living in exile in The Netherlands were pleased to meet people from a country that they had not been to in years, but some were slightly disappointed that their Kamoro friends did not have an expressive 'political' voice. For the museum's Communications Department, it was a way to attract the public to contribute to the exhibition's economic viability. For me it was a way to use the museum as a fieldsite, or as Anita Herle described the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Cambridge at the time of the development of the Torres Strait Islands exhibition, while consulting Torres Strait Islanders: 'a place for cross-cultural encounter and creative

dialogue' (2002: 246). For the Kamoro people involved, the auction format was a familiar one. All five Kamoro people had previously performed in, or helped to organise, the auction that was part of the Kamoro Arts Festival. This festival – sponsored by the Freeport Mining Company that is controversially operating in their territory – will be one of the main focuses of this book. When contemplating the Leiden auction afterwards, the five Kamoro people stated that they were 'very pleased' with the event. They mentioned their earlier anxieties about the fact that the 'Dutch people' would be unfamiliar with the principles of a Kamoro auction. The language – the auction was mainly carried out in English – had also been considered a potential barrier, because they did not know the value of bids being made.

There are more issues to be raised. What will be highlighted now is the fact that the auction transformed the museum from a space of representation into a space of encounter. During the auction, the museum was not the familiar space where visitors silently observe discreet displays, avoiding other visitors in the exhibition spaces. The audience was entrapped, captive, and part of the social action. Encounters do indeed involve all senses (Jolly & Tcherkézoff 2009: 12; see also Bolton 2003). In Leiden, the Kamoro people invited people to dance with them; they decided to overcome the visual emphasis, the gaze of the audience, by taking the initiative and exercising their own agency to involve the audience in performances that broke down and destabilised the usual viewer/viewed relationship. The Leiden auction became a cross-cultural encounter in which objects were the common denominator. It was a collecting encounter to which different parties brought their own perceptions and knowledge, resulting in distinct reactions. This confrontation of pre-existing understandings and subsequent engagements and dialogues rendered this encounter particularly instructive in the context of this study.

Representational encounters

This book proceeds on the basis that encounters are interactive forms of social action. Participants in an encounter, whether individuals or groups, need to identify, portray and represent themselves. Therefore, encounters between Kamoro and non-Kamoro people will be examined as events during which representation is a bilateral practice based on mutual influence. These non-Kamoro people – referred to as collectors, whether they collected artefacts, information or impressions – mostly had specific agendas and their collections and depictions helped to shape later representations of Kamoro culture. These historical representations in turn structured the most recent collecting practices within the region. This book aims to develop a complementary perspective on constructions of Kamoro culture

and identity and is concerned to focus on the presence of the Kamoro people in situations of representation. Nonetheless, even though these encounters might be treated for purposes of description as if they were bilateral, this is a strategic simplification. They should not be misunderstood as points of contact between two or more static, separate cultures, but as dynamic ongoing engagements about which Kamoro and non-Kamoro have multiple understandings, and misunderstandings.

This study will also focus on the consequences of representational actions and encounters. Representations are seen as active; they can lead a life of their own. Representations are not unconditional or without engagement. Considering representation as praxis and part of bilateral and multilateral encounters could help us develop more sophisticated understandings of the nuances of representational strategies undertaken by participants. As Myers (2002: 5) observes 'anthropology's subjects' should be considered as 'cultural producers' not as 'culture bearers' indicating their active role in shaping representations. Representation of 'other' cultures has often been seen as a political act that implied a fixed axis of us-and-them, separating cultural actors who represent and cultural actors who receive such representations. The purported 'accuracy' of representation has been subject to considerable critical scrutiny. In discussions of colonialism, it is now conventionally accepted that indigenous communities were frequently misrepresented, often to validate prevailing evolutionary theories or promote economic or political agendas. Colonial representations conveyed more about the nexus of western interests in indigenous affairs than about the people in question (Greenblatt 1991). Material culture played a crucial role in this process of (mis)representation. Documentation of the 'entangled objects' (Thomas 1991), when it existed, often revealed more about western concerns than indigenous practice. Anthropologists began to question their manner of constructing the objects and subjects of their research and began to reflect on their methods, theories and writing practices, to the point that anthropological discourse itself was analysed (Clifford & Marcus 1986).[3] Critique of representation through writing was followed by scrutiny of the practices of exhibition making (Karp & Lavine 1991). These debates resulted in a greater awareness among anthropologists and museum curators of their role in representations. Asserting the subjective and contested nature of ethnographic texts is now a starting point of ethnographic work, rather than a radical statement, and the same can increasingly be said of exhibitionary practice.

3 For more information, see Clifford (1988, 1997); Clifford & Marcus (1986); Fabian (1983, 1991); James, Hockney & Dawson (1997); Rohatynskyj & Jaarsma (2000b); and Said (1989).

The suggestion that 'countersigns' (Douglas 2006) of indigenous agency may be present in colonial texts and images was significant. Representations of colonial encounters have been re-analysed and indigenous presence and agency revealed more clearly. According to Thomas (1999a: 8) this acknowledgment of indigenous agency 'takes us out of a trap or dilemma imposed by the influential critique of Orientalism'. He notes that it was important to reveal the political and constructed nature of western representations of non-western others. But, he continues, 'if the critique was partly motivated by a concern to empower the people who had been disfigured or misrepresented, it risked locating them beyond representation altogether' (Thomas 1999a: 8). A number of scholars now present more complex views of colonial encounters in the Pacific (Thomas 1991, 2010; Salmond 1991, 1997; Thomas & Losche 1999; Jolly, Tcherkézoff & Tryon 2009; Teaiwa 2007) using historical sources – material, textual and pictorial – to achieve more profound and multifaceted representations of historical and contemporary people and situations. It is in this spirit that the current work is written.

Agency of representation

The Leiden Exhibition title *Papua lives! Meet the Kamoro* was chosen by the museum's Communication Department. The word 'lives' was intended to convey the fact that Kamoro culture is ongoing and alive (Smidt 2003b: 19; Mamapuku & Harple 2003: 23). The emphasis on the living aspect of Kamoro culture was developed to challenge the following image/representation of the Kamoro, probably one of the most cited references about them, (note the use of the older name Mimika, discussed below):

> *It is not a pleasant sight – a people totally indifferent to your presence; people educated but without a place in their own society. Mimika strikes a person as a dead area filled with zombies. There is no work and no interest in work. Religion of the past is no longer celebrated and the Christian religion means nothing to the people. The past is gone forever. The present lacks vitality. The future holds no hope.* (Trenkenschuh 1982 [1970]: 78-79)

Written in 1970 by Father Trenkenschuh, an American Catholic, this statement constructed an image of Kamoro culture as a culture that once was and now is no more. Unpalatable (and inaccurate) as it is this citation, and representation, is hard to ignore, especially when it is elaborated on by scholars (Kooijman 1984: 164) and is used in promotional material by the Freeport Mining Company, which now attempts to preserve and promote, as it puts it, Kamoro culture through development programmes, the Kamoro Arts Festival, and collecting and exhibition programmes. The Kamoro are generally not known in Papua as independence fighters or for

expressing opposition to the Freeport gold and copper mine that dominates their territory – although individual cases are known and should not be ignored. This is in stark contrast to the neighbouring Amungme Highland people who protested in various ways against the mine and the Indonesian government. While there might not be apparent rebellion against the state apparatus or against the adjacent mine exploitation, Trenkenschuh's assertion of Mimika/Kamoro lack of interest and apathy is still a problematic stereotype.[4] Its tenacity, however, demonstrates the continuing influence of an earlier representation. When this comment was first published in 1970, there were hardly any other literary sources on the Kamoro in English. Most literature on Kamoro culture was in Dutch and was therefore only accessible to a limited readership. In addition, much of the previous literature remained unpublished; so Trenkenschuh's observations gained disproportionate attention. An American Catholic father, Father Trenkenschuh was stationed among the neighbouring Asmat people. He belonged to the Crosier Mission, different from and rival to the Franciscan Mission which was operating in the Kamoro region. Based on perceived similarities between Asmat and Kamoro culture, the Franciscan Mission had suggested including the Kamoro region in the new diocese of Asmat, which was established in 1969. However, the Crosier Mission was not enthusiastic about combining regions that were administered by different missions. It was the colonial mesh of boundaries and the efforts to control them that led to Trenkenschuh's bleak description. He concluded his report with the statement: 'The two separate programs of missionization and economic development force them apart mentally and economically. For the present, we can say that Asmat has not regressed into the indifference and bitterness that Mimika displays' (Trenkenschuh 1982: 81-82).[5] Trenkenschuh specifies the distinct colonial history of both areas as highlighting vital discrepancies between Asmat and Kamoro. 'Intensive contact', which had commenced twenty-eight years earlier than in the Asmat area, and the Japanese occupation of the Kamoro region, were cited as having 'lasting effects on the people's attitude towards both government and mission' (Trenkenschuh 1982: 78).

This book intends to examine several forms of 'contact' in order to challenge Trenkenschuh's stereotype. Cultural 'continuity' will be demonstrated to undermine Trenkenschuh's simplistic observation that the past is gone, the present lacks vitality and the future is hopeless. This will be done by emphasising the creative and pragmatic adaptation by the Kamoro peo-

4 In the 1980s, Homi K. Bhabha challenged colonial discourse by focusing on the notion of the stereotype (Bhabha 1999; see also Huddart 2006, chapter 3).

5 Asmat and Kamoro have adjacent territories and belong to the same language group (see below). They have similarities in oral traditions and rituals, but different social organisation (see Schoot 1969; Pouwer 2010).

ple to different forms of contact over almost two hundred years. My challenging of Trenkenschuh does not imply that the book focuses on the situation before 1970; on the contrary, the main part deals with more recent events, because, as indicated above, the lasting influence of Trenkenschuh's stereotype shaped later forms of 'contact'. This book analyses encounters with the aim to expose the diverse ways in which Kamoro culture has been represented and collected. Particular emphasis is placed on Kamoro art and material culture, firstly because comparisons with Asmat people often emphasise that the Kamoro 'once were also artistic' (Tifa Irian 1994b: 7) and secondly because art has been the main focus of revitalization of collecting projects in the last few decades. Trenkenschuh's representation of Kamoro culture illustrates the power of representation. It resulted in several projects aiming to 'revive' Kamoro culture. In this sense, representation should not merely be understood as praxis (Keane 1997), but as praxis with agency. Representation will be considered as a process that not merely depicts and communicates, it also *does*. Previous representations affect subsequent representations.

In studies of the anthropology of art, 'agency' has become a widespread notion since Alfred Gell published his research on the agency of art, when he proposed that '*persons* or "social agents" are, in certain contexts, substituted for by *art objects*' (Gell 1998: 5). Building on previous publications (Gell 1992, 1993, 1996), Gell posited that art is not fundamentally about meaning, symbolism or aesthetics, but about the agency or the capacity of objects to engage with humans. This agency of objects could not be explained by semiotics alone and Gell urged anthropologists and others to consider art as a system of action, whereby objects are social 'agents' that are able to cause social effects in the world by acting on 'patients'. He distinguishes between 'primary agents', intentional beings who generate causal reactions in others through their actions, and 'secondary agents', artefacts 'through which primary agents distribute their agency in the causal milieu, and thus render their agency effective' (1998: 20). The value of Gell's work lies more in the focus on agency than on the theory of art – a concept that he does not define. Certain underlying elements of theory on agency, or the capacity of objects to mediate social relationships, were already familiar to scholars working on Oceania (Strathern 1988; MacKenzie 1991). Even so, Howard Morphy raises the issue that the answer to 'how' this agency of objects is effective remains unexplored. He argues that Gell's agentive object might be a case of 'analogy gone too far' (Morphy 2009: 6). Derlon & Jeudy-Ballini (2010: 140) argue that a sole focus on 'agency' can be limiting, as objects' meaning and aesthetics might be important too: 'Let us postulate indeed that art may simultaneously communicate, move, dazzle, and foster thought and action'. This is

an important point ameliorating the current stand-off between meaning-oriented perspectives and those building on Gell's theory of agency.

The emphasis on the active, communicative and captivating (to use Gell's term) dimension of art is a core concern in this present work, which deals with collecting processes of objects by human beings, hence there is an emphasis on human agency rather than object agency. The aim is to reveal how, over a long period, previous collections and representations influenced later collecting and representation practices – hence the agency of representation.

Collecting Kamoro

The two terms constituting the main title of this book invite elucidation and further specification. Both lead to the fundamental questions 'What is collecting?' and 'What is Kamoro?' The answers are presented in the form of a brief literature review.[6]

What is collecting?

> *In fact, collecting is one of those terms full of connotations and hence replete with unreflected ideological presuppositions. Semantically, collecting has an aura of innocence – just picking up things that are there for the picking.* (Fabian 1998: 88)

Defining such a wide-ranging and hybrid activity as collecting is problematic, with the frequent result that definitions of collecting/collection are self-serving. Just as a collector defines the boundaries of his/her collection according to his/her advantage and judgment, so researchers of collections are obliged to do so as well. By and large, collecting entails gathering objects between which a certain relationship is postulated, according to the aspirations of the collector. The end result is the collection. As such, collecting is an ancient practice (Pearce & Bounia 2001; Bounia 2004). Collecting has a subjective character, as Pearce notes: 'Perhaps the real point is that a collection is not a collection until someone thinks of it in these terms' (Pearce 1994b: 158). Collecting is a purposeful assembling; thus it is the collector who decides upon the significance of the elements of a collection. Baudrillard (1968, 1994) argues that, generally speaking, an object can either be used or possessed, which he considers to be two mutually exclusive functions. Once collected, objects no longer perform their previous utilitarian roles and find a new role as part of a

6 The literature review for the section on 'collecting' is limited to what inspired this study; other authors will be discussed throughout the book. Similarly, the literature review of 'Kamoro' is partial; the work of Mamapuku (1981, 1998) and Rahangiar (1993) is discussed later.

collection. A war museum is an appropriate example, displaying weapons to be viewed and passively consumed by a wide audience. Stewart (1993: 151) states that 'the collection represents the total aestheticization of use value'. Similarly, Pomian (1994: 162) notes that objects in a collection become 'precious objects', which have 'no practical value as they are bought not to be used but to be displayed'. However, display can be considered as a significant object use or value. Collecting and displaying are indeed closely related concepts. Generally, collectors exhibit their collection in purposefully reserved spaces. Moreover, while the objects in a collection might only become precious to the collector once collected, to the original makers and users the objects might have been precious all along. These objects may also have been moved from everyday life and displayed. As such, collections exist globally (Gosden 2004; Kingston 2007).[7]

What is significant or precious to keep and what not, and more importantly why (does one collect?) are major topics in collecting literature and a full discussion cannot be attempted here. Answers to these puzzles are frequently explained in psychological terms, attributed to an inner drive inherent in (certain?) human beings (see Muensterberger 1994; Pearce 1994a; Pomian 1994: 162-163; Ucko 2001). Paul van der Grijp (2006: 12-24) considers that there is an inherent danger of reductionism involved in the citation of single reasons to explain the convoluted cultural phenomenon that is collecting.

It is important to understand a collection as a totality. Once collected, an object belongs to a set, whereby the whole may be regarded as more than the sum of its components, and each component may be relatively equal. This equality is sometimes challenged when certain objects are considered 'masterpieces' or more representative than others. The objects in a collection are considered to be related in certain ways, i.e. behind a collection is a form of classification. It is classification that differentiates collecting from accumulating, of amassing material without a clear arrangement in mind.[8] Elsner & Cardinal (1994a: 1) even state that: 'Classification precedes collection'. Christian Feest (1992: 7) argues a similar point when stating that collecting is 'a process by which samples of a complex whole are removed from their meaningful and functional context in order to be preserved under artificial conditions and within a new frame of reference'. The classification principles guiding a collection mostly guarantee that gaps remain to be filled, which is why a collection is seldom complete

7 Similarly, Hirini (Sidney) Moko Mead (1983) argued that there are Pacific equivalents to the western notion of a museum, that is a place to store objects of value. He therefore argues that an important requirement of indigenous museums is that indigenous people should be the guardians of their own cultural heritage (see also Stanley 2007).

8 Baudrillard (1968: 147-8) presents a detailed distinction between 'collecting', 'accumulating' and 'hoarding'.

and open for further collecting.[9] What is essential in this reasoning is that the act of collecting itself is a process. Emphasising the processual nature of the act as compared to the static nature of the collection is significant. Andrew Moutu (2007) highlights this processual nature of collecting by arguing that for the Iatmul people of Papua New Guinea collecting is a 'state of being' in which people gather experiences rather than merely objects in order to make sense of the world evolving around them. As such, he challenges Elsner & Cardinal's use of classification as a basis for collecting. Helpful to our thinking is Belk's definition that 'collecting is the process of actively, selectively, and passionately acquiring and possessing things removed from ordinary use and perceived as part of a set of non-identical objects or experiences' (Belk 1995: 67).

In the context of this book, a particular form of collecting is the focus of attention: ethnographic collecting. Ethnographic collecting implies encounters between different groups of people in different parts of the world. Clifford (1988: 21) points out that the history of collecting is concerned with what specific groups chose to value and exchange at a given historical moment. Ethnographic collecting implies the passion and collecting process referred to in Belk's definition but it is equally an enterprise driven by a constructed rationale, as the institutional background of the collectors is important too.[10]

European ethnographic collecting in Oceania began early.[11] Members of Captain Cook's three voyages (1768-1780) famously acquired many objects from the Pacific and North America (see Kaeppler 1978; Hooper 2006). Curio collecting was a result of 'discovering' new regions and new people. The objects encountered were initially collected as curiosities rather than as scientific material (see Thomas 1991: 127-128). During the initial stages of colonialism, and before colonies were formally established, collecting was related to expeditions of exploration. Objects were brought back to indicate the potential of the area for further colonisation (Fabian 1998: 83). The objects that were collected often served as tangible signs of conquest and domination. At the end of the nineteenth century, in the heyday of colonialism, systematic ethnographic collecting flourished. There was a collecting boom, with vast collections finding their way to the

9 It is interesting to note that Sir Robert Sainsbury, whose collection (jointly assembled with Lady Lisa Sainsbury) is now in the Sainsbury Centre for Visual Arts, long maintained that he was not a collector but rather a passionate acquirer. Although the end result might now be a 'collection', it was not formed based on classification, but on feelings and emotions for particular works of art (Hooper 1997: xxviii).

10 Bonshek (2002) writes about the anthropologist Firth as collector. Grijp (2006: 96-101) studies Claude Lévi-Strauss' collecting activities, and Malinowski and Raymond Firth as collectors (Grijp 2009: 63-72).

11 The subsequent historical overview of ethnographic collecting focuses on the situation in Britain.

newly established ethnographic museums (see Stocking 1985b). The scientific value of ethnographic collecting began to be widely acknowledged and objects became important sources of evidence in the framework of anthropological and material culture studies. In the context of evolutionist discourse in the nineteenth century, objects were collected as evidence to rank societies in relation to each other. They fitted a clear organisational device; the Pitt Rivers Museum in the University of Oxford with its typological display being an apt example.[12] After the evolutionary discourse, museum collections remained important in certain research following the diffusionist discourse, which continued to flourish in the 1920s. Objects provided evidence for the movement and spread of cultural traits. Styles of objects were equated with particular groups (Shelton 2000: 158; Stocking 1985a: 9).[13] However, in Britain, both the practice of ethnographic collecting and academic interest in the topic decreased when artefacts began to occupy a less dominant place in anthropology and ethnography during the first half of the twentieth century. With the growing popularity of functionalism in anthropology, artefacts lost the key position that they had once occupied in the discipline. Since the 1980s, there has been a renewed anthropological interest in artefacts. This attention was sufficient for O'Hanlon to argue that the subject of ethnographic collecting 'passed from obscurity to obloquy' (O'Hanlon 2000: 28). He comes up with two reasons for the revived consideration. Firstly, anthropology had developed an interest in its own history, a history in which objects had played a prominent role. Secondly, the discipline had broadened its interest to Western institutions, amongst which were ethnographic museums and their collections.

The resulting literature condemned ethnographic collecting as abduction and collections as the last colonial captives (O'Hanlon 2000: 2).[14] In post-colonial reassessments of colonialism, the presence of ethnographic objects in Euro-American museums was critically questioned. Interest and intellectual credibility might have returned to the study of material culture, but ethnographic museum collections were often assumed to be a problematic and uncomfortable legacy of dubious colonial enterprises. It was also pointed out that many of the ethnographic objects in Euro-American museums were not extracted willingly from the originating cultures; they were often taken as loot or seized by European missionaries aiming to eradicate indigenous idolatry. These issues, which are issues of

12 For a recent analysis of the early collections of the Pitt Rivers Museum, see Gosden & Larson (2007).

13 In Cambridge, A.C. Haddon utilised objects to create a diffusion-based evolutionary model of Papua (Herle and Rouse 1998).

14 Earlier O'Hanlon had already pointed out that collecting is an activity that 'has been more judged than described' (O'Hanlon 1993: 56).

ownership, in some cases led to calls for repatriation to the countries of origin (Turnbull & Pickering 2010). Other scholars realised that collecting activities could not always be equated with pillage, and they argued that the study of collecting could reveal both obvious and overlooked aspects of colonialism. Schildkrout & Keim, for example, argue that the study of collecting in Congo provides insight into the 'interactions and transactions that shape history and defined the relationship between the West and Africa' (Schildkrout & Keim 1998: 3). Phillips (1998) focuses on the early impact of collecting activities in her analysis of the Native North American souvenir production in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Gosden & Knowles (2001) use museum collections to understand changing colonial relations in New Britain. Thomas (1991) analyses collecting between westerners and Pacific Islanders as a two-way process and considers collecting as a form of exchange that provides insights into anthropological theories of gifts and commodities.[15] While highlighting early collectors in Papua New Guinea, Schindlbeck (1993, 1997) notes that collections enable us to reconstruct what was offered to foreigners and what was hidden from them. Similarly, Newell (2005) focuses on the collecting done by Polynesians in the eighteenth century. The emphasis on local agency in ethnographic collecting during colonial times is also present in the volume edited by O'Hanlon & Welsch (2000). Following on from these studies, (colonial) collections were 'revisited' or 'unpacked' in the volumes edited by Pieter Ter Keurs (2007) and Sarah Byrne *et. al.* (2011).

Moreover, Euro-American collecting activities often fed into local economies of object disposal. As Küchler (1997) demonstrates, *malanggan* funerary sculptures in New Ireland needed to be disposed of after ceremonial use, which formerly involved leaving them to decay in the bush in order to ensure the safe passage of the spirit of the deceased to the ancestral realm. Allowing the sculptures to be bartered with outsiders was considered an appropriate alternative which brought valuable imports to the community. Hooper (2008) highlights the motives and strategies of both missionaries and Polynesians in the early nineteenth century when considering collecting as a form of iconoclasm.

The value of contemporary ethnographic collecting is discussed by O'Hanlon (1993). Reporting on his collecting activities amongst the Wahgi people in Papua New Guinea, O'Hanlon noticed how the activity of collecting was informative in itself, which led him to argue that, looking beyond the western intentions of collecting, collections incorporate a considerable amount of indigenous agency. While her initial aim was to record narratives, Hoskins (1998) explains how she came to collect

15 The relationship between material culture and exchange theory is also examined in Myers (2001).

people's biographies through talking about objects in the Kobi district in Sumba, Indonesia, because people and the things they valued were so complexly intertwined that they could not be disentangled.

Interest in ethnographic collecting also began to be analysed in other ways. The realisation that objects are reframed within a collection is vital in this regard. The idea that, once collected, objects begin a new 'life' (Kopytoff 1986) now was central in collecting studies. Pearce (1992: 52) argues that objects even go through a rite of passage when they enter a collection. It is generally accepted that, once removed from their context of origin, objects are decontextualised and come to reflect the views and values of museums, curators and collectors. Objects move through contexts and distinct 'regimes of value' (Appadurai 1986) – an activity referred to by Thomas (1991) as 'recontextualizations'. These processes of recontextualization, these collecting processes, have been discussed in various ways. Collecting has been viewed as the product of processes of consumption (see Elsner and Cardinal 1994b; Belk 1995). Price (1989)

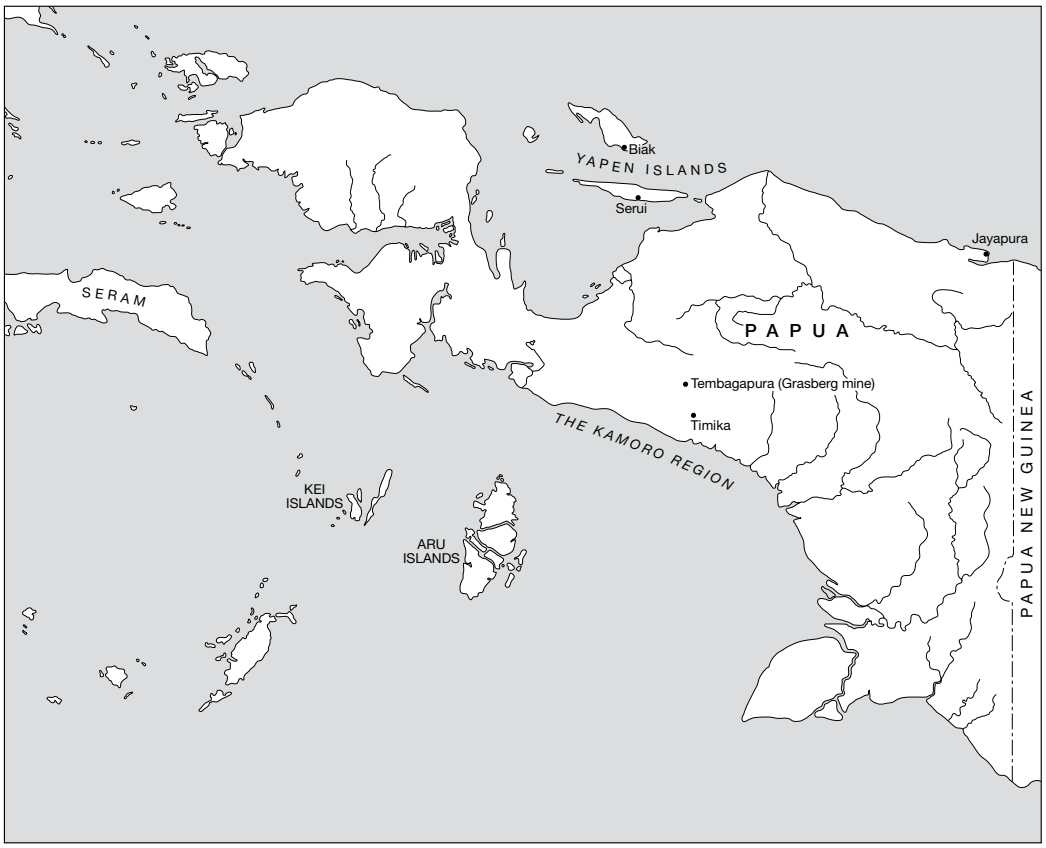

Figure 1: Map of Papua (Map by David Hoxley)

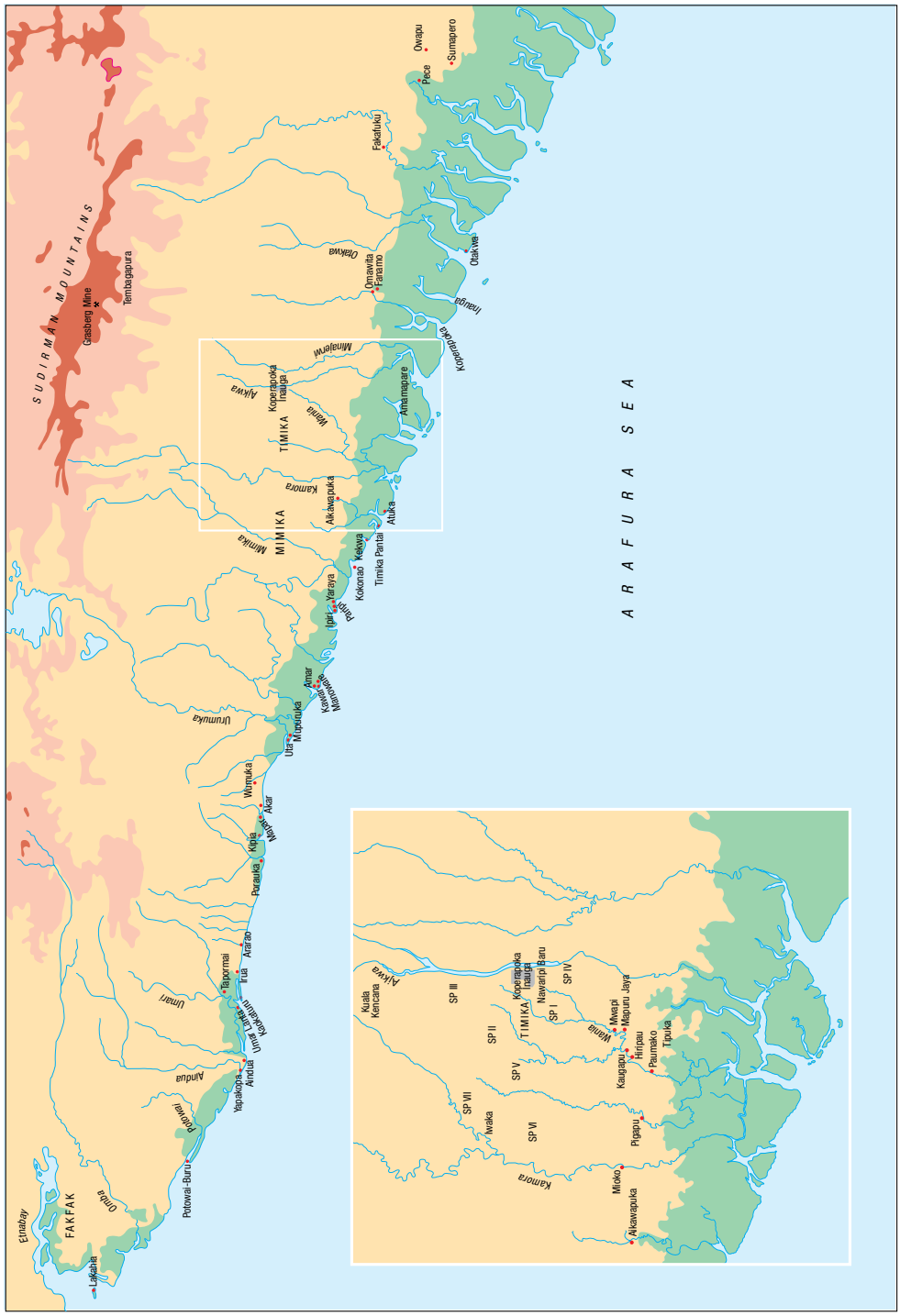

Figure 2: Map of the Kamoro region with detail of the Freeport working area (Map by David Hoxley)

demonstrates how ethnographic objects are transformed into 'primitive art' in the west and indigenous notions of ownership are displaced in favour of western ownership of these objects. Corbey (2000) focuses on the motions and movements of ethnographic objects throughout time, reflecting changes in taste and tradability (see also Cochrane & Quanchi 2007). Steiner (1994) examines the commodification and circulation of African objects in the international art market by analysing the role of African art traders in Côte d'Ivoire. Impacts and consequences of global commerce and tourism on indigenous art forms are also described by Graburn (1976) and Phillips & Steiner (1999b). Finally, Chantal Knowles points out that museum collections have 'multiple agencies since each party associated with the collection has imbued the objects with agency and their own sets of meaning' (Knowles 2011: 245).

Although this book draws from these works, which take objects as a focus, it is important to state that the term 'collecting' is used in a wide sense. Accordingly, collecting also refers to the gathering of cultural traits, knowledge and information. Clifford (1988) saw ethnography as a form of culture collecting. While doing ethnography, facts and experiences are also 'selected, gathered, detached from their original temporal occasions, and given enduring value in a new arrangement' (Clifford 1988: 231). Rohatynskyj & Jaarsma take the argument further by considering an ethnographic work as an artefact, which has a social life that is 'beyond the control of individual authors or academic conventions' (Rohatynskyj & Jaarsma 2000a: 4). Items in a collection may be material objects, ideas or experiences. This book itself is a collection, a result of my active collecting activities, (in)directly shaped by various parties. I had to represent myself too and was perceived in various ways during my collecting activities (see Preface).

Finally, it should be stated that the main focus is on the collection of artefacts 'in the field'. This study is directed mainly at collecting practices in the Kamoro region rather than museum histories or other primarily metropolitan developments. It is not a book on collectors *per se*, it is a study of the act of cross-cultural collecting, unveiling the degree of dialogue, or lack thereof, involved with the people behind the objects. This study focuses on the overlapping, traversing and changing relationship between collection and representation.

What is Kamoro?

There has been confusion concerning the exact name of the indigenous people living on the 300-kilometre coastal region stretching from Etna Bay in the northwest to the Otakwa River in the southeast. Older sources tend to record these people as 'Mimika', while recently 'Kamoro' is gen-

erally used. The 'Sempan' people also living in this region have generally been overlooked in the literature (see below). Mimika is the name of the river that was used by expeditions that first entered the Kamoro region to reach the snow-covered central mountain range. Later, the Dutch Administration and the Catholic Mission established their initial bases along this river (in 1926 and 1927 respectively) and, based on the occurrence of a relatively homogenous language and culture, used the name Mimika for the whole coastal stretch from Etna Bay to Otakwa.

During his work in the region from 1935 to 1939, Father Petrus Drabbe, MSC, had already noticed that the indigenous people referred to themselves as Kamoro, which is translated as 'living person', 'in opposition to the dead, ghosts, things, plants and animals' (Drabbe 1947: 158).[16] Based on his observations, Drabbe argued that the name Kamoro should be used to refer to this coastal region and its inhabitants:

> *And that is sufficient reason, it seems to me, for calling this people, that lays no claim to any other name for itself, the Kamoro, and their country the Kamoro district or Kamoro plain, and their language the Kamoro language or Kamoroese.* (Drabbe 1947: 159)

It is an important point that only these people can be classified as Kamoro, living people as opposed to ghosts, deceased and ancestral spirits. The very word Kamoro establishes a relationship between the spiritual world of the deceased and the ancestral culture heroes (see Mamapuku & Harple 2003: 23). Kamoro life is imbued with references to the spirit people (*mbii-we*) and the ancestral culture heroes (*amoko-we*).[17] The Kamoro people firstly associate themselves with their village or the smaller social unit within villages (*taparu*). The Kamoro are a non-Austronesian or Papuan linguistic group of approximately 18,000 people.[18] *Akwere kamoro*, the Kamoro language, is part of the Asmat-Kamoro family, consisting from west to east of the Sabakor, Kamoro and Sempan languages and the Asmat sub-family consisting of four languages (Voorhoeve 2005: 148).[19] Early documentation of Kamoro language lists six or seven distinct dia-

16 MSC is the acronym for *Missionari Sacratissimi Cordis Jesu*, indicating Drabbe is a missionary of the Sacred Heart.

17 Oral history traces the Kamoro people to the far eastern Otakwa region. The migration to the west was caused by an attack led by two culture heroes, Aoweyao and Mbiiminareyao, who wanted to avenge their uncle's killing (account collected by Father Zegwaard in Atuka and told to him by Jeremias Iwekatiriuta) (Zegwaard n.d.a).

18 As indicated in the Kamoro Baseline Study (1998: 34-37) there is no reliable recent census of the entire Kamoro population and it is hard to trace how many Kamoro people are living in the Mimika regency due to their mobility. Harple (2000: 8) estimates there are about 15,000 Kamoro people. Pouwer (2003a: 13) and Muller (2007) both give 18,000 as the accepted number.

19 The Asmat-Kamoro language group has been considered part of the Trans New Guinea Phylum group. For a recent analysis of this language family, see Pawley (2005).

lect areas (Drabbe 1953; Pouwer 1955). These dialects do not vary to such an extent that speakers do not comprehend each other, except those who speak the Kaugapu dialect which is unintelligible to other Kamoro speakers.

Currently, the Kamoro people state that they live in the region stretching from Potowai (the westernmost village near Etna Bay) to the Otakwa River (Kamoro Baseline Study 1998: 14) (Figures 1 and 2). However, the region between the Minajerwi (Muamiua) River and the Otakwa River is inhabited by people who differentiate themselves as 'Sempan'. Currently, Western Sempan (Sempan Barat) refers to the villages of Otakwa (also known as Ohotya), Fanamo (or Inafita) and Omawita (or Omauga); Eastern Sempan (Sempan Timur) encompasses the villages of Fakafuku, Pece, Owapu and Sumapero. In the literature, however, Sempan culture has largely been subsumed under Kamoro or Asmat – a result of collecting and representational practices.[20] Despited these unresolved uncertainties of identity, in this book Kamoro will be used to refer to the people inhabiting the region between Etna Bay and Otakwa, since this corresponds to earlier research (Pouwer 1955, 2010; Schoot 1969; Harple 2000). The people from this region were also invited to the Kamoro Arts Festival, which features widely in this book; hence no distinction is made between Kamoro and Sempan.

'Mimika' has endured as an administrative term; today, most Kamoro live in the Mimika Regency (*kabupaten*) in Papua province. The western half of New Guinea has also undergone several name changes – all of which have political implications: *Nederlands-Nieuw-Guinea* or Netherlands New Guinea during Dutch colonial times, West New Guinea, West Irian (*Irian Barat*) and *Irian Jaya* after 1962. The term West Papua or *Papua Barat* is used by the Papuan independence movement. With the induction of Indonesia's law of regional autonomy (October 2001), the use of the name Papua was accepted. In 2003, the province of Papua was divided into two provinces: West Papua in the west around the Bird's Head Peninsula, with Manokwari as its capital, and Papua, the largest and easternmost province with Jayapura as its capital. Throughout this book the name Papua will be used, to maintain clarity, except in cases where the older name is of importance to the argument.

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20 Linguistic literature does distinguish Kamoro from Sempan. Wollaston (1914) wrote about the Sempan region in his report on his trip via the Utakwa (currently Otakwa) River. Coenen (1956b) mentions that the term Nafaripi is sometimes used to denote the peope between the Otakwa river and the Asmat region, but that other (Sempan) groups live there too. Schoot (1969) distinguishes between Kamoro-wé and Sempan-owé on some occasions, but generally follows the administrative grouping of 'Mimika'. While referring to the Kamoro region as stretching from Potowai to Otakwa, Harple (2000) does differentiate Kamoro from Western and Eastern Sempan communities in his research.

Literature on Kamoro describes a long history of 'contact'. In the seventeenth century, the East India Company was attracted by the extensive trade network that linked the Mimika coast to various Moluccan islands (Pouwer 1955: 215). After a period of relative isolation from Europe in the eighteenth century, but with headhunting raids by neighbouring Asmat groups, the nineteenth century is characterised by visits of European naturalists and scientists.[21] Expedition members encountered people living in long-houses. Earl in 1828, observed:

> *The greather [sic] portion of them resided in one long house, 100 feeth [sic] in length, 5 feet, and 6 broad, situated on the shore, within the mouth of the river. It contained nineteen doors, one for each family. The frame was constructed of bamboo, and the walls and roof were covered with thatch.* (Earl 1837: 388)

During the early twentieth century, Dutch and British expeditions competed to be the first to reach the snow-covered Sudirman Mountains (formerly Carstensz Toppen). The current Kamoro area was considered a convenient access route and expedition members generally describe how they were welcomed in the region in a friendly manner (Hellwig 1907: 849; Seyne Kok 1908: 465; Wollaston 1912: 40). During the first British expedition (1910-11) Rawling writes:

> *Entering the Mimika proper, we were met by great numbers of canoes, the paddlers waiting to give us a welcome, shouting their loudest and throwing themselves out of their canoes backwards into the water.* (Rawling 1911: 236)

It was understood that these were semi-nomadic people who regularly established temporary settlements near sago groves and fishing grounds, which were the basic sources of subsistence: 'The people bring their houses with them; a few forked sticks are put in the ground on which a beam is laid. Ready-made mats are placed around this construction' (Staal 1914: 537, my translation).

Administrative personnel, missionaries and a few academic researchers provided the majority of the ethnographical material collected during Dutch colonisation (1926-1962). The gathering of data was regarded as essential for the efficient running of the administration, but on arrival in The Netherlands the reports of government representatives were not used and were directly stored in archives. These reports – written at the

21 Apart from visits during the Triton Expedition (1828) and the Etna Bay Expedition (1858), Russian traveller Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay visited the Kamoro region in 1874 and government officials J. van Oldenborgh and J.H. Kroesen in 1879 and 1898 respectively. Father Le Cocq d'Armandville settled in 1894 in the Fakfak region and drawned in 1896 near Kipja in the Kamoro region.

end of the administrator's assignment – focus on geographical, zoological and biological aspects of the area and on linguistic, religious, juristic and customary activities of the local population. An interest in cultural change was paramount, as the process of acculturation and development was the predominant goal. Aspects of economic development, infrastructure improvements (roads) and education were observed. The failure of economic development was frequently remarked upon. It was stated that the Kamoro people preferred to gather sago, which was plentiful, rather than carry out the imposed tasks of gardening and farming (Vink 1932: 27; Cator 1939: 91).

The mission also utilised internal, unpublished, reports to present the situation in the field to their superiors. In addition, their views reached a wider audience through Dutch lay-oriented mission journals. Catholics in The Netherlands learned about horror stories of pagan customs, heroic tales of missionary martyrdom and accounts of the elevation and progress of indigenous peoples once converted. When Father Kowatzki, MSC, went to Mimika land in 1927 to become the first missionary in this area, he felt he was going to a region 'where savagery, poverty, misery, heathenness and superstition were triumphant' (Kowatzki 1929: 220, my translation). These constructions of the Mimika were part of a strategy to broadcast stories of successful conversion to a mass audience and solicit donations. In the late 1930s, Father Drabbe, MSC, began to establish a more genuine interest in local life. He argued that education could be problematic in this region, since children were taken on sago-gathering and fishing trips, and also because Malay, the language used in schools, was completely different from their original language leading to difficulties (Drabbe 1941-42: 162).

Academic and anthropological attention was formally established with the arrival of the Dutch anthropologist, Jan Pouwer, who conducted extensive research between 1951 and 1954. This yielded a detailed ethnography in Dutch (Pouwer 1955), providing an overview of 'Mimika' culture (from Etna Bay to the Otakwa River). To date, Pouwer is the only anthropologist who has lived for two years with the Kamoro people, and his work is still considered the basic reference. The central focus of Pouwer's research was social structure. Conceptions such as marriage-exchange, sister-brother relations and native terms for relatives were intensively studied and observed. One of his significant contributions is the clarification of notions such as *peraeko* and *taparu*. Mimika/Kamoro social organisation has a matrilineal emphasis and a *peraeko* comprises people belonging to one generation; each a member of a variety of extended families. These members are matrilineally related to one another, since they descend from a common female ancestor (mother's mother). The female members of a

peraeko group constitute its core. A direct correlation exists between the matrilineal focus of the *peraeko* and residence patterns, land tenure and work groups. Related *peraeko* form a *taparu*, a larger social unit correlating with a long-house community, bearing a name that was inherited matrilineally. *Taparu* can be formed in two ways: (1) *peraeko* of various generations which are matrilineally related form a *taparu* that is mainly exogamous, (2) several groups of *peraeko* of the same generation which are not traditionally related, but are connected with *peraeko* of the preceding or subsequent generation, form a *taparu* which is mainly endogamous (Pouwer 1955: 76-80; 274). Each *taparu* has one or more *taparu* elders, though the position is non-hereditary and carries few privileges. A *taparu* cannot be equated with a clan. *Taparu*-members who settle elsewhere join the *taparu* of their new location. When a man enters his wife's social group after marriage, he is obliged to render services to his wife's relatives, by becoming *kaokapaiti*. A daughter's husband or sister's husband (*kaokapaiti*) performs the main duties in rituals and provides social protection (Pouwer 1987: 20). Pouwer also emphasises the pervasive importance of the principle of reciprocity in Kamoro thought. Referred to by the term *aopao*, it denotes a diverse range of meanings: counter-service, counter-gift, counter-song, counter-myth, counter-ritual, word in return, exchange of marriage-candidates, revenge and retaliation (see Pouwer 1955, 1975).

The cosmological world of the Mimika/Kamoro was exposed in the late 1940s and 1950s by three authors: Father Zegwaard, MSC, Jan Pouwer, and Father Coenen, OFM, who all influenced each other's work.[22] While his thesis is his most comprehensive work, Pouwer continued to publish articles based on his fieldwork in the 1950s. This work focuses on Kamoro conceptions of history and death, narratives, myths and rituals (Pouwer 1956, 1983, 1987, 1998, 2003b, 2010). His interest in Kamoro narratives was shared by Father Zegwaard, who worked in the region between 1947 and 1953. Father Zegwaard began to record numerous narratives and myths and wrote about rituals and festivities. His work, which remains largely unpublished, is kept in the Catholic Documentation Archive in Nijmegen. In 2002, the initiative was taken to publish narratives mainly recorded by Zegwaard in a book focusing on Asmat and Kamoro mythology (Offenberg & Pouwer 2002). Father Coenen spent a decade in the Kamoro area (1953-1963). His unpublished work concentrates on Kamoro 'spiritual culture' (Coenen 1963). A recent article by Pouwer (2003b) combined his own study on a range of Kamoro festivities with findings of Zegwaard and Coenen. Apart from highlighting the importance of Kamoro narratives (*amoko-kwere* and *tata-kwere)*, all three authors focus on the principle of duality (which is linked to Pouwer's findings

22 OFM indicates that Coenen was a member of the Franciscan mission.

on reciprocity). Dual organisation finds its expression in village layouts and the spatial pattern of land tenure. Kamoro cosmology distinguishes between an upper and a lower world with the human sphere in between; these are co-existent (see Pouwer 1987, 2003b). In kinship and affinity, too, dual distinctions are valid: marriages are preferably 'right', thus based on brother-sister exchange; 'left' marriages involve indirect exchange by means of a bride price. The Kamoro conceive of the human body as divided into a right and superior female half and a left, inferior male half (Coenen 1963: 25). Duality also affects the organisation of rituals. Pouwer indicates how two major feasts, *emakame* and *kiawa*, relate as female/right to male/left (Pouwer 1983, 1987).[23]

Hein van der Schoot's thesis (1969) is an analysis of development efforts in the Mimika and Asmat region, based on his work as a government representative in the years leading to the transfer of Netherlands New Guinea to Indonesian administration. His work lists the changes resulting from Dutch colonisation. Although he worked as an administrator, Schoot became increasingly more critical of Dutch colonialism and mission activity (Schoot 2003).

After the area was transferred to Indonesia in 1962, Simon Kooijman (1984) compiled a collection-based overview of Kamoro arts, where art in a ceremonial context is distinguished from art in daily life. Kamoro art is discussed in one chapter of Robyn Roper's unpublished Master's dissertation on contemporary artists in Papua (Roper 1999). Based on fieldwork, Roper examines the interaction between Papuan contemporary art and local, national and global influences affecting Papua. Her study forms a first description of the role of the multinational Freeport Mining Company in sponsoring art production among the Kamoro people. The involvement of the Freeport Company in Kamoro art is a topic that will be discussed and updated in this study.

By analysing Kamoro narratives, Todd Harple (2000) examines how the Kamoro adapted to major political and economic changes over a long history of interactions with outsiders by developing strategies of engagement.[24] Kamoro employ *amoko-kwere* as tools to adapt to change by reinterpreting and incorporating foreign elements and changes in these narratives. This was already noted by Pouwer (1955: 251-256, 1998), but has now been updated. In this way, Harple explains, on the level of narratives, how the Kamoro are not indifferent to changes and changing power rela-

23 The term 'feast(s)' is a rather unusual term to refer to the variety of ceremonies marking transitional stages in Kamoro life. The term is a translation of the Kamoro term referring to the totality of these ceremonies: *Kakuru* (festival or feast). The repeated use of the term 'feast' in Kamoro literature made it conventional to speak of Kamoro feasts rather than ceremonies or rituals and I follow this trend in Kamoro literature.

24 Widjojo (1997) also deals with the Kamoro reaction to outsiders by analysing basic Kamoro concepts.

tions, but rather have a pragmatic approach – and this is a striking contribution to Kamoro literature and representations. As he follows Pouwer's focus on the concept of reciprocity as a basic element in Kamoro social relations, he also notes how unfulfilled expectations arise from the exchange of foreign material wealth and abilities (*kata*). The failure of reciprocity, therefore, is a dominant theme in *amoko-kwere*.

Aiming to reach a wide-ranging audience, Pickell (2001) provides an overview of aspects of Kamoro life in a form resembling a travelogue. The book is richly illustrated with pictures of named Kamoro people by Kal Muller. References to Kamoro basic concepts are present, as is a description of a recent (commissioned) *kaware* feast, a canoe feast and masquerade. Apparently, the particular village (Paripi) had not celebrated this feast since the early 1970s (Pickell 2001: 111).[25] It is emphasised that Kamoro culture is beginning a new life: 'Kamoro art and culture [are] beginning to appear again' (Pickell 2001: 244).

The aspect of revival has also been stressed in the catalogue accompanying the 2003 exhibition in the Leiden National Museum of Ethnology (NME): 'Nevertheless, for some time now a certain revival of ceremonial and artistic expression has been taking place' (Smidt 2003b: 19).

Kal Muller has written on several aspects of Kamoro life. As a consultant for a mining company, Muller has been involved in various Kamoro projects for over a decade and utilises these projects to update knowledge and distribute it among interested parties. Some of his work has been published on Papuaweb (Muller 2004a, 2004b), some is in report form, and still more is in the form of forthcoming books.[26]

In recent literature Asmat and Kamoro culture have been compared through arts and myths (Zee 2009), and through feasts and rituals (Pouwer 2010). In his last book, completed shortly before his death, Pouwer collates the unpublished work he collected in the 1950s with material from other publications. Unfortunately, he had been unable to return to the Kamoro region after his work there in the 1950s.

Outline

This book is divided into three parts. The title of each part refers to the agenda of the collectors present at the time. If collecting is considered an activity involving the removal of an object from a particular setting to include it into another group of objects, then the collection springs

25 It has been pointed out that '1970s' is an error in the book and it should have been '1950s' (Kal Muller, email 27 July 2003).

26 Papuaweb is a bilingual (Indonesian and English) internet source based on a collaboration between the State University of Papua, Cenderawasih University and the Australian National University (www.papuaweb.org).

from a series of processes of assessment, selection, commoditisation and appropriation. Consequently, the use of the term 'collecting' is not limited to processes of removal from a particular set into another, but also includes processes of Integration (Part One), Representation (Part Two) and Objectification (Part Three). These are not the only characteristics of collecting as a process – various others have already been mentioned – but these particular agendas appeared significant for the collectors under scrutiny. The parts follow each other in overlapping chronological order. Part One 'Integration' provides an historical background dealing with the collection of the earliest surviving examples of Kamoro material culture from 1828 until circa 1981. The main emphasis lies on the era of Dutch colonisation (1926-1962), with particular attention to the impact of the mission, and on the collection of Kamoro material culture for Dutch museums. Part Two 'Representation', dealing with the role of the Freeport Mining Company as patron of Kamoro carving, focuses on the period commencing with the transfer of the region to Indonesian Administration (1963) until 1998. Then the focus is on the Freeport-sponsored Kamoro Arts Festival (1998-2006). Part Three 'Objectification' concentrates on the recent period (2000-2011) by examining the Kamoro Arts Festival's auction and Freeport's recent collecting activities. The chronological order, however, does not correlate to a complete historical overview. Each part needs to be conceived as an individual case study. The highlighted encounters are conceived as a series of processes, or movements in flux, and only momentary snapshots of these movements are offered.

What is collected? A brief note on 'material culture', 'objects' and 'art'

The terminology to denote *what* has been collected in cross-cultural encounters has developed over time. The term 'material culture' is closely related to the origin of ethnographic collections and museums in the late nineteenth century. Material culture studies consisted of evolutionary approaches and later research involved studies of style, form and technique. Material culture studies were predominantly museum collection studies aimed at classifying objects inside institutions (Buchli 2002: 2-8). Later material culture studies moved out of the museums into the field; rather than defining what the objects were, the study focused on how objects are used or how objects 'work' in their cultures of origin (Coote & Shelton 1992: 4). The 'material turn' (Edwards & Hart 2004: 3) in anthropology and related disciplines over the past twenty years has led to a focus on the ways in which material objects are embedded in social life.

However, a focus on materiality should not imply an opposition between the 'material' and the 'cultural'. In essence, material culture studies endeavour to overcome this dichotomy and focus on the ways objects and subjects, persons and things, and minds and bodies are entangled and produce further relationships (Buchli 2002; Miller 1987, 2005; Henare, Holbraad & Wastell 2007; Ter Keurs 2006; Bell & Geismar 2009). Tilley (2006a: 1) states that the material dimension is as fundamental to understanding culture as is a focus on language or social relations or other aspects. Miller (2005) considers materiality as a condition for anthropology itself (rather than an aspect): 'objects may not merely be used to refer to a given social group, but may themselves be constitutive of a certain social relation' (Miller 1987: 122). This perspective has also been expanded by Gell (1998) and Strathern (1988, 1999). In general, material culture studies emphasise that the study of the material world is not an 'object' in itself, but a tool to understand 'culture' or 'society' (Geismar & Horst 2004: 5-6). Bell & Geismar (2009: 4-6) state that they prefer the term 'materialisation' rather than the static concept of 'material culture', or what they consider 'the less precise term materiality', because 'materialisation is an ongoing lived process whereby concepts, beliefs and desires are given form that are transformed and transforming in their social deployment'.

This implies that 'material culture' refers to the objects, the artefacts, the commodities, the things, the art works, that play a central role in this study. Recently, the tendency to overcome the dichotomy between 'material' and 'culture' led to the inclination to talk about 'things' (Henare, Wastell & Holbraad 2007; Bell & Geismar 2009; Pasztory 2005). However, I will mainly use the term 'objects', by which I refer to anything that can be objectified: things, artefacts, art or immaterial entities that have been reified in relation to these categories, following discussions just mentioned. As Ter Keurs (2006: 47) argues: 'there is nothing wrong in talking about objects and subjects, as long as we realize that we are talking about two different ways of looking at reality and not about two opposite categories'. 'Objects' will not be considered in isolation, but the focus will be on the entanglement of objects with other aspects of social and cultural life.

Throughout the book, I gradually move towards the use of the term 'art' because the term is used strategically in the current Kamoro situation. Morphy (1994: 650) states 'it is almost a cliché (perhaps a little too unexamined) to remark that there is no word for art in the language of this or that people'. The application of the category of art has historically been one that Europeans have used to make assessments of the status of 'other' peoples (*cf.* Clifford 1988). In this context, Myers (2002: 7) points out that it is instructive to focus on 'the institutions and practices that *make* objects into art' (see also Bourdieu 1993). Morphy & Perkins (2006: 12),

however, refer to art as more than what has been 'classified as art objects by Western art history or by the international art market'. According to them 'art making is a particular kind of human activity that involves both the creativity of the producer and the capacity of others to respond to and use art objects, or to use objects as art'. In this way, they attempt to overcome the fuzziness that often surrounds terms such as 'objects' and 'things'. In this study, the precise connotations of Kamoro objects (linked with historical and contextual circumstances) should become clear in each part of the book.

PART ONE: INTEGRATION

Figure 3: Cross in commemoration of Father Le Cocq d'Armandville in 1958 (photo: Father Wempe, OFM – courtesy of OFM mission)

The term 'integration' is borrowed from the missionaries I interviewed and who had been based in the Kamoro region between 1962 and 1981. Their frequent allusion to their mission of integration prompted me to choose the term as the title for Part One. 'Integration', integrating traditional Kamoro elements into an imposed Christian culture, was considered to be the task of missionary activity after World War II. This process of integration by the missionaries will be examined in Part One, while simultaneously serving as historical background to the following parts. Chapter 2 focuses on the situation before World War II. Expeditions were conducted with the aim of mapping regions and exploring their potential for colonisation. These collecting activities, predating missionary and colonial presence in the Kamoro region, were also guided by a certain principle of 'integration', since collected objects and knowledge had to be fitted into existing representation systems. As Ballard (2009: 221) states: 'There is an enduring paradox in the art of writing about cross-cultural encounters: in trying to convey something of the alterity or strangeness of an encounter, writers invariably fall back upon a limited range of entirely familiar conventions'. By utilising shared insights the very comprehension of these encounters by the readers is facilitated. Later in Chapter 2 the missionaries are considered as the most significant group of collectors, since their agenda of conversion and (later) integration influenced not merely Kamoro culture, but also stimulated others to commence the collection of Kamoro cultural elements.

Chapter 3 deals with colonial collecting, which is according to Pieter Ter Keurs (2007, 2009) an activity that necessarily implies a power relationship, by juxtaposing a field collector, a government anthropologist and missionaries. Collecting became systematic, aimed at filling gaps in museum collections – again there is an emphasis on integration into existing classification systems (*cf.* Pearce 1994c: 201). By considering the interlayering of the various forms of collecting, the role of the Kamoro people in the collecting processes and thus their representations are sought. For the early period under discussion it is not straightforward to recover, even partially, aspects of Kamoro agency. The accessible and physical representations take visual and written forms and these are used to indicate that colonialism, as Peter Pels (1997) argued, is a contradictory project – not just an establishment of power – but a complex practical interaction.

Chapter 2

Exploring and settling

I. 'Discovering' Kamoro objects: early expeditions

The use of the term 'discovery' is ambiguous because Europeans did not discover these places, which were there long before. However, it is used in parentheses to emphasise the fact that what was unknown to Europeans was not necessarily the case for the Kamoro. The exploration of the Kamoro region was part of the Dutch attempt at colonial expansion in Papua, reacting to the presence of the English and the Germans in the eastern part of the island of New Guinea. In 1828 His Majesty's Corvette *Triton* and His Majesty's Colonial Schooner *The Iris* sailed to the Southwest coast of Papua, ordered by the Netherlands Government 'to establish a settlement on some convenient spot on the West coast of the island' (Earl 1837: 383). Later referred to as the Triton Expedition, this visit resulted in the construction of Fort Du Bus on 24 August 1828, a fortress at Triton Bay, named after the Viscount du Bus de Ghisignies, Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies. In this way, the Dutch formally proclaimed the southwest coast as a Dutch possession (Earl 1837: 392).[27] Encounters with local communities were not of primary significance to these early expeditions, which were focused instead on the colonial goals of mapping and establishing control over territory.[28] Nevertheless, the earliest surviving Kamoro objects (now in the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden) were collected during the Triton Expedition and the enthusiasm of the Kamoro traders is evident in several expedition reports (Earl 1837: 387; Müller 1857: 58, 74). The taxidermist, Salomon Müller, who had been appointed to focus on natural science during the expedition, describes how the Kamoro people from Uta 'obtain most satisfaction from trade', which they did from dusk until dawn during the first days of the expedition's stay; trade was a source of excitement, accompanied by loud screaming. He narrates how Kamoro people competed with each other and paid attention to each other's dealings in order to obtain goods quickly. Cloth, knife blades, empty bottles, arrows and other iron tools were most desirable, while mirrors, coral or copper rings were of less interest to the Kamoro people (Müller

27 However, disease and lack of supplies led to the deaths of 110 men and the abandonment of the Fort in 1836.

28 For an overview of the Kamoro settlements identified during this expedition, see Modera (1830: 73).

1857: 74, my translation). Müller (1857: 68) is one of the few expedition members who mentions that women also had a keen sense for trade, offering fruit and sago in a similar excited state to men. The Triton collection consists of a variety of body ornaments such as armlets, waist bands, penis cases, necklaces and head decorations; these artefacts were obtained directly from Kamoro people, some of whom were dressed in Malay fashion indicating contact with 'Ceramese' or Seram traders (Earl 1837: 387). In their encounters with Europeans, the Kamoro people were continuing a practice established during trade relations with Eastern Indonesia, mainly the Seram and Aru Islands in the Moluccas. The eastern Indonesian authorities and merchants – who adopted the role of *Rajas* – established a trade monopoly by appointing local representatives with titles such as *kapitan, major* and *hakim* (judge). Their dealings resulted in the wide distribution of a variety of commodities, such as textiles, beads, and gongs, in return for captured slaves, massoy and bird specimens, amongst other things.[29] In addition, they raised taxes and intermarried with local people (Pouwer 1999: 160; Swadling 1996: 137-138; Barnes 2007: 204). While the Triton Expedition members were 'discovering' the region, the Kamoro people integrated the visitors into an already well-established local trade system, with the aim of obtaining as many goods as possible.

Longer-term contact with Kamoro people was established during the Southwest New Guinea Expedition (1904-05), organised by the Royal Dutch Geographical Society (KNAG)[30] and led by Captain E.J. de Rochemont. Entering the region through Etna Bay, the northwest edge of Kamoro territory, the expedition's aim of reaching the snow-covered mountains adjacent to the Kamoro region remained unaccomplished – only an altitude of 2,300 metres was reached (Schumacher 1954: 36). However, the expedition provided some detailed information on the Kamoro. Etna Bay was carefully mapped, topographic and maritime data were gathered, a Kamoro word list was compiled by expedition member Seyne Kok and a large collection of artefacts made. Seyne Kok described how people from the Mimika River wanted to trade with them the whole day long. Expedition members mainly dealt with the 'Radja of Mimika' and collected fruit and ethnographic material (Seyne Kok 1908: 465-466). The KNAG collection consists of many forms of body ornaments, in addition to woodcarvings, such as sago bowls, shields, clubs, arrows, drums and fish spears. Kamoro material culture was considered an articulation of non-ma-

29 The bark of the massoy tree (*Cryptocarya massoy*) produces a volatile oil, which has many uses: in medicines, cosmetics, in dye fixing and as food flavouring (Swadling 1996: 133-6). For more information on *Rajas*, see Seyne Kok (1919). For a description of trade with Seram visitors, see Müller (1857: 102).

30 The Royal Dutch Geographical Society (*Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, KNAG) was founded in 1873 and aimed to increase knowledge of the Dutch colonies.

terial features such as the level of civilisation: 'Sailing from East to West, one notices that the indigenous people become a little more civilised. For example, in the Mimika region the use of paddles with long handles and carefully finished and beautifully carved blades was widespread' (Seyne Kok 1908: 469, my translation). He continues by saying that the years of contact with the Moluccas through trade is clear on the Mimika coast, even in the language (Seyne Kok 1908: 475). Assistant Resident of South New Guinea, R.J.A. Hellwig, visited Wakatimi (Mimika) in 1907 and was welcomed by Kamoro men with titles such as *major* and *orang toewa* (now spelled *orang tua*, meaning 'elder people', 'parents') who seemed to possess prestige (Hellwig 1907: 851).

Between 1907 and 1915 an extensive military exploration of Netherlands New Guinea was conducted to increase knowledge of the land and its population and to explore its potential for colonisation. H. Colijn, advisor for the Dutch Indies Outer Regions (*Buitengewesten*), realised that knowledge of New Guinea was restricted to the coastal regions – the interior remained *terra incognita* – and that it was necessary to draw up a comprehensive map of the territory (Colijn 1937: 19).[31] An exploration project by military detachment was initiated to systematically map the country and rivers, to examine the snow-capped mountains, and to gather information regarding the extent and numbers of the local population. The Military Exploration focused on the Kamoro region in 1910, and by 1913 the region between Etna Bay and Otakwa was completely mapped. The imperialist goals of the Military Exploration are best expressed by Captain Gooszen, who was charged with mapping and supporting geological and ethnographic research:

> *May the one exploration follow the other! May the gathered knowledge of land and people, the data regarding entranceways and the navigability of rivers contribute to wake up New Guinea from its sleep and to make this gigantic country blossom. Property is never worthless. Millions lie in reserve in Dutch New Guinea.* (Gooszen 1913: 651, my translation)

Captain Gooszen's role was pivotal in the construction of the Netherlands New Guinea of popular imagination by bringing back a large number of tangible objects from the region; he collected a total of 6,616 objects for the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden.[32] He also plead-

31 J.B. van Heutsz, selected as Governor General in 1903 after he had forced the Sultan of Aceh to surrender, had appointed H. Colijn as advisor dealing with the Outer Regions. The latter was ordered to inspect the districts of Menado, Ternate, Amboina, South New-Guinea and Timor, together with the respective sub-districts. Afterwards, Colijn suggested his idea of comprehensive exploration (Verslag Militaire Exploratie 1920: 5).

32 In 1911 Gooszen was promoted to Major, in 1914 to Lieutenant-Colonel, and in 1917 to full Colonel (Lamme & Smidt 1993: 144-145). At the time, the Museum in Batavia (current National Museum in Jakarta) should have had first access to the collections with the Leiden Museum receiving the duplicates, but Gooszen circumvented this rule (Jonge 2006: 94).

ed for an increase of ethnographic interest in the region rather than just mapping and pacifying (Lamme 1987: 123). For him, ethnographic interest consisted of collecting all he could lay his hands on. He describes an encounter in the Kamoro region as follows:

> *Finally a sign of life! From a tributary a few canoes appear carrying ten to twelve standing paddlers. Loudly screaming they let us pass and then try to follow us. Throwing a few pieces of red cloth in the water, leads to a paddling race, of which the winners eagerly pick up the pieces as a reward for their effort.* (Pionier 1907: 1, my translation)[33]

His collecting activities appeared to involve only restricted interaction with local people. For instance, when Gooszen's boat passed a settlement, he attached some knives on a rope at the back of the boat. The local inhabitants had to try to grasp these items from their canoes and, when successful, they fastened a bow and arrow to the rope in return (Lamme 1987: 107). While collecting had already been used as a channel to establish contacts with local people and to indicate their degree of civilisation, Gooszen's collecting activities demonstrate how collecting was also a means for personal aggrandisement. After Gooszen donated a considerable part of his collection to the *Musée d'Armes* in Paris, the French government awarded him with a decoration as a token of appreciation. This act caused indignation in the Netherlands, which was made public in the newspaper *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*. Gooszen was criticised for collecting only for self-promotion and donating his collection to a museum outside The Netherlands for the simple reason of receiving an honour.[34]

The military exploration project was only impeded by Dutch and British scientific expeditions competing to reach the snow-capped peaks of the central mountain range adjacent to the Kamoro region.[35] First sighted in 1623 by Jan Carstensz from the deck of his ship in the Arafura Sea, these peaks soon became the ultimate symbol for conquest and domination and thus the main goal during expeditions to this part of the world. The competition began with a British request to organise an expedition to

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33 Gooszen published a series of articles in the Dutch newspaper *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (first series 1907-08, second series 1914-15) narrating the exploration of New Guinea under the pseudonym *Pionier* (Pioneer).

34 This information is deduced from several letters in the Archives of the Wereldmuseum Rotterdam, but is well summarised in a letter from a Leiden Museum representative to Snelleman (20 January 1906, Archives Rotterdam Museum). Gooszen received a silver medal for his gifts to the Leiden Museum in addition to German and French decorations. First Lieutenant G.A. Ilgen, member of the military exploration team (May 1913-February 1914) also received an honour from the Minister of War for his collecting activities in West New Guinea.

35 The focus for these expeditions was on two peaks, one described by Carstensz in 1623 (Mount Carstensz, now *Puncak Jaya*, or as the Amungme call it: *Namangkawi*, height 4,884m), and the other identified in 1904 and named after the then reigning queen Wilhelmina (Now *Mount Trikora*, circa 4,700m) (Ploeg & Vink 2001: 13; Pulle n.d.: 9)

Netherlands New Guinea. The official purpose of the British Expedition of 1910-11 to the Mimika River was to form a collection of flora and fauna from the unexplored south-western districts near the central Snow range – the results were to be presented to the British Museum.[36] While lack of knowledge of this part of their colony generally was a sensitive point, it was the vicinity of the snow-capped mountains that led to unease, as the Dutch had so far been unable to reach these peaks. Accordingly, the British request led to a storm of negative reaction. Rouffaer was most vocal, stating: 'The only thing that can be said is: *People of the Netherlands, beware!* Since 1903 this part of the island is ours, but recently other countries have begun to interfere. To beware and to do it ourselves now is double duty' (Rouffaer 1909: 296, my translation, original emphasis). He continues: 'In our lap is a "small geographical fortune". A whole snow range, which was discovered three centuries ago by a Dutch person! We can predict that before 1920, the inland of Dutch New-Guinea will be explored. The main question remains: by whom?' (Rouffaer 1909: 298, my translation).

The Dutch government allowed access to the British expedition team, but priority was given to a second Dutch scientific expedition, led by H.A. Lorentz: 'There were no objections on condition that the expedition would start *after* January the first, 1910. The race against the British has started' (Gooszen 1913: 645, my translation, original emphasis). Earlier in 1907, Lorentz had conducted an expedition to New Guinea organised under the auspices of the 'Society for the Promotion of Natural History Research of the Dutch Colonies' (MBNO) and the 'Netherlands Indies Committee for Scientific Research' (ICWO),[37] to explore the country and its population, and to travel to the snowy mountains, but the latter goal was never accomplished (Gooszen 1913: 642). The second Dutch South New Guinea expedition (organised by the MBNO) intended to reach the snow of Mount Wilhelmina and therefore relegated the British expedition to a less promising route further west (Ploeg & Vink 2001: 13). This proved a fruitful move, as the Lorentz team was able to reach the snowfields of the Wilhelmina Mountain first: 'Victory was ours! The battle was won, the snow in the heart of Dutch New Guinea was reached, and it was reached first by the Dutch' (Gooszen 1913: 646, my translation). During both expeditions artefacts were collected in the coastal Kamoro region:

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36 This expedition was organised by the Ornithologist Union of Great Britain and supported by the Royal Geographical Society and partly funded by the government (Rawling 1911: 233).

37 MBNO or *Maatschappij ter Bevordering van het Natuurkundig Onderzoek der Nederlandse Koloniën*: in 1888, M. Treub formed this committee, also known as the 'Treub Society', to promote scholarly research. The Amsterdam-based society had a counterpart in Batavia (Jakarta): ICWO or *Indische Comité voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoekingen*. MBNO is less literally translated by Ploeg & Vink (2001: 12) as 'Society for Scientific Research of the Dutch Colonies'.

> *We were offered a lot of ethnographic material, which was touched up to make it more appealing. … I have never seen coastal Papuans do anything other than screaming, yelling and exchanging ethnographic material. The highland people are different and we had good contact with them.* (Lorentz 1913: 243, my translation)

The British expedition (1910-1911) was a total disaster, hindered by a lack of food, disease and even the death of expedition members.[38] Having followed advice to use the Mimika River as a point of entry, the expedition only reached halfway to the Snow Mountains during their fifteen months in the region (Wollaston 1914: 249).[39] Their lengthy delays forced them to spend a considerable amount of time in the Kamoro region, resulting in detailed descriptions of Kamoro life and more particularly in extensive collections of Kamoro artefacts. Weapons and utensils, such as bows and arrows, stone axes and clubs, paddles and carved prows of canoes, and also food and human skulls, were exchanged for anything the expedition members had brought with them, such as nails, bottles, matches and tins. That it did not always seem a fair exchange is noted by Rawling (1913: 70): 'It was quite pitiful to see a bundle of elaborately carved and decorated arrow-heads handed over for the coloured label off a biscuit tin; a paddle covered with intricate carving exchanged for a bit of broken looking-glass'. However, observations on the fairness of transactions imply that Rawling is imposing his idea of value on the Kamoro trader. An 'unfair' exchange would involve theft or deceit, whereby a lot is offered and only little is given. Wollaston takes a more neutral point of view on relative value:

> *So keen did the people become on trading that they would barter all their worldly possessions for European goods. Stone clubs and axes, bows and arrows, spears and drums, the skulls of their forebears, indeed all moveable goods were brought to us for exchange. It may sound rather a mean transaction to buy from a Papuan a stone axe, which has probably been in his family for generations, for a small knife or coloured handkerchief, but he was always delighted with the exchange and when both parties to it are satisfied a bargain may be considered a just one.* (Wollaston 1912: 63)

Any concern that exchanges might be 'unfair' is eased by the fascination for the Kamoro eagerness to trade. In various places the expedition visited, they encountered people who offered things for trade or put objects on display outside their houses; goods 'were displayed to the best advantage in the obvious hope that they would appeal to us and lead to the clinching of a bargain' (Rawling 1913: 189).

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38 Several Dayak carriers and one British member, Wilfred Stalker, who was a fauna collector, died.

39 A second British expedition (1912-13) led by Wollaston travelled the Otakwa River and successfully reached the snow-covered mountains rather than just the snowfields (Ploeg 1995: 232).

They will trade away anything, and one's approach is the signal for the whole of their worldly goods to be slipped outside the hut, on the chance that some article may catch the stranger's eye and a sale be effected. Clubs are stuck into the ground, spears leant against the roof, and bows and arrows, sago dishes, and even human skulls laid out, so as to show to the best possible advantage. (Rawling 1913: 177)

Figure 4: Mamakoro mask (NME 1889-150) collected by A.J. Gooszen, donated to the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, in 1914. H: 83.0cm

Expedition members describe how Kamoro people soon noticed what interested them and began to approach them with examples. When the news spread that expedition members were collecting specimens of skulls for scientific purposes, the Kamoro began to put skulls on display or brought them to the expedition camp for sale (Rawling 1913: 137):

> *One day a man walked into our camp at Wakatimi carrying a skull under his arm. He stood outside our house for some time, grinning and saying nothing, then he gave us unmistakably to understand that it was the skull of his wife, who, as we knew for a fact, had only died a short time previously. The skull was indeed so fresh that we declined the offer.* (Wollaston 1912: 140)

Collections formed during the expeditions mostly consist of weapons, such as clubs, arrows and spears, clothes, penis cases and other body decorations, household items, (stone) axes and a few drums and so-called ceremonial boards (*yamate*).[40] However, other ceremonial objects were rarely collected. Gooszen is the only one who collected masks, a form of object that would become sought-after by later collectors (Figure 4). The Kamoro appeared to make considered choices about what they wanted to trade. In this sense it is interesting how Rawling (1913: 177) describes that 'after dusk' was the time for 'clandestine trading'. He describes how Kamoro people, who either were not allowed to sell artefacts or did not want to bargain with the visitors in public, would then close deals. The expedition members saw it as a chance to purchase stone-headed clubs, or weapons that did not deteriorate rapidly. In addition, Rawling also describes how prices of Kamoro artefacts rose steadily (Rawling 1913: 79) and once the Kamoro felt they had obtained enough, bargaining with or working for the expedition members was soon finished; 'the indolent savage has no inducement to do another stroke of work when once he has obtained what he has set his heart upon' (Rawling 1913: 70).

> *To be the possessor of a steel axe-head is the native's highest ambition, but when he has obtained his wish it need not be expected that any further work will be got out of him, and for this reason they were but sparingly issued until towards the close of the expedition.* (Rawling 1913: 155)

There are no written records of Kamoro recollections of these encounters or oral narratives such as the neighbouring Amungme people have of their encounter with Wollaston in 1912 at Tsinga during the second

40 *Yamate* have been described in the literature as dance or ceremonial shields, but *yamate* were not used in dances or as defensive weapons – there is no handle either. *Yamate* represent deceased ancestors. For more information, see Pouwer (2010: 31); Smidt (2003a). Coenen (1963: 53) notes how *yamate* were used in wedding negotiations. A *yamate* was put in front of the woman's house and the potential husband was brought there to exchange tobacco and sago.

British expedition (see Ballard 2001a). However, careful reading of expedition accounts provides evidence that the collecting process involved a considerable degree of indigenous agency and clear strategies to achieve Kamoro aims. 'Collecting' was neither a one-way process nor an unambiguous power relation.

In Europe, collected objects were used to reinforce stories about adventures in a remote part of the world, where people were still in the 'Stone Age' (Wollaston 1933: 102). The collections constituted a plethora of meanings; they signified contact, difference, contest, and represented trophies, memories and proof of civilisation or savageness. Still, on their arrival in Dutch and British museums, the objects were fitted into the museum classification systems, which submerged the artefacts' previous identities.[41] Once collected, these material objects served as representations of the indigenous people who made them. The objects were held to represent a culture distant in place, and time. In succeeding decades, Dutch colonial officers would be taught in the ethnographic museums about the regions in which they would work by looking at the collections.[42] Collections influenced later actions and representations. In the Kamoro region particularly, the earliest surviving collections played a vital role in the construction of an image of Kamoro (savages) as artistic – and therefore the vitality of their culture in later representations will be measured by the presence or absence of artistic expression materialised in artefacts.

II. Establishing Dutch presence

The first Dutch administrative posts in Papua were established in 1898 in Fakfak on the west coast and in Manokwari on the north coast. From these posts, explorations were conducted to examine the feasibility of extending colonisation to other regions. Already in 1907, the Kamoro region was considered an appropriate place to set up an administrative post (Hellwig 1907: 851). Assistant Resident of West New Guinea, J.M. Dumas, wrote that 'the population seems peaceful and open to contact, but they belong to the lowest rung of civilisation' (Dumas 1911: 5, my translation). In 1919, administration became a requirement due to the recent increase

41 This was often done by expedition members. Koch (1908) classified the collection gathered during the KNAG expedition, of which he was a member, and Gooszen worked as a temporary curator in the Leiden National Museum of Ethnology to catalogue his collection. Haddon & Layard (1916), who were not expedition members, classified the Wollaston material in the Cambridge Museum. These objects were produced by 'Coast People' or 'People from the Utakwa River', which was the main river used to reach the Highlands. Naming the people was not of any interest. Neither were expedition members much interested in the previous uses of the objects acquired, since little information was collected with the objects.

42 Similarly, the Rotterdamse Zendelingshuis, a Protestant missionary society, had a collection that had originally been assembled to serve as teaching material for new missionaries (Corbey 2002: 1002).

of illegal (Chinese) bird traders, resulting in the actual establishment of an administrative post in 1926 (Seyne Kok 1919: 80). First located in Wakatimi (Mimika), the post was later moved to Kokonao, which remained the administrative centre during the Dutch colonial period. The Administration only intensified its presence after World War II, although expeditions continued to be organised. In 1935-36, Dr. H.J.Th. Bijlmer led the Mimika Expedition, organised under the auspices of the Treub Society, with the purpose of studying the 'Tapiro pygmies' (probably Moni or Ekari communities), first encountered during the 1910 British expedition (Bijlmer 1938: 242; see also Ballard 2001a). The expedition to the Carstensz Mountains by A.H. Colijn, F.J. Wissel and J.J. Dozy in 1936 mostly focused on geological study (Colijn 1937; Ballard 2001c). Very few Kamoro objects were brought back from these two expeditions.

1) Establishment of the Roman Catholic Mission

In 1902 the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (MSC) founded the 'Apostolic Prefecture of Netherlands New Guinea', which comprised the Moluccas and Netherlands New Guinea – previously the working domain of Jesuit missionaries. As the first Prefect, Father Neijens, MSC, visited the Kamoro region in 1910 to examine its potential for the establishment of a mission post.[43] The region's conversion seemed crucial since its strategic position could prevent the further spread of Islam near the area of Kaimana (Bavel 1948: 4). Neijens' first encounter with Kamoro people in a settlement along the Mimika River took place during a nose-piercing feast. The fact that he arrived during the mock battle at the end of the ceremony, when women retaliate against the men by attacking them, influenced Father Neijens' perspective.[44] He described the women as 'female devils' and decided that the establishment of a mission post should be postponed (Boelaars 1995: 253).

As a consequence, when a permanent mission post was finally established by the Congregation of the Sacred Heart (*Congregatie van het Heilig Hart*) in Kokonao in 1927, the nose-piercing ritual was one of the elements to be prohibited.[45] On 7 May, 1927, Monsignor Aerts and Father

43 In March and April 1910 the Military Exploration focused on this western region and Father Neijens was able to travel with a military detachment (Bavel 1948: 4).

44 A mock battle, *imu*, was one of the final stages of many events, such as the initiation feast, pig feasts, or *emakame* and *kaware*-feasts (see below). Women attack the men with clods of mud, throwing smouldering pieces of wood at them or beating them with sticks (Pouwer 1958: 26).

45 Zegwaard (n.d.d.: 2) wrote how the Administration outlawed the ritual in the early 1930s on request of the mission. Father Tillemans, MSC, who worked in the Kamoro region between 1930 and 1945, informed Lundquist, a Swede who explored the region in search of useable forestry resources, that he thought that only the actual act of piercing the nose should be prohibited due to the high risk of infection and should be replaced by another sign of manhood, such as the wearing of a belt (Lundquist 1952: 203-204).

Kowatzki, MSC, with Benedictus Renjaan and Christianus Retob, mission teachers from the Kei Islands in eastern Indonesia, visited Kokonao in the Kamoro region. There they encountered a weeping woman with a dying child in her arms. Father Kowatzki baptised the infant, so the Kamoro people too were now 'represented in heaven' (Bavel 1948: 6, my translation). They visited two more settlements upstream on the Mimika River (Irawea and Naweteri) where they were warmly welcomed. Consequently, the Kamoro people were described as 'soft, simple and willing in nature; conscious of their own weakness, they ask for help' (Aerts 1927: 369, my translation). As a result of this assessment, the missionaries left both mission teachers behind to begin mission work, which they did by opening schools. The first permanent mission presence among the Kamoro was composed of mission teachers from the Kei Islands. Father Kowatzki, MSC, returned a few months later to formally establish the first mission post, but further expansion of missionary work was mainly done by mission teachers (*guru*), mostly originating from the Kei Islands. Serving both as teacher and lay-preacher, the *guru* became the most permanent outside presence in Kamoro villages and the main link between the administration, the missions and the local population (Jaarsma 1993: 118, 122).

During the first large-scale baptism feast in Kokonao in 1933, Father Rievers, MSC, described how the Kamoro people performed dances learned from the Keiese teachers: 'as real Kei people they danced on – to them – strange drumming' (Rievers 1935: 20, my translation). However, Rievers also noted that the dancers imitating spearing fish and hunting pigs caused much more excitement due to the familiarity of the themes. A large feast house was built with seven doors, which traditionally corresponded to the number of initiates in an initiation feast, reinterpreted as representing the Seven Sacraments, whilst in front of the feast house a large cross was erected. Silence accompanied the christening. Father Rievers noted that: 'These mysterious solemnities undoubtedly made a large impression on these very primitive people who are fond of mysteries' (Rievers 1935: 21, my translation). During this eight-day feast (supported by the government) a large number of children from Kokonao and nearby villages were baptised. Boelaars writes that it was the first time that such a large number of villages convened: 'Where normally five hundred people live, there were now five thousand people gathered' (Boelaars 1995: 268, my translation). This feast triggered further efforts to convert even more Kamoro children and adults. Time was precious because of the discontinuance of the division whereby Netherlands New Guinea was separated into a Protestant North and a Roman Catholic South. Introduced in 1912, the boundary was lifted in 1928 (Bavel 1948: 22). Consequently, by the early 1930s, the spread of the Protestant church into the Kamoro region was considered a threat by the Roman Catholic Mission. Protestant and Catholic missions

were bitter rivals, and during the era of double missionisation, mission schools were opened on a large scale. By 1934, this inter-denominational competition reached its climax. The Moluccan Protestant Church intended to place a Protestant teacher (mostly Ambonese) next to every Roman Catholic teacher (Pouwer 1955: 235). Both corporations started distributing clothes, food, tobacco and tools. Father Tillemans, MSC, called upon the Catholics in The Netherlands to send clothes for the newly baptised children, since the Protestants persuaded people by giving them material inducements: 'those foreigners entice our children with clothes, coats and trousers' (Tillemans 1934: 225, my translation). In January 1934 the MSC missionaries gained the upper hand and christened inhabitants of Kekwa and Timuka (Timika Pantai). In January 1935 they christened inhabitants of Mioko and in February people from Paripi, Yaraya and Ipiri (Pouwer 1955: 233). Gifts and exchanges of trade articles was no longer a means of establishing contact as it had been during previous collecting encounters. Now these goods were a means of collecting souls. The Roman Catholic 'soul collectors' successfully warded off the Protestants and the area remained Roman Catholic.

2) Administration

Father Rievers' description of the 1933 baptism feast already indicated how the mission used a feast house (*karapao*) in the event. It is unclear whether it was the mission or the Kamoro people who had chosen to build the *karapao*. Before the permanent presence of the Dutch administration and mission, Kamoro life was marked by a cycle of feasts. These feasts had significant roles, such as facilitating contact with neighbouring villages, revealing knowledge to uninitiates, and the transmission of narratives. The complete cycle of the large feasts was stopped rapidly by the Dutch administration (Pouwer 1953: 2). Kamoro themselves, increasingly influenced by Catholicism, also began to consider certain elements of feasts inappropriate (Coenen 1963). Now these feasts, or certain tolerated components, could only be held after government notification and when they did not interfere with other tasks and duties, such as school attendance and gardening. However, these feasts played a vital role in Kamoro life. Father Tillemans, MSC, who worked amongst the Kamoro from 1930 until World War II, once told anthropologist Jan Pouwer that the Kamoro use one term to denote both sago beating and feasting. The notion of feast and play was related to labour and work (Pouwer 1952: 1). Work, social obligations, prestige, play and ritual were all intertwined in feasts, of which there was a wide variety. There were feasts to mark liminal phases celebrating adolescence (*tawri-kame*) and adulthood (*mirimu-kame*) and

the parting from and commemorating the dead (*watani-kame*).[46] *Tawri-kame* involved the cutting of the apron of young boys; *mirimu-kame* was the nose-piercing feast. After the prohibition of the act of piercing the nasal septum, these two feasts were unified and denoted as *karapao*, which is also the name of the initiation feast house. A *karapao* feast involves a pig hunt, a hunt for so-called tree lizards (water monitors, *Varanus indicus*), fishing trips (as food supply and as gifts), sago making and the collecting of bivalves (*onaki*), which expresses the high number of associated 'work-related' activities. Apart from these 'social initiations', other feasts marked a 'cultus initiation': *emakame* and *kaware* were central feasts (respectively held in east and west Kamoro) during which initiates were introduced to esoteric knowledge. These feasts involved a renewal of, and a reason to make, material culture, such as spirit poles, canoes, so-called ceremonial boards (*yamate*), drums, paddles, sago bowls and sago beaters (Coenen 1963: 64-69). *Emakame* was a *kaokata* or women's feast, expressed in the theme of fertility, procreation, growth and abundance. A *kaware* feast involves the display of male authority. Accordingly, the emphasis lies on male skills such as the manufacture of canoes, paddles and sago bowls and on associated knowledge (Coenen 1963: 69; Pouwer 1987: 46).[47] The decrease in these feasts directly resulted in a decrease of other activities, such as carving, hunting and particular forms of food gathering – thus possibly resulting in the cliché of the Kamoro as lazy people.

Simultaneously, festivities corresponding to the administrative and mission festive calendar were introduced. Apart from Christmas and New Year celebrations, Queen's Day[48] was a known *kakuru tena-we* or 'foreigner feast' or 'feast of the white people' (Figure 5).[49] These feasts were marked by games and small competitions, which were mainly performed by the children (field pictures Jan Pouwer; Verhoeff 1956: 90).

A crucial effect of Dutch colonialism was the amalgamation of the various Kamoro river groups with similar cultural characteristics and dialects into one group, which was given the name 'Mimika'. From the start of Dutch colonisation there was a tendency for cultural unification. Longhouse communities were broken up into permanent dwellings focus-

46 The suffix '*-kame*' means 'house', referring to the construction of a different ceremonial house for each feast.

47 For more information on Kamoro feasts, see Coenen (1963), Kooijman (1984), Pouwer (1956, 1983, 1987, 2003b) and Zegwaard (1995).

48 Queen's day has been a national holiday in The Netherlands since the late nineteenth century. Initially observed on 31 August to celebrate Queen's Wilhelmina' birthday, it was moved to its current date of 30 April in 1948 when Juliana took the throne. Today, Queen's day is still celebrated in April even though it is not the official birthday of the current queen Beatrix.

49 The last translation is borrowed from Pouwer's documentation of his field pictures held in the Leiden Museum. A few pictures show people celebrating Christmas, which was designated a '*kakuru tena-we*'. In his thesis, Pouwer (1955: 259) writes *kakuru tenaweta*; '*ta*' literally translates as 'property of'. In Chapter 5, the notion of *kakuru* will be expanded on.

Figure 5: Honouring Queen Juliana during Queen's Day in Mimika (Kokonao), 1954 (photo: J. Pouwer, NME archives)

ing on the nuclear family unit. The 'model villages', as they came to be known at Atuka, Kokonao, and Uta, with single-family permanent residences, were the Dutch government's and the mission's idea of development. The model family dwellings consisted of one room and were built on poles. The construction differs completely from the indigenous manner of building. Previously, longhouses (*kam'oko*, lit. real house), which were up to 10 or 20 metres long and 1.5 metres in height, housed several families who each had their own entrance. Similar temporary houses were built on fishing or gathering trips (Bijlmer 1938: 102; Drabbe 1949: 227, note 53) (Figure 6).[50] Permanent settlements led to an exhaustion of the sago areas nearby, since people could no longer move temporarily to gather sago elsewhere. Small-scale gardening was encouraged as a means to keep the Kamoro sedentary on the coast. However, the gardens proved unsuccessful, even leading to outbreaks of malaria in Kekwa as a result of the standing pools of water created by the introduced gardening practices (Schoot 1969: 116).

While both organisations were responsible for the imposed changes in the Kamoro region, administration and mission agreed on very little before World War II. The government doubted the missionaries' knowledge and distrusted their motivations. The mission blamed the administration for their lack of control, particularly when dealing with attacks by Asmat

50 Zegwaard notes how people from different regions who now had to live together attempted to maintain their own identity by maintaining the dual organisation in the village structure. The new village was not a homogenous fusion of both groups but a heterogeneous mix in which each group kept its identity (Zegwaard n.d.b: 10). Today temporary houses, known as *kapiri kame*, are still built during fishing or gathering trips.

Figure 6: Temporary housing on the coast, 1934 (photo: H. Tillemans, from MSC archives)

people in the Kamoro region. The latter were stimulated by the introduction of 'development programmes', such as a timber cooperative in Kokonao; the associated goods resulted in an unhealthy interest from their eastern neighbours. Although they had previously occurred on a regular basis, Asmat raids had not taken place on such a large scale as in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Known in the Kamoro region as *Manowe*[51], the Asmat were believed to be attracted by the considerable presence of western goods. Zegwaard noted that the Asmat were driven by their 'hunger for iron' (Zegwaard n.d.e: 1, my translation). According to the mission, the weak administration was responsible for the long duration of these raids. Kowatzki condemned the administration and remarked that 'playing real soldiers, …, is very different from levying taxes and collecting taxes' (Kowatzki 1930: 283, my translation). The role of the government in the spread of Protestantism in the early 1930s was equally critiqued (Bavel 1948: 22-25). The situation between mission and administration improved from the 1940s onwards and grew into mutual respect.

51 According to Schoot (1996a: 415) *manowe* is derivated from *wé-mban-wé*, Kamoro for man-eating people, but Zegwaard argues that the term stands for 'inferior people' (Zegwaard n.d.e: 2).

Administrative and missionary work was interrupted by World War II. In 1942 Japanese troops occupied the entirety of New Guinea, except the sub-districts of Merauke and Upper-Digul (Schoorl 1996: 8). In the Kamoro region, up to 800 soldiers exploited the Kamoro people as labourers: an airstrip was constructed between Kekwa and Timika Pantai, gardens had to be cultivated to provide food, and failure to do so led to corporal punishment (Pouwer 1955: 238). Father Tillemans, MSC, who returned to the Kamoro region in 1945, observed that the mission teachers, under Japanese influence, had stopped baptising the children, marriages were not consecrated in church and schools had been closed (Boelaars 1995: 292). After the war, Sukarno and Mohammed Hatta unilaterally proclaimed Indonesian independence on August 17, 1945, and claimed Netherlands East Indies as the new state of Indonesia. However, West New Guinea remained a Dutch foothold and became a Residency divided into departments, sub-districts and districts (Schoorl 1996: 8).[52] The Kamoro region became administratively a sub-district under the Assistant Resident of Merauke and locally under the Controller A. Scheele. The presence of the administration now became more visible. In 1950, S.J.L. van Waardenburg was appointed Governor of New Guinea. The main goal was to prepare the region for independence (Jaarsma 1990: 33). However, the administration was confronted with a general lack of knowledge about the population. The gathering of ethnographic data thus became a primary issue during the 1950s and early 1960s. For this reason, the *Kantoor voor Bevolkingszaken* (Bureau of Native Affairs) was established in 1951. Its task was to stimulate, coordinate and conduct social-scientific research on the autochthonous population (Jaarsma 1991: 130-132; 1993: 110).[53] West New Guinea became the subject of intense attention, and collecting became a prime activity. However, the focus was on collecting information as, compared to the wealth of material objects assembled during previous expeditions in the nineteenth and twentieth century, remarkably few Kamoro objects were collected after the establishment of a Dutch administrative post in 1926.

52 In 1946 New Guinea became a Residency. In 1947, it was divided into four departments under an Assistant-Resident, who looked after the local and daily administration. At the time of the sovereignty transfer, on 27 December 1949, the existing authorities of Governor and Resident merged (Sollewijn Gelpke 1996: 609).

53 The Bureau combined three tasks: (1) to coordinate and conduct social scientific research (mainly ethnographic research, but also linguistic, economic and demographic); (2) to advise the Governor on issues such as development and welfare; (3) to co-operate with international institutions with regard to the development of the Papuan population (Jaarsma 1991: 130).

Chapter 3

Colonial collectors

After the organised collecting boom during the expeditions of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, district officers, missionaries and soldiers only randomly donated their collections to museums; more and more private collections were formed.[54] As artefacts from the colonies gradually acquired market value, donations to museums declined and, in order to develop their collections, museums were obliged to provide acquisition budgets. New trends in the academic world also demanded altered collecting methodologies; extended fieldwork attained a prime role, leading to a less privileged place for the study of artefacts in the anthropological endeavour. This led to the employment of 'field collectors'. Two collectors were asked to collect for museums in The Netherlands: Carel M.A. Groenevelt, a private collector sent out by the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam, and Dr Jan Pouwer, government anthropologist employed by the Bureau for Native Affairs.

I. Competing institutions and their collectors

1) Carel M.A. Groenevelt[55]

When in 1947 J.H. Jager Gerlings became head curator of the Amsterdam-based Netherlands East Indies Institute (*Indisch Instituut*), he focused on establishing a new museum oriented toward the conservation and the

54 During the colonial period (1926-62) circa 300 artefacts were collected and ended up in museums as opposed to nearly 2,000 objects gathered during the early expeditions. The artefacts that entered museums during Dutch colonial times (1926-1962) were collected by government officials: A. Van Vollenhoven (gift in 1927), Alderwerelt (1930), W.A. Hovenkamp (1931), C. Schermers (1941), Prof C.Tj. Bertling (exchange in 1952, but in the area between 1940-47), J. van Baal (1951, 1952, 1968), Paliama (1954), F.J.R. Eibrink Jansen (1953, 1967), J. Pouwer (1950s); from the Francisan missionaries (mainly collected by Andreoli, Stevens and Coenen between 1950-60); and by soldiers or marine officers: Royal Navy (in 1961), C. Oliemans (1957), R.J. d'Ailly (gift in 1999, but collected early 1960s), W.H.H. Gijsen (1968), W. Coolhaas (gift in 1998 after his death); or during expeditions or trips: Royal Dutch Indies Airline (1936), H.J.T. Bijlmer (1937), H.H.J. Schippers (1956), J. Hulsman (1958), J. Rombouts (bought in 1961, but he conducted a trip around the world in 1937-38). Some artefacts entered museums via art lovers and dealers (C. Groenevelt (1950s), H.G. Beasley (1944), G. Tillmann (1947, but collected between 1933-39), P.J. Boudier (1936), Baron E. Von der Heydt (1957).

55 The focus is on Groenevelt's collecting activities in the Kamoro region drawn from letters held in the archives in the Tropical Institute Amsterdam and Wereldmuseum Rotterdam. For a description of Groenevelt's collecting elsewhere, see Hollander (2007).

display of cultures in the tropics.[56] The name-change in 1950 into the Royal Tropical Institute (*Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen*) was a tangible manifestation of this shift. In the post-war years several additions, donations and exchanges with other museums produced a diverse ethnographic collection aimed at providing global coverage. The institute also concentrated on completing existing collections, and since Papua was still Dutch territory this region received full attention in the 1950s (Duuren 1990: 33-35; 1992: 212). In 1951, the Tropical Institute sent Carel M.A. Groenevelt on a collecting journey to Netherlands New Guinea. For a decade (with a break in 1956), he gathered objects that ended up in the associated Tropenmuseum. Groenevelt was an experienced collector; he had previously assembled his own ethnographical collection, which was lent to the Dutch Pavilion at the World Exhibition in Paris, and he had been employed as collecting agent in the Dutch Indies by the German banker Georg Tillmann (Brakel, Duuren & Hout n.d.: 11-14; Hollander 2007: 15-20). Based in Hollandia (currently Jayapura) with his wife, Groenevelt conducted regular collecting trips throughout New Guinea. During the first period in Papua (1951-56), he travelled predominantly to the region around Lake Sentani and to the South coast (Kamoro and Asmat territory) of Netherlands New Guinea. Out of a total of eleven trips, four were dedicated to the Kamoro region. During the second period (1957-62) most collecting trips focused on current Papua New Guinea (Hollander 2007: 14, 32; Hollander 2011).

The Tropical Institute had arranged to accept all the items collected by Groenevelt at his stated prices. Duplicates and collectibles considered less important could be resold in order to fund further collecting trips.[57] In return, Groenevelt was prohibited from delivering items to other museums (Letter Bertling to General Secretary 11/01/1952).[58] In 1953, however, a financial shortfall forced the Tropical Institute to search for a co-sponsor, which it found in the Rotterdam *Wereldmuseum* (Worldmuseum) – then known as the *Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde*.[59] The Rotterdam Museum opened in 1885 with the aim of educating the city of Rotterdam – with its international harbour and pre-eminence in overseas commerce –

56 The institute's origins lie in Haarlem where in 1871 the Colonial Institute was founded. The Association for the Colonial Institute established a new Colonial Institute in Amsterdam combining the Haarlem collection and the *Natura Artis Magistra* collection (the current zoo, which disposed of its ethnographic collection (*artificialia*) to focus on *naturalia*). In 1945 the Institute changed its name to the Netherlands East Indies Institute. Jager Gerlings later became Director of the Tropical Institute (1965-71) (Duuren 1990: 13-39; Taylor 1995: 107-111).

57 A letter from the curator P.W. van Milaan to the General Secretary (15/10/1952) indicates how the museum made profits by reselling items; a sago bowl, for example, was purchased for fl. 18 and resold for fl. 113.12 (Archives Tropical Institute no. 4439).

58 Archives Tropical Institute.

59 Henceforth referred to as the 'Rotterdam Museum' in order to maintain clarity.

about the Dutch colonies.[60] Dr C. Nooteboom, Director of the Rotterdam Museum (1949-1965), decided to share both costs and collections with the Amsterdam Museum. The first delivery to be shared arrived in November 1953. The 'top piece' was a Kamoro spirit pole (*mbitoro*), which was used during a four-month feast in Kokonao. The *mbitoro* is made from a large tree, from which one buttress root is kept to form the wing-shaped projection at the top of the pole. Human figures are carved from the trunk. These stylised human figures represent deceased ancestors and the pole was used to commemorate deceased relatives – in this case, two people who were killed by Asmat and Japanese intruders respectively. This pole became Rotterdam's first official acquisition collected by Groenevelt (letter Groenevelt to C. Nooteboom 17/12/1953).[61] Groenevelt's loyalty to the Tropenmuseum was expressed in his regret that this Kamoro pole ended up in Rotterdam (letter Groenevelt to Jager Gerlings 12/08/1953).[62] However, the relationship with the Rotterdam Museum grew closer, which becomes clear from the frequent correspondence between Rotterdam curator, Victor Jansen, and Groenevelt. These letters also reveal Jansen's competitive goals and his desire to surpass other New Guinea collections by assembling a collection of renown in Rotterdam. Groenevelt was a strong asset for the Rotterdam Museum. He was the one who could provide them with the largest and most representative Papua collection:

> *With regards to the Netherlands New Guinea region, we not only have the chance to gather the most beautiful collection in the country, but also to obtain a collection of global standing. For you, Mr. Groenevelt, there is a large field of labour!* (Letter Jansen to Groenevelt 5/8/1958)[63]

In 1958 the Rotterdam Museum produced leaflets depicting the Kamoro spirit pole collected by Groenevelt and the museum asked him to spread these leaflets widely (letter Jansen to Groenevelt 06/06/1958).[64] The newspaper *De Tijd, Amsterdam* mentioned that curator Jansen made great efforts in collecting at least one example of what is still available of primitive Papuan material culture before complete disappearance (17/01/1959). Jansen wrote to Groenevelt of how much he appreciated this comment (letter Jansen to Groenevelt 30/01/1959).[65]

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60 The museum began as a club-house for the Royal Dutch Yachting Club in 1851. In 1873, a Maritime Museum was opened in the club-house. Taken over by the city council in 1881, it was decided to extend the collection with ethnographic material (Wassing 1998: 322).

61 Letter from Archives Rotterdam Museum. The acquisition motivated Victor Jansen, Oceania Curator in Rotterdam, to write a booklet about Kamoro *mbitoro* (Jansen 1954).

62 Archives Tropical Institute.

63 Letter from Archives Rotterdam Museum, my translation.

64 Letter from Archives Rotterdam Museum.

65 Archives Rotterdam Museum.

The National Museum of Ethnology (NME) in Leiden already possessed the largest New Guinea collection in The Netherlands.[66] However, in 1951, the year that Groenevelt began his collecting trip, the curator of NME's Oceania Department, Dr Simon Kooijman, had written an overview of the Leiden Pacific collection focusing on its strengths and weaknesses, pointing out what needed collecting. For example, he indicated that barkcloth from the Humboldt Bay region and 'old pieces' from the Lake Sentani area were welcome. The southwestern coast, the Asmat and Kamoro region, was 'very representative' – and only 'top pieces' should be acquired that have a high value. As an example he gave a 'dance shield' collected by Groenevelt for the Tropenmuseum, indicating a competitive attitude (Kooijman 1951: 11-4, my translation). In 1953, Kooijman, while based in South New Guinea to conduct research in the Marind-Anim region, decided to enlarge the Leiden Papua collection. He gathered ethnographic material at his station in Merauke through contacts he made with the government, traders, missionaries and a few fellow anthropologists. The entire "Kooijman shipment, Merauke" – series 3070 – included 526 objects ranging from the Kamoro region to Merauke (Lamme & Smidt 1993: 146).

Kooijman's presence in Papua was not appreciated by either Jansen or Groenevelt, who felt challenged in their aim to obtain the largest Papua collection. In their eyes, Kooijman had arrived to conduct research and the fact that government representatives allowed him to transport five tonnes of objects for free was not tolerable (letter Groenevelt to Jager Gerlings 1/11/1952).[67] In 1953 an 'Ordinance for the Protection of Ethnographic objects' (*Ordonnantie ter berscherming van ethnographica*) was announced in the government paper (*Gouvernementsblad*), aiming to prevent the irresponsible export of ethnographic objects (Gouvernementsblad 1953a, b). Even when people were in possession of what was understood as 'ethnographics', they were asked to report these possessions to the Bureau of Native Affairs (letter Grader to Head of Bureau of Native Affairs Hollandia, 11/11/1953).[68] 'Ethnographics', according to the Ordinance included 'movable and unmovable property, which is related to ethnography, the palaeontology, the prehistory, the history or the art of New

66 The Leiden Museum originated from a private so-called Japanese Museum founded in 1837 by Philipp Franz von Siebold. In 1883 this collection merged with the collections of the Netherlands' Royal Cabinet of Curiosities. For more information on the history of the Leiden Museum, see Kouwenhoven & Forrer (2000), Rassers (1937), Smidt (1992) and Effert (2008).

67 Archives Tropical Intitute, Correspondence folder. See also letter Dr J.V. de Bruyn, as representative of the Bureau of Native Affairs, to the Leiden Museum Director Dr G. Locher, who offers that his fieldworkers could collect for the museum. The incurred costs could be reimbursed by the museum, something which was not normally allowed (letter Bruyn to Locher, 1 June 1953, Leiden series archive, series 3103).

68 Leiden series archive, series 3070.

Guinea' (Gouvernmentsblad 1953 a: 1). A later version stipulated that no permit was needed for: bows and arrows, spears, daily clothing, shields, paddles, ornaments made of teeth and small shells, bracers, mouth harps and modern flutes, fishing gear, agricultural tools, hunting tools, mats, and decorated boxes (Gouvernementsblad 1953b: 1-2). Groenevelt had been warned not to collect for private collectors, and only for public institutions in The Netherlands. Groenevelt felt that he was restricted in his freedom to export by government officials, in order, he assumed, to favour the Leiden Museum (letter Groenevelt to Jager Gerlings 1/11/1952).[69]

Another incident clearly expresses the antagonism Groenevelt felt towards Kooijman. Groenevelt had his eye on a beautifully decorated pole. 'I had already requested this piece from [Governor] van Baal (…). Dr. v. Baal then told me he would not part with it. By coincidence I found out that Dr. Kooyman [*sic*] has left a letter behind from Hr. Grader where he requests to bid for the pole. I will try to get it as I was the first to request it' (Letter Groenevelt to Jager Gerlings 24/01/1953).[70] Groenevelt acquired the pole but then found out that a second pole had been sold to Kooijman. This aggravated Groenevelt as he had been negotiating with controller van Baal and Pouwer and no one had told him about the second pole. He wrote that if he had known about it he would have bought both. In addition, Groenevelt blamed Kooijman for ruining the market. 'I have to pay more than I used to and that is Kooyman's [*sic*] fault who, everywhere he goes, has said that these objects have an enormous value in The Netherlands' (Letter Groenevelt to Jager Gerlings 13/05/1954).[71]

Not only was there competition in the field between fellow Dutch collectors, there was also competition between the Rotterdam and Amsterdam museums.[72] From the moment Groenevelt's collection arrived in The Netherlands, both museums had to compromise in dividing the objects equally. In order to avoid the best objects being claimed by the Amsterdam Tropenmuseum, Jansen had earlier introduced the system of sending wish lists to Groenevelt, with the intention that, if these objects were found, Rotterdam was entitled to them. Many letters included 'a recapitulation of the *special wishes of Rotterdam*' (letter Jansen to Groenevelt 01/11/1957) or '*A special Rotterdam wish*: many arrows, exceedingly many arrows!' (letter Jansen to Groenevelt 04/10/1957).[73] Jansen's wishes originated from the desire to fill gaps in the collection after studying other ethnographic

69 Archives Tropical Institute.

70 Ibid., my translation.

71 Archives Tropical Institute, Correspondence folder, my translation.

72 There was even foreign competition. Michael C. Rockefeller, the New York Governor's son, who spent time in Papua amongst the Dani and Asmat, was envied for the abundance of money he could use to acquire large collections (Letter Jansen to Groenevelt 21/12/1959, Archives Rotterdam Museum).

73 Both letters from Archives Rotterdam Museum; my translation, original emphasis.

museums and books. As a result, a collection's assembly depends on principles of organisation and classification. By having a taxonomic chart of culture in mind, with slots to be filled by objects ideally to be found in the field, museums or curators knew what they wanted: 'The best surprise of the south coast was the plaited crown from the Mimika region, decorated with plumes of the bird of paradise, and worn by the musicians who perform during the nightly dances. This is a long-standing wish coming true!' (letter Jansen to Groenevelt 06/07/1958). Groenevelt followed up these requests by buying and trading objects with exchangeable items such as axes, knives, machetes and tobacco (Hollander 2007: 75). Since he preferred to remain in Jayapura, he often relied on third parties for his collecting activities. He co-operated with traders (a crocodile hunter) and with government officials (Resident of South New Guinea, Spijker) and for Kamoro objects he counted on missionaries: 'Can Father Tillemans not help you with good old material? There is also interesting bamboo material such as the breast ornaments and the penis cases of the Mimika and the Oetakwa [Otakwa] region' (letter Jansen to Groenevelt 18/04/1958).[74] However, Groenevelt was not always pleased with Jansen's constant insistence, particularly when it came to daily utensils or what he considered less important objects, such as arrows:

> *Sometimes I think that it would be useful that you, Mister Victor Jansen, would come over and experience an expedition for yourself. You send me these lists and I on my part will try to collect as many and as diverse objects as I can lay my hands on, but try to imagine that you arrive in a village by boat, thirty, forty canoes approach us and we only have an hour because of the tides, distances, etc. You do understand that I will start buying a beautiful object because if I would start with buying an arrow you can put your life on it that they would offer nothing else but arrows, especially the crap ones.* (Letter Groenevelt to Jansen 01/09/1958)[75]

Having collected circa 1,400 objects for the Tropical Institute, further monetary difficulties forced the conclusion of the collaboration between that institution and Groenevelt in 1958.[76] Rotterdam now was Groenevelt's sole benefactor and could obtain full access to Groenevelt's collecting activities and objects, which from then onwards mainly originated from current Papua New Guinea.

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74 Both letters from Archives Rotterdam Museum, my translation.

75 Ibid.

76 Groenevelt's expeditions were costly. At the end of the first expedition the Tropical Institute spent fl.45,000 on Groenevelt's collection. The Rotterdam Museum spent a total of fl.181,822.10 on the acquisition of objects from New Guinea (Hollander 2007: 36-43).

2) Jan Pouwer

During Kooijman's collecting journey in Papua in 1953, Jan Pouwer gathered Kamoro objects for him. Thereafter, he continued collecting objects for the Leiden Museum.[77] Jan Pouwer was sent out by the Bureau for Native Affairs in 1951 to conduct research in the Kamoro region. Pouwer's research had to emphasise social aspects of the culture, while paying attention to changes as a result of western influence. During Pouwer's fieldwork (July 1951-March 1953, January-May 1954), Kamoro people had been confronted with the effects of missionisation, government administration and public health services for a period of approximately 25 years. After a survey of all the Kamoro villages, his research concentrated on the administrative centre of Kokonao and intensive village research in the nearby villages of Yaraya and Ipiri. Pouwer's research – his main form of collecting – resulted in a detailed ethnography and a variety of later publications. His institutional background explains his role in the establishment of Kamoro village councils in 1952. These trial village councils consisted of influential village members and representatives of the youngsters, while the village teacher played a role as advisor and the administration-chosen village headman acted as chairman. Pouwer mentions that although village councils might appear to have little more significance than being an extension of the administration, they were valuable in inculcating a sense of responsibility among the Kamoro people. He realised, for example, that an all-embracing form of development was preferred by the local people rather than a restricted economic development (Pouwer 1955: 240-241).[78]

In his collecting activities for museums, Pouwer valued an object rather for its intrinsic ethnographic and anthropological information than for its aesthetic qualities. Pouwer's collection, however, was also informed by classificatory frameworks as the objects needed to illustrate the information he wanted to convey. Masks were collected to exemplify his findings on the *mbii-kawane* masquerade, acting as a farewell to the deceased who were represented by masked men (see Pouwer 1956). Barkcloth dance aprons bearing sun motifs were material embodiments of his insights into the sun dance, which was performed during the *kiawa* feast, the eastern variant of the *emakame* feast. During this feast, the sun dance re-enacted the actions of the 'sun people' (*jao-we*): while the sun people in the far west of the world pull the sun towards them by means of ropes (i.e. sun-rays), the sun people in the east try to slow the sun down to give the people

77 The 17 Kamoro objects in series 3070 – which is the series number for Kooijman's shipment – in the Leiden Museum were collected by Pouwer; series 3168 (13 objects) was sold to the museum by Pouwer in 1954, and in 1955 he sold a drum (series 3375) and donated a paddle (series 3270). Pouwer also collected Asmat objects.

78 Lagerberg argues that the village councils were unsuccessful because they were directed towards the past, without providing a modern perspective (Lagerberg 1962: 119, 1996: 64).

on earth more time for making sago and fishing. While performing the sun dance, the dancing women wore these aprons (Pouwer 1955: 187).

Pouwer also collected personal narratives about objects. The spirit pole he collected in 1953 represents two deceased people (Figure 7). The person represented above is Katiwiuta of the *taparu* Itutumepare, a capable wood-

Figure 7: Mbitoro (NME 3070-1) collected by J. Pouwer in Migiwiya village (Kokonao) in 1953. Now held in National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden. H: 770.0cm.

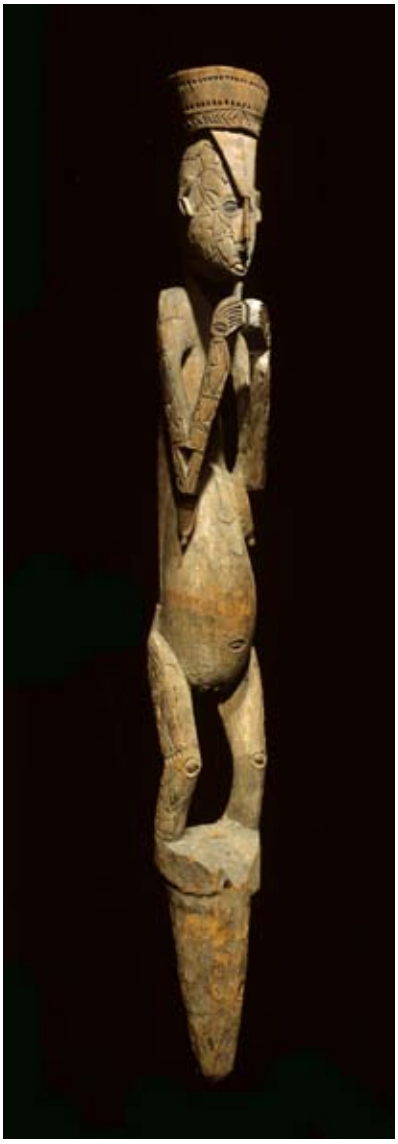

Figure 8: Female figure collected by A.J. Gooszen during the Military Exploration, 1910-1913. National Museum of Ethnology 1889-247. H: 266.0cm.

carver, who died just after the Japanese occupation. Below is Majepia, a woman of the *taparu* Mimika, who died during that period. The carver added a personal touch: he included a small human head at the bottom of the wing-shaped extension, representing his son, of whom he was very fond and who died during the war at the age of eight.[79]

Pouwer frequently emphasised the restricted character of objects to demonstrate their (ethnographic) value. In the accompanying list of a collection sent by Pouwer (NME series 3070) he writes that the rattle is 'very secret to women'.[80] He collected a mask made by the village head of Kokonao, Ireka, who 'made it alone, isolated in the forest, probably since it concerns a "secret" object'.[81]

Pouwer investigated names and meanings of recurrent motifs on woodcarvings. In his diary dealing with the period between May 1 to June 30, 1952, Pouwer wrote how he collected objects which are related to research on the motifs on shields, canoes and paddles, in particular to the oval-shaped motif (*mopere*) (Pouwer 1952: 2). The *mopere* motif is represented on nearly every Kamoro artefact. Shaped like an oval, lozenge or sometimes a diamond, *mopere* literally means 'navel' and refers to the 'maternal navel'. Therefore the motif represents the navel, but it is also used to indicate joints, such as knees, wrists, elbows, ankles – in other words, at places where the body articulates. Movement was considered the most essential sign of life (Kooijman 1984: 26; Smidt 2003a).

Pouwer showed pictures to Kamoro people of objects already present in the Leiden Museum to unearth further contextual data. He showed, for example, images of statues that had been collected by Gooszen without contextual information (Figure 8). Pouwer revealed that people from Otakwa and Omawka (probably current Omauga) recognised the monumental statues depicting pregnant women immediately and informed him that they were used in the *Kiawa* feast, the eastern variant of the *emakame* feast which is concerned with fertility. The statues, known as *bihoro*, were displayed in the feast house, usually four in a row. While the statues always represented women, Pouwer was unable to receive confirmation as to whether these were depictions of pregnant women. He writes: 'The informants promised several weeks ago to tell me about the complete feast, of which I do not yet have all details, but they have yet to turn up. They will probably appear when the need for tobacco forces them' (letter Pouwer

79 A *taparu* is a social unit correlating with a long-house community, see Chapter 1. Information from series archive Leiden museum, series 3070; see also Smidt (2003a: 99).

80 This 'rattle' (*katja*) consists of a hollow piece of bamboo filled with sticks. A rope or string is wound around the long, slender sticks and when the rope is pulled, the sticks rattle, with the hollow bamboo increasing the sound of the rattling. It is used to indicate the end of singing and drumming or during rituals and can only be played by men who inherited the right from male relatives (Leiden series archive, series 3070).

81 Information from Leiden series archive, series 3070 and 3168.

to Kooijman 8/12/1956).[82] The latter remark indicates how Pouwer used tobacco as an exchange item when collecting information. Kooijman replied in a letter to Pouwer:

> *Obviously, I was very pleased with the information about the large human figures of the eastern Mimika area and I hope you will be successful in obtaining more knowledge. … [This is] a good example of the benefit for a museum of ethnological field work, something not all ethnologists are convinced of!* (letter Kooijman to Pouwer 29/12/1956)[83]

In general though, collecting artefacts was an extra activity for Pouwer, low on the list of his priorities. Pouwer articulated a certain reserve towards the act of collecting:

> *I did have an interest in Mimika art, I did collect objects of Mimika material culture…, and I did supply detailed information. However, I was fully aware of the ethical implications of collecting objects. So I operated cautiously, rather than committing myself to ruthless and systematic collection. My instructions as a government anthropologist were to conduct an intensive, systematic survey of Mimika culture, with some emphasis on social structure.* (Pouwer 1988: 558)

Many researchers are reserved about collecting artefacts and prefer to return with only those items that were offered to them as gifts of friendship. During an interview, Jan Pouwer started talking about Groenevelt spontaneously: 'What he was doing was pure trade, business' (Jan Pouwer, personal communication 5 February 2002). Groenevelt, on the other hand, could not understand Pouwer's reservation:

> *Ethnologist Pauwer [sic] on board. When I asked him whether it was possible to disentangle the stems from the canoes he said it was impossible; I spoke then to a few guys and they sawed the figure head off in the open sea … They succeeded and [the look on] Pauwer's [sic] face was worth a Daalder [a Dutch coin]'.* (Letter Groenevelt to Jager Gerlings 9/11/1952)[84]

For Pouwer, collecting was not trade but a personal event. For instance, he collected a drum in Mimika village on 5 May 1954. The drum was made before World War II and was therefore valued by Pouwer (Figure 9). He writes to Kooijman that he purchased it from a man who first needed to ask his mother who had the right of possession.[85] He had sent it to the museum as a private possession amongst objects he had collected for the museum. He did not want to part with it, but when he faced high costs in Jayapura after an accident, he decided to sell the drum to the Leiden

82 Kooijman archive, National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, my translation.
83 Kooijman archive, National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, my translation.
84 Archives Tropical Institute, Correspondence folder, my translation.
85 Letter Pouwer to Kooijman, 7 May 1954, Leiden series archive, series 3168.

Museum. From Pouwer's letter it is clear that Kooijman showed earlier interest in buying the drum, but Pouwer had declined. Now Pouwer wanted to receive fl.150 for it: 'I delivered many pieces to you at a low price without earning a cent, thus perhaps I can now ask more for once' (letter Pouwer to Kooijman 2/11/1956).[86] The Leiden Museum paid fl.400 (letter Kooijman to Pouwer, 19/11/ 1956).[87] Pouwer wrote: 'I informed the Mimikans who work here [in Jayapura] that the drum takes up a place of honour in the public collection, where many people can view the object.

Figure 9: Drum collected by J. Pouwer in Mimika (Kokonao) in 1954. Now in National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden (3375-1). H: 82.0cm.

86 Kooijman archive, National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, my translation.
87 Ibid.

They were not a little proud' (letter Pouwer to Kooijman, 8/12/1956.[88] Not only did Pouwer have a relationship with the object, the collecting process established further relationships that were based on respect, not business.

3) Field collecting: methods and motivations

While Pouwer collected from a settled base and benefited from established relationships with the Kamoro people, Groenevelt – when not relying on the intervention of third parties stationed in the area – obtained objects through brief visits and traded mostly without leaving the canoe to visit the region. These collectors personify what O'Hanlon (2000: 15) refers to as 'stationary' (Pouwer) and 'mobile' collecting (Groenevelt) and their collecting manner had an impact on the resulting collection. Pouwer disliked collecting as commerce, but Groenevelt approached collecting as a form of trade, whereby it was important to close a good deal. While Pouwer collected artefacts in addition to ethnographic information, Groenevelt concentrated on acquiring artefacts alone; contextual information was an extra regularly requested by curator Jansen. Groenevelt preferred aesthetically pleasing objects: 'Most people who talk to me about Mr. Groenevelt feel the need to bring to my attention that you have only an eye for large aesthetic objects' (Letter Jansen to Groenevelt 10/09/1958).[89] Although the collecting motivations might be considered as divergent, both have a common feature: for both, collecting was an act of salvage. The whole collecting endeavour was prompted by the belief that now was the time to collect, before it was too late. Time was precious, since Netherlands New Guinea would not remain Dutch territory for much longer. In addition, the changing character of Kamoro culture also rendered time valuable for the collectors.

The fact that Pouwer's research was framed by government interest in understanding the changes brought about by Dutch colonisation, and to prepare the region for decolonisation, allowed him to develop a refined historical consciousness. In his reports, he gave details of the 'old lifestyle' (Pouwer 1952: 3). Pouwer held the Keiese *guru* responsible for foreign influences and called him 'the crucial factor in the process of acculturation' (Pouwer 1955: 267). Pouwer condemned the demeaning attitude of the Keiese *guru* towards the Kamoro people and his 'infantilization' (Thomas 1994: 134) of the local population. He stressed how little the *guru* knew about Kamoro feasts and how he often even mocked Kamoro oral tradition (Pouwer 1955: 268). He concludes:

88 Ibid, my translation.

89 Letter from Archives Rotterdam Museum, my translation.

> *The teacher and his wife attempt to "bring up" the villagers towards "progress" (kemadjuan), that, according to them, consists of the ability to speak Malay, the practice of certain requirements of etiquette, tidiness and hygiene, relative adeptness in agriculture, woodwork, and the plaiting of mats in Indonesian style, the inclusion in the menu of tuberous plants and vegetables, and last not least [sic] the hunt for western goods, in which they love to participate themselves. They very easily confuse the Christian religion with "progress".* (Pouwer 1955: 270, my translation)[90]

Groenevelt is more vocal in expressing the need to collect before it is too late. Groenevelt's urge to collect is prompted by the advancing 'civilisation' and the disappearing older culture. At the start of the first expedition he writes to Jager Gerlings:

> *I have to point out to you that civilisation is spreading so rapidly that in a few years time no decent ethnographic objects will be found. Not only on this side but also in the South things are changing drastically and in places, which were practically unknown a few years ago, bad forgeries are being made just to sell something as all the ancient objects have disappeared. … The process is going a lot faster than in Australian New Guinea and it would be a pity if we had to stop. (Letter Groenevelt to Jager Gerlings 13/02/1952)*

For Groenevelt, the Roman Catholic mission is the guilty party in the decay of local culture (Letter Groenevelt to Gerlings 15/07/1953).[91] Groenevelt felt his work was valuable in saving Papuan art. Later he wrote to an acquaintance:

> *The decline is going fast, as we have noticed in the past two years we have spent here, and I am worried that soon the last beautiful piece will be found. The tribes and adat [traditions] are being ripped apart by the modern times and the younger Papuans dislike the old objects and tribal traditions. It is a shame and I believe we came just in time to secure the remains of indigenous art in our museums.* (Letter Groenevelt to Van Emst 24/11/1953)[92]

Based on this awareness, collecting became a competitive enterprise. Groenevelt felt responsible for saving the last remnants of local cultural expressions and felt the urge to do it himself. Rotterdam curator Jansen shared Groenevelt's view and expressed a need for '*representative collections of ethnic objects from regions where it is still possible to obtain products from a primitive culture*' (letter Jansen to Groenevelt 28/03/1958).[93] For Jansen it

90 Kemadjuan is Malay for progress; 'last not least' was originally written in English.

91 Both letters to Gerlings from: Archives Tropical Institute, Correspondence folder, my translation.

92 Ibid.

93 Letter from Archives, Rotterdam Museum; my translation, original emphasis.

was additionally important as to *where* (i.e. Rotterdam) the last remnants of material culture would be preserved.

Both collectors' activities were informed by a salvage paradigm. While during the previous expeditions there was a race to the snow, there now was a race against time. Both Groenevelt and Pouwer had the tendency to document and value the past, rather than the present. Both collectors were cautious about how the culture under scrutiny was changing. This was concretised in a form of collecting which focused on 'saving' what was under threat of disappearance.

II. Mission(s) of Integration

After the Second World War, the mission's attitude changed. Instead of trying to impose Christian culture by prohibiting and replacing existing beliefs, the mission had become increasingly aware that a more effective strategy might lie in the integration of (tolerable) components of Kamoro culture (Jaarsma 1993: 112). Boelaars (1992: xv) states that missionaries educated between 1930-40 began looking for links in the indigenous culture to assimilate with Christianity. As a result, the missionaries began to 'collect' Kamoro cultural elements to be integrated into a Christian culture. Father Zegwaard, MSC, demonstrated his interest in Kamoro culture during his work between 1947 and 1953. He not only contributed fundamentally to the ethnographic material with his description of ceremonies, and his recording of narratives and myths, 'he also tried to work from the mentality of the people and not from western concepts' (Letter Arie Vriens, MSC, to author, 2/2/2002, my translation). Zegwaard's work was preceded by Father Drabbe, MSC (1935-39),[94] who wrote an extensive study of Kamoro language and oral tradition (Drabbe 1947, 1948a, 1948b, 1949, 1953). Already in the 1930s, Drabbe was convinced that knowledge of the native language was an essential requisite for mission work, but this had not yet become a general trend. Drabbe's approach did influence Father Akkermans (1936-39), MSC, who composed a number of Christian songs which were translated into the Kamoro language (letter Arie Vriens, MSC, to author, 2/2/2002). After the war, it was increasingly acknowledged that there was something called Kamoro 'culture', and that it was worthy of attention:

> *However low we think their level of civilisation might be, we cannot deny that in some regions of New Guinea a real culture exists or has existed, which manifests itself in stylish dances and in the production of artistic utensils or objects related to their religion. (Sint Antonius 1958: 9, my translation)*

94 Henceforth the dates after a missionary's name refer to the time he worked in the Kamoro region.

1) Mission patronage

In the 1950s, the local importance of Kamoro woodcarvers was recognised by the mission and attempts were made to continue the woodcarving tradition, albeit with a Christian flavour. Father Welling, MSC, (1948-1953) began by commissioning religious art, such as crucifixes, Madonnas and candelabras, in west Mimika (mainly in Ipiri, Yaraya, Paripi, and Amar). As patrons, the mission provided the material and tools. Ironwood (*pota*), referring to the dense, straight-grained hardwoods from one of the *Intsia* species, was the main material used in the timber school in Kokonao and it became the primary resource for creating these artefacts. Softer woods were normally used for Kamoro carvings such as drums (*hibiscus tiliaceous*) and spirit poles (*Sterculia ampala*).[95]

After the transfer of the Kamoro region from the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart to the Franciscan Mission (OFM) in 1952, the project focusing on religious art was continued. Father Stevens, OFM, further commissioned religious art but also stimulated the production of 'souvenirs' which could be given to supporters of the mission. A small domestic industry was established in the western Kamoro region with the production of crucifixes, walking sticks and staffs, miniature spirit poles, miniature anthropomorphic figures, Madonnas and candelabras.[96] Initial portrayals of Christ and Mary resembled human figures carved on spirit poles and some apparently even showed a nose with pierced septum. In an attempt to disguise these strong stylistic features, Father Stevens later asked carvers to depict Christ and Mary with veils over their heads. The carvers then gave them a round skull, 'because they do not depict the skull itself, but the cloth under which the skull is hidden'. However, this tactic only worked in rare cases as figures of Christ and the Holy Virgin still mostly demonstrated the characteristics of figures depicted on spirit poles (Sint Antonius 1958: 10-11).

The mission's patronage encouraged the professionalisation of Kamoro carvers. Soter from Pronggo (also known as Porauka) became a full-time carver. He moved to Kokonao to establish a small business producing and selling art objects (Figure 10). He made, for instance, the staff for Bishop

95 Canoes and paddles are made from stronger wood, such as *Octomeles sumatrana* (*yawaro* in Kamoro language), *Capenosperma brevipetiolata* (*kuku*) for canoes and *Vatica papuana* (*pakiro*) for paddles. This is based on information obtained in Pigapu. In other villages local names and species may differ, see Muller (2000).

96 Smaller spirit poles, often with animal representations, were made during the *kaware* feast, when they were displayed to keep women away from the production-process of a large spirit pole (Pouwer 2003b: 51). They were also made during the *Kiawa* feast, although these were still circa 2 metres high (Coenen 1963: 29).

Akkermans and the staff given to Bishop Münninghoff during his inauguration in the early 1970s (Bob Schijns, interview 27 August 2002).[97]

Both Groenevelt and Pouwer rarely collected these religious-related or miniaturised versions of Kamoro artefacts. As discussed above, they both held the mission (or the associated Keiese teachers) responsible for negative changes in Kamoro culture and they both focused on documenting the past. For them, these new artefacts did not belong to Kamoro history. Groenevelt was even discouraged by Rotterdam curator Jansen: 'Good dance shields, beautiful prow ornaments, drums and other good products of material culture are always welcome. However, no tourist stuff! (letter

Figure 10: Madonna made by Soter in the early 1970s. Gift from Father Koot, 2003 (photo: M. Rabaey).

97 All the Franciscan missionaries I interviewed recalled Soter or possessed examples of his work.

Jansen to Groenevelt 17/05/1960).[98] Jansen's reference to 'tourist stuff' emphasises the fact that these objects were produced for an 'external' market. Here, the notorious issue of authenticity crops up.[99] Rather than assessing these objects as representing changing dynamics, they were considered to be of lesser, or no, cultural value. The notion of 'authenticity' was conventionally used to judge the cultural significance and aesthetic qualities of objects. As Crew and Simms (1991: 163) observe: 'Authenticity is not factuality or reality. It is about authority'. The use of seemingly opposing categories such as 'authentic' versus 'inauthentic' and their associated value understandings are now increasingly being critiqued (Phillips 1998; Phillips & Steiner 1999).

In 1960, Groenevelt was contacted by Father Wempe, OFM (1956-62), with the message that he could obtain five Kamoro spirit poles (*mbitoro*) made inland to celebrate the Queen's birthday. Groenevelt writes that the poles were made completely in the old style from the correct wood (not ironwood) (letter Groenevelt to Jansen 12/05/1960). Rotterdam curator Jansen's reaction was to be cautious, since earlier it had proved hard to find these poles. The fact that suddenly there were five poles available raised suspicion (letter Jansen to Groenevelt 17/05/1960).[100] Jansen's reaction expressed his attitude that poles used in non-traditional feasts were different, and their authenticity was questioned. Ultimately, Groenevelt did not collect the poles, tainted as they appeared to be, for Jansen, by European associations.

This was a very widespread attitude at that time. When Pouwer sent a 'box with ethnographics' (*ethnographica*) – as he referred to it in the accompanying letter – to the Leiden Museum in 1954, he wrote that the box also contained private possessions. He regarded these as 'knick-knacks' (*prullaria*), seen from the viewpoint of the museum, such as walking sticks and crucifixes from Ipiri and Kekwa, which had been made in co-operation with the mission. He wanted to give those to his family (letter Pouwer to Kooijman 7 May 1954).[101]

The commissioned items were not intended for, or perhaps not considered worthy of, the museum. These objects, these knick-knacks, were academically not important – they were not considered to embody scientific knowledge – they were merely souvenirs. Many commissioned or com-

98 'Tourist stuff' was originally written in English (Letter from Archives Rotterdam Museum, my translation). Not only curators and collectors had this opinion. Father Bob Schijns, OFM, who worked in the area from 1967 until 1969, regretted that these objects were commissioned by the mission and 'were not creations originating from Kamoro adat [tradition]' (Bob Schijns, interview 27 August 2002, my translation).

99 For more information on the (ab)use of the notion of authenticity, see Price (1989), Errington (1998), Shiner (1994) and Phillips & Steiner (1999a).

100 Both letters from Archives Rotterdam Museum.

101 Series archive Leiden Museum, series 3168.

mercial artefacts were taken home by government officials, missionaries and other visitors. Walking sticks and miniature replicas of Kamoro material culture were especially popular.[102] Rather than being donated immediately to museums, these objects were usually kept as personal souvenirs, not as part of a Kamoro collection.[103]

Why were these objects popular as souvenirs? A souvenir (from the Latin *subvenire*, 'to come into the mind') is an objectification of memory; a sign of commemoration of an event, such as a trip, a place or a person. The souvenir is able to concretise time and space in a meaningful and substantive fashion (Kasfir 1999: 68). An obvious reason for collecting these objects as souvenirs is their small size and easy transportability. In addition, the answer partially lies in their familiarity. As Susan Stewart (1993) has theorised, the souvenir, and particularly the souvenir of what she terms the 'exotic', acts as a site for the harmonisation of the exterior world with the interior self. Since these objects are brought back from a region that is considered to be very different, it is pleasant to bring artefacts with some degree of familiarity. Souvenirs are metonymic references to a previous experience. In that sense, their meaning is private and specific to the owner rather than public and collective. Souvenirs, in contrast to collectibles, are valuable only to those who acquire them. This implies that the meaning of a souvenir depends on the purchaser and can vary considerably. For missionaries, walking sticks, crucifixes and miniaturised Kamoro objects could be considered a barometer to measure the degree of progress towards 'civilisation'. As Stewart (1993: 55) states: 'there are no miniatures in nature; the miniature is a cultural product'. A miniature represents a 'manipulable' and controlled version. In contrast to previous collections held in museums, these objects represented the 'controlled' Kamoro who had been converted to Christianity. The small size of these objects also made them suitable as gifts, and they were regularly given to beneficiaries.[104] The objects have endured as gifts. Father Koot, OFM, gave me a miniature Madonna made by the Kamoro artist Soter when I visited him

102 This remark is based on a conversation with Ineke de Vries (29/08/02) from the 'Stichting Papua Cultureel Erfgoed', an organisation, which ceased to exist in 2011, listing all the private possessions originating from Papua in The Netherlands.

103 These objects were occasionally donated to museums by relatives after the original owner's death. Some examples are in the Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam: Mrs. Boon-d'Ailly donated a a miniature spirit pole collected by her brother R.J. d'Aily in the 1960s, A.T.J. Roxs donated a fly swatter and a walking stick in 1993 but he was in Dutch New Guinea between 1949-62. O.J. Bertels donated a bag to the Leiden Museum in 1983, but worked as administrative officer in the area in the 1950s.

104 The missionaries ensured the spread of artefacts in The Netherlands via mission sales. Coordinated by Father Andreoli, OFM, Asmat and Kamoro objects were sold at the Franciscan Mission base in Woerden, during the late 1950s and 1960s (Dirk Smidt, personal communication 1 August 2002). The MSC Mission House in Tilburg had a museum and funded projects through the sale of (mainly Asmat) artefacts (Piet van Mensvoort, email 29 June 2002). See also Corbey (2000).

Figure 11: Miniature mbitoro, gift Charles Kapukupeyao, October 2000 (photo: M. Rabaey)

in Leiden (9 January 2003) (Figure 10). Even Kamoro people who are not the manufacturers have adopted these items as gifts. During my first visit to the region, Charles Kamukupeyao, who used to work as a teacher during Dutch colonisation (teaching Dutch to Dutch schoolchildren in Jayapura), gave me a miniature spirit pole (Figure 11).

Pouwer and Groenevelt's decision not to collect these objects for museums related to the general attitudes of their time. Nowadays these objects are regarded as creative Kamoro expressions made during a time of rapid change. These objects demonstrate how Kamoro people have extended their production strategies by incorporating European designs into their own practice. Not only were crucifixes carved in Kamoro style, examples were known that combined a spirit pole with a crucifix (Kooijman 1984: 24, fig. 20; Smidt 2003a: 133, fig. 104). However, even during the earlier temporary collecting encounters, the Kamoro offered what they thought the Europeans wanted, which indicates a continuity of strategy on their behalf, even if the manifestations are different – now walking sticks are created, not arrows or skulls fetched.

Today these 'souvenir' artefacts are still produced and collected, and they are sold simultaneously with objects that would have been considered by Pouwer and Groenevelt to be 'traditional' and 'authentic'. Leo

Titarepea from Kokonao is known as a woodcarver who excels in the creation of crucifixes in a naturalistic style. He learned carving from a male relative who had been involved in the mission project during the 1950s. His crucifixes are no longer miniaturised examples, he prefers to create life-size versions (Leo Titarepea, personal communication 27 April 2001). Amandus Utamakopea, also from Kokonao, mainly creates walking sticks. His answer to a question whether he was able to make other artefacts such as drums and ceremonial shields was in the affirmative, but he said he preferred to make walking sticks. When asked whether he considered these objects to be genuinely 'Kamoro' and *asli* (authentic) he found this a curious question; it was not how he thought about them (Amandus Utamakopea, personal communication 11 April 2002).[105]

2) Franciscan mission of integration

As previously indicated, the Franciscan missionaries followed the trend initiated by the MSC of trying to link Christian and indigenous principles. Father Huub Zwartjes, OFM, recalled: 'When we took over the region, MSC told us: we converted them, now it is your task to turn them into good Christians' (interview 26 August 2002, my translation). The Franciscan missionaries saw cultural understanding as a basis for mission policy, following the example of some of the MSC missionaries:

> *Moreover it needs to be acknowledged that in large parts of New Guinea, where western civilisation … has intruded, the old tribal customs and misuses, the old feasts, dances, religious concepts and unwritten laws have largely disappeared. On the one hand, this is often not a significant loss, because there were elements which in our eyes were barbarian and inhuman, but on the other hand, it concerned something that had grown out of the Papuan himself. This could reveal a great deal about his nature and his way of thinking and feeling. Its study is of priceless value for understanding these people, to gain their trust and to achieve (for a Papuan) an understandable and tolerable portrayal of the Christian doctrine and a personal experience of Christianity.* (Sint Antonius 1958: 9, my translation)

Father Coenen, OFM, wrote extensively on Kamoro indigenous concepts and 'spirituality' during his work in the Kamoro region from 1953 until 1963 (Coenen 1963). In addition, he also looked for connections between Kamoro narratives and Christianity. For example, he invoked local culture heroes, such as Mapurupiu, to compare them with God. The Mapurupiu story is widely known in the Kamoro region, but is particularly associated with Pigapu village. According to the narrative, Mapurupiu dies and begins his journey to the spirit world. He travels inland and on

105 This issue will be explored further in Chapter 6.

his journey he calls out to the spirit people in order to find the spirit world. The narrative varies according to where and by whom the narrative is told. However, fixed elements in the narrative are Mapurupiu's discovery that his wife/widow sleeps with his younger brother before the end of the mourning period and Mapurupiu's meeting with two women. Since the elder woman did not have a husband, she chose Mapurupiu. Only later would she find out that he was dead, a condition that is variably expressed by him smelling of a corpse or by the fact that no children were produced. After a long journey in various directions, Mapurupiu finally goes west over the sea, where he stays.[106] Since Mapurupiu was responsible for planting sago and other trees during his journey to the spirit world, and for giving birds their colours, Coenen used this narrative to explain God's deeds (Coenen 1956a: 3).

A concrete example of the osmosis between Christian and Kamoro customs became palpable in the canoe feast. New canoes were built in the context of the *kaware* feast, which culminates in the construction of canoes (Pouwer 1987: 46). *Kaware* epitomises male control of ritual functions and secrets and of communication with the invisible underworld (Pouwer 1991: 208). Missionaries had christianised parts of this feast, by formally blessing the canoes during Ascension Day.

Some missionaries also experimented with placing *mbitoro*, spirit poles that incorporate deceased people, next to a cemetery to mark All Souls' Day, but it 'did not impress or only slightly impressed the Papuans' (Sint Antonius 1958: 10, my translation). Spirit poles or *mbitoro* (*mbii*=spirit) served as temporary containers (*kao*) for the spirits during death ceremonies (*watani kame*), during which homage was paid to recently deceased relatives, and during initiation feasts (*karapao*) when the poles symbolised the presence of the ancestors. Although the attempt to place spirit poles near cemeteries was not a success, a tendency had developed during Dutch times to erect a spirit pole on Queen's Day or when important visitors were expected. Government official K.J.M. de Jong had even observed a spirit pole in Timuka (present Timika Pantai) with a crown carved in the protruding 'flag' (buttress) of the pole (Jong 1959: 38).

The planting of *mbitoro* at cemeteries failed, but the use of spirit poles in Christian festivities was embraced. This seems logical given that the Kamoro considered the human body to be a container (*kao*) of the spirit (*mbii*), which is released after death. When the presence of the spirits is

106 The Mapurupiu narrative was recorded by Zegwaard (n.d.a: 46-49), partly recorded by Drabbe (1948b: 78-79) and was told to me by Yohannes Mapareyau, head of traditions (*kepala suku adat*) of Pigapu, when I asked him about the history of Pigapu. He emphasised that he has the *mapare* (a Kamoro concept expressing the essence or core) of the narrative, since Mapurupiu's *taparu* or social unit (Mahurupi) is in Pigapu (Yohannes Mapareyau, interview 8 April 2002). See also Pouwer (2010: 267-270).

welcome, the *mbitoro* functions as a temporary container for the spirit – as a whole, the pole then represents the presence of the ancestors at feasts. Cemeteries are only places were corpses or 'empty' containers are buried.

The fact that some *mbitoro* incorporated a crown is significant. In one respect it is an expression of colonial influence, but it could also be perceived as a form of integration by the Kamoro themselves. In 1952, Jan Pouwer collected a narrative in Mupurupia about two women, Mumorekapare and Mumarepa. The women caused a flood out of revenge for the murder of their osprey. The flood resulted in migrations by neighbouring people. When they then noticed that women in the east had more wealth, they decided to steal the axes, machetes, gas lamp, etc., and even the local and Malay languages. Afterwards, they agreed that Mumarepa would flee to The Netherlands, while Mumorekapare would go to Opè, heaven. After all, Mumarepa's Christian name was Wireremina (Wilhelmina) and Mumorekapare's Christian name was Maria (Offenberg and Pouwer 2002: 249-253).[107] Pouwer noted several of these integrations of non-Kamoro elements in narratives. This fact has been examined closely in Todd Harple's research. By analysing Kamoro narratives, Harple explains how the Kamoro reacted to political and economic changes over time by engaging with these changes and incorporating them in their narratives (Harple 2000). This particular example indicates how the Kamoro claim ownership and incorporate both the administration and the mission, represented by Wilhelmina and Maria, as in fact Kamoro. Following this line of reasoning, the *mbitoro* with the crown not only references Dutch colonisation, but also the integration of non-Kamoro elements in their culture.

III. Salvaging integration?

In the final chapter of his thesis, Pouwer (1955) examines Kamoro attitudes towards outside influences. He devotes numerous pages to describing Christian influences on Kamoro narratives and provides several examples. He explains, for instance, how in Otakwa, during a ritual that marks the end of mourning by invoking the culture hero Opeja Wupurita, the culture hero was replaced by God. He also recorded how the culture hero Mbirokotejao, whose killing of a lizard led to the creation of humans from the meat of the lizard, is compared with Elijah, who raised a child from the dead.[108] It becomes clear from Pouwer's examples that comparing Kamoro

107 The version of the narrative told to me by Markus Yamaro (14 April 2002) is somewhat different: the women escaped to Indonesia and the United States, referring to the Indonesian government and the Freeport mining company (Jacobs 2011: 373).

108 Pouwer writes that 'Elisa' raised a child from the dead, which is a reference to the First Book of Kings 17:1-24 in the Old Testament (King James version). It is narrated how the prophet Elijah predicted how a Sunemitic woman would have a son. The son died and was resurrected by Elijah.

concepts with Christian notions was a point of discussion. The Kamoro people informed him that they situate heaven under the human world and it is the place where the Kamoro culture heroes and Mary, with Jesus on her arm, reside (Pouwer 1955: 257-258). Pouwer acknowledges that Kamoro narratives have been changed and adapted to include western goods and western tools, but on the level of feasts or rituals he states that there is a strong sense of compartmentalisation: 'While the myths have extensively incorporated foreign elements, the foreign impact on the ritual remains weak' (Pouwer 1955: 259, my translation). He illustrates this argument by demonstrating how 'foreigner feasts' or *kakuru tena-we* are detached from Kamoro feasts. He mentions that the Kamoro people enthusiastically participate in foreigner feasts by singing, dancing and drumming. However, only 'profane' songs, which 'in the native sphere are sung both during and outside feasts' are sung (Pouwer 1955: 260, my translation). He therefore concludes that the Kamoro live in 'two worlds': their own world and the world in which they engage with the foreigner, which are clearly separated (Pouwer 1955: 263).[109]

Let me turn to an example of a feast described by Father Camps, OFM (1953-61). When in 1958 Monsignor Staverman, apostolic vicar of Hollandia, visited the Kamoro region, a cross in ironwood was erected by the Kamoro people from Kekwa (Figures 3, 12). The cross was made in remembrance of Father Le Cocq d'Armandville, a Jesuit missionary – one of the first in Papua – who had drowned near Kipia in the Kamoro region in 1896 during an exploratory trip. In addition to the erection of the cross, the Kamoro people performed a play explaining how Father Le Cocq d'Armandville had died. While the latter was known to have drowned accidentally, the play depicted how the first missionary had been shot with arrows by Kamoro people (Camps 1960: 87, 1961: 82). According to Camps (1960: 92), the content of the play/performance demonstrated a typical characteristic of the Kamoro people that often complicated mission work. The play was created by young males who had worked in Hollandia as contract-labourers. There they had learned about the mystification of the death of Le Cocq d'Armandville; stories were told that his mysterious death might have been caused by the Kamoro people instead of just being an accident:

> *A reaction of the Mimikan then – not caring if this is true or not, not even in such a case with which he is closely related and even if he surely knows it is not true – is to adapt and please the 'tana-we' [tena-we] or the foreigner. He keeps his own thoughts carefully to himself and it takes a lot of work to trace those. So, they perform a play and take on the role of murderer, simply*

109 Pouwer's 'two world' division was adopted by Trenkenschuh (1982) and inspired a number of Indonesian newspaper articles in the 1990s (Tifa Irian 1994a: 3; 1994b: 7).

Figure 12: Erection of cross in Kekwa (photo: Father Wempe, OFM, courtesy of OFM mission).

> *because the white man expects this. They render the event a bit more vivid, they let the, in Mimika history, notorious war-leader Naowa commit the murder.* (Camps 1960: 92, my translation)

While Camps notes that the Kamoro adjust to the 'white man's' wishes, the Kamoro perform a play that makes a heroic war leader murder Father Le Cocq d'Armandville, thereby appropriating Kamoro agency. Apart from incorporating foreign elements in their narratives, the Kamoro also incorporated Kamoro elements in 'foreign' events.

IV. Further integration: the Vatican Council

In an interview, Father Jan Koot, OFM (1962-1965), recounted how missionaries of his generation were taught a 'very moralistic theology which, combined with the prudish western way of life, clashed with the Kamoro conceptions'. Father Koot explained how he could accept the failure of many mission and development projects, such as the introduction of family houses, schools, and the ban on feasts (which he was sure continued to be celebrated in secret). To counter this, he argued for a greater general comprehension of Kamoro life and culture; and advised that certain

Christian rules should be adapted to Kamoro culture or should not be imposed at all.[110] 'But how does one explain that to Rome?', he added (Jan Koot, interview 9 January 2003, my translation).

Father Koot's mission work coincided with the Second Vatican Council (11/10/1962 – 8/12/1965), during which a new theological approach was agreed. Having realised that charity work only renders the recipients more dependent, the new approach would focus on the participation of local people during mission work. After the Vatican Council and the transfer of the region to Indonesian administration,[111] the assimilation of Christian and Kamoro elements was boosted by giving laymen more responsibility in the Celebration of the Eucharist. The Franciscan missionaries also attempted to hold the Mass in the Kamoro language and trained an indigenous clergy.[112] 'Acculturation became enculturation' (Boelaars 1992: xv, my translation). Kamoro culture was not just influenced (acculturation) as a result of contact with Christianity, the 'new' culture now had to be transmitted to the next generation (enculturation).

Father Felix Tijdink, OFM (1967-1981), introduced the use of drums during Mass, but some of the older women considered this act 'heathen'. Drums were played by men to call upon ancestors and as a form of entertainment – two functions that apparently did not belong in church. 'I comforted them by saying that they were already good Christians and that it was not a problem to use drums during the mass'. In addition, Felix Tijdink also replaced oil with white paint for drawing a cross on the forehead during anointment (Figure 13). This more visible sign corresponded with the custom of applying white body decorations in Kamoro ritual (Felix Tijdink, interview 29 August 2002).

In a similar vein, Father Huub Zwartjes, OFM (1972-1979) linked baptism to an initiation feast in Kekwa in 1977 (Figure 14). The *tawri* feast, consisting of the cutting off at ankle-level of the boys' aprons (*tawri*) marked the first transformation from boyhood to adolescence (Zegwaard 1995: 309). In Kekwa in 1977, the initiates were decorated with black and white paint and wore long aprons hanging from the waist to the ground. During the first stage of the ceremony, these aprons were cut off by the initiates' mothers. The fibres, spread around the boys, were set on fire and the boys were required to extinguish the fire with their feet. The ash-

110 Father Koot cited the ban on premarital sexual relations as a hard rule to enforce; something repeatedly mentioned by Father Tijdink as well (Felix Tijdink, interview 29 August 2002).

111 The transfer to Indonesian administration on 1963 did not change much with respect to the teaching of Christianity. However, many missionaries complained about the attitude of the Indonesians towards the Papuans in the early years of Indonesian administration. It became obligatory to hold Indonesian flags during ceremonial occasions; non-compliance was severely punished (interview Huub Zwartjes, 26 August 2002 and Felix Tijdink, 29 August 2002).

112 Today the Roman Catholic Mass is conducted in *bahasa Indonesia*.

Figure 13: Drawing a white cross during anointment, 1970s (photo: Huub Zwartjes).

Figure 14: Initiation feast and baptism in Kekwa (1977) with boys ready to put their aprons on (photo: Huub Zwartjes).

es were then applied to the navel to stimulate the growth of body hair (Coenen 1963: 64). During the ceremony's second stage, the boys were anointed by Father Huub Zwartjes, who had received cassowary feathers and bird of paradise plumes as body decoration. In front of the initiation

house, platforms were constructed with large containers filled with sago (from the sago palm, *Metroxylon* spp.). Previously, the piercing of the nasal septum occurred on this sago platform. Although this no longer took place, after the festivities the sago was consumed as had been customary during an initiation ritual.[113]

This initiation feast needs to be seen as one of many festivities in the Kamoro region in 1977 leading up to one major culminating feast: the mission's golden jubilee in Kokonao. This 50-year mission celebration concluded with a large-scale feast (apparently some 9,000 Kamoro people were present). As an assembled village, Kokonao consists of four hamlets: Kokonao, Migiwiya, Kiyura, and Mimika. Each hamlet had built a feast house (*karapao*), the traditional construction process of which expresses complementary gender relationships in Kamoro social life.[114] In front of each house a spirit pole (*mbitoro*) was erected next to a smaller ancestor pole. The Kamoro decided to commemorate Monsignor Tillemans[115] by depicting him in one of the *mbitoro* poles (Huub Zwartjes, interview 26 August 2002). While this might have been interpreted as a sign of conversion in the eyes of the missionaries, the Kamoro were integrating Christian culture into Kamoro culture, by indicating that Father Tillemans originated from the Kamoro region during the time of *amoko*, the ancestors.

The *karapao* houses were painted with white Christian motifs (Figure 15). Examples vary from crosses to angels and Malay writings such as '*pesta emas*' (golden feast) or '*Jesus bangkit dari kubur*' (Jesus stands up from the grave). On the official anniversary day the poles were placed around the altar during Mass; afterwards they were left to decay as had been done in the past.[116] Bishop Münninghoff, who attended the festivities, received a head decoration with bird of paradise plumes and he blessed the sago, pigs and clams (*Anadara granosa*), which were then distributed among the participants. The newly-made canoes were also blessed during the festivities (Figure 16). Afterwards, the Kamoro drummed and sang the whole night in the same manner as was usually done at Kamoro festivities (Huub Zwartjes, interview 26 August 2002).

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113 For more information on the initiation ritual as it occurred in the 1950s, see Pouwer (2003b, 2010: 61-78).

114 People from Kekwa village mentioned (20/10/2000) that men are responsible for the construction of the framework and women provide the pandanus mats (*kopa*) covering the front wall. The manufacture of the roof – made of sago leaves (*ore*) stitched together with fibre (*wiyako*) – is a joint activity. Once the feast-house is completed, men and women rejoin their own domain: men create a spirit-pole; women collect sago for the feast.

115 Father Tillemans, msc, was consecrated Apostolic Vicar in 1950.

116 *Mbitoro* were left to decay after serving their role in the feast. Schoot (1969: 68) writes that they were thrown in sago swamps to influence the growth of sago.

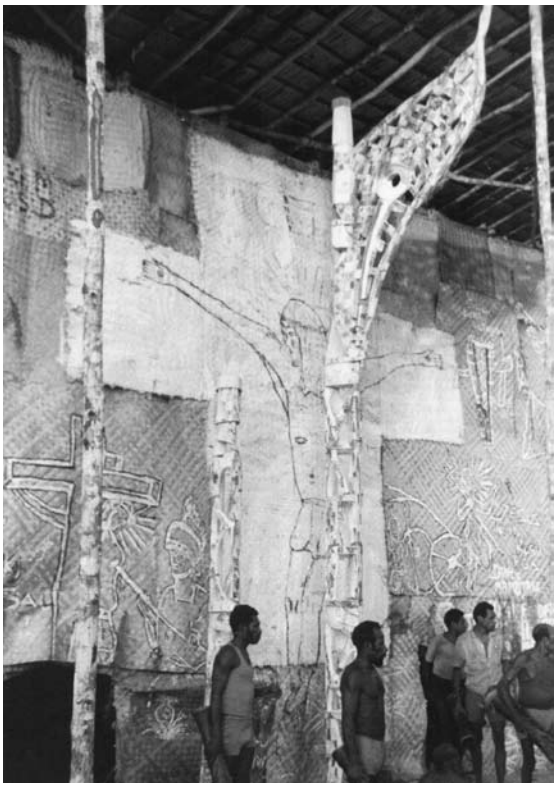

Figure 15: One of the golden jubilee feast houses, Kokonao 1977 (photo: Huub Zwartjes).

Figure 16: Blessing the new canoes, Kokonao 1977 (photo: Huub Zwartjes).

Before Father Felix Tijdink, OFM, left the area in 1981, he installed a Papuan priest from the Paniai Lakes to the north (inland) of the Kamoro region. During an interview with me, Father Tijdink spoke extensively of how he used indigenous means to mark the priest's acceptance. After consulting the villagers of Timika Pantai, it was decided that both Father Tijdink and the new priest should arrive in canoes. Their warm welcome referenced parts of the *kaware* feast. Furthermore, when they arrived in the church of Timika Pantai (then Timuka) they received – as arranged – four symbols: a *yamate* or so-called ceremonial board, a bible, a candle, and plumes from the bird of paradise. The eldest woman of the village handed over a torch to the new priest as they stood in front of an altar decorated with an *urumane* panel with two hornbill heads. This panel represents the ancestral mothers of the present social groups (*taparu*).[117] Afterwards the new canoes were blessed to the accompaniment of many dances. This occasion was narrated at length by Felix Tijdink to demonstrate his working method. He told me how he asked himself the question: How can one integrate elements of their own culture? For him, the concept of enculturation was crucial. Even during his training, he had written a dissertation 'Christianity and culture' about the integration of these two elements. He described himself as being strongly influenced by the Vatican Council (Felix Tijdink, interview 29 August 2002).

Integrating elements of traditional culture into Christian practice now seemed the correct approach for missionaries. But what was traditional culture to them? The mission appeared to have used two different, but not mutually exclusive, notions of 'culture'. From anthropologists they borrowed the idea of culture as the unique essence of a society – culture as a worldview, expressed in language, narratives, feasts and subsistence economy. Kamoro culture as a whole had to be studied and then modified to reach the goal of conversion. Their anthropologically tinted culture-concept contained elements of an elitist view whereby Christian culture was considered superior to – the yet to be developed – Kamoro culture. The mission's task was to bring development and civilisation, and therefore this culture concept was invoked to justify the prohibition of some Kamoro cultural practices and the stimulation of others. Religious and miniaturised or 'cultured' artefacts were then distributed as proof of the Kamoro new educated and cultured state, and thus as proof of the mission's effectiveness.

117 During the *emakame* feast, two *urumane* (representing the ancestral mother and her husband respectively) were placed horizontally between two poles of the feast house. Initiated men entered the house by stepping over the male board, non-initiates passed under it. The elder dignitaries also went to lie on the board to exclaim their mothers' names and descent (Pouwer 2003b: 55-56).

For the missionaries, 'tradition' appeared to be something passively received from the past, from which selected elements could be modified and moulded into the Christian lifestyle. Their selection of 'tradition' is based on the 1957 government regulation that certain Kamoro feasts would be allowed. The 'Feast Ordinance' concluded that the *tawri* or puberty feast, the *karapao* or adult feast, and the pig feast (*oo'kame* or *oo'kakuru*) could be held after notification of the intention to do so, and provision of a reason to hold the feast which conformed to article 2 of the feast ordinance (Jong 1959: 39-40).[118] It was considered that once the elements that were considered hostile to Christian culture had been suppressed, it was safe to allow and integrate other local cultural expressions.

The mission's rather static view of tradition did not take Kamoro traditional and long-standing adaptability into account. Kamoro agency in determining the form of their new institutional practices was interpreted as mission agency in allowing such combinations of ritual procedures. The Kamoro integrated Christian elements into Kamoro oral traditions and integrated Kamoro elements into Christian feasts. Other forms of mission integration were rejected such as the planting of spirit poles on cemeteries. Mission history does not simply have two sides, whereby a Kamoro view can be juxtaposed with a colonial perspective. Rather, it concerns an ongoing sequence of complex encounters characterised by a variety of cultural exchanges.

118 Gouvernementsblad 1955 number 4; changed by Gouvernementsblad 1957 number 44. This decision became active on 1 January 1958.

PART TWO: REPRESENTATION

Figure 17: Dancers from Nawaripi village performing the 'sago dance' during the Kamoro Arts Festival, Pigapu, October 2000 (Photo: K. Jacobs)

The term 'representation' has been chosen as the title for Part Two, since it deals with the use of Kamoro material culture by the Freeport Mining Company as a tool for representation. Freeport is a multinational company engaged in the exploration, mining and milling of copper, gold and silver in Papua, and the smelting and refining of copper concentrates in Spain and Indonesia. The Indonesian affiliate of the American company Freeport-McMoRan Copper & Gold, Inc (formerly known as Freeport Sulphur, Inc) is officially known as PT Freeport Indonesia. In 1995, Freeport-McMoRan separated from its Indonesian property to avoid potential problems for stockholders.[119] In 1996, Freeport established a joint venture with Rio Tinto PLC. In this book, the general name 'Freeport' is used to avoid confusion. However, this does not mean that the mining company is considered as a monolithic entity. The aim is to reveal the different voices behind the company. This will be done by moving from a macro-level in Chapter 4, where Freeport's cultural policy is compared to Indonesia's national policy (between 1945-98), to a micro-level in Chapter 5 (and Chapter 6), which focuses on the Freeport-sponsored Kamoro Arts Festival as a venue for the representation of Kamoro culture (1998-2006).

Part Two deals with the 'representation' of 'culture' through collecting encounters and both terms will be briefly considered. As mentioned in the Introduction, the notion of ethnographic representation, i.e. the anthropologists' translations into texts (ethnographies) of the meanings of other cultures, became a widely debated notion during the 1980s, provoking fundamental questions regarding cultural difference and 'otherness', the authority to represent, and the nature of social knowledge.[120] Representation was seen as a form of translation, as partial and interpretative, which could result in a contentious form of authority and power. The focus on the partiality of researchers led to the conclusion that no representation of culture could be objective. The questioning of cross-cultural representation was reinforced through the process of decolonisation and the demand of indigenous populations for accountability; 'the West can no longer present itself as the unique purveyor of anthropological knowledge about others' (Clifford 1988: 22; see also Rohatynskyj & Jaarsma 2000b). One appropriate stage for self-representation is a festival. This is particularly the case in the Pacific; as Stevenson (1999: 29) argues, the appearance of festivals is a Pacific-wide phenomenon: 'if one were to look for an underlying structure that could unify Pacific cultures the festival would suffice'. In recent decades, festivals have become more widespread and their importance has increased.

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119 See http://www.fcx.com and http://www.ptfi.com

120 See Clifford & Marcus (1986); Fabian (1983); James, Hockney & Dawson (1997) and Said (1989).

'Culture' is a frequently recurring term. However, the term's ubiquity does not render it into an easily definable concept. The following outline of some of the anthropological uses of the notion of 'culture' is necessarily cursory and incomplete, but concentrates on connotations of the culture-concept that are relevant for Chapter 4, focusing on a specific time frame (1945-98). As a reaction to the elite notion of culture (as civilisation) in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Williams 1988: 88-89; Eagleton 2000: 9-10), a more holistic and inclusive use of the culture notion, embracing ways of life and belief systems as part of a culture, became indispensable to the anthropological use of 'culture' in the twentieth century.[121] In American anthropology, Boas' view was deliberately antithetical to evolutionary thinking and imperialism; he argued for a broadening of the term 'culture' by stating that culture was a property of all human communities (cultural relativism).[122] 'Culture' is equated with 'a people' and 'culture' referred to whatever is distinct about the 'way of life' of a people, community, nation or social group. In this way, culture became a broad concept, challenging the restricted view of 'high' culture associated with the arts.[123] The structuralism advocated by French anthropologist Lévi-Strauss during the 1950s and 1960s took linguistic analysis as a model and applied it to the analysis of culture (as seen in the broad sense). Culture was understood as a 'signifying practice'; through its underlying structure meanings were conveyed. However, anthropologists became dissatisfied with Lévi-Strauss's holistic models of the structure of culture. Lévi-Strauss saw culture as a kind of collective consciousness, whereby everyone learnt the same set of symbolic equations, which were imposed from outside by the collectivity (Layton 1997: 199).

There has also been a tendency to interpret cultural life as a process of negotiating meaning. Culture is seen as a system of symbols, and the task of the anthropologist is to decipher the system in terms of its meanings, to focus on the network of interrelated meanings that cultures encode. In the semiotic or symbolic theory of culture, the concept of culture is viewed as a text to be 'read and interpreted' (Dominguez 1994: 238). In the 1970s, interpretive anthropologists, among them Clifford Geertz, considered culture as a web of meaning and ethnography as an exercise in hermeneutics

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121 This view of culture also influenced the sociological use of culture. Durkheim's 'collective consciousness', emphasised the significance of shared values and symbols in the study of societies (see Durkheim 2001 [1912]).

122 The British reaction to evolutionism is somewhat different, supplanting it with a model of society as a living organism. Rather than ranking societies according to the stage they had reached in social evolution, the British Functionalist School argued that customs should be explained in terms of their present function (Layton 1997: 28).

123 The emphasis of cultural relativism on the study of distinctiveness was later critiqued as a form of ethnocentrism. By still 'essentializing' certain differences or particularities, the use of 'culture' was not very different from the previous use of the term 'race' (Thomas 1994: 89).

(see Geertz 1973). Ethnography held a central place in anthropology.[124] However, anthropologists' translations into texts (ethnographies) of the meanings of other cultures provoked reflection, as pointed out earlier.

Meanwhile the culture concept entered new domains. In the early 1980s culture became a popular word in management studies. Companies adopted a corporate culture, which was often manifested in a mission statement for the organisation in an attempt to define the significance of employment to their employees. It was emphasised that they had shared values; they were part of a culture (Salaman 1997). Discussions emerged about multiculturalism and cultural racism (Wright 1998: 11). Culture was also commodified in the case of tourism; visitors were taken on cultural tours or could observe cultural heritage. There were also cases of cultural revival; peoples whose ways of life were deemed to have changed dramatically during colonisation now displayed distinctiveness under the banner of 'culture'.

The premise that culture is symbolically constructed remained a significant topic in the 1980s and early 1990s in Oceania studies. The argument that 'culture' is a symbolic product of a particular time and milieu led to a particular focus on the concept of 'tradition' and '*kastom*'.[125] Attention shifted to the use of certain cultural elements by indigenous people to proclaim a cultural difference after colonialism. It was noted that these cultural elements were sometimes of a recent date. Most writers make the point that models of culture, *kastom* and tradition are politically instrumental in the construction of anti-colonial and national identities; culture, tradition and *kastom* are symbolic contemporary constructions or even 'inventions' (Keesing and Tonkinson 1982; Linnekin 1983, 1990, 1992; Linnekin & Poyer 1990). In this line of thinking, culture was equated with identity or was the starting-point for the making of identity. It was noted that certain cultural traits were not handed down from generation to generation but were contemporary and instrumental. The use of certain (contemporary) cultural symbols by so-called indigenous peoples was criticized as the 'essentialization' or 'reification' of culture. This reasoning can be politically controversial and indeed it led to some strong reactions.[126]

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124 Geertz's views have been heavily criticised in culture studies (see Crapanzo 1986; Kuper 2000).

125 Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger's *The Invention of Tradition* (1983) is often referred to, but it does not deal with the Pacific. Keesing & Tonkinson (1982) introduced similar ideas by looking at the notion of *kastom* in Melanesia.

126 Hanson (1989) argued that certain key concepts, considered to lie at the foundation of modern Maori identity, were introduced by European scholars. His statement provoked anger, which was evoked by the use of the politically charged word 'invention'. The issue was further elaborated upon by Briggs (1996) who argues that the anthropological use of the term 'invention' undermines indigenous causes. For a more recent analysis, see Akin (2004).

The discussion of cultural constructs was useful in emphasising the relatedness of politics, culture and representation. However, (over-)emphasis on the invented and constructed nature of tradition, culture and *kastom* obscures and conceals the long-term continuities that often prevail even during times of radical cultural change. Sahlins argues that it is a normal condition for cultures to be constructed and reconstructed repetitively (e.g. Sahlins 1985, 1999, 2000).

Culture is a pragmatic and multi-discursive concept. Given the resilience of the culture-concept, it might be better to ask how and why culture is invoked rather than define what culture is. I will follow Dominguez's suggestion that rather than quibbling about what fits in the category of culture, it is important to ask what purposes it serves:

> *We need to move away from asking about culture – what belongs, what doesn't belong, what its characteristics are, whose characteristics are being imposed and whose are being excluded – and toward asking what is being accomplished socially, politically, discursively when the concept of culture is invoked to describe, analyze, argue, justify and theorize.* (Dominguez 1994: 239)

Chapter 4

Becoming part of a nation-state[127]

This chapter focuses on the era when Papua was integrated into Indonesia and became subject to the associated national policy. Two elements are of particular importance: Indonesia's cultural policy and the focus on economic development by attracting multinationals, which resulted in the establishment of PT Freeport Indonesia. Between 1990 and 1998, Freeport sponsored Kamoro woodcarving projects as part of a policy to express their corporate culture. This project is examined with a particular focus on the link between national Indonesian cultural policy and the Freeport mining company's mission or corporate culture.

I. Indonesia's national policy (1945-98)

Not willing to transfer its last colonial holding to Indonesia, the Dutch administration argued that the Melanesian inhabitants of *Nederlands Nieuw Guinea* (Papua) did not belong in Indonesia and that they should receive the right of self-determination. Not willing to give up its determination to control the region, in the early 1960s the Indonesian government decided to 'liberate' the Papuans from Dutch rule by military intervention in the form of paratroop assaults.[128] The dispute was settled by the UN under the New York Agreement of 1962, whereby Papua was transferred from Dutch rule to an interim United Nations Temporary Executive Authority (UNTEA) for a period of six years, after which the inhabitants were to be consulted about whether they would like to become part of Indonesia. However, in 1963 the area was already declared to be Indonesian and renamed West Irian or *Irian Barat* (Australia West Papua Association 1998: 8; Osborne 1985: 30). In 1965, the national government in Jakarta was shaken by an attempted coup. Amidst this turmoil, General Suharto took over President Sukarno's power and eventually was formally elected President in 1968. The integration of the province of Papua into the

127 Appadurai (1990) interestingly highlighted the tension situated in the hyphen in the word 'nation-state'. This hyphen often implies both disjunction and conjunction; it can separate nation from state as much as connect them. According to this reasoning, a region such as Papua subverts the hyphen that links the nation to the state.

128 Anderson (1991: 176-178) argues that the Indonesian nationalist drive to incorporate Papua into the republic partly originated in the symbolic power of Dutch maps of the Netherlands Indies. Indonesia intended to be completely freed from the Dutch in the former colony, including Papua.

Indonesian nation-state occurred almost simultaneously with the establishment of Suharto's policy.[129] Until 1998, President Suharto's New Order Government focused on economic development and the maintenance of friendly relations with the West. The era of *Reformasi* (Reform Movement) in Indonesia began when Suharto was forced to resign on 21 May 1998, giving in to nation-wide protests.

1) Creating a national feeling

Although Indonesia was only recognised as an independent federal state in 1949 after the 'National Revolution' (1945-1949), the day that Sukarno and Mohammed Hatta proclaimed independence, 17 August 1945, is considered the moment of birth of the nation and became National Independence Day. The 1945 National Constitution became the basis for the Republic of Indonesia and was drafted along the lines of the state ideology, *Pancasila*, consisting of five principles: belief in God[130]; just and civilised humanity; the unity of Indonesia; democracy through deliberation and consensus among representatives; social justice for all. A vital part of this constitution focused on unifying the nation under the motto *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Sanskrit) or 'Unity in Diversity'. Indonesia is a country of immense heterogeneity, culturally, linguistically and ecologically. Finding unity on the basis of uniformity might be regarded as challenging in this context, but it was considered by the government to be the country's strength. The 1945 Constitution was maintained when Suharto came to power in 1965. It became the ideological basis for his New Order policy (which automatically rendered Sukarno's regime the 'Old Order'), which was focused on 'rebuilding' and 'developing' the nation-state. Particular emphasis was placed on economic development by attracting multinationals, and also by focusing on cultural tourism (*parawisata budaya*). This project of national development (*pembangunan nasional*) was initiated with the backing of a strong military regime (Anderson 1983b). Suharto worked out Five-Year Plans or *Repelita* to spread development in the form of industry, schools, housing and health clinics, and he expanded the transportation and communications infrastructure. National unity would be achieved through the use of one language, *bahasa Indonesia*, and

129 General Suharto had also commanded the 1962 'liberation' operation of Papua from the Dutch, code-named 'Mandala' (Osborne 1985: 26).

130 While most Indonesians are Muslim, the *Pancasila* supports religious freedom for those belonging to other faiths as long as these belief systems are recognised as world religions (Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, Catholicism and Protestantism). Traditional religions are thus not accepted (see Atkinson 1988: 48-50).

control of the education system (via state schools) and the media.[131] This process of 'Indonesianization' (Gietzelt 1989) was based on a strong top-down approach whereby everything was decided in Jakarta, disregarding local needs.

The integration of Papua into the Indonesian nation was not a straightforward task. The Dutch had started a process of 'Papuanisation' by educating and developing the population into a self-governing nation. The New Guinea Council (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakjat*), a democratically elected political body was established to administer the region. The name West Papua (*Papua Barat*) was chosen, the Morning Star flag (*Bintang Fajar*) and the chant *Hai Tanahku Papua* became the Papua state symbols and 1 December 1961 became Papuan Independence Day. Soon after, the Morning Star flag was banned and replaced by the Indonesian flag (Chauvel 2001: 7; Ondawame 2000: 34). It is generally acknowledged that the origins of the ongoing Papuan desire for self-determination and independence lie in these Dutch efforts. During the Indonesian annexation, this desire was consolidated in the *Organisasi Papua Merdeka* (OPM) or 'Free Papua Organization' (Hastings 1984: 134).[132] The presence of this movement, even though considerably dispersed, was in 1969 used as a pretext to increase Indonesian army presence and to designate the region a Military Operations area (*Daerah Operasi Militar* or DOM). A result of this deed is the closed character of the province, requiring visitors to obtain a travel permit (*surat jalan*) and register with the local authorities in each place visited.[133] Also in 1969, Indonesia's sovereignty over Papua was recognized by the United Nations following the 'Act of Free Choice' (*Penentuan Pendapat Rakyat*; PEPERA), a referendum whereby Papuans were invited to choose whether to remain part of Indonesia or become a separate autonomous state. The positive result for Indonesia continues 'to be disputed by the majority of the indigenous population' (Broek & Szalay

131 Because Malay had already been a *lingua franca* in large parts of the archipelago, mainly in the context of trade, this was chosen as the national language in 1928 and came to be known as *Bahasa Indonesia*. It was codified in a standard form in 1940 (Berg 1951; Schefold 1998: 266).

132 Papuanisation took place in Malay, the language used by the Dutch Administration. OPM resistance is founded on several bases: 'forced territorial incorporation into Indonesia', 'cultural imperialism', 'loss of identity', 'alienation of land', and 'political repression' (Premdas 1985: 1062). Timmer (2007: 1103) states: 'Since the 1970s, most Papuans have grown up with the idea of the Free Papua Organization (OPM) without having a clear sense of where it is, who leads it and what its strategies are, but cherishing the idea of "OPM" is a state of mind shared by all Papuans'.

133 However, the latter was a trend started during Dutch times. In 1998, the area's status was lowered to Critical Control Area (*Pengawalan Daerah Rawan* or PDR), but this did not alter Papua's accessibility.

2001: 77) and this event is often referred to as the 'Act Free of Choice' or the 'Act of No Choice'.[134]

Papua was now officially part of Indonesia and received the status of *masyarakat terasing*, 'isolated community'. Papuans, along with other ethnic minorities in Indonesia, belong to this category, which – due to their different lifestyle – was 'branded as backward' and 'unworthy of a modern state' (Schefold 1998: 272).[135] The perception of these *masyarakat terasing* as 'feudal' or 'tribalist' structures and the belief that these communities were a potential threat to national unity and economic development led to the implementation of projects to improve and develop Papua. This resulted in the prohibition of local cultural expressions, (re-)settlement into permanent sedentary villages and encouragement of market gardening and permanent agriculture (Pouwer 1999: 158).[136] After its integration into Indonesia, Papua also became a destination for transmigrants, but the number of official transmigrants (mainly from Java) was soon outnumbered by the quantity of spontaneous migrants (mostly from eastern Indonesia).[137] Since both forms of migration have been combined with the resettlement of Papuan communities, the transmigration programme has been controversial from its inception. While the most devastating effect of transmigration for Papuans has been the expropriation of land, the programme has been criticised for other reasons, such as high competition with entrepreneurial migrants and their effect on local traders, and the transmigrants' prejudices against the local population. For many transmigrants it was equally unsuccessful, as farmers found themselves in a region with low demand for crops and expensive transport to markets. As such, the programme virtually became a means to seek economic, social and security benefits (Osborne 1985: 132; Timmer 2007: 1112).[138]

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134 The role of the UN has been criticised, since the entire Papuan population was represented by circa 1,025 hand-picked individuals, chosen by the Indonesian authorities (Saltford 2000). See also Drooglever (2009).

135 Persoon (1998: 287-288) explains the history of the term: initially known in the plural form *suku-suku terasing* (isolated ethnic groups), later it was replaced by *masyarakat suku-suku terasing*, which is a contradiction in terms since *masyarakat* indicates a kind of overall unity, of community, while *suku* in its plural form implies differences between groups. From the mid-1970s, *masyarakat terasing* came into use.

136 Many of these projects had been initiated by the Dutch colonial administration.

137 The policy of moving people, mainly to Sumatra, to reduce the high population numbers in Java, had already been introduced during Dutch times.

138 Spontaneous migrants monopolise almost the entire petty trade (Gietzelt 1989: 208). Transmigration is also critiqued for rendering impossible an act of self-determination by making Papuans a minority in their own region, and also for the unsuitability of the soil and the environment for transmigrants to continue gardening or other activities (Persoon 1998: 292; Pouwer 1999: 173-177).

2) Cultural policy as a tool for 'Indonesianization'[139]

In 1975, Ibu Tien Suharto opened the state-sponsored theme park *Taman Mini Indonesia Indah* (Beautiful Indonesia in Miniature Park) in Jakarta. The president's wife had been inspired to build *Taman Mini* after a trip to Disneyworld, Florida. By including churches, mosques and temples representing the various official religions in Indonesia, and monuments expressing *Pancasila* principles, the park visualises the New Order regime.[140] The park expresses the national Indonesian slogan 'Unity in Diversity' (*Bhineka tunggal ika*): the Indonesian provinces are each represented in a pavilion containing art objects, costumes and other regional elements and these are unified into an imagined Indonesia in miniature. Anderson claims in his influential book on nationalism *Imagined Communities* (1983a, 1991) that all polities are 'imagined', and there are different styles of this imagining. *Taman Mini* is an example of how Indonesia uses culture as a way of self-imagining. However, in order to fully comprehend *Taman Mini*, a deeper understanding of Indonesian national policy regarding culture and its different interpretations under Sukarno (Old Order) and Suharto (New Order) is required.

Since it was considered an important instrument of national identity, 'culture' was included in the 1945 Constitution, but its definition was not straightforward and the original definition needed revision. According to the clarification, the newly imagined culture of the nation:

> *is culture that arises as the product of the thought and character of the entire people of Indonesia. Old and authentic culture is found in high cultural achievements [lit.: peaks of culture] in regions throughout Indonesia [and is] considered the culture of the nation. Cultural effort must be directed to the advancement of civilization, cultivation, and unification, and should not reject new materials from foreign culture that can develop and enrich the culture of the [Indonesian] people and raise the level of humanity of the Indonesian people.* (Translation of Official clarification of clause 32 of the 1945 Constitution in Yampolsky 1995: 702)

Linked to the goal of national unity was the promotion of a national culture in which the character of the entire Indonesian people was to be expressed. Culture is something Indonesian people have or should aspire to and culture should increase 'civilisation' and 'cultivation'. The culture-concept as used in Indonesian cultural policy resembles the Enlightenment use of culture as 'high culture' and is synonymous with 'civilisation'.

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139 Pemberton (1994b) provides more information on cultural policy as applied in Java, while Picard (1996) focuses his overview on Bali. The following overview mainly focuses on the New Order policy.

140 For more information on *Taman Mini*, see Pemberton (1994a), Errington (1998), and Stanley (1998).

During Sukarno's government, little interest was shown in supporting regional cultures. Pan-Indonesian values proliferated and were made visible in monumental statues and state rituals; visual imagery was used to reinforce a sense of (Indonesian) national identity. One example of a national value is the notion of mutual assistance (*gotong-royong*), a concept that originated in Java and is used to denote various forms of assistance or aid, which makes it an ideal slogan for national unity.[141] Even before Indonesia gained official control over Papua, images of Papua were disseminated which promoted an Indonesian identity rather than a Melanesian or Papuan one. To celebrate Papua's 'liberation', for instance, the West Irian Liberation Monument (*Monumen Pembebasan Irian Barat*) was built at Banteng Square in Jakarta in 1963. Created by Edhi Sunarso, the monument shows a man breaking free from his chains.

It was only with the implementation of New Order policy that regional culture received full attention. Schefold (1998: 274) describes it as a strategic move whereby New Order chose to 'domesticate' regional and ethnic differences, rather than ignore their existence. Regional cultures were now considered to make up the national culture, rather than a national culture replacing regional culture. This implied, however, that regional cultures had to fit into the national ideological framework and consequently had to be supervised by the government through a project of 'cultural engineering' conducted in the 1970s.[142] The Department of Education and Culture (*Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan*), better known in the form of the acronym *Depdikbud,* began actively to preserve regional cultures by listing cultural expressions per region, by supporting conservatories and music academies and organising festivals and competitions. In addition, *Depdikbud* ordained that regional cultures did not contradict Indonesian national ideology nor offend the five official religions in Indonesia (Hutajulu 1995: 641; Yampolsky 1995: 710-11). The use of regional cultural expressions as components in the process of nation-building had many consequences, of which two will be highlighted.

Firstly, a homogenizing (*Depdikbud*) state aesthetic was advanced; diversity was stimulated, providing it did not conflict with unity. While the New Order policy acknowledged regional cultures, depoliticised cultural and artistic elements were emphasised and treasured. *Depdikbud* did not merely control the political and moral content of art and cultural forms, it also developed them. Yampolsky writes that *Depdikbud* felt it had to 'upgrade the artistic quality', since there was a general sense that culture

141 Bowen (1986) writes in detail about *gotong-royong* and perceives it as a political construction of tradition.

142 'Cultural engineering' is adopted from Yampolsky (1995), who notes that this project was proposed in the second *Repelita* (1973) that came into effect in 1974.

had to be improved (Yampolsky 1995: 710).[143] A second effect was the reduction of ethnic diversity to a provincial level. 'Regional cultures' were administrative constructions and national comparisons were mainly made between provinces and not on the level of internal cultural or ethnic differences within these provinces. Overall, the Indonesian government did not acknowledge 'ethnicity', but referred to 'regional culture' or 'regional arts' associated with a particular region (*daerah*) of Indonesia (Yampolsky 1995: 700, footnote 2).

Taman Mini Indonesia Indah is the ultimate example of the amalgamation of all these principles, but also an expression of the resulting problems. The provincial pavilions promote a 'regional culture' and local differences become blurred. These 'regional cultures' fit the national ideology and are often reduced and limited to art objects, costumes, dance, music, replicas of houses and handicrafts – an aesthetic form of culture all referring to one provincial identity. Errington sums it up appropriately by stating that *Taman Mini* 'depicts a fantasy polity, where ethnic difference is tamed and reified into equivalent and decorative difference, classified into orderly provinces that are controlled and made beautiful by the power of the state' (Errington 1998: 222).

II. Economic development: Freeport

During a climbing expedition to the highest peak of the Carstensz/ Sudirman Mountains in 1936, the Dutch geologist J.J. Dozy observed the presence of ore in these mountains and was particularly fascinated by what he called *Ertsberg*, Ore Mountain.[144] In 1960, Forbes Wilson, exploration manager at Freeport, used Dozy's 1936 report to rediscover *Ertsberg*.[145] Negotiations with the Indonesian government to start mining in this area had to be postponed until the accession to power of Suharto, whose government defined itself as a development regime and used economic growth as a basis for legitimacy. Because of the unhealthy domestic economy, economic growth could only occur through foreign investment. Freeport signed a Contract of Work (COW) with the Republic of Indonesia in 1967, becoming the first foreign company to sign with the new government under the newly ratified Foreign Investment Law

143 This process has been described from different angles. Lindsay (1995: 664) states that it is normal practice for a patron to influence the arts. Others have condemned the practice as depoliticising indigenous societies (Acciaioli 1985; Foulcher 1990). However, depoliticising cultural expressions does not mean that culture is not used politically by its producers (see Foulcher 1990).

144 The expedition was conducted by A.H. Colijn, F.J. Wissel and J.J. Dozy, whose explorations were funded by the *Nederlands Nieuw Guinea Petroleum Maatschappij* (Netherlands New Guinea Petrol Company).

145 See introduction to Part Two (p.89-92) as to why 'Freeport' is used.

No. 1/1967 (Mealey 1996: 81-84; Premdas 1985).[146] Under the contract Freeport was given mining rights for thirty years within a 100 km² concession. Under Indonesian law natural resources are considered national wealth and an Indonesian Contracts of Work, established under the 1967 Mining Law, makes no provision for the compensation or welfare of local communities (Osborne 1985: 119). For the Papuans, the establishment of this mine involved considerable changes. The ore mountains are located on the land of the Amungme people, while other Freeport constructions are situated on Kamoro land. In the Highlands, a 101-kilometre road was constructed together with a town with houses, schools and recreation facilities – Tembagapura – to house Freeport staff and their families. In the Kamoro region, Timika (now Timika Pantai) became the base for bringing in materials and tools, because of the presence of a landing strip constructed during Japanese occupation in World War II.[147] Eventually, in 1970, a port was constructed along the Kamoro coast (Amamapare or Portsite) and the airstrip in Timika was abandoned. After three years of intensive infrastructure development, the area was ready to be mined. The strong link between Freeport and the Indonesian political authority was clearly expressed at the mine's inauguration in 1973. During the dedication of Freeport's mining town of Tembagapura ('Copper gate'), President Suharto renamed the province Irian Jaya or Victorious Irian (Mealey 1996: 49). As Leith (2001: 11) writes: 'President Suharto put Freeport to good political use. To all intents and purposes it became a quasi-state organisation for Jakarta in West Papua as the principal developer and administrator of its project area and surrounds'. Mining operations began, helped by a three-year tax break.[148]

With an average exploitation of more than 16,000 tons of ore per day, *Ertsberg* would only be a short-term project. Later other ore bodies were found and exploited, but were smaller in size.[149] By the 1980s, the mining activity seemed to be approaching its end. However, in 1988 the American geologist, David Potter, revived the company's fortunes through his discovery of the immense copper-gold ores in *Grasberg* (Dutch for

146 A COW is more profitable than a mining license. The latter is a 'step by step' permit involving more government control; a COW covers the whole spectrum of activities. In contrast to a maximum of 5,000 hectares under a mining licence, the area covered by a COW is unlimited. Companies are also allowed to import the materials needed to develop the mines and legal assurances for the investor are also included (Sudradjat 2000).

147 Timika Pantai (also known as Timuka) literally means 'Coast Timika' to distinguish it from present-day Timika.

148 In the early 1970s, the Indonesian government demanded a 10% share in the mining operation (Leith 2001: 10). Later the Freeport Company would frequently be Indonesia's largest tax-payer. For more information, see Leith (2003).

149 In 1975, the ore body *Gunung Bijih Timur* (GBT: 'East Ore Mountain') was discovered. Later, two nearby zones were discovered: the Deep Ore Zone (DOZ) and the Intermediate Ore Zone (IOZ) (Mealey 1996: 115).

'Grass Mountain', also taken from Dozy's report). As 'the brightest jewel in Freeport's crown' (Mealey 1996: 137), *Grasberg* would make Freeport the largest single gold mine and one of the largest open-pit copper operations in the world. As a consequence of the discovery of *Grasberg* and Freeport's extensions, a new Contract of Work (COW B) was signed with the Indonesian government in 1991, allowing a 30-year access period with 10-year extension options. Freeport now became a large-scale operation in Papua.

1) A history of controversy

Since its inception, Freeport has been in a controversial spotlight in various ways.[150] The International Crisis Group (ICG) mentioned in its 2002 report: 'While Freeport did not create all the problems surrounding the mine and has made an effort since the mid-1990s to put its troubled history behind it, the history of the mine remains for many observers a case study of how not to deal with local people and the security forces' (ICG 2002). For the Amungme, the mountain area exploited by the mine is the home of their ancestral spirits and is the basis of their cosmology. The peaks in particular are regarded as sacred places – never to be disturbed, not by human presence, not by cultivation (Beanal 1997: xxx). Local forms of protest included the placement of wooden crosses as taboo markers by the Amungme when a Freeport team was dropping equipment to establish their presence in the early 1960s, to indicate that crossing was not permitted by the land-owners. In the early 1970s, when local employment at Freeport was reduced on completion of the initial phase of construction, tension arose between the company and Amungme communities, whose protest led to the 'January Agreement' in 1974. Signed by Freeport, Amungme representatives and the Indonesian government, the company was required to compensate the Amungme for the use of their land by means of communal benefits such as the construction of houses and clinics.[151] Between July and September 1977, OPM (Free Papua Organization) treated the Freeport mine as a target and cut the pipeline for the copper concentrate exports, which ran 120 kilometres from the crushing mill to Amamapare on the south coast (Gietzelt 1989: 212). This

150 This overview is not complete and only focuses on the period under discussion (up until 1998). Later developments will be briefly discussed at the end of the chapter. There is an extensive literature dealing with Freeport's controversial issues, including: Abrash (2002); ACFOA (1995); Ballard (2001d, 2002); Kirksey & Harsono (2008); Leith (2003); Perlez & Bonner (2005); Project Underground (1998); Rifai-Hasan (2009). See also Ballard & Banks (2003) for a general anthropology of mining.

151 Beanal (1997: xxviii) notes that the fact that the Amungme did not ask for significant financial compensation, but only for the construction of houses, clinics and schools, expressed the hope for a new life provided by Freeport. Amungme leaders now claim that they were unaware they were giving up permanent rights to their land.

led to Freeport's closure for several days and an increase in the presence of military forces in the Timika region. In October 1990, airport facilities in Timika were burned in protest at the appropriation of land for the construction of a Sheraton Hotel to serve Freeport guests and employees. Similar protests against the appropriation of land occurred in April 1993 (Ballard 1996: 36-37).

In April 1995, the Australian Council For Overseas Aid (ACFOA), a non-governmental consortium concerned with development and human rights issues, released a report, *Trouble at Freeport*, detailing human rights abuses in and around Freeport's area. The violations were committed by the Indonesian military and security forces between June 1994 and February 1995. Accusations aimed at Freeport were that these abuses took place on their site and that the company appeared to have turned a blind eye. Further human rights abuses were revealed in a report by Bishop Münninghoff of the Catholic Church of Jayapura (Catholic Church of Jayapura 1995). The findings in these reports were only superficially investigated, but the international coverage encouraged local people to express their discontent. In March 1996 the Freeport region was disrupted by riots in Tembagapura and Timika, which resulted in the closure of the mine and the airport (10-12 March 1996). Additionally, Tom Beanal, LEMASA[152] and Amungme leader, started a lawsuit against Freeport at the Federal District Court in New Orleans. A similar suit was lodged in the name of Yosepha Alomang at the Louisiana State Court (Ballard 2001b: 12). Both cases mentioned environmental damage and human rights abuses and were dismissed at a later stage. Due to these different forms of unrest, with the riots as the climax, Freeport agreed to undergo social and environmental audits. Freeport also assisted and financed the Australian National University and Cenderawasih University (Jayapura) in their Amungme and Kamoro baseline studies.

Another contentious issue was that the increasing job-opportunities seemed unavailable to local people because Freeport brought in workers rather than training local people. After the March 1996 disturbances in Timika and Tembagapura, people demanded more access to jobs and training. In response, PTFI management made a commitment to double the number of Papuan employees within five years.[153] The PT Freeport Indonesia Board invited new members to represent the local people, such as Tom Beanal, Isaac Hindom, a man from Biak Island who was Governor

152 LEMASA (*Lembaga Musyawarah Adat Suku Amungme*) is the Amungme traditional council; LEMASKO (*Lembaga dat Masyarakat Suku Kamoro*) is the Kamoro council.

153 Organisational changes were introduced to reach this goal. The Department of Sustainable Development was restructured and became the Community Affairs Department, headed by the former rector of the University of Cenderawasih (Kafiar). Within this department, the Office of Irianese Employment (OIED) was established. At the end of 1999, PT Freeport Indonesia directly employed 6,357 people, including 1,244 Papuans.

of Papua (1984-1998), and Titus O. Potereyauw, the Kamoro *Bupati* (Regent) of Mimika (see Freeport-McMoRan 1999).

In general, Kamoro people have been less confrontational and intense in their engagement with Freeport than the Amungme Highlanders. The Kamoro are also more divided in their stance on Freeport.[154] They are more widely distributed than the Amungme population and not all communities are severely impacted by the mine's activities. However, the company's mine expansions after the discovery of *Grasberg* created the need for a large waste deposit site. The Ajkwa River in the Kamoro area was chosen to dump the tailings, the finely ground natural rock left over from the processing of copper ore. It was this decision that led to a need to officially recognise in 1997 the impact of mining activities on the Kamoro people. The great quantity of these tailings resulted in the flooding of the Ajkwa River in 1991. Eventually this led to the construction of a levee to protect Timika. In 1995 it was decided to elaborate and extend this levee-system by constructing a second eastern levee, creating a controlled flood plain, the Ajkwa Deposition Area. The impact of the tailings on the environment remains a contentious issue (Leith 2003: 166-171).[155] The Tipuka and Nawaripi people living along the Ajkwa River in this tailing area were compensated with resettlement in other areas. However, people felt unhappy with this compensation and protested in January 1997. Kamoro people living in the area affected by the tailings submitted a letter to Freeport on behalf of 87 families totalling 300 Kamoro people (Kamoro Protest 1997: 1). For this reason, *Yayasan Sejati* or the Sejati Foundation, an Indonesian NGO, was invited to organise land compensation and recognition. In November 1997, this resulted in a five-year recognition programme for the traditional land-owners, consisting of five villages: Nawaripi Baru, Koperapoka, Tipuka, Wakonapoka (PAD XI area), and three temporary settlements along the Kali Kopi River (Titihalawa 2000: 31). Freeport announced that when mining is completed, the Indonesian government will own the land, but the Kamoro will receive priority in its use. The Ajkwa Deposition Area will be re-vegetated and will become a zone for growing staple crops. Therefore Freeport began training Kamoro people as farmers (PTFI 1998: 19-20). Farming had already been proven unsuccessful in the Kamoro region during Dutch times.

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154 Harple (2000: 204-206) points out that in 1970 the Kamoro presented Freeport and the provincial government with a compensation claim on behalf of the Tipuka community.

155 The toxicity-level of the tailings dumped in the Ajkwa River led to several lawsuits from WAHLI, the Indonesian environmental forum. In 1995, the Overseas Private Investment Corp. cancelled Freeport's $100 million risk insurance policy because of environmental problems, but the issue was resolved in 1996. According to Mealey (1996: 265) 'the issue for Freeport is not one of toxicity, it is one of sheer volume'.

The founding and growth of Timika town also impacted on the life of many Kamoro people. The name Timika is derived from the coastal Kamoro village that Freeport used as a point of entry to the area.[156] Timika was formed when a permanent logistics base was needed for mining operations. The fast expansion of the town led to the decision of the Department of Home Affairs in October 1996 to elevate the eastern half of the Fakfak District (*Kabupaten Fakfak*), to an independent district with Timika as its capital. Today, Timika supports a multicultural population drawn from all areas of Indonesia, an airport and various hotels. Timika is the largest settlement between FakFak and Merauke.[157] It is a town where everything has grown quickly and the main motivational force is the quest for money. The boomtown is now a moneyed town where ethnic tensions are common. Fast growth and urbanization have had significant social and environmental impacts. The Amungme and Kamoro people find themselves outnumbered by other Papuans who have moved in from outside the area. Papuans as a whole are outnumbered by other Indonesians – all drawn by the magnet of opportunity.

III. Freeport as patron

From its birth as a nation-state, Indonesia had readily employed visual imagery in order to convey an Indonesian identity. This was clearly expressed in the abundance of monuments and museums throughout the archipelago, but also in the lavish state rituals and ceremonies commissioned by *Depdikbud*. These tailor-made performances were produced for public consumption and hence needed to be accessible to the various prominent guests for whom they were conducted, while simultaneously conveying the Indonesian image and ideology (Yampolsky 1995: 714). State-sponsored festivals and tours in other countries had a similar goal. Under Sukarno, tours were made to China and the Soviet Union to promote Indonesian culture. Since the 1960s, state-sponsored festivals and tours had been hosted throughout the ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) countries to preserve and develop local art forms. Despite these earlier efforts, Picard marks the year 1983 as the beginning of 'Cultural Diplomacy' (*Diplomasi Kebudayaan*), a catch-phrase launched by the Indonesian Foreign Minister when the fall in oil revenues prompted the government to give international tourism a greater role (Picard 1996: 177). Troupes were sent abroad on 'artistic missions', to promote Indonesian culture, to develop tourism,

156 For more information on the origin of the name Timika, see Harple (2000: 189-192) and Muller (n.d.).

157 It is also almost surpassing Merauke as the town with the highest HIV-percentage in Papua (Mardius 2002). One reason is *kilo sepuluh* ('10 kilometer'), an area of brothels located ten kilometres south of Timika.

to enhance a positive image of a unified and cultured nation, to sell local products or to attract foreign companies. Cultural diplomacy occurred on a large scale when Indonesia promoted itself in the United States with the 'Festival of Indonesia' (1990-91). Composed of several hundred cultural events in some fifty cities, the Festival of Indonesia was organised by a private cultural foundation (*Yayasan Nusantara Jaya*) as a multi-component cultural festival aiming to present a positive image of Indonesia in the USA, and also to increase tourism and business collaboration (Tanen 1991: 369). The Festival of Indonesia promoted an image of Indonesia as artistic and cultured through the display of a great variety of art and cultural expressions. However, Wallis noted that the Festival of Indonesia in essence signalled that the 'country is ready to play ball economically with the United States and that it is vying for preference as a trading partner' (Wallis 1994: 277). Cultural diplomacy is an important tool in promoting nations and their richness in culture, but also in natural resources and potential investments. This large-scale festival employed 'the aura of culture to attract capital' (Wallis 1994: 277). Part of this festival was a four-week tour when Asmat and Dani groups performed in four museums (see Stanley 1998: 13-14).[158] It is interesting to note that it was the Freeport Mining Company that funded the touring Asmat and Dani groups. It was one of the company's first sponsorships of Papuan culture. As an American company in Indonesia, it was important for Freeport to sponsor this festival and strengthen its relationship with the government in Jakarta at a strategic time.[159] Executive Vice-President of Freeport Indonesia, Paul Murphy, disclosed that 'this rather generous level of support for the Asmat was requested by senior GOI [Government of Indonesia] officials during the time that Freeport's revised Contract Of Work was going through government channels for approval' (Paul Murphy, email 17 July 2002).[160]

While culture was on display, economic and political power was the motivation for this sponsorship. Freeport was certainly not the only multinational company sponsoring the Festival of Indonesia, which was considered a risk-free undertaking virtually assuring Indonesian goodwill in other matters. By supporting the Festival of Indonesia, the Freeport Mining Company indicated that the company was willing to play a major role in

158 The four museums where Asmat and Dani dancers performed were: The National Museum of Natural History, The Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC; The American Museum of Natural History, New York; New Orleans Museum of Arts; The Field Museum in Chicago.

159 The company's first official corporate sponsorship of Papuan arts was support for the Asmat Foundation in 1990. Freeport built student dormitories and installed two water wells in Agats, and gave a cash donation of US$5 million to the Asmat Progress and Development Foundation.

160 Now retired, Paul Murphy was Executive Vice-President of Freeport Indonesia and later Senior Vice-President for External Affairs of Freeport-McMoRan, Freeport's US parent company.

supporting Indonesian policy. Lindsay states that there is an 'intricate link between business and politics in Southeast Asia – particularly in countries like Malaysia, Indonesia, and Singapore' which implies that multinationals are expected to support the national policy. Therefore, 'corporate sponsors in South-east Asia support the arts in order to appear as good corporate citizens. ... To be an arts patron is the traditionally expected role of the wealthy' (Lindsay 1995: 664). Chin-Tao Wu's research on corporate patronage in Britain and the United States since the 1980s points out the increase of business involvement in high culture, thereby redefining the boundaries between cultural and commercial institutions. Corporate art collections function 'as a currency of both material and symbolic value for corporations' (Wu 2002: 6). The Festival of Indonesia demonstrated how culture was employed as a common denominator between the Indonesian nation-state and the Freeport Mining Company.

Meanwhile, Freeport began to sponsor cultural programmes in Papua too. The Freeport Irian Jaya Foundation (*Yayasan Freeport Irian Jaya*) was established in 1990 by the mining company to support the 'development' of Papua. The foundation signalled an altered corporate stance towards indigenous people in their working area; a project that was initiated by Doug Learmont. As a mining engineer, Doug Learmont had been associated with Freeport since 1977 and he is considered by his colleagues to have been the first Freeport staff member to have urged the company to pay closer attention to the indigenous people (Amungme and Kamoro) whose lives and cultures the company was impacting. In 1990, his position was twofold: Manager, Community Services and Development, and Executive Director and Manager, Freeport Irian Jaya Foundation. Executive Vice-President of PT Freeport Indonesia, Paul Murphy, recounted:

> *Up until then the corporate attitude … was that companies dealt with the government (Jakarta in our case) and it was up to government to "Take care of the locals". Ten years later what Doug was recommending is standard practice and accepted policy for most responsible corporations, but in the early 1990s it was rather radical advice. I am proud of the fact that I had the good sense to listen to Doug's arguments, and was in a position to change Freeport's overall attitude toward the Kamoro and Amungme.* (Paul Murphy, email 1 July 2002)

From 1990 to 1996, the Freeport Irian Jaya Foundation supported the social and economic development of the local population by emphasising five key areas: education, health, cultural preservation, small-scale economic development and infrastructure. The Kamoro were involved in the 'cultural preservation' branch of the project.

1) Cultural preservation[161]

The Kamoro woodcarving project was in principle instigated by the Indonesian government, following New Order policy. Between 1990 and 1992, the Department of Industry (*Departemen Perindustrian*) began to focus on encouraging the production of Kamoro woodcarvings, aiming to develop a potential market that would result in economic benefits. In practice, this resulted in supplying carving tools and in producing a brief publication on the Kamoro art of woodcarving (Teurupun 1990).[162] *Perindustrian*'s representative of the Fakfak Regency, Zubair Hussein, explained to the regional newspaper, *Tifa Irian*, how they approached the Freeport Mining Company to be sponsors for their Kamoro woodcarving project and how Freeport could help to turn the products into 'trade commodities' and enter an international market (Tifa Irian 1992). Gradually, Freeport's involvement exceeded the role of sponsor and the company claimed a primary position in the project. This role was formalised on 11 March 1992, when Freeport officially propagated itself as *Bapak Angkat* or 'Foster Father' of Kamoro arts and culture, with an emphasis on the 'preservation', 'development' and 'marketing' of Kamoro woodcarving (Roga Pendawa Lima, interview 16 April 2002).[163] The goal was to teach Kamoro woodcarvers how to achieve a cash income through the sale of carvings: 'In addition to preserving unique aspects of a traditional culture, the Foundation's project has the potential to improve the social and economic well-being of the Kamoro people' (PTFI 1994: 5). This aim corresponded with the original goal of the *Departemen Perindustrian*, which had chosen the Kamoro region to be developed economically. In practice, Kamoro carvers were invited to Timika, where they would work on carving commissions.

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161 I initially learned about the cultural preservation project from Kamoro participants and Freeport literature, found in Papua, Jakarta and Australia. At a later stage, I managed to get responses from the (ex-) Freeport staff involved in the project, such as Doug Learmont, Roga Pendawa Lima, Hoediatmo Hoed, and Paul Murphy.

162 This brochure led to several articles in 1993 in the regional newspaper *Tifa Irian* focusing on Kamoro culture: one article discusses the differences between Asmat and Kamoro carvings (Tifa Irian 1993b: 9); while later the spirit pole (*mbitoro*) and the initiation house (*karapao*) were highlighted as Kamoro cultural expressions (Tifa Irian 1993c: 9).

163 This information was given by Roga Pendawa Lima, who worked with Doug Learmont on this project, during an interview in Kuala Kencana (16 April 2002). Learmont gave some additional comments after checking my notes (9 July 2002). This section is a summarised version of their combined information.

One of the first tangible results of the 'Foster Father' project was the creation in 1993 of the 'Kamoro Arts Building' (*gedung seni Kamoro*) in Timika (Figure 18).[164] The fact that the *gedung* was intended to be a centre of Kamoro identity was expressed in the architecture, which resembled a *karapao* feast house. The construction of a *karapao*, which is made of a wooden framework covered with mats, with a thatched roof that slopes down and is supported by wooden poles, takes place in the context of an initiation ritual, when boys are initiated and enter the adult world. The *gedung seni Kamoro* was entirely made of durable wooden planks carved by Kamoro men from different villages. Their wide geographical origin intended to express the cooperative character of the building and the fact that it was a centre for Kamoro from the whole region and not just Timika. During my visit in 2000, some of the designated carvers of the *gedung* explained how the carvings referred to the harvest of sago and the tools used in this practice – as was depicted on the back wall. The main part of the building was covered with motifs that referred to elements from the local environment, such as waves, clouds, sago fruit, fish gills, lizard tongues, and navel motifs. These motifs are usually depicted on *yamate (*so-called ceremonial boards) (Piet Nimi and Jan Samin, personal communication 17 October 2000). The juxtaposition of doors in the *gedung*'s façade also resembled the *karapao* feast house. The doors were made by individual carvers. Jimmy Emeyau from Timika Pantai covered a door with navel motifs (*mopere*), which represent the essence of life. Two doors depicted drums (by Beni Aopateyau from Kokonao and Agus Yakopeyauta from Mimika). The spirit pole (*mbitoro*) on the door carved by Paulinus Yauniuta from Timika Pantai was made to remember recently deceased relatives. A last door (made by Sabinus Ipako from Timika Pantai) represented a war leader (*weaiku*) as expressed in his rattan armband on the upper arm, his barkcloth loin-cloth (*tapena*) and his spear (*uruna*). The frog depicted identifies him as Mapurupiu, a culture hero who was helped by a frog during his journey to the spirit world (Piet Nimi and Jan Samin, personal communication 17 October 2000).[165] The support poles of the *gedung*, in the form of anthropomorphic figures, resemble the depiction of ancestral spirits in *irane* poles that are put in front of the feast house during the *kaware* and *kiawa* feasts (Coenen 1963: 29).[166]

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164 While the local government, through the eastern sub-district head (*camat*), Pak Haurissa, helped in providing the land, Freeport covered the cost of the building construction. While today the building still exists in different form, it no longer functions and is occupied by non-Kamoro families. This section is based on the interview with R.P. Lima (16/04/02) and D. Learmont's notes (9/07/02).

165 All these carvers also sold work during the Kamoro Festivals from 1998 onwards (see Chapters 5 and 6).

166 *Irane* are spirit poles, but differ from *mbitoro* poles in their lack of a wing-shaped extension. *Kaware* is the (male) canoe feast and *kiawa* is the eastern variant of the *emakame* feast, the (female) fertility feast.

Figure 18: Gedung seni Kamoro during restoration, October 2000. The whole façade and doors are now in the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden (photo: K. Jacobs)

The *gedung seni Kamoro* was intended to be concurrently a Kamoro artefact gallery, cultural centre and commercial outlet for Kamoro carvings. In its role as a gallery, the *gedung* stored and displayed Kamoro artefacts. As a cultural centre, it was less object-focused and aimed to document the contexts in and for which objects are created. Texts and images explained Kamoro carvings, colour schemes, traditional food and lifestyle. The yard behind the *gedung* served not only as a working space where carvers produced artefacts and commissions; it was also intended to be used to demonstrate cooking and sampling of traditional foods.[167] In both functions, the *gedung* served as a place of education and preservation – a place where people could learn about Kamoro culture and where cultural knowledge could be transmitted (Doug Learmont, email 27 June 2002). However, the question can be posed as to whether it was educating Kamoro people or Freeport staff members. The roles of both museum and cultural centre were overshadowed and surpassed by the *gedung*'s third function as a commercial outlet. For the Freeport Mining Company, the construction of the Kamoro Arts Building served the broader interests of the Freeport Expanded Infrastructure Project that would involve the establishment of Freeport facilities, which all incorporated Kamoro carvings. Initiated in 1991, Freeport's Expanded Infrastructure Project entailed the expansion

167 Kaeppler (1994) analyses the different roles of indigenous museums and cultural centres in the Pacific and argues that museums are focused on object preservation, while cultural centres enable cultural preservation.

of Freeport facilities; amongst others, a hotel, a golf club and an exclusive town for Freeport employees and contractors. From 1993, Kamoro artefacts were commissioned in the Kamoro Arts Building to decorate these venues. With this project, the 'Freeport as Foster-Father'-programme evolved from sponsorship to art patronage.

2) Patronage or patronising?

There is a wide range of literature on the role of patronage during the Italian Renaissance (*cf.* Hollingsworth 1994) indicating the need to consider this role in a broader socio-economic context. Often patronage is not just philanthropy. Roger Neich (2001: 179), writing on patronage of Maori carving in New Zealand, emphasises the potential impact of the patron: it is the patron who initiates a project, finds the funding, provides the material and who chooses the artists to realise the project. The patron can commission a particular work according to his/her taste and the patron can ultimately accept or reject the work. Control over the artist varies, depending on the social and economic relationship between the patron and the artist. Freeport's socio-economic position as a multi-million corporate business in relation to the Kamoro carvers does not require further explanation. Freeport began its project of 'cultural preservation' with the following goal: 'PT Freeport Indonesia has also sought to be sensitive to the need of the unique peoples of Irian Jaya (Papua) to preserve their cultures at the same time they are merging with modern development' (Freeport-McMoRan 1999: 8). According to Paul Murphy:

> *The support for cultural preservation (which did not and does not require a huge financial commitment compared to the other projects) was merely a logical response to Freeport's growing realization that it had to befriend the local population - as well as keep the Javanese politicians and generals in Jakarta happy. (Paul Murphy, email 17 July 2002)*

In the role of patron, Freeport provided the Kamoro carvers with tools (chain saws, chisels, etc.) and ironwood, similar to mission patronage in the 1950-60s. Several carvings were commissioned in the *gedung* to decorate the four-star Sheraton Hotel, which opened in late 1994 to host Freeport stakeholders, consultants and staff.[168] Freeport commissioned oversized replicas of wooden anthropomorphic figures (*wemawe*), which are displayed in the pond near the hotel entrance, in the hotel and near the swimming pool. When discussing the project, Roga Pendawa Lima mentioned that 'it was the first time they had to produce carvings of such

168 Freeport constructed the hotel, to be managed by the Sheraton Group, and guaranteed daily payment for 50% occupancy of the rooms. The Sheraton Group pulled out in 2009 and the hotel is now known as Rimba Papua Hotel.

a large size' (interview 16 April 2002). Ashtrays incorporating *wemawe* anthropomorphic figures can be found throughout the hotel (Figure 19). Kamoro carvings were also commissioned to decorate 'New Town', a newly established town, which separates Freeport employees from the boomtown Timika. Located in the lowlands, approximately twenty kilometres north of Timika, the area previously served as hunting grounds for the Kamoro people from Iwaka and for Amungme people, who received houses and other improvements as compensation. This exclusive Freeport town, currently known as *Kuala Kencana* (Golden Estuary), opened in 1995 and was the main element of the Expanded Infrastructure Project.[169] As in the Sheraton Hotel, the visitor is welcomed by massive Kamoro *wemawe* figures produced by the *gedung* carvers adorning the entrance and the central roundabout.[170] Kuala Kencana also hosts an internationally recognised 18-hole golf course, *Rimba Irian* (Irian jungle). In addition to creating human figure-shaped ashtrays, Kamoro carvers were asked to carve motifs in the copper lampshades that decorate the club.[171]

Figure 19: Ashtray in wemawe style in the Sheraton Hotel, October 2000 (Photo: K. Jacobs)

The Kamoro artists with whom I spoke had chosen to be involved in the project and willingly adapted their work to the taste of the commissioner and buyer of the work.[172] They had a pragmatic relationship with

169 Apart from two office buildings, Kuala Kencana houses an Indonesian and international school, a recreation centre with olympic-sized swimming pool, tennis courts, squash courts, basketball and baseball fields, an entertainment centre with restaurants, beauty salon, a clinic, a mosque and a church, and shops with international food or objects not found in Timika. A special permit is required to enter the city.

170 In 2010, the original figures were replaced by other *wemawe* sculptures made by a carving team headed by Timothius Samin.

171 Although Tembagapura was built prior to the Expanded Infrastructure Project, in a later stage a 'sculpture garden' was built there with nine *wemawe* figures and a spirit pole (*mbitoro*).

172 The artists I spoke with frequently were: Timothius Samin, Jan Samin, Piet Nimi, Jimmy Nimi, Matthias Take, Jimmy/Jeremias Emeyau, and Beni Aopateyau. Timothius told me he was unhappy with the organisation and administration of the *gedung seni Kamoro*, but he did not oppose the commercialisation of Kamoro art.

their work: to carve is to (try to) earn a living. The latter was not always straightforward. Freeport agreed to assist with the economic development of the Kamoro region as long as this development was not equated with giving money; it needed to be 'sustainable development'. A representative of Freeport (Roga Pendawa Lima) emphasised in a local newspaper article that Freeport is *bukan Sinterklaas*. The company is 'not Saint Nicholas' referring to a typical Dutch annual tradition whereby Saint Nicholas gives children presents on the 5th of December – if the children have been good. 'The foundation aims to teach a society not to become spoiled', but to teach them how to develop their industry (Tifa Irian 1992, my translation). Therefore the initial carvers in the *gedung seni Kamoro* did not receive a salary, but a 'compensation fund', which enabled them to support their families while engaging in specific large-scale woodcarving projects and while learning marketing skills.

In 1993, a shop was opened in Tembagapura. Initially known as 'Arts Centre', later 'Kamoro shop', the shop was open on Mondays and approximately once every three months there were carving demonstrations (Roga Pendawa Lima, interview 16 April 2002). Situated on Freeport terrain, the shop building was owned by Freeport, but local people (Kamoro and Amungme) could display and sell their products: 'The producers of the products defined their own prices, and all money received was returned to the individual producers. Freeport provided all expenses of maintaining and operating the building itself' (Doug Learmont, email 9 July 2002). Due to its location, the potential clientele could only be Freeport staff or visitors.[173] While the market was consequently relatively small, the fact that woodcarving had become a source of income was still emphasised in the media. It was stressed that many of the carvers 'never dealt with so much money' (Tifa Irian 1993a: 9, my translation). Elsewhere it was mentioned that carvings were sold even before they had been made: 'this group [of Kamoro carvers] can rake in as much as 1 million per month' (then circa US$400) (Tifa Irian 1997: 16, my translation). Although the project did provide some Kamoro people with a cash income, the market for carvings remained restricted with no potential for growth.

Kamoro dancers were also asked to perform dances for visitors in all Freeport venues. The fixed dancing groups called upon by the Freeport Irian Jaya Foundation were from several villages: Hiripau, Pigapu, Mapurujaya, Mware, Kaugapu, Paumako (Roga Pendawa Lima, interview 16/04/2002). Hiripau village regularly performed the *Nokoro* dance, which was originally part of the canoe feast (*kaware*). The dance re-enacts a narrative about a man (Nokoropao) who died because his children kept

173 Kamoro carvings were briefly sold in Jakarta in 1994, when an arrangement was made with PT Pasar Raya, a company which operates large department stores in Jakarta, to market Kamoro carvings through its outlets (Hoediatmo Hoed, email 8 May 2002).

the best food for themselves after their mother had died. The dance is a reminder to maintain the rule of reciprocity – an appropriate theme in the context of patronage.

3) Exhibitions in Jakarta

In 1994, the 'Foster Father' project attracted national (and international) recognition through the organisation of two Kamoro exhibitions in Jakarta. The President of the Autonomous Government of Catalonia, H.E. Mr. Jordi Pujol, and the Ambassador of Spain, Antonio Sánchez Jara, visited the Freeport mine in June 1994. Over lunch in Tembagapura, Paul Murphy 'had mentioned the efforts of his company in improving the living conditions of the Aboriginal people in that region in such matters as housing, health, and other areas' – referring to the Freeport Irian Jaya Foundation (Sánchez Jara in Costa 1994: [5]). Antonio Sánchez Jara became inspired to organise a Kamoro exhibition at the Spanish Embassy in Jakarta (11-22 October 1994), co-sponsored by Freeport and Huarte, a Spanish contractor of Freeport, responsible for some Enhanced Infrastructure Projects.[174] The leaflet accompanying the exhibition *Kamoro: Arte Primitivo de Irian Jaya/Kamoro: Primitive art from Irian Jaya*, reveals the diplomatic strategy of the event. Both the Catalonian Minister of Culture, Joan Guitart I Agell, and the Indonesian Minister of Social Affairs, Dr Inten Soeweno, had written introductory messages. While the first mentioned that this exhibition would help in strengthening 'the friendship links of Catalonia with Indonesia', the latter noted that 'culture constitutes the best tool for establishing links as well as strengthening relationships among different nations' (Costa 1994: [2]).[175]

The display in the Spanish embassy was followed by a larger-scale combined Asmat-Kamoro exhibition. *Kamoro and Asmat: traditional woodcarving from Irian Jaya/Kamoro dan Asmat: ukiran tradisional dari Irian Jaya* took place in the lobby of the World Trade Centre in Jakarta (17-30 November 1994) and was organised by PT Freeport Indonesia in co-operation with the Asmat Progress and Development Foundation. This exhibition was timed to coincide with a conference of the delegates of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), including the USA, Australia, New

174 Co-sponsors and organisers were the Cultural Department of the Autonomous Government of Catalonia, the Embassy of Spain, PT Freeport Indonesia and Huarte. Earlier in 1994, Huarte had organised a 'Timika Regatta', a canoe race for non-Papuan and Kamoro people on the man-made lake just south of the Huarte Office at Mile 24 (Warta 1994a: 13).

175 Freeport also has operations in Spain (smelting and refining of copper concentrates).

Zealand, Japan and South Asian countries (12-18 November 1994).[176] This exhibition was considered by Hoediatmo Hoed, PT Freeport Indonesia's President at the time, as 'an eye opener to the general public of the existence of Kamoro carvings' (Hoediatmo Hoed, email 8 May 2002). Juxtaposing Kamoro and Asmat carvings led to many comments about the impressive character of Kamoro art even in comparison with the internationally recognised Asmat objects (Kompas 1994). Six Kamoro woodcarvers were invited to this exhibition: Kasmirius Katayputarau, Timothius Samin, Agus Yakopeyauta, Sabinus Ipako, Matthias Take and Zacharias Mamapuku (Timothius Samin, interview 1 June 2003).[177] They were asked to carve during the exhibition and the finished products were displayed for sale.

These exhibitions are a clear example of cultural diplomacy, whereby culture is employed to support international relations and to support the image enhancement of the organisers. Kamoro artefacts were considered a neutral element in strengthening diplomatic contacts and they formed a key element in symbolising and sustaining communal bonds between the different international parties. Kamoro artefacts also promoted a positive image of the exhibition organisers.

The first exhibition publicised the constructive collaboration between the Spanish Embassy, the Indonesian government and the Freeport Mining Company. Their joint efforts resulted in a promotion of Kamoro culture as an 'old and sophisticated culture'. The second exhibition solely enhanced Freeport's image as a corporation that is devoted to the local people in its working area. Both exhibitions present and entitle Kamoro woodcarvings as 'art'. While the artefacts are considered 'art' rather than 'ethnographics' as they were called during Dutch times, Kamoro art was approached differently in both exhibitions. The first exhibition fixed Kamoro art, while the second aimed to develop it. The title of the first exhibition emphasised the 'primitive' character of Kamoro 'art'. In his introductory message, the Spanish ambassador expressed the 'deep impression' that was made on him 'when contemplating the art work of this people, primitive and isolated in their valleys' (Costa 1994: [5]). Kamoro people live on the southwest coast of Papua, not in valleys. Presumably, valleys are cited to create or enhance the romantic view of an isolated population untouched by modernity. It appears that Kamoro culture was not carefully examined, but nevertheless was assigned as something to be valued and preserved. 'Primitive art' in this context is not a contradiction in terms; the adjective 'primitive'

176 APEC was established in 1989 in response to the growing interdependence of Asia-Pacific economies. This particular meeting in Bogor led to the (Bogor) APEC economic leaders' declaration of common resolve (see APEC website: http://www.apecsec.org.sg). The Bogor Declaration propagated free trade, which was an interesting subject for Freeport (Warta 1994d: 22-23).

177 Roga Pendawa Lima gave me different names of carvers and he could only remember four. I have followed the names that Timothius Samin gave me as he was in the group.

rather suggests that it needs to be treasured. The 'primitive' is cherished here rather than denigrated; it is associated with nature, isolation and an archaic way of life. A 'primitivism' of this kind, is, according to Thomas: 'something more specific than an interest in the primitive: it attributes an exemplary status to simple or archaic ways of life, and thus frequently shares the progressivist understanding of tribal society as an original and antecedent form, but revalues its rudimentary character as something to be upheld' (Thomas 1994: 174). While their harmony with nature expresses their primitiveness, their isolated character emphasises the authentic state of their art.[178] In the exhibition leaflet it appears to be essential to locate the objects within an art-historical discourse whose premises lie in notions of uniqueness and authenticity, as is expressed in the exhibition leaflet: 'Therefore, maintaining the definition that an authentic primitive art is the one which is made by traditional artists for traditional purposes, these pieces are, undoubtedly, authentic ones' (Costa 1994: [11]).

In the second Asmat-Kamoro exhibition the term 'primitive' is replaced by 'traditional'. The adjective 'traditional' is used to highlight the distinct and unique feature of Kamoro identity: 'it is perhaps this self-generating respect for old traditions, and the value systems inherent in them, that constitutes the driving force of the present day Kamoro to still retain their identity' (PTFI 1994: 13). This traditional aspect of Kamoro art is equally valued and cherished. However, rather than pin down this tradition in place and time, it is understood as something to be built upon; to be preserved *and* developed: 'it is in such a spirit that this exhibition is being held, to encourage and motivate the individual artists, as well as the society as a whole, to produce and perfect their art, not only for the purpose of sustaining a living but also for the purpose of upholding a precious and timeless cultural legacy' (PTFI 1994: 13). The role of Freeport (as Foster Father) is situated in this encouragement and motivation of Kamoro artists and culture. The exhibition catalogue promotes the Freeport Irian Jaya Foundation as the benefactor of Kamoro art. The goals of the foundation and particularly of the 'Foster Father' project are mentioned:

> *Researching the Kamoro culture and fostering the development of traditional dances and woodcarvings for presentation to the modern world, is one project undertaken over many years by the Freeport Irian Jaya Foundation as part of its socio-economic development programs. … In addition to preserving unique aspects of a traditional culture, the Foundation's project has the potential to improve the social and economic well-being of the Kamoro people.* (PTFI 1994: 5)

178 Errington (1994, 1998) writes extensively on the subject of 'Authentic Primitive Art'.

The attendance of Kamoro carvers could then be interpreted as part of this image. Since the company wanted to convey an image of a living culture, the presence of 'living people' was necessary. While the foundation received the credit for promoting Kamoro art up to the point that it can be displayed next to Asmat artefacts, none of the individual Kamoro carvers were acknowledged. In the catalogue, this led to captions under photographs such as: 'one of the Kamoro carvers shaking hands with Madame Wardiman after the handing-over of a piece of Kamoro carving as a gift to Minister Wardiman and his wife following the official opening of the exhibition' (Warta 1994c: 14).[179]

These two trends – emphasising the artistic value of Kamoro artefacts and employing Kamoro art/artefacts to convey a positive corporate image – were also present in the other initiatives of the 'Foster Father' project.

By commissioning and exhibiting work, Freeport acted as the patron, the collector and the curator of Kamoro carvings. A collector gathers objects according to his taste, identifies with his collection, and uses it to create a certain image by selectively displaying it. The choice of curatorial options reflects the message the collector wants to convey. In the Freeport buildings, Kamoro objects fit perfectly in their setting, where they can be viewed by Freeport staff, VIPs and visitors. The harmonious integration of Kamoro carvings on the whole suggests the vision of a harmonious relationship between the company and the local people. The objects are mostly enlarged to blend in with their location; their spectacular and artistic character is accentuated. In contrast to the Dutch missionaries, who acted as patrons of Kamoro artefacts in the 1950s and commissioned smaller versions of traditional Kamoro carvings, the emphasis no longer lies on reducing the size of Kamoro objects in order to facilitate their exchange (see Part One), but on the artefacts' gigantic character. The objects were no longer made to be circulated and distributed; now the objects were made to stay, just as the Freeport company was planning to stay (and was expanding its operations). The *wemawe* figures outside the Sheraton and on the roundabout in Kuala Kencana are displayed as parading monuments – their monumental and spectacular character conveying the image of congruous integration to the people who are allowed to visit these premises.

The Sheraton (Rimba Papua) Hotel houses and exhibits more carvings, compared to the other venues, which is the result of several years of fostering and patronage of Kamoro artefacts. The carvings are enlarged

179 A Kamoro carver and a singer were invited to the opening of the exhibition in the Spanish Embassy. Here too, Kamoro art had remained anonymous. According to Sally Price's reasoning, art has to remain anonymous to be able to sustain its status of Primitive Art. If these art forms were to be individualised, their Primitive status and consequently their marketability would disappear (see Price 1989).

and exhibited in a museum-like setting. Lighting is adapted for the outside monumental figures, which enhances the museum or gallery feeling. The objects are tastefully arranged with an emphasis on aesthetics rather than on educative purposes. There are no labels acknowledging any of the work. The *wemawe* figures, drums, spirit poles and shields are beautifully arranged without reference to their previous roles. Their task is to emphasise the image of Freeport as a patron of local artists.

IV. Corporate businesses and the nation-state

The previous section illustrated how the 'Foster Father' project resulted in an emphasis on the aesthetic character of cultural expressions in line with national cultural policy. As much as the national cultural policy tended to aestheticize regional culture, Kamoro culture appeared to be reduced to the arts. The very notion of a cultural policy in itself implies that culture is separated from other policies such as economic policy and foreign policy. Therefore cultural policy does not allow a broad definition of culture; culture is not used as the anthropological (holistic) culture-concept, but is necessarily limited to the level of arts. This section aims to highlight further parallels. Since Freeport sponsored 'culture' in order to be considered a good corporate citizen by central government, the Kamoro project was influenced by the (then prevailing New Order) national policy. Analogy is found both on the level of Freeport's company mission or corporate culture and on the level of projects dealing with Kamoro culture, which will become clear in the description of the following examples.

1) Pancasila and development

On 5 December, 1995, President Suharto unveiled a statue in Freeport's New Town. He used the occasion to rename 'New Town' *Kuala Kencana* (Golden Estuary). Similarly, at the dedication in 1973 of Freeport's mining town of Tembagapura, President Suharto had renamed the province, known at the time as *Irian Barat* (West Irian), as *Irian Jaya*. Ballard writes that there is a clear liaison between the 'power to bestow names and the right to control benefits that flow from the lands' (Ballard 1999: 151). For this reason, he continues, the Amungme population demanded the restoration of the original Amungme names for Tembagapura, Kuala Kencana and the sites of the mine. The central square in Kuala Kencana is divided into four small quadrants by four walkways with a monumental sculpture at the centre (Figure 20). The combination of the four sides of the square and the statue – these five parts – symbolises the five constitutive elements of the *Pancasila*: belief in one God, justice and civilised humanity, the unity of Indonesia, democracy through deliberation and consensus among

Figure 20: Statue by Nyoman Nuarta, central square Kuala Kencana, May 2011 (Photo: K. Jacobs)

representatives, and social justice for all.[180] The approximately ten-metre high copper alloy statue at the centre of the square includes elements of Papua: the central portion consists of four ovoid shapes resembling Asmat carvings; the turtle figures in the middle are similar to motifs found on petroglyphs along the shore of Lake Sentani at Doyo Lama. At the top of each of the four shields stands a human figure, in Asmat style, with arms raised to support two spiralling birds of paradise (Mealey 1996: 334; PTFI 1995: 3; Roper 1999: 80). The sculpture is made by the Balinese artist Nyoman Nuarta, a favourite artist of Ibu Tien Suharto (President Suharto's wife).[181] Later, the statue on the central square inspired the Kuala Kencana

180 *Taman Mini Indonesia Indah* also has a central square (*Alun-alun Pancasila*) referring to the Five Principles that constitute *Pancasila* (Pemberton 1994a: 251).

181 Born in Tabanan, Bali, Nyoman Nuarta graduated from the Bandung Institute of Technology in 1979, where his professional career started by joining the 'Indonesian New Art Movement'. Later he became known for his monumental public sculptures spread over the archipelago (see Roper 2001).

Figure 21: Wooden copy of statue made by Timo Samin, April 2002 (Photo: K. Jacobs)

town administrator, Harry Miarsono to commission wooden copies made by Kamoro carvers (Figure 21).[182] In this way, Kamoro carvers produced objects expressing the cornerstone of national Indonesian policy.

It has already been noted that the New Order government's primary governmental discourse was one of development (*pembangunan*). Therefore, the Indonesian government created *Taman Budaya* (literally: culture park/garden) as a place to develop culture, which was restricted to arts.[183] In order to spread the state aesthetic, *Depdikbud* regularly organised festivals in these culture gardens. In Papua, the Jayapura Art Festival or 'Expo' was held annually in *Taman Budaya Irian Jaya*, the cul-

182 Harry Miarsono was appointed in 1996, when the official 'Foster Father' project ended. He informally kept in touch with some of the carvers involved (mainly with Timothius Samin from Iwaka and Kasmirius Katayputarau from SP 2). Miarsono also wrote a book about the development of the Mimika Regency (Miarsono 2002).

183 Based on annual *Depdikbud* reports, Soebadio's work on Indonesian cultural policy discusses *Taman Budaya* under the section 'development of the arts' (see Soebadio 1985: 35-41).

ture park in Jayapura, in early August during the build-up to Indonesian Independence Day celebrations. Roper (1999: 49-50) writes that this festival (started in 1992) was a series of judged competitions in arts, dance and music. 'Expo' mainly was a 'development exhibition' established to invite representatives of each *kabupaten* (regency) to demonstrate progress (Tifa Irian 1997: 16).[184] The Freeport Irian Jaya Foundation sponsored Kamoro carvers to attend this festival between 1992 and 1997. Freeport also sponsored the construction of the pavilion of the Mimika Regency. Doug Learmont explained: 'Freeport's primary interest, as you would expect, was to display its project and the benefits the project brought to the region, and that is where we who were involved with Freeport spent most of our efforts' (email 20 September 2002). However, Kamoro art was incorporated as an important feature. In this sense, the Freeport pavilion embodied cultural continuity as well as industrial achievement and technological modernisation. The emphasis on development was not solely exhibited in the Expo pavilion, which was part of a project organised by the Indonesian government, but also in the 'Irian Jaya Room', which was another Freeport undertaking.

2) Unity in Diversity: the Irian Jaya Room

Between 1994 and 2007, the 'Irian Jaya Room' in the Sheraton Hotel, Timika, provided information about the Freeport company and the region in which the company was working.[185] One half of the room was filled with Kamoro carvings made in the *gedung seni Kamoro*, while the other section exhibited pictures and texts explaining the mining operations, and a small scale-model of New Town/Kuala Kencana in its initial stage. The wall displaying the pictures of the mining operations was mainly filled with an arrangement of illuminated portraits of people wearing a distinct costume, either a traditional garment or a miner's outfit. The composition recalled the posters, widespread throughout Indonesia, that show portraits of people of the whole archipelago following the *nusantara* style of display typical for New Order cultural policy.[186] Just as provincial museums in Indonesia offered comparisons between the different provincial cultural forms, these posters displayed one cultural form and how it differed in each province. For example, a poster can show variations in costumes per province by showing pictures of people wearing provincial costumes.

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184 Similar activities took place during the Fakfak Expo, albeit on a smaller scale. Before 1996, Freeport was situated in the eastern sub-district of the Fakfak Regency and Freeport had sponsored the construction of the Mimika pavilion.

185 In 2007, the Room was completely refurbished and changed into a 'Freeport Information Center' where information on Freeport's activities is displayed amidst carvings by named Kamoro carvers.

186 For more information on the '*Nusantara* concept of culture', see Taylor (1994: 71-90).

Similarly, the portraits in the 'Irian Jaya Room' demonstrated the variety of people assembled in one place; all working for, or involved with, the same company. One frame of the illuminated signs displays the following information:

> *P.T. Freeport Indonesia is providing agricultural, housing, health care, and educational opportunities to the people of Irian Jaya [Papua]. These programs are in support of and consistent with the Government of Indonesia's objectives in this area. These programs are provided at many levels for a wide range of people. They will provide the education and experience basis needed to develop, compete, and live productively in a rapidly modernizing nation and world.*

Here it was literally stated that the mining company follows Indonesian policy, particularly the focus on development. The illuminated signs as a totality denoted that Freeport staff are a mixture of cultures, nationalities and religions who live and work together and are all unified into the proverbial 'imagined community' (Anderson 1991). In this sense, the juxtaposition of different portraits could be considered as referencing the national 'unity in diversity' ideology. Remarkably, there was no picture of a Kamoro person in the portrait composition (while Highlanders are portrayed). Nevertheless, a Kamoro presence was depicted by means of Kamoro artefacts, as it is in the Sheraton Hotel, as a totality. Although the presence of Kamoro artefacts in Freeport buildings expresses the acknowledgment of a Kamoro culture and identity, it appears to be limited to art objects: 'Indeed, it is not an exaggeration to say that the most outstanding manifestation of the Kamoro identity is their woodcarving' (PTFI 1994: 11). As Karp & Kratz (2000: 221) note: 'While some products of other cultures become assimilated into the domesticating contexts of the exhibitionary complex, the people of those cultures often remain exoticised, objects rather than participants'.

The Kamoro artefacts form the 'cultural' element. The use of Kamoro artefacts by Freeport resembles a cultural construction similar to a nation-state that wants to define itself by creating national emblems and a national culture. Belk (1995: 116) states that through 'corporate collecting' and the display of these corporate collections in offices open to the public, 'the firm enhances corporate morale, builds public and community prestige and support'. Both the 'Irian Jaya Room' and the Sheraton Hotel exemplify how Freeport uses Kamoro art to define itself. They integrate Kamoro art in their buildings to emphasise a putative equilibrium between all the involved parties. As Belk (1995: 117) notes: 'Such collections do for corporations what museums do for municipalities and nations'. In this way, the room as a whole referred to the 'unity in diversity' approach. As is the case with the national policy, this unity in diversity did not equal

multiculturalism, but rather involves the aestheticization of difference. The 'Irian Jaya Room' celebrated a rather narrowly defined version of cultural pluralism, particularly as expressed through objects validated as art. This room, together with the other Freeport patronage projects, was an illustration of how a collection can be used to communicate and convey a certain image by its selective display. Freeport defined and imagined itself (as a nation-state does) as a community in culturalist terms. This use of culture to portray an image of a nation-state revealed many similarities to Indonesia's cultural policy. In both cases the display of aesthetisiced objects was used for image enhancement. While such occasions were used to strengthen diplomatic ties, the improved image of the organisers (whether the Republic of Indonesia or the Freeport Mining Company) also attracted capital (whether tourists or potential investors).

3) Nation-state responsibility?

The Freeport Irian Jaya Foundation and the associated 'Foster Father' project ended in 1996, which was a turbulent year for the mining company culminating in riots and the closure of the mine for several days. The company underwent social and environmental audits, by Labat-Anderson, Inc. and Dames & Moore respectively, and decided that the Indonesian government should take over the lead in development programmes, which needed to be based on dialogue between the three parties involved: PT Freeport Indonesia, the Indonesian government and the local people (recommended by Labat-Anderson in 1997). As a result, the Freeport Irian Jaya Foundation was abandoned in favour of the 'Freeport Fund for Irian Jaya Development', or the 'One Percent Fund', instituted in April 1996 after the violence of March. Through the 'One Percent Fund', 1% of Freeport's gross revenues went to the local people in their working area. This money was divided to be invested in development programmes, such as local health centres, houses and other services. In particular, the continuation of malaria control, public health programmes, training and scholarships, which would be funded out of the 'One Percent fund' (Labat-Anderson 1997: 3-1-1). In June 1996, the seven ethnic groups (*suku*)[187] that were entitled to be recipients were encouraged by the government to form foundations (*yayasan*) to serve as the administrative-legal unit for channelling the 'One Percent fund'. Tom Beanal (1997: xxix), LEMASA and Amungme leader, argues that the Fund is a typical example of Freeport's 'Fire Extinguisher' approach, whereby solutions are only offered after major problems and 'they use bribery to settle the protest'. At the end of

187 These seven groups are: Amungme, Kamoro, Moni, Lani/Western Dani, Nduga, Me/Ekari and Damal. Originally, only the Kamoro and Amungme, who are the landowners, were to receive this fund, but the other groups demanded a share. See also Cookson (2008: 186-190).

1998, the Freeport Fund for Irian Jaya Development (FFIJD) was replaced by the *Lembaga Pengembangan Masyarakat – Irian Jaya* (LPM-IRJA) or the People's Development Foundation – Irian Jaya. Its Board of Directors is made up of the local *Bupati* (Regent), an Amungme and a Kamoro representative, members of the three local churches and a PTFI staff member who oversees the disbursement of available funds (Freeport-McMoRan 1998: 9). In 1999, the Community Liaison Office (CLO) was set up to bridge the gap between Freeport and the indigenous communities and to establish a much needed dialogue (Titihalawa 2000: 37).

The Foster Father project was abandoned, but the Kamoro Arts Building continued to exist, albeit not without its difficulties. Originally from Kiyura village (Kokonao), Timo(thius) Samin moved to Timika in 1992 to become a professional carver. He was involved with the carvings for the Sheraton and later became part of the '*gedung* team'. However, in 1998 Timo left the *gedung* in anger, fed up with constantly being blamed for taking control. Being a sales point for carvings more than anything else, the *gedung* lacked a leading figure. He ended up always being the one bringing in the contracts, which led to envy amongst his fellow carvers. He began his own carving group (*sanggar*) called *Maramo Ndikiamareta* near Iwaka (Timothius Samin, personal communication 12 April 2002). Eventually, the Kamoro Arts Building stopped functioning. In 2000, the front of the building was replaced with plain wooden planks. Dirk Smidt, Oceania Curator of the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden, collected the front of the house for the museum.

A general trend after the 'Foster Father' project was the establishment of cultural groups. Both a *sanggar* (workshop)[188] and a *kelompok* (group, cluster) comprise people who gather for cultural events. The creation of these groups and workshops had already been encouraged through the 'Freeport as Foster Father' project.[189] The dance group in Hiripau was also formed to perform dances in the Sheraton. When Freeport abandoned the project, the creation of new groups continued. Kelompok *Ndaiti* (Kamoro for ancestor), for example, comprises 24 men and 22 women from Timika Jaya (SP II) and Karang Senang (SP III). Some of these members are skilled as woodcarvers, while others are dancers who regularly perform during

188 Literally a *sanggar* refers to a physical building, but here it is used in the sense of a workshop.

189 From the beginning of the project in 1992, for instance, four carving groups were formed totalling 44 members: *Kelompok Timika* (4 members) led by Vincen Maramku; *Kelompok Mapurujaya* (30 members) led by Thobias Rettob; *Kelompok Mimika Barat* (10 members) spread over Kokonao (led by David Nawiyuta) and Ipaya (Ipiri and Yaraya) led by Yulius Tumatipia (Tifa Irian 1992).

events in Kuala Kencana.[190] These *sanggars* are approached with further commissions. The incorporation of Kamoro carvings in Freeport buildings had inspired Freeport contractors to decorate their sites. However, only one carver, Timo(thius) Samin, makes his living entirely from carving. He continues to receive orders from individuals and government representatives.

Freeport had to review its approach when the era of *Reformasi* (Reform Movement) began in 1998. President Suharto was forced to resign on 21 May 1998, giving in to nationwide protests. Since then, several presidents have followed – each with varying stances towards Papua, resulting in a number of disputes relating to Papuans' increasing aspirations for independence.[191] In 2000 a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) concerning socio-economic resources, human rights, land rights and environmental rights was signed by Tom Beanal as representative of the Amungme Foundation (LEMASA), the Kamoro Foundation (LEMASKO) and PT Freeport Indonesia (PTFI) (see MOU 2000). However, the mine continues to be in a controversial spotlight, sometimes resulting in disastrous consequences for members of Freeport staff. On 31 August 2002, three teachers (two American and one Indonesian) working in the Freeport school in Tembagapura were shot dead and several others were wounded in an attack by unidentified armed men on the Freeport road at mile 62-63.[192] While the Indonesian security forces blamed OPM, suspicion arose that it was a strategic move by the Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI) to maintain their presence in the Freeport mining area, which is increasingly subjected to critical scrutiny. Under international pressure PTFI admitted in March 2003 that 'protection money' was given to the Indonesian military and police, particularly after the riots of 1996 (Jakarta Post 2003c).[193] Eventually, Freeport's shareholders asked the company to improve its international social and human rights policies. In 2005, the International Center for Corporate Accountability (ICCA) conducted an independent Human Rights Audit and reported that human rights abuses might ap-

190 Other groups have been formed, mainly in the Timika area and in Kokonao: the group formed in Sempan Barat (Timika) that consisted mainly of people from Timika Pantai is led by Piet Nimi; in Nawaripi Baru, a group is led by Matthias Umuriku; in Kokonao village, the group led by Beni Aopateyao is the only one left of the Bapak Angkat-project, but there also is one in Mimika village (led by Yakob Itokopeyauta) and in Migiwiya (led by Sabinus Kauti).

191 Providing a full overview of these changes lies outside the scope of this book. See Sumule (2003), Timmer (2005, 2007), and Widjojo (2008) for more information.

192 The custom of referring to geographical locations by 'mile' became widespread with Freeport's presence (Mile zero is near the coast in the Tipuka Channel off Yamakupu; Mile 62 is situated on the road leading to the mine and is for Freeport access-only).

193 US$ 5.6 million was paid to the military in 2002 and $4.7 million in 2001. For press coverage on the 2002 attack on Freeport staff, see Jakarta Post (2002b, 2002c, 2003a, 2003b, 2003d).

pear to have stopped, but the company should still improve staff training programmes on human rights, and oversee the correct distribution of the One Percent Fund. ICCA did not look into environmental abuses and critics pointed out the close association in Papua between the environment and human rights (Hills & Welford 2006: 111-112). In 2006 the Indonesian government requested Freeport to improve its environmental record, based on a report by WAHLI, the Indonesian environmental forum (Rifai-Hasan 2009: 135; WAHLI 2006). In October 2011, a Freeport employee was shot dead during the months-long strike against the company demanding higher wages. The company continues to struggle with negative imaging. Today Freeport is one of Indonesia's biggest tax payers and foreign investors in Indonesia, but 'all of that money has yet to buy Freeport the reputation it needs in Papua' (Vaswani 2011). Each political alteration has forced Freeport to evaluate its position in the Republic. In general, the company has decided to transfer more responsibility to local government with regard to development programmes. However, Freeport did decide to continue to sponsor Kamoro arts. This resulted in the establishment of the Kamoro Arts Festival, which took place annually between 1998 and 2006.

Chapter 5

Kamoro Arts Festival

Between 1998 and 2006, PT Freeport Indonesia and (nominally) the Kamoro Foundation (LEMASKO) with the local government, sponsored the Kamoro Festival, aiming to revive Kamoro culture.[194] This chapter focuses on the Kamoro Arts Festival as a venue for the representation of Kamoro culture.[195] The development of the festival is narrated with a particular focus on the 2001 Festival. Thereafter the Kamoro Arts Festival is analysed as a forum of revival and (self-)representation by examining the three constituents of a festival: the organisers, the participants and the audience.

I. Kamoro Festival: the beginnings (1998-2000)

The first Kamoro Festival in 1998 was a four-day event (22-26 April) during which canoe races, dances and an art auction were held. The format of the festival had been inspired by the neighbouring Asmat Festival, which was initiated in 1981 by the Roman Catholic Crosier Mission.[196] In the late 1960s, Father Alphonse Sowada, OSC, had been involved in a project set up by the 'Foundation of the United Nations for the Development of West Irian' (FUNDWI) that focused on economic development through the marketing of Asmat carvings.[197] In 1969, after his appointment as Bishop of the new Diocese of Agats (Asmat), Sowada took the initiative to build the Asmat Museum of Culture and Progress in Agats, which opened officially on 11 August, 1973. In 1976, the Museum organised an art contest for primary school children, who were asked to create a carving and write a short essay on a chosen aspect of Asmat culture. After five years, the carving contest was organised for adults and the Asmat Festival

194 LEMASKO is the abbreviation of *Lembaga Adat Masyarakat Suku Kamoro* (the organisation of Kamoro traditions); the local government is *Pemda Mimika* (*Pemerintah Daerah Mimika*).

195 There was no festival in 2004. While research was done on all festivals, I was present at the 2000, 2001, 2002 and 2005 Festivals. The 2005 Festival was the last one. The festival ended because Freeport stopped sponsoring and organising the event, see Chapter 7.

196 See Konrad (1996), Schneebaum (1993), Sowada (2002) and Stanley (2002b, 2011) for information on the Asmat Festival.

197 OSC indicates that Father Sowada was a member of the Crosier Mission.

was born.[198] Each year, carvers produced woodcarvings for the festival, of which a selection was chosen as the 'winners'. The latter were displayed in the Asmat Museum; the other carvings were sold at auction. The possibility of receiving generous prices for carvings or a place of honour in the museum attracted the participation of a considerable number of carvers each year. During the 1990s, PT Freeport Indonesia began to co-sponsor the event and brought in guests and buyers, which marked a renewed stimulus.[199] Today the Asmat Museum exhibits artefacts according to geographical distribution and the winning entries at the Asmat Festival show the development in Asmat carvings.[200]

As a regular visitor to the Asmat Festival, Paul Murphy, responsible for Freeport's external and public affairs, invited Kal Muller to organise a similar festival in the Kamoro area with the help of an organising committee (*panitia*) consisting of Kamoro people. Not only was Muller experienced in Indonesia as a travel writer and photographer, he had already worked for Freeport as a consultant and was familiar with the Freeport bureaucracy.[201] Kal Muller visited the 1997 Asmat Festival with a group of Kamoro carvers in order to familiarise them with the forthcoming festival. Kal Muller's subsequent task was to stimulate people's enthusiasm through the so-called *sosialisasi* process during which most Kamoro villages were visited in order to announce the upcoming event.[202] The festival's fundamental goal of promoting Kamoro culture was explained and Kamoro participants for the various festival components were invited. The number of dancers was restricted to fifteen, while eight people were allowed to compete in the canoe races. Only five woodcarvers per village could bring their carvings and women were encouraged to bring plait-work (Kal Muller, interview 4 May 2001). In addition, Kooijman's book on Kamoro art (1984) was distributed. The latter was, according to the organisers, 'not so much to encourage making copies but for inspiration as to the quality of carvings of their ancestors which, we hoped, could be approached today and reached if not surpassed in the future' (PTFI 2000a: 16). Similar to the Asmat Festival, the sale of alcohol was strictly forbidden during the entire event. An important difference from the Asmat Festival, however, was that

198 Bishop Sowada had suggested that children are the 'receptors of culture rather than the purveyors' and therefore the skills of the master-carvers required preservation (Sowada 2002: 59). As it turned out, the children's fathers had already been making the carvings for the children's contest.

199 The Freeport Mining Company also helped to redesign and expand the museum in 1994.

200 The Asmat Festival continues to be held. The 2011 Festival did not receive any non-Asmat visitors and it remains to be seen what the impact will be on the event.

201 For instance, he ghost-wrote a book (Mealey 1996) narrating Freeport's history in Papua.

202 This *sosialisasi* process would be repeated each year: a few months before the festival, members of the Festival's Organising Committee (*panitia*) travelled to the Kamoro villages to officially invite a number of participants, to explain changes planned for the next festival and any problems that occurred during the last one.

all the invited Kamoro participants received money for transport to the festival ground, accommodation and food (PTFI 2000a: 18).

The first *Kamoro Kakuru Ndaitita* (literally: Festival of Kamoro Lifeways) took place from 23 to 27 April, 1998.[203] The Indonesian title for the event, *Pesta Budaya Kamoro*, translates as Kamoro Cultural Festival. As this festival was organised as an event for the Kamoro people and not for outside visitors, a Kamoro-friendly location was chosen. Hiripau village, located on the Wania River and about 20 kilometres southwest of Timika, was easily accessible by canoe, but also by road for the Kamoro people living in Timika.[204] The 1998 Festival was claimed to be the first celebration that covered the entire territory of the Kamoro people.[205] The Freeport newspaper *Berita Kita* mentioned: 'Never before had so many members of the coastal population come together for the purpose of celebrating their culture, with an ultimate goal of increasing cultural pride' (Berita Kita 1998: 1). The festival comprised a dance competition, canoe races, and an art auction, during which a select number of artefacts were sold to a group of invited non-Kamoro visitors. These visitors consisted predominantly of Freeport staff based in Papua, Jakarta and New Orleans, together with the core organisers of the Asmat Festival. In general, the visitors were pleasantly surprised by the enthusiasm with which the various components were performed by the Kamoro participants. Roper writes: 'In the course of the dance competition and the art auction, art forms rarely or never before seen in Mimika appeared' (Roper 1999: 89).

While the first Kamoro Festival was considered a success by the visitors, the initial days of the festival had been marked by riots among the Kamoro people, that threatened to end the festival even before the main events could take place. According to Harple, the riots were a result of some groups' reaction against not receiving the housing or the food they had been promised by the organising committee, which resulted in an assault on the person responsible for providing food. Apparently, this incident had been exacerbated by earlier tension concerning the political choice of the Kamoro Festival Chairman and the manner in which the festival land had been obtained (Harple 2002: xvii). Muller describes these problems as beginners' mistakes. The festival had attracted a considerably

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203 The term *ndaitita* will be explained later in this chapter. After 2000, the name was shortened to *Kamoro Kakuru*.

204 Hiripau was settled at this current location in 1982 with the government-sponsored AMD-programme, a resettlement programme in conjunction with the Armed Forces. They moved from their old site 'Waniahiripao', close to the site of present day Paumako (Kamoro Baseline Study 1998: 106).

205 This was already claimed by the Roman Catholic Mission (see Part One). The 'entire territory of the Kamoro people' denotes the villages within the Mimika Regency (*Kabupaten*). The three Kamoro-speaking villages to the west of the Regency were not invited (PTFI 2000a: 5).

larger number of Kamoro people than expected, who all claimed food and accommodation, while the limited budget forced the committee to restrict these facilities to the number of officially invited participants (Kal Muller, interview 4 May 2001).

The uncertainty of the presidential elections in 1999 led to the second festival taking place in Timika outside the *gedung seni Kamoro*. The 1999 Kamoro Festival (October 14-17) was generally smaller in scale: fewer villages had been invited and fewer participants could take part. While the auction of carvings was considered a success, the disappointing sale of 'female work' such as bags, mats, and plaited clothes led to the decision to exclude these from the auction during the 2000 Festival (Kal Muller, personal communication 18 April 2002). No canoe races could be held due to the festival's location. Instead, a competition of traditional dress and decorations was organised. Due to the presence of these circumstantial restrictions, the second festival was not designated as *Kamoro Kakuru* (Kamoro Festival), but only received the Indonesian title: *Pameran Budaya Kamoro* (Kamoro Cultural Exhibition) (PTFI 2000a: 27).

From 2000, Pigapu village – located on the Wania River and about 47 kilometres southwest of Timika – was chosen as the permanent location for the Kamoro Festival. Pigapu had only recently been established at this current location after a history of several migrations.[206] In return for using Pigapu land, a long-term reciprocity (*aopao*) project was started, whereby the village received new infrastructure and other material benefits from the festival's organisers.

From 12 to 15 October, 2000, the third Kamoro Arts Festival was a four-day event during which hundreds of Kamoro people gathered to celebrate their culture in the form of canoe races, a dance competition and an art auction.[207] While the Indonesian title for the event was *Festival Adat Kamoro* (Festival of Kamoro Tradition), the English title provided in the festival booklet simply was 'Kamoro Festival', which is a literal translation of *Kamoro Kakuru*, the Kamoro name for the festival (PTFI 2000b). During the first two festival days, the objects that would be sold at auction were selected from the abundance of artefacts that were brought to the festival ground and there were preliminary heats of the canoe races and the first rounds of the dance competition. The festival reached its climax on

206 Originally Pigapu was located near its current setting, but in 1951 the Pigapu people were moved to the more eastern village of Mware where they formed Mwapi (*Mwa*re and *Pi*gapu). Due to tensions, Pigapu moved to the coast, but was reunited with Mware in 1980 as part of an Indonesian migration programme (AMD). New problems with Mware caused Pigapu's move to their current setting in 1998, where they received official village status in 2000 (information from village head, Longinus Kemaku, 14 April 2002).

207 In 2000, a total of 56 groups (including villages, transmigration sites and carving groups) came to the festival: many (but not all) Kamoro villages. Ten members were officially invited, but often more Kamoro people came.

the last two days, when non-Kamoro visitors attended the auction and the finals of both the canoe-races and the dance competition took place.

II. The fourth Kamoro Arts Festival: April 26-29, 2001

The fourth Kamoro Arts Festival also aimed to revive Kamoro culture in the form of an auction, dance performances and canoe races. However, before the 2001 Festival could begin, a whole list of last-minute enterprises required completion. In order to give the VIP guests a pleasant experience, the road leading to the festival ground had to be repaired by volunteers from Petrosea and GSBJ (two companies who work as contractors for Freeport). The inhabitants of Pigapu village were in charge of decorating the festival's main building, firewood had to be collected for the Kamoro visitors, and women plaited sleeping mats.[208] The main task was the construction of the temporary houses for the visiting Kamoro participants. However, as more than the officially invited number of people arrived, space quickly ran out and people immediately began building a *kapiri kame*.[209] These temporary shelters, made either from pandanus leaves or from plastic, are built during fishing or sago gathering trips. They had been described by expedition members in the early twentieth century (Wollaston 1912: 60-62; Rawling 1913: 49). The fourth festival was entitled in the accompanying booklet in Kamoro language as *Kamoro Kakuru* and in English as the 'Kamoro Arts Festival'. The festival was formally opened on 26 April by the *Bupati* (Regent), Titus Potereyauw. Speeches were given by the *Bupati* as representative of the local government (*Pemda Mimika*), and by Yakobus Owemena as the head of LEMASKO, Kal Muller, and Moses Poterpau, who was the appointed head of the 2001 Festival's Organising Committee (*panitia*).

1) The selection process

During the first two festival days, there were preliminary heats of the canoe races, the first rounds of the dance competition and the selection of objects to be sold at auction. Each year, a number of artefacts needed to be selected from the large quantity of objects that was produced for the festival. The selection was primarily done by the Festival Organiser, Kal Muller. He justified the fact that he was the judge, and not Kamoro people, by stating that otherwise too many conflicts would arise. He claimed

208 In order to divide the tasks (and the money that can be earned) firewood was collected by people from Watae (Lopon Atas), the closest settlement to Pigapu. They also helped with building accommodation and making mats.

209 In 2001, a total of 62 groups (including villages, transmigration sites and carving groups) came to the festival. Groups of ten members were officially invited, but often more Kamoro people came.

that local judges would either not choose for their village, for fear of being accused of partiality, or else they would choose from their own village and everyone else would get upset. Moreover, he argued that because he had been an art dealer, he had an eye for quality and in this way he could guarantee that people would get value for money (Kal Muller, interview 4 May 2001). During the selection days, Kal Muller visited each village's temporary accommodation where objects were displayed waiting to be selected. Before choosing, Muller ensured that all the participants had arrived from each particular village in order to give everyone an equal chance. To guarantee fairness, Muller also ensured that he picked at least one artefact from each village, although he claimed that this was not always a straightforward task, because some villages only brought 'firewood'. Not everything was available for selection. Old drums in particular were kept aside during the selection process; these non-commodities indicate that the Kamoro made the first selection.

Objects were selected in nine categories in Kamoro language: *mbitoro* (spirit poles), *mbikao* (masks), *yamate* (ceremonial boards), *wemawe* (human figures), *eme* (drums), *otekapa* (walking sticks), *pekoro* (sago bowls), and two categories that received Indonesian titles: *perahu* (canoes) and *kreasi bebas* or 'free creation'. The last category welcomed new and innovative work and was introduced to 'try to broaden the scope and vision of the Kamoro carvers' (PTFI 2000a: 6). Objects that scored highly in this category during the 2001 Festival were the miniature canoe with a masked figure made by Vincent Amimayauta from Timika and a chessboard made by Petrus Kawane from Migiwiya (Figure 22).[210] Once an object had been selected, a Polaroid was taken and hung on the object bearing the artist's name and village and the category in which the work was to be included. In addition, the jury selected and rewarded the three most representative objects in each of these categories; the winner of the first prize received 1 million rupiah (circa US$100), the second 500,000 rupiah and the third 250,000 rupiah, before the object was auctioned. This prize money, handed out by the festival organisers, served as a 'stimulus given to the improvement of the quality of the carvings' (PTFI 2000a: 6).

With regard to 'female' work, similar prize money was awarded to the three 'finest' (*halus*) examples of three categories: mats, traditional clothes and bags. However, these artefacts would not be sold at auction, but accorded a price that ideally should be paid. Objects that were selected included sleeping mats made from the young leaves of the *Pandanus tecto-*

210 Father Bob Baudhuin, MM, had given Petrus the idea to carve a chessboard (Petrus Kawane, personal communication, 27 April 2001).

Figure 22: Chess board made by Petrus Kawane from Migiwiya, Pigapu 2001 (Photo: K. Jacobs)

rius.[211] The clothing consisted of plaited bodices, aprons, and sometimes bonnets, all made from plaited fibre strips of the *iwa* tree (*Hibiscus tiliaceous*). These bonnets were worn by widows during the mourning period (Wollaston 1912: 114; Pouwer 1954: 51). Grass skirts and skirts made from strips of sago leaves were not considered for selection, because these are worn during the festival. Bags were made in various sizes; the largest examples are used for carrying firewood, for transporting fish, and bivalves. Smaller bags are for sago, while the smallest examples, tobacco bags, have a strong emotional value as these are used as gifts.[212] These 'female objects' were chosen by Mathea Mamoyau, a Kamoro woman from Kokonao who works for Freeport's CLO (Community Liaison Office). Mathea selected a total of thirty works, of which nine objects were chosen as the best in the three categories. The nine women whose work had been selected chose to divide the money and consequently the producers of the thirty selected works in the three named categories each received a share of 150,000 rupiah (28 April 2001).

211 The Kamoro name varies according to the dialect. *Pandanus tectorius* is called *teme* in Atuka and *epenao* in Nawaripi. *Pandanus conoideus* (*mani* in Atuka and Nawaripi) is also used for mats (Muller 2000).

212 Pouwer (1955: 28) notes that bags are made from the *kuri* or *kiiri* tree; Muller (2000) recorded the *Aikako* and *Waurapopo* (*Meao* in Nawaripi) trees in Atuka, but the scientific names of these trees are not yet established.

2) The auction

The festival reached its climax on the last two days, when the auction and the finals of both the canoe-races and the dance competition took place. During these last days, a group of non-Kamoro visitors was officially invited by the Freeport Mining Company to attend.[213] Arriving on the festival ground, these visitors were overwhelmed by the large number of Kamoro people presenting their artefacts for sale. The path leading to the main building was lined with stalls where art objects were on view – none of these objects were selected for the auction, indicating the volume of production. The auction itself took place in the main building, which consisted of an elevated platform covered with a thatched roof resembling a *pendopo* – a Javanese-style raised and covered stage with open sides.[214] In the main building, visitors could get a first impression of the 59 carvings selected for auction. During the first auction day, Kal Muller introduced the public to the auctioneer of the day, Thom(as) Mutaweyao from Nawaripi (originally from Kekwa). The procedure was explained to the visitors: the artist shows his work and the guests can start bidding. When bidding was successful, immediate payment was required. 90% of which went to the artist, while 10% went to the organising fund for next year's festival. Then a picture was taken of the new owner together with the carver to authenticate the event. All the objects were presented and sold in the same way, but there was a major difference between the two days of the auction weekend, indicating the impact of the fact that the guests were invited and not always there out of their own interest. On the first day (28 April), the visitors consisted of a group of friends and colleagues of which a core had previously attended a Kamoro auction. They clearly were interested in buying Kamoro artefacts and their internal competition led to a sort of 'auction fever'. The first object offered for sale, a sago bowl made by Willem Yaniuta from Iwaka, fetched a price of 1,700,000 rupiah (circa US$170), which was an unusually high price for a sago bowl (in previous years bowls sold for an average of 500,000 rupiah or circa US$50). The standard was set and only two artefacts from a total of 19 objects were sold for under a million rupiah.[215] The visitors' competition became gradually

213 The 72 invited guests included Freeport staff from Jakarta and New Orleans, journalists, ambassadors from Great Britain, Spain, representatives of the Australian and the US Embassy, representatives of art foundations, art collectors, and NGO representatives. These guests were divided into groups, with each group visiting the festival one day and receiving a mine tour the other day.

214 Referring to the ancient states of Yogyakarta and Surakarta in Central Java, Cirebon on the northern coast of Java, and Klungklung or several other kingdoms in Bali, the *pendopo* was the chosen architectural form during Suharto's New Order government to become a symbol of the nation-state (Errington 1998: 208-210).

215 These were the boxer figure by Antonius Take from *Sanggar Gedung Seni Kamoro II* (Rp. 500.000/US$50) and the chessboard by Petrus Kawane, from Migiwiya (Rp.900.000/US$90).

more obvious and theatrical until the bids went up by the million. Rather than demonstrating interest in the objects, it appeared that the main goal was to make the final bid. A masked figure made by Alo Atipia from Kokonao received the top price of 8.8 million rupiah (circa US$880). The Kamoro carvers celebrated their enormous success.

The following day, guests were mainly journalists, who were interested in collecting information for their story rather than collecting Kamoro artefacts. The difference in prices from the previous day was starkly obvious. Only one artefact, a drum made by Sabinus Kupakoreyau from Iwaka, fetched above a million (1,150,000 rupiah). Naturally, this resulted in disappointment among the Kamoro carvers who performed that day. The organising committee ended up bidding and buying a variety of the objects offered, for the sake of keeping the event going. The contrast between the two days was most clear in the total sales figures of the two auction days: 19 carvings were sold on 28 April for a total of 58.4 million rupiah (= circa US$5,840), while 22 carvings were sold on the following day for a total of 11.5 million rupiah (= circa US$1,150).

Figure 23: Josef Momorama from Koperapoka presenting his drum during the auction, which sold for 2 million Rp. Pigapu 2001 (Photo: K. Jacobs).

3) Dance performances

The auction was the main event for the non-Kamoro visitors; limited time was allowed to browse the other festival components, such as the dance performances and canoe races. While previously dances had been performed in the framework of a competition judged by a team of Papuans, who assessed according to criteria such as timing, choreography, costumes and body decorations (as 'traditional' as possible), from 2001 there was no longer a dance competition due to conflicts resulting from the outcome of the 2000 competition. The idea of judging dances and choosing a winner failed, because differences between dance groups lacked objective criteria for judgment. Therefore there was an invitation to perform dances in 2001, with the financial reward being evenly divided between all the dance groups. Nevertheless, there were even more dances than the previous year, which demonstrates that Kamoro dancers did not necessarily participate for financial benefits alone. As in previous years, only the name of the performing village was announced. Neither the name of the dance nor any information regarding its content was given to the public, but the Kamoro audience clearly enjoyed the re-enactment of Kamoro narratives.

The dance performance by dancers from Otakwa village (29 April 2001) recounted the narrative of two culture heroes (Aowea and Mbiiminarejao) who instigated a migration from east to west – an historical detail also known as the Utakae War (Figure 24). Before this migration, the Kamoro coast was only sparsely populated, with the majority of people living in the easternmost corner of the Kamoro region (near the mouth of the Mukamuga River). While travelling to the western regions, the culture heroes noticed that the land was better and richer. They decided to return to their own village in order to persuade the people there to migrate to the

Figure 24: Dancers from Otakwa village re-enact the deeds of Aowea and Mbiiminarejao, Pigapu 2001 (Photo: K. Jacobs)

west and drive out the local occupants. In this way, their fellow villagers established themselves in the west.[216]

Due to the removal of restrictions on numbers and timing, dance groups were larger and the dances lasted longer. Having been disqualified during the 1998 Festival because their dancers exceeded the restricted number of participants allowed, Kaugapu village could now perform the 'Ants dance' without limitations (Figure 25). Rather than performing the dance on the stage in the main building, a platform was built outside on which two male dancers climbed via a vine. Children covered in black paint were hidden behind mats under this platform and were crawling over and under each other. In front of the platform two rows of women were dancing. The dance re-enacts a narrative that is linked with the *kaware* (canoe) feast. In this narrative, Opekeremiyanoru departs for the underworld out of embarrassment for sleeping with his sister. There he learns about food and fruits and the *kaware* feast, until he is caught by Miamaremiyanoru, who lives in the underworld and is enraged by his stealing of food. Eventually

Figure 25: Dancers from Kaugapu village perform the 'Ants Dance', Pigapu 2001 (Photo: K. Jacobs)

216 Zegwaard (n.d.a.:84-87) recorded this narrative from Jeremias Iwekatiriuta from Atuka in 1951-52. In Harple's version (2000: 66-69), Aoweao and Mbiminareyao depart for the west to visit their uncle, but he was killed because they had regularly stolen garden produce during previous trips to this region. Back home, the boys revealed the murder of their uncle and described the wealth of the lands in the east. Consequently, they attacked the wealthy eastern region and migrated there.

he is freed by his relatives.[217] During the dance performance, the men on the platform represented these protagonists. Opekeremiyanoru was reciting the names of fruits and trees and food which can and cannot be eaten. He learned this knowledge from a snake that is represented in the vine. The knowledge is passed on to the women who need to know what can be eaten, but they cannot know how the knowledge was obtained. The children, however, represented non-initiates who would learn the full narrative during the next *kaware* feast. Rather than referring to the male protagonists, as it is usually referred to, the dance group had chosen to use the Indonesian name *tari semut* (ants dance), because the dancers show how the Kamoro people work together. They *bergotong-royong*, they 'mutually co-operate', explained the dance leader during a later interview. *Gotong royong* was an important value cherished by President Sukarno. This indicates how Kamoro people adapt their 'tradition' (*adat*) to the prevailing values, while the essence – denoted by the Kamoro term *mapare* – remains the same (Markus Yamaro, personal communication, 14 April 2002).

4) Canoe races

During the canoe races, one canoe per village crewed by a maximum of eight men competed in an 800-metre race on the Wania River. The races were divided into two categories corresponding to regional differences in paddling style. In the western Kamoro region, people paddle in a sitting position, while in east Kamoro paddling is done standing. The competitive character was not only expressed by the energetic efforts of the paddlers – who pushed themselves to the limit to win – but also by the excitement of the animated spectators. Both standing and sitting races were held with two days of preliminary heats before the weekend championship with semi-finals and finals. In order to 'put some money into the ladies' pockets, as this is always spent for family necessities', female canoe races were started in 2001 (Kal Muller, personal communication 24 April 2001). Women performed in sitting and standing races as the men did. Equally similar to the men was the prize money: one million rupiah for the winner, Rp 500,000 and Rp 250,000 for second and third places.[218] Even when the

217 The two culture heroes are called Miyanoru; the prefixes indicate that one is 'from above' (present world) and the other is 'from below' (underworld) (Markus Yamaro, interview 14 April 2002).

218 The standing female races were won by Pigapu (1st), Kamoro (2nd) and Kaugapu (3rd). The sitting female races were won by Kiyura (1), Paripi (2) and Kokonao (3). The male standing races by Pigapu (1), Iwaka (2) and Kaugapu (3). The male sitting races by Yaraya (1), Migiwiya (2) and Paripi (3).

race was unsuccessful, the competitors could still win a prize (1 million; 500,000; and 250,000 rupiah) for the best decorated boat, which was a newly introduced element.[219]

5) Preparation and distribution of traditional food

During the 2001 Festival another new element was introduced: the sampling of the local delicacy of *tambelo* worms and the demonstration of the sago-harvest. A *tambelo* (or *ko* in Kamoro language) resembles a worm, but is a bivalve mollusc that uses its shell to bore into old mangrove trees (Pickell 2001: 206). These roots are cut open and the *tambelo* is taken out and immediately eaten raw. This event was a particular success amongst the Kamoro people, who consumed all the *tambelo* because the non-Kamoro visitors were taking too long with their decision whether or not to join in. In addition, the whole process of producing sago-flour, the basic staple, was demonstrated. By means of a sago pounder, the pith of a sago palm (*Metroxylon* spp.) breaks up into a dry pulp. This pulp is washed and filtered in a trough made from the outer bark of the sago tree.

After the closing speeches by officials, the prize money was handed out for the best work in each auction category, to the winners of the canoe race finals and the participants in the dances.[220] Afterwards, the Kamoro people marked the end of the festival by slaughtering pigs and distributing the meat to be consumed during the final celebrations.

III. Festival as forum for representation

The following section follows Adrienne Kaeppler's argument that a festival is a 'multifaceted communicative event' and 'the message intended by the organizers, the one conveyed by the performers, and the one received by the audiences may differ substantially' (Kaeppler 1987: 162). A festival is an interaction between organisers, actors and audience; it is an encounter whereby representation is an important goal. Admiring or unfavourable reactions from the audience may denote success or failure in the eyes of the performer and may lead to the adaptation of the performance/display to the taste of the outsider**.** The performance is thus the result of the interaction between the participant's own agenda, past experiences in festivals and the expectations of the visitors, combined with the impact of the setting, ambience and organisers' programme (see Bauman & Sawin 1991).

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219 Iwaka village received first prize for their decorated canoe, Aikawapuka came second and Pigapu third.

220 Speeches were given by Yakobus Owemena (LEMASKO), by Moses Poterpau as head of the *panitia* and Charles Kamukopeyao as representative of the *Bupati*.

The initiative to represent Kamoro culture in the framework of a festival was not taken by the local people themselves, but by a company dominating the region. During the first two days, dance performances and canoe races were organised and attended by a Kamoro audience. During the last two days, non-Kamoro visitors arrived to participate in the art auction, while being told that they were witnessing the revival of Kamoro culture. For the Kamoro people these last two days formed an opportunity to earn cash income. The presence of different groups resulted in distinct perceptions of how and what was represented. Therefore, even more important than the question *what* was represented is the question *why*: what was the intention of those doing the representing, what was their agenda? The Kamoro Arts Festival will be examined as a forum for representation by considering the three parties involved in the festival – organisers, participants and audience.

1) Organisers

The term 'organisers' is two-fold: on the one hand, there is the Freeport Mining Company that took the initiative to organise the festival and that continued to have a large impact, while, on the other hand, the responsibility for carrying out the festival was given to an organising committee (*panitia*). Both forms of 'organisers' are examined in this section, beginning with the *panitia*.

a) Panitia

While the responsibility to organise the Kamoro Arts Festival was delegated by Freeport officials to Kal Muller, gradually the Kamoro people, in the form of an organising committee (*panitia*), became more involved in the festival organisation; Kal Muller remained solely responsible for the festival's arts component. Each year, the *panitia* was divided into different sections (*seksi*) in order to share responsibilities under the guidance of a general head. There was, for instance, a transport section, security section, auction section, dance section, canoe race section, consumption section, and so on. Most Kamoro members of the *panitia* were associated with LEMASKO (Kamoro Foundation). The *panitia* published annual 'guidelines' (*panduan pelaksanaan*) summarising ideological and practical visions concerning the festival which should be implemented by the *panitia*. Each year, these guidelines listed the festival's goals and components in addition to the number of people who were allowed to participate in them.[221] These

221 No guidelines were published for the first 1998 Festival. The *panduan* are relatively short, mostly covering a double-sided A4 paper. In this form they are distributed to the villages during the *sosialisasi* process, when villages are invited to the festival. The *panduan* for the 2003 and 2005 Festivals appear not to have been preserved.

guidelines also expressed the *panitia*'s desire to obtain a larger role in the festival's organisation – a desire that grew stronger each year. The following overview of the festival goals, as described in some of the *panduan*, demonstrates the progress of thinking on this issue.

In 1999 the *panduan* mentioned that the 'cultural exhibition (*Pameran Budaya*) was organised to reach two main goals: (1) the creation of an atmosphere of unity, integrity and familial relationships mediated by the Kamoro community, (2) to lift/raise Kamoro culture through the development and preservation of Kamoro culture' (Panduan 1999: 1, my translation). While the second goal evokes reminiscences of national New Order parlance whereby culture needed to be 'improved' and developed, the first aim focused on togetherness and being Kamoro and the ability of 'culture' is stressed as a unifying concept that assures future benefits.

It was mainly from 2000 that the *panitia* was better organised and gained more influence. The 2000 *panduan* proclaims the awareness that the festival has the possibility of being a Kamoro event, if the Kamoro people would engage more in its organisation. The 2000 *panduan* was written by the *panitia* head Apollo Takati, who argues that LEMASKO should be given more responsibility in the festival's organisation. Only then could it result in a true 'Kamoro cultural festival, from preparation to realisation' (Panduan 2000: 1, my translation). However, he continues:

> *The desire to organise [it] in a Kamoro way (pola=model of how something is done) needs to be accompanied by the understanding that it is a festival of Kamoro tradition,* not a Government festival or a Business festival, also not an LPM festival (Panduan 2000: 1, my translation, original emphasis).[222]

He concludes that such a celebration cannot be carried out this year, because it would have required an effective *sosialisasi* process. However, he pleads for increasing Kamoro initiative in order for it to become a Kamoro festival in the future. The listed goals of the festival applaud the notion of 'culture' (*budaya*) as a strength and basis for 'Kamoroness'. Culture is considered a source of respect; it is a valuable notion that could unify the Kamoro people (Panduan 2000: 1).

In 2001, the newly appointed committee head, Moses Poterpau, wrote in the *panduan*: 'it is not other people who will develop our culture and existence except we Kamoro people ourselves'. He wanted to render the 2001 Festival in a medium that supports the 'development, preservation and prosperity of Kamoro culture [which is a culture] that is already entrusted [to us] by the Ndaiti and will be handed down to our grandchildren in the future' (Poterpau 2001: 2, my translation). *Ndaiti* is an

222 'Business' is a regular way to refer to the Freeport Mining Company; LPM=*Lembaga Pengembangan Masyarakat* or Community Development Institute.

essential principle in Kamoro thought and is often used in the form of *ndaitita*, which is simply translated as Kamoro 'lifeways'. The Kamoro scholar Methodius Mamapuku clarifies that the term *ndaiti* refers to the ancestors, male and female, who are respected as the founders of customs, values and habits – generally referred to with the term *tradisi* (tradition). The term *ndaitita* combines *ndaiti* and *ta* (property) and refers to the property of the ancestors – the tradition – which is handed down by the male and female ancestors (*ndaiti were* and *ndaiti kaoka*) to all the Kamoro people (Mamapuku 1998: 4).[223]

In 2002, the *panduan* noted that the role played by PT Freeport Indonesia was gradually decreasing in favour of the Kamoro Foundation, LEMASKO. The hope for a further development of this trend is expressed. The *panitia* pleaded for more initiative from the Kamoro people themselves, who appear to prefer to come as participants rather than exercise control (Panduan 2002: 2).

In 2005, the festival was officially steered by the *panitia* (by legal decree), which consisted of 87 members, 26 of whom were staff members of PT Freeport Indonesia. By this time Kamoro people had taken over the festival, led by Dominicus Mitoro who headed the *panitia*. It was officially considered a venue to celebrate Papuan culture by inviting the Papuan Governor, Jaap Salossa.

Over the years, the festival had developed simultaneously with the introduction of regional autonomy providing the *kabupaten* (regencies) with more funds. In 2002, the local government (*Pemda Mimika*) sponsored the construction of a house on the festival site to accommodate the *panitia* members. During the opening speeches of that year's festival, Methodius Mamapuku, vice-regent (*wakil Bupati*), also handed over 100 million rupiah (= US$10,000) to demonstrate the government's approval and encouragement. In his speech Methodius mentioned that the government would further support each activity that was related to the development and the preservation of culture in Mimika; a remark that was also published in the local newspaper (Timika Pos 12/04/02: 1, 7). During the 2003 Festival, the governmental tourist office gave 200 million rupiah (= US$20,000) to support it. However, this government funding was considered tokenism by the Kamoro *panitia*, and a more active government role was desired. The 2005 Festival was opened by Papua Governor Jaap Salossa, who talked about the Papuan increasing authority through *Otonomi Khusus* (Special Autonomy). He then handed over 300 million rupiah (= US$30,000) to emphasise his support of the festival. However, only the Kamoro members of the *panitia* listened. The other Kamoro were busy trying to make

223 For more information on the concept of *ndaitita*, see Mamapuku (1981) and Mamapuku & Harple (2003).

money selling carvings to the guests. While festivals are considered media to encourage political engagement, this only seemed to be the case for a small number of Kamoro people. Generally, the Kamoro Festival appeared to be a money-generating vehicle.

b) Freeport

The Freeport Mining Company initiated the Kamoro Festival with the publicly stated goal 'to help revitalize and revive the Kamoro culture' (PTFI 2000a: 1). The organisers claimed that Kamoro culture had disappeared due to outside influences and that it now needed restoring in order to reinstate pride in Kamoro culture:

> *But because of a long period when elements of the traditional life-style and religion were either forbidden or discouraged, many of the Kamoro lost pride in (and knowledge of) their culture. The Kamoro festival was held to reverse this trend, to encourage the culture by restoring pride in the ancient traditions.* (PTFI 2000a: 2)

'Revival' commonly refers to the resumption or recommencement of certain elements or activities that had disappeared or were long forgotten.[224] However, from the first festival in 1998, the Kamoro came up with elaborate dances that re-enacted oral tradition and brought masks and different forms of material culture into play. A large number of artefacts were created for and sold during the auction. 'Well over twice' the expected number of Kamoro participants turned up for the festival (PTFI 2000a: 6). This wide appearance and enjoyment of Kamoro traditional elements seems contradictory to the opinion that Kamoro culture was 'lost'. Although the opinion of the festival organisers did not correlate with Kamoro reality, the notion of revival was still emphasised. Why did the organisers focus on the concept of revival?

A possible reason might be that the festival provided the organisers with a suitable marketing device. For the Freeport Mining Company, the Kamoro Festival was an important asset and a tool to promote positive publicity, in contrast to the critiques of social and environmental issues:

> *By encouraging both the traditional culture and education, the mining company had gone a long ways [sic] to bring the Kamoro culture out in the open and proud of itself, ready to face the modern world from the firm base of a self-assured culture. This is one of the many unsung accomplishments of Freeport Indonesia, completely ignored by the company's critics.* (PTFI 2000a: 4)

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224 Salomonson (1984: 34) defined the concept of 'revitalization' as 'the resumption of abandoned, older cultural traits or the retention of such cultural features without any visible, material reason'. Boissevain broadens the definition by also including invented traditions 'in Hobsbawm's sense' (Boissevain 1992: 7).

The desire to demonstrate how Kamoro culture was experiencing a renaissance went hand in hand with the need to show how the Kamoro received new opportunities and could become 'modern' as a result of the company's influence. In addition, the Kamoro Arts Festival provided a forum for the development of business and political relations by being an occasion to entertain important guests – such as ambassadors, Indonesian ministers, art dealers and Freeport staff.[225] The focus for these visitors was the art auction. This was also expressed in the name of the festival. Originally the festival was called *Kamoro Kakuru Ndaitita*: literally the Festival of Kamoro Lifeways, but it was soon shortened to *Kamoro Kakuru*. While *Kamoro Kakuru* (literally Kamoro feast/festival) was initially translated in English as Kamoro Festival, from 2001 the English title of Kamoro Arts Festival started to prevail – referring to the importance of art for the outsiders. In terms of Freeport publicity, Kamoro artefacts were useful instruments, as they could be used as tangible evidence of the seemingly renewed vitality of Kamoro culture:

> *Long ago, before the overwhelming intrusion of the outside world, the wood sculptures of the Kamoro people qualified them as one of the world's greatest carving cultures, on a par with the world-famous Asmat, their better known neighbors. As with other traditional societies, the so-called 'primitive' art of the Kamoro was an integral part of their culture, with the most spectacular pieces serving an essential function in their religious life. But when the spiritual underpinnings of the traditional rituals were cut by the Catholic Church, the carvings lost their raison d'etre. The art of the Kamoro was set to die out.* (Muller 2001b: 5)

The emphasis was on the revival of Kamoro art that had been lost due to Dutch colonialism and mission activity. Kamoro culture did not disappear due to Freeport's presence; it disappeared long before. With the Kamoro Arts Festival, and particularly through the auction, the company claimed a large role in this restoration process. Objects are not only visually impressive; they are also lasting and collectable. In this way, the positive impact of the company could be collected and disseminated.

The festival organisers not only 'revived' Kamoro culture/art; they also marketed it. The presence of numerous carvings from the first festival onwards indicated that these carvings were part of basic Kamoro knowledge and practice. However, marketing these objects as 'vanishing' made them more appealing. As Phillips & Steiner (1999a: 19) state: 'From the earliest times of contact and colonialism to the present day, the worlds in which

225 The presence of prominent guests had various consequences. In 2001 *Timika Pos* mentioned how the former Minister of Education and Culture, during his visit to the Kamoro Festival 'cried how the schoolchildren were neglected' due to the lack of a school (Timika Pos 30/04/01: 1, 7, my translation). His visit resulted in the construction of a school in Pigapu in 2002, sponsored by local government money.

"ethnic" arts are produced are said to have been teetering precariously on the brink of extinction. Producers, middlemen and consumers have all capitalized in their own ways on this myth of imminent demise'. Note the creation of rarity; Kamoro art was about to disappear and this fact greatly increased its value as a collectable commodity.

Simultaneously, the Freeport Mining Company played a considerable role in the institutionalisation of Kamoro woodcarvings as art. This designation of Kamoro 'art' began during the auction's selection process. Once an object was selected for the auction, it received a new identity; it became art to be collected by the visitors; art that now needed to be marketed, valued, and preserved. The status of Kamoro material culture changed to a potential collector's item. As Errington (1994: 204) notes: 'art was invented simultaneously with collecting, and the two are inconceivable without each other'. Kamoro objects were taken out of their 'indigenous' context and brought to a context created for collection. The objects even received a new name; during the selection process the vocabulary was adapted; drums, spirit poles, *yamates* (ceremonial boards), and sago bowls were no longer functional, but turned into 'firewood' or 'good pieces'. As stated by Baudrillard (1994: 8) a collector will typically refer to 'a lovely piece', rather than a lovely carving. The objects, 'divested of their previous function, abstracted from any practical context, take on a strictly subjective status. Now its destiny is to be collected'. (Baudrillard 1994: 8). It was in everyone's interest for these objects to be art. The label 'art' resulted in higher prices for the producers (and subsequently art dealers, when collected by them) and it brought prestige.

Not only did the objects become collectable; the 'artists' themselves also became eminent. During the Kamoro Arts Festival, the individuality of the 'art' producers was emphasised. From the moment their work was picked for the auction, the carvers had to undergo a photo session. A tag was attached to the selected object containing a Polaroid picture, the artist's name and village, and the category in which the object was selected. These tags could be considered as adopting a similar function as signatures on art objects. The objects were personalised and the carver received a name as an artist. These selected artists had to perform in the big show that is the auction, which was not only extensively filmed and photographed, but was also discussed in the newspaper. It is important to note that the promotion of the notion of 'artist' was done by the festival's organisers. Kamoro carvers did not sign their completed work and sometimes older carvers asked younger relatives to present their work at

auction. This, however, does not imply that carvers opposed the festival whereby the notion of art was promoted.[226]

2) Audience

In an interview about the origin and ideas behind the festival, Kal Muller described his main responsibility as 'restoring Kamoro pride and heightening their cultural awareness'. For this reason, he claimed that it was important to attract visitors, as the 'Kamoro see themselves through the eyes of the outside world – as we all do'. Hence the reason why the basic festival ingredients – an art auction, canoe races, and a dance competition – all involve the presence of an audience. Muller continued by stating that 'people need to realise that there is such a thing as Kamoro culture and that it is worth preserving. In addition, for the Kamoro their traditional culture is a firm base to stand on and to face the modern world. So the firmer this basis can be, the better they can assimilate the modern culture'. In short, Muller summarises, 'the festival has two goals: firstly, it is for the Kamoro themselves, and, secondly, it is for the outside world to appreciate Kamoro culture' (Kal Muller, interview 4 May 2001).

The festival audience consisted of a large number of Kamoro viewers and a considerably smaller number of invited guests. The Kamoro audience attended for a variety of reasons, some of which have been revealed already. The Kamoro people were generally pleased to meet relatives, they came to celebrate, carvers came to sell their carvings and earn extra money and gain appreciation for their work, mothers liked to take advantage of the clinic – built in Pigapu in return for using their land for the festival – and take their children for a check-up. These are only a few of the reasons that have been recorded. The majority of the non-Kamoro visitors were people who came by invitation. The number of 'spontaneous' visitors remained limited. People from Timika generally refrained from attending, apart from the Buginese traders who set up stalls selling food and drinks. Tourists were even rarer due to the difficulties of travelling in Papua. As Lindsay (1995: 665) appropriately states 'invited audiences are captive audiences'. Every year, Freeport offered its guests free accommodation in the Sheraton Hotel and transport to and from the festival ground. The visitors were encouraged to buy Kamoro artefacts by the offer of free shipping to Jakarta of purchased objects. In general, these visitors did not come with any particular intention or agenda – apart from an individual one. Ambassadors and other officials were invited and had social and goodwill

226 The festival did emphasise the dichotomies men:art and women:crafts. Female work was not sold at auction and continued to be described as crafts. However, during the 2003 and 2005 Festivals, female work was selected to be sold in a kiosk. Names of the women were noted to enable their identification.

Figure 26: objects available for sale in front of temporary accommodation, Pigapu (Photo: K. Jacobs)

obligations; journalists needed to find information. Art collectors came to advance their own commercial interests.[227] Museum representatives came to systematically collect in order to obtain representative and complete collections. They tended to follow general principles set by the museum's objectives.

The majority of the invited guests, and some members of Freeport staff in particular, felt their presence was necessary and they bought objects to 'help' the Kamoro people. They therefore participated in the auction, but also purchased artefacts outside the auction, allowing a direct interaction between the audience and Kamoro people. The festival site was literally covered with stalls where artefacts were displayed for sale (Figure 26). From 2001, the *pondoks* or temporary houses built to accommodate the participating villages were placed behind the festival's main building. These houses were organised in a U-form with a walkway between them. Artefacts were displayed in front of the temporary accommodation of each village or *sanggar* (carving group) so that the totality gave the impression of a market, where visitors could browse and select what they wanted.

227 Several art collectors related excitedly how they 'discovered' certain objects that were 'just lying there'. Almost every year art collectors have been present at the festival with Ursula Konrad (Asmat Gallery in Mönchengladbach) and Dea Sudarman (from the *gedungdua8* gallery in Jakarta) as recurring visitors. Other art dealers who have visited the festival are: Steve Chiaramonte from Midvale (1998, 1999) and Koos Knol from Wormerveer (2003).

Many of the returning visitors did mention that they liked to go 'shopping' before and after the auction.[228] Some visitors particularly searched for similar objects to those that had been sold at auction for a (too) high price. Whereas in the auction, the artists awaited the bids of the public, here both seller and buyer actively negotiated the price. The system of bargaining reigned, whereby the emphasis for the buyer was on reducing the price, in contrast to the auction. Usually, there was a communication problem throughout the negotiations, since many of the visitors did not speak *bahasa Indonesia*. Therefore, whenever a sale had been successful it was a source of pride for the buyer. The visitors experienced it as a fun process which reflects Steiner's argument that the main feature of bargaining is the entertainment it provides; it is crucial 'to satisfy the image of amusement which characterizes the Western stereotype of market-place transacting' (Steiner 1994: 71). In general the prices were considerably lower outside the auction. A drum could be bought for an average price of 400,000 rupiah (=circa US$40), a bowl around 250,000 rupiah (= US$25) and a plaited bag could be purchased for 50 to 100,000 rupiah (=US$5 to 10). Through this 'shopping' the visitors established a relationship with the artefacts' producers. In a study of daily shopping activities in North London, Daniel Miller (1998) argues that shopping is not primarily an expression of hedonism and materialism; rather it is a question of establishing relationships, it can even be a means of conveying care and concern for others.[229] This is what happened during the festival; people bought objects to 'do good'. The audience considered these collecting activities, during as well as outside the auction, as a form of amusement and a means of constructing (charitable) interaction.

3) Participants

The term 'participants' is used to denote all the Kamoro people who attended the festival. Various reasons as to why Kamoro people participated have already been mentioned. This section further explores the festival's goal of revival by considering the status of master-carvers or *maramo we* (literally: maramo: chisel; we: people), who have the hereditary right to carve and learn their skills from male relatives. Only *maramo we* are allowed to produce ritual objects, such as spirit poles (*mbitoro*), and can pass the knowledge on to the next generation. There is little systematic teaching and future carvers learn by observing the older *maramo we*.

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228 The word 'shopping' is placed between inverted commas to indicate that it is the actual word used by visitors.

229 Miller seeks parallels between the rites of shopping and sacrifice. Both, for instance, aim to create a desiring subject (Miller 1998: 8).

Figure 27: Simon Pouwer Maneyau with small mbitoro selected for the 2002 auction, Pigapu 2002 (Photo: K. Jacobs)

Simon Pouwer Maneyau from Yaraya learned carving from his father 'when he came to the age to go to school' (Figure 27).[230] His oeuvre consisted of drums (*eme*), *wemawe* or human figures, and miniature *mbitoro* (spirit poles). This was the repertoire present when Simon learned to carve. The issue of Kamoro art's extinction and disappearance was not an issue for Simon, as he had always been a carver in his village. He stated that he did what he needed to do as a woodcarver – that is to make objects when they were required, whether it was for an initiation feast, to decorate the church, or the Kamoro Arts Festival. Simon's work, known for its technical excellence, has been sold during most auctions from the first festival in 1998 onwards. Although this fact significantly enhanced his reputation as an 'artist', Simon talked enthusiastically about what he bought with the

230 The name Pouwer was adopted, since Simon was the son of Dr. Jan Pouwer's main informant in the 1950s. Simon, now deceased, participated in a Freeport-sponsored two-week trip to Bali where objects were carved for an exhibition and sale.

money obtained from selling his work (personal communication 11 April 2002).[231]

Although Martinus Neyakowau from Mware village always had the hereditary right to carve, he never learned it, because neither his father nor uncles carved. However, he remembered watching his grandparents carving and, based on his memories of observing them, he began to carve when he was thirty years old. He became the only woodcarver in Mware for the simple reason that he greatly enjoyed carving and he trained three younger carvers in his village. His work had been selected for every festival auction. He enjoyed carving for the festival as it gave him an opportunity to come up with new ideas. He preferred to carve anthropomorphic figures, ranging from highly stylised masked figures to free-standing naturalistic figures (Martinus Neyakowau, interview 1 June 2003).[232]

Since the establishment of the Kamoro Arts Festival, the interviewed *maramo* were hailed as 'artists' and were invited on trips where they were praised for showing and spreading their knowledge. However, as *maramo*, they had been quietly continuing their work. With the Kamoro Arts Festival, there was indeed a revival, but a revival of the popularity of Kamoro carvings. By introducing commercial value for carvings, a younger generation became stimulated to produce carvings. Many of the new carvers are 'economic' carvers, who do not possess the hereditary right to carve, but have developed the basic carving skills that every Kamoro child learns. Kamoro carvers were pleased with the market created, the popular demand for carvings and the resulting financial rewards. The Kamoro Arts Festival had led to an increase in woodcarving's cultural esteem both locally and internationally.[233]

It is important to note that the Kamoro Arts Festival was more than an auction that resulted in financial rewards for its participants, who were necessarily a small minority. Throughout the festival, a contrast between Kamoro events and events intended for guests became obvious. This was most clear during the 2001 auction, when the appointed Kamoro security

231 I am not claiming that a notion such as 'tradition' and its threatened disappearance is not an issue for the Kamoro. Several older people did find that there were strong foreign influences and wanted to hand down traditions to the younger generation; they felt that the festival was a good venue to do so. In 2001, Yohannes Mapareyau, the Pigapu head of traditions (*kepala suku*), explained his pleasure at seeing an amalgamation of older and younger generations and a handing over of traditional customs (personal communication 29 April 2001). Markus Yamaro, *kepala suku* of Kaugapu, regretted that many youngsters do not know Kamoro *adat* (tradition). 'But we are grateful for Freeport's help', he mentioned. 'In this way, our *adat* can be developed (*dikembangkan*)' (interview 14 April 2002).

232 Martinus, deceased in 2011, stars in a documentary explaining the production process of a *mbitoro*, made in 2001 by Georgina Chia. He also visited the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, in 2003.

233 The expanding market for Kamoro art blurs the distinction between *maramo* and 'economic' carvers, but none of the *maramo* interviewed objected to the appearance of 'economic' carvers and could only encourage it.

even decided to keep Kamoro viewers outside the auction building. The other festival components, on the contrary, were generally attended by Kamoro people rather than non-Kamoro guests. The performance of the dances indicated that Kamoro language and oral tradition were still very much 'alive', contrary to the view of the festival organisers, who claimed that Kamoro culture needed revitalisation. While bringing dances into the framework of a competition failed, the competitive element was fully accepted and even encouraged on the level of the canoe races. There was also a clear winner and a source of pride and delight. Formerly, canoe races were a component of the competence test held for young men during a post-war feast (*uhuh kakuru*) (Coenen 1963: 80).[234] During the festival, villages competed in canoe races and consequently maintained and enforced local identities in this pan-Kamoro festival. When asked which festival component she valued the most, Mathea Mamoyau, as one of the festival's core *panitia* members, answered:

> *The auction is a good component. It is not only good for the small economy, but also to make Kamoro culture known. Therefore people like Kal Muller choose the objects. However, the dances are vital and enjoyable for the villages, not for outsiders, but for us. The canoe races are getting there. During the last festival [2003] I observed people from the west who were singing while paddling. I had not seen this for a long time and it almost made me cry.* (Mathea Mamoyau, interview 1 June 2003, my translation)

While the *panitia* regretted that too few Kamoro people took any initiative at the level of organisation, as participants the Kamoro people gradually indigenised the festival by adding components. Examples vary from the enthusiastic and ritualised welcoming of the arriving villages by canoe to the erection of the spirit pole on the festival ground.

Most of the Kamoro participants at the 2001 Festival arrived by canoe in Pigapu (Figures 28-29). From the moment a flotilla of canoes was spotted, the people in Pigapu gathered on shore and the women began dancing and shouting. The people in the canoes danced and displayed artefacts, of which the majority were ceremonial clubs and bows, as a reference to former war parties, but also paddles and ceremonial boards (*yamate*). Adorned with body paint, men wore cassowary and other feathers. Women wore grass skirts and rattan ornaments. At frequent intervals the canoes halted and everyone was silent to then burst out again in shouting and dancing. Some groups carried a *pokai* – a stick decorated with cassowary and cockatoo feathers; once a guiding stick in war, today the *pokai* is still considered as a command staff and is often used as a dance acces-

234 Canoe races were also held during the 50th anniversary of the mission in 1977 (Huub Zwartje, OFM, personal communication 26 August 2002).

sory.[235] Lime was thrown in the air, which enhanced the dramatic effect.[236] When the visitors set foot ashore, they stormed to the open space next to the festival's main building, where the event climaxed in a circle dance performed by all participants.[237] This ritualised welcoming of the visiting villages referred to the final stage of the canoe feast (*kaware*), during which men made new canoes. These canoes were made in isolation outside the village and the feast came to a close when the adorned men brought the new canoes to the village, where they were welcomed in a similar manner by dancing and singing women (Pouwer 2003b: 54).[238] Since these arrivals to the festival were not planned, it was hard for non-Kamoro guests to observe the process. This difficulty was circumvented by staging the arrival in 2002, but the Kamoro felt that the result was unrewarding. The *panitia* head of the *seksi* canoes then suggested that the event should not be referred to as *kaware* (Kamoro term for canoe feast) as was done in the festival booklet, but as *pesta prahu* (Indonesian for canoe feast), since it had become a staged event.

During the 2001 Festival a spirit pole (*mbitoro*) was erected next to the main building (Figure 30). Spirit poles were and are still used in initiation rituals whereby the spirit pole represents a prominent deceased person who receives a last homage and expression of gratitude. A spirit pole was erected during the Kamoro Arts Festival to mark the presence of the ancestors. For the spirits to enter the pole, prior to its erection, the pole was held horizontally by the men and moved up and down. Women were dancing while the men were performing this ritual act (Timo Samin, personal communication 25 April 2001).[239]

The non-Kamoro visitors spent only a few hours on the festival ground, while the Kamoro spent the rest of the day and the night dancing, drumming and singing. On the first night of the festival, a group of specialist elder men sat together to perform a ritual (*mbake*) whereby the ancestors were called upon through continuous drumming and singing and their

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235 Pouwer (2003b: 57) writes that the *pokai* as used in the *emakame* feast is a representation of the ancestral mother and her husband. Schoot (1962: 40-44) describes how the *pokai* was used in warfare as a warning sign.

236 The throwing of lime is a frequently recurring act. It is considered to be a form of praising (*tiri*), which is often done to evoke a reciprocal act. When, for instance, men arrive with pigs from the pig hunt, the women praise them and throw lime. In return, the men give pig meat (Pouwer 1955: 167). A hearty and excited welcome by the Kamoro people has been described in every expedition report. Throwing lime in the air was often part of it (Earl 1837: 387; Kolff 1840: 329; Modera 1830: 52; Rawling 1913: 174; Wollaston 1912: 36).

237 In 1998, a similar arrival of canoes had occurred, but the event was not repeated in 1999 or 2000.

238 Pickell (2001: 215-16) also describes this last phase of the *kaware* feast as witnessed in Paripi village in 1997.

239 In 1998, a spirit pole was erected in Hiripau; in 2000 a spirit pole made by Martinus Neyakowau from Mware was erected in Pigapu. The 2001 pole was made by Timo Samin and remained during the 2002 Festival.

Figures 28-29: Arrival of participating villages by canoe, Pigapu 2002 (Photos: K. Jacobs)

Figure 30: erection of mbitoro, Pigapu 2001 (Photo: K. Jacobs)

presence was invited. During the other nights, dances were continuously performed. Youngsters performed in the Indonesian-named *Auseriseka* dance, aimed to bring potential partners together. Pickel (2001: 183), using the shortened name, *seka* (literally: to rub on something), states that the dance was introduced in the 1970s by junior high school students in Kokonao. The dance then spread when students moved on to schools in Jayapura. Virtually everyone performed in a circle dance, also referred to as *mbake* or *mbakiri*. Again this dance aims to bring people together. The dancers danced anti-clockwise around a core of drummers and a gong player. Each village or group of neighbouring villages from the same dialect group sang while dancing. The song themes varied from expressing the pleasures of that night, events during the festival or other events such as hunting. One village carried a *pokai* (dance/leading stave), while another village used a *mbikao* mask during their performance. The event continued for hours, the singers and dancers alternating with each other.[240]

240 Conversations about *mbake* were held with numerous people. The following people provided the bulk of information: Thom Mutaweyao (14 April 2002), Longinus Kemaku, village head of Pigapu (15 April 2002), Mathea Mamoyau and Timo Samin (29 May 2003). Father Groen (1961: 65) uses the term *makiri*, Lagerberg (1956: 9) writes *make*, while Steve Rahangiar (1994: 17) writes both *M'bake* and *M'bakiri*, Mamapuku (1998: 2) uses the term *mbakeapoka*. The term is also used to denote the small groups of men sitting in a circle drumming and singing, which occurs frequently during the festival. Two or four specialist people sing, with one lead singer and one helper; these are the *mbake-we*.

From the 2000 Festival onwards, the festival ended with the slaughtering of pigs, referencing the *ookame*, pig feast.[241] Once the living pigs had been fastened on a platform, a struggle ensued between men and pigs until the pigs were beaten to death. A wooden stick was passed from man to man, who each hit the pig. It was a source of pride if a man beat well and a source of shame when a man missed the pig or beat wrongly. Once all the pigs had been killed, the meat was distributed to the participating villages to be eaten during the last night of celebration. A similar ceremony was described by Rawling (1913: 159-161) and forty years later by government representative Lagerberg (1956).

All these examples demonstrate that the Kamoro people actively took part in the festival and added events. The Kamoro Festival caught their enthusiasm and they embraced it and adapted parts to their own purposes. There is a strong precedent in the Kamoro region for the festival as a public event. Elements of the canoe feast (*kaware*), the pig feast (*ookame*), the initiation feast (*karapao*) and the death feast (*watani kame*) were performed during the Kamoro Festival. These feasts, which marked transitional stages in Kamoro life, were all referred to with the Kamoro term *kakuru* (literally: feast, festival). Play, performance, and dramatisations (*kamania*) are vital components of these feasts.[242] Narratives are re-enacted and performed (as during the festival) and even knowledge is transmitted in a playful manner. During a conversation with Timo Samin, we talked about the Indonesian translation of some Kamoro terms. The aim of the conversation was not merely to recapitulate and check if my knowledge of Kamoro terms was correct; I mainly wanted to know how he would define the Kamoro Festival. The section of the interview is quoted in full:

KJ: What is the meaning of *kakuru*?
TS: *Kakuru* is a feast. It is a feast of the Kamoro people, of the Mimikawe (the Mimika people). *Kakuru* are feasts such as *emakame*, *kawarkame*, *mirimukame*, and so on.[243]
KJ: What are *kamania*?

241 In 2001 there was no platform to perform the act, so the pigs were killed rapidly by means of an axe. Both the 2000 and 2002 events were similar; the following description is based on the 2002 event.

242 According to the Kamoro to whom I spoke about the term, amongst others Timo Samin and Matthea Mamoyau, *kakuru* (feast) implies *kamania* or play, performance. Pouwer's distinction is less clear (Pouwer 2010: 20, 22, 51).

243 Throughout this book, *kawar-kame* is referred to as *kaware*; *mirimukame* is the nose-piercing feast.

TS: *Kamania* is a play; it is a part of a *kakuru*. It mostly is a dance and it refers to stories, such as the story of Opekeremiyanoru that I told you yesterday.[244]
KJ: Then what are *kakuru tena-we*?
TS: *Kakuru tena-we* are 'pesta orang bulé', feasts for outsiders.[245]
KJ: Can you give some examples?
TS [his wife Modesta confirming]: *Kakuru tena-we* are feasts like Christmas and New Year.
KJ: Is the Kamoro Festival a *kakuru tena-we*?
TS: No, [he said in a moaning manner, wondering why I still did not understand it] that is *Mimika-we*; it is from the Kamoro people. *Kakuru tena-we* are feasts like the Indonesian Independence day. The Kamoro Festival is a Kamoro feast (Timo Samin, interview 1 June 2003, my translation).

4) Complementary objectives?

The three participating parties of the Kamoro Arts Festival – the Freeport Mining Company, the Kamoro people and the non-Kamoro audience – all had their own views and agendas. The role of the sponsors was most significant, which is clear from the fact that the festival no longer continued without Freeport's sponsorship (see Chapter 7). Even though the Kamoro Arts Festival was brought to an end in 2006, the previous Festivals can still be examined as places where complex relations between local and international parties, with their own agendas, converged.

As the organisers, Freeport introduced the festival as a site to revive and revitalise Kamoro culture. Simultaneously the festival provided the company with positive publicity and the opportunity to maintain business relations. The invited audience not only witnessed the performance and public relations production, but played an active role in the performance. As the buying public, the audience generally aimed to help the Kamoro by purchasing objects, sometimes in addition to following their own agenda. Their role also influenced the production of objects. The Kamoro carvers were generally pleased with the created market and took advantage of it. They shaped the representations in which they were involved by choosing what to sell and what not. For the participants, the festival was more than

244 I had asked Timo about the narrative of Opekeremiyanoru and Miamaremiyanoru, which was the narrative re-enacted by Kaugapu village during the 2001 Festival. Timo's narrative was similar to what Markus Yamaro, *kepala suku* of Kaugapu, told me, but was much more concise. Markus Yamaro did emphasise that only Kaugapu village knew the complete story (interview 14 April 2002).

245 *Bulé*, also spelled *bulai*, literally means 'albino', but is also a derogatory term for a Caucasian (Echols & Shadily 1992: 93). In Papua, however, the term is generally used to denote a Caucasian person with no derogatory intent.

an auction; they sensed that kinship and family ties – amongst other elements – were being facilitated by the invented milieu. While the *panitia* felt that the festival did not sufficiently provide the participants with a political voice, on a micro-level the participants did indigenise it. Gradually, the Kamoro people assumed an active role. In the framework of an imposed festival, the Kamoro participants adopted the role of agents, reflective, adaptive and critical, crafting the representations in which they were involved. The festival offered a stage on which the Kamoro can perform their culture and present 'an image of themselves, which they want others to see' (Tilley 1999: 257).

The Kamoro Arts Festival seemed to fulfil, to a certain degree, each individual agenda of the three parties involved. Freeport found a way to advertise and represent itself with a project that was both of sustained importance in the institutionalisation of woodcarving as art, and that also gave the Kamoro more direct financial rewards than any of their other development programmes. The invited audience were generally pleased with the experience and were able to fulfil their individual aims, whether it concerned buying a fine souvenir for a good price or whether it was a social or political obligation. The Kamoro input in the representation, their self-representation, was significant in the totality of the Kamoro Arts Festival. The Kamoro enthusiastically engaged with the festival and they gradually indigenised the event. It was much more to them than a money-generating vehicle or a window on the outside world. Adapting the festival and making it their own, was a similar process to the integration of outside elements in Kamoro narratives that was described in Part One. As such, the festival indicated what Kamoro culture is – a systematic negotiation, engagement and adjustment to internal and external dynamics.

PART THREE: OBJECTIFICATION

Figure 31: Urbanus Emaru holding his drum which was selected for the auction of the 2002 Kamoro Arts Festival (Photo: K. Jacobs)

'Objectification' can be defined as the practice by which all expression is made into an object; it is the process by which an abstraction is made into a physical, material thing. The term is often used to denote the treatment of human beings as objects, regardless of their own subjectivity, agency or autonomy. Kopytoff's (1986) discussion of the transformation of people into commodities in the context of slavery is an apt example of this kind of objectification. During the collecting process too, objects, and even subjects, are separated from their contexts and relationships, and are commodified and collected. Indeed, indigenous people have been collected and displayed like objects in world expositions, and objects in museum collections have often been presented as devoid of context.[246]

It is often the link with commoditisation, capitalism and the transactions between different value systems that leads to negative assessments of objectification. Miller (1987: 18), drawing on Hegel's work, rejects the strong association of the term 'with a specific form of Marxist analysis emphasizing the rupture in social relations through which people are effectively reduced to objects, and objects in turn interpose themselves in relationships between people'.[247] Since Marx's time, there has indeed been a tendency to reduce the concept of objectification to a critique of capitalism, a process during which single, separable objects are created, which can be bought, sold, and, essentially, owned by individuals (Gosden 2004: 40). Referring to Marilyn Strathern's (1988) work in Oceania, Miller (1987: 118) points out that objects are embedded in social relationships and that it is the relationship between subjects and objects that needs to be examined. Strathern (1988) fundamentally challenged the separation between object and subject, by considering the object as an extension of the self. For her, 'objects are created not in contradistinction to persons but out of persons' (Strathern 1988: 171). She argues that categories such as 'person' and 'object' are relational. Melanesians do not conceive of objects and persons as independent entities that are involved in exchange. Rather, persons and objects acquire their identities from the relationships in which they are transacted. The processes of 'reification', in which people make objects appear as things, and 'personification', in which objects appear as persons, are important in this regard (Strathern 1988: 176-177). Miller (1987: 81) deems objectification to be a constitutive process for the development of the subject, rather than a negative critique of a rupture in any such development. As such, a separation between object and subject

246 A concise overview of theoretical usages of the notion of objectification is provided by Tilley (2006b).

247 According to Durkheim, objectification is the concrete embodiment of an idea. Hegel considers objectification rather as a form of action, because a subject objectifies itself with respect to another (Keane 1997: 12). Hegel challenged the ancient dualism which separates subject and object (Pearce 1994c: 202).

does not reflect reality. This conception lies at the core of material culture studies, where 'objects' are seen as referring not only to the material world, but also to institutions, ideas, concepts and makers and users.

Similarly, an object in a (museum) collection represents more than just the object itself. Pearce (1994c: 200) applies the concept of objectification to collecting when she discusses souvenir collecting and fetish collecting; souvenirs are personal items used to authenticate the narrative of the collector, and 'fetish' collections are seen as extensions of the collector. The value of applying the notion of objectification lies here in the consideration of collections as extensions of the self of the collector. However, an object in a collection represents more than just the collector or even the people (as a collective) from whom they were collected. Collections objectify the collector's intentions, desires and values; it objectifies what people wanted to give away, or needed to give away; they objectify contact, power relations, indigenous agency, and interaction. They objectify ongoing agency, and historical and cultural heritage. What is clear is that there are various objectification processes in place. As Tilley (2006b: 60) states: 'An objectification perspective…is to do with what things are and what things do in the social world: the manner in which objects or material forms are embedded in the life worlds of individuals, groups, institutions or, more broadly, culture and society'.

The term 'objectification' has been chosen for Part Three because it focuses more closely on the collecting encounters created and facilitated by the Freeport Mining Company. As patron, 'foster father', and 'reviver' of Kamoro art, Freeport tended to concentrate on objects. The company was inclined to equate Kamoro culture with Kamoro art, as this was a useful approach for publicity projects. In Part Three the focus is on the contexts that Freeport created to sell and collect Kamoro commodities. While the commoditisation of objects into 'art' often emphasises existing relations of authority and power, I will argue that power is also enacted during the processes of object production and trade. Chapter 6 deals with one component of the Kamoro Arts Festival, the auction, which is considered in depth because it is a festival component that was coordinated by non-Kamoro people. It was also a primary means of collecting Kamoro cultural expressions. In Chapter 7, Freeport's recent collecting activities (2006-2011) are examined. Since the cessation of the Kamoro Arts Festival in 2006, the Kamoro have been participating in small exhibitions. The objects that are created for these exhibitions will be scrutinised closely with the aim to put the 'object' back into objectification. When stressing the fact that objects objectify a variety of relations, one should not lose sight of the objects, since it is their very 'objectness' or materiality that makes them suitable for objectifying immaterial entities.

Chapter 6

Festival auction

An important part of the Kamoro Arts Festival was the sale of art objects, which occurred not only at auction, but also outside in stalls. This chapter focuses on the sale and acquisition of Kamoro objects, activities that were mainly coordinated by non-Kamoro people. Using an ethnographic rather than an economic approach, the Kamoro auction is compared to other art auctions and the impact of the auction on Kamoro cultural production is analysed. This ethnographic approach enables me to highlight the social interaction that takes place during the auction, while challenging the apparent impartiality of the event by focusing on the role of the various participants. However, the Kamoro auction is not just considered as a site of social interaction, but also as a performance, thereby situating this study in a wider literature on auctions as performances (Geismar 2001; Glancy 1988; Heath and Luff 2007a, 2007b; Herrero 2010; Smith 1989).

I. Art auctions as performances

Art auctions; when not thinking of e-Bay and the virtual opening up of the notion of auction, the term is associated with established institutions such as Sotheby's (since 1744), Christie's (1766) and Bonham's (1793), and with rocketing prices that are reserved for a select few. Significant collections are sold during prestigious events, often glittering gala evenings attended by well-dressed collectors, dealers, appraisers buying on commission, anonymous bidders on the phone and the media who follow the drama that plays itself out in the auction room. This is a forum for competitive individualism resulting in large amounts of money changing hands at the fall of the hammer. Geismar (2001: 30) notes that the term 'auction' originates from the Latin *auctio* meaning 'increase' and this is indeed the ultimate goal of an auction: the increase of price in a brief and fleeting moment.[248] The unpredictability of price formation is an inherent feature of auctions whereby objects on sale are in a liminal phase and move from one (price) phase to another until the sale is closed. Auctions are theatrical

248 Most commonly the term auction is associated with an event during which a series of bids are placed that progressively increase in value, also known as the English-style auction. For other forms of auctions such as the Dutch descending-bid or Japanese simultaneous-bid schemes, see Cassady (1967: 32) and Grijp (2006: 141). For more on English auctions and particularly Christie's, see Wall (1997) and Sotheby's (Hermann 1980).

performances; they are seldom simply held, rather they are staged. Typical, and accentuating the auction's dramatic and performative character, is the audience applauding whenever a record price is set:

> *Then a Warhol goes for almost twice the top estimate, bringing heartfelt applause. For what? The dead artist? The record price for his work? The subject of the painting, Marilyn Monroe? The historic bullet-holes inflicted by a would-be assassin? Or just for the $4.7 million? (Marquis 1991: 254)*

Baudrillard describes the auction as the equivalent of poker, as it is also a ritual and unique event that is unpredictable and transitory despite the existence of set rules (Baudrillard 1981: 113, 116). However, as theatrical as they may be, ultimately auctions are for buying and selling artefacts as commodities. These 'cultural arenas for establishing price and value' (Hooper 2003: 8) are a form of economic exchange focused on achieving profit. Auctions are commercial events during which (as high as possible) prices are established, albeit in a playful manner.

Ethnographic artefacts began to be auctioned at least as early as 1779 (see Jessop 2003: 93), followed by major sales such as that of the Leverian Museum, which was sold by Parkinson in a 60-day sale in 1806, and the Bullock collection in 1819 (Leverian Museum 1979; Bullock Museum 1979).[249] Ethnographic auctions continued during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Allingham 1924: 175-224), with some specialist sales of 'primitive art' taking place in France. A series of sales at Christie's and Sotheby's in London in the 1970s (including the James Hooper and George Ortiz collections) ushered in the period of 'tribal art' auctions with glossy catalogues (Geismar 2001: 31-32).

Although the auction sale is a theatrical creation of price, Geismar (2001: 34-43) moderates the emphasis on the auction as a singular event by arguing that the actual auction sale consists of three components: the catalogue, the view and the sale. While an auction is considered as a performance with actors and audience, the catalogue serves as the script (Geismar 2001: 34). Since at least the 1970s, a glossy catalogue artistically displays the objects available for sale, together with an estimated price. The object's artistic and supposedly unique features are emphasised, together with the object's pedigree of previous owners or collectors, all of which add to its value. Ethnographic information is provided in footnotes, since this might also increase an object's potential value.[250] The catalogue serves as an invitation, and so they are distributed amongst a wide clien-

249 The auction as a format has a long history, see Grijp (2006: 137).

250 Satov (1997) briefly studies the changes in auction catalogues dealing with tribal art and notes how photography is an important medium in these catalogues. It should be noted that provenance information concerning previous ownership would not always withstand rigorous investigation.

tele. After browsing through the catalogue, the potential buyer can visit the object during the viewing days preceding the auction. Direct contact with the object by handling and feeling it and, carefully but diplomatically and rather secretly, inspecting the object for weaknesses, will convince the viewer whether to bid for the object or not. Competition between potential buyers begins during the view, with people discovering particular qualities or imperfections and cautiously writing these down in their catalogues. Devoting too much attention to an object might betray a potential buyer's interest and people in the viewing room take notice of each other's moves. By the time of the actual sale, the choices and buying decisions will mostly already have been made. In this sense, Geismar is correct in stating that both the catalogue and the view are intrinsic parts of the sale process. This is also expressed in the fact that the buyer's physical presence is not required and people can bid by telephone (Geismar 2001: 40). The sale itself has a number of fixed components that help in augmenting the eventual price. The auctioneer not only guides the bidding, but the cadence of his chant dictates the rhythm of the bidding. During the sale, particular buyers and sellers may dress in specific ways to support the image they are trying to project (Smith 1989: 115-117). However, the sale itself will remain unpredictable, adding to the exciting tension.

Although at first sight the Kamoro auction did not resemble the events performed at major auction houses, it will be considered in similar terms. The fact that the Kamoro Arts Festival included an auction and did not just provide an opportunity to sell artefacts on a one-to-one basis was not a coincidence. The Kamoro Festival was an event to which the public was invited – ferried in by plane and bus – to observe a, to them, totally new culture. Sometimes it even concerned people who were barely interested in the whole event. Here, the holding of an auction was a good means of convincing people to buy. As Smith (1989: 14) states, 'the auction format is seen as a means for putting social pressure on participants to give more than they might otherwise give'. Similarly, Heath & Luff (2007b: 63) note that auctions 'enable the legitimate pricing and exchange of goods where those goods are of uncertain value'. The Kamoro auction served as a transition, a bridging element between Kamoro producers and non-Kamoro consumers.[251]

251 While Smith (1989: 51) mentions that participants in an auction form a community, Geismar (2001: 28) argues that consensus within an auction 'community' is not fundamentally required. She highlights the significance of prior events such as the catalogue and viewing. While I agree that it may not be a requirement, this community consensus clearly appears during the Kamoro auction.

II. A Kamoro auction uncovered

When the buses full of VIP guests arrived, the atmosphere on the festival ground changed. Artists whose work was selected put on their headdresses, sometimes applied body paint and made their way to the *tempat lelang,* the auction building (i.e. the main building). The auctioneers too put on their appropriate attire, put on white paint or sometimes even toothpaste due to a lack of time to prepare the usual mixture of crushed clam shells.[252] Upon the arrival of the guests by bus, everything was arranged for their benefit. The appointed Kamoro security men kept Kamoro viewers outside the auction building. Only the selected carvers and their 'supporting dancers' could enter the main building. The invited guests themselves were dazzled by the scenery and had to cope with many impressions. They were overwhelmed by the abundance of objects for sale – displayed in improvised stalls dotted over the festival space. Before finding a seat, repeat visitors and interested buyers made sure they got a view of the selected objects in the main building. There was also a hierarchy of seating: important VIPs took the comfortable sofa, others went for the plastic chairs. Cameramen and journalists checked their equipment and the volunteers prepared their lists with names of selected artists. As the person responsible for the auction, Kal Muller, the Freeport consultant who was asked to organise the festival, explained the rules of the game and introduced the Kamoro auctioneer. The drums started beating, the public was ready, as was the artist…it was show time.

This section will analyse how the various auction components all had their significance in the creation of a higher price – many of them might have been begun coincidentally, but had grown to be fixed auction ingredients. While the 2002 auction has been chosen as the basis for the analysis, since it presented a consolidation and was the epitome of many of the trends that had developed during previous years, references are made to incidents and examples of other auctions. The trends set out during the 2002 Fesival also continued during the following festivals (2003, 2005). In this analysis, I follow Geismar's (2001) invitation to analyse auctions as a chain of events rather than one specific event, and therefore separate the different auction elements enumerated above: catalogue, viewing and sale.

252 The preferred species is the granular ark clam (*Anadara granosa*) or *poro* in Kamoro language. These shells are burnt and crushed into a white lime.

1) Catalogue

Before attending the festival, the visitors received a package in the Sheraton (now Rimba Papua) Hotel, containing a festival booklet, a T-shirt, a nametag and usually some PR information about the Freeport Mining Company – all presented in a bag adorned with Kamoro-style motifs and the Freeport logo. The bilingual (English-Indonesian) festival booklet aimed to introduce visitors to Kamoro culture with a clear focus on Kamoro art objects. The more elaborate 2001 Festival booklet became the standard and was, virtually identically, reproduced the following years with different photographs and small variance in layout and text.[253] After a brief introduction to Kamoro history and daily life, the quality of Kamoro carvings was highlighted and emphasised. A list was provided of the various categories in which the auction artefacts were selected, with a clarification of the objects' functions and uses in Kamoro life. Following a concise history of the Kamoro Festival, the booklet concluded with the programme and a number of practical details.

Although the booklets appear to differ greatly from the polished ('western') auction catalogue, which clearly resembles an art exhibition catalogue, the Kamoro Festival booklet served a similar function. This booklet not only accentuated the refinement of Kamoro carvings, it also emphasised the role of the objects as commodities. It showed an interplay of text and image to give the objects a status of marketability. Examples varied from the caption under a picture of a carver with his miniature spirit pole at auction: 'A small, stylised mbitoro [spirit pole] combines traditional art with relative ease of shipment' (Muller 2002: 8), to: 'This fine carving of a masked figure shows Kamoro art at its best' (Muller 2002: 5), under a picture depicting Yosef Mamoyao from SP V (originally Kokonao) with his masked figure that reached the top price at the 2000 auction (Rp. 5 million). Similar to an auction catalogue, market jargon was used to enhance the value of the objects and to help seduce the buyer. It was impossible to illustrate the objects that would be offered, since these were only selected just before the auction. However, the list of categories gave the visitors an idea of what to expect. The booklet also could not provide estimates of the objects, as in other auction catalogues, but a standard price was indicated: 'the average piece in the auction sells for some US$ 100. And while the best carvings are picked for the auction, there are many other very good pieces left, available at lower prices by bargaining directly with the carvers' (Muller 2001b: 6-7).

253 Previously not much information had been provided. The 2000 booklet, for instance, mainly provided the festival schedule, followed by some practicalities, such as luggage allowance on Freeport-chartered Airfast flights and recommended clothing.

The background information provided at the beginning of the booklet was of equal significance. The booklet presented a context in which the objects were created, bestowing on the objects an aura of authenticity. Steiner points out that the presentation of an art object is an essential component of the object's sale: 'the context in which an object is placed and the circumstances surrounding its putative discovery weigh heavily in the buyer's assessment of quality, value, and authenticity' (Steiner 1995: 152). Here the authenticity and value of the artefacts were both legitimised in the booklet, which served as an ideal introduction to the auction.

2) Viewing

The invited guests were usually divided into two groups, whereby each group visited the festival one day and participated in a mine tour on the other. On the day of the auction the visitors were brought to the festival ground by bus. Guests who were invited for the first time generally wore the festival T-shirt and nametag that was part of their package. Consequently, newcomers to the festival all wore these idiosyncratic outfits and formed a uniform group. Although the returning visitors, or the 'veterans', received the same package upon arrival in Timika, they usually chose not to wear the T-shirts. Some people wore the T-shirt from the 1998 Festival, perhaps as a statement of continuity and expertise. Others seemed to prefer anonymity in their outfits, which indicated that they were returning veterans and thus potentially leading actors in the auction performance.

Upon arrival, visitors had a chance to view the selected objects which were exhibited in the festival's main building. For most visitors this was their first confrontation with Kamoro art, apart from the Kamoro sculptures in the Sheraton (Rimba Papua) Hotel – where the emphasis lies on large anthropomorphic figures (*wemawe*). While viewing in western auctions takes place over several days, viewing at a Kamoro auction can only take place just before the event. The information in the festival booklet explained that the objects were displayed by category. This was because, prior to the auction, when all the objects were assembled, the jury chose the three most representative examples in each category and gave them a first, second and third prize respectively (Figure 32). The 'winning' objects carried an additional label acknowledging their position. The viewing was generally an individual event, in which many visitors were surprised by the variety of goods offered. Not many people actually handled or touched the objects but remained at a certain distance while viewing them. Veterans were interested to see what 'Kal has picked this year' and were surprised by the innovative features of some objects (personal communication fes-

Figure 32: Muller picking the three 'winners' of the drums selected for the 2005 auction, Pigapu 2005 (Photo: K. Jacobs)

tival guest, 28 April 2001).[254] Newcomers mostly told each other which objects they liked and agreed that they would not bid against each other for these particular artefacts (as observed during the 2000 and 2002 auctions). Some veterans freely advised newcomers which objects represented good quality and were worth purchasing; a minimum price was even suggested to the visiting Spanish Ambassador (as observed 26 April 2001). Veterans often challenged each other by announcing that they would bid for the same object (observed in 2001 and 2002). However, visitors could only hope that their favourite object would be sold during that particular auction day, since all the objects were on display and it was not stipulated what would be sold on which of the two days.

3) The sale

The sale was the crucial part of the auction, during which the development and establishment of the price was the main focus. In order to facilitate the price increase, the sequence of objects that would be sold was chosen strategically. When the general buying mood declined, a best seller, an object that would guarantee a high price, was thrown in to revive the positive ambience. As we shall see, a range of elements developed over the years or gained more significance, since they helped in reaching higher

254 Since these were random conversations or incidents, I have decided not to name the individuals.

prices. Some of these elements developed spontaneously, while others were encouraged by the organising committee. The basic auction procedure remained the same each year: the artist showed his selected work and the auctioneer invited guests to start bidding.

In 2000, a drum was usually beaten and the artist danced to its rhythm as he showed his work. This drumming turned out to be an important auction element, since sales proved less successful whenever the drummer took a break and the atmosphere declined. During the following festivals' auctions (2001-05), a band of drummers and one gong-player was formed to continuously provide music throughout the auction. The constant rhythm of the drums and gong was a captivating and gripping medium that not only dictated the rhythm for the dancing artist, but also for the bidding public. When prices rose to a high level, female relatives sometimes began to dance around the artist; this improved the atmosphere and the visitors made even more bids. From 2001 onwards, this dancing became a permanent ingredient of the auction sale. The presence of the auctioneer was also continuously required, since prices were lower when he took a break from his constant entertaining banter. While there was only one auctioneer during the first three festivals (1998-2000), the auctioneer sometimes received assistance in 2001, and in 2002 there were four different auctioneers. In addition, Mathea Mamoyau – one of the main *panitia* members – decided to encourage the bidding by shouting '*tambah*, *tambah*' (more, more) or '*main*, *main*' (play, play) into the microphone (13 April 2002). It thus became clear that maintaining a pleas-

Figure 33: Josef Mutiu during the 2002 auction (Photo: K. Jacobs)

ant atmosphere was essential. Already in 2001, Josef Mutiu, who did not have an official role in the auction as artist or auctioneer, was successful in attracting the attention of the public by shouting, jumping and singing. In 2002 he claimed an even larger role as supporter (Figure 33). He was a true entertainer and his performance was enjoyed by the visitors, who regularly joined him dancing. Each of the important players in the Kamoro auction – auctioneer, connoisseur, audience and artists – will be highlighted separately.

a) The auctioneer

In this buying-selling context, the role of the auctioneer was an important one. Although during the Kamoro auction the auctioneer did not use a formal singing chant, he did repeat the bids in a rhythmic manner. He also spoke between bids to maintain the rhythm and to keep the attention of the audience. The auctioneer was the one who directed the show, he told people what the price was and how close it was to becoming the final bid. Continuous requests for new bids – to increase (*auctio*) the price – were made and thanks were expressed when people did so. In 2002 there were four different auctioneers, who will be introduced individually. To mark their status, they were all wearing traditional attire; a trend that began to develop from the 2001 auction onwards.

Antonius Mawiaku from Mioko performed for the first time as an auctioneer during the 2002 Festival (Figure 34). Wearing an elaborate headdress with two birds of paradise and cassowary feathers and an apron, also of cassowary feathers, he restricted himself to shouting out the bids. Sometimes he introduced an opening bid, but when he proposed a starting price of 1.5 million rupiah, he was discouraged by the other auctioneers.

Thom(as) Mutaweyao from Nawaripi (originally from Kekwa) had already performed the role of auctioneer in 2001. Wearing a headdress and apron with cassowary feathers, he constantly repeated the bids. He always addressed the bidders personally and this was often in English: "Thank you Mister Smidt from Belanda [The Netherlands]". He also performed in the 2003 and 2005 auctions. During the 2005 auction he asked each bidder where they were from, enabling him to personally address them and request further bids.

Timo(thius) Samin from Iwaka (originally Kokonao) performed for the first time as auctioneer in 2002. Wearing a headdress with cassowary feathers, he was energetic and talked fast and repetitively. As filler he gave additional information in *bahasa Indonesia*, such as the Kamoro name for certain artefacts: 'a walking stick is *otekapa* in Kamoro language'. He also performed during the 2003 and 2005 auctions.

Figure 34: Antonius Mawiaku performing as auctioneer while Abraham Aruma from the Sempan village Pece is selling his object, Pigapu 2002 (Photo: K. Jacobs)

Apollo Takati from Timika (originally from Kokonao) was auctioneer in 1999, 2000 and 2002 (Figure 36). His experience had taught him how important it was that there was a good auction atmosphere. Therefore, before the auction, he always invited the Kamoro public to be enthusiastic. He sometimes encouraged the artists to show their work in a more attractive way to please visitors: 'Show them how to use a paddle before selling it'. He danced, shouted, cheered, jumped and sang. While he did not wear a 'Kamoro outfit' during the 1999 and 2000 Festivals, in 2002 he wore a headdress with a bird of paradise.

b) Selling the selected pieces: the role of the connoisseur

An additional crucial role in the auction sale was performed by Kal Muller, who was the link between the Kamoro performers and the non-Kamoro public. While the auctioneer only spoke Indonesian, Muller spoke mostly English, since the majority of the audience either did not speak Indonesian or were Indonesians fluent in English.

During the auction, he explained what a certain object was made of or how he felt that a certain object was one of the best representations of its category. In this manner, he continued the role that was initiated by the catalogue/booklet, which was written by him. Kal Muller's role was here considered to be that of connoisseur. As Steiner (1994: 133) states: 'It is

the gifted connoisseur, ..., who first "sees" the aesthetic quality of a piece and thereby "transforms" a neglected artifact into an object of art'. Muller had selected the objects for the auction and now introduced them to the audience. Sally Price not only defines a connoisseur as 'a man of supremely good taste', but also as 'a person whose opinions carry special authority for others', because he is 'especially competent to pass critical judgements in an art, …, or in matters of taste' (Price 1989: 7). She also appropriately points out that connoisseurs are dictators of taste, an issue which will be explored in a later section.

The connoisseur explained to the audience what they were buying, enhanced an object's attraction, justified a purchase and legitimised its authenticity. He therefore used a language that potential buyers could identify with. When a wooden two-dimensional depiction of a mermaid (made by Anselmus Upakereya from Timika Pantai) was shown during the 2002 auction, a visitor asked if a Kamoro legend existed about mermaids. The connoisseur circumvented the question by emphasising the funny way of depicting the mermaid's breasts. In other words, the connoisseur sometimes mocks the true meaning in his announcement to make the sale a success, which is crucial for the Kamoro artist selling it. As Steiner states: 'many of the stories … have nothing to do with "traditional" object interpretation or usage – they are simply anecdotes invented to entertain prospective buyers' (Steiner 1995: 159). During the 2000 auction – the first time when a representative was present from the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden – Kal Muller often announced 'this is a museum piece'. Whether this was a means to convince the museum representative to buy this particular object or whether referring to a museum context was intended to enhance the commodity's value as a work of art remains unclear. However, when the museum representative bought the object, it legitimised its status in the eyes of the other visitors.

For the visitors, Muller's position of connoisseur was enhanced by his clothing. From the 2001 auction onwards, he decided to wear Kamoro traditional attire and consequently identified with the Kamoro people and differentiated himself from the public as an expert in Kamoro art. Kal Muller realised the importance of dress as a statement or an element of the sale technique (see Steiner 1994: 90-91). He explained that his aspiration was to show the Kamoro people that it is acceptable to wear their traditional garments (Kal Muller, personal communication 28 April 2001). He therefore particularly chose elements that were present in museum collections but were not widely available in the Kamoro region or at the festival. In 2001, he purchased two armlets with cassowary feathers, a belt and a plain barkcloth apron – the only one that he could find on the festival ground. In 2002, several barkcloth aprons were brought to the festival by Kamoro participants possibly indicating the impact of Muller's outfit.

Figure 35: applying paint to Kal Muller before the auction, Pigapu 2001 (Photo: K. Jacobs)

The connoisseur wore a painted barkcloth apron (a copy from Kooijman's book), a belt, necklace, a hat made from cuscus fur, and an armlet with cassowary feathers.[255]

Both the auctioneer and the connoisseur were agents in this transitional auction process. They attempted to and did influence the auction's success, but were unable to determine the final result. The actual auction sale was a shared procedure between the Kamoro participants and the non-Kamoro audience.

c) To bid or not to bid…: the audience

Directed by the auctioneer and the connoisseur, the auction was mainly an interaction between the artists and the audience. They created the core part of the performance. The artist danced with the object, which was the focal point of action, and the public made bids, and as such their bids influenced the conduct of the artist. The buying public always consisted of non-Kamoro people (of Euro-American and Australian origin and from other parts of Indonesia or Singapore). The Kamoro people themselves did not bid or buy at (or outside the) auction. During the auction sale, visitors

255 In 2002, his wife, Georjina Chia, also dressed up with a fibre skirt and a fibre top. Their first appearance caused a combination of shy amusement and fascination amongst the Kamoro peers. Women from Kaugapu village went up to Georjina to touch the top and discuss the way it was made.

not only observed the gradual price increase, they were active participants or actors in the performance. The auction was even conceived of as a game that required planning strategies and ended with the exhilaration of winning or the disappointment of defeat. During the viewing process, certain visitors challenged each other to bid for an artefact of choice, while others agreed to form a ring to avoid competition.[256] The competition could also be hindered by power relations. When in 2000, for instance, Dirk Smidt, Oceania curator at the Leiden National Museum of Ethnology (NME), attended the auction for the first time, he sometimes withdrew from bidding when he realised that Paul Murphy was bidding for the same artefact. He felt it was inappropriate to compete with the person who had helped him to attend the auction. However, the latter's reaction was that rivalry was part of the show and 'may the best man win' (Paul Murphy, personal communication 14 October 2000). Indeed, it was a performance in which the audience was well aware of its role and played its part. In 2002, the fish carving made by Rikardus Nimi from SP II instantly received a bid of 1 million rupiah, which was announced with flamboyance (Figure 36). Immediately it was clear that this was a popular artefact and the bidding, which lasted a long time, mainly occurred between staff of the Leiden NME and *GedungDUA8*, a gallery in Jakarta. Each time Leiden had the bid and the auctioneer began to announce the close of the sale, the Jakarta

Figure 36: Rikardus Nimi selling his fish figure with Apollo Takati as auctioneer, Pigapu 2002 (Photo: K. Jacobs)

256 A ring in Euro-American auctions is illegal and not only implies a group of bidders cooperating to keep the prices low, but also a knockdown auction afterwards (Grijp 2006: 154-7).

people raised the bid, which resulted in increased tension and excitement. The carving was eventually sold to Jakarta for 11 million rupiah, a new top price that day (=circa US$1,100).

When Kal Muller noticed that someone was keen to acquire a particular artefact, he often threw in bids to enhance the price (as observed each year). Again, this occurs during Euro-American auctions to ensure lots are not sold under their reserve price (Grijp 2006: 156). Similarly, when no acceptable price was offered for a particular object, the *panitia* (organising committee) or connoisseur would buy the object. Two people linked to the auction would then bid against each other – to hide the fact that the object did not get sold to an invited guest and to keep up the performance. The organising committee guaranteed that every selected object would be sold, since the ultimate goal was to provide the artist with cash.

However, most objects were sold to visitors, and this in a challenging context, which was created through the medium of the auction. For the visitors, it was often a matter of acting quickly. There was no time to ponder about the price, particularly when someone else was interested. More often the end result was considerably higher than the price the buyer originally had in mind. Typically the audience clapped when a final price was reached. Therefore, purchasing an artefact also brought instant fame, which accentuated the audience's role of actors in a performance. Pictures were taken of the buyer and the artist and record prices were discussed in local newspapers, resembling the press reviews of Euro-American auctions.[257]

d) Kamoro participants: selling strategies?

The Kamoro participants eagerly engaged with the auction and were excited about the high prices paid for artefacts. Women danced along with the carvers, which led to higher bids. This could be seen as a commercial trick to make the product more appealing, but it could also be considered Kamoro customary behaviour. Excluded from the male secrets, women are only present at the public stages of the rituals; nevertheless their presence as an audience is crucial and they support men by dancing around them (*cf.* Coenen 1963; Pouwer 1956).

There are similar points to be made. During the sale of one of the spirit poles in the 2000 auction, the carver Yoakim Matameka from Timika Pantai, together with village members, decided to perform the ritual in which the pole is used. The spirit pole was held horizontally and was moved up and down by the men, while the women were dancing around

257 In 2000, Dirk Smidt was praised for his generosity in the newspaper *Suara Pembaruan* (5/11/00) and in the Freeport journal *Berita Kita* (2000: 5). As the buyer of two masks during the 2000 auction, Pacita Abad, a Filipino artist, was described in the journal *Travel Indonesia* (2001: 19).

it. Moving the pole up and down was an attempt to evoke the spirit for whom the pole was carved and to invite it to enter the object. The enthusiasm and thrill increased gradually with the intensified movement of the pole and the dancing of the women. The event culminated with the carver jumping onto the pole. Demonstrating the spirit pole's ritual role before selling it attracted the interest of the non-Kamoro public as potential buyers. On the other hand, it enabled the people to recreate a ritual act.[258]

A notable event in the 2000 auction was the appearance of a female carver with her work. The success of previous festivals stimulated a woman, Petronella Amariyau from Wonosari Jaya, to start carving wooden objects – an activity that traditionally was restricted to men (Figure 37). Her appearance was announced as an exceptional event, which had its effect on the audience. As soon as the public was informed of the uniqueness of her performance, their interest was caught. Female visitors in particular were intrigued by this carver's courage in breaking with tradition and could only encourage it by bidding as far as their finances would allow. Petronella's sago bowl was eventually sold for 2,250,000 rupiah (= circa US$225), a price that was not paid for any similar object made by a man. Not everyone was convinced that she had made the bowl herself; some Kamoro carvers and art dealers believed that she was selling it on behalf of a male family member.[259] However, even if it was a 'set-up', it was a perfect commercial move. The prospective buyers competed in their attempt to purchase this particular object, since it was presented as something unusual; something they had 'discovered'. This inside knowledge stirred their desire to acquire this particular object or, as Appadurai argues: 'Knowledge *about* commodities is increasingly commoditized' (Appadurai 1986: 54, original emphasis). Therefore, having observed the success of the female carvers in previous auctions, Pak Liberatus Mutiu had chosen not to present his selected work himself during the 2002 auction, but had asked a female relative. However, his work was not presented as having been made by the woman presenting it and did not have the associated success.[260]

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258 Even though it clearly did attract the attention of the audience, it was more as a performance because the *mbitoro* fetched a high, but not unusually, high price. The *mbitoro* sold for Rp. 700,000. Two other *mbitoro* were sold: one by Gabriel Yauniuta for Rp. 1 million and one by Frederikus Manakopeyau for Rp. 2 million.

259 During my research of the 2000, 2001 and 2002 Festivals, male carvers from other villages initially insisted that no women should carve, but that perhaps a woman is allowed to carve a bowl – nothing else. During my visit in 2011, it finally came out that no women had ever carved, not even a bowl.

260 Earlier, Liberatus Mutiu approached me offering to give me an *oleh-oleh* (present, souvenir) in exchange for which he asked me to help him. He remembered from the previous year that I had observed Kal during the selection process. My attempts to explain that I was in no position to help seemed to be in vain. However, trying to bribe me appeared unnecessary, since his work was chosen for the auction.

Figure 37: Petronella Amariyau showing her sago bowl which was selected for the auction of the Kamoro Arts Festival in 2000, Pigapu (Photo: K. Jacobs)

Petronella's triumph during the 2000 Festival led to the appearance of two other female carvers from the same village in 2001: Dorotea Maru and Maria Mapeyauta. Maria's bowl was sold at auction for 1.3 million rupiah (circa US$130), during a day when the public consisted of journalists, i.e. not a buying public, and Dorotea's bowl was sold outside the auction

for approximately half the price – again a high price for an object bought from a stall.

These examples are important to demonstrate how, in this buying and selling performance, many individuals had their own tactics, interests and aspirations, all combined in one place at one time. The auction concerned much more than an exchange of an art object; it was an exchange of knowledge, benefits and strategies, even though it was orchestrated by the main sponsors.

4) Auction as improvisation exercise

Notwithstanding the fact that the Kamoro auction was an event replete with buying and selling strategies, collective and individual tactics, and other tricks and stunts, all intended to increase the price in a theatrical and performative manner, ultimately an auction remains unpredictable.

During the 2002 auction, for example, there was an obvious contrast between the two auction days, similar to the 2001 auction (see Chapter 5). Because on the first auction day the public was not a 'buying public' (i.e. journalists, TV crews), it was strategically decided that only the portable and easily saleable objects would be auctioned then. Large artefacts and obvious best sellers were saved for the next day when the important VIPs were expected. During the second auction day, there was a contest between Emi Kusmilia bidding for the President of PT Freeport Indonesia and Joe Garrison bidding for Dirk Smidt of the Leiden Museum (NME). Amidst this sociable but spirited atmosphere, the prices rose appreciably. The contrast with the previous day became most apparent when Paulus Amareyau from Wonosari Jaya (SP IV) demonstrated his large masked wooden figure (*wemawe mbikao*) which rapidly fetched 9.8 million rupiah. On this day a buying public was present and they would bid high. The total of the first auction day was 24,950,000 rupiah (= circa US$2,495). The total of the second auction day was 73,950,000 rupiah (= circa US$7,395).

During the 2002 *sosialisasi* process, carvers were advised not to bring spirit poles (*mbitoro*), as their large size makes them hard to sell. *Mbitoro* have not fetched high prices with the exception of the 2000 auction when David Potter, the Freeport geologist who initiated the mining of *Grasberg*, bought a spirit pole to be put in front of his Timika office for a high price. Despite the organising committee's suggestion, the 2002 top price went to a *mbitoro*, because David Potter needed a new *mbitoro* to replace the old one. However, this was without taking the representative of the Leiden NME into account, who had also set his sights on the pole. The pole's sale resulted in seriously competitive and theatrical bidding, whereby the two protagonists stood in front of the public, one at each side of the festival's main building (Figure 38). Joe Garrison, acting as translator, was constantly negotiating with Dirk Smidt about how high he could go with the

Figure 38: Yakobus Nawiyuta selling his mbitoro which received the 2002 top price, Pigapu (Photo: K. Jacobs)

bidding. Chain-smoking, he was earnestly shouting his bid. David Potter at the other side of the building gesticulated and exaggerated his body language to show his discontent with the rising price. By convincingly taking his hat off and throwing it on the floor, David Potter acknowledged defeat at the ultimate top price of 12.3 million rupiah (= circa US$1,230).[261]

It is the almost arbitrary unpredictability that is the best-known feature of auctions; some objects achieved astronomical prices at auction, beyond all expectations, while others that had been predicted as best sellers fetched a relatively low price. An auction's unpredictable character can be partly explained by the fact that it is a temporary public competition. As Hooper notes: 'objects can thus become vehicles for status competition, and derive part of their value from that, rather than from any intrinsic quality' (Hooper 2003: 8). However, the auction's unpredictable character did frequently result in discontent or disappointment amongst the Kamoro carvers. After the 2001 Festival, Cantius Amereyauw informed the local newspaper *Timika Pos* that many carvers felt dissatisfied after the festival. He felt that people should be rewarded for creating their carvings and travelling from faraway to the festival, rather than having to return

261 I hope that the writing tone does not denigrate the event; rather it is hoped that it conveys the theatricality of the moment. It is interesting to note that whenever a carver is performing during the auction, all the other artists whose work is chosen observe the auction from the side – waiting to be called to present their work. The auction prices are discussed in the group and the news of high bids is spread with delight. No competition between the carvers seems to be present at this stage, but rather a contest between the Kamoro artists and the visitors.

without selling anything (Timika Pos 04/05/01: 1, 7). More important than this single complaint is the fact that after the festival, many carvers hassled members of the organising committee (*panitia*) to ask for money for their unsold carvings.[262]

Although carvers were advised during the *sosialisasi* process to create only a limited amount of carvings for the festival, each year more carvings were brought. This excess of carvings was particularly noticeable after the 2001 Festival with a vast quantity of objects left behind and piled up in the festival's main building. In order to avoid further complaints, the organising committee gave villages that had a particularly large number of carvings left an amount of money – up to 50,000 rupiah per carving. The following year again, *Timika Pos* reported how some people complained that large carvings were not sold (Timika Pos 16/04/02: 1, 7).[263] Two days later, the newspaper announced that the disappointment of the Kamoro carvers would be resolved, since the organising committee had offered to compensate them for the unsold carvings (Timika Pos 18/04/02: 1, 7).

It could be stated that the auction became the victim of its own success: each year the prices were increasing and each year more Kamoro people attended the festival, wanting to join in the success. Finding a solution for this problem was not straightforward. Kal Muller stated that the fact that an auction's unpredictability may be hard to accept could not be solved by makeshift solutions such as buying up the leftover carvings. Muller opposed this measure, since it would generate the production of an even larger quantity for the subsequent festival. He did nonetheless consider the festival as a means to provide the Kamoro people with a financial income. That is why monetary prizes were given for the other festival components and money was provided to attend (Kal Muller, interview 4 May 2001). In a booklet dealing with the origin of the Kamoro Festival drawn up by Freeport, it states: 'this general supply of money…was controversial to say to [*sic*] the least' (PTFI 2000a: 18). It continues by saying that the actual reason was that the distribution of Freeport money, such as the 1% of the gross revenues, was regularly dissipated rather than distributed evenly. Therefore, 'the stipends given out after the festival was a sure way to get at least some of the Freeport money to the far away villages and where cash

262 Each year, there have also been several cases of intimidation by dissatisfied Kamoro, who were often drunk, demanding extra cash or fuel before returning to their home villages. In 2003, Bishop Sowada, OSC, the initiator of the Asmat Festival, expressed his fear of an increasing dependency on money through the Kamoro Festival. He particularly referred to the fact that the Kamoro people receive money to come to the festival, rather than having to find their way themselves as is the case with the Asmat Festival (Alphonse Sowada, personal communication 26 April 2003).

263 In the same article, a Kamoro person voiced the opinion that not everything should be measured in terms of money and that the Kamoro people are grateful to the people who come together for the sake of their culture.

is most needed' (PTFI 2000a: 18). The auction, too, aimed to provide the Kamoro people with an extra cash income: 'while money is not a measure of success, it still counts. The prizes for the various events are a great help to the cash-poor Kamoro' (Muller 2001b: 9).

The influx of cash leads to the question of how these carvers used the financial rewards. Generally the money was divided amongst relatives and people who assisted the carver. Money was given to the people who *goyang goyang* (literally: sway, swing, referencing the people dancing around him during the sale) when a piece is sold. Leo Neyakowau sold his *wemawe* figure during the 2001 auction for 1.8 million rupiah; he used this money on a shopping trip to Timika to buy necessities. Members of a *sanggar* divide the money with the other members who often assisted making the work. Henki Kaware (*sanggar Maramo Ndikiamareta*) sold a mask during the 2001 auction for 2.2 million rupiah and divided this money with his *sanggar* colleagues. The following year, Timo Samin's bird figure fetched 1.7 million rupiah, which again was divided in the same *sanggar*. In 2002, Rikardus Nimi received 11 million rupiah from which he kept 500,000 rupiah, while the rest was divided.[264]

III. 'They have to learn': picking pieces

The first part of this section's title is based on a regular remark uttered by non-Kamoro people during the selection and auction process. The festival auction not only wanted to revive, promote and sell Kamoro art; another aim claimed by the sponsors was to improve the general quality of Kamoro artefacts. The festival booklet states that after cultural expressions were banned by the church and the Dutch government, a small market for Kamoro art began to appear. However, this market was restricted to expatriates and Indonesian immigrants, who offered low prices for souvenirs, resulting in low quality work: 'just about all of these carvings made for sale can only be described as 'firewood' quality: good enough only to burn' (Muller 2001b: 5). The philosophy behind the auction was that raising the quality of Kamoro art could only be successfully achieved by offering financial rewards. While discussing the appearance of a small market for Freeport staff, Kal Muller mentioned:

> *With these low prices, obviously the carver was not motivated to put his heart and soul into the carving, to try to make it as good as possible, because the price was the same whether he did a shitty piece of carving or he did a very halus, a very fine, piece of carving. … Well, this was the thing I tried*

264 It was divided as follows: 1.1 million went to the organising committee (10%), 1.5 million to his *sanggar Ndaiti*, 500,000 rupiah for himself, 1.5 million to his close relatives and the remaining 7 million was split among 23 family members: 10 from his home village of Timika Pantai, 10 who now live on Pulau Keraka and 3 in Sempan Barat, Timika.

> *to address at the festival and this is one of the things we have been very successful in achieving: the quality of the art has definitely come up in the last four years. … Generally they [Kamoro carvers] are beginning to improve the quality, because they know that quality brings rewards.* (Kal Muller, interview 4 May 2001)

This financial reward was obtained through the festival auction, which implies that the selection process was the main factor in the scheme of quality improvement of Kamoro artefacts. During the first Festival (1998) the auction selection team consisted of Yuven Biakai, the Director of the Asmat Art Museum, and Kal Muller, assisted by the Kamoro carvers Timo Samin, Yan Imini and Theo Amareyauta. In an account of the selection process it was noted that debate arose 'as some pieces of dubious artistic quality were picked just because some of the sub-committee members felt that they represented a high degree of worthwhile traditional forms and motifs' (PTFI 2000a: 11). Therefore, in the following years Kal Muller had the prime judging position; while he was surrounded by people who might suggest selection of certain artefacts, Muller had the final choice:

> *During the festival itself, I run the auction, since I have many years of experience in dealing with so-called primitive art. Several periods of my life I made my livelihood buying and selling woodcarvings from Africa, from the New Hebrides, now Vanuatu. I have a sense of aesthetics and I have a sense of what the outside art-world wants.* (Kal Muller, interview 4 May 2001)

Having an 'eye' for quality, i.e. the ability to determine the artistic value and market popularity of an artefact, is a widespread notion amongst dealers and collectors. MacClancy (1988: 169) finds answers as to what it means to have a 'good eye' in someone 'who can identify pieces that will sell well', someone who can apply 'the current canons of taste to any object they regard'. Not everyone has the 'eye', 'some have it, some don't' (MacClancy 1988: 169). After the 2002 selection process, Kal Muller mentioned: 'I go by feeling, some works just don't do much to me' (Kal Muller, personal communication 11 April 2002). How someone feels about an object might appear a personal and individual matter. However, if we follow Bourdieu (1984) this feeling is influenced by what a person knows about it. Bourdieu's influential work, *Distinction* (1984), emphasized class differences in the judgment of taste. Although the original meaning of 'taste' was nearer to the modern touch or feel (as a derivative of *tastare*, 'touch, feel'), the term gradually became totally separated from active human senses, but a matter of acquiring habits and rules (Williams 1988: 313-314). Bourdieu states that 'the "eye" is a product of history reproduced by education' (Bourdieu 1984: 3). This implies that it refers to someone who has experience in looking at objects. Kal Muller applied

his previous experience during the selection process when he assessed the technical perfection and aesthetic value of Kamoro carvings.

In 2001, the selection process was spread over two days (25-26 April).[265] While their work was judged, the Kamoro people hardly said anything. They gathered, observed and awaited the verdict with patience. The selection process was often one of negotiation, during which objects were examined carefully, discussed and returned to the carver. A bowl in the form of a stingray made in Kaugapu village was a particular object of discussion. It was judged as quality work, but it remained doubtful whether this object would be chosen for the auction. Several artefacts made by Kaugapu carvers had already been chosen for the auction and Kal Muller preferred to balance the number of carvings selected per village. After three days during which the object had been examined several times, the carver added new motifs. Having observed the constant debate about his work, the carver concluded it was not good enough and changed it accordingly (Silpinus Epoko, personal communication 27 April 2001). However, the jury was now convinced the bowl should not be selected. The object had been appreciated because of its simplicity; the new motifs were assessed as lessening rather than enhancing the object's aesthetic value. In general, preference went to traditional objects with an innovative character. The technical selection criteria were skilful craftsmanship, eye for detail and clear design. Technical perfection and the degree of completeness and detail in carving the human face were decisive. Unusual work had significant selection potential.

The 2002 selection process provided an interesting opportunity to examine whether a museum curator, or even Kamoro people, would choose a similar collection of artefacts, since the selection team combined Kal Muller, Dirk Smidt, Timo Samin and Thom Mutaweyao. Dirk Smidt, Oceania Curator of the Leiden National Museum of Ethnology (NME), visited the festival in 2000 and 2002.

In order to get an idea of what Kamoro people would choose, I asked Thom and Timo what they would choose before Muller made his selection.[266] Timothius Samin was less opinionated than Thom when it came to picking objects. The latter also sought technical perfection, detail and

265 While observing Kal Muller during the selection process, my role consisted of registering the names of the selected carvers as it was something that I needed to do anyhow (see the Preface for the explanation as to why I adopted an active role to legitimise my presence).

266 I am aware of the 'futility' of this little experiment. In no way am I presuming that these two people represent the Kamoro view of Kamoro aesthetics. However, this is not research in aesthetics and I took the opportunity to consult these two people, who I know well, assisting with the selection process. Asking in general what Kamoro people think about objects led to confused reactions, because of the straightforwardness of the questions. Now I could just ask what Thom and Timo would choose, before Kal made his selection. While Kal was discussing his choice with Dirk Smidt, we could move to items from the next village to discuss what Timo and Thom would select.

originality when it concerned an innovative object. However, when there was something associated with ritual use, he would pick that without any hesitation. When looking at the work of Mioko village, he immediately chose the *pokai*, the leading stick with cassowary and cockatoo feathers that is used in many of the dance performances and during the arrival of the canoes as a guiding symbol. Thom also pointed out an innovative carving as the best of that village, because it displayed a traditional house where women gave birth. Both Timo and Thom preferred canoe models and objects that display a hornbill (while Muller chose different artefacts from the respective villages), because these elements 'are important in Kamoro life' (Timo Samin & Thom Mutaweyao, personal communication 11 April 2003).[267]

Timo's and Thom's official roles during the selection process consisted of confirming or refuting whether an object was *asli*, 'authentic'.[268] It turned out that every time they were consulted, Thom and Timo confirmed the particular artefact was authentic. When a large masked figure made by Paulus Amareyau from Wonosari Jaya (SP IV) in wood was observed, for instance, Timo was asked whether this figure was *asli* and he confirmed that it was. When it was pointed out by Muller that it was the first time that this object had been seen in such a large size, it did not make any difference. While a notion of 'authenticity' might have significance and relevance for non-Kamoro people, it does not from a Kamoro viewpoint. Neich states that it is 'the tourists, the people with the economic power, who are most concerned about authenticity' (Neich 2001: 236). Kasfir's (1992: 52) suggestion that authenticity should be seated in the minds of those who make art, and not those who collect or study it, is most accurate in the case of the Kamoro. For Kamoro people, everything that is made by Kamoro people is authentically Kamoro. The origin authenticates the artefact. However, there are varying degrees of authenticity. For example, a large spirit pole is considered more authentic than a miniaturised version. Objects that are used in rituals are more *asli* than objects made for the festival's free creation category. However, some apparently innovative objects selected in this category were considered more *asli* than a sago bowl. The snake made by Kasianus Mutaweyao from Limau Asri (SP V) was considered *asli* because the snake is an important actor in Kamoro narratives.

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267 Pouwer (2003b: 37) writes that the hornbill in Kamoro narratives is a 'love bird' that is associated with marriage and intercourse.

268 The following translations are given for the Indonesian word *asli*: 1) original; 2) genuine, authentic; 3) indigenous, native, autochthonous; 3) aboriginal, primitive; 4) innate, inborn (Echols & Shadily 1992: 32).

During the selection process, both Dirk Smidt as a museum curator and Kal Muller as a former art dealer valued technical quality as a decisive criterion. However, while Smidt would select objects because they showed an interesting evolution compared to older, similar work in museum collections, Muller would avoid picking these objects if they were not aesthetically pleasing.[269] Muller put aesthetics above everything, while Smidt wanted to illustrate changes in Kamoro art. For the same reason, Smidt chose work with interesting iconography. For example, he collected a *yamate* (ceremonial board) with a map of 'Irian Jaya' and a bird of paradise.[270] Muller was not keen on its use of colour. Muller did not particularly look at iconography and certainly did not want to encourage political symbolism. To him, quality was important and quality meant well-carved with a sense of detail and a nice face on the human figures (Dirk Smidt & Kal Muller, personal communication 11 April 2002).

In his collecting activities, Dirk Smidt worked from two perspectives: firstly, he wanted to show continuity and change by collecting recent examples of objects already present in the NME collection and by collecting innovative work. Secondly, he wanted to fill gaps in the existing strong Kamoro collection and collect objects that offered research potential (Smidt 2000).[271] He described his collecting criteria as follows: 'the quality of the items; the way their design and significance connect with that revealed in the existing collection; change and innovation' (Smidt 2003b: 17). In addition, it was important to look at individual work of contemporary woodcarvers, which is in line with Smidt's work (and follows the work of his tutor Dr Gerbrands): 'a collection of objects, emphasizing the distinguishing characteristics of the works of the individual artists, can then be extended in the future, which would permit the museum to present works by individual woodcarvers in a diachronic manner' (Smidt 2003b: 17).

Kal Muller selected objects for the auction with the ultimate goal of selling them. Therefore he chose those which he knew would be popular:

> *I'll try to explain to them that I pick the pieces and what I think will sell well in the auction. This has generally been accepted, [though] I still have some problems, because people feel bad, because I didn't pick their particular piece. Well, I've got to make a choice somehow and I'll explain over and over again. I think this has got through by and large.* (Kal Muller, interview 4 May 2001)

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269 See Haddon and Layard (1916), Kooijman (1984) and Smidt (2003a) for overviews of Kamoro museum collections.

270 The *yamate* (NME 2990-10) was made by Frederikus Matameka, see Smidt (2003a: 147-8) and inset on the cover.

271 Information from Collection Report written by Dirk Smidt (Smidt 2000) and held in Series Archive, series 5959, National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden.

However, Kal Muller could not direct supply or demand. The Kamoro people made the first selection of artefacts; they chose what to bring to the festival and what they would and would not sell. Similarly, the audience decided what they would purchase and what they would not. In the previous section, Kal Muller's role has been labelled as that of connoisseur, quoting Sally Price's description of a connoisseur. However, Price's study is a critical study of these connoisseurs. She puts connoisseurs centre-stage as dictators of taste who cultivate a prestigious ability to exercise aesthetic discrimination. Price provides us with a number of critical remarks about connoisseurs, who act as if their 'discriminating eye' 'were the only means by which an ethnographic object could be elevated to the status of a work of art' (Price 1989: 68). She summarises that 'Westerners have assumed responsibility for the definition, conservation, interpretation, marketing, and future existence of the world's arts' (Price 1989: 69). Price's critical remarks are valid and the economic power of the connoisseur in the Kamoro Festival cannot be underestimated. However, Price appears to remain on the level of criticising. Rather than merely condemning connoisseurs as people who impose western aesthetics by choosing certain artefacts, it might be worth studying these choices and observing how the artefact producers respond to these choices by creatively interpreting them. As Silverman states: 'typically, carved objects reflect local interpretations of Western taste' (Silverman 1999: 57).

The Kamoro did read the taste of the buyers. On the one hand, there was an adaptation to the buyers' taste, while on the other hand there was the imitation of top-selling pieces from the previous festival. The Kamoro carvers indeed took notice of what was selected and used these guidelines for their future creations. Every year more innovative and individual work, both technical and imaginative, emerged. The spectrum of artefacts revealed a creative ability and willingness from the Kamoro carvers to adapt to a demanding market. In 2001, for example, souvenirs of the Festival appeared: one carver had made a statue representing a human figure holding a panel displaying the writing 'Pesta Kamoro 2001'. There were miniature spirit poles displaying the words 'welcome tourists' – the latter slogan indicating the influence of the buying public on artefact production. Buying is a form of judging, too.

It was for the buying audience that art objects were selected – according to assessment of their taste. When I asked Muller in 2002 if the Kamoro would ever take over the judging process, it was made clear that the buying public was non-Kamoro and therefore a non-Kamoro person should do the selection (Kal Muller personal communication 11 April 2002). The impact of the buying audience was most clear in the 'imitation' of top-sell-

ing objects.[272] Artefacts that had reached high prices at auction often inspired the abundant creation of similar objects for the following auction. The three-dimensional masked figures serve as an appropriate example. The top price during the 2000 auction was given to a wooden three-dimensional masked figure (*wemawe mbikao*) made by Yosef Mamoyao from Kokonao (Rp. 5 million). The second highest price went to a similar figure made by Amandus Awaiti from Kekwa (Rp. 4 million). In 2001, again, the top price went to a *wemawe mbikao* (made by Alo Atipia from Kokonao). While the objects were similar in form, the prices increased every year: the 2000 top price was 5 million rupiah (circa US$500) and the top price in 2001 was 8.8 million rupiah (circa US$880). In 2002, the highest price of the first auction day was given to a similar figure made by Urbanus Emaru from Wonosari Jaya (SP IV). An almost life-size version made by Paulus Amareyau from Wonosari Jaya (SP IV) fetched a price of 9.8 million rupiah. The masked figure was also reproduced on the front cover of the festival booklets (2001, 2002) and on the T-shirts designed for the 2001 Festival. These T-shirts became a real must-have among the Kamoro themselves too. The wooden masked figures became one of the most popular Kamoro objects during the Arts Festival and even became a kind of symbol of 'Kamoro-ness' for the buyers.

In this framework established by the auction, the Kamoro objects reflected the interaction between selection jury, Kamoro carvers and buying audience. Each year, the jury selected the 'best' work out of the changing repertoire of objects. Each year, Kamoro carvers tried to read the taste of the jury and the visitors and they gradually adapted to it. Each year, new visitors bought authentic Kamoro art that to them represented a souvenir of an experience of a festival 'for and by the Kamoro' (Muller 2001b: 2).

272 The term imitation is placed between inverted commas because Kamoro carvers never produce exact copies of work, but will clearly draw inspiration from other work (see Chapter 7).

Figure 39: Niko Okapoka with masked figure selected for the 2002 auction, Pigapu (Photo: K. Jacobs)

Chapter 7

Displaying Kamoro

Collecting and display are closely related. A collector does not usually just assemble materials to fill gaps in his/her collection, but ultimately wants to display the collection – often in specially-built cases, or in a prominent place in the house, in a distinct room or even in an exclusive building. The notion of display is both ancient and global (*cf.* Gosden 2004). Display is not just a goal of the collector, it is also a vital part of the collecting process as objects are displayed to be as enticing and attractive as possible to the viewer and potential collector. The interaction between display and collecting is the focus of Chapter Seven, concentrating on the display of Kamoro objects in Freeport-sponsored exhibitions. The objects displayed in these exhibitions (*pameran*) are available for sale, often in the framework of an auction similar to the Kamoro Arts Festival. While collecting usually means taking objects out of the economic circuit for a long period, here objects are collected to be sold and collected again in a short space of time. The emphasis is on the initial collecting process and on the objects themselves before the objects are displayed in the exhibition.

I. Displaying commodities

The last Kamoro Arts Festival to take place was held in 2005. At the time, it was assumed that the festival would continue, but Freeport officials, particularly Arief Latif, PT Freeport Indonesia's Vice-President – Social and Local Development, demanded some changes because the 2005 Festival had cost almost double the original festival budget. Several members of the organising committee, the *panitia*, had taken sole responsibility for handing out contracts to supply food and to build temporary accommodation and toilets. Since there was no clear control mechanism, money was spent indiscriminately or even disappeared, while the budget for the temporary accommodation for Kamoro visitors and the annual costly repairs to the road to the festival from Timika, for example, had to be found from elsewhere, with Freeport having to find the funds. Unaware that this would be the last Kamoro Festival, but aware that there had been budgetary problems, Kal Muller wrote a 'post-mortem' after the 2005 Festival evaluating its organisation. He made suggestions for the future (Muller 2005), such as publishing and recording the budget in newspapers, showing clearly how the money would, and should be, spent, and also recom-

mending initiative among the *panitia* members to travel to the villages and communicate with Kamoro participants. Eventually Freeport decided it wanted the government to take responsibility for organising the festival with support from Freeport. Meetings were organised and attended by Arief Latif and Kal Muller, amongst other members of the *panitia*, but no festival has since been organised. It could be argued that, for the government, there are no clear PR advantages such as those for Freeport, and that the government has other interests than sponsoring local culture. It could also be argued that Freeport has sufficient finances to organise the festival, seeing it is the largest gold mine in the world.[273] Many Kamoro people lament the end of the festival, because it was more than the sale of carvings; the dances and the gathering of Kamoro people from the entire Kamoro region are quoted as being significant.[274] Some Kamoro criticise Freeport's lack of further interest, others criticise LEMASKO's involvement and blame the organisation for the festival's demise. The aim of what follows is not to explore the reasons for the end of the festival, but to consider what has happened since.

1) Exhibiting commodities

Since 2007, *pameran* or 'exhibitions' have been organised in order to continue to raise awareness of Kamoro art and to provide Kamoro artists with an income. The exhibitions are held in Papua itself, for example in the Freeport towns Tembagapura or Kuala Kencana, or in Jakarta, Bali and Surabaya. Outside Papua, the venues range from embassies to galleries and international schools. Kal Muller and his team, Luluk Intarti and Jefri Taroreh, find the hosts and venues and supply the artworks to be displayed. The current exhibitions remain significant in terms of Freeport PR; the stated goal is still the preservation of Kamoro art. Kal Muller usually organises two or three exhibitions per year and receives funding for the organisation, and the transport, salary and accommodation of the Kamoro carvers who are invited to demonstrate their carving skills and sell their work. Freeport's support is acknowledged on posters or advertising screens in the exhibitions. It appears that Freeport has returned to the earlier carving demonstrations (in front of publicity screens) during which the Kamoro carvers are asked to perform and the audience watches. In this way, the Kamoro carvers are on display as much as the objects are. Looking back at the history of displaying people as living curiosities in world expositions, where people were displayed to advance the values and

273 It should be noted that Freeport still sponsors the neighbouring Asmat Festival, but only by funding festival visitors. Freeport is not involved in the festival's organisation.

274 This was mentioned by many Kamoro people in 2011, including Urbanus Emaru, Frederikus Manekopeyau, Yoakim Matameka, Marcelus Matameka, Apol Emeyau, and Elegius Meyamaropukaro.

achievements of another nation, it is easy to condemn and criticise this practice. In general, in recent decades, the practice of exhibiting cultures has come under increasing scrutiny, including the role played by the ethnographic museums. Museum professionals have had to re-evaluate the legitimacy of these former 'temples of empire' (Coombes 1994). The emphasis is now often on the museum as 'relational' entity,[275] as an institute reconceptualised as a repository of objects that embody and objectify a wide range of relationships with collectors, communities and other stakeholders. As such, these institutions have continuing relationships with, and responsibilities towards, those communities with whom their histories are intertwined. The growing literature on museums' collaboration with so-called source communities, a term that has been debated, is wide-ranging.[276] Many authors demonstrate the potential benefits and problems that flow from increasingly open relationships, and the sharing of curatorial authority and dialogue that some museums have sought with communities whose ancestors produced objects that populate museum stores and displays (Lonetree and Cobb 2008; Peers and Brown 2003; Stanley 2007; Fienup-Riordan 1999; Kahn 2000).

Freeport has brought Kamoro art into the 'popular "museums" of everyday life' (Ames 1992: 112) such as hotels, business centres and market places. However, it appears that the Kamoro are not involved in the curation of their exhibitions. The majority of exhibitions follow a fixed structure: five Kamoro carvers are invited to demonstrate carving skills amidst a display of Kamoro art. All objects are for sale, and this often in the form of an auction in which the Kamoro carvers show and sell a range of carvings, not just their own. Objects for sale have been assembled during collecting trips, in addition to the objects made in situ by the carvers. Even though the exhibitions might include one of the festival components, i.e. the auction, the exhibitions and the Kamoro Festival are not comparable – a point that has been emphasised by many Kamoro people. It now concerns a business relationship, a collaboration between Kamoro artists and Kal Muller, aiming to sell Kamoro art, rather than being a venue to celebrate Kamoro culture. There is nonetheless a strong Kamoro interest in participating in the exhibitions, not just by producing objects to be displayed and sold, but also by travelling with the team. A rota system is in place to enable the

275 This is how Chris Gosden described "The Relational Museum" project held at the Pitt Rivers Museum on the Material World Blog (see http://blogs.nyu.edu/projects/materialworld/2009/01/the_relational_museum_chris_go.html, accessed June 2011). See also Larson, Petch & Zeitlyn (2007).

276 The term 'source community' is inherently problematic, but it is used to refer to the growing awareness among museum and exhibition curators that people connected biologically or culturally to the original makers and transactors of the objects on display can have an interest in engaging with objects. Busse (2008: 194-195) has argued that communities whose cultures are represented in museums should not function as 'source', but as 'partner'.

participation of carvers from most Kamoro villages. It is decided at village-level which carver will represent the village. The carvers receive a salary and they keep the money from the carvings they have sold. Carvings made in situ generally sell easily; the carvers' presence serves as an appropriate selling point. For the Kamoro people, the values of the current exhibitions are conceived as being social, cultural and economic. The Kamoro carvers who have participated in the exhibitions choose to do so and value the interest in their artworks; they feel that they represent a larger community and they welcome the economic gain. Obviously, the most direct effects are felt in the availability of a market in which to sell Kamoro art.

This does not imply, however, though that these exhibitions are not prone to difficulties. The auctions during the exhibitions are delicately orchestrated. During the Kamoro Festival auctions, the auctioneer played an important role, but it was secondary to the role of the artist who made the performance, together with the dancing relatives. Now the auction is led by Kal Muller who acts as auctioneer, among other reasons to overcome language barriers. This means that, while Kal Muller's role lay in authenticating the event during the festival auction, the Kamoro people now serve this role, which is emphasised by the certificates attached to the objects available for sale certifying 'original Kamoro art'.

Often the supply of carvings is greater than the demand and what is not sold ends up in the Kamoro Gallery in Timika which was set up by the team.[277] Similar to the presence of Kamoro people in the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden in 2003, as described in the Introduction, there will always be mixed reactions to these forms of cultural objectification. A critical stance is necessary, but it can also result in the dismissal or omission of Kamoro social experiences. It is Kamoro reality; a reality in which Kamoro are neither represented as victims nor protesters against the mine, but as producers and traders of objects. While this is a representation that Freeport intended, it is also one which does not differ much from those experienced throughout Kamoro history, and in each of these representations one cannot deny Kamoro involvement in shaping their representations. Kamoro collecting activities were as influential as the collectors' roles. It is therefore important to make explicit the collecting activities implicit in the objects that are displayed in these exhibitions.

2) Collecting commodities

When the Kamoro Arts Festival came to an end, Kal Muller continued collecting objects by travelling to Kamoro villages. Muller guarantees each village at least one visit per year, but the villages closer to Timika are visited on a more regular basis. Timika Pantai now functions as a basis for

277 For more information, see http://galery39.wordpress.com/

Muller's collecting trips. The following is an account based on a collecting trip in May 2011, when I was able to observe Kal Muller's collecting activities more closely.[278] While these observations are based on one recent visit, I have studied these collecting journeys from their inception in 2007.

When Kal Muller's boat arrived in Kekwa village on 31 May 2011, all the men gathered in a house to shelter from the rain, while Muller went through his list of carvings from Kekwa that have been sold in one of the exhibitions and in the Kamoro Gallery in Timika since his last visit. If a carving had been sold for a higher price than was originally given for it – which it usually had – then the carver received his *uang tambah* or top-up money. The upfront money is usually 50,000 rupiah (circa US$5) for small objects and 100,000 rupiah (circa US$10) for larger creations. The carvers receive the difference when Kal Muller next visits. Muller will deduct a percentage of the sale price towards maintaining the system; 10-20% of the sale price will be subtracted if a work sold for a high price; nothing will be deducted if it is the work of a carver who does not regularly sell: 'The good carvers, obviously, are more rewarded than the ones that are not so good... The initial low price that I pay is probably higher than they would get in Timika, plus they don't have to get to Timika. I come to the village both to purchase the carving to begin with and to bring the top-up money later' (Kal Muller, interview 1 June 2011). Kekwa village has recently been provided with new houses by the government, dividing the village now into Kekwa Lama (Old Kekwa) and Kekwa Baru (New Kekwa). While the successful carvers in Kekwa Lama received their pay-out, other men gathered the carvings stored in the houses and displayed them against the *karapao* initiation house. The initiation ceremony had recently been completed and the house could now function as a background to exhibit what the carvers had made. The carvings in Kekwa Lama were considered limited and Kal Muller found it difficult to select a large number of objects deemed to be of a high quality (Figure 40). The Kamoro families closely watched his every move. When he returned to a set of carvings for a second viewing, for example, he was made aware by the Kamoro families that he should look at all the carvings twice. While they are doing business, the Kamoro observe Kal Muller's performance and consider their options to influence the performance.[279] Kal Muller inspected a copy of an innovative work that he had selected during an earlier collecting trip, but he did not consider this example to be well executed. Eventually some objects were chosen, such as a drum by Gaius Mutiu and one by Johannes Mutiu,

278 Carvings were collected by Muller from the following villages: Mioko, Atuka, Yaraya, Paripi, Ipiri, Kiyura, Migiwiya, Kokonao, Kekwa Lama, Kekwa Baru, Timika Pantai, and Mware.

279 In a study of tourist exchanges in North America, Evans-Pritchard (1989: 99-100) raised the question as to who the audience is in these encounters, as it might be tourists who are on display rather than the other way around.

Figure 40: Kal Muller collecting in Kekwa Lama, May 2011 (Photo: K. Jacobs)

who each received 100,000 rupiah (circa US$10) as their first payment. Thus, the collecting process ended and the artists would now await Kal Muller's next visit. The visit to Kekwa Baru was considered more productive as twelve carvings were chosen (as opposed to five in Kekwa Lama). Muller chose a two-dimensional depiction of a dragon devouring a human figure and a humanised praying mantis made by Meto Awakeyau, bowls in the form of a fish or a king parrot made by Soter Apoyau, and a fish figure incorporating an anthropomorphic figure made by Anakletus Amori, amongst others. After the selection, a photograph of the artist was taken together with his or her work and the artist's name and village was recorded. This data will be printed on cards and hung on the object to ensure that the information will be collected with the object. While it serves as an authentication of the object, it equally emphasises the individuality of the artist – trends that have been discussed previously.

Muller's selection of the carvings replicates the selection process before the Kamoro Arts Festival auctions in the past. After having an instinctive response to an object, he applies the more objective criteria of quality in finish and detail, whether it is innovative work in form or content, or whether it is an example of well-executed 'traditional' work. The main criterion is the potential to sell, as the resulting income provides the budget for collecting other creations. During an interview, Kal Muller explained:

> *The main categories that sell well are drums, and yamate. Big pieces are hard to sell… but then again, lately big pieces did work because when Freeport staff leave they get free shipping…* (Kal Muller, interview 1 June 2011).

The display of objects is important in the collecting context. When Kal Muller had finished his selection in Mioko village, the display of carvings was altered, which indeed provided a different view and led Muller to select more work (29 May 2011). As much as the *karapao* house in Kekwa Lama served as an appropriate vending background for objects, changing the order in Mioko led Muller to make more selections. These examples indicate that there are still marketing strategies in play. The collecting system, which generally focuses on the collecting of woodcarvings, was most noticeably challenged by the women of Kokonao village. In all the villages visited during this collecting trip, it was the men who came forward with carvings, often followed by interested children. Some women came to see what was happening, but most of the time they did not stop their activities. In Kokonao, however, when Muller was handing out the top-up money, women came with baskets, fishing nets, bags and fibre skirts and ostentatiously put these amongst the wooden carvings arranged for selection. While Kal Muller generally tries to avoid collecting too many female products as it has proven hard to sell them, he did collect from the women in Kokonao. In other words, the collecting process has elements of collaboration between Kal Muller and the Kamoro artists, who exercise some agency in the matter.

The main difference from the selection process that took place during the Kamoro Arts Festival is that there is more direct demand-supply interaction during the current collecting trips. Kal Muller told the carvers that there were sufficient *yamate* (ceremonial boards) in storage and he suggested that carvers should not make these for a while. Muller gives feedback on work, praising it or suggesting adding more details. In Atuka, for example, he suggested that 'a bit more work needed to be done on an arrow' and that he would then collect it during his next visit (29 May 2011, my translation). In short, Muller acts as the middle man, choosing what will sell and supporting the Kamoro to sell their work. As he states: 'During the [Kamoro Arts] Festival, I developed a relationship with many carvers and after it ended I felt responsible to continue to help them to sell their carvings' (Kal Muller, personal communication 28 May 2011). This relationship appears to be respected by all parties involved, but can still lead to confusion.

In Migiwiya, Amandus Nataru decided to sell his old drum, which was an heirloom in his family.[280] When later I asked Kal Muller how he felt about buying heirlooms, he answered pragmatically: 'at least I give a decent price. When a Kamoro carver needs money, he might come to Timika to sell off an old carving. If I don't buy it, it will be the Bugis in Timika who won't offer as much money as me' (Kal Muller personal communication 31 May 2011).[281] He gave 200,000 rupiah (circa US$20) for the drum, assuring the owner that he would receive 'a couple of million rupiah' when he came back as he would not sell it for less. In his discussion of the African art market in Côte d'Ivoire, Christopher Steiner (1994: 64) pointed out that the seller evaluates the object according to its use value as it is a personal object. The buyer evaluates the same object for its exchange value. Therefore each sale is a compromise between two value systems. Kal Muller later decided that he wanted to keep the drum just in case a museum is ever set up in Timika. He said he would pay the carver 2 million rupiah (US$200) for it. The value of this particular heirloom was in its representation of Kamoro culture.

The purchase of an old drum was mainly a means for Kal Muller to elucidate the market system to the Kamoro carvers present. He used the drum to explain to the gathered carvers that 'used things sell for a high price'. He was not urging them to sell heirlooms, but he was suggesting that carvers could use things before selling them. He had brought a carving tool with a handle in the shape of a human figure. The tool had a patina through use, not through paint, he explained, 'and this is what people give money for' (Kal Muller, personal communication 31 May 2011, my translation). The carvers involved in the discussion were eager to learn how to receive higher prices for their work and discussed the suggestions. When sago tools were discussed, an elderly man publicly said that 'Pak Muller speaks the truth; we shouldn't paint them, but use them and if they are no longer in use, we can sell them' (my translation). Then one man fetched a sago beater from his house, but Kal Muller pointed out that this particular tool was not aesthetically pleasing because it was not well-made in the first place. Confusion arose and it was repeated that only what can be sold, would be selected. These collecting encounters represent a job done to meet an end – to sell carvings and earn an income. It is not about exclusively creative artists who are deemed economically disinterested, but about artists who have an awareness of the market and want to exploit it; artists who have an active involvement in the commoditisation processes and employ conscious economic strategies to ensure a successful income – albeit in a restricted framework, as the collecting process is still predominantly influ-

280 For a Kamoro reaction to drums in museum collections, see Jacobs (in press).

281 There are six souvenir shops in Timika owned by Buginese traders where Kamoro carvings, amongst arts from other parts of Papua, can be bought.

enced by Kal Muller. The Kamoro interest in the market does not imply that these collecting encounters are merely singular transactions during which various value systems intersect. These transactions are not purely economic, separated from social and political structures, but are integrally embedded in Kamoro life. Collecting is, after all, about relationships. The objects collected during this recent trip objectify relationships between Kal Muller and the Kamoro, and between Kal Muller and the buying audience, and also previous relationships established during former collecting encounters. Haidy Geismar (2008: 302), drawing on Gell (1992) and Miller (2001), notes that: 'commodities are thus not merely ciphers for ideas about value located elsewhere; they are also material forms that influence forms of market exchange,... Commodity exchange, like gift exchange, is nuanced and affected by the kinds of things being circulated as well as by the relations that surround them'.

It can be argued that an 'art world' (Becker 1982) has been created, since producers, consumers and suppliers, critics and audience are functioning together. In this art world, not only the art producers, but also the art consumers have to be initiated. Kal Muller considered it to be his duty to elevate the status of Kamoro carvings to art. He not only did that by selecting what he considered to be 'quality pieces' but also by educating the buyers. As he explained:

> *My main clientele are expats living in Indonesia and unfortunately they tend to change as people only stay in Indonesia for a few years … I have to re-explain to a new set of expats about Kamoro culture, why it is a culture that is worth preserving and why Kamoro art is as good as Asmat art ... often they ask me, what is a good carving? Well it is one of these things, beauty is in the eye of the beholder. I can tell you why I like this carving and I have some basis for telling you this, as I have dealt with woodcarvings most of my adult life, but it is really what you like, because you will be looking at this in your home... As said, beauty is in the eye of the beholder. But yet another truism says that the eye sees what it is trained to see. And the rational mind calculates what can sell.* (Kal Muller, interview 1 June 2011)

Becker (1982: 113) writes that 'Dealers try to train appreciators to be collectors'. Collectors and patrons are vitally important parts of a functioning art world. These potential buyers can choose from a selection that is promoted as art. Kamoro carvings had to be considered as art before people would pay art prices for them. Therefore, no bargaining is involved in the recent exhibitions, but fixed prices or the auction method are utilised. Even in the Kamoro Gallery in Timika, there is no scope for bargaining and fixed prices are paid. This can be regarded as a statement that these objects are now qualitative art, demanding decent prices.

II. Contact objects

The objects sold during the recent collecting trips include a wide variety of things: stone club heads, mourner's costumes and other forms of clothing and ornaments, masks, spirit poles, *wemawe* (anthropomorphic figures), drums, bowls, animal figures, ornaments, bags, paddles, walking sticks, *yamate*, sago beaters, prow boards, paddles, masks, three-dimensional naturalistic representations of human figures and flora and fauna, crucifixes and Madonnas. All of these objects can be considered as contact zones.

In an attempt to draw attention to the (ethnographic) museum as a space of ongoing relationships between various stakeholders, James Clifford (1997: 188-219) utilised the term 'contact zone'. He used the term to denote that the museum can be considered as a site where geographically and historically separated people came, and can come, into contact with each other. Clifford borrowed the term from Mary Louise Pratt (1992) who used the notion of contact zones to refer to colonial encounters. By using a contact perspective it is emphasised that the relations among colonisers and colonised should not be treated in terms of separateness but in terms of interaction, often within unequally balanced power relations. The term has since been adapted in subsequent literature to denote the potential of a museum as a site where new relationships can be formed. In their book on museums' collaborations with so-called source communities, Peers and Brown expand the use of the term to refer to objects: 'Artefacts function as "contact zones" – as sources of knowledge and as catalysts for new relationships – both within and between these communities' (Peers & Brown 2003: 5). Objects can be read differently by various communities. Particularly for the descendants of the original makers of these objects, now stored in museums, the objects serve as a link to the ancestors, but, these objects do not just refer to the past, as Peers & Brown (2003: 5) add, 'They are also crucial bridges to the future'.

Kamoro objects, both in museum, mission and corporate collections and those produced today, can be considered as contact zones. However, by designating the objects as contact zones, I do not want to take the agency away from the producers and shift it to the consumers. It has already been noted that an adaptation to market demand is a reflection of Kamoro agency rather than subordination. I merely want to state that historical dimensions need to be taken into account when looking at these objects and attempting to understand them. In his discussion of the notion of 'contact zone', Feldman (2006: 259) aims to imply the use of the senses and refers to the literal connotation of the term 'contact' (here used in 'contact point'), that is the notion of touch. He refers to objects as 'not just representations, but records of the process of encounter'. And it is the encounter that is central in this study; these various forms of contact

which need to be seen as a totality rather than as a series of singular events. It is this totality that is expressed in the objects today as various Kamoro and previous collectors' histories are entangled in them.

While a historical perspective is necessary to understand the repertoire of Kamoro objects present in museum collections and currently available for collection, it does not tell us much about what the objects represent. The focus in what follows lies on a range of objects, including the naturalistic representations of flora and fauna, often incorporating human figures, which were not present in museum collections before a representative of the Leiden National Museum of Ethnology acquired some examples during the Kamoro Arts Festival. These objects were considered innovative and were therefore selected in the 'free creation' category. The experienced Kamoro carvers making these objects confirmed that these were expressions of their creativity, for which they did not previously have an outlet. The Kamoro Arts Festival and the current collecting trips were considered valuable inspiration for these creations.[282] In 2005, objects selected for the auction because of their innovative character were three-dimensional naturalistic representations, such as the small human figure riding a large dragon by Wiro Potereyauw from Kekwa or the praying mantis by Paulus Amereyau from SP IV (Figure 41). The three dimensions rendered this

Figure 41: Paulus Amereyau with his praying mantis figure during the 2005 Kamoro Arts Festival auction, Pigapu 2005 (Photo: K. Jacobs)

282 This is based on interviews with carvers whose work was often selected in the free creation category of the Kamoro Arts Festival and who continued making these works: Paulus Amareyau, Niko Okapoka, Urbanus Emaru, Martinus Neyakowau, Frederikus Manekopeyau.

work innovative as it is absent in museum collections.[283] It was the theme of other work that was considered creative and led to selection in this category, such as the *yamate* made by Yoakim Mikamaniyu depicting a humanised hornbill.

When talking to the creators of these objects, carvers do not elucidate why certain stylistic choices were made, but they stress the use of imagination (*ilham*, sometimes also translated as 'divine inspiration'). It is the outlet for creative outputs that is appreciated by many carvers. Urbanus Emaru from SP IV narrated how he began carving after he married and had his first child (Figure 31). Although his father was a carver, he learned the skills from his father's brother by watching and learning. Urbanus felt it important to explain this learning process and subsequently to describe how he first made a small *wemawe* (human figure), but the foot of the *wemawe* broke off. Then he made a *pekoro* (bowl), then a fish figure. His oeuvre for the collecting encounters now consists of drums, masked figures, turtle figures incorporating turtle shell, and many other naturalistic and creative representations. However, he will make a drum or a *mbitoro* (spirit pole) or another object that might be needed in a ceremonial context. In the eyes of current non-Kamoro collectors, he is considered one of a dozen highly creative carvers. He described how:

> *In my family, it is tradition that if you show talent to become a good carver then you are encouraged. My son is a carver, but he is not yet good, so I am not certain that he will remain a carver. A good carver is one who doesn't use a pencil or a sketch. They just use imagination. All the ideas are in his head. It comes suddenly and at any time. (interview 30 September 2005, my translation).*

Frederikus Manekopeyau from Mioko explained how he realised that he was a good carver when he was 10 years old, because his teacher, his father, said that he had good imagination. First he learned to make a sago beater using a piece of glass from a bottle as a chisel. However, his piece of wood cracked as he was unaware how to work it. He developed his skills and learned to use his imagination, which, he states, is 'conveyed through father line'. He explains how he 'thinks about carvings, beats the drum (*pukul tifa*), then works'. When he has an idea, he 'sees the form in the tree already', indicating that drawing the forms on the wood is considered amateur (interview 30 September 2005, my translation). The beating of the drum is significant as this is generally considered a way of contacting your ancestors.

283 Three-dimensional human figures have been collected since 1912; the representation of fauna in three dimensions was considered innovative. Wiro Potereyauw recently moved to Kekwa Baru where he became village head (*kepala desa*).

The source of inspiration for these carvers was in dreams, an observation made by other carvers too (Jacobs 2011). The ancestors gave them the ideas in a dream. In this way, Urbanus, Frederikus and others, did not take credit for creating the work, but shifted agency to the spirits of the ancestors who gave them the ideas or knowledge for the creations. In doing so, these carvers put so-called innovative work at the centre of Kamoro culture.[284] The carvings created today represent a broadening of the spectrum of Kamoro objects; and also reflect ongoing encounters and interactions, while still remaining linked to the core of Kamoro culture. As the Kamoro scholar Methodius Mamapuku and Todd Harple write: 'The very essence of being Kamoro is embedded in the notion that the living community forms a counterpart to a very real and engaging spiritual world of the deceased and the ancestral culture heroes' (Mamapuku & Harple 2003: 23; see also Mamapuku 1981). This ancestral heritage takes material form in all the objects made by Kamoro artists.

1) Stories

On the evening of 31 May 2011, Yoakim Matameka and Anselmus Kupakereyau sat together with some other carvers and the collecting team discussing carvings. Yoakim Matameka said: 'We carve stories' (my translation). This was emphasised by Anselmus Kupakereyau, who had brought some of his carvings and pointed at his two-dimensional carving depicting a bird holding a fish. 'This', he said, 'is a bird. It is a pelican. Every year, these birds fly from Australia to Kamoro land. This pelican catches a fish and that is the end of the story' (Figure 42). Then he pointed to the other carving and explained that this carving 'shows two women, and a spirit. This refers to an ancestral story, which I'll tell you another time' (my translation). For now, it was important to convey that the carvings indeed represent a variety of stories.

Although the selection process during the current collecting encounters, both by Kal Muller and the buying audience, is generally based on aesthetic considerations, these carvers felt that Kamoro knowledge is embodied in these objects. While these creative carvings may seem innovative, they are related to Kamoro environment and the rich repertoire of oral history and rituals.[285] The Kamoro have a vast repertoire of *amoko-kwere*, oral narratives related to the cultural 'heroes' (*amoko-we*), and *tata-kwere*, narratives about ancestral protagonists – although this distinction should not be considered that rigid. For example, both Frederikus and

284 There is similarity with James Leach's work amongst the Reite people on the Rai coast. Leach analysed the notion of creativity and ownership and, following Marilyn Strathern, links creativity with Melanesian notions of personhood (Leach 2003, 2007: 112).

285 For more examples, see Jacobs (2011).

Figure 42: Anselmus Kupakereyau with story board, Timika Pantai 2011 (Photo: K. Jacobs)

Figure 43: Dragon figure made by Wiro Potereyauw in Kekwa, May 2011 (Photo: K. Jacobs)

Urbanus, who have been mentioned earlier, have made humanised turtle figures, sometimes incorporating a natural turtle shell. This turtle figure refers to the narrative describing the origin of the sea turtle. When Mbuena, a snake-turned-human being, and his wife went on a trip, they asked her mother to look after their child. The grandmother misunderstood this message and interpreted it as an order to kill the child, which she did. When the parents returned, Mbuena punished his mother-in-law by dismembering her. She then became a sea turtle – an animal that did not yet exist – so that her grandchildren could eat her (Offenberg & Pouwer 2002: 233-236).

Several examples of dragon figures were collected during the May 2011 collecting trip: a large three-dimensional version by Wiro Potereyauw from Kekwa Baru (Figure 43) and a walking stick incorporating a humanised dragon figure by Agustinus Waupuru from Mioko. The killing of a crocodile, lizard, dragon or snake (depending on the region where the narrative is collected) by the culture hero Mirokoatayao led to the creation of mankind. A crocodile had devoured and killed all humans except for the pregnant woman Mirokoata. She gave birth to Mirokoata-yao, the snake-boy, who eventually killed the crocodile responsible for murdering all his relatives. He cut the crocodile meat into pieces and arranged them by colour. Then the pieces were thrown in all directions resulting in the various human races (Offenberg & Pouwer 2002: 121-129). The small figure riding a dragon made by Wiro Potereyauw for the 2005 Kamoro Arts Festival, mentioned earlier, refers to the same narrative.

The humanised hornbill representation made by Frans Kupakoreyau from SP III for the 2005 Kamoro Arts Festival and the variety of hornbill images collected during the May 2011 collecting trip (made by Markus Mapuyu, Fransiskus Kukuiyu and Frans Kupakoreyau, all from Timika Pantai) refer to a well-known narrative in which men escape from women in the underworld by disguising themselves as hornbills.[286]

There are many other examples in which the close association with ancestors is expressed in carvings, even though these carvings might incorporate and integrate non-Kamoro influences. It has already been indicated that on the level of Kamoro narratives, non-Kamoro elements have been incorporated. When the carving made by Elegius Meyamaropukaro from Atuka was selected, he stated that he had carved Mapurupiu's canoe together with his helpers (Elegius Meyamaropukaro, personal communication 29 May 2011) (Figure 44). Mapurupiu is a character from a familiar narrative throughout the Kamoro region.[287] This narrative recounts how Mapurupiu conducts his journey to the spirit world after his death. The

286 This narrative was first recorded in Atuka by Father Coenen, OFM, (Coenen 1963: 111-12; Pouwer 2003b: 57; Offenberg & Pouwer 2002: 135-37).

287 See also Chapter 3 for a version of the Mapurupiu narrative.

Figure 44: Elegius Meyamaropukaro with Mapurupiu's canoe, Atuka 2011 (Photo: K. Jacobs)

narrative was recorded by missionaries in the late 1940s and was told to me by Yohannes Mapareyau,[288] head of traditions (*kepala suku adat*) of Pigapu village (interview 8 April 2002). His version of the story corresponded with earlier recorded versions, except for a few details that corroborate the thesis that the Kamoro incorporate foreign elements in their narratives. In Yohannes' version, when travelling to the spirit world, Mapurupiu uses a 40-horse power engine, which indicates how the engine is appropriated as a Kamoro invention. In earlier versions, Mapurupiu passes unidentified mountains, but Yohannes specifically mentioned *Grasberg*, which is the mountain currently mined by the Freeport company. As such, the source

288 Both Zegwaard (n.d.a: 46-49) and Drabbe (1948b: 78-79) recorded the narrative.

of wealth currently mined by Freeport is considered Kamoro. Kamoro people have a long history of appropriating outside influences in their arts as a tool to adapt to change by reinterpreting and incorporating foreign elements and changes in the arts.

2) Absence versus presence

When I asked Yoakim Matameka from Timika Pantai why the carvings are now more explicit in showing these ancestral stories, his answer was very brief: 'Perhaps nobody asked us before?' (personal communication 31 May 2011, my translation). The question was not an issue that Yoakim had considered before or that he felt he needed to ponder further. The stories associated with objects are indeed not necessarily collected by consumers today, but the representations of stories tell us something about Kamoro engagement with collecting processes. Now Kamoro carvers might feel that they need to provide stories with objects as part of the sale process; the Kamoro have always been good at knowing what collectors wanted. While this may be a possibility, it should be pointed out that there is a general tendency to make meanings more explicitly visible. For example, *karapao* initiation houses are often decorated with drawings and writings on the façade.[289] For example, the *karapao* in Kaugapu built for the 2011 initiation ceremony depicts drawings of a sago tree and the words 'pohon sago' (sago tree), a pig, a crocodile, a dragon, a fish, the words 'cyprinus caprio', the scientific name of the common carp under the drawing of such a fish, a sword fish and many names of families above the entrances (keluarga Mametapo, keluarga Yaporau, etc. in which *keluarga* is the Indonesian word for family) (Figure 45). These drawings and words are educational tools and mnemonic devices to teach the initiates about the Kamoro environment – an environment inhabited by animals, plants, spirits, and ancestors. Writing and visual imagery is used to teach the initiates about food, objects and other imperative knowledge and values, such as reciprocity. One line says: 'when you are grown up, don't forget your inlaws' (*kalau besar jangan lupa ipar² ya?*). Similarly, when battle shields were produced after a period of abandonment in the 1980s by the Wahgi people of the Western Highlands Province in Papua New Guinea, many examples incorporated designs whose older communicative modality had been given a new graphical dimension. Shields were decorated with literal images referring to the shield's function in warfare and words communicating the user's warfare capabilities (O'Hanlon 1995: 470). O'Hanlon

289 Religious-related writing and drawings on the front of the *karapao* house was discussed in Part One when describing the missionary golden jubilee in the 1970s.

Figure 45: Karapao in Kaugapu, May 2011 (Photo: K. Jacobs)

utilised the term 'graphicalisation' to denote the wider use of writing and of advertisement and sporting imagery to re-express clan identities and to express new meanings on their shields.

The main point, however, of Yoakim's answer was in the fact that collecting is as much about presence as it is about absence. Collecting one thing automatically implies that something else is not; selecting one object necessarily entails rejecting another. This raises the question as to what is not, or has not been, collected? In terms of objects, it is difficult to determine what has not been collected in the past as we can only work with the remnants in collections and textual descriptions. By considering the collections over time, it becomes clear that more weapons and tools were collected and hardly any masks during the expeditions in the

Figure 46: Beni Aopateyau from Kokonao with a breast ornament selected for the 2002 auction, Kamoro Arts Festival, Pigapu (Photo: K. Jacobs).

early twentieth century. It has also been indicated that Jan Pouwer and Carel Groenevelt were reluctant to collect missionary commissions and souvenirs in the 1950s. We know that there are textual descriptions and current productions by Kamoro carvers of (*p*)*urumane*, a board in form resembling a *yamate*, but with two pointed ends. Up until 2000, only two *(p)urumane* were present in museum collections, of which only one was published (Kooijman 1984: 75).[290] The lack of examples and contextual information meant that the object had been subject to confusion in the literature. Pouwer (2010: 32-34) bases his knowledge on an account by Zegwaard and states that these boards were placed horizontally inside the *emakame* feast house (see also Kooijman 1984: 75-77). The object's rarity

290 In 2003, the two *urumane* collected in the 1950s, one by the Franciscan mission and one by Groenevelt, were published in the Leiden Exhibition catalogue (Smidt 2003a: 115-117).

in museums also led to increased interest from collectors; Kal Muller regularly inquired after these boards and the Kamoro responded by bringing *(p)urumane* to the Kamoro Arts Festival. Dirk Smidt collected an example during the 2000 Festival (NME 5959-9) and another during the 2002 Festival (NME 6070-20). The Kamoro now make these boards regularly for sale. Similarly, there were only a few breast ornaments made of fibre and bamboo in museum collections and these were all collected before 1912. Kooijman (1984: 152) notes that no information was known about these pendants and refers to the Asmat region where similar objects were used in the initiation ceremony. Beni Aopateyau from Kokonao began making these ornaments from the 2002 Kamoro Arts Festival onwards by 'copying' the example in Koojman's book. He mentioned that it concerns a decoration for warfare (Beni Aopateyau, personal communication 12 April 2002).

While the Kamoro artists respond to collectors' demand, they still make the first selection. During the most recent collecting trips, it was, again, the Kamoro who came up with objects. In Ipiri village, the initiation of the young boys had just finished and the elder men asked Muller whether he wanted the *mbitoro*, the spirit pole in front of the house. The *mbitoro* had completed its function and could now be disposed of. An important aspect of spirit poles is indeed their destruction: 'After the *mbitoro* had played its part in the ritual, it was brought to the sago marshes and left there to moulder and transmit its *kapita* [life-force] to the sago palms' (Kooijman 1984: 9, see also Schoot 1969: 68-69). Now, *mbitoro* are generally left to decay. Küchler, who wrote on sacrificial exchange, used the Kamoro *mbitoro* as an example in her wider study of the *malanggan* ceremonies of northern New Ireland.[291] *Malanggan* sculptures feature in a series of ceremonies which are principally concerned with honouring and dismissing the dead. The sculptures are made to be used on a single occasion and then destroyed. The life force of the dead person is then released from its container. A popular alternative to the destruction was the sale of the sculptures to foreigners (Strathern 2001; Gunn & Peltier 2006; Küchler 2002). While I do not want to force an analogy with *malanggan* ceremonies, I would like to reflect briefly on the ephemeral character of spirit poles. Küchler indicated that sculptures that are made to be deliberately disposed of after having served in a ceremony turn into recallable images. What is left is an empty container. Consequently, Küchler (1997: 49) argues that the result of exchanging objects as a form of destruction implies that 'what we have in masses in our collections therefore, are the

291 It is rather diminishing to the sophistication of Küchler's argument to make the point I am making here. Küchler looks at more than the destruction of objects and explains how objects that are rendered absent are turned into images of memory (Küchler 1988, 1997).

empty, hollow remains of objects of sacrifice that are evidence of an exchange into which we came to be implicated quite unknowingly'.

This temporary and interim character of the *mbitoro* is valid for the majority of Kamoro objects – as pointed out earlier only masks and drums are kept as heirlooms. The majority of Kamoro objects are made for specific contexts and are discarded afterwards. Therefore, as physical or material objects, they have a short lifespan. As far as the Kamoro are concerned, objects exist in carvers' minds and are materialised when needed in ceremonies or for sale – the latter giving more freedom of expression.

Through the collecting processes described throughout this study, many objects are now also physically available and viewable in (museum) collections and books. The availability of these objects to the Kamoro is currently restricted to books and there is a wide interest in depictions of Kamoro objects (see also Jacobs, in press). Kooijman's study of Kamoro museum collections (Kooijman 1984) was distributed by Kal Muller at the beginning of the Kamoro Arts Festival and remains highly popular among the Kamoro carvers. During the May 2011 collecting trip, Kamoro carvers spent a long time browsing through the book, discussing the designs and technicalities of the objects depicted (Figure 47). This book similarly serves as a source of inspiration resulting in new creations. However, exact

Figure 47: Yoakim Matameka, Apol Emeyau and Marcelus Matameka browsing through Kooijman's book (1984), near Atuka 2011 (Photo: K. Jacobs)

copies are never made. Kamoro carvers generally do not make the same object more than once. Kal Muller experimented several times with commissioning copies of previously made creations, but each time it proved unsuccessful as the end result was always different. In other words, each time an object is made, based on the 'collection' stored in the artist's mind or taken from a book, there is potential for change. These changes have occurred through interaction with non-Kamoro collectors, and thus are expressions of Kamoro collecting processes.

Amidst the objects displayed in front of the *karapao* initiation house in Kekwa Lama was a small pig figure in blackened wood. This was not collected. Similar examples in the past have not been collected either, due to what Kal Muller considers to be their crude and unfinished character. These pigs are used during the *karapao* feast to ensure a good pig hunt by putting sago in front of them together with miniature spears. After the 2001 Kamoro Arts Festival had ended, I retrieved a pig figure from a pile of left-over carvings. The excess of carvings was particularly noticeable after the 2001 Festival in the vast quantity of objects left behind and piled up in the festival's main building. Although this evokes reminiscences of the way objects were left behind after they had served their purpose in other Kamoro festivities, these objects had not served their purpose. While this is another example indicating the ephemeral nature of Kamoro objects, I want to use it to discuss the temporary character of the collecting projects discussed. Numerous collecting encounters have been analysed throughout Kamoro history. Even though, each project had lasting influences which are reflected in Kamoro creations and narratives, each project had a limited timeframe and was an interim moment. The conclusion of each project was influenced by governmental changes, staff changes and/or budget limitations. The current collecting project too will end, because it is dependent on the effort of Kal Muller, not the Freeport Mining Company. Kal Muller is looking at options to ensure the continuation of the project, but, I would argue that even if the project comes to an end the Kamoro will carry on making carvings for their own purposes – as they have done all along. By stating this, I do not want to take away the impact of this, and other, projects, I merely want to point out the constant pragmatic Kamoro attitude to these collecting activities. This pragmatic stance has been particularly expressed in the regular integration of non-Kamoro elements into Kamoro life and culture, and the subsequent representation of Kamoro culture and its objectification in objects.

Meanwhile, these collecting projects (limited in time) did result in a wide range of collections now located in museum stores, individual's houses, etc. These objects, disposed of by the Kamoro makers and users, have been preserved by the collecting process. Belk (2006: 534) points out that a collection is the creation of a collector. It is the collector who

extracts, and might feel he saves, objects from the economic circuit. This 'suggests a view of the collector as a heroic and selfless savior of objects rather than as an acquisitive and selfish consumer' (Belk 2006: 534). In this sense, the salvage paradigm is implied in the act of collecting. Equally, the notion of loss is implied as only a selection of what existed has been collected (*cf.* Moutu 2007). It is axiomatic that the primary aim of collecting is to preserve, often with an associated concern to exercise control over what is preserved. Each collection then embodies a moment in time, providing a glimpse of what was exchanged at a certain point in time. In the Kamoro case, the current objects ready for collection also involve all previous collecting projects. As such these objects are signs of the flow of time. By considering the historical collecting trajectories involved in collecting encounters, it becomes clear that Kamoro objects today reflect previous collecting history. Each collecting project had lasting effects which are embodied in the objects made today. The act of collecting can thus be considered to be a pivotal act in preserving the past in order to gain a future. Each act of preservation led to a change and adaptation. As Buchli states: 'Conservation is anything but that: it is a very active and deliberate process of materialization; it 'conserves' nothing but 'produces' everything' (Buchli 2002: 14). To perceive the Kamoro as passive pawns in these collecting encounters is to ignore not only the manner in which the Kamoro maintain and convey their identity, but also the dynamic social interaction involved in such encounters. The Kamoro carvers demonstrated their agency. They developed selling strategies while simultaneously handing down traditional knowledge to the younger generation. They adapted artefacts to the tastes of non-Kamoro collectors, while simultaneously spreading and maintaining the art of woodcarving. We cannot underestimate the versatility of these artists. Their reactions have proved inventive and resilient. In the end, each collecting project is, or has been, just one of many elements of change impinging upon them. It is the constant pragmatic attitude towards these changes that is at the core of Kamoro culture.

Collecting is therefore a collective enterprise. A collection cannot be reduced to a dialogue between the collector and his/her collection. Rather, a plethora of relationships, interactions and reactions to previous encounters contribute to the making of the collection. Just as much as the catalogue and the viewing process are part of the auction sale, previous encounters are part of the collecting process between collector and object. It is only by observing the making of a collection, by examining how its various components unfold, and identifying how such components relate to, and impact on, each other, that collecting can reveal its full complexity.

III. Representational encounters: an epilogue

In the Introduction to this book, one of the most cited references concerning Kamoro culture was introduced: in 1970 Father Trenkenschuh, OSC, described the Kamoro people as indifferent and uninterested zombies who had lost their past and whose future was without prospect. The Kamoro people were an example of how a population could be the victim of contact with outsiders. On the one hand, they had lost their 'traditions', i.e. the cycle of feasts had disappeared, while on the other hand, the introduction of 'progress' in the Kamoro region had also proved unsuccessful, i.e. hindering the semi-nomadic lifestyle resulted in detrimental changes in the standard of living and diet. Trenkenschuh's views on the Kamoro present and future became the basis for a range of projects aiming to 'revive' Kamoro culture. While Trenkenschuh himself had already based his statement on earlier representations, the fact that his words became the foundation for further projects points to the agency of representations.

Trenkenschuh's statement has been presented with the purpose of challenging this stereotype. The ideological work of representation often consists of translating social and cultural heterogeneity into a homogenous unity, which regularly results in the prioritisation of certain conceptions, values and visions. Basically, by reducing and essentialising the Kamoro people to a few characteristics, Trenkenschuh stereotyped Kamoro culture. Since Trenkenschuh stated forms of 'contact' as the reason for the resulting apathy and bereavement of Kamoro culture, this book examines various contact situations between Kamoro people and outsiders in order to dispute this stereotype.

During these forms of contact, outsiders had an agenda that led to some form of collecting Kamoro cultural elements. Although expedition members encountered people who had trade relations with eastern Indonesian regions and Chinese traders, from the moment the Kamoro were 'discovered' by the West, fear arose for their isolated (and even uncontaminated) status. Part One examined how the Dutch missionaries collected Kamoro values, artefacts and customs in order to incorporate them into a Christian culture. The mission's goal did not merely influence Kamoro culture, but also stimulated others to commence the collection of Kamoro cultural traits. Carel Groenevelt felt the urge to collect the last 'traditional' Kamoro artefacts before the total intrusion of Christianity. Similarly, Jan Pouwer focused on collecting Kamoro cultural elements, both ethnographic information and ethnographic objects, before traditions were forgotten.

Part Two investigated how representatives of the Freeport Mining Company began to revive and collect Kamoro cultural expressions. While the mission had a further agenda of imposing Christianity, the Freeport

Mining Company used this Kamoro cultural revival to provide itself with positive publicity and a good image. It was not only important to demonstrate that the Kamoro people did not lose their culture as a result of the presence of the mining company; it was also important as a way for the company to strengthen its relationship with the Indonesian government, which it did by following their cultural policy. The Kamoro Arts Festival was another event that was initiated with the purpose of revitalising Kamoro culture. Contrary to the notion of an extinct culture, the festival benefited from the active participation of Kamoro people from its inception in 1998. Rather than just focusing on the encounter between outsiders or collectors with an agenda and the Kamoro people, the festival was analysed as an event involving three parties, who all to a certain extent fulfilled their agenda.

Part Three focused on Kamoro selling strategies and objectification processes. It has been shown how the auction had an impact on the production of artefacts, which was a result of the selection process, the buying process and of Kamoro readings of the 'taste' of visitors. The Kamoro carvers equally orchestrated the selection and sale process by developing selling strategies. The auction was an appropriate example of a collecting encounter as a form of social interaction between various parties. Recently, the focus has been on collaboration between the producers, consumers and connoisseur or middle man in a situation of transaction. An important argument is that it is essential to acknowledge the historical dimension in order to understand the current situation and artefact production. Then the Kamoro appropriation of non-Kamoro influences becomes most clear. While it seems very obvious to state that cultures change, for the Kamoro people and the collectors involved in the collecting encounters, this is still an essential issue. The use of the terms 'continuity', 'dynamic' and 'enduring' might seem evaluative rather than analytic, but these are used to show how appropriation of change is a core element of Kamoro cultural practice.

This brief overview reveals how the idea that Kamoro culture was threatened by disappearance and required subsequent revitalisation lay at the heart of each of the projects that formed the subject of each part. However, what this overview predominantly demonstrates is that each project began with the detection of people who had in fact continued to hand down their cultural values, skills and knowledge. However, as with every stereotype there is a core of truth. Kamoro cultural elements had indeed been discouraged at various times and other occupations prevented the elaborate performance of Kamoro feasts that usually provided a context for woodcarvings, dances and maintaining 'traditions'. Each project that forms the subject of a part in the book acted as a re-boost of several cultural expressions and made Kamoro culture known. The mission en-

couraged the celebration of Kamoro feasts and promoted Kamoro culture on a local level. The Freeport Mining Company stimulated the production of woodcarving outside the context of feasts – an initiative that had been begun on a smaller scale by the mission. By organising events and exhibitions in Papua and the rest of Indonesia, Kamoro culture was advertised on a national level. Through the 'export' of elements of the festival to the Leiden Exhibition, Kamoro culture was now promoted on an international, even global, level.

Rather than just noting that Kamoro 'culture' was salvaged every few decades by yet another group of outsiders, it is perhaps more significant to highlight how the Kamoro people embraced or rejected these salvations. During each of the highlighted encounters, the creative and pragmatic adaptation of the Kamoro people to these forms of contact became clear. The Kamoro people did shape their representations, albeit in a rather concealed manner. From the time of the expeditions through the Kamoro region, collecting was very much a multilateral process whereby both parties aimed to achieve certain goals. Numerous expedition members described how the Kamoro eagerly traded objects until the most valuable object was obtained and interest ceased. Their ensuing lack of interest in the outsiders was interpreted as indifference and resulted in misconceptions about Kamoro culture. During Dutch colonisation, Kamoro agency was expressed in accepting certain initiatives, while rejecting others. Further collecting processes by the mission, but also by Pouwer and Groenevelt, were influenced by what the Kamoro chose to be collected and what not – a trend that has continued up to the present day. A number of Kamoro people also participated in the 'Foster Father' project and decided to continue to attempt to earn money through carving by forming *sanggars* after the end of this project. During the festival, the Kamoro carvers demonstrated their agency and ability to manipulate both the 'traditional' system as well as the 'new' context of the auction. However, there is a danger of over-emphasising the Kamoro agency, resulting in the very dismissal of their agency. It has been argued throughout this study that all parties shape the encounter.

Although collecting has been employed as a broad issue covering the collection of cultural traits and knowledge in addition to artefacts, for many collectors who have been highlighted in this book the emphasis lay in collecting objects and using them in representations. This emphasis on collecting artefacts had an impact on their production in the Kamoro region. The impact was expressed in the alteration of objects and the creation of innovative artefacts. The missionaries as patrons commissioned the production of religious art, the Freeport Mining Company commissioned oversized *wemawe* figures that previously were only made in smaller sizes and the Kamoro Festival stimulated the modification and adaptation of

objects according to popularity and sales figures – alongside promoting individual and original work through a 'free creation' category. Each revival did not bring back the past, but renewed it in some way.

As a result, each part in the book, corresponding to a separate period in Kamoro history, had its 'typical' Kamoro object that became popular. Whereas the 'typical' objects of each period were not popular in the eyes of outsiders as authentic examples of Kamoro culture, by the next period they were accepted as such. The issue of authenticity is related to the dichotomous view of tradition and modernity. After the mission's patronage of Kamoro art, walking sticks (and to a lesser extent crucifixes) became typical and were given to beneficiaries and picked up by government representatives. When Freeport commissioned Kamoro art, anthropomorphic figures (*wemawe*) were considered typical, while during the festival the masked figures were predominantly collected, resulting in increased production. More recently, story boards depicting scenes from Kamoro narratives are appearing. For outsiders, these objects equally were testimony to the success of the collectors' agenda.

Each part's title referred to the respective agenda of the collectors. The mission's agenda of integration was successfully expressed in the walking sticks and crucifixes that embodied an assimilation of Kamoro and Christian features. These objects became a medium to articulate the degree of progress towards civilisation. The increasingly popular *wemawe* figures became the embodiment of Freeport's agenda of representation, by which Kamoro artefacts were employed to express the company's harmonious relationship with the Kamoro people. The masked figures that were popular during the Kamoro Arts Festival became an expression of the 'vitality' of Kamoro culture. The current story boards similarly objectify ancestral connections and the integration of various non-Kamoro influences.

This particular trend, of encounters influencing the production of changed and original artefacts, implies and indicates that the Kamoro people comprehended and responded to the collector's taste in order to reach their goal of trading and selling artefacts. This was apparent during the time of the expeditions when Kamoro people displayed objects that they knew to be popular for increasing prices. During the festival, the Kamoro people discerned what the visitors wanted and to a degree let these preferences influence their creations, again as a strategy to increase prices. Today, Kamoro people bring a fusion of 'traditional', altered objects and 'introduced' objects such as crucifixes and walking sticks to be collected. All these objects are considered authentic representations of Kamoro culture, which is indeed a continuous mediation and modification of internal and external stimuli and influences. These artefacts are just one example of how the Kamoro people indigenised outside influences that have appeared throughout their history.

In this study it became clear that representations influenced collecting activities. As such, collecting has been a means of contact, of pacification, of aid, of consumption and of representation. Collecting was done for personal reasons, to reach conversion, colonisation or development. Collecting led to the emergence and transformation of cultural forms over time. What the study also showed was that collecting is mainly an individual notion. Individual collectors assembled elements of Kamoro culture by dealing with individual Kamoro people. Focusing on the notion of collecting resulted in focusing on the particularities of certain people, their lives and times – both outsiders and Kamoro, rather than on a vague and inclusive conception of 'culture'. This implies that these conclusions are based on individual views, although I have now generalised them to 'mission', 'Freeport' and 'Kamoro' views to maintain clarity. In the same way as the collectors were considered as individuals and not representatives of Dutch colonisation or the Freeport Mining Company, the number of Kamoro people I have worked with is limited, so they cannot be said to represent a general Kamoro view.

In this sense, objects functioned as mediators in historically particular encounters between numerous individuals. They engendered social relations and embody the goals of collectors as well as the views of the makers and traders. This surplus of information makes the objects challenging in the context of an exhibition. As Welsch pointed out: 'For those researchers who would like simply to use museum collections as tangible evidence of earlier times – even if not pristine evidence – objects have suddenly become quite complicated documents about the past' (Welsch 2000: 157). It might be appropriate to end this study by referring to the Kamoro exhibition in Leiden. While the planning of this particular exhibition stimulated the beginning of this study, it will now form its end. The focus is restricted to a visit by Kamoro people to the exhibition.[292]

Exhibiting Kamoro

Papua leeft! Ontmoet de Kamoro/Papua Lives! Meet the Kamoro, which opened on 14 February 2003, was announced as 'a world's first' exhibition about the Kamoro people in the museum's press release. The bilingual (Dutch-English) exhibition was organised around three themes: expeditions, large ceremonial celebrations and new developments in art; the sec-

292 It should be mentioned that I did discuss and approve the selection of objects that would be shown in the exhibition, but I was not involved in the exhibition's manner of display. The exhibition was partly based on Jan Pouwer's suggestion to use an exhibition concept whereby native categories supersede the usual distinction of ceremonial art/art in daily life (letter Jan Pouwer to Dirk Smidt, 13 October 2000). This suggestion became a basis that was elaborated by Dirk Smidt and Annemarie Woerlee.

ond theme focused on Kamoro feasts and was further divided per feast. Each room displayed the name of the theme on the wall together with a brief explanation.

Before entering the exhibition, the visitor was invited to watch an introductory film (with Dutch commentary).[293] The Kamoro region was introduced, but the film's main theme was the Kamoro Arts Festival. A reference was made to Father Trenkenschuh's statement and it was mentioned how Kamoro culture was resurgent due to the festival; hence 'Papua lives'. The exhibition aimed to show how Kamoro culture had been revived through an assemblage of artefacts whereby 'old' art objects are displayed next to newly created ones.

The first exhibition room 'Expeditions' focused on the early encounters between Kamoro people and western expedition members. Some of the earliest Kamoro artefacts collected for museums were displayed, consisting of clubs, body decorations, headdresses, fishing tools and ceremonial panels (*yamate*). Brief texts with titles such as 'occupied', 'further reconnaissance', 'colonial interest' and 'systematic mapping' briefly introduced the collectors who brought us into contact with the Kamoro people and who provided us with this early material. On a small screen films were shown about the making of a spirit pole and a drum, including interviews with the respective carvers.[294]

From the second room onwards, the emphasis shifted from an interest in the collectors to the Kamoro people themselves by highlighting a range of Kamoro festivities. The second room was devoted to the 'initiation feast' (*karapao*) and the 'feast for the dead' (*watani-kame*) and exhibited penis sheaths, nose ornaments and a bodkin to pierce the nose, spirit poles, masks, a female mourning costume, ceremonial headdresses and drums. A selection of old photographs taken by Father Tillemans and A.J. Wenting in the 1930s of masks and women in mourning costumes was shown as a slide show.

The exhibition continued on the first floor with a large room devoted to 'the feast of life' (*emakame*) and the 'canoe feast' (*kaware*). Objects on display related to the *emakame* feast, a feast associated with fertility and reproduction, such as *yamate*, which are representations of deceased ancestors, wooden bird figures, dance aprons worn by women, and arm and head ornaments. There was also a row of large representations of pregnant women that referred to the *kiawa* feast, the eastern variant of the *emakame* feast. These figures, which were all collected during the Military Exploration of Netherlands New Guinea (1907-13), were similarly placed

293 The film is made by Herman de Boer and is based on his visit to the 2002 Kamoro Arts Festival.

294 These films are made by Georjina Chia and feature Martinus Neyakowau making a drum and a spirit pole.

in a row inside the *kiawa* feast house. During the *kaware* feast, the focus lies on the production of artefacts and on the transfer of the knowledge of woodcarving. It is the feast of material renewal during which new canoes, paddles and sago bowls are made, which were all on display in the exhibition (Coenen 1963: 69; Pouwer 1987: 46). Four slide projectors simultaneously projected pictures of masked performances, canoes and a funeral on the back wall.

A small fourth room focused on the 1950s and objects that resulted from mission patronage were exhibited. The main feature of the room, however, was a film, shown on a large screen, showing preparation scenes for the Kamoro Arts Festival; Kamoro people arriving for the festival carrying artefacts, followed by scenes of the selection process and the opening of the festival.

The last room was devoted to the Kamoro Arts Festival. In front of the façade of the Kamoro Arts Building (*gedung seni Kamoro*), previously in Timika, objects collected during the Kamoro Arts Festival were displayed. The visitor got an impression of the wide variety of objects brought to the festival. On a large screen, scenes of the Kamoro Festival were projected with an emphasis on the 2002 auction. This film informed the public about the museum's recent collecting activities and not only explained the manner of collecting, but also the journey of the objects to the museum by showing scenes of their arrival at the museum's depot and their arrangement in the exhibition. From objects used ecstatically during the festival they thereby turn into 'museum pieces' which can now only be handled with white gloves.

In general, the exhibition presented the objects in the form of an open display with a few low glass cases for small objects. The exhibition design fitted the philosophy of the newly renovated museum, in which the permanent collections were also displayed with an emphasis on aesthetic design. Information about the objects could be found on the adjacent touch-screen computers.[295] The labels provided limited information, varying from 'bamboo penis-sheath' to 'club covered with sting-ray skin' to 'models of spirit poles, bought in 2002'. No sizes, collectors, or dates were given and only a restricted number of materials was named.[296] The man-

295 It is worth referring briefly to the aesthetic versus ethnographic debate in museum practice – especially in relation to display in terms of 'art' exhibits or comprehensive cultural overview type exhibits. Focusing on the 'artistic' character of objects has led anthropologists to criticise the 'de-contextualization' of artefacts from the culture of origin. Kamoro objects have already been artistically displayed in 1966 during the exhibition 'Papuan art' in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum 1966).

296 Sizes and particularly dates would have been helpful on the labels to compare the 'old' and 'new' material that was often juxtaposed. Almost all the objects' functions and meanings are described in the catalogue (Smidt 2003a) in which the artefacts are also translated into museum terms: they become 'unique', since they do not have equivalents in other museum collections, or they receive other denotations – a natural result of the object's new 'life'.

ner of labelling followed the decision of the Museum's Communication Department to keep the labels as brief as possible, since the public would not know the names of the collectors anyhow (Dirk Smidt, personal communication, 16 May 2003). The objects were exhibited amidst photographs and films that provided contextual information.

Five Kamoro people were invited to the Leiden Museum together with Kal Muller and (Geor)jina Chia: Timo(thius) Samin and his wife Modesta Samin-Etewe, Yopi Kunareyau, Mathea Mamoyau, and Martinus Neyakowau. On the day of their arrival (18 May 2003) Dirk Smidt guided the invited group to the exhibition. The Kamoro reaction to the exhibition will be described here as an anecdotal narrative of events. The group first passed the Kamoro artefacts displayed in the permanent display and then moved along to the exhibition, which was marked by the display of a spirit pole collected by Jan Pouwer in the 1950s. The group halted at the pole and Timo began to explain motifs on the pole. Mathea in particular was struck and bewildered while observing the spirit pole. When she sat down in the theatre to watch the introductory movie, Mathea started shaking and crying and through choked tears she informed the others that she had seen her ancestors whose spirits resided in the carving. When visiting the two downstairs exhibition rooms, all five Kamoro people were similarly moved. Everyone was so emotionally overwhelmed that the exhibition visit had to be cut short. Once outside, Timo Samin began to cry and, after being comforted by Kal Muller, he declared that he too had seen and felt his ancestors. He described the feeling as a force, which was as strong as electricity; it made the hairs on his arms stand on end. Soon everyone was fighting back tears, including the non-Kamoro people who were affected by the general reaction. Herman de Boer, who was filming the process, asked Kal Muller, functioning as translator, questions about the reactions of the Kamoro: 'Just before the *mbitoro* that was collected by Jan Pouwer, Mathea had seen her ancestors', Muller was explaining. 'It is quite emotional, for me too. The *mbitoro* holds the spirits of her ancestors, and she almost collapsed. I'm getting emotional just thinking about it'.[297] When Herman mentioned that this was an emotional event for all of them, Muller answered: 'yeah, these are not museum pieces. These are their ancestors which they saw. They caused not just a physical collapse, it is about meeting their ancestral past. These are spiritual beings, not just carvings. These are vital pieces of their past'. Then Timo began to explain (in Indonesian) that these objects could never have been kept in their homeland in a similar manner; for a hundred years these carvings have been in the museum and this is the first time they have seen such old

297 The spirit pole was collected in Migiwiya village (Kokonao) in 1953 (see Figure 7). The pole was made for two people who died during the Japanese occupation in World War II (Smidt 2003a: 97-99).

Kamoro carvings. He was grateful that these carvings have been preserved. He expressed how he highly values the Dutch people, because they collected these pieces and kept them for so long. He also explained how they now have to do something for their ancestors. Then there was a long break of crying. Mathea said that they had to travel so far to meet their ancestors. She too expressed her gratitude to the museum for preserving these objects of their ancestors and for hosting the spirits of their ancestors. Then Timo expressed his gratitude to Kal and Jina for having brought them here, for enabling them to meet their ancestors. His government does not do this. He is grateful that a country so far away kept this. He is 53 years old and most of these objects were made before he was born. The ancestors are inside and taken care of. Again he thanked Kal and Jina and 'the two gentlemen of the museum'. Herman then assured them that the artefacts will remain safe. Later that night they put some Indonesian money and clove cigarettes on a table outside the museum as a gift to their ancestors. The fact that the following day these objects were distributed on the floor was perceived as a sign that the ancestors had accepted their gift. Only a few days later, the Kamoro people were able to view the rest of the exhibition, which was mainly done in silence. The particular spirit pole that was the main cause for the emotive response had been collected as supposedly a last remnant of a culture that was threatened by disappearance. Now its continuing agency indicates and even reinforces the ongoing vitality of Kamoro culture.

Later conversations revealed that the Kamoro visitors found the manner of display satisfying. They appeared to conceive of the museum as an ideal resting place for the artefacts – indeed recalling the mausoleum that once lay at the origin of museums – where their agency is sustained.[298]. The objects in the exhibition (and depicted in the catalogue) continued to lead to stories and responses. Some objects were pointed out as having disappeared while others stimulated the communication of Kamoro concepts and narratives. Yopi Kunareyau particularly admired the life-size representations of pregnant women (Figure 8), which he had not seen before and which are unique in museum terms since only a few were collected in 1912. Martinus Neyakowau was particularly struck by a ceremonial panel that is also depicted in Kooijman's book (1984) and that he copied and sold at auction during the 2002 Kamoro Festival. The exhibition was principally perceived to be a source of inspiration. Timo Samin even explained

298 Reviewing the exhibition, Jaap Timmer wrote: 'the Kamoro who are coming to Leiden, will create statues that will be auctioned with other objects in a similar manner as during the Arts Festivals. I am curious [to know] whether discussions about ownership and alienation of the material culture of Papuans will burst out' (Timmer 2003: 12, my translation). Rather than repatriation issues, the safe-guarding of the objects was discussed and on several occasions the Kamoro thanked the collectors for doing so.

how viewing the exhibition stimulated him (*didorong*) to work and carve. Each night in Leiden he dreamt about carving. During his dreams he saw various motifs and carvings of his ancestors, which he described as a vital source of inspiration (*ilham*) (Timo Samin, interview 1 June 2003).

These reactions do not merely illustrate the continuing agency of these objects; they signify how these objects embody both past and future. They refer to a Kamoro culture that has 'survived' despite predictions of its disappearance and claims that it had vanished. They are also objects that continue to be an inspiration for the future, resulting in new creations.

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