

PHOTO- MUSEOLOGY

*The presence of
absence and the
absence of presence*

MARK ADAMS
& NICHOLAS THOMAS

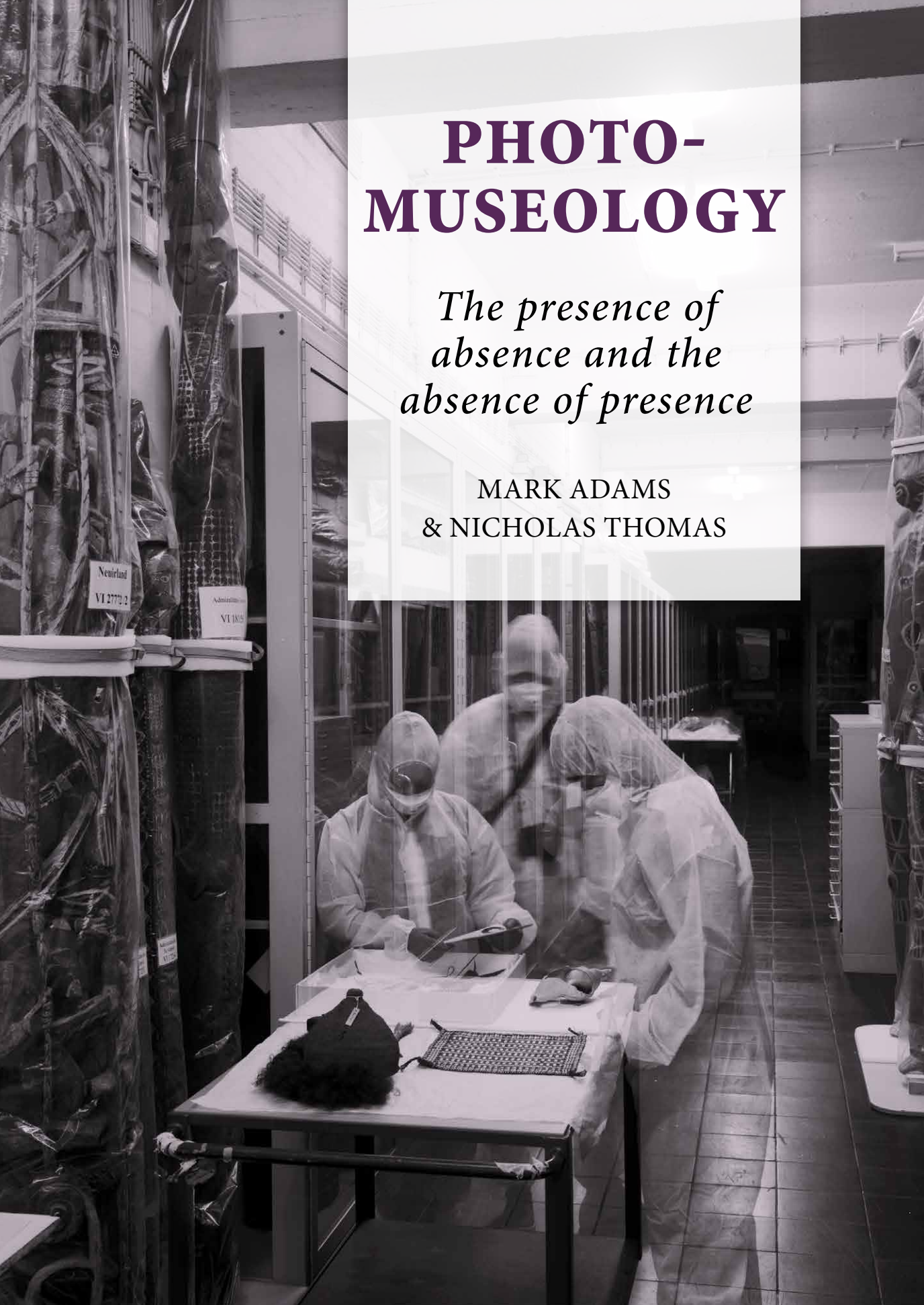


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PACIFIC PRESENCES 7

for
Areta Wilkinson
and
Annie Coombes

© 2022 Mark Adams (photographs)
Nicholas Thomas (text)

Series: Pacific Presences, volume 7
General Editor: Nicholas Thomas

Published by Sidestone Press, Leiden
www.sidestone.com

Lay-out & cover design: Sidestone Press
Photograph cover: Südsee Store. Museen Dahlem. Lansstrasse. Berlin. Germany (2 July 2015)

ISBN 978-90-8890-632-9 (softcover)
ISBN 978-90-8890-633-6 (hardcover)
ISBN 978-90-8890-634-3 (PDF e-book)

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PRESENCE AND ABSENCE: AN INTRODUCTION

NICHOLAS THOMAS

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Another way of telling

‘All photographs are ambiguous’, John Berger wrote in *Another Way of Telling* (1982), his reflection upon a long-term collaboration with the documentary photographer Jean Mohr.

All photographs have been taken out of a continuity. If the event is a public event, this continuity is history; if it is personal, the continuity, which has been broken, is a life story. Even a pure landscape breaks a continuity: that of the light and the weather. Discontinuity always produces ambiguity.¹

Photography, from this perspective, was both ‘irrefutable as evidence’ but ‘weak in meaning’. Words, on the other hand, might ‘remain at the level of generalisation’, and thus lack power as evidence, yet be formidably powerful when it came to providing meaning. The combination of photographic image and words, such as those of a caption, therefore could – and no doubt mostly does – produce interpretive closure: ‘an open question appears to have been fully answered.’ But Berger’s interest was in something else. ‘Photographic ambiguity, if recognised and accepted as such’ could offer ‘a unique means of expression... another way of telling.’²

This is the last of a series of eight books that arise from the ‘Pacific Presences’ project, undertaken from 2013 to 2018.³ The research programme, which I convened, built on earlier projects and collaborations among members of the team and other friends and colleagues. These had, in various ways, addressed histories of encounter and colonization in the Pacific, the histories of both Indigenous and colonial art in the region, the making of artefact collections and museums, and the often-contentious legacies of these interconnected stories. For myself, the project extended a collaboration with the photographer Mark Adams that we had embarked upon in the early 1990s.

1 John Berger and Jean Mohr, *Another Way of Telling* (London: Writers and Readers, 1982), 91.

2 Berger and Mohr, 92.

3 See Select bibliography, this volume, 475.

We were not specifically or primarily influenced by the Berger-Mohr books. Mark's photographic practice was very different to Jean Mohr's, as were the foci and contexts of our work. But we were definitely motivated by a sense that colonial environments, artefacts and legacies demanded 'another way of telling'. A certain relationship between writing and photography was important to that. As we show here, this was emphatically not the sort of complementarity that Berger cited, that 'fully answered' the 'open question' that an image might expose. In hindsight, we could instead say that words and images might conspire to evoke histories in terms that were rich, complex and forceful, their ambiguity not interpreted away, but underscored and explored.

Pacific Presences

At the core of the Pacific Presences project were a number of questions, of and around the vast collections of Oceanic art that are found in museums in many European countries, in their displays and also in their extensive stores. We asked: what are these collections made up of? What uses and values did the artefacts originally have for the people who made and used them and, more generally, in their milieux of origin? How and why were collections made? Why did Islanders gift or sell artefacts? (In this part of the world, things were sometimes, but not typically, or not mostly, obtained through appropriation or outright looting). How were artefacts trafficked and circulated in Europe? What meanings and values did they acquire? What stories were they employed to tell in museum settings?

These questions were primarily historical. Some seem simple enough: we needed to ask what artefacts were collected, what became of them and where they ended up. Yet in the worlds of material culture, collecting and museums, such seemingly simple matters as the identities and travels of objects are often mind-bogglingly complicated. All too often, things are misidentified or lost, and found and lost again. Questions of agency – whether and why Islanders might willingly part with powerful and prestigious things – are hard to interpret and adjudicate, given the rich but also fragmented and typically very dispersed nature of the archival evidence, and the challenges of every historical and cross-cultural inquiry (it's hard to reconstruct the interests and intentions of people alive in the nineteenth century).

The project addressed the present as well as the past. Alongside our historical inquiries, we constantly asked, and continue to ask, what collections mean today. We were and are concerned about understanding what interests Islanders have in the artefacts made by their ancestors that ended up in these institutions, so far from the beaches, villages and ritual precincts then and now inhabited by the Islanders. Did people want to reconnect with this heritage, which is often material that they had had no access to for generations? When they could reconnect with artefacts – which might sometimes be useful, fairly ordinary things, and other times things that were spectacular, patently and poignantly divine, full of mana (spiritual power) – how did they feel about them? What did they hope to do with the collections? What values did they see them as having in the future? We asked those questions and we also asked what meanings and values artefacts were acquiring in museum settings and for European publics, over years marked by increasing contestation around multiculturalism, national identity, national history, race, colonial histories and violence.

Neither cluster of questions could be static. In historical contexts, we were not merely seeking to understand provenance, but also to reflect on how artefacts changed and assumed new identities as we discovered their stories. Similarly, we were interested not only in the current perception of artefacts, but in artefacts as resources, as things that could be used by different people now. In *The Return of Curiosity*, a book which arose from the Pacific Presences project but ranged more broadly over the potential of museums in the present, I had argued that collections of artefacts were not only historical formations but also creative technologies, in the sense that they enabled people to do new things and make new things; they could, for example, energize educational, political and artistic projects.⁴

These interests and orientations meant that Pacific Presences was more open to indeterminacy and ambiguity than research usually is. The values and legacies of artefacts, collections and museums seemed very deeply ambiguous. As the project was also one in which artists played key roles, what would emerge – the ‘outcomes’, in research grant jargon – were also atypically open.

Where we came from

This is not a text about writing and photography but one that represents projects jointly undertaken by a particular writer and a particular photographer. It is in part a personal story. Who we were and the interests we had provide the background to the work presented here.

In the mid-1980s, I finished a PhD thesis which dealt with Polynesian society and history, and particularly with the culture of the Marquesas Islands over the early decades of contact with Europeans. I was absorbed and awed by an extraordinary world of shamans, chiefs, tapu, tattoo, unfamiliar gender relationships and cross-cultural confrontation and exchange, which became real to me as I read every account I possibly could, by a host of European voyagers, missionaries, colonists and ethnographers, and a variety of Indigenous sources, dispersed across archives in various languages and countries. The weaknesses and stereotypic thinking all too prevalent in some of the colonial records was more than compensated for by the raw immediacy of writers such as the mariner and beachcomber Edward Robarts, whose unrefined account had (and still has) a remarkable capacity to take one back to the places and times he inhabited. The vivid sense that I gleaned of the lives of chiefly men and women such as Keatonui and Iotete became still more intensely real once I had the opportunity to spend the better part of a year in Polynesia, and walk through the valleys and village sites inhabited by those people, among a proliferation of stone god figures and house-platforms – the remains of their dwellings and ritual precincts. At that time, in my early 20s, I was conscious also of my naivety. I was too young to be taken seriously by the Islander elders, who were nevertheless generous with stories and with hospitality. I was conscious that I failed to explain my project in terms that connected with their own interests in history and identity, which at that time were only beginning to be energized by a cultural revival that has been fertile and powerful since.

4 Nicholas Thomas, *The Return of Curiosity: what museums are good for in the twenty-first century* (London: Reaktion, 2016).

I was lucky, while writing the thesis, to be appointed to a junior fellowship at King's College, Cambridge, and from there I undertook a project with a more contemporary focus. This took me to an out-of-the-way village in the interior of Viti Levu, Fiji. Aside from what I learned about ideas of custom, identity, local ceremony, exchange and related themes, there was a profound lesson from this experience. Islanders who were relatively poor and marginal in the postcolonial economy of a significant Pacific nation nevertheless remained, in a profound sense, themselves. They had a vision of their history and an unshaken conviction that their way of life was valid, indeed morally superior to the cultures of foreigners. Notwithstanding the marginality that a theorist of globalization might impute to these Melanesians, they inhabited the centre of their world, they anticipated futures that might bring difficulties, but that nevertheless would be shaped by their own intentions and their own values.

Becoming a photographer: a conversation

This section is excerpted from an interview conducted 2009/10.⁵ Mark and I talked about how he started out in photography and about the social and political contexts that shaped his practice and his interests.

NT: I'd like to start by talking about the nature of your photographic practice. What has emerged as canonical postmodern art photography has rejected the documentary mode and worked instead with staged subjects (I'm thinking of Cindy Sherman or Tracey Moffatt), collage, digital manipulation, the inclusion of text, and so forth – broadly speaking all strategies that drew attention to the artifice of representation, and put critique first and any sort of witnessing second. In contrast, you've pursued what might be considered a camera-based purism, an approach grounded in the craft of large-format image-making. I'm not suggesting that your work has exhibited a naïve attachment to some sort of conventional realism, but am interested rather in the ways you've made documentary photography into a vehicle for certain sorts of critique – we'll come to this shortly – of colonial, ethnological representation, for instance. Could you begin by saying something about how you became the kind of photographer you are? Were there photographers, or bodies of work, that particularly influenced your practice? And what sorts of subjects did you start by photographing at art school and subsequently?

MA: At art school I picked up the 4 x 5 inch large-format camera. I loved the way it slowed you down and made you consider the sort of photographs you were taking, and their formal qualities, very carefully. I loved the high resolution and fantastic specificity that allowed. I discovered photographers' work in the art school library, in fashion and current affairs magazines. I came across Bill Brandt, who I still think is the best. He is very expressive and I have a weakness for expressionism, but his work also has a great formal beauty, which I admire. It was great to see his retrospective at the V&A. I also was attracted to the still lifes, portraits and fashion photographs of

5 Part of an interview previously published in Mark Adams, Peter Brunt, Sean Mallon and Nicholas Thomas, *Tatau/Tattoo: Samoan Tattoo, New Zealand Art, Global Culture* (Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2010).

Irving Penn for *Vogue*, from the '50s and '60s. They have this wonderful artful elegance and formal beauty. Between the two of them and others like [Richard] Avedon, they showed me that technical and formal elegance were possible in this medium. At first, I was trying to do portraits and nudes in the mode of that classical canon. I wasn't drawn to, say [Andy] Warhol's use of crude mass media photographic images. I liked what he did but it was far removed from anything I would want to deal with myself. I had read literature and history of all sorts, and by the mid-1970s I had read [Susan] Sontag and Allan Sekula, who both put the boot into the medium and the MOMA [Museum of Modern Art] canon. I liked what they said about things but I can't say I felt entirely sympathetic with all their ideas. I like the medium and I still like large parts of the MOMA canon. I was and still am ambivalent about the effectiveness of art and activism, and you can't read literature seriously and remain optimistic about history.

In 1971, I first met [the New Zealand painter] Tony Fomison and started doing portraits of him. I began to take the camera into the field and photographed people and their own contexts with the large-format camera. All these photographs were kind of constructed. Not in an overt way like Sherman's, but they were interventions in the normal flow of event and not like the decisive moment approach of photo-journalism of Cartier-Bresson, et. al. They were set up by me within the parameters existing in the context to be photographed. ...

NT: Can you say something more about politics in this context? I know that you were aware of the issues that motivated a lot of people on the Left, but you obviously didn't get into protest photography. Was there, however, a particular point when your photographic practice became politicised?

MA: The reason I started using the documentary medium as a form of critique was at first simply that I was annoyed by the cross-cultural situation in New Zealand. In 1979 and through the '80s I actually *did* get into protest photography but I never did anything with it beyond what the Waitangi Action Committee did with it, which was mainly court cases or publicity. I spent a lot of time with the protest at Waitangi. I was living in Northland at the time and I knew most of the Northland activists. I went on the land marches with them and took part in the protests at Waitangi through the '80s. This gave me an angle on NZ history, which was not shared by any other Pakeha that I knew apart from a few 'radicals'.

I am sceptical about art and activism but criticism or analysis is something else. This was the point where I became interested in the local, and the metropolitan receded into the background. This grew out of my experience of Māori sovereignty issues, meeting [the tattooist] Paul Sulu'ape and Fuimaono Tuiasau and my continued reading of NZ and Pacific history. It was political in the sense that what I did next was driven by being totally pissed off with the position of the local at that time. I mean politically, culturally and in every way, I think it is a fair enough generalisation to say that New Zealand at that moment could not fully acknowledge its position in Polynesia – our cross-cultural histories by and large were not thoughtfully examined. I didn't want to approach this through protest photography. I just wanted to make images which did something about critique but in a way, which I hoped, was complex, forceful and elegant. I think

your bringing up the idea of witness is important. I seem to have a vague memory of someone, maybe Robert Hughes, saying something about art being a witness, or the best function of art being that of a witness, and I think that's good.

For a start, I wanted to do something which embodied a critical approach to what I knew about the medium and its past uses in the context of our cross-cultural situation here. I saw some contemporary photographers here behaving in the same way as nineteenth-century practitioners in their approach to photographing Māori and Pacific Islanders. In the late '70s, no one had thought about that yet. At the time I considered Ans Westra, for example, as someone who hadn't thought her position through – that she was just another western photographer who was busy photographing others in a predatory kind of way, that took no account of her position in a dominant and racist settler culture. Well, that was a bit extreme, and I don't feel the same now, but I was right about the lack of hard self-examination on the part of photographers working in that area then. When someone asked me what I thought I was doing at that time, I said I just wanted to turn the camera around 180 degrees and point it back in the opposite direction, with the colonial archive in mind. I thought I should be the Burton Brothers in reverse. That was being facetious, but I wanted the work to be about settler culture and its relationships with specific Polynesians or Māori in specific regions or places: not *about* Māori, or natives, or others. I was generally aware of global colonial history and the ethnological archive and of the relationship between that and modernism. All these earnest intentions ran the risk of producing shallow, sanctimonious outcomes. I was aware of that too, and so I was drawn to complexities.

NT: You did a lot of work around tattoo, and a lot of work too that dealt with sites and landscapes. In particular, around Rotorua [in the central part of the North Island of New Zealand] – could you say something about what interested you in that region? Also, though those photographs mostly don't have people in them, I take it that the concerns are often historical, and often specifically with cross-cultural histories. Are there links or resonances that connect that work with the tatau photography?

MA: Yes. All the tatau work and the sites and landscape work started simultaneously in early 1978, and as far as I'm concerned they all share that common thread of colonial violence we have mentioned before. Blood even. Contested lands and bodies. In a postcolonial and cross-cultural situation, who can represent whom and what?

John Perry, who was the director of the Rotorua Art Gallery from 1978, asked me to do some photographs of some of the carvings at Whakarewarewa and other public spaces for a show. He had seen some photographs I had done of carvings and contexts. That's when I started working down there and I loved the place. I still find the whole mess fascinating.

I thought Rotorua was a kind of nexus, a conjuncture. I initially thought that colonial power relationships were visible there in a way that was less obvious in other places, but I got distracted from the didacticism by cross-cultural complexities. I was interested in the first tourist industry in this country and the cross-cultural relationships manifested through that particular history; and the carving histories. I really like the carving artform, I love looking at them. It is amazing that you can walk

around Rotorua city and see on the streets fantastic work by Tene Waitere and Anaha Te Rahui. I was very drawn to both the works and their contexts of contemporary street furniture, gardens, car parks and so on. There seemed to be this complex interweaving of physical and cultural spaces, artefacts and practices, historical happenings and fights, which I tried to engage with... I'm just interested in engaging with what goes on here, and in what has led up to what goes on here.

There and here

To return to my own story. In the 1980s, I had embarked on a career as a historian and anthropologist of the Pacific, but while at King's from 1986 to 1989 – or rather, while moving back and forth between Cambridge and Fiji via Sydney over those few years – I had discovered an intellectual identity that (perhaps improbably) converged with Mark's interest in colonial cultures and colonial transactions between particular Islanders and particular Europeans. My strong sense was that the project could no longer be strictly ethnographic or strictly historical. It had to be cross-disciplinary and it had to engage relationships over time, in many different settings. As a child and young adult, I had found 'Captain Cook,' manufactured as a founding figure in Australian history, monumental, one-dimensional and boring, but now I became increasingly interested, not primarily in Cook as an individual, but in the many cross-cultural encounters he and those who accompanied him were party to.

In September 1993, when I made contact with Mark in order to interview him about the tatau photography he had by then been engaged in, off and on, over 15 years, I had been in Auckland to give a conference keynote which tried to make sense of brief but intriguing encounters between Ngati Mamoe and participants in Cook's second voyage around the shores of Tamatea, or Dusky Sound, in the far south west of the South Island of New Zealand. Those meetings were fascinating, in part because the natural historians on the *Resolution* were Johann Reinhold Forster and his son George, remarkably learned radical intellectuals, who took the questions and discourses that are inadequately distilled in the category of 'the Enlightenment' on their travels, to beaches, villages and ritual precincts in various parts of Polynesia and Melanesia over the course of the voyage.

When I began grappling with those issues, it never occurred to me that there might be extant physical legacies of the actual encounters, to be found in New Zealand or elsewhere. Nor did I think of the kind of inquiry I was involved in as being in any way served by looking at the sites of contact or any other sort of material legacy of the voyages. But when I met Mark at the house where he lived with his family at that time, in Henderson in west Auckland, and mentioned that strand of my work, he immediately expressed a longstanding curiosity about Astronomers' Point in Dusky Sound. During the 1773 visit of Cook's ship, the *Resolution*, this low hill on the shores of the fjord had been cleared to enable observations to take place. A popular history had indicated that, astonishingly, over 200 years later, the stumps of those trees were still visible. Mark had long been interested in visiting an area that, unlike Milford Sound – a couple of hundred kilometres to the north and a major tourist destination – was accessible only from the sea. We'd barely met, but decided on the spot to try to undertake the trip. We thought we'd ideally visit around the same time of year as the *Resolution* had, and so a



May 1995. Mark Adams (left) and Nicholas Thomas in Dusky Sound. Photo: Haru Sameshima.



15 May 1995. Stump. Astronomers Point. Tamatea Dusky Sound. Te Wai Pounamu South Island. Aotearoa New Zealand.

year and a half later Mark succeeded in bringing together a few other photographers interested in spending a couple of weeks in the sound (we needed a group to make chartering our boat affordable).

In May 1995, we were able to travel there and Mark used the large-format camera to capture the tree stumps which were indeed still on the point. We also scrambled up steep and rocky gullies to photograph locations such as that of the waterfall above the inlet Cook had named Cascade Cove. This famously figured in paintings that had been completed during and after the voyage by the extraordinary landscape painter William Hodges, the first professional British artist to work in India as well as in the Pacific. Mark extended a method he had been using elsewhere, of taking a number of shots in order to make panoramic works, placing specific objects or sites ‘in context’ by placing them in a wider context visually; hence the ‘view’ evoked in Hodges’ work was situated within whatever happened to be around it.

Much of his work subsequently adhered to this approach: whether he was looking at Te Arawa carvings, museum artefacts or sites such as where Cook was killed in Hawai’i, Mark situated the specific in its visual context, which was also its historical, cultural and political context.

We hadn’t at that stage planned to photograph museums or artefacts in museums, but the Dusky Sound images seemed to belong to a larger project that in due course we called ‘Cook’s Sites’. The sites were locations of encounter in Aotearoa New Zealand (and later elsewhere in Australia and the Pacific) and also sites in Europe where there were relics of one sort or another of the voyage: Māori taonga, botanical specimens, manuscripts and Cook exhibitions and monuments. Hence, later in 1995 we visited Berlin, Göttingen, Oxford and Kew, thinking towards a visual and textual meditation on histories of colonial encounter and violence, and the legacies of those events in our own time.

A few years later, the project was exhibited at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongaruwa in Wellington. Our sense was that the curatorial team then at the museum did not understand how we were trying to work or what we were trying to achieve, but

the show did facilitate publication of our first joint book, *Cook's Sites: Revisiting History* (1999), by the University of Otago Press.⁶

That year I also moved from Canberra to London, and in due course we looked at ways of working further in European settings that I now had greater access to. Mark had long been interested in Te Arawa woodcarvers such as Tene Waitere, who had produced new forms of sculpture for various non-customary settings. Amazingly, there were full-scale and model *whare whakairo* (carved houses) in a number of museums that reflected the colonial travels of the art tradition. The work we did in Hamburg and elsewhere in the early 2000s was vital in shaping some of the questions that the Pacific Presences project would in due course address. What expressions of Pacific culture were to be found in the rather singular settings of museums *für Völkerkunde* (of ethnology) in German cities and elsewhere in Europe? What could we think through by looking at them 'in context'? What presence and effect did they have now? Could our work, in revealing and celebrating them, give them greater presence, and indeed help restore their mana or spiritual power?

Museums and museum stores

At the time we first visited Berlin and Göttingen in the 1990s, ethnographic collections in Germany seemed obscure and completely out of view, so far as public debates around history and culture were concerned. German historical consciousness was focused on the legacies of Nazism, the division into east and west and the challenges of reunification. In Britain, debate about empire, race and history was intermittently more prominent, the disputed status of the Elgin marbles was regularly cited, and ethnographic museum collections were questioned by curators themselves, by Indigenous artists, scholars and activists, and occasionally in the mainstream media.

When Julie Adams (Senior Research Associate on Pacific Presences, 2013-16) and I developed the research proposal that eventually secured the award, we took it for granted that the legitimacy of collections was in question, that they were inevitably focal to debate about the locations and future of heritage, and that many Islanders might lament the presence of vast collections of ancestral artefacts in the galleries and stores of European museums. We were also aware that Islanders' responses and interests were heterogeneous, in ways that might surprise people who do not work in the sector but assume that all formerly colonized or Indigenous peoples consider museums pernicious, as warehouses of colonial loot. We had been somewhat surprised ourselves, through previous projects, that a variety of people from Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands and various Polynesians among others, held a range of more qualified views. Some were just not that interested; others felt that in principle heritage should return, but thought that it could not do so under current conditions; others were overtly affirmative of the presence of artefacts in what they perceived as prestigious university or national museums. Our project was not about adjudicating such attitudes but exploring the collections and their historic and contemporary significances. We were committed above all to doing what we could to facilitate Islanders' access through

6 Adams/Thomas collaborations are listed in the Select bibliography (000), as are our other relevant books.

their participation in the study visits that the project initiated. We were aware that such opportunities could only enable a few people to access collections – the relatively few students, artists, curators and community representatives whose visits we were able to fund or otherwise facilitate. But we sought to exemplify new approaches to co-researching and co-interpreting heritage, as other researchers undertaking related projects were similarly trying to do.

The project's interest was in 'Pacific presences', the way 'the Pacific' – that is, Pacific people – were present in Europe through ancestral artefacts. Those presences were especially remarkable in the stores of museums, where extraordinary masses of artefacts were gathered. Participants in the project – the postdocs, the Islander visitors, other students and researchers – always found our visits to collections to be somehow very distinctive and intense experiences. For Islanders in particular, the encounter with ancestral creations, in effect with ancestors themselves, was often intense, powerful and affecting. For others, the sense of palpable contact with Pacific artists, mostly long dead, and Pacific places, was also highly moving, despite our personal lack of genealogical connection with those who had given or sold artefacts, or suffered their appropriation, decades or centuries ago. As Julie Adams pointed out in a presentation to a project workshop, presence was always also about absence: the artefacts present in a museum store were absent from the place they had come from. They were present for those of us who encountered them in that store, but their makers were absent. We were unavoidably conscious of the absence of presence and the presence of absence.

Photo-museology

The sequence of images that constitutes this book relates closely to the research various team members undertook, individually and together. We visited collections to study artefacts, and Mark Adams took photographs of the museum exteriors and galleries, as well as of artefacts, and the encounters with artefacts that we had. Various of the photos that he took illustrate other volumes in this series; they relate directly to our investigations of specific material cultures, Islanders' histories and histories of collecting and collections. But this book does not illustrate the project's research or case studies in any direct sense; it offers 'another way of telling'.

The book is divided into 27 chapters that each relate to a particular place, in some cases an island, in others a nation, town or city. The first seven evoke places in the Pacific, places in which Islanders' lives have been led and cultural forms and ritual precincts made – ancestrally, over the course of colonial history and in the present. These images are drawn from earlier projects as well as work undertaken in the context of the Pacific Presences programme. We deal with places roughly in the order in which Mark took photographs, including photos he took before we began to collaborate, or otherwise independently of our joint work. The sequence begins in New Zealand and moves to Norfolk Island, where he has family connections, while responding also to key early theatres of cross-cultural encounter in Tahiti and Hawai'i, and other island nations such as Samoa – a key focus for the tatau work, published more fully elsewhere – and Kanaky and Vanuatu, which he visited in support of the work of Julie Adams and Peter Brunt respectively.

The second part of the book works through European locations, beginning with Göttingen, one of the first museums we visited in tracking collections associated with the Forsters and the New Zealand encounters of Cook's second voyage. Greenwich was vital as a centre of British maritime power and is the location today of major paintings by William Hodges which took British art to the Pacific for the first time, and rendered the exotic in powerful but peculiarly unresolved terms.

Succeeding chapters look at Cook-voyage legacies in London and elsewhere and the extraordinarily powerful Rauru meeting house in Hamburg. If it might commonly be assumed that collections from Oceania are mostly found in major city museums, the presence of Marquesan and ni-Vanuatu among other works in the southern French city of Perpignan reflects the bewildering variety of trajectories that ethnographic artefacts within Europe had, and the fact that the lives of Europeans across many provincial towns and cities were linked with Oceania in some way – through missionary commitment or naval or colonial service. The upshot is that pieces they collected ended up in local as well as grand metropolitan institutions.

Adams' photos address the histories of these institutions and are also now documents of their histories. Many of the displays and institutions we show have changed since we visited them. While the Rauru meeting house in Hamburg is still where it has long been, the room in which it is situated has been completely renovated, and the access and ambience given a very different accent, one which aimed to represent and honour the perspectives of Te Arawa, and the house's history. The museum itself has changed its name from Museum für Völkerkunde to 'Museum am Rothenbaum. Kulturen und Künste der Welt' – Rothenbaum is the street on which the institution is located; 'cultures' and 'arts' are in the plural, implying diverse world art traditions. In fact, with few exceptions, most European museums that were formerly of ethnography or anthropology have changed their names in some analogous way, to evoke 'world cultures', 'five continents', 'confluences' or 'cultures'. Others have adopted names such as that of Paris's successor to the Musée de l'Homme, which refer to locations. When the project towards the Musée du quai Branly was initially announced, the suggestion that it would be dedicated to 'arts premiers', a euphemism for primitive art, was controversial. The adoption of the name of the avenue along the Seine's rive gauche obviated further debate; on the tenth anniversary of the museum's inauguration, the name was changed to Musée du quai Branly-Jacques Chirac, in honour of the president who had been an advocate of the project. While museums are associated with permanence, they in fact seem to be constantly in flux.

The debates around them have moved swiftly and critique has recently intensified. Our projects were motivated from the start by an interest in generating critical histories of colonial entanglement, and the revelation of often hidden histories of dispossession. But we were also inclined to be affirmative about the potential of collections that, too often, are now perceived reductively, simply as toxic legacies of colonial violence.

In a stereotypic view, museums are mausoleums and their stores are like artefact morgues. Yet it is surprising how busy many museum stores are. They are scenes of constant activity: students, conservators, curators, researchers and Indigenous visitors are often present, paying artefacts attention, enlivening them. This activation of stores goes on, to a greater or lesser extent, anyway; animating it was at the core

of the Pacific Presences project. When we visited collections, we seldom did so as individual researchers, but rather nearly always in smaller or larger groups, with Islander colleagues, associate researchers and others who happened to be around and interested. These encounters were always intense and affecting, and often emotional and poignant. Mark Adams documents precisely this animation and affect, in museum stores and galleries in Paris, Stuttgart, Tübingen and elsewhere. Artefacts that reached Europe through encounter can be encountered again; in fact, they demand encounter. Artefacts that have long been latent and out-of-the-way are now active and generative. The images in this book are meditative, dwelling on the past and on the anomalous settings in which these extraordinary cultural expressions find themselves. But the artefacts that the images feature are now alive, bursting with mana. They have vital energy. They are vital now and they will be vital in and to the future.

A note on the organisation of this book

As was signalled in the introduction, this book is made up of 27 chapters. Each consists of a number of photographs. Some were made as long ago as the mid-1980s but most are more recent. Following each chapter, brief notes point toward the contexts of the images; that is, what was culturally or historically salient or significant about the site, people, collection or institution that is represented. Mark Adams is quoted in a few instances but the texts are otherwise mine. In order to highlight the sometimes singular or quirky circumstances of our engagements with sites and museums, the notes also go into some personal angles or anecdotes of the occasions when images were made.

These commentaries are brief. In almost every instance, it would have been possible to write at much greater length about the rich, ambiguous and always-contested histories of the sites, artefacts and institutions we have had the chance to witness. In some cases, there are fuller stories in other publications of our own; relevant work by others is also cited, very selectively. In general, the contexts of many images are documented and interpreted in the books published as a result of the Pacific Presences project. The other volumes in the present set are fully listed in the Select Bibliography at the end of the book; references are abbreviated in the notes to PP1, PP2, etc.

1.

New Zealand



1.1. 15 October 1984. Waka Taua. Murupara. Kaingaroa Forest. Rotorua Region. Aotearoa New Zealand.



1.2. 15 October 1984. Waka Taua. Murupara. Kaingaroa Forest. Rotorua Region. Aotearoa New Zealand.



1.3. 15 December 1995. Memorial to Cook's Declaration of Possession. 31 January 1770. Meretoto Ship Cove. Tootaranui Queen Charlotte Sound. Te Wai Pounamu South Island. Aotearoa New Zealand.









1.4. 12 December 1995. Memorial to Cook's Declaration of Possession. 31 January 1770. Motuara Island. Meretoto Ship Cove. Totaranui Queen Charlotte Sound. Te Wai Pounamu South Island. Aotearoa New Zealand.



1.5. 11 December 1995. Meretoto Ship Cove. Totaranui Queen Charlotte Sound. Te Wai Pounamu South Island. Aotearoa New Zealand. After John Webber's *A View in Queen Charlotte Sound* (1788/1809).



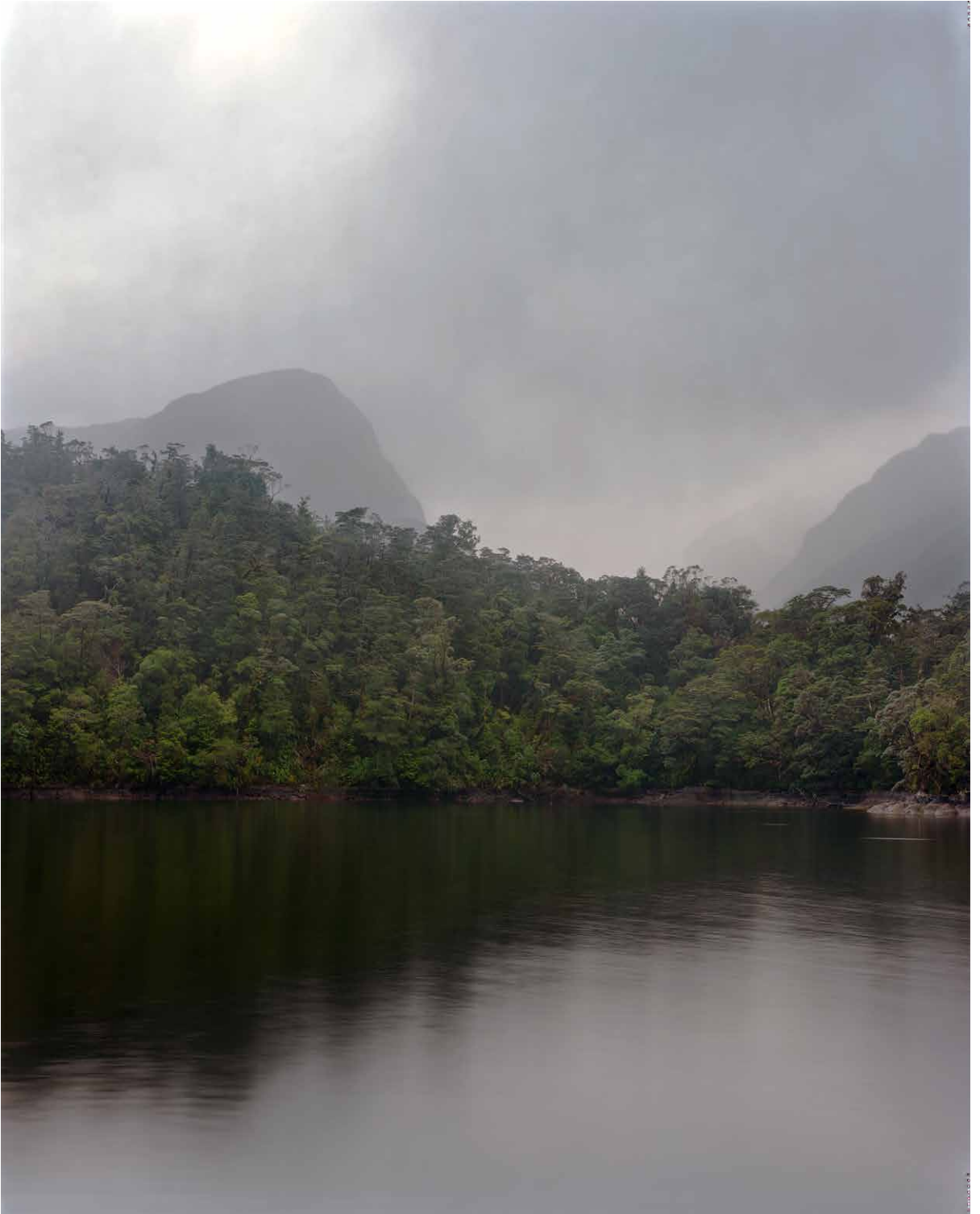


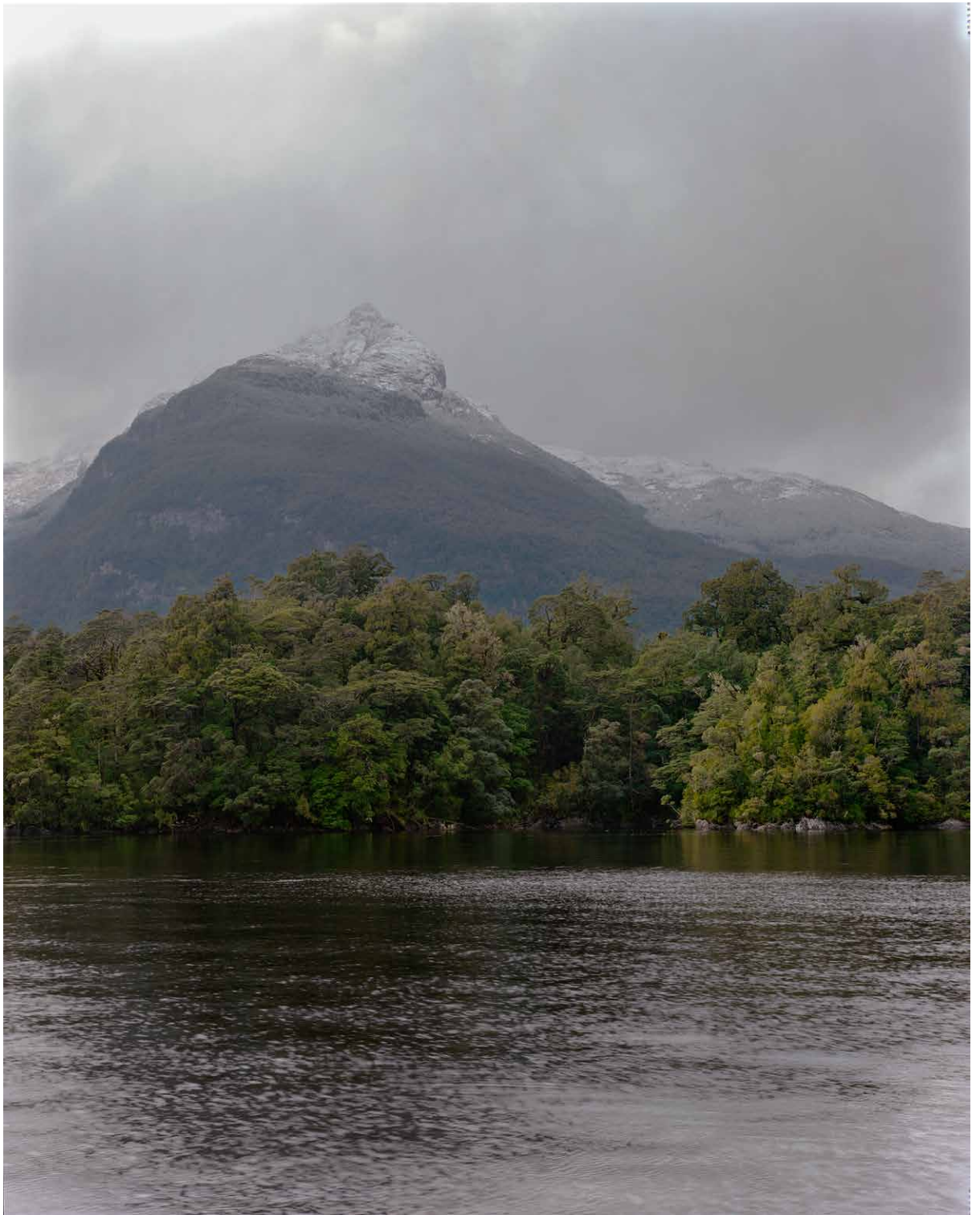


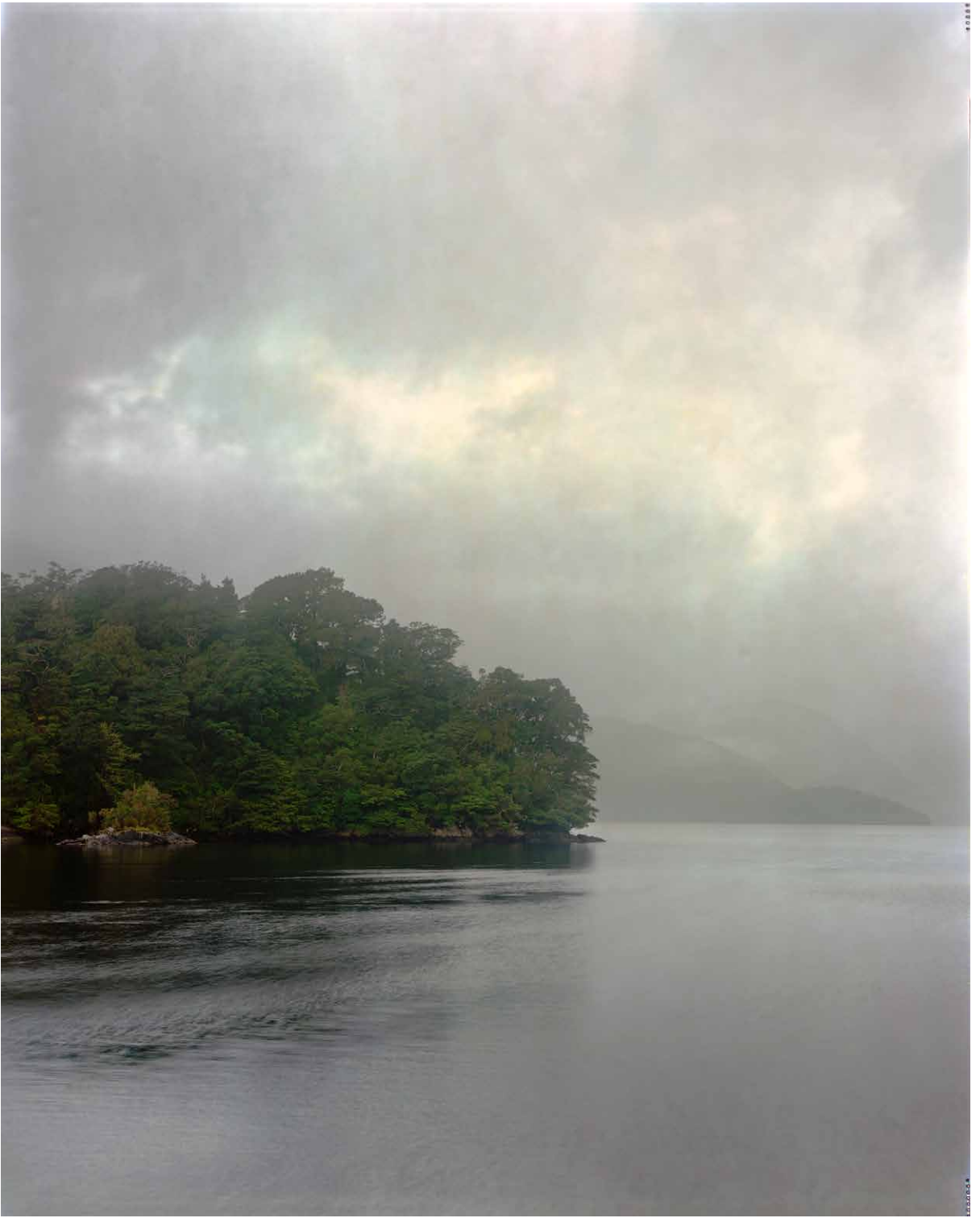


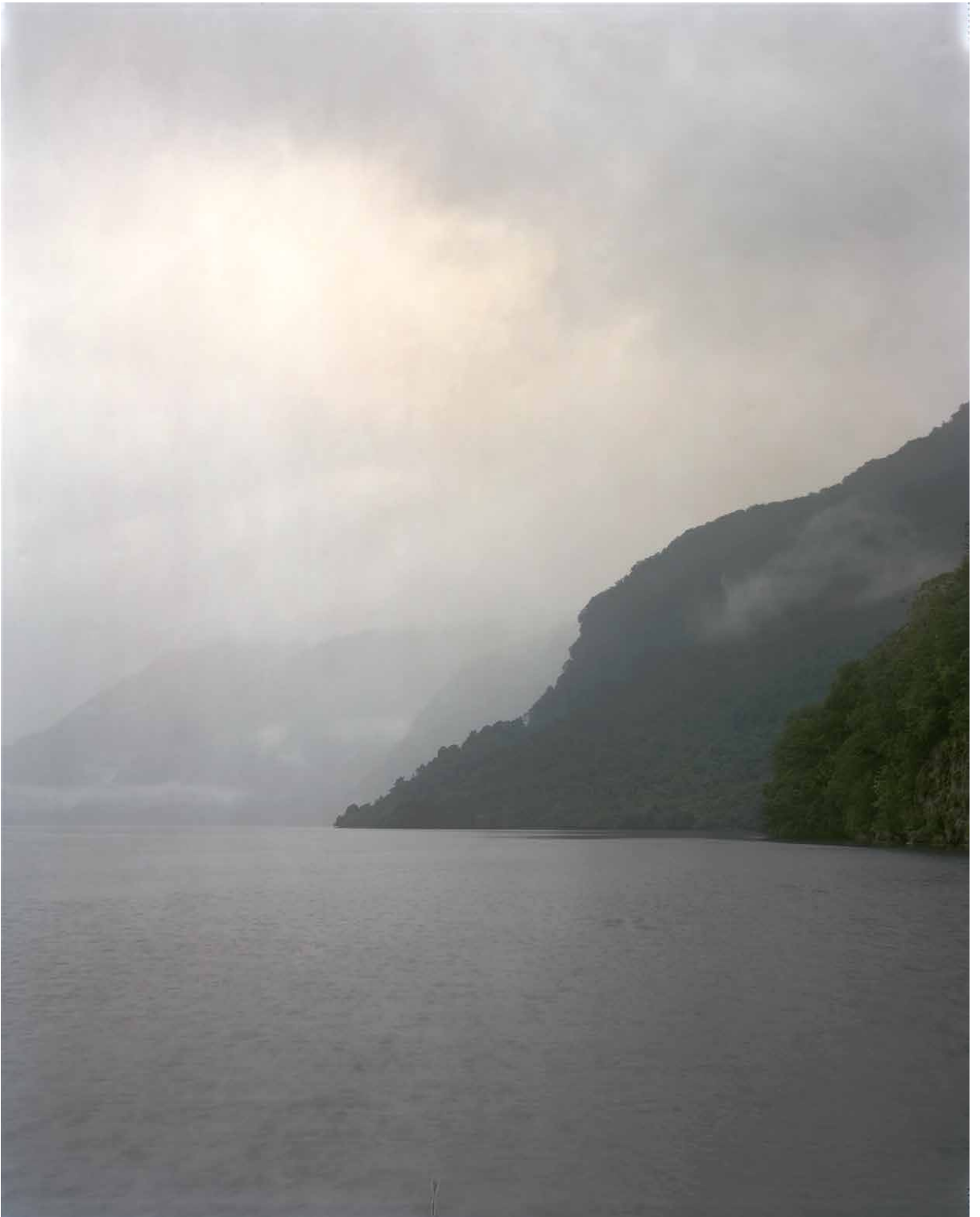
1.6. 27 June-1 August 2014. Nine Fathom Passage. Te Wai Pounamu South Island. Aotearoa New Zealand. 360-degree panorama. After William Hodges' *Waterfall in Dusky Bay with a Maori Canoe* (1776).

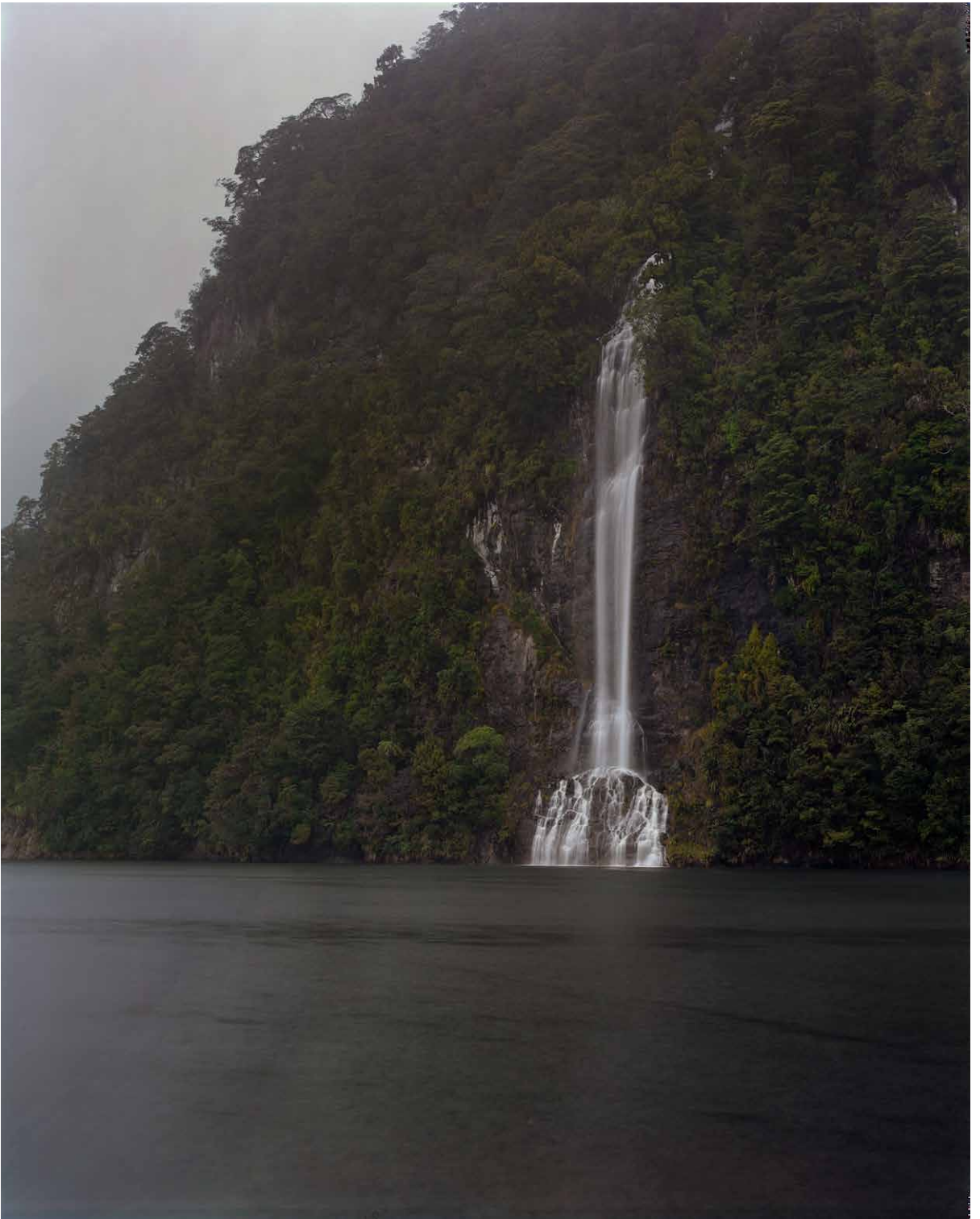


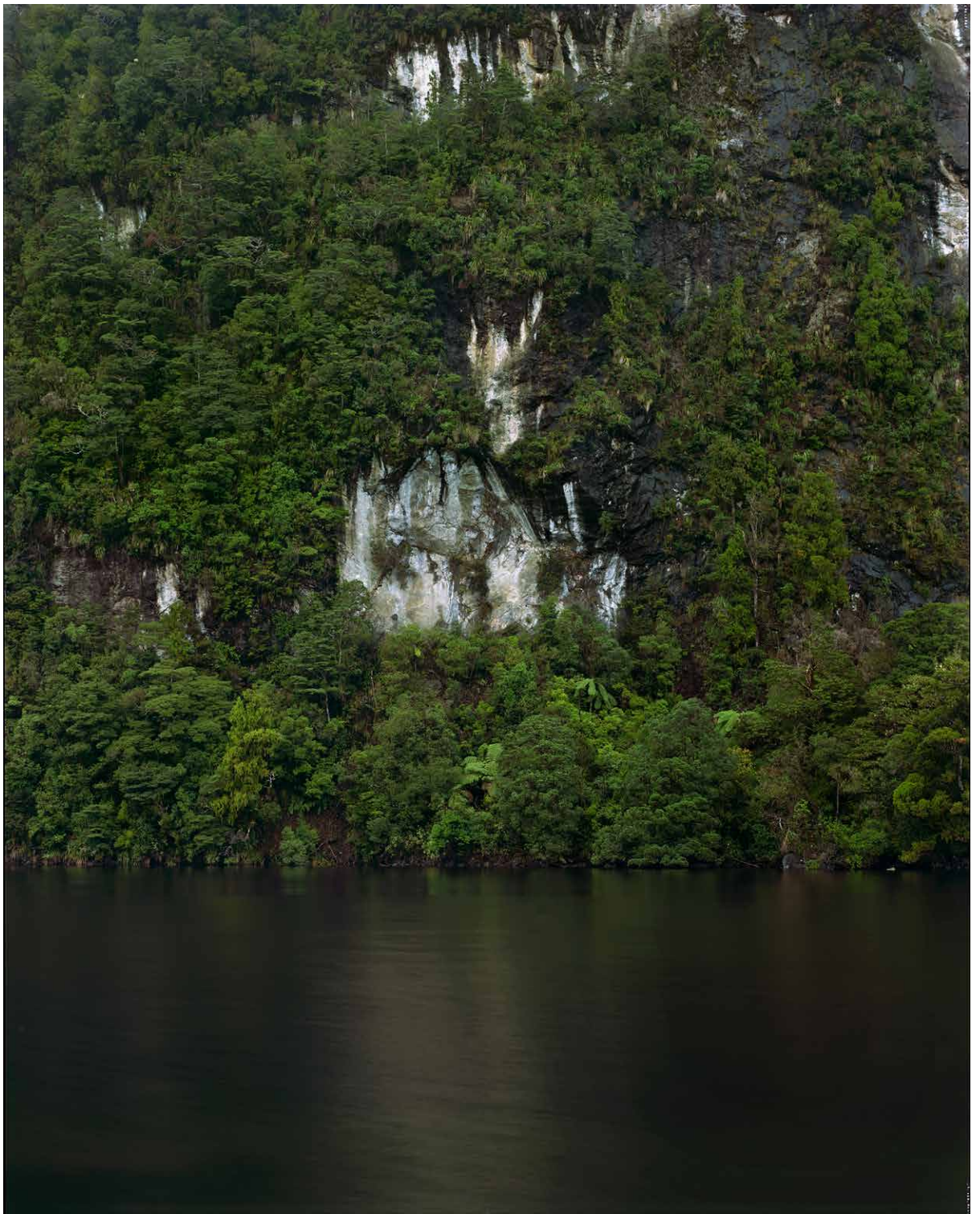


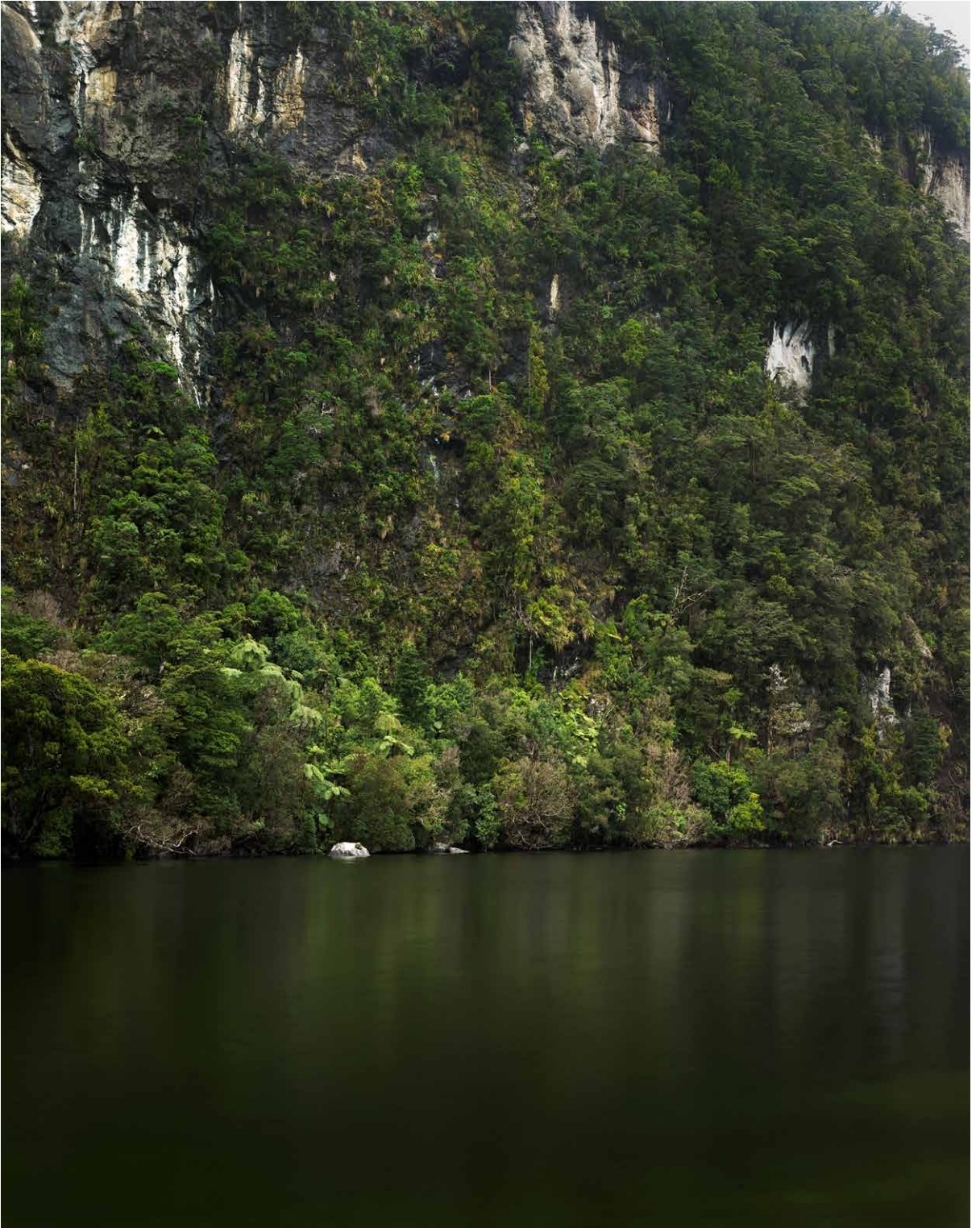


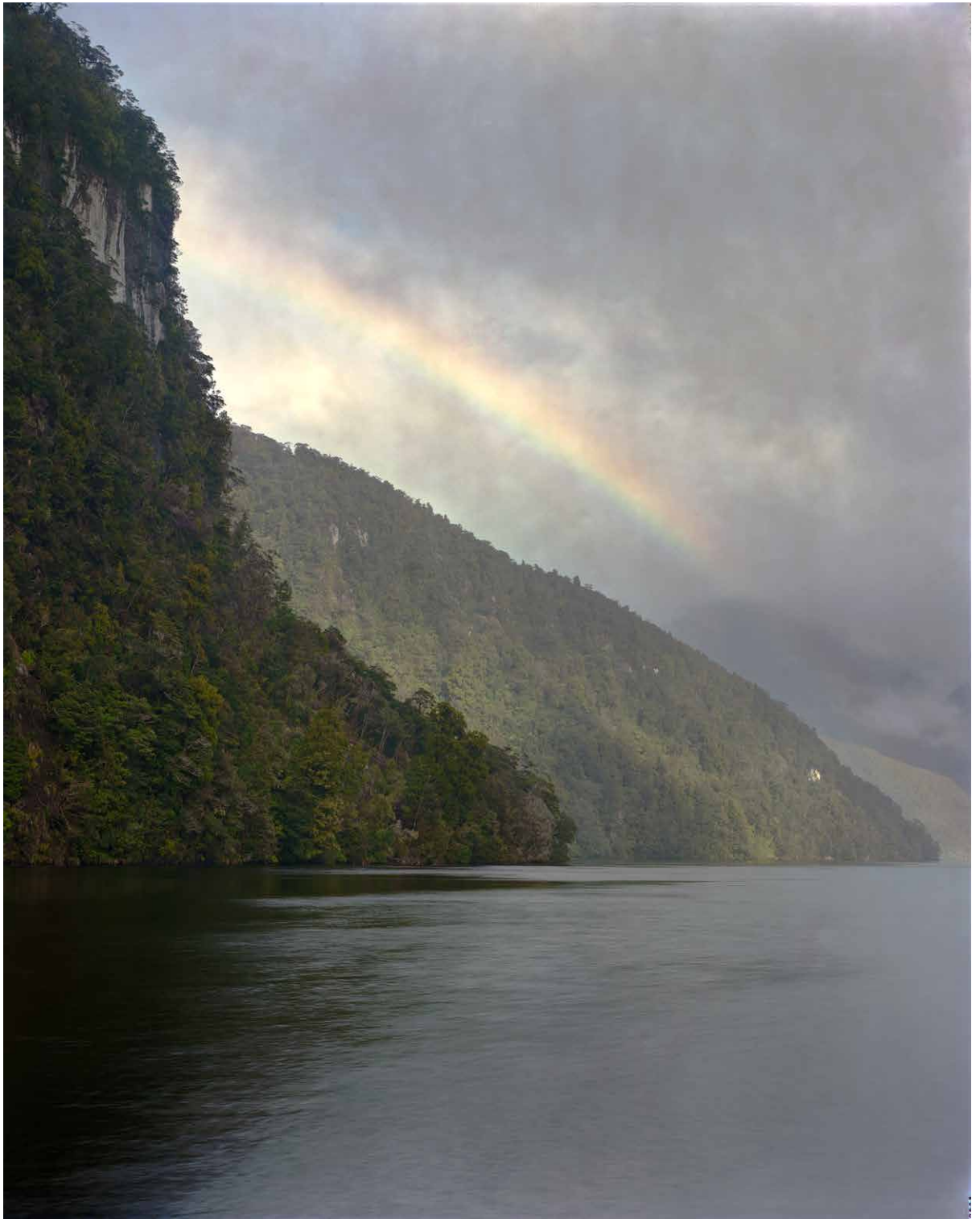


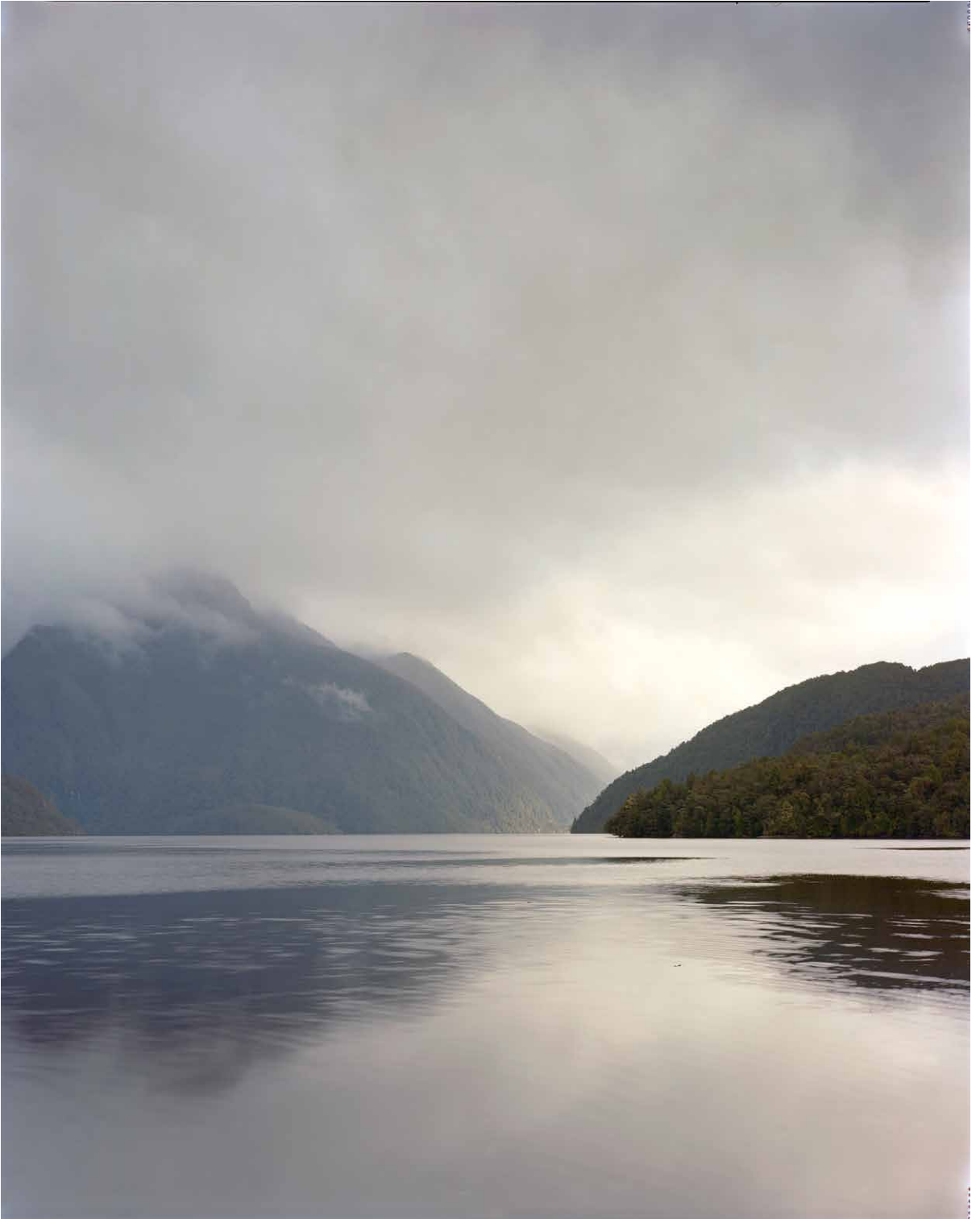


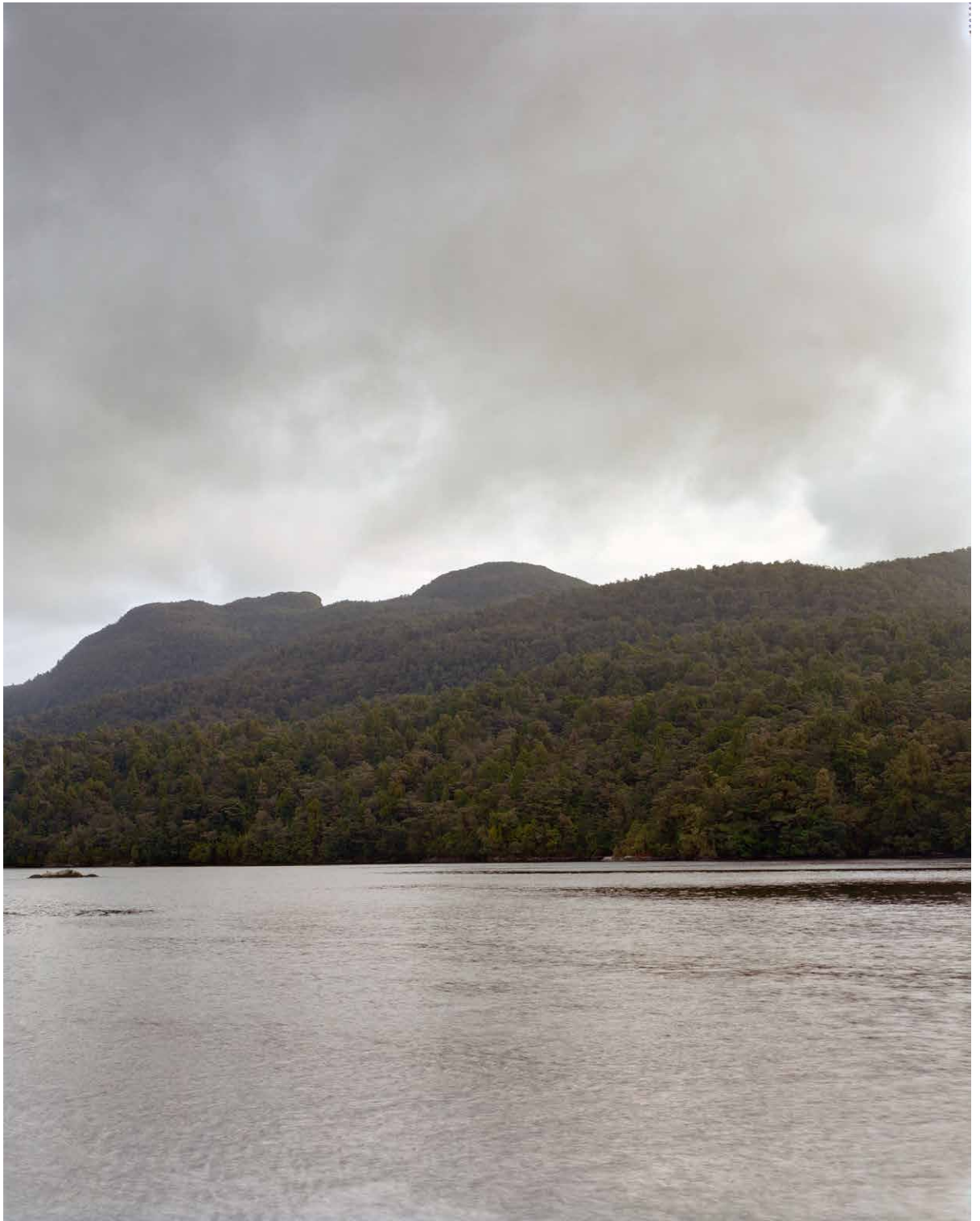


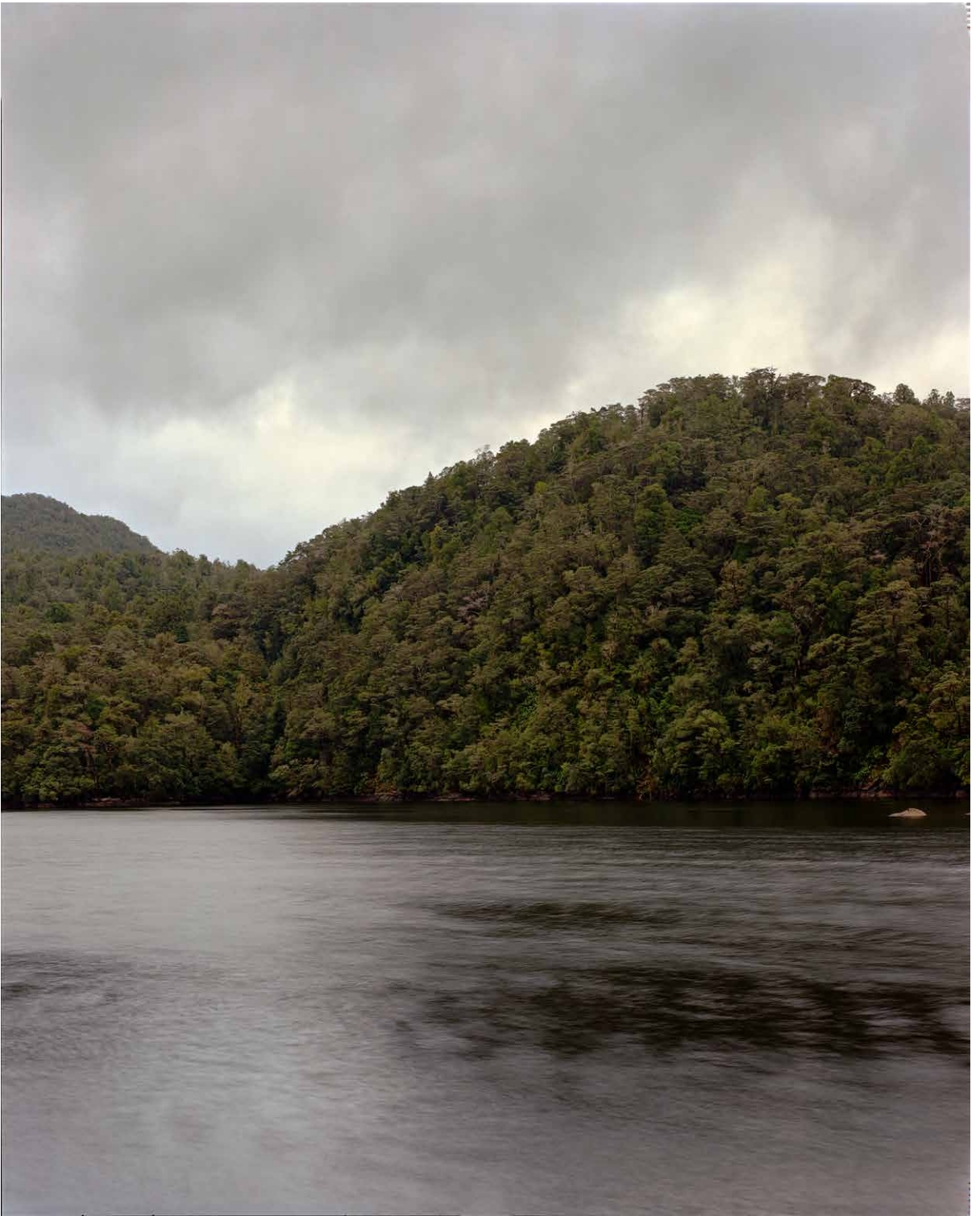














William Hodges, *Waterfall in Dusky Bay with a Māori canoe*, oil on panel, 1776, 457 x 301 mm. Te Papa Museum of New Zealand, 2019-0003-1. The historic label attached to the frame wrongly indicates that the scene is in Tahiti.



Attributed to Frederick John Owen Evans, *HMS Acheron in Milford Sound*, 1851, watercolour, 354 x 883 mm. National Library of New Zealand, D-008-002.



1.7. 9 April 1992. Piopiotahi Milford Sound. Te Wai Pounamu South Island. Aotearoa New Zealand. After Frederick John Own Evans, *A Panoramic View of Milford Sound* (1851).





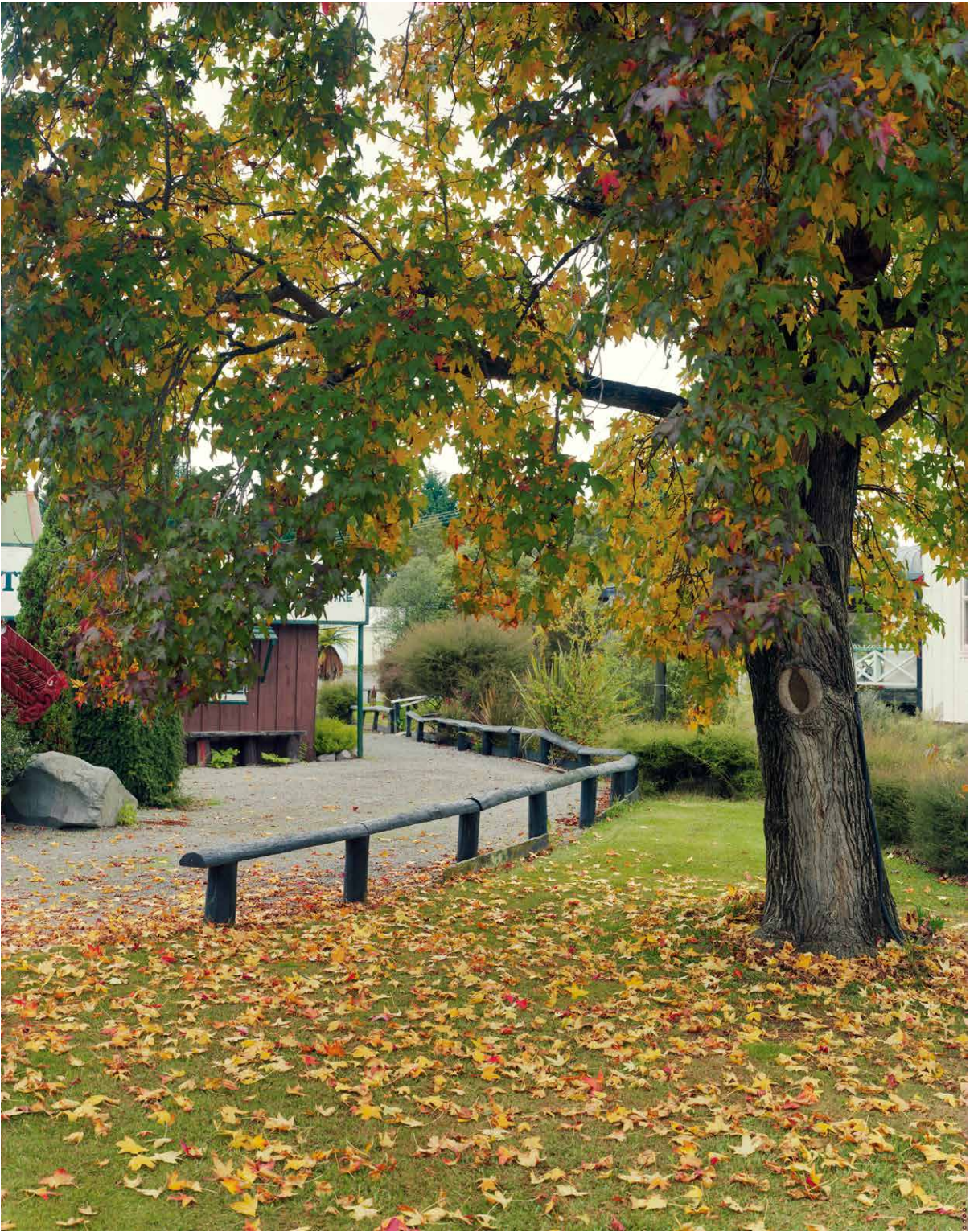




1.8. 10 May 2001. Tiki a Tamamutu. The Spa Hotel. Taupo. Aotearoa New Zealand.









1.9. June 1986. Kuirau Park. Rotorua. Aotearoa New Zealand.



1.10. 21 September 2009. Moa hunter diorama. Canterbury Museum. Christchurch. Te Wai Pounamu South Island. Aotearoa New Zealand.



1.11. 7 April 1985. Kerry Janet Robertson. *Bounty* descendant. Cochrane Street. Rotorua. Aotearoa New Zealand.

1.1, 1.2. Rock art is comparatively scarce in Aotearoa. What have been referred to as ‘the Kaingaroa carvings’ are in gorges southeast of Rotorua. Most of the images are of waka taua (war canoes), which are all oriented in the same direction. The site was published by Harold Hamilton (1885-1937) who worked at the Dominion Museum, the antecedent institution to Te Papa (the full formal name is Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa). He was the son of Augustus Hamilton, an earlier director of the museum, and famous as author of the early compendium, *Maori Art: the art workmanship of the Maori race in New Zealand* (Dunedin: New Zealand Institute, 1896-1901). Harold’s report was ‘The Kaingaroa carvings’, *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 34 (1925), 356-62.

J.K. Paora, a member of the local tribal group, has written:

They were done by Marangaranga who were there before and intermarried into my tribe, Ngati Manawa, who now inhabit the area. That’s why Ngati Manawa had no knowledge of the carvings... At the time that these were done Ngati Manawa were most likely still migrating from the Waikato area to their present day rohe [tribal territory]. My belief is the carvings actually depict the colonisation of the Taupo area by the ancestor Tuwharetoa, who conquered the Marangaranga and forced them to build his fleet of waka on the Kaingaroa plains then rowed them down the Waioapu river to invade what is now the rohe of Ngati Tuwharetoa. (quoted in: <https://tangatawhenua16.wixsite.com/the-first-ones-blog/single-post/2017/02/15/sidestep-the-kiangaroa-carvings>, accessed 5 May 2021).

1.3-1.5. Totaranui Queen Charlotte Sound was visited by Captain Cook during his first voyage, which circumnavigated both the North and South Islands of Aotearoa New Zealand. The sound was visited again repeatedly over the second and third voyages and was a key theatre for encounters, including what is referred to as ‘the Grass Cove massacre’. For a more extended series of photographs and commentary, see our earlier book, *Cook’s Sites: revisiting history* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 1999), and Thomas, *Discoveries: the voyages of Captain Cook* (London: Penguin, 2003). The encounters there have also been extensively discussed by many other authors, notably including Anne Salmond (*Two Worlds: first meetings between Maori and Europeans*, Auckland: Viking, 1991; *Between Worlds: early exchanges between Maori and Europeans*, Auckland: Viking, 1997).

1.6. Following our first period of work in Dusky Sound (published in *Cook’s Sites*), Mark Adams made a series of further trips, and was able to produce this major panorama in 2014. Versions of the work are in the collections of Te Papa and the Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki. For discussion, see also the Te Papa film, in which Mark discusses his process: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2MYL63Zepy8> (accessed 22 August 2021).

1.8. The carvings for this whare whakairo (meeting house) were sculpted by the Te Arawa artists Wero (fl.1850-1880) and Tene Waitere (1854-1931), most likely at the end of the 1870s or early 1880s; Tene Waitere was also the lead carver of the Rauru

house, in Hamburg since the early twentieth century (chapter 12). Tiki a Tamamutu was commissioned by a Taupo region chief, who sold the carvings in 1886 to a resort owner named John Joshua; he had the house reconstructed at his resort, the Spa Hotel, where it was photographed internally and in context by Mark Adams in 2001. The business later went bankrupt and, following its corporate acquisition, the house was at first offered for private sale by auction and subsequently disassembled (in mid-2013). At the time of writing, the carvings remain in storage.

The full set of photographs and the story (prior to the removal of the house) were published in our joint book, *Rauru: Tene Waitere, Maori carving, colonial history* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2009). We were indebted to the magisterial scholarship of Roger Neich, and in particular to *Carved Histories: Rotorua Ngati Tarawhai woodcarving* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2001).

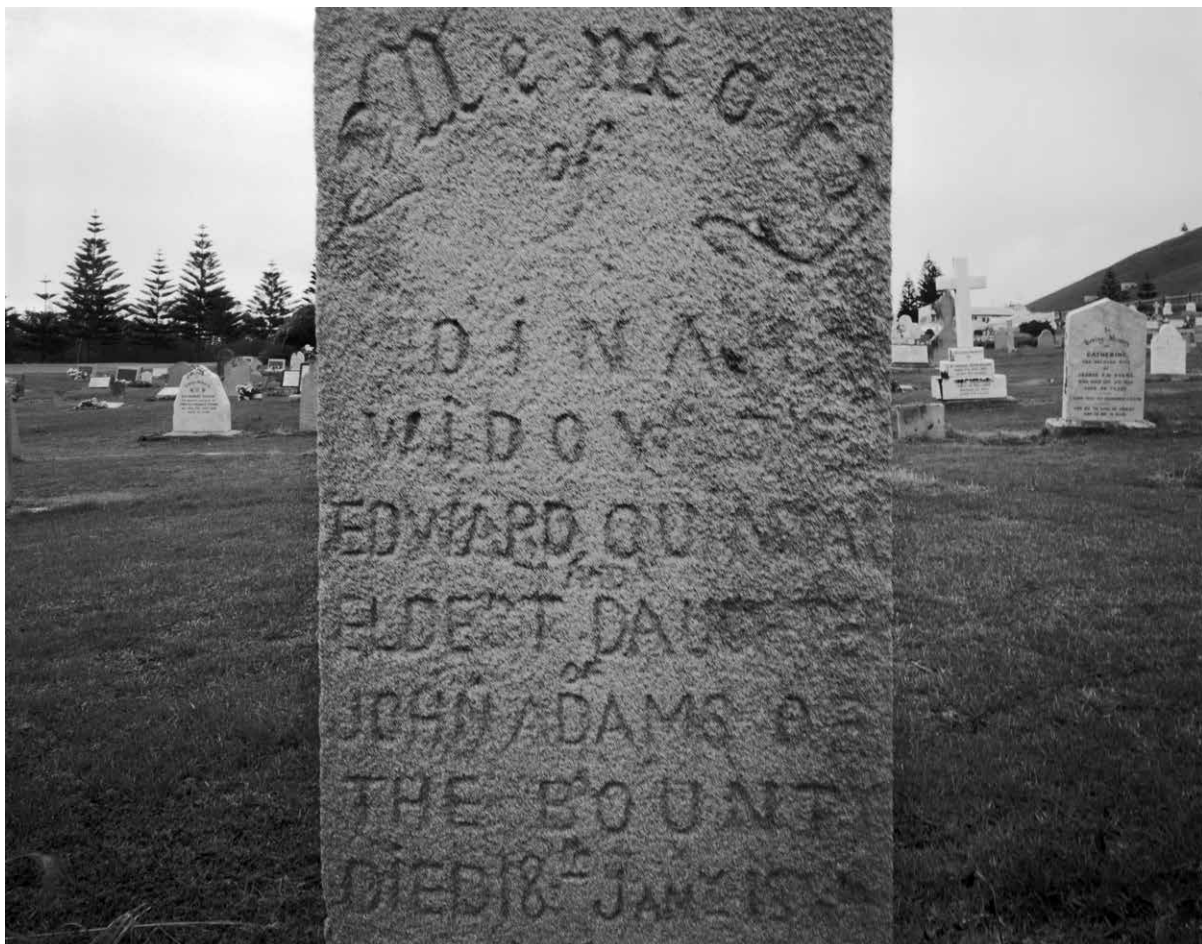
1.11. Mark and Kerry were married during the 1980s and 1990s. It was through her that he initially visited Norfolk Island and met other descendants of the *Bounty* mutineers.

2.

Norfolk Island



2.1. 20 May 2016. 1847. The New Gaol Gate. Kingston. Norfolk Island.



2.2. 27 December 1985. Dina. Daughter of John Adams of the *Bounty*. Kingston, Norfolk Island.



2.3. 22 December 1985. Cocoracwia. The graveyard. St Barnabas Melanesian Mission. Norfolk Island.



2.4. 21 December 1985. John Adams. Descendant of John Adams of HMS *Bounty* and his *Bounty* meat salver. Rocky Point, Norfolk Island.



2.5. 25 June 2016. Anglican Melanesian Mission. St Barnabas Memorial Chapel. Norfolk Island.

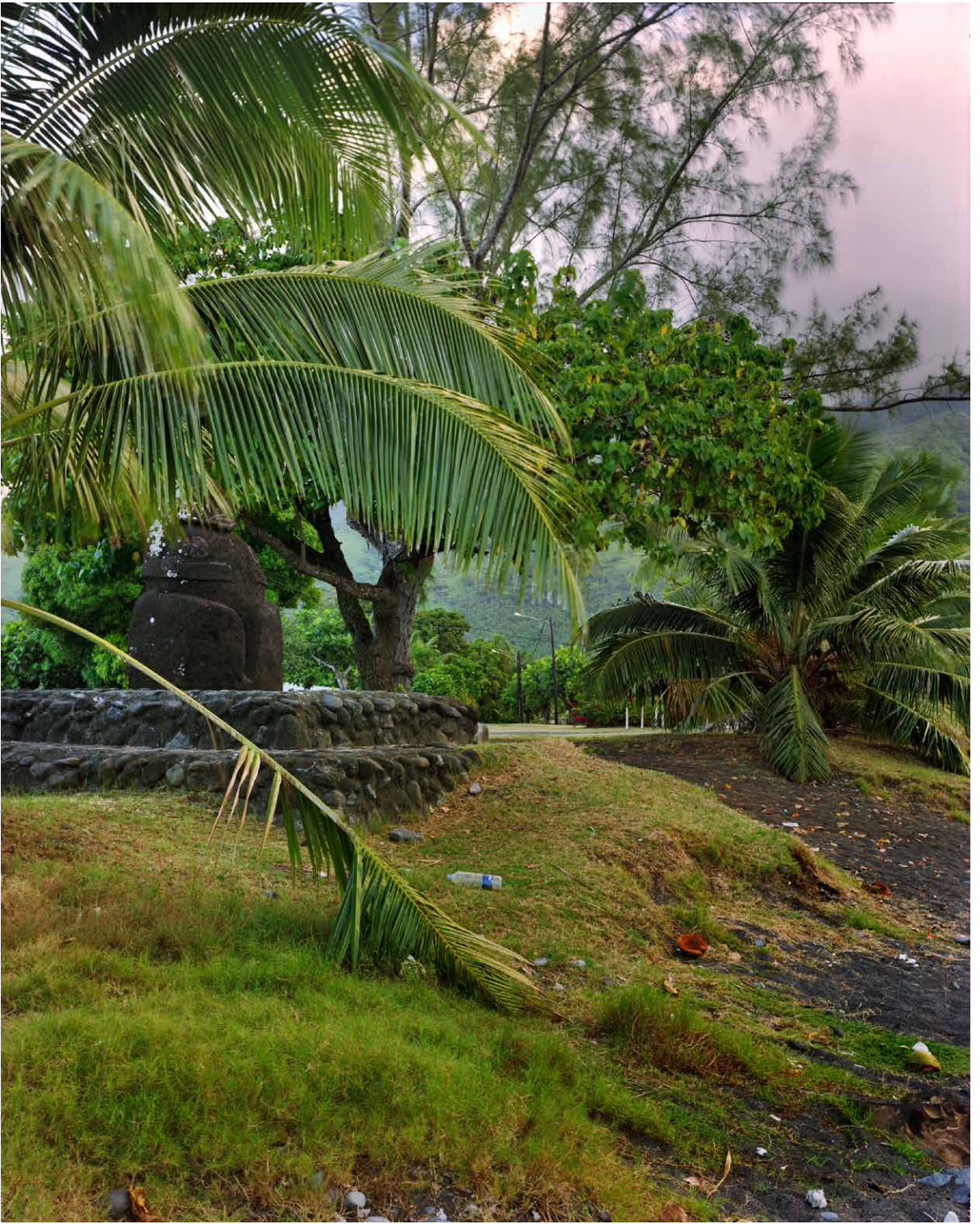
2.1-2.5. Norfolk Island's history is extraordinary. The island was settled for a period by Polynesians, most likely around 1200-1300, but was abandoned and uninhabited at the time Cook 'discovered' it in 1774. It was established as a penal colony, an offshoot of Botany Bay, in March 1778, and remained in use (with a break of a decade in the early nineteenth century) until 1856, when the prison was shut down. The same year, the mixed population of Pitcairn, made up of the descendants of *Bounty* mutineers and the Polynesians they took to the island after flight from Tahiti, was resettled there, though part of the community did not stay. A decade later, the (Anglican) Melanesian Mission made Norfolk its main base. That mission's strategy was to recruit Islanders who were trained and taught at Norfolk prior to being returned to their communities, where it was hoped they would convert others. The chapel is remarkable for its adaptation of the shell inlay which is prominent in many art genres of the Solomon Islands. See Lucie Carreau, 'A glimmering presence: the unheard Melanesian voices of St Barnabas Memorial Chapel, Norfolk Island', in Carreau *et al.* (eds) *Pacific Presences*, PP 4B, 235-248.

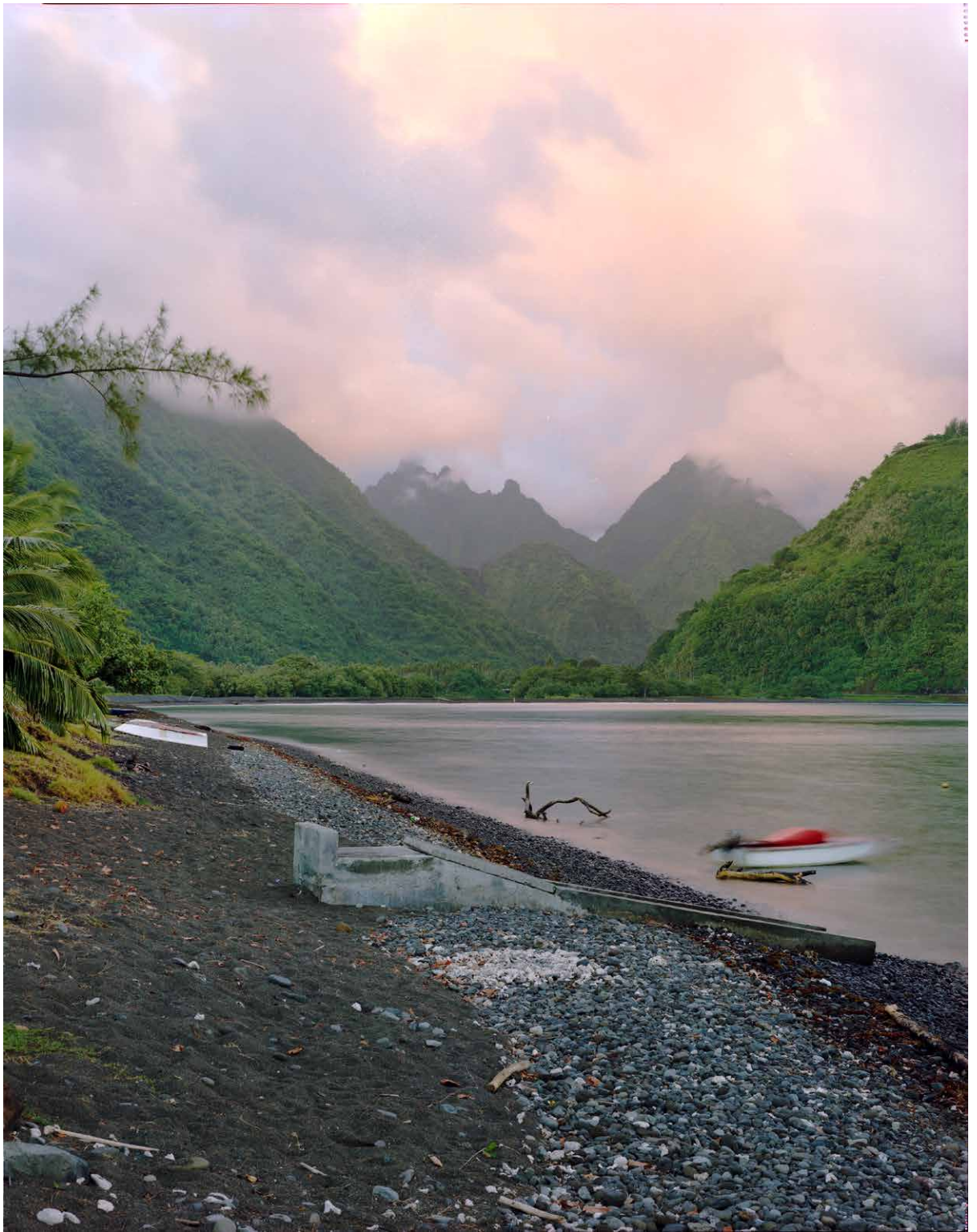
3.

Tahiti



3.1. 26 August 2003. After William Hodges' *A View taken in the Bay of Otaheite Peha* (1776). Vaitepeha Bay. Tahiti Iti.







3.2. 27 August 2003. After William Hodges' *A View taken in the Bay of Otaheite Peha* (1776). Vaitepeha Bay. Tahiti Iti.









3.3. 28 August 2003. After William Hodges' *A View of Matavai Bay in the Island of Otaheite* (1776). 360-degree panorama. Point Venus. Tahiti Nui.























3.1-3.3. William Hodges RA was the official artist of Cook's second voyage. The first professional British artist to work in India, he was remarkable for his representations of tropical environments, scenes and people, and remains relatively little known, despite the ambitious and accomplished nature of his work in these extra-European settings. See Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific*, 2nd. ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985) and Geoffrey Quilley and John Bonehill (eds), *William Hodges 1744-1797: the art of exploration* (London: Yale University Press, 2004).

4.

Hawai'i



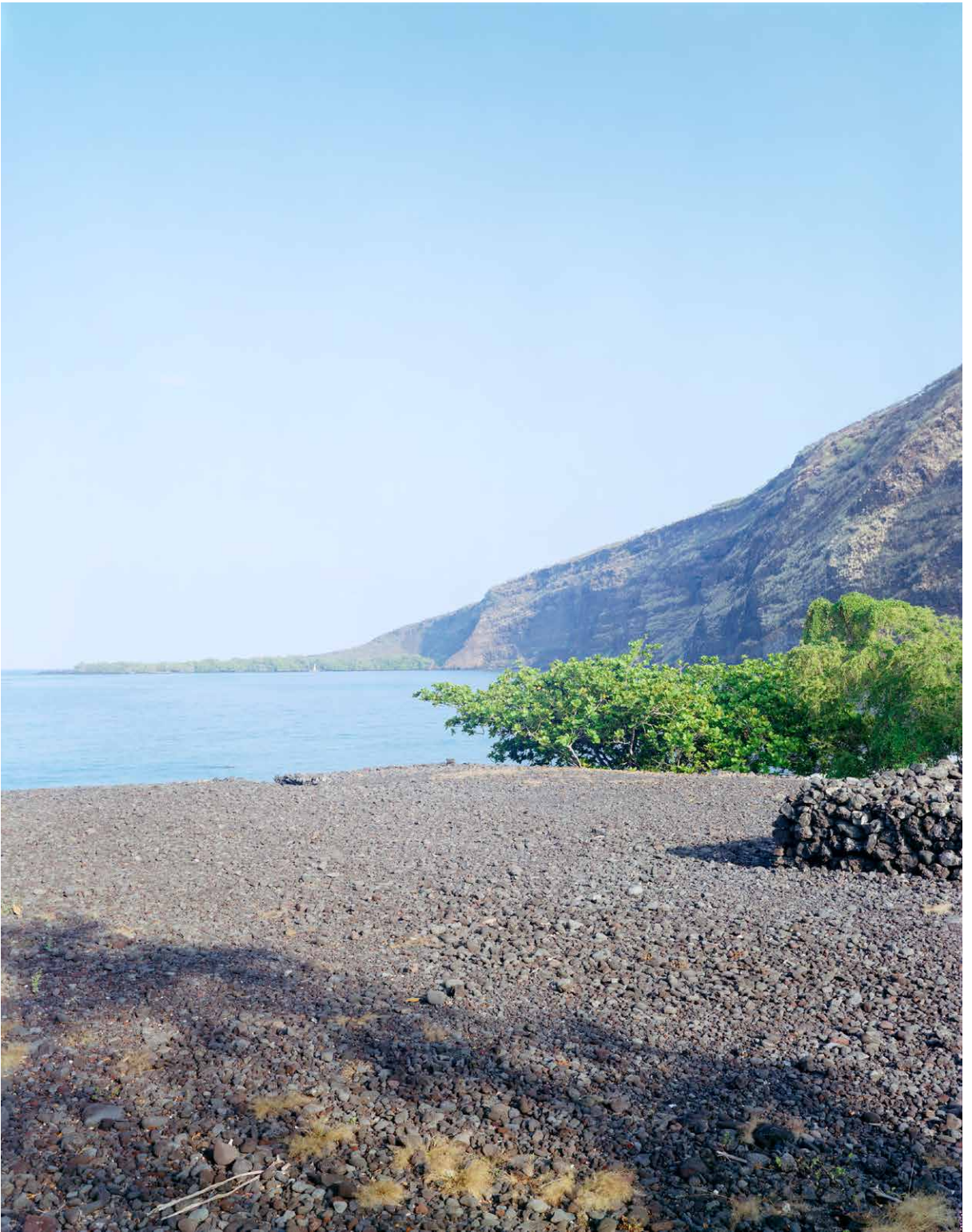
4.1. 8 April 2002. After John Webber's *A View of Karakakooa in Owyhee* (1784). At Hikiau Heiau. View towards Cook Memorial at Ka'awaloa. Kealakekua Bay. Hawai'i.







4.2. 11 April 2002. Cook Memorial at Ka'awaloa from Hikiau Heiau. Kealahou Bay, Hawai'i.







4.3. 6 April 2002. Memorial at site of Cook's death. Ka'awaloa. Kealakekua Bay. Hawai'i.



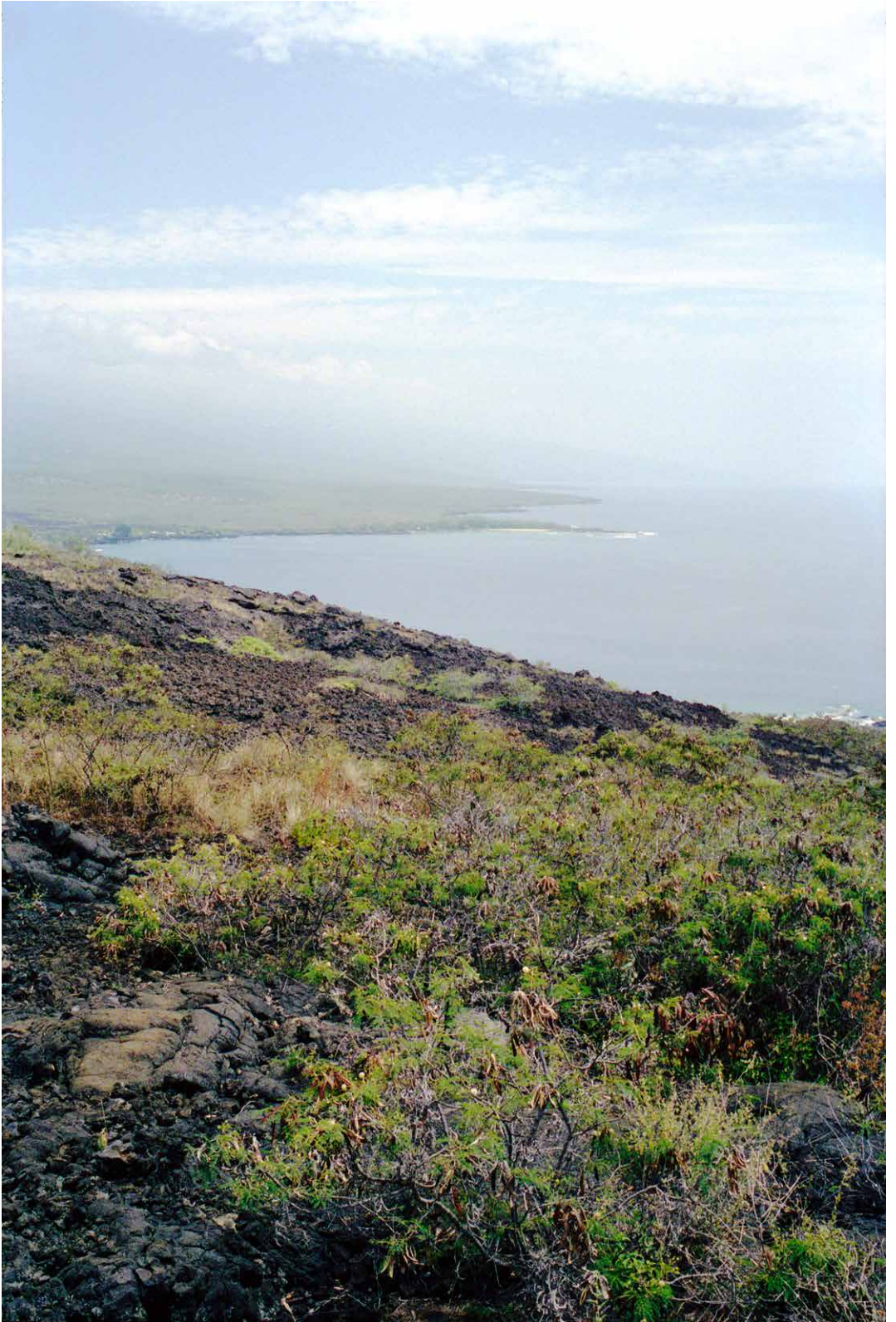






4.4. 5 April 2002. Puhina o Lono Heiau. Marker erected by the crew of HMS *Blonde* in July 1825. Above Kealakekua Bay, Hawai'i.



















4.1-4.3. Cook's life came to an end at Ka'awaloa at the northern end of Kealahou Bay on the 'Big Island' of Hawai'i on 14 February 1779. The event is one of the most debated in Pacific history and anthropology. See works by Salmond and Thomas, cited above, and the 1990s controversy involving US anthropologists Gananath Obeyesekere and Marshall Sahlins; the key texts were Obeyesekere, *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992) and Sahlins, *How 'Natives' Think, about Captain Cook, for example*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

4.4. The voyage of the *Blonde* of 1824-26 repatriated the bodies of King Kamehameha II and Queen Kamamalu, who had died of measles during a diplomatic mission to England. While at Kealahou in July 1825, voyage participants set up a post and plaque at this heiau, commemorating Cook. Published narratives include Maria Graham (described as 'compiler'), *Voyage of HMS Blonde to the Sandwich Islands in the years 1824-25, Captain the Right Hon. Lord Byron, Commander* (London: John Murray, 1826).

5.

Samoa



5.1. 12 August 2000. Pasina William Betham climbing Mount Vaea to Robert Louis Stevenson's grave. Upolu. Samoa.



5.2. 13 August 2000. At Robert Louis Stevenson's grave. Vailima. Upolu. Samoa.











5.3. 11 August 2000. Pasina William Betham at Falealupo where tatau first came ashore from Fiji, Savaii, Samoa.



5.4. 7 August 2000. Su'a Sulu'ape Petelo Alaivaa tufuga tatatau, Pasina William Betham. Faleasiu. Upolu. Samoa.



5.5. 6 August 2000. Christian faith march. Upolu. Samoa.



5.6. 18 July 2008. Interior of a London Missionary Society church overwhelmed by lava in 1905. Saleaula, Savai'i, Samoa.



5.7. 19 July 2008. Tin-roofed fale. Savai'i. Samoa.

5.1-5.3. Pasina William Betham and his brother Tafili Fune Betham were tattooed in Auckland by Su'a Tavui Pasina Iosefo Ah Ken tufuga tatatau in 1973. They are understood to be the first Samoan men to have been tattooed in the customary manner outside of Samoa in the modern period. See Mark Adams, Sean Mallon, Peter Brunt and Nicholas Thomas, *Tatau: Samoan Tattoo / New Zealand Art / Global Culture* (Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2010); Sean Mallon and Sébastien Galliot, *Tatau: a history of Samoan Tattoo* (Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2018).

5.2. Vailima was Stevenson's residence from 1890 until his death in 1894. There are hundreds of Stevenson biographies and commentaries that it would be superfluous to cite here, but texts by Vanessa Smith are consistent with the cross-cultural interests of this book: see her *Literary Culture in the Pacific* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005), and 'Wasted Gifts: Robert Louis Stevenson in Oceania', *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 75 (2021), 527-551. Stevenson's political history of a key period in colonial contest in Samoa is also discussed in Thomas, *Islanders: the Pacific in the Age of Empire* (London: Yale University Press, 2010).

6.

Vanuatu



6.1. 21 February 2014. Teouma Lapita Site. Malakula. Vanuatu.









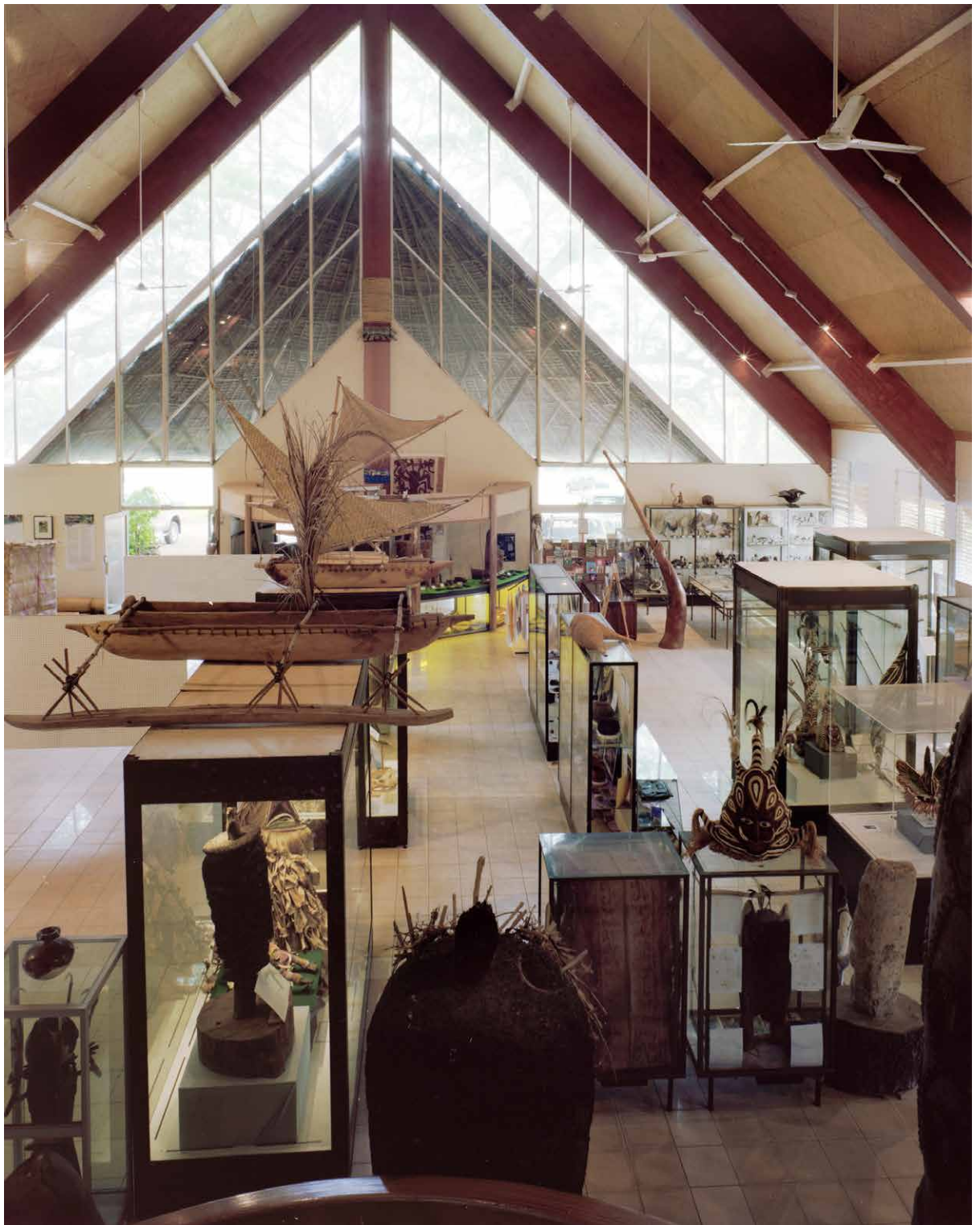
6.2. 8 November 2008. Fidel Yoringmal and his grandson. Walla Island. Malakula. Vanuatu.



6.3. 9 November 2008. Confirmation service. Wallarano Catholic Mission Church. Northeast Malakula. Vanuatu.



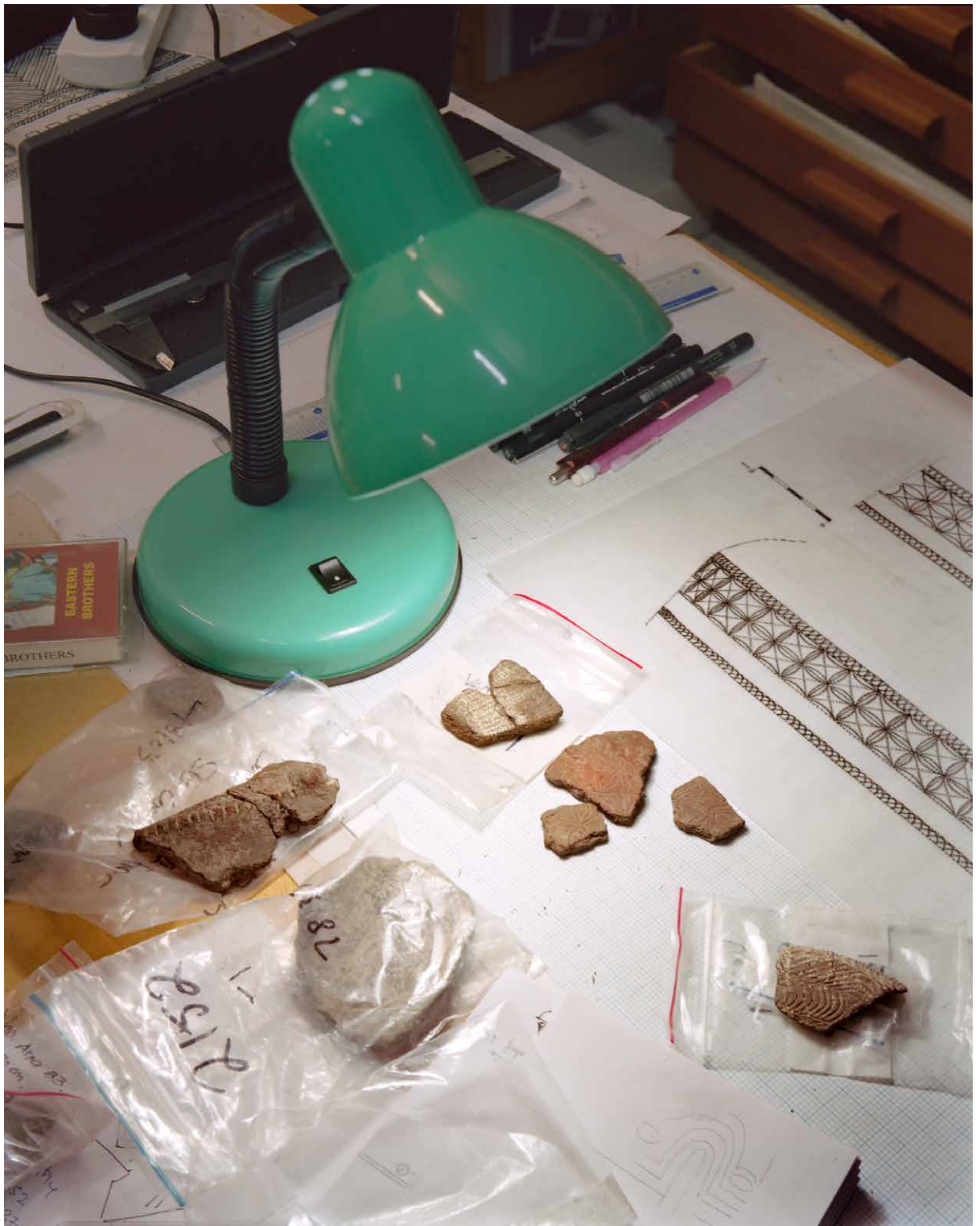
6.4. 9 November 2008. Confirmation service. Wallarano Catholic Mission Church. Northeast Malakula. Vanuatu.



6.5. 11 November 2008. Vanuatu Kaljoral Senta. Port Vila. Vanuatu.



6.6. 3 November 2008. Teouma Lapita Display. Vanuatu Kaljoral Senta. Port Vila. Vanuatu.



6.7. 6 November 2008. Fidel Yoringmal's Lapita drawings. Vanuatu Kaljoral Senta. Port Vila. Vanuatu.

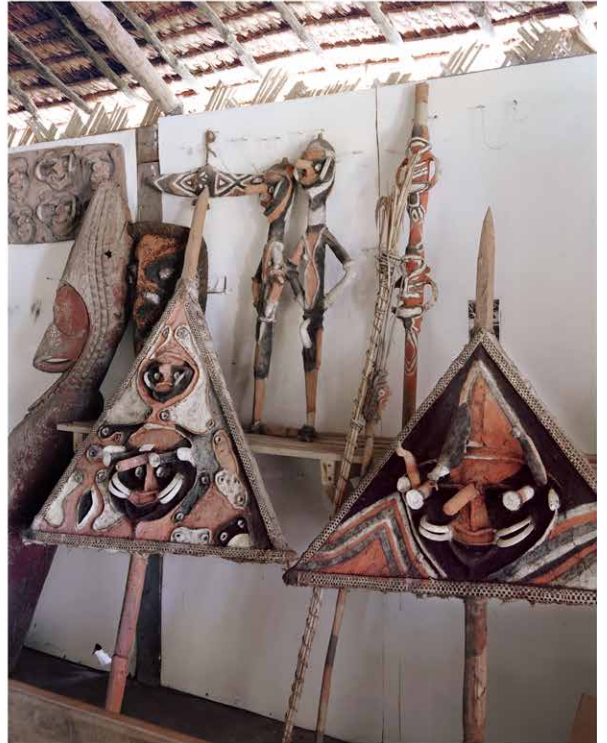


6.8. 7 November 2008. Malakula Kaljoral Senta. Lakatoro. Malakula. Vanuatu.

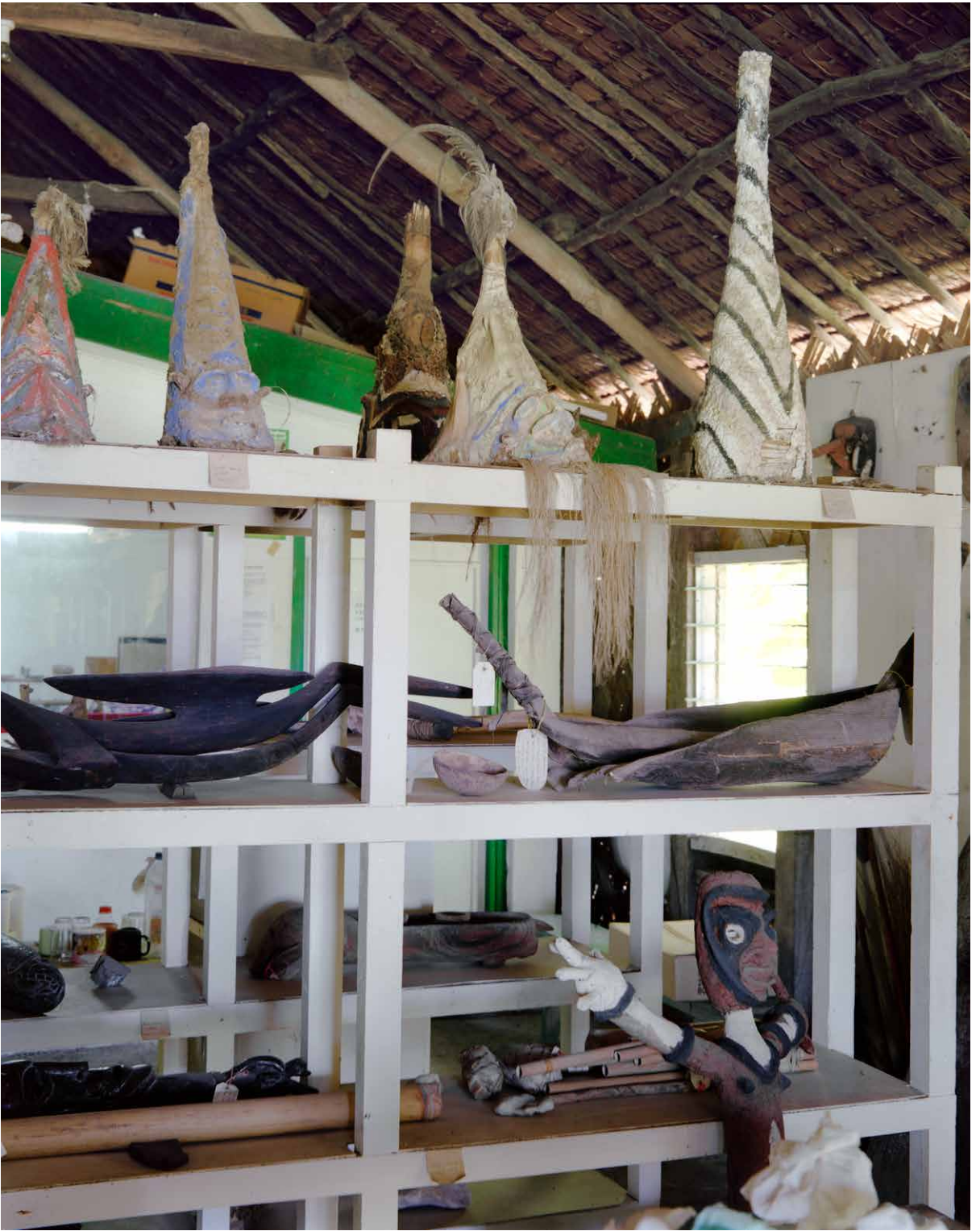








6.9. 7 November 2008. Interior, Malakula Kaljoral Senta. Lakatoro. Malakula. Vanuatu.





6.1. Teouma is a major archaeological site on Efate, Vanuatu, dated primarily to c.3,000 years before the present. The ceramics bear the pricked decoration that defines Lapita culture, associated with the rapid early settlement of island Melanesia and western Polynesia.

6.2. Fidel Yoringmal, from Wala Island off northeast Malakula, was an artist, illustrator and fieldworker. He worked for the Vanuatu Kaljoral Senta in support of archaeological and other projects for many years until his death in January 2011.

7.

Kanaky New Caledonia



7.1. 7 June 2016. First mission site. Gondé village. Houailou Valley. Grande Terre. Kanaky New Caledonia.



7.2. 7 June 2016. Mission church. Gondé village. Houailou Valley Grande Terre. Kanaky New Caledonia.



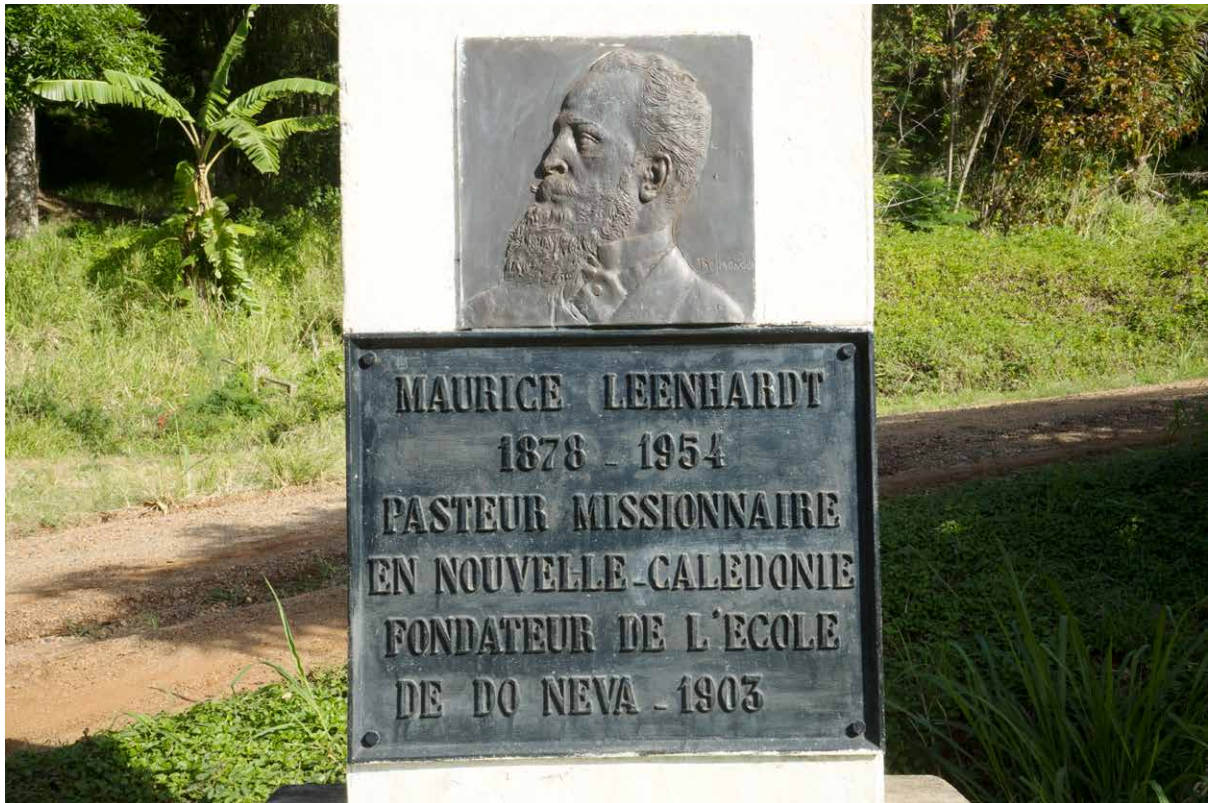
7.3. 11 June 2016. North of Do Neva, Houailou Valley. Paul Montague collected in this area. Kanaky New Caledonia.



7.4. 10 June 2016. Hibiscus shack. Bourail. Grande Terre. Kanaky New Caledonia.



7.5. 6 June 2016. Jeanne D'Arc. Nouméa. Grande Terre. Kanaky New Caledonia.



7.6. 9 June 2016. Maurice Leenhardt, missionnaire. College et Lycée agricole de Do Neva. 1903. Houailou Valley. Grande Terre. Kanaky New Caledonia.



7.7. 7 June 2016. François Wadra, Julie Adams. École de Do Neva. Grande Terre. Kanaky New Caledonia.



7.8. 9 June 2016. At Nessakoéa, Djeine, Daniel Bonwé, Brenda, Kapoipa Kasarhérou, Julie Adams, Joel Nei, Edmond Saumé, François Wadra, Lucien, Yamel Euritein. Houailou Valley. Grande Terre. Kanaky New Caledonia.



7.9. 9 June 2016. Daniel Bonwé. Djeine. Nessakoéa. Houailou Valley. Kanaky New Caledonia.



7.10. 6 June 2016. Nessakoéa Carving. 'A figure that was planted'. Musée de Nouvelle-Calédonie. Noumea. Grande Terre. Kanaky New Caledonia.



A group of men and a sculpture of a chief, Nessakoéa village, Houailou valley, New Caledonia, 1914. Photograph by Paul Montague. Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, P.3999.ACH1.



7.11. 10 June 2016. Musée de Bourail. Grande Terre. Kanaky New Caledonia.



7.12. 10 June 2016. In the grounds of the Musée de Bourail. Grande Terre. Kanaky New Caledonia.



7.13. 11 June 2016. Guillotine, Musée de Bourail. Grande Terre. Kanaky New Caledonia.



7.14. 12 June 2016. La Roche Percée. Kanaky New Caledonia.

7. This section draws on work with Julie Adams around the fieldwork and collections of the Cambridge natural historian and anthropologist Paul Montague (1890-1917), which formed part of the Pacific Presences programme. He worked in the Houailou Valley, Kanaky (New Caledonia) and interacted with the influential French Protestant missionary-anthropologist, Maurice Leenhardt. Julie worked with Kanak archaeologist François Wadra, whose study visits to European museums feature in other chapters (Cambridge, Leiden, Paris, below). See Julie Adams, *Museum, Magic, Memory*, PP 8, and also James Clifford, *Person and Myth: Maurice Leenhardt in the Melanesian World* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1992).

8.

Göttingen



8.1. 21 November 1997. Georg Forster. Johann Reinhold Forster. Hawai'i case. Göttingen Institut für Ethnologie. Göttingen. Germany.



8. During and in the immediate aftermath of Cook's voyages, artefacts were both fashionable and of great interest to scientists, antiquarians and collectors. They were shared and circulated by individuals and also sold by dealers and through auctions. Significant collections reached Germany from the late eighteenth century onwards; in Göttingen, the university's anthropology museum holds exceptionally important second- and third-voyage artefacts, the former collected primarily by George and Johann Reinhold Forster. Relevant publications include Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin and Gundolf Krüger (eds), *James Cook: Gifts and Treasures from the South Seas. The Cook/Forster collection, Göttingen* (Munich: Prestel, 1998). The collection was exhibited in Honolulu and Canberra in the early 2000s, generating much discussion.

9.

Greenwich



9.1. 18 December 2000. 0 degrees. Greenwich Park. 360-degree panorama. London. United Kingdom.













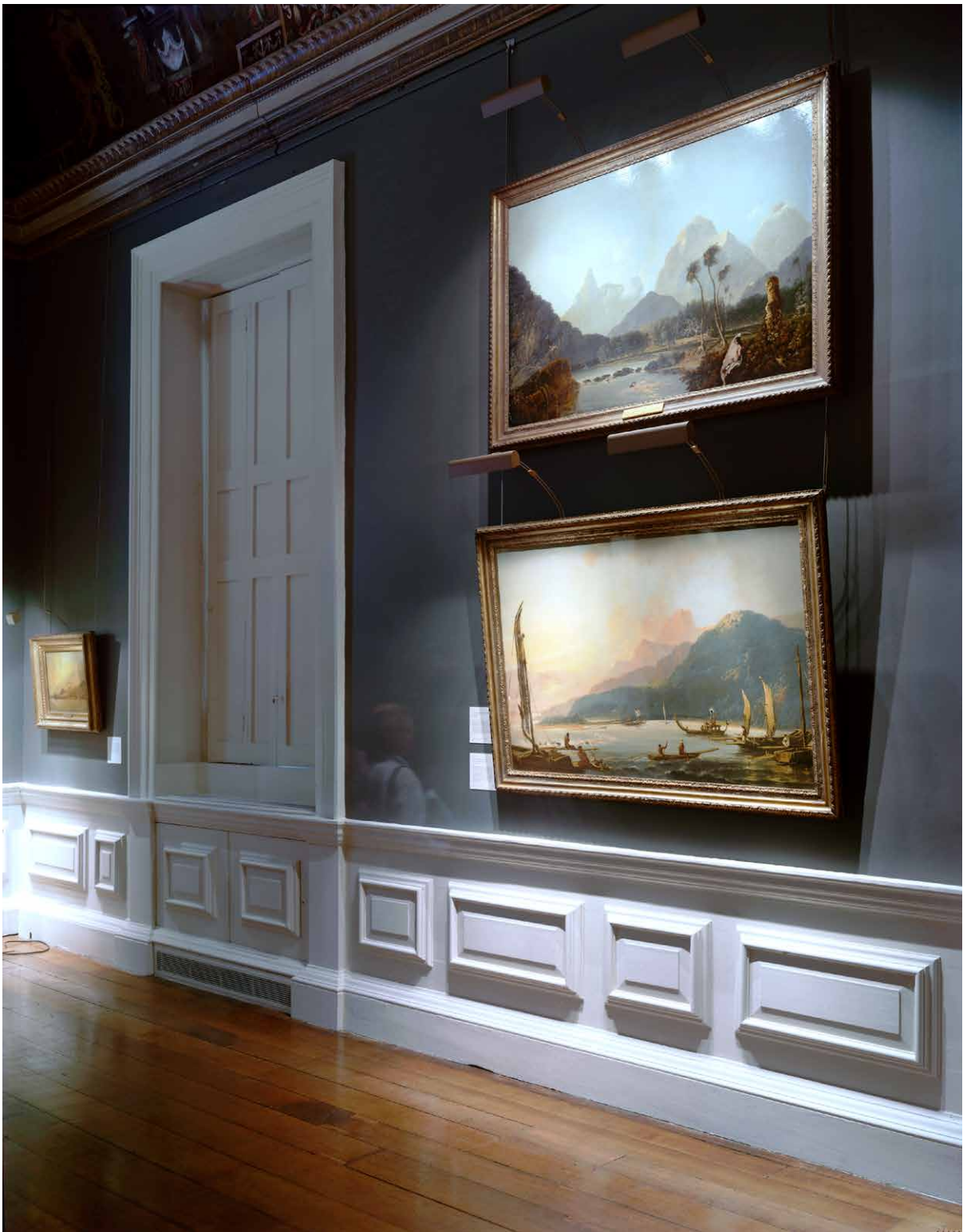












9.2. 7 June 2004. William Hodges' *Tahiti Revisited* (1776) and *A View of Matavai Bay in the Island of Otaheite* (1776). The Queen's House. Greenwich. London. United Kingdom.



9.3. 7 June 2004. William Hodges' *View in Pickersgill Harbour, Dusky Bay* (1773), *Dusky Bay* (1775), *A View of Cape Stephens in Cook's Straits with Waterspout* (1776). The Queen's House. Greenwich. London. United Kingdom.

9.1. Mark Adams took these photographs while staying in the London house of Nicholas Thomas and Annie Coombes, while we were away in the Pacific. He writes: 'I started taking these photographs in the winter afternoon's declining light and finished in the dark. I had ordered a minicab from Stroud Green Road [Finsbury Park], having asked them to take me to Greenwich Park and wait for me for about four hours, to take a series of photographs, and asked how much it would cost. A figure was agreed, the driver arrived, and we drove off, and under the Thames via the Rotherhithe tunnel. En route I explained why I was taking photographs on the zero meridian, that I was an artist from New Zealand. He said he was a writer from Ethiopia. I asked, did he know the African writers, and yes, he knew Achebe, Soyinka and others. I had read of war in Ethiopia – did he come here to get away? Yes, he was a refugee; he had lost friends and family in the fighting. We stopped in Park Row, near the gate to Greenwich Park. I gave him a ticket to the Maritime Museum. British imperial history while you wait. I was completely alone in the park, apart from a couple walking the dog; they appear like ghosts in one of the images. I was grateful that I had his eyes on me, at least part of the time.'

9.2-9.3. These images were taken during the National Maritime Museum's exhibition, *William Hodges 1744-1797: the art of exploration* (2004), which was also shown (in scaled-down form) at the Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki the following year.

10.

Whitby



10.1. 3 December 2000. Whitby Abbey. Whitby Harbour. Yorkshire. United Kingdom.

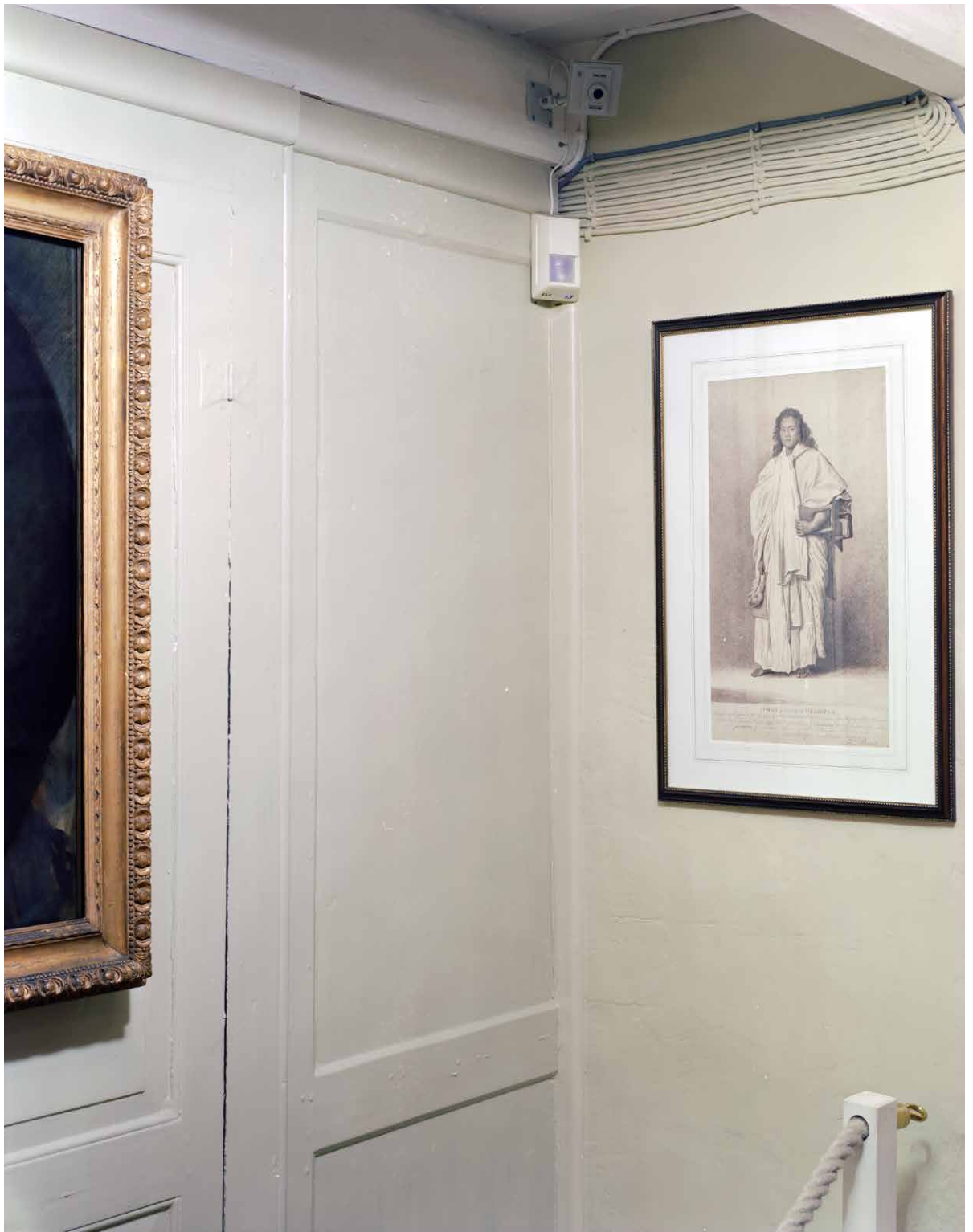






10.2. 1 December 2000. Thomas Gainsborough, *John Montagu, 4th Earl of Sandwich* (c.1780) and Frances Bartolozzi after Nathaniel Dance, *Omai, a Native of Ulaietea* (1774). Captain Cook Memorial Museum. Whitby. Yorkshire. United Kingdom.







10.3. 29 November 2000. John Walker's house. Captain Cook Memorial Museum. Whitby. Yorkshire. United Kingdom.

10. James Cook became a seaman on colliers out of the Yorkshire port of Whitby. The harbourside residence of his Quaker employer, John Walker, is now the Captain Cook Memorial Museum. Cook looms large in Whitby's tourist offer, though Dracula is also prominent (as this was the place he arrived in England from Transylvania, in Bram Stoker's novel), as is Whitby jet, a kind of lignite worn in jewellery for millennia, but made famous particularly by Queen Victoria.

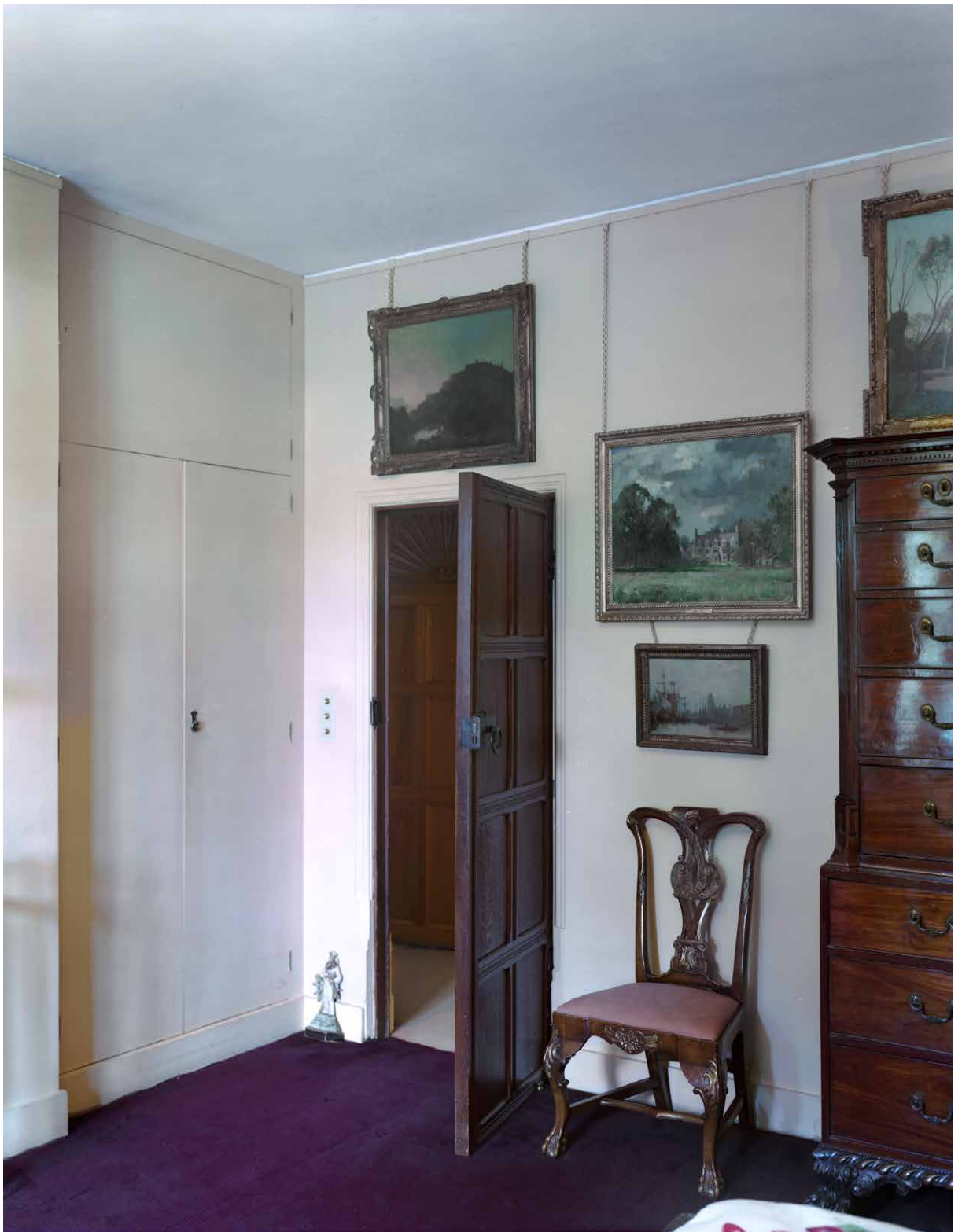
11.

Lode



11.1. 6 June 2002. William Hodges, *A View Taken in the Bay of Otaheite Peha* (1776). Anglesey Abbey, Lode. Cambridgeshire. United Kingdom.







11.2. 6 June 2002. William Hodges *A View Taken in the Bay of Otaheite Peha* (1776). Anglesey Abbey. Lode. Cambridgeshire. United Kingdom.

11. Hodges' 'view' of Vaitepiha is, more than a landscape, a deliberately voluptuous representation of Polynesian women, tattoo and the exotic. Among important discussions, see Harriet Guest, *Empire, Barbarism and Civilisation: Captain Cook, William Hodges and the Return to the Pacific* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). There are versions of the painting in Greenwich (9.2) and this one, in the unlikely setting Anglesey Abbey, a many-times reconstructed stately home on the site of a medieval priory in horseracing country in East Anglia.

12.

Hamburg

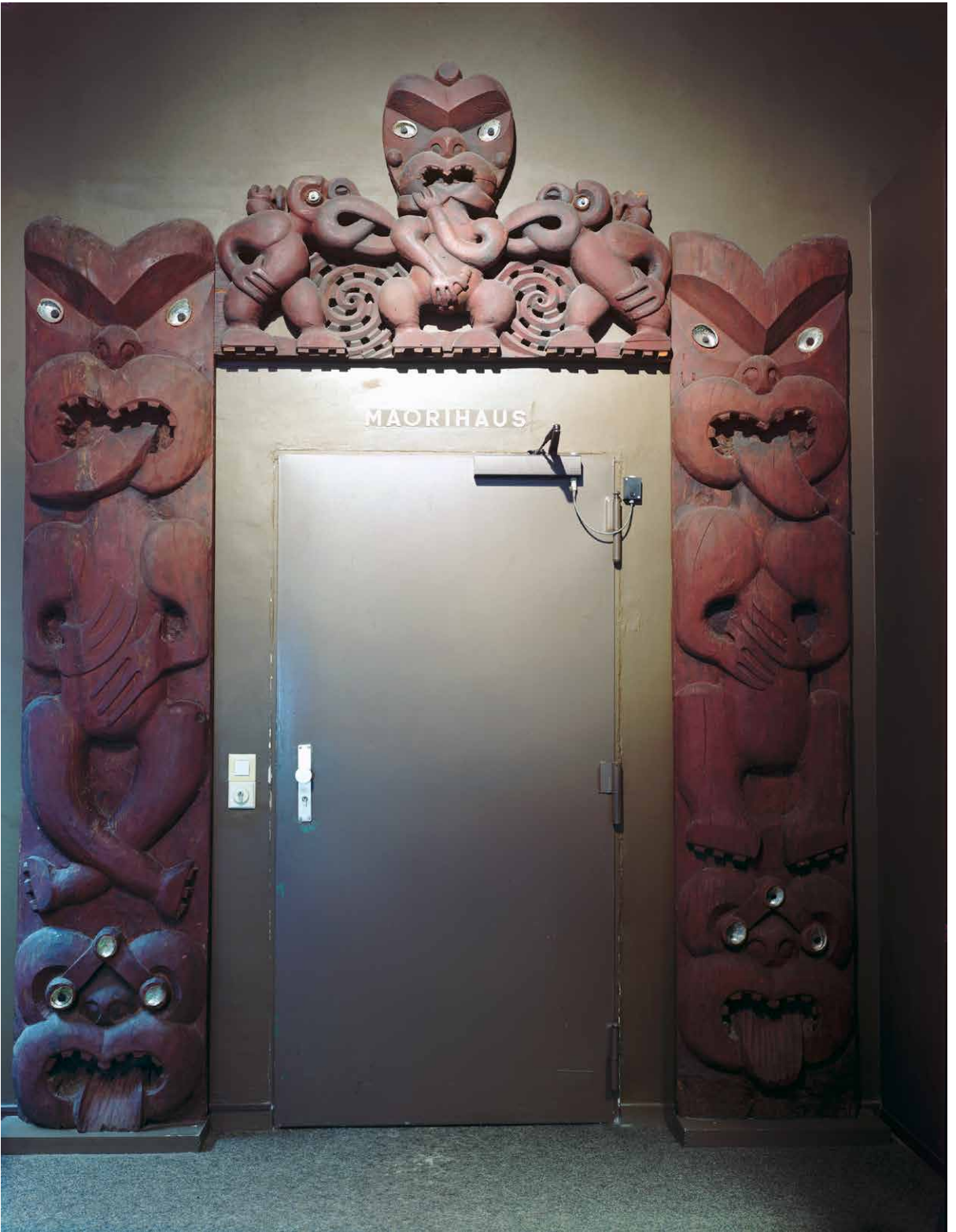


12.1. 12 January 2007. MARKK (Museum am Rothenbaum – Kulturen und Künste der Welt). Hamburg. Germany.









12.2. 9 May 2002. Waharoa. Tohunga whakairo: Tene Waitere, Anaha Te Rahui. MARKK. Hamburg. Germany.

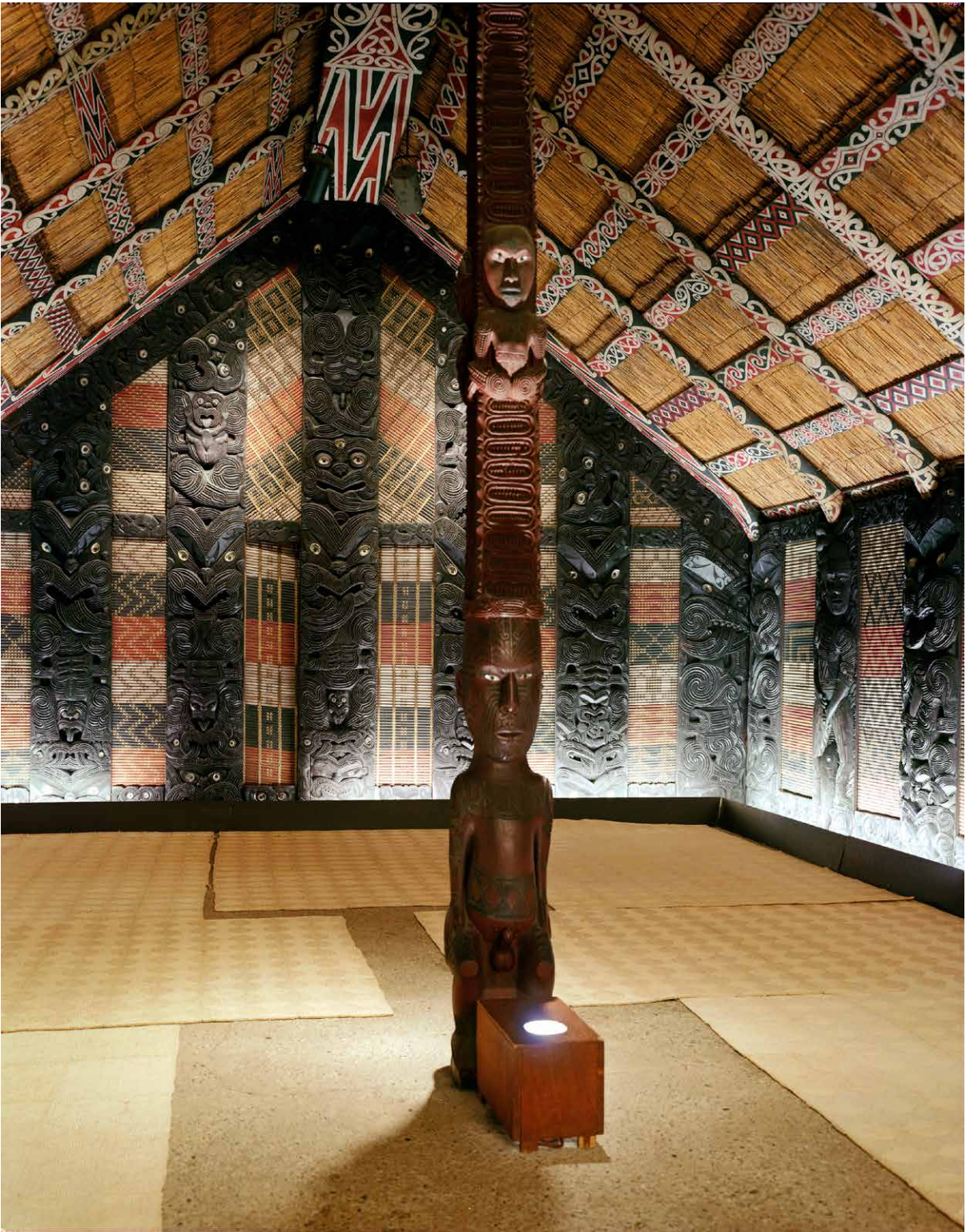


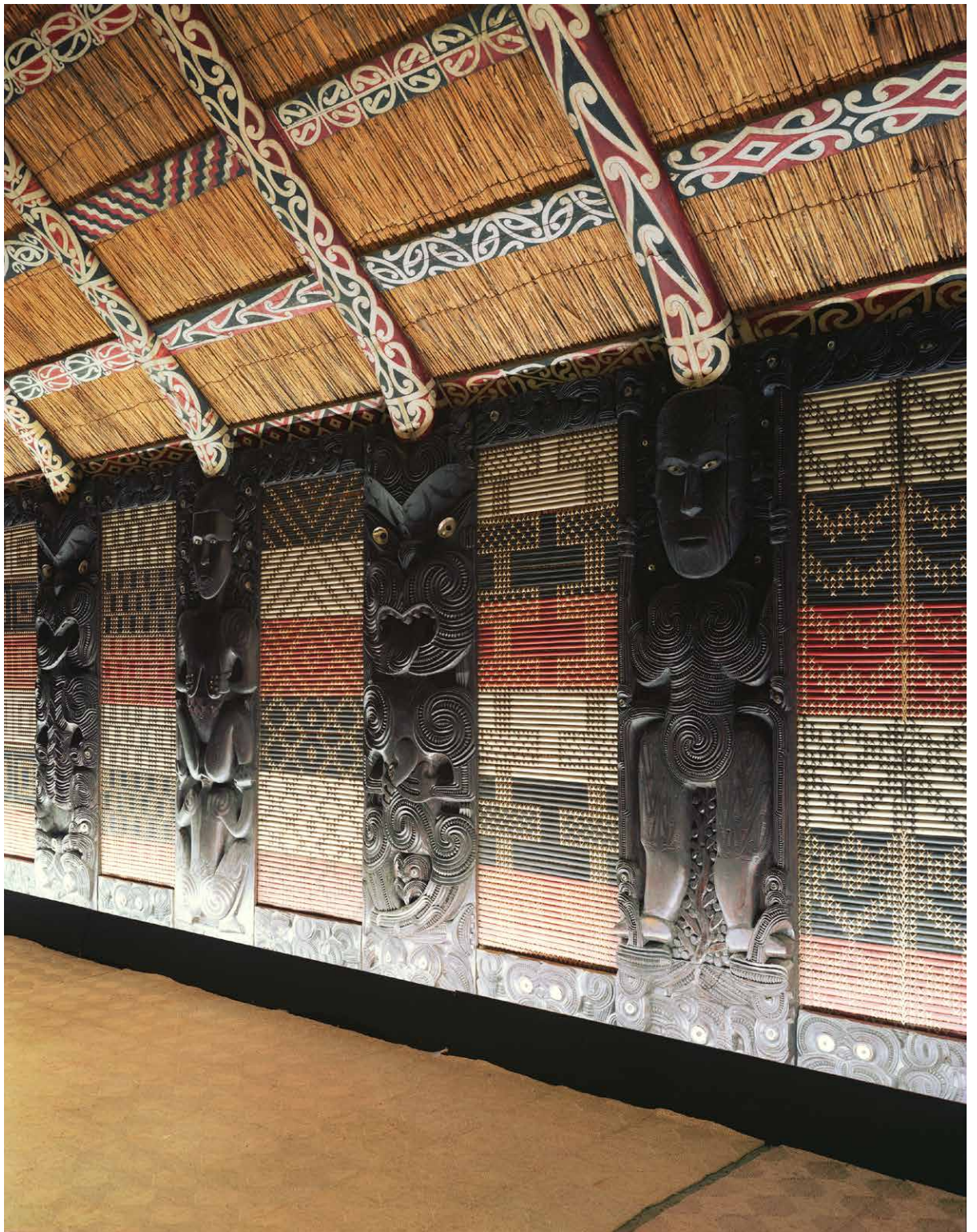
12.3. 6 May, 2002. Rauru. Tohunga whakairo: Tene Waitere, Anaha Te Rahui. MARKK. Hamburg. Germany.



12.4. 8 May. 2002. Interior, Rauru. Tohunga whakairo: Tene Waitere, Anaha Te Rahui. MARKK. Hamburg. Germany.







12. Of all European nations, Germany was the most dedicated to colonial anthropology, and in the late nineteenth century museums *für Völkerkunde* proliferated. Hamburg's was and is one of the most important, and undertook an exceptionally important collecting and scientific mission, the Sudsee expedition, over 1908-10, which brought back thousands of artefacts subsequently distributed across German museums and exchanged with institutions elsewhere, including the British Museum. However, one of the museum's most popular galleries features Rauru, a full-scale meeting house carved by Tene Waitere and others, not for an *iwi* (tribal) client but a Rotorua hotel owner. The house was used to stage performances and host tours only for a few years before being sold to the museum. Since these photographs were taken, the display has been refurbished and the narrative revised with support of Te Arawa. Most recently the museum has also been renamed MARKK (and goes by that acronym; in full, Museum am Rothenbaum Kulturen und Künste der Welt). See our book, *Rauru*, jointly authored with Waitere's descendant James Schuster and sculptor Lyonel Grant. For the historical context of German museology, see H. Glenn Penny, *Objects of Culture: Ethnology and Ethnographic Museums in Imperial Germany* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), and on collecting from the Pacific, Rainer Buschmann, 'Oceanic collections in German museums', in Carreau *et al.* (eds), *Pacific Presences*, PP 4A, 197-223.

13.

London



13.1. 8 July 2004. Enlightenment Gallery. The British Museum. London. United Kingdom.







13.2. 8 July 2004. Sir Joseph Banks. Enlightenment Gallery. The British Museum. London. United Kingdom.



13.3. 6 July 2004. Shield formerly attributed to the collection made during the voyage of the *Endeavour*. Enlightenment Gallery. The British Museum. London. United Kingdom.



13.4. 22 December 2000. Waka gifted on the occasion of the visit of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York to Rotorua, June 1901. Ethnography Store of the British Museum. Hackney. London. United Kingdom.







13.5. 22 December 2000. Maggie Papakura's pataka. Ethnography Store of the British Museum. Hackney. London. United Kingdom.

13.1-13.3. A project interested in histories of knowledge, empire, travel, collecting and exhibition could hardly stay away from the British Museum. The complexities of artefact histories are exemplified by the fact that, when the early New South Wales shield was photographed, the consensus was that the artefact was from Botany Bay and had been taken by Cook at the time of first contact on 28 April 1770. Following a repatriation campaign launched by Rodney Kelly, of Gweagal descent and from the south coast of New South Wales, Gweagal resident in Sydney asked the museum to investigate the object's history and identity. It is now clear that the shield is not the one taken away by Cook in 1770 (Nicholas Thomas, 'A case of identity: the artefacts of the 1770 Kamay (Botany Bay) encounter', *Australian Historical Studies* 49 (2018), 4-27).

13.4, 13.5. The British Museum collections hold many objects that reflect ceremonial presentations by Māori and Māori travels to Britain and elsewhere. These include a model canoe gifted in 1901 and a pataka, a carved food store, brought to England by the Rotorua guide, performer, scholar and curator Maggie Papakura. For a descriptive catalogue, see Dorotoa Czarkowska, Roger Neich and Mick Pendergrast, *The Māori Collections of the British Museum* (London: British Museum Press, 2010).

14.

Oxford



14.1. 3 November 2017. Pitt Rivers Museum. University of Oxford. United Kingdom.







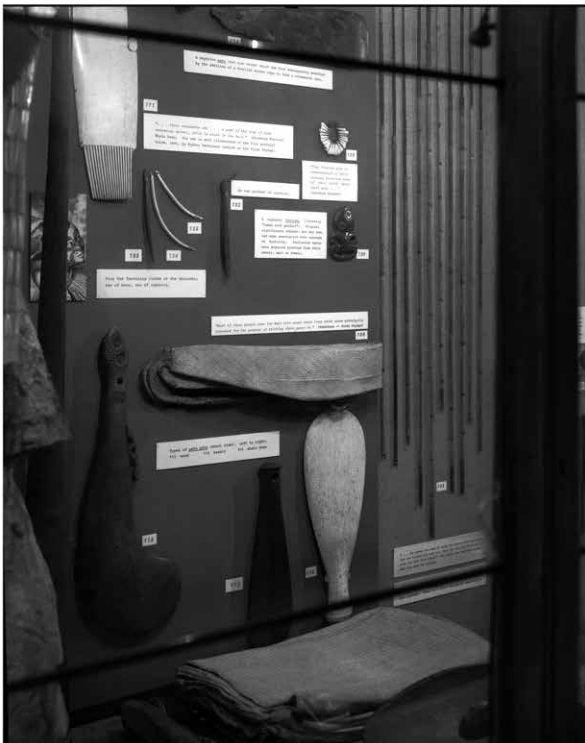




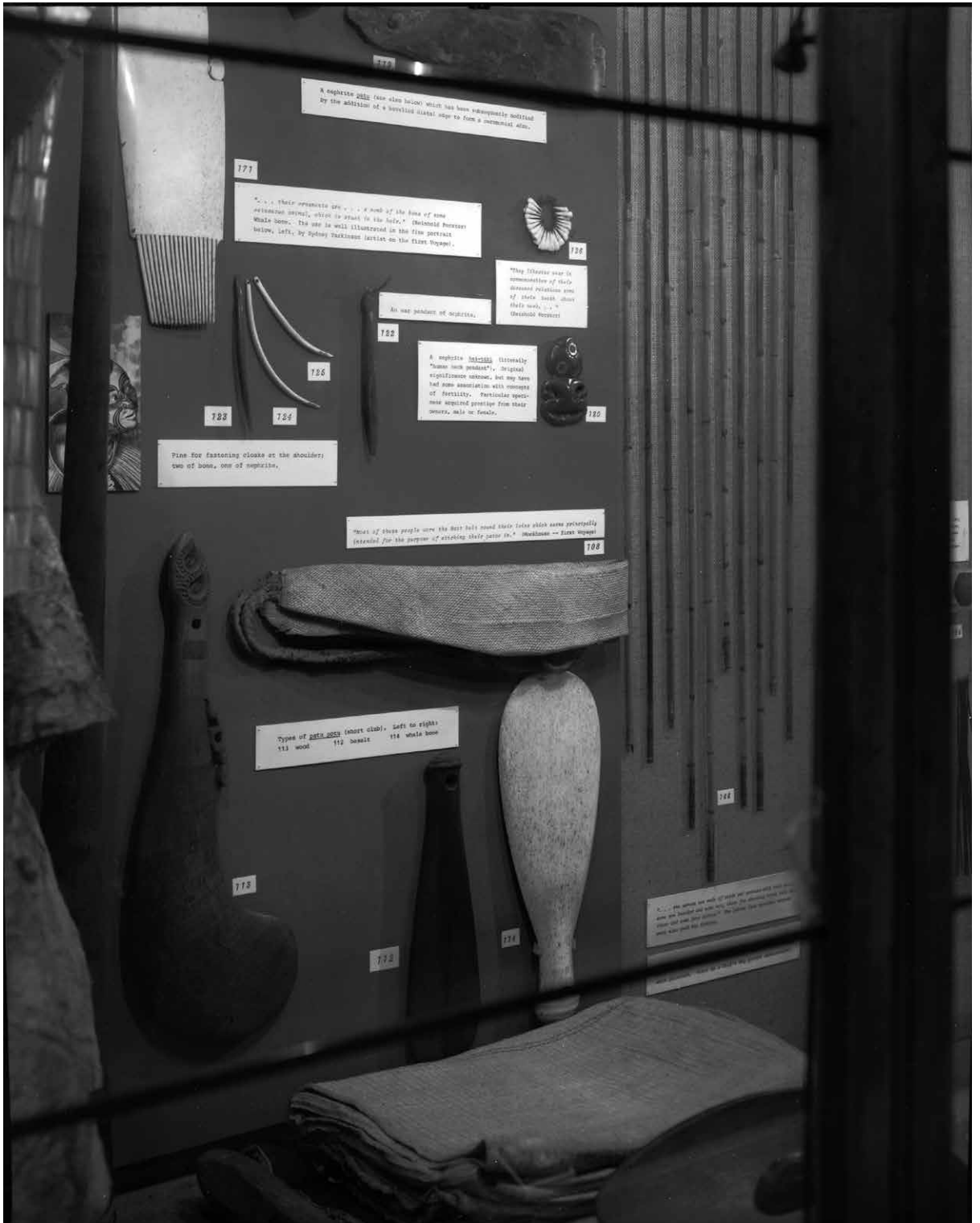




14.2. 27 November 1995. Pitt Rivers Museum. University of Oxford. United Kingdom.



14.3. 27 November 1995. Johann Reinhold Forster Collection. Pitt Rivers Museum. University of Oxford. United Kingdom.



A sapphire ring (see also below) which has been subsequently modified by the addition of a bezel-like metal edge to form a permanent ring.

777

"... their ornaments are ... a kind of the form of some precious stones, which is placed in the hair," (Kalm's Voyage into the Interior of the New Continent in the five Voyages below, left, by Sydney Parkinson printed on the first page).



786

"They likewise wear in commemoration of their deceased relations some of their teeth about their necks..." (Kalm's Voyage into the Interior of the New Continent in the five Voyages below, left, by Sydney Parkinson printed on the first page).

An ear pendant of sapphire.

782

A sapphire bracelet (literally "stone neck pendant", original significance unknown, but may have had some association with concepts of fertility). Particular specimens acquired post-1800 from their owners, male or female.

785

783

784

Pins for fastening cloaks at the shoulders; two of bone, one of sapphire.

"Most of these people wear the best hair round their faces which seems principally intended for the purpose of avoiding their faces in." (Kalm's Voyage into the Interior of the New Continent in the five Voyages below, left, by Sydney Parkinson printed on the first page).

788

Types of ASHK (short club). Left to right: 713 wood 712 bone 714 whale bone

713

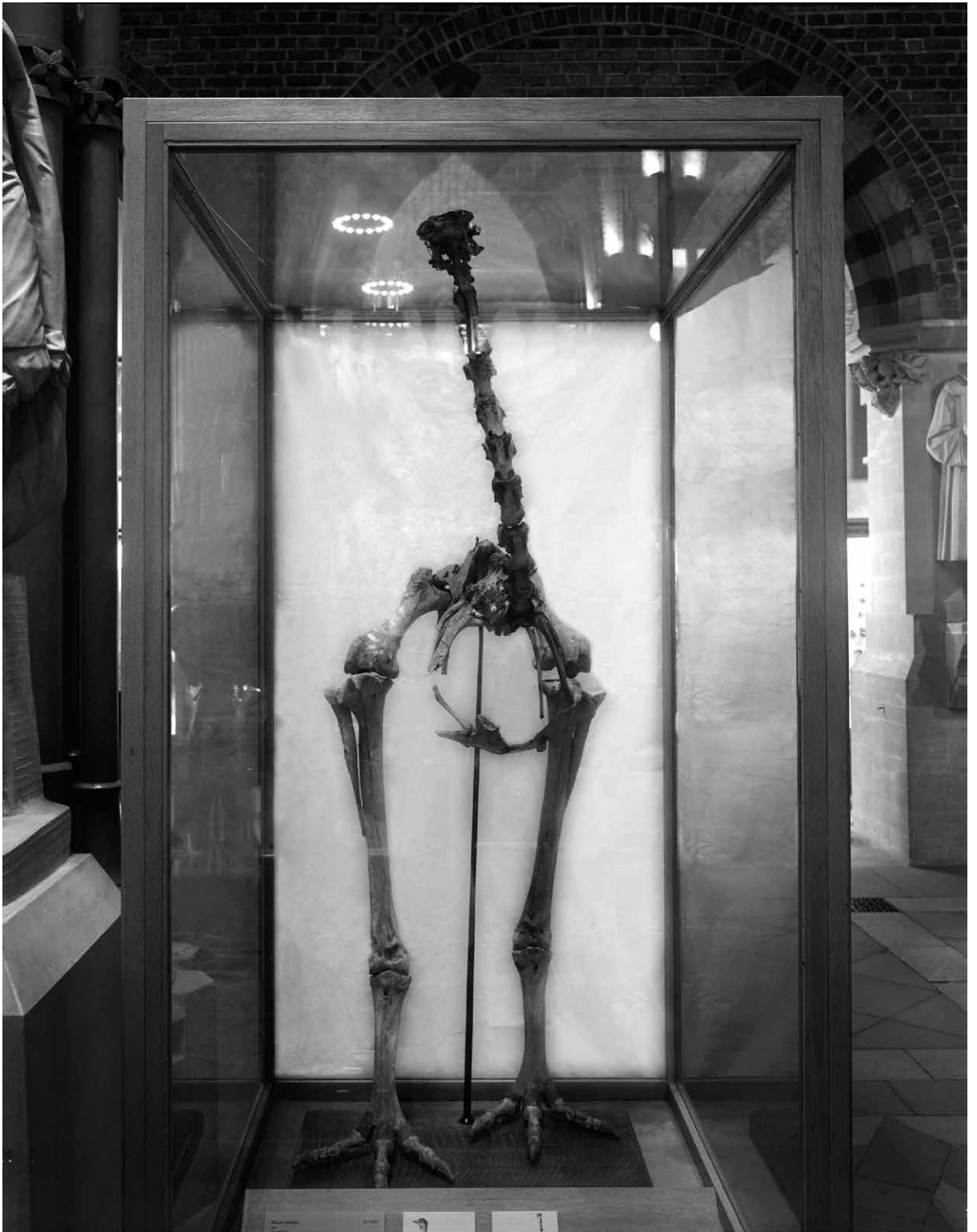
712

714

744

"... the women use much of their hair round their faces which seems principally intended for the purpose of avoiding their faces in." (Kalm's Voyage into the Interior of the New Continent in the five Voyages below, left, by Sydney Parkinson printed on the first page).





14.4. 3 November 2017. Moa, *Dinornis maximus*, OUMNH.ZC.20220. Type Specimen. Professor Richard Owen. Natural History Museum. University of Oxford. United Kingdom.

14. The Pitt Rivers is famous and notorious as a showcase for nineteenth-century ethnographic museology, though displays have in fact has been modified far more extensively than is usually assumed. The museum's very significant Cook-voyage collections include a carefully selected and documented group presented to Oxford soon after the second voyage by Johann Reinhold Forster. See Jeremy Coote, 'The Cook-voyage collections at Oxford, 1772-2015', in Coote (ed.), *Cook-Voyage Collections of 'Artificial Curiosities' in Britain and Ireland, 1771-2015* (Oxford: Museum Ethnographers' Group, 2015), 74-122.

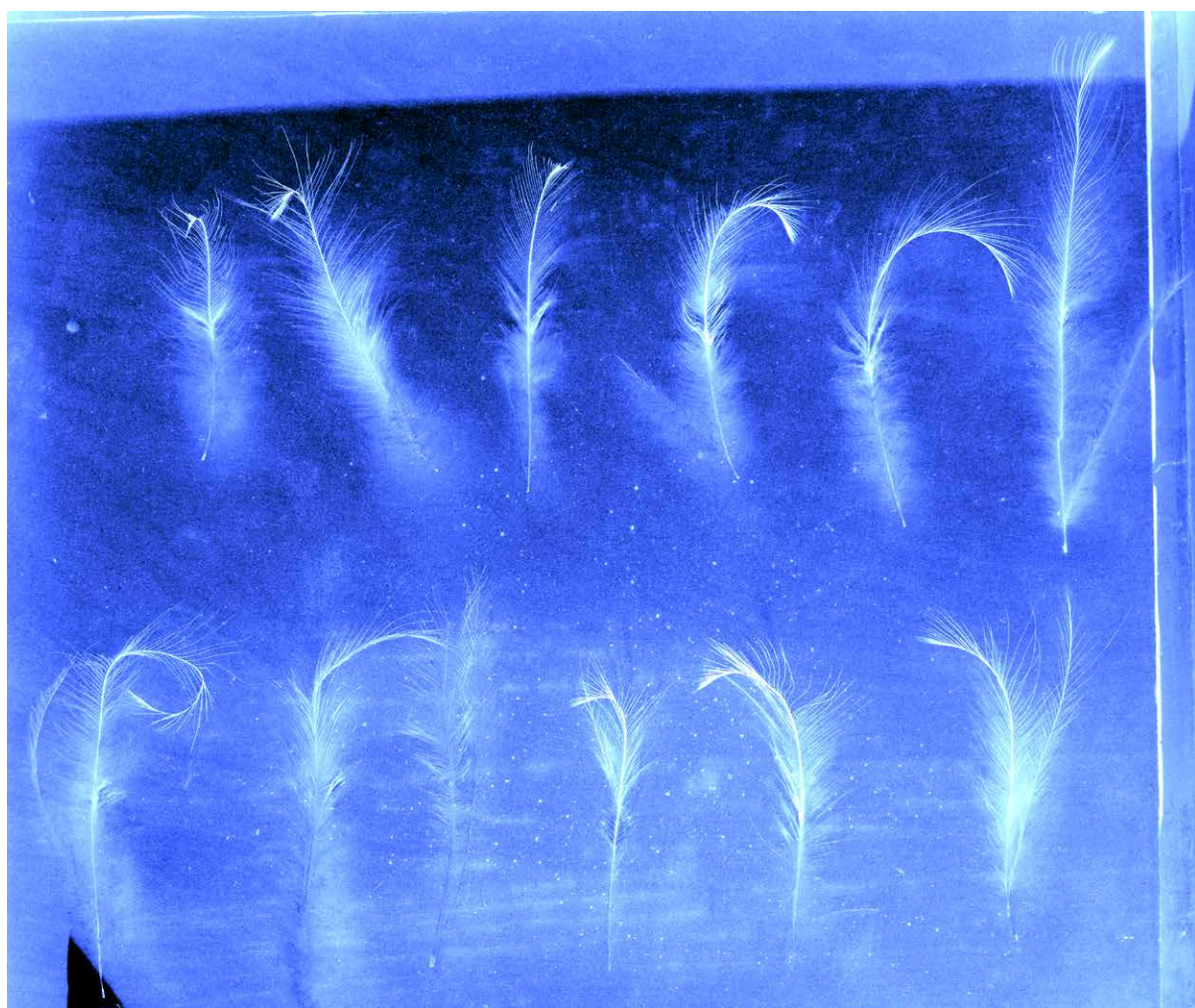
14.4. The Pitt Rivers is co-located with Oxford's astonishing Natural History Museum, which holds the type specimen for the extinct moa. The fullest of many discussions is Chris Gosden and Frances Larson, *Knowing Things: Exploring the Collections of the Pitt Rivers Museum 1884-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

15.

Tring



15.1 5 October 2017. Moa replica. Natural History Museum. Tring, United Kingdom.



15.2 5 October 2017. Feathers from a species of moa. Found near a cave near Queenstown, New Zealand by Mr Taylor White. November 1874. Natural History Museum. Tring. United Kingdom.

16.

Cambridge



16.1. 25 January 2010. Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. University of Cambridge. United Kingdom.



16.2. 26 January 2010. Maudslay Hall. Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. University of Cambridge. Cambridge. United Kingdom.



16.3. 17 September 2007. Maudslay Hall. Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. University of Cambridge. Cambridge. United Kingdom.













16.4. 5 February 2010. After Francis Dufty. Nasova. Levuka. Fiji. Baron Anatole von Hügel, Captain Louis Frederick Knollys, Arthur Gordon, Rachel Hand, Lucie Carreau, Jocelyne Dudding. Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. University of Cambridge. Cambridge. United Kingdom.

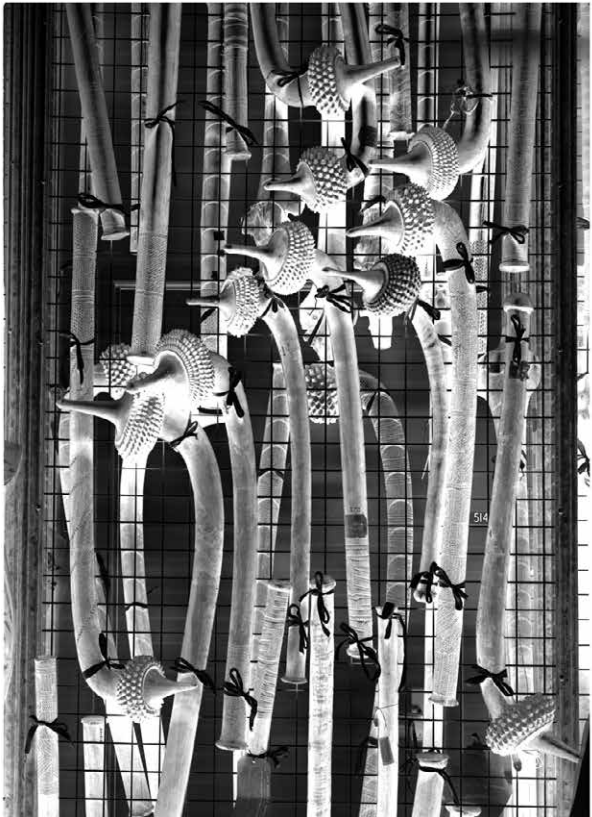


Baron Anatole von Hügel - Clubs Fife. Arthur Gordon

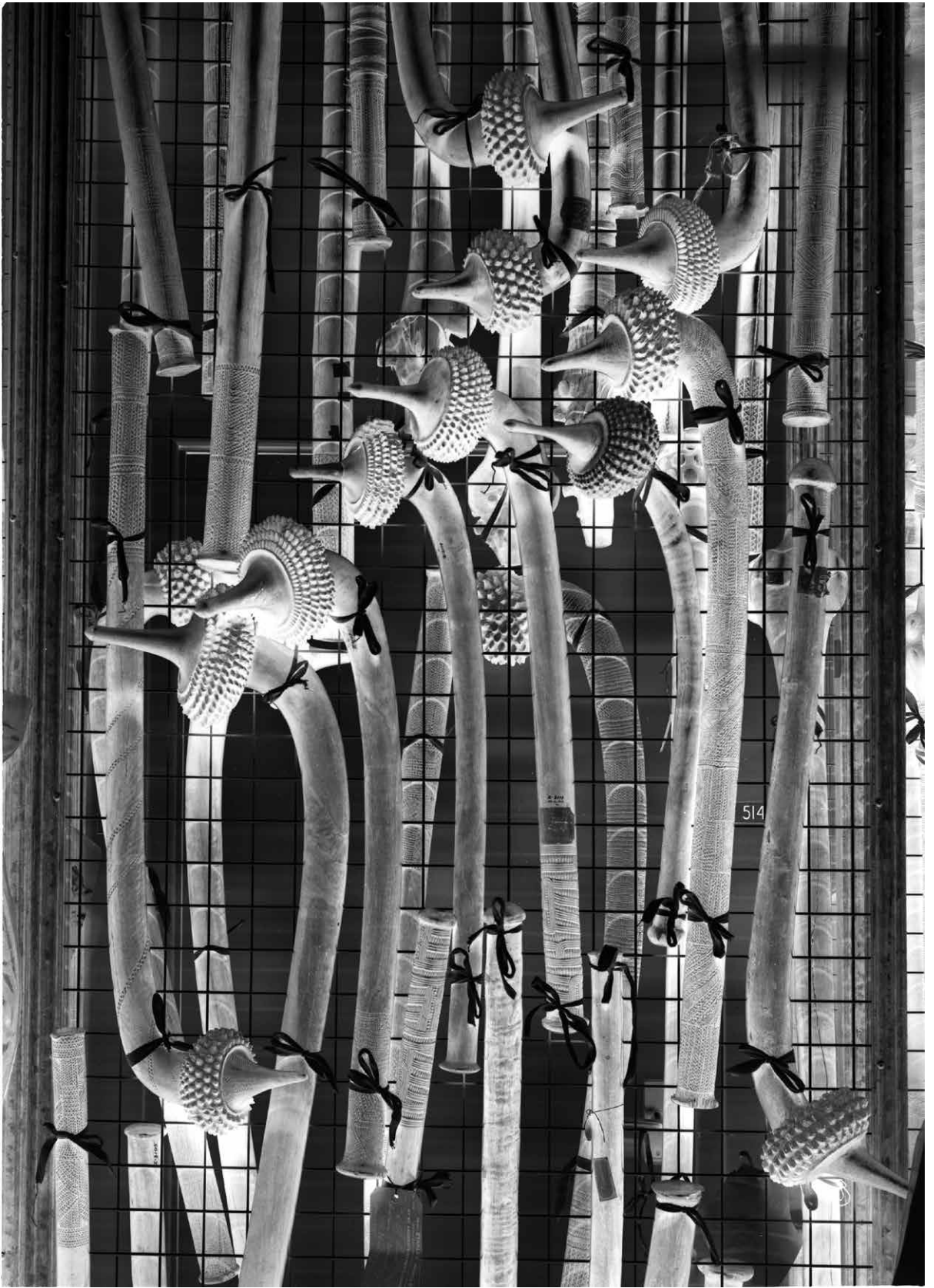




16.5. 13 May 2002. After Francis Dufty. Fiji spears. Bevan Workroom. Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. University of Cambridge. Downing Street. Cambridge. United Kingdom.



16.6. 8 February 2010. Fiji clubs. Bevan Store. Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. Downing Street. University of Cambridge. United Kingdom.







16.7. 25 October 2013. Julie Adams. François Wadra. Bevan Store. Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. University of Cambridge. United Kingdom.



16.8. 24 October 2013. Paul Montague's Kanak collection. Julie Adams. François Wadra. Bevan Workroom. Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. University of Cambridge. United Kingdom.



16.9. 20 July 2015. Noelle Kahanu and daughter Hattie Keonaona Hapai. An 'ahu'ula of Kamehameha II. Bevan Workroom. Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. University of Cambridge. United Kingdom.



16.10. 20 July 2015. Noelle Kahanu. An 'ahu'ula of Kamehameha II. Bevan Workroom. Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. University of Cambridge. United Kingdom.

16. Mark Adams came to Cambridge for a number of visits from 2007, and he and Areta Wilkinson also worked collaboratively in and from the collections from 2010 onward, producing work that has been widely exhibited in Aotearoa as well as at the Asia-Pacific Triennial at the Queensland Art Gallery / Gallery of Modern Art in Brisbane. Joint exhibitions have included *Archives: Te Wahi Pounamu* (Dunedin Public Art Gallery, 2015-2016) and *Repatriation* (The National, Christchurch, 2017; Two Rooms, Auckland, 2018).

The Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology is distinctive in the sense that Pacific collecting, particularly from Fiji, was central to the institution's foundation and history. The first curator, Anatole von Hügel, turned to ethnography and made major collections in Fiji in the 1870s, and then led the museum from its establishment in 1883. Others closely associated with the institution in its early decades included Alfred Cort Haddon, who led a major Cambridge expedition to the Torres Strait in 1898. See Thomas, *Entangled Objects: exchange, material culture and colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991); Anita Herle and Lucie Carreau (eds), *Chiefs and Governors: art and power in Fiji* (Cambridge: MAA, 2013); Anita Herle and Jude Philp (eds), *Recording Kastom: Alfred Haddon's Journals from the Torres Strait and New Guinea, 1888 and 1898* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 2020).

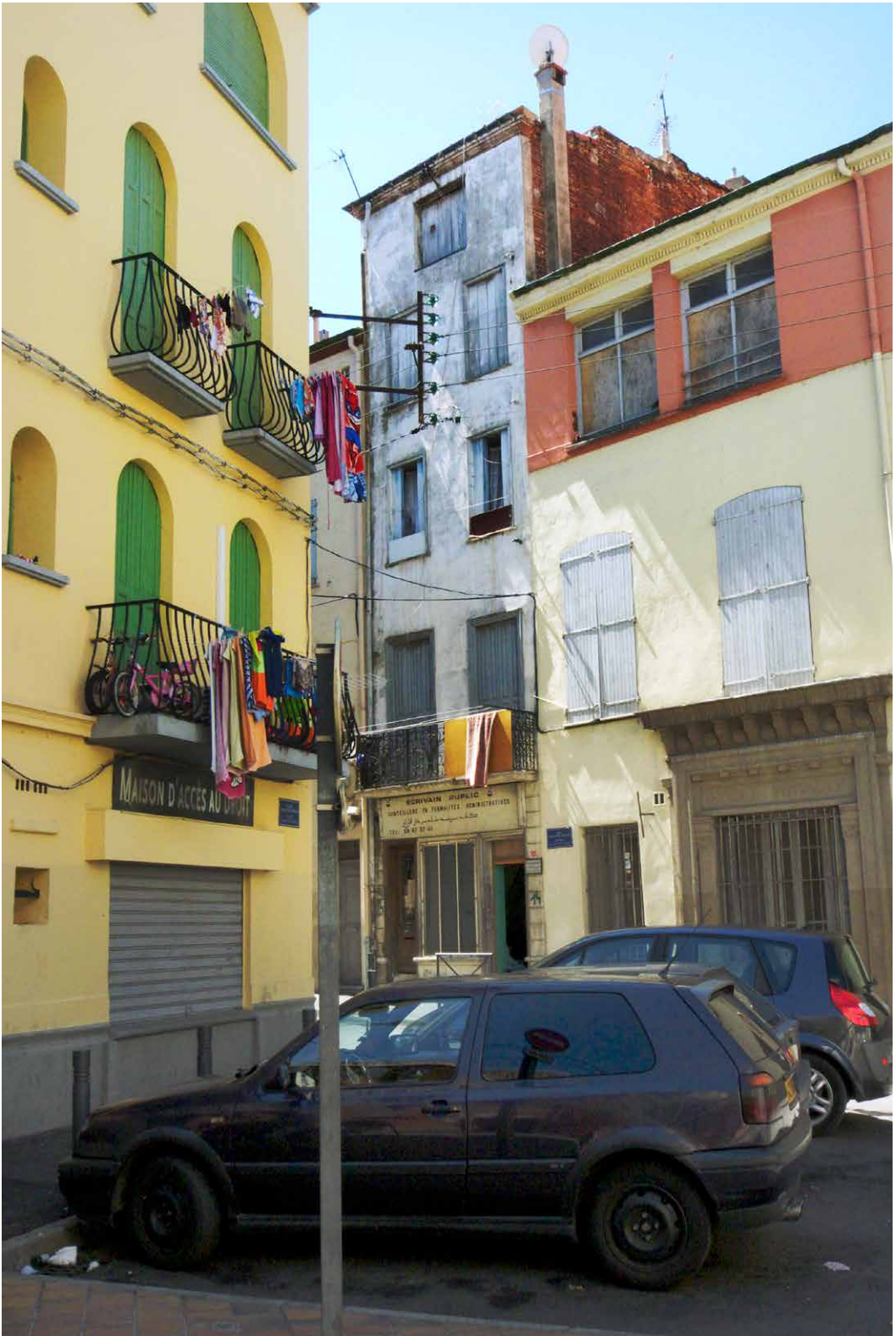
16.9, 16.10. This important ahu'ula is discussed in Thomas *et al.* (eds), *Artefacts of Encounter* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2016), 248-251.

17.

Perpignan



17.1. 13 July 2011. Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle. Perpignan. France.



17.2. 13 July 2011. Ecrivain Public. Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle. Perpignan. France.



17.3. 13 July 2011. Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle, Perpignan. France.



17.4. 13 July 2011. Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle. Perpignan. France.



17.5. 13 July 2011. Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle. Perpignan. France.

17. Perpignan is further from Paris than any other city in mainland France. Rousillon, the region in which it is situated, became part of the country only in 1659; the town and area had and still do have a strong Catalan identity. Yet in the eighteenth century, the city's intellectuals were engaged by the ideas and practices of the Enlightenment. The old university had its rarities and collections, which were reformed into a municipal museum in 1840. In 1900, it relocated to a sixteenth century hotel particulier on rue Fontaine-Neuve, in the old town, a building with a certain grandeur, yet one on a modest scale, among city museums of the epoch. The institution today exhibits both the eclecticism of collections common to museums of its type, but also an eclecticism of displays, reflecting successive phases of energetic arrangement and neglect, the legacies of varied scientific, curatorial and pedagogic efforts over the centuries and decades. The collections include a small group of objects from Oceania, some obtained during the voyages of the late 1830s and early 1840s undertaken by Abel Aubert Dupetit-Thouars in the *Venus* and the *Reine Blanche*, notable for the formal annexation of both the Marquesas Islands and Tahiti.

The quartier in which the museum is situated is mainly occupied by Harkis, Algerians who fought on the French side during the war of independence, or rather their descendants. Rejected and excluded by the nation for which they made great sacrifices, the Harkis have been, to cite the title of Vincent Crapanzano's ethnographic diagnosis, bearers of a 'wound that never heals'. A singular indicator of social class is next door to the museum, a business of a kind seldom encountered in European cities today: an *ecrivain public* writes for those who are not literate, at any rate in French, and assists people with the completion of the forms required by various social services agencies. The inside of this museum speaks, in an undertone, the inauguration of French empire in the Pacific; the outside exhibits the legacies of its end in north Africa.

18.

Munich



18.1. 19 November 2013. Museum Fünf Kontinente. Munich. Germany.



18.2. 7 July 2015. Abelam house façade. Nicholas Thomas, Julie Adams. Museum Fünf Kontinente. Munich. Germany.



18.3. 18 November 2013. Interior. Museum Fünf Kontinente, Munich, Germany.



18.4. 18 November 2013. Elena Govor, Nicholas Thomas, Julie Adams. Marquesan stilt steps. Museum Fünf Kontinente. Munich. Germany.



18.5. 19 November 2013. Michaela Appel, Elena Govor, Nicholas Thomas. Marquesan u'u. Museum Fünf Kontinente. Munich. Germany.



18.6. 19 November 2013. Südsee Store. Elena Govor, Maia Nuku, Nicholas Thomas, Julie Adams. Museum Fünf Kontinente. Munich. Germany.











18.7. 18 November 2013. Elena Govor. Marquesan u'u. Südsee Store. Museum Fünf Kontinente. Munich. Germany.



18.8. 7 July 2015. Tattooed female atua. Aitutaki. Cook Islands. Michaela Appel. Museum Fünf Kontinente. Munich. Germany.





18. Munich's former Museum für Völkerkunde struggles with many of the same challenges as ethnographic museums across Europe. Though in a beautiful period building, and caring for incredible collections, it is not close to other museums and felt, at the time of our 2013 and 2015 visits, somewhat under-visited by the public, yet has mounted outstanding, critical exhibitions such as *From Samoa with love?* (2014), which explored the travels of Samoan performers and delegations who came to Germany between 1895 and 1911. See Hilke Thode-Arora, *From Samoa with Love? Retracing the Footsteps* (Munich: Hirmer, 2014).

The museum holds part of the collection made in May 1804 at Nukuhiva by the Russians and Baltic Germans who participated in the Krusenstern expedition (see note to chapter 23, below). Most of these images represent a Pacific Presences team visit, involving Julie Adams, Elena Govor, Maia Nuku and myself. We were hosted by curator Michaela Appel, photographed with a tattooed female atua (god) from Aitutaki, which she co-researched with Ngaa Kitai Taria Pureariki (see *Pacific Presences*, PP 4B, chapter 3).

19.

Leiden



19.1. 29 October 2013. Maori portraits. Museum Volkenkunde. Leiden. The Netherlands.













19.2. 29 October 2013. Museum Volkenkunde. Leiden. The Netherlands.







19.3. 29 October 2013. Maori in Leiden. Museum Volkenkunde. Leiden. The Netherlands.

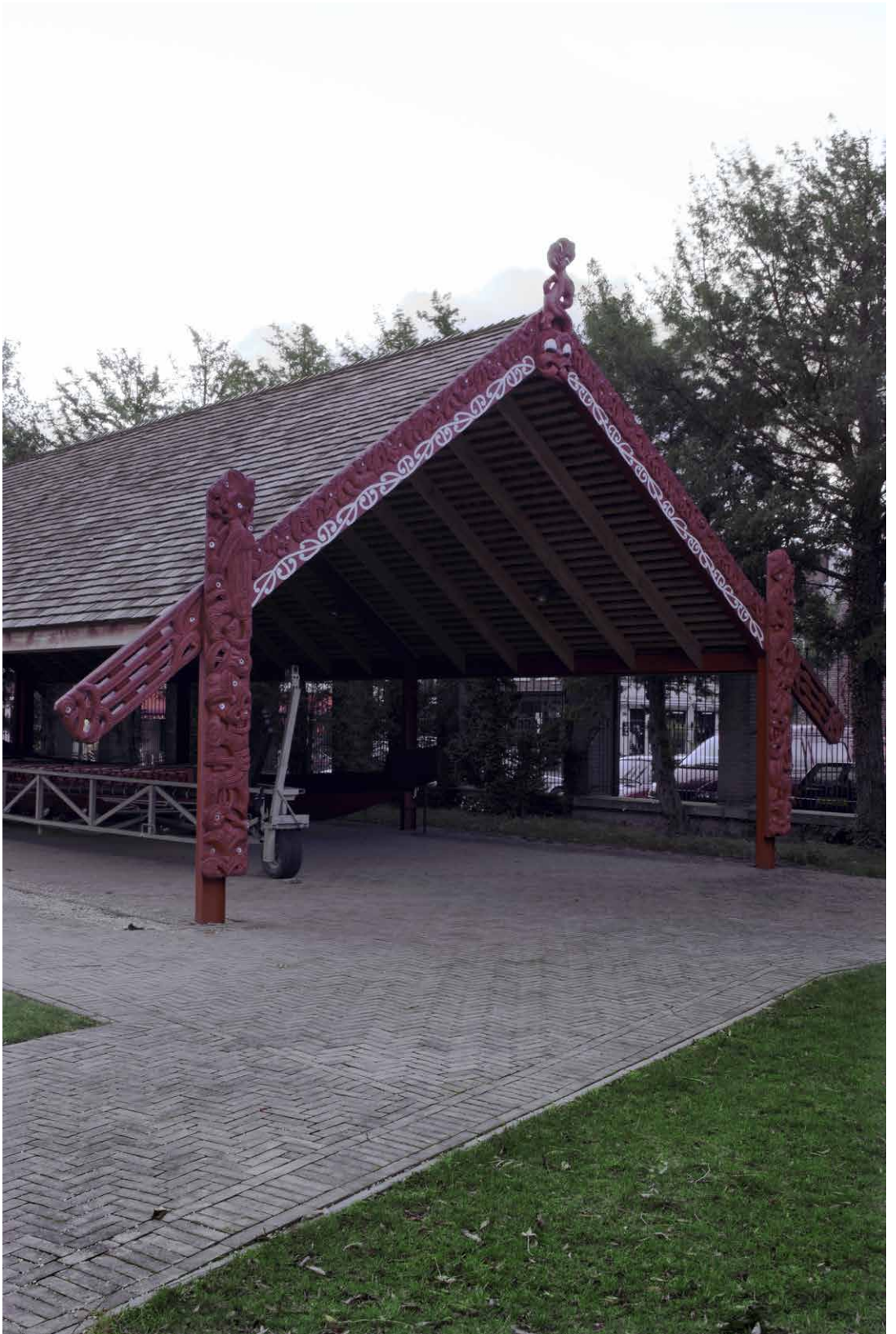


19.4. 29 October 2013. Wharewaka. Museum Volkenkunde. Leiden. The Netherlands.













19.5. 29 October 2013. Interior. Museum Volkenkunde. Leiden. The Netherlands.



19.6. 29 October 2013. François Wadra. Museum Volkenkunde. Leiden. Offsite store. 's Gravenzande. The Netherlands.



19.7. 29 October 2013. François Wadra, Julie Adams. Museum Volkerkunde. Leiden. Offsite store. 's Gravenzande. The Netherlands.



19.8. 29 October 2013. François Wadra, Wonu Veys, Julie Adams. Museum Volkerkunde. Leiden. Offsite sore. 's Gravenzande. The Netherlands.



19.9. 29 October 2013. François Wadra. Museum Volkenkunde. Offsite store. 's Gravenzande. The Netherlands.



19.10. 29 October 2013. François Wadra. Museum Volkenkunde. Leiden. Offsite store. 's Gravenzande. The Netherlands.



19.11. 29 October 2013. François Wadra. Museum Volkenkunde. Leiden. Offsite store. 's Gravenzande. The Netherlands.



19.12. 29 October 2013. Wonu Veys, François Wadra, Julie Adams. Museum Volkenkunde. Leiden. Offsite store. 's Gravenzande. The Netherlands.

19. For relevant background, see Fanny Wonu Veys, 'Papua collections in the Netherlands', *Pacific Presences*, PP 4A, 127-64. The Museum Volkenkunde (also known as the National Museum of Ethnology) in Leiden dates back to the 1830s, and holds very extensive collections, especially from the former Dutch East Indies and West Papua, which were extensively researched and published by scholar-curators such as Simon Kooijman and Dirk Smit in the later 20th century. Over the last 10 to 15 years, the institution has notably embraced inclusive and accessible approaches, and become a leading centre of postcolonial museology. *Mana Māori* (2010-11) was one of the first of a number of successful exhibitions foregrounding engagements with Indigenous communities; see Fanny Wonu Veys, *Mana Māori: the power of New Zealand's first inhabitants* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2010). The images in this section feature the commitment of the museum to foreground living people around the canalside precinct, and visits undertaken with Kanak archaeologist François Wadra, whose participation in *Pacific Presences'* study visits also features in the next chapter focused on Paris.

20.

Paris



20.1. 1 November 2013. Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac. Paris. France.









20.2. 31 October 2013. Visible store and displays. Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac. Paris. France.









20.3. 31 October 2013. Visible store and displays. Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac. Paris. France.





La casa en Océano
Muebles et batidos

- [1]
Muebles
Design table
De 1950 a 1960
Muebles de madera, con un diseño simple y funcional, con un estilo moderno y elegante.
- [2]
Muebles
Muebles design table
De 1950 a 1960
Muebles de madera, con un diseño simple y funcional, con un estilo moderno y elegante.
- [3]
Muebles
Luz design table
De 1950 a 1960
Muebles de madera, con un diseño simple y funcional, con un estilo moderno y elegante.
- [4]
Batidos
Batidos de cacao
De 1950 a 1960
Batidos de cacao, con un diseño simple y funcional, con un estilo moderno y elegante.
- [5]
Batidos
Batidos de cacao
De 1950 a 1960
Batidos de cacao, con un diseño simple y funcional, con un estilo moderno y elegante.
- [6]
Batidos
Batidos de cacao
De 1950 a 1960
Batidos de cacao, con un diseño simple y funcional, con un estilo moderno y elegante.
- [7]
Batidos
Batidos de cacao
De 1950 a 1960
Batidos de cacao, con un diseño simple y funcional, con un estilo moderno y elegante.
- [8]
Batidos
Batidos de cacao
De 1950 a 1960
Batidos de cacao, con un diseño simple y funcional, con un estilo moderno y elegante.
- [9-12]
Batidos
Batidos de cacao
De 1950 a 1960
Batidos de cacao, con un diseño simple y funcional, con un estilo moderno y elegante.

Text panel on the right wall, containing descriptive text about the items.

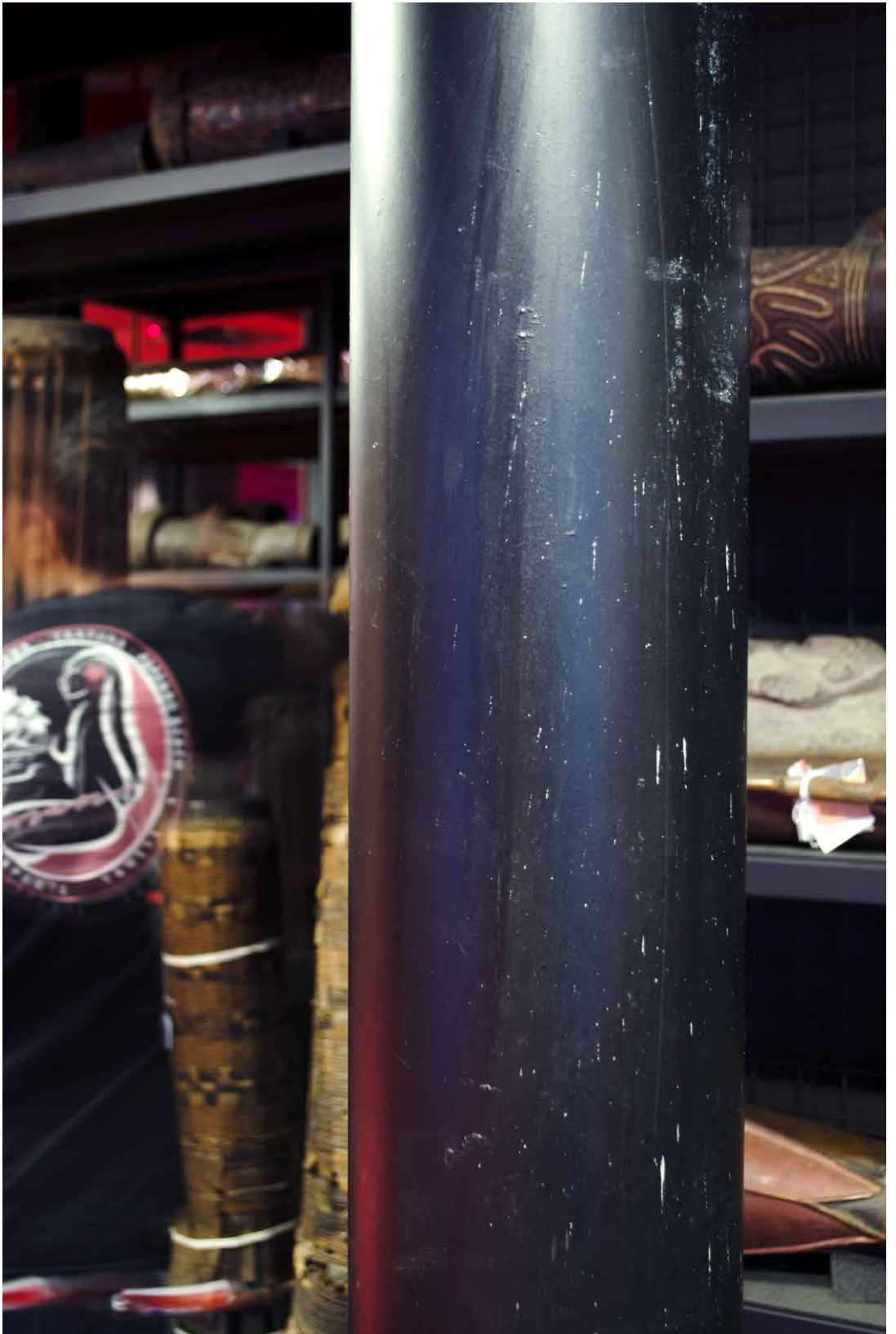
















20.4. 31 October 2013. Philippe Peltier. Visible store. Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac. Paris. France.



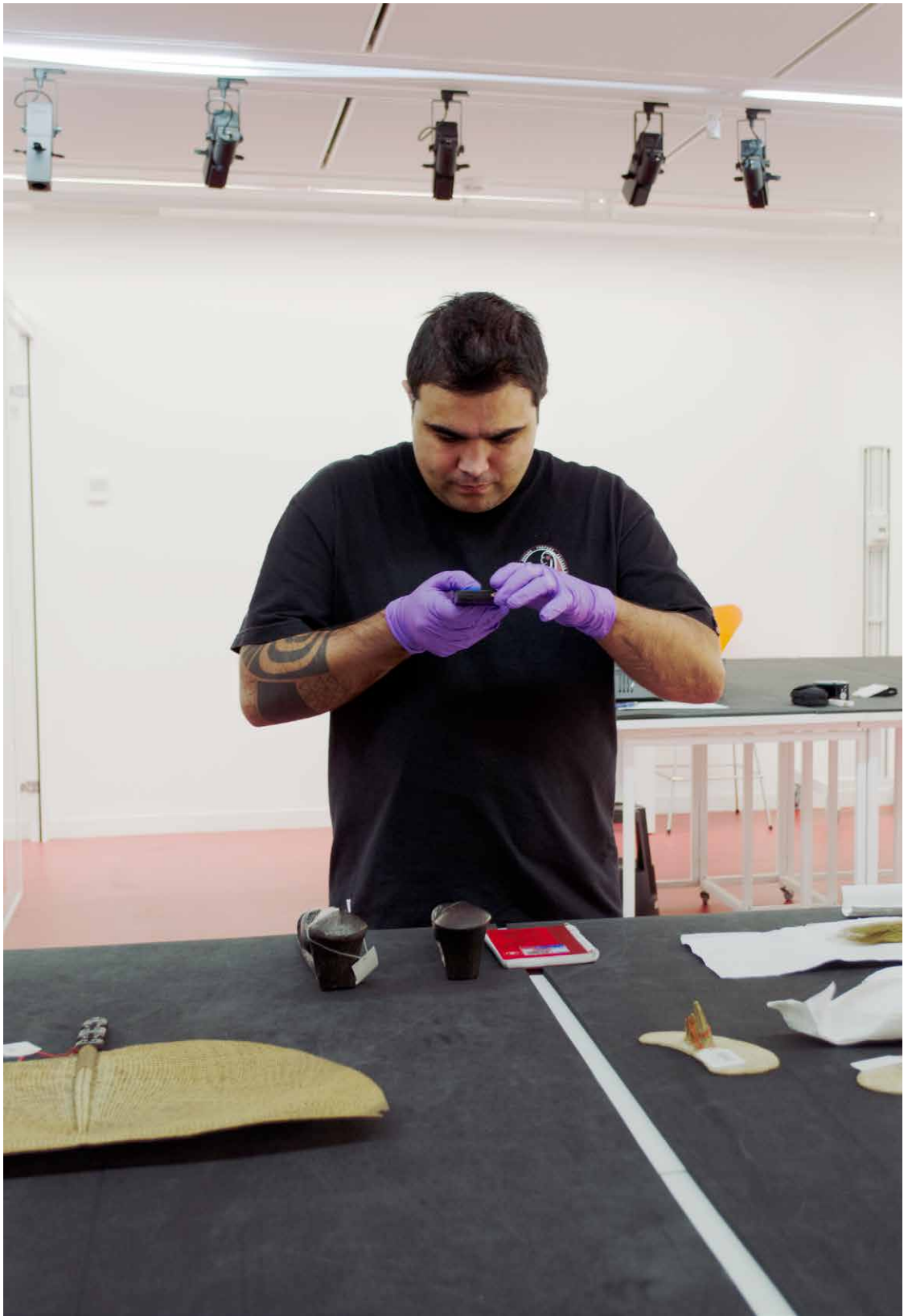
20.5. 31 October 2013. Oceania display. Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac. Paris. France.



20.6. 31 October 2013. Julie Adams, Teikitevaamanihii Robert Huukena, Philippe Peltier, Maia Nuku, Marie-Noëlle Ottino-Garanger. Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac. Paris. France.



20.7. 31 October 2013. Teikitevaamanihii Robert Huukena. Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac. Paris. France.







20.8. 31 October 2013. Teikitevaamanihii Robert Huukena and plaster cast of carved wooden leg with Marquesan tattoo. Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac. Paris. France.



20.9. 31 October 2013. *Kanak* exhibition. Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac. Paris. France.



20.10. 31 October 2013. Taonga Maori. Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac. Paris. France.

20. Ethnography and ethnographic collections have been of major cultural significance in France since the eighteenth century, and, in part because of the interests of modernist artists, they retained national prominence through the twentieth century, more than their counterparts did in Britain and Germany. Early Pacific artefacts in antiquities and maritime museums have undergone a bewildering succession of institutional transfers. In the late 1990s, then-controversial plans were announced to create a new museum of what were referred to as ‘arts premiers’, on the basis of the collections of the Musée de l’Homme and the Musée national des arts d’Afrique et d’Océanie, both of which in due course closed, though the Musée de l’Homme reopened as a museum of human diversity and evolution. The Musée du quai Branly opened in 2006 and was initially often criticized for what was seen as a ‘primitivist’ or neo-primitivist framing – see for example Sally Price, *Paris Primitive: Jacques Chirac’s museum on the quai Branly* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007). This is not the place to review the many angles of an extended debate, but it should be pointed out that the museum has mounted a series of outstanding temporary exhibitions, some energised by postcolonial critique, notably including *Exhibitions: l’invention du sauvage* (2011-12) and *Kanak: l’art est un parole* (2013-14). In my own opinion, *Kanak* was brilliantly curated, and distinctive for a rich and compelling presentation of art genres, cultural and historical contextualization and New Caledonia’s difficult histories of dispossession, violence and political struggle.

These photographs were taken during a 2013 study visit, involving a Marquesan colleague, Teikitevaamanihi Robert Huukena, who has a tattoo business in the southern city of Nîmes, but subsequently relocated home to Nukuhiva. Archaeologists of the Marquesas, Pierre Ottino and Marie-Noëlle Ottino-Garanger (who hosted me when I first undertook fieldwork in the archipelago in 1984) were also involved.

21.

Berlin



The Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, about 1900. Albumen print. Private collection, London.



21.1. 5 July 2015. Site of the Museum für Völkerkunde. Niederkirchnerstrasse and Stresemannstrasse. Berlin. Germany.







21.2. 2 July 2015. Museen Dahlem. Lanstrasse. Berlin. Germany.







21.3. 2 July 2015. Waka Hall. Museen Dahlem. Lansstrasse. Berlin. Germany.







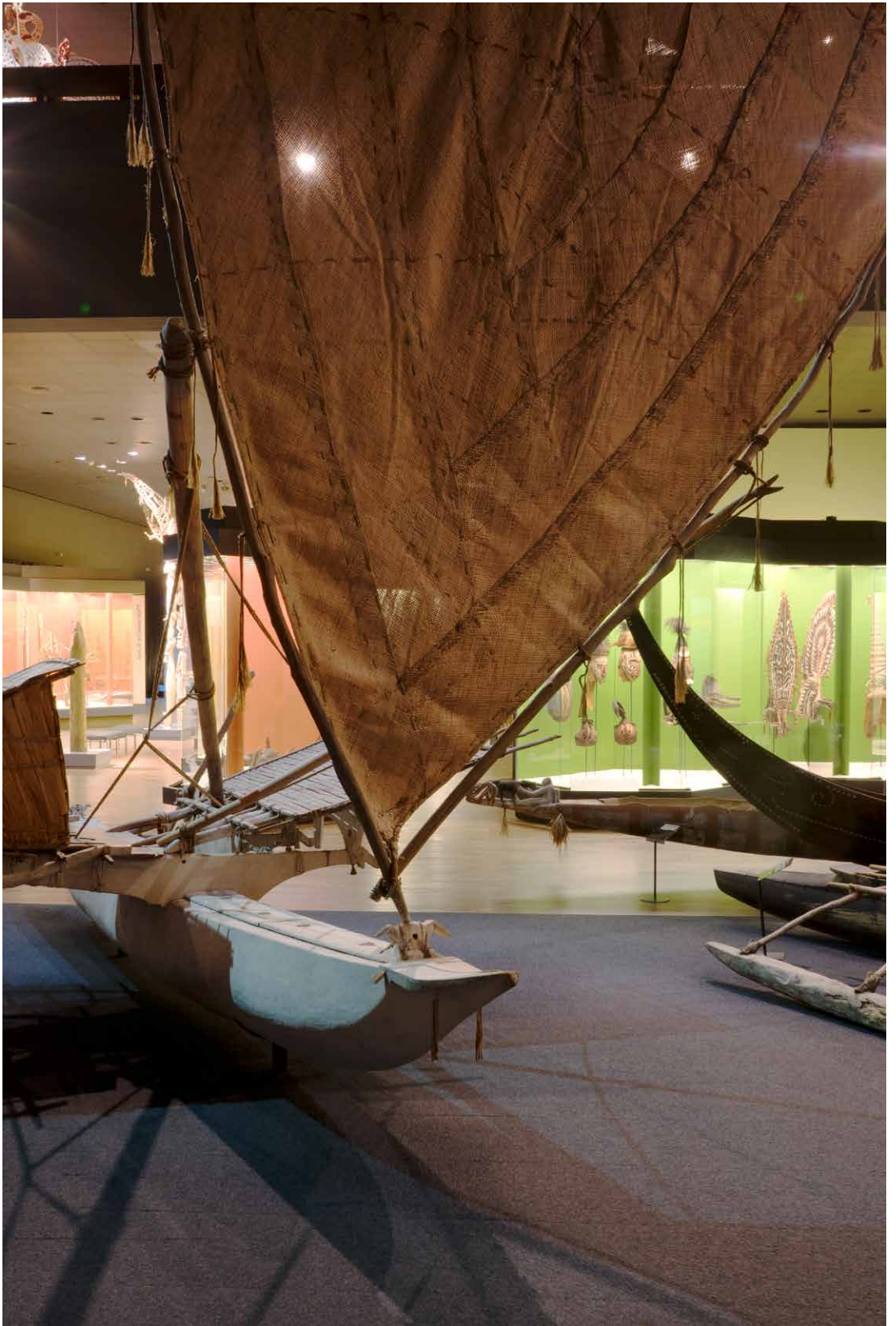


21.4. 2 July 2015. Waka Hall. Museen Dahlem. Lansstrasse. Berlin. Germany.

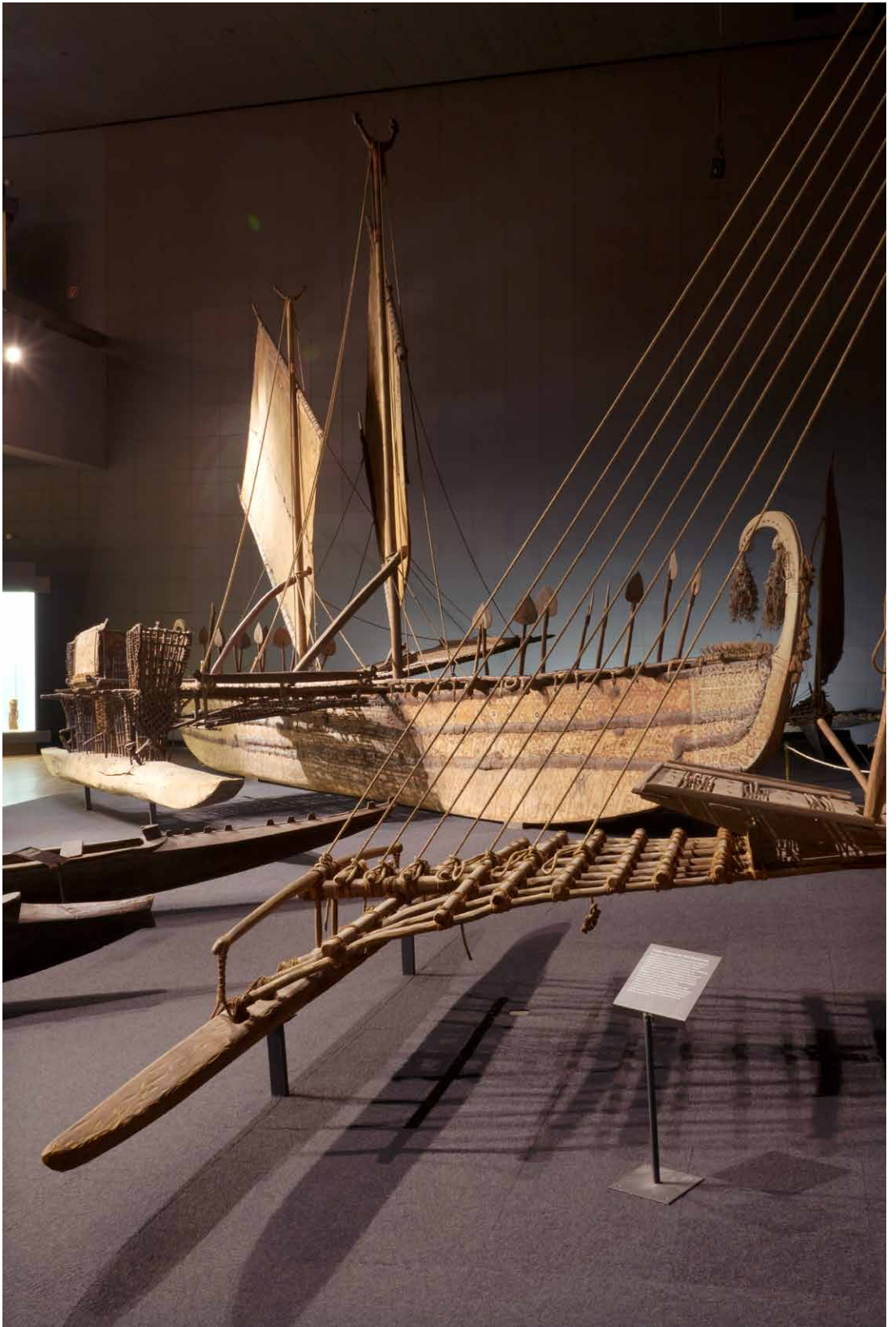














21.5. 2 July 2015. Südsee Store. Museen Dahlem. Lansstrasse. Berlin. Germany.







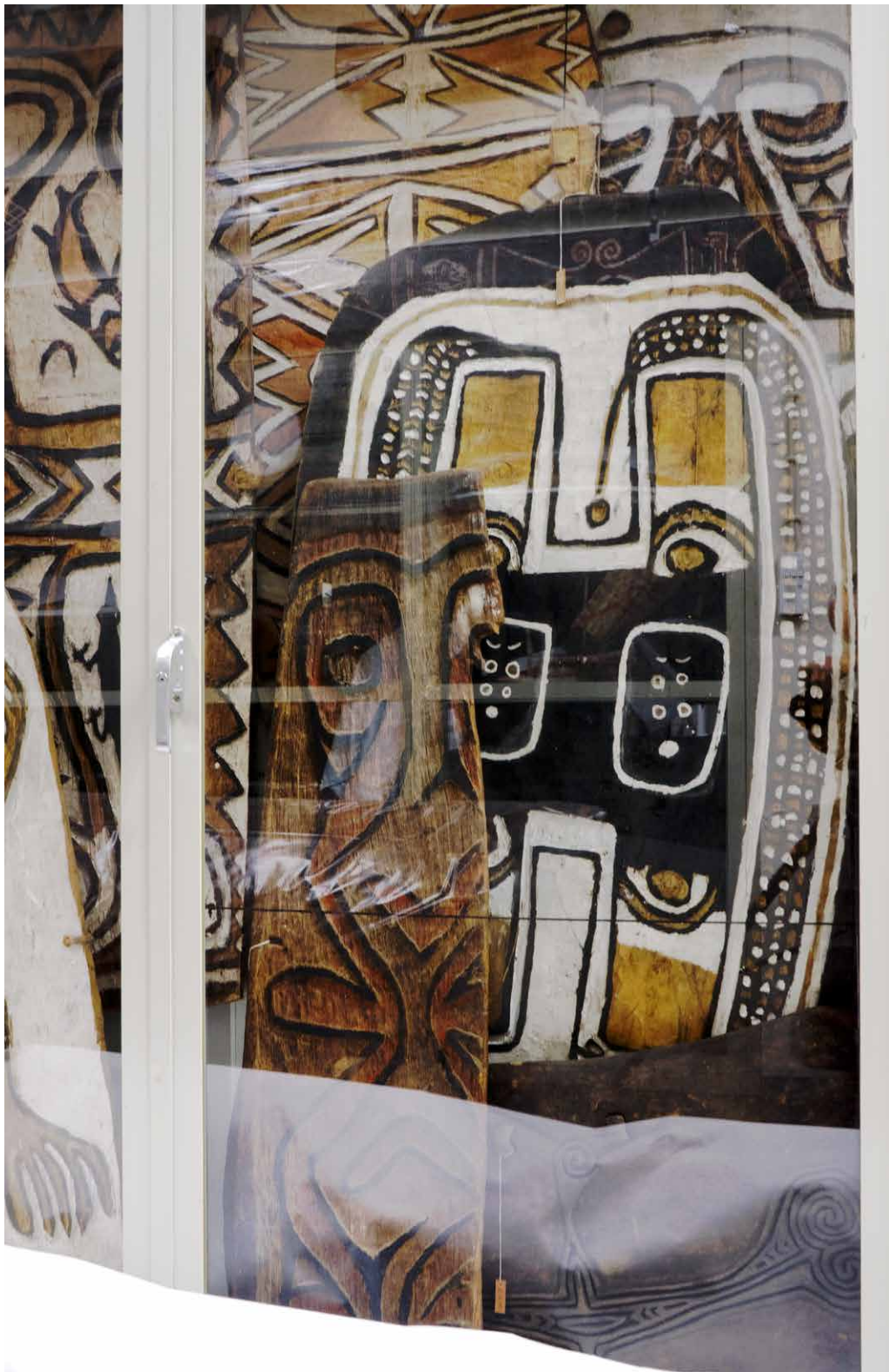


21.6. 3 July 2015. New Ireland malangan. Südsee Store. Museen Dahlem. Berlin. Germany.









21.7. 3 July 2015. Südsee Store. Museen Dahlem. Berlin. Germany.



21.8. 3 July 2015. Abelam men's houses. Melanesia gallery. Museen Dahlem, Berlin, Germany.









21.9. 3 July 2015. Humboldt Forum. Berlin. Germany.

21. Although Berlin museums are administered by the Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, *i.e.* the heritage foundation of the Prussian state, they are *de facto* national museums. What was initially the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin likely holds the most extensive ethnographic collections of any museum in Europe, reflecting the imperial and scientific ambitions of the German state in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (see Penny, *Objects of Culture*). The collection is not only vast but also exceptional in including many very large works, such as full-size canoes and large-scale house components and house models, as well as many early artefacts that are considered ‘masterpieces’ of the Oceanic art canon.

Like the French institutions, and those in many other European countries, collections have over time moved between royal, national and sometimes university or more specialist museums, which have at various times been divided, amalgamated and renamed, and moved between buildings and precincts. Adams’ photographs here include one of the site of the Museum für Völkerkunde, adjacent to the Martin-Gropius-Bau. The Völkerkunde was established in 1873 and open to the public on this site from 1886; damaged during the second world war, it was demolished in 1961 and the renamed Ethnologisches Museum was relocated with other collections to the suburb of Dahlem (in West Berlin during the period of division). The sequence of images of the Dahlem galleries were taken only months before that museum was in turn closed to the public in preparation for the move to the much-debated Humboldt-Forum in the reconstructed Schloss Palace (beside the Museen-Inseln, close to other major Berlin art and archaeology museums). Following delays associated with the coronavirus pandemic among other issues, the Forum partially opened in July 2021.

22.

Zurich



22.1. 21 November 2013. Völkerkunde Museum der Universität Zurich. Zurich. Switzerland.









22.2. 21 November 2013. Völkerkunde Museum der Universität Zurich. Zurich. Switzerland.









22.3. 21 November 2013. Völkerkunde Museum der Universität Zurich. Zurich. Switzerland.



22.4. 21 September 2016. Onsite store. Völkerkunde Museum der Universität Zurich. Zurich. Switzerland.



22.5. 21 September 2016. Onsite store. Völkerkunde Museum der Universität Zurich. Zurich. Switzerland



22.6. 21 November 2013. Maia Nuku, Katharina Haslwanger, Elena Govor. Völkerkunde Museum der Universität Zurich. Zurich. Switzerland.



22.7. 21 September 2016. Tete ponui. Marquesas Islands. Katharina Haslwanter, Nicholas Thomas. Völkerkunde Museum der Universität Zurich. Zurich. Switzerland.



22.8. 21 September 2016. Museum Reitburg. Zurich. Switzerland.



22.9. 21 September 2016. Museum Reitberg. Zurich. Switzerland.



22.10. 21 September 2016. Museum Reitburg. Zurich. Switzerland.

22. Pacific Presences sought to ‘reassemble’ a number of collections – that is, identify and reunite through documentation artefacts gathered on voyages including those of d’Entrecasteaux (Douglas, Veys and Lythberg (eds), *Collecting in the South Seas*, PP 3), the *Royalist* (Clark *et al.*, *Resonant Histories*, PP 6) and those made from Nukuhiva in the Marquesas Islands during the first Russian circumnavigation of 1803-6, often referred to as the Krusenstern expedition (Govor and Thomas, *Tiki*, PP 5). In each case, artefacts that had at one time been gathered together on a ship had been widely dispersed – in the case of the Krusenstern-voyage artefacts, across private collections and eventually some 13 institutions in five countries (Russia, Estonia, Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland). Though the voyage was officially a Russian naval expedition, a number of participants including Krusenstern himself were Baltic Germans (he was from Estonia) or from other German-speaking territories; they included Johann Kaspar Horner, an astronomer who had been a pupil of one of the pre-eminent astronomers of the period, Franz Xavier Zach. The cosmopolitanism of European science over the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is reflected in Zach’s remarkable biography: born in Pest, Hungary, he subsequently worked and lived at various times in Lemberg (now Lviv in the Ukraine), Paris, London, Gotha, Marseille, Genoa and places in Switzerland.

Horner himself was from Zurich and after the voyage was prominent in scientific circles there. He was associated with the Swiss Society of National Antiquities and it appears that his artefact collections were presented to that society after his death in 1834. Their ‘ethnographic’ collections were transferred in stages to a new ethnographic society, from 1888 onwards; this body merged in turn with a geographical society and the joint entity soon afterwards gifted its collections to the University of Zurich. Pacific Presences team member, Elena Govor, engaged in sustained detective work to track down these dispersed collections; Katharina Haslwanter, an affiliated researcher and doctoral candidate in Zurich, helped us to trace the connections. (See Govor and Thomas, *Tiki*, 69-70).

22.7-22.9. During our 2016 trip, Mark Adams and I also visited the Rietberg Museum, an art museum dedicated to work from Asia, Africa, Oceania and native American cultures (hence exceptional in the Swiss context, as other ‘world cultures’ collections, in Basel, Geneva, Neuchatel and elsewhere were all established as ethnographic museums affiliated with academic anthropology). The works displayed are primarily from the private collection of the banker Eduard von der Heydt, which were gifted to the city in 1945.

23.

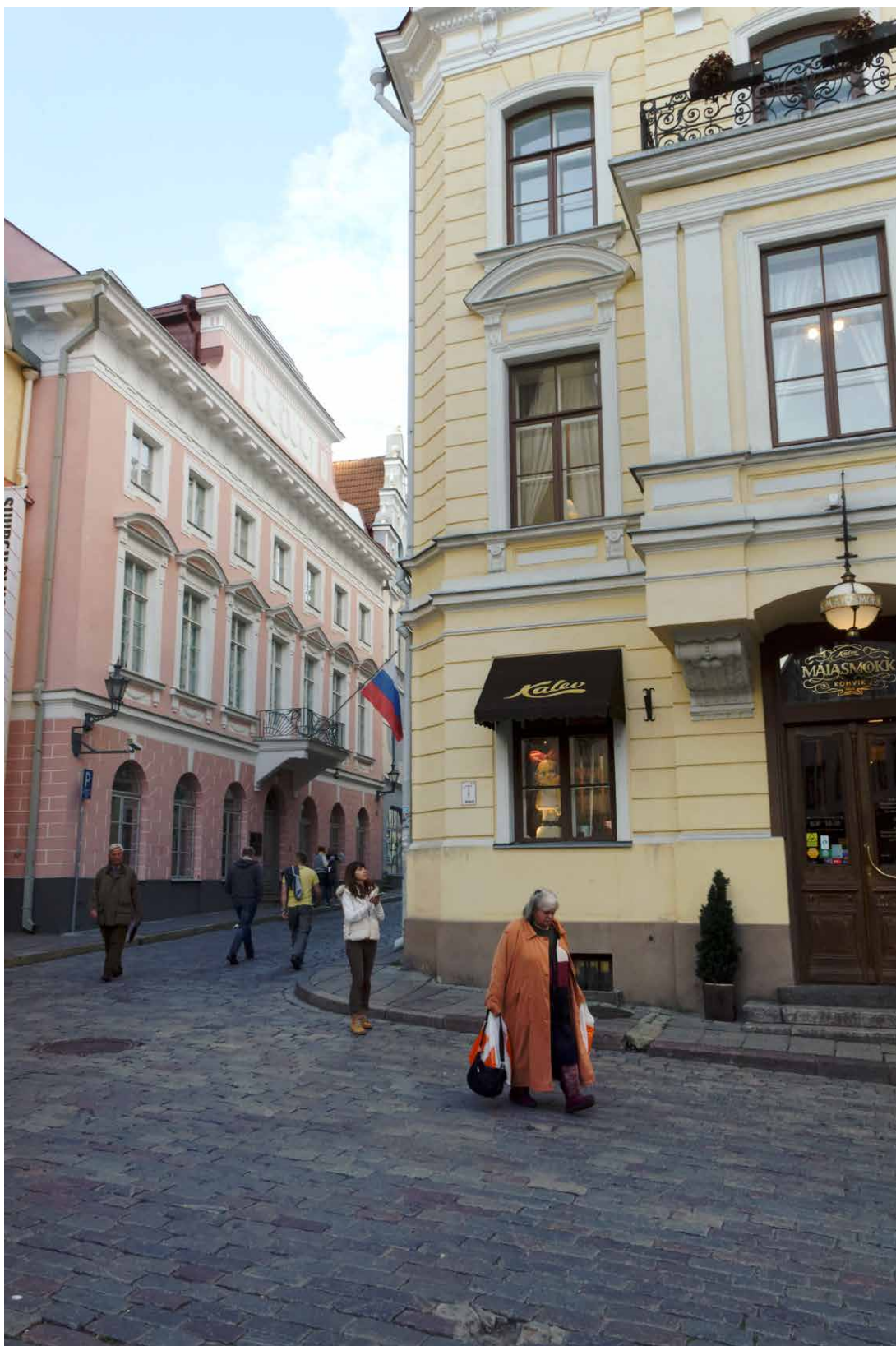
Tallinn



23.1. 25 September 2016. Suurgildi Hoone. Great Guild Hall. Estonian History Museum. Tallinn. Estonia.





















23.2. 25 September 2016. Suurgildi Hoone. Great Guild Hall. Nicholas Thomas, Anne Ruusaar, journalist, cameraman. Estonian History Museum. Tallinn. Estonia.



23.3. 25 September 2016. Suurgildi Hoone. Great Guild Hall. Nicholas Thomas, Anne Ruussaar, journalist, cameraman. Estonian History Museum. Tallinn. Estonia.



23.4. 26 September 2016. Memorial to Adam Johann von Krusenstern. Toomkirik, Cathedral of Saint Mary the Virgin. Tallinn. Estonia.





23. The search led by Elena Govor for Krusenstern-voyage artefacts revealed that especially significant collections associated with Krusenstern himself were in museums in Tallinn and Tartu, in Estonia, which we were able to study in 2011 (making very likely the first ever visit by any Pacific specialists to the collections) and again in 2016. The Estonian Historical Museum occupies a beautiful hall originally built for Tallinn's 'great guild', an association of merchants and artisans that dates back to the fifteenth century. The main floor of the museum is dedicated to Estonia's history but the collection incorporates important artefacts from Arctic as well as Pacific and other cultures, now displayed in lower galleries.

In September 2016, we were surprised when Anne Ruusaar, the immensely helpful curator, advised us that the news team from the television station wished to cover our visit. Indeed, they did come, and filmed an interview in the storeroom, when I talked about who Krusenstern was and how important the artefacts were; it was broadcast as part of the main national news programme that evening. The journalist told us, 'Everyone is sick of politics, so it is great to be able to report about something else.'

23.6. Krusenstern's local eminence is reflected in the memorial to him in the Toomkirk, the Cathedral of Saint Mary the Virgin, which at the time of the navigator's death was a Lutheran cathedral (it is now formally the seat of the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church). Alongside this commemoration of Krusenstern, the cathedral is remarkable for many elaborately sculpted coats of arms, associated with elite families of the city and region.

24.

Birchington-on-Sea



24.1. 12 September 2016. Margate. Kent. United Kingdom.



24.2. 13 September 2016. Powell Cotton Museum. Quex Park. Birchington-on-Sea. Kent. United Kingdom.



24.3. 13 September 2016. 2016. Powell Cotton Museum. Erna Lilje, Lucie Carreau, Nicholas Thomas, Alison Clark, Inbal Livne, Jacob Weller. Quex Park. Birchington-on-Sea. Kent. United Kingdom.



24.4. 13 September 2016. 2016. Powell Cotton Museum. Quex Park. Birchington-on-Sea. Kent. United Kingdom.

24. The Powell-Cotton Museum at Quex Park, Birchington-on-Sea, is an exceptional expression of British imperial culture and collecting. It was established by Major Percy Powell-Cotton (1866-1940), a soldier, traveller, hunter, writer, photographer and filmmaker. The displays most prominently feature prepared animal specimens in spectacular dioramas, primarily of game from Africa and elsewhere, which Powell had personally shot; at the time of our visit, ethnographic collections were less visible in the displays. The museum team is now focused on 'Reimagining the museum' with a view to 'telling a wider story' in an inclusive way.

25.

Stockholm



25.1. 16 October 2017. Tongan ngatu tahina. Cook's second voyage. Sparmann Hall. [From left, standing] Jennifer Connolly, Aoife O'Brien, Nicholas Thomas, Michael Barrett. [From left, seated] Guiliana Gabbanelli, Emili Ramos, Ulla Edberg, Bianca Leidi. Etnografiska Museet. Stockholm. Sweden.



25.2. 16 October 2017. Tongan ngatu tahina. Cook's second voyage. Sparmann Hall. Etnografiska Museet. Stockholm. Sweden.



25.3. 16 October 2017. Tongan ngatu tahina. Cook's second voyage. Sparmann Hall. Etnografiska Museet. Stockholm. Sweden.



25.4. 16 October 2017. Tongan ngatu tahina. Cook's second voyage. Sparmann Hall. Etnografiska Museet. Stockholm. Sweden.



25.5. 16 October 2017. Tongan ngatu tahina. Cook's second voyage. Sparmann Hall. Etnografiska Museet. Stockholm. Sweden.



25.6. 16 October 2017. Tongan ngatu tahina. Cook's second voyage. Sparmann Hall. Nicholas Thomas. Etnografiska Museet. Stockholm. Sweden.



25.7. 16 October 2017. Joseph Banks collection. Anders Sparmann collection. Cook's first and second voyages. Nicholas Thomas, Aoife O'Brien, Anna Fählen. Onsite store. Etnografiska Museet. Stockholm. Sweden.

25. It is intriguing that, while Sweden might not be expected to be a centre for studies of Oceanic material culture, among the earliest collections to be investigated and documented were donations from Anders Sparrmann and Joseph Banks. Sparrmann was an 'apostle' (a protege) of Linnaeus, who undertook Linnean research in southern Africa, and was employed as an assistant by the Forsters during Cook's second voyage. Joseph Banks made a significant gift of artefacts to the prosperous Swedish naturalists, the Alstromers; the collection was later transferred to the royal scientific society and later to the state museums. These collections were researched and published in the 1930s and early 1960s respectively by museum ethnologists. Both collections are now cared for at the Etnografiska Museet, part of the Världskulturmuseerna, the national consortium.

While the documented associations with Cook-voyage participants thus make Stockholm important for early Oceanic collections, a particular strand of Pacific Presences research drew attention to ambiguities and confusions typical of collections research. As I had longstanding interest in barkcloth and textiles, I was excited by reference in the Stig Rydén publication on Banks' donation to a very large Tahitian tapa: the book included a tantalizing but somewhat unclear image of a broad strip of cloth, some 14 metres in length, which was stretched out on the ground outside a building; the photo was taken from the roof. The significance of the piece would have been that, while there are many references in early sources to very large lengths of Tahitian barkcloth being gifted, and also stored above the rafters of aristocrats' houses, there are just two or three larger pieces extant in early collections.

The prospect of unrolling the barkcloth for examination was therefore exciting, and a group of staff had gathered to assist and document the process, which Stockholm colleagues broadcast live via social media. However, it became evident almost immediately that the barkcloth was not from Tahiti but the Tongan archipelago. Rydén, whose research on the connections between Banks and the Alstromers and on the history of the collection in Sweden was very thorough, had apparently never travelled to the Pacific and did not have extensive familiarity with the material culture of the Pacific. Publications that featured the different islands and archipelagos' styles of decorating barkcloth were moreover somewhat sparse in the period. In any event, he assumed that, since Banks was the donor, the artefacts had been collected by him personally during the first voyage. But, in fact, Banks' wider collection, and the sample of material that he presented to the Alstromers, included second and third-voyage artefacts from parts of the Pacific such as the Tongan archipelago, which he had never visited but had clearly been given to him by others such as the Forsters. In fact, the large Tongan ngatu tahina is very similar to examples collected by the Forsters now in the Pitt Rivers in Oxford and in Göttingen, probably collected in June 1773. On the one hand, it was positive to discover what must be the largest extant early Tongan ngatu; on the other hand, it was sad that what had appeared to be a unique early Tahitian fabric was not what it appeared to be. Once again, we were confronted by presence and absence.

The early catalogues are J. Söderström, *A. Sparrman's Ethnographical Collection from James Cook's 2nd Expedition (1772-1775)* (Stockholm: Bokförlags Aktiebolaget Thule, 1939) and Stig Rydén, *The Banks Collections: an episode in 18th-century Anglo-Swedish relations* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1963). Our 2017 visit was reported in Thomas, 'An early Tongan ngatu tahina in Sweden', *Pacific Presences*, PP 4B, 223-227.

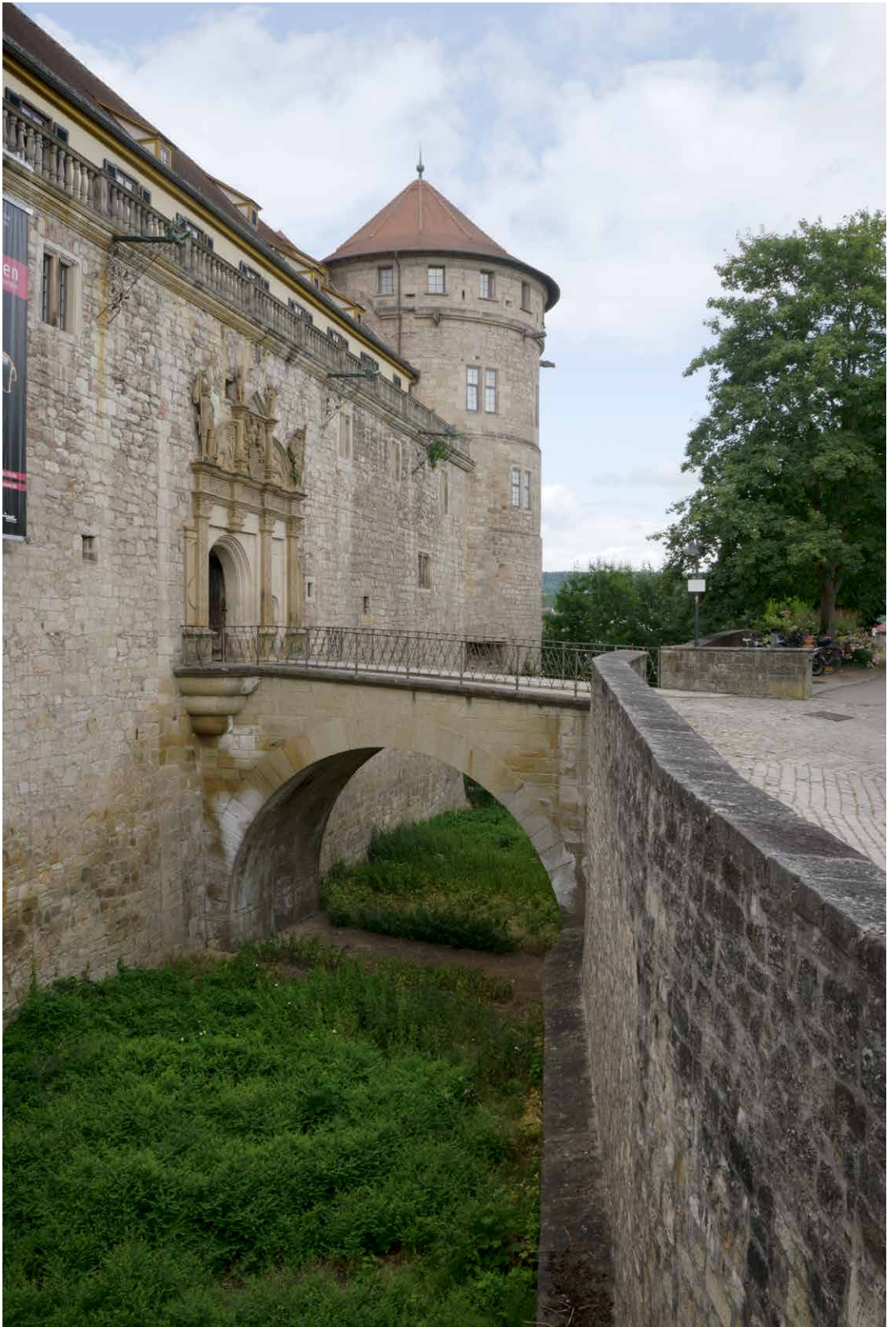
26.

Tübingen



26.1. 9 July 2015. Castle Hohentübingen. Germany.



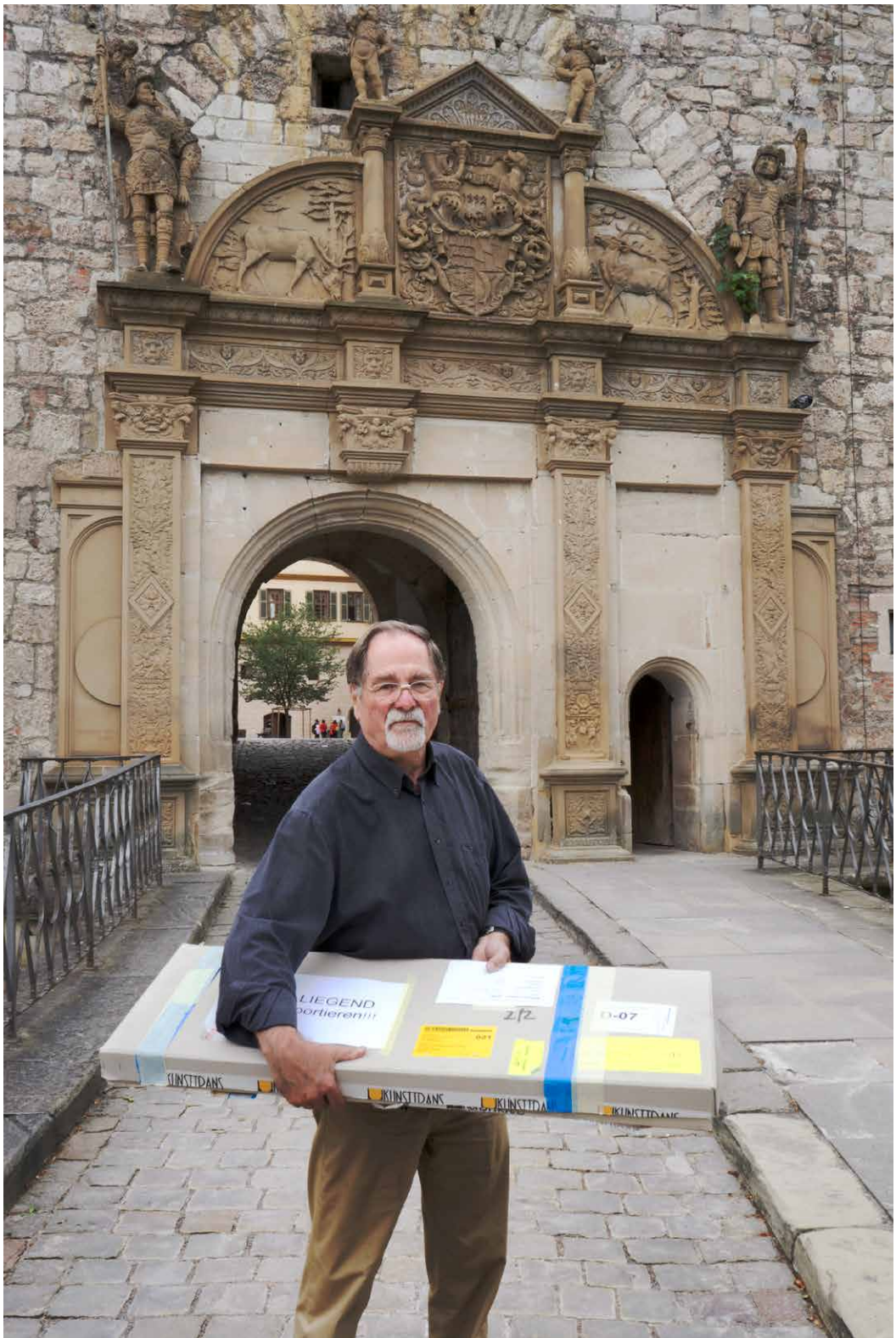












26.2. 9 July 2015. Volker Harms. University of Tübingen. Hohentübingen Castle. Germany.



26.3. 9 July 2015. The Poupou of Hinematiaro. Steve Gibbs (Ngai Tamanuhiri), Anne Salmond. Hohentübingen Castle. University of Tübingen. Germany.



26.4. 9 July 2015. The Poupou of Hinematiaro. Areta Wilkinson (Ngai Tahu), Julie Adams, Amiria Salmond, Volker Harms, Anne Salmond, Billie Lythberg, Steve Gibbs (Ngai Tamanuhiri). Hohentübingen Castle. University of Tübingen. Germany.



26.5. 9 July 2015. The Poupou of Hinematiaro, Te Aitanga a Hauiti. Tolaga Bay. Steve Gibbs (Ngai Tamanuhiri). Hohentübingen Castle. University of Tübingen. Germany.

26. It is often assumed that questions such as ‘What was collected?’ on a particular expedition or voyage, and ‘Where are the artefacts now?’ are simple. It is also commonly assumed that, because Cook’s voyages were official British naval expeditions, the artefacts that were brought back were deposited in the British Museum. In fact, the post-voyage travels of artefacts are often confusing, poorly documented and mind-bogglingly complex. Material, including taonga – ancestral treasures of exceptional historic, cultural, spiritual and artistic significance – has been lost and found, in places seemingly unconnected with individuals known to have made or been given collections, in the immediate aftermath of the various voyages.

The remarkable history of the poupou of Hinematiaro exemplifies precisely such complexities. In the late 1990s, Volker Harms of the University of Tübingen recognized that a Māori carving that had long been in the university collections closely resembled one drawn by John Frederick Millar, a scientific illustrator (incidentally of German descent) who was employed by Joseph Banks after the naturalist returned from Cook’s first voyage. Millar had not himself been to the Pacific on the *Endeavour*, but joined Banks’ staff soon after the ship returned, and in the succeeding months produced a set of some thirty drawings of Pacific artefacts and groups of artefacts, depicting over 100 pieces altogether. Where his drawings can be compared with the actual objects, their precision is apparent, and there is no doubt whatsoever that the poupou in Tübingen is one gifted to Cook, Banks or the Society Islander Tupaia in late 1769, soon after the *Endeavour* first made contact with Māori. As Harms has documented, and Anne Salmond also discussed, the identification was of great interest and importance to relevant iwi in Aotearoa.

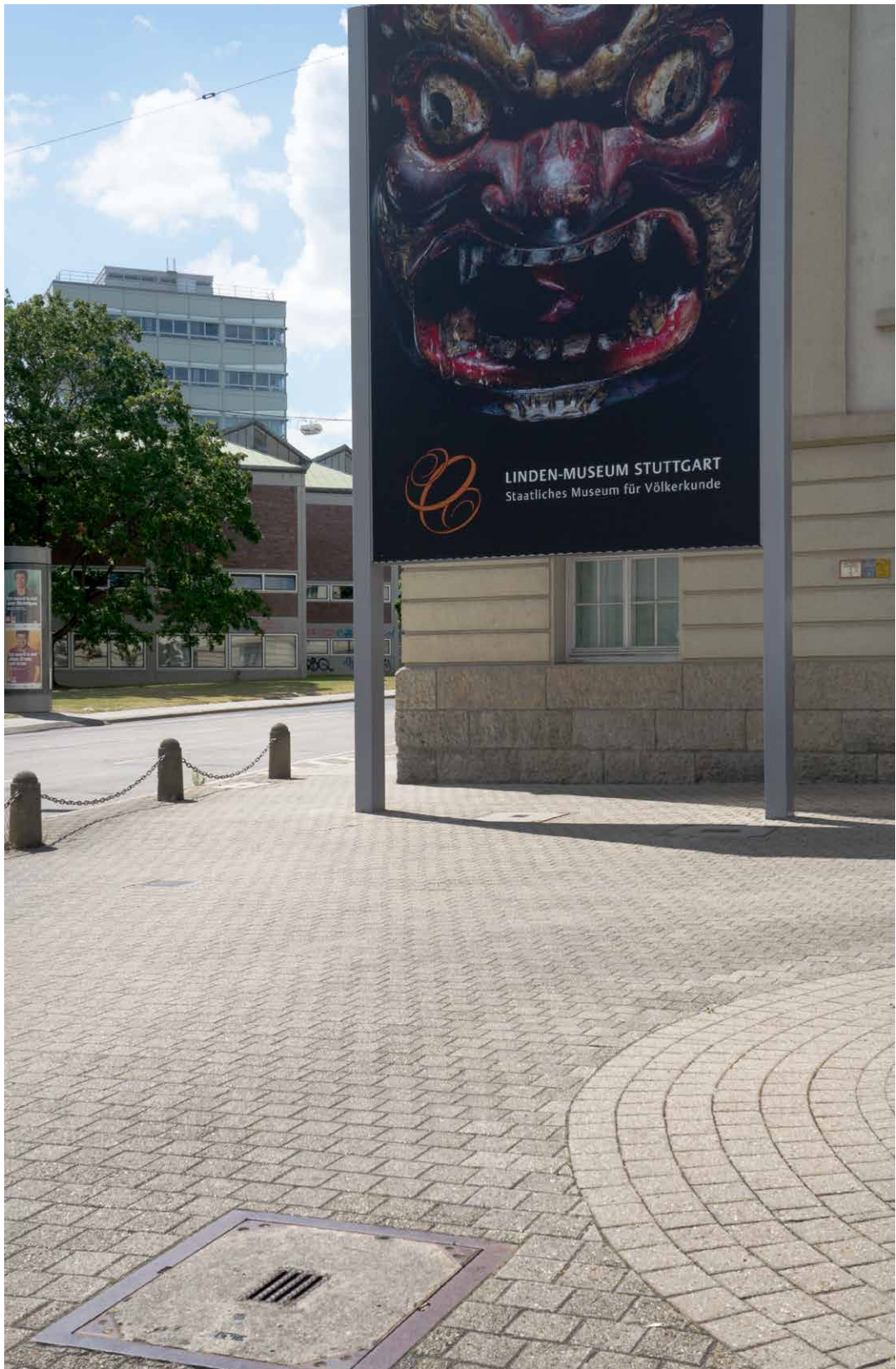
Most importantly, a series of meetings involving Steve Gibbs (Ngai Tamanuhiri), among others, and the discussions that took place on the occasion these images were made, led to the poupou travelling to Gisborne for the *Tū te Whaihanga* exhibition at the Tairāwhiti Museum, which marked the 250th anniversary of the *Endeavour*’s visit to the region. The show, which also included a substantial group of taonga from the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, collected during Cook’s first voyage, and a few pieces from other museums, was originally expected to last a year: owing to Covid-related disruption, it was extended to May 2022. See Volker Harms, *The Tübingen Poupou: a Māori carving from James Cook’s First Voyage of Discovery* (Tübingen: Eberhard Karls Universität, 2017); Anne Salmond, *Tears of Rangi: experiments across worlds* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2017); Wayne Ngata, Billie Lythberg and Amiria Salmond, ‘Toi Hauiti and Hinematiaro: a Māori ancestor in a German castle’, in *Pacific Presences*, PP 4B, 329-341.

27.

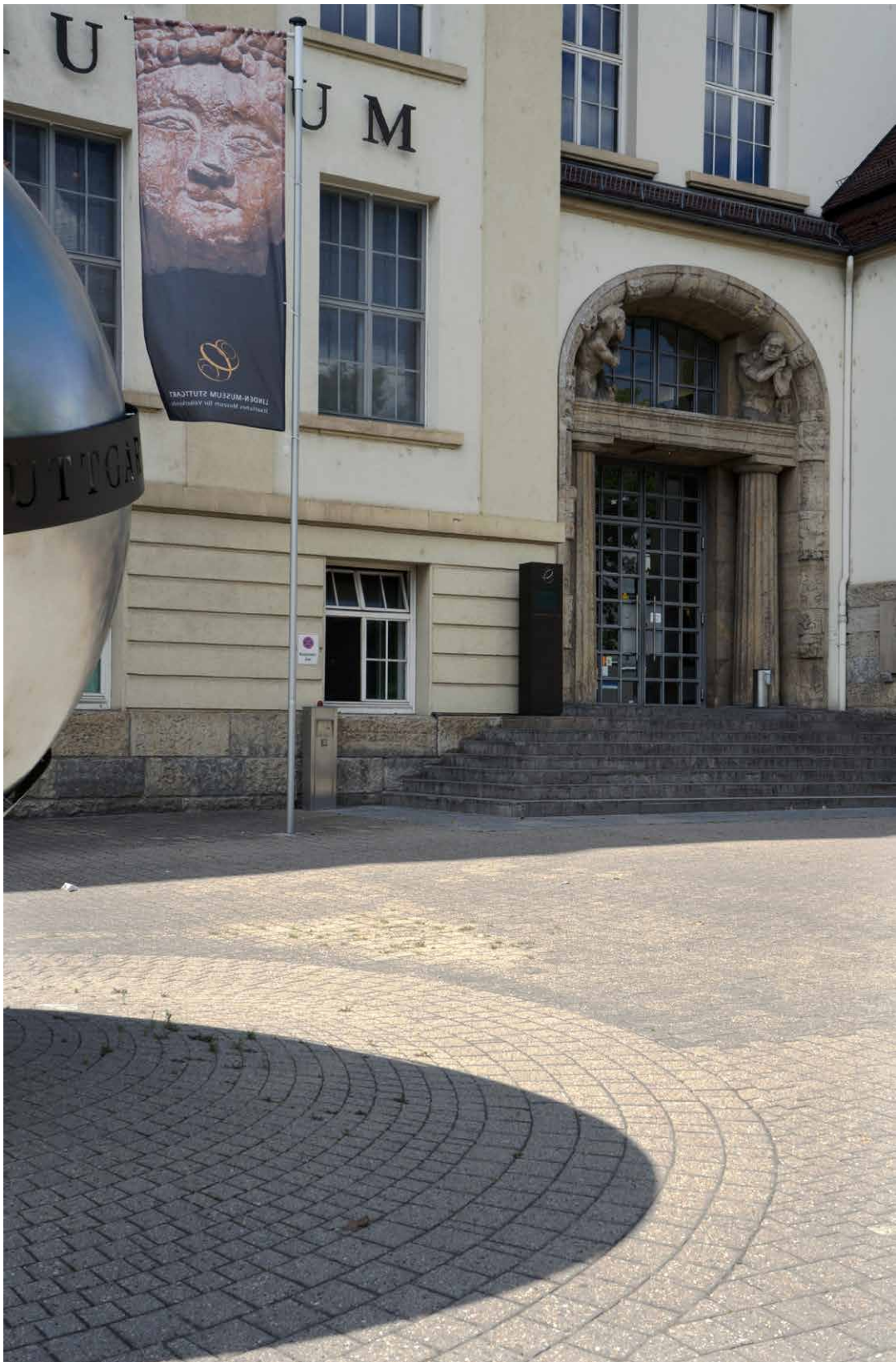
Stuttgart



27.1. 8 July 2015. Linden-Museum. Stuttgart. Germany.









27.2. 8 July 2015. Hoe acquired 12 October 1769. Turanganui. Aotearoa. Cook's first voyage. Ilka Kottman, Areta Wilkinson (Ngai Tahu), Ulrich Menter, Anne Salmond, Billie Lythberg, Steve Gibbs (Ngai Tamanuhiri), Amiria Salmond, Julie Adams. Linden-Museum. Stuttgart. Germany.



27.3. 8 July 2015. Hoe acquired 12 October 1769. Turanganui. Aotearoa. Cook's first voyage. Ulrich Menter, Steve Gibbs (Ngai Tamanuhiri). Anne Salmond, Amiria Salmond, Ilka Kottman, Billie Lythberg. Linden-Museum. Stuttgart. Germany.



27.4. 8 July 2015. Hoe acquired 12 October 1769. Turanganui. Aotearoa. Cook's first voyage. Ulrich Menter, Anne Salmond, Steve Gibbs (Ngai Tamanuhiri), Amiria Salmond, Billie Lythberg, Julie Adams. Linden-Museum. Stuttgart. Germany.



27.5. 8 July 2015. Hoe acquired 12 October 1769. Turanganui. Aotearoa. Cook's first voyage. Ulrich Menter, Steve Gibbs (Ngai Tamanuhiri). Linden-Museum. Stuttgart. Germany.

7. The work of Amiria Salmond, Steve Gibbs (Ngai Tamanuhiri), and other researchers and community members has been revelatory, in relation to an exceptionally significant set of Māori hoe (canoe paddles). These reached European hands on 12 October 1769, just three days after mariners on board Cook's *Endeavour* encountered Māori for the first time. Exchanges with Māori in a number of canoes offshore, near what became the modern town of Gisborne, were vigorous and locals were particularly interested in obtaining pieces of Tahitian barkcloth. They had little to trade with them, and therefore bartered most of their paddles, which – Salmond highlighted – can be readily distinguished as a set, as most bear the iconic curvilinear motifs of kowhaiwhai. These patterns are better known from the painted rafters of Māori meeting houses, but also exhibit a highly distinctive, denticulate approach to the carving of the 'looms', that is, the passage between blade and handle. The hoe are of exceptional significance as taonga, embodiments of the lives and agency of those present during these foundational first encounters, and a set have recently returned to Gisborne for a major exhibition commemorating the encounters (see note below). However, because the artefacts are sufficiently distinctive in their material attributes that they can be unambiguously attributed to this exchange event, and to the *Endeavour* voyage (no similar paddles appear to have been later, or otherwise, collected), they also evidence the varied trajectories of artefacts collected on Cook's first voyage. Approximately 18 hoe associated with this set are now known to be extant; they include two in Cambridge, two at the British Museum, one or two at Te Papa, Wellington, examples in collections in the north of England and Scotland (Sunderland, Newcastle and Glasgow), two recently identified by Aoife O'Brien in Stockholm (and on display there from 2018-19), one in Florence and the hoe at the Linden-Museum, encountered by the group in these images. See Amiria Salmond, "'Their paddles were curiously stained": two Māori paddles from the East Coast', in Thomas *et al.* (eds), *Artefacts of Encounter*, 118-121, and Salmond, 'The Cook-voyage collections in Cambridge', in Coote (ed.), *Cook-Voyage Collections*, 52-57.

AFTERWORD

PETER BRUNT

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For me, one photograph in this book stands out. Taken at the Linden Museum in Stuttgart on 8 July 2015, it captures a group of professional colleagues and friends, some of whom share familial relationships, examining two hoe (Māori paddles) laid out on an inspection table under the glare of a bank of artificial lights (27.2).

Mark Adams is not typically given to creating photographic 'effects'. Usually, what is there is there to be framed and captured as clearly and straightforwardly as the camera makes possible. In this photograph, however, he has set the shutter speed so that the group in the finished print is blurred. They each appear like ghostly transparencies in striking contrast to the two hoe, which remain in sharp focus. The photograph thus suggests the fleetingness of these human presences. Like all of us, they will pass into the forgetfulness and ambiguities of future memory, in contrast to the permanence, or relative permanence, of those human-made objects, documents, articles, books and structures that constitute and house their museological business.

The photograph is part of a set entitled 'Stuttgart' (27.1-5). In the rest of the set, members of the group come incrementally into focus until it ends with only two of them, one holding a hoe thoughtfully in his hands. Some people will recognize the group. It consists of the anthropologist and historian Anne Salmond, renowned for her transformative scholarship in bringing to light the perspectives of Māori and other Pacific Islander worlds in narratives of cross-cultural encounter; her daughter Amiria Salmond, also a historical anthropologist; Manchester native and New Caledonia scholar, Julie Adams, now curator of Oceanic collections at the British Museum; Tongan material culture specialist at the University of Auckland, Billie Lythberg; Ilka Kottman, a Bremen colleague; their host at the Linden Museum, curator Ulrich Menter; and two contemporary Māori artists: Areta Wilkinson (Ngā Tahu), the photographer's partner and now wife; and artist and educator Steve Gibbs (Ngāi Tāmanuhiri and Rongowhakaata), who is pictured with Menter in the final photograph.

The poignancy of the set derives in part from the origins of the two hoe and their meaningfulness to the collective memory of Gibbs and his people, who consider them taonga (ancestral treasures). They are two of a set – around 18 are documented – of hoe given or exchanged with the men of the *Endeavour* during Captain Cook's fateful first encounter with Māori at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa (Poverty Bay), where Gibbs is from. Indeed, his own ancestors were involved in the historic encounter. During October 1769, in a situation of territorial intrusion, radical cultural difference and the nervous calculation of power, several Māori were shot and killed. In the aftermath of that

violence, the hoe were given in efforts to forge a relationship of reciprocal exchange and 'friendship'. Instead, they marked the beginning of a legacy of more than two centuries of colonization.

Still, in this set of photographs it is the blur, not the taonga, that sticks in my mind. It seems to capture something important about *Photo-Museology* as a project and book within Adams' oeuvre as a whole. There are photographs from earlier projects – *Land of Memories*, *Cook's Site*, *Rauru*, *Tatau* – referenced or dovetailed into the book, whose two-part structure, divided between places in the Pacific and the collections of museums in Europe, makes explicit an essential relationship prefigured in those earlier projects.

The photographs of *Photo-Museology* make me think of conceptual artist Robert Smithson's famous distinction between 'site' and 'non-site'. He would install mineral samples in carefully constructed containers, together with photo documentation and site maps in art galleries that he collectively called 'non-sites'. These were in binary opposition to the places they represented or were sampled from, which he called 'sites,' asserting a fundamental difference between the two. More importantly, he suggested that there is an analogical or metaphorical relationship between the two: 'Between the *actual site*... and *The Nonsite* itself exists a space of metaphoric significance... It could be that 'travel' in this space is a vast metaphor.'¹ It seems to me that Adams' oeuvre, and particularly *Photo-Museology*, is precisely about 'travelling' in that space 'between' – a kind of blur.

It is that metaphorical notion that underpins photographs like the multi-part *Nine Fathom Passage* (1.6), photographed in Dusky Bay in New Zealand's South Island or Te Wai Pounamu, while simultaneously referencing William Hodges' representational painting of the Bay, photographed later in London's National Maritime Museum (9.3). Or Adams' photograph of Vaitepeha Bay in Tahiti Iti, entitled *After William Hodges' A View taken in the Bay of Otaheite Peha (1776)* and its counterparts in the Maritime Museum and Anglesey Abbey in Cambridgeshire (9.2 and 11.1-2; Hodges painted two versions of the finished painting, as well as precursor studies and later reworkings).

But there is a twist in this traveling metaphor. Adams' photographs, registered on negatives and exhibited in galleries, are themselves 'non-sites' and, moreover, those 'sites' in the Pacific, like those in Europe, are themselves 'non-sites' in that both, as Anne Salmond's work shows, are culturally conceived in different ways. Yet real places exist. Adams' photographs bear witness to that fact as only photographs can. The 'sites' or 'non-sites' he travels between represent the way these places are riven by different constructions of memory, split between the colonizer and the colonized.

At the origins of those differences is the event of colonial violence. Indeed, the violence that haunts them is often the violence of memory itself, since the very memorials that would commemorate the founding of one historical community – like the obelisk at 'Queen Charlotte Sound' memorializing the site where Cook declared possession of the 'South Island' (1.3) – elide the memory of other communities, vanquished or marginalized by the violence of colonial history. As Paul Ricoeur writes:

1 Robert Smithson, 'A provisional theory of Nonsites' (1968), in Jack Flam (ed.), *Robert Smithson, The Collected Writings* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996). Available at: <https://holtsmithsonfoundation.org/provisional-theory-nonsites> (accessed 3 December 2021).

There is no historical community that has not arisen out of what can be termed an original relation to war. What we celebrate under the heading of founding events, essentially, violent acts legitimated after the fact... The same events are thus found to signify glory for some, humiliation for others. To their celebration, on the one hand, corresponds their execration, on the other. It is in this way that real and symbolic wounds are stored in the archives of collective memory.²

Adams' photographs repeatedly return to these 'wounds' at the origins of colonial identity.

Consider, for example, the photograph of an estuary and rocky promontory in the South Island of New Zealand from *Land of Memories*.³ As Harry Evison notes, the promontory is called Shag Rock by Pākehā and Rapanui by Māori. The estuary is the mouth of two rivers known as Opawaho and Otakaroro by one community and Heathcote and Avon by the other. What was once a rich source of food and flax for the tribe Ngāi Tahu is now the 'gateway' to the modern city of Christchurch, Adams' hometown. The photograph does not just passively reflect these divisions. It is the aching expression of them, conveyed through a haunting, melancholic stillness. In the foreground, a stretch of sand is imprinted with human footsteps – emblems of the ambiguity of memory. On the one hand, ephemeral, soon to be washed away, they signify its vulnerability to erasure and forgetting. On the other hand, they illustrate a Ngāi Tahu proverb (the subtitle of *Land of Memories*) 'Whenua i maharatia, haehae ngā takata – scars on the land, made by people', which associate the footprints with unforgettable wounds, with memories embedded like scars in the landscape itself. 'Land of Memories' seems to document generic landscapes or locations related to the construction of modern New Zealand – its roads and bridges, towns and farms, parks and beaches. But each remains a contested site, some in recent dispute over unjust colonial expropriation, others haunted by the memory of colonial conflicts or ways of life obliterated by the construction of hydroelectric dams and industrial factories.⁴

Or take Adams' 2002 diptych of Kealakekua Bay (4.1), the site of Cook's historic reception by Hawaiians in 1778 and of his death at their hands the following year. As far as divided memories go, this is a loaded site. Adams photographed the bay at dusk, framing the far shore where Cook was slain as a distant silhouette tapering to nothing between sea and sky. An obelisk erected to the navigator's memory is barely discernible in the blackness – it's a tiny sliver of grey, only visible if you search for it. What is not immediately apparent in the photograph, however, is that the viewer is positioned at the base of an unseen heiau, a Hawaiian temple site, where Cook was ceremonially inducted into the rites of the god Lono. We are thus between two memorials, two

2 Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, translated by Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 82.

3 The following two paragraphs are taken, with minor changes, from my essay 'The Pe'a, the portrait and the room,' in *Tatau: Samoan tattoo, New Zealand art, global culture*, Sean Mallon, Peter Brunt and Nicholas Thomas (eds.) (Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2010), 35-50.

4 Mark Adams and Harry Evison, *Land of Memories: A contemporary view of places of historical significance in the South Island of New Zealand* (Auckland: Tandem Press, 1993).

‘memory systems’ – European and Hawaiian. To see one is not to see the other. As one disappears into the landscape, the other looms behind.

Photo-Museology, more than any earlier project in Adams’ oeuvre, starts to bring those divided memories or memory systems together, travelling the space between them, literally and metaphorically. It arrives like a late chapter in a long novel that begins to tie up the plot, not as the ‘story’ of Adams’ time – he is not a photojournalist or a documentarian, however much the documentary image features as the modality of his work. But rather, it arrives as a late phase in a labour of remembering across the colonial divide and through the peculiar mechanism and aesthetics of the (pre-digital) camera, which have defined the nature of his work since the 1970s.

To come back to that blur of ghostly transparencies in Stuttgart, what struck me was not just its suggestion of *their* finitude in the scheme of time but also my own among them, as I was also involved in the *Pacific Presences: Oceanic Art in European Museums* research project. I saw in them a suggestion of what Ricoeur calls ‘close relations.’ In his philosophical meditation on memory, he investigates the differences between individual memory, on the one hand, and sociological memory or the ‘public memory of the communities to which we belong,’ on the other, like ‘citizens’ in ‘the life and activity of the *polis*’. The polis and the different communities of public memory were definitely present and vital through the time of *Pacific Presences*. They were there in the announcement of President Emmanuel Macron’s commissioned report on the repatriation of looted artworks and artefacts from the colonial era in French museums, and in the reconstruction of the Humboldt Forum in central Berlin to house the collections of the now-redundant Berlin Ethnological Museum in Dahlem – a project whose original optimism became mired in similar controversy about Germany’s colonial past and the purpose of museums in the twenty-first century. They were also there in the loan of eight hoe from the Linden and other European museums to Tairāwhiti/Gisborne, where they were exhibited in 2018 for the first time since they were alienated from their place of origin in 1769. They were there in the work of Hawaiian scholar Noelle Kahanu in leading the interface between the community of Hawaiians and the institutional museums of European states concerning the future significance of their ancestral treasures in its collections (16.9-10). And they are there in the scholarship and exhibition ‘outputs’ of *Pacific Presences*, destined for public archive. Between individual memory and ‘public memory’, however – and today we live in a kind of ‘global polis’ in which we all can appear to be ‘others’ – Ricoeur identifies another locus of memory in ‘close relations’:

These close relations, these people who count for us and for whom we count, are situated along a range of varying distances in the relation between self and others. Varying distances but also variation in the active and passive modes of the interplay of distantiation and closeness that makes proximity a dynamic relationship ceaselessly in motion: drawing near, feeling close. Proximity would then be the counterpart to friendship.⁵

Close relations and friendship are what I saw in the *mise-en-scène* of the Stuttgart photograph. Look again and you will find it repeated throughout *Photo-Museology*.

5 Paul Ricoeur, op. cit., p.131.

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Mark Adams was born in 1949 in Ka Pakahi Whakatekateka o Waitaha Christchurch, Te Wai Pounamu the South Island, Aotearoa New Zealand. He went to art school there and has ever since pursued a large format, analogue camera practice. He has lived mostly in Auckland and in the South Island, but since the 1990s has increasingly travelled and worked elsewhere in the Pacific and in Europe.

From 1978, his work has addressed cross-cultural and colonial histories; he has collaborated with historians, Maori tohunga and Pacific Island tufuga, producing several extended photographic series addressing colonial histories and cultural exchanges. Collaborative books include *Cook's Sites: revisiting history* with Nicholas Thomas and *Tatau/Tattoo* (2010) with Peter Brunt, Sean Mallon and Thomas (see bibliography for a full list).

Since 1972, he has shown work from these and other projects in many public and private galleries and museums in Aotearoa New Zealand and internationally. *Tatau/Tattoo* was shown first at the Adam Art Gallery at Victoria University, Wellington, in 2003 and later in Canada and the United Kingdom. *Cook's Sites* was shown at the Museum of Sydney in 2005 and subsequently toured extensively within Australia.

Adams has exhibited in Amsterdam, Johannesburg, Leiden, London, São Paulo and elsewhere; his work was also represented in the *Oceania* exhibition at the Royal Academy of Arts in London and the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac from 2018-19. He collaborates with his partner, Areta Wilkinson, and they have had several joint exhibitions at New Zealand venues.

Adams' practice has been supported by many New Zealand awards, and by the Leverhulme Trust and the Getty Foundation. He was artist-in-residence for the duration of the *Pacific Presences* project, based at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge (2013-18).

Nicholas Thomas was born in Sydney in 1960. He first visited the Pacific in 1984 to undertake research in the Marquesas Islands. Over that year, he lived mostly on 'Ua Pou, but visited all six islands; he has since travelled extensively in Oceania and in particular spent time in Fiji, Tahiti, Hawai'i, Niue and Aotearoa.

He is author or editor of some 50 influential books and exhibition catalogues, which have ranged widely over European exploration and art in Oceania, colonial histories and Indigenous art traditions. They include *Islanders: the Pacific in the age of empire* (2012), which was awarded the Wolfson History Prize; *The Return of Curiosity: what museums are good for in the twenty-first century* (2016); and several books in collaboration with Mark Adams and other artists, including the Niuean painter John Pule. He has also written extensively about contemporary art and museums for the *Financial Times*, *The Art Newspaper*, *Apollo*, *Artlink* and *Art Asia Pacific*, among other magazines and journals.

Oceania, which Thomas co-curated with Peter Brunt for the Royal Academy of Arts in London and the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac in Paris in 2018-19, was acclaimed as a landmark exhibition by critics across major newspapers in Britain, France, Germany and the United States, as well as in Pacific nations themselves. A Fellow of the British Academy, Thomas has held professorships at the Australian National University and at Goldsmiths College, and since 2006 has been Professor of Historical Anthropology, Director of the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology at the University of Cambridge, and a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. He lives in London and in the Corbières, in the south of France.

Peter Brunt was born in Auckland, the son of migrant parents from Sāmoa (both of Sāmoan and English descent). He was educated in Aotearoa and the United States and received his PhD from Cornell University. He is Associate Professor of Art History at Victoria University of Wellington, where he teaches and researches the visual arts of the Pacific. He has a particular interest in art and cross-cultural encounters, Indigenous modernisms and contemporary Pacific art, publishing on artists such as William Hodges, Aloï Pilioko, Gordon Walters and John Pule.

He has worked with Mark Adams and Nicholas Thomas on numerous research, book and exhibition projects, including *Tatau: Pe'a: Photographs by Mark Adams* (2003), *Tatau: Samoan tattoo, New Zealand art, global culture* (2010), *Art in Oceania: A New History* (2012), co-edited with Thomas and winner of the Authors' Society Art Book Prize; *Multiple Modernisms: Twentieth Century Art in Global Perspective*, funded by the Leverhulme Trust (2013-17) and *Oceania* at the Royal Academy of Arts and the musée du quai Branly -Jacques Chirac (2018-19).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The work represented in this book spans several decades and it is impossible to thank everyone who facilitated the taking of photographs or otherwise assisted us over that extended period. However, we are profoundly indebted to all those who helped, particularly with access to institutions and collections. They include: in Göttingen, Gundolf Krüger; in Greenwich, Nigel Rigby; in Hamburg, Jeanette Kokott; at the British Museum, Lissant Bolton, Jill Hasell and Jenny Newell; in Oxford, Jeremy Coote and Mark Carnall; in Cambridge, Rachel Hand and Jocelyne Dudding; in Munich, Michaela Appel; in Leiden, Wonu Veys; in Paris, Philippe Peltier; in Berlin, Dorothea Deterts; in Stuttgart, Ulrich Menter; in Tübingen, Völker Harms; in Zurich, Katharina Haslwanter; in Tallinn, Anne Ruusaar and Arho Tuhkru; and in Stockholm, Aoife O'Brien. We also owe a great deal to the Pacific Presences team and close associates, whose imagination, passion and research shaped the project, and for great company through our various travels: Julie Adams, Peter Brunt, Lucie Carreau, Ali Clark, Elena Govor, Teiki Hu'ukena, Noelle Kahanu, Alana Jelinek, Erna Lilje, Maia Nuku, Amiria Salmond, François Wadra and Areta Wilkinson. 'Pacific Presences: Oceanic art and European museums' was funded by the European Research Council under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007-2013) / ERC Grant Agreement no. 324146.

Mark Adams must acknowledge support from and collaboration with Areta Wilkinson: my beloved partner in life and art. Also for support and love during all these years of travel and work, Master Huxley Otis Millar and Miss Madeleine Maimiti Rawstorne-Adams must be remembered, along with Anastasia, Benjamin, Dante, Carol and Kerry.

Nicholas Thomas has to thank Annie Coombes for decades of intellectual stimulation and critical conversation as well as for her support and love; and Nicky Coombes-Thomas, who has joined us on many travels, been fantastic company and is now an inspiring photographer himself.

PHOTO-MUSEOLOGY

Ethnographic museums, now often rebranded as collections of ‘world cultures’, appear permanently problematic, even as their contexts and the orientation of their activities change. Across Europe and elsewhere, curators and other museum staff are committed to dialogue and collaboration with the peoples from whom collections were made. But their vast assemblages of artefacts, removed from countries of origin primarily during the colonial period, and assumed, mostly inaccurately, to have been looted, seem always in question.

Photo-Museology arises from an art project undertaken over 25 years. From the early 1990s, Mark Adams and Nicholas Thomas together investigated sites of cross-cultural encounter in the Pacific and associated places in Europe, ranging from Captain Cook memorials to ethnographic museums. Some of those museums still exhibited colonial symbols and forms of knowledge, others had attempted to displace such histories, foregrounding more inclusive or progressive stories. Complementing the academic studies in the Pacific Presences series, this book offers what John Berger referred to as ‘another way of telling’. Through photography, it revisits the places collections were made, and the places they ended up in. It is a meditation on presence and absence.

