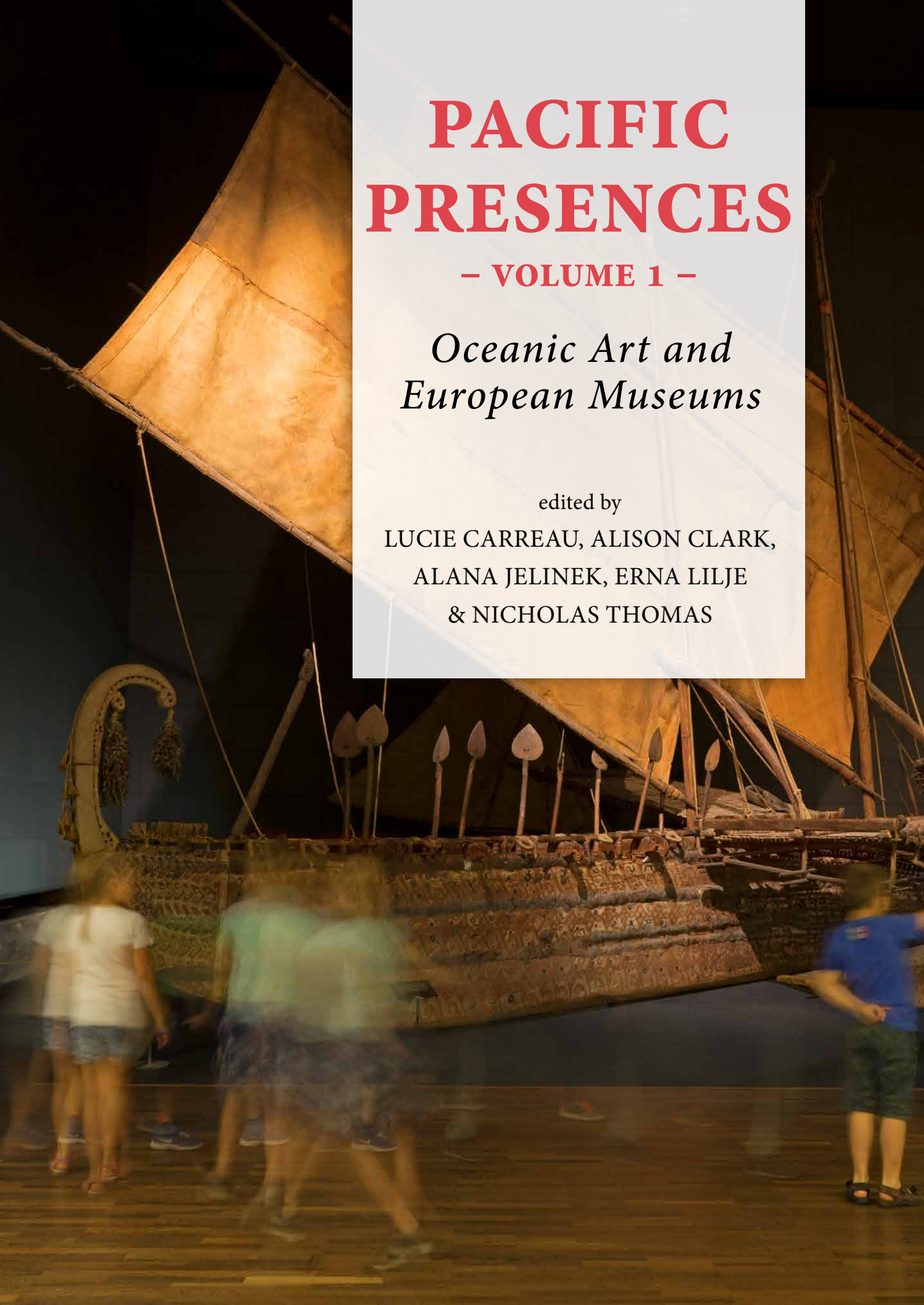

PACIFIC PRESENCES

– VOLUME 1 –

Oceanic Art and European Museums

edited by
LUCIE CARREAU, ALISON CLARK,
ALANA JELINEK, ERNA LILJE
& NICHOLAS THOMAS

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Sidestone Press

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CONTENTS

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Alison Clark is a Research Associate at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge. She currently works on the ERC funded *Pacific Presences* project. Both her masters (2007) and PhD (2013) theses were on the Indigenous Australian collections at the British Museum. Her current research is focused on Kiribati, where she is interested in the contemporary resonance of historic museum collections, and the revival of certain cultural practices. She has previously worked on projects at the British Museum, and the October Gallery in London.

Erna Lilje is a Research Associate at the MAA, University of Cambridge. She has a degree in Visual Arts, a Master's in Museum Studies, and a PhD in Archaeology. She pursues the idea that collections can reveal more about the people who made and used the artefacts they hold by bringing to bear an interdisciplinary approach that combines a close examination of these with field-based research. She believes that the most quotidian objects can offer insights into the lives of those people least represented in historical sources, such as women. Erna's interest in the physicality of artefacts, and the processes used to make them, stems from her art practice and her focus on Papua New Guinea has foundations in her own heritage.

Alana Jelinek is a practising artist, exhibiting nationally and internationally for over 25 years. She works in a wide range of media, including participatory, film, sound, novel-writing and painting. From 2009 until 2017 she worked with the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, first as Arts and Humanities Research Fellow (2009-2014) and then as Senior Researcher for *Pacific Presences* (2013-2018), making site-specific work and responding to the collections and their histories in order to explore legacies of colonialism. She has written on art for the *Journal of Social Anthropology, Ethnos* and the *International Encyclopedia of Anthropology*, and her monograph *This is Not Art* (2013) theorizes the discipline of art from the perspective gained through her years with the Museum. She is currently Fellow of Art and Public Engagement with the University of Hertfordshire.

Nicholas Thomas has been Director of the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Cambridge since 2006. His early book, *Entangled Objects* (1991) influentially contributed to a revival of material culture studies; he has since written widely on cross-cultural encounters, art in the Pacific, and museology. Recent publications include *The Return of Curiosity: What Museums are Good for in the Twenty-First Century* and *Artefacts of Encounter: Cook's Voyages, Colonial Collecting, Museum Histories*.

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Elena Govor was born in Russia and now lives in Australia, where she completed her doctorate in history at the Australian National University in 1996. Her research focuses on cross-cultural contacts between Russians and the peoples of the Pacific and Australia, which she has examined in a range of publications including: 'Speckled Bodies: Russian Voyagers and Nuku Hivans, 1804' in Nicholas Thomas *et al.* (eds), *Tattoo: Bodies, Art and Exchange in the Pacific and the West* (2005); *Twelve Days at Nuku Hiva: Russian Encounters and Mutiny in the South Pacific* (2010); and *Tiki: Marquesan Art and the Krusenstern Expedition* (edited with Nicholas Thomas, 2019 [forthcoming]). She also collaborates with Chris Ballard (ANU) in ongoing projects concerning Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay's exploration, encounters and drawings in Oceania. She is currently working with the ARC Laureate Project *The Collective Biography of Archaeology in the Pacific – a Hidden History* (ANU).

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Fanny Wonu Veys is curator Oceania at the National Museum of World Cultures, a Dutch umbrella organization comprising the Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam; Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden; the Afrika Museum, Berg en Dal; and the Wereldmuseum, Rotterdam. She has previously worked at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (Cambridge, UK) and has held post-doctoral fellowships at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) and at the Musée du quai Branly (Paris). She curated the *Mana Māori* exhibition in Leiden and co-curated *Tapa,* Étoffes *cosmiques d'Océanie*. Her most recent single author book is entitled *Unwrapping Tongan Barkcloth: Encounters, Creativity and Female Agency*.

PREFACE

Over 2013-2018, the European Research Council funded *Pacific Presences: Oceanic art and European museums*, explored the extensive collections of art and artefacts from the Pacific region that are cared for in ethnography and world cultures museums across Europe, from Spain to Russia. The team reconsidered famous works of Oceanic art, but put more energy into research in little-known, sometimes vast collections in storage, and in particular made connections across collections, reconstructing the histories of particular art forms and their contexts, and investigating collections made by particular travellers and fieldworkers which have in many cases been dispersed across many institutions.

The project was empowered, above all, by dialogue with Pacific Islanders. We have had extraordinarily rewarding engagements with many scholars, curators, artists, elders and community members from Pacific nations and diasporas. Many have joined the project for periods as affiliated scholars and visitors. They have undertaken study visits with us, they have contributed joint presentations to conferences, they have produced works of art, some acquired by the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology and they have written or co-written various project publications. *Pacific Presences* not only enlarges understanding of Oceanic art history and Oceanic collections in important ways, but it also enables new reflection upon museums and ways of undertaking work in and around them. It exemplifies a growing commitment on the part of curators and researchers, not merely to 'consult', but to initiate and undertake research, conservation, acquisition, exhibition, outreach and publication projects collaboratively and responsively.

This book series publishes work arising from, or associated with, the project. It includes studies dedicated to particular genres such as the famous coconut-fibre armour of Kiribati, collections made in the course of particular French, Russian and British expeditions and re-assessment of histories and methods in art and anthropology. The present two-volume book ranges more broadly: it was conceived as a summative publication, representing project practice and research over the five years of the programme. The first volume addresses the 'European museums' of the title: we offer survey histories of Oceania collections across five countries: Britain, France, the Netherlands, Russia and Germany. As the introduction acknowledges, these are inevitably selective accounts, not exhaustive studies. They point to bewildering, seemingly endless complexities in the formation and histories of collections and museums. But the authors and editors hope they are valuable in enabling those interested in future – those from the Pacific especially – to navigate these extraordinary resources for cultural heritage. The second volume is made up of diverse studies that explore specific artefacts and collections, and address the activation of collections through

research, art practice and community interest in the present. The arguments of these contributions are diverse, but they cohere around a sense that museum collections, wherever they are now situated, are vitally connected with the places they came from. These remarkable artefacts are not only expressions of history and of the creativity and skill of Islanders' ancestors. They also have capacities to animate and shape the future.

Nicholas Thomas

Julie Adams, Maia Nuku and François Wadra in the stores of the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, 2014. Photograph by Mark Adams.

INTRODUCTION

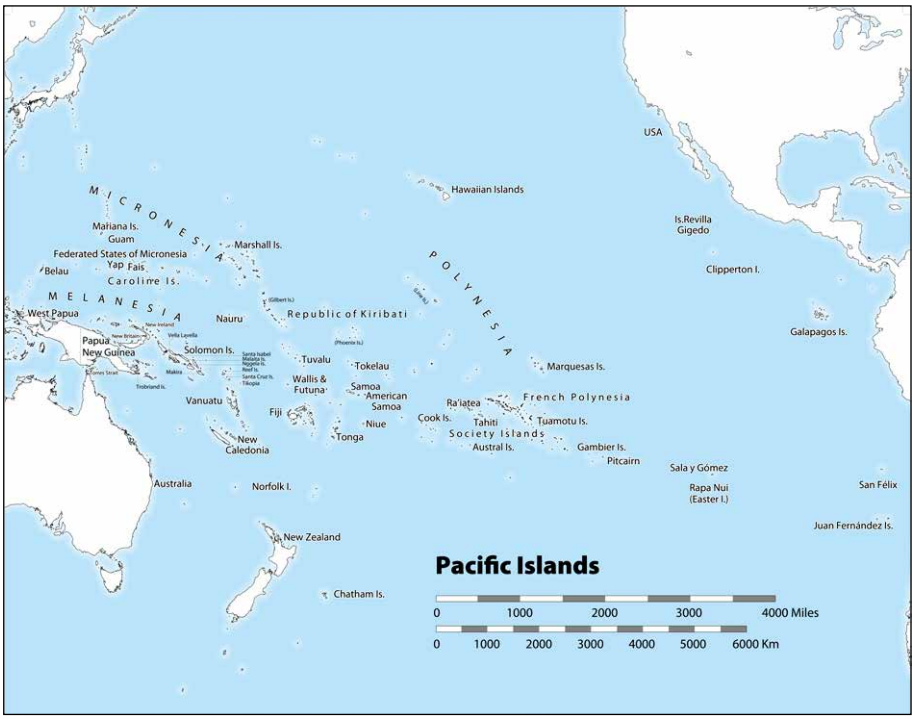
Presence and Absence

NICHOLAS THOMAS

~

Given that Oceania was famously or notoriously explored by Europeans who 'discovered' places that were already known to their inhabitants, and had been for hundreds or thousands of years, the ideas of exploration and discovery carry colonial baggage in the Pacific region and among the scholarly communities interested in it. So it might seem unwise to suggest that this book arises from an exploratory project. But it may also be best to embrace the irony and the politics risks associated with the terrain we tried to map. As is explained more fully below, these two volumes, and the book series of which they form part, arose from a research project, *Pacific Presences: Oceanic art and European museums*. By citing 'presences', we – a team of researchers and associates whose joint and individual studies are published here – aimed to signal that the vast collections of Oceanic artefacts to be found across displays and stores in European museums were not dead or static objects but works that embodied and represented cultures that remained dynamic and alive. Yet it would never have been sufficient to affirm that historic artefacts had enduring, contemporary significance – because we were constantly reminded of the absence of presence and the presence of absence. Artefacts present in museums were not present in – they were absent from – the places which they came from. Islanders had been and for the most part were not present in – they were absent from – the museums in which their artefacts were situated. But, in Pacific communities the fact that extraordinary ancestral works were physically absent did not always mean that they were conceptually or even spiritually absent. Conversely, works that had been in museum settings in Berlin, Paris or a Cambridge for a century or more did not mean that connections with milieux of origin in the Pacific had been extinguished. In knowledge, and in practice, the project sought to investigate, inquire into, reflect upon and redress these absences, in the particular ways in which we could.

The project had, of course, a broader academic and intellectual context. The past 30 years have been marked across many scholarly fields by a rediscovery of material culture, by a novel sense that artefacts of diverse kinds are, in various senses, constitutive of social and cultural life. Material things, it is now widely recognized, offer historians, anthropologists, archaeologists, sociologists and researchers in many other disciplines ways of knowing that are not accessible through other forms of



Map of the Pacific by Mark Gunning 2017. Copyright Powell-Cotton Museum.

evidence. Among landmark publications, Arjun Appadurai's edited volume, *The Social Life of Things* (1986), drew attention to the mutability of artefacts, that is, the ways in which the values and identities of objects might be radically transformed over their lives. What was a commodity at one time might become gift at another; the personal connections that artefacts may bear are susceptible to being diminished or forgotten, and also augmented and changed, over time.[1]

Arguments of this kind had immediate implications for the artefacts of Indigenous peoples, so extensively collected during the colonial period and by early anthropologists. Certainly, their 'social lives' were marked by rupture – by movement from realms of Indigenous life and use into the salons of collectors and the spaces of museums, seen as realms of academic classification and disciplinary order (even if museums, from the inside, often appear eclectic and undisciplined). While the 'decontextualization' of the ethnographic artefact has long been lamented, this instinctive reaction has given way to a more nuanced sense of artefact biography, marked by movements and changing valorizations within Indigenous milieux, as artefacts are traded or appropriated locally, collected by Europeans, and passed among owners and agents with many different interests. The impact of a 'material turn' in the humanities and social sciences was not only to bring ethnographic collections back into prominence within anthropological and cross-disciplinary inquiry, but also to enable recognition of their complexity as cultural and historical formations.[2]

Ali Clark, Lucie Carreau, Nicholas Thomas, Areta Wilkinson and Erna Lilje in the stores of the Powell-Cotton Museum, Quex Park, 2016. Photograph by Mark Adams.

Pacific Presences was also stimulated by a new wave of scholarship around the arts of Oceania, a field enlivened over the past 25 or so years by the growing engagement of Islander artists, curators and scholars, which in turn helped stimulate greater interest on the part of museums in Europe and elsewhere.[3] To cite activity at just a single institution, over the decade following its opening in 2006, the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac (MQB) in Paris, has for example mounted a series of revelatory exhibitions, on the arts of New Ireland, the Solomon Islands, the Marquesas Islands, the Sepik and New Zealand. Institutions in Britain, Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland and elsewhere have similarly curated special exhibitions dedicated to particular regions, or redisplayed collections in ways that were markedly more responsive to Indigenous perspectives than had typically been the case in more traditional museum galleries. All of these projects brought previously unpublished artefacts into view; catalogues not only distilled existing understandings but became resources for new work.

The fresh questions that arose for Oceanic art studies were diverse, stimulated variously by feminist anthropology (hence new interests in textiles, woven forms and other genres made by or generally associated with women), performance and body art (stimulating new studies of tattooing) and by historical anthropology (leading to greater consideration of change, of genres stimulated by colonial contact, and early forms of 'tourist art'). Postcolonial and Indigenous critique also prompted wide-ranging reappraisal of values, narratives and terminology.

Against this background, the *Pacific Presences* project responded to an issue that was paradoxically more specific, but also broader in its methodological, intellectual and political ramifications. What were we to make of the vast collections of artefacts from Oceania across museums – and typically museum stores – in Europe? While we had more specific sets of research questions – detailed below – they all started with this challenge. The collections appeared to represent a massively significant body of cultural heritage, one poignantly situated at a great distance from the regions and cultures that had generated creative work on such a scale, and a truly exceptional research resource. Yet also a resource that had been occasionally famous – in the sense that some few works were included in a canon of 'masterpieces' of 'tribal art', periodically published

Members of the Pacific Presences team working on Marquesan artefacts in the store of the Museum Fünf Kontinente, Munich, 2013. Left to right: Elena Govor and Maia Nuku; Nicholas Thomas; Maia Nuku; Nicholas Thomas and Julie Adams. Photograph by Mark Adams.

in art books and sometimes cited in discussions of modernism and primitivism – but more conspicuously a neglected resource, one that appeared practically difficult to access, understand and make use of.

Consider just one major institution – the Ethnologisches Museum in Berlin, currently in the process of being closed as the Humboldt-Forum, a new museum of world cultures, is preparing to open in the city centre. While for many years it had an extensive, two-level Oceania gallery, the 'depot' or store below held some 50,000 artefacts from Oceania. A number of other European museums hold 30-40,000 objects each, and there are smaller, but in some cases very significant, collections in dozens of other museums, situated in regional cities and even in small towns and villages, across many countries: not just in those we associated with great museums in Britain, France, Germany and the Netherlands, but also in Spain, Ireland, Italy, across Scandinavia and the Baltic states, in central and eastern Europe, and in Russia. Those familiar with the 'digital humanities' and the rapid development of online resources of various kinds might assume that these collections are well-documented and that catalogues are publicly available. In fact, online information is very uneven. The websites of the MQB and the British Museum (BM) provide reasonably full access, and useful information. But some of the largest collections cannot be accessed through any public portal. In a surprising number of cases, even the computer catalogues available on site, within the institutions, are partial and basic, meaning that researchers need to refer to old catalogue cards or accessions registers, and may in fact understand the range of collections and discover objects by walking around stores, pulling out drawers and opening boxes. That activity begs basic questions: what are those researchers looking for? How do they make sense of what they find? What questions do they ask of specific artefacts and of larger assemblages?

Just as catalogues vary in their availability and functionality, physical access is also notably uneven. In some cases stores are well-organized, and research access is routinely offered to academic visitors and interested others, such as members of the communities from whom collections were made. In other cases, major

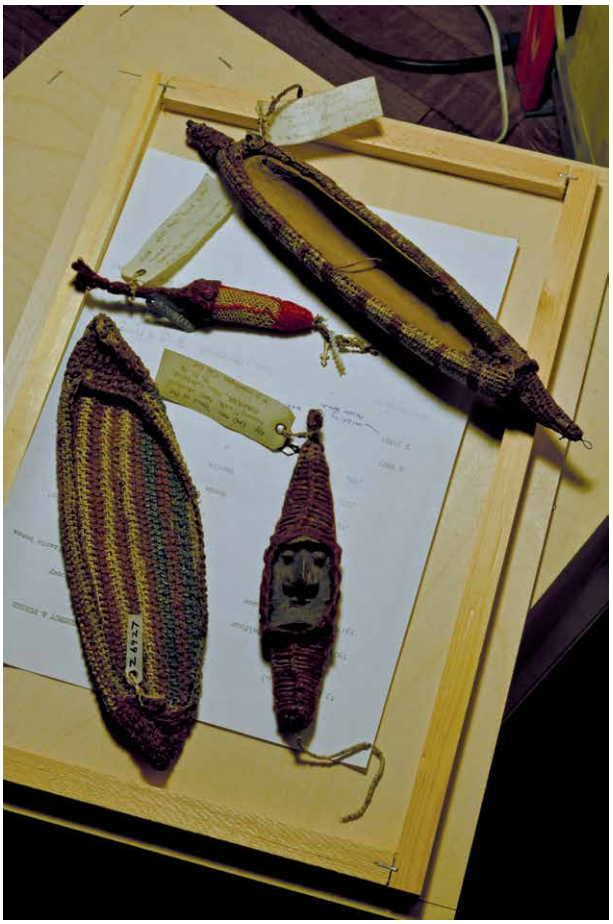
collections have been inaccessible for many years because they are packed up in 'temporary' storage facilities or for other reasons. New arrangements sometimes bring disadvantages. Protocols may require visiting researchers to look at objects in study rooms; they will not be given direct access to stores themselves in which artefacts may be shelved or boxed. The upshot is that one may have state of the art facilities in which to examine the artefacts one already knows about, but will lack the opportunity to get a feel for the sheer volume of material of certain kinds or from certain places; one may not have the chance to happen upon things. In stores holding thousands or tens of thousands of artefacts, there are inevitably many of significance that have not been previously published or exhibited, that for a variety of reasons a researcher may not have advance knowledge of.

While it often suggested that the digitization of collections makes artefacts globally accessible – and indeed it does, up to a point – it is a correlate of the 'material turn' that researchers do want and need to examine things themselves. Not everything is photographed, but in any case looking at a digital image, even at a set of digital images of a complex three-dimensional object, is not a substitute for close study of detail, material, texture, composition, surface residues, wear and a whole range of other aspects of a work's presence.

In sum, it was all too clear at the outset of this project that collections constituted research resources that might be 'difficult' from a practical perspective. We were therefore tremendously fortunate to secure five years' funding that gave us time to build relationships with museum collections staff in many countries, to make repeat visits to museums and their reserves, to make connections between collections and to revisit artefacts with new questions or connections in mind. The 'difficulties' also meant that there was much to discover. The reserve or store had something of the quality of an archaeological site, and in many places on many occasions, it was tremendously exciting to encounter – often in the company of Islander colleagues and project associates – artefacts that we did not know about, that had been in collections for many years but apparently never exhibited, published or even photographed.

While, for many collections, documentation proved extraordinarily rich, providing insight into the particular places and settings in which things had been made, used, given to Europeans and so on, any collections researcher will also encounter many instances of misprovenanced and misdescribed objects, and all too many cases when basic information is simply lacking. On the basis of wide-ranging archival research, comparative responses to artefacts in many different collections, and above all on the basis of dialogue with interested Islanders, we were able to re-assess and reinterpret many artefacts and collections, re-establishing connections that had been lost.

Alongside these practical 'difficulties', our sense was that collections were challenging in conceptual terms. Despite the extent to which many outstanding scholars of Oceanic art – Adrienne Kaeppler, Christian Kaufmann, Roger Neich and Philippe Peltier among them – had undertaken important inquiries of various kinds into artefacts and despite a considerable broader literature about collections and the history of collecting having developed, we felt that we lacked concepts appropriate to the investigation and re-assessment of these daunting masses of extraordinary things.



Opening boxes: Kanak artefacts from the Montague collection at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2013. Photograph by Mark Adams.

I have argued at greater length elsewhere that an understanding of what museums are and what museums offer requires a critique of several naturalisms, including a 'naturalism of the collection'.[4] This referred to a sense that *numbers* of the kind mentioned – 50,000 artefacts from Oceania, for example – prompt us to think of collections in misleadingly physical terms, as made up simply of masses of individual artefacts. I have suggested that this is as unhelpful as it would be to think of a nation as made up of 65 million individuals, or of some millions of square kilometres. We are well aware that nations are social and institutional complexes, composed of forms such as citizenship, that have both legal and imaginative dimensions, and 'fuzzy' edges (citizens share neighbourhoods with permanent residents who are not citizens but pay taxes, are allowed to vote in some if not all elections; temporary residents, asylum seekers and others similarly have a variety of responsibilities and entitlements). Nations are also made up of constitutions and treaties of union: treaties enable relationships with other nations and representation in a bewildering range of international fora. Equally obviously, nations are made up of narratives that are typically contested. While the analogy may appear improbable, museum collections are in fact similar. They are constituted out of principles of inclusion and exclusion, and out of relationships

through which groups of artefacts are constituted, that link artefacts and documents ranging from labels to registers to insurance valuations, and that link artefacts in one museum with artefacts in another: collections may sit within, but also extend across, individual institutions. Artefacts also bear powerful if sometimes nebulous relationships with a variety of agents, including artists, makers, previous owners, collectors and communities.

Collections, most importantly, are at once the evidence for, and the outcomes of, human intentions – those of the makers of artefacts, those of people who variously gave away, sold, appropriated or acquired them under various circumstances, those who sought to assemble larger groups of things or groups they considered representative, those who sought to represent such collections in new institutions they see as offering social and educational value, even those who seek collections' repatriation. In other words, collections are made up of relations as much as they are made up of things. They are relational assemblages that are always emergent: artefacts and sets of artefacts bear latent connections and potentialities that can be activated as new questions are asked of them. Artefacts have distinctive effects as they are put to work, for example by artists or other visitors from a community. Their values and meanings are not finite or static. The collection is, in a profound and vital sense, a creative technology, a complex formation that can enable new knowledge and new outcomes of many kinds.

This is to acknowledge that what the *Pacific Presences* project sought to accomplish – indeed what any project seeking to explore ethnographic collections across many museums – was ambitious, probably unrealistic, perhaps simply impossible. Soon after funding was awarded, two of us (myself and Julie Adams, Senior Research Associate on the project from 2013 to 2016), visited a number of the museums that had agreed to act as project partners. Although I had spent time in the Oceania stores at the Ethnologisches Museum on a number of occasions over a 20-year period, we both felt overwhelmed by the many aisles of New Ireland malangan sculptures, racks of spears, drawers of shell necklaces, and shelves of model canoes, paddles, carefully folded or rolled textiles, among so many other genres. Nor were these just multiple examples of the same sorts of things: every single malangan had the look of a unique, dazzlingly accomplished work of art. Even every spear from New Guinea appeared subtly different, with distinctive fibre bindings or incised patterns that gave each work individuality, as one learned to look at, see and understand the genre. It was intriguing to hear Markus Schindlbeck talk about the bewilderingly complex stories of some of the artefacts, the shadowy relationships with dealers, the removal of artefacts by Russians at the end of the Second World War and their return after the fall of the Berlin wall (see Philip Schorch's chapter in Volume Two). It was easy to anticipate that a five-year research project could be dedicated to the investigation of this stored collection alone. But the challenge was anyway much larger than this. From the start, we had signalled an interest in what could be done with collections today, through engagements with communities in the Pacific and with artists (see chapters by Clark, Charteris, Leckie and Watson; Raymond; Reynolds; Wilkinson and Adams in Volume Two). A significant component of the funds awarded were for Indigenous visitors – some of them colleagues with whom we had collaborated previously, others people we were yet to identify and invite, who we anticipated would be interested in co-

Bone toggles from Nuku Hiva, in a box with an early inscription. Estonian Historical Museum, Tallinn, 2016. Photograph by Mark Adams.

Teiki Huukena holding an U'u in the stores at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, 2016. Photograph by Alison Clark.

researching collections and making sense of them from their own perspectives and for their own purposes. In due course we welcomed and worked with people from Palau, Fiji, Samoa, New Caledonia, Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, the Marquesas, Tahiti, Kiribati, New Zealand, Hawai'i, the Cook Islands and elsewhere. The possibilities already seemed endless.

From the start, team members were well aware that the project would never be able to give in-depth attention to extensive collections from the many different cultures of Oceania, across many different museums, let alone exhaust the opportunities for their re-animation in engagement and practice with Islanders and communities. We had therefore stated in our grant application that we would focus upon five regions: the Marquesas Islands, the Solomon Islands, Micronesia, West Papua and the Sepik. We were also fortunate that colleagues at major museums in Russia, Germany, the Netherlands, France and in Britain had agreed that we could count the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology (MAE, generally known as the Kunstkamera) in St Petersburg, the Ethnologisches Museum in Berlin, the Museum Volkenkunde in Leiden, the MQB in Paris, and the BM as 'partner institutions'. We also anticipated working extensively on collections at the institution where the project was based, the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (MAA) in Cambridge. This framework implied scope for apparently neat comparisons: the Kunstkamera held early collections from the Marquesas – the focus for another volume in this series – while the MQB cares for a wider range of Marquesan material collected later. Similarly, we knew of important material from West Papua in the BM and at MAA though the most extensive collections were in the Netherlands, indeed West Papuan material amounted to the bulk of the Dutch collections. We thus appeared to have a foundation for a range of comparative inquiries that were potentially wide-ranging, and responded to large numbers of artefacts from regions that were in some cases themselves geographically and culturally diverse, but that nevertheless were defined rather than open-ended.

Yet the project was also responsive to opportunity. At an early stage we realized that a Kanak collection at MAA in Cambridge had never been closely studied or published. New Caledonia had not been one of selected study regions, but the rich field documentation relating to this collection made it an obvious focus for work (see Adams' chapter in Volume Two). On the other hand, although Erna Lilje (Research Associate, 2016-2018) has undertaken work on south coast Papuan artefacts, and team members examined much Sepik material in various museums over the course of the project, we did not in the end give the region the sustained study we had anticipated. Similarly, for a variety of reasons we worked more extensively with some 'partner institutions' than others, and very extensively in many museums which were not initially identified as partners.

The more specific questions asked of these collections have already been implied, but can be specified in more detail. We saw ourselves addressing four sets of issues, which started in the Pacific, in artefacts' milieux of origin, proceeded to consider what can be called 'the scene of collecting', travelled across oceans and hemispheres to the museums that artefacts subsequently 'inhabited', and arrived finally but most vitally to the present. We asked:

> What are these collections made up of? What uses and values did the artefacts originally have? How did their forms and uses change?
>
> How and why were these collections made? Why did Islanders gift or sell artefacts? How do collections reflect the interplay of European and Indigenous intentions? What innovations did collecting practices engender?
>
> What meanings and values did collections acquire in Europe? How did they empower scientists and others seeking to create educational and civic institutions? How were artefacts circulated, cited, and displayed, in science, popular culture, and art? How have the lives of collections varied across European nations and milieux?
>
> How are collections perceived today by Islanders? How are they perceived and valued in European museums and by those museums' publics? What relation do collections have to the purposes of museums, as articulated by policymakers and by governments? Can collections be re-imagined in terms more salient to both Indigenous and European communities in the twenty-first century?

The team – which in the end constituted a considerable number of interns and project fellows as well as the core staff members, our Indigenous visitors and affiliated artists – did engage in a wide range of research 'strands', each addressing some, or most of these questions, with varied emphases. The outcomes of some of these sub-projects are represented in the second volume of this book. The chapters are diverse, reflecting the diversity of collections and the issues that they raise, though in another sense they are coherent: throughout the project we responded to the materiality of things. We were conscious of the distances between places – the places where these remarkable artefacts were from, and their locations in the present. We were conscious also of distance in time, and both continuity and rupture. We were, as was signalled at the outset of this Introduction, aware of Pacific presences in museums; but also of the interplay of absence and presence. In facilitating and staging study visits, we were of course building on many collaborative curatorial projects, and on what had become well-established practice in many ethnographic museums. What was distinctive about this programme was the opportunity to range over many collections in a sustained and comparative way.

The project has had many outcomes apart from those represented in the chapters in Volume Two. We completed a major study of the collections at MAA, that had been initiated with the support of an earlier grant from the UK Economic and Social Research Council, but was developed further in the initial years of the *Pacific Presences* project. That book was published as *Artefacts of Encounter: Cook's Voyages, Colonial Collecting and Museum Histories* (2016).[5] It foregrounded not only the 'encounters' of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries through which objects moved from Indigenous to European hands, but also the encounters we ourselves had with artefacts, through which we tried to understand those earlier meetings and transactions. Indeed, we

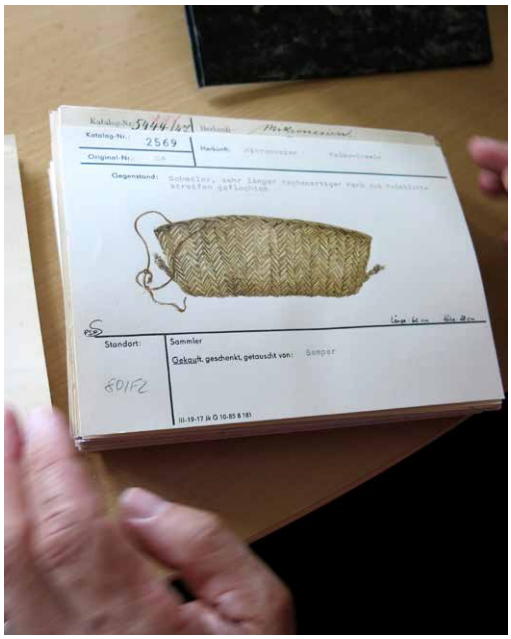
Handling a Krusenstern voyage shell trumpet, Estonian Historical Museum, Tallinn, September 2016. Photograph by Mark Adams.

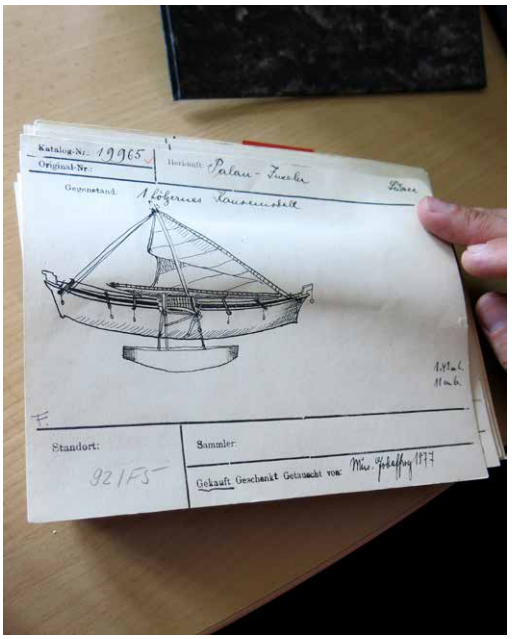
Looking at Kanak engraved bamboos during a walk-through in the store of the Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin, July 2016. Photograph by Mark Adams.

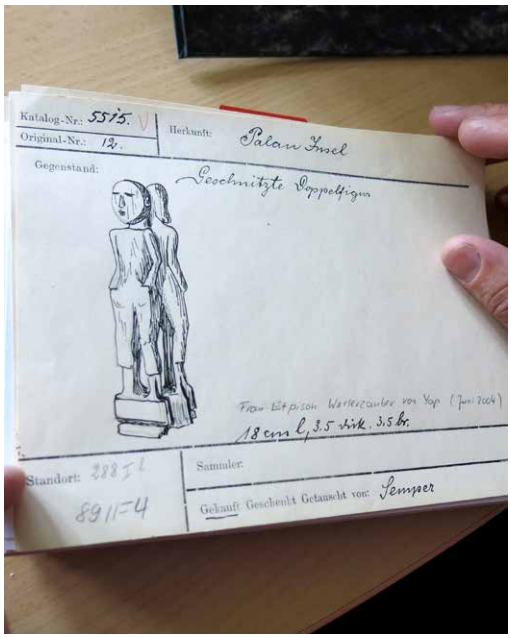
Taloi Havini in the stores at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, 2017. Photograph by Lucie Carreau.

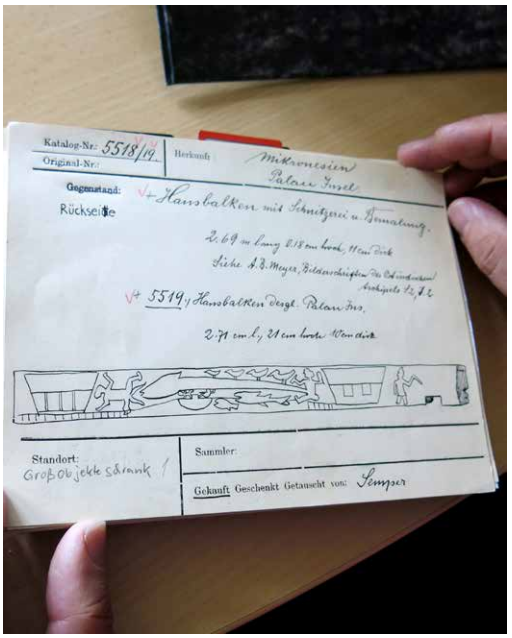
arrived at a novel methodology, it felt almost by accident. Artefacts, we realized through experience, needed to be studied not by individual scholars working on the model of the historian in the archive, combing through documents in isolation, but by people together. In general, team members tried to avoid looking at artefacts on their own. We found it exceptionally rewarding to travel together. We were often accompanied by Indigenous colleagues and artists, on a number of trips by Mark Adams, the project photographer, and we were frequently given access to material by local curators or collections managers who themselves were often experts, and who had detailed knowledge (even if they were not Oceania specialists) of the nuances of institutional histories, of what for example an old label might suggest. Those present all brought particular interests and concerns to artefacts. Our reflections were often wide-ranging, our inferences at first tentative, sometimes later proved wrong. Yet it all seemed right: artefacts that were, obviously, social in their constitution and cross-cultural in their histories were encountered socially, by groups that were cross-cultural – of different nationalities, and mostly including individuals of European and Pacific descent.

It is hard, in a scholarly publication, to convey just how special these encounters were, involving as they did works and masses of works that were often not published, not 'known' other than by the curators and collections staff who oversaw their care, and situated so far from their milieux of origin. Especially when our colleagues included Islanders who in some cases had never encountered works of particular kinds, no longer produced at home, and for whom the 'presence of absence' and 'absence of









Catalogue cards in the Grassi Museum, Leipzig. Photographs by Julie Adams.

presence' was often exceptionally poignant. If difficult to evoke textually, the qualities of these occasions are suggested in artwork produced in association with the project, by Alana Jelinek (see her contribution, Volume Two), and by Mark Adams' photographs.

Building on *Artefacts of Encounter*, this series publishes studies focused on one spectacular genre (Kiribati armour), and re-assembles collections made during major but understudied early expeditions (those of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux and Krusenstern, the latter particularly in relation to Marquesan art), late nineteenth and early twentieth century collections (of the naval officer Edward Henry Meggs Davis and the ethnographer Paul Montague). As if in reverse chronological order, our first volume offered a reappraisal of the work of the British anthropologist Anthony Forge and his influential meditations on 'style' and 'meaning' in Abelam art. A more general conceptual study, *The Return of Curiosity: What Museums are Good for in the Twenty-First Century* (2016), attempted to elaborate on the idea of 'the museum as method', the collection as a distinctive context and resource for inquiry and creativity.

But project activity was not solely directed towards standard scholarly outcomes and included many exhibitions. Those at MAA included *Sounding out the morning star, Magic and Memory, The Island Warrior* and *Swish*, which presented objects and stories from West Papua, New Caledonia, Kiribati and Papua New Guinea respectively. Team members also curated *Tapa: barkcloth paintings from the Pacific* for the Ikon Gallery in Birmingham, *The other Selwyn: John Richardson Selwyn and the Melanesian Mission* at Selwyn College, Cambridge, permanent Oceania galleries for the Museu de cultures del Món in Barcelona and contributed to wider exhibitions including *Kosmos* at the Museum Reitberg in Zurich, *Island Stories: People, Places and Objects of the Pacific* at the Powell-Cotton Museum in Kent, and *Artist and empire* at Tate Britain in London. Affiliated artists Alana Jelinek, Mark Adams and Areta Wilkinson created work ranging from Jelinek's film *Knowing* to Adams' and Wilkinson's joint exhibition *Repatriation*, empowered directly by core project questions and project museum visits, which are discussed in the second volume of this book.

While the second volume aims to represent the sheer variety of histories collections bear, and to point towards some of the many ways collections can be and are being activated in the present, this first volume offers a set of surveys, a sort of map or historical atlas, of 'Oceanic art' in 'European museums'. As has already been acknowledged, the project title implied an impossible task. Museum collections from Oceania include both more and less than 'Oceanic art' and encompass archives, photographs, drawings and much else, but of course do not include, or only indirectly represent, all the art from Oceania that was performative, in the environment, on the body, or otherwise uncollectable. Mapping 'Europe' is not straightforward, so mapping 'European museums' is no more so. Of nearly 50 countries (including micro-states such as Monaco and the Vatican City) conventionally listed, at least 20 support ethnographic museums of some sort, or national museums that include ethnographic collections of some significance that range globally. This effort, however, is selective, and aims to convey a sense of the kind of collections that exist and how they have been accumulated, shaped and recontextualized over time, by surveying the histories and distribution of Oceanic collections in Britain, France, German, the Netherlands and Russia. There are, of course, also highly significant museums in Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Hungary, Italy, Norway, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland, among other countries.

Above, left: 'The Other Selwyn: John Richardson Selwyn in Melanesia and Cambridge' exhibition at Selwyn College Library, University of Cambridge, 2017. Photograph by Lucie Carreau.
Above, right: 'The Island Warrior: Coconut Fibre Armour from Kiribati' exhibition at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, 2017. Photograph by Josh Murfitt.
Below, left: 'Magic and Memory: Paul Denys Montague 's Collections from New Caledonia' exhibition at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, 2014. Photograph by Josh Murfitt.
Below, middle: 'Swish: Carved Belts and Fibres Skirts of Papua New Guinea' exhibition at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, 2017. Photograph by Josh Murfitt.
Below: right: 'Sounding Out the Morning Star: Music and West Papua' exhibition at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, 2015. Photograph by Josh Murfitt.

Within each of the countries surveyed, but especially in Britain, France and Germany, there have been dozens of relevant institutions, many of which have at various times been amalgamated, renamed, relocated, shut and sold off, or otherwise reconstituted. Or, institutions have remained intact but collections have been transferred between them. We therefore outline histories only selectively – these are surveys in the sense of provisional forays or reviews, rather than balanced, truly representative overviews – but we hope that these chapters give those who may be conducting research in the future into the Pacific collections of European museums a useful sense of context and orientation. The chapters do explain why some parts of the Pacific are better represented in some countries' museums than they are in others; why there was a great deal of collecting at certain times and less at others; and why certain works are well-provenanced and others not. We are concerned also to make it clear that collections are not always what they appear: names and histories have the habit of getting mixed up, and museums and archives are realms of rumour as often as truth.

While this set of provisional maps, this partial historical atlas, explores European sites and nations, the book engages in this cartography of collections from the vantage point of Oceanic histories. That is, we aim to avoid the glaring asymmetry of traditional connoisseurship, still manifest in the discourses of auction houses and some art catalogues, which frame artefacts via 'tribal art' aesthetics – those of the owners not the creators of work – that is, not on the basis of the values and narratives of cultures and communities of origin, which do not constitute coherent or original contexts or meanings but are changing, heterogeneous and multi-sited. We see this investigation into the European formations and institutions that have hosted or contained so much Oceanic art as an extension of Dipesh Chakrabarty's 'provincialization' of Europe, a philosophical and empirical effort to reveal the extent to which 'the West' was not the source or centre of historical innovation and historical dynamism, but a heterogeneous and multi-sited terrain, shaped by global relationships, producing 'derivative' as often as 'original' cultural expressions.[6] The locus of creativity that motivates this project is emphatically in Oceania. The ethnographic collections that became so astonishingly abundant, that we seek to evoke and investigate are patently derivative – they are made up of stuff from elsewhere – even if, as collections, they represented startlingly novel and ambitious formations. The story begins and ends in the Pacific itself, and for this reason the all too selective national 'surveys' that make up the body of this volume are introduced by a chapter by Noelle Kahanu, which reflects on artefacts, exhibitions, museums and curatorial work from a Hawaiian perspective.

Kū a Moʻo: Curator as Guardians of Portals and Passageways[7]

Noelle M.K.Y. Kahanu

I. Meeting the Moʻo

In the epic tale of Hiʻiakaikapoliopele, the goddess Hiʻiaki retrieves the lover of her sister Pele. Crossing from Hawaiʻi island to Kauaʻi, she encounters over a dozen moʻo, ancient deities who took both lizard and human form. They stood as guardians, challenging her passages along the way. Sometimes they appeared as women, sunning themselves on the rocks only to skitter away. Other times, they appeared larger than

Noelle Kahanu in the stores at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, 2015. Photograph by Mark Adams.

life, fierce foes, ready to do battle. Mountains shook and rivers flowed red when Hi'iaka faced the great male moʻo, Panaewa.

In Wailuku, Hiʻiaka encountered two female moʻo named Piliamoʻo and Kuaua. As told by Hoʻoulumahiehie and translated by Puakea Nogelmeier,

> These two moʻo were champions of that place and there was no kupua that they feared or who made them worry that the law they had made restricting passage from one side of the Wailuku river to the other would be opposed. For any supernatural or human who dared disregard the law they had set, death was the only penalty.

Just as moʻo repelled the unworthy, so too did they also enable access. But what exactly did they protect? Moʻo guard pathways and passages, they guard waterways, rivers mouths, pools and rainforests – places rich in resources, treasured and vital. But what is the relevance of moʻo to what we do within our museum context?

II. Renovation of Hawaiian Hall

The unveiling of Pacific Hall in 2013 brought to a close an eight-year $24 million renovation project at the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum (Bishop Museum) in Honolulu, Hawaiʻi. The earlier renovation of Hawaiian Hall, which reopened in 2009, and Pacific Hall were momentous undertakings, breathing new life into once dusty spaces, and transforming the physical environment while also engaging in a fundamental interpretative shift towards a native perspective. Bishop Museum is one of the oldest institutions in Hawaiʻi, having been founded in 1889 by Charles Reed Bishop

in memory of his wife, Princess Bernice Pauahi. She was the great granddaughter of King Kamehameha I, who unified the Hawaiian islands into a single kingdom in 1810. While the museum's original mission was to display the cultural and historic relics of her family dynasty, the museum's focus gradually expanded to include the broader Pacific and the natural world.

Housing much of the Hawaiian collection was Hawaiian Hall, which opened to the public in 1903. Considered the jewel of the campus, the three-storey structure remained remarkably unchanged for most of that time. The third floor depicted the story of Hawai'i's immigrant communities while the first two floors largely presented a disjointed Hawaiian narrative resulting from remnant cases from prior efforts. In fact, the introductory case actually began with the Death of Captain Cook, as if to ground the Hawaiian experience in the moment of contact. Other cases focused on material culture, without providing a cultural context. Physical issues were also becoming increasingly problematic, such as peeling paint, outdated wiring, and fluctuations in humidity and temperature. The lack of an elevator and air conditioning also meant few ventured beyond the first floor. By the start of the twenty-first century, many, especially within the Hawaiian community, had come to feel that Hawaiian Hall had become irrelevant.

What Hawaiian Hall badly needed was to be restored and this began in earnest in 2005. The Museum's core team consisted of five staff members, historic architect Glenn Mason, construction manager Fray Heath, and the exhibit design firm of Ralph Applebaum and Associates. After extensive consultation with Native Hawaiian artists and practitioners, as well as native and non-native scholars, a major new interpretive plan emerged, one that was from a native perspective, multi-layered and authentic in voice, infused with scholarship, art, storytelling, chants and dance.

Each floor of Hawaiian Hall now represents a physical and spiritual realm. From the first floor of Kai Akea, the wide expanse of the sea, to the second floor, Wao Kanaka, the realm of man and daily life, and the third floor, wao lani, the heavenly realm. Cases reflect upon our gods, their different body forms and areas of responsibility. On the second floor, rail cases follow the lunar cycle, which determined how Hawaiians fished, planted and worshipped. Hawaiian voice infuses the floor, as all labels are by Hawaiians, those past and present. The continuity of the Hawaiian people through time is also shown by including the works of contemporary artists alongside those created by their ancestors. On the third floor, we encounter the world of our chiefs – not only who they were, but how they were related, for these are the threads of mana that form the living tapestry upon which our kingdom was founded. We depict not only the end of the monarchy and the overthrow of Queen Lili'uokalani in 1893, but annexation by the United States, statehood, and the Hawaiian renaissance movement of the 1970s up through today.

The opening in August 2009 was truly celebratory as thousands participated in this milestone of achievement. Subsequent evaluations have reinforced the impact of the exhibition upon its visitors. Moreover, its message seemed to transfer across geographic and cultural boundaries.

Some excerpts from our comment book:

> Very symbolic and touching. So proud to be Hawaiian [Hawai'i]
> May all the gods be pleased with this place [Texas]
> A true revelation!!!! [Venezuela]
> Everyone Indigenous could be in this museum. Your story is my story is our story [Yurok/Pit River]

But perhaps most importantly, Bishop Museum has restored its relationship with the Hawaiian community – in the words of Indigenous artist Imaikalani Kalahele: 'for the first time, Hawaiian Hall feels Hawaiian'.

III. Renovation of Pacific Hall

Not long after Hawaiian Hall opened, Professor Vilsoni Hereniko brought his University of Hawai'i Pacific Island Studies students to the Bishop Museum. Tasked with writing a reaction paper comparing the newly renovated exhibition to Polynesian Hall, the students contrasted the vibrant portrayal of Hawaiian culture with a 'static' hall that had persisted past its prime.

Even older than Hawaiian Hall, the original Polynesian Hall opened in 1894, a year after the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Unlike Hawaiian Hall, however, there had been major renovations to the two-storey gallery, as well as thematic deviations. The beautiful wooden railings were boarded up, the ceiling was dropped, warm koa wood columns were bleached and lime green carpeting was installed.

The same team that worked on the Hawaiian Hall renovation continued, but with additional staff from the archaeology department. As someone who was on both teams, I found that what would seemingly be easy was actually much, much harder. There was greater cultural diversity but less space, more storyline but fewer labels, and communities that we were not as connected to. But what was our overall theme? Those that we did consult with spoke of the importance of navigation, of the ocean as 'connector, not divider', of relationships, family, and community. With the spirit of Pacific scholar Epeli Hauofa as a guide, one theme, 'the Blue Continent', emerged and the two floors would come to tell two complementary aspects of it. Indeed, a direct reflection of this more unified vision was the actual name change of the gallery – from its original 'Polynesian Hall' to that of the more encompassing 'Pacific Hall'.

The railings were released from their boarded up state, cases were restored and a prominent new feature of an inlaid wood map of Oceania was installed. Suspended overhead was a traditional Fijian fishing canoe and a 35-foot long media screen with images and sounds of contemporary Pacific life. A large case of 13 model canoes reinforced the notion that the ocean was once our pathway to each other. Says Hawaiian scholar Manu Aluli Meyer from the corner introductory video, 'We were taught here in Hawai'i that we are the most isolated land mass in the world but nothing could be further from the truth. We are connected, and it is our ocean that connects us.'

The first floor explores various facets of life – from gods and ancestors to the sea and land, from family and community to chiefs, navigation and trade. Contemporary work between the cases help to illuminate issues facing Oceanic peoples today and a new grand staircase leads upwards to a wide blue multi-layered community mural created by a group of native master, emerging and student artists. Across the way is

a large migration map and a rail of 17 touchable adzes that illustrate the focus of the second floor – the eastward migration of Pacific peoples. Cases feature various cultural communities with many of the artefacts on display coming from archaeological field work carried out by museum researchers, past and present. Interactive media stations enable further detailed exploration through contemporary interviews, maps, expeditions, artefacts and photographs. Finally, there is a small alcove dedicated to Sir Peter Buck, Te Rangi Hiroa, a famed Māori scholar who served as director of Bishop Museum from 1936 until his passing in 1951.

In September 2013, Bishop Museum unveiled the newly renovated Pacific Hall to more than 6,000 people: Māori songs reverberated within the hall, proud students saw their mural displayed for the first time, families learned about voyaging and the stars, and people laughed and talked, and drank awa beneath the hala tree. There were films, music, dance, poetry, and lots of food.

But all was not smooth. There were clear challenges consulting with a diverse and sometimes sparse community, leading to an overemphasis on University collaborations. Legitimate issues were also raised, such as why the floor map depicted the Republic of Vanuatu by its colonized name of New Hebrides? On the opening day, our keynote speaker was so perturbed he suggested we just cover up the whole map with a lauhala mat. Nonetheless, the overall feedback has been very positive.

From my standpoint, consultation is by far the most rewarding aspect of the exhibition process. Not only does it have the capacity to illuminate the past but, just as importantly, it can inform the present, creating relationships between museums and overlooked communities. Museums also tend to avoid engaging with community critics, but criticism is in fact a sign that someone cares enough to care. Criticism is really an invitation to dialogue.

But what of other models beyond permanent exhibitions? Let us return to our beginning – to our mythical moʻo, and to return to the question – what do they guard? What do they protect? Moʻo do not protect 'things' but rather places and spaces – they protect passageways and portals. Indeed some lua moʻo, or pits guarded by moʻo, can transport someone from one side of the island to the other. Oceanic treasures are more than just tangible artefacts residing at home and beyond. They were created by our ancestors centuries ago, who invested in them their mana and embodied within them their world view. When so much has been changed and altered, these treasures themselves are portals linking us back into a time that we can no longer truly access. In some instances, they are the only ones left of their kind, making them even more critical access points.

IV. E Kū Ana Ka Paia

In 2010, the British Museum (BM) loaned a temple image of the god Kū to Bishop Museum for a historic exhibition, *E Kū Ana Ka Paia: Unification, Responsibility and the Kū Image*. The exhibition brought together the last of the three greatest Kū images in the world, and included Kū images from Bishop Museum and the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, Massachusetts. Not since the 1800s had such a gathering of images taken place – for in the aftermath of the ending of the kapu system and the coming of the missionaries, most all of the temple images had been removed or destroyed.

In traditional times, these Kū images represented the male principal, as well as chiefly governance and politics. As such, the exhibition was timed to coincide with the 200th anniversary of the unification of the Hawaiian Islands and the second ʻAha Kāne Conference, where hundreds of Hawaiian men gathered to consider issues of health, wellness, and responsibility. Remarked Ty Kawika Tengan, one of the principal exhibit consultants,

> the return of the two Kū images that departed Hawaiʻi over 150 years ago leads us to reconsider the place of Hawaiian men in society today … Kanaka men are active, awake, and energetic. The task of nation rebuilding is at hand, and Kū is presiding.

The exhibition involved many individuals and institutions, but most important to the process were the Hawaiian consultants. Over a dozen Hawaiians from the arts, carving, spiritual, lua, and political communities came together to consider issues such exhibition design, interpretation, and ceremonial protocol. Consultants travelled with Bishop Museum staff to London and Salem, Massachusetts to prepare the way for images and their journey to Hawaiʻi, as well as upon their return. Throughout the process, the BM and the Peabody Essex Museum were also able to witness and learn first-hand the reverence the Hawaiian community has for these Kū. Dan Monroe, Executive Director and CEO of Peabody Essex Museum and Jonathan King, Keeper for the Department of Africa, Oceania and the Americas at the BM, attended several opening ceremonies and events that allowed for a new level of understanding, respect, and cooperation. Both institutions for the first time allowed malo, or kapa loincloths to be placed on the images. These malo were made specifically for these images by Native Hawaiian women kapa artists.

Just outside of Hawaiian Hall in the Long Gallery, over a dozen Native Hawaiian contemporary artists shared works that spoke to the multiple facets of Kū. Daily tours were given to 3,100 visitors, and at least 4,500 school children participated in programmes which touched on some aspect of the Kū exhibition. Nine thousand free gallery guides were also distributed to visitors, students, teachers and community groups. Four free evening lectures were also held which explored Kū – from his traditional aspects to his contemporary relevance. The last presentation, entitled 'Kū Dialogues: A Community Discussion on the Exhibition and Its Impacts', invited participants to share their sentiments, including how they felt about the impending return of the two loaned images.

In the end, over the course of four months, over 71,300 people stood before these Kū – visitors, locals, Hawaiians, students, children, elders and families. More Hawaiians than ever came. Many were from off-island and had not been to the museum in years, if ever. One member came over 50 times and drew 18 separate pen and ink and charcoal images. It may be years before we truly comprehend the impact this exhibition has had on the museum and the community, but most agreed that the experience was powerful, inspiring, and life-changing. On a board we invited people to share their thoughts, and this is what one visitor wrote.

> *As they remain or leave, it is good that we recall the many hands, hearts and minds working together that brought them here. That may be the true mana of Kū, to bring together from here, from there, to bridge differences, to impress, to educate, to inspire, to unite us all!*

When the day came to take the two Kū down and return them to Peabody Essex Museum and the BM, I did not participate in the physical work. Instead, I watched from first the first floor, and then the second. A consultant, Umi Kai, called me a crybaby, but in truth, it was my job that day to weep, to 'uwe, to cry for those who could not, to bear witness, to remember. Even today when I look upon our Kū image at Bishop Musuem, I experience a profound sense of loss at not seeing his brethren at his side.

V. Kū a Moʻo

Four years after the historic Kū gathering, I went to London, and lay my hands upon the crate that contained he who mesmerized tens of thousands – a crate that lay coffin-like, keeping him in darkness and silence. And as I walked the halls of some of the very best museums in the world, I was struck by the weight of the presence of the absence. I know this is a sentiment many of you share. Because we want to elevate Oceania to the forefront that it deserves because of its importance, its relevance, its message to the world – that we are profoundly interconnected – bound to the ocean, the land and each other.

But we exist within this reality of museums as inherently western colonial constructs who allow for only the narrowest of Pacific interpretations. Our collections, our treasures, indeed our very remains, are important parts of a world history and yet in many European museums, we are all but invisible. *It is the spoken silence, the presence of the absence.*

But are there not alternate models and constructs? Permanent and temporary exhibitions of Oceanic art in Europe and beyond? Or proactive and engaged dialogue about loans to their home communities? Such exhibitions have the capacity to transform, to engage, to uplift, to animate, to unite, in a way that is expansive and profound.

Each of us are the modern moʻo – who protect, who preserve. But moʻo at their core defend not what but where. They defend a sense of place. A passageway. A portal through which people can access another time, reach another layer of understanding about their own people and themselves. How do we facilitate the temporary return of these treasures to those who need them most … to join in a collective understanding that the journey of these treasures need not be over?

Let us consider, perhaps for a moment, that our chiefs often gifted that which they most treasured, not only because it solidified relationships and honoured rank, but because they knew their mana would travel, traverse oceans of time and space, and create portals between the here and the now and the then. Working together, people in Oceania, Europe and beyond *can be the anuenue, the arching rainbow*. We can be the two moʻo, who started us on our journey, Piliamoʻo and Kuaua. *We can be the link, not the divide.* We can be the bridge, the moʻo who stood on either side of the embankment

and reached out towards one another, allowing for passage, for access, for entrance, for engagement and enlightenment.

Let us Kū a Moʻo: stand as moʻo.

I would like to end with an excerpt from a poem by Imaikalani Kalahele who wrote it for my mother many years ago, on the occasion of her birthday.

We crossed over their backs
Up from the beginning
Moving with us
In our journey
Here
Moʻos in the pools,
Loving under the moon
Destroying armies with their tails
Shaking the ground when they walked
Some are small
Short and shy
Others are long and slim
They are grey
And brown
Pink and green
Moʻos over here
Moʻos over there
Moʻos are everywhere

CHAPTER 1

Pacific Presences in Britain: antiquarians, ethnographers, artists, emissaries

NICHOLAS THOMAS

~

Those in the Pacific concerned with the material expressions of their artistic heritage, the masses of expatriate artefacts in European museums, probably presume that objects are mainly held in great city institutions such as the British Museum. They are right in the sense that the largest collection in the United Kingdom of material from Oceania is in that famous and periodically controversial institution: the British Museum does hold the largest single collection, of around 40,000 Pacific artefacts; this is also one of the largest collections in Europe, though several German and Swiss museums each hold more artefacts from Oceania. However, the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford and the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (MAA) in Cambridge between them care for about the same number. What may be more surprising is that there are collections of Pacific artefacts, in many cases not numerous but nevertheless significant in historical, cultural and artistic terms, in many cities and towns, in virtually every part of the British Isles. The museum in Torquay, Devon, holds important Fijian collections donated by the colonial administrator, A.B. Brewster, and by two associates in the Fijian service who shared his ethnological interests.[8] The Stromness Museum in Orkney, the archipelago off Scotland's north-eastern coast, has a display case of artefacts from various parts of Polynesia supposed to have been left there when the *Resolution* and *Discovery* called in August 1780, following the Pacific voyage marked by the death of Captain James Cook in Hawai'i. Preliminary assessment suggests that these objects are unlikely, in fact, to date back to the eighteenth century, but they presumably reached Orkney through some maritime connection, most likely off some ship which visited the Pacific in the early to mid-nineteenth century, and are in any case historic and important pieces.[9] This uncertain association with famous names, often a distraction from the considerable cultural significance that such works may possess or potentially possess, is typical of smaller, 'out of the way', often un- or under-researched collections.

The many other places in Britain where smaller or larger Pacific collections can be found include Aberdeen, Birchington-on-sea, Brighton, Hastings, Maidstone, Newcastle, Paisley, Perth, Saffron Walden, Sunderland and Wisbech. A UNESCO survey conducted in 1979, an important resource for this study which covered Ireland as well as the United Kingdom, found some 140 cities and towns in which Oceanic

collections were situated, primarily in museums, a few in schools and historic houses; those institutions numbered 173.[10] The authors of the Unesco study, Peter Gathercole and Alison Clarke (not to be confused with one of the editors of this book), estimated that the total number of Pacific artefacts in the seven largest collections (of the British Museum, MAA in Cambridge, the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, the Horniman in south London and the Liverpool, Manchester and Brighton museums)[11] was of the order of 130,000, and that other institutions held a further 30,000. Because the first figure included what we now know to be an underestimate of the British Museum's collection, the overall total cannot be less than 175,000 and is probably near 200,000 artefacts, given that some museums have received substantial donations, or made substantial acquisitions, since 1979 (all of these figures include collections from Australia, which typically falls within 'Oceania' for curatorial purposes but is outside the scope of the present volumes).

These numbers are remarkable, in two senses. First, and most obviously, they point to the sheer volume and dispersal of Oceania's material heritage in Britain. That implies that the cultural resource, and the research and curatorial resource, is both vast and difficult to investigate. Further to the discussion in the Introduction to this book, collections cannot, for most purposes, be meaningfully engaged with or studied other than by examining the actual artefacts – this is true of academic inquiry, the work of practising artists and the interests of descendants and community members: we all in general want to, and ideally must, see the stuff. This is practically challenging, and requires also that we negotiate collections that may be inaccurately or incompletely catalogued, and of which only a fraction is likely to be on display. Most collections have only been partially photographed, and those photographs are often not or not all online; a great deal may be physically difficult to access because stores are crowded or inconveniently packed. But the rewards are commensurate with the challenges, in the sense that there is an extraordinarily rich artistic and cultural archive, which Islanders and researchers are in the process of rediscovering, which bears what, in another context, Lisa Reihana has called 'myriad possibilities', for inquiry, discovery, creativity and storytelling.[12]

There is a second sense in which the various numbers – perhaps 200,000 artefacts in about 173 museums in about 140 cities, towns and villages – are remarkable. Ethnographic collections offer an oblique perspective upon a much larger subject – that of British, European and world history. What the presence of these artefacts exemplifies is the profoundly global and colonial nature of life, experience, travel, knowledge, culture, science and economics in Britain since the 1770s. Collections of this kind are today found in museums in so many towns and cities because they were associated with local lives, across the entire country. Artefacts were acquired by individuals who travelled, or were connected with people who travelled, or had enthusiasms associated with the globally comparative 'study of man', or of antiquity, or were interested in the arts of non-European peoples. Those individuals had very diverse stations in life. Some were aristocrats, some were more or less wealthy professionals, some were naval or merchant sailors, some were colonial officials, missionaries or travel writers; not all were men. A few artefacts, but a few highly significant ones, were brought to Britain not by collectors but by Pacific Islanders themselves.

Here too are myriad stories, which cannot be entered into here; the point is that Pacific presences in Britain were and are curiously pervasive. Almost everywhere were found families that had some link to work, commerce, travel, emigration, the missionary enterprise, a branch of science or some other activity that had global reach. In *Culture and Imperialism*, Edward Said argued that empire was not merely an external projection of European society, not something incidental to its history, but a vital and constitutive part of its formation.[13] Many other critics and scholars have advanced complementary arguments demonstrating the deeper connectedness of nation-making in modern Europe and the colonial projects of European nations.[14] The 'Pacific presences' manifest in these pervasive connections are both literal and resonant: literal in the sense that the presence of an object is just that – a model of a canoe is in a museum because someone got it from the place it was made in the Pacific. But like material artefacts in general, which have meanings that are more extensive and mutable that fixed physical identities might imply, such connections are typically not simple and specific.[15] They reflect cross-cultural encounters that may have been fraught, confused or difficult. They may be the legacies of long-term commitments to cross-cultural engagement and understanding, on the part of missionaries or ethnographers, for example; or they may derive from the violent interventions of naval officers who undertook punitive operations. Some were brought from the Pacific by Islanders themselves, or consciously and deliberately sent from the Pacific to European destinations. Many are relics not only of the skill and creativity of Pacific artists, but of heterogeneous cross-cultural biographies. Oceanic collections are not important only for the study of Oceanic art and Oceanic culture. They also have the potential to change the way we understand Europe, European culture, and European lives.

Exploration and encounter

Although a few artefacts from the Pacific reached Britain before 1770 (Figure 1.1), the voyages of Captain James Cook were of decisive importance for inaugurating not only collecting from Oceania, but the project of collecting 'artificial curiosities', the material cultures of native peoples, in general. While individual artefacts from the Americas and parts of Africa among other regions had reached collections during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it appears that it was only from the 1770s onward that the acquisition of Indigenous material culture became more routinely a practice of extra-European travel, and particularly of scientifically-minded travel.[16] It was only from this time onward that collections were made of contemporary material culture, as opposed to antiquities or commodities such as trade ceramics and textiles, that had some sort of representative character – that is, they included artefacts of diverse sorts, typically including those associated with dress, subsistence, social status, personal adornment, ritual, warfare, and so on. And it appears only to have been from the 1770s on that such collections were deposited in public museums and universities, and became a focus of interest for private collectors with artistic and scientific interests. Hence, while collections in various forms have existed in many societies, and museums have Renaissance and other antecedents, the late eighteenth century, and Cook's voyages specifically, are of decisive importance for the formation of modern ethnographic collections.

Figure 1.1. Basalt axe blade, collected by William Dampier from New Britain in March 1700. Together with a sling stone from Guam, obtained during an earlier voyage, these appear to be the only artefacts extant and documented today which were collected prior to the 1760s. E-17-7 and E-17-17. Photo: Josh Murfitt. Sedgwick Museum of Earth Sciences, Cambridge.

Among the particular catalysts was Joseph Banks' participation in Cook's first voyage.[17] The *Endeavour* took natural history – a wide-ranging science, both experimental and philosophical, that embraced humanity and human variety – further than it had ever travelled before. While the voyage's ostensible purpose was to make observations of the Transit of Venus from the island of Tahiti, the expedition's activity and its legacies were defined not only by astronomy or mathematics but – in more varied and profound ways – by encounters with Islanders. Banks' natural history, and the proto-anthropology that developed over Cook's three voyages, most brilliantly exemplified in the second voyage reflections of George and Johann Reinhold Forster, centred upon the pursuit of novelty and variety, and the energetic acquisition of specimens.[18] Banks' imagination was, moreover, animated by utility, technology, and improvement: he was passionately interested in the scope of introducing useful plants, new materials and new techniques that might, he thought, enhance the lives of his countrymen (Figures 1.2 and 1.3).

These interests would not themselves have made for large collections, but it happened to be the case that Islanders on Tahiti, elsewhere in the Society Islands, at Rurutu and around the coasts of New Zealand were keenly interested, for their own reasons, in exchange. They engaged both in what could be described as straightforward barter, and in gift-giving motivated by interests in inaugurating social relationships. This convergence of interest led to considerable acquisitions of European artefacts and implements of various sorts on the part of Pacific communities, and conversely to the creation of extensive collections of Indigenous things on the part of mariners

Figure 1.2. J.R. Smith, mezzotint after Benjamin West, Joseph Banks, c.1772. This print of Banks wearing and celebrating his acquisitions and world travels, drawing attention in particular to the intricate decorated border of the Māori flax cape, has become a hallmark of Enlightenment interest in the Pacific.

Figure 1.3. Page from a recently-discovered collection of samples of Tahitian barkcloth, entitled Specimens of Bark Cloth made by the Natives of the South Sea Islands 1769; this is the only such volume yet identified made up of samples obtained during Cook's first voyage. 110 x 95 mm. E5/28/70. The Royal Pavilion and Museums, Brighton and Hove. Photo: John Reynolds.

and naturalists. While, in the late seventeenth century, a navigator such as William Dampier might acquire a few pieces in an ad hoc fashion, something entirely different took place in 1769 and 1770: some hundreds of artefacts were obtained, amounting to a collection that was extensive and diverse, if not representative in a strict sense. To state that the collections were 'systematically' made would beg the question of what 'systematic' would have meant at this time; but artefacts were listed and organized following the ship's return to England in 1771.[19]

Given that the Cook voyage collections have been widely researched, published and exhibited, they will not be extensively discussed here, but there are several points that are important to the wider survey offered by this chapter, and to the selective overview of collections across Europe offered by this volume.[20] First of all, the *Endeavour* voyage generated a sustained wave of fashionable interest in the Pacific that had diverse intellectual, cultural and social dimensions, that engaged writers and publics in continental Europe as well as in Britain. Among the consequences of this interest, relevant here, is the fact that Pacific artefacts became commercially valuable, prompting participants in the second and third voyages to collect as extensively as they possibly could. Not only the naturalists and officers but many ordinary seaman bartered for weapons, barkcloth, fishhooks and whatever other pieces they could obtain (as well as for shells and other natural specimens), with a view to selling them to eager antiquarians or dealers on their return to England. The sheer volume of what was acquired on the second voyage was thus considerably greater than that from the first, and it appears that during the third voyage still larger numbers of artefacts were

acquired, especially in the Tongan and Hawaiian archipelagos. This acquisitiveness on the part of mariners remained conspicuous during the voyages of Bligh, Vancouver and others. The maritime archaeological investigation of the wreck of the *Pandora*, despatched from England in pursuit of the mutineers of the *Bounty*, has demonstrated that many Pacific artefacts were found in the parts of the ship in which ordinary seamen, as well as officers, slept and kept their personal possessions. No doubt the pieces they intended to take back to England included both personal souvenirs and works that they hoped to profit from selling.

The second point of significance is that artefacts were distributed not only across the British Isles – they were soon in the hands of Welsh, Scottish and Irish as well as English collectors – but, through natural history and antiquarian networks, to collections in continental Europe. George Humphrey was a dealer and the keeper of a private museum which included significant numbers of artefacts brought back on Cook's second voyage. He sold material which amounted to the founding anthropological collection at the University of Göttingen, which was subsequently supplemented by works brought back on Cook's third voyage.[21] Banks made an early donation to Stockholm, initially to a private collection which was later joined by the collections of Anders Sparrman, the Linnean 'apostle' who assisted the Forsters during the second voyage, in what is now the Etnografiska Museet, one of the Varldskulturmuseerna, the National Museums of World Cultures.[22] British collections thus seeded others in cosmopolitan European scientific milieux, and were marked by an interplay between serious science, fashionable exoticism, naval administration and commercial and colonial ambition. It is worth noting in this connection that citizens from friendly countries not uncommonly served in each other's navies. Hence Baltic Germans such as Adam Krusenstern spent a period in the British navy. When Krusenstern later commanded the first Russian circumnavigation of 1803-1806, the expedition's ambitions, practical management, engagement with Indigenous peoples, and collecting reflected the precedents of the Cook voyages in various ways; Krusenstern's sojourn in the Marquesas was notable for the enthusiastic acquisition of artefacts.[23]

The artefacts acquired during the voyages of Cook and his contemporaries and successors were not only dispersed nationally and internationally, but were distributed in ways that are difficult, perhaps impossible, to reconstruct. Just a few collections of well-documented objects, gifts from James Cook himself, Joseph Banks and Johann Reinhold Forster, were presented to the universities of Cambridge and Oxford soon after the ships returned. A series of donations by a wider range of voyage participants and associates led to a substantial number of Pacific pieces entering the British Museum, though a lack of early inventories makes their identification, in many instances, uncertain. Yet much was also distributed piecemeal and more privately. Hence the trajectories and situations of Pacific artefacts over the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries – when they were fashionable and much sought after in Britain – make any mapping of collections partial and provisional.

At least six significant auctions took place between 1774 and 1781 which made hundreds of artefacts available to interested buyers. The largest exhibited collection was not that of the British Museum, but that of Sir Ashton Lever's Holophusicon, also known as the Leverian Museum, which held around a thousand Cook voyage objects,

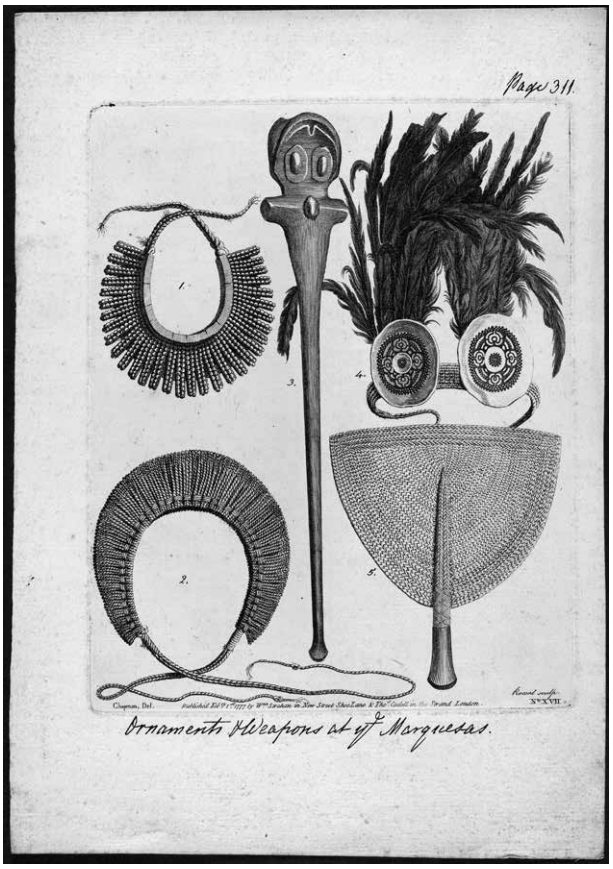


Figure 1.4. 'Ornaments and weapons at the Marquesas', proof of engraving 1777 by Charles Chapman after William Hodges. Originally published in James Cook, A Voyage towards the South Pole and round the world.

together with many natural specimens and antiquities. As Adrienne Kaeppler has shown, when the museum was auctioned off in 1806, these passed to many different agents, dealers, collectors and institutions. Some of the Leverian's Pacific artefacts were acquired by William Bullock for his museum, initially in Liverpool but from 1809 on Piccadilly in central London, a successor of sorts to the Holophusicon that was in turn auctioned off in 1819.[24]

Over the 50 years succeeding the *Endeavour* voyage, Pacific artefacts were visible in Britain in a number of ways. In print, they featured prominently in engraved plates of 'implements and utensils' that helped the published narratives of voyage, from Hawkesworth's *Voyages* of 1773 onward, to be visually rich and novel – they were among the most popular books of the epoch[25] (Figure 1.4). These volumes were widely pirated and abridged, and although the cheaper editions rarely included as many illustrations as did the originals, images of artefacts, sometimes weirdly jumbled together, nevertheless appeared in George William Anderson's *New, Authentic and Complete Collection of Voyages round the World*, which was published fortnightly, in sixpenny parts, between 1784 and 1786, and in similar derivative editions and anthologies.[26] But it is notable that the relative prominence of these images was not matched by detailed textual commentary, and that such remarks as were made were varied and contradictory. Figurative sculpture

was sometimes said to be grotesque, but the fineness of other work, or for example the attractiveness of pattern on barkcloth was affirmed.

The objects themselves were found first in the collections of individuals. The wealthy scientific enthusiast, Margaret Cavendish Bentinck, the Duchess of Portland (1715-1785), owned at least 50 artefacts, including much barkcloth, and pieces collected on all three voyages, alongside her diverse antiquities, works of art, and a vast collection of shells. Like her, the Welsh antiquarian Thomas Pennant (1726-1798) received objects from voyage participants including Banks, Daniel Solander, Johann Reinhold Forster, Charles Clerke and perhaps Cook himself.[27] Others such as the Holdsworth and Clarke families of south Devon built up substantial collections through purchase, especially from the auction of the Leverian Museum collection. Pacific artefacts were also found in considerable numbers in privately owned but publicly accessible museums. In addition to Lever's and Bullock's, Daniel Boulter maintained a similar institution in Great Yarmouth, Norfolk, through the 1790s. For those permitted to access them, there were collections at Christ Church and the Ashmolean in Oxford, Trinity College in Cambridge and the Hunterian Museum in Glasgow. Finally, they loomed large in the British Museum, where the first gallery dedicated to any region of the world featured the South Seas.

James Peller Malcolm's history and description of London included an extensive account of the British Museum and its displays, which dedicated nearly ten pages to a description of 'The Otaheite and South Sea Rooms', which the writer associated primarily with Cook, while making disparate comments on artefacts of various kinds. 'A breast-plate of feathers', a Tahitian taumi, was said to deserve 'particular notice, for two reasons; the ingenuity and beauty of the workmanship' and the 'striking resemblance' it was supposed to bear to a painted equivalent from an Egyptian mummy. Of Hawaiian feather images of akua, of gods, Malcolm suggested that 'we admire the ingenuity of the execution' but found the expression in one case to be one of 'savage wildness' and another to possess 'a shocking set of distorted features'. Feather helmets, cloaks and capes in contrast inspired him to write of 'the magnificent dress of the Sandwich [Islands, *i.e.* Hawaiian] gentry'. But, insofar as a larger theme made the exhibits intelligible, it was overtly evolutionary: 'This room exhibits man's first and imperfect attempts in the arts for the comforts of social life. Indeed, it is a perfect and most authentic history of untutored Nature, striving to improve her condition…'.[28] In sum, the display reminded this British visitor of a celebrated navigator, hence of a patriotic history, and it reaffirmed ideologies of European advancement, perhaps complicated for some by romanticization of the state of nature. Those works that represented gods or ancestors attracted censure because they were stylistically unintelligible, they could only be seen as 'shocking' distortions; other genres that had no representational element were generally admired more, and considered excellently made (Figure 1.5).

Commerce, evangelism and collecting

In the later stages of Cook's third voyage, furs obtained on the north-west American coast were sold in Macau for high prices, and some of the sailors involved went on to undertake private trading voyages. Following the establishment of the Sydney settlement in 1788, naval and merchant vessels started regularly to visit New Zealand and soon

Figure 1.5. 'A man of Otaheite in a mourning dress', The Lady's Magazine, c.1785. British Museum 1933,0713.7. Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.

afterwards sandalwood was discovered in Fiji and elsewhere. By the early decades of the nineteenth century traders' engagements with various parts of the Pacific were becoming extensive, though some islands were called at far more frequently than others. Whalers and traders from New England entered the commerce and remained significant through the first half of the nineteenth century. Artefacts were not a primary focus of interest for the sponsors of any of these voyages or the sailors who undertook them, but mariners tended to incidentally acquire anything of commercial significance that they could, and considerable numbers of more portable artefacts, and artefacts that Indigenous male trading partners might readily dispose of, such as clubs and paddles, were brought back to British and other ports by trading ships. Unlike voyages of exploration undertaken by naval ships with official sponsorship, these trading voyages were commonly documented only through matter-of-fact logs that noted a ship's position and sailing conditions, describing encounters with Islanders, material culture, or barter cursorily if at all. Artefacts reached dealers and collectors and were sometimes, sooner or later, donated to local museums in home towns, often generations after they had been collected, and occasionally with misleading information or, more often, with no information regarding their provenance. Such pieces may be readily identifiable – as from Tonga, Rapanui, New Caledonia, New Georgia or wherever else – and their stylistic or compositional attributes may indicate the period they were probably made, but researchers may have no way of establishing from whom, exactly when or where, or under what circumstances they were collected in the field (Figure 1.6).

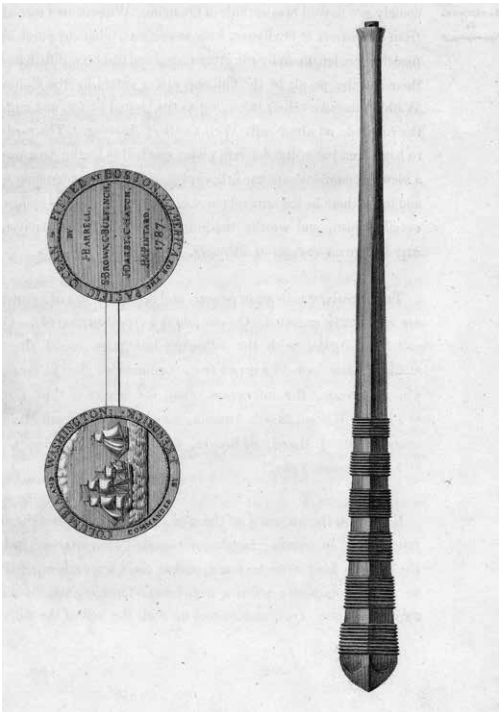


Figure 1.6. Engraving of a Tongan club said to have been collected by Fletcher Christian, in April 1789, just before the mutiny on the Bounty, and taken to Tahiti where it was given to a local man. Collected in Tahiti by Lieutenant George Mortimer of the Mercury in Tahiti in August of the same year. From George Mortimer, Observations and remarks made during a voyage to the islands… in the brig Mercury (London, 1791).

Just as maritime trade opened up in the decades following Cook's voyages, the published narratives of the expeditions interested and inspired activist Christians. Evangelicals, from a variety of backgrounds and denominations, especially people from relatively humble, artisanal classes in the early years, became passionately committed to the notion that British Christians had a duty to take the Bible to those thought to live in darkness and superstition. While they were not the first missionaries or the first missionaries of the modern period, a confluence of changing social, economic and religious currents gave evangelism new and powerful momentum from the 1790s onward. So far as the Pacific was concerned, the founding venture was the voyage of the *Duff*, which left England in 1796 with a grand plan to establish mission stations across the islands of Polynesia. The party's arrival at Point Venus, Matavai Bay, on Tahiti's north coast is still prominently memorialized, as are missionary landings elsewhere in Oceania. The first attempts to establish stations in the Marquesas and Tonga failed, and the establishment in the Society Islands had a difficult first decade; for a time most of the party withdrew to Sydney. In fits and starts, however, the missionaries secured the interest and affiliation of prominent chiefs, notably associated with the Pomare dynasty, who eventually formally adopted Christianity, leading to the nominal conversion of the whole population of Tahiti in 1815. From a more or less secure base in the Society Islands, efforts were made to take the word of God to neighbouring archipelagos such as the Austral and Cook Islands, and in due course to western Polynesia (where the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society was active from 1822 in Tonga and 1835 in Fiji). Those efforts were increasingly reliant upon the work of so-called Islander teachers, de facto Indigenous missionaries, who had their own perceptions of power, truth, spirituality and change.[29]

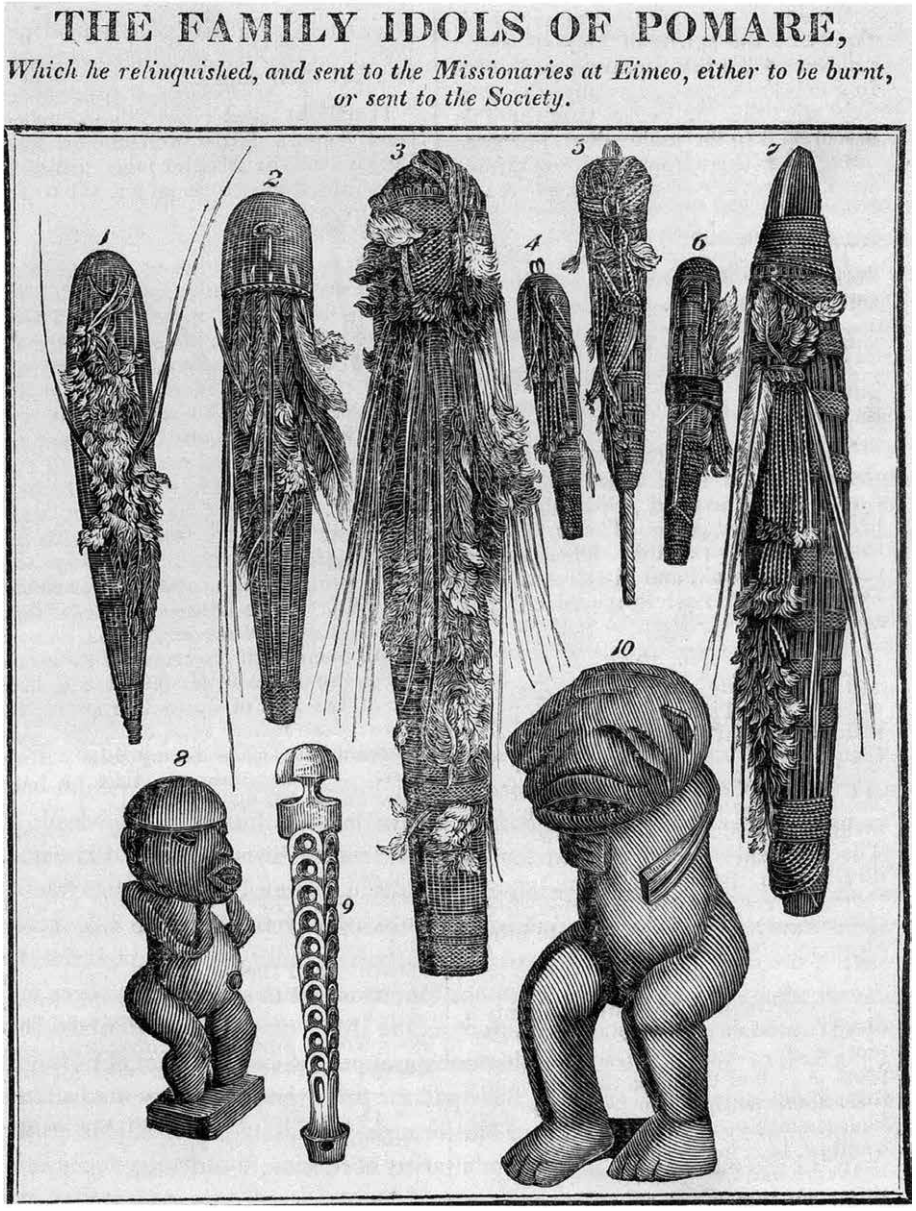


Figure 1.7. 'The family idols of Pomare', Missionary Sketches 3 (October 1818).

While James Wilson, the commander of the *Duff*, acquired some artefacts, as most maritime visitors of the period did, the missionaries themselves initially collected little.[30] It is worth recalling that they were not university-educated clerics or otherwise members of polite society; they did not possess the interests in natural history and antiquarianism associated with scientific milieux, the aristocracy or the gentry. While George Vason, a lapsed missionary in Tonga, and William Pascoe Crook, who abandoned a single-handed effort to establish a Marquesan station, could on returning to England communicate

Figure 1.8. A'a*, wooden sculpture, Rurutu, Austral Islands. Made before 1821. Oc,LMS.19. Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.*

rich information regarding Indigenous ways of life, customs and beliefs to educated writers who prepared detailed and sophisticated accounts of the islands (published at the time in Vason's case, unpublished in Crook's), these first missionary ethnographies were peripheral to the sense of mission, and to the practical efforts to survive of the individuals concerned.[31] Both men were more or less destitute at the time they left the islands, and therefore brought nothing back with them. In the Society Islands, it was only following conversion that some god images which were not destroyed were sent to Britain, trophies of evangelical success, to be presented as 'grotesque' expressions of superstition, useful for the propaganda and fundraising efforts of the mission. The first of these were divinities from Tahiti presented by the paramount chief Pomare in February 1816, sent via Sydney back to London and engraved for the popular periodical Missionary Sketches, under the heading 'The Family Idols of Pomare, which he relinquished, and sent to the missionaries at Eimeo [Moʻorea], either to be burnt, or sent to the Society'[32] (Figure 1.7). Still more famously, in August 1821, people from Rurutu loaded sculptures of deities into a canoe and sailed over 500 kilometres to Raʾiātea to present them to John Williams and others associated with the London Missionary Society. The gods included the unique figure known as A'a, renowned for a proliferation of smaller figures carved in low relief or in the round, forming eyes, nose and mouth, and otherwise distributed over the god's body[33] (Figure 1.8). This work and others in due course reached the Missionary Museum, which had been established in 1814, and which featured natural history specimens, missionaries' personal items, and 'rejected idols', trophies of evangelical success, of this kind.[34]

It was during the 1820s that missionary collecting acquired broader orientations. George Bennet was not a missionary but a wealthy, evangelically-minded supporter of the London Missionary Society who was asked by the Society to undertake, with Reverend Daniel Tyerman, a tour and assessment of the work of the Pacific stations. The 'Deputation' spent fully three years in the Pacific; Bennet was evidently eager and acquisitive – he collected and sent significant collections back, and brought further material with him when he eventually returned home in 1829. Some of what he

Figure 1.9. Barkcloth beater, collected by George Bennet between 1821 and 1824, formerly in the collections of the Sheffield Museum, transferred as part of an exchange to MAA in 1891. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge. Z 5028.

acquired reached the Missionary Museum, but the bulk, and the most significant pieces, were donated to the Literary and Philosophical Society in his home town of Sheffield, from where some were acquired in 1891 through exchange by the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (that is, MAA) in Cambridge[35] (Figure 1.9).

Over this same period, the social composition of missionary milieux began to shift. Individuals such as the Methodist David Cargill, who served in Tonga and Fiji, and William Yate, in the Bay of Islands in northern New Zealand, were university educated, linguistically accomplished and socially ambitious. They wrote detailed and lengthy journals and were broadly interested in Islanders' societies, beliefs and myths. In the 1830s and 1840s, missionaries became increasingly interested in the study of artefacts and in making collections; in Fiji, the Methodists Richard Burdsell Lyth and Thomas Williams were among others who studied and sketched objects, evidently interested in variation in form and style rather than merely in the uses artefacts might have in missionary rhetoric. Some artefacts passed to the missionary organizations; others were retained privately, in family collections, or distributed among friends and associates; many have not been traced.

However, the artefacts of British missionaries did not necessarily end up in British institutions. Yate for example presented objects to the Austrian aristocrat, traveller, gardener and natural historian Charles (Karl) von Hügel, during the latter's 1834 visit to the Bay of Islands: these pieces are presumably among those donated by von Hügel to the state museums on the conclusion of his extended journey; they are in the Weltmuseum Wien today.

While maritime exploration had been disrupted by the Napoleonic wars, naval expeditions were eventually resumed and a series of surveying voyages were undertaken, at first in the waters around Cape Horn and afterwards north of Australia and around New Guinea. The voyages of the *Fly* (1842-46) and the *Rattlesnake* (1846-50) brought some of the earliest artefacts extant from the south and southeast of Papua to British collections. Some material was notoriously looted from a longhouse on the Bamu River; other objects including a fine canoe splashboard were obtained through barter off the Louisiade islands, part of a collection of some 215 artefacts made by Captain Owen Stanley, which later reached the British Museum[36] (Figures 1.10 and 1.11).

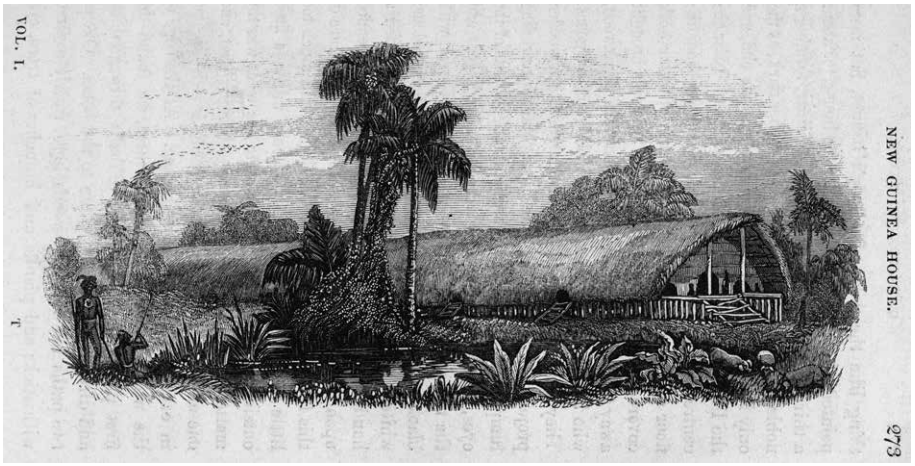


Figure 1.10. 'New Guinea house', engraving from J.B. Jukes, Narrative of the surveying voyage of HMS Fly (London: Boone, 1847). Artefacts were looted from this longhouse and from the vicinity during a landing resisted by local warriors, on 30 May 1845.

Figure 1.11. Wooden canoe splashboard collected by Captain Owen Stanley in the Louisiade Archipelago in 1849. Stanley's collection of nearly 250 objects was one of the most extensive from any part of Melanesia in this period. Oc1851,0103.2. Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.

Collecting and 'provincial life'

Throughout the nineteenth century, in towns and cities across Britain, members of the gentry, men of the church, industrialists and merchants, in some cases eager to engage in intellectual discussion, in others to be recognized for promoting the improvement

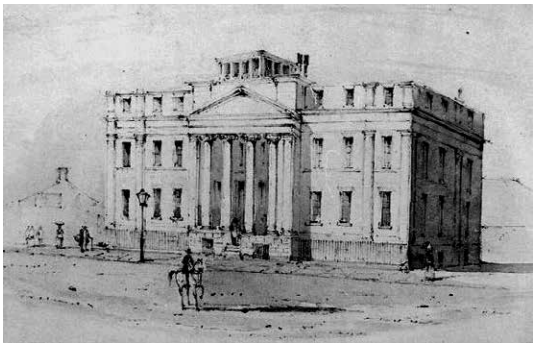


Figure 1.12. Charles Warren Clennell, Natural History Museum on Peter Street, Manchester, watercolour, c.1850. Copyright Manchester Libraries.

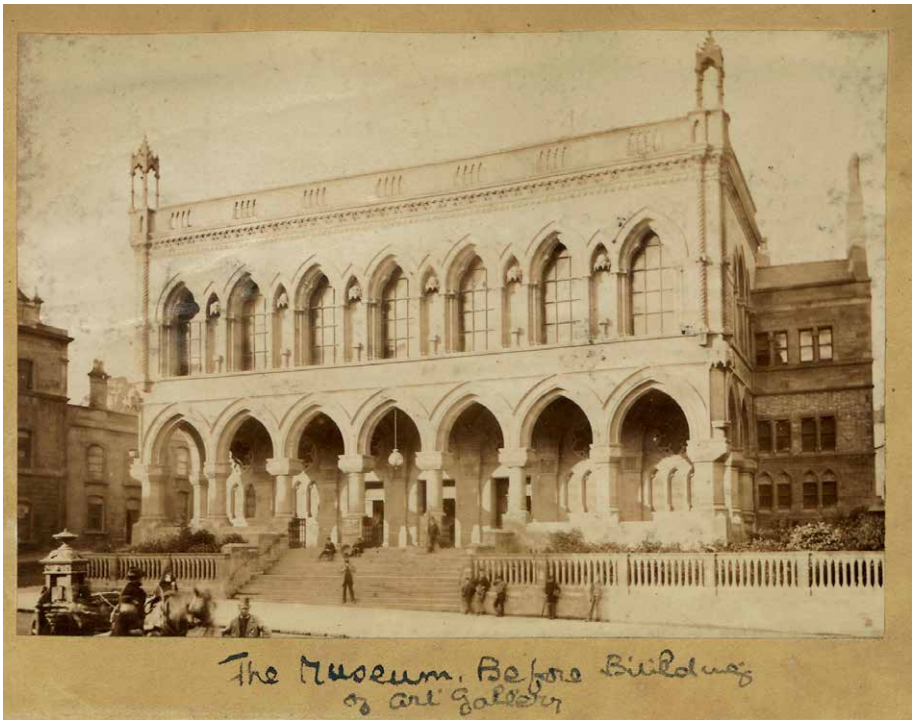


Figure 1.13. The Bristol Museum, Park Street, photograph, c.1880. Copyright Bristol Archives.

of knowledge and of their communities, formed antiquarian, literary, scientific and philosophical societies or 'institutions'. While groups of this sort had been established in the eighteenth century, many more were set up in the first half of the nineteenth, with varying emphases – on art, on the study of monuments, on natural history – reflecting the preoccupations of the personalities involved. The Antiquarian Society of Perth was established in 1784, influenced by the Scottish Enlightenment centres of Edinburgh and Glasgow. The Devon and Exeter Institution was formed in 1813 to promote, in particular, 'the Natural and Civic History of the County of Devon and the City of Exeter'. The Manchester Natural History Society was established in 1821 and the Bristol Institution for the Advancement of Science and Art in 1823[37] (Figures 1.12 and 1.13).

In some towns, initially encompassing institutions prompted the formation of more specific, natural history or geological societies. Bodies of this kind ran meetings at which papers were read, but they also brought together archaeological finds, antiquities, specimens and artworks donated by their members; clergymen, lawyers, doctors and the gentry mingled and gained status through their contributions to these institutions and collections. The part that provincial science played in the reformation of the British social order in the period is a much broader theme than can be considered here, but it had ramifications for the specific subject of this chapter: there was a remarkable proliferation of centres of intellectual activity, which became a dimension of the 'provincial life' cited in the subtitle of George Eliot's novel *Middlemarch*, published in 1871-72 but set 40 years earlier. Alongside this, collections proliferated, at least ostensibly maintained for scientific and educational purposes.

In Wisbech, in Cambridgeshire, the Literary Society had been founded in 1781; it was complemented by the Museum Society in 1835; their joint Museum was opened in 1847. The Perth, Exeter, Manchester, Bristol, Sheffield and other societies became the foci of local philanthropic efforts and in due course their various artistic, antiquarian, ethnographic, technological and scientific holdings became the founding collections of museums. When these museums were established, or sometime later, the ownership of collections typically passed from the founding society to civic authorities. The Museums Act of 1845, one of a number of measures associated with paternalistic, philanthropic campaigns to improve the morals of working people, had empowered councils to levy taxes specifically to fund both libraries and museums, though in most cases the museums were not established, or not established in dedicated museum buildings until the latter decades of the nineteenth century.

A bequest from the Earl of Derby had led to the establishment of a museum in Liverpool as early as 1853, and the Charles Museum, similarly the outcome of a bequest, opened in Maidstone in 1858; Brighton Museum followed soon after in 1861. But, across Britain, such city institutions were only gradually opened in the form familiar to us today: Exeter in 1869, Bristol in 1872, Birmingham in 1880, Newcastle upon Tyne in 1884, and Manchester in 1890.[38] Exceptionally, the Manchester Museum was a university institution, and still is; but this pattern – whereby the ethnographic collections of scientific and literary societies entered museums managed and funded by what are now referred to as local authorities, that is, city or regional councils – was more typical.

Over the decades to 1860, the Pacific cultures represented in collections became more diverse, as naval visitors and traders called at a wider range of islands, in Micronesia and Melanesia as well as the long-established ports of call in Polynesia, which included colonial towns in Papeete, Honolulu and Levuka, as well as New Zealand. But there were as yet few trading stations in island Melanesia and in general far less engagement with Islanders in the Solomons, the New Hebrides (now Vanuatu) and the bulk of New Guinea. Hence most donations up to the middle of the nineteenth century were made up of artefacts from various parts of Polynesia.[39]

Yet the constitution of such collections is often complex. The Perth Museum and Art Gallery cares for an important group of artefacts gifted in 1842 by David Ramsay, a trained doctor and ship's surgeon who settled in Sydney in the early 1820s, following a

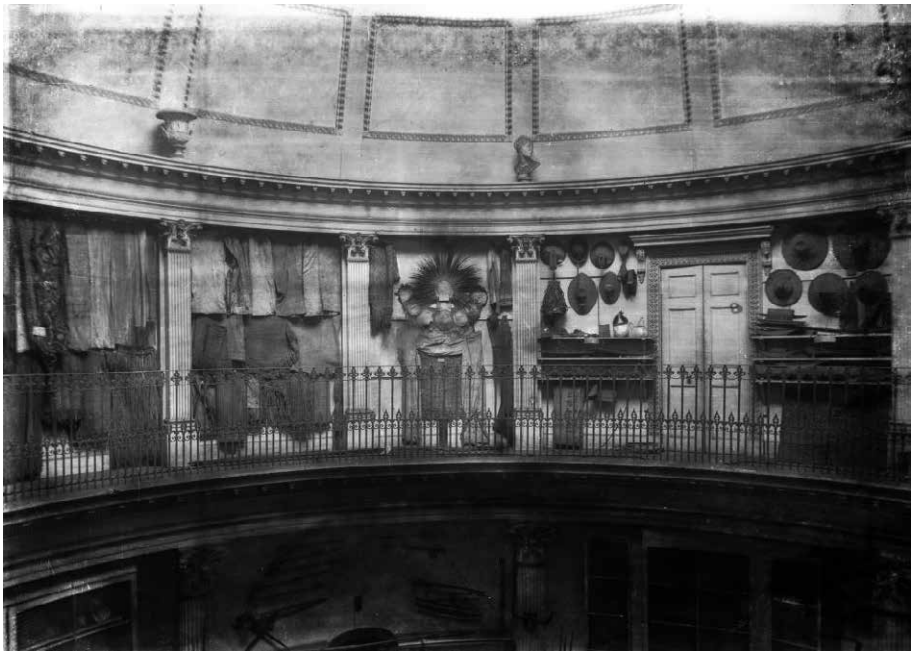


Figure 1.14. Ethnographic displays in the rotunda of the Perth Museum and Art Gallery, c.1880. Copyright Perth Museum and Art Gallery.

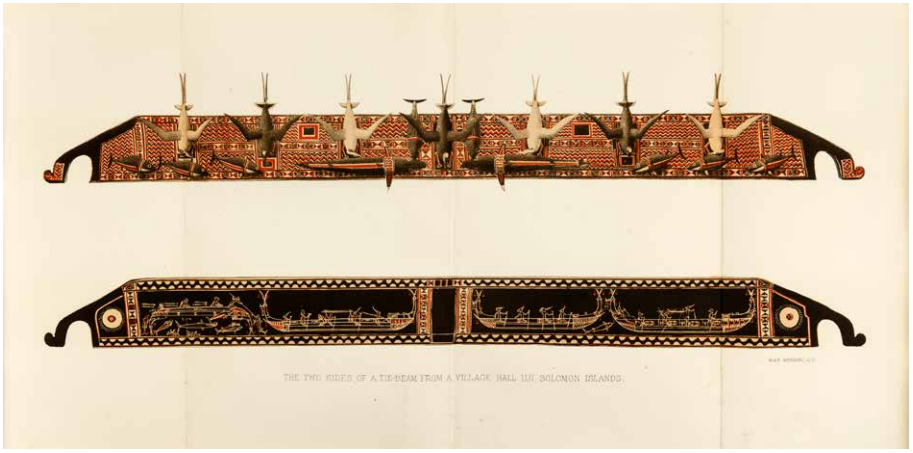


Figure 1.15. Frontispiece depicting a five-metre tie-beam from a canoe house on Uki in the south-eastern Solomon Islands, from Julius L. Brenchley, Jottings during the cruise of HMS Curaçoa in 1865 (London: Longman, 1873).

trans-Pacific voyage[40](Figure 1.14). The collection includes one of the very few extant Tahitian chief mourner's costumes; the ritual assemblage is less complete than those in Oxford, Exeter and elsewhere, but nevertheless incorporates the main elements and is highly impressive. What makes it puzzling is that the other examples were all collected during Cook's voyages or soon afterwards; it is presumed that none were made after the

1790s when disease and colonial contact began to disrupt Tahitian ritual life. Is it really possible or likely that an example of this highly sought-after assemblage – certainly in the early nineteenth century the jewel in the crown of any South Seas collection in Britain or elsewhere – remained out of sight of resident missionaries and others, yet was available to a man off a ship who passed through the islands briefly in 1821? Ramsay's collection also includes a beautiful squat shark- or ray-skin drum which, in appearance, is consistent with eighteenth century examples, and has the look of one made with stone rather than iron tools. This eighteenth-century 'feel' to Ramsay's collection suggests that an earlier collector acquired the objects in the islands. Given that there were numerous ship passages between Tahiti to Port Jackson from soon after the establishment of the colony in 1788 on, it would not be at all surprising if collections of Polynesian objects were to be found in Sydney in the early nineteenth century. Most likely, Ramsay bought the objects from whoever had collected them, perhaps 20 or more years earlier, or from a descendant or family member, if the collector was no longer alive.

Similarly, the Brady bequest at the MAA in Cambridge includes some artefacts collected by the Quaker traveller Daniel Wheeler (1771-1840) in Polynesia in the 1830s; but others that must have been obtained by his nephew, Henry Bowman Brady FRS (1835-1891), during travels in the 1870s and 1880s. The bequest is one of many collections yet to be closely analysed and disentangled. [41] Melanesia began to feature more prominently in British collections from the 1860s onwards, not least through collections made by the traveller Julius Lucius Brenchley (1816-1873) who joined the naval vessel, the *Curaçoa*, on a cruise from Sydney through the Solomon Islands and neighbouring areas in 1865. This brought back around a thousand artefacts, divided between the Pitt Rivers Museum, the British Museum and Brenchley's home town of Maidstone. Brenchley's published journal moreover illustrated major pieces, such as a remarkable tie-beam from a canoe house on Uki in the south-eastern Solomons: somewhat unusually for the period, this was prominently reproduced as the book's frontispiece, and discussed at some length in the text[42] (Figure 1.15).

Anthropological institutions, empire and the growth of collections

The history of anthropological observation and thought can be traced back to the sixteenth century; the description of exotic peoples' customs and reflections on human diversity have had many manifestations over time. But, if it is therefore questionable to see anthropology merely as a modern scholarly discipline, it is nevertheless a kind of inquiry that gained particular momentum and popularity from the middle decades of the nineteenth century onward. The Ethnological Society of London was founded in 1843, shortly after an equivalent in Paris; an amalgamation with what had been a rival group established the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland in 1871 (which became the Royal Anthropological Institute in 1907). As has been widely noted, this was also a period of great exhibitions and world's fairs; a period when many civic museums were founded; and also, a period when museums specifically identified as ethnographic were first established. British initiatives were closely linked with those elsewhere: Berlin's Museum für Völkerkunde was founded in 1873, the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, and

Figure 1.16. Henry Christy was considered a sufficiently important contributor to the British Museum to be commemorated with this posthumous marble portrait bust by Thomas Woolmer RA, height 67 cm, 1868. OA.10527. Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.

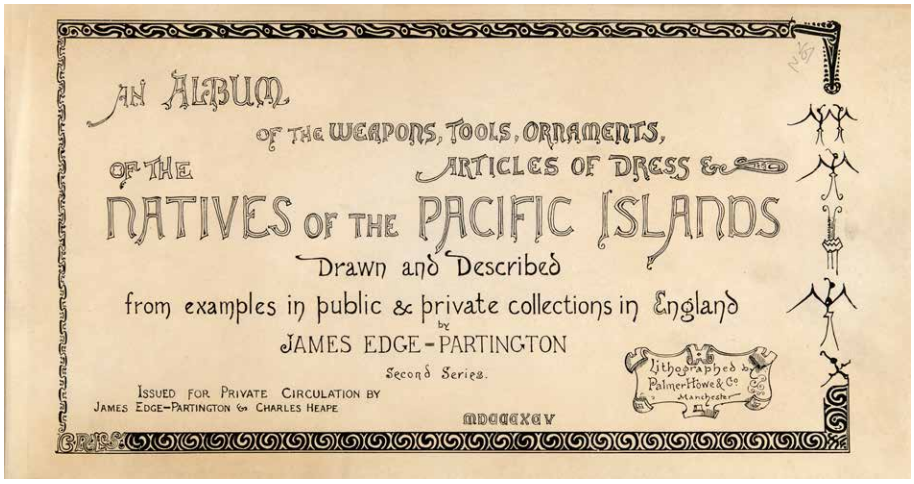


Figure 1.17. Decorated title page from the second volume of James Edge-Partington's Album.

what was initially called the Museum of Local and General Archaeology in Cambridge, now MAA, virtually simultaneously the following decade, in 1884. Although a more general collection incorporating natural history, and not established until 1901, the Horniman Museum in south London, privately endowed by a tea merchant, had a strong ethnographic emphasis, exemplifying the trend. [43]

The Pitt Rivers Museum famously reflects the founding donor's intellectual ambitions. Augustus Henry Lane Fox Pitt-Rivers (1827-1900) appears to have begun collecting early in the 1850s; the record is sparse, but his initial interest seems to have focused on firearms and other weapons. In any event, his activity gained momentum in the 1860s and he formed the aspiration of collecting comprehensively, to illustrate the development of technologies and of material culture. In 1884, he presented nearly 20,000 artefacts intended to illustrate that evolution to the University of Oxford, and went on to assemble a second collection on a similar scale which was exhibited in 'the other' Pitt Rivers Museum in Farnham, Dorset, and which was dispersed through sale following his death.[44]

Henry Christy (1810-1865) was a Quaker banker and philanthropist who travelled and collected extensively, like Pitt-Rivers, from the 1850s onward (Figure 1.16). He became particularly interested in Indigenous peoples following their representation in London's Great Exhibition of 1851; while he gathered material during travel in central and north America, he acquired the bulk of his collection through auctions, dealers and private sales, and bequeathed it, together with funds for future acquisitions, to the nation, substantially enlarging the ethnographic holdings of the British Museum. An antiquarian and archaeologist, Augustus Wollaston Franks (1826-1897), worked to document the Christy collection, which gave momentum to the establishment of a new department of British and medieval antiquities and ethnography. Franks was highly energetic in his pursuit of acquisitions, donations and sponsorship. His associates notably included James Edge-Partington, who travelled twice to the Pacific, collected extensively, contributed to the Royal Anthropological Institute (RAI) journal *Man*, worked as a volunteer on the British Museum collections, and published what became a three-volume set of lithographed drawings, entitled in full *An album of the weapons, tools, ornaments, articles of dress, etc. of the natives of the Pacific islands drawn and described from examples in public & private collections in England*[45] (Figure 1.17). Franks' counterparts in Oxford, Cambridge, and elsewhere were similarly tireless in seeking out and acquiring material. The 30 years beginning with the foundation of the Pitt Rivers Museum and ending with the outbreak of World War I were distinguished by an extraordinary and unprecedented enlargement of ethnographic collections.

This intensity of collection-building over this period was never subsequently matched, but had a long afterlife in the sense that substantial private collections and private museums formed around these decades were variously bequeathed, transferred or dispersed through sale, in various cases eventually reaching public institutions. Edge-Partington's collaborator in the production of the *Album* had been Charles Heape, a Rochdale landowner and industrialist who had been resident in Australia; towards the end of his life he gave 2,820 primarily native American and Oceanic artefacts to the Manchester Museum; the collection was said, at the time, to 'illustrate the development of man'. Similarly, the ethnographic parts of the vast collection of Sir Henry Wellcome

(1853-1933), which broadly related to the history of medicine and totalled around a million items, were distributed to ethnographic museums such as the British Museum, the Horniman and the Oxford and Cambridge institutions in stages over 1949 to 1954; a further set of donations took place in the 1980s when the remains of the Wellcome collection were finally transferred to institutions including the Science Museum and the Horniman.[46]

It was true, not only in Britain, but across Europe and north America also that the decades from the 1880s through to World War I were marked by especially intensive ethnographic collecting, motivated and enabled by a range of factors which were – it should be stressed – both European and Oceanic. As has been noted, the European intellectual dynamic, which saw anthropology attract interest as an innovative science, of course played a substantial part in generating interest in collections of material culture, though not initially. In the early to mid-century, 'anthropology' implied physical variety, phrenology, craniology and related fields – hence the influential character of James Cowles Prichard's *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind*, which went through a series of editions from 1813 to 1847. While the various intellectual genealogies of fields such as kinship and ritual are too complex to enter into here, it is broadly correct that social relations as a field of study developed substantially in the latter decades of the century, as did belief, technology and material culture.

To state the obvious, the period was moreover that of imperialism's greatest ambition – though the metaphor of 'the turn of the tide' was famously employed by Joseph Conrad in the opening sentences of *Heart of Darkness*, as well as by the less well-known but gifted and perceptive writer of Pacific colonial tales, Louis Becke. From the mid-1870s to the 1890s Fiji, New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, Kiribati, Samoa and various other islands and archipelagos were formally colonized by the Germans, British and others. These initiatives were variously driven by – or they facilitated – an intensification of trade, labour recruitment (especially from the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu to New Caledonia, Fiji and Queensland), plantation development and white settlement. Greater contact needless to say brought more opportunities to collect and also enabled a market in ethnographica to develop to a greater extent than ever before. While the German trading companies in the South Seas and museums within Germany were most actively involved, this became a sphere of commercial activity, linking Islanders, shops that stocked curios in colonial ports such as Levuka, travellers, London dealers and museums to a novel extent.

But it is worth emphasizing that Islanders were not merely 'collected from'. To the contrary, it is clear that in many parts of the Pacific, Pacific people responded to increased numbers of visitors eager to acquire artefacts and souvenirs by adapting new genres and making artefacts of certain kinds in considerable numbers. It may commonly be assumed that 'tourist art' is primarily a post-war twentieth century phenomenon, but there is no doubt that objects such as model canoes were produced in considerable numbers by makers, not everywhere across the Pacific, but in many places, especially over the 30-year period from the 1880s to World War I. Many objects collected during this period, presumed to be simply examples of traditional genres, and catalogued and exhibited as such, may well in fact have been made for sale. Museum research, which is now far more attentive to the material qualities of objects,

Figure 1.18. Two men in an outrigger canoe with model canoes for sale, Santa Cruz Islands, 1894–96, gelatin silver photograph by Lieutenant Gerald Sowerby. Oc,B36.25. Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.

for example to evidence for age, use and wear, enables us to recognize the number of artefacts that appear to have been in new condition at the time they were acquired. While canoe models are obvious examples, works created for exchange are not limited to specific types or genres, and may include bags, mats, textiles, vessels, weapons and figures of various kinds[47] (Figure 1.18). Some larger scale works such as model houses and canoes were made on commission for ethnologists or other organized collectors; some pieces carefully emulated customary forms; others were simplified, adapted or made from lighter, easier to work material; some were embellished, more elaborately decorated than previously, in an effort to appeal to what was thought to be the taste of travellers. This process did not begin in the late nineteenth century – work was produced occasionally for exchange even as early as the Cook voyages – but it was in the later decades of the century that these practices gained considerable momentum. Hence the sheer volume of colonial collections reflects not only a colonial will to accumulate and appropriate, but also the interest of Islanders in participating in colonial commerce. It is important to recall that, as merchants, missionaries, planters, administrators, travellers, ethnologists and others were making collections, Islanders were making them too – of the things they received in return for customary artefacts which they offered in exchange.

Figure 1.19. Civavonovono, *breastplate of whale ivory and black-lipped pearlshell, Fiji. Worn by Tanoa Visawaqa, the high chief of Bau, Fiji, in the 1830s; inherited by Cakobau, and presented by him to the first British governor, Sir Arthur Hamilton Gordon, between 1875 and 1880. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge. 1918.213.14.*

From the vantage point of the acquisitive curator, these decades were thus marked by an auspicious combination of cultural, intellectual, political and colonial circumstances – there was broad interest in anthropology, the growth of empire led to an intensification of contact, and contact stimulated creativity, and a willingness or a need to engage in traffic on the part of Islanders. There was moreover a double pathway through which older artefacts and collections that had already been made reached museums. On the one hand, in the Pacific, the growth of demand from European collectors meant that Islanders brought out pieces that were in some cases decades old – in Fiji, for example, it is clear that many of the objects acquired by Sir Arthur Hamilton Gordon, the inaugural governor, and his family and associates, including Baron Anatole von Hügel, who became curator in Cambridge, were made in the 1830s or earlier[48] (Figure 1.19). On the other hand, collections that had been in Britain for decades, but in private hands, in some cases in obscurity in stately homes since the eighteenth century, were donated to major museums or put onto the market and were acquired by them. Cambridge notably acquired important Cook voyage material from the descendants of the Welsh natural historian and antiquarian Thomas Pennant, and from Widdicombe House in Devon, which held material primarily acquired at the time of the sale of Leverian Museum in 1806.[49]

Expeditionary anthropology

Among the expressions of scientific ambition characteristic of the period was the grand expedition, typically enabled through philanthropic and academic sponsorship, made up of a team of researchers with dedicated transport, state of the art equipment and great expectations. But, despite the level of academic and popular interest in Britain in anthropology in the late nineteenth century, relatively few major scientific missions

Figure 1.20. Members of the 1898 Cambridge anthropological expedition to the Torres Strait, with local assistants, Mer, 1898. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. N.22900. ACH2.

Figure 1.21. Drawing by Joani of Mabuiag showing a man with a Iabar mask, a composite turtle-shell assemblage. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. 2010.522.

of this kind were launched; none were undertaken on anything like the scale of some geographic or archaeological ventures, or, in ethnography, the remarkable German Südsee expedition. Yet the Cambridge Expedition to the Torres Straits of 1898, which followed up an earlier field trip by the leader, Alfred Cort Haddon, was a major

undertaking. The seven members of the party included specialists in psychology, medicine and linguistics; though both W.H.R. Rivers and Charles Seligman were trained physicians, Rivers was turning to psychology and ethnography, and Seligman went on to a distinguished career in anthropology at the London School of Economics. Field inquiries, and the resulting six volumes of reports, embraced a great variety of ethnological and physiological topics, but material culture loomed large. Nearly 1,300 artefacts and a significant group of drawings on paper by Islanders were brought back, as were much larger numbers of photographs that have since been decisively important, together with fieldnotes and the publications, in contextualizing the objects in the customary practices of the period[50] (Figures 1.20 and 1.21).

In 1903-04, Seligman went on to engage in further fieldwork in British New Guinea under the auspices of the Cooke Daniels expedition, primarily funded by an American businessman. It too made notable collections and resulted in Seligman's important *Melanesians of British New Guinea* (1910). But British anthropology was turning towards the model of extended individual fieldwork which the discipline has sustained ever since, and was exemplified in the early twentieth century by the work of Bronislaw Malinowski in the Trobriand Islands, John Layard, who travelled to Vanuatu with Rivers, Paul Montague, a protégé of Haddon's, who worked in New Caledonia but then lost his life in the First World War, and successors such as Reo Fortune, Beatrice Blackwood and Gregory Bateson in the Massim, Bougainville and

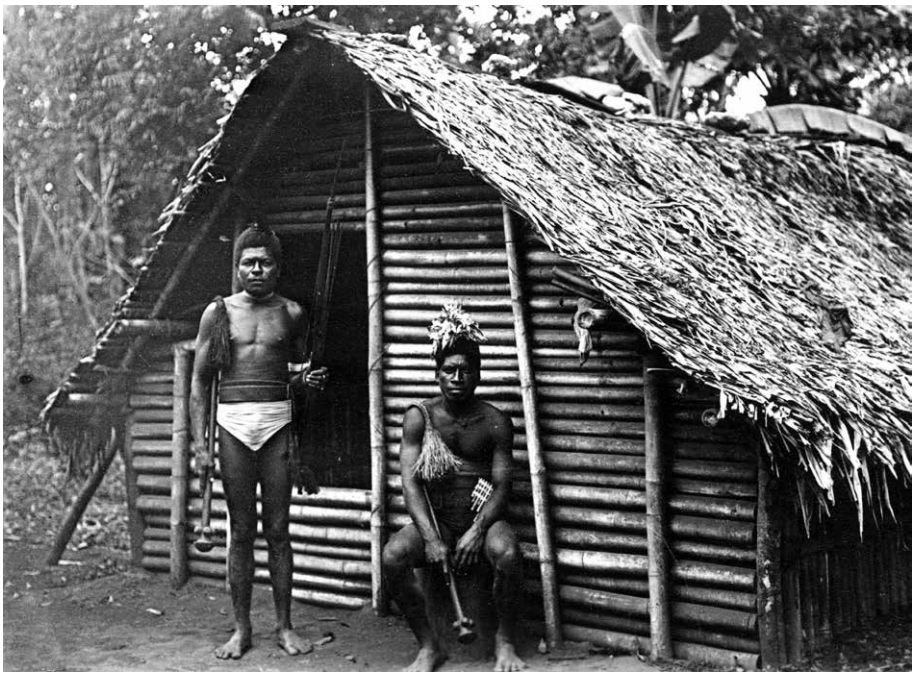


Figure 1.22. 'Malteris and Malgunsun (sitting) in front of Nem won [house of a married man] of Malteris.' Photograph by John Layard, Atchin, 1914. The men are holding and wearing artefacts collected by Layard now in the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge. P.3539.ACH1.

the Sepik[51] (Figure 1.22). All these fieldworkers made significant collections, even though material culture was marginal to their theoretical interests and writings. Bateson's collections, made between 1929 and 1935, are especially important, not least because they were well contextualized and documented through his writings on ritual and related themes, though he collected artefacts from regions beyond the Sepik area he studied intensively.[52]

'Entre deux guerres': from fieldwork to exhibition

It is a truism of the history of British anthropology that early interests in material culture and technology waned with the ascendancy of kinship studies and the particular emphasis that emerged upon 'social' anthropology. Museum collections continued to grow: significant Cook voyage collections reached Cambridge under von Hügel's successor, Louis Clarke, in the early 1920s, and the Anglo-Irish businessman, politician and traveller Walter Edward Guinness (Lord Moyne) undertook a number of collecting cruises in a private yacht, visiting the South Pacific in 1929, 1935 and 1936. Particularly important Asmat collections, together with associated photographs and film, were subsequently divided between the Pitt Rivers Museum, the British Museum, Cambridge and the Royal Anthropological Institute. Moyne's 1936 book, *Walkabout*, opened with an introduction by Haddon (then aged 81), and was moreover notable for adapting Melanesian motifs – a decorated binding was derived from New Britain barkcloth – which featured throughout the book[53] (Figure 1.23). *Walkabout* no doubt reached a wider public (it was reviewed in the *Illustrated London News*)[54] but academic

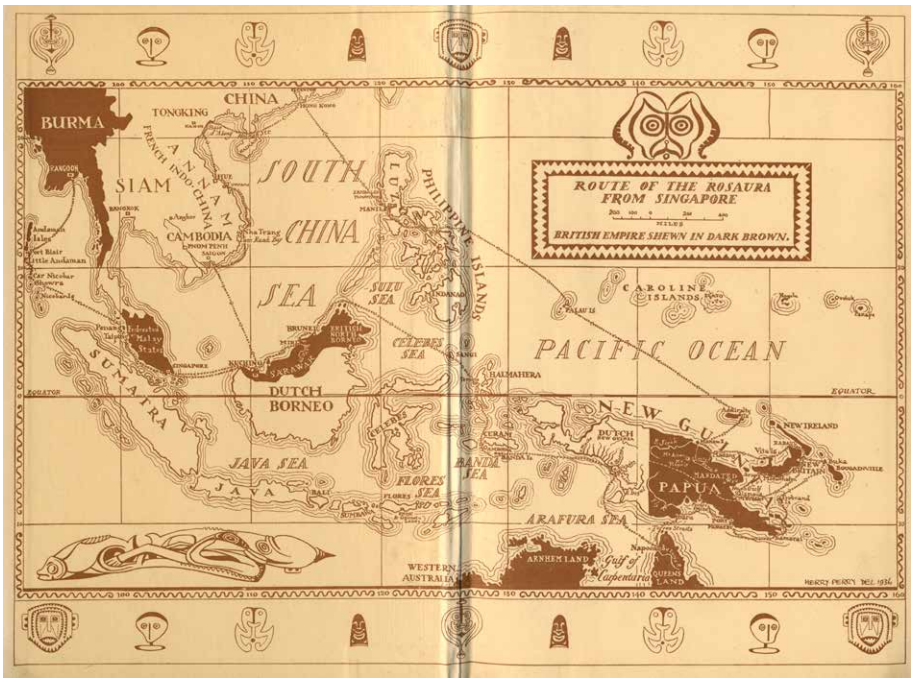


Figure 1.23. Endpapers from Lord Moyne, Walkabout: a journey in lands between the Pacific and Indian oceans (London: William Heinemann, 1936).

anthropology had followed other paths, exemplified by Raymond Firth's brilliant and intimate *We, the Tikopia*, published in the same year.

The mid-1930s were however also marked by two major exhibitions in London's West End. In 1935 the influential Burlington Fine Arts Club followed up a 1920 exhibited dedicated to the arts of native America with one ranging globally, 'The Art of Primitive Peoples', which was on an ambitious scale, featuring over 300 works. Louis Clarke, von Hügel's successor as curator (that is, Director) of MAA in Cambridge, was a member of the club and of the organizing committee; through him, some 82 works were lent to the show, which was somewhat ambivalently received, for example in the pre-eminent scientific journal *Nature*, whose reviewer observed that 'a possible criticism of the exhibition [was] that it includes so little that is crude… the general level of execution is higher than might reasonably be expected'.[55]

Just a year later, this was followed up quite a different exhibition, which also included a group of works loaned from Cambridge. The International Surrealist Exhibition was a landmark for the movement: it included some 60 artists from 14 countries, including major figures such as Dali, Duchamp, Ernst, Magritte, Moore, Penrose, Picasso, Man Ray and the New Zealander Len Lye, who was perhaps the only participant who had lived in the Pacific (in the early 1920s). Herbert Read introduced the catalogue; André Breton wrote *What is surrealism?* for the occasion. The show included a few photographs of Oceanic pieces from the British Museum, one piece from the Congo and three native American artefacts, lent by Roland Penrose and by Mrs E.A. Mott; the only substantial institutional loan was of 15 artefacts from MAA, all from New Guinea and nearly all of them works collected just a few years earlier by Gregory Bateson, who would not himself have seen the exhibition as he had returned that year for a third field trip to the Sepik (Figures 1.24 and 1.25). The objects do not appear to have been associated with exhibition labels, and the catalogue descriptions were bald, though 369 and 370 were both listed as 'Basket head. Very sacred.' Insofar as Read's introduction provided any guidance, these objects exemplified 'the irrational art of savage races, so powerful in its effects on the sensibilities of even civilised people'. Such works, alongside children's art, some folk art, graffiti and *objets trouvés*, enabled the surrealist to 'oppose the conscious and the unconscious, the deed and the dream, truth and fable, reason and unreason, and out of these opposites he will in the dialectical process of his artistic creativity create a new synthesis'.[56] This was, as the critique of primitivism has commonly noted, to acknowledge the power of work while entirely ignoring its context of creation, and the interests or perspectives of the artists who made the artefacts.

Raymond Firth conformed to the trend referred to above, in the sense that he collected in the field (several hundred Tikopia artefacts are in the Australian Museum in Sydney) while material culture was absent from or marginal to the arguments of his renowned Tikopia monographs.[57] On the side, as it were, he produced an illustrated volume on *Art and Life in New Guinea* (1936) for the art publisher, The Studio, and in this context was moved, in a concise introductory text, to criticize both the 1935 and 1936 exhibitions. The Burlington Fine Arts Club's show was characterized by 'the sheerest confusion of aesthetic and ethical standards', whereas, perhaps wilfully missing the point, he saw surrealism as adding nothing 'to our understanding of the art of primitive peoples'.[58] The emphasis of his own exposition was on the social

Figure 1.24. Installation view, International Surrealist Exhibition, Burlington Fine Art Galleries, London 1936. Reproduced by permission of The Henry Moore Foundation.

Figure 1.25. Mwai mask, Kankanamun, middle Sepik, Papua New Guinea. Height 69 cm. Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, 1935.33. Collected by Gregory Bateson. Exhibited at the International Surrealist Exhibition, Burlington Fine Art Galleries, London 1936. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge.

context and function of the forms. The Indigenous artist was 'essentially and foremost a craftsman'. As if striking back, a reviewer in the *Burlington Magazine* (titled at the time the *Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*) found Firth's book disappointing: 'his scientific caution inhibits his aesthetic perception.'[59]

A few years later Leonhard Adam's *Primitive Art* (1940) (Figure 1.26) gave the British reading public a succinct survey, which took such debate further. Adam, a lawyer turned anthropologist, had been born in Berlin and in the early 1930s was both a practising judge and writer on Oriental art; he arrived in England as a Jewish refugee in 1938 but was deported in mid-1940 to Australia as an enemy alien; in due course, and on Malinowski's recommendation, he obtained appointments as a researcher, lecturer and curator at the University of Melbourne.[60] *Primitive Art* sought to dispel

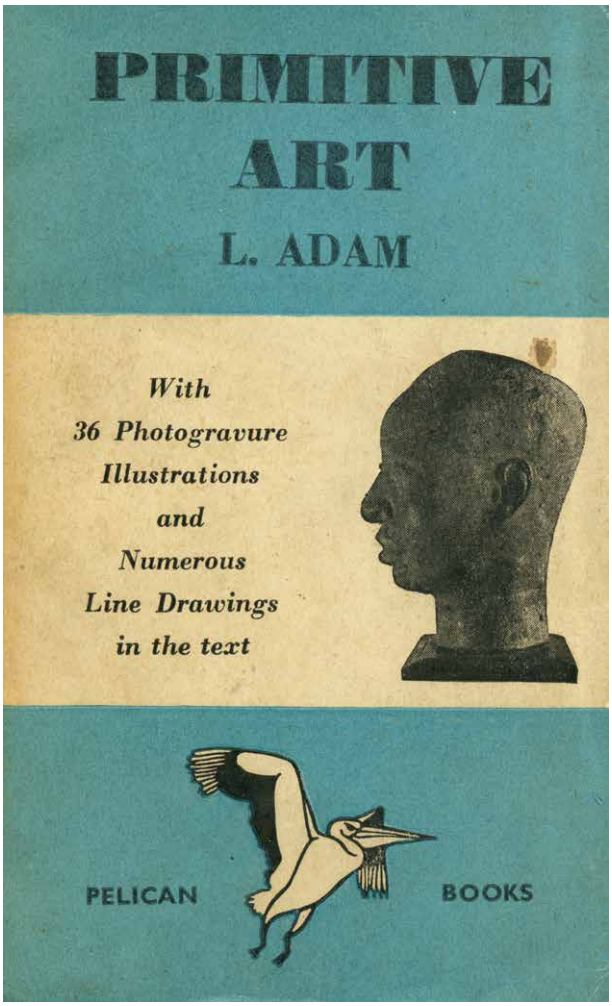


Figure 1.26. Cover of Leonhard Adam, Primitive Art, first edition (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1940).

the stereotypes aired in Read's text for the surrealist catalogue and widely otherwise. Adam wrote that it was 'difficult, if not impossible, to give a satisfactory definition of 'primitive man"; 'there is no unified history of art'; "Primitive art'… is merely a general term covering a variety of historical phenomenon'. In particular, the notion that primitive art was somehow 'elementary' or 'unselfconscious' was rejected: 'In point of fact the 'primitive' artists as is not always as naïve as one would like to think'.[61]

A series of brief chapters dealt with a range of regions, including Oceania; the photographic plates included a Kanak post, a Māori canoe prow and feather box, New Ireland malangan, and the Palauan bowl in the form of a bird obtained following the wreck of the *Antelope* in 1783 – all were from the British Museum (Figure 1.27). The arguments of the introduction were restated: '…most Oceanian arts are not exactly primitive: on the contrary they are very often quite sophisticated.'[62] The short book's last two chapters were 'Primitive art and the European artist' and 'European art and the primitive artist'. While the former dealt with Gauguin and other modernist primitivists, the latter was prescient in drawing attention to Indigenous modernism. While the book

Figure 1.27. Lidded bowl in the form of a bird, wood and shell inlay, height 53 cm. Given to Captain Henry Wilson of the East India Company ship, the Antelope, by the Ibedul of Palau, 1783. Oc,1875.1002.1.a-b. Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.

was influential – it was reprinted and revised extensively – it would be decades before museums genuinely embraced modernist work by artists from the Pacific.

If Oceanic works were exhibited in the 1930s, for the first time beyond missionary and ethnographic collections, for art milieux in Britain, and much debated, there was something of a lull after World War II. Given austerity and the focus on reconstruction and recovery, it is perhaps not surprising that there was no London counterpart to the path-breaking 1946 New York exhibition dedicated to 'The Arts of the South Seas'.[63] While anthropologists like Firth were no doubt personally interested in art, the lack of theoretical or ethnographic interest from the discipline was reflected in the trajectory of Anthony Forge, a Cambridge undergraduate inspired by the Bateson collection who moved to the London School of Economics to work under Firth's supervision. He undertook several periods of fieldwork with the Abelam of the Sepik region from the late 1950s onwards. While the conceptual framing of a series of influential essays on questions of style and meaning, and Abelam social organization, continued to reflect the influence of Firth, Leach and the British social anthropological tradition, Forge's activity in the field and his collecting were guided by Alfred Buhler of Basel, who became an important mentor and sometimes a companion in fieldwork. While the initial expectation was that the British Museum would fund Forge's research and acquire his collections, the possibility evaporated; the student went on to collect extensively for the Museum Völkerkunde, now the Museum der Kulturen, in Basel, which eventually acquired around 1,300 Sepik region artefacts from Forge.[64] British Museum curators such as Bryan Cranstone (whose tenure as Keeper of the Department of Ethnography lasted from 1947 to 1976) continued to collect, albeit on a relatively modest scale, and

primarily from Telefomin people of the Papua New Guinea Highlands, as did Dorota Starzecka between 1975 and 1980, from Vanuatu, the Solomon Islands and the Sepik region. [65] But curators and research in France, the Netherlands and Germany were considerably more active, particularly in Melanesia, as fieldworkers, collectors and curators over the second half of the twentieth century.

Decades of decolonization

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, in Australia, New Zealand and elsewhere the movement towards national independence fostered new interest in Pacific art and culture. Among the expressions of that interest was the foundation of the Pacific Arts Association, led particularly by the distinguished scholar of Māori art, Sidney (Hirini) Mead, at the time working at McMaster University, in Hamilton, Ontario, which hosted the first of the Association's symposia in 1974. Of 26 contributors to the resulting book, only Peter Gathercole, then curator in Cambridge, was based in Britain at the time. [66] Academic anthropology's intermittent interest in Oceanic art had been manifest in Andrew and Marilyn Strathern's important *Self-decoration in Mount Hagen* (1971) and in Forge's major edited volume, *Art and Primitive Society* (1973). However, the first of these studies was a landmark investigation into body art, which did not directly engage museum collections or artefacts in any dedicated fashion. In the collection, Forge predicted a revival of art studies and a new dialogue between University anthropology and 'the museum men'. This transpired only slowly and episodically, although Forge contributed a good deal through mentoring research students such as Alfred Gell and Howard Morphy, who went on to make major contributions to studies of Pacific and Aboriginal Australian art respectively, and later Shirley Campbell and Maureen MacKenzie, who published on the art of the Trobriands and on bilums (looped string bags). [67]

Material culture and museums resurfaced as foci for anthropological debate, that in turn revitalized museum practice, perhaps unexpectedly via what was at the time seen as a postmodernist turn in anthropology, marked by interests in ethnographic writing, and in James Clifford's wide-ranging essays of the 1980s on collecting, primitivism and exhibitions, which were brought together in his book, *The Predicament of Culture*.[68] The relevance of these interventions – which were much debated among anthropologists in Britain, as well as elsewhere, in the late 1980s and 1990s – was that they prompted Michael O'Hanlon, at the time one of two Oceanic curators at the Museum of Mankind, the British Museum's Ethnography Department, to undertake a sustained project which looked at collecting and collection-making reflexively, in terms broadly inspired by Clifford's work, and by broader debates that impinged on collecting, museums and cross-cultural representation. The resulting exhibition and book, *Paradise: portraying the New Guinea Highlands* (1993), were landmark works, for at once acknowledging that collecting and exhibition-making were culturally complex processes, caught up in a mire of representation – of Islanders on the part of Europeans and vice versa. But Paradise was ground-breaking also for acknowledging, more fully and more imaginatively than preceding displays and exhibitions, the impact of modernity in the Pacific. [69] While researchers and curators had long been aware of 'culture change' – a theme of anthropological studies early on – and an important volume edited by Nelson Graburn in 1974 had drawn attention to tourist and 'transitional' art in Indigenous

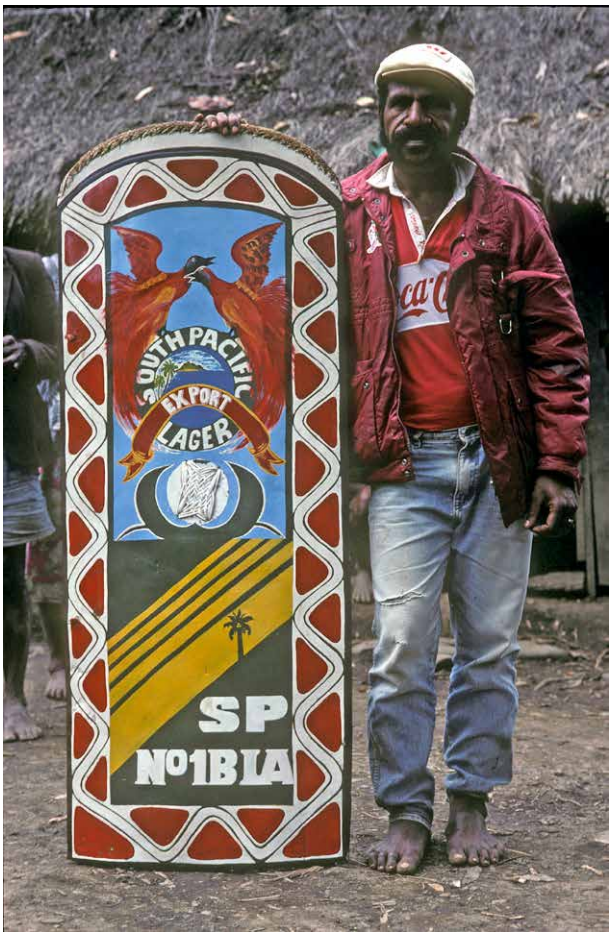


Figure 1.28. Kaipel Ka (Wahgi people, Papua New Guinea Highlands), war shield with iconography associated with South Pacific lager, height 152.5 cm, 1980s. © Michael O'Hanlon.

milieux, O'Hanlon's exhibition embraced postcolonial creativity in a powerful way. In particular, the Wahgi battle shields painted by Kaipel Ka and other men, featuring The Phantom, South Pacific Lager, imagery inspired by rugby league, and other aspects of contemporary Melanesian life exemplified both the vitality and danger of Papua New Guinea – these were after all real fighting shields, that reflected a post-independence revival of tribal conflict, not works for sale to tourists (Figure 1.28). Cultural hybridity became a major theme of curatorial interest, and after the Wahgi shields were acquired by and exhibited at the Museum of Mankind, curators at art institutions in many countries in due course followed up: such shields were subsequently seen at biennales and in other contemporary art settings.[70]

From 1984, the 'Te Māori' exhibition which toured the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, other north American institutions, and museums back home in New Zealand had a tremendous impact on the status of 'traditional' Māori art. Though the exhibition had little direct impact on British curatorial milieux, it was one of the major stimuli for the turn towards collaborative curatorial work. It is not the purpose of this chapter to review the precursors, or the complex history, of dialogue between museum personnel and Indigenous representatives of what became known as 'source

Figure 1.29. Tukahu, basket for boiling food in hot springs, Whakarewarewa, New Zealand. Width 210 cm, including fringe. Collection of Makereti (Maggie) Papakura, before 1930. Copyright Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, 1930.85.11.

communities' in professional jargon, that is the descendants of the people from whom works were collected.[71] Needless to say, this history is complex, and museums were occasionally, and in certain respects surprisingly 'collaborative' early on. The involvement of the celebrated former Māori guide, cultural entrepreneur and writer, Makereti (Maggie) Papakura with the Pitt Rivers Museum, in a formal sense as student from 1926 until her death in 1930 is a case in point (see te Awekotuku and Coote's chapter, volume 2, and Figure 1.29). However, a much greater level of engagement developed as formally-trained Indigenous scholars and curators became more numerous in the 1980s and 1990s, as international travel became relatively cheaper, as anthropologists and museum professionals adopted different epistemological positions, giving Indigenous knowledge greater status and perceiving their research in more overtly dialogical terms, and as cultural renaissance supported revived interest in customary arts among Islanders themselves – all of these factors contributed to a new fertility and engagement in curatorial practice, which was at first notable in countries such as New Zealand and Australia, in or near the Pacific, but which in due course influenced British practitioners too. Hence the catalogue of the 1998 'Māori' exhibition at the British Museum included Māori scholars such as Ngahuia Te Awekotuku and the exhibition itself included contemporary artists such as John Bevan Ford.[72]

The twenty-first century

Finally, the 'split' in the anthropology of art that Anthony Forge had referred to, and it might be added, in the anthropology of Oceania, between university academics and museums was productively diminished, at the least in Britain. The fortuitous presence of a cluster of scholars and curators at MAA in Cambridge, at the Pitt Rivers Museum, at the British Museum and in particular at the University of East Anglia, where Steven Hooper mentored and trained a new generation of Pacific art scholars, has made the past 20 years unusually fertile for research and curatorial initiatives based in the United Kingdom, that have involved extensive engagement with communities, scholars, curators and artists from many independent states in the Pacific as well as from New Zealand, Hawai'i and the French territories.

A 2006 project in Cambridge, *Pasifika Styles*, was especially important. A collaboration between anthropologist and curator Amiria Salmond and Rosanna Raymond, an artist and fashion activist of Māori and Samoan descent, the subtitle was 'artists in the museum'. It took collaboration several steps forward at once, beyond dialogue with Indigenous people that simply sought advice regarding correct protocols for opening events, the right interpretation of certain artefacts, or specific information about materials or techniques. The Cambridge project, rather, brought a group of artists to the museum on a residency basis, and encouraged them to engage with and respond to collections, to the museum as an environment and an institution, and to the university itself. This was one of the first exhibitions in the United Kingdom that featured works by a range of contemporary Māori and Pacific Islander artists, but it was considerably more focused than a survey of then-current practice: it aimed to get to grips with the awkward issues of expatriate artefacts' lives, through the lens of vibrant, generally youthful, Polynesian culture[73] (Figures 1.30 and 1.31).

Pasifika Styles was important not only as a project that brought new Indigenous and diasporic Pacific practice from Auckland to a small museum in a prestigious northern hemisphere university. It was much visited by curators with Oceanic expertise and responsibility from many British and European museums, and it prompted new interest, across many European countries, in Pacific art and in Pacific artists. Following the exhibition, George Nuku, who emulated customary Māori sculpture in perspex and polystyrene, stayed on in Europe and swiftly received commissions from the British Museum, the National Museums of Scotland, the Museum an den Stroom (MAS) in Antwerp, and a number of other institutions (Figure 1.32). In these settings, his work assumed considerably greater prominence than Ford's had had in the 1998 'Māori' exhibition. Contemporary practice was no longer a sort of postscript, but a frame for, and a point of entry into, historic collections. Visitors to these exhibitions could make no mistake: they were not encountering great art practices associated with a 'disappearing world' (the title of a series of ethnographic television documentaries of the 1970s and 1980s): they were encountering living cultures, powerfully connected with tradition, history and ancestors.

At the time of writing, in early 2018, in the context of renewed questioning of ethnographic museums, it might be assumed that the epoch of collecting is definitively over. However, the turn to collaboration and several major research projects over the past 20 years have in fact stimulated the making of new collections, some as a result

Figure 1.30. Members of the Beats of Polynesia group, visiting MAA in 2006. Photograph by Kerry Brown.

Figure 1.31. Opening performances, with Beats of Polynesia and Ngati Ranana, at MAA in 2006. Photograph by Kerry Brown.

Figure 1.32. George Nuku, Perspex patu. *Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge. 2008.115.*

Figure 1.33. Hat made from barkcloth, Tahiti. Diameter 33.3cm. Collected by Nicholas Thomas in 2016. Photo: Josh Murfitt. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge. 2016.186.

Figure 1.34. Akis, Untitled drawing, c. 1970. Gift of Professor Marilyn Strathern, 2009. 82.5 x 70 cm. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, 2009.43.

Figure 1.35. Nioge, painted barkcloth by Lila Warrimou, Omie people, Papua New Guinea, 2011. 110.5 x 70.5 cm. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, 2012.89.

of requests from Islanders themselves. Lissant Bolton, appointed Oceania curator at the British Museum (and now Keeper of the Department of Africa, Oceania and the Americas), has regularly visited Vanuatu for field research and acquired island dresses, baskets and other woven artefacts, dance ornaments particularly from there but also from Honolulu and elsewhere. In Cambridge, MAA staff have acquired contemporary objects (Figure 1.33) from Torres Strait, from Māori and Islander artists in New Zealand, the textiles known as tivaevae from the Cook Islands, as well as works by prominent artists such as George Nuku, John Pule and Lisa Reihana. Marilyn Strathern gifted an important group of modernist drawings and prints from Papua New Guinea, notably including works by Akis, Kauage, Tiabe and others, dating from the late 1960s and 1970s (Figure 1.34). The Museum was able also to acquire a group of *nioge*, painted barkcloths, by Omie women (Figure 1.35), which only started to be made for distribution beyond the community in the early 2000s; and a set of works by the Chimbu painter Simon Gende, remarkable for his engagement with global events such as the 9/11 attack on the Twin Towers, the deaths of Nelson Mandela and Margaret Thatcher, as well as aspects of political life in Papua New Guinea[74] (Figure 1.36).

Many early ethnologists and collectors saw themselves salvaging traditions, knowledge and artefacts that were on the point of disappearing. T.S. Eliot wrote,

Figure 1.36. Simon Gende, A tribute – MH 370, a tribute to the missing Malaysian Airlines flight, acrylic on canvas, 2016. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, 2016.6.

> As we grow older,
> The world becomes stranger, the pattern more complicated
> Of dead and living… (East Coker).

As the ethnographic museum has got older, the pattern of cultural loss, continuity, revival and rejuvenation in the Pacific – as well as in other places such museums typically represent – has likewise become stranger, or more perplexing. With the intensification of globalization, mining, fishing, logging, migration and other processes, rupture and loss appear more pronounced, but it is also striking that Islanders remain themselves and continue to create works that bear customary values, attachments to land, and local perspectives upon belief, place and history. Whereas salvage collectors perceived a coherent corpus of traditional material culture that they either succeeded in obtaining for museums or not, the collections made over the last 250 years appear increasingly, and irreversibly, as *historical* collections: they exemplify cultures over time, through the many distinctive moments of encounter and change that the period has witnessed. Contemporary collecting appears not as the misguided continuation of a discredited colonial habit, but as a vital method for the recognition, interpretation and exhibition of modernity and postmodernity in the Pacific.

The Englightenment Gallery, the British Museum, 2007. Photograph by Mark Adams.

The Englightenment Gallery, the British Museum, 2007. Photograph by Mark Adams.

The Maudslay Gallery, Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology 2007, Cambridge. Photograph by Mark Adams.

The Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford. Photograph by Mark Adams.

CHAPTER 2

Curiosity, revolution, science and art: Pacific collections and French museums

LUCIE CARREAU

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Introduction

France is home to approximately 65,000 Pacific objects under the care of over 110 institutions in the Metropole[75] and its overseas territories.[76] These collections – some formed as early as the 1760s by explorers and scientists and complemented in the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first centuries, by colonial administrators, wealthy adventurers, missionaries, anthropologists and artists- offer great insight into the relationships between France and Pacific nations, and the place of material culture in materializing and marking encounters, continuity and transformations.

French collections are small in number in comparison to other colonial powers in Europe such as Britain or Germany. This may be partly explained by the century of political instability and financial strain following the French Revolution in 1789. Loss of collections should also be taken into account, in the Pacific as much as in France. On the whole, and with a few exceptions, the first few decades of French voyaging in the Pacific in the late eighteenth century were disastrous: disease decimating crews, murders of officers during their visits to Pacific Islands and shipwrecks meant that, in many cases, the original exploration and scientific visions underpinning these voyages could not be fully realized. Losses triggered by the Revolution and in the twentieth century by the two World Wars should not be underestimated.

Perhaps more significantly, a lack of suitable repositories for ethnographic material may have deterred collectors from constituting large collections. In Britain, the British Museum, founded in 1753, was acquiring and caring for Pacific objects from the late eighteenth century – an obvious and secure repository for any scientist or learned amateur (see Chapter 1). In Germany, collecting was first supported by commercial firms and developed concomitantly to the emergence of ethnology and anthropology museums that helped retain some form of cohesion (see Chapter 5). In France, there was no specific institution dedicated to the care and exhibition of ethnographic collections until the Musée du Trocadéro in Paris, founded in 1878, opened its doors to the public in 1882. Voyagers and collectors presented artefacts to institutions relevant to their status: high-ranking naval officers were expected to deposit their collections with their patrons or with the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle (Natural History Museum) in Paris or

the Musée Naval (Naval Museum) at the Louvre; lower ranking mariners often turned to local learned societies or museums to find a home for their collections. Often, collections remained in private hands, gradually losing their specific geographical or historical context as they passed down through generations or changed hands. As a result, collections that could have been re-assembled under one roof became further disarticulated, divided between private homes and public institutions of many different kinds, often failing to fit in a very complex, inconsistent and often incoherent institutional system. In Paris, dispersed among dozens of museological institutions, collections were rarely exhibited for the stories they could tell or the 'discoveries' they embodied, but for their ability to contribute to an extraneous theme: illustrating their connection to nature, to the nation's maritime endeavours (through its maritime heroes) or new possibilities in the development of visual arts.

The complex political landscape of France since the eighteenth century dictates the necessity to employ a historical approach and loosely follow a chronological model. Thus, this chapter is divided into a number of 'periods' that highlight different modes of engagement with the Pacific: from the first French explorations during the Enlightenment period to the dynamic, collaborative and multi-sited landscape through which objects and collections have been mobilized in museums and cultural centres in Paris, the provinces, as well as New Caledonia and French Polynesia since the late twentieth century. There is much more to say about French collections than what could be achieved in this short chapter but I hope that it highlights some of the significant elements of the history of French collections. It remains an exercise in interpretative compilation, which owes much to the tireless efforts of all those who have in the past and the present attempted to make sense and give more visibility to Pacific collections in France.

Eighteenth century voyaging: collecting between nature and curiosity

On 15 November 1766, the frigate *Boudeuse* left Nantes and set sail for the Pacific. Supported by King Louis XV (1710-1774) and led by Louis-Antoine Comte de Bougainville (1729-1811), the expedition of the *Boudeuse* and its storeship the É*toile* marked the official beginning of a long and complex relationship between France and the Pacific Islands. While Bougainville's voyage was the first state-sponsored attempt to circumnavigate the globe and explore the Pacific, it was not the first to reach the South Seas. Bougainville himself gave credit to Paulmier de Gonnevile for being the very first navigator to sail Pacific waters in 1503-1504. From his voyage, de Gonneville had apparently brought an Islander, who remained in France and married his descendant. Unfortunately, even by the eighteenth century, Bougainville was unable to find any trace of the voyage – no itinerary, not a single object.[77]

By the mid-1760s, France was in a dire political and financial situation, weakened by the War of the Polish Succession (1733-1735), the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748) and the Seven Years' War (1756-1763). It had lost an important part of its colonial empire, notably the area known as 'Nouvelle France' (New France) in North America, and found its influence greatly diminished in India. Bougainville's voyage to the Pacific was certainly filled with the hopes of making discoveries that would re-

establish France as a strong, wealthy and powerful nation, in the eye of its European competitors, but also of its own people.

In addition to political and commercial motivations, curiosity was brewing. France in the eighteenth century was a thought-provoking place. Knowledge was being challenged, scrupulously examined and ordered, opening new ways of thinking about and engaging with the world. One of the most compelling examples of this era of newly developed critical thinking, known as 'le siècle des Lumières' (the Enlightenment) was the *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, edited by Denis Diderot and, until 1759, Jean le Rond d'Alembert. Although originally inspired by the *Cyclopedia* published by Ephraim Chambers in London in 1728, *L'Encyclopédie* created an innovative taxonomy of human knowledge divided between Memory (history), Reason (philosophy, comprising the science of Man and the science of Nature) and Imagination (poetry). This new multifocal and layered encyclopaedic lens was an incredible tool to embrace and classify all forms of knowledge generated by the voyages of exploration, a tool with which Bougainville was familiar, having himself been a pupil of d'Alembert in his youth.[78] While this new frame of thought remained the privilege of a chosen few, and many other factors triggered intellectual and political change, there is no doubt that some of the observations and reports received from voyagers returning from the Pacific fed into these developing approaches to rationalizing knowledge, challenged the intellectuals of the era and triggered the emergence of new thoughts about society, inequalities and freedom.[79] The appearance of the Pacific on maps did not cause the French Revolution, but the exposure to alternative ways of living and being certainly contributed to a desire for change.

Bougainville arrived in Tahiti in April 1767. His writing, the collections he and his crew brought back, and the images created during the voyage as well as those amended through repeated publications fuelled the birth of Tahiti as a natural paradise. It offered an exotic background to the figure of the good or noble savage and rekindled the discussion around Jean-Jacques Rousseau's 'state of nature',[80] soon relayed by additional material published following Cook's return from the Pacific in 1771. Bougainville may have been the first French navigator to circumnavigate the globe, but his interaction with Pacific Islanders remained limited. After fulfilling a royal mission in the Falkland Islands in 1767, he sighted and claimed the Tuamotu Archipelago on 21 March 1768, but no contact was made with Islanders. In early April, the ships anchored in the lagoon of Hitiaa on the island of Tahiti. The crew was warmly received and Bougainville developed a strong relationship with chief Ereti, who insured his protection and negotiated the establishment of his camp on land with other chiefs from the area. Formal gifts of barkcloth were made regularly and Bougainville and the Chevalier d'Oraison (one of ships' officers) were each presented with a taumi (feather gorget) (Figure 2.1). Bougainville's account of his 12 days in Tahiti makes mention of less formal exchanges too, including fresh supplies as well as fishing implements, adzes, barkcloth and shells, for which the French gave hats, handkerchiefs, ear ornaments and iron. On 14 April 1768, he claimed the island for France in the name of Louis XV and two days later, set sail in the company of Ahutoru,[81] the son of a Tahitian chief and a woman of Ra'iātea, with the blessing of Ereti. In early May 1768, the expedition reached Samoa where contacts with Islanders were limited

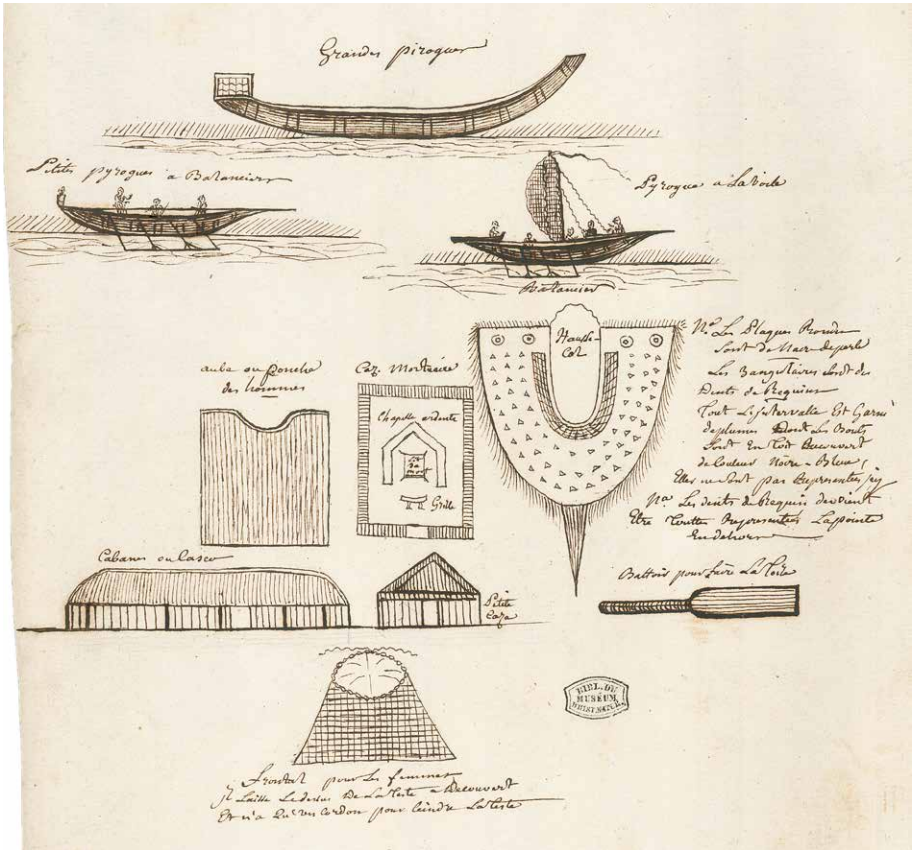


Figure 2.1. Philibert Commerson, extract from the 'Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du voyage du tour du monde fait par les vaisseaux du Roi La Boudeuse et l'Étoile, dans le cours des années 1766, 1767 et 1768', 4e cahier, [S.n.]. Paris, Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle (MS2214). © Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle.

to canoes visiting the French vessels. Fresh food, as well as fishhooks, mats and spears were presented to the crew, and red cloth offered in exchange. Many observations were made in Vanuatu later that month but only fruits and arrows could be obtained from Aoba which Bougainville also claimed for the French crown. Later in June, the vessels reached Choiseul in the Solomon Islands where no landing could be made due to the hostility of the Islanders. The French seized two canoes in which they found bows, arrows, spears, shields, nets and bags containing betel-chewing equipment. Further calls were made at Buka (Papua New Guinea, where they did not land) and Port Praslin in New Ireland (which Bougainville believed to be New Britain) where the crew did not get into direct contact with the Islanders.

The sporadic notes on the cultural artefacts presented to, exchanged with or seized by the crew in Bougainville's account, suggest that the ethnographic and natural history collections made during the voyage were substantial. After their return to France, both Bougainville and his naturalist, Philibert Commerson, presented objects to the Cabinet et Jardin du Roi (King's Cabinet and Garden),[82] some of which may now be at the Musée

Figure 2.2. Detail of a very large piece of Tahitian tapa (barkcloth) collected by sailor Moussaud during Bougainville's voyage (1766–1769), displayed in the galleries of the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle. 600 x 175 cm. Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle de La Rochelle (H.2427). © Francis Giraudon / Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle de La Rochelle.

du quai Branly. Other objects collected by crew members probably remained in private hands or found their ways into learned societies. A piece of barkcloth in the collections of the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle et d'Ethnographie (Museum of Natural History and Ethnography) in La Rochelle was originally collected in Tahiti by Moussaud, a sailor on the *Étoile* (Figure 2.2). Moussaud's brother presented it to the Académie des Belles-Lettres of La Rochelle in 1778 where it remained until the Academy was dissolved by the Revolutionaries and its collections transferred to the newly founded Muséum. A handful of Tahitian objects at the Musée National de l'Ancienne École de Médecine Navale (Museum of the Old School of Naval Medicine) in Rochefort were collected by François Vives (or Vivez), surgeon on the *Étoile* and presented to the Rochefort Naval Hospital where he had trained and established a career.

Bougainville's voyage did not entirely fulfil the geographic and scientific expectations originally formulated, but the publication that ensued was a public success which created a favourable environment to launch additional campaigns of exploration in the Pacific. Furthermore, the promises of exciting scientific discoveries were in line with Louis XV's personal interest in geography and botany. The importance of supporting new expeditions was further prompted by Britain's clear intentions to intensify its exploration of the Pacific and develop a thorough scientific agenda. Although not directly commissioned by the Crown, Jean François Marie de Surville (1717-1770), an officer from the French India Company, undertook a voyage of combined exploration and trade to the central Pacific on the *Saint Jean-Baptiste*. A high rate of death from scurvy forced de Surville to land in the Solomon Islands and New Zealand where the urgency of his situation created great tensions between crew and Islanders, leading to the kidnaping of Ranginui, a Ngāti Kahu leader from the Northland of New Zealand in December 1769. Several months later de Surville, seeking help for his dying crew,

drowned in Callao, Peru. The ship was seized by the Spanish authorities and the crew imprisoned for two years. In 1771, Louis XV appointed Marc-Joseph Marion Dufresne (1724-1772) to the command of the *Mascarin* and the *Marquis de Castries* to return Ahutoru (who had already travelled as far as Mauritius on the *Brisson* in 1770) to Tahiti and explore the South Pacific – neither of which was achieved. Ahutoru died of small pox in Mauritius and the voyage was curtailed in New Zealand after the majority of the crew was murdered in the Bay of Islands. Despite the failure of these voyages and the death of Louis XV in 1774, the exploratory agenda remained ambitious. Like his grandfather, Louis XVI was fascinated with geography and the natural sciences. He took personal interest in planning the expedition led by Jean François Galaup de La Pérouse (1741-1788?), a distinguished figure of the American War of Independence, and hoped that the voyage might restore France's position internationally as well as bring the country back to the forefront of scientific discoveries. La Pérouse left France in 1785, calling at Easter Island, Hawai'i, the Northern Marianas, Samoa, Tonga and Norfolk Island. His voyage was successful in gathering rich documented collections of cultural artefacts and natural history, most of which were presumably lost when the expedition vanished in 1788. Meanwhile, the political situation was gradually worsening in France and the nation more concerned with redesigning itself internally than displaying and further developing its international profile. Still in power, although very weakened and no longer 'King of France and Navare' but restyled 'King of the French', Louis XVI and the Assemblée Constituante were concerned about La Pérouse. They appointed Antoine Bruni d'Entrecasteaux (1737-1793) to lead a search expedition with two ships, *La Recherche* and *L'Espérance,* between 1791 and 1794. The approach to collecting had already changed under the complex political regime implemented by the Revolutionaries. In addition to directives specifically dedicated to the collection of ethnographic material, the instructions also included a request for proper labelling and onboard cataloguing.[83] More symptomatic of the period was the stipulation that none of the expedition members were allowed to keep items that d'Entrecasteaux considered important to include in the collection destined to be presented to France and made in the service of the public.[84] The expedition did not succeed in finding La Pérouse's wreck, but achieved greater scientific success than any of its predecessors.[85] Following the King's execution in January 1793, political turmoil did not spare the members of the d'Entrecasteaux expedition who found themselves in conflict with the Dutch authorities on arrival to Indonesia, accused of sympathizing with revolutionary ideas. Their work and collections were seized and later secured by the British who returned them to France under pressure from Sir Joseph Banks.

The sketchy historical landscape outlined above may appear disconnected to material culture and museum collections, but it is not. All expeditions were instructed to assemble, document and bring back collections for the advancement of science and, despite the great difficulties they may have encountered, were likely to have done so. Whether some of them have survived, brought back by the few survivors, or transferred to another ship encountered en route along with letters destined to the Admiralty or the King, is unknown, but remains a possibility. The lack of precise documentation from this time period also hinders our ability to engage with these early collections. From the 1750s, the Cabinet et Jardin du Roi, under the care of George-Louis Buffon,

one of the most eminent French naturalists, were receiving important ethnographic collections. Although Louis-Jean-Marie Daubenton, whom Buffon had appointed Keeper and Demonstrator of the Cabinet du Roi in 1744, mentioned the presence of 'a quantity of clothing, weapons, utensils from savages, etc. brought from America and other parts of the world' in his article on cabinets of natural history published in the encyclopaedia in 1752,[86] the collections were then unlikely to have contained much, if any, Pacific material. As mentioned earlier however, by the late 1760s, the Cabinet had incorporated some of the collections brought back by Bougainville and may have included material from subsequent expeditions. A decade later, Buffon himself noted that the Cabinet included the complete outfit of a Tahitian woman, but did not give its provenance.[87] Pacific collections were certainly not limited to what had been brought back from French voyages. Despite the political tension between Britain and France, the strong links connecting scientific communities facilitated the movement of documents, samples and objects. In 1777, Buffon added to the Cabinet the gift of a herbarium made in the Pacific by the Forsters, naturalists on Cook's second voyage.[88]

Away from the Royal household, in the provinces, it is likely that many Pacific objects remained in private hands while others found a home in cabinets of curiosities and the collection of learned societies. Unfortunately, again, information about these collections remains too scarce to retrace the collecting activities of these early voyages.

The Revolution and its aftermath: from intensive collection to failed institutionalization (1789-1830s)

The Revolution brought change, often implemented in an uncoordinated and violent manner. Many of the private cabinets belonging to nobles and aristocrats were confiscated. The properties of the clergy and emigrants were alienated. The Cabinet et Jardin du Roi were dismantled. While inventories were sometimes made of these collections, exotic material was often described in such vague terms that it became later impossible to reassign objects with confidence. Between the Revolution and the 1830s, ethnographic collections were characterized by their itinerancy and the inadequacy of the institutions that hosted them, when such institutions even existed. It is impossible to write a single narrative that can do justice to the complexity and mess of the nineteenth century. This section is thus divided in themes, with unavoidable overlap that will hopefully point towards some of the important aspects of collecting, accumulating and institutionalizing in Paris as well as in the provinces.

Exploration and science

The restructuring of the country and possibly the memory of the disastrous losses that France had experienced in its attempts to survey the Pacific put further exploration on hold for the best part of two decades. The first scientific expedition to take place in the nineteenth century was that of Nicolas Baudin who visited Australia between 1800 and 1803.

The return of the monarchy in 1814 (known as the Bourbon Restoration) marked a new era for scientific expeditions. Louis XVIII commissioned Louis de Freycinet (1779-1842) to conduct an expedition to the Pacific and collect natural history specimens for the advancement of science. Freycinet, who had joined Baudin's expedition to

Figure 2.3. Fan woven from plant fibre and human hair, collected in the Sandwich Islands (Hawai'i) by Auguste Bérard during the voyage of the Uranie, August 1819. 57 cm. Université de Montpellier (UM.ETHN. 02912). Registered as historical monument in 2009. © Université de Montpellier.

Australia in the early nineteenth century, took command of the *Uranie* in 1817, with a team of scientists and scholars including artist Jacques Arago and surgeon Jean René Constant Quoy. In the Pacific, the expedition visited New Guinea, the Mariana Islands and Hawai'i, forming large and documented collections. Unfortunately, the *Uranie* was shipwrecked in the Falklands Islands and some collections were lost. What could be saved and a vast amount of documentation reached France in 1820, and it is likely that a significant portion of the collections joined Parisian institutions, although their ties to the Freycinet expedition have been long lost. In the provinces, a few crew members eventually presented their collections to local institutions: Quoy gifted his to what is now known as the Musée de l'Ancienne École de Médecine Navale in Rochefort;[89] Vice Admiral Marie Joseph Pellion donated a few objects to the Musée Crozatier at Le Puy en Velay.[90] Additional collections made by officer Auguste Bérard are now at the Musée de l'Université de Montpellier II (Figure 2.3) but were amalgamated with another collection he made during the voyage of Duperrey (see below).

A naval hydrographer on Freycinet's expedition, Louis-Isidore Duperrey (1786-1865) was keen to continue the research undertaken on the *Uranie*. He was given the command of the *Coquille* and, seconded by Jules Dumont d'Urville, set sail in August 1822. On board, Dumont d'Urville was tasked with botanical and entomological collections while surgeon Prosper Garnot and pharmacist René-Primevère Lesson were responsible for zoology. In the Pacific, the *Coquille* visited the Tuamotu Archipelago, Kiribati, New Ireland, western New Guinea (Waigou), New Zealand, Rotuma and Papua New Guinea. The expedition returned to France in April 1825 having contributed to all branches of science through the crew's observations, maps, drawings and the large collections that were assembled. Identifying objects from the expedition of the *Coquille* presents the same set of challenges as in the case of Freycinet: with the exception of a few pieces collected by Lesson now at the Musée de l'Ancienne École de Médecine

Figure 2.4. Korwar collected by René-Primevère Lesson and Prosper Garnot in Cenderawasih Bay, West Papua during Louis Duperrey's expedition on the Coquille, probably between 26 July and 9 August 1824. Previously in the laboratoire d'anthropologie biologique at the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle. Paris, 60 x 20.5 x 23 cm. Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac (76.1934.87.3). Photo © Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Hughes Dubois.

Navale in Rochefort (some of which were later transferred to the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle et d'Ethnographie in La Rochelle) and a single object in the Musée du quai Branly (Figure 2.4), most of the Duperrey expedition objects were amalgamated with larger collections comprising artefacts collected on other voyages.

The last scientifically-focused expeditions of the nineteenth century, led by Jules Dumont d'Urville (1790-1842), are among the better known and documented. Dumont d'Urville had gained scientific recognition following the research campaign led in the Black Sea and the Greek Islands in 1819, during which he brought the attention of the French Government to the newly unearthed Venus of Milo. Following the collaborative planning and execution of Duperrey's expedition on the *Coquille*, his research was once more celebrated by the scientific community and led to the sponsoring of a large and better-resourced voyage. In 1826, Dumont d'Urville took command of the *Coquille*, now renamed *Astrolabe*, to explore the Pacific and make another attempt to locate the wreck of La Pérouse. Many of the scientists on board, such as Quoy and Gaimard, had already visited the Pacific. Others had acquired some experience in a different way: Pierre-Adolphe Lesson was certainly acquainted with the work undertaken by his brother, René-Primevère who had travelled on the *Coquille* a few years earlier. In the three years of their scientific campaign, Dumont d'Urville and his crew charted an impressive number of islands, adding valuable information for the production of more accurate maps. In many places, the expedition did not land but contact was nonetheless established with Islanders visiting the *Astrolabe* with their canoes and trading artefacts and food. New Zealand (Figure 2.5), Tonga and the Santa Cruz Islands were more extensively visited, allowing the crew to pay special attention to the cultures and material possessions of their inhabitants in addition to the usual natural history collecting and astronomical observations. The collections made were no doubt extensive. However, while many objects in French museums are associated to Dumont d'Urville, very few are specifically associated to the first *Astrolabe* voyage. A few coherent collections can be found in the Musée de l'Ancienne École de Médecine Navale in Rochefort (collected by Quoy), the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire (Museum of Art and History) in Rochefort (collected by Lesson, Figure 2.6) and The House of Pierre Loti (collected by Gustave Viaud, brother of Loti). Isolated pieces have been identified in a number of institutions (including the Musée National de la Marine) or were incorporated into collections made on other voyages.

Dumont d'Urville's first voyage marked a turn in the way France approached the Pacific. While it was still framed around the importance of advancing sciences, nineteenth-century explorers had clearly moved on from their eighteenth-century predecessor's romanticized and somewhat fantastical understanding of the Pacific Islands. This new generation was developing a framework of classification of the islands and their inhabitants based on race, an approach that contributed to the redefinition of Oceania in three clear distinctive parts: Melanesia, Polynesia and Micronesia. First published in 1832,[91] Dumont d'Urville's essay, 'Sur les îles du Grand Océan' became the authoritative voice of a 'new' approach to geo-cultural classification, an approach that nonetheless drew heavily on previous attempts made by earlier geographers and observers of the Pacific and its cultures.[92] A useful framework for scientists to engage with and classify the material collected and the information gathered, the distinctions were widely embraced by the scientific community and quickly relayed in school textbooks and other popular formats, as well as adopted beyond national boundaries. Still used widely today in the Pacific and beyond, the division of the Pacific as devised by Dumont d'Urville has always failed to convey the fluidity of movement inherent to the area, the circulation of people, things, materials, practices and ideas. The racial

Figure 2.5. Detail of a Māori waka (canoe) probably collected during Dumont d'Urville's first expedition on the Astrolabe, 1827. Previously in the collections of the Musée Naval du Louvre, acquired by exchange in 1861. 360 x 57 x 82 cm. Boulogne-sur-Mer, Château-Musée (Inv63-26753). Photo © RMN-Grand Palais / Benoît Touchard.

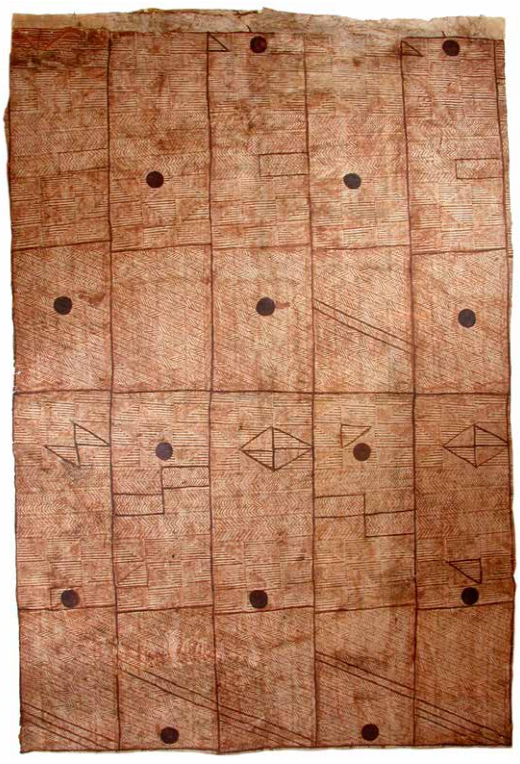


Figure 2.6. Ngatu (barkcloth) from Tonga, collected by René-Primevère Lesson in Tongatapu during Dumont d'Urville's expedition on the Astrolabe, probably in April–May 1827. 290 x 180 cm. Rochefort, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire (E 22-157). Photo credits: musées-municipaux Rochefort 17, alienor.org Conseil des Musées P.E. Laurent.

basis on which these distinctions were created was the product of a certain time and school of thought, which, although no longer embraced by contemporary scholars, has failed to be replaced by a more adequate and less discriminatory terminology. The legacy of Dumont d'Urville's division of the Pacific remains the basis upon which most museums classify their collections and most scholars (including myself as exemplified by the very terminology I use throughout this essay) struggle to deliver narratives that can be widely understood without the help of this antiquated model.

Under the government of the July Monarchy (1830-1848), Dumont d'Urville took sail once more on the *Astrolabe* and the *Zélée*, tasked with the exploration of the South Pole. Leaving Toulon in September 1837, the first six months were dedicated to the investigation of Antarctica. From August 1838, the vessels visited the Gambier Islands, the Marquesas, the Tuamotu Archipelago, Tahiti, Samoa, Tonga, Fiji, Vanikoro in the Santa Cruz Islands, the Solomon Islands, Guam, the Caroline Islands and Palau. After a short stay in Indonesia, they travelled to the South Pole again, visiting New Zealand and the Torres Strait on their way back to France, which they reached in 1842. Large collections were made by the Captain as well as the crew – at least 700 objects were presented to the Musée Naval in Paris.[93] Personal collections made by crew members can be found in many public museums in the provinces, often deposited in locations meaningful to specific individuals, as was the case with the collection of Gaston de Roquemaurel, second to Dumont d'Urville in charge of the expedition's journal. He donated his rich ethnographic collections to his city, Toulouse, where they later joined those of the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle. The thoroughness of the labelling and

Figure 2.7. Shell pendant (front and back) from the Solomon Islands, collected by Gaston de Roquemaurel during Dumont d'Urville's expedition on the Astrolable and the Zélée, probably in 1838. 9.5 x 12 cm. Toulouse, Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle (ETH AC SL 23). CC-BY-SA – Didier Descouens.

inventory of the objects donated by Roquemaurel provides valuable insight into the scientific goals of the expedition as well as hints at the relationship the crew developed while visiting specific islands (Figure 2.7).[94] Other collections formed during Dumont d'Urville's second voyage are located in Avignon (Musée Calvet, collection Boyer), Boulogne-sur-Mer (Château-Musée; Ledoux and de Rosamel collections), Dunkerque (Musée des Beaux-Arts; Barlatier Demas collection),[95] Brest (Hôpital Maritime; Hombron collection), Grenoble (Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle, Tardy de Montravel collection),[96] La Rochelle (Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle et d'Ethnographie; Dumont d'Urville collection), Paris (Musée National de la Marine, Dumont d'Urville collection and Varzy (Musée Auguste Grasset, Jacquinot collection). Dumont d'Urville's personal collection, gifted to the museum in Caen, was destroyed during the Second World War.

French missionary presence in the Pacific

The activities of French missionaries in the Pacific have not been given as much attention as those of their British counterparts.[97] The unstable political situation in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century did not make the Christianisation of the Pacific a priority to the successive French governments. Prompted by a request from Jean-Baptiste Rives, French counsellor to the Hawaiian King Kamehameha II, and with support from Pope Leo XII, a delegation of missionaries from the Congrégation des Sacrés-Coeurs de Jésus et Marie (commonly known as the Congregation of Picpus) was dispatched to Hawai'i in 1827,[98] 30 years after the London Missionary Society had sent its first representatives to Tahiti.[99] Promoting Catholic faith was rendered difficult by competition between denominations, especially in places where protestant missionaries had been active for decades. The sphere of influence of the Congregation of Picpus was limited to the Eastern Pacific, although even here the missionaries struggled to get a foothold. In 1834, a small congregation settled in the Gambier Islands from where missionaries were dispatched further afield – Tahiti (1836), Marquesas Islands (1838), and the atoll of Faaite in the Tuamotu Archipelago (1849) – with varying results. The influence of protestant missionaries in Tahiti led Queen Pōmare IV to forbid Catholic fathers Caret and Laval to settle on the island in 1838, leading to what is now known as the 'Pritchard affair' between 1839 and 1844,[100] which ultimately triggered the rapid colonization of the area by France (see below).

From 1833, Pope Gregory XVI entrusted the Christianisation of the Western Pacific to the Society of Mary (commonly known as the Marists). Between 1838 and 1843, the Marists attempted to settle in New Zealand with little support from the nation which had renounced any intentions of colonizing the islands. This was not the case in New Caledonia, where Bishop Douarre reached Balade in 1843. Despite constant tensions with Islanders, France had clear intentions to annex New Caledonia and formerly took possession of the islands in 1853, thereby offering some form of protection to the Catholic missions. This, however, did not extend to the Loyalty Islands which, having been under the influence of the London Missionary Society since 1840, remained largely beyond the reach of the Catholics. Among other islands, the Marists also settled in the Solomon Islands (1836) where they faced great tensions with the Islanders, in Tonga (1842) and in Vanuatu (1885).

Figure 2.8. Anthropomorphic sculpture of the god Rao from Mangareva, Gambier Islands, collected by the Picpus Fathers in 1836. 106 cm. Paris, Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac (72.53.287). Photo © Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Hughes Dubois.

French missionaries no doubt made large collections, of which about 2,000 objects have survived, probably half the amount originally collected.[101] Some of these collections have made their way to public museums (Musée du quai Branly in Paris, Musée d'Aquitaine in Bordeaux and Musée des Confluences in Lyon), but many have been retained by the congregations and have been placed at the centre of their own museographical enterprise (Musée Océanien in Cuet, Musée Océanien des Pères Maristes in Saint-Symphorien-sur-Coise, Musée d'Océanie in La Neylière). Recent publications and exhibitions have discussed the role of missionaries in local politics, in colonization, and their impact on the transformation or destruction of material culture and Indigenous practices.[102] One telling example is that of Rao, one of the gods worshipped in the Gambier Islands (Figure 2.8). The sculpture was collected in 1836 by the Picpus Fathers, and sent to France by Father Caret as a symbol of victory over paganism while many more sacred objects and sanctuaries had been destroyed, undocumented.[103] There is little doubt that as 'god of debauchery', Rao was provided with a prominent penis – the traces of which still survive today – but the offending member may have been removed through missionary intervention, prior to being shipped, or on reception in France. Even as material examples of eradicated Indigenous practice, objects sometimes needed to be 'edited out' to be received by a French audience. At the other end of the spectrum, missionaries sometimes engaged with more ethnographic concerns, including the documentation of Indigenous cultures or linguistics.[104] In the twentieth century, Maurice Leenhardt in New Caledonia and Father Patrick O'Reilly in the Northern Solomon Islands made invaluable contributions to the field of ethnography, and to the interpretation of museum collections.

Institutional chaos and the neglect of ethnographic collections

The Revolution led to a complete reconfiguration of all forms of institutions in France. The objects and collections seized by the Revolutionaries formed an enormous resource placed in the care of the people, for which institutions needed to be reshaped or created. Changes

of political regimes throughout the nineteenth century – the First Republic (1792-1804), the First Empire under Napoleon Bonaparte (1804-1814/15), the Bourbon Restoration (1814/15-1830), the July Monarchy (1830-1848), the Second Republic (1848-1852), the Second Empire under Napoleon III (1852-1870) – prevented the establishment of permanent and maintained repositories for French ethnographic collections. From one political power to the next, these collections were made mobile, their significance and interpretation shadowed and stretched, often awkwardly, to fit within cultural frameworks that were created for other artistic, cultural or political purposes.

Following the establishment of the Archives Nationales (National Archives) in 1790, the Bibliothèque Royale (Royal Library) became Bibliothèque Nationale (National Library, 1792) and the Cabinet et Jardin du Roi was reconfigured as the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle (1793) which continued the tradition of exhibiting exotic objects alongside natural history. This was short-lived: an important part of the ethnographic collections of the Muséum was transferred to the Cabinet des Médailles at the Bibliothèque Nationale while others were sent to the newly established Muséum des Antiques (Museum of Antiques) in 1795.[105] Bringing together historic ethnographic objects and antiques in an almost comparative method, the Muséum des Antiques was unique and innovative – perhaps too innovative – for the project was abandoned a few months after its creation.[106]

While Pacific collections where not provided with adequate cultural institutions in the public sphere, they remained popular in private circles. The most compelling example was that of Dominique Vivant Denon, a shrewd diplomat who cleverly and safely manoeuvred his way through successive political powers. Three years after joining General Bonaparte during the Egypt Campaign (1798-99), he was offered the direction of the Musée Central des Arts (Central Art Museum, now known as Musée du Louvre). A discerning collector of art, his cabinet contained a number of objects from the 'new' worlds, including pieces from the Pacific (Figure 2.9). However, despite his personal interest and his professional position, Denon did not support the exhibition of Pacific material at the Louvre. His collection remained confined to his private home.

With the Bourbon Restoration and the multiplication of new campaigns of exploration (see above) came a first opportunity for Pacific objects to enter the Louvre. Founded in late 1827, the 'Musée Dauphin' was effectively a maritime museum displaying model boats, navigational instruments and exotic material, all arranged around a large memorial to La Pérouse. The collections, arranged by curator Pierre Amédée Zédée, brought together ethnographic collections from Paris and the provinces and gifts from expedition members (Figure 2.10).[107] The Museum did not open to the public until 1830. By that stage, several inventories had been conducted, but failed to provide an accurate or reliable list of what was actually exhibited in the galleries. Interestingly, the original mission of the museum – to display some historic collections and provide a home for artefacts brought back as part of new exploratory expeditions – had already been stretched. Objects acquired on the private market, with little or no contextual information, were joining collections formed as parts of coherent scientific endeavours. This included some Pacific material previously kept in the cabinet of Denon and sold at auction after his death in 1826.[108] Soon, the institution started receiving collections made during the early period of colonization. Sometimes demonstrating veritable clashes of cultural encounters, they were unlikely to have been displayed or labelled

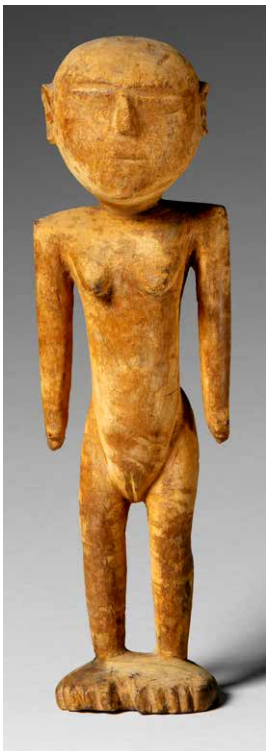


Figure 2.9 (left). Wooden female figure from Tonga, possibly a deity. Collection history unknown. Previously in the collection of Dominique Vivant Denon, probably on display at the Musée Naval du Louvre, later transferred to the Musée des Antiquités Nationales in Saint-Germain-en-Laye and Musée National des Arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie. 36.8 cm. Paris, Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac (72.56.127). Photo © Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Patric Gries.

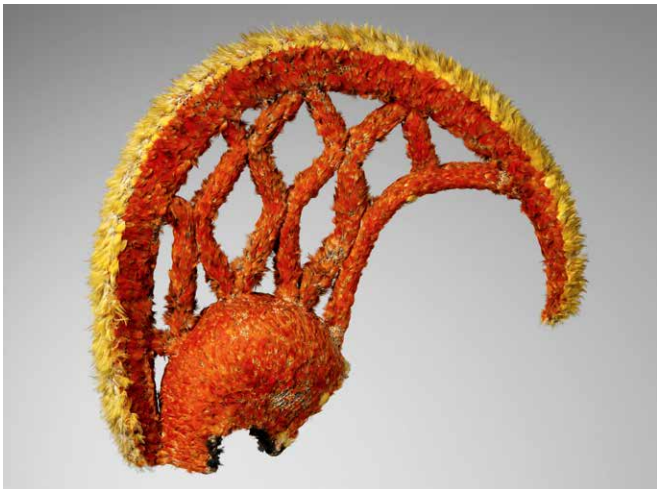


Figure 2.10 (above, right). Mahiole (headdress) from Hawai'i, collected by Louis Le Goarant de Tromelin in 1828. Previously in the collections of the Musée de Marine du Louvre and Musée de l'Homme. 71x 20 x 59 cm. Paris, Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac (71.1909.19.1 Oc D). Photo © Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chiract, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Patrick Gries / Bruno Descoings.

Figure 2.11. Object exhibited at the Musée de Marine du Louvre and Musée de l'Homme. Paris. 43 cm. Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac (71.1909.19.89 Oc D). Photo © Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / image Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac.

as such (Figure 2.11). The Museum was quite widely supported and was perceived by many as a commendable step towards the foundation of a comprehensive ethnographic collection.[109] To others, however, the collections failed to convey much about the peoples or the lands they originated from. Concomitant to the creation of the Musée Dauphin was the pledge of Edme-François Jomard (1777-1862), a geographer who, like Denon, took part in the Egypt Campaign of 1798, working alongside Champollion on the recording of hieroglyphs. In 1828, he created and curated the Department of Maps and Plans at the Bibliothèque Royale (the name of the Bibliothèque Nationale during the Bourbon Restauration), soon advocating the incorporation of ethnographic material within the science of geography, and their reunion at the Bibliothèque, under his care. Organized typologically and then geographically, the displays would allow the comparison of various parts of the world, provide a valuable teaching tool and contribute to the study of Man. Jomard deplored the neglect of the collections as well as their absence in defining and advancing sciences, in particular that of geography.[110] It would take another 40 years for his vision to be partially realized.

New endeavours: colonization, collections and the chaos of disciplines (1830s – 1930s)

The French colonization of the Pacific

The geo-cultural division of the Pacific outlined by Dumont d'Urville in 1832 was not conceived as a justification for colonial expansion. With the exception of New Zealand, D'Urville himself believed that the Pacific Islands had little to offer France, in addition to being too scattered and too far away.[111] The fall of the Bourbons and the establishment of the July Monarchy (1830-1848), a government led by the wealthy French bourgeoisie, brought a different attitude to the Pacific. Dumont d'Urville's second expedition was the last expedition solely built on a scientific and exploratory agenda. Louis Philippe, the new King, had surrounded himself with merchants and bankers, and brought mercantile interests to the forefront of the nation. The Pacific was a strategic place in terms of trade, a place where the British Empire seemed increasingly present.

The implementation of a French colonial presence in the Pacific was motivated by a number of factors. Since the Revolution, France had been so shaken by unstable political powers and abrupt changes in governance that it had neglected the development of its commercial enterprises outside the geographical boundaries of its territory. British and American vessels had by then successfully developed strong and lucrative trading networks in the Pacific, in particular in relation to sandalwood and whaling. France knew it was missing out through the reports of privately funded voyages such as the one led by Camille de Roquefeuil between 1816 and 1819, who investigated the commerce of fur and sandalwood.[112] Diplomatic missions, like that undertaken by Le Goarant de Tromelin on the *Bayonnaise* between 1826 and 1829 (see Figure 2.10), had been too few and far between to make France's presence felt and respected in the Pacific.[113] In order to protect the commercial interests of France and put an end to what was seen as a threat of a possible Anglo-Saxon dominance on the Pacific, several officers recommended that a naval station was established, from where ships could keep an eye on who was navigating the Pacific and why. The station was also to see to the fair

treatment of French citizens established on the Islands. Pressure for a better monitoring of the Pacific was also linked to the many complaints lodged by Catholic missionaries in Hawai'i and the Society Islands where tensions with protestant missionaries had recently escalated and culminated with the Pritchard affair (see above). In addition, France was also keen to find a territory that could host a large penitentiary institution, not unlike the model established by the British in Australia.

The voyage that best encapsulates the transforming French perspectives on the Pacific was that of Abel Dupetit Thouars (1793-1864), who undertook a circumnavigation on the *Vénus* in 1836. The instructions provided by Claude du Campe de Rosamel, Minister for the Navy and the Colonies, clearly emphasized the commercial aim of the expedition and urged Dupetit Thouars to gather information on whaling and other activities that France believed could benefit its economy. While there was no imposed scientific agenda, Rosamel did acknowledge the importance of collecting and advised the Captain to encourage his crew to do so.[114] Large collections from the Eastern Pacific were indeed made and can now be found in Boulogne-sur-Mer (Château-Musée, Dupetit Thouars and Rosamel collections), Bordeaux (Musée d'Aquitaine, Edouard Bonie collection) and Paris (Musée du quai Branly, Dupetit Thouars collection). Upon his return, Dupetit Thouars advised the French government to occupy the Marquesas and the Society Islands and use the latter for deportation of its prisoners. In 1841, he was promoted to Rear Admiral and placed at the head of the newly created Pacific Naval Division.

Dupetit Thouars took command of the *Reine-Blanche* and, as planned, occupied the Marquesas Islands in 1842, placing them under French protectorate. However, he acted beyond his brief, forcing Queen Pōmare IV to sign the documents granting the status of French protectorate to the Windwards Islands (known in French as 'Îles du Vent' – Tahiti, Moorea, Maiao, Mehetia, Tetiaroa) and Tubuai and Raivavae (in the Austral Islands) over which she had authority. Faced with the Queen's contestation of the protectorate, Dupetit Thouars, acting of his own accord, formally took possession of the islands in the name of France in 1843, leading to a period of great tension known as the Franco-Tahitian war (1844-1846). Queen Pōmare IV, opposing the extreme actions of France, fled to the Leeward Islands, only returning home in 1847, after Louis Philippe revoked the annexation of the Windward Islands and returned them to their status of protectorate. These actions caused distress locally of course, but also encountered objections in France: journalist and protestant evangelist Henri Lutteroth voiced his opposition to the colonial plans as early as 1843.[115] The Minister for colonies himself, Jacques Arago, publicly condemned the actions undertaken by France in the Pacific, opening one of his books with the following words: 'they say: this conquest is a national glory. Do not believe it.'[116] Victor Hugo too fiercely combatted the transformation of the Marquesas Islands into a place of deportation.[117] Following the establishment of the protectorate, a small contingent of administrators and military men settled on the islands, conducting missions of surveillance and preparing the ground for the implementation of French administration. Throughout the 1840s and 1850s, corvettes such as *le Rhin*, commanded by Bérard – who had travelled to the Pacific on Freycinet's and Duperrey's expeditions – not only fulfilled their military mission, they also provided an opportunity to enrich the nation's museum collections (Figure 2.12). For the first time, French presence in the

Figure 2.12. A carved bamboo and two pu ihu nose flutes from the Marquesas Islands, collected by Louis Arnoux, surgeon on the corvette le Rhin. The ship visited the Marquesas Islands between the 10 and 15 December 1844. 46.7 cm, 48.8 cm & 33.5 cm. Grenoble, Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle (from top to bottom: ET.410.3, ET.410.2 & ET.410.1). © Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle de Grenoble.

Marquesas and the Windward Islands was sustained and, although it was a source of tension, it also provided opportunities for new kind of relationships to develop between Islanders and visitors. In 1843, Pierre-Adolphe Lesson – who had already travelled to the Pacific with Dumont d'Urville – became head of medical operation in the Marquesas and Windward Islands. Over six years, he devised and implemented a health system for the benefit of Islanders and colonial officers, but also dedicated much of his time to conducting ethnographic research and forming collections, many of which can now be found in Rochefort and Paris.[118] Lesson developed strong personal ties to the entourage of Queen Pōmare IV from whom he received a name, 'Reto', and a number of gifts, including two tapa cloths, both marked 'Reto' (Figure 2.13).[119]

In the Eastern Pacific, the Tuamotu, Windward Islands, Tubuai and Raivavae were placed under French protectorate in 1842 and formally annexed in 1880. The status of protectorate given to the Gambier Islands (1844) and Rapa (1867) was turned into that of a colony in 1881. The Leewards Islands (known in French as 'Îles Sous-le-Vent': Ra'iātea, Huahine, Tahaa, Bora Bora, Tupai, Maupiti, Manuae, Maupihaa and Motu One) had been protected by an agreement between the French and the British known as the Jarnac Convention in 1847, stipulating that the kingdoms of Ra'iātea, Huahine and Bora Bora would retain their independence. The agreement was violated by France who annexed the islands in 1888, leading to the Ra'iātea War (1888-1897). Rurutu and Rimatara in the Austral Islands became protectorates in 1889 and were only formally annexed in 1900 and 1901 respectively.[120] In the Western Pacific, Wallis (locally known as Uvea) and Futuna were the only islands not formerly annexed by France in the nineteenth century, only becoming a Territoire d'Outre-Mer (TOM) in 1961 by referendum, two years after the French administration settled in the islands.

Under Napoleon III (Second Empire, 1852-1870), France was still on the lookout for a new penal colony. Sent to New Caledonia in 1850, the corvette *Alcmène* was tasked to investigate the potential of the islands in providing a safe and distant solution to France's criminal problem. The murder of several crew members prompted

Figure 2.13. Detail of a ahu (barkcloth) from Tahiti, marked with 'Reto'. Given to Pierre-Adolphe Lesson by Queen Pōmare IV's entourage during his residency in the Society Islands in the 1840s. 170 x 128 cm. Rochefort, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire (E 22-162). Photo credits: musées-municipaux Rochefort 17, alienor.org Conseil des Musées P.E. Laurent.

Napoleon to order the annexation of the islands undertaken by the contre-amiral Febvrier-Despointes, in September 1853, in an official ceremony held in Balade and a few days later on the Ile des Pins. For the best part of two decades, military forces and administrators dedicated their time to the establishment of Port-de-France (now known as Nouméa) and the development of the penitentiary infrastructure active from 1864 (Figure 2.14). The colonial demand for land increased as the first prisoners and French citizens attracted by the prospect of successful commercial endeavours centred on gold, cotton or coffee settled on the island. Gradually, land was alienated from their original Kanak owners whose political powers became increasingly limited under the new regime. Indigenous contestation was strong and brutally repressed by the colonists. Carved bamboos from the colonial era testify to the violence and ubiquity of French military forces in New Caledonia. One of the most successful and remembered attempts to oppose the French Regime was the insurrection led in 1878 by Ataï, high chief of Komalé.[121] Killed and beheaded by an alliance between the French and other Kanak clans, his head was seized, studied and exhibited in various institutions in Paris before being returned to New Caledonia in September 2014 where it now rests with its clan.[122] The intensity of tensions between Kanak and colonists led to greater political

Figure 2.14. Installations de la colonie pénitentiaire. Au premier plan la tribu des révoltés de 1878'. Photograph by Allan Hughan (1834–1883), May 1874, La Foa, New Caledonia. Paris, Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac (PP0022532). Photo © Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / image Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac.

rigidity and a further loss of status for the Kanak clans. Far from protecting Indigenous rights and 'coutume', the Indigenous code drafted in 1874 and implemented in 1887 made Kanaks French subjects with few rights and no voice and ultimately led to their confinement in reserves from 1897. A different approach was taken in Vanuatu where a handful of French citizens had settled from the mid-nineteenth century. While France had no clear intention to formally annex the archipelago, the fear of a German colonial expansion in the Pacific led France and Great Britain to form a joint naval commission to protect their citizens in 1887. In 1906, the agreement was formally realized into the British-French Condominium, creating a unique form of joint administration in the Pacific which provided further protection to settlers but hardly took into account the rights and chiefly powers of Indigenous groups.[123]

The slow awakening of ethnographic collections

Ethnographic collections remain largely ignored and dispersed between the 1830s and 1880s, perhaps as a result of being unclaimed by any established or emergent academic disciplines. Founded in 1839, the Société ethnologique de Paris brought together linguists, geographers and a number of learned amateurs to research the variations of human races and the 'nations' of the world,[124] but did not survive long after the fall of the July Monarchy in 1848. A decade later, the eminent physician Paul Broca created

the Société d'Anthropologie de Paris. Driven by an interest in the natural history of Man, the society's activities were centred on issues of physical anthropology and made little case of material culture or ethnographic museum collections. In 1866, the first international congress of anthropology and archaeology redefined the contours of the discipline -anthropology becomes a host for a number of sub-disciplines, including those of ethnology and ethnography.[125] This rearticulated branch of sciences formed the core of the teaching of the École d'Anthropologie from 1876.

In 1850, a new annex was created to the Musée Naval at the Louvre. The 'Musée Ethnographique' (Ethnographic Museum) brought together objects from Africa, Asia, Oceania and the Americas. Poorly curated, the museum failed its original mission to exhibit collections following a geographical classification and was heavily criticized for its fanciful displays and sometimes misleading labelling.[126] By 1871, it was felt that naval and ethnographic collections were occupying space that could be used for other material better suited to the Louvre and that the collections should be transferred to other museums. Despite the disapproval of the department's curator, Admiral François-Edmond Pâris, who had travelled to the Pacific on Dumont d'Urville's expeditions, the maritime and ethnographic galleries of the Louvre gradually fell into oblivion.

In Paris in 1878, the Exposition Universelle (Universal Exhibition) promoted both scientific and colonial endeavours through the displays organized at the Palais de l'Exposition (Palace of the Exhibition) on the Champ de Mars, and those of the Musée Ethnographique des Missions Scientifiques (Ethnographic Museum of Scientific Missions) in the Palais du Trocadéro. The exhibition was a success and marked a turn for French ethnographic collections, triggering the foundation of a permanent institution known as 'Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro', opened in 1882. Under the direction of Ernest-Théodore Hamy (1842-1908), the Museum endeavoured to collate the widely dispersed collections housed in Paris and beyond to bring light on peoples and cultures through material productions, realizing and implementing many of the recommendations outlined by Jomard in the 1830s. While the collections were modest in size at its foundation, they were soon augmented by transfers from the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Société de Géographie (Geographical Society) and became the official repository for many colonial administrators, explorers and scientists upon their return home (Figure 2.15). Interestingly, although the transfer of the ethnographic collections kept at the Louvre to the Trocadéro was discussed as early as 1879, the project was quickly abandoned.[127] In the early years of the twentieth century, transfer was again proposed but no longer exclusively in favour of the Trocadéro. Some collections made their way to the newly founded Musée des Antiquités Nationales (Museum of National Antiquities, now Musée d'Archéologie Nationale, Museum of National Archaeology) in Saint-Germain-en-Laye where they served a comparative purpose while others were deposited in provincial museums. Among the most iconic is the large statue brought back from Mangareva by Dumont d'Urville in 1838, on deposit at the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle et d'Ethnographie in La Rochelle since 1923 (Figure 2.16). Despite its original public success in 1878, the Trocadéro failed to thrive. The building, which was not built to last, was unsuited to the long-term exhibition and care of fragile collections. Lack of funds hindered work and prompted the closure of the Oceanic galleries between 1889 and 1910. Visitors, including artists from the French avant-

Figure 2.15. Photograph of one of the Pacific displays at the Musée du Trocadéro by Jorrand. Possibly late 19th century. Marseille, MuCEM, Musée des Civilisations de l'Europe et de la Méditerranée (1943.79.8). Photo © MuCEM, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / image MuCEM.

Figure 2.16. Wooden figure of Teriapatura, son of Oro from Mangareva, Gambier Islands. Given to Jules Dumont d'Urville by Father Cyprien Liausu on 9 August 1838. Deposit from the Musée Naval du Louvre in 1923. 108 cm. Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle de La Rochelle (D2008.0.9 / H.498). © Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle de La Rochelle / Romain Vincent.

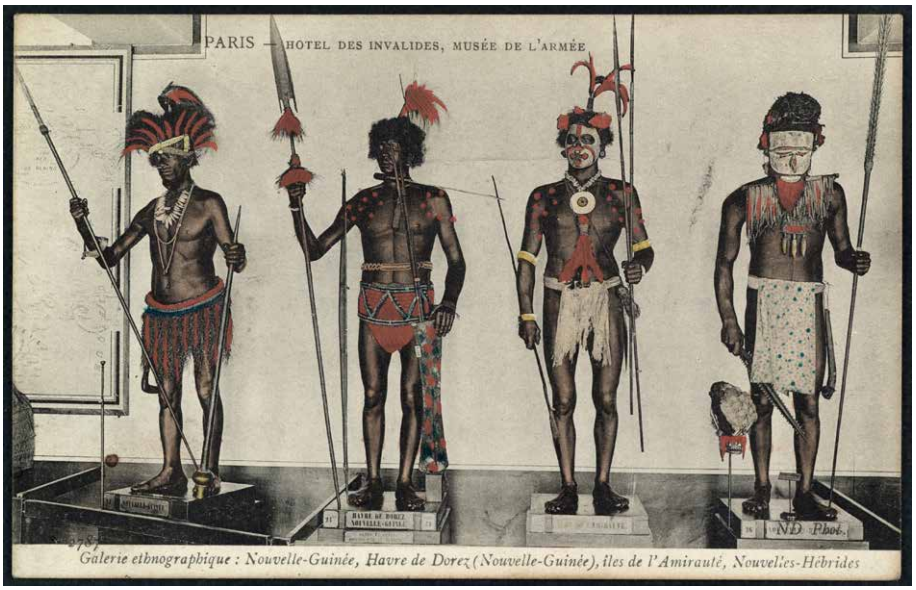


Figure 2.17. 'Vue de la Galerie Ethnographique (1877-1917) du Musée de l'Armée', depicting warriors from New Guinea, the Admiralty Islands and Vanuatu, c.1905–1910. Photograph by Neurdein & Cie. Paris, Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac (PP0149505). Photo © Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / image Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac.

Figure 2.18. Tahi poniu breast ornament from the Marquesas Islands, made of wood, seeds (Abrus precatorius), barkcloth and hibiscus fibre. The Museum's documentation records the ornament as 'tahi põniu' and 'taki poõniu'. Previously in the collections of Alphonse Moillet acquired in 1851. 24.5 x 10 cm. Lille, Musée d'Histoire Naturelle (Inv. 990.2.2692). © Musée d'Histoire Naturelle de Lille/reproduction Philip Bernard.

garde such as Picasso in 1907, noted: 'the smell of dampness and rot there stuck in my throat. It depressed me so much I wanted to get out fast'.[128] Hamy worked hard to give collections the scientific and disciplinary echo he thought they deserved. A member of the Société d'Anthropologie de Paris and colleague of Paul Broca in the laboratoire d'anthropologie at the École Pratique des Hautes Études, he had also been employed as an assistant naturalist at the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle. He resigned from his post in 1906. His scientific vision and his attempt to strengthen the ties between anthropology, ethnology and ethnography were to be continued and furthered by one of his successors, Paul Rivet, from 1928.

Almost concomitant to the foundation of the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro was the creation of the ethnographic gallery at the Musée d'Artillerie (Artillery Museum, now known as Musée de l'Armée – Army Museum), which contained 17 mannequins representing warriors from Oceania, with varying degrees of accuracy (Figure 2.17).[129] Their costumes and weapons drew on collections transferred to the Musée d'Artillerie from the Bibliothèque Nationale, some of which originally may have included material from aristocratic cabinets and royal collections seized during the Revolution. Those were complemented by gifts and purchases. Partly dismantled in 1917, a number of the Pacific mannequins and their accoutrement were sent to the Trocadéro where many objects, neglected, lost their previous institutional affiliation.

In the provinces, ethnographic collections were also gaining visibility. In the first decades of the nineteenth century, many museums were created at the demand of local learned societies and hosted in unsuited public buildings. In Boulogne-sur-Mer, the Museum was created by the Society for Agriculture, Commerce and the Arts in 1825 and included the large private collection formed in England by Alexandre Leroi de Barde, which may have included some Pacific material from the Leverian Museum (see Thomas, this volume).[130] In Lille, the collections of Auguste Moillet were acquired by the city in 1850 with support from the Society of Sciences, Agriculture and Arts of Lille, thus forming the core of an ethnographic museum (Figure 2.18).[131]

Too expensive to run, most of these small and very specialized museums were soon amalgamated into larger institutions, often those of natural sciences. In Toulouse, the collections made by Gaston de Roquemaurel during Dumont d'Urville's second voyage were first housed by the Musée des Augustins, an art museum created shortly after the French Revolution, before being transferred to the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle in 1922. In Perpignan, a small Polynesian collection probably partly connected to the Admiral Dupetit Thouars forms the basis of the ethnological collections of the newly founded Musée (later 'Muséum') d'Histoire Naturelle in 1845,[132] slowly augmented with Kanak collections formed by colonial administrators and transported political prisoners.[133] In Grenoble, the ethnographic collections were housed in the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle from 1851. With the exception of part of the collections formed and donated by Louis Tardy de Montravel, an officer under Dumont d'Urville between 1837 and 1840, most of the objects were collected during the colonial implementation of France in the Pacific.[134] Particularly worthy of note is the collection made by Louis Arnoux, surgeon on the corvette *le Rhin* (1842-1846) under Captain Auguste Bérard – whose collections are under the care of the University of Montpellier II and Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle et d'Ethnographie in La Rochelle. Although part of the collections

Figure 2.19. Barkcloth of the salatasi type, collected in Futuna by Louis Arnoux, surgeon on the corvette le Rhin. The ship spent a day in Futuna on 4 July 1845. 220 x 210 cm. Grenoble, Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle (ET.420.1). © Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle de Grenoble.

in Grenoble were stolen in 1981,[135] the Museum retains objects from a number of places visited by Arnoux, including New Zealand, the Marquesas Islands, Tahiti, Tonga, Uvea, Futuna (Figure 2.19), and New Caledonia. Many other Pacific collections in France follow a similar pattern whereby small Pacific collections were incorporated into larger often pluri-disciplinary cultural structures.

A worthy exception is that of the Muséum in La Rochelle, whose Pacific collections are the second largest in the Metropole. Open towards the Atlantic and at the centre of many scientific, commercial and colonial enterprises, La Rochelle boasted two Museums of Natural History by the late 1830s: the Muséum Lafaille (opened in 1832 and centred around the eighteenth century cabinet of Clément Lafaille) and the Muséum Fleuriau (opened in 1835 to house regional collections) shared the same site.[136] Both museums were reinvented as one institution under the directorship of Étienne Loppé (1883-1954), a medical doctor who transformed the collections through

his wide network and proactive attitude. His passion for ethnographic objects led him to develop the collections locally, connecting with the families of crew members who travelled to the Pacific or smaller institutions, notably in Rochefort, enriching the collections of many significant historical pieces collected between the 1840s and 1880s. Nationally and internationally, his network allowed him to conduct exchanges with a number of museums in Marseille, Nantes or further afield with the University of Cambridge, as well as tap into the ethnographic markets of France (Heymann), Germany (Umlauff) or Britain (Oldman) which enriched the Museum's collections as well as his own. His friendship with Dr Stephen Chauvet, a celebrated physician and discerning private collector navigating the Parisian intellectual and artistic circles, led to the donation of some of Chauvet's collection and through him, the acquisition of objects collected during Festetics de Tolna's eight-year honeymoon in the Pacific.[137] The Muséum in La Rochelle stands as an oddity in the French museum landscape of the time – a small institution navigating networks similar to those mobilized at national level, mainly through the impetus and acumen of its curator.[138]

As France secured colonies throughout the world, colonial exhibitions became a way to promote the expansionist policies of the government and highlight what it considered to be their benefit to the nation. Much remains to be done to reconstruct the scope and impact of these exhibitions, in particular those developed outside of the capital. There is little doubt, however, that through the artificial staging of the 'other', the careful selection of the material productions and the crafting of a patriotic and patronizing discourse, these exhibitions shaped the way in which the general public engaged with the Pacific. Dozens of exhibitions of varying scale were held throughout France,[139] some leading to the establishment of dedicated museums, others complementing collections of existing institutions. In Marseille for example, the colonial exhibitions held in 1906 and 1922 led to the opening of the colonial museum, supported by the Société coloniale de Marseille – a private institution – in 1935. The core of its collections were later transferred to the Musée des Arts Africains, Océanien et Amérindiens (Museum of African, Oceanic and the American Indian Arts) at the Vieille Charité.[140]

Ethnographic collections at the forefront of the artistic avant-garde

Gauguin is usually remembered as the first visual artist to engage with the Pacific. Interestingly, his practice was not mediated by museum objects but shaped by his life in French Polynesia and his intimacy with the people and the land (Figure 2.20)[141]. His experience of the Pacific – written, painted and carved – inspired several generations of artists and opened the door to previously unexplored modes of representations in European arts. In France, material culture gradually became the cornerstone of new visual and intellectual experimentations.[142] Fauvist and Cubist artists such as Henri Matisse, Aristide Maillol, Maurice de Vlaminck and André Derain were quick to see the potential of ethnographic material in challenging and redefining the codes and practices of art. Pablo Picasso's radical artistic transformation brought a new kind of attention to ethnographic collections, new kinds of visitors and critics to museums and a new kind of market for exotic objects. What is often referred to as 'Art Nègre' (Negro Art, encompassing both African and Oceanic art) was born and with it, a new commercial opportunity. The somewhat sluggish market for ethnographic curiosities,

Figure 2.20. Paul Gauguin, cup of tamanu wood (Calophyllum inophyllum) carved c. 1891. Previously in the collection art dealer Ambroise Vollard, then incorporated to the collections of the Musée de la France d'Outre-Mer in 1943 and transferred to the Musée d'Orsay in 1986. 44 x 26.5 cm. Paris, Musée d'Orsay (AF14329-3). Photo © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée d'Orsay) / Franck Raux.

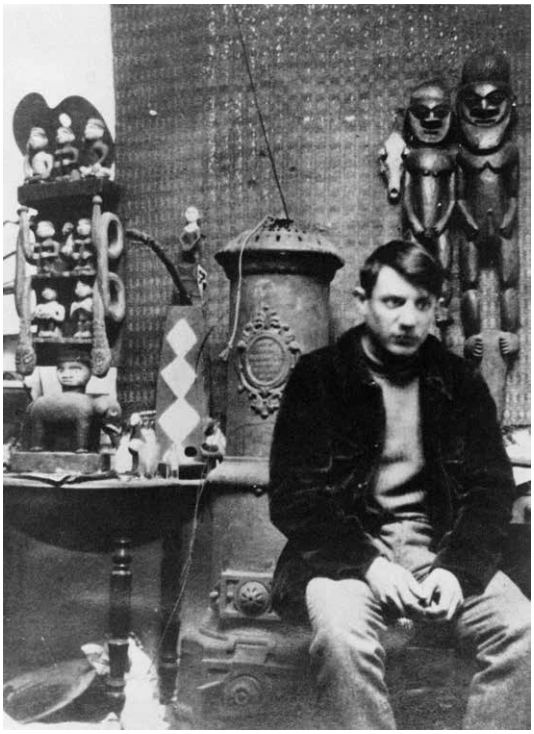


Figure 2.21 (left). Pablo Picasso dans l'atelier du Bateau-Lavoir, en 1908. Photographed by Gelett Burgess and published in an article entitled 'The Wild Men of Paris' in Architectural Record, 5 May 1910. Paris, Musée Picasso (ARCREC1910). Photo © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée national Picasso-Paris) / Madeleine Coursaget.

Figure 2.22 (right). Simone Breton-Kahn, photographed by Man Ray, c.1926. © Man Ray Trust / ADAGP - DACS / Telimage – 2018.

Figure 2.23. Small wooden sculpture from the Middle-Sepik, probably a flute finial, depicting an ancestral being and decorated with plant fibre, shell and lime. Previously in the collection of André Breton and exhibited at the Centre Pompidou as part of the recreation of the 'wall' from Breton's apartment rue Fontaine in Paris. 27.3 cm. Paris, Centre Pompidou - Musée National d'Art Moderne - Centre de Création Industrielle (AM2003-3 (174)). Photo © Centre Pompidou, MNAM-CCI, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Jean Claude Planchet.

dominated in Paris by Emile Heymann and Antony Innocent Moris, found a new clientele. Objects from the Pacific Islands sat hand in hand with the paintings, sculptures and installations they intellectually fed in the studios and galleries of artists, dealers and collectors such as Paul Guillaume, Ambroise Vollard and Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, among others (Figure 2.21).[143] This market, facilitated and nourished by the colonial activities of the country, created a distinctive trend, in which objects' Indigenous and scholarly biographies were eclipsed by the formal qualities and artistic fame or influence of their European owners. The newly gained visibility of Pacific and African artefacts offered movements such as Dadaism or Surrealism alternative ways of engaging with and representing the world (see Figure 5.17 and Figure 2.22). While Polynesian art seemed to have crystallized most of the attention prior to the First World War, Melanesian artefacts became a major source of inspiration and artistic enquiry in the inter-war period. Far from copying or borrowing foreign modes of expressions, artists used collections as springboards to free themselves from conventional and academic modes of expression and push the formal and visual potential of their work into uncharted territories. High demand for 'exotic' material led to the rapid development of a market in which the boundaries between artists, collectors and dealers had become permeable. Although many Pacific objects were entering private spheres (Figure 2.23), they also gained more visibility with the multiplication of exhibitions in private galleries,[144] and some were even incorporated into exhibitions held in public institutions: Charles Ratton, a major figure of the primitive art scene and market, contributed to the 1931 *Exposition ethnographique des*

Colonies Françaises at the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro and collector Stephen Chauvet sold and sometimes presented artefacts to museums in Paris and beyond.

A new landscape for ethnographic collections: 1930-2010s

Ethnographic collections at a new pace (1930s – 1960s)

After the resignation of Hamy in 1906, the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro struggled to find its audience or develop a dynamic strategy to highlight its collections under the directorship of René Verneau. In 1913, French sociologist and anthropologist Marcel Mauss described it as 'a Museum without light, without iron cases, without invigilators, without a catalogue, and even without a continuous inventory, without fixed labels, without a decent library'.[145] The arrival of Paul Rivet (1876-1958) at the Museum in 1928 marked the beginning of new era. Originally trained as a physician, he had conducted research in Ecuador and subsequently took a position at the National Museum of Natural History. His academic interest led him to participate in the foundation of the Institute of Ethnology in 1926, where he taught with Marcel Mauss. With the help of George Henri Rivière (1897-1985), the forefather of French museology, Rivet developed an ambitious programme of exhibitions – over 70 in ten years (Figure 2.24). He also supported a number of ethnographic missions whose large collections of objects and photographs often came to enrich the Trocadéro's collections. This was certainly the case for the linguistic and ethnographic Franco-Belgian mission to Easter Island in 1934-1935,[146] and the privately funded expedition of *La Korrigane*, a part-scientific part-cruise mission privately funded by its wealthy participants Étienne and Monique de Ganay, Régine and Charles van den Broek d'Obrenan and Jean Ratisbonne. Between 1934 and 1936, they travelled the Pacific, visiting the Marquesas, Society and Cook Islands as well as New Zealand, Fiji, New Caledonia, Vanuatu (Figure 2.25), Solomon Islands, New Britain, Admiralty Islands and New Guinea. Their short visits to each archipelago nonetheless led to the collection of over 2,000 objects and the production of numerous photographs and drawings, many of which found their way to the Musée du Trocadéro – then in transition to be reborn as the Musée de l'Homme (Museum of Man) – where they were exhibited in 1938.[147]

In 1931, as the Trocadéro was finding its feet and redefining its goals for the future, Paris saw the birth of the Musée des Colonies (Museum of the Colonies). The museum was a central element of the Colonial Exhibition held in Paris at the Porte Dorée near Vincennes between 6 May and 15 November 1931. The exhibition was a popular success, attracting around 8 million visitors. It was also a highly controversial event, with a strong political agenda highlighting the necessity of France's colonial presences throughout the world and promoting its positive economic and social impact. The message was fiercely opposed by the communist party but also by the Surrealists through a series of pamphlets and a counter-exhibition denunciating the realities of colonialism. While these actions had limited echo, they nonetheless encapsulated a real questioning of the legitimacy of the colonizing 'mission' of France and of its physical and theatricalized manifestation. Described by André Breton in 'Ne visitez pas l'exposition coloniale' ('Don't visit the colonial exhibition') as the 'Luna Park' of Vincennes, the exhibition recreated Indigenous villages where people were instructed

Figure 2.24 (left). Raymond Gid, poster of the Exposition Ethnographique des Colonies Françaises. The exhibition opened at the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro on 29 May 1931. 59.7 x 40 cm. Paris, Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle (AFF/MH/6). © Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle / ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London 2018.

Figure 2.25 (right). Wooden male figure 'Trrou Körrou' known as 'l'homme bleu', from Sanakas village, Malo, Vanuatu. Collected in 1935 during the expedition of La Korrigane. 300 cm. Paris, Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac, (71.1938.42.8). Photo © Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Hugues Dubois.

to give an image of daily savage life. The Kanak village and the spectacle created around it and its inhabitants have been at the centre of recent research denunciating the dehumanization and misinformation generated by these human zoos.[148]

Built by architect Albert Laprade, the Musée des Colonies was conceived as a memorialization of France's colonial ambitions and realizations, which unfolded on the carved tapestry of the façade designed by Alfred Janniot and on the frescoes of Pierre Ducos de La Halle inside. After the exhibition, in 1935, the museum was

Figure 2.26. Headdress depicting Nevimbubao and his son Sasndaliep, from Malakula, Vanuatu. Previously in the Austin collection, exhibited at the Pavilion of New Caledonia and its dependencies during the 1931 colonial exhibition, then incorporated into the collections of the Musée de la France d'Outre-Mer, later Musée National des Arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie. 77 x 44 x 40 cm. Paris, Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac (72.1931.1.10). Photo © Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Patrick Gries.

renamed 'Musée de la France d'Outre-mer' (Museum of French Overseas Territories) and given the mission to educate about France's colonial history and the economic, social and artistic development of the colonies. Its collections originated from the 1931 colonial exhibition (Figures 2.26 and 2.27) gradually augmented by subsequent exhibitions, and private donations. Under the impulsion of André Malraux, novelist and France's first Minister of Cultural Affairs between 1959 and 1969, the museum gradually developed an approach distinctive from that implemented at the Musée de l'Homme, emphasizing the artistic value of Pacific and African collections, a direction

Figure 2.27. Oceania gallery at the Musée de la France d'Outre-Mer. Photographed by Studio Lemesle between 1930 and 1950. 13.5 x 18 cm. Paris, Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac (PP0131190). Photo © Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / image Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac.

memorialized in a new name adopted in 1960: Musée des Arts Africains et Océaniens (Museum of African and Oceanic arts).

The Musée de l'Homme was created in 1937 for the International Exhibition of Art and Technology in Modern Life, in the newly built Palais de Chaillot, bringing together the historic collections of the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro and the collections of physical anthropology and prehistory of the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle (Figures 2.28 and 2.29). Engaging with the Sciences of Man, the new structure transcended traditional cultural set-ups by including a research laboratory and a large library and by acting as a teaching centre, realizing Rivet's vision of a 'laboratory-museum' carried forward today in its most recent incarnation.[149]

While Parisian collections were finally given pride of place in two different institutions, museums in the provinces (with a few exceptions) were suffering great neglect. In 1913, Mauss was already concerned with how little was known and published about these collections compared with provincial collections in Britain or Germany.[150] Thirty years later Marie-Charlotte Laroche, ethnologist in charge of the Pacific collections at the Musée de l'Homme during the war, reminded the community of the status quo and urgently called for the creation of an index of material culture under the care of the Musée de l'Homme, based on professional, consistent and documented inventories in provincial museums.[151] By then, museums in Brest, Caen

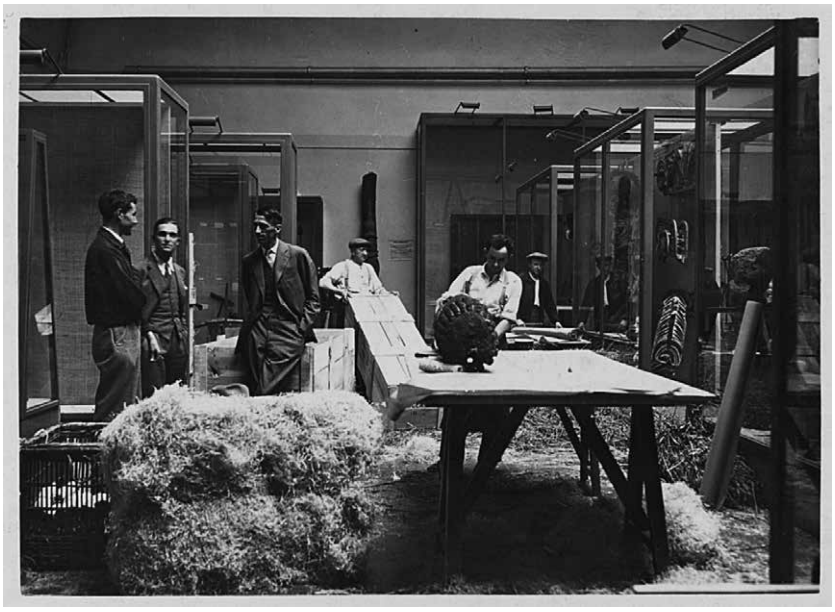


Figure 2.28. The Pacific collections from the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro are packed up by George Henri Rivière and his team prior in preparation for the development of the Musée de l'Homme. Photographer unknown, 6 August 1935. Paris, Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac (PP00001228). Photo © Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / image Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac.

Figure 2.29. A view of the Pacific gallery at the Musée de l'Homme. Photographer unknown, 1947. From the collections of the Éclair Mondial Agence de Presse. Paris, Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac (PF0026183). Photo © Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / image Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac.

Figure 2.30. Moai kavakava from Rapanui made of Toromiro wood with inlaid eyes of bird bone and obsidian. Collected by Ferdinand Gille, surgeon on the Dorade between 1860 and 1866. Purchased by Étienne Loppé from antiquity dealer Volmerange in 1945. 39.5 cm. Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle de La Rochelle (H.1529). © Lézard Graphique / Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle de La Rochelle.

(home to Dumont d'Urville's personal collection) and Douai had already lost their ethnographic collections in the bombings, and many other collections had suffered from poor storage during the war. Some museums were exceptions to the rule. In La Rochelle, Loppé continued to craft the ethnographic collections with some significant acquisitions, notably the purchase in 1945 of the two-headed *moai kavakava* collected by Dr Gille in Rapanui in September 1860 (Figure 2.30).

Going back to basics: rediscovering, redisplaying and reframing collections in Paris and beyond (1960s – 2000s)

Following the Second World War, the scientific mission of the Musée de l'Homme was reaffirmed through exhibitions such as *Nouvelle-Guinée: Haut Morobe et Bas Sépik* (1956) and *Nouvelles Hébrides: Exposition du Cinquantenaire du Condominium franco-britannique* (1957). On the other side of the city, the Musée des Arts africains et océaniens had been assigned the mission to develop an artistic perspective in relation to ethnographic objects. However, although designed to be complementary, the two institutions' remit was far from being so clearly defined and exclusive. Two exhibitions developed at the Musée de l'Homme – *Chefs-d'Oeuvre du Musée de l'Homme* in 1964 and *Arts Primitifs dans les ateliers d'artistes* in 1967 – clearly engaged with their collections with an art perspective. Until 1990, when the old colonial museum was transformed into the Musée National des Arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie (National Museum of the Arts of Africa and Oceania), few exhibitions showcased the Pacific (Figure 2.31). In the 1990s, however, the museum not only gave the Pacific more visibility, it did it in a way that further blurred the boundaries between the two Parisian institutions involved in the care and research of Pacific collections. In 1990, *De Jade et de Nacre – Patrimoine Artistique Kanak* was the first French exhibition to be developed and displayed collaboratively, not with its closest neighbour, but further afield. Drawing on collections from across France, the exhibition was first opened in Nouméa (curated by Emmanuel Kasarhérou) before being shown in Paris (curated by Roger Boulay). The exhibition and catalogue offered a balanced view of the importance and resonance of Kanak artefacts by engaging with

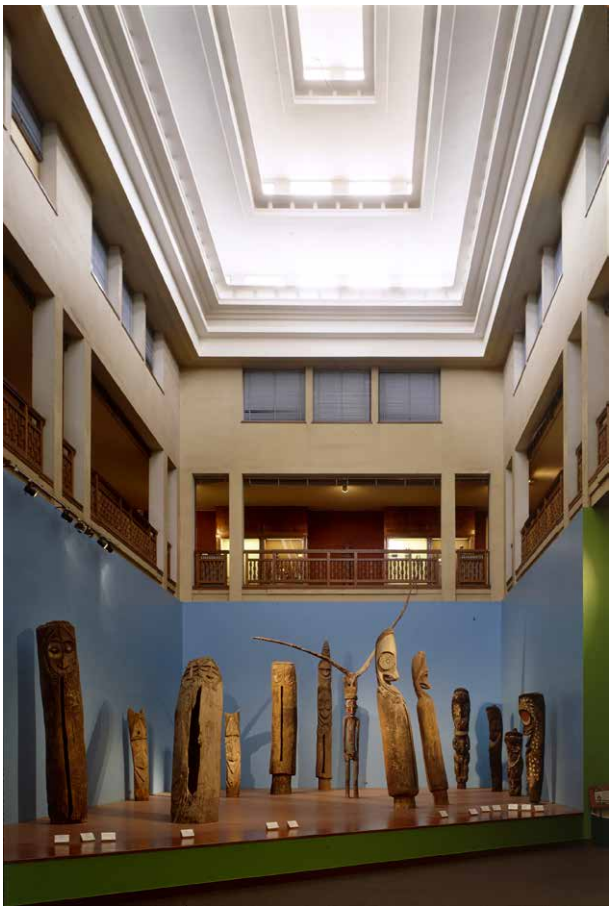


Figure 2.31. Musée National des Arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie, view of the Pacific galleries, 2000. Photographed by Nicolas Borel. Paris, Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac (prod02254). Photo © Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Nicolas Borel.

the historical and ethnographic contexts of these collections as well as exploring their cultural and artistic legacies.[152] It was a success in Nouméa, attracting 15,000 visitors but also raising difficult questions around the idea of restitution and repatriation.[153] Many subsequent exhibitions have travelled to the Pacific, including *Vanuatu, Océanie: Arts des îles de cendre et de corail* (1997) shown in Vanuatu and New Caledonia, and *Kannibals et vahinés: Imagerie des mers du Sud* (2000-2002) also displayed in New Caledonia, strengthening the ties between institutions in the Pacific and France.

Outside Paris, things were rather different. From the 1970s on, a number of researchers, notably Anne Lavondès and later Sylvianne Jacquemin and Roger Boulay, addressed some of the issues highlighted in 1945 by Laroche,[154] and began the first inventories of collections in the provinces and French territories in the Pacific. Thereby, they also built the foundation for the first histories of collections to emerge. Contextualized, objects could be made visible through exhibitions and publications. Their work led to a greater awareness of these collections, their needs, and their potential to resonate with local, national and international stakeholders. In 1997, the exhibition *La Découverte du paradis, Curieux, navigateurs et savants* held in Arras and

drawing on the collections from the North of France was one of the first provincial exhibitions to highlight the richness of Pacific collections outside of the capital.

Further afield, as France was confronted with the realities of decolonization in North and West Africa, French territories in the Pacific were provided with their first state-sponsored cultural institutions. In French Polynesia, the Musée de Tahiti et des Îles – Te Fare Manaha was founded in 1974. The Museum's mission was to preserve and display Pacific collections with a specific emphasis on Polynesian heritage.[155] With over 15,000 archaeological, ethnographical and artistic objects, the museum currently cares for one of the largest collections from the Pacific.[156] Its collections were partly inherited from those formed by the Société des Études Océaniennes and known as the 'Musée de Papeete' created in 1917. Relying on gifts and fortuitous finds deposited in the institution, the Museum's strength was its exceptional archaeological collections, highlighted through many publications by Anne Lavondès (Director of the Musée de Tahiti et des Îles between 1976 and 1983) in the 1970s and early 1980s.[157] The institutionalization of the collections in the Society Islands allowed for the purchase of some of the historical collections formed by British collector James Hooper (1897-1971), complementing existing collections from the Society, Marquesas and Austral Islands.[158] Recently equipped to operate on renewable energy, the Museum is about to undergo a period of radical change with the redevelopment of its buildings and galleries.

In New Caledonia, collections had been formed by French colonial administrators as early as 1863 to provide audiences in the Metropole with a snapshot of New Caledonia as part of universal exhibitions.[159] Those formed, in 1895, the core of the 'Colonial Museum' installed in the French administrative buildings of Nouméa. Dismantled after the 1900 Universal exhibition in Paris, the pavilion dedicated to New Caledonia was sent to Nouméa where it provided a first shell to a museum, until a bespoke building suited to the exhibition, preservation and research of the collections was erected in the 1970s and named 'Musée de Nouvelle-Calédonie'. Under the impetus of Emmanuel Kasarhérou in the late 1980s, the museum's mission was re-affirmed as a centre for the preservation of Kanak heritage and enlarged to address the diversity of cultures represented in New Caledonia as well as to position New Caledonia in the wider Pacific with exhibits dedicated to other Pacific Islands nations, a mission continued by the current curatorial team (Figure 2.32).

While the Musée de Nouvelle-Calédonie relies on historical collections following a conventional Western museum model, it actively collaborates with the Centre Culturel Tjibaou, a dynamic cultural space with no collection. Created in 1998, The Centre Culturel Tjibaou is the public manifestation of the Agence de Dévelopement de la Culture Kanak (ADCK, Kanak Culture Development Agency). Originally trained as a pastor, Jean-Marie Tjibaou studied ethnology in France in 1970, focusing on issues of cultural identity. Back in New Caledonia, he engaged in politics and soon became the public face of the Independence party. He was assassinated in 1989. Tjibaou's political positions led to a greater recognition of Kanak culture and a series of measures to record, protect and promote it. Administered by New Caledonia since 2002, the institution is engaged in the research, collection, valorization and promotion of Kanak cultural heritage, encouraging Kanak artistic creations and acting as a regional and international exchange hub. One of its spaces, the 'case Bwenaado', is specifically dedicated to the exhibition of

Figure 2.32. Musée de Nouvelle-Calédonie, Kanak gallery. Photographed by Eric Dell Erba.
© Nouméa, Musée de Nouvelle-Calédonie / Eric Dell Erba.

museum pieces under the care of foreign institutions welcomed back in New Caledonia on long-term loans. Other spaces showcase specific aspects of Kanak culture, historic or contemporary and highlight the connection between New Caledonia and other island nations in the Pacific through the commission of contemporary artworks and the hosting of artists in residence (Figures 2.33 and 2.34).

The transformation of Parisian collections in the twenty-first century

French public museums are legal entities falling under the remit of the Ministry of Culture. In order to benefit from financial and logistical support from the government, they have to answer to a number of criteria and follow strict procedures in relation to the care, research, development, accessibility and diffusion of the collections they house.[160] In addition to a full inventory of the collections, new legislation agreed in 2002 requires that museums undertake a 'récolement' every ten years, a concept which could be very loosely translated as a 'review' in English, although the term does not do justice to the complexity and rigour of the procedure. As part of the operation, each object in a museum's collection is physically located, examined and verified against the museum's original inventories, its conservation needs assessed, its measurements taken if missing, its markings recorded to ensure the correctness and consistency of the data, and photographs made. In most museums, the procedure requires the mobilization of the entire curatorial staff and can be a lengthy process depending on the volume of collections under the care of the institution. While this is a heavy constraint – institutions often remain open while the work is undertaken – the benefits are important: with enhanced documentation, collections can be managed more efficiently and made visible through online collection portals. The procedure also

Figure 2.33. Centre Culturel Tjibaou, designed by architect Renzo Piano. ©ADCK-CCT/ RPBW, Photogr. Delphine Mayeur.

Figure 2.34. Entrance to the exhibition Quarante ans d'Art Kanak 1975–2015, Centre Culturel Tjibaou, 8 September 2015 to 6 September 2016. ©ADCK-CCT, Photogr. E. Dell'Erba.

benefits the development of exhibitions, the identification of new research directions and the planning of strategic campaigns of conservation.

In the public spaces of museums and galleries, things have been changing too. Outside Paris, many museums underwent major renovation, leading to increased research on and redeployment of the Pacific collections. Dynamic curatorial approaches have led to the multiplication of exhibitions throughout the Metropole.[161] In some cases, collaboration with Indigenous artists and ambitious public engagement programmes have allowed museums to resonate more widely with their local communities. The recent success of *Bottled Ocean 2116, Te Ao Māori*, an exhibition by George Nuku and Elise Patole-Edoumba at the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle et d'Ethnographie in La Rochelle (29 October 2016-22 January 2017), testifies to the fact that collections from the Pacific can be relevant locally and raise shared questions about climate change, sustainability and valorization of resources (Figure 2.35). In Rouen, the repatriation of a Māori Toi Moko in 2007 to the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa led to closer collaboration and the redesigning of the Galerie des Continents (Gallery of Continents, the permanent ethnographic gallery of the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle de Rouen) in view of creating a more 'sustainable' and 'responsible' museum.[162] Initiatives such as *Pacifique(s) Contemporain: Les artistes du Pacifique au Havre et à Rouen* (5 November – 19 December 2015, curated by Jacqueline Charles-Rault and Caroline Vercoe) have allowed French audiences to discover and engage with contemporary visual and performing arts from the Pacific. Complemented by an international symposium supported by the Université du Havre and the École Supérieure d'Art et Design Le Havre/Rouen (ESADHAR) and a roundtable at the Musée du quai Branly in Paris, the exhibition aimed to foster a dialogue between different kind of audiences and practitioners and encourage the development of stronger ties between the Pacific and France.

In Paris, the year 2000 saw the opening of the Pavillon des Sessions at the Louvre (Figure 2.36). A controversial political decision made by then French President Jacques Chirac, the pledge to see 'primitive arts' displayed at the Louvre started before the Musée Naval was even fully dismantled, with poet Guillaume Apollinaire remarking that the Louvre should present 'certain exotic masterpieces that are no less moving than the finest specimens of Western statuary'.[163] Other influential intellectuals such as anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss in 1943 and novelist and politician André Malraux in 1976 shared this view and advocated for the inclusion of non-Western art at the Louvre.[164] Selected and curated by Jacques Kerchache, a close acquaintance to the president, art collector and dealer, the arrival of Pacific, North American and African art at the Pavillon des Sessions rekindled the debate surround the appropriateness of the notion of 'primitive art', its relationship to academic disciplines and scholarship, and the relationship between public institutions and private collections and expertise.

The opening of the Pavillon des Sessions was quickly followed by the closure of the Musée National des Arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie and the transfer of the ethnographic collections of the Musée de l'Homme (with the exception of those from Europe) in 2003 to the developing Musée du quai Branly. The larger scale of the operation and its impact on two institutions – which had in one case to disappear, and in the other to redefine entirely its purpose and approach – led to intense controversies and division

Figure 2.35. The Toi Whakairo case, Bottled Ocean 2116, Te Ao Māori (29 October 2016–22 January 2017), curated by George Nuku and Elise Patole-Edoumba. © Mathieu Vouzelaud / Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle de La Rochelle.

*Figure 2.36. 'Océanie * Je suis au Louvre', poster designed by Polymago for the opening of the Pavillon des Sessions at the Musée du Louvre on 19 April 2000 and featuring 'l'homme bleu' from the collections of the Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac (71.1938.42.8). Photo © Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / image Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac.*

Figure 2.37. Musée du quai Branly. Le plateau des collections. Zone Océanie. July 2014. Paris, Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac (prodpt0007). Photo © Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Patrick Tourneboeuf.

within the scientific and artistic communities. The new museum opened in June 2006, unveiling its intellectual and museographical approach, surrounded by heated debates (Figure 2.37).[165] Despite the many controversies, the Musée du quai Branly has, in a decade, achieved a great deal in making visible Pacific collections through a dynamic politic of exhibitions, loans, publication, research and collaboration. Well represented in its permanent galleries, New Caledonia and French Polynesia have also been at the centre of temporary exhibitions such as *Kanak: L'art est une Parole* (2013-2014) and *Matahoata: Arts et Société aux Îles Marquises* (2016), both of which resulted from international (including Pacific) collaboration and were accompanied with a rich programme of public and scientific events. Melanesia has received sustained attention with exhibitions showcasing the arts of New Ireland (2007), the Solomon Islands (2014-2015), and the Sepik (2015-2016), while collaborative exhibitions have been organized with the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (2011-2012 and 2017) and objects from the collections are regularly exhibited in the cultural institutions of New Caledonia. Other exhibitions have focused on specific historical figures (*L'Aristocrate et ses cannibales: Le voyage en Océanie du comte Festetics de Tolna, 1893-1896* in 2007-2008) or developed wider theme often leading to a greater self-reflectivity (*Exhibitions: L'invention du sauvage* in 2011-2012). A number of artists in residence have also contributed to the interpretation of its collections while enriching the contemporary collections of the institutions, making the museum a dynamic and living research and public space. In 2016, a decade after it opened, the Museum was renamed 'Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac'.

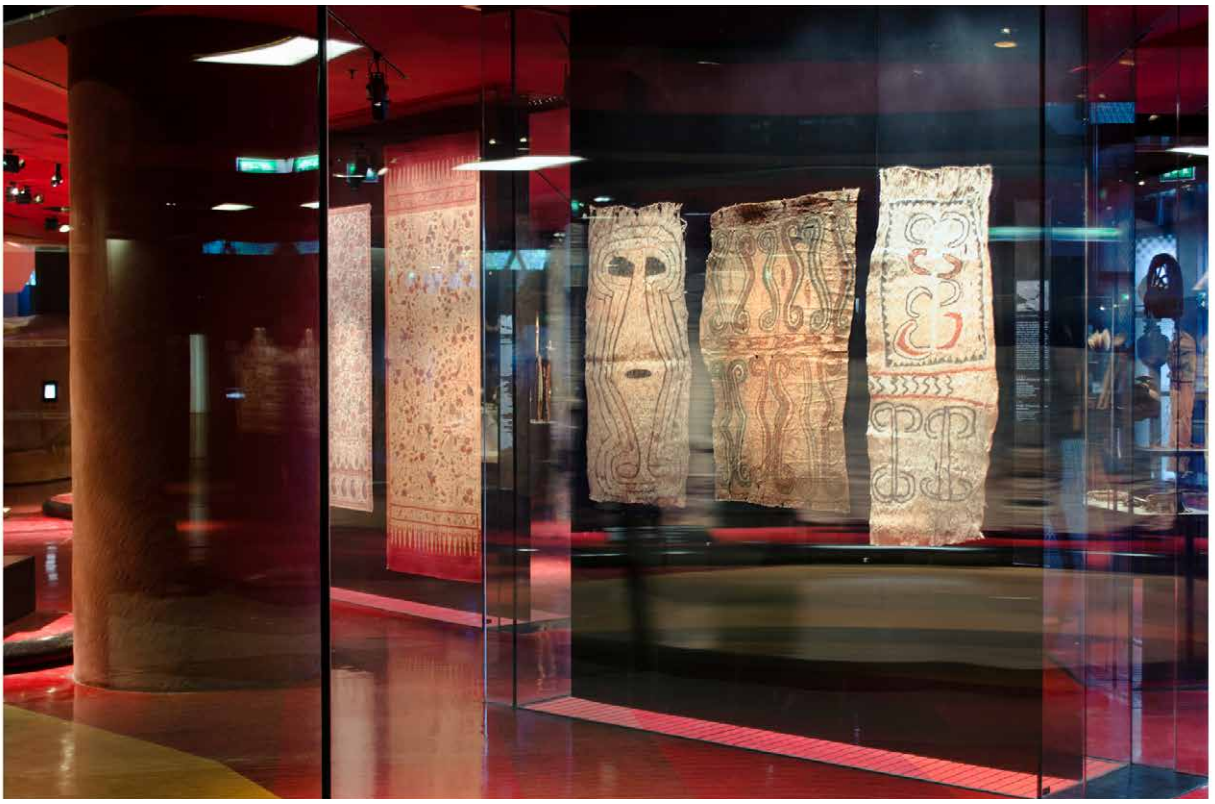
While the Musée du quai Branly represents the core of Pacific collections in Paris, smaller clusters are still visible in a number of institutions, some discussed above. Musée National de la Marine, Musée de l'Homme, Centre Pompidou, Musée du Louvre, and Musée Picasso all display some Pacific objects in relation to the wider collections under their care, a small reminder of the many fragmentations and many discourses objects have been actors in, and subjects to, in their short lives in Europe.

Conclusion

France does not care for the largest Pacific collections in Europe, but the complexity of its history and the constant movement of collections and objects in and out of private hands and institutions provides a rich and challenging context through which to explore the emergence of curiosity, the advancement of science, the rationalization of knowledge, and the difficult histories and legacies of colonization.

Pacific collections, like most ethnographic collections, greatly suffered from the political, economic and cultural instability of France in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. That lack of care, coherence in the articulation of collections, and public visibility is even more destabilizing when contrasted with the reception of these objects from the late nineteenth century onwards. Objects that had been previously ignored became multi-faceted: products of the colonies, witnesses of Indigenous cultural practices or keys to new art forms. They were claimed and mobilized by artists, scientists and politicians.

While there remains much to do to throw light on the history of particular objects, to connect with communities of origin and to make collections more accessible, the inventory work initiated in the 1970s and developed more consistently in the past three decades has done much to improve the visibility of collections and thus their potential to connect people and places through research, exhibitions and publications. The way collections have been mobilized, exhibited, and intellectually or artistically framed throughout the twentieth century and particularly in more recent years has been a recurrent cause for criticism and controversy, nationally and internationally. But the reason why these intense professional and public debates have arisen is often left unacknowledged – in previous centuries, Pacific collections have been more exhibited or exposed in France than in any other European country. The exposure has allowed uncomfortable stories and histories to emerge and, by doing so, has had the benefit of keeping discussions going, encouraging people to develop collaborative approaches to research and curatorial processes, and ultimately, making Oceania present in the public eye. In the coming months and years, the relationship of France to its overseas territories in the Pacific will transform with the referendum on independence to be held in New Caledonia in the autumn of 2018. How the outcome will affect cultural institutions and museum collections is unknown, but it is hoped that through this period of reflexion and re-evaluation, objects will continue to tell and enrich the complex and difficult histories of the past, and act as catalysts for new relationships to develop in the future.



Interior of the Musée du quai Branly 2013. Photograph by Mark Adams. Copyright ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London 2018.

CHAPTER 3

Papua collections in the Netherlands: a story of exploration, research, missionization and colonization[166]

FANNY WONU VEYS

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Introduction

The connection of the Netherlands with Oceania started at the beginning of the seventeenth century. For some areas and islands of the Pacific, the Dutch were the first European visitors. Willem Jansz., for instance, sighted Australia in 1606. Jacob Le Maire and Willem Schouten made landfall on the northern islands of the Tongan archipelago, but also described events on Futuna and New Ireland in 1616.[167] Even though Le Maire and Schouten report on 17 July 1616 that knives, rusty nails and beads were exchanged for the bows and arrows of the inhabitants of Moa (in the Wakde group) off the northwest coast of New Guinea, none of the objects seem to have reached a museum.[168] The encounter in 1642 between Abel Tasman and a group of Māori on the northern tip of Te Wai Pounamu, the South Island of Aotearoa New Zealand, turned out to be fatal for some of the crew, whose ships fled north to the Tongan archipelago. In 1643, Abel Tasman might also have collected objects from both Moa and Yamna, but again no collection seems to have survived.[169] Jacob Roggeveen was the European discoverer of Rapa Nui, one of the most remote islands in the world, which had been settled by Polynesians around 800. As he sighted it on Easter of 1722, Roggeveen named it Easter Island. Equally, Roggeveen left no object traces in Dutch museums. Some of the place names that Dutch cartographers and explorers had for areas survive to this day. Even though New Zealand and Easter Island have their Indigenous equivalents, respectively Aotearoa and Rapa Nui, the names with Dutch origin are still in common use today. Other designations such as New Holland for Australia have fallen into disuse.

The connection of the Netherlands with the Pacific is however at its most intimate in the current Indonesian provinces of Papua and West Papua (Figure 3.1). This chapter will demonstrate the enmeshments of the Netherlands with the western part of New Guinea since the seventeenth century. An involvement that started with a wish to compete with Portugal and Spain in the spice trade race became more complicated with the exploration, missionization and colonization project. After the Second World War, western New Guinea was the only part left in what was once the East Indies, the

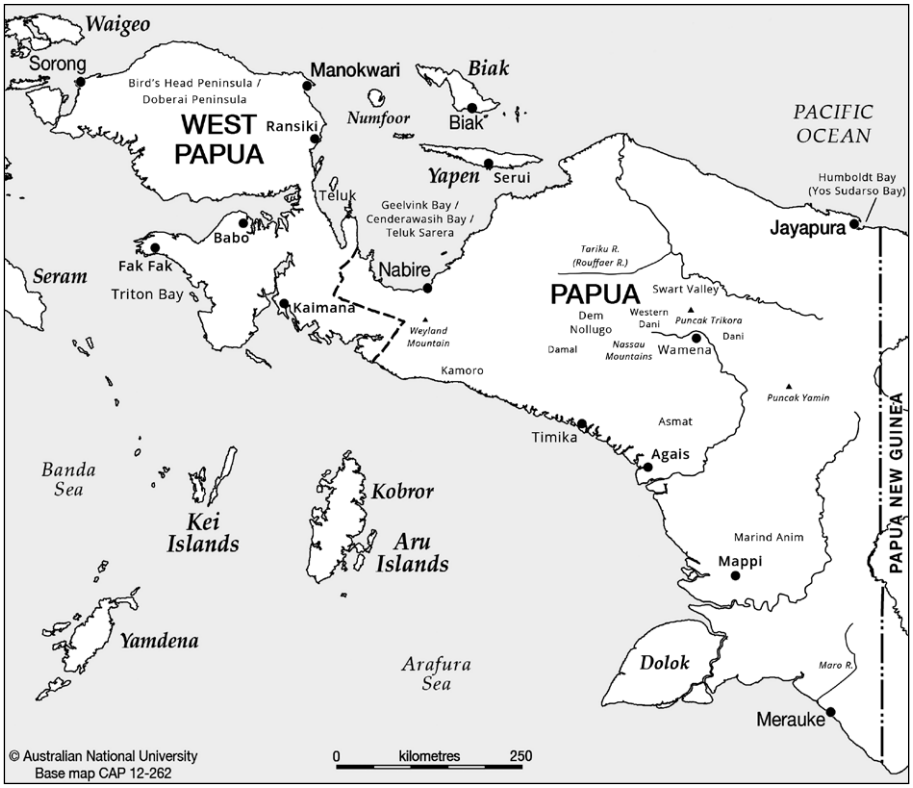


Figure 3.1. Western part of New Guinea with the Indonesian provinces of Papua and West Papua.

pride of the Netherlands in the east. When losing western New Guinea as a colony, the Dutch presence took the shape of anthropologists researching, documenting and collecting Papuan cultures. The heritage of the Dutch presence in Papua and West Papua is today palpable in Dutch ethnographic museums, which mushroomed from the first half of the nineteenth century onwards and blossomed over the course of the twentieth century. The first decades of the twenty-first century are witnessing new developments in which museums are closing, merging or transferring collections. Therefore, this chapter not only sketches the collection history, but also traces the role of Dutch museums in their involvement with the Pacific, ranging from collecting curiosities, a full participation in the colonial project and more recently a collaborative approach in collecting and exhibiting the Pacific (Table 3.1).

The Dutch museum landscape

Museums with holdings from western New Guinea were plenty. Even before the first wave of ethnographic museum creation started in Europe and North America between 1849 and 1884, the Philipp Franz von Siebold (1796-1866) Japan Museum had been in existence since 1837. This was just a year later than the establishment of the Ethnographical Museum, Saint Petersburg which split from the Academy of Sciences Museum in 1836. The Japan Museum, currently named Museum Volkenkunde (National

collector's name	function or expedition	photograph numbers (RV=Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden; TM=Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam	focus area/peoples
Bataviaasch Genootschap voor Kunst en Wetenschap	Etna Expedition (1858)	Series RV-1904	northwest coast of New Guinea
Beckman, Frederik Gerard (1816-1868)	Etna Expedition (1858)	Series RV-53	northwest coast of New Guinea
Bijlmer, Hendrik (Hendricus) Johannes Tobias (1890-1959)	Central New Guinea Expedition (1920-1922)	Series TM-141, Series TM-253, Series TM-779	Dani
	Mimika Expedition (1935-1936)	Series TM-1024	Ekari
Broekhuijse, Johan Theodorus (1929-)	anthropologist and government official	Series TM-3210, Series TM-5921, Series TM-6070	Dani
de Beaufort, Lieven Ferdinand (1879-1968)	North New Guinea Expedition / Wichmann Expedition (1903)	Series RV-4949	northwest coast of New Guinea
de Clercq, Frederik Sigismund Alexander (1842-1906)	resident of Ternate	Series RV-929	northwest coast of New Guinea
de Jong, W. (Zweerts)	Expedition with naval ship Van Doorn (1903)	Series RV-1392 Series RV-1447	Kamoro Asmat
Gerbrands, Adriaan (1917-1997)	anthropologist and curator (1961)	Series RV-3790	Asmat
Geurtjens, Father Henri (1875-1957)	Roman Catholic missionary	Series TM-1011	Marind Anim
Gooszen, Anthony Jan (1864-1922)	Military Exploration of New Guinea (1907-1915)	WM-21852-WM-21934 Series RV-1779, Series RV-1889, Series RV-1971	western New Guinea
Groenevelt, Carel Maria (1899-1973)	professional collector	Series TM-118, Series TM-203, Series TM-456, Series TM-574, Series TM-940, Series TM-968, Series TM-1335, Series TM-2135, Series TM-2202, Series TM-2207, Series TM-2221, Series TM-2254, Series TM-2391, Series TM-2445, Series TM-2457, Series TM-2492, Series TM-2540, Series TM-2541, Series TM-2563, Series TM-2682 WM-33742-WM-76625	Asmat,
Halie, N.	administrator north coast of western New Guinea (1926-1930)	Series TM-574, Series TM-666, Series TM-746	northwest coast of New Guinea
Herderschee, Alphons Franssen (1872-1932)	Third South New Guinea Expedition (1912-1913)	WM-21950- WM-22011, WM-22013, WM-22014, WM-22016- WM-22029, WM-22031- WM-22033, WM-22035- WM-22050, WM-22052- WM-22057, WM-22061- WM-22063, WM-22065, WM-22066, WM-22068, WM-22070, WM-22072-WM-22074, WM-22077, WM-22079, WM-22081, WM-22083	southern western Highlands
Hermkens, Anna-Karina (1969-)	anthropologist	Series RV-5875	Lake Sentani
Hoogerbrugge, Jac (1923-2014)	collector	Series TM-4311 Series RV-4453, RV-4455, RV-4476, RV-4928-1	Asmat
Hovenkamp, W.A.	resident of Ternate	Series TM-573, TM-669	northwest coast of New Guinea
Hunger, Friedrich Wilhelm Tobias (1874–1952)	Government official	Series TM-146	south west New Guinea
Koch, Jan Willem Reinier (1860-1933)	Southwest New Guinea Expedition (1904-1905)	WM-9452-WM-9454, WM-9456, WM-9457, WM-9459, WM-9460, WM-9462-WM-9472, WM-9474-WM-9482, WM-9475-WM-9481, WM-9484-WM-9488, WM-9489-WM-9491, WM-9497-WM-9503, WM-9505, WM-9506, WM-9510, WM-9512-WM-9521, WM-9523-WM-9529, WM-9531-WM-9540, WM-9542-WM-9545, WM-9547-WM-9553, WM-9555, WM-9556, WM-9558, WM-9593, WM-9635, WM-9638-WM-9651 Series RV-1549	southwest New Guinea
Kooijman, Simon (1915-2005)	anthropologist and curator	Series RV-3070, RV-4060	southwest New Guinea
Le Roux, Charles Constant François Marie (1885-1947)	Stirling Expedition (1926)	Series TM-514	western Central Highlands
	Expeditie van het KNAG naar het Wisselmerengebied en het Nassau-gebergte op Nederlands Nieuw-Guinea / Le Roux Expedition (1939)	Series RV-2467	western Central Highlands

Table 3.1. List with object and photograph registration numbers.

collector's name	function or expedition	photograph numbers (RV=Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden; TM=Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam	focus area/peoples
Lorentz, Hendrik Albertus (1871-1944)	North New Guinea Expedition / Wichmann Expedition (1903) First South New Guinea Expedition (1907) Second South New Guinea Expedition (1909-1910)	WM-8493-WM-8495, WM-8496, WM-8590, WM-8604, WM-8610, WM-8620, WM-8622, WM-8624, WM-13869, WM-20525-WM-20548, WM-20550-WM-20558, WM-20560-WM-20590, WM-20592-WM-20597, WM-20599, WM-20601-WM-20610, WM-20612-WM-20648, WM-20651, WM-20653-WM-20655, WM-20657-WM-20660, WM-20663, WM-20667, WM-20671-WM-20672, WM-20674-WM-20683, WM-20686-WM-20687, WM-20689-WM-20693, WM-20696-WM-20699, WM-20702-WM-20707, WM-20709-WM-20713, WM-20715-WM-20718, WM-20720-WM-20723, WM-20726-WM-20728, WM-20731, WM-20733, WM-20736, WM-20738, WM-20742, WM-20744-WM-20748, WM-20750-WM-20774, WM-20776-WM-20780, WM-20782-WM-20783, WM-20785-WM-20787, WM-20791-WM-20796, WM-20798-WM-20805, WM-20807-WM-20808, WM-20810-WM-20816, WM-20818, WM-20820-WM-20829, WM-20833-WM-20838, WM-20840-WM-20844, WM-20848, WM-20850-WM-20863, WM-20865-WM-20893, WM-20895-WM-20913, WM-20915, WM-20916, WM-26182, WM-71240-WM-71250, WM-71252-WM-71280 Series RV-1698 TM-A-9, TM-A-16, TM-A-20, TM-A-21, TM-A-25a-b, TM-A-28, TM-A-29g, TM-A-31a-b, TM-A-37, TM-A-38, TM-A-52, TM-A-55, TM-A-57, TM-A-58, TM-A-65, TM-A-66, TM-A-68-TM-A-70, TM-A-75, TM-A-80, TM-A-81a-b, TM-A-83d, TM-A-84, TM-A-87, TM-A-88, TM-A-92, TM-A-94, TM-A-95a-b, TM-A-97a, TM-A-108a-b, TM-A-109a, TM-A-110, TM-A-113a-b, TM-A-115a-c, TM-A-116i,k, TM-A-117a-c, TM-A-118a-b, TM-A-119a, TM-A-121, TM-A-128a-b, TM-A-138, TM-A-143, TM-A-205, TM-A-215, TM-A-232, TM-A-296a-b, TM-A-312, TM-A-328, TM-A-344, TM-A-352a-b, TM-A-390, TM-A-392a-b, TM-A-418c, TM-A-420b, TM-A-442b-c, TM-A-443c, TM-A-444a-e, TM-A-447a-b, TM-A-501a-b, TM-A-529, TM-A-531, TM-A-539, TM-A-572-TM-A-576, TM-A-585a, TM-A-587a, TM-A-598a-b, TM-A-599e-f, TM-A-602a, TM-A-605, TM-A-613, TM-A-615a, TM-A-622b, TM-A-625, TM-A-658, TM-A-660-TM-A-661, TM-A-684, TM-A-693, TM-A-713, TM-A-715, TM-A-716a-b, TM-A-719, TM-A-720, TM-A-721, TM-A-860b, TM-A-861b, TM-A-863a-b, TM-A-876, TM-A-877, TM-A-906, TM-A-907c-d, TM-A-1316, TM-A-1774, TM-A-1776a-b, TM-A-1777, TM-A-1845-1, TM-A-1845-2, TM-A-1849, TM-A-1851-TM-A-1853, TM-A-1854, TM-A-1857, TM-A-1860-1, TM-A-1860-2, TM-A-1861, TM-A-1866-1, TM-A-1866-2, TM-A-1867, TM-A-1869-1, TM-A-1869-2, TM-A-1871a-b, TM-A-1874, TM-A-1878, TM-A-1940, TM-A-2000, TM-A-2018, TM-A-2024, TM-A-2293b, TM-A-2301, TM-A-2312, TM-A-2469, TM-A-2511, TM-A-2735, TM-A-2736a-b, TM-A-2835a-b, TM-A-2836, TM-A-3870a, TM-A-3995, TM-A-4275a, TM-A-4787, TM-A-5368	westerm New Guinea
Maatschappij ter Bevordering van het Natuurkundig Onderzoek der Nederlandsche Koloniën	Etna Expedition (1858)	Series RV-1528	northwest coast of New Guinea
Macklot, Heinrich Christian (1799-1832)	Triton Expedition (1828)	Possibly RV-1-29, RV-1-86, RV-1-31, RV-1-14, RV-1-7, RV-1-8, RV-1-10, RV-1-11, RV-1-12, RV-1-16, RV-1-28, RV-1-15	Kamoro Asmat
Missiehuis collection	Roman Catholic Missionary collection (before 1908)	WM-13848-WM-13880, WM-17132-WM-17180, WM-17686-WM-17770, WM-18058-WM-18064, WM-19085-WM-19099	Marind Anim
Muller, Kalman Antal (1939-)	collector	Series RV-6070	Kamoro
Müller, Salomon (1804-1864)	Triton Expedition (1828)	Series RV-16	Kamoro Asmat
Palmer van den Broek, Charles Lewis Joseph (1862-1937)		Series RV-1670	Kamoro
Ploeg, Anton (1933-)	anthropologist	WM-53977- WM-54024, WM-55730-WM-56682 Series RV-4237	Western Dani
Pouwer, Jan (1924-2010)	anthropologist	Series RV-3168, RV-3652	Kamoro

Table 3.1 (continued). List with object and photograph registration numbers.

collector's name	function or expedition	photograph numbers (RV=Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden; TM=Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam	focus area/peoples
Roman Catholic Mission	Roman Catholic Missionary collection (before 1958)	Series RV-3532	southwest New Guinea
Rosenberg, Carl Benjamin Hermann (1817-1888)	Etna Expedition (1858)	RV-79-12, RV-79-14, RV-121-1 – RV-121-91, RV-127-1 – RV-127-51, RV-695-19 - RV-695-28, RV-695-34, RV-695-44	northwest coast of New Guinea
Smidt, Dirk A.M. (1941-)	anthropologist and curator	Series RV-5959, Series RV-5990	Kamoro
Southwest New Guinea Expedition (1904-1905)	Southwest New Guinea Expedition (1904-1905)	Initially registered as series 246 in Artis Museum, TM-A-35b, TM-A-53, TM-A-96a-b, TM-A-123a-c, TM-A-124a-c, TM-A-127a-d, TM-A-131d, TM-A-155a-e, TM-A-160a-d, TM-A-161a-d, TM-A-162a-c, TM-A-185a-l, TM-A-186, TM-A-187a-c, TM-A-188, TM-A-190, TM-A-216, TM-A-219a-b, TM-A-234, TM-A-243, TM-A-268a, TM-A-277, TM-A-288, TM-A-292, TM-A-294b, TM-A-298a-i, TM-A-299b-r, TM-A-300a-g, TM-A-313a-f, TM-A-327, TM-A-345, TM-A-363a-b, TM-A-364, TM-A-367a-b, TM-A-370, TM-A-372, TM-A-373a-c, TM-A-374-1, TM-A-378-TM-A-381, TM-A-383, TM-A-414, TM-A-425-TM-A-432, TM-A-458b-TM-A-462, TM-A-477, TM-A-481, TM-A-487, TM-A-489-TM-A-491, TM-A-493a-TM-A-494, TM-A-496a-TM-A-497, TM-A-507, TM-A-515d-e, TM-A-518a, TM-A-521a-TM-A-526, TM-A-534a-b, TM-A-534b, TM-A-619, TM-A-628, TM-A-648, TM-A-666a-g-TM-A-667, TM-A-669-TM-A-670, TM-A-707-TM-A-710, TM-A-867, TM-A-870-TM-A-871, TM-A-874-TM-A-875, TM-A-896, TM-A-1670, TM-A-1688, TM-A-1697-TM-A-1698, TM-A-1771a, TM-A-1778-TM-A-1779b, TM-A-1781-TM-A-1792b, TM-A-1824-TM-A-1826, TM-A-1832, TM-A-1888, TM-A-1894, TM-A-1938, TM-A-2292, TM-A-3022, TM-A-3236b, TM-A-4617, TM-A-6373, TM-A-7416 Series RV-1549	southwest New Guinea
Star Mountains Expedition (1959)	Star Mountains Expedition (1959)	Series RV-3664	western Central Highlands
Utrechtse Zendingsvereniging	Protestant Missionary Society	WM-10910-WM-10916, WM-10931, WM-10933-WM-10934, WM-10937-WM-10941, WM-10963-WM-10965, WM-10969, WM-10971-WM-10975, WM-10977-WM-10982, WM-10988-WM-10989, WM-10996-WM-11007, WM-11014, WM-11020-WM-11032, WM-11050, WM-11052-WM-11055, WM-11061-WM-11071, WM-11085-WM-11091, WM-11095, WM-11097-WM-11100, WM-11104-WM-11108, WM-11111-WM-11113, WM-11115, WM-11121-WM-11123, WM-11133, WM-11140-WM-11160, WM-11168-WM-11188, WM-11190-WM-11195, WM-11198-WM-11218, WM-11225, WM-11227-WM-11230, WM-11232-WM-11244, WM-11252, WM-11254-WM-11264-2, WM-11266-WM-11269, WM-11267, WM-11268, WM-11271-WM-11272, WM-11279, WM-11283-WM-11294, WM-11296, WM-11298, WM-11301, WM-11304, WM-11307-WM-11309, WM-11319, WM-11320, WM-11326, WM-11327, WM-11333-WM-11335, WM-11337, WM-11339-WM-11341, WM-11346-WM-11348, WM-11360, WM-11361, WM-11363, WM-11364, WM-11366, WM-11367, WM-11374, WM-11375, WM-11393, WM-11394, WM-11412, WM-11416, WM-11417, WM-11419-WM-11422, WM-11425, WM-11426, WM-11430, WM-11433, WM-11436, WM-11440, WM-11441, WM-11443, WM-11447-WM-11452, WM-11454, WM-11455, WM-11460, WM-11463, WM-11465-WM-11470, WM-11475, WM-11477-WM-11480, WM-11499-WM-11501, WM-11515, WM-11516, WM-11519, WM-11521-WM-11523, WM-11525, WM-11528, WM-11530, WM-11532-WM-11544, WM-11546, WM-11547, WM-11550, WM-11555-WM-11562, WM-11569-WM-11576, WM-11586-WM-11592, WM-11597, WM-11599, WM-11600, WM-11602, WM-11604-WM-11610, WM-11612, WM-11617-WM-11622, WM-11624, WM-11626, WM-11627, WM-11632, WM-11633, WM-11639-WM-11645, WM-11650, WM-11653, WM-11656, WM-11658-WM-11670, WM-11673, WM-11676, WM-11683, WM-11685-WM-11687, WM-11732, WM-11737-WM-11739, WM-11740, WM-11743, WM-11747, WM-11748, WM-11751, WM-17264-WM-17266, WM-17634-WM-17637, WM-19199-WM-19218, WM-19632-WM-19638, WM-19640-WM-19647, WM-19649-WM-19660, WM-19662-WM-19673, WM-19675-WM-19679, WM-19681-WM-19688, WM-19690-WM-19717, WM-19719-WM-19732, WM-19735-WM-19740, WM-21154-WM-21200	northwest coast of New Guinea
van Baal, Jan (1909-1992)	anthropologist	Series RV-2385	Marind Anim

Table 3.1 (continued). List with object and photograph registration numbers.

collector's name	function or expedition	photograph numbers (RV=Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden; TM=Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam	focus area/peoples
		Series TM-3715	western New Guinea
van der Leeden, Alexander Cornelis (1922-2001)	anthropologist	Series RV-3219	Sarmi
van der Sande, Gijsbertus Adrian Johan (1863-1910)	North New Guinea Expedition / Wichmann Expedition (1903)	WM-9201- WM-9451, WM-13845 Series RV-1528	northwest coast of New Guinea
van Nouhuys, Jan Willem (1869-1963)	North New Guinea Expedition / Wichmann Expedition (1903) First South New Guinea Expedition (1907) Second South New Guinea Expedition (1909-1910)	WM-18326-WM-18327, WM-18446, WM-18448- WM-18449, WM-18455, WM-18460, WM-18470- WM-18471, WM-18473, WM-18483, WM-18590, WM-18630, WM-18882- WM-18884, WM-20525- WM-20916, WM-22950-WM-22952, WM-31341, WM-31459, WM-33663- WM-33664, WM-33667, WM-33985 Series RV-2442	south New Guinea
van Oijen, Wim (1950-)	collector	Series RV-6198 Series TM-6379, TM-6380, TM-6404	Asmat
van Oldenborgh, Johannes	district officer of Ternate	Series RV-1052	northwest coast of New Guinea
van Ravenswaay Claasen, R.R.	Central New Guinea Expedition (1920-1922)	Series RV-2412	Marind Anim
Verschueren, Father Jan (1905-1970)	Roman Catholic missionary	Series RV-3651	
Vertenten, Father Petrus (1884-1946)	Roman Catholic missionary	Series TM-5969	Marind Anim
Wassing, René Sylvester (1927-2011)	anthropologist and curator	WM-68946, WM-68947, WM-68950- WM-68952, WM-68956- WM-68958, WM-68960, WM-68961, WM-68963- WM-68965, WM-68971, WM-68975-1-6, WM-68982, WM-68073- WM-68078	Asmat
Wenting, A.J.	Government official	Series TM-260, Series TM-504, Series TM-520, Series TM-526	southwest New Guinea
Wichmann, Carl Ernst Arthur (1851-1927)	North New Guinea Expedition / Wichmann Expedition (1903)	WM-25006–WM-25010, WM-25223–WM-25228	
Wirz, Paul (1892-1955)	anthropologist	Series TM-2320 Series TM-2670 WM-25768, WM-25769	Marind Anim
	anthropologist / Central New Guinea Expedition (1920-1922)	Series RV-2057	Western Dani
collector's name	**function or expedition**	**photograph numbers (RV=Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden; TM=Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam**	**focus area/peoples**
Bijlmer, Hendrik (Hendricus) Johannes Tobias (1890-1959)	Central New Guinea Expedition (1920-1922)	TM-60045586-TM-60045591, TM-60045597, TM-60045598, TM-60048106, TM-60048113, TM-60048120, TM-60048121, TM-60048126, TM-60048208, TM-10007595, TM-10008568, TM-10008742, TM-10008750, TM-10008752-TM-10008755, TM-10008763, TM-10008765, TM-10009019, TM-10009020, TM-10009022, TM-10009025, TM-10009026, TM-10009068, TM-10009084-TM-10009087, TM-10009104, TM-10009106, TM-10009118, TM-10009141, TM-10009151, TM-10009157, TM-10009160, TM-10009263, TM-10009452-TM-10009454, TM-10009459, TM-10009460, TM-10009482, TM-10009571, TM-10009572, TM-10009772, TM-10010151, TM-10010186, TM-10010196, TM-10010239	Dani, Kauwera,
	Mimika Expedtion (1935-1936)	TM-ALB-0046, TM-ALB-0185, TM-60002206, TM-60010995-TM-60011021, TM-60054056-TM-60054109, TM-60062906-TM-60062909, TM-10032783-TM-10032977, TM-10032979	Ekari, Kamoro
de Beaufort, Lieven Ferdinand (1879-1968)	North New Guinea Expedition / Wichmann Expedition (1903)	TM-60010097, TM-60010108, TM-60010154, TM-60014984, TM-10001496, TM-10008796, TM-10009475, TM-10009488	Lake Sentani, northwest coast New Guinea

Table 3.1 (continued). List with object and photograph registration numbers.

collector's name	function or expedition	photograph numbers (RV=Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden; TM=Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam	focus area/peoples
de Bruyn, Jean Victor (1913-1979)	government official	TM-10008102, TM-10008145, TM-10008146, TM-10008173, TM-10008174, TM-10008216, TM-10008432-TM-10008435, TM-10008498, TM-10008536, TM-10008537, TM-10008559, TM-10008573, TM-10008592, TM-10008847-TM-10008853, TM-10008916, TM-10009788, TM-10009792, TM-10009911, TM-10010025, TM-10010150, TM-10010216, TM-10010287, TM-10010288, TM-60039219, TM-60046636, TM-60046637	Ekari, Paniai
de Jong, W. (Zweerts)	Expedition with naval ship Van Doorn (1903)	Series RV-A30, TM-10008103, TM-10008806, TM-10009245, TM-10009768-TM-10009775, TM-60034885-TM-60034941, TM-ALB-1517, TM-ALB-1518	Kamoro Asmat
Gerbrands, Adriaan (1917-1997)	anthropologist and curator (1961)	Series RV-10386, RV-10387, RV-10388, RV-10389, RV-10390, RV-10437, RV-10438, RV-10439, RV-10440, RV-10946, RV-11976, RV-12042, RV-12322, RV-12339, RV-12341, RV-12343, RV-12344, RV-12347, RV-12348, RV-12363, RV-12471, RV-13189, RV-13190, RV-13415, RV-13433, RV-13449, RV-13450, RV-13453, RV-13469, RV-13472, RV-13480, RV-13483	Asmat
Geurtjens, Father Henri (1875-1957)	Roman Catholic missionary	TM-10002012, TM-10004380, TM-10006140, TM-10008117, TM-10008214, TM-10008308-TM-10008311, TM-10008416-TM-10008418, TM-10008541, TM-10008543, TM-10008545, TM-10008546, TM-10008558, TM-10008563, TM-10008566, TM-10008810, TM-10009112-TM-10009114, TM-10009406, TM-10009757, TM-10009758, TM-10009762, TM-10009822, TM-10010038-TM-10010040, TM-10012442, TM-10013358, TM-10014399, TM-10018713	Marind Anim
Gooszen, Anthony Jan (1864-1922)	Military Exploration of New Guinea (1907-1915)	TM-10006138, TM-10006560, TM-10007588, TM-10008122, TM-10008163, TM-10008170, TM-10008172, TM-10008177, TM-10008195, TM-10008198, TM-10008205, TM-10008206, TM-10008209, TM-10008343, TM-10008495, TM-10008501, TM-10008510- TM-10008512, TM-10008514, TM-10008515, TM-10008517, TM-10008520, TM-10008522, TM-10008527, TM-10008548-TM-10008550, TM-10008554, TM-10008555, TM-10008569, TM-10008720, TM-10008725, TM-10008726, TM-10008728, TM-10008736, TM-10008743, TM-10008744, TM-10008766, TM-10008768, TM-10008786, TM-10008798, TM-10008799, TM-10008801, TM-10008803-TM-10008805, TM-10008842, TM-10008871, TM-10008995, TM-10008997, TM-10009003, TM-10009007, TM-10009355, TM-10009613, TM-10009614, TM-10009664, TM-10009720, TM-10009729, TM-10009745, TM-10009749, TM-10009755, TM-10009756, TM-10009782, TM-10009807, TM-10009925, TM-10010054, TM-10010152, TM-60015065, TM-60015074, TM-60015117, TM-60015124, TM-60015125, TM-60015126	western New Guinea
Groenevelt, Carel Maria (1899-1973)	professional collector	TM-10008169, TM-10008351, TM-10008355, TM-10010123-TM-10010127, TM-10010310 Nederlands Fotomuseum Rotterdam (transfer from the Wereldmuseum Rotterdam)	western New Guinea
Herderschee, Alphons Franssen (1872-1932)	Third South New Guinea Expedition (1912-1913)	TM-10004489, TM-10004504, TM-10009248, TM-10009253, TM-10009260, TM-10009262, TM-10009268, TM-10009269, TM-10009309, TM-10009317, TM-10009519, TM-10009525, TM-10010190, TM-10010 203, TM-10010 214, TM-10010217, TM-10010218	southern western Highlands
Hermkens, Anna-Karina (1969-)	anthropologist	Serie RV-10402	Lake Sentani

Table 3.1 (continued). List with object and photograph registration numbers.

collector's name	function or expedition	photograph numbers (RV=Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden; TM=Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam	focus area/peoples
Kooijman, Simon (1915-2005)	anthropologist and curator	Series RV-10397, Series RV-10398, Series RV-10399, Series RV-10400, Series RV-10403, Series RV-10533	Marind Anim, Kamoro
Le Roux, Charles Constant François Marie (1885-1947)	Stirling Expedition (1926)	TM-60041094, TM-60041095, TM-60041363-TM-60041367, TM-60041626, TM-6004623-TM-6004625, TM-60050833-TM-60051009	western Central Highlands
	Expeditie van het KNAG naar het Wisselmerengebied en het Nassaugebergte op Nederlands Nieuw-Guinea / Le Roux Expedition (1939)	TM-ALB-1655, TM-ALB-1888a, TM-ALB-1888c	western Central Highlands
Lorentz, Hendrik Albertus (1871-1944)	North New Guinea Expedition / Wichmann Expedition (1903) First South New Guinea Expedition (1907) Second South New Guinea Expedition (1909-1910)	TM-10001177, TM-10004530, TM-10006143, TM-10009333, TM-10009344, TM-10009475, TM-10009488, TM-10009503, TM-10009520, TM-10010339, TM-10011333, TM-100133890, TM-10018685, TM-10018686, TM-10021607, TM-100149498-TM-100149512, TM-100149917-TM-100149967, TM-60009982, TM-60014783-TM-60015059, TM-60015652-TM-60015771, TM-60048274, TM-60049189-TM-60049191	westerm New Guinea
Vertenten, Father Petrus (1884-1946)	Roman Catholic missionary	Series RV-10397, Series RV-10757, Series RV-10777, Series RV-10778, Series RV-11597, Series TM-5969	Marind Anim
Missiehuis collection	Roman Catholic Missionary collection (before 1908)	TM-10000702, TM-10008317, TM-10008334, TM-10009408, TM-10013696	Marind Anim
Pouwer, Jan (1924-2010)	anthropologist	TM-10032298, RV-10808-53-13, RV-10809-54-1/1	Sibil Valley, Kamoro
Smidt, Dirk A.M.	anthropologist and curator	Series RV-13431	Asmat
Utrechtse Zendingsvereniging	Protestant Missionary Society	TM-10008318, TM-10009417, TM-60061485, TM-60061486, TM-60061490, TM-60061495, TM-60061496	northwest coast of New Guinea
van Baal, Jan (1909-1992)	anthropologist	TM-30028414, TM-30028415, TM-30028417, TM-30028420, TM-10008104, TM-10008270, TM-10008389, TM-10008392	Marind Anim
van der Leeden, Alexander Cornelis (1922-2001)	anthropologist	Series RV-10808, Series RV-10809, Series RV-10810, Series RV-10811, Series RV-10812, Series RV-10820, Series RV-13452, Series RV-13470	Sarmi
North New Guinea Expedition / Wichmann Expedition (1903)	North New Guinea Expedition / Wichmann Expedition (1903)	TM-ALB-0217	northwest coast of New Guinea
van Eechoud, Jan Pieter Karel (1904-1958)	government official	Series RV-10492	Ekari, Paniai
van Oijen, Wim (1950-)	collector	TM-20041233-TM-20041265	Asmat
Verschueren, Father Jan (1905-1970)	Roman Catholic missionary	Series RV-10399	Marind Anim
Wenting, A.J.	Government official	TM-10008125, TM-10008165, TM-10008208, TM-10008772, TM-100088897, TM-10010041	southwest New Guinea
Wichmann, Carl Ernst Arthur (1851-1927)	North New Guinea Expedition / Wichmann Expedition (1903)	TM-10002375, TM-10006147, TM-10008204, TM-10009044, TM-10009083, TM-10009475, TM-10011344, TM-10016723, TM-10032995-TM-10033009, TM-60012000	northwest coast of New Guinea
Wirz, Paul (1892-1955)	anthropologist	TM-10006137, TM-10008166-TM-10008168, TM-10008196, TM-10008344	Marind Anim

Table 3.1 (continued). List with object and photograph registration numbers.

Museum of Ethnography) in Leiden, is hence one of the oldest ethnographic museums in Europe.[170] The Museum Volkenkunde originated in the Royal Cabinet of Curiosities and the von Siebold collection. King William I (1772-1843) had founded the Royal Cabinet of Curiosities in 1816 in The Hague with, at its core, a collection of Chinese objects that Jean Theodore Royer (1737-1807) had bequeathed to the royal family in 1814. From the Cabinet's inception, the King encouraged the governing bodies in the colonies to collect for it. The ethnographic collection extended considerably with the acquisition of Japanese objects between 1826 and 1832 from Jan Cock Blomhoff (1779-1853) and Johan Frederik van Overmeer Fisscher (1800-1848).[171] In 1883 the Royal Cabinet of Curiosities was dissolved. The ethnographic objects were integrated into the National Museum of Ethnography in Leiden. The other founding collection was purchased by the state from von Siebold and was mainly constituted of Japanese objects. However, from this founding transpires an interest in Papua, as the first object (RV-1-1) is a cassowary feather skirt.

The Tropenmuseum also has two initiating collections: the Royal Zoological Society Natura Artis Magistra (Artis) founded in 1838 in Amsterdam and the Koloniaal Museum (the Colonial Museum) established in 1864 in Haarlem. Artis still exists today as a zoo in the centre of Amsterdam. At the beginning, it not only collected living exotic animals, but also rocks, samples of natural history and ethnographic objects. The Artis collection was first on display in 1851 in the Groote Museum (Large Museum) and then in the Kleine Museum (Small Museum) until it became too small to hold the collections. It was thus transferred to the Societeit Amicitiae (Society of Friends) that gave the collections its own building in 1888, named the Volharding (Perseverance). The primary aim of the Koloniaal Museum was display of products that could be found in the Dutch colonies including the Netherlands East Indies, Suriname and the Antilles. When the Koloniaal Museum became part of the Vereeniging Koloniaal Instituut (Society Colonial Institute) in Amsterdam in 1910, the Artis Ethnographic Museum closed. The collections were legally transferred to the new Koloniaal Museum, but were only physically moved in 1923. The building in which the Tropenmuseum is now housed opened its doors to the public in 1926.[172]

Another ethnographic museum with important Papuan collections today was inaugurated as the Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde on 1 May 1885 in the large port city of Rotterdam. The museum, now known as the Wereldmuseum (World Museum), initially occupied the first floor of the Royal Yacht Club, which had been sold to the city of Rotterdam after the death of its chairman, Prince Henry (1820-1879).[173] The Royal Yacht club had managed to build up a collection from all over the world showing young merchants with whom the port of Rotterdam traded. The collection soon expanded through the collecting activities of private merchants, but also missionaries, participants in expeditions and government officials.[174] In 2017 the Wereldmuseum started a close collaboration with the National Museum of World Cultures, an umbrella organization constituted by the Museum Volkenkunde, the Tropenmuseum and the Afrika Museum in 2014.

In the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, more ethnographic museums that hold Papuan collections were established (Figure 3.2). With the exception of the Museon in The Hague (1904 – today), all have now closed their doors and transferred (part of) their collections to the National Museum of World Cultures.

These museums include the Volkenkundig Museum Nusantara Delft (1864-2014), Volkenkundig Museum Justinus van Nassau (1923-1993) in Breda, Nederlandsch Volkenkundig Missiemuseum (1932-1987) in Tilburg, Volkenkundig Museum Gerardus van der Leeuw (1978-2003) in Groningen, and the Nijmeegs Volkenkundig Museum (1979-2005) in Nijmegen.

The Nusantara collection originated in 1864 in the Instelling van onderwijs in de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië (the Institution for Education in Language, Geography and Ethnography of the Dutch East Indies), abbreviated to the Indische Instituut (the East Indies Institute). The Indische Instituut was established in Delft to train civil servants for work and life in the colony of the East Indies. The then director made an appeal in the *Delftse Courant* newspaper to assemble an object collection that could be used as teaching aids in the geography and ethnography classes. The collection grew considerably after the Colonial World Expositions in Paris (1878), Berlin (1880), Amsterdam (1883) and Jakarta (1893) when the East Indies Institute received some of the collections. Though the civil service course moved from the Indische Instituut to Leiden in 1901, the museum continued to exist in Delft under the consecutive names of Ethnografisch Museum in 1911, Indonesisch Ethnografisch Museum (Indonesian Ethnographic Museum) in 1964 and Volkenkundig Museum Nusantara Delft (Ethnographic Museum Nusantara Delft) in 1977. From its inception, the focus had been on Indonesia, which also included significant Papuan collections. As the museum could no longer secure its funding, it had to close in 2013 transferring part of its collections to the Museum Volkenkunde in Leiden and repatriating parts of the collection to Museum Nasional in Jakarta.[175]

The founding of the Vereeniging ten bate van het Onderwijs (Society to the benefit of Education) in 1904 by the newspaper man Frits van Paaschen aimed at showing children how all kinds of products were made. In 1920 its name changed to Museum voor het Onderwijs (Museon, Museum for Education). It holds a very diverse collection ranging from ethnography, to natural history and technology.[176] The Papua collection is small but significant.

1923 saw the merger of a collection of artefacts assembled by the teachers at the Koninklijke Militaire Academie (KMA, the Royal Military Academy) in Breda that aimed at educating military officers on life in the Netherlands East Indies and the Hoofdcursus (Chief Course) in Kampen offering young men vocational military training. The KMA had been established in 1828, but only started collecting ethnographic items in 1905. The Hoofdcursus started its programme in 1852 and had before 1900 assembled a significant collection through military staff that returned from the Netherlands East Indies on leave. The museum became accessible to the public in 1925 under the name Etnografisch Museum van de Koninklijke Militaire Academie en de Hoofdcursus. In 1956 when it was called the Volkenkundig Museum Justinus van Nassau, it became a subsidiary to the Museum Volkenkunde in Leiden and broadened its collection policy to include areas other than Indonesia and New Guinea.[177]

In 1932, the Nederlandsch Volkenkundig Missiemuseum was established in Tilburg to give the general public insight into the cultures where Dutch missionaries were active. The collections consisted of Catholic mission congregation objects and also private collections. The main missions included the 'Fraters der Congregatie van

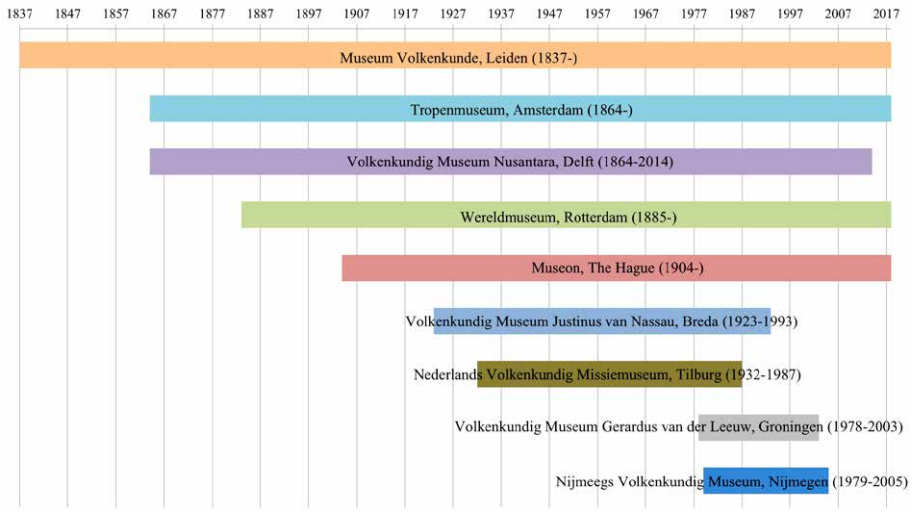


Figure 3.2. Timeline for Dutch museums with Papua and West Papua collections.

Onze Lieve Vrouw, Moeder van Barmhartigheid' (Brothers of the Congregation of our Lady, Mother of Misericord, abbreviated in Latin to Congregatio Matris Misericordiae) from Tilburg, the missionaries of the Sacred Heart (Missionarii Sacratissimi Cordis Jesu, MSC) and the Capuchins. The collection included mainly objects from Indonesia, western New Guinea, Africa and South America. Because of budget cuts, the museum, which was now named Volkenkundig Museum, had to close its doors in 1987 and transferred its collections to Nijmegen.[178]

The Volkenkundig Museum Gerardus van der Leeuw (Ethnographic Museum Gerardus van der Leeuw) was established by a passionate theology professor, poet and artist, Theodoor Pieter van Baaren (1912-1989), in 1978. He named the museum after his predecessor at the Groningen University who was one of the first to doubt the superiority of Western people. The collection consisted of four main parts including the personal collection of van Baaren, an ethnographic collection, which was displayed in Leeuwarden, the collection of the former Tropical Agricultural Museum in Deventer, and gifts and acquisitions made over the years of the museum's existence. The collection from Groningen was for the main part integrated into the Groningen University Museum while a small part was dispersed into various ethnographic museums in the Netherlands.[179]

The Nijmeegs Volkenkundig Museum was founded as a university museum by the department of anthropology at the Radboud Universiteit in Nijmegen in 1979. The collection was used to organize exhibitions and as a teaching collection for university students. The core collection was small but was complemented by a large loan from Capuchin, Augustinian and Jesuit missionaries. The Beijens collection was also managed by the museum, which, since the closure, has been transferred to the Military Museum of Bronbeek. The collection from the Missiemuseum of Tilburg also became part of the Nijmegen collection after the closure of the former museum in 1987.[180]

Unlike many other European countries, the Netherlands had a wealth of ethnographic museums spread all over the country, with curators and research

staff exclusively dedicated to ethnographic collections. The collections were never incorporated into wider encyclopaedic museums. Even though the 'ethnographic museum' as a stand-alone entity has stood the test of time in the Netherlands, only one methodology is available now in its exhibition and research process. And that methodology is established by the National Museum of World Cultures.

Collecting Papua

First encounters

In search of spices such as cloves, nutmeg and mace, the Portuguese captains Antonio d'Abreu and Francisco Serrano sighted New Guinea from afar in 1511 or 1512. When the governor of Ternate, Jorge De Menezes set out to reach the Portuguese trading post on this cloves-rich island, his ship drifted off course and he found a good port in what he called Versija (probably Warsai) in the Bird's Head Peninsula (Kepala Burung). He waited there from the end of 1526 until May 1527 for favourable monsoon winds to continue his journey. From the seventeenth century onwards the exploration of New Guinea went from Portuguese and Spanish hands into Dutch hands. As with other nations, the spice trade was a major trigger in exploring what the easternmost island, New Guinea, had to offer. The Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC, Dutch East India Company) was specifically looking for the aromatic massoy bark from which a sought after medicinal oil was extracted and imported into Java. As many Bandanese not obeying Dutch treaty rules had been killed during a punitive massacre, the VOC also wanted to supplement its depleting work force on the nut plantations of Banda. In its quest for slaves, the Company had to deal with the Malaccan slave traders. As the VOC did not find any significant amounts of spices, the Portuguese and Spanish had been expelled, and direct trade in slaves and massoy bark was impossible, interest in New Guinea waned. This dwindling interest lasted until VOC leaders heard of the discoveries made by the British sailor William Dampier (1652-1715) in 1700. The Dutch saw in him a threat to the spice trade monopoly they had established for themselves. To halt the possibility of the British breaking the Dutch monopoly, the Dutch organized in 1705 an expedition lead by Jacob Weyland. The three frigates mapped a large part of the north coast extending to Cape d'Urville and the delta of Mamberamo. This voyage strengthened the Dutch in their conviction that there really were no spices in New Guinea.[181]

During the expedition Weyland captured six Papuans, three of whom were sent to Batavia (current Jakarta) and three to the Netherlands. One died in the Netherlands and the other two were sent to Banda in 1710, where they also died. These three Papuans from the north coast of New Guinea were probably the first of their people to spend time in the Netherlands. Whether they had the opportunity to take personal belongings with them and whether there are traces of these in Dutch museums or private collections is not known.

On the whole, the attitude of the Dutch can be characterized as passive. They were only spurred into action upon the possibility of losing their monopoly in the region. When the British and the Dutch republic signed the Peace of Paris in 1784 allowing for navigation in the eastern seas, the VOC's worst nightmare came true: the British established a fort on New Guinean soil. This, together with the European wars of the

early nineteenth century, caused an unsettling period for the VOC that saw its power collapsing. The British finally conquered the Dutch positions and returned them with the Treaty of Amiens in 1802. They were conquered again during the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815). This unsettled situation provided leaders in the Moluccas with an opportunity for rising to power and establishing themselves as leaders of the Moluccan and Papuan islands. To that end, the longstanding rivals, the sultans of Ternate and Tidore, signed a treaty on 27 October 1814 with the British. The latter got access to the several islands near Numfor along Teluk Cederawasih (Geelvink Bay). By 1824, the Dutch had received independence from France and been united into one kingdom for ten years. The Dutch took over the 1814 treaty from the British and secured that part of New Guinea. The British presence had been averted but still rumours were circulating that after establishing a colony in Australia, the British had their eyes set on New Guinea.[182]

Collecting approaches

The Etna Expedition of 1858 qualifies as the first scientific expedition to western New Guinea (see Table 3.2 for an overview of expeditions). Later expeditions were mainly prepared by scientific institutions such as the Koninklijk Nederlands Aardrijkskundig Genootschap (KNAG, Royal Dutch Geographical Society), the Maatschappij ter Bevordering van het Natuurkundig Onderzoek der Nederlandsche Koloniën (MBNO, Society for the Promotion of the Natural Sciences in the Dutch Colonies) and the Indisch Comité voor Wetenschappelijke Onderzoekingen (ICWO, East Indies Committee for Scientific Research) or Indisch Comité. A number of soldiers of the Koninklijk Nederlands-Indisch Leger (KNIL, Royal Netherlands Indies Army) participated in expeditions, as they were not required for other projects (Table 3.3).[183] Objects collected during these expeditions were dispersed over the museums in Amsterdam, Leiden, Rotterdam and also the National Museum of Jakarta, originally called the Museum van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (Museum of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences).[184]

While missionary collecting has not been studied extensively for western New Guinea, it remains an important object source for Dutch collections. The first missionaries in western New Guinea were the German Lutherans Carl Wilhelm Ottow (1827-1862) and Johann Gottlob Geißler (1830-1870), settling on the northwest coast of the island in 1855. They were soon followed by Jan L. van Hasselt (1839-1930), a member of the Utrechtse Zendingsvereniging (the Utrecht Protestant Missionary Society), who arrived on the north coast in 1863. In particular the Wereldmuseum in Rotterdam acquired important collections from the Utrechtse Zendingsvereniging. The Roman Catholic mission received permission to start missionary work in 1891 and saw the first Jesuit missionary Cornelis Johan Le Cocq d'Armandville (1846-1896) arrive in 1894 near Fakfak. Ultimately, mainly missionaries of the Sacred Heart with people such as Petrus Vertenten (1884-1946) contributed to the growth of the Dutch collections. Governor-general Alexander Willem Frederik Idenburg (1861-1935) implemented a geographical division of missionary activity along the same lines as in the Netherlands: Protestants worked in the north, Catholics in the south. In practice, the line was drawn through the Central Highlands.[185]

The 1950s saw the advent of the anthropologists, curators and professional collectors. Famous exponents are Adriaan Gerbrands (1917-1997), Simon Kooijman (1915-2005), Alexander Cornelis van der Leeden (1922-2001), Jan Pouwer (1924-2010), Dirk Smidt (1941-), and Anton Ploeg (1933-). Carel Maria A. Groenevelt (1899-1973) who collected for both the Tropenmuseum and the Wereldmuseum, was also an iconic professional collector.

West New Guinea collections in the Netherlands

The southwest coast: Kamoro, Asmat and Marind Anim collections

The governor Pieter Merkus (1787-1844) of the Moluccas thought it important to secure a Dutch presence on the western part of New Guinea and leave the eastern part to the British and the Germans. Hence an expedition was organized on royal order. The expedition with the *Triton* and the *Iris* became known as the Triton Expedition (1828) and was led by Jan Jacob Steenboom and A.J. van Delden. The expedition cruised along the southwest coast of New Guinea and resulted in the establishment of Fort Du Bus, near Triton Bay, named after the businessman and viscount Leonard Pierre Joseph Du Bus de Ghisignies (1770-1849).[186] While most members of the expedition were focused during their eleven-day stay on securing and controlling the territory, the taxidermist Salomon Müller (1804-1864) is known to have shown interest in material culture. He was one of the five members of the Natuurkundige Commissie voor Nederlandsch-Indië (Natural Science Committee for the Dutch East Indies), which had been established by King William I in 1820. Its aim was to gather information on all aspects of life in the colonies in order to exploit them most effectively. Müller also published on ways of living, material culture, clothing, weapons, body ornaments and trade.[187] The collection, which is largely made up of body ornaments such as armbands, waist bands, penis cases, head ornaments and necklaces, was obtained directly from Kamoro people. Some of the people were dressed in Malay fashion, which exemplified their long-established contact with Seram traders from the Malaccan islands.[188] This contradicts the commonly held view that Kamoro had not seen foreigners after having met the members of the expedition led by Gerrit Thomasz Pool in 1636.[189]

The Müller collection was ultimately integrated into the collection of the current Museum Volkenkunde. However, the Museum Volkenkunde was not yet in existence when Müller was making the collection. Even though the Triton Expedition had been an official government sponsored endeavour, and the objects were to be allotted to a public institution, the Müller collection was purchased by Conradus Leemans (1809-1893), director of the Museum of Antiquities in Leiden.[190] Of the 148 objects that constitute the Pacific Müller collection, a number are definitely not from the Kamoro or Asmat area, but from other regions of western New Guinea including the Geelvink Bay (RV-16-537) and Nduga from the western highlands (RV-16-541, RV-16-542).[191] These objects might point to extant exchange relationships between Kamoro and Nduga or Geelvink Bay inhabitants. Less is known of the collecting activities of Heinrich Christian Macklot (1799-1832) who was also a member of Natural Science Committee for the Dutch East Indies. Von Siebold bought Macklot's collection in the early 1830s because of its unique character; none of the other objects in the von Siebold collection

Expedition name	Expedition dates
Triton Expedition	1828
Etna Expedition	1858
North New Guinea Expedition *or* Wichmann Expedition	1903
Southwest New Guinea Expedition	1904-1905
South New Guinea Expeditions First South New Guinea Expedition Second South New Guinea Expedition Third South New Guinea Expedition	1907-1913 1907 1909-1910 1912-1913
Military Exploration of New Guinea Southern detachment Northern detachment Western detachment	1907-1915
Central New Guinea Expedition	1920-1922
Stirling Expedition	1926
Mimika Expedition	1935-1936
Le Roux Expedition	1939
Star Mountains Expedition	1959

Table 3.2. List of Dutch expeditions organized to Papua and West Papua.

Acronym	Dutch name	English translation
ICWO	Indisch Comité voor Wetenschappelijke Onderzoekingen *or* Indisch Comité	East Indies Committee for Scientific Research
KMA	Koninklijke Militaire Academie	Royal Military Academy
KNAG	Koninklijk Nederlands Aardrijkskundig Genootschap	Royal Dutch Geographical Society
KNIL	Koninklijk Nederlands-Indisch Leger	Royal Netherlands Indies Army
MBNO	Maatschappij ter Bevordering van het Natuurkundig Onderzoek der Nederlandsche Koloniën	Society for the Promotion of the Natural Sciences in the Dutch Colonies
VOC	Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie	Dutch East India Company

Table 3.3. Acronyms for Dutch institutions.

had come from the places where Macklot had collected. Unfortunately, a large part of the collection was lost when Macklot had to leave Java during a Chinese uprising in 1832.[192] A number of objects are very similar to those collected by Müller and are therefore very likely to have been collected during that same expedition (Figure 3.3). The Triton Expedition resulted in the earliest Papua collection in the Netherlands.

In 1903, under command of the Assistant Resident Johannes Alexander Kroesen (1857-1936), an expedition was organized during which W. (Zweerts) de Jong, captain of the naval ship *Van Doorn*, brought a small southwest collection to the Museum Volkenkunde.[193]

Members of the Southwest New Guinea Expedition sent out by the KNAG in 1904-1905 under the command of Captain E.J. de Rochemont to map the snow-covered mountains in the Central Highlands had a more extensive stay in the Kamoro area. The expedition goals failed but an important Kamoro collection (Figures 3.4 and 3.5) was made as well as a Marind Anim (Figure 3.6) and a small Asmat collection. Generally,

Asmat collections in the Netherlands are characterized by their many shields; however, these early collectors acquired very few (Figure 3.7).[194] The objects were spread among the major Dutch ethnographic museums such as the Artis Ethnographic Museum (which was eventually integrated into the Tropenmuseum), the Museum Volkenkunde and the Wereldmuseum; smaller Dutch institutions including Koninklijke Militaire Akademie (Royal Military Academy), Breda and Hoofdcursus (Main Course), Kampen; and institutions abroad such as the Museum für Völkerkunde (Hamburg), Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde (Berlin, current Museum of Ethnology), Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum (Cologne), and Museum of Anthropology (Florence).[195] Around the same time, administrative civil servant Charles Lewis Joseph Palmer van den Broek (1862-1937) also acquired a collection during visits to the Kamoro coast.

The southwest area saw the establishment of the first Roman Catholic mission in 1905 in Merauke, just three years after a government outpost had been established on the bank of the River Maro. This area was the homeland for about 8,000 Marind Anim people, with another 6000 living toward the interior.[196] From then on Roman Catholic missionary collections reached Dutch museums. The Wereldmuseum holds a Marind Anim collection that was transferred from the Missiehuis (Mission House) in Tilburg in 1908. Many more mission collections would follow such as the ones made by Father Jan Verschueren (1905-1970) at Museum Volkenkunde, and by Father Henri Geurtjens (1875-1957) at the Tropenmuseum. Father Petrus Vertenten (1884-1946), a Belgian missionary of the Sacred Heart, was not only a gifted painter who made many portraits of the Marind Anim people among whom he was working, but was also instrumental in Paul Wirz's (1892-1955) research, which lasted from 1916 until 1919 (Figure 3.8).

Between 1907 and 1913 three South New Guinea Expeditions were organized by the ICWO and the MBNO.[197] Hendrik Albertus Lorentz (1871-1944), who had gained experience on the northwest coast of the island, led the First (1907) and the Second South New Guinea Expedition (1909-1910) (see below) whereas Alphons Franssen Herderschee (1872-1932) explored the southern part of the highlands during the Third South New Guinea Expedition.[198] Jan Willem van Nouhuys (1869-1963) was an active natural history researcher on the first two South New Guinea Expeditions. Both Lorentz and van Nouhuys assembled south coast collections that ended up in the Tropenmuseum, the Museum Volkenkunde (Figure 3.9) and the Wereldmuseum (Figures 3.10 and 3.11). The Second South New Guinea Expedition focused specifically on the Kamoro area.

From 1907 to 1915, the Military Exploration of New Guinea was organized in regional chapters: a southern, a northern and a western detachment. The southern chapter focused on the Kamoro area in 1910. Captain Anthony Jan Gooszen (1864-1922), in charge of mapping and supporting geological and ethnographic research, ultimately made an extensive collection of 6,616 objects from New Guinea and argued for developing an ethnographic research programme instead of limiting efforts to mapping and pacification.[199] The Gooszen collection went mainly to Museum Volkenkunde in Leiden (Figures 3.12, 3.13, 3.14 and 3.15), but so called duplicates were exchanged with the Museums of the KMA in Breda, the Hoofdcursus (Chief Course), Artis (now at the Tropenmuseum) and to the Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde (the current Wereldmuseum).

Figure 3.3. Kamoro headdress probably collected by Macklot in 1828 during the Triton Expedition. 50 x 32 cm. Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen: RV-1-29.

Gooszen's collecting activities are documented by a standard official report entitled 'Report of the military exploration of Dutch New Guinea 1907-1915'. However, under the pseudonym 'Pionier' (Pioneer) Gooszen published 14 instalments in the *Nieuw Rotterdamsche Courant* between 23 July 1907 and 8 June 1908 entitled 'Het exploreren van New Guinea' (Exploring New Guinea).[200]

Government officials often made interesting collections. This was the case for Friedrich Wilhelm Tobias Hunger (1874-1952), a botanist, and A.J. Wenting based in Merauke. Both their collections ended up in the Tropenmuseum. As the Dutch administration of New Guinea expanded, the Dutch government set up an administrative post in 1926 at Kokonao in the Kamoro area, followed by a Roman Catholic mission post in 1927.[201] Jan van Baal (1909-1992), a professional anthropologist who obtained his PhD in 1934 with a study of headhunting practices among the Marind Anim, made a significant collection of 44 objects that he donated to the Museum Volkenkunde.[202] As the chief of the field police during the Central New Guinea Expedition (1920-1922),

Figure 3.4. Kamoro chest ornament collected during the Southwest New Guinea Expedition (1904-1905). 1.5 x 21 x 28 cm. Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen: TM-A-96b.

Figure 3.5. Kamoro prow ornament with carved face collected during the Southwest New Guinea Expedition (1904-1905). 110 x 18 cm. Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen: TM-A-524.

Figure 3.6. Marind Anim bracelet made from woven fibre and collected during the Southwest New Guinea Expedition (1904-1905). 21 x 9 cm. Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen: TM-A-35b.

Figure 3.8 (above). Woven bag decorated with geometric motifs. Collected by Wirz during his Marind Anim fieldwork from 1916-1919. 28 x 20.5 x 10.5 cm. Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen: TM-2670-693.

Figure 3.7 (left). The earliest collected Asmat shield, acquired during the Southwest New Guinea Expedition (1904-1905). 162 x 46 cm. Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen: RV-1549-45.

R.R. van Ravenswaay Claasen collected among the Marind Anim. Later, during a service trip he collected Asmat art (Figure 3.16). The Roman Catholic missionary Gerard Zegwaard (1902-1996) worked among the Asmat between 1955 and 1994 and helped out Carel Groenevelt, a professional collector during his collecting activities.[203]

Remarkably, the increasing Dutch colonial presence seems to have led to a decrease in object collections with Carel Groenevelt, Simon Kooijman and Jan Pouwer as notable exceptions. Out of the 11 trips that Groenevelt carried out when he was stationed at Jayapura between 1951 till 1956, four focused on the Asmat and Kamoro regions. As both the Tropenmuseum and the Wereldmuseum were financing his field trips, the collections went to both institutions. In 1953, when Groenevelt was collecting, Simon Kooijman, the then curator at the Museum Volkenkunde conducted research among the Marind Anim and collected objects from the Kamoro region up to Merauke in order to enlarge the collection so that it would rival those of the Tropenmuseum (Figure 3.17) and the Wereldmuseum.[204] Some of the objects were actually collected by Christiaan Conrad Verheij van Wijk (1913-1993), a director of the N.V. South New Guinea Import Export Company at Agats. The Resident (highest-ranking government officer) in 1953, J.J. Spijker, was another important supplier to Kooijman. Initially, the anthropologist Jan Pouwer, who had been sent out by the Bureau for Native Affairs in 1951 to conduct research in the Kamoro region (Figure 3.18), also collected for Simon

Figure 3.9. Wooden drum collected by van Nouhuys on the southwest coast of New Guinea during the First (1907) or Second South New Guinea Expedition (1909-1910). 142 x 31 cm. Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen: RV-2442-87.

Kooijman. Later, he collected objects for their ethnographic and anthropological value, as well as to illustrate the information he wanted to convey about masking and dances.[205] Between 1960 and 1961, the anthropologist and then deputy director of the Museum Volkenkunde, Adriaan Gerbrands, gathered a significant Asmat collection comprising objects for daily and ceremonial use such as drums, mask costumes, canoe prows, paint cups, paddles, spears, bone daggers, shell and bone ornaments, stone adzes (Figure 3.19), chisels, sago beaters, bamboo horns, pipes, and woodcarvings. Based in the village of Amanamkai, Gerbrands was researching Asmat woodcarving and the individuality of Asmat woodcarvers. Other famous collectors who Gerbrands encountered were Michael Rockefeller (1938-1961) and Gunter and Ursula Konrad, which meant they often obtained similar objects. Between 1970 and 1977 the Museum Volkenkunde and the Tropenmuseum acquired some Asmat carvings through Jac Hoogerbrugge (1923-2014) who was involved in the Asmat Art Project aimed at encouraging Asmat artists.[206]

In 1984 René Sylvester Wassing (1927-2011), the then Oceania curator at the Wereldmuseum, undertook a collecting trip with his director Felix A. Valk (1929-1999). About half of the 22 objects collected were bis poles. Wassing had been a government anthropologist for three years in 1960 and had met with Gerbrands and Rockefeller while stationed in Jayapura. The most recent significant addition to the Kamoro collections was made in 2000 and 2002 by Dirk Smidt, the then curator at Museum Volkenkunde and in 2002 by Kalman Antal Muller (1939-), both during the Kamoro Arts Festivals that the PT Freeport Indonesia and nominally the Kamoro Foundation (LEMASKO) sponsored between 1998 and 2006 to revive Kamoro culture.[207] The Asmat collections have not grown significantly in the twenty-first century; however, Wim van Oijen (1950-) has added to them in recent years specifically with Asmat fibre arts, which had largely been absent from the collections (Figure 3.20).

Figure 3.10. Asmat nose ornament collected by Lorentz and van Nouhuys during the Second South New Guinea Expedition (1909-1910). 10.4 x 2.2 x 1.9 cm. Wereldmuseum Rotterdam: WM-20550.

Figure 3.11. Marind Anim figurine, possibly made for the Western market. Collected by Lorentz during the Second South New Guinea Expedition (1909-1910). 39 x 20 x 15 cm. Wereldmuseum Rotterdam: WM-71255.

Figure 3.12. Kamoro amulet covered with red cloth. Collected by Gooszen during the Military Exploration of New Guinea (1907-1915) and donated to the Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden, in 1914. 11.5 x 2 cm. Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen: RV-1889-43.

Figure 3.13 (left). Kamoro adze (maramo) with a human shaped handle. Collected by Gooszen during the Military Exploration of New Guinea (1907-1915) and donated to the Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden, in 1914. 39.5 x 5 cm. Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen: RV-1889-47.

Figure 3.14 (above, right). Kamoro widower's cape woven from sago palm leaves. Collected by Gooszen during the Military Exploration of New Guinea (1907-1915) and donated to the Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden, in 1914. 21 x 24 cm. Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen: RV-1889-176.

Figure 3.15 (below, right). Kamoro V-shaped prow ornament. Collected by Gooszen during the Military Exploration of New Guinea (1907-1915) and donated to the Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden, in 1914. 43 x 62 x 2 cm. Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen: RV-1889-210.

Figure 3.16. Rare Asmat female figure with sago palm fibre skirt and cassowary feathers. Collected by van Ravenswaay Claasen in 1937 during a service trip in region of the Unir River. 104 cm. Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen: RV-2412-3.

Figure 3.17. Wooden male figure collected in 1951 by Groenevelt while he was stationed in Jayapura. 70 cm. Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen: TM-2135-48.

The northwest coast of New Guinea: Geelvink Bay, Lake Sentani, Humboldt Bay

The Etna Expedition of 1858 counted 128 men on the steamer *Etna*, under the command of Hugo D.A.G. van der Goes, Resident of Banda. Among the crew were five researchers who had received the order to collect items of natural history and curiosities. The expedition first explored the southwest coast, named Etna Bay on the Bird's head Peninsula and sailed on to Doreh (Figure 3.21). They encountered the first two German protestant missionaries Carl Ottow and Johann Geißler on Mansinam. Unfortunately, of all the information gathered, only the hydrographical data was of

Figure 3.18 (left). Wooden Kamoro club with star-shaped head. Collected by Pouwer when he was sent out in 1951 by the Bureau for Native Affairs to conduct research in the Kamoro region. 96 x 22 cm. Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen: RV-3168-3.

Figure 3.19 (above, right). Stone adze blade with woven palm leaf bag from the Asmat region. Collected by Gerbrands between 1960 and 1961. 17.2 cm (blade), 22 cm (bag). Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen: RV-3790-92.

significance. The stone and mineral collection was lost and the prepared animals were dispersed among many foreign museums.[208] The Museum Volkenkunde in Leiden has a collection of 146 objects, made by Baron Carl Benjamin Hermann Rosenberg (1817-1888),[209] the naturalist aboard the expedition, but it was only in the early twenty-first century that David van Duuren, former curator at the Tropenmuseum was able to match up an expedition drawing of a korwar figure with one at the Tropenmuseum (Figure 3.22) that Rosenberg collected. This korwar figure is probably the oldest of its kind in a Dutch museum collection.[210] Other objects from this expedition entered the Museum Volkenkunde through Captain Frederik Gerard Beckman (1816-1868)[211] and the MBNO and possibly through the Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (Royal Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences).

In 1881, Johannes Van Oldenborgh in his capacity of District Officer of Ternate undertook a voyage during which he collected more than 120 objects, which ended up in Museum Volkenkunde. However, the best documented and most extensive early collection from the northwest coast of New Guinea, 862 objects, comes from Frederik Sigismund Alexander de Clercq (1842-1906), the Resident of Ternate who travelled there in 1887 and 1888. Together with Johann Schmeltz (1839-1909), curator at the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde (now Museum Volkenkunde) in Leiden, de Clercq wrote up a complete overview of what was known, at that time, of the art of the northwest coast of New Guinea. Interestingly, objects from and discussion of Lake Sentani are absent from his writings, but de Clercq does comment on how he bought objects, mentioning that sometimes people did not want to part with them, and that his position as Resident coerced people into giving things up.[212]

Figure 3.20. Asmat woven bag decorated with fibre tassels. Collected in Owus by van Oijen in the early 21st century. 58 x 38 x 5 cm. Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen: RV-6198-215.

The North New Guinea Expedition (1903), also known as the Wichmann Expedition, specifically explored the Geelvink Bay (Teluk Cenderawasih), the Humboldt Bay and Lake Sentani. The expedition, commonly named after the German geology professor at the National University of Utrecht, Carl Ernst Arthur Wichmann (1851-1927), acquired material that is now dispersed in Leiden, Amsterdam and Rotterdam. The most important collectors were the physician Gijsbertus Adrian Johan van der Sande (1863-1910), with Museum Volkenkunde holding more than 600 of his collected objects (Figure 3.23), Jan Willem van Nouhuys, the captain of the ship who collected over 800 objects during this expedition, the zoologist Lieven Ferdinand de Beaufort (1879-1968) (Figure 3.24), and the amateur biologist Hendrik Albertus Lorentz. The expedition members used the deck of the ship as an improvised laboratory to organize the collected objects and natural history specimens. It is apparent that collecting was far from a peaceful and equal encounter as the expedition members' reports state that information and objects were not readily parted with.[213] In addition to collecting during the six months of the expedition, Lorentz wrote a travel report 'Eenige maanden onder de Papoea's' (A Few Months Among the Papuans); Wichmann wrote the natural science report and a two-volume exploration history for New Guinea entitled *Entdeckungsgeschichte von Neu-Guinea* (The History of Discovery of New Guinea); Van der Sande wrote an extensive study – richly illustrated with colour lithographs and photographs – of the cultural

Figure 3.21. Wooden head rest, collected in Doreh Bay by Baron Rosenberg during the Etna Expedition of 1858. 14 x 18 x 10 cm. Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen: RV-79-14.

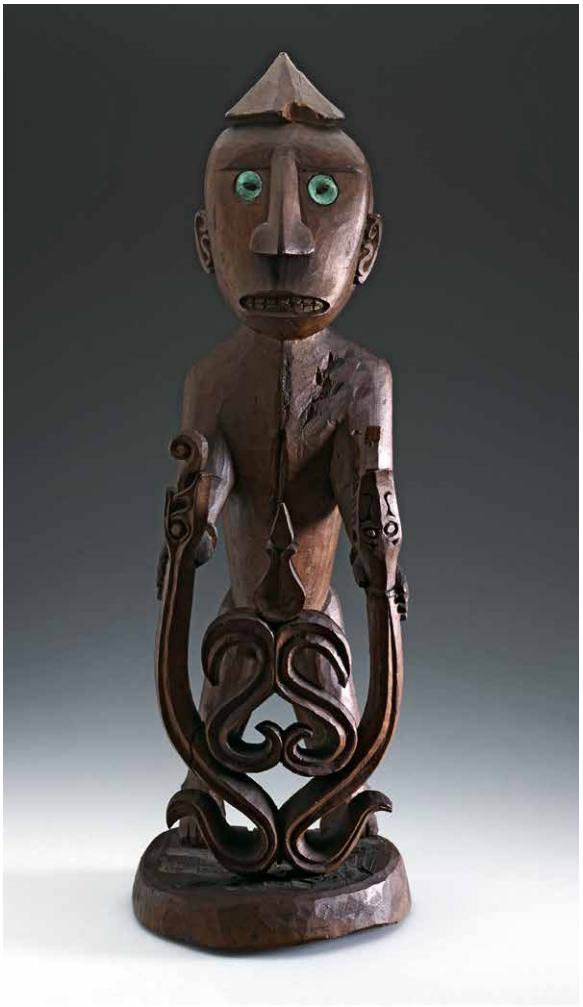


Figure 3.22. Wooden ancestor figure (korwar) collected by Rosenberg in Teluk Cenderawasih (Geelvink Bay) during the Etna Expedition in 1858. 41 x 12 m. Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen: TM-A-564.

and physical characteristics of the Papuans encountered; and de Beaufort collected and preserved birds. Van der Sande seems to be one of the earliest Europeans to recount the exchange of objects between Papuan women and the male expedition members.[214] While Anthony Jan Gooszen primarily collected objects in the southern areas of New Guinea, he also collected a small number in the northwest between 1907 and 1915.[215]

Stationed at the Humboldt Bay between 1893 and 1901, Gerardus Lodewijk Bink (1844-1899), the first Dutch missionary from the Utrecht Protestant Missionary Society to spend time in Lake Sentani area, made a collection, which is now part of the Utrecht Protestant Missionary Society collection of 550 Pacific objects at the Wereldmuseum Rotterdam (Figure 3.25).[216] Korwar sculptures and amulets from the Geelvink Bay area reached the museums when they were surrendered by the local population. For example, in Biak 72 korwars were given to the mission in 1908. Some of these reached Leiden, but the largest collection went to Rotterdam. Missionary accounts also make clear that Papuans from the northwest coast of New Guinea developed all sorts of strategies to escape the missionary zeal: sometimes whole villages fled and resettled, others gave objects that had most probably lost their function, hiding the most precious objects upon the arrival of the missionaries.

Johan van Eerde (1871-1936), the first director of the Koloniaal Museum (the current Tropenmuseum) decided to go on a collecting trip after participating in the Pan-Pacific Science Congress in Jakarta in 1929. He asked local officials for help in this endeavour, among whom were W.A. Hovenkamp, Resident of Ternate and N. Halie, an administrator on the north coast between 1926 and 1930. Many of these objects, the ritual use of which displeased the protestant missionaries active in the region, were saved from destruction. Hovenkamp sent a special selection of 130 objects to Amsterdam. Halie shipped more than 900 objects to the Tropenmuseum, assisted by K.T. Beets, the Assistant Resident of Ternate and G.A. Beurts, a captain with the Dutch Merchant Marine. Esquire C. van der Wijck was also active as a collector during his time as a colonial authority between 1927-1930.[217]

Groenevelt, a professional collector with years of experience in Indonesia, worked in Jayapura to collect for the Tropenmuseum between 1951 and 1958 and the Wereldmuseum between 1954 and 1958 for which he collected almost 6,000 objects. He made numerous excursions to Lake Sentani, Humboldt Bay and Tanah Merah Bay. Groenevelt felt a sense of urgency, as he had observed that missionary activity in the northwest of New Guinea had led to rapid changes, which he feared would eventually result in a loss, and perhaps even disappearance, of cultural items (Figures 3.26, 3.27 and 3.28). He therefore paid particular attention to finding new or unusual objects.[218]

The involvement of professional anthropologists collecting in northwest New Guinea has been limited. The most notable collector was the Swiss Paul Wirz who, in addition to his important Sepik River, Mount Hagen and Papuan Gulf collections, also donated objects to the Tropenmuseum that were collected during fieldwork among the Marind Anim on the southern coast of New Guinea between 1916 and 1919 and in the Lake Sentani area in the 1950s.[219] Alexander van der Leeden worked as the government anthropologist at the Kantoor voor Bevolkingszaken (Bureau of Native Affairs) in Jayapura. For his PhD thesis examining the social structures of the people living along the Sarmi River, he collected some 150 objects.[220] Since van der Leeden, objects

Figure 3.23. Painted ceremonial sago pot. Collected by van der Sande in the village of Tobati in the bay of Jayapura during the Wichmann Expedition (1903). 26 x 33 cm. Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen: RV-1528-35.

Figure 3.24. Coconut lime container with bone spatula. Collected during the Wichmann Expedition (1903) by de Beaufort in the village of Seisara close to Lake Sentani. 10 cm (container), 14 cm (spatula). Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen: RV-4949-19.

Figure 3.25. Door decorated with four crocodile and two shield reliefs. Collected in 1902 by a member of the Utrecht Protestant Missionary Society. 126 x 64 x 2.2 cm. Wereldmuseum Rotterdam: WM-11279.

from the northwest of New Guinea have come into Dutch collections through incidental purchases from private collectors or art dealers. This area, however, saw significant growth when the anthropologist Anna-Karina Hermkens (1969-) made a documented Lake Sentani collection in 1996 (Figure 3.29).

The western Central Highlands

The South New Guinea Expeditions (1907-1913) were ultimately aimed at reaching the perpetual snowfields and the Puncak Trikora (then called Queen Wilhelmina Peak) of the highlands of western New Guinea while carrying out research en route. However, it was only on the Second Expedition (1909-1910) led by Hendrik Albertus Lorentz and the Third South New Guinea Expedition (1912-1913) led by Alphons Franssen Herderschee that a more thorough exploration of the Central Highlands was carried out.[221] While brief encounters had been made with the Una people of the south side of Puncak Yamin (previously called Mount Goliath) in 1911, the Me (Ekari) of the Weyland Mountains in 1913, and the people living along headwaters of the Sobger River in 1914, it was mainly the stay with the Pesegem people living on the fringes of the Dani area in 1909 and 1913 that resulted in an object and photo collection that is now housed in the Tropenmuseum and the Wereldmuseum.[222]

During the preliminary trip as part of the Central New Guinea Expedition (1920-1922), contact was made with Papuans of the Swart Valley. When a subsequent trip was planned, Paul Wirz was the first ever professional anthropologist to join. Hence, in 1921, he became the first professional anthropologist to conduct fieldwork in the Central Highlands, in the Swart (or Toli) Valley among the Western Dani.[223] Wirz worked there while the rest of his party went on to climb Mount Wilhelmina and reach the upper Baliem Valley and produced a general ethnographic overview of the Western Dani. From Wirz's substantial object collection six objects donated to the Museum Volkenkunde in 1924 have been attributed to his Western Dani research. The

Figure 3.26. Wooden ancestor figure (korwar) with feather headdress. Groenevelt had this object in his private collection. 50 x 14 x 16 cm. Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen: TM-1772-491a-b.

Figure 3.27. Wooden prow ornament from the Humboldt Bay. Groenevelt had this object in his private collection. 59 x 25 cm. Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen: TM-1772-514.

Figure 3.28. Glass bead, barkcloth and cotton apron with stylized human figure from Teluk Cenderawasih Bay. Groenevelt had this object in his private collection. 45 x 40 cm. Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen: TM-1772-2061.

*Figure 3.29. Barkcloth (*maro*) made for sale in 1996 by Augus Ongge (1954-) from Asei village near Jayapura. Collected by Hermkens in 1996. 66 x 85 cm. Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen: RV-5875-1.*

expedition's physician, Hendrik (Hendricus) Johannes Tobias Bijlmer (1890-1959), made a collection that includes many decorated and undecorated skulls. These were part of the physical anthropology research he undertook in the Swart Valley for which he earned a doctorate in 1922 in Amsterdam. The objects are now in the Tropenmuseum.

The Stirling Expedition (1926), a joint Dutch-American scientific enterprise led by Matthew Williams Stirling (1896-1975), travelled up the Rouffaer River to the Nassau Mountains spending time among the Dem-speaking Nogullo or Awembiak. Charles Constant François Marie Le Roux (1885-1947), at that time curator at the museum in Batavia (currently Jakarta), collected 343 artefacts. Patrol officer B.J. Kuik made contact with Ekari peoples when patrolling in 1929 near Lake Jamur.

The medical officer Hendrik J.T. Bijlmer, who had participated in the Central New Guinea Expedition (1920-1922), was the leader of the Mimika Expedition between 1935 and 1936. This expedition, which spent a short period on the Kamoro coast (formerly called Mimika) was aimed at setting up contact with the inhabitants of the Paniai Mountains. Bijlmer, with the help of Father Herman Tillemans (1902-1975) who served as an interpreter, made a collection of 81 objects. In 1935, he opened up the Ekari territory as far as the Wissel Lakes (now Paniai). Bijlmer made the establishment of an administrative post in 1938 possible, which was further explored by Jan Pieter Karel van Eechoud (1904-1958) and Jean Victor de Bruyn (1913-1979).

In 1939 the KNAG organized the second expedition to the Central Highlands: it had the long title of Expeditie van het KNAG naar het Wisselmerengebied en het Nassaugebergte op Nederlands Nieuw-Guinea (Expedition of the KNAG to the Wissel Lakes and the Nassau Mountains in Netherlands New Guinea), but became better known as the Le Roux Expedition.[224] Because of the imminent threat of war, the expedition was cut short and Le Roux returned to his curatorial position at the Museum Volkenkunde in Leiden. The expedition surveyed the Ekari, Moni and Dem peoples, led to the first significant Central Highlands collection (1,553 objects) in the Netherlands and resulted in a three-volume work on the 'Mountain Papuans' (Figure 3.30).[225]

The period after the Second World War saw the return of missionaries in the Ekari region who worked from the administrative post that had been re-established at Enrotali near de Wissel (Paniai) Lakes in 1946. Other missionaries had started working among the Moni in 1941-1943 and in the early 1950s they settled among the Damal-speaking Amungme, the Grand Valley Dani and the Western Dani. Missionary activity resulted in many new converts mass burning ornaments, wealth objects, tools and weapons throughout the region of the Western Dani.[226] On the other hand, the pacification of the area made long-term anthropological fieldwork possible in the region. Johan Theodorus Broekhuijse (1929-), a government official who had completed his course in the sociology of non-Western peoples was moved in 1959 from Jayapura to Wamena to work in the office of 'Population Affairs' (Bevolkingszaken), which conducted linguistic, anthropological and demographic research. Broekhuijse received permission to conduct research among the Dani of the Baliem Valley.[227] His collection (548 objects), consisting of mainly tools and weapons, found a home in the Tropenmuseum (Figure 3.31) and in 1967 Broekhuijse completed a dissertation in Utrecht on the religion and the warfare of the Dani.[228] However, Broekhuijse is best known for his contribution to the film *Dead Birds* by Robert Grosvenor Gardner (1925-2014). Other professional anthropologists included Leopold Jaroslav Pospisil (1923-), Anton Ploeg, Denise O'Brien (c.1938-2008) and Karl Heider (1935-). The Wereldmuseum in Rotterdam holds the most important collection (some 270 objects) made by Anton Ploeg during his fieldwork among the Konda Valley Western Dani in 1961 (Figure 3.32).

In 1959, the KNAG organized its last large expedition to New Guinea. The Star Mountains Expedition was led by the zoologist Leo Daniël Brongersma (1907-1994) and was greatly aided with airstrip access. Cultural and physical anthropological fieldwork was conducted among the inhabitants of the Sibil Valley (Figure 3.33). The scientific publications were made accessible by Brongersma and Gerard Frouko Venema (1913-1988) in a bestselling publication.[229] The whole collection of 473 objects was transferred to the Museum Volkenkunde.

After Indonesia took control of western New Guinea, objects entered Dutch collections only sporadically. Fieldwork in the area continued with a few ethnographers working mainly in the Yali and Eipo areas and Bible translators and missionaries working in the Ketengban and Korupun-Sel areas. The Indonesian government gave out a few research permits in the 1980s and 1990s to anthropologists who added to our understanding of the Amungme and the Wodani.[230]

Figure 3.30. Cassowary feather headdress collected by Le Roux among the Ekari people of the Wissel Lakes during the Le Roux Expedition of 1939. 53 x 32 cm. Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen: RV-2467-3.

Displaying western New Guinea in the Netherlands

Little is known of how the western New Guinea objects were displayed in the nineteenth century. However, archives tell us that by 1883 in the Museum Volkenkunde the collections were displayed in two locations and grouped according to geographical areas. New Guinea had the heading of 'East and West New Guinea, as well as Timor and the other Islands East of Lombok'.[231] However, there are no illustrations or photographs available from this period. The first exhibition focusing on western New Guinea organized in Leiden examined the van der Sande collection from the Wichmann Expedition of 1903.[232]

In that same period of the late nineteenth century, the Tropenmuseum had different accents in its exhibitions. When the Koloniaal Museum opened its doors in Haarlem, the displays showcased raw materials and objects that were useful for trade and industry (Figure 3.34). The main aim was to educate the Dutch public about colonial activities. Nevertheless, the displays were probably also an attempt to justify the high costs that colonization entailed. Rotterdam, not benefitting from state support and not officially providing for the Royal Institute of the Tropics, relied heavily on cordial relations with the Colonial Department in The Hague and other colonial officials and scholars. Hence, the Rotterdam public could as early as 1910 see a display of objects collected during the Southwest New Guinea Expedition by Lorentz and Nouhuys. The latter eventually became the director of the Rotterdam Wereldmuseum in 1915.[233]

When the Tropenmuseum moved to its current location in 1926, the ethnographic collection and collection of products were split up. The displays became regionally

Figure 3.31. Fibre fight shirt from Dani of the Baliem Valley, collected by Broekhuijse in 1959. Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen: TM-3210-1.

Figure 3.32. Hip ornament made from orchid fibre. Collected by Ploeg during his fieldwork in 1961 in the village of Bokondini among the Western Dani. 97 x 33 x 10 cm. Wereldmuseum Rotterdam: WM-55749.

Figure 3.33. Headdress with cassowary feathers and two blue-ish feathers of the King of Saxony bird-of paradise (Pteridophora alberti). Collected during the Star Mountains Expedition of 1959. 60 cm. Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen: RV-3664-119a.

organized but still within a clear colonial framework. Plans for this were already expressed in the annual report of 1910-1911: 'this Museum will provide a clear picture of the large tribes in the [Netherlands] East and West Indies, while the purpose of the museum is to aid in the study of our colonial ethnology on a large scale'.[234]

In 1937, the permanent display of the Museum Volkenkunde was moved to its current location of the old university hospital. A geographically arranged, somewhat crowded, display of New Guinea objects was set up. It was reminiscent of the often-cramped cabinets of curiosity. While allied bombing of Leiden in 1944 damaged the museum building, it left the collections intact. After the Second World War, the collections were redisplayed in three 'culture areas': 'the Indonesian-Melanesian of the northern and western coastal regions, the Papuan cultures of the lowlands south of the mountains, and the Central Highlands'.[235] The Wereldmuseum in Rotterdam pursued a similar task, trying to connect post-war anthropological theories with new forms of display and education programmes. A more complete overview of New Guinea was aimed for.[236]

In the Tropenmuseum, the intimate connection of physical and cultural anthropology as part of the colonial project was expressed through the many mannequins (Figure 3.35), hence physical characteristics were linked to cultural objects. Following the thinking of social and cultural Darwinism, people from Papua were seen as underdeveloped. Words as 'primitive', Neolithic and Stone Age were often used to describe the social and cultural life of people in New Guinea. When Indonesia obtained its independence after the Second World War, New Guinea exhibitions gained in importance at the Tropenmuseum. The political undertone was often palpable. Objects were shown in a context where it was made clear to the visitor that the Netherlands were given the responsibility in New Guinea not only of making its inhabitants fit Dutch standards, but also of preparing the country for later immigration and settlement from the Netherlands.

In the 1950s, other ways of collecting and display were imagined at the Tropenmuseum. Carel Groenevelt, a professional collector working for both the Tropenmuseum and the Wereldmuseum in Rotterdam, is a good example of this. In the 1954 exhibition entitled *Melanesische kunst* (*Melanesian art*) and the 1956

Figure 3.34. The 'Fibre Room' in the Colonial Museum of Haarlem, 1912. Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen: TM-60040440.

Figure 3.35. Two mannequins representing Papuans in the permanent New Guinea display that stood from 1927 until 1944. Date image: 1931-1935. Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen: TM-60015846.

Figure 3.36. Display of the 'Religion' section curated by Kooijman in 1958. Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen: RV-12414-4.

exhibition featuring the collection assembled by Groenevelt, attempts were made to take an aesthetic approach, which had up till then been more characteristic of Museum Volkenkunde. Objects received very little explanatory texts. The information could instead be processed via a guided exhibition tour, or by reading the catalogue. However, objects placed on a sandy floor amidst tropical plants created a resemblance of a tropical environment. The same was true when the bequest by Paul Wirz was exhibited in 1958 with the title *Under the spell of the Ancestors*.[237]

In the late 1950s the Netherlands were faced with the impending loss of their last colony in the east because of independence or handover to Indonesia. Both the Tropenmuseum and Museum Volkenkunde upped their activities concerning the west New Guinea collections. Exhibitions were organized expressing the aesthetic value of the objects and the loss it would mean if the people came to disappear. The Tropenmuseum even became part of the jungle survival course for soldiers between 1960 and 1962.[238] The new permanent display curated by Simon Kooijman, the then Oceania curator at Museum Volkenkunde, in 1958 chose an anthropological approach dividing the display in common anthropological themes: (1) Sago Preparation and Gardening; (2) Hunting and Fishing; (3) Raw materials and techniques; (4) Objects for Daily Use; (5) The Mask Feast; (6) Religion (Figure 3.36); (7) War, Trade and headhunting; (8) Art; and (9) Ships and navigation.[239] However, the Wereldmuseum rethought how western New Guinea conceptually and structurally linked to other parts

of Oceania. Hence, other areas of the Pacific received more attention in displaying and acquisition policies than they had ever had.[240]

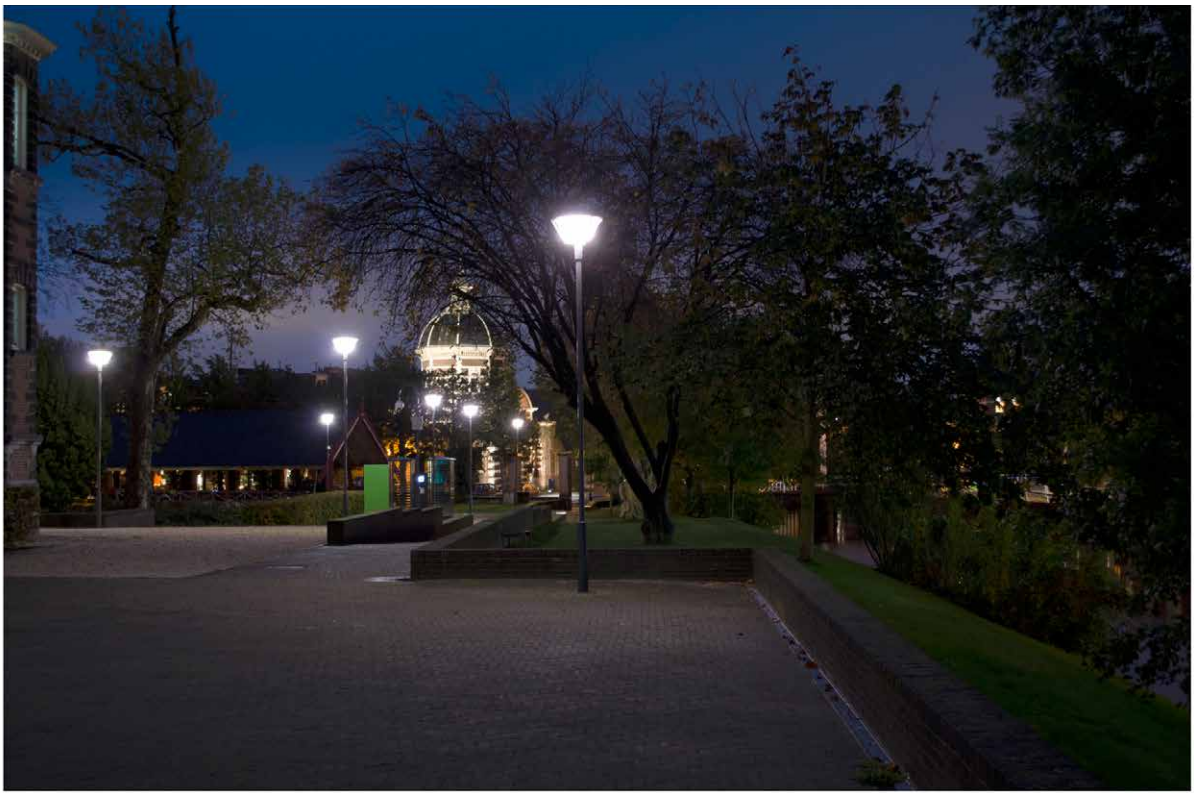
After 1963, when western New Guinea had really become part of Indonesia, the Tropenmuseum seemed to have serious soul-searching to do in relation to the Oceania department specifically, but also about the role of a 'colonial museum' in a country that had hardly any colonies left. The official line was that the museum would focus on what it termed 'Third World Exhibitions', in which it wanted to raise awareness around development work issues. However, for Oceania the focus remained firmly on arts and aesthetics. Only in 1997 with an exhibition entitled *Irian Jaya, Images of the Ancestors and Crucifixes* did a discussion arise around cultural identity and nation building within a context of being one of the minorities in a larger country.[241]

In 1986, the Leiden displays were dismantled to make space for a new display in which the Oceania collections were presented regionally, with an emphasis on aesthetic objects from western New Guinea.[242] During the extensive refurbishment of 2000, the Museum Volkenkunde chose to present its New Guinea collection in an aestheticized display with an Abelam men's house as the centrepiece. At the beginning of this century, the Tropenmuseum reflected on its identity and produced the exhibition *Eastward Bound! Art, culture and colonialism*.[243] For Oceania, the focus lay on the historical ritual arts of New Guinea, giving a 'fairy-tale once-upon-a-time' feel to the display.

The Wereldmuseum in Rotterdam was experiencing difficult times at the end of the twentieth century because the general public was doubting its legitimacy. This led to the change of names from Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde to 'Wereldmuseum'. Multi-culturality and connection to the changing Rotterdam population became a central policy, giving the museum a more prominent position in this mercantile city.[244] Just a few months before the 2014 merger, Museum Volkenkunde engaged in an update of all its galleries. The reshuffling of exhibition halls at Museum Volkenkunde meant that the Oceania displays were moved to rooms with lower ceilings, which prevented large objects such as bis poles of being displayed. The current display focuses on some of the key collections of the Museum Volkenkunde including the Asmat, Kamoro, Teluk Cenderawasih, Lake Sentani, Humboldt Bay and Central Highlands collections. But more importantly, an attempt was made to give more context to the often, but not always, historical collection by using photographs.

Through its display of western New Guinea, the local flavours of the three main Dutch ethnographic museums were palpable. The Museum Volkenkunde stood for an antiquarian museum tradition, the Tropenmuseum was implicated with the colonial project and the Wereldmuseum was a reflection of its merchant history. Today the National Museum of World Cultures wants to augment its historical collections by filling in gaps, but the museum is also exploring new collecting areas such as fashion, popular culture and contemporary art.

Exterior of Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden 2014. Photograph by Mark Adams.



CHAPTER 4

Oceania in Russian history: expeditions, collections, museums

ELENA GOVOR

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Introduction

Although Oceanic collections in Russia are not the richest in Europe, they are among the most valuable. In total Oceanic and Australian artefacts in these collections number nearly 9,000 items, the majority originating from the South Pacific.[245] Many of them, especially those of Russian voyagers, were acquired during early cross-cultural engagements and have well established geographical and temporal provenance. Russian interest in the Pacific was determined by the fact that by the eighteenth century Russia was both a European and a Pacific power. As a result of the gradual Russian colonization of Siberian territories, its first settlements on the Pacific coast, Okhotsk and Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky, were established in the eighteenth century. Expansion continued to the northwest coast of America, where the Russian-American Company established its colonies, known as Russian America, at the end of the eighteenth century. By the beginning of the nineteenth century these colonies attracted the first Russian commercial ships sailing from Europe across the Pacific with supplies. Russia's footing in the northern Pacific also prompted exploratory expeditions ranging across the Pacific, especially during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Interest in Oceania continued in the second half of the nineteenth century, when Russia had a Pacific naval detachment stationed in Vladivostok, which regularly visited the South Pacific islands and Australia as part of training exercises.

Early collections

Collections from the Cook expeditions

The early Russian presence in the Pacific explains the origin of the gem of the Russian Pacific collections, the artefacts from James Cook's third voyage. In April 1779, after a tiring and unsuccessful attempt to return to England via the northwest passage between Asia and America, and Cook's death on Hawai'i, his ships under the command of Charles Clerke sailed to Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky to recuperate. Magnus Behm, the governor of Kamchatka, provided the distressed voyagers with all possible hospitality and free supplies. The visitors reciprocated in an unusual way – they donated to Behm

the collection of superb artefacts acquired during the expedition, which included at least 69 items and 15 engravings by William Hodges. A similar gift consisting of samples of artefacts was made to the Russians several months later when the ships returned to Kamchatka after their second unsuccessful attempt to go through the northwest passage. Clerke died on the way to Kamchatka and was buried in Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky. It seems that the nature of the South Pacific artefacts, which were usually transferred as gifts rather than as trade items of purely monetary value, suggested to the British voyagers the format of reciprocation for Russian support at a critical moment. Behm understood the cultural value of the collection and personally delivered it across Siberia to St Petersburg, to the Russian Empress Catherine the Great, who in 1780 presented it to the Kunstkamera, the public museum of the Russian Imperial Academy. It became one of the earliest significant collections from Oceania held by a European museum. The destiny of the second collection, which probably did not include South Pacific artefacts, is unknown, but presumably it also reached St Petersburg.[246]

The Cook expedition collection, accompanied by Behm's inventory,[247] was housed in the Kunstkamera, now the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (MAE), St Petersburg, but its South Pacific origin and association with the Cook voyage was forgotten for over a century. In his description of the museum, the curator Osip Beliaev listed the artefacts as part of the American section.[248] The collection was rediscovered in the 1880s by MAE curator Fedor Russov, and then studied by Russian scholars in the 1960s.[249] Thorough attribution of the collection was made by Adrienne Kaeppler,[250] Ludmila Ivanova[251] and Pavel Belkov,[252] and presented in the exhibitions *Last Voyage of Captain Cook* at the MAE, St Petersburg in 2002 and *Pacific Treasures:*

Figure 4.1. Brochure from the MAE exhibition The Last Voyage of Captain Cook, 2002.

Cook Collections from the Kunstkamera, St. Petersburg at the Captain Cook Birthplace Museum, Middlesbrough in 2006 (Figure 4.1). Although the attribution of some objects, for example the Hawaiʻian feathered capes with oval collars, remains an open question, according to these studies the MAE currently houses the bulk of the 'Cook' artefacts as collection 505 (over 30 items); besides this, some South Pacific artefacts which correlate to Behm's original list were identified in other MAE collections (736, 765, 2328). Most of these 'Cook' artefacts originate from Hawaiʻi, and a few are from Tahiti and Tonga. They include: Hawaiian feathered cloaks, a cape, helmets, helmet bands and ornaments, a tabooing wand, barkcloth beater, boar tusk bracelet, feather fans, matting, adze, shark tooth implement, shark hook, and weapon; a Tongan overskirt, combs, woven basket, and neck rest; a Tahitian mourning dress, gorget, and fish hooks. The MAE has artefacts from Cook's second voyage as well: three Tahitian tapa cloth from 'von Forster', most likely Johann Reinhold Forster, the naturalist on this voyage, have been identified in the 'old' collection of 737; they were donated in 1777. Several other artefacts from the Cook expeditions might have reached Russia via private collectors, which will be discussed further on.

Early voyagers and collecting

Another significant source of South Pacific artefacts in Russian collections came from the participants of the Russian circumnavigation voyages. The first Russian expedition led by Adam von Krusenstern (Ivan Fedorovich Kruzenshtern) and Yury Lisiansky visited Rapa Nui, previously known as Easter Island, Nuku Hiva in the Marquesas Islands, and Hawaiʻi in 1804. Krusenstern did not have explicit instructions concerning collecting, but he and his international team of Russian, Baltic German, and Western European naturalists gathered artefacts in the traditions established by earlier European voyagers. The nominal head of the expedition, Nikolai Rezanov, collected artefacts in triplicate when possible, with the aim of donating one example to the Kunstkamera, one to the Russian-American Company (a sponsor of the expedition) and one to another institution. At present we do not know the name of the third institution. Tensions over artefact collecting nearly brought the expedition to ruin while it was stationed on Nuku Hiva Island.[253] Rezanov's subsequent withdrawal from the expedition and his premature death during his return journey to St Petersburg precipitated the relaxation of state control over the expedition's scientific trophies. Each participant of the expedition kept their own collection, which they disposed of according to their circumstances, although in the end many of the collectors donated their collections to various museums; thus, the briefly whole collection of Marquesan artefacts was dispersed throughout Russian, Estonian and Western European museums. They were recently identified through the research of the projects 'Artefacts of Encounter' and 'Pacific Presences'. As a whole, they constitute one of the earliest, richest and well provenanced Marquesan collections in the world, numbering over 130 extant artefacts plus scores of tapa cloth samples[254] (Figures 4.2 and 4.3).

Among the most valuable collections brought to Russia by these early South Pacific voyagers is Vasily Golovnin's collection. He visited Tana Island, Vanuatu, in 1809, being the second European voyager in this area after Cook, and acquired a number of artefacts, accompanying them with notes explaining their usage and providing their native names. In the following decades, the richest collections were gathered by Fabian

Bellingshausen and Mikhail Lazarev during their South Pacific voyage of 1820, when they visited Australia, Aotearoa New Zealand, the Society Islands, Tahiti and outlying Western Pacific islands. Collecting was among the named objectives of this expedition and they returned with over 500 items. Russian voyagers were also successful in collecting in the Micronesia area, especially on the Marshall Islands (Kotzebue, 1816-1817) and Caroline Islands (Lutke, 1827-1828).

The state exercised more control over the deposition of material into museums acquired during these later expeditions than it had previously. Most of the collections were deposited in Russian museums; despite this, the whereabouts of some collections are unknown. For instance, the location of most of Otto Kotzebue's artefacts from the Marshall Islands (1816-1817) remains unclear, although some of them have been traced to Moscow, Tallinn, and Britain.

Figure 4.2. Nuku Hivan 'u'u, war club, Krusenstern expedition collection. Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, St Petersburg (736-177).

Figure 4.3. State Admiralty Department Museum's label for 'u'u, which reads 'Club, used in battle by the inhabitants of the Marquesas Islands'. Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, St Petersburg (inventory books).

Museums in St Petersburg

In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, during the period of the most intense Russian voyaging and collecting in Oceania, the collections were housed in St Petersburg in two major museums: the Academy Museum, known as the Kunstkamera, and the Muzei Gosudarstvennogo Admiralteiskogo departamenta (State Admiralty Department Museum). The Kunstkamera had been established by Peter the Great in St Petersburg in 1714. The first public museum in Russia, it was inaugurated, like its counterparts in Europe, with a collection of naturalia, having a special interest in lusus naturae, monstra, and curiosities, and included important collections purchased from Leiden. In 1724 it was incorporated into the newly established Academy of Sciences, which facilitated its transformation into a research institution for which the collection of artificialia became increasingly important. Throughout the eighteenth century it was stocked with Chinese, Tatar and Siberian 'rarities'.[255] The first South Pacific artefacts to reach the Kunstkamera were the above-mentioned collection from Cook's third expedition, which were followed by a number of other gifts. For instance, in 1807 it received a helmet and feathered cloak which had been presented by Kamehameha I, the first ruler of the Kingdom of Hawai'i, to the governor of the Russian colonies in Northern America.[256]

Some collections of Russian South Pacific voyagers were deposited in this museum soon after the return of their expeditions. This was done, for instance, by Lisiansky and Krusenstern; later some gifts were deposited by the expedition's naturalist Wilhelm Tilesius. In 1831 the museum received the large Caroline Islands collection of Friedrich Lutke (Fedor Litke), numbering 348 objects. 'The collection is so complete', wrote its curator Julia Likhtenberg, 'that it provides an account of the Carolineans' life in the early 19th century'[257] (Figure 4.4). But the destiny of most other collections of the voyagers was not so straightforward, as

Figure 4.4. Carolinean water bailer made from one piece of wood, Lutke expedition collection. Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, St Petersburg (11-272).

at that time the Kunstkamera had a rival institution, the Muzeum Gosudarstvennogo Admiralteiskogo Departamenta (State Admiralty Department Museum), also based in St Petersburg. Originating as the 1709 Russian Admiralty Department's Model-kamera (Model Chamber), it was expanded in 1805 by Emperor Alexander I to house a 'curiosity cabinet', and was renamed the State Admiralty Department Museum; later it was commonly known as the Morskoi muzei (Maritime Museum).[258]

The growing popularity of the later institution is obvious from changing allegiances during the first Russian circumnavigation. While Rezanov at Nuku Hiva in 1804 was collecting rarities for the 'Academy', *i.e.* for the Kunstkamera, and was experiencing a lot of opposition from Krusenstern, the officers, and the naturalists, who, it seems, were eager to build up their own collections. By 1805 the attitudes had changed. Krusenstern, upon receiving a letter from the Naval Minister Pavel Chichagov about the establishment of the State Admiralty Department Museum, wrote:

> The Maritime Museum has inspired in all of us an enthusiasm for the collection of rarities … All that has already been collected by us and, of course, will be collected with great zeal, each of us will donate to the Museum with special pleasure on our return to Russia.[259]

His expedition was the first to establish a new tradition of donating artefacts and natural curiosities brought from the Pacific voyages to the State Admiralty Department Museum; three participants of Krusenstern's expedition – Krusenstern himself, Lisiansky, and Povalishin – presented collections to this museum soon after their return.

The curiosity cabinet of the State Admiralty Department Museum grew rapidly during the first decades of the nineteenth century as further Russian voyages and private donors brought new collections. Nevertheless, in spite of the original enthusiasm, the museum was for years no more than a collection of curiosities stored in trunks, until an attempt to reinvigorate the museum was made in 1825, following the death of its first head and curator Alexander Glotov. The position was offered to Nikolai Bestuzhev, a naval officer and maritime writer. Upon taking the position, Bestuzhev drafted a plan for the museum's restructuring; he proposed drawing on both ethnographic and natural history collections to prepare ambitious exhibitions dedicated to the various geographic regions explored by the Russian voyagers. This, Russian museum specialists have argued, was a significant innovation in Russian museum practices which took displays beyond the unsystematic 'cabinet of curiosities' stage and justified the accumulation of collections in the State Admiralty Department Museum.[260]

Unfortunately, political events intervened. Bestuzhev was a member of a secret society aiming to replace Russian autocracy with a constitutional monarchy. After the death of the Emperor Alexander I in December 1825, the revolutionaries declared themselves. From now on they were known as the Decembrists. The uprising was severely repressed by the new Emperor Nicholas I, and Bestuzhev, one of the movement's active members, was sentenced to hard labour in Siberia for the term of his natural life. Dmitry Zavalishin, another educated naval officer and a participant of the Russian expedition which visited the South Pacific in 1823, was appointed in his stead. In his memoirs, he wrote that he 'made foundations for establishing an ethnographic

museum', which was opened to the public and became one of St Petersburg's early tourist attractions.[261] Alas, Zavalishin remained in this post for only three months, as the enquiry into the Decembrist uprising also uncovered his connection with the rebels, and he was likewise sentenced to hard labour in Siberia.

These political events had a direct impact on the Oceanic collections. With two directors found guilty of high treason, the museum itself fell under the suspicion of the new Emperor. In 1827 Nicholas I wrote to the head of the Naval Department that the Museum 'stored things which have nothing to do with naval arts' and ordered that, among other items, 'weapons, dress and crafts of the inhabitants of the Eastern [*i.e.* Pacific] Ocean' were to be transferred to the Department of Education and to the Naval Cadet Corps.[262] This marked the beginning of the dispersal of the State Admiralty Department Museum's collections. Some of the artefacts and natural history collections were transferred to the Academy of Sciences (over 6,000 exhibits), of which 1,855 artefacts were deposited in the Kunstkamera in 1828. Other objects were sent to the Naval Cadet Corps in St Petersburg and some to the Map Depot in Nikolaev on the Black Sea.

South Pacific artefacts from the disbanded State Admiralty Department Museum arrived at a time of change within the former Kunstkamera itself: in the 1830s its collections were divided between several newly established museums, including the Ethnographic and Anatomical Museums. In 1878, they became the basis for the newly established Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography. Currently this institution has the official name of Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (abbreviated as MAE), but being the heir of the original Kunstkamera it is also referred to as the Kunstkamera. It has long been the major centre of Oceanic anthropology studies in Russia.

The ethnographic collections brought by Russian expeditions in the Pacific are the crowning jewel of this museum, but their identification has encountered some complexities. The inventories, made at the time these collections were gifted to the State Admiralty Department Museum, usually included brief descriptions of the items or at least their type, sometimes identifying them according to their place of origin, material, use, native name, but often, less informatively, grouping notionally similar items without separate or more specific identification.[263] Bestuzhev, when appointed, had an inventory of artefacts prepared, now a key source for untangling the origins and movements of the ethnographic collections of the museum.[264] When the artefacts were transferred from the State Admiralty Department Museum to the Kunstkamera in 1828, they were accompanied by a 'List of rarities' organized by territorial subdivisions, and had some labels, but, by the 1870s, when custodians of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography turned to these collections, the connections between surviving documentation and objects had become tenuous. Most of the South Pacific artefacts from the State Admiralty Department Museum were grouped together as fond (collection) 736. Fond 736 has over '330 artefacts, most of which are attributed to particular localities in the Pacific; they include 44 items from New Zealand, 27 from Hawai'i, 23 from Fiji, 17 from the Marquesas, 16 from Australia, 15 from Hervey Islands, etc.'.[265] Unlike later MAE collections, this fond does not list individual donors, referring to the origin of the artefacts as 'From the old collections'. Although most of the artefacts in this fond were collected during one or other of the Russian voyages to the Pacific, some of the items came from individual collectors who had not been to Oceania.

Currently MAE scholars are in the process of correlating the original State Admiralty Department Museum inventories with Pacific and American artefacts brought by the Russian expeditions.[266] For instance, the collection of Golovnin from Tana Island was painstakingly identified and researched by Ivanova and later by Belkov.[267] A few early voyagers' collections donated to the MAE directly are well documented and provenanced, for instance Lisiansky's Nuku Hiva and Hawai'i collection in fond 750 and Lutke's above-mentioned Caroline Islands collection in fond 711.[268]

Other early Oceanic collections in St Petersburg museums worth noting are the collections of the Arsenal (Armoury) in Tsarskoe Selo, which housed artefacts nominally belonging to the Russian Emperor. The collection had dozens of South Pacific items and their origins indicate that these were donations from the participants of various Russian expeditions to the Pacific. Documentation of this collection has survived in the Russian State Historical Archives and has been studied by Sergei Dmitriev.[269] This collection reached MAE in 1937 (fond 5754) after being transferred first to the Russian Museum, and then to the State Ethnographic Museum.

Private collections and collectors

Some private collecting took place during the early expeditions, but never on such a scale as was customary among European and American voyages (see Chapter 1). For instance, in 1822 a toi moko (preserved Māori head) was spotted in the possession of Nikolai Galkin, a surgeon on the Bellingshausen expedition, while several South Pacific items were confiscated from the apartment of Dmitry Zavalishin in 1826 during his arrest.[270]

During the first decades of the nineteenth century some South Pacific artefacts reached St Petersburg museums via private collectors, who might have acquired them in London auctions. Thus, Captain Scott, an Englishman on Russian service, known there as Stepan Georgievich Scott, owned a number of Polynesian artefacts, particularly from New Zealand, although he had not served in the Pacific. In 1808 he donated his collection to the State Admiralty Department Museum, and from here his artefacts may have ended up in fond 736 with those of the Russian voyagers.[271] The case of Lev Waxell, an engineer and lover of antiquities, is likewise interesting, and has been explored in detail by Belkov.[272] The trigger for this research was David Attenborough's case study of three figurines from Easter Island in MAE's fond 736, presented in his documentary 'The Lost Gods of Easter Island' (BBC, 2000), which were remarkably similar to drawings of Isaac Smith's album containing images from Cook's second voyage (Figure 4.5). Taking into consideration the fact that Russian expeditions visiting Easter Island had no chance to collect such figurines during their brief and often hostile encounters with Easter Islanders, tracing the provenance of the figurines to Cook's voyage seems quite reasonable. Indeed, Belkov found that in 1809 Waxell sent sculptures of three gods from the South Sea Islands to the Russian Academy. Moreover, although Waxell missed the auction of the Leverian Museum in 1806, which put hundreds of Cook artefacts on sale (see Chapter 1), he attempted to buy some artefacts from the dealers immediately afterwards.

Artefacts of the first Russian expedition became the foundation of another private collection, that of Count Nikolai Rumiantsev, who supported the expedition and to whom Lisiansky gave part of his ethnographic collections. Later Rumiantsev received

Figure 4.5. Thor Heyerdahl studies Easter Island figurines in the Australia and Oceania office, Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, St Petersburg. Vladimir Kabo archives, Canberra.

some artefacts from Kotzebue, whose expedition on the *Rurik* he had financed. For decades the Rumiantsev collections were stored and exhibited in St Petersburg in his mansion, first as a private collection and then as the Rumiantsev Public Museum, opened after his death in 1831.

Collections outside St Petersburg

Russian round-the-world voyages were also foundational for museum collections beyond St Petersburg, in other parts of the Russian Empire. For instance, Ivan Simonov, the astronomer in Bellingshausen's expedition, donated 37 Oceanic artefacts to the Cabinet of Curiosities at Kazan University. The cabinet later grew into the university's ethnographic museum[273] (Figure 4.6). Moritz Laband, the surgeon in Lisiansky's expedition on the *Neva*, donated his collection to the Cabinet of Antiquities of Kharkov University;[274] unfortunately this collection was destroyed by German bombing during the Second World War.

South Pacific artefacts also found their way to Estonia, from which many members of the Russian naval expeditions originated. Krusenstern donated part of his collection to the newly established Art Museum of Derpt (Tartu) University. There is evidence that it was on display by 1814, as a German traveller, visiting the university, noted that it was worth seeing the curiosities brought by Krusenstern, especially those of the South Sea Islanders.[275] Currently this collection is part of the Eesti Rahva Muuseum (Estonian National Museum). Along with the Krusenstern collection the museum owns around 160 other Oceanic items, received as gifts and through exchanges with other museums.[276]

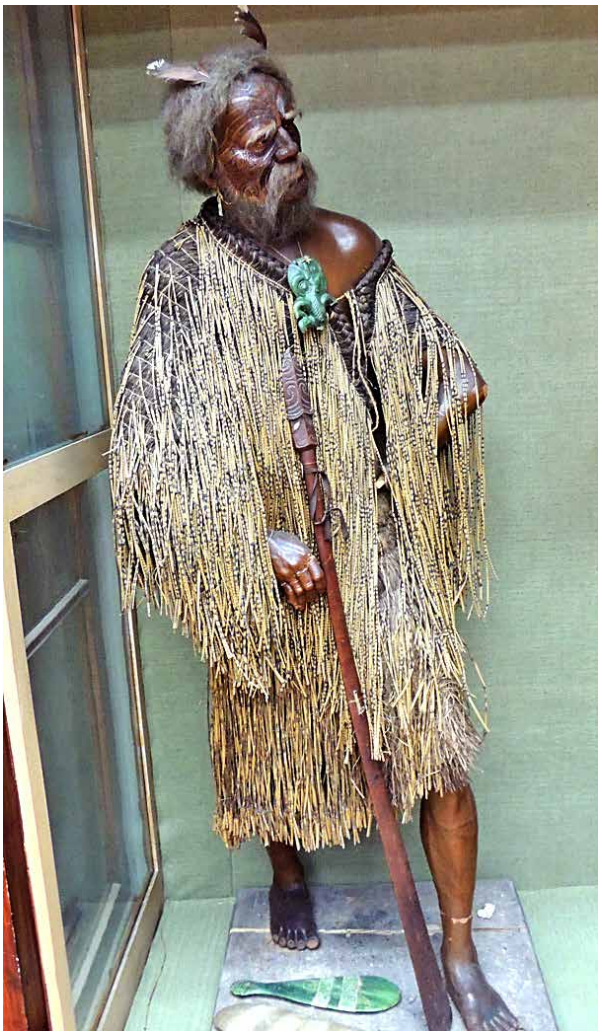

Figure 4.6. Life-size figure of Māori man in traditional dress. Ethnographic Museum of Kazan University.

The Eesti Ajaloomuuseum (Estonian Historical Museum), in Revel (Tallinn), had its origins in the private collection of Johann Burchard (1776-1838), a Tallinn pharmacist and physician, who started collecting curios in 1802. He had an extensive network of contacts among Baltic Germans and Western Europeans. Among those who donated South Pacific artefacts were Karl Espenberg, the surgeon of the Krusenstern expedition, and Otto Kotzebue, whose artefacts were in the 1822 exhibition of Burchard's collection.[277] Another early South Pacific collection which can be identified within the Estonian Historical Museum's holdings belongs to Hermann Karl von Friederici, a member of Krusenstern's expedition. He donated his collection to the Museum der Estländischen Literarischen Gesellschaft (Museum of the Estonian Literary Society) in Tallinn on 26 July 1853 to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the departure of Krusenstern's expedition.[278] The Estonian Historical Museum also has a collection of early South Pacific tapa cloth including some samples of tapa attributed to the naturalist on Cook's second voyage, Georg Forster, in the Burchard collection[279] (Figure 4.7).

Figure 4.7. Samples of Tahitian tapa attributed to Forster and its original packaging. Estonian Historical Museum (K 1445).

Collections in the second half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century

After the cessation of Russian exploratory expeditions in the Pacific in the late 1820s and the disbandment of the ethnographic section of the State Admiralty Department Museum, the Oceanic collections in the Kunstkamera entered a state of limbo; some remained packed in trunks and were hardly exhibited. A revival of interest in South Pacific studies and collecting started in Russia in the 1870s with the resumption of Russian naval voyagers in the Pacific, the travels of Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay in Oceania (1871-1883)[280] and the emergence of Moscow as a new centre of anthropological studies. This interest in South Pacific artefacts was precipitated by broader historical processes, including the establishment of public museums across Europe, the facilitation of travels to the South Pacific, the emergence of commercial artefact collectors, and large-scale exchanges of collections between museums.

St Petersburg

The MAE remained the main repository of Oceanic collections from the second half of the nineteenth to early twentieth centuries (Figure 4.8). According to an overview by Tamara Shafranovskaia and Aleksandr Azarov, its Oceanic and Australian holdings

Figure 4.8. Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, St Petersburg, the main repository of Oceanian collections in Russia.

rose to nearly 5,000 artefacts during this period.[281] One of the first significant Oceanic collections of this time was donated in 1886 by the Russian explorer and anthropologist Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay. Besides his collections are some items donated by members of the Russian naval ship *Skobelev*, which visited New Guinea with Maclay in 1883. New Guinea, especially its eastern part, also featured in the collections of other donors, who donated their collections directly to the MAE or to the Russian Geographical Society, whose museum with its ethnographic collections was disbanded in 1891. Among these individual contributors, on many of whom the records are patchy and limited, we might mention Otto Finsch, a German explorer and ethnographer, whose collection numbered 555 items representing Melanesia, especially New Guinea, and Micronesia; Fisher (or Fischer), a military doctor from Ternate; and Pieter Swaan, a Dutch Navy captain, who explored western New Guinea on the *Surabaia* in 1875-1876. Swaan's collection (65 items) was accompanied by a detailed catalogue; he also donated his New Guinea collections to Museum Volkenkunde in Leiden (see Chapter 3). Another large New Guinea collection (219 items) was donated by V.A. Baud, a Dutch merchant serving as a Russian consul in Batavia, and de Brujen, a Dutch naval officer. Karl Maschmeyer, a manager of a tobacco plantation on Sumatra, donated a large collection (307 items) from New Guinea, New Britain, New Ireland, and the Hermit Islands (Bismarck Archipelago).[282]

In the early twentieth century MAE collections further expanded as a result of exchanges of duplicate artefacts with several European museums; in other cases,

benefactors would buy duplicates in European museums and donate them to the MAE. Among the largest acquisitions of that period were collections from Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig (via Hans Meyer), Museum Umlauff in Hamburg (via Eugeny I. Alexander), Museum für Völkerkunde, Dresden, and Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg (via Feliks Schottländer and Otto Manasevich).

The growing interest in the culture of Oceanic people resulted in a 1908 trip on behalf of the MAE to Oceania and Australia for the purposes of artefact acquisition by Vladimir Sviatlovsky, professor of political economy at St Petersburg University. Newspapers reported that the catalyst for his trip was the 'discovery' in St Petersburg of 'Hawai'ian feather-work, which was given by one of the Hawai'ian chiefs to Captain Cook … the day before he was killed'. Moreover, while in Hawai'i, Sviatlovsky proposed to the trustees of the Bishop Museum in Honolulu an exchange of Russian duplicates from Cook's collection for some artefacts representing the everyday life of Hawai'ian Islanders.[283] The plan was gladly agreed upon, but was most likely never implemented (Figures 4.9 and 4.10). Nevertheless, Sviatlovsky managed to acquire a quite representative collection of Hawaiian artefacts. Besides purchasing artefacts from traders, he established contacts with museum directors in Honolulu, Wellington, Melbourne and Perth, initiating exchanges of their duplicates with Russian museums. Letters sent by Sviatlovsky to the MAE during his voyage portray the market for artefacts in this period. For instance, he wrote about the Dominion Museum in Wellington:

> The local museum here is chaotic. It's less of a museum, more of a giant shed, where everything is in complete disarray. (Admittedly, they are waiting to be transferred to a new building – a new jail rejected by the town as 'luxurious' and 'too picturesque'). The museum director longs for exchange with Russia, and has therefore agreed to send us a collection of his Maori duplicates … In exchange for this … whole collection he asks for only one item.[284]

In Melbourne, Sviatlovsky's contact was Baldwin Spencer, an anthropologist and director of the National Museum of Victoria (now Melbourne Museum), who in exchange for Samoyedic traditional dress, sledges and stuffed dogs offered Sviatlovsky rich Australian Aboriginal and South Pacific collections. The 'young museum in Perth', which must be the Western Australian Museum, happily swapped collections of artefacts of newly discovered Aboriginal tribes ('there are no analogous items in any European museum') for products of the Russian Imperial porcelain plant. Sviatlovsky also bought some artefacts at London auctions and organized an exchange with the Museum für Völkerkunde, Dresden. The collections acquired with his facilitation number over 500 items from New Zealand, Hawai'i, Samoa, Easter Island, Australia, New Guinea and Melanesia.[285] The Russian geographer Alexander Yashchenko, who visited Australia in 1903, returned with nearly 100 Indigenous Australian artefacts.

During the nineteenth century, the ethnographic collections of the former Kunstkamera became part of the Academic Museum, and then of the Etnograficheskii muzei (Ethnographic Museum). They were occasionally put on display, but the museums could show only a small proportion of them due to a lack of appropriate space, resources, and the prevailing dismissive attitude to 'artificial curiosities'. The

Figure 4.9. Vladimir Sviatlovsky, St Petersburg collector of Oceanian artefacts. (Rozina, 'V.V. Sviatlovsky – sobiratel kollektsii iz Okeanii'.)

The Pacific Commercial Advertiser

U. S. WEATHER BUREAU, February 24.—Last 24 hours' rainfall, .00. Temperature, Max. 78; Min. 66. Weather, fair.

ESTABLISHED JULY 4, 1856.

SUGAR.—96 Degree Test Centrifugals, 3.67c. Per Ton, $73.40. 88 Analysis Beets, 3s. 10½d.; Per Ton, $81.40.

VOL. XLVII., NO. 7970. HONOLULU, HAWAII TERRITORY, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1908. PRICE FIVE CENTS.

NET FISHING IN HARBOR IS TABU

Superintendent Campbell Stops It in the Interests of Commerce.

For the past two weeks two huis, one of Chinese and the other of Japanese, have been fishing with nets in the harbor, on a scale far in advance of anything that has been seen for a number of years. Some of the hauls that have been made have been enormous. In one haul nearly two weeks ago something like $600 marketable fish were secured.

But the enormous spread of net used has been a source of concern to steamship men. The harbor is small, and the nets used when cast for a haul extend over a considerable area of it. They are made of strong material, as they have to be, and if they should be caught in a propeller would cause a great deal of damage. There have been several narrow escapes from just such predicaments. The fishermen do not seem to be very careful to avoid such accidents, spreading their nets without much regard to the movements of steam craft in and out of the harbor or across it.

The masters of steam craft concerned brought the matter before Harbor No. 54, Masters and Pilots' Association, and the Harbor brought the matter to the attention of Superintendent of Public Works Marston Campbell. Yesterday Superintendent Campbell issued an order forbidding further fishing with nets in the harbor on account of its interference with commerce. The order was sent through Harbormaster Fuller, who notified the fishermen yesterday. They took the notification very calmly, and at once pulled up their nets. It is probable, however, that they will make a protest to Superintendent Campbell, or at least ask for a hearing on the subject matter.

NATIONAL GUARD WILL SOON BE PAU

Name to Be Changed to First Infantry, Hawaii, in Short Time.

The last of the official inspection of the National Guard will be concluded this morning when Major Dunning visits the quarters in the drillshed, checks over the uniforms, rifles and stores on hand with the lists and notes in what manner these are being cared for. Then his full report on the standing of the local soldier boys of Honolulu and the outlying companies will be ready to forward to the War Department at Washington.

It is not generally known that, according to the new regulation, the National Guard of Hawaii is soon to be a thing of the past, while in its place will be the First Infantry, Hawaii. Already the old familiar names of the companies, E, F, G, etc., are no longer used officially, being designated now by number. All this is along the lines of the plan to make of the various state troops an arm of the regular army, uniformed, equipped, drilled and organized along regular army lines, ready to take their places without confusion with the regulars when necessary.

About the only change that will be noticeable in the local regiment will be that very shortly the letters "N. G. H." will have disappeared from the collars and buttons of the uniforms and the letters "HAW." will have taken their place.

LIMIT OF FAKING IN THE PASSION PLAY

The limit of "faking" is to be seen in the moving pictures on exhibition in "The Passion Play." These were shown last night at the Orpheum, to a crowded house, which watched the films unroll with varying emotions. Some were impressed with the tragedy of the pictured story, crudely as it was presented; some were interested in the

THREE FOREST RESERVES MADE

One of 44,440 Acres on Island of Maui and Two of Small Areas.

Three more forest reserves were created yesterday at a public hearing held by Governor Frear and the Board of Commissioners of Agriculture and Forestry, in the office of the Board.

There was no opposition to either of the reserves and it was decided that they should be created forthwith be proclaimed.

The first reserve consists of government lands in the districts of Lahaina, Kaanapali and Wailuku, Island of Maui, which may be described in general terms as embracing the entire top of the West Maui mountain, above a line so encircling the mountain as to exclude all agricultural land and containing an area of 44,440 acres, more or less.

The second reserve, a small one, is situated in the district of Hamakuapoko, Island of Maui, lying on the northwestern slope of Mount Haleakala, bounded on the north and east by the Koolau forest reserve, on the south by the land of Kailalimai and on the west and northwest by the remainder of the land of Makawao, and containing an area of 1296 acres, more or less.

Third and smallest is a reserve in the district of Kona, Island of Hawaii, lying on the southwestern slope of Mount Hualalai, bounded on the north by the land of Puaa I. and on the south by the land of Kahaui II., between the elevations of 2200 and 2600 feet, and containing an area of 156 acres, more or less.

DIED FROM HEART DISEASE.

The post-mortem examination on the body of the woman found dead Saturday night at the corner of Achi lane and Vineyard street, proved that she died of heart disease, and that there was no basis for the suspicion of poisoning which had been indulged because of some evidence of ptchings and convulsions apparent when the body was found.

FEATHERWORK TRADED FOR FOOD

Captain Cook's Captains Gave Valuable Relics for Tea and Tobacco.

The story of the recent discovery of a large number of Hawaiian featherwork cloaks in St. Petersburg, where they had lain since the eighteenth century, and which were intimately connected with the tragedy of the death of Captain Cook, as told in the Advertiser yesterday morning, was confirmed yesterday by Professor Waldimir Sviatlowsky, who added several interesting particulars to the report. The fact that the boxes containing the valuables remained so long unopened was due, as related, to the fact that there existed no record of them and the authorities of the St. Petersburg museum were in ignorance of the fact that any such articles were in their possession. The discovery was made by accident.

Professor Sviatlowsky states that the featherwork is in excellent preservation and will be used, much of it, to form the splendid nucleus of a Hawaiian collection for the museum. The object of his visit here is to secure further articles for this collection, and he has proposed to the trustees of the Bishop Museum to trade a number of the featherwork articles for the articles of daily use of the Hawaiians of that period, pot-pounders, tapa-beaters and tapas, weapons and such. The exchange will be gladly made by the trustees and some of the gifts of Kalanipopu will thus be restored to the islands after their remarkable adventure.

Great interest has been shown among the historians and antiquarians of Honolulu in the story of the Advertiser of Professor Sviatlowsky's mission.

(Continued on Page Four.)

THE BATTLESHIPS TO REACH COAST BEFORE MAY 15

Judge Grosscup and Other Directors of Traction Road Arraigned for Manslaughter---Natal Act Declared Inoperative.

(Associated Press Cablegram.)

WASHINGTON, February 25.—Secretary Metcalf says that the battleship fleet will be in San Francisco before May 15.

JUDGE GROSSCUP CHARGED WITH MANSLAUGHTER

CHARLESTON, Ill., February 25.—Federal Judge Grosscup and seven other directors of the Illinois Traction road have been arraigned on a charge of manslaughter, as responsible for the traction accident last August in which eighteen people were killed.

JAPANESE EXEMPTED.

VANCOUVER, February 25.—The Court of Appeals has declared the Natal act inoperative against the Japanese.

BAD FOR NASI.

ROME, February 25.—Nasi has been convicted and sentenced to eleven months in prison.

SETTLING A STRIKE.

LONDON, February 25.—The terms of settlement for the engineers' strike on the Tyne have been accepted by both provision-

Figure 4.10. 'Featherwork traded for food', The Pacific Commercial Advertiser, 25 February 1908.

situation did not change much when in 1879 the collections were reshaped into the MAE. In 1886 Miklouho-Maclay had ample grounds to criticize the state of the museum:

> I hope that the Academy will in time find better premises for the preservation of its collections than those in which the collections of the seafarers Kotzebue, Krusenstern, and Lutke have up to this point been housed. At the present time, they are kept in some sort of basement. Nevertheless, they are as valuable as my collection, because they cannot be found any longer on the islands of the Pacific, as the process of their manufacture and their uses have long been forgotten. It would be extremely desirable for there to be a proper ethnographic museum in St Petersburg, whose collections would be formed from items scattered amongst the Geographical Society Museum, the Maritime Museum, and others.[286]

Only in the late 1880s, when the museum received exhibition and office spaces, could its research curator Fedor Russov (Russow) start the laborious process of unpacking the 'old' collections from their trunks and registering them, trying to match them to the scarce documentation, and to determine their provenance.[287] The success of a temporary exhibition presented by Maclay in 1886, the growing number of donated collections, and emerging interest in the issues of anthropology and ethnography within society at large allowed the MAE to stage the first comprehensive display of its Oceanic collections. The artefacts were exhibited in ten large display cabinets and seven display cases with large items placed over the cabinets and on the walls. The artefacts were grouped according to broad island areas, aiming to represent the collection of each donor individually within these areas.[288]

A few years later the Russian traveller and writer Aleksandr Eliseev, upon visiting the MAE, noted that it 'enjoys the least amount of attention', and that many educated people were hardly aware of its existence. His arguments for the importance of the comparative history of humankind, published in the popular Russian magazine *Niva*, with numerous illustrations of Oceanic artefacts from the MAE, were beneficial for promoting public interest.[289] In the following years the study and cataloguing of Oceanic collections continued. In 1911 the Department of Oceania was established within the MAE; it was headed by Eugenia Petri, the widow of the Russian anthropologist of Swedish background Eduard Petri. In 1914 she published a guide to Oceanic artefacts in the MAE (Figure 4.11). Comparison with the guide of 1891 demonstrates that during the intervening years much progress had been made in the study, expansion and conceptualization of the display. Although the system remained geographical, it evolved from displays of individual collections to a number of thematic cases, for instance 'Money' or 'Tobacco and Betel'. A special display case was dedicated to the raw materials and production of artefacts by Oceanic people. Pottery displayed in a spectacular hexagonal cabinet also demonstrated the different stages of production and ornamentation; for instance, a bowl was displayed upside down to exhibit an artist's trademark. The exhibition also boasted two life-size figures: a Papuan with a weapon and a Hawai'ian in feathered garments.[290]

Figure 4.11. Eugenia Petri (sitting 3rd from the right), the first female curator of Oceanic collections, with MAE staff. (Staniukovich, Etnograficheskaia nauka i muzei, p. 137).

Moscow

While in St Petersburg the MAE was part of the academic establishment, in Moscow the promotion of anthropology and ethnography was in the hands of learned societies enjoying support and broad-spectrum interest from the wider community. Initially the activities of natural science enthusiasts there centred around the Imperial Moscow Society of Naturalists, established in 1805 at Moscow University with a predominantly academic membership.[291] The situation changed in the liberal 1860s – in 1863 a new Society of Devotees of Natural Science was established, with a membership including scientists and professors but also educated laymen interested in the subject. It later grew into the Imperial Society of Devotees of Natural Science, Anthropology and Ethnography. Anatoly Bogdanov, a Russian zoologist and anthropologist, was instrumental in its expansion and development. By 1864 it had already established an anthropological section and was championing the 1867 All-Russia Ethnographic Exhibition in Moscow.

At the same time the ethnographic collections of the private museum of Count Rumiantsev in St Petersburg, which were, by the 1850s, in a dilapidated condition, were transferred to Moscow, becoming part of the Moskovskii publichnyi i Rumiantsevskii muzei (Moscow Public and Rumiantsev Museum) in 1861. On the eve of the 1867 exhibition the Moscow Society of Naturalists elected the German-Australian botanist

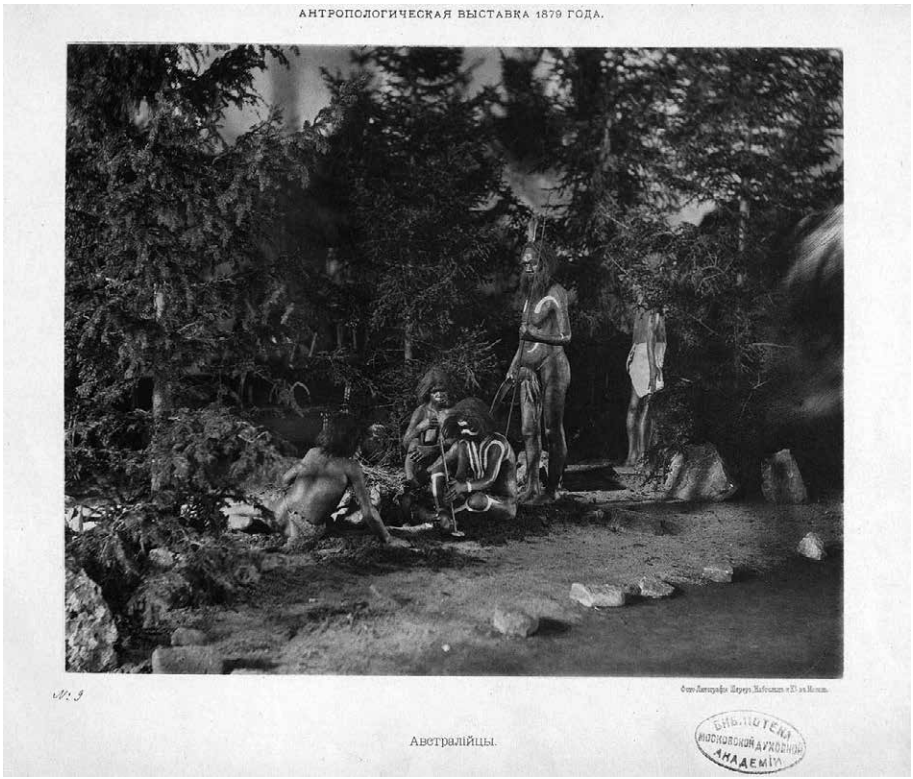

Figure 4.12. Life-size figures of Australian Aborigines among Russian fir-trees at the Anthropological Exhibition in Moscow in 1879. Vidy Antropologicheskoi vystavki v Moskve, Moscow, 1879.

Ferdinand von Mueller as a member. With his assistance, the nascent Rumiantsev Museum was soon able to acquire superb collections of Indigenous Australian artefacts.[292] In 1879 Moscow built upon the success of the first exhibition by hosting the Anthropological Exhibition. The display featured life-size figures of Australian Aboriginal people, made by the Russian sculptor Ivan Sevriugin using busts in the Natural History Museum in Paris, which had in turn been produced from living subjects. He used materials from the same museum to create busts and masks of Australian mainland, Tasmanian, Papuan, New Ireland, New Caledonian, Fijian, Samoan, and Caroline Islander peoples[293] (Figure 4.12).

The collections from the exhibition became part of the newly established Muzei antropologii (Anthropological Museum) of Moscow University headed by anthropologist Dmitry Anuchin, while the ethnographic collections became part of the Etnograficheskii muzei (Ethnographic Museum), which had incorporated Rumiantsev's collections and was growing rapidly. Although the South Pacific area had never been a focus for these museums and they had limited resources for the acquisition of collections, they managed to accumulate around 1,500 artefacts from the South Pacific. After the revolution of 1917 these collections underwent a number

of inter-institutional transfers until they were reassembled in 1948 in a museum now called the Nauchno-issledovatelskii institut i Muzei antropologii im. Anuchina (Anuchin Research Institute and Museum of Anthropology of Lomonosov Moscow State University, MAMSU).

The earliest collection in MAMSU is of Lisiansky's artefacts from the Marquesas and Hawai'i; these artefacts are easily identifiable. By contrast, only a few items can be identified from the collection of Kotzebue, including a mogan, a floating device from Rumiantsev (Wotje) Atoll (Figure 4.13). The Museum has a superb collection of Polynesian tapa cloth, mostly unpatterned; it is lacking the original documentation and was later catalogued as Hawai'ian, but might also originate from the Marquesas. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the South Pacific collections of the museum grew through donations by Russian naval visitors and individual travellers. Among them is the collection of Aleksei Birilev from San Cristobal (Makira) Island (Solomon Islands) (1870) and Vladimir Messer from New Guinea (1872), both of whom visited these places aboard Russian naval vessels. Russian traveller Eduard Zimmerman visited New Caledonia, New Zealand and Hawai'i in 1882 and brought back a large collection of artefacts. Although he probably purchased some from dealers, he wrote that he had bought some artefacts including a dancing mask from a missionary who had lived for a long time in New Caledonia. A large collection assembled by well-known Russian symbolist poet Constantin Balmont, who visited the islands of Polynesia and the south coast of New Guinea in 1912, in search of 'islands of the happy people', is distinguished by the marked aesthetic quality of the artefacts.[294]

Figure 4.13. Detail of Marshall Islands grass skirt with belt. Kotzebue's collection in Anuchin Research Institute and Museum of Anthropology of Lomonosov Moscow State University (370-8). Photo: Aleksei Mukhin.

In 1911 the Museum acquired the skeletal remains and attire of a Papuan man named Nolle from the Kai-Kai tribe in Merauke, southern New Guinea (now Indonesian territory). He and two other Papuans were brought to Moscow in 1910 by Angelo Koufakos, a Greek impresario, and Nolle died while on tour. The collection consists of 36 items including a number of ornaments made from European materials.

European museums and companies were another important source for the growth of the Oceanic collections in Moscow. For instance, large collections were acquired from the Naturhistoriches Museum Wien (Natural History Museum Vienna) (1893), from the companies Paul (1895), Luders (1896) and Umlauff (1899, 1909, 1912, 1929) in Hamburg, and Oldman in London (1909). During the inter-institutional transfers, some collections lost most of their documentation and the only way to attribute them is from an old catalogue of the former Ethnographic Museum and some old tags. Some can be identified only as 'from the old collections', without the name of the donor. One of these, for instance, is from New Caledonia, collected in the mid-1860s (no. 342); another is from the Micronesian Island of Pohnpei (formerly known as Ponape) (no. 390).[295]

Some remnants of a former South Pacific collection which might have been on display in Moscow in the nineteenth century have also been found in the Moscow State Museum; they include tapa cloth from the Marquesas Islands, which most likely originates from Lisiansky's collection.

Collections during the Soviet period

After the Russian revolution of 1917, contact between the outside world and Russian museums and scholars was drastically curtailed, and opportunities for expeditions and exchange with foreign institutions dwindled. Nevertheless, the anti-racist stance of the official Marxist-Leninist ideology, shared with genuine enthusiasm by Soviet scholars, provided some opportunity for further studies in the field of 'Okeanistika', *i.e.* studies of Oceania and its people. In fact, MAE, along with the field of ethnography in general, became a refuge from the ideological tenets of the regime for many scholars. For the public at large, meanwhile, the Kunstkamera's collections of artefacts from far-away, unreachable lands became a rare window into a wider world.

One such story was that of Leningrad schoolboy Boris Kudriavtsev, who joined the Friends of MAE group, and on a visit to the museum was captivated by the *kohau rongo rongo* tablets donated to the museum by Miklouho-Maclay. Kudriavstsev, along with his school friends, made the first breakthrough in deciphering the tablets. In 1941 he volunteered in the army to defend his city, and was tragically killed. His materials survived, were published and inspired the entire Leningrad school of Easter Island studies (Figures 4.14 and 4.15). Another South Pacific artefact became the symbol of Leningrad's unquenchable perseverance in the two and a half year long Siege of Leningrad during the Second World War. There was no time to evacuate the collections of MAE when the siege began and the figure of a Papuan holding a bow and arrow was placed on the upper gallery of the exhibition hall. During a bomb explosion, the Papuan's hand shook and released the arrow, which pierced the western wall of the hall. The MAE curators, who continued their work while dying from starvation, were cheered by this incident: 'If even our Papuan fires at the Nazis, we will win!'[296] (Figure 4.16).

Figure 4.14. Boris Kudriavtsev, a Leningrad youth, goes to fight Fascism having not finished deciphering kohau rongo rongo. (I. Rakhtanov. Potomki Maklaia [Descendants of Maclay], Moscow-Leningrad, 1954).

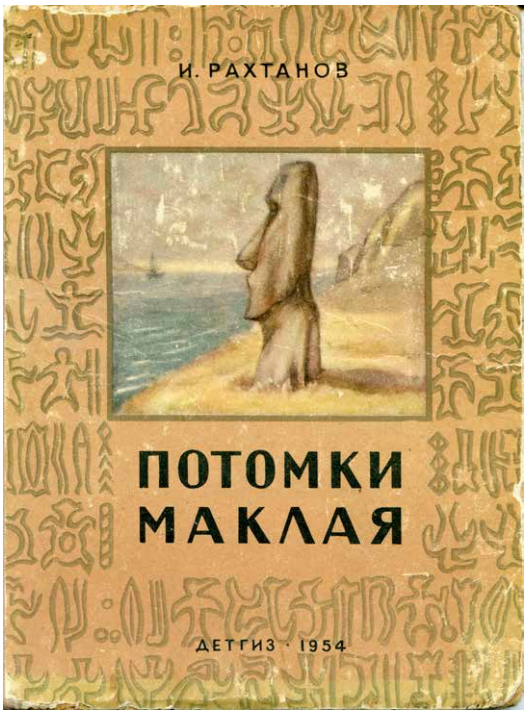

Figure 4.15. Well-read children's book Descendants of Maclay telling Kudriavtsev's story, published in 1954.

Figure 4.16. Life-size figure of Papuan taken during the Leningrad siege. Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, St Petersburg.

Despite numerous political upheavals, the Oceanic collections of MAE continued to grow. In the first years after the revolution, when contacts with the West had not been completely limited, it received a large South Pacific collection from Etnografiska Museet Stockholm (Stockholm Ethnographic Museum) (fond 3117). At the same time, as all collections came into the possession of the state, inter-institutional transfers became

easier and the MAE, as the centre for overseas ethnography, benefited from an influx of artefacts. Significant collections of South Pacific materials were transferred to MAE from the Voenno-morskoe uchilishche im Frunze (Frunze Naval Cadet School), the Voenno-morskoi muzei (Naval Museum), and the Institut proletarskogo izobrazitelnogo iskusstva (Institute of Proletarian Art) in the 1930s. Although these collections are lacking their original documentation, they are most likely remnants of the early Russian voyagers' collections in the State Admiralty Department Museum, which was disbanded in the late 1820s. Despite this sequence of transfers, not all Oceanic collections have ended up in the MAE holdings: some remain in the Muzei istorii religii (Museum of the History of Religion), and some are with the Russian Geographical Society.

After the Second World War, the Soviet authorities brought some material from the collections of the Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde Berlin (Royal Museum for Ethnology Berlin, now Ethnologisches Museum Berlin) to Leningrad as part of a broader policy of reparations. These collections seem to have remained unclaimed by Soviet ethnographers, were never mentioned in their studies, and were finally returned to Leipzig in 1975.[297] The next sizeable acquisition in the MAE Oceanic collections took place in the 1970s, when Soviet ethnographers were allowed to travel to Oceania for the first time, in the footsteps of Miklouho-Maclay. Currently the Australian and Oceanic collections in MAE number 6,500 items.[298]

Figure 4.17. Curators of the Australia and Oceania section at Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, St Petersburg, 1957: (l to r, sitting) Julia Likhtenberg, Liubov Rozina, a Bulgarian ethnographer, Maria Butinova; (l to r, standing) Nikolai Butinov, Vladimir Kabo. Vladimir Kabo archives, Canberra.

In the 1930s MAE formed part of the Institut etnografii AN SSSR (Research Institute of Ethnography) and became the centre of South Pacific ethnographic studies in Russia. Its armchair ethnographers worked as curators of the collections and produced a number of thorough studies of the material culture of Oceanic people on the basis of its rich collections. The first endeavour in this field was the publication of a volume on Miklouho-Maclay's collections in his Collected Works in 1954. Work with South Pacific collections continued throughout the 1960s by the MAE curators Likhtenberg, Rozina, Butinov, Kabo, and others (Figure 4.17). These studies were mostly regional (for instance Marquesan, Hawai'ian, and Māori collections) or thematic (for instance tapa cloth). The only exceptions were the above-mentioned collections of Cook and Lutke. At that time identification of objects was based on late nineteenth century inventories and comparisons with artefacts in published overseas collections.

During the 1930s the MAE aimed to replace the evolutionary-typological approach dominating the displays with a Marxist-Leninist ideology of class struggle as interpreted through the lens of museum curation, liberating itself from the dominance of 'things'. The result of this were the 1934 'paper' displays *Colonial Policy in Oceania* and *Dutch Imperialism in Indonesia*.[299] From 1951 the permanent exhibition on Australian and Oceanic peoples, formed under the guidance of the prominent Soviet ethnographer Sergei Tokarev and later expanded by Nikolai Butinov and Vladimir Kabo, was set in one of the museum's best halls (Figures 4.18 and 4.19). It reflected different aspects of traditional Oceanic culture, featured a number of life-size figures, and was popular with visitors.[300] In 1987 the MAE's Oceanic collections were presented at a major exhibition abroad, *Journey to Oceania*, in the Taideteollisuusmuseo (Museum of the Applied Arts) in Finland. It included about 600 items and was accompanied by a catalogue, which remains the best pictorial illustration of Russian Oceanic holdings.[301]

Figure 4.18. Life-size figure of a Hawai'ian in featherwork dress, 1953. Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, St Petersburg.

Figure 4.19. Permanent Australia and Oceania exhibition, 1953. Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, St Petersburg.

Figure 4.20. Exhibition hall with Oceanic collections in MAMSU. Photograph by Aleksei Mukhin.

The South Pacific collections in Moscow were not so lucky. In the 1920s, some of them were displayed as part of the newly established Muzei narodovedenia (Museum of Ethnography); in 1939, as the museum was rebranded as the Muzei narodov SSSR (Museum of the Peoples of the USSR), they were transferred to the Muzei antropologii

Figure 4.21. Opening of Nicolai Michoutouchkine's exhibition Ethnography and Art of Oceania, 1980, State Museum of Ethnography, Sardarapat, Armenia. Photograph courtesy of Aloi Pilioko.

(Museum of Anthropology). They were kept in storage during the Second World War and, until recently, have hardly been exhibited and were barely accessible to researchers. Only in the twenty-first century have the storage facilities for the collections been upgraded, which allowed the curator Ekaterina Balakhonova to conduct further research and organize their first display in the Museum hall of the old university building in the centre of Moscow (Figure 4.20).

A wider movement to make South Pacific artefacts accessible to the masses outside the large cities and academic institutions was precipitated in the 1980s by the artist and collector Nicolai Michoutouchkine (1929-2010).[302] A son of Russian emigres to France, he made his home in Oceania; in 1979-1987 he toured his travelling exhibition of Oceanic artefacts and art all over the Soviet Union. These exhibitions, which took on aspects of festival-style happenings, were one of the first gestures towards dismantling prescriptivist Soviet traditions of museum practice. Under one roof, they united traditional artefacts with contemporary Oceanic art, including the work of Michoutouchkine's partner-artist, the Polynesian-born Aloi Pilioko, who made drawings live for visitors; they brought Oceanic artefacts outside museums and into accessible public exhibition spaces; finally, they were exhibited across an enormous geographical area, including cities in Siberia, Central Asia and the Caucasus. The exhibition was ultimately visited by more than 5 million people (Figure 4.21). After the tour, Michoutouchkine-Pillioko's collection of over 60 artefacts became the foundation of the new Etnograficheskii muzei Instituta etnologii i antropologii (Ethnographical Museum of the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology) in Moscow.

Recent developments

The political changes in Russia in recent decades have allowed its anthropologists to travel abroad and to establish contacts with colleagues all over the world; some collections formed as a result of fieldwork were brought from Micronesia and Maclay (Rai) Coast in Papua New Guinea by Arina Lebedeva, curator at MAE (Figure 4.22).

Figure 4.22. Arina Lebedeva collecting artefacts for MAE in Gorendu, PNG, 2017. Photo: Arina Lebedeva.

Unfortunately, this newly open environment was accompanied by dwindling finances. The exhibition hall of Australia and Oceania at the MAE was dismantled in 1999, and has not yet been restored. Nevertheless, the work of curators and scholars in the field of the South Pacific continued. In the 1990s a new generation of scholars, such as Elena Soboleva and Ivanova, brought to the fore a new source for collection reconstruction – archival documentation mostly concerning donations and the history of transfers of Russian voyagers' collections. In the following decades, the painstaking research into the history of objects has continued, particularly by Belkov on Australian and Oceanic collections and by Korsun on American collections, the respective artefacts of which often share common destinies, as many were collected by the same expeditions. Now the aspiration is the complete identification of all old artefacts and collectors on the basis of archival and museum documentation, transfer lists, tags, the handwriting of early curators in the surviving documentation, the close study of objects, and a pinch of educated guesswork, which together overcome the lack of original identifying documents in the artificially grouped collections. Soboleva also conducts research on the history of the MAE's exchanges with European museums. The above-mentioned study of Marquesan artefacts of the Krusenstern expedition, conducted across the holdings of multiple European museums with the involvement and knowledge of source communities, is also a further step towards a cross-boundary study of Russian Oceanic connections.

The Gottorp Globe, Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, St Petersburg 2013. Photograph by Nicholas Thomas.

CHAPTER 5

Oceanic collections in German museums: collections, contexts, and exhibits

RAINER F. BUSCHMANN

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Introduction

Germany's ethnographic collection activity in the Pacific spans the better part of three centuries with a heavy emphasis on the three decades (1885-1914) during the actual colonial annexation prior to the First World War. This relatively short colonial window triggered an ethnographic rush particularly to New Guinea and its surrounding islands, which is why these areas are relatively overrepresented in German museum holdings. Initial collections reached Germany in the eighteenth century through armchair enthusiasts as well as wealthy patrons. The arrival of commercial companies to the Pacific did not only pave the way for later colonial annexations but also established regular shipping routes that would greatly facilitate the transfer of artefacts to the German metropoles. Although some ethnographic institutions predated the establishment of formal German colonial rule in the Pacific, many museums trace their inception to this point in time. This chapter attempts to provide a roadmap to the German ethnographic museum landscape by emphasizing the collection process as well as later exhibits of the artefacts.

The exercise performed here is by its very nature incomplete and is to be understood as a point of departure. The German ethnographic activities show some obvious similarities with, yet also some significant departure from, the other national surveys in this volume. On the most basic level, each nation discussed here developed an intellectual context that valued the accumulation of Indigenous artefacts from the Pacific. This context ultimately gave rise to institutions housing ethnographic collections. More specifically, the German collections share similarities with those of Imperial Russia. In both cases, the collection of artefacts took place during a rather limited timeframe: for Russia it was mostly the early nineteenth century while for Germany, the collection activity fell predominantly into the time immediately before and after the country's colonial activity. There are also similarities with Dutch collections. In the Netherlands, roughly 70 percent of the Oceanic collections (55,000 out of 80,000 artefacts) emerged out of the Dutch colony of West Papua. The same can be said about German collections; about 70 percent of all acquisitions stemmed from the colonial territory of German New Guinea.[303] The main significant difference

between the German case and the other national traditions presented in this work is the sheer volume of artefacts collected. The tables at the end of this chapter suggest a total of about 250,000 Oceanic objects, which may be equal to or even exceed the combined collection activity of other nations presented in this volume. This large quantity of artefacts extracted from the Pacific needs explaining, which is what this chapter sets out to do. In addition, this chapter traces the fate of the Oceanic collections in German museums into 2017.

The collection of Oceanic artefacts took place during the formation of German anthropology as a museum discipline. The acquisition activity requires a brief reflection on terminology. While the expression 'anthropology' is in common use in English-speaking countries, the term generally refers to biological/physical anthropology in the German context. For Germany two terms are crucial: Völkerkunde and the practitioners of this discipline were called Völkerkundler. This terminology emerged in opposition to Volkskunde, which is the empirical study of German regional culture. Völkerkunde encompasses both ethnography – the descriptive study of a particular culture – and ethnology, the comparative study of, generally, non-European cultures. This chapter will retain this terminology when labelling the museums that hold the Oceanic artefacts. Practitioners of Völkerkunde are labelled as ethnologists throughout this chapter.[304]

Curiosity and commercialism: the early collection trickle

Following the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), European exploration of the Pacific Ocean began in earnest. In the absence of a centralized state, German travellers and naturalists were in a fortunate position and participated in expeditions organized by fellow European powers. According to Harry Liebersohn, these individuals 'belonged to that overproduction of German intellectuals who since the mid-eighteenth century had offered their knowledge to foreign rulers'.[305] Names such as Johann and Georg Forster, Adelbert von Chamisso, and Alexander von Humboldt are deeply associated with German scientific endeavours long before the existence of a formal nation in 1871. In a chapter written for a prominent collection of the anthropology of the Enlightenment, historian John Gascoigne elaborates that

> [w]hile the imperial powers like Britain, France, Spain, and Russia looked to Pacific exploration to promote both Enlightenment and empire, the German involvement in the Pacific had, perforce, given Germany's fragmentation, to be much more restricted to the rewards brought by the pursuit of Enlightenment science and anthropology.[306]

Inspired by a much-publicized Franco-British vision of the Pacific, German travellers opened the Pacific to an increasing readership thirsting for accounts from this specific part of the world. Besides the work of the learned individuals, translations of most major explorations to the Pacific found an equally interested German public.[307] The fascination with the Pacific provided, according to historian Harry Liebersohn, for a colonial archetype that would influence imperial acquisition during the late nineteenth century.[308]

The collection activity of the German travellers gave rise to a wealth of botanical, zoological and also ethnographic objects. In terms of ethnographic collections, however, few of these early acquisitions ended up on German soil. The eighteenth-century naturalists Johann and Georg Forster, for instance, encountered financial troubles forcing them to sell many of their artefacts.[309] It thus fell to armchair ethnologists as well as wealthy patrons to obtain artefacts and human remains from Oceania. The famed Oceanic collection in Göttingen owes its existence to Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, who became increasingly interested in classifying the varieties of humans around the world. Blumenbach's taxonomy borrowed from the original four types of human beings suggested by Carl Linneaus while adding a fifth category: Malayan (Austral-Asian), which drew inspiration from the new discoveries in the Pacific Ocean. Blumenbach consulted with Georg Forster to establish an ever-increasing transnational network of patrons, which included famed naturalist Sir Joseph Banks. This network brought knowledge, artefacts, and ultimately skulls from the Pacific to Göttingen. Blumenbach's request to his Hanover Government in 1781 to obtain artefacts from Captain James Cook's third and last voyage to the Pacific resulted in the transfer of 350 ethnographic artefacts that were complemented with an additional 150 acquired in 1799 from what remained of Reinhold Forster's collection assembled during Cook's second voyage.[310] This important set of artefacts not only initiated the Pacific collections effort in Germany, but also established Göttingen as one of the premier places for artefacts derived from Cook's famed voyages.

Following the eighteenth-century rush to the Pacific, ethnographic collections from this area became rather erratic and a great deal less systematic in Germany. In Munich, it was local ruler Ludwig I (r. 1825-1848) who served as a patron to the local museums. Ludwig acquired a number of artefacts derived from Cook's voyages. His transnational connections also brought objects from Russian voyages, chiefly those collected by the voyage captained by Adam Johann von Krusenstern, to the Bavarian capital. Together with ethnographica from other regions of the world, the collections from Oceania served as the cornerstone for the first ethnographic museum to open on German soil in 1862.[311]

Similar developments also occurred in the Prussian capital of Berlin, where museum curators managed to purchase several artefacts from Cook's voyages in the early part of the nineteenth century. The oldest Oceanic artefact in that collection, a mourner's costume from Tahiti said to date from the voyage of Louis Antoine de Bougainville (1767-1769), reached the museum due to an exchange with a collector in 1939. Artefacts from Johann Reinhold Forster's estate also complemented the early collections in Berlin. Lastly, Prussian diplomatic trade missions to the Hawaiian Islands in the 1830s provided significant artefacts from this archipelago (Figure 5.1). Shortly before the official opening in 1886 of the Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde Berlin (Royal Museum of Ethnology Berlin), its Oceanic collections numbered fewer than 1,000 objects.[312] Yet events were already on their way to increase the existing numbers manifold.

This initial trickle of artefacts, generally purchased from existing collections in and around Europe, would soon be complemented through increasing German commercial penetration of the Pacific during the second half of the nineteenth

Figure 5.1. Hawaiian Feathered Cape collected by the crew of the Princess Louise, VI 366. Photographed by Martin Franken. © Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

century. Commercial companies excelled not only in the exploitation of Oceanic natural products, most prominently copra, but also provided the groundwork for later German imperial acquisition.[313] The commercial incursion in the Pacific opened up regular communication between Oceania and northern German cities. J.C. Godeffroy VI (1815-1885), whose Huguenot ancestors had fled France to settle in Hamburg, established the most significant of these mercantile endeavours. Godeffroy established a bustling shipping empire that, in the wake of the gold rushes in California and Australia, uncovered the Pacific as an untapped resource base for German commerce. While copra figured as the main coveted item returned to Hamburg, Godeffroy also realized that Oceanic ethnographic specimens from the Pacific would attract scientific interest and opened a possible avenue towards commercialization of artefacts. Exploring this alternative avenue for investment, Godeffroy commissioned a curated museum in Hamburg and ordered a string of naturalists and collectors to the Pacific. Among the individuals leaving for Oceania were such notable names as Eduard Graeffe, Johann Kubary and Amalie Dietrich, all closely associated with Pacific ethnography during the second half of the nineteenth century (Figure 5.2). For two important decades, between 1860 and 1879, the Godeffroy Museum dominated the German landscape in terms of the acquisition and publication of Pacific artefacts. Financial troubles following German unification in 1871, however, forced the parent company

Figure 5.2. Nukuoro Statue collected by Johann Kubary, VI 46934. Photographed by Dietrich Graf. © Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

to sell the established collections. The result was a lively competition over the artefacts offered by the Godeffroy Company among the few established German ethnographic institutions. In 1885, it was the Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig (Leipzig Museum of Ethnography; founded in 1869) that acquired the lion's share of the collection (roughly 5,000 artefacts hailing largely from Fiji and Micronesia). The rest of Godeffroy's once prominent ethnographic experiment ended up in Berlin, Hamburg, Leiden and Oxford.[314] Godeffroy's endeavour shaped the German ethnographic landscape in three important ways: first, it established regular steam ship connections between Germany and the Pacific that greatly aided in the transfer of ethnographic artefacts. Second, it opened up the door for other commercial companies to explore the commercialization of ethnographic objects. Lastly, the scramble over Godeffroy's artefacts revealed intense rivalries among German museums (and cities) that would only increase following imperial annexation.

The New Guinea and Hernsheim companies would continue to engage in Godeffroy's initial commodification of ethnographic artefacts. The directors of these institutions, however, quickly realized that ethnographic objects commanded a much narrower market than the natural commodities returned to Germany. New Guinea Company employees, for instance, objected to the increasing company edicts guiding their collecting activity. Most importantly, they had to field increasing criticism from ethnographic museum curators who complained about the flood of ill-determined artefacts. Increasingly annoyed by the ethnographic curators, company officials ultimately returned to their initial trade in natural products.[315] There were exceptions to this rule, however. The Umlauff Company based in Hamburg, for instance, followed Godeffroy's example and became a prominent supplier of artefacts, including Oceanic collections, for ethnographic institutions located in and outside of Germany. The company remained active until allied bombers destroyed most of its stock during one

of the many raids on Hamburg towards the end of the Second World War.[316] It should be emphasized that German museum curators purchased Umlauff's collections only reluctantly as they frequently maintained such commercially assembled collections as unscientific.[317]

From trickle to flood: the proliferation of ethnographic museums and collecting activity

Following 1884, Imperial acquisition in Africa (Cameroon, Togo, German East Africa, and German Southwest Africa) and the Pacific (New Guinea and Samoa) greatly informed the flood of artefacts arriving in German museums. While Germany was not the only colonial power to benefit from territorial acquisition, the country's late formation (Figure 5.3) provided for unique trajectories informing the collection process. Following unification in 1871, Germany spotted a collection of different political entities that would remain in place until the conclusion of the First World War.[318] Given Germany's late colonial acquisitions, the brunt of the ethnographic collection activity focused on Africa and the Pacific with the occasional collector venturing to other regions. Violent uprisings in German East and Southwest Africa (most importantly the Herero and Maji Maji rebellions between 1904 and 1907) directed imperial funds to that continent and turned the Pacific increasingly into a

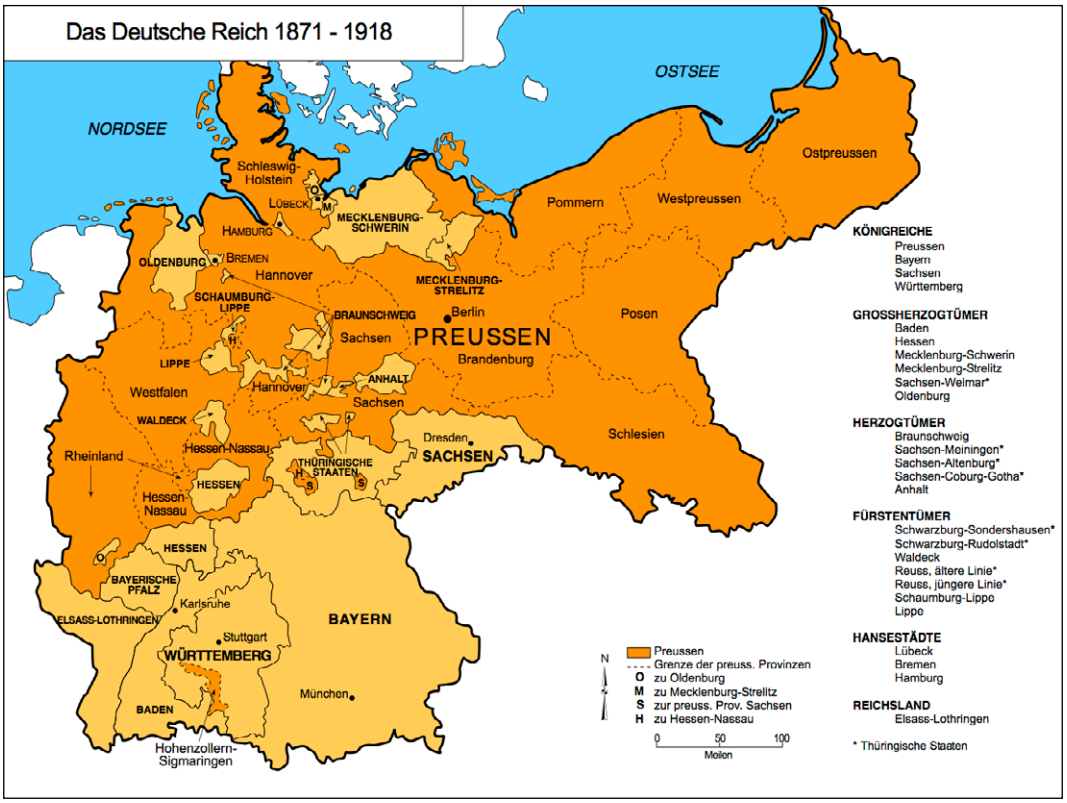

Figure 5.3. Map of Germany in 1871. © James Retallack/German Historical Institute, Washington, DC.

colonial stepchild with no protective forces (Schutztruppen), railroad investments, and only minimal mineral extraction. Historian Hermann Hiery, whose controversial work on the Pacific argued that the German overlords were much more benign to the Indigenous peoples than other colonial powers, maintained that the removal of the Pacific from German popular consciousness allowed for a high degree of experimentation that included an active engagement with ethnology (Völkerkunde).[319]

Initially annexed by Germany in 1884, German New Guinea included the northeastern corner of the world's second largest island as well as the Bismarck Archipelago and part of the Northern Solomon Islands. The purchase of the majority of Spanish Micronesia in 1899 added to the territory. Comprising societies that figured part of the general tripartite division of Melanesia, Micronesia, and outlier islands forming part of Polynesia only added to the ethnographic appeal (Figure 5.4). Adolf Bastian (1826-1905), the German institutional founding father of ethnology, perceived his discipline increasingly as a salvage project. Unlike British evolutionary anthropology, Bastian argued that locally distinct cultural ideas (Völkergedanken) would ultimately reveal universal thought patterns (Elementargedanken). He was inspired by the general German notion that peoples of Nature (Naturvölker) were more than just historical precursors to literate peoples of Culture (Kulturvölker). Such peoples of nature might have lacked a writing system, Bastian continued, but they did produce important cultural artefacts, which were quickly succumbing to the European cultural and material onslaught.[320] He thus urged the hasty collection of artefacts in affected areas (New Guinea and Melanesia) before losing the distinct cultural heritage. His extensive global travels, which included the Pacific, framed the museological perception of and collecting activity in Oceania. Bastian argued, for instance, that Polynesia had lost much of its material culture following a century and a half of contact with Europe. He continued that the persistence of commercial and evangelical frontiers had erased traditional cultures in this part of the Pacific. Melanesia (and to a lesser extent Micronesia), on the other hand, had experienced contact only a generation before Bastian's writings. Bastian thus established Melanesia as important ethnographic borderland where 'untainted' material culture retained its original purpose[321] (Figure 5.5). Bastian's salvage idea preceded German colonial acquisition in New Guinea, but he and other museum curators realized that the increasing commercial and colonial presence assisted the procurement of artefacts.

One should be careful not to posit a direct correlation between ethnographic collecting and the colonial edifice.[322] From the perspective of the German colonial administration, for instance, the investment in material culture was of little direct imperial applicability. Two examples shall suffice to underscore the growing divide between colonial projects and ethnographic agendas. The Governor of New Guinea, Albert Hahl (r. 1902-1914), actively sought to direct German anthropologists away from the initial emphasis on material culture to engage pressing questions about Indigenous concepts of legality and hygiene. Ultimately, he made little headway. Similarly, Wilhelm Solf, Governor of Samoa (r. 1900-1911) and Germany's last Colonial Secretary, became progressively annoyed by the growing museological scrambles and squabbles over ethnographic artefacts shortly before the First World War. His project to nationalize material culture from the German

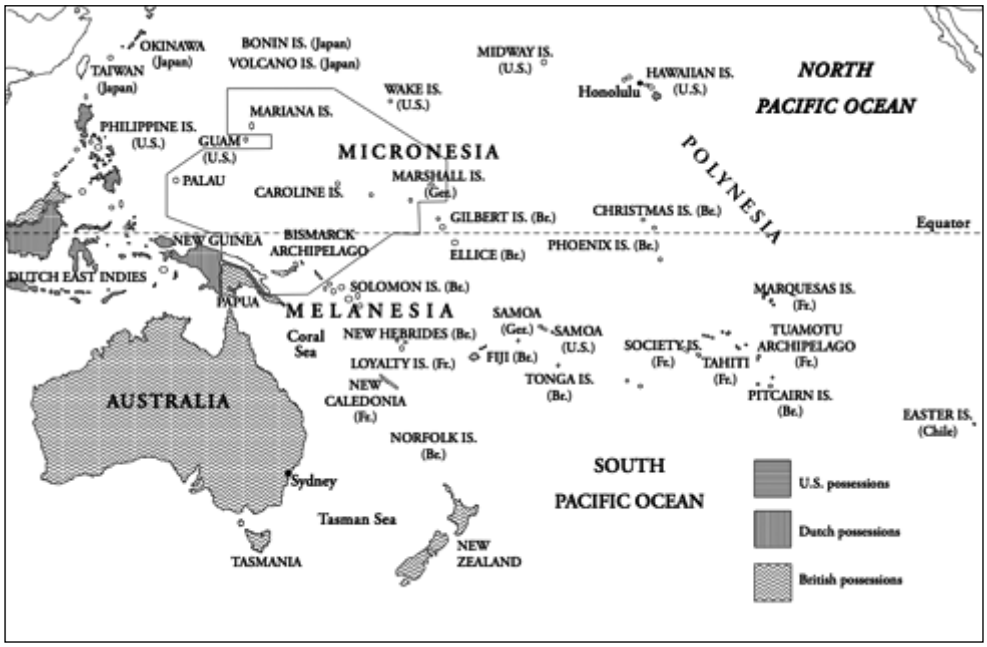

Figure 5.4. Imperialism in Oceania, c.1914.

Figure 5.5. Ethnographic borderland to 1890.

colonies met with increasingly vocal opposition by museum curators and directors. The First World War put an end to such conceptual experiments.[323]

Increasing institutional competition was obviously not an exclusively German manifestation, but the decentralized political situation characterizing this country exasperated the situation. The roughly 25 political entities comprising the new nation retained regional civic pride, which not only increased the collection project but also consolidated the growth of the new or existing museums to procure an ever-increasing number of artefacts.[324] 'Artefact' is a term loosely applied to Indigenous objects acquired in the Pacific. This term, however, could be equally applied to non-Oceanic objects that motivated collection activity. State decorations stand out as a prominent example. Following unification (1871) and until the establishment of the Weimar Republic (1919), German states retained their right to bestow decorations. This unique situation allowed regional institutions to employ state decorations to boost their collection effort. Museum officials thus targeted colonial residents to increase their ethnographic holdings. Such residents included commercial company officials and traders, missionaries, and, lastly, colonial officials stationed in ethnographically desirable regions of the territory.

To make matters worse, museum officials based in Berlin decided to monopolize collections involving flora, fauna, and ethnography in the new capital of the German nation.[325] In terms of ethnography, the Berlin-based Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde would ultimately command the lion's share of Oceanic objects with roughly 65,000 items. Yet this accumulation came at a costly price. While monopolization of artefacts in Berlin made sense for a struggling new colonial administration, this act was soon contested on the German periphery where museums officials employed the unfair perceived monopoly as a rallying cry aimed at patrons and state officials to provide funds and state decorations to support collection activity in the German colonies.

Such feelings of civic pride supported the establishment and expansion of two prominent museums: Leipzig and Stuttgart. Their two directors, Stuttgart's Karl von Linden and Leipzig's Karl Weule, quickly courted overseas patrons with the promise of Saxony and Württemberg state decorations. It was Linden in particular, who, after bitter disagreements with the curators in Berlin, most prominently Felix von Luschan, the director of Berlin's African and Oceanic division, took matters in his own hands and almost flooded the emerging German territory of New Guinea with Württemberg state decorations (Table 5.2). Shortly after his death in 1910, Linden's collection would lead to the establishment of a prominent ethnographic museum in Stuttgart named after him. Linden did not shy away from coaching his fellow museum curators. He wrote, for instance, to his counterpart Karl Weule, soon to become director of the new Grassi Museum in Leipzig: 'Obviously my blue eyes alone won't induce any potential patron to relinquish his collection to our museum. I soon discovered the proper cure for buttonhole [Knopfloch] ailments ….'[326] This cure for the buttonhole ailment was a Württemberg state decoration usually carried in the buttonhole of one's overcoat. It was an allegorical disease appealing to personal vanity that only such decoration could 'cure'.

Linking the craving for decorations to a metaphorical disease does provide a different, perhaps quite Germanic, perspective on colonial collecting. Franz Boluminski, a colonial officer stationed in Kavieng (northern New Ireland), serves as a prominent

Museums/ Resident Collectors	**Berlin** (Prussia)	**Dresden** (Saxony)	**Leipzig** (Saxony)	**Munich** (Bavaria)	**Stuttgart** (Württemberg)
Rudolf von Bennigsen (First Governor of New Guinea)					OWK (1902)
Franz Boluminski (Colonial Official Northern New Ireland)	KO IV (1904) RAO IV (1909)		AO RK I (1910)		FO RK II (1904) FO RK I (1909)
Albert Hahl (Second Governor of New Guinea)					FO KK II (1912)
Emil Loessner (Employee of the Jaluit Company)					FO RK II (1906)
Karl Nauer (Ship Captain for the Norddeutscher Lloyd)				MO IV (1914)	
Richard Parkinson (Collector and Trader)		AO RK I (1897)			FO RK I (1904)
Max Thiel (Employee of the Hernsheim Company	RAO IV (1908)	AO RK I (1910)			FO RK I (1908)
Arno Senfft (Colonial Official in the Caroline Islands	RAO IV (1899)				FO RK I (1901)
Wilhelm Wostrack (Colonial Official in New Ireland)	KO IV (?)				FO RK II (1909)

Table 5.1. Decoration Flood in German New Guinea.
Abbreviations as follows: Decorations: Prussia – Kronenorden (KO, Order of the Crown), Roter Adlerorden (RAO, Order of the Red Eagle); Saxony – Albrechtsorden (AO, Order of Albert); Bavaria – Orden vom Heiligen Michael (MO, Order of St. Michael); Württemberg – Orden der Württembergischen Krone (OWK, Order of the Crown of Württemberg), Friedrichsorden (FO, Order of Frederick). General decoration designation: Ritterkreuz (RK, Knight's Cross), Komturekreuz (KK, Comander's Cross). Roman numerals indicate the class of the decoration (the higher the numeral the lower the class).

example to underscore this case. Boluminski's residence and colonial reach allowed him access to the coveted *uli* and *malanggan* carvings, figures created for mortuary rites on the island of New Ireland. Boluminski felt isolated and underappreciated by the colonial officials and frequently complained to Linden and others about this state of affairs. A 'heavy' chest, *i.e.* a chest prominently accentuated by state decorations, would, so Boluminski believed, would lift his standing among German notables[327] (Figures 5.6, 5.7 and 5.8).

While orders and decorations explain the collection successes of the museums located in Berlin, Leipzig, Munich, and Stuttgart, they do not account for the ethnographic acquisition process of the two museums located on the periphery of the Prussian state that could not employ such orders without clashing with the central Prussian museum located in Berlin. Furthermore, the Cologne and Frankfurt museums were at a great disadvantage due to the monopoly of colonial artefacts bestowed on the Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin. Any duplicates shared by the Berlin museum had to

Figure 5.6 (above, left). Otto Finsch. Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz. © Ethnographisches Museum, Berlin.

Figure 5.7 (above, right). Arno Senfft. Grassi Museum Leipzig.

Figure 5.8 (left). Richard Parkinson. Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz. © Ethnographisches Museum, Berlin.

be distributed among other state institutions first before they could find their way to the Prussian periphery. Museum directors in Cologne and Frankfurt, however, exploited the fact that both cities had entered rather reluctantly into an expanding Prussian state. Both locations started out as free cities as a testament to their prominent trading network in the late medieval times. The French Revolution and the ensuing Napoleonic Wars, however, led to French invasions and occupation. In 1815, following the Congress of Vienna, the city of Cologne fell to the Prussians. Its largely Catholic population felt neglected by the Protestant Prussian majority. This climate was something that director William (Willy) Foy utilized to create an extensive network of donors that would contribute money to a sizeable collection and a newly constructed museum in 1906.[328] In Frankfurt, there was equal resentment against a Prussian incorporation that occurred following the Austrian-Prussian conflict in 1866. Frankfurt was the location of a short-lived German parliament following the German Revolution of 1848, and anti-Prussian sentiments continued to simmer below the surface. Bernhard Hagen, who had served as a medical doctor in German New Guinea for two years in the early 1890s, worked closely with the Lord Major of Frankfurt to establish an ethnographic museum in the city by 1904. That the museum had to move locations by 1908 because its collections quadrupled is a testimony to Hagen's success in mobilizing Frankfurt's donors.[329]

Orders and decorations could also not account for the success of Völkerkunde museums in the Hanse cities of Bremen, Hamburg, and Lübeck, whose authorities did not have an established decorations system. Collection trajectories thus depended on other avenues for ethnographic acquisition. For Bremen's Übersee Museum, established in 1887, the connection to the Bremen-based shipping company Norddeutsche Lloyd proved to be a much-welcomed windfall. Employees belonging to this company would receive instructions to collect plants and animals as well as ethnographic specimen in ports and surrounding areas served by Norddeutsche Lloyd. Likewise, Übersee Museum employees enjoyed discounts for personal passages as well as the specimens they collected.[330] There were of course those individuals who skilfully sought to circumvent company restrictions. One of these was Karl Nauer, who captained the *Sumatra*, a small, local Norddeutsche Lloyd steamer that connected the Bismarck Archipelago with the main port cities of German New Guinea. Experiencing the scramble for artefacts first-hand, Nauer did not only supply Norddeutsche Lloyd, but also became a patron of many Völkerkunde museums supplementing the institutions located in Leipzig, Munich, and Stuttgart. Nauer fully expected state decorations in return for his collected artefacts. When the First World War broke out, Nauer still retained a large collection of objects, which he willed to the Natural History Museum of his native Obergünzburg. As a potential rarity among ethnographic museums, Nauer's collection of more than 1,500 artefacts became the foundation of a museum dedicated entirely to the Pacific, the Südsee-Sammlung Obergünzburg, which opened its doors in 2009[331] (Figures 5.9 and 5.10).

German shipping connections also provided a ground stock for the Museum für Völkerkunde in Hamburg as this city was the base for the Hamburg America Line (HAPAG). Unlike the Northern German Lloyd, however, HAPAG focused mostly on Asia and the Atlantic, and artefacts from the Pacific figured as less common commodities transported by this company. The enterprising director of the Museum

Figure 5.9. Uli on Display on Karl Nauer's steamer Sumatra. Courtesy of Ingrid Weiss Obergünzburg.

Figure 5.10. Uli on Display on Karl Nauer's steamer Sumatra. Courtesy of Ingrid Weiss Obergünzburg.

für Völkerkunde in Hamburg, Georg Thilenius, used both commercial and colonial connections to acquire collections. It was Thilenius who lured the Colonial Institute to Hamburg and organized perhaps the best known expedition to German New Guinea, the Hamburger Südsee Expedition, which, equipped with its own steamer, navigated and collected throughout northern New Guinea, the Sepik River, the Bismarck Archipelago, and lastly the German possessions in the area commonly referred to as Micronesia between the years of 1908 and 1910. The collection from this undertaking became the centrepiece when Hamburg's new ethnographic museum opened in 1912. In addition, this expedition resulted in a large, 30-volume, publication series that is still frequently consulted in connection with Micronesian anthropology.[332]

Lübeck, as the smallest of the three free Hanse cities in Germany, maintained neither the political resources of Hamburg nor Bremen's political shipping connections. This did not stop the enterprising local museum director Richard Karutz, however, of bringing almost 20,000 ethnographic objects to the city. The museum, opened in 1893, had to share a building with five other institutions, but when Karutz took the helm of the establishment a few years later, he immediately used the commercial contacts of Lübeck to reach out into the Pacific. By the outbreak of the Great War, Karutz acquired about 3,000 objects from the Pacific, including valuable objects from the Sepik expedition (1912-1913, see below) through his contribution of the modest sum of 1,000 marks to the endeavour.[333]

The clash of science and aesthetics along the German ethnographic borderlands

We encountered the term ethnographic borderlands before when discussing Bastian's urgent ethnographic salvage mission to Melanesia. Bastian did much to frame this novel ethnographic region for anthropological inquiry, but his salvage agenda is hardly sufficient when attempting to explain the ensuing ethnographic rush to the colonies. Ethnographic artefacts may have elicited scientific curiosity but this sentiment was frequently eclipsed by more aesthetical appeals. For instance, when the German frigate *Gazelle* returned with examples of the extravagant malaggan carvings from New Ireland during the 1870s, Bastian was among the first to notice their aesthetic appeal: '[I]t was primarily the wonderful and whimsical carvings from New Ireland that triggered a general astonishment among scholars'[334] (Figure 5.11). Other museum directors, most noticeable Karl von Linden in Stuttgart, would not only second this opinion but placed this admiration in the realm of aesthetics: 'I am almost ashamed to say that I am crazy about the extravagant carvings of [New Ireland]'[335] (Figure 5.12). Such sentiment resonated along the colonial periphery, where local colonial officials, missionaries, and traders were less taken by abstract ethnological theoretical constructs. While the importance of the New Ireland carvings opened an important ethnographic borderland in the nineteenth century, the pursuit of new aesthetically pleasing carvings triggered the opening of new areas. In the early twentieth century, for instance, it was the Sepik River that attracted an increasing number of ethnographic collectors (Figure 5.13).

In the midst of this emerging rush to collecting, German ethnologists sought to reassert their more legitimate scientific concerns. By the time of Bastian's writings, the majority of German ethnologists had accepted the division of the Pacific Islands into the realms of Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia originally established in the early nineteenth century. The colony of German New Guinea (see Figure 5.4) provided a new field of investigation to explore concrete boundaries between these three regions. Two scientific

Figure 5.11. Hermann Strauch, Malanggan, VI 1490. Photographed by Martin Franken.
© Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

Figure 5.12. Ethnographic borderland to 1905.

Figure 5.13 Ethnographic borderland to 1914.

concepts emerged: Paramicronesia, a set of islands supposedly dividing Melanesia from Micronesia, and the puzzle of the Polynesian outliers that resonated well beyond the First World War. The controversy over whether or not outliers should be considered 'stepping stones' for the initial Austronesian westward expansion or alternatively a 'fallback' area colonized after the Polynesian triangle was settled, prompted Thilenius to guide the Hamburg South Sea Expedition to pay close attention to these islands.[336]

The Hamburg South Sea Expedition formed part of what anthropologists now refer to as the 'expedition period' of ethnological research in the Pacific. The German territories in the Pacific were, of course, not the only ones visited by expeditions. In fact, the late nineteenth-century British venture to the Torres Straits served as a guiding example for many German endeavours.[337] What made the German case stand out, however, was once again the heightened state of competition among the ethnographic museums. Berlin's director Luschan jealously followed the developments of the Hamburg expedition. After an attempt to halt the Hamburg undertaking failed, Luschan organized his own collection ventures to German New Guinea. In 1906, he commissioned Austrian ethnologists Richard Thurnwald to travel to the area.[338] A year later, Luschan was instrumental in involving naval surgeon Emil Stephan to lead a larger collection venture to New Ireland. Under the conspicuous name of the German Naval Expedition (1907-1909), he sought to minimize the advantages gained by the Hamburg venture as well as the decoration-filled collection edge by the ethnographic institutions located in Leipzig and Stuttgart (Figure 5.14). Luschan and his fellow Berlin authorities were also involved in organizing the last major ethnological project in German New Guinea before the Great War: an exploration of the Sepik River (Kaiserin Augusta Fluss) and its aesthetically significant material culture between 1912 and 1913 (Figure 5.15). With this expedition, Thurnwald would return to German New Guinea and continue his ethnographic investigations until halted by Australian troops following the outbreak of the Great War.

Anthropologist Michael O'Hanlon has recently pointed at a distinction between primary and secondary ethnographic collecting.[339] This distinction is relevant for the German case as Luschan argued that dispatching trained collectors to the territory would greatly improve on the quality (rather than the quantity) of artefact collection. In the primary collection paradigm, trained ethnographers would supply exact determination, which in turn would provide a greater cultural context for an individual ethnographic object. In contrast, local residents, whose collection efforts were secondary to their primary colonial interests, would only be able to amass great quantities of ill-determined artefacts.

Less intended by Luschan and other museum officials, the Berlin and Hamburg expeditions carried to German New Guinea the kernel of a new, more intensive way of performing ethnographic research. Commonly referred to as fieldwork, such intensive investigations were very much welcomed by colonial officials, chiefly Governor Albert Hahl, who argued that cultural insights into the Indigenous communities would be more beneficial to his administration than amassing artefacts in German museums. The 'Malinowskian' moment in German anthropology, however, was arrested due to the outbreak of the Great War and the death of many prominent ethnologists who were attempting to push their discipline into new directions: Emil

Figure 5.14. Scene from a Baining Festival, New Britain, photograph taken by members of the German Naval Expedition. Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz. © Ethnographisches Museum, Berlin.

Figure 5.15. Indigenous exchanges along the Sepik River. © Lindenmuseum Stuttgart.

Stephan, Wilhelm Müller, and Edgar Walden.[340] The Great War also resulted in the loss of the German colonies and consequently halted the flood of artefacts from Oceania to German Völkerkunde museums.

German ethnologists might have tried to assert scientific criteria in their collecting efforts, yet the concern with aesthetics never quite faded away. It received further impetus when a group of German artists turned their attention to Oceanic artefacts. Paralleling Picasso and his fellow Fauvists' discovery of African art as a new source of inspiration, German artists lumped together under the expressionist movement called Die Brücke (The Bridge) sought inspiration from the ethnographic exhibits housed in

the museums of Berlin and Dresden. The movement regarded itself as a bridge (hence the title for the group) between past and present artistic movements. Members sought as much inspiration from medieval art as they did from 'primitive' carvings (Figure 5.16). Unlike the Fauvists, however, the Pacific reigned supreme among the artists from Die Brücke. Two of their members, Emil Nolde and Max Pechstein, decided that looking at artwork from the Pacific was not enough. Nolde joined a German expedition to New Guinea while Pechstein decided to travel on his own to the islands of Palau.[341] An exaggerated Surrealist map of the world published in 1929 illustrated the important impact of the former territory of German New Guinea on artists. (Figure 5.17).

Ethnologists remained unimpressed by this artistic attention on Oceanic artefacts. When Felix von Luschan was queried what he had to think about the new German art forms, he responded:

> I sincerely believe, however, that there is an obvious difference between 'Negro sculptures' and the things that are now on display in the National Gallery. The Negro sculptures are the work of mentally sane individuals, masters of techniques that displays pride in their creations; our 'so-called' modern art seems to be the product of psychopaths. These seem hash words, but in past I served as assistant physician at a great psychiatric ward long enough to make such a statement.[342]

This obvious divide between Völkerkunde and the artist communities would persist until the last decades of the twentieth century when changes in museological practices enabled a rapprochement (see below).

The notion of ethnographic borderlands further allows for a reflection on the Indigenous participation in the collection activity. This participation can of course only be ascertained on a case-by-case basis, which makes overarching generalizations difficult, if not impossible. During the German colonial period of the Pacific, there is little indication that Indigenous traders for the areas designated as Melanesia and Micronesia went beyond their respective regional cultural areas to engage German museum officials. The artefact exchange occurred generally through German intermediaries such as colonial officials, missionaries, ship captains, and traders. Following the onset of the above explained expedition age in 1905, trained ethnologists involved themselves in the exchange as well, although sometimes they ended up purchasing remarkable artefacts from local German residents. To be sure, there were clear violations during the ethnographic trade. The most cited example is the 'silent exchange' undertaken by the members of the Hamburg Expedition. Ethnologists participating in this expedition, when arriving at a village abandoned by its inhabitants, who generally mistook the expedition's steamer for a German warship, had no misgivings with assembling collections of the artefacts left behind. As 'payment', expedition members left a quantity of trade items, especially tobacco, which was deemed equivalent to the artefacts extracted.[343]

An even darker aspect from the ethnographic borderlands emerges out of its engagement with the German recruiting efforts within the colony. A consistent supply of labourers for the plantation economy of German New Guinea was a perennial issue

Figure 5.16. Emil Nolde Stilleben N (Gr. Tamburan u. Chinesenpaar) 1915. Ölfarben auf Leinwand (Wvz. Urban 644). © Nolde Stiftung Seebüll.

Figure 5.17. Surrealist Map of World. Published in Variété 1929.

for the colonial administration. In order to find new sources of labour, recruiting vessels were dispatched into the most distant corner of the colony. Recruiters, such as schooner captain Heinrich Voogdt, would also act as ethnographic collectors and were instrumental in revealing the new areas of the Sepik as well as Paramicronesia (the islands of Wuvulu and Aua) for German ethnographic institutions.[344] In Paramicronesia, in particular, the interest of the region as an ethnographic border between the areas known as Melanesia and Micronesia quickly led to a rush, which in the case of Aua led to the murder by the Indigenous people of the island of a local trader who had provoked his demise by opening local graves to gain access to ethnographic objects.[345]

A more positive picture emerges from the island of New Ireland. As home to the much-coveted uli and malaggan carving, the above explained mortuary figures, the onset of intensive collecting in the early twentieth century coincided with the establishment of two German stations in northern and central New Ireland as well as the introduction of a colonial head tax. While the stations secured access to ethnographica, a trade in which both station officials, Franz Boluminski and Wilhelm Wostrack, participated, the prices of the desired objects soon spiralled out of control. The inflated ethnographica price indicated not only the actions of the German middlemen, who expressed their concerns with rising costs in lengthy letters to museum officials, but suggests also that Indigenous manufacturers were employing the carvings to satisfy the monetary demands associated with the head tax.[346]

Museum exhibits before the Great War

Two paradigms affected museum displays before the Great War: (non-Darwinian) evolution and diffusionism. Notions of non-Darwinian evolution were developed and supported by the founder of the Berlin museum, Adolf Bastian. He framed Völkerkunde as primarily an operation of salvage and argued that artefacts would ultimately reveal the psychic unity of mankind. Upon Bastian's death in 1905, a group of German ethnologists, dissatisfied with Bastian's predisposition for accumulation rather than scientific work, turned to diffusionist ideas in museum display. The Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum in Cologne was first among the German institutions in including a diffusionist perspective in its exhibition halls.

Bastian's salvage paradigm aimed at artefact accumulation was but one of the main factors of museum work. While prior to the First World War the majority of museum curators had limited interaction with the Indigenous cultures they swore to protect from extinction, they quickly succumbed to other pressures. Museum curators might have perceived themselves as representatives of a nascent Völkerkunde, yet their museums and the artefacts these housed informed, and were at the same time influenced by, German mass culture. In the mind of the less scientifically oriented visitors, artefacts became associated with either novel art trends or the seemingly ubiquitous Völkerschauen (living ethnographic displays).[347] Curators sought to bypass such 'diluting' trends by separating museum holdings into display and scientific collections. Display collections emphasized important aesthetically pleasing artefacts and sought to appeal to the to the senses of the uninformed visitor. A closed display collection was in turn reserved for ethnographic specialists. From their academic perspectives, museum curators looked down upon alternative displays at colonial

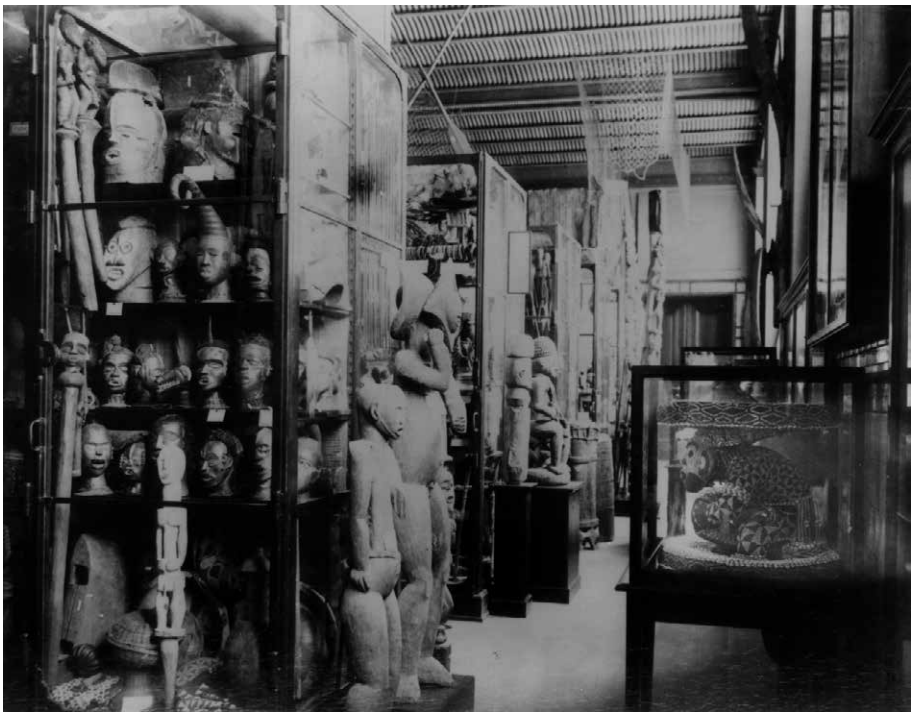

Figure 5.18. Example of Museum Chaos, the Cameroon exhibit in Berlin before 1926. Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz. © Ethnographisches Museum, Berlin.

exhibits or museums, which succumbed to the gaze and desires of the uninformed colonial enthusiasts. Besides the tightrope walk between popular and scientific cultures, the increasing accumulation of artefacts, stimulated both by the salvage idea and the increasing competitive atmosphere of Germany's ethnographic institutions, presented increasing challenges for museum officials. The flood of artefacts hailing from the German colonies and elsewhere resulted in a 'museum chaos', arising from the stuffing of objects into crammed display cases and bulging storage spaces (Figure 5.18). On more than one occasion, such overflowing displays triggered hazard warnings by local fire departments. For instance, the increasing lack of space forced officials in Berlin to look into storage facilities outside the main museum.[348] The Great War and subsequent financial troubles brought many such developments to a standstill.

Museum developments c.1914-1990

The two world wars as well as the interwar period hit German ethnographic institutions especially hard. Most importantly, the loss of imperial territory following the Treaty of Versailles (1919) brought the immediate acquisition from Oceania to a halt. Exchanges of artefacts, especially with neutral countries such as Switzerland and the Netherlands (for the First World War) continued to diversify the collections. While there was no immediate damage to the collections during the First War, ethnographic buildings were impounded for more 'pertinent' purposes. The Linden Museum in Stuttgart,

for instance, served as a makeshift hospital attending to wounded soldiers from the Western Front, which forced a relocation of at least part of the collection.[349] In another prominent example, the post-First World War inflation affecting Germany wiped out the funds of the Hamburg Scientific Foundation, thus greatly delaying the publication of the Hamburg South Seas Expedition (the majority of the volumes saw publication in the 1930s). Yet even during this period, a small number of Oceanic collections reached German museums. Frankfurt museum officials, for instance, commissioned collection ventures to Australia and Northwest New Guinea in the late 1930s. Similarly, in the early 1930s, Hans Nevermann, the curator of Berlin's Oceanic section, travelled to areas of the Pacific less represented in his collection to complement his division.[350]

All of the inconveniences listed above did not compare to the general damage that German collections would experience during the Second World War. The strategic aerial attacks perpetrated by the Luftwaffe (German Air Force) early in the war would soon reach Germany, as most cities suffered increasing bombardments following 1942. Although the majority of the museum collections were relocated to relative safety, some prominent artefacts were lost either through bombs or the subsequent relocation chaos (Figure 5.19). Two museums in particular, housed in Dresden and Frankfurt, experienced a significant loss of their collections as well as among the associated correspondence and photographic material. An air raid on Frankfurt in March 1944 greatly damaged the local museum leading to the loss of about a third of the collection.[351] Dresden's museum fared worse during one of the most notorious raids on this city in February of 1945. Other museums suffered less devastation but generally had to content with the full or partial destruction of the buildings housing the collections while losses of artefacts were commonplace. The Linden Museum in Stuttgart, for instance, burned to the ground during a bombardment in September of 1944, which destroyed about 10 percent of artefacts generally deemed too large to be moved to a safe location.[352] Similar losses also befell the large collections of the Berlin Museum, which suffered the dual destruction of bombardment and street fighting towards the last days of the war. It is estimated that close to 6,000 Oceanic artefacts were destroyed or went missing. These losses are, however, far less than the disappearance of about 19,000 objects of its African collection that experienced the same fate[353] (Figure 5.20). Recovering artefacts from the relocation sites lasted on some occasions well into the 1950s and even the 1960s.[354]

Collecting nevertheless continued throughout the divided period of German History (1945 to 1990). West German institutions in particular dispatched numerous expeditions to key areas to supplement museum collections. Frankfurt's museum, which had suffered tremendous loss during the Second World War, benefitted from the financial resource of the Frobenius Institute located in the same city. Several researchers from this institute collected in the Sepik region, thus providing both depth and replacement of artefacts lost during the Second World War. In Berlin Gerd Koch supplemented the large existing collection at the museum at Dahlem by travelling to Kiribati, Tuvalu, New Guinea, and the Santa Cruz Islands in the 1960s.[355] Smaller West German ventures also complemented museum holdings in other cities, yet taken as a whole these activities paled in comparison to the collection efforts performed before 1914. There was a noticeable shift in collection activity starting in the 1970s. Rather

Figure 5.19. Crates with Ethnographic objects in the basement of Celle Castle. Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz. © Ethnographisches Museum, Berlin.

Figure 5.20. The hollow shell of the Berlin Ethnographic Museum in 1949. Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz. © Ethnographisches Museum, Berlin.

than acquiring traditional artefacts, museum curators concentrated on purchasing contemporary art from regions represented in the museums. It was during the 1970s and 1980s that museum curators became more attuned to critical voices in museology and opened up dialogues with artists, western as well as Indigenous, that they had formerly shunned.

Contemporary exhibits of Oceanic collections

As museology and collection activity moved forward into the twenty-first century, German museum curators skilfully adapted to conceptual challenges. The unification of Germany in 1990s coincided with numerous critiques affecting the traditional setting of ethnographic museums. In fact, the cultural turn affecting the museums' host discipline of anthropology did not go unnoticed in the practice of museology. This involved calling into question narrow regional divides governing ethnographic displays, as it suggested both lingering salvage practices as well as nostalgia for imperial conditions. New approaches to museum exhibiting thus recommended that exhibits incorporated contemporary issues affecting the host nations from where the artefacts were extracted. Furthermore, the many imperial contexts informing artefact acquisition now demanded inclusion in museum hallways. This required, of course, addressing sensitive issues of artefact restitution and the repatriation of human remains, which required a collaborative efforts with Indigenous communities.[356] Lastly, the rigid cultural area displays were to be substituted by exhibits addressing more transnational or international issues.[357]

Such trends towards internationalization and contextualization are also behind the recent name changes involving some German ethnographic museums. In 2001, the Frankfurt institution became the Museum für Weltkulturen (Museum for World Cultures), while the Munich institution changed its name to the Museum Fünf Kontinente (Museum Five Continents) a few years later. New types of exhibits emerged to ensure that such changes went well beyond the renaming process. A good example of this activity is Hilke Thode-Arora's curated exhibit *From Samoa with Love*? which recently took place at the museum in Munich. Tackling the sensitive fact that two thirds of Munich's Samoan artefacts derived from colonial Völkerschauen, or ethnic shows, the spectacle of Indigenous peoples displayed in artificial villages in German ethnographic or zoological institutions, Thode-Arora opted to depart from traditional exhibits in three significant ways. First, she had to consult other Samoan artefacts available in other European ethnographic collections. Second, she carefully reconstructed the routes taken by Samoan participants during the colonial ethnic shows. Lastly, she moved away from an exclusive western gaze to incorporate Indigenous Samoan viewpoints through the incorporation of genealogies and oral traditions. It was in connection with this last point that Thode-Arora managed to secure the patronage of the Samoan Head of State for the exhibit and the subsequent edited publication (Figures 5.21 and 5.22). The sensitive nature of the exhibit was well received in Samoa and many people volunteered additional oral traditions supporting the project. In order to reach the large Samoan diasporic communities in Aotearoa New Zealand as well as Australia, digital displays of the Munich exhibition were staged in these countries.[358]

Figure 5.21. Performances at the opening of the exhibit 'From Samoa with Love?' Photo: Marianne Franke, Museum Fünf Kontinente.

Figure 5.22. Image from the exhibit 'From Samoa with Love?' Photo: Marianne Franke, Museum Fünf Kontinente.

The restructuring process also affected the large Oceanic collection at the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (Berlin Ethnological Museum). Re-conceptualized as the Humboldt Forum in the centre of Berlin, the ethnographic collections are set to assume centre stage once the building is scheduled to open to the public in 2019. The project stood immediately in the crosshair of the national and international media because the future building of the Humboldt Forum became a bone of contention. Housed in the reconstructed palace of the Prussian kings, which was torn down to make way for the Palace of the Republic during East German time, the Humboldt Form in turn was constructed on the site of the former German Democratic Republic landmark that was torn down following German unification in the 1990s. The housing of ethnographic collection in a reconstructed arena reminiscent of the Prussian past raised numerous questions: Was this to be another reminder of past Prussian glory? Would the objects be simply used to adorn the glorification of the German past? Or would this be another regular ethnographic museum encased by Eurocentric self-assurance?[359] Conscious of such critique, the curators working at moving the collection from the suburb of Dahlem to the centre of Berlin started to experiment with potential exhibits. Before opening the Humboldt Forum, they established the Humboldt Lab Dahlem as an avenue to explore new avenues of ethnographic display. As far as the Oceanic collections were concerned, a September 2014 exhibit opened to address the subject of secret/sacred knowledge. Sacred objects from the Sepik River as well as Central Australia were selected to investigate new methods of display. Similarly, the exhibit was discussed at a conference in Alice Springs, Australia, to elicit Aboriginal input.[360] Encouraged by such developments, both the director of the Prussian Cultural Foundation and the director of the Ethnological Museum remain committed to new ways of displaying artefacts. Most importantly, the colonial history behind many of the artefacts would be addressed through a special exhibit on the East African Maji Maji rebellion against German rule. Similarly, the artefacts are to be displayed outside their distinctive cultural regions inviting cross-cultural examination. Lastly, museum curators endeavour to search active dialogues with the Indigenous peoples residing in the areas from which the objects were extracted.[361] Promising as these attempts may sound at the present moment, it remains to be seen how much of the projected exhibits will be put into practice once the Humboldt Forum opens in the near future. Philipp Schorch and Noelle Kahanu, for instance, remind us that very few of the experiments performed in the Dahlem lab have actually entered the Humboldt Forum.[362]

Institutions that retained their original name are also not lagging behind on novel conceptions of museum display. The Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum in Cologne, for instance, retains the names of the original nineteenth-century donors to the museum. Yet, the experimental exhibit 'Capturing the World' speaks to the more contemporary museological concerns identified above. The project, which includes Oceanic artefacts, explores four distinctive trajectories. The first trajectory elucidates nineteenth-century local travellers, who contributed largely to the existing collections. By locating the museum in the context of colonialism, this trajectory also highlights the politically charged nature of the artefacts in Cologne. The second aspect of the exhibit tackles the thorny concept of the 'other' and illustrates how artefacts both support and challenge deeply entrenched cultural stereotypes. The third trajectory illustrates the role of

the museum in mediating between local outlooks and the cultures whose material heritage are on display. In this regard, artefacts are not divorced from their countries of origin, but serve as crucial links between Cologne and the rest of the world. Lastly, the exhibit attempts to build a bridge between ethnology and art by looking at the aesthetic perceptions of ethnographic artefacts.[363] Taken the above examples into consideration, it is interesting to note that German ethnographic institutions and the Oceanic artefacts they harbour are reimagining themselves in creative ways.

Conclusions: a cautious attempt at counting artefacts

Table 5.2 lists the estimated collection of about 230,000 artefacts housed in German museums. The numbers revealed in this table remain both tentative and problematic. Some estimates, for instance, were compiled before the Second World War and do not account for war losses. Another important issue to consider is that some museums include while others exclude Australian artefacts within the division of Oceania. The total does not include missionary, private, and university collections that easily augment this amount. Taken all of these factors into consideration, I would suggest looking at an estimated number of 250,000 artefacts housed in German museums or extracted from the German colonies of Oceania prior to the First World War.

Museum	Year Created	Total Collections	Oceania Collections (rounded up or down to the nearest 1000)	Significant Collections from GNG	Acquisition through
Berlin364	1886	500	65	Thurnwald (<5000)	Orders and titles, collectors, colonial monopoly
				German Naval Expedition (>2000)	
				Sepik Expedition (<6000)	
Bremen	1887	1.2 million (includes natural history objects)	15,365	Norddeutscher Loyd, Schauinsland, Cohn	Shipping connections, collectors
Cologne366	1906	65	18	Joest (<1000)	Donations
				Kueppers-Losen (<4000)	
Dresden367	1875	70	16		Donations, titles and decorations
Frankfurt368	1904	67	16		Donations
Hamburg	1912	200	30,369	South Sea Expedition (15,000)	Commercial and colonial Networks, expeditions
				Hellwig (3,000)	
Hildesheim370	1911		1		Donations and Purchase
Leipzig371	1895	190	20	Godeffroy (5,000)	Purchase, Orders and Titles
Lübeck372	1893	>20	3		Donations and Purchase
Munich	1862	160	Ca. 15,373		Purchase, Orders and Titles
Obergünzburg374	2009	2	2		Nauer's personal collection
Stuttgart375	1911	170	28		Orders and Titles
Total for Oceania					about 229,000 artifacts

Table 5.2. Number of objects in the most prominent German ethnographic institutions.

Interior of Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 2007. Photograph by Mark Adams.

Exterior of Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 2007. Photograph by Mark Adams.


Binderstraße
INKAgold

ENDNOTES

Introduction

1. Arjun Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
2. Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991).
3. See particularly Peter Brunt, Nicholas Thomas, Sean Mallon, Lissant Bolton, Deidre Brown, Damian Skinner and Susanne Küchler, *Art in Oceania: A New History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2012).
4. Nicholas Thomas, *The Return of Curiosity: What Museums are Good for in the Twenty-First Century* (London: Reaktion, 2016).
5. Nicholas Thomas, Julie Adams, Billie Lythberg, Maia Nuku and Amiria Salmond (eds), *Artefacts of Encounter: Cook's Voyages, Colonial Collecting And Museum Histories* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2016).
6. Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).
7. An earlier version of this chapter was presented at 'Experiencing Concepts, Experiencing Meanings', an international symposium at the Sainsbury Research Unit, University of East Anglia, Norwich, UK, 15 May 2014.

Chapter 1

8. Barry Chandler, 'The Fijian collections at Torquay Museum', *Journal of Museum Ethnography* 19 (2007), 77-89.
9. Information drawn from text linked with the Stromness Museum display; thanks to Alison Clark for photographs of the exhibit and Andrew Mills for comments on the artefacts.
10. Peter Gathercole and Alison Clarke, *Survey of Oceanian Collections in Museums in the United Kingdom and the Irish Republic*, CC-80/WS/58; UNESCO, 1979.
11. The institutions, which have had different names at different times, are now the World Museum in Liverpool, the Manchester Museum and the Royal Pavilion and Museums, Brighton and Hove.
12. Nicholas Thomas, 'Lisa Reihana: encounters in Oceania', *Artlink* 37 (2) (2017), 22-7.
13. Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Knopf, 1993).
14. In the context of historical anthropology, the work of Jean and John Comaroff has been particularly important: see *Of Revelation and Revolution,* 2 vols (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991 and 1997).
15. For the broader argument, see Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), and *The Return of Curiosity: What Museums are Good for in the Twenty-First Century* (London: Reaktion, 2016), esp. pp. 49-51.
16. Among the earliest ethnographic artefacts in British collections are some in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford; see Arthur MacGregor (ed.), *Tradescant's Rarities: Essays on the Foundation of the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983); and *e.g.* Inuit artefacts in the collections of Hans Sloane, which similarly formed the founding collection of the British Museum. See Jonathan King, 'Sloane's ethnography', in Arthur MacGregor (ed.), *Sir Hans Sloane* (London: British Museum Press, 1994), pp. 228-44. But in each case these were either individual acquisitions, or small groups, not more

numerous assemblages that were intended to be representative, or that incorporated documentation of any kind.

17. Joseph Banks has been much discussed in recent work around the history of natural science, exploration, collecting and related fields; and has recently been the subject of a new series of colloquia linked with the National Maritime Museum. Important works have included David Philip Miller and Peter Hanns Reill (eds), *Visions of Empire: Voyages, Botany and the Representation of Nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), and John Gascoigne, *Joseph Banks and the English Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994). See also Nicholas Thomas, *Discoveries: The Voyages of Captain James Cook,* 2nd ed. (London: Penguin, 2018).
18. Johann Reinhold Forster, *Observations Made During a Voyage round the World*, edited by Nicholas Thomas, Harriet Guest and Michael Dettelbach (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996 [orig. 1778]).
19. See discussion in Nicholas Thomas, Julie Adams, Billie Lythberg, Maia Nuku and Amiria Salmond (eds), *Artefacts of Encounter: Cook's Voyage, Colonial Collecting and Museum Histories* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2016).
20. See for example A.L. Kaeppler, *'Artificial Curiosities': Being an Exposition of Native Manufactures from the Three Voyages of Captain James Cook, R.N.* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum, 1978); A.L. Kaeppler, *Holophusicon – the Leverian Museum: An Eighteenth Century English Institution of Science, Curiosity and Art* (Altenstadt: ZKF Publishers, 2011); J. Coote (ed.), *Cook-Voyage Collections of Artificial Curiosities in Britain and Ireland, 1771-2015* (Oxford, Museum Ethnographers' Group, 2016), and Thomas *et al.* (eds), *Artefacts of encounter.*
21. On the Göttingen collections, see Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin and Gundolf Krüger (eds) *James Cook: Gifts and Treasures from the South Seas* (Munich: Prestel, 1998).
22. Stig Rydén, *The Banks Collection: An Episode in 18th-century Anglo-Swedish Relations* (Stockholm: Almquist and Wiksell, 1963); J. Soderstrom, *A. Sparmann's Ethnographical collection From James Cook's 2nd Expedition* (Stockholm: Bokförlags Aktiebolaget Thule, 1939).
23. Elena Govor and Nicholas Thomas (eds), *Tiki: Marquesan Art and the Krusenstern Expedition* (Leiden: Sidestone, 2019 [forthcoming]).
24. Kaeppler, 'From the South Seas to the world', in Coote (ed.), *Cook-Voyage Collections*, pp. 256-98; Kaeppler, *Holophusicon.*
25. For discussion of the distinctive genre of visual images, see Thomas, *In Oceania: Visions, Artefacts, Histories* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), chapter 4.
26. William Anderson, *A New, Authentic and Complete Collection of Voyages Round the World* (London: Alexander Hogg, 1784-86).
27. [J. Lightfoot], *A Catalogue of the Portland Museum* (London, 1786), pp. 58-9; Beth Fowkes Tobin, *The Duchess's Shells: Natural History Collecting in the Age of Cook's Voyages* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014); on Pennant, see Thomas *et al.* (eds), *Artefacts of Encounter*, pp. 34-6.
28. James Peller Malcolm, *Londinium Redivivum, or an Antient History and Modern Description of London* (London, 1802-3), II, 523-7.
29. The classic study of the LMS in the Pacific is Neil Gunson, *Messengers of Grace* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1978). See also Nicholas Thomas, *Islanders: The Pacific in the Age of Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).
30. Leslie Jessop, 'Cook-voyage collections in north-east England', in Coote (ed.), *Cook-Voyage Collections,* p. 223. The Southwark Museum, a significant institution maintained by a London local authority, holds a major early Pacific collection which has been published as one including artefacts from the voyage of

the *Duff*. While the collection may include some eighteenth-century artefacts, it is clear that most of the objects in fact date from the second half of the nineteenth century.

31. See William Pascoe Crook, *An Account of the Marquesas Islands* (Papeete: Editions Haere Po, 2007 [orig. 1800]; and discussion of Vason in Thomas, *Islanders*.
32. *Missionary Sketches*; see discussion in Thomas, *Entangled Objects*, and Maia Nuku, 'The family idols of Pomare, Tahiti, French Polynesia', in Karen Jacobs, Chantal Knowles and Chris Wingfield (eds), *Trophies, Relics and Curios? Missionary Heritage from Africa and the Pacific* (Leiden: Sidestone, 2015).
33. Julie Adams, Steven Hooper and Maia Nuku, *A'a: A Deity from Polynesia* (London: British Museum, 2016).
34. Chris Wingfield, "Scarcely more than a Christian trophy case?' The global collections of the London Missionary Society Museum 1814-1910', *Journal of the History of Collections* 29 (2017), 109-28.
35. Thomas *et al.* (eds), *Artefacts of Encounter*.
36. These examples are discussed by Elizabeth Bonshek and Jude Philp in their contributions to Lissant Bolton, Nicholas Thomas, Julie Adams, Elizbaeth Bonshek and Ben Burt (eds.), *Melanesia: Art and Encounter* (London: British Museum, 2013).
37. Information in this section is derived from 'history' pages on the websites of the museums and institutions concerned.
38. These institutions are now called: the Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter; Bristol Museum and Art Gallery; Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery; the Great North Museum: Hancock; and the Manchester Museum.
39. These histories of encounter are surveyed in Thomas, *Islanders*.
40. Dale Idiens, 'The Pacific collections in Perth Museum *and* Art Gallery', *Pacific Arts* 1/2 (1990), 58-59; Arthur McMartin, 'Ramsay, David (1794-1860)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/ramsay-david-2571/text3513, published first in hardcopy 1967, accessed online 2 February 2018.
41. Thomas *et al.* (eds), *Artefacts of Encounter*.
42. Julius L. Brenchley, *Jottings During the Cruise of the HMS Curaçoa Among the South Sea Islands in 1865* (London: 1873).
43. Discussions include: George W. Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology* (New York: Free Press, 1987); Annie E. Coombes, *Re-inventing Africa* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994); George W. Stocking (ed.), *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986).
44. The best resource is 'Rethinking Pitt Rivers', primarily authored by Alison Petch, a project subsite of the Pitt Rivers Museum website, at http://web.prm.ox.ac.uk/rpr/index.html (accessed 3 February 2018), which includes biographic and bibliographic pages. See also Jeremy Coote and Alison Petch (eds) 'Rethinking Pitt-Rivers and his Legacy', special issue, *Museum History Journal* 7 (2) (2014). There is a summary in Hermione Waterfield and J.C.H. King (eds), *Provenance: Twelve Collectors of Ethnographic Art in England, 1760-1990* (Paris: Somogy, 2006), which also discusses, as the title indicates, mostly later, significant dealers and collectors.
45. J.C.H. King, 'Franks and ethnography', in Marjorie Caygill and John Cherry (eds), A.W. Franks: nineteenth-century collecting and the British Museum (London: British Museum Press, 1997); Roger Neich, 'James Edge-Partington (1854-1930): an ethnologist of independent means', *Records of the Auckland Museum* 46 (2009), 57-110.
46. Frances Larson, *An Infinity of Things: How Sir Henry Wellcome Collected the World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

47. Relevant studies are numerous, but for Māori see Roger Neich, *Carved Histories: Ngati Tarawhai Woodcarving* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2001), and Carol S. Ivory, 'Art, tourism and cultural revival in the Marquesas Islands', in Ruth Phillips and Christopher Steiner (eds), *Unpacking Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).
48. Anita Herle and Lucie Carreau, *Chiefs and Governors: Art and Power in Fiji* (Cambridge: MAA, 2013).
49. Thomas *et al.* (eds), *Artefacts of Encounter*, pp. 36-9.
50. Anita Herle and Sandra Rouse (eds), *Cambridge and the Torres Strait* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). For the broader theme, see Martin Thomas and Amanda Harris (eds), *Expeditionary Anthropology* (Oxford: Berghahn, 2018).
51. These anthropologists' collections are held, or held primarily at the British Museum (Bronislaw Malinowski); MAA in Cambridge (John Layard, Paul Montague and Gregory Bateson) and the Pitt Rivers (Beatrice Blackwood). Not all are published, but see Michael Young and Harry Beran Michael Young and Harry Beran, 'Introduction to Malinowski's "Art Notes and Suggestions"', and Bronislaw Malinowski, 'Art Notes and Suggestions', *Pacific Arts* 16 (2016), 5-32.
52. ; Haidy Geismar and Anita Herle, *Moving Images: John Layard, Fieldwork and Photography on Malakula since 1914* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009); Anita Herle and Andrew Moutu, *Paired Brothers: Concealment and Revelation* (Cambridge, MAA: 2004).
53. The MAA archive holds an extensive but unpublished catalogue of the Bateson collection, prepared during the 1980s by Antonia Lovelace.
54. Nick Stanley, *'Some friends came to see us': Lord Moyne's 1936 Expedition to the Asmat* (London: British Museum, 2016). See also Bolton *et al.* (eds), *Melanesia*, pp. 115-18, 340.
55. *Illustrated London News*, 5 December 1936.
56. *Catalogue of an Exhibition of the Art of Primitive Peoples* (London: Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1935); 'The art of primitive peoples [review]', *Nature* 135 (1935), 927.
57. *The International Surrealist Exhibition* (London: New Burlington Galleries, 1936), p. 13.
58. Elizabeth Bonshek, *Tikopia Collected: Raymond Firth and the Creation of Solomon Islands Cultural Heritage* (Canon Pyon: Sean Kingston Publishing, 2017).
59. Raymond Firth, *Art and Life in New Guinea* (London: The Studio, 1936).
60. Trevor Thomas, Review of *Art and Life in New Guinea*, *Burlington Magazine* 70 (1937), 309.
61. Robyn Sloggett, 'Dr Leonhard Adam and his ethnographic collection at the University of Melbourne', PhD thesis, University of Melbourne, 2010.
62. Leonhard Adam, *Primitive Art* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1940), pp. 13-14, 16, 22.
63. Adam, *Primitive Art*, p. 122.
64. See Peter Brunt in Brunt and Thomas (eds), *Art in Oceania: A New History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2012), 349ff.
65. See Alison Clark and Nicholas Thomas (eds), *Style and Meaning: Essays on the Anthropology of Art by Anthony Forge* (Leiden: Sidestone, 2017).
66. See Bolton *et al.* (eds), *Melanesia*, pp. 337, 341.
67. The genesis of the group is discussed in Sidney M. Mead (ed.), *Exploring the Visual Art of Oceania* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawai'i, 1979).
68. Anthony Forge (ed.), *Art and Primitive Society* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. xxi; Maureen MacKenzie, *Androgynous Objects* (Chur: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1991); Shirley Campbell, *The Art of Kula* (Oxford: Berg, 2002).

69. George Marcus and James Clifford (eds), *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988).
70. Michael O'Hanlon, *Paradise: Portraying the New Guinea Highlands* (London: British Museum Press, 1993).
71. Nelson H.H. Graburn (ed.), *Ethnic and Tourist Arts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976); see also O'Hanlon, 'Telling artefacts', in Bolton *et al.* (eds), *Melanesia*, pp. 96-103.
72. On the broader field, see Laura Peers and Alison Brown (eds), *Museums and Source Communities* (London: Routledge, 2003).
73. Dorota Starzecka (ed.), *Māori: Art and Culture* (London: British Museum, 1996, 1998).
74. Rosanna Raymond and Amiria Salmond (eds), *Pasifika Styles: Artists Inside the Museum* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2008) – a retrospective assessment rather than just a catalogue of the exhibition.
75. These and other contemporary works are discussed in Nicholas Thomas, *Oceanic Art*, 2nd ed. (London: Thames and Hudson, 2018).

Chapter 2

75. The term 'Metropole' is widely used in France to refer to the continental territory of France in Europe. In the Pacific, the territories of Wallis and Futuna and French Polynesia (Marquesas Islands, Tuamotu Archipelago, Gambier Islands, Leeward Islands, Windward Islands and Austral Islands) are classified as Overseas Collectivities while New Caledonia is a Collectivity *sui generis*. As such, all fly the French flag but fall under legislation that is in part distinctive from that of the Metropole, and have developed local systems of governments.
76. The *Annuaire des collections publiques françaises d'objets océaniens* was the result of a long investigation led by Roger Boulay for the Direction des Musées de France and published online in 2007. Drawing on inventories already completed in the past as well as new research visits, the *annuaire* is an invaluable – and in Europe, unequalled – resource to map out Oceanic collections. It is important to note that Indigenous material culture from Australia was included in the *annuaire*.
77. Antoine de Bougainville, *Voyage autour du Monde, par la Frégate du Roi la Boudeuse et la Flûte l'Étoile; en 1766, 1767, 1768 & 1769* (Paris: Saillant & Nyon, 1771), pp. 8-9.
78. Antoine de Bougainville, *Voyage autour du Monde*, p. 16.
79. Denis Diderot, 'Supplément au voyage de Bougainville', in Jean Baptiste Antoine Suard and Simon-Jérôme Bourlet de Vauxcelles (eds), *Opuscules philosophiques et littéraires, la plupart posthumes ou inédites* (Paris: Imprimerie de Chevet, 1796), pp. 187-270.
80. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Discourse on the Origins of Inequality Among Men* (first published in French in 1755).
81. His name is given by Bougainville as Aotourou, but other spellings (Aoutourou and Ahutoru in particular) appear in subsequent publications and are used on the Internet. He was also known as Boutavery or Poutavery, a name derived from that of his protector, Bougainville; see Emmanuel Marthe, *La France et l'exploration polaire: De Verrazano à La Pérouse 1523-1788* (Paris: Nouvelles Editions Latine, 1959), p. 288.
82. Anne Lavondès, 'Les dessins de Philibert de Commerson et la Culture Tahitienne au XVIIIe siècle', in J. Monnier, J.-C. Jolinon, A. Lavondès and P. Elouard (eds), *Philibert Commerson: Le Découvreur du Bougainvillier* (Châtillon-sur-Chalaronne: Association Saint-Guignefort, 1993), pp. 69-91.

83. Archives Nationales Fonds Marine et Colonies BB4 992: 'Mémoire du Roi pour servir d'Instruction particulière au Sr d'Entrecasteaux, chef de division des armées navales, commandant les frégates la Recherche et l'Espérance', quoted in Sylviane Jacquemin, 'Origine des collections océaniennes dans les musées parisiens: le musée du Louvre', *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 90 (1990-1), p. 47.
84. *Ibid.*
85. See Bronwen Douglas, Fanny Wonu Veys and Billie Lythberg, *Collecting in the South Sea: The Voyage of Joseph Antoine Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, 1791-1794* (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2018). Objects from the d'Entrecasteaux expedition previously in the collections of Ange-Marie Raoul have been identified in the collections of the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Dunkerque, see Annuaire des collections publiques françaises d'objets océaniens – DUNKERQUE, www.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/joconde/fr/decouvrir/expositions/oceanie/oceanie_frames.htm (accessed 15 January 2018).
86. Author's translation. Louis-Jean-Marie Daubenton, 'Cabinet d'Histoire Naturelle', in D. Diderot and J. le Rond d'Alembert (eds), *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire Raisonné des Sciences, des Arts et des Métiers*, Vol. II (Paris: Briasson, David, Le Breton & Durant, 1752), p. 489.
87. Georges Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon, *Histoire Naturelle, Générale et Particulière servant de suite à l'Histoire Naturelle de l'Homme.* Supplément, Tome IV (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1777), p. 542.
88. The catalogue of this herbarium is in the collections of the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle in Paris, MS 189.
89. Additional archives, personal objects and some shells can be found at the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle et d'Ethnographie in La Rochelle (Elise Patole-Edoumba, pers. comm. 30 January 2018).
90. This object's attribution to the Pellion collection is the result of research conducted by Roger Boulay and Gilles Grandjean at the Musée Crozatier in 2006.
91. Jules Dumont d'Urville, 'Sur les îles du Grand Océan', *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* 17 (1832), 1-21.
92. Serge Tcherkézoff, 'A Long and Unfortunate Voyage Towards the 'Invention' of the Melanesia/Polynesia Distinction 1595-1832', *Journal of Pacific History* 38 (2003), 175-96.
93. Sylvianne Jacquemin, 'Marins et collections: les collectes des expéditions maritimes' in Annick Notter (ed.), *La découverte du Paradis: Curieux, navigateurs et savants*, pp. 41-50 (Paris/Calais: Somogy/ACMPDC, 1997), pp. 46-7.
94. Stéphanie Leclerc-Caffarel, 'The Oceanic Collections of Gaston de Rocquemaurel', *Journal of Museum Ethnography* 26 (2013), 120-37.
95. Information on the Dumont d'Urville collections in Boulogne-sur-Mer and Dunkerque can be found in Sylvianne Jacquemin, 'Marins et collections: les collectes des expéditions maritimes'.
96. Anne Lavondès, *Vitrine des Objets Océaniens: Inventaire des Collections du Muséum de Grenoble* (Grenoble & Paris: Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle & ORSTOM, 1990), pp. 24-25.
97. A few recent publications on the topic include Claire Laux, 'Rivalités Coloniales et Rivalités Missionnaires en Océanie (1688-1902)', *Histoire et mission chrétiennes* 6 (2008), 5-26; Yannick Essertel, 'Missionnaires Marists et Anthropologie au XIV[e] siècle: Aux Sources de l'Ethnologie et des Collections Océaniennes?' *Histoires et missions Chrétiennes* 8 (2008), 159-183; and Yannick Essertel, 'Les vicaires apostoliques en phase pionnière en Océanie au XIXe siècle: des stratèges de l'évangélisation', *Histoires et missions Chrétiennes* 20 (20011/4), 43-63.
98. One of the missionaries, Alexis Bachelot, settled in Hawai'i in 1827 but failed to secure support from local leaders and was banished from the archipelago in 1831.
99. See James Wilson, *A Missionary Voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean, performed in the years 1796, 1797, 1798, in the Ship Duff* (London: Chapman, 1799).

100. See George Pritchard, *The Aggressions of the French in Tahiti and Other Islands in the Pacific*, edited by P. De Deccker (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1983) and Cedric Sampson, 'Tahiti, George Pritchard et le 'Mythe' du 'Royaume missionaire" *Journal de la Société des océanistes* 38 (1973), 57-68.
101. Roger Boulay, cited in Yannick Essertel, 'Missionnaires Marists et Anthropologie au XIV[e] siècle: Aux Sources de l'Ethnologie et des Collections Océaniennes?', p. 176.
102. Among others, see Pierre-Yves Toullelan, 'L'implantation d'une mission chrétienne: Les picpuciens aux îles Marquises, de 1838 à 1914' in M. Panoff (ed.), *Trésors des îles Marquises*, (Paris: ORSTOM/ RMN, 1995); Emmanuel Kasarhérou, 'La hache de la mission de Pouébo' in E. Kasarhérou and R. Boulay (eds), *Kanak: L'art est une parole* (Paris: Actes Sud, 2013), pp. 158-63; Roger Boulay, 'Les débuts de la mission catholique' in *Kanak: L'art est une parole*, pp. 154-5.
103. See Catherine Orliac, 'Le Dieu *Rao* de Mangareva et le *Curcuma longa*', *Journal de Société des Océanistes* (2002), 201-07 and Sylvianne Jacquemin, *Rao Polynésies* (Paris: Parenthèses/RMN, 1992).
104. Yannick Essertel, 'Missionnaires Marists et Anthropologie au XIV[e] siècle: Aux Sources de l'Ethnologie et des Collections Océaniennes?'.
105. Bertrand Daugeron, 'Entre l'Antique et l'Exotique, le Projet Comparatiste Oublié du 'Muséum des Antiques' en l'An III', *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 356 (2009), 153-156.
106. Bertrand Daugeron, 'Entre l'Antique et l'Exotique, le Projet Comparatiste Oublié du 'Muséum des Antiques' en l'An III', p. 148.
107. Ernest-Théodore Hamy, *Les Origines du Musée d'Ethnographie: histoire et documents* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1890), pp. 40-43.
108. Sylvianne Jacquemin, 'La collection océanienne' in Marie-Anne Dupuy (ed.), *Dominique-Vivant Denon: l'oeil de Napoléon* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1999), pp. 433-6.
109. Ernest-Théodore Hamy, *Les Origines du Musée d'Ethnographie*.
110. Edme-François Jomard, 'Remarques sur le but et l'utilité d'une collection ethnographique et les mpyens de la former', in *Considérations sur l'objet et les avantages d'une collection spéciale consacrée aux cartes géographiques et aux diverses branches de la géographie* (Paris: E. Duverger, 1831), pp. 63-83.
111. Hélène Blais, *Voyages au Grand Océan: Géographies du Pacifique et colonisation, 1815-1845* (Paris: CTHS, 2015), pp. 277-8.
112. See Camille de Roquefeuil, *A Voyage Around the World, Between the Years 1816-1819* (London: Sir Richard Philipps and Co., 1823). The voyage was privately funded by a merchant of Bordeaux and, in the Pacific, was limited to the Marquesas Islands and Hawai'i. To date, no object connected to Roquefeuil's voyage has been identified in public collections.
113. 'Revue retrospective de plusieurs années des Annales Maritimes' in *Annales maritimes et coloniales*, Partie non officielle (Science et Arts), Tome I (Paris, Imprimerie Royale, 1844), p. xxxviii.
114. Claude du Campe de Rosamel, 'Instructions. A M. le Commandant de la *Vénus*', in Abel du Petit-Thouars, *Voyages autour du monde sur la Frégate la Vénus, pendant les années 1836-1839* (Paris: Gides, 1840), pp. xix – xx.
115. Henri Lutteroth, *O-Taïti, Histoire et Enquète* (Paris: Chez Paulin, 1843).
116. Author's translation. 'Ils vous disent: cette conquête est une gloire nationale. N'en croyez rien'. Jacques Arago, *De l'occupation des Marquises et de Tahiti* (Paris: 1843), p. 3.
117. Emmanuel Vigneron, 'Victor Hugo et les Iles Marquises ou le poète, le géographe et la politique', *Bulletin de la Société des* Études *Océaniennes* 233 (1985), 55-66.
118. Claude Stefani, 'Les frères Lesson, collecteurs d'objets du Pacifique' in Olivier Desgranges (ed.), *Papiers d'Océanie, les voyages des frères Lesson* (Rochefort: Ville de Rochefort, 2014), pp. 72-84.

119. The other tapa is under the care of the Musée du Quai Branly-Jacques Chirac, 71.1894.24.1. It was first donated to the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro in 1894 and later joined the collections of the Musée de l'Homme.
120. Tamatoa Bambridge, *La terre dans l'archipel des îles Australes: Études du pluralisme juridique et culturel en matière foncière* (Tahiti: Au Vent des îles, 2009).
121. Emmanuel Kasarhérou, 'Le grand chef Ataï (1833-1878), aire Xârâcùù' in *Kanak: L'art est une parole*, pp. 172-6.
122. Emmanuel Kasarhérou, 'Le masque mortuaire d'Ataï' in *Kanak: L'art est une parole*, pp. 177-9.
123. Vanuatu obtained its independence on 30 July 1980. More information on the condominium can be found in Jean-Marc Philibert and Margaret C. Rodman, 'Du condominium à la république' in *Vanuatu Océanie: Arts des îles de cendre et de corail* (Paris: ORSTOM/RMN, 1996), pp. 314-17.
124. Claude Blanckaert, 'L'*Anthropologie* en France, le mot et l'histoire (XVIe-XIXe siècles)' in *Bulletins et Mémoires de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris* (1989), p. 26.
125. Claude Blanckaert, 'L'*Anthropologie* en France, le mot et l'histoire (XVIe-XIXe siècles)', p. 35.
126. Sylvianne Jacquemin, 'Origine des collections océaniennes dans les musées parisiens: le musée du Louvre', p. 50-51.
127. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
128. Françoise Gilot and Carlton Lake, *Life with Picasso* (New York: Anchor/Double day, 1989 [1964]), p. 266.
129. Cécile Mouillard, 'La Galerie Ethnographique du Musée d'Artillerie (1877-1917)'. Unpublished dissertation submitted for the Research Master in Art History, Université Paris-IV Sorbonne, under the direction of Professor Barthélémy Jobert (2007).
130. Roger Boulay, 'Les collections océaniennes du musée de Boulogne-sur-Mer', *Journal de la Société des océanistes* 90 (1990-91), 29-34.
131. Xavier Cadet, 'Un aspect méconnu du patrimoine museographique lillois: le musée d'ethnographie Alphonse Moillet', *Revue du Nord* 91 (1999), 305-27.
132. Anne Lavondès, 'Collections Polynésiennes du Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle de Perpignan', *Annales du Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle de Perpignan* (1994), pp. 3-12.
133. Annuaire des collections publiques françaises d'objets océaniens – PERPIGNAN: www.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/joconde/fr/decouvrir/expositions/oceanie/oceanie_frames.htm (accessed 14 January 2018).
134. Anne Lavondès, *Vitrine des objects océaniens*, and Annuaire des collections publiques françaises d'objets océaniens – GRENOBLE: www.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/joconde/fr/decouvrir/expositions/oceanie/oceanie_frames.htm (last accessed 14 January 2018)
135. The theft included a number of Māori pieces collected by Arnoux. Some are illustrated in Anne Lavondès, *Vitrine des objects océaniens*, pp. 187-91.
136. For a more complete history of the institutions and collections at the core of the current Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle et d'Ethnographie in La Rochelle, see Christian Moreau, Pierre Giron and Michelle Dunand, *Histoire du Muséum de La Rochelle* (Paris: Les Indes Savantes, 2013); Elise Patole-Edoumba and Emmanuelle Desramaut, 'La ville de la Rochelle et ses collections ethnographiques: le cas du Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle', *Outre-mers*, 88 (2001), 77-94 and Étienne Loppé and Henri Dalmon, 'Les Grands Musées d'Histoire Naturelle de Province: Les Muséums de La Rochelle', *La Terre et la Vie* (1932), 286-96.
137. Festetics de Tolna, who was Hungarian, donated the core of his collection to the ethnography museum in Budapest. What he kept as his private collection was seized in 1914 by the French authorities. Sold

at auction, it was largely acquired by Stephen Chauvet who used it to augment his own collection conducting exchanges with, but also donating to museums in La Rochelle, Rouen, Cherbourg, Lyon and Paris. See Judit Antoni and Roger Boulay, *L'aristocrate et ses cannibales: Le voyage en Océanie du comte Festetics de Tolna, 1893-1896* (Paris: Actes Sud/Musée du quai Branly, 2007); Roger Boulay and Elise Patole-Edoumba, *Festetics de Tolna en Océanie* (La Rochelle: Rumeur des âges, 2007) and Rodolphe Festetics de Tolna, *Chez les cannibales: Huit ans de croisière dans l'Océan Pacifique à bord du yacht Le Tolna* (Paris: Plon, 1903).

138. Elise Patole-Edoumba and Emmanuelle Desramaut, 'La ville de la Rochelle et ses collections ethnographiques: le cas du Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle'; Elise Patole-Edoumba, 'Origine du fonds ethnographique océanien du Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle de La Rochelle', *Historien et géographe* 386 (2004), 307-18 and Elise Patole-Edoumba, 'Dans le sillage d'Etienne Loppé. Hommage au conservateur du Muséum et président de la Société des Sciences de 1915 à 1954', *Annales de la Société des sciences naturelles de Charente-Maritime* 10-1 (2010), 121-30.
139. For more information on colonial exhibitions and spectacles see Pascal Blanchard, Gilles Boëtsch and Nanette Jacomjin Snoep, *Exhibitions: L'invention du sauvage* (Paris: Actes Sud, 2011). Many exhibitions took place in France in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, including the following: 1878 – Universal exhibition in Paris; 1889 – Universal exhibition in Paris; 1894 – Universal, international and colonial exhibition in Lyon; 1896 – National and colonial exhibition in Rouen; 1898 – International and colonial exhibition in Rochefort-sur-Mer; 1906 – Colonial exhibition in Marseille; 1907 – Colonial exhibition in Paris; 1922 – Colonial exhibition in Marseille; 1931 – International colonial exhibition in Paris; 1937 – International exhibition in Paris.
140. Robert Aldrich, *Vestiges of the Colonial Empire in France: Monuments, Museums and Colonial Memories* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 197.
141. Claire Frèches-Thory and George T.M. Shackelford (eds), *Gauguin Tahiti: l'atelier des tropiques* (Paris: RMN, 2003); Suzanne Greub (ed.), *Gauguin Polynesia* (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2011); Agnès Rotschi, 'Paul Gauguin et l'art marquisien' in M. Panoff (ed.), *Trésors des îles Marquises* (Paris: ORSTOM/RMN, 1995), pp. 88-93.
142. Marine Degli and Marie Mauzé, *Arts Premiers: Le temps de la reconnaissance* (Paris: Gallimard/RMN, 2000) and Yves Le Fur, *Picasso Primitif* (Paris: Flammarion, 2017).
143. Philippe Peltier, 'From Oceania', in W. Rubin (ed.), *'Primitivism' in 20th Century Art* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1984), pp. 106-07.
144. Philippe Peltier, 'From Oceania', pp. 112-13.
145. Author's translation. Marcel Mauss, 'L'ethnographie en France et à l'Etranger, II', *La Revue de Paris*, t. V. (Sept – Oct 1913), p. 822.
146. See Marie-Charlotte Laroche, 'Alfred Métraux à l'Île de Pâques, de juillet 1934 à janvier 1935', *Journal de la Société des océanistes* 91 (1990-2), 175-82 and Christine Laurière, *L'Odyssée pascuane. Mission Métraux-Lavachery, île de Pâques (1934-1935)* (Paris: LAHIC-Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication, 2014).
147. Information on the expedition can be found in Christian Coiffier, *Le Voyage de 'La Korrigane' dans les mers du Sud* (Paris: Hazan, 2001); Christian Coiffier, *Régine van den Broek d'Obrenan: Une artiste à bord de La Korrigane* (Paris: Somogy Editions d'Art, 2014) and Christian Coiffier, *A bord de* La Korrigane*: Carnet de voyage de Régine van den Broek d'Obrenan aux Nouvelles-Hébrides, aux îles Salomon et aux îles de l'Amirauté en 1935* (Paris: Somogy Editions d'Art, 2014). Detailed research on the 'Homme bleu' illustrated here has been published in Christian Coiffier and Kirk Huffman,

'Historique d'un chef-d'oeuvre, ambassadeur de l'art ni-vanuatu en France', *Journal de la Société des océanistes* 133 (2011), 367-84.

148. Roger Boulay, *Kannibals et vahinés: imagerie des mers du sud* (Paris: RMN, 2001); Pascal Blanchard, Gilles Boëtsch and Nanette Jacomjin Snoep, *Exhibitions: L'invention du sauvage* (Paris: Actes Sud, 2011).
149. Following the transfer of ethnographic collections to the Musée du quai Branly, the Musée de l'Homme was redeveloped and his mission of a laboratory-museum reaffirmed and redeployed, see Claude Blanckaert (ed.), *Le Musée de l'Homme: Histoire d'un Musée Laboratoire* (Paris: Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, 2015).
150. Author's translation. Marcel Mauss, 'L'ethnographie en France et à l'Etranger, II', pp. 822-3.
151. Marie-Charlotte Laroche, 'Pour un inventaire des collections océaniennes en France', *Journal de la Société des océanistes* (1945), pp. 54-55.
152. See Roger Boulay (ed), *De jade et de nacre – Patrimoine Artistique Kanak* (Paris: RMN, 1990) and Roger Boulay, 'De Jade et de Nacre: Patrimoine artistique kanak (exposition à Nouméa et à Paris)', *Journal de la Société des océanistes* 90 (1990-1), pp. 57-58.
153. Frédéric Angleviel, 'Collectes, collectionneurs et collections en France: 1774-1911' in *Outre-mers* 88 (2001), pp.119-120.
154. Marie-Charlotte Laroche, 'Pour un inventaire des collections océaniennes en France', pp. 51-7.
155. For more information on the Museum's history and activity see www.museetahiti.pf/le-musee/ (accessed 5 January 2018).
156. 'A la découverte des objets du Musée de Tahiti et des îles et de leur histoire', *Hiro'a: journal d'informations culturelles* 15 (2008).
157. Anne Lavondès published many books and papers on French Polynesian collections and its museum, including *Musée de Papeete: catalogue des collections ethnographiques et archéologiques* (Papeete: ORSTOM, 1966) and 'Le Musée de Tahiti et des Iles', *Bulletin de la société des études océaniennes* 8 (1979), 443-62.
158. Anne Lavondès, 'Le Musée de Tahiti et des îles: pour une politique réaliste', *Museum* (1981), 118-21. For more information on the collections of James Hooper, see Steven Phelps, *Art and Artefacts of the Pacific Africa and the Americas: The James Hooper Collection* (London: Hutchinson, 1976).
159. See https://museenouvellecaledonie.nc/le-musee/presentation-du-musee/un-peu-dhistoire for more information on the history of the Musée de Nouvelle-Calédonie (accessed 3 January 2018).
160. Code du Patrimoine, www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichCode.do?cidTexte=LEGITEXT000006074236 (accessed 12 January 2018).
161. Among others: *Te moana: collection des mers du sud,* at the Château-Musée de Boulogne-sur-mer (30 June – 3 December 2007); *Tapa: étoffes cosmiques d'Océanie* at the Musée de Cahors Henri-Martin (7 June – 18 November 2009); *Papiers d'Océanie, les voyages des frères Lesson*, exhibition at the Médiathèque de Rochefort – Corderie Royale (28 March – 28 June 2014) and *Trajectoires Kanak – Histoires de voyages en Nouvelle-Calédonie*, exhibition at the Musée Anne de Beaujeu in Moulins (4 November 2017-16 September 2018).
162. See the Museum's statement http://museumderouen.fr/fr/collections/galerie-des-continents (accessed 31 January 2018).
163. Guillaume Apollinaire, 'Sur les musées', *Le Journal du soir* (3 October 1909).
164. See the brief history of the Pavillon des Sessions published on the Musée du Louvre website: www.louvre.fr/departments/le-pavillon-des-sessions (accessed 11 January 2018).

165. Among others, see Bernard Dupaigne, *Le Scandale des arts premiers: La véritable histoire du musée du quai Branly* (Paris: Mille et une nuit, 2006) and Sally Price, *Paris Primitive: Jacques Chirac's Museum on the Quai Branly* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

Chapter 3

166. In as far as possible, full names and biographical dates are provided. Object and photograph registration numbers are provided in Table 3.1, and are organized under the collector's name.
167. Fanny Wonu Veys, *Unwrapping Tongan Barkcloth: Encounters, Creativity and Female Agency* (London, New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017), pp. 14-15.
168. Jacob Le Maire, 'Spieghel der Australische Navigatie, Door den Vvijt vermaerden ende cloeck-moedighen Zee-Heldt, Jacob Le Maire. President ende Overste over de tvvee Schepen, d'Eendracht ende Hoorn, uytghevaren den 14. Iunij 1615. 't Amsterdam: Michel Colijn, Boeck-vercooper op 't Water by de Oude Brugh/in 't Huys-Boeck', in W.A. Engelbrecht and P.J. Van Herwerden (eds), *De ontdekkingsreis van Jacob le Maire en Willem Cornelisz. Schouten in de jaren 1615-1617* ('s Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1945[1622]), p. 186.
169. Arthur Wichmann, *Entdeckungsgeschichte von Neu-Guinea. Nova Guinea*. Vol. 1 & 2 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1909-1912).
170. Anthony Alan Shelton, 'Museums and Anthropologies: Practices and Narratives', in Sharon Macdonald (ed.), *A Companion to Museum Studies*, pp. 64-80 (Oxford, Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell), p. 64.
171. Rudolf Effert, Royal Cabinets and Auxiliary Branches. Origins of the National Museum of Ethnology 1816-1883 (Leiden: CNWS Publications, 2008), pp. 23, 64-118.
172. Daan van Dartel, 'The oldest collections of the Tropenmuseum: Haarlem and Artis', in David van Duuren (ed.), *Oceania at the Tropenmuseum*, pp. 31-46 (Amsterdam: KIT Publishers, 2011), pp. 35, 38; Jacobus Woudsma, *An Amsterdam Landmark. The Royal Tropical Institute* (Amsterdam: KIT Publishers, 2004).
173. Stanley Bremer, *Wereldmuseum: het Wereldmuseum presenteert de meesterwerken uit zijn etnografische kunstcollectie in een vijfdelige catalogus - The Wereldmuseum presents masterpieces from its ethnographic collections in a five-volume catalogue*. Vol. 1. In oude luister hersteld - Restored to former glory (Brussel: Mercatorfonds, 2011), p. 23.
174. Felix A. Valk, 'Museum voor Volkenkunde Rotterdam', in Suzanne Greub (ed.), *Expressions of belief. Masterpieces of African, Oceanic, and Indonesian Art from the Museum voor Volkenkunde, Rotterdam*, pp. 13-14. (New York: Rizzoli, 1988); Kees van den Meiracker, 'Het ontstaan van de Nederlandse bisj-palen collecties', in Pauline van der Zee (ed.), *Bisj-palen: Een woud van magische beelden*, pp. 51-56. (Amsterdam: KIT Publishers, 2007), pp. 51-52.
175. Minette Albers, Patrick van Mil, and Jos Taekema, *De collectie Nusantara. Een nieuwe toekomst* (Delft; Leiden: Erfgoed Delft / Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, 2014), pp. 4-5.
176. Hub Kockelkorn, *Museon: de geschiedenis van het Museum voor het Onderwijs* (Den Haag: Museon, 1975).
177. Marie-Antoinette Willemsen, *Volkenkunde in Breda. Van Indische verzameling tot Rijksmuseum Justinus van Nassau en de Vereniging voor Volkenkunde* (Breda: Bureau Cultureel Erfgoed, Directie Ruimtelijke Ontwikkeling, Gemeente Breda, 2011), pp. 9, 14-29, 58.
178. 'Volkenkundig Museum', http://wiki.regionaalarchieftilburg.nl/Volkenkundig_Museum (accessed 16 December 2017).
179. Marian Schilder, 'Oudheden, kunst en etnografica in de universiteit. Een verkenning', in Tiny Monquil-Broersen (ed.), *Universitaire collecties in Nederland. Nieuw licht op het academisch erfgoed*, pp. 111-17,

(Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 2007), p. 116; Nico de Jonge, 'De collectie van Baaren', in Tiny Monquil-Broersen (ed.), *Universitaire collecties in Nederland. Nieuw licht op het academisch erfgoed*, p. 119.

180. Personal communication Fer Hoekstra, October 2009; 'Nijmeegs Volkenkundige Collectie. Faculteit der Sociale Wetenschappen', https://archive.is/20130703135822/http://www.ru.nl/volkenkundigecollectie/ (accessed 15 December 2017).
181. Dirk Vlasblom, *Papoea. Een geschiedenis* (Amsterdam: Mets & Schilt Uitgevers, 2004), pp. 43-49.
182. Dirk Vlasblom, *Papoea. Een geschiedenis*, pp. 53-9.
183. David van Duuren and Steven Vink, 'Expeditions: collecting and photographing', in Oceania at the Tropenmuseum, pp. 47-8.
184. Endang Sri Hardiati, 'Van Bataviaasch Genootschap naar Museum Nasional Indonesia', in Endang Sri Hardiati and Pieter ter Keurs (eds), *Indonesia. De ontdekking van het verleden*, pp. 11-15 (Amsterdam: KIT, 2005).
185. Raymond Corbey and Frans Karel Weener, 'Collecting while converting: missionaries and ethnographies' in Wilfried Van Damme and Raymond Corbey (eds), *The European Scholarly Reception of 'Primitive Art' in the Decades Around 1900*, Number 12 (Birmingham: University of Birmingham), pp. 1-2, 6; Dirk Vlasblom, Papoea. Een geschiedenis, pp. 65, 68, 75, 86.
186. Karen Jacobs, *Collecting Kamoro. Objects, Encounters and Representation on the Southwest Coast of Papua* (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2011), p. 41; Dirk Vlasblom, *Papoea. Een geschiedenis*, p. 61.
187. Jan Pouwer, 'Enkele Aspecten van de Mimika-Cultuur (Nederlands Zuidwest Nieuw Guinea)' (PhD thesis, Rijksuniversiteit Leiden), p. 226.
188. Karen Jacobs, *Collecting Kamoro*, p. 42.
189. Dirk Vlasblom, *Papoea. Een geschiedenis*, p. 48.
190. Rudolf Effert, *Royal Cabinets and Auxiliary Branches*, pp. 168, 179; Pieter ter Keurs, 'Agency, Prestige and Politics: Dutch Collecting Abroad and Local Responses', in S. Byrne, A. Clarke, R. Harrison and R. Torrence (eds), *Unpacking the Collection. Networks of Material and Social Agency in the Museum*, pp. 165-84 (New York: Springer, 2011), p. 172.
191. There are also objects from Polynesia (Futuna RV-16-550, Samoa RV-16-551, Cook Islands RV-16-552), Australia (RV-16-772) and the Solomon Islands (RV-16-783/784) in the Müller collection.
192. Rudolf Effert, *Royal Cabinets and Auxiliary Branches*, pp. 131-2.
193. Dirk A.M. Smidt (ed.), *Kamoro Art. Tradition and Innovation in a New Guinea Culture* (Amsterdam, Leiden: KIT Publishers, Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, 2003), p. 15.
194. The earliest collected shield, but not the oldest is RV-1549-45. It was collected during the 1904-1905 Southwest New Guinea Expedition.
195. Rouffaer who claims the Wereldmuseum received 200 objects is probably referring to the collection made by Jan Willem Reinier Koch (1860-1933); G.P. Rouffaer, *De Zuidwest Nieuw-Guinea-Expeditie, 1904/5 van het Koninklijk Nederlands Aardrijkskundig Genootschap* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1908), pp. 623-5; Karen Jacobs, Collecting Kamoro, pp. 42-3.
196. Raymond Corbey, *Headhunters from the Swamps. The Marind Anim of New Guinea as seen by the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart, 1905-1925* (Leiden: KITLV Press and C. Zwartenkot Art Books, 2010), p. 11.
197. David van Duuren and Steven Vink, 'Expeditions: collecting and photographing', p. 62.
198. See 'The western Central Highlands' section for a more in-depth discussion.
199. Karen Jacobs, *Collecting Kamoro*, pp. 42-44; David van Duuren and Steven Vink, 'Expeditions: collecting and photographing', p. 52.

200. Dirk A.M. Smidt and Adriaan Lamme, 'Collection: Military, Explorers and Anthropologists', in Dirk A.M. Smidt (ed.), *Asmat Art: Woodcarvings of Southwest New Guinea*, pp. 137-47 (Leiden, Amsterdam: Periplus and the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden in association with C. Zwartenkot, 1993); Nick Stanley, *The Making of Asmat Art* (Canon Pyon: Sean Kingston Publishing, 2012), pp. 20-24.
201. The missionaries belonged to the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (MSC) who had founded in 1902 the 'Apostolic Prefecture of Netherlands New Guinea' (Karen Jacobs, Collecting Kamoro, p. 50).
202. In 1968 Van Baal donated 62 objects to the Tropenmuseum originating from all areas of western New Guinea.
203. Only one object (TM-6315-1) and a few photographs collected by Zegwaard can be identified in Dutch collections; Kees van den Meiracker, 'Het ontstaan van de Nederlandse bisj-palen collecties', p. 52.
204. Hanneke Hollander, *Een man met een speurdersneus. Carel Groenevelt (1899-1973), beroepsverzamelaar voor Tropenmuseum en Wereldmuseum in Nieuw-Guinea* (Amsterdam: KIT Publishers, 2007); Karen Jacobs, *Collecting Kamoro*, pp. 41, 58, 62-3; Dirk A.M. Smidt and Adriaan Lamme, 'Collection: Military, Explorers and Anthropologists', p. 146; Dirk Vlasblom, *Papoea. Een geschiedenis*, p. 57.
205. Karen Jacobs, *Collecting Kamoro*, p. 41; Dirk Vlasblom, Papoea. Een geschiedenis, p. 57.
206. Nick Stanley, *The Making of Asmat Art. Indigenous Art in a World Perspective*, pp. 93-111.
207. Karen Jacobs, *Collecting Kamoro*, p. 127.
208. David van Duuren, 'Oceania', in David van Duuren (ed.), *Oceania at the Tropenmuseum*, pp. 27-8.
209. Rosenberg also collected a few objects from the Asmat area (Dirk A.M. Smidt and Adriaan Lamme, 'Collection: Military, Explorers and Anthropologists', p. 137, footnote 3)
210. The korwar figure (TM-A-564) was originally part of the Artis collection; David van Duuren, 'Oceania', pp. 27-8.
211. Beckman's collection includes the oldest known barkcloth from the Humboldt Bay (RV-53-76). Beckman also collected a few objects from the Asmat area (Dirk A.M. Smidt and Adriaan Lamme, 'Collection: Military, Explorers and Anthropologists', p. 137, footnote 3); W.C. Klein, *Nieuw Guinea: De ontwikkeling op economisch, sociaal en cultureel gebied, in Nederlands en Australisch Nieuw Guinea* ('s-Gravenhage: Staatsdrukkerij- en Uitgeverijbedrijf, 1954), p. 24.
212. Dirk A.M. Smidt, 'Art in Dutch Collections: Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden', in Suzanne Greub (ed.), *Art of Northwest New Guinea. From Geelvink Bay, Humboldt Bay, and Lake Sentani*, pp. 191-208 (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), p. 198.
213. Dirk A.M. Smidt, 'Art in Dutch Collections: Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden', p. 193; David van Duuren and Steven Vink, 'Expeditions: collecting and photographing', pp. 57-9.
214. Dirk A.M. Smidt, 'Art in Dutch Collections: Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden', p. 202.
215. See previous section 'Southwest coast' for a discussion of Gooszen's collecting activities.
216. Within the Utrecht Missionary Society collection at the Wereldmuseum two objects have been identified as possibly having been collected by Bink (WM-11375 and WM-11374); Daan van Dartel, 'The oldest collections of the Tropenmuseum: Haarlem and Artis', p. 32; Simon Kooijman and Jac. Hoogerbrugge, 'Art of Wakde-Yamna Area, Humboldt Bay, and Lake Sentani', in *Art of Northwest New Guinea. From Geelvink Bay, Humboldt Bay, and Lake Sentani*, pp. 57-126.
217. Daan van Dartel, 'The oldest collections of the Tropenmuseum: Haarlem and Artis', pp. 34-5.
218. Hanneke Hollander, 'Carel Groenevelt: a man with a keen nose', in *Oceania at the Tropenmuseum*, pp. 125-34.
219. The Paul Wirz collection at the Tropenmuseum contains some 800 objects of which 59 come from the northwest coast of New Guinea (series TM-2670). The core Wirz collection is at the Museum der

Kulturen in Basel (Daan van Dartel, 'The oldest collections of the Tropenmuseum: Haarlem and Artis', p. 36).

220. Alexander Cornelis van der Leeden, 'Hoofdtrekken der sociale structuur in het westelijke binnenland van Sarmi' (PhD thesis, Universiteit Leiden, 1956).
221. David van Duuren and Steven Vink, 'Expeditions: collecting and photographing', pp. 62-75.
222. See section 'The southwest coast' for the Lorentz collection; Terence E. Hays, 'Encounters in the Highlands of New Guinea', in John Friede, Terence E. Hays and Christina Hellmich (eds), *New Guinea Highlands. Art from the Jolika Collection*, pp. 163-70 (Munich, London, New York: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, de Young, DelMonica Books, Prestel, 2017), p. 168.
223. David van Duuren and Steven Vink, 'Expeditions: collecting and photographing', pp. 75-80; Anton Ploeg, 'Observations on the value of early ethnographic reports: Paul Wirz's research in the Toli Valley, Irian Jaya, in 1921', Zeitschrift für Ethnologie 122 (1997), pp. 209-28.
224. Anton Ploeg, 'Highlands of West New Guinea', in *New Guinea Highlands. Art from the Jolika Collection*, pp. 541-5.
225. Charles F.M. Le Roux, *De Bergpapoea's van Nieuw-Guinea en hun woongebied* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1948-1950).
226. Terence E. Hays, 'Encounters in the Highlands of New Guinea', p. 169.
227. David van Duuren, '"You have a miracle in your hand": the New Guinea paintings and drawings of Father Petrus Vertenten', in Oceania at the Tropenmuseum, pp. 152-3.
228. Johan Theodorus Broekhuijse, 'De Wiligiman-Dani: een cultureel-anthropologische studie over religie en oorlogvoering in de Baliem-vallei' (PhD thesis, Utrecht University, 1967).
229. David van Duuren and Steven Vink, 'Expeditions: collecting and photographing', pp. 97-9.
230. Terence E. Hays, 'Encounters in the Highlands of New Guinea', p. 169.
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232. Dirk A.M. Smidt, 'Art in Dutch Collections: Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden', p. 203.
233. Denise Frank, 'Oceania in view', in Oceania at the Tropenmuseum, pp. 161-78; René S. Wassing, 'The Oceanic Collection', in Expressions of Belief, pp. 109-13.
234. Denise Frank, 'Oceania in view', p. 162.
235. Dirk A.M. Smidt, 'Art in Dutch Collections: Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden', pp. 203-04.
236. René S. Wassing, 'The Oceanic Collection', p. 112.
237. Denise Frank, 'Oceania in view'.
238. Denise Frank, 'Oceania in view'.
239. Dirk A.M. Smidt, 'Art in Dutch Collections: Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden', pp. 203-04.
240. René S. Wassing, 'The Oceanic Collection', p. 112.
241. Denise Frank, 'Oceania in view'.
242. Dirk A.M. Smidt, 'Art in Dutch Collections: Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden', pp. 203-04.
243. David van Duuren, 'New Guinea: Ritual Traditions', in Oceania at the Tropenmuseum, pp. 179-85.
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Chapter 4

245. T.K. Shafranovskaia, A.I. Azarov, 'Katalog kollektsii otdela Avstralii i Okeanii MAE' [Catalogue of the [MAE's] Australia and Oceania collections], *Sbornik Muzeia Antropologii i Etnografii*, 39 (1984), p. 6; E. Govor and N. Novikova, 'Etnograficheskie kollektsii iz Avstralii i Okeanii v fondakh NII i

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247. Ya.M. Svet, S.G. Fedorova, 'Captain Cook and the Russians', *Pacific Studies*, 1 (1978), 1-19.
248. O.P. Beliaev, *Kabinet Petra Velikogo* [*Cabinet of Peter the Great*], Pt 2, (St Petersburg: Imperial printer, 1800), pp. 229-30, 237-9.
249. F. Russow, 'Beitrage zur Geschichte der Ethnographischen und Anthropologischen Sammlungen der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu St.-Petersburg', *Sbornik Muzeia antropologii i etnografii*, 1 (1900), 29-30; Ju.M. Likhtenberg, 'Gavaiskie kollektsii v sobraniiakh Muzeia antropologii i etnografii' [Hawaiian collections in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography], *Sbornik Muzeia antropologii i etnografii* 19 (1960), 168-205; L.G. Rozina, 'Kollektsiia Dzhemsa Kuka v sobraniiakh Muzeia antropologii i etnografii' [James Cook's collection in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography], *Sbornik Muzeia antropologii i etnografii*, 23 (1966), 234-53; L.G. Rozina, 'The James Cook Collection in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, Leningrad', in A.L. Kaeppler (ed.), *Cook Voyage Artifacts in Leningrad, Berne, and Florence Museums* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1978), pp. 3-17.
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252. Belkov, *Ocherki*.
253. Elena Govor, *Twelve Days at Nuku Hiva: Russian Encounters and Mutiny in the South Pacific* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2010).
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collections of the State Admiralty Department Museum], *Sbornik Muzeia antropologii i etnografii*, 50 (2005), p. 348.

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263. Kurnosov *et al.*, 'Iz istoriii', pp. 365-6.
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289. A. Eliseev, *Iz istorii kultury* [From the history of culture] (St Petersburg: Izd-vo A.F. Marksa, 1895).
290. E.L. Petri, *Putevoditel po Muzeiu antropologii i etnografii imeni Petra Velikogo. Okeaniia* [Guide to the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography. Oceania] (Petrograd: Imperial Academy of sciences typography, 1914).
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292. E. Govor and H. Howes, 'Russia and the Pacific: Expeditions, Networks, and the Acquisition of Human Remains', *The Routledge Companion to Indigenous Repatriation: Return, Reconcile, Renew* (Springer Publishing, 2019 [forthcoming]).
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298. Yu.K. Chistov, a.o. *Muzei antropologii i etnografii imeni Petra Velikogo Kunstkamera. Istoria, issledovania, kollektsii* [Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography Kunstkamera. History, research, collections] (St Petersburg: Petronivs, 2009), p. 86.
299. T.V. Staniukovich, *Etnograficheskaia nauka i muzei* [Ethnography and museums] (Leningrad: Nauka, 1978), p. 207.
300. *Ibid.*, p. 240.
301. D.D. Tumarkin, *Matka Oseaniaan = Journey to Oceania: 24.1.-22.3.1987* (Helsinki: Taideteollisuusmuseo, 1987).
302. Peter Brunt, 'The Perpetual Travellers: Modernism, Travel and Ethnography in the Exhibitions of Nicolai Michoutouchkine and Aloi Pilioko', in L. Carreau *et al.* (eds), *Pacific Presences: Oceanic Art and European Museums Volume Two* (Leiden: Sidestone Publishing, 2018 [forthcoming]).

Chapter 5

303. The high number of artefacts from German New Guinea in German collections represents a rough estimate. To provide but one example: Dr Oliver Lueb (personal communication, 21 April 2017) graciously shared the regional breakdown for Oceania available at the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum in Cologne. This breakdown reveals that about 64 percent (11,757 out of 18,232 artefacts) of the Oceanic objects derived from former German New Guinea.
304. There are a number of important works that concern themselves with the emergence of German Anthropology: Woodruff D. Smith, *Politics and the Sciences of Culture in Germany*, *1840-1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); Andrew Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); H. Glenn Penny, *Objects of Culture: Ethnology and Ethnographic Museums in Imperial Germany* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); H. Glenn Penny and Matti Bunzel (eds), *Worldly Provincialism: German Anthropology in the Age of Empire* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003); Han F. Vermeulen, *Before Boas: The Genesis of Ethnography and Ethnology in the German Enlightenment* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015).
305. Harry Liebersohn, 'Coming of Age in the Pacific: German Ethnography from Chamisso to Krämer' in *Worldly Provincialism*, pp. 31-46, quote stems from page 37; see also his *The Travelers' World: Europe to the Pacific* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006).
306. John Gascoigne, 'The German Enlightenment and the Pacific,' in Larry Wolff and Marco Cipolloni (eds), *The Anthropology of the Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), pp. 141-71, quote stems from page 171.
307. Christiane Küchler Williams's study began as a doctoral dissertation at Northwestern University; it appeared in print as *Erotische Paradiese: zur europäischen Südseerezeption im 18. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2004).
308. Liebersohn, 'Coming of Age in the Pacific'.

309. Ruth P. Dawson, 'Collecting with Cook: The Forsters and Their Artifact Sale', *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 13 (1979), 5-19. On Cook's collections consult also Adrienne Kaeppler, *'Artificial Curiosities': An Exposition of Native Manufacture Collected on These Pacific Voyages of Captain James Cook R. N.* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1978) and more recently Nicholas Thomas *et al.* (eds), *Artefacts of Encounter: Cook's Voyages, Colonial Collecting and Museum Histories* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2016).
310. Han F. Vermeulen, *Before Boas*, pp. 371-7, 381; see also Bronwen Douglas, 'Climate to Crania: Science and the Radicalization of Human Difference' in Bronwen Douglas and Chris Ballard (eds), *Foreign Bodies: Oceania and the Science of Race, 1750-1940* (Canberra: Australian University Press, 2008), pp. 37-40. On the Göttingen collection consult Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin and Gundolf Krüger (eds), *James Cook: Gifts and Treasures from the South Seas: The Cook/Forster Collection/Göttingen. Gaben und Schätze aus der Südsee: Die Göttinger Sammlung Cook/Forster* (Munich: Prestel, 1998).
311. Wolfgang Schmolka, *Völkekunde in München: Voraussetzungen*, Möglichkeiten und Entwicklunglinien ihrer Institutionalisierung (ca. *1850-1933)* (Berlin: Dunker & Humblot, 1994).
312. Gerd Koch, 'Abteilung Südsee', *Baessler Archiv* XXI (1973), pp. 141-2.
313. Stewart, Firth, 'German Firms in the Pacific Islands, 1857-1914', in John Moses and Paul Kennedy (eds), *German in the Pacific and the Far East* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1977), pp. 3-27.
314. H. Glenn Penny, 'Science and the Marketplace: The Creation and Contentious Sale of the Museum Godeffroy', *Pacific Arts* 21&22 (2000), 7-22.
315. Rainer Buschmann, 'Exploring Tensions in Material Culture: Commercialising Ethnography in German New Guinea, 1870-1904', in Michael O'Hanlon and Robert L. Welsch (eds), *Hunting the Gatherers: Ethnographic Collectors, Agents and Agency in Melanesia, 1870s – 1930s* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2000), pp. 55-79.
316. Hilke Thode-Arora, 'Die Familie Umlauff und Ihre Firmen: Ethnographica-Händler in Hamburg', *Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde Hamburg* NF 22 (1992), 143-58.
317. H. Glenn Penny, *Objects of Culture*, pp. 102-106.
318. By 1871 there were 25 political entities within the German Union: four kingdoms, seven grand duchies, four duchies, six principalities, three free cities, and the Imperial Province of Alsace-Lorraine acquired following the Franco-Prussian War. The map (Figure 5.3) highlights German fragmentation before the First World War.
319. Hermann Hiery, *Das deutsche Reich in der Südsee: Eine Annäherung an die Erfahrungen anderer Kulturen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995) and his *The Neglected War: The German South Pacific and the Influence of World War I* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1995).
320. Glenn Penny, *Objects of Culture*, chapters 2 and 3; Zimmermann, *Anthropology and Antihumanism*, chapter 2.
321. On Bastian's negative view on Polynesia and his positive regard for Melanesia consult his *Inselgruppen in Oceanien: Reiseergebnisse und Studien* (Berlin: Dümmlers,1883), p. iv; *Der Papua des dunklen Inselreiches im Lichte psycologischer Forschungen* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung,1885), pp. 325-9. For a wider context see Rainer F. Buschmann, 'Oceanic Carvings and Germanic Cravings: German Ethnographic Frontiers and Imperial Visions in the Pacific, 1870-1914', *Journal of Pacific History* 42 (2007), 300-07.
322. Nicholas Thomas's *Colonialism's Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994) where colonialism is best defined as a series of projects (merchant, missionary, colonial officials) serves as an important point of departure in this regard.

323. Rainer Buschmann, 'Colonizing Anthropology: Albert Hahl and the Ethnographic Frontier in German New Guinea,' in *Worldly Provincialism*, pp. 230-55 and his *Anthropology's Global Histories: The Ethnographic Frontier in German New Guinea*, *1870-1935* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), pp. 93-6.
324. H. Glenn Penny, 'Fashioning Local Identities in the Age of Nation-Building: Museums, Cosmopolitan Traditions, and Intra-German Competition', *German History* 17 (1999), 488-504.
325. There are numerous sources on this endeavour and include: Wolfgang Lustig, "Ausser ein paar zerbrochenen Pfeilen nichts zu verteilen … ' Ethnographische Sammlungen aus den deutschen Kolonien und ihre Verteilung an Museen 1889-1914', *Mitteilungen des Museums für Völkerkunde Hamburg* NF 18 (1988), pp. 157-78; Cornelia Essner, 'Berlin's Völkerkunde-Museum in der Kolonialära: Anmerkungen zum Verhältnis von Ethnologie und Kolonialismus in Deutschland', in Hans Reinhardt (ed.), *Berlin in der Geschichte und Gegenwart: Jahrbuch des Landesarchivs Berlin* (Berlin: Siedler Verlag, 1986), pp. 65-94.
326. Karl von Linden to Karl Weule (soon to be Director of the Leipzig Museum), 25 July 1903, Leipzig Museum File, Linden Museum Stuttgart.
327. Rainer Buschmann, 'Franz Boluminski and the Wonderland of Carvings: Towards an Ethnography of Collection Activity', *Baessler Archiv* NF 44 (1996), pp. 185-210.
328. Lothar Pützstück, *'Symphonie in Moll': Julius Lips und die Kölner Völkerkunde* (Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus, 1995).
329. www.weltkulturenmuseum.de/de/museum/geschichte (accessed 31 July 2017).
330. Both Hugo Schauinsland, the director of the Bremen museum, as well as Ludwig Cohn, one of the employees of the same institution, found support for a collecting venture to German New Guinea through the Norddeutsche Lloyd. See for instance, Anne E. Dünzelmann (ed.), *Hugo H. Schauinsland: Unterwegs in Übersee. Aus Reisetagebüchern und Dokumenten des früheren Direktors des Bremer Übersee-Museums* (Bremen: Hauschild, 1999); Herbert Abel, *Vom Raritätenkabient zum Überseemuseum* (Bremen: Röver, 1970).
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PACIFIC PRESENCES – VOLUME 1

Hundreds of thousands of works of art and artefacts from many parts of the Pacific are dispersed across European museums. They range from seemingly quotidian things such as fish-hooks and baskets to great sculptures of divinities, architectural forms and canoes. These collections constitute a remarkable resource for understanding history and society across Oceania, cross-cultural encounters since the voyages of Captain Cook, and the colonial transformations that have taken place since. They are also collections of profound importance for Islanders today, who have varied responses to their displaced heritage, and renewed interest in ancestral forms and practices.

This two-volume book enlarges understandings of Oceanic art and enables new reflection upon museums and ways of working in and around them. In dialogue with Islanders' perspectives, It exemplifies a growing commitment on the part of scholars and curators to work collaboratively and responsively.

Volume I focuses on the historical formation of ethnographic museums within Europe, the making of those institutions' Pacific collections, and the activation and re-activation of those collections, over time and in the present.

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