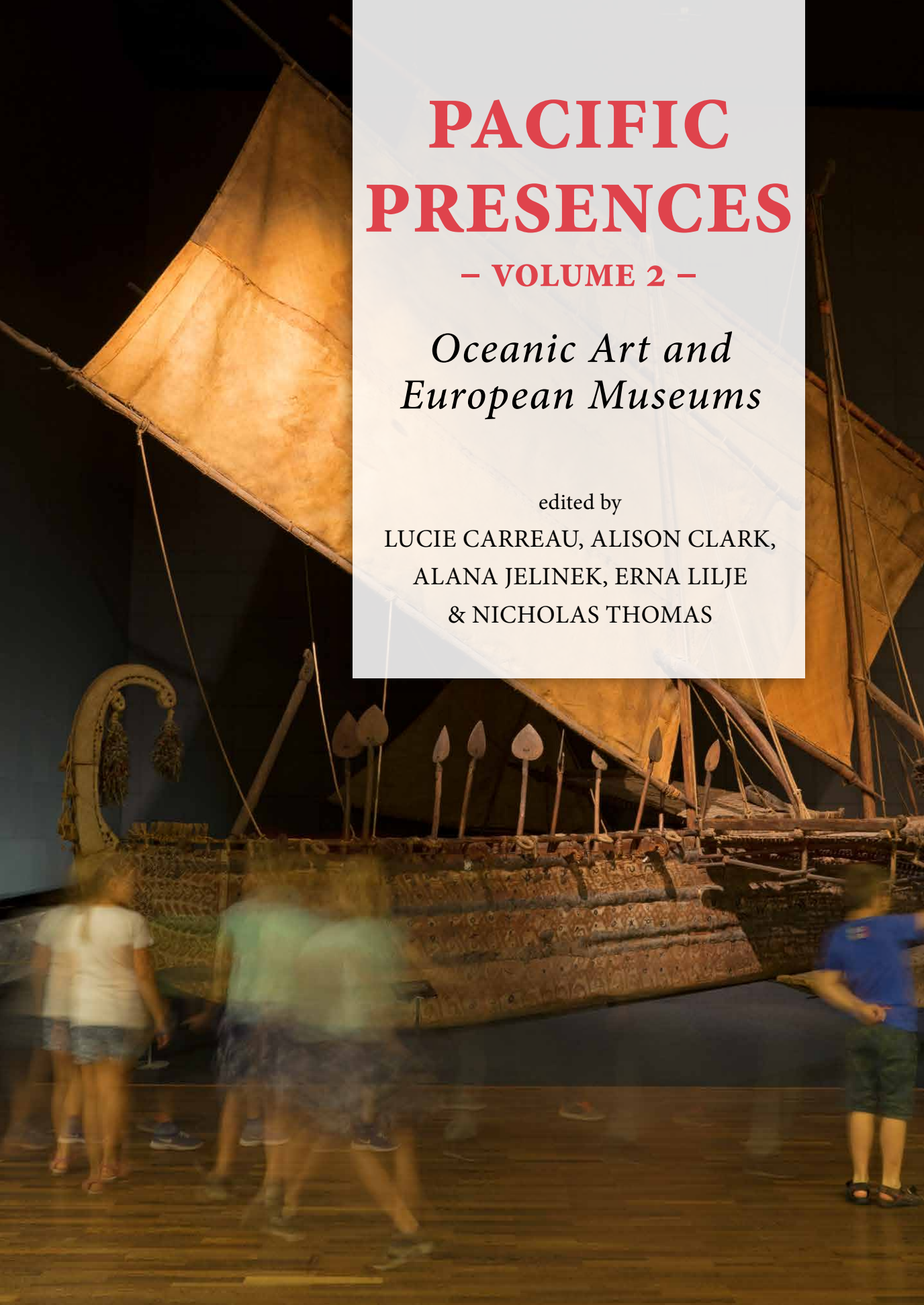


PACIFIC PRESENCES

– VOLUME 2 –

Oceanic Art and European Museums

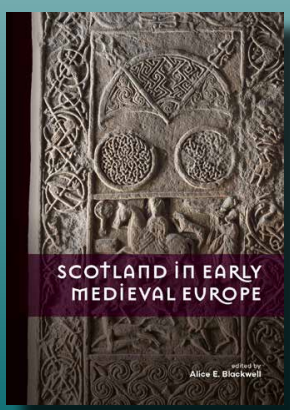
edited by
LUCIE CARREAU, ALISON CLARK,
ALANA JELINEK, ERNA LILJE
& NICHOLAS THOMAS

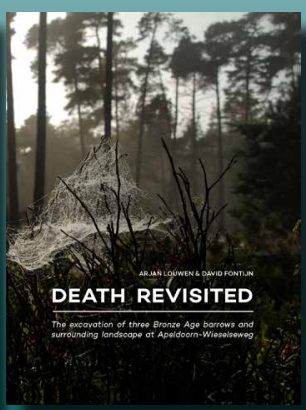
sidestonepress

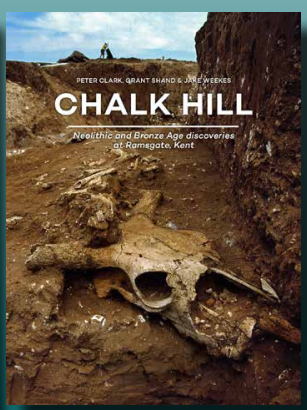
This is an Open Access publication. Visit our website for more OA publication, to read any of our books for free online, or to buy them in print or PDF.

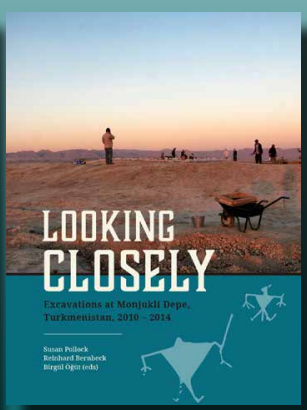
www.sidestone.com

Check out some of our latest publications:









PACIFIC PRESENCES

– VOLUME 2 –



Sidestone Press

PACIFIC PRESENCES

– VOLUME 2 –

Oceanic Art and European Museums

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

PACIFIC PRESENCES 4B

© 2018 Individual Authors

Series: Pacific Presences, volume 4b
General Editor: Nicholas Thomas

Published by Sidestone Press, Leiden
www.sidestone.com

Lay-out & cover design: Sidestone Press
Photograph cover: Interior of the boat hall, Ethnologisches Museum Berlin, 2015. Photograph by Mark Adams.

ISBN 978-90-8890-626-8 (softcover)
ISBN 978-90-8890-627-5 (hardcover)
ISBN978-90-8890-628-2 (PDF e-book)

CONTENTS

Introduction 9
Nicholas Thomas

PART ONE - MATERIALITIES 11

1. Fibre skirts: continuity and change 13
Erna Lilje

2. Shell money and context in Western Island Melanesia 25
Katherine Szabó

3. Aitutaki patterns or listening to the voices of the Ancestors: research on Aitutaki ta'unga in European museums 39
Michaela Appel and Ngaa Kitai Taria Purearíki

4. Unpacking cosmologies: frigate bird and turtle shell headdresses in Nauru 51
Maia Nuku

5. 'Reaching across the Ocean': Barkcloth in Oceania and beyond 65
Anna-Karina Hermkens

6. 'U'u: an unfinished inquiry into the history and adornment of Marquesan clubs 79
Nicholas Thomas

PART TWO - COLLECTION HISTORIES AND EXHIBITIONS 89

7. Haphazard histories: tracing Kanak collections in UK museums 91
Julie Adams

8. Inaccuracies, inconsistencies and implications: researching Kiribati coconut fibre armour in UK collections 107
Polly Bence

9. From Russia with love: Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay's Pacific collections 123
Elena Govor

10. Collecting procedure unknown: contextualizing the Max Biermann collection in the Museum Fünf Kontinente in Munich 131
Hilke Thode-Arora

11. Made to measure: photographs from the Templeton Crocker expedition 139
Lucie Carreau

12. German women collectors in the Pacific: Elizabeth Krämer-Bannow and Antonie Brandeis 155
Amiria Salmond

13. The illustration of culture: work on paper in the art history of Oceania 165
Nicholas Thomas

14. Two Germanies: ethnographic museums, (post)colonial exhibitions, and the 'cold odyssey' of Pacific objects between East and West 171
Philipp Schorch

15. Museum dreams: the rise and fall of a Port Vila museum 187
Peter Brunt

PART THREE - LEGACIES OF EMPIRE 205

16. Kings, Rangatira and relationships: the enduring meanings of 'treasure' exchanges between Māori and Europeans in 1830s Whangaroa 207
Deidre Brown

17. An early Tongan ngatu tahina in Sweden 223
Nicholas Thomas

18. Wilful amnesia? Contemporary Dutch narratives about western New Guinea 229
Fanny Wonu Veys

19. A glimmering presence: the unheard Melanesian voices of St Barnabas Memorial Chapel, Norfolk Island 235
Lucie Carreau

20. The Titikaveka barkcloth: a preliminary account 249
Nicholas Thomas

21. 'The woman who walks': Lucy Evelyn Cheesman, her collecting and contacts in western New Guinea 253
Katharina Wilhelmina Haslwanter

22. History and cultural identity: commemorating the arrival of British in Kiribati 265
Alison Clark

23. Makereti and the Pitt Rivers Museum, 1921-1930, and beyond 277
Ngahuia te Awekotuku and Jeremy Coote

PART FOUR - CONTEMPORARY ACTIVATIONS 297

24. *ARCHIVES Te Wāhi Pounamu* 299
Areta Wilkinson and Mark Adams

25. Hoe Whakairo: painted paddles from New Zealand 315
Steve Gibbs, Billie Lythberg and Amiria Salmond

26. Toi Hauiti and Hinematioro: a Māori ancestor in a German castle 329
Wayne Ngata, Billie Lythberg and Amiria Salmond

27. Reinvigorating the study of Micronesian objects in European museums: collections from Pohnpei and Kosrae, Federated States of Micronesia 343
Helen A. Alderson

28. Knowing and not knowing 351
Alana Jelinek

29. Interview 365
Kaetaeta Watson, Chris Charteris, Lizzy Leckie and Alison Clark

30. Piecing together the past: reflections on replicating an ancestral tiputa with contemporary fabrics 375
Pauline Reynolds

31. Interview 387
Dairi Arua and Erna Lilje

32. 'In Process' 391
Alana Jelinek

33. Backhand and full tusks: museology and the mused 397
Rosanna Raymond

Epilogue 409

Endnotes 425

Select bibliography 475

Contributors' Biographies 479

Acknowledgements 487

Index 495

INTRODUCTION

NICHOLAS THOMAS

~

The first volume of this set offered a series of 'maps', or rather a selective, provisional 'historical atlas' of *Pacific presences* across Europe, that is of collections of artefacts in museums across five countries. Each of those survey chapters could have been substantially expanded; and there is scope for producing similar histories of collections in other regions. The aims were to outline the range, richness and diversity of Pacific collections, and to indicate some of the reasons why collections are uneven and interconnected. National boundaries provided convenient frames of reference for these chapters, though collection and museum histories were frequently interconnected, not least through museum transfers and exchanges.

If the mapping metaphor is retained, this second volume traces some out of many journeys which can be undertaken across the territories we have so provisionally charted. One of the premises of the larger project was that collections are extraordinary resources, creative technologies, that can be used to produce new things – they are sources of cultural and environmental knowledge; they are research resources for many kinds of inquiry in archaeology, art history, anthropology, history and other fields; they are sources of artistic inspiration.

The *Pacific Presences* project, and this book, cohered around focused attention to artefacts and collections, and a profound commitment to the contemporary salience of that material heritage to people in the Pacific, in the present. Our research, in many specific ways, consistently focused on making connections. In a historical sense we sought to connect artefacts with each other, particularly in re-assembling of collections made in certain times and places that had been dispersed among collectors and museums, across nations. But we also sought always to connect artefacts and communities, engaging with descendants of makers, artists and experts from the places artefacts were collected from. While this might imply a standard approach, these interests and commitments led to quite different histories and outcomes in different cases – artefacts, histories, museums and communities are profoundly heterogeneous. The Pacific itself is a profoundly heterogeneous region, shaped by different environments, from the New Guinea Highlands to the atolls of Micronesia and eastern Polynesia, by different colonial histories, from the voyages of exploration to the nuclear colonialism of the post-war decades, by relative linguistic and cultural homogeneity in some archipelagos to profound diversity in others, and by different histories of migration and thus relations with diasporas, among many other considerations. This volume aims to acknowledge that diversity of context, which means that heritage, museums

and historic artefact collections have equally heterogeneous significance and potential value for different Pacific peoples.

While the chapters in this volume share these foci and concerns, they have been loosely divided into four parts dedicated to materialities, collection histories and exhibitions, legacies of empire and contemporary activations. The first part addresses what we learn from particular media and forms, such as fibre skirts, shell valuables and sculpted wooden weapons. The second explores the formation of a range of collections, asking how artefacts from certain places, acquired in the course of particular expeditions, travels and phases of cross-cultural engagement were brought together, dispersed and exhibited; it considers the changing fortunes of the museums that held such collections over time, and under different political regimes. The third part considers an aspect of ethnographic museums that has been intermittently notorious: their association with empire. These chapters refract the issue, considering how particular artefacts and collections manifest imperial transactions and histories, and the surprising ways in which colonialism sometimes figures in local historical imagining and commemoration today. The last part of the book deals with contemporary activation, though, as has been noted, all of the work we undertook was either directly or indirectly interested in the significance of artefacts, collections and their histories in the present. The chapters in this section represent ongoing curatorial and art projects, in some cases those of communities, in others of individual artists, in which historic collections are central, potent and alive. The two-volume set concludes with a set of personal reflections by members of the core project team. If it is somewhat unconventional to give the personal the last word, as it were, in a scholarly book of this kind, that is appropriate, given what we have dealt with. As many contributors signal in their chapters, the artefacts we encounter and explore, situated in peculiar and remarkable institutions far from their milieux of origin, are not neutral things, but poignant and powerful ones that evoke profound change, displacement and loss, as well as varied other dimensions of experience, life, history and memory in the Pacific, and in the space of cross-cultural, colonial encounter that has connected the Pacific and Europe over the past several hundred years. As many of the contributors suggest, the work we have engaged in goes beyond scholarly documentation, interpretation and contextualization. In seeking to re-connect artefacts and people, and re-animate things, this has been, at a fundamental level, a project of hope.

PART ONE

~

MATERIALITIES

CHAPTER 1

Fibre skirts: continuity and change

ERNA LILJE

~

The island of New Guinea is famously culturally and linguistically diverse. The southeast coast is not an exception; there have been many connections between peoples in different areas, historically and prehistorically through interlinked trade networks, both along the coast and linking the coast to inland areas. An example of one of these traded items are fibre skirts. They are a traditional form of dress in many parts of New Guinea, including the southeast coast where they are associated with women and girls.

The peoples of the southeast coast, part of Papua New Guinea, experienced rapid social change over 100 years. The arrival in 1873 of the first foreigners, South Seas missionary teachers, to take up permanent residence signalled the beginning of a new era for Indigenous groups. Although the first wave of teachers lived, and died, in tenuous circumstances with their Papuan hosts, the subsequent missionary onslaught, with the support of the British government, became the vanguard of colonial power proper. The establishment of London Missionary Society headquarters in present-day Port Moresby formalized the missionaries as a new locus of power. The mission houses, supply lines, and the connections to local people established by missionaries meant that they would play a significant role as a gateway for scientific and commercial interests during the earliest years (1873 to 1880s). Later, the governments of Britain (1884-1906) and then Australia (1906-1975) also based their administrations there and in 1975 Port Moresby became the capital and primary economic centre of the independent nation of Papua New Guinea.

Diversity and change

When Indigenous forms of clothing were still commonly worn, the type of fibre skirt a person might wear was affected by factors such as the style of dress of the wearer's community, social category in relation to matrimony (widow, married, unmarried but marriageable, young girl), clan affiliation, and the context (*e.g.* harvest feasts, initiation ceremonies, daily labour) in which the skirt was worn. Through time the styles and materials favoured by a community changed and still do change as it is a dynamic living practice that continues to have relevance for many people today.

On the southeast coast the most widely used plants for making skirts are palms, especially sago (Figure 1.1), nypa (Figure 1.2) and pandanus (Figure 1.3) species. Fibre from sago palm (Metroxylon sagu) and nypa palm (Nypa fruticans) are derived from the immature leaves that grow in the centre of the trees' crown. In each case, the process is labour intensive; however, producing sago fibre is the most difficult as it involves peeling the membranes off each leaf. This must be done as soon as the immature leaves are harvested or it will be impossible to separate the membrane from the leaf. Sago palms are also covered in flexible but sharp spines up to 7.5cm long. It takes approximately six hours and the immature leaves of 25 trees to make enough sago fibre for a skirt. By contrast, it takes around two and a half hours and 20 trees to make a nypa fibre skirt. Pandanus leaves are easier to process. The leaves are cut from the plant, the sharp edges trimmed off and the central rib is removed. The least mature leaves are boiled to make a lighter material that can be used for decorative elements on skirts and other objects, such as drums. The materials are then dried in the sun for one to two weeks.

Peoples of different cultural areas on the southeast coast distinguish themselves from each other materially and can also reinforce connections and friendly relations by sharing designs with each other.[1] Though the styles and materials used by a people are



Figure 1.1. Avia Kivori, wearing a sago fibre skirt that she had made, gave an impromptu performance of dancing, singing and drumming to demonstrate how a skirt should move. Kila Kila village, 3 October 2008. Photograph by Erna Lilje.



Figure 1.2. Dairi Arua constructing a nypa fibre skirt in Waigani, Port Moresby, 2008. Photograph by Erna Lilje.



Figure 1.3. A pandanus fibre skirt nearing completion. Babagarubu village, 2017. Photograph by Erna Lilje.

dynamic over time, it is possible to identify a number of geographic areas, comprising multiple cultural groups, that share materially similar fibre skirt traditions (Figure 1.4), by analysing museum collections and historic photos.[2] Area A, in Figure 1.4,[3] includes Mekeo and North Mekeo peoples, and where there was a diversity of fibre types until around 1915 when sago fibre becomes domininant. New dyed patterns on skirts were introduced from 1916 to 1945. These were derived from Roro styles, a neighbouring cultural group with whom they enjoyed a friendly relationship. Sago fibre skirts appear to have been worn in Area B (Figure 1.5), and the coastal areas of the Papuan Gulf to the west (not shown on the map) from at least the 1870s onwards. People from the coast, especially the Roro, are noted by a number of ethnographers and supported by present-day cultural experts[4] as exporting skirts to other areas. Motu and Koita people in Area C appear to have worn sago and nypa skirts over many decades. Nypa fibre skirts were preferred for day-to-day clothing (Figure 1.6); however, historic photographs show that skirts with decorative pandanus elements were also worn. They also show nypa fibre skirts used as an underskirt beneath a sago fibre skirt (Figure 1.7). There are far fewer skirts in collections from areas D and E. However, the Hula in Area D have long had stylistic and fibre diversity including combinations of nypa, pandanus and sago with the layering of different materials being a feature (Figure 1.8). In Area E, historic photos taken in 1913 show pandanus skirts were worn (Figure 1.9). There are few skirts in collections; however, those dating to the late 1960s are all made of sago fibre.

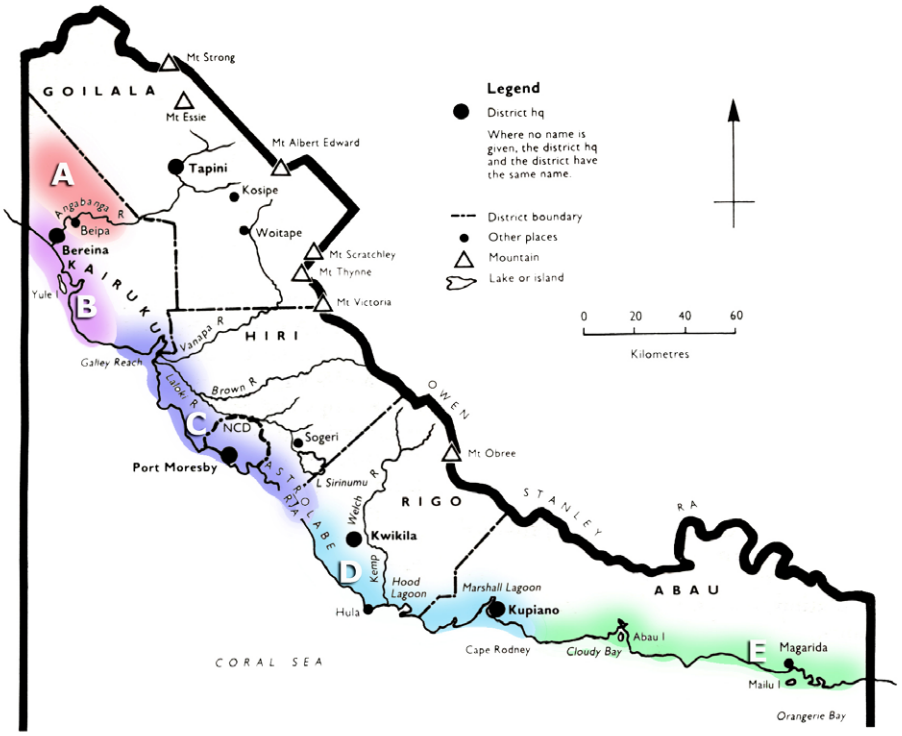


Figure 1.4. Map showing geographic areas, comprising multiple cultural groups, that share materially similar fibre skirt traditions.

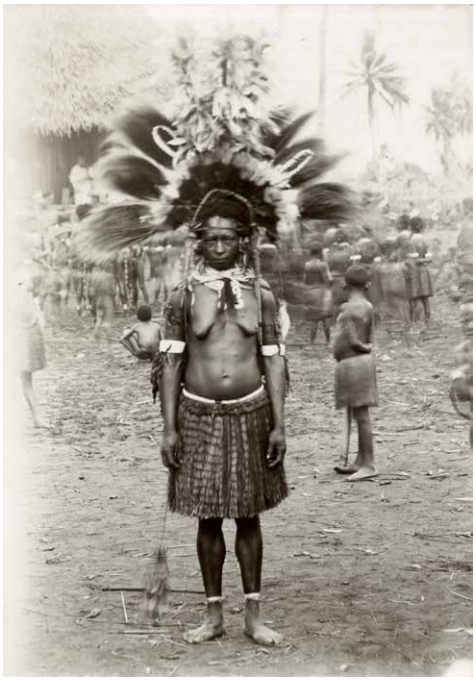


Figure 1.5. Kathleen Haddon (later Rishbeth), 'Dancer at Waima, Mekeo', shows a Roro or Mekeo woman, attending a special event, wearing a dyed sago fibre skirt and many valuables, 1914. Courtesy of Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, P.45901.KH.



Figure 1.6. Unidentified photographer, 'String-making, Pt. M [Port Moresby]', photo taken during the Cambridge University Anthropological Expedition to the Torres Straits, 1898 to 1899, shows Motuan woman wearing nypa fibre skirts, 1898. Courtesy of Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, P.1890.ACH1.



Figure 1.7. John William Lindt, '5. Motu Woman. Port Moresby', shows a Motuan woman wearing a sago fibre skirt over a nypa fibre skirt, c.1885. Courtesy of Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, P.12805.LDT.



Figure 1.8. Unidentified photographer, 'Dancers, Babaka', photo taken during the Cambridge University Anthropological Expedition to the Torres Straits, 1898 to 1899, shows Hula people dressed for a festival in Babaka village. The young women, or girls, are wearing fibre skirts made from a number of different materials, visible are sago fibre and pandanus, 1898. Courtesy of Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, P.2010.ACH1.



Figure 1.9. Kathleen Haddon, 'Women, Aimuro [sic Ainuro] near Mailu', shows women wearing pandanus fibre skirts, 1914. Courtesy of Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, P.2104.ACH1.

Production and exchange

Some areas along the south coast of New Guinea specialized in the manufacture of skirts. The historic data on production centres for fibre skirts is summarized in Figure 1.10. There is a strong correlation between these areas and the existence of extensive mangrove swamps where palms, particularly sago, are commonly found. It should be noted that Port Moresby is not shown as a major skirt producing region. In fact, people there imported most of their skirts from other areas where the essential raw materials were more plentiful. Historic sources also make it clear that skirts were widely traded. For example, in writing about the people of Port Moresby and the surrounding area in 1876, Octavious Stone[5] observed that Motu and Koita women wore two types of dress. Their ordinary dress consisted of a 'fringe girdle, or rami, 15 inches deep, made from the pandanus-leaf, completely encircling the loins'. The other 'superior' type made from sago palm leaf and principally made outside the area at Gabadi (Stone wrote 'Kapatsi') near Manumanu, located to the west of Port Moresby. William Turner, writing in 1878, observed that Gabadi (Turner wrote 'Kapati') was especially noted for the manufacture of women's dresses.[6] He observed that Motu women bought their skirts from both the Elema (also known as 'Toaripi', eastern Papuan Gulf) and from the people of Gabadi, a village up the Manumanu River.[7] These are Areas *a* and *c* respectively marked on Figure 1.10. He described the Toaripi skirts as red,[8] which suggests that they were made of sago fibre. Stone describes the Gabadi skirts as being white,[9] and Turner suggests that they were made of nypa fibre,[10] which might be described as white or light coloured.

The missionary William Lawes[11] wrote in July 1881 that Koloko, Queen[12] of the Nara people (Lawes wrote 'Naala' tribe) (Area *c* in Figure 1.10) was keen to trade, offering fine netted bags and women's petticoats. Nara and Gabadi people are near neighbours. Lawes, like Stone, states that sago fibre skirts came from this area. Lawes observed that:

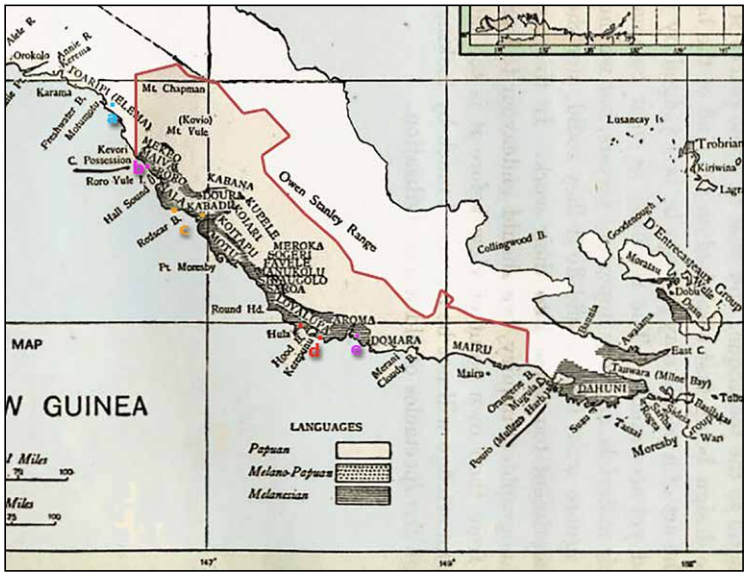


Figure 1.10. Map showing the skirt producing areas on the southeast coast. The outlined area represents the present-day boundary of Central Province.

> She is not above accepting tobacco, nor yet doing a little trade on her own account. They make very fine netted bags at Naala, [and] also the women's dresses or petticoats out of the sago palm leaf- Koloko [and] her husband went on board the 'Harriet' [and] they did a good stroke of business with the captain [and] crew- We bought a few netted bags too.[13]

Alfred Cort Haddon, writing in 1900, observed that the people of Yule Island bought a variety of items from different places, such as Port Moresby villages (nose, arm and other shell ornaments), Mekeo (feather ornaments, gourds and forks), Toaripi (large bark belts), and petticoats from Kivori.[14] Charles Seligman, writing in 1910, also notes that, among other goods, the Hula and Aroma bring 'petticoats' to the Port Moresby region to trade with Koita and Motu.[15] He observed that people from Kerepunu also sent 'petticoats' and toea to the Motu and Koita,[16] and people from Manumanu brought a variety of trade products with them, including sago fibre skirts, to trade with the Motu and Koita.[17] Another important source of skirts for Motu people residing near Port Moresby was the Hiri trade. The core purpose of the Hiri voyages was to exchange Motu pots, produced in the vicinity of Port Moresby, for sago flour from the eastern Papuan Gulf. Other items such as 'special' sago fibre skirts were also traded.[18]

People in different areas adopted Western styles of clothing at different times. The term 'Western styles' is used to encompass both present-day Western clothes and earlier introduced forms of clothing that were neither traditional nor the contemporary dress of foreigners at that time, such as lap laps. There are many examples, in historic photos and historic accounts of an interest in acquiring items of clothing prior to them becoming regular dress, for example shirts[19] and leather belts.[20] However, more widespread change would have centred upon administrative hubs, especially Port Moresby, being led by those directly engaged with Europeans and South Sea Island missionary teachers, with access to cash to make purchases or who had been issued a uniform. Because of this it is difficult to provide even a range of dates for the widespread adoption of Western styles by the population at large but a likely beginning is the late nineteenth century, with men employed by the administration such as the armed constabulary. A likely boost to the trend toward Western styles of clothing was the introduction in 1918 of a 'Head Tax', which required the head of each household, usually the husband, to pay a sum of money as tax to the colonial authority, and thereby created the need for Indigenous men to earn cash. Employment could be found in plantations, copra production, or infrastructure construction and so men were away from their homes and in new colonial social contexts for a few years at a time. Meanwhile, in places more distant from the direct effects of the administration, women were wearing traditional clothing into the 1960s.

In contrast to that experienced in many other parts of Oceania the influence of early missionaries over dress was restrained. This was largely a matter of policy shared by both Catholic and Protestant missions. Haddon observed in 1898 the skirts and clothing of the people of Veifa'a village (in Area A of Figure 1.4). The entry provides an evocative anecdote of missionaries (Sacred Heart) and Papuans engaged in social negotiations about day-to-day practices:

> The people about here wear native clothing almost exclusively it is quite rare to see a man or woman in any European clothing – and a good thing it is too … The women wear short black 'grass' petticoats, these are the shortest we have yet seen and I hear that the dress further inland is yet scantier. The missionaries do not lay stress on European clothes, but they expect the women and girls who attend the services to wear calico gowns and it was very amusing before a service to see the women and girls go to the girls' schoolhouse and bring out their gowns – and throw (others) theirs in the courtyard – and then put them on in the open – that was right enough but somehow it did not seem quite so proper to see them disrobe afterwards in the courtyard – though, of course, they were decently clothed in their fashion under the garbs of civilisation. As a matter of fact the women were very modest and virtuous as in many other parts of New Guinea.[21]

Only dance skirts now

In the couple of decades prior to Independence in 1975 fibre skirt production and use shows a stronger emphasis on establishing distinctive proprietary identities, as opposed to distinguishing social categories within a group, such as differentiating between widows and unmarried women.[22] The use of fibre skirts for day-to-day work clothing fell into obsolescence. This means that the objects in museum collections dating to this period are solely comprised of skirts made for special, and therefore dancing, occasions. This is also the pattern of fibre skirt production and use that can be observed, though not reflected in museum collection, in present-day Papua New Guinea.



Figure 1.11. Dancers welcome my party to Babagarubu village in 2017. The fibre skirts are made from red plastic and pandanus. Photograph by Erna Lilje.

One can learn about relatively recent periods, the 1950s up to the present day, by talking to people who experienced these decades. In 2017 I visited Babagarubu village in Rigo District, Central Province, to learn about pandanus skirt production. I had arranged to receive a tutorial from people with expertise. Pandanus is not the type they use now; they were demonstrating how to make one because it is what I had arranged to see. Now they have red ones made of plastic and pandanus (Figure 1.11). The establishment of the first mission school at the village in the mid-1960s emerged as an historical bookmark. One woman recalled that they wore traditional clothing, pandanus fibre skirts, at that time because that was all they had.[23]

Though Western clothing has become ubiquitous for daily attire, there are many occasions for which traditional clothing is required. These range from ceremonies involving a cultural specialist (*e.g.* funerals), shared village activities (*e.g.* dancing to greet a new pastor), commercial performances for entertainment or celebrations to mark national or international events (*e.g.* sports competitions).

In 2008 I spoke with Avia Kivori and Joseph Oa Akauma, the wife and husband team who led the Kivori Cultural Dance Group, as advertised by a sign outside their home in Port Moresby. Other members of their family participate in the group, which is registered with the National Cultural Commission. The dance group is hired for commercial events such as performances at hotels for conferences and large public events. In addition to these audiences, they are also engaged by Roro people to participate in significant occasions, such as funerals. At the time of our conversation they were about to leave for Kairuku district to dance at a funeral. In return for dancing and observing a vigil, they and her clan received a payment.[24]

Other examples of when traditional attire might be required are when an important person needs to be welcomed to a village with dance and singing. Are Kere said she and other women in Pinu village make skirts for these special occasions. For example, a couple of years earlier the village had played host to important church-related visitors. The villagers performed music and danced to welcome them, for which the women made and wore sago fibre skirts. In the past, Ara had also instructed school students in the making of skirts.[25] During my fieldwork in Hisiu village some people were also preparing feather decorations to be worn with other traditional attire to welcome a political candidate who would be campaigning in the village the following weekend.[26]

Conclusion

From the 1870s onwards, people on the southeast coast of New Guinea were affected by interactions with, and later, the impositions of Europeans. What were experienced as 'new' contexts were the local effects of macro-scale phenomena, such as the competitive imperialist pursuits of global powers, evangelical missionary zeal, colonial governance and world wars. The changes wrought by these new contexts were centred upon Port Moresby. Despite the magnitude of the social impacts experienced by local communities, the production and use of fibre skirts continued to have significance for many. It was clear from the women I spoke to in Babagarubu village that by the 1960s they were aware of Western clothing, had no means of acquiring it, but would have if they could. It is a further illustration of the ways in which Indigenous people's negotiation of new contexts was materially-mediated.

That fibre skirts are made and worn, styles are tweaked, and innovations of materials and colours explored, is evidence of the material negotiation of social change. It is also the case that the specifics of this continued practice have changed. Fibre skirts are not worn day-to-day, they are no longer used to differentiate social categories such as marital status, nor are they part of traditional trade networks. Though some remain and are recalled by present-day cultural experts, many associated beliefs and practices linked to fibre skirts have undoubtedly disappeared.[27] An inevitable consequence of the passing of time is the ageing of those who know about traditional cultural practices. Now is the time to document these histories and recollections. Combined with the material held in museums they can be used to gain an insight into historic Indigenous experiences during a century of rapid social change in Papua New Guinea.

CHAPTER 2

Shell money and context in Western Island Melanesia

KATHERINE SZABÓ

~

'A generally accepted medium of exchange'[28]

Shell money has been a constant leitmotif in anthropological studies focused on both human commonalities and the fine mechanics of individual cultural groups. The earliest detailed observations on the production and uses of shell money in Melanesia were published in the late nineteenth century[29] around the same time that ethnological museums were being founded and embedded in the intellectual landscape of Europe.[30] By no accident, this coincides with the abrupt emergence of Germany as a colonial power, the rearrangement of colonial interests in Europe hammered out in the 'Berlin Conference' of 1884-1885 and the beginning of an era often referred to as the 'New Imperialism', which was characterized by rapid colonial expansion and resource extraction to meet the demands of increasing European industrialization. Europeans and their business interests were becoming more numerous in colonized regions and having a greater impact on day to day life than ever before. For those involved in the newly-emergent field of ethnology, a paradox was at play: the New Imperialism was facilitating increased opportunities for observing and learning about a whole new range of cultural groups in greater depth while it was simultaneously forcing cultural change through ever more invasive governance and the (willing or unwilling) incorporation of local peoples into the tendrils of European industry through plantations and suchlike.[31] It is within this complicated and dynamic context that early writings and early collecting of shell money in western Island Melanesia must be understood.

Two separate fundamental starting points seem to underpin and jostle with each other in ethnographic writings about Melanesian shell money in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and these often seem to have an uneasy relationship with each other. On the one hand, a concern of European professionals in ethnology and related areas is the 'disappearance' and 'corruption' of traditional cultures by encroaching colonial control. The collecting of both information and ethnographic objects was seen as urgent and umbrellaed under the notion of 'salvage anthropology'.[32] Aside from any general interest in the diversity of human cultures, ethnologists generally converged around the idea of 'psychic unity': the founding assumption that all humans were essentially the same in their needs, wants, psychology and cognition

and that, consequently, there were deep underlying cultural similarities to be found across all cultures regardless of seeming outward difference. Thus, the study of any individual cultural group was not an aim in and of itself: the key task was to amass enough information to be able to assess which aspects of cultural life might relate to the all-encompassing doctrine of psychic unity. Were similarities to be found in economics? Or family relationships? Or religious and spiritual beliefs and practices? Only a lot of data from a great number of diverse groups could allow engagement with these sorts of questions. The fewer 'untainted' groups there were in existence, the harder it would be to establish psychic unity and make clear statements about the human condition as a whole.

Set somewhat at cross-purposes with this is the quest to understand the fine detail of Indigenous social structures, relationships and, in particular, economics. As local (and transplanted) labour was increasingly pulled into colonial economic operations, there was growing recognition by colonial officials and plantation operators that more knowledge of local customs, values and priorities could be leveraged to enhance recruitment, reduce friction in operations and produce better outcomes for colonists. From this perspective, knowledge not only equated to power, but potentially increased economic returns. Thus, insofar as ethnological research was supported outside of the scholarly community, there was often pressure to address issues of practical advantage to governance and the colonial project. Oskar Schneider (1841-1903), who wrote the first major treatise on shell money in 1905, observed that the German colonial administration in the Duke of York Islands paid workers, and levied fines, in the local diwarra shell money; not because of its purchasing power, but because of its esteem among locals relative to colonial currencies.[33]

While the motives of the colonial officials and those with economic interests are clear, ethnologists seem often at pains to demonstrate – through lengthy discussions – the ways in which shell money could be viewed as equivalent to colonial currencies and western approaches to economics. A belief in the doctrine of psychic unity seems to be an urgent and implicit undertone. Richard Parkinson (1844-1909), despite being a plantation owner and operator on the Gazelle Peninsula, East New Britain, was also a keen ethnographer and maintained relationships with museum ethnologists in Europe. He travelled widely around the Bismarck Archipelago and made extensive collections of ethnographic objects (for a map of the region and places discussed, refer to Figure 2.1). In his most important published work, *Thirty Years in the South Seas*, Parkinson spends many, many pages outlining the uses of shell money among the Tolai people of the Gazelle Peninsula in everyday economics as well as marriage and courtship, the birth of a child, dispute resolution, funeral ceremonies and restitution payments in a variety of circumstances. He even goes into detail about how shell money may be accumulated for profit and precisely how it ties in with the acquisition and maintenance of power of certain members of Tolai society.[34] There is little doubt that the information he provided would have been of great use to colonial authorities. However, at the same time it works to demonstrate a series of commonalities between Tolai and German use of currency and the relationship of this to power structures, thereby implying the relevance of all of this information to arguments for psychic unity.

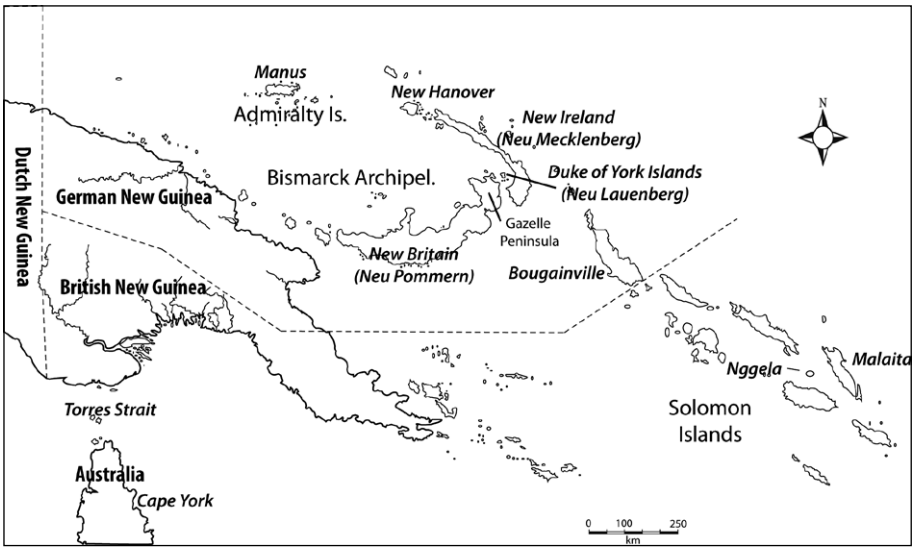


Figure 2.1. Map of western Island Melanesia showing locations mentioned in the text.

With all of this context in mind, the nature of shell money collections in European ethnological museums starts to come into sharper focus. Locations situated near an active colonial presence, either through the presence of officials or plantations, tend to be better represented in museum holdings, whereas locations only visited briefly by undertakings such as scientific expeditions often resulted in the collection of objects with much less in the way of contextual information. The extant literature at any given time seems to have influenced the focus of later collectors and commentators, and major collections were compared to identify 'gaps'. Needless to say, there were many other groups (such as the church and missionaries) and factors influencing relationships, ideologies and thus collecting patterns on the ground. Local circumstances and configurations produced unique narratives from place to place. Nevertheless, some striking similarities between British and German museum holdings indicate that there were broad patterns in approaches to collecting at play.

The chapter here draws on my study of shell money from the Bismarck Archipelago, Admiralty Islands and Solomon Islands held in the collections of the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge (MAA) as well as the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin and the Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden. Although the collections vary in size, scope and structure, they all have two key elements which appear to characterize many collections of this period in Europe and beyond.[35] Firstly, there are consistently what I will refer to as 'didactic collections' which partner closely with some of the early twentieth century literature on shell money and act as visual aids in explaining 'types' of shell money and how each is produced. Secondly, there are unique, often complicated, objects produced from shell money beads which do not sit comfortably with any described circulating types, and whose function, role and meaning is (to a greater or lesser extent) unclear.

'Didactic' shell money assemblages: Melanesian shell money for Europeans

Although the first extensive published work on shell money, with a heavy focus on western Island Melanesia, was written by Oskar Schneider, it was based on the field collections, notes and observations of others who spent time in the South Pacific.[36] Schneider himself was a zoologist but clearly had an interest in the multifarious cultural uses of shell. Although never translated into English, all subsequent scholars have relied heavily on his detailed work in their own identifications and analyses and he is liberally referenced by later scholars.

Much of *Muschelgeld Studien* is devoted to detailed descriptions of the manufacture and usage of specific types of shell money, and although the geographic areas covered are wide, a significant amount of the text is devoted to the New Guinea islands and the Solomon Islands (see Figure 2.2). There is a particular focus on the Duke of York Islands (then Neu Lauenberg), as well as New Britain (then Neu Pommern) to the west and New Ireland (then Neu Mecklenburg) to the east. The same major types of shell money, and details of their usage and manufacture, were also covered in later English-language publications by Albert B. Lewis of the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, and Alison Hingston-Quiggin working through MAA.[37]

For east New Britain, each of the authors provide lengthy descriptions of the tabu shell money of the Tolai, which, in the adjacent Duke of York Islands is referred to as diwarra. Tabu/diwarra consists of quantities of small *Nassarius camelus* shells punched through and fastened to lengths of rattan and Tolai economic systems based around tabu shell money have been the focus on a number of important anthropological studies.[38] Other key types of shell money described and re-described across sources include the



Figure 2.2. 'The preparation of 'pele'-like shell money beads on Alu, Shortland Islands'. Ink wash drawing donated by Alfred Maass in 1906. Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, VIII B 1229. Reproduced with permission.

mottled pink and white tapsoka money, comprised of ground and drilled discs of the Jewel Box shell *Chama pacifica*, manufactured in New Hanover off the north coast of New Ireland and traded throughout the region (see Figure 2.3) and a fine black and white strand produced from small, dark, pierced palm endocarps alternated with the white spires of small gastropod shells referred to as kokonon luluai and said to have been produced in northern New Ireland and/or New Hanover (see Figure 2.4). On the Duke of York Islands, although diwarra shell money was used as currency, the locals produced diverse forms of 'pele'; ground shell disc money in a variety of forms and traded out for use as currency in other regions but in particular the Nakanai district on the north coast of West New Britain. Again, these are repeatedly listed by all major authors and include munbun strands made from small ground and drilled beads of the pinky-orange snail *Chrysostoma paradoxum*, lillie ground and perforated disc beads of the Pearly Nautilus (*Nautilus pompilius*) and mottled, iridescent purple and grey beads of the Mangrove Pearl Oyster *Isognomon ephippium* known as kalakalang kambang, among many more.

In all of these itemized descriptions, from author to author, there is discussion about the relative values of different shell currencies, the extent to which they are known to circulate beyond the area of their production, and the values and uses in other locales. These are either described in terms of their purchasing power of local and trade products, especially pigs, foodstuffs, tools and tobacco, or relative to the



*Figure 2.3 (left). Among the named 'types' of shell money from New Hanover/New Ireland is the tapsoka produced from the Jewel Box shell (*Chama pacifica*). These examples are from the collections of MAA, transferred from the collections of the Museum für Völkerkunde Hamburg, Germany, sometime before 1939. Photograph by Josh Murfitt. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, Z32202.*

Figure 2.4 (right). A further type of New Hanover/New Ireland shell money is known as kokonon luluai. These examples of the small black and white strands were collected from the northeastern district of New Ireland by Richard Parkinson and passed to A.B. Lewis of the Field Museum in Chicago, who then donated them to MAA. Photograph by Josh Murfitt. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, 1939.98 A and B.



*Figure 2.5. The steps involved in producing mbiu biu beads from a small ribbed mussel shell (*Septifer bilocularis*) in the Duke of York Islands, Bismarck Archipelago, Papua New Guinea. From the collections of the Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (VI 24714a, b, c and e). Photograph by K. Szabó.*

German mark. As a whole, the discussion of all shell money types and values is construed in quite prosaic economic terms as descriptions of circulating currencies not dissimilar in their broad nature from the colonial currencies operating in parallel. Indeed, the only early author who provides detailed and nuanced descriptions of the range of customary uses of currencies which operated beyond the scope of European legal tender is Parkinson.

Turning to the physical collections of shell money amassed by museums over this time period, the same focus on demonstrating the range of types and the way in which each was produced is clear. Within the collections at the MAA and the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin are numerous small glass vials with carved cork stoppers containing every step in the production sequence of the shell money types mentioned in the literature. Typically, one or a group of unworked shells which constitute the raw materials for any given type are packaged together, accompanied by separate vials containing small, shaped fragments of shell, such fragments which have been drilled through the centre, a short unground strand, and a short length of finished shell money (see Figure 2.5).

The pele types of shell disc money manufactured on the Duke of York Islands tend to be best represented, perhaps reflecting proximity to prominent early German trading posts and plantations situated on Mioko Island, and indeed the relationship of Richard Parkinson to both the Godeffroy and Sohn trading company and the plantation there owned and operated by his sister-in-law 'Queen Emma'. Where complete production sequences are not represented, the Berlin and Cambridge collections have finished examples of various types to ensure their representation. This tends to be the case with shell money produced outside the East New Britain and Duke of York Islands areas, such as the pink and white tapsoka manufactured in New Hanover.

These shell money assemblages are clearly not standard examples of the collection of objects in everyday use in other cultures. The material represented, and the way in which they are packaged and itemized within collections, shows that they were put together with an instructional purpose in mind: to demonstrate to European audiences the steps in the production of important local objects. It also underscores that the production methods attached to pele and other shell currencies were standardized to the point of being formulaic thereby further reinforcing their conceptual equivalence with colonial and European currencies.

Shell money breaking the rules

The didactic collections are completely understandable in the context of the doctrine of psychic unity and the ways in which many anthropologists and collectors were trying to make their point. However, such was the stress on the rigorous, rule-bound production and use of shell currency that objects that did not fit these prescriptions tended to be avoided or glossed over in the literature. But they *are* present in museum collections and offer a stark contrast.

As articulated by Alison Hingston-Quiggin:

> The difficulties of identifying shell-money in New Ireland are increased by the custom of stringing several different kinds together, and mixed strings are a special characteristic, the meaning of which is unexplained.[39]

Museum collections indicate that this pattern of restringing and recombining was habitually done well beyond New Ireland, with examples from New Britain to the southern Solomon Islands chain. When the focus of the literature is so clearly upon describing bounded 'types' and articulating their different relative values, the presence of mixed strands is indeed a conundrum and how to interpret and understand them presents an issue. In museum collections, such strands tend to be singular and idiosyncratic, with wide variations from one to the next. I introduce two such objects here to illustrate the complexities of their compositions and individual life histories. Each has been studied using a low-power microscope to identify differences in use and wear patterns on individual beads. From this information, not only can beads be identified to species and their possible source area narrowed down, but beads showing very different 'life histories' can be isolated thereby informing on how many different strands were drawn upon to generate the object that now exists.

Multi-stranded shell money, Nggela, Solomon Islands

Accessioned into the collections at MAA (Z10604 and E1902.190), this object was donated by David Ruddock of the Anglican Melanesian Mission (see Figure 2.6). It was collected between 1880-1884 from Nggela (the Florida Islands) in the central Solomon Islands chain. It consists of 18 separate strands of shell money beads, approximately 150cm long, which are fastened in groups with large hewn discs manufactured in *Nautilus* shell. The major three types of beads represented are small pink-peach discs made of the bivalve *Chama pacifica* (Figure 2.7), white drilled disc beads of the closely-related Ark shell species *Anadara antiquata* and *Tegillarca granosa* and round pierced



Figure 2.6. A multi-stranded length of shell money comprised of 18 individual strands and a diverse array of shell money bead types held together in groups by drilled discs of Nautilus *shell. Collected by David Ruddock of the Melanesian Mission sometime between 1880 and 1884 from the Florida Islands (Nggela), Solomon Islands. Photograph by Josh Murfitt. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, Z10604 and E1902.190.*

endocarps from a species of palm (Figure 2.8 shows both the *A. antiquata* and endocarp beads). Most of the strands are comprised of beads strung face to face, but two strands have only white beads threaded singly in a 'herringbone' pattern. This is not a common stringing pattern in the Solomon Islands. The *A. antiquata* beads show highly variable degrees of wear, with some being much smaller in size with significantly rounded edges while others are larger with crisper edges. As disc beads are ground (and reground) as strands, these inconsistencies in size and shape imply that the *A. antiquata* beads used derived from a variety of individual strands, with some being older and more worn than others. The *C. pacifica* beads show less wear than the white *A. antiquata* beads, but the irregularities in diameter across adjacent beads signals that they have been restrung and are not in original formation.

Towards the ends of several of the strands, the bead types are much less consistent and materials other than the three major ones discussed above are used. Figure 2.9 shows some of these, and identifiable in this image are several beads made from small gastropod (probably *Conus* sp.) spires, a coconut shell disc bead, a tubular bead made of the hollow stem of a plant and a fawn-coloured disc bead probably made from the bivalve *Beguina semiorbiculata*. Although the major three raw materials used in this object are standard raw materials for the production of shell money on nearby Malaita,[40] the motley assortment of materials at the ends of the strands are



*Figure 2.7. Close-up of small pink-red beads made of the Jewel Box shell (*Chama pacifica*) from Z10604/E1902.190. Photograph by K. Szabó. Courtesy of Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, Z10604/E1902.190.*



Figure 2.8. Close-up of a section of Chama pacifica *beads overlain by the alternating black seed and white Ark shell (*Tegillarca granosa*) beads of the kokanon luluai type from Z10604/E1902.190. Photograph by K. Szabó. Courtesy of Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, Z10604/E1902.190.*



*Figure 2.9. Close-up of the end of one of the strands from Z10604/E1902.190 with a diversity of beads including seeds, coconut shell, the ground spires of small coneshells (*Conus *sp.) and beads of Ark shell and the fawn-coloured clam species* Beguina semiorbiculata. *Photograph by K. Szabó. Courtesy of Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, Z10604/E1902.190.*

not, although *B. semiorbiculata* is increasingly used in Langalanga Lagoon in Malaita (where shell money is still made) to stand in for *C. pacifica* red beads where the raw material is becoming very rare.[41]

Man's shell money girdle, Gazelle Peninsula, East New Britain

Within the holdings of the Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden is a remarkable multi-stranded man's girdle collected from the eastern Gazelle Peninsula, East New Britain, Papua New Guinea by ornithologist Bruno Geisler in 1893 (catalogue number 20491) (Figure 2.10). It is comprised of 14 separate strands, each 73cm long, of various materials with occasional rattan lashings along the length holding the strands in place. The dominant shell beads are white disc beads made of the body of the gastropod *Conomurex luhuanus* and tabu shell beads constructed of modified whole *Nassarius camelus* shells (Figures 2.12, 2.13 and 2.14). The process of *C. luhuanus* bead manufacture is described by all major authors as being a speciality of the Duke of York Islands and is locally referred to as mui, while the *N. camelus* beads are manufactured in the Gazelle Peninsula, East New Britain after the shells have been gathered and brought in from the mangrove areas of the nearby Nakanai district. Despite the use of diwarra/tabu in the Duke of York Islands as currency, Parkinson states that it is not



Figure 2.10. A multi-stranded men's girdle with 14 separate strands held in place with rattan lashing. The piece combines different types of shell money beads, cuscus possum teeth, bone, mother of pearl and ceramic buttons, glass beads and a brass necklace component. Collected from the eastern Gazelle Peninsula, New Britain, Papua New Guinea by Bruno Geisler in 1893. Total length is 73cm. From the collections of the Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden, Germany (accession #20491). Photograph by K. Szabó.

produced there and that the locals are generally unaware of the original source of the shells.[42] Rows of pierced cuscus possum teeth are also secured in sections along each of the strands, all faced with small glass trade beads in red or blue.

Upon close inspection, many other types of named shell money bead types are also identifiable; all of which are produced in the Duke of Yorks. These include dark purple beads of *Modiolus* sp. mussel known as mbiu (Figure 2.13), banded purple and white beads with an observable curvature made of the small cowrie *Monetaria annulus* and known as pirr (Figure 2.12) as well as smaller clusters of pink-peach beads made from the small topshell *Chrysostoma paradoxum* called munbun. As with the Nggela multi-stranded piece described above, the greatest diversity, as well as individual idiosyncratic beads, tends to appear at the ends of strands. As well as single shell beads



Figure 2.11. Close-up of a mother of pearl button and glass beads from #20491. Photograph by K. Szabó.



*Figure 2.12. Close-up of white shell beads made of Strawberry Conch (*Conomurex luhuanus*) and purple and white shell beads made from the Gold-Ringed Cowrie (*Monetaria annulus*) from #20491. Photograph by K. Szabó.*



*Figure 2.13. Close-up of white shell beads of Strawberry Conch and purple beads of mussel shell (*Modiolus *sp.) from #20491. Photograph by K. Szabó.*



Figure 2.14. Close-up of tabu/diwarra beads of Nassarius camelus *shell and blue glass beads from #20491. Photograph by K. Szabó.*

in species such as Chambered Nautilus (*Nautilus pompilius*), again manufactured in the Duke of York Islands where it is known as lillie, there are unique, large glass beads in a range of shapes and colours, a white glass or porcelain button, a bone button and a large mother-of-pearl button of probable commercial manufacture (Figure 2.11). At the end of one strand there is also a brass triple claw setting from a European necklace.

In addition to the sheer variety of components, close analysis also reveals that some elements have been in use or circulation for some time, while others show little sign of prior use. This is particularly noticeable in the *N. camelus* or tabu/diwarra shells. These shells are strung in groups at intervals around the girdle, and while shells are consistent within each lot, there is considerable variation between the conditions of different groupings. Some groupings are very worn and highly polished through long-term friction, while others are duller and the colouring and patterning of the original shells is still evident indicating little if any prior use..

Money, not money, and more

Analysis of the Nggela multi-stranded piece and the Gazelle Peninsula girdle, combined with a combing of the literature, suggests that shell money beads are tricksy things. Context is key, but context is also dynamic. Although the beads themselves may be easily classifiable as 'shell money' with concomitant names and values, they are not always leveraged as money. It is also possible that beads which start their life as shell money do not end their life this way, but are repurposed or actively reinterpreted at some point. While the literature has much less to say on shell money production and use across the Solomons south of the Shortland Islands in comparison with the Bismarcks, clues about scenarios whereby 'money is not money' and 'money becomes not money' can be found.

In the case of the Bismarcks, Parkinson clearly explains that, even though pele shell beads in all their various forms are made in the Duke of York Islands, they are not utilized there as transactional shell money. Diwarra fills that role locally. Pele are traded out to the Gazelle Peninsula, and while the Tolai use them for ornamentation they are only utilized as true money further west in the Nakanai district.[43] In his coverage of Tolai material culture which utilizes pele shell beads, he describes:

> …a girdle called wipit that has the same result [of winning the love of the female sex]; it is wrapped singly or in a number of up to ten or twelve around the waist, and consists of a row of Duke of York shell money interrupted by series of cuscus teeth, ngut, and tabu snail shells; the arrangement of this object varies and implies greater or lesser efficacy; whoever can afford it strings on a great number in varying arrangements, in order to be quite certain of achieving his goal.[44]

Compared with the more sombre example shown by Parkinson in his Figure 20, the Dresden example was highly efficacious, with not only 14 separate strands but a dazzling array of individual components of both local and European manufacture. Elements of the Dresden girdle had certainly been in use as part of other objects before being brought together in this piece, but in what forms it is impossible to say. However,

there seems to be no obvious reason why the diwarra/tabu *Nassarius* shells, strung in a different fashion, could not have operated as transactional currency within Tolai or Duke of York circles. Certainly, there are some tabu shells that show evidence of being extensively handled prior to their stringing here.

The lack of contextual literature and specific information about its local name or use makes the role of the Nggela multi-stranded object more difficult to comprehend. Again, the major types of beads used are very familiar from descriptions of the transactional and ceremonial money of Malaita to the east. There is also a documented historical relationship between Nggela and Malaita related to the production of shell money, whereby raw materials would be sourced in Nggela by Malaitans, who provided finished shell money in return.[45] The stringing, however, does not seem to align with any of the known Malaitan traditions, and there seems little firm evidence that shell money beads of any description were manufactured in Nggela. What *can* be said is that the shell beads derive from a number of separate strings, some of which had seen considerable use. Additionally, the supplementation of face-to-face stringing with the unusual angled 'herringbone' stringing of some strands and the use of large hewn *Nautilus* discs to hold strands together reinforces this composite nature. Numerous ideas and extant individual objects have been drawn together but little in the contextual or literature records would suggest that the shell money beads used are acting as currency, and it fits none of the descriptions of transactional types.

This is certainly not without precedent in the Solomon Islands as well as the Bismarck Archipelago and elsewhere. Beads that are the mainstay of different shell money types appear on many other sorts of artefacts for many apparent reasons. Shell money beads are regularly attached in some fashion to ceremonial items and items of adornment within western Island Melanesian collections within the museums, although the meanings they are designed to convey on any given object must surely be a matter of context. In the specific instance of feuds among the early twentieth century Tolai of east New Britain, Parkinson details that if revenge must be taken for the killing of an important man, it must involve the killing of an equally important individual. In such cases, 'relatives of the slain man bind small segments of tabu [shell money] on their battle spears' which are then enchanted and hurled at the enemy. These gestures signify that fighting cannot end 'before blood vengeance has taken place'.[46] Such specific motivations and messages suggest that the abundance of shell money worked into and onto non-transactional objects may have an equally abundant array of meanings. Even in the contemporary context of shell money production in Langalanga Lagoon, Malaita, Solomon Islands, the different meanings and values of exactly the same sorts of beads worked into different artefacts and set into motion in different cultural spheres is apparent. While red, white, brown and black shell money beads are produced in quantities for stringing into customary designs appropriate for cultural transactions such as brideprice payments, the exact same types of beads are also configured into an array of creative designs for sale at the handicraft markets in the capital Honiara. Langalanga shell money makers have commercialized their work in two separate cultural and economic spheres.[47]

While different objects produced from the same components can be understood as 'money' or 'not money', it also seems that the same types of objects separated in time can move from a 'money' to a 'not money' category. Roy Wagner explains this clearly in the case of the shell money, called mangin, of the Barok people of central New Ireland. Mangin, like the munbun shell money made in the Duke of Yorks, consists of small ground and pierced discs of the lustrous small orange topshell *Chrysostoma paradoxum*. It is transactional shell money that is particularly used in customary contexts, such as in the purchase of pigs for feasts, and Wagner refers to such money as 'circulating mangin'. He contrasts this with 'heirloom mangin', which are often in archaic forms with beads that are clearly old, polished and worn. These heirloom mangin are sometimes displayed but are described as priceless and 'without exchange value'.[48] This parallels precisely my observations and discussions in Malaita, where the contemporary shell money produced in Langalanga Lagoon, and much older strands of shell money, were discussed and conceived of in very different terms. The former tended to be discussed openly and prosaically with much detail given about the nature of its production and appropriate contexts for its use, while the heirloom strands were only occasionally brought out for show and their fineness, smoothness and deep colour were repeatedly brought up in descriptions. That such heirlooms would circulate was not even considered.

Having been trained as an archaeologist, I am all too aware that objects do not tend to announce their intentions. Is a loose bead in an excavation a shell money bead, part of an item of adornment, part of an object bound up in customary practices, or something entirely different? Is it in two or more of these categories at the same time? Does it transform, through the course of its life, from being one thing to being something else? Like money transformed into an heirloom. So much contextual information is required to begin to understand each small object. However, looking carefully at the surfaces can give clues as to age and use, just as our experiences can leave visible imprints on us. In the examples discussed here, the didactic collections have absolutely no sign of use, and it is reasonable to assume that they were never intended for use. They act as 'educational kits' for interested European audiences. But the complicated multi-stranded pieces have not only signs of use, but differential signs of use from component to component. Different individual elements have different life histories and have perhaps been through multiple incarnations before being selected for use in these objects. Not only are the complete objects dynamic – whether as love charms or something else – but every constituent part is dynamic as it carries with it its history each time as it is redefined by its context.

CHAPTER 3

Aitutaki patterns or listening to the voices of the Ancestors: research on Aitutaki ta'unga in European museums

MICHAELA APPEL AND

NGAA KITAI TARIA PUREARIKI

~

A female figure from Aitutaki in the Museum Fünf Kontinente

For almost 200 years, the Free State of Bavaria in Germany has held a female figure from Aitutaki, one of the Cook Islands in the South Pacific. The figure is part of a collection of 48 artefacts from Polynesia and elsewhere which Johann Georg Wagler (1800-1832), a German herpetologist who worked for the Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences, discovered in London in June 1825. These objects were finally acquired by King Ludwig I of Bavaria for 400 guilders in July 1827. They were said to have come from Captain Cook's voyages and from the estate of Sir Joseph Banks (1743-1820), which was dispersed after the latter's death. Banks accompanied Cook on his first voyage (1768-1771), but he also obtained objects from Cook's second and third voyages and from many other expeditions through gifts and purchases.[49] It is important to note, however, that the exact link of the objects to Cook's voyages or to the estate of Joseph Banks has not been proven.

The female figure from Aitutaki (Figures 3.1 to 3.4) has intrigued Michaela since she became the curator for Oceania in the then State Museum of Ethnology in Munich in 1998. When the 10th International Symposium of the Pacific Arts Association was held in the Cook Islands in 2010, Michaela decided to participate and give a talk about this figure. After the conference, which took place in Rarotonga, she also intended to visit the island of Aitutaki to get a feel for the original home of this very special figure. During her research she had found out that the carved serrated line on the sides of the female figure might symbolize her spine and the succession of generations (Figure 3.5).[50] In search of female ancestors of Aitutaki, she came across the story of the arrival of the canoe of the navigator Ru, who had left the island of Tubuaki (Tubuai), one of the Austral Islands, because of overpopulation and conflict. Ru came with his four brothers, his four wives and 20 chiefly women (tamaine tapairu), who established themselves on the island of Aitutaki. They were the first ancestors of Aitutaki, creating



Figure 3.1. Aitutaki from the air. Copyright Air Rarotonga Limited.

the first generation of islanders and the land is still divided among their descendants.[51] Michaela had the strong feeling that the Munich female figure could be a representation of one of these chiefly women. However, in Rarotonga, as well as in Aitutaki, nobody seemed to know much about the meaning of these female figures of the past.

On the last day of her stay in Aitutaki, Michaela was introduced to Ngaa Kitai Taria Pureariki. He was the founder of *Aitutaki Punarei Cultural Center* and his great wish was to create awareness of his island's traditional culture. We had intense conversations about the figure and Michaela's findings and, after her return home from Aitutaki, she was motivated to find out everything she could about this female figure. In the archives of the London Missionary Society, which had started to proselytize the island of Aitutaki in 1821, she found out that the Munich figure could very well be one of 31 'idols' which left Aitutaki in July 1823 for Ra'iatea, the centre of missionary enterprise. From Ra'iatea or Tahiti it was probably dispatched to England on the schooner *Active* (Captain Richard Charlton) via the colony of New South Wales or on the British whaler *Sydney Packet* (Captain William Emmett) at the end of September or the beginning of October 1823. It reached England at the beginning of April 1824, 14 months before it was acquired by Johann Georg Wagler in June 1825.[52]

While Michaela was still writing up the results of her research, which were published in 2014, the idea was born to bring Ngaa Kitai to Europe so that he could meet the female sculpture from Aitutaki face-to-face, and in 2015 he was invited by the German Foreign Office as a curator-in-residence at the Museum Fünf Kontinente. The outcome of Ngaa Kitai's visit was presented by Michaela at the 12th International Symposium of the Pacific Arts Association in Auckland 2016.[53] After the conference we had the opportunity to do further research together in Aitutaki and in 2017 we







Figure 3.2 (above, left). Aitutaki female figure, Cook Islands (front), pre-1825, H. 58.5 cm, tamanu wood (Calophyllum inophyllum), pigments. Copyright Museum Fünf Kontinente, München (190). Photograph by M. Weidner.

Figure 3.3 (above, right). Aitutaki female figure, Cook Islands (back), pre-1825, H. 58.5 cm, tamanu wood (Calophyllum inophyllum), pigments. Copyright Museum Fünf Kontinente, München (190). Photograph by M. Weidner.

Figure 3.4 (left). Aitutaki female figure, Cook Islands (side view), pre-1825, H. 58.5 cm, tamanu wood (Calophyllum inophyllum), pigments. Copyright Museum Fünf Kontinente, München (190). Photograph by M. Weidner.

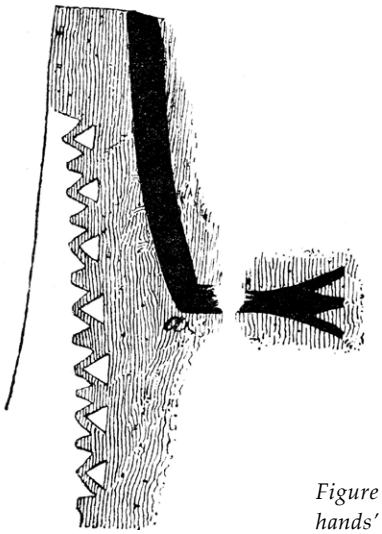


Figure 3.5. The mou mou rima pattern or 'holding hands' on the female figure.

both participated in the 11th Conference of the European Society of Oceanists in Munich and investigated Aitutaki treasures or ta'unga in European museums. In this chapter we will present some of the results of our journey: the interpretation of the tattoo patterns of this Munich figure and the patterns on the Aitutaki barkcloth in the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge (MAA), and the possible links between them. A comparative analysis of the iconography of these two particular works from Aitutaki has proved particularly useful in extending our understanding of the contextual history and meaning of these works.

The tattoo patterns of the female figure from Aitutaki

There are only two early articles on tattoo in Aitutaki, one by Walter E. Gudgeon (1905)[54] and one by Te Rangi Hiroa (1911),[55] which is also contained in his *Material Culture of the Cook Islands (Aitutaki)* (1927).[56] Recently, Therese Mangos and John Utanga have written an inspiring book on tattoo revival in the Cook Islands which includes a study of patterns generally and also refers to the Munich figure (2011),[57] and Michael Tavioni has published an article on motifs of the Cook Islands (2015).[58] However, Michaela was never sure whether it was really possible to identify or correlate any of the patterns described in those sources to the patterns on the body of the figure until Ngaa Kitai explained them. Gudgeon says that

> it is claimed that each canoe that arrived at Aitutaki from Avaiki was carved on the bow in a more or less distinct pattern, presumably with the heraldic bearings of the chief of the canoe, and this carving was adopted by those who came in the canoe as the ta-tatau which should for all time distinguish them from other tribes. … The same mark was placed on the garments and tribal ornaments, and any appropriations of this special mark by another tribe

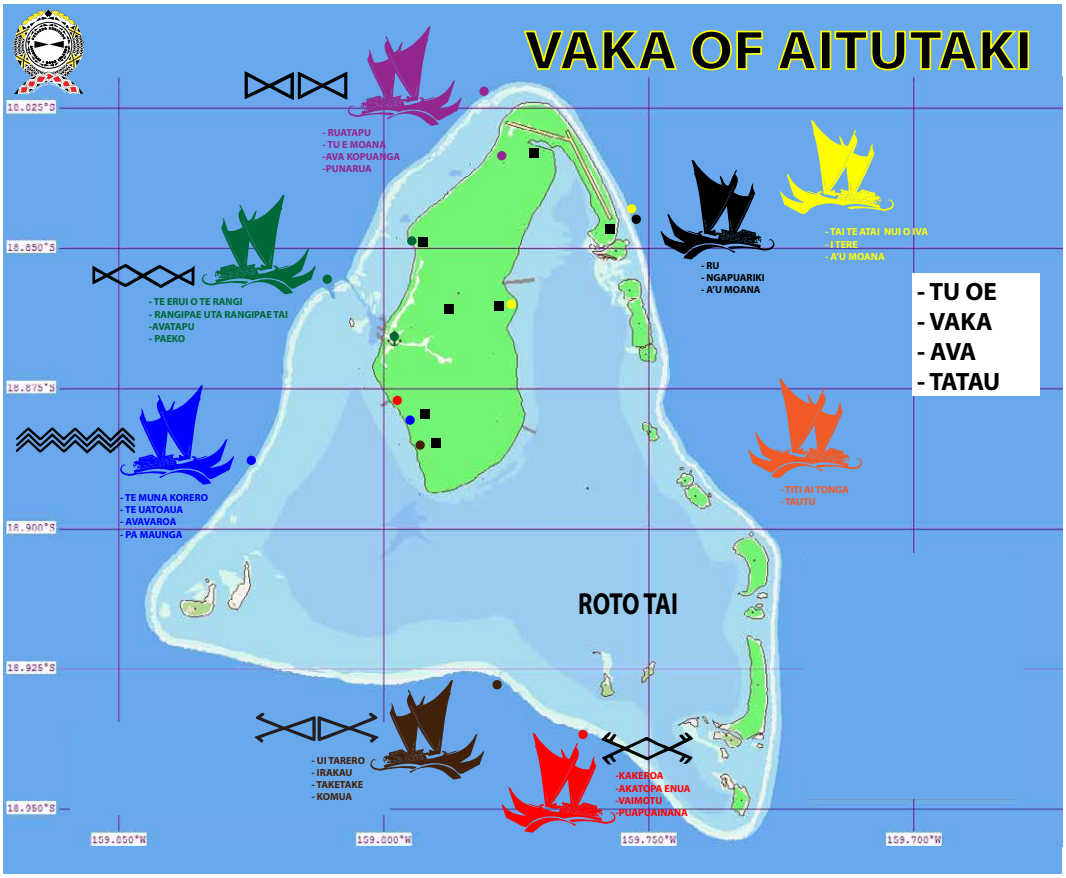


Figure 3.6. Diagram of the settlement of Aitutaki with names of navigators, canoes, passages and marae. Copyright Punarua Heritage Trust.

> resulted in bloodshed, for the object of the mark was to preserve the descent of each family by giving each member thereof the proof of his descent on his own person.[59]

Gudgeon was able to record the markings of five canoes or vaka. As each vaka arrived at the island, the occupants named the passage in the reef through which they entered, the site of their landing, and the place where they settled. On this place they would always build a sacred site or marae dedicated to the gods.[60] During our research in Aitutaki we have tried to verify and complete Gudgeon's records about the settlement of Aitutaki, because there is a direct relation to some of the tattoo patterns. With the help of Papa Tupuariki Puna, who is one of the most respected and knowledgeable people on the island, we have added the translation of some of Gudgeon's terms, corrected some of his spellings and supplemented the names of the marae where possible (Figure 3.6).

The first navigator who arrived at Aitutaki with his canoe is not mentioned by Gudgeon because no ta-tatau sign is recorded for him. It was the above mentioned Ru whose vaka was called Ngapuariki (two supreme chiefs), and he and his companions entered in a full moon night through a passage which Ru named Ootu-te-po (the night of the full moon).[61] The rocks on which the vaka grounded he called Popoara, referring to the pandanus stems (popoara) used as rollers, while the island on which they spent the night was called Uritua-o-Ru, present-day Akitua. They reached the lagoon (rototai) and mainland which Ru named Utataki-enua-o-Ru-ki-te-moana (a land searched for and found upon the sea by Ru).[62] Ru climbed a hill, looked for a suitable place to build their new home and marked off a marae site which he named Te Autapu.[63] According to another version, however, they landed and erected a marae named Puariki, after their canoe.[64] They also erected a marae inland which they named Vaikuriri, which was the name of their god, Kuriri, brought from 'Avaiki (Tubuai).[65]

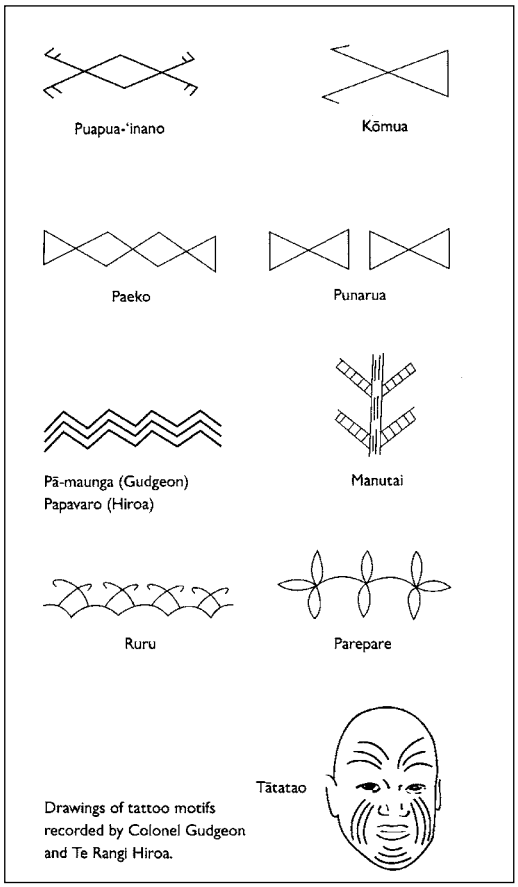
The vaka Te Uatoaua [seat of the warrior], led by the Tongan chief Te Muna-korero [the sacred priest], entered through the Ava-roa [the long passage] and the crew landed in the district or tapere now called Vaiau.[66] Te Muna-korero is also credited with giving the name to the small reef island of Ma'ina, by throwing himself down on the coral sand to enjoy the heat of the sun – ma'ina'ina ra. The tattoo pattern used by the descendants of this vaka was called pamaunga or 'range of mountains' to remind them of their mountains in 'Avaiki. The marae is called Aremango [house of sharks].

The vaka Katopa-enua [the low land], led by Kakeroa,[67] claimed the tattoo pattern puapua-'inano or 'male pandanus flower'. It is a motif that also lends its name to a spear with star-shaped barbs resembling this flower. Katopa-enua entered by the passage Vaimotu [water of the motu (the small island)] and landed at Taravao. The marae is called Arangirea [look up into the sky].

The tattoo of the people of the vaka named Irakau [special kind of wood (rakau)] that entered by the passage named Taketake [fontanel, whirl of hair] and was led by Uitario [state of ranking] was called komua or 'the forward thrust of the spear'.

In the eleventh century, the ariki Te 'Erui-o-te-Rangi arrived from the island of Kuporu in his double canoe, one side of which was named Rangi-Pae-uta [from the sky pointing inland, uphill][68] and the other Rangi-Pae-tai [from the sky pointing to the sea, lowland][69] according to Papa Tupuariki Puna. He was a great warrior and voyager who travelled with his three younger brothers to find new lands. After one failed attempt to leave Kuporu, the vaka managed to put to sea, and nine days later Te 'Erui-o-te-Rangi sighted Aitutaki. The voyagers entered by the Ava-tapu [the sacred passage] which received the name Ruai-kakau[70] [two gills of a fish] and settled in the districts of Arutanga and Reureu. Their marae inland was called Kakeu-te-Rangi[71] [he can move the sky], and their tattoo is called paeko [sharp blade of a spear, sharp senses of women].

The last vaka to arrive in Aitutaki was called Tue-moana [power of the ocean]; it belonged to the great voyager and ariki Ruatapu, who travelled from Taputapuatea in Ra'iatea and entered by the Ava-kopuanua [stomach womb passage] or Kopu-a-Ruatapu[72]; he settled in the tapere Rakautahi and the marae is called Au-Matangi.[73] It was not long before Ruatapu asserted his mana over all the tribes of the island. His tattoo pattern is known as punarua which means 'two sources' or 'having two partners' and shows two inverted triangles.[74]



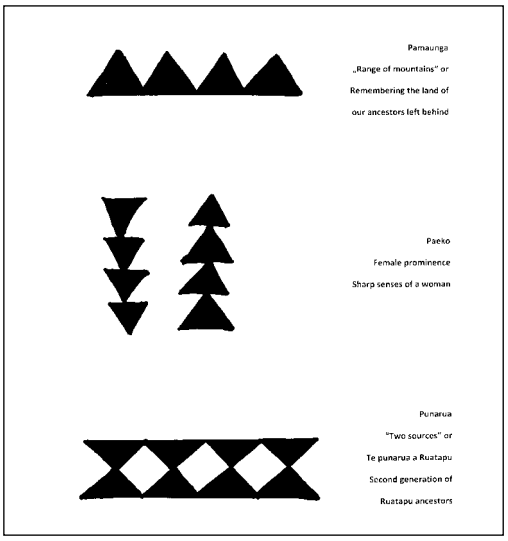


Figure 3.7 (left). Tattoo patterns of Aitutaki after Gudgeon and Te Rangi Hiroa (From Mangos and Utanga, Patterns of the Past, p. 121).

Figure 3.8 (above). The tattoo patterns on the body of the female figure from Aitutaki. Copyright Michaela Appel.

One year after Gudgeon's article was published, Te Rangi Hiroa added to the list of tattoo motifs from interviews conducted with Kake Maunga from Aitutaki at the 1906 International exhibition in Christchurch (Figure 3.7).[75] Three of the tattoo patterns recorded by Gudgeon and Te Rangi Hiroa can, indeed, be found on the body of this figure (Figure 3.8). On the back of the figure there are rows of black chevrons, which are a representation of the pattern called pamaunga, which means 'mountain range' or 'remembering the land of our ancestors left behind' according to Ngaa Kitai. A similar pattern, but vertical and not completely filled, is on the back of the right leg of the figure. On the back and on the side of the left leg are also black chevrons, but one positioned above the other. Ngaa Kitai called this pattern the paeko pattern and interpreted it as 'female prominence' or 'the sharp senses of a woman'. On the back of the figure at the height of the shoulders are patterns of chevrons in hourglass form. This pattern is the punarua pattern belonging to the descendants of Ruatapu. These patterns on the body serve as a reminder that the figure is related to the founding members of the canoe of Te Muna-korero, of Te Erui-o-te-Rangi and of Ruatapu and thus are an indication that the figure is indeed one of the female ancestors of Aitutaki.

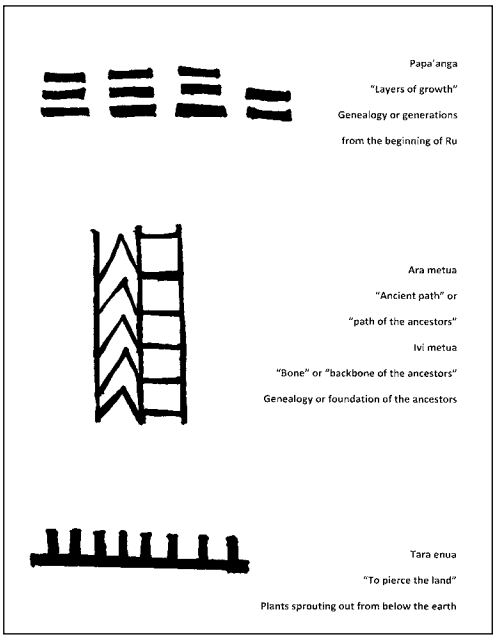


Figure 3.9. The tattoo patterns on the body of the female figure from Aitutaki. Copyright Michaela Appel.

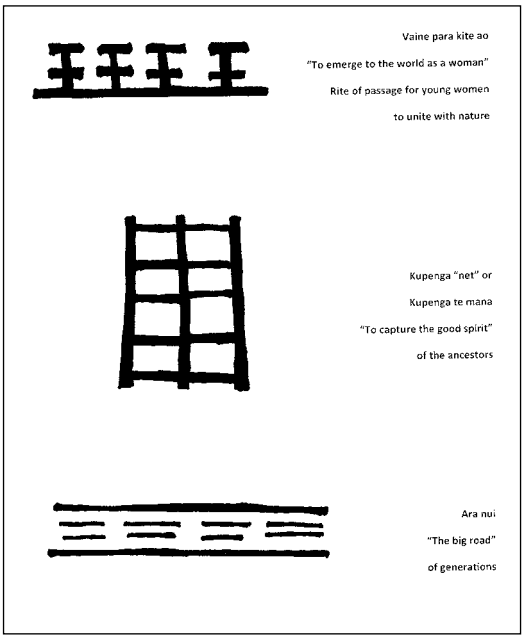


Figure 3.10. The tattoo patterns on the body of the female figure from Aitutaki. Copyright Michaela Appel.

Apart from these three patterns, there are other designs on the figure that are not described by Gudgeon or Te Rangi Hiroa, but which also relate to genealogical knowledge or to the path the past and the future generations will take to this world (Figures 3.9 and 3.10). For instance on the chest of the figure there are two or three parallel stripes which Ngaa Kitai called papa'anga, 'layers of growth' signifying the 'generations from the beginning of Ru', which would imply that the ancestor represented by the figure was also related to the canoe of Ru.

On the left side of the head and the front of the right leg is a row of chevrons between two lines which Ngaa Kitai called ara metua, the 'ancient path' or the 'path of the ancestors'. This term refers not only to the path the ancestors took across the ocean or on the land, but also to the path every human being has to take into this world through the birth channel of its mother, which is seen as the passage of the child that emerges from Te Po (or eternity).[76] So this term would also correspond to the notion that the knowledge of the ancestors is transmitted through the genes from one generation to the next, as Ngaa Kitai explained. This pattern is also found on the upper chest near the collarbones of the female figure. Adjacent to ara metua is usually a pattern of short straight lines between two lines which looks like a ladder. Ngaa Kitai called this pattern ivi metua or 'foundation of the ancestors'. Ivi means 'bone' or 'backbone' and metua means 'ancestors', and as such the name of this pattern could be also translated as the 'backbone' or the 'genealogy of the ancestors'.

On the right side of the head, round the chin, on the shoulders and on the belly of the figure are straight lines with many short lines sprouting out. This pattern is called tara enua. Tara means 'something that is sharp or pointed; to pierce', enua means 'land', *i.e.* plants which are sprouting out from below the earth, and according to Ngaa Kitai this pattern means 'nature providing life such as trees and traditional plants'. On the lower part of the face, on the chest and on the lower part of the belly of the figure is a pattern of two short parallel lines connected by a straight line. Ngaa Kitai called this pattern vaine para ki te ao or the 'rite of passage of young women to unite with nature'. Literally this means the rite of passage at the time of the first menstruation when the girl 'emerges to the world as a woman'. This is the time when the girl learns how to make use of traditional plants – for instance for mats, barkcloth or medicine – by applying the knowledge of the ancestors. On the left leg of the figure is a net-like pattern which is called kupenga 'net' or kupenga te mana 'to capture the good spirit' of the ancestors. A pattern similar to the papa'anga pattern with parallel stripes between two lines is called ara nui or 'big road of generations' according to Ngaa Kitai and can, for instance, be seen on the back of the figure.

All the patterns found on the sculpture appear to express connectedness to the past and to the future, to the ancestors and to the coming generations. The ancestors saw themselves as the caretakers of the environment. Fertility of the environment and of humans was absolutely crucial as it was essential to create heirs to the chiefly line and to ensure that the traditional knowledge of the ancestors was transmitted in an uninterrupted line. Women were seen as containers of fertility, as vessels that carry and bring forth children and who were thus equated with canoes or vaka in many island societies. Ngaa Kitai said that the patterns on the figure corresponded to chants that are still known in Aitutaki. The chants are still there, but the patterns have become detached from memory and therefore their original meaning remains rather obscure. Thus, he described the Munich figure as the newly found key that could once again link together these aspects of the traditional and customary culture of his island.

A barkcloth from Aitutaki in the MAA

Another treasure or ta'unga from Aitutaki whose patterns are closely related to the ones of the Munich ancestor figure is a barkcloth, which we were allowed to investigate in the MAA (Figures 3.11 and 3.12). It came from the collection of John Richardson Selwyn (1844-1898), the second Bishop of the Melanesian Mission in New Zealand and entered the museum in 1901.[77] Michaela had already seen it in the exhibition *Tapa: Barkcloth paintings from the Pacific* in 2014 without realizing this close connection. It was too large to unfold completely, so we looked at one half of it first, and Ngaa Kitai explained that it was made from the inner bark of the breadfruit tree (kuru: Artocarpus altitis). The orange colour was from turmeric (renga: Curcuma longa), the yellow colour from the nono tree (Morinda citrifolia), and the black colour from burnt candlenut (tuitui: Aleurites moluccana).

When Ngaa Kitai explained the patterns of the barkcloth, which were painted free-hand, Michaela was able to recognize many of them from the Munich sculpture. The round ones mou mou rima, 'holding hands' or 'unification with mother nature' and 'uniting children and family', correspond to the carved serrated line on this figure





Figure 3.11 (above). Aitutaki barkcloth, Cook Islands, pre-1901, 388 x 116 cm, inner bark of the breadfruit tree. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, 1901.123.

Figure 3.12 (left). Aitutaki barkcloth detail, Cook Islands, pre-1901, 388 x 116 cm, inner bark of the breadfruit tree. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, 1901.123.

which had occupied her for so long and which Ngaa Kitai had identified as the mou mou rima pattern (Figure 3.5).[78] It signifies, on the one hand, the continuous flow of generations from the past to the future; on the other hand, it represents the importance of the connectedness to the environment and the solidarity between members of the present generations. Then the chevron-like patterns pamaunga 'a range of mountains in the land of the ancestors left behind' are evident. Round the edge of the barkcloth is the pattern tara enua or 'sharp or pointed sprouts piercing the earth' or 'nature providing trees and traditional plants'. Then there are four stripes across the barkcloth, with eight, nine or ten square patterns symbolizing kupenga te mana 'a net to trap the good spirit' of the ancestors. There are two squares with soft and harmonious patterns like mou mou rima 'holding hands'. But then there is one square with round patterns surrounded by sharp, pointed and spiky patterns, which reminded Michaela of the pattern puapua-'inana 'male pandanus flower'. As mentioned above, this is also the name of a spear with star-shaped barbs resembling this flower, and of the pattern komua 'the forward thrust spear'. Ngaa Kitai compared the difference between the two

to the difference between the concepts of Te Ao and Te Po. Te Po is night, darkness, wartime, violence and tension. Te Ao is day, light, new life, peace and harmony. Ngaa Kitai pointed out that these densely crowded pointed spear-like patterns symbolize overpopulation, violence and tension. He thought that he could even identify a pattern that looked like the punarua pattern of his own ancestor Ruatapu. He thought that the woman who had painted this cloth might have included the punarua pattern to indicate that it was the family of Ruatapu who was causing the tension and to express her deep sorrow about the pain that was inflicted upon her own family.

The second part of the cloth is covered with densely crowded pointed spear-like patterns, which once again can be interpreted as iconography referring to overpopulation, violence and tension. And then there are patterns 'which probably represent canoes', as Julie Adams had said about this barkcloth.[79] And suddenly it seemed very clear to Michaela that the vaka or canoes must be symbols for women. And not only women, but the 20 chiefly women (tamaine tapairu) that Ru had brought from Tubuai with his canoe to Aitutaki and who were to become the first female ancestors of the island. The tension described on this portion of the cloth could have been the tension because of overpopulation and conflict on the island of Tubuai. And it seemed to her that the 20 – or in fact 19 – canoes were leaving through a narrow passage aiming at calm waters and new fertile land represented on the other half of the cloth. Ngaa Kitai confirmed again that women were like ships (pa'itu vaine), and it was the only appropriate way to depict them on an object with abstract patterns like a barkcloth. He added that the woman who painted the cloth would never represent her own ancestor or line of descent – thus the number 19 instead of 20. And that meant the circle had closed: the barkcloth showed a lot of the patterns on this figure and at the same time it told the story of the discovery and settlement of Aitutaki and this figure had been part of that.

Conclusion

Thus, the female ancestor figure from Aitutaki in the Museum Fünf Kontinente in Munich and the barkcloth from Aitutaki in the MAA seem to be related, not only through the story of Ru's canoe and the discovery and settlement of Aitutaki, but also though their patterns. Tattoo (ta-tatau) was often seen as a second skin in the same way as a barkcloth is. Alfred Gell has pointed out that in Samoa certain tattoo designs were named tapulu 'tattooed wrappings' or fusi 'bindings'. In the Marquesas, tattooing is called pahu tiki 'wrapping in images' and signified that the body of a warrior was covered by a shell-like protection. In former times it had to be removed after the death of the warrior so that he could enter the afterlife.[80] In recent years exhibitions on barkcloth have been given titles like *Paperskin* (2009) or *Second Skins* (2012), and Nicholas Thomas speaks about 'tattooed textiles' in the catalogue of the tapa exhibition curated by him in 2013. Wrapping barkcloth or mats round a person or an object was an important ritual act in Polynesia. It helped to channel the flow of tapu and to contain the power of mana or procreative power or potency. When the missionaries arrived and the practice of tattoo was forbidden, the tattoo patterns were sometimes transferred to barkcloth so that they were not forgotten. This might also be one explanation as to why the patterns on this figure and on the barkcloth from Aitutaki are similar.

There were various ways to convey knowledge from one generation to the next in a society without written tradition: carved patterns, tattoo patterns or painted patterns on barkcloth together with oral tradition, music and chants. Two hundred years after missionary enterprise and in the face of far-reaching environmental changes, it is time to 'listen to the voices of the ancestors' again. It is through close collaboration with Pacific islanders (with cultural practitioners, elders, scholars and artists) – the custodians of knowledge – that we are able to once again draw out important histories that relate to the significance of these artworks and assist in filling out meaning and interpretation. One possibility is to investigate the patterns on Aitutaki ta'unga in museums in Europe, New Zealand and the United States; another one is to try and understand the meaning of the ancient chants. In that way it might be possible one day to establish all the foundational values of the traditional and customary culture of Aitutaki.

CHAPTER 4

Unpacking cosmologies: frigate bird and turtle shell headdresses in Nauru

MAIA NUKU

~

We cross with only these possessions
And look for something familiar
Yet so much belongs to a separation
Unlike definitions I lose what objects mean
In time I could almost say:
We belong to what we lose

Craig Santos Perez (Guahan/Guam)[81]

I begin with these powerful words by Chamoru poet Craig Santos Perez as a way of grounding us in the immediate challenges of the research that we engage in. The words are pertinent, prompting ideas of loss and separation. They encapsulate many of the acute issues we necessarily confront when carrying out research in historical museums of Pacific 'art' and 'ethnography' in Europe. Considerations come thick and fast: How do we make museum collections relevant? How do we create access? How might we bridge the histories of nineteenth and early twentieth century ethnography and collecting with the contemporary issues that Pacific peoples are facing today? Far removed from the region, the collections we examine present a material record of the historical and geographical fracture enacted by colonialism – the rupture and dissonance of colonial histories that divide and separate, which first connect and then disaggregate.

Early on in the *Pacific Presences* project I expressed an interest in focusing on some of the lesser-known collections from Micronesia. Dismissed by early European visitors as a notoriously complex and rather impenetrable region, Micronesia has held an equally isolated position in the historical records of museum collections. Micronesia – the term itself was first proposed in 1831 by French commander Dumont d'Urville, and speaks more to the efforts of Europeans to understand this vast Oceanic theatre of apparently isolated atolls and scattered archipelagos. Subjected for centuries to the classificatory impositions of outsiders who came up with novel names for island groups at every turn, the attempt to create a catch-all term for the region was of course flawed. Micronesia is a term that jars and does not sit comfortably, a term that belies

the richness of the individual island cultures that make up its extraordinary geography and landscape. It is a term that continues to declare its position as firmly on the outside trying to look in.

I wanted to get to grips with this aspect and see if we could draw out a more nuanced understanding of the region's historical and cultural connections with other parts of the Pacific. I wondered if the collections themselves would reveal deeper cosmological links that could speak to us of island connections prior to contact. Early discoveries at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge (MAA) of interesting works from the island of Nauru led the team to seek out collections in overseas museums with a Nauru provenance. This seemed a strategic way to move forward: fixing the firm coordinates of one island would allow us to begin to get a sense of its relationship and connectedness with others in its surrounds.

Nauru lies out on its own to the west of Tungaru – the Gilbert Islands, now more commonly known as Kiribati. The island gained independence in 1968 so, unlike Banaba, its closest neighbour 300 kilometres to the east, Nauru was not included when the Republic of Kiribati was formalized a decade later. Like so many Pacific islands, Nauru has had a chequered history of international intervention. Annexed by Germany, the island was incorporated into its Marshall Islands Protectorate in 1888, which coincided with the arrival of the first Christian missionaries. From 1906 Britain and Germany began to exploit reserves of phosphate under the auspices of The Pacific Phosphate Company. The mining of phosphate has remained the mainstay of the economy despite the fact that four-fifths of the island's interior have been extracted. Income from the mines allowed certain sectors to gain immense wealth – and the island gained a certain notoriety internationally for the fact that Nauruan islanders had (on paper at least) one of the highest standards of living in the Pacific. This of course was at the expense of irreparable environmental damage.

Disputes over the decades have raged on with legal action being sought by Nauruans against Australia at the International Court (1989) over successive failures to remedy the environmental damage caused by phosphate mining. An out of court settlement to rehabilitate the damaged interior cannot overturn over a century of mining that has rendered an already fragile environment severely at risk. More recently, international press coverage has focused on the appalling conditions of the offshore Australian detention facility also located on the island, and its impact on local communities.

This index of island history seems at odds with the distanced accumulation of finely wrought coral, feather and fibre works that we were beginning to turn up during our research visits to German museums. During an early visit to the Museum Fünf Kontinente in Munich we came across a remarkable late nineteenth century head ornament[82] – a turtle shell visor whose surface had been punched through with a series of fine perforations (Figures 4.1 and 4.2). Lengths of a thick aerial root had been bent to give the piece shape and form. Flat strips of a fibre bast then bound these lengths together, linking the two extremities where they turned to join. This frame supported translucent sections of turtle shell which were sewn into the edges of the outer frame at intervals. Although extremely fragile and now broken in parts, I thought this one of the most spectacular things we had encountered that day in the stores. The label indicated the piece was from the Marshall Islands ('Marschall-Insel Augenschirm aus



Figure 4.1. Turtle shell headdress. Nauru. Late 19th – early 20th century. 91.874. Museum Fünf Kontinente, Munich Germany. Photograph by Maia Nuku.



Figure 4.2. Turtle shell headdress, close up with detail of label. Nauru. Late 19th – early 20th century. 91.874. Museum Fünf Kontinente, Munich Germany. Photograph by Maia Nuku.

Schildpatt') but further details in the card catalogue system confirmed that it was in fact collected on Nauru. This type of misattribution is fairly common in the registers given that Nauru was formerly part of the German Protectorate established over the Marshall Islands in 1888.

Looking closely at the turtle shell, one could really appreciate the delicacy of the serial punctures that formed single lines at various junctures in the turtle shell plates. Further piercings, positioned at regular intervals along the length of its border are likely

to have supported the suspension of feathers. The workmanship was impressive, and remarkable given the fragility of the individual turtle shell plaques. On close inspection I realized that the entire border was bound with a length of finely braided human hair – which had become frayed and loose in places revealing the individual strands from which it was comprised. This was something that really caught my imagination, not least because of the questions it immediately prompted in me. The work in front of us was quite unique, indeed unexpected given the volume of mats, baskets and shark teeth weaponry that make up so much of the profile of Micronesian collections that one encounters in museums. Collections often reveal far more, of course, about the individuals that assemble them than the culture from which they derive. Here was a delicate headpiece fashioned from valuable and culturally significant turtle shell and hair. I wanted to know more.

Turtle shell headdresses: a small corpus

German ethnographer Paul Hambruch described the technical construction of these turtle shell headdresses and illustrated several examples in his detailed ethnography of Nauru[83] undertaken as part of the Hamburg Südsee Expedition to Micronesia during 1908-1910. His illustrated diagrams indicate that these visors were worn slipped over the crown of the head so that clusters of feathers hung down in three sections before the eyes. The feathers look to have been split at the quill to give them a spiral effect that would have enhanced the dramatic effects of movement while they were being danced.



Figure 4.3. Turtle shell headdress. Nauru. Late 19th – early 20th century. 1983.545.6. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Photograph by Maia Nuku.

Further images show that a pair of large frigate bird (Fregata) feathers were positioned upright half-way around the cane frame. These would have risen up dramatically behind the wearer's head, enhancing the dynamism of their gestural moves, perhaps intended to instantiate attributes of the bird as they danced and picked their way about, strutting in emulation and personification of this majestic sea bird.

As well as the example in Munich, two further turtle shell visors have been identified in collections in the United States of America. The first, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art[84] (Figures 4.3**,** 4.4 and 4.5), comprises four lunate plaques of turtle shell that are lashed to a semi-circular cane framework and reinforced in the middle section. The turtle shell sections are remarkable for their translucency and appear to be almost amber in colour. Though much lighter than other examples seen, the piece otherwise conforms very closely to one of the diagrams produced by Hambruch in that a small bundle of split black feathers is attached and hangs down at the front secured with a small pink coral disc; two other discs remain and the remnants of further feathers. Large frigate bird feathers are incorporated at the back with a section of flat pandanus, which binds them securely. These feathers extend out dramatically to each side, remaining within the same horizontal plane but perpendicular to the turtle shell



Figure 4.4. Turtle shell headdress. Nauru. Late 19th – early 20th century. Detail of human hair cord, pink coral disc and feather remnants. 1983.545.6. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Photograph by Maia Nuku.



Figure 4.5. Turtle shell headdress. Nauru. Late 19th – early 20th century. Detail of turtle shell plaque. 1983.545.6. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Photograph by Maia Nuku.

visor itself. One of these extensions is even embellished with the solid pearlshell shank of a fish hook which is bound in and tied once again with a small pink shell disc. A long length of carefully braided human hair is coiled around both the outer and inside borders of the cane framework.

Another example at the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University[85] is technically remarkable in that at least ten individual scallop-shaped sections of turtle shell are overlaid so that they fan out within the frame. These sections are tawny and dark and much in keeping with the Munich example. This example otherwise bears all the hallmarks of the other two discussed: diagnostic features such as the bent aerial roots that give overall structure and the integration of two grouped bunches of frigate bird feathers, in this case confined to the back of the head band where they cross over. A third very large feather rises out from the middle of these two bunches. This may well have been one of the pair that, according to Hambruch's diagrams, would have created a spectacular vertical feature, which rose up at the back of the wearer's head. The sheer scale of this feather is impressive, reminding us of the phenomenal wingspan of the frigate bird. These are colossal and impressive creatures, the largest of any seabirds in proportion to their body. Veritable pirates of the high seas, they feed by forcing sustenance directly out of the mouths of lesser birds while on the wing. Finally, a carefully plaited length of human hair cord loops around the entire outer structure. Highly significant in terms of its material and spiritual 'charge', the incorporation of hair gives a real clue as to the ritual significance of these headdresses since in essence it is the condensed genealogy of the lineage – and therefore a very neat way to incorporate metonymical associations with ancestry and heritage.

A cosmology of materials: turtle shell, hair, frigate bird feathers

The earliest exchanges between Pacific islanders and Europeans involved artefacts that incorporated human hair and feathers. Manuscript journals from Pedro de Quiros' seventeenth-century expedition to the Pacific recount fraught yet intriguing exchanges between Spanish crew members and the 'cacique' or chief of the island of Hao (in the present day Tuamotuan archipelago). Entries for 11 February 1606 note 'a robust, tall and well-proportioned native' presenting the Sergeant, Pedro Garcia 'with a turban of feathers' explaining that in among the 'many feathers … were tresses of a woman's hair arranged like a diadem, which they valued among themselves, and it showed that the Chief was a great person'.[86]

Rare and valuable feather headdresses were crucial components of ritual practice throughout central and eastern Polynesia. These elaborate and highly complex assemblages incorporated the potent relics of ancestors and gods, materials such as human hair and a variety of feathers, which enhanced the mana and status of those who wore them. In the political arena, they were a visual display of a leader's ability to control and maintain extensive chains of reciprocal obligations across island networks. In ritual contexts, they instantiated principles of personal efficacy and prestige that aimed at effecting transformation. In Tahiti, the spectacular headpiece[87] (parae) (Figure 4.6) that was part of the assemblage worn during the mourning rites of the highest-ranking chiefs incorporated a crescent of tropic bird feathers and alternating

plaques of light, polished pearlshell with darker unpolished sections. These were sewn together with coconut cord fibre to form a mask.[88] These darker sections may have been worked to emulate the tawny quality of turtle shell. Small sections of turtle shell have been found incorporated into the panel that hung down over the front barkcloth panel of the mourner's costume alongside cut coconut shell sections of a similar colour and texture. This entire ensemble included long feather sleeves, which covered the arms of the wearer and hinted at the transformative potential of the entire assemblage. Feathers in particular reinforced divine status by creating a visual and material link with Ta'aroa, the founding ancestor of the Society Islands whose feathers had shed to become the landscape of the islands themselves. To reinforce their divine right to rule, Tahitian chiefs claimed direct descent from this bird-like ancestor and newly incumbent chiefs were dressed in feathered regalia during the ritual protocols that accompanied their installation. This regalia included a red and yellow *maro* (or tunic) that wrapped around the waist as well as a feathered visor that covered the eyes. Though clearly distinctive, the Nauruan turtle shell visor incorporates a similar suite of cosmologically significant materials such as human hair and feathers in an article



Figure 4.6. Tropic bird feather and pearlshell headdress (parae). Society Islands. Early 19th century. Photograph by Gwil Owen. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, Z 28418.

designed to frame and protect the face and eyes. I have argued elsewhere[89] that this may have been as much to protect those looking *at* the chief from a gaze so focused and powerful that it was potentially dangerous. The key idea here was transformation. Designed to galvanize the potency of the gods, the broader cosmological function of these works was to enhance and channel efficacy.

The translucent outer shell of the Hawksbill sea turtle (Eretmochelys imbricata) was incorporated into the most sacred and prestigious ritual regalia in many parts of the Pacific. The shell was loosened off by soaking in water and then cut and removed; after heat treatment it could be shaped and embellished. Among the most astonishing examples of composite turtle shell masks are those produced by islanders in the Torres Strait (Figure 4.7), where they were key components in rituals which aimed at maintaining balance between humans and the spirit world. Turtle shell effigies were first recorded in these islands in 1606 by the Spanish explorer Don Diego de Prado y Tovar which gives a sense of the antiquity of these rites and the long-term reverence for the remarkable attributes of the turtle, who was observed to inhabit the powerful liminal space between land *and* ocean. On reaching great depths in the open sea, the body of the Hawksbill turtle becomes translucent and glows in the dark, which may well also account for the



Figure 4.7. Turtle shell mask. Mabuiag Island, Torres Straits. Mid-late 19th century. 1978.412.1510. Copyright The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

reverence in which these extraordinary creatures were held. The flesh of turtles was usually prohibited as a food for general consumption, but commonly reserved for high-status individuals and ritual practitioners whose task it was to divine and communicate with spirits and ancestors from the 'other' side of existence.

A spectacular turtle shell mask from Mabuiag Island in the Torres Straits is now in the collections of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[90] Fashioned from painstakingly prepared plates of turtle shell, which have been perforated and lashed together with fibre cord, the headpiece is surmounted by a wooden image of a majestic frigate bird. Incised shell embellishments, nut rattles, and tufts of wispy black cassowary feathers adorn the bird's back. The charged potential of this dramatic armature, which invoked the power and strength of the frigate bird, would have been clear and explicit to those witnessing the rites in which these headdresses were danced.

As early as 1880, the German ethnographer and naturalist Otto Finsch (1839-1917) remarked upon the 'chiefly sport' that he observed Nauruans engaging in during a brief stay on the island. It involved their hunting frigate birds and subsequently taming them. Perhaps the most widespread icon of the Pacific, the frigate bird was widely revered for its overbearing dominance over other seabirds as well as its capacity to stay aloft for extended periods. Observing such behaviour and learning how to dominate these creatures may have been a powerful incentive for islanders to try to hunt and eventually tame the species themselves. Frigate birds are still tamed and hunted today in Nauru. One species in particular is endemic to the island so the relationship with frigate birds is clearly an intimate and enduring one.

Taming the frigate birds

The skills and knowledge that pertain to the practice of bird taming continue to be passed down among men in Nauru (Figure 4.8) – a fact explained in a 2012 Australian Network TV report by a female journalist who explained she would ordinarily not be permitted to approach the bird perches, but that she had been granted dispensation on this occasion from the men she was interviewing, in order to film. Her report grounded the practice of bird hunting and taming in Nauru as a quaint and curious pastime, something she surmises must surely have evolved over the centuries by islanders as a means of 'whiling away the hours due to isolation from the rest of the world'.[91] This is the kind of out-of-tune reporting that Pacific islanders must often contend with: misguided assumptions about the allegedly obscure and unusual pastimes of islanders that many presume are borne of extreme isolation; nothing of the ancient aspects of this rite that are likely to be grounded in local cosmological and cosmogonic accounts of the island.

The Nauru version of creation refers to Areou as the originator of all things. Related to thunder, Areou was described as moving 'like a great bird with flapping wings, the bird of Areou the Original or Ancient One'.[92] His counterpart was a woman, his wife, who was associated with lightning. Recounted by Anweida, a high chief of Nauru, this account was collated into a history of oral traditions and gives us far deeper insight into the likely spiritual significance of bird taming that has, over the decades, become slightly distorted.



Figure 4.8. 'A Nauruan with frigate birds in 1917', Thos J McMahon (1864-1933). National Archives of Australia. Image R32, Volume 121/17.

If we synthesize this with descriptions by French anthropologist Solange Petit-Skinner of the competitive capturing of frigate birds that she observed in Nauru when she visited in 1981, we begin to get more of a sense of the likely underlying cosmological significance. Commenting on the overall harmony and balance of the event, she gives a detailed account of the entire endeavour[93] which sets two rival teams of men against each other in an attempt to capture up to 30 frigate birds. Noting that the whole event seems perfectly orchestrated, she remarks: 'Silence and solemnity surround the game, the intensity of the players, the precision of each movement, all reach an unmatched perfection.'[94]

The men wait in silence on the beach for the frigate birds to arrive. They must distinguish at a distance the tamed birds they have been training over time from the wild birds that fly in on the wing with the others. The birds circle ever lower, the flapping of their wings becoming louder, almost deafening. One or two men are poised in the shallow water and throw morsels of fish to entice the birds even lower. Timing is everything. The men on the beach use slings (or abio) which are a length of coconut husk fibre with a clam shell weight, in a focused attempt to capture the birds without damaging them. Requiring tremendous propulsion and a sharp eye for evaluating which bird is wild, she writes: 'These long, thin slips undulate and vibrate in the sky, all arriving like arrows at the same target … The bird must be wrapped with the sling and yet not hurt in any way'.[95] The large males with red pouches are the most prized. When caught, the sling is taken off and the wings are tied (Figure 4.9). Newly captured birds are starved for three days and thereafter are fed sparingly over the course of two to three weeks so that they become dependent on their captors. Their wings are tied during this period so that they cannot escape.

This is tapu work and subject to a series of strict prohibitions. German ethnographer Augustin Krämer,[96] who visited Nauru very briefly from 31 March to 2 April 1898, described the groups of young men who competed in the capture of the birds as wearing very distinctive paint on their faces, which consisted of a black ring that encompassed the eyes, nose and mouth. He explained that only the men were present on the beach, the women remaining back in the village for an entire week before and during the event. Following the capture, great feasting followed with the losing party responsible for hosting and feeding the winners. Petit-Skinner suggests that in the past losers buried themselves in the sand eliciting a kind of 'collective suicide' by publicly shaming themselves in an acknowledgement that the spirits of their ancestors had abandoned



Figure 4.9. 'Frigate bird, Nauru (September 1978), Photo by Katessa Schlosser. Kodak mounted colour slide. Imprint 7 Sept 78, marked X 1978 Nauru (top), Fregattvogel (bottom). South Pacific Collection of Kiel University (Christian-Albrechts-Universitaet zu Kiel) on permanent loan to Kiel City and Maritime Museum (Kieler Stadt-und Schifffahrtsmuseum).

them. What is clear is that this was not just a game between men, it was a 'game between spirits'.[97] The chants which accompany the entire proceedings are described as 'more like poetry, recited with rhythmic sequences'.[98] In keeping with many island cultures of the Pacific, the birds are associated with primordial ancestors. The frigate birds are deemed to be messengers, Petit-Skinner explains, intermediaries who travel down from the spirit world. On death, a person's soul transforms into an eani (spirit) and in the Nauru case is specifically described as descending to the human realm in the body of a frigate bird. These ancient rites aimed at collapsing spatial and temporal boundaries so that the primordial past could fold into the present. Petit-Skinner includes the detail that the recited chants incorporated the names of individual frigate birds. Passed down through the generations, these individual birds were specific, named ancestors who were an integral part of the genealogical fabric of the island.

Opening up boxes and unpacking the past

The idea of creating artefacts as technologies – that is, as explicitly designed to capture the potentiality of the divine, of gods, spirits and ancestors – has other precedents in the Pacific. Alfred Gell discussed the 'Technologies of Enchantment'[99] in his analysis of Trobriand Island canoe splash boards and it continues to be a useful way to think through the active agency of art created in the Pacific. I have long been interested in some of the less pristine aspects of collections: those elements described by Te Rangi Hiroa[100] as 'odds and ends' – the enigmatic, often fragile ephemera of collections which, in his case, was a small cluster of red feathers that he mistook for having fallen off a bigger object but that were clearly cosmologically significant in their own right. These more quietly subdued pieces – some rather battered and broken – give us a sense of the rupture and dislocation of encounter in ways that the more fully resolved works of art do not. Collections research deep in the stores of museums reminds us of the kinds of histories embedded in the materiality of things and of the power in knowledge sharing and collaboration. Focusing on the materiality of

collections allows us to bring apparently disparate elements into an interconnected whole in order to fully appreciate the underlying resonances of island cultures that cohere across the vast expanse of the Pacific.

Certainly the islanders of Nauru produced rare and spectacular ritual artefacts. These included dramatic headpieces that incorporated delicately perforated turtle shell plates, human hair and the glossy feathers of majestic seabirds. These were bold and striking, a visual index that underpinned island cosmologies and signalled dominion over land, sky and sea. The transformative potential of these materials created a spiritual and cosmological armature that enhanced the capacity to attract and channel the support of ancestral forbears. Showing oneself as fully resplendent – in an idealized and enhanced state – was an effective way to draw down the presence of ancestors and demonstrate that they remained fully engaged with the community and its wellbeing.

Collections research reveals that Nauru islanders deployed a dazzling array of highly charged materials in the articles they produced. A remarkable inventory of materials that demonstrate creative ingenuity and inventiveness turn up in the material record: intricately woven fibre work, hair, turtle- and pearlshell, delicately fashioned discs of chalky pink coral, shark's teeth, entire crab claws, the bloated heads of puffer fish. The works that have survived in museum collections indicate that Nauruan intentions in this endeavour were very much aligned to those of their distant neighbours in islands as far flung as eastern Polynesia and coastal New Guinea. The geographical complexity of the Pacific is unarguable. Yet focused analysis on the cultural strata ['horizontal'] that cut across the historical and geographical boundaries ['vertical'] of the region can be illuminating. Establishing the parameters of shared coordinates (in terms of materiality and its relation to cosmological and cosmogonic accounts) can help to reinforce the deeper anchoring of connections across the region and guide us – along with archaeology, linguistics and oral histories – towards some of the earlier genealogical, ancestral and dynastic alliances that figured in history prior to the arrival of European visitors.

In 1976, when the Festival of Pacific Arts was hosted in New Zealand, the Nauru delegation were preparing to present their string games – another highly esoteric aspect of Nauruan culture for which the island is well known.[101] Invited by the organizers before their slot began to share a performance, a dance or suchlike, the delegation conferred among themselves and decided to improvise by performing a dance illustrating the 'frigate bird game'.[102] Forty years ago, knowledge of the chants that accompany the string games, the rhythms and gestures associated with the capture of frigate birds remained. Conveyed across generations the oral traditions of song, dance and performance are a vital source. An impressive black feather girdle, collected in 1898 and now in the collections of the Rautenstrach-Joest Museum[103] in Cologne, may well be another formal element in the ensemble of frigate bird feather regalia. Are there recollections I wonder of the kind of regalia that may have been worn in the nineteenth century to accompany the ritual protocols surrounding the hunt and capture of the birds? The collections in museums can perhaps spark those recollections and draw eclipsed histories back into focus. Who used these turtle shell visors? Did men wear them during the ritual capture of the birds? Or were they (more likely I think) incorporated into the broader suite of community feasting that would have

accompanied the breaking of the tapu after a 30-day ritual cycle when men were no longer secluded from village life and ancestors had returned from whence they came.

There remains much work to do in reuniting dispersed collections (digitally and otherwise), in pulling together the remarkable raw data of early colonial expeditions so that we can continue to piece together history. Exploring these remnants of the physical, so charged with the cosmological underpinning of their original manufacture, can bring the earlier coordinates of ritual, of dances and chants more clearly into focus for islanders today. Knowledge and history, objects and memory – these relationships may be fraught with tension but there is beauty, and I hope optimism, in their reunion.

CHAPTER 5

'Reaching across the Ocean': Barkcloth in Oceania and beyond[104]

ANNA-KARINA HERMKENS[105]

~

> ...the sea is our pathway to each other and to everyone else, the sea is our endless saga, the sea is our most powerful metaphor, the ocean is in us.
>
> Epeli Hau'ofa, 'The Ocean in us'[106]

According to Oceanic visionary Epeli Hau'ofa, the Ocean is the foundation of Pacific regional identity: a pathway of connection and being. This view of the Pacific Ocean also informs the recent artwork by Aotearoa New Zealand based printmaker and painter Robin White and Tongan artist Ruha Fifita. Their collaborative series of re-interpreted Tongan barkcloth (Figure 5.1), titled 'Siu i Moana: Reaching across the Ocean' (2016), forms a pathway, not only for Pacific Islanders, but also for humanity at large to come together and create connections, 'regardless of race and age, to bring hope and renewal to the entire community'.[107] White's and Fifita's choice for barkcloth as their medium comes perhaps as no surprise as it is inherently part of Fifita's Tongan 'roots' and referred to by White as the DNA of the Pacific. In this chapter, I explore the various meanings and efficacies of barkcloth in both European museum contexts and the Pacific. This reveals how barkcloth has been decontextualized and de-activated in museum settings while, at the same time, it has been used to activate and mediate identities and relationships across and outside Oceania.

Barkcloth from Oceania 'has long aroused the interest of Europeans'[108] and, consequently, has been collected abundantly by explorers, missionaries, colonial agents, art collectors and anthropologists. Venturing across the Pacific Ocean, European explorers eagerly collected and were given sheets and rolls of barkcloth in exchange for European goods. Some of these cloths never reached Europe, as they exchanged hands again in the Pacific. Many Islanders, like Māori people, were interested in barkcloth from other regions within the Pacific, which they acquired through colonial trade.[109]

Unfortunately, western-style garments often quickly replaced barkcloth and other Indigenous types of fabric. Moreover, missionary sewing classes frequently replaced Indigenous techniques of making cloth. This could be viewed as proof of conversion, whereby Oceanic people have surrendered to western models of gender and sexuality



Figure 5.1. Display of Siu i Moana in the National Gallery of Victoria (2016). Photograph by A. Hermkens.

through the experience of colonization.[110] However, as Margaret Jolly demonstrates, such a view ignores how both Indigenous and introduced creations of gendered labour are 'saturated with values of Indigenous sanctity and rank, anti-colonial resistance, cultural pride, women's collectivities, national identities and transnational connections in an increasingly globalized world'.[111] Before turning to contemporary practices and performances that show the 'saturated' qualities of barcloth and its activation and embodiment of Oceanic (political) identity, I will highlight a few of the various barkcloth collections in the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (MAA) in Cambridge, and trace how these cloths have been converted in multiple ways. This shows how through practices of collecting, classification, conservation, sale and display, barcloth has been systematically decontextualized and transformed into disembodied specimens, artefacts and commodities.

Conversions of cloth: tapa in museum collections

Although barkcloth is manufactured both in Melanesia (Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands and the southern islands of Vanuatu) and Polynesia, barcloth (or tapa) has prototypically been seen as Polynesian.[112] Reaching across this colonial divide of Oceania, the MAA has around 800 pieces of barkcloth in its collection. These pieces include exuberant painted barkcloth masks, loincloths (Figure 5.2), elaborate headdresses, mourning hats and bodices (Figure 5.3), capes, containers, phallocrypts, undecorated and painted pieces and strips of barkcloth used for wrapping and binding, large pieces of painted cloth used in gift-giving ceremonies and life-cycle rituals, and smaller, cut-up samples of beautiful finely beaten and painted barkcloth. The collection also includes a copy of Alexander Shaw's 'Catalogue of the Different Specimens of Cloth Collected in the Three Voyages of Captain Cook', which contains 39 small cut-up 'specimens' of tapa.[113]



Figure 5.2 (above). Eororo barkcloth. Photograph by Josh Murfitt. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, E 1903.505.3.



Figure 5.3 (right). Eororo mourning bodice. Photograph by Josh Murfitt. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, E 1903.503.

Although in the case of the Shaw books it was predominantly Polynesian tapa that was cut up, distributed and converted into 'specimens', barkcloth from PNG has met similar fates. Several pieces from Oro province have been cut in half, most likely to fit display cabinets as decorative background.[114] While these pieces were acquired by the MAA after they had been resized, there are also pieces that are likely to have been altered after they arrived in the museum. For example, the collection contains two rare pieces of New Caledonian barkcloth collected by Paul Denys Montague, a student and protégé of anthropologist Alfred Cort Haddon, in 1914.[115] These two large, almost

triangular, pieces of white and red barkcloth have been altered dramatically, with each piece having a substantial rectangular shape cut out at the base. The pencil lines and residues of white paint on the rectangles suggest they were deliberately cut out to fit particular display cabinets that were painted while the cloths were in there. Referred to as awa (barkcloth made from the paper mulberry tree) and mber (barkcloth made from banyan trees) and used as women's garments, these embodied cloths have been converted and reframed in such a way that they no longer reveal, but effectively obscure and conceal the complex intimate and constitutive relation between Indigenous people and things like tapa cloth.

For the Maisin people living in Collingwood Bay, barkcloth (locally in English referred to as tapa) is intimately part of their existence and being. In fact, the gender specific garments that women make (Figure 5.4 and Figure 5.5) are part of Maisin ontology. One of Maisin's origin myths tells us that the first two Maisin people, a brother and sister, were gendered through the tapa garments they received from their mythological ancestor. Only after receiving and wearing the cloths were they able to settle and reproduce. Hence the establishment of Maisin culture is due to barkcloth. Another link between Maisin ontology and barkcloth is the red pigment used to colour the intricate designs drawn on the cloths. This dye needs to be applied when it is warm and is referred to as blood.[116] In fact, it is through the intimate exchange of Maisin women's bodily substances in the making of tapa, and how once imbued with women's regenerative powers, that





Figure 5.4 (left). Maisin men's cloth (koefi). Photograph by Josh Murfitt. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, E 1903.111.

Figure 5.5 (above). Maisin women's cloth (embobi). Photograph by Josh Murfitt. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, E 1903.112.

tapa carries clan identity into broader networks of exchange.[117] As soon as the red colour fades, and turns brown, or the cloths have too many holes to be patched, they are discarded. Maisin favour the red designs to be vibrant and alive, as these are visualizing the enduring bloodlines of the patrilineal clans.

The intimate relationship between barkcloth and human ontology comes as no surprise. Across pre-colonial Oceania, barkcloth has been referred to in origin myths, in relation to ancestral beings, and especially in relation to maternity. While among the Maisin, barkcloth gendered the primordial couple, allowing them to create offspring, among the Ömie people, the first female ancestor is said to have cut bark from a tree and soaked it in red river mud when she started menstruating, symbolizing her blood and her capacity to bear children (Figure 5.6).[118] Moreover, throughout Oceania, barkcloth has been used for carrying, clothing and wrapping the human body, as well as ancestral images, charms and idols, thereby activating and mediating ancestral power and divinity. These qualities were often not recognized by the early European explorers, missionaries and colonial agents who ventured into Oceania, or by the museums that incorporated the many variations of Oceanic barkcloth in their collections.

Across Oceania, relationships between people, and between people and the divine (spirits, ancestors and gods) have been reworked through things. In contexts of life-cycle rituals, such as initiations, weddings and mortuary rites, objects are not only exchanged and given away, but also reshaped, repurposed and destroyed. Traditionally, huge lengths of Fijian masi would be made, which would be cut up and distributed as gifts after the ceremonies were over. Among the Maisin, barkcloth, received as either gift or worn as garment, would be repurposed or discarded as soon as the red dye had faded and lost its vibrancy. And across Oceania, deceased bodies were wrapped in barkcloth before being buried, while graves were marked with decorated barkcloth that would deteriorate along with the deceased's body. Moreover, in several regions, barkcloth masks and regalia would be discarded or burned after their use. For example, the Baining from East New Britain (PNG) are famous for their huge, elaborate barkcloth masks (Figure 5.7). These masks were made and worn by men during dance ceremonies that celebrated birth and other life-



Figure 5.6. Ömie barkcloth. Photograph by Josh Murfitt. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, MAA 2012.90.



Figure 5.7. ''Pungbung' [vungvung] mask: close-up of the headdress, showing patterns on the barkcloth and the base of the trumpet. Suspended in the framework in the top left of the photograph is the penis that the dancer would wear. Uramat Baining.' Photograph by G. Bateson. Courtesy of Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, P.2934.ACH1.



Figure 5.8. Phallocrypt. Photograph by Josh Murfitt. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, 1928.618.



Figure 5.9. Kavat mask. Photograph by Josh Murfitt. Copyright Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, 1928.689.

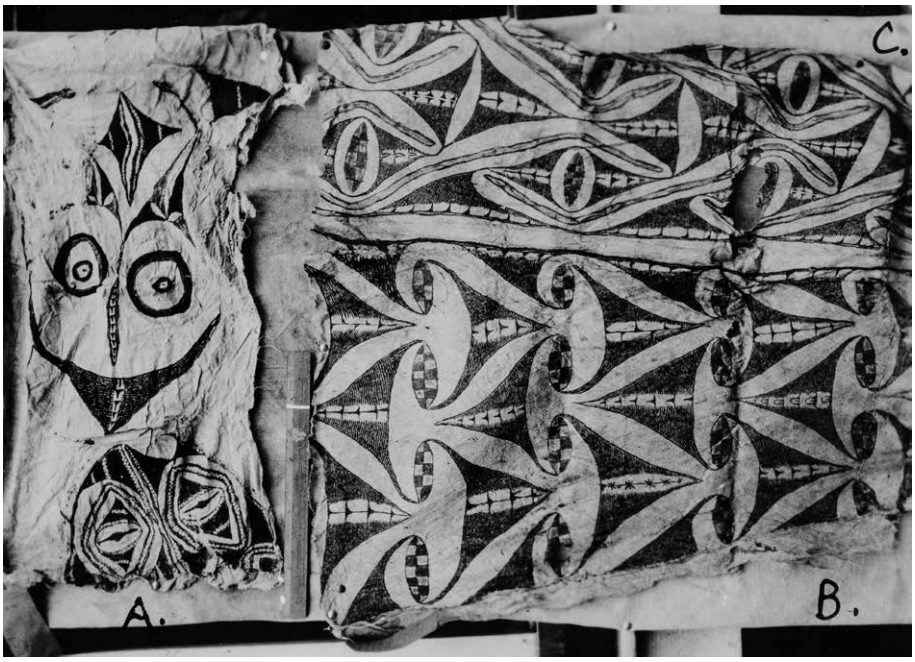


Figure 5.10. 'Three pieces of barkcloth from Uramat Baining masks. A. has been stripped from the head of a 'Kavat' mask. B. and C. are from Mendas masks, and show very much more careful painting than is usual among the Mali Baining. Uramat Baining.' Courtesy of Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, P.2952.ACH1.





Figure 5.11 (left). Papuan gulf kovave or eharo mask. Photograph by Josh Murfitt. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, Z 9992.

Figure 5.12. 'Kovave masks at Bia, Orokolo.' 'View of two masked men [kovave] standing on a beach. The men wear tall painted conical masks from which hang a thick skirt of plant fibre that covers their bodies to their knees. The barkcloth masks have a protruding mouth and ears. The face is painted white with various curvilinear motifs and designs covering the face. Atop each mask is a bunch of feathers. Behind the masked men is a shelter [uvi], the signs of a wooden scaffold, as well as several palm trees.' Photograph by Paul de Rautenfeld July 1925. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, P.1726.ACH1.

cycle events. Parts of the masks and the phallocrypt, or penis of the vungvung mask (Figure 5.8), were coloured red by spitting a mixture of saliva and tongue-blood on the surface.[119] As soon as the ceremonies had ended, the parts that contained blood were destroyed, while other barkcloth parts could be re-used as loincloths or coverings.[120] Anthropologist Gregory Bateson photographed and collected various Baining masks (Figure 5.9), including several that were taken off their cane skeletons (Figure 5.10) that now feature in the MAA collection.

Likewise, the Elema people of Orokolo Bay (Gulf Province in PNG) had an elaborate mask tradition, which included three types of barkcloth and coconut fibre masks: hevehe, eharo and kovave (Figure 5.11 and 5.12). While the first two types of masks were used in ritual dance performances that facilitated communication with, and control of the spirits and ancestors, kovave masks were used to initiate boys into adulthood. As the Baining masks, the Elema masks would be destroyed after the ritual dance performances in which they were used had ended.[121]



Figure 5.13. Church Festival in Collingwood Bay, Wanigela village, 2004. Photograph by A. Hermkens.

These examples show the importance of the ephemeral qualities of barkcloth. In fact, one can argue that it is through the decay or destruction of ephemeral, or 'flesh-like'[122] objects like barkcloth, that Pacific peoples have intellectually managed their social and spiritual relations.[123] With the advent of European collectors and more recently tourists, however, these transient objects, such as Maisin garments and Baining masks, have become durable commodities. Conserved in museum collections, these objects are no longer ephemeral, but instead, enduring museum assets.

In addition to conversions into cabinet displays, and collection and commodity economies, barkcloth has also featured prominently in religious transfigurations. Margaret Jolly shows that tapa and other textiles have been intimate partners of Christianity in Oceania, especially as 'icons of conversion'.[124] She argues that it was the similarity between Oceanic and Western textiles as women's creations that was recognized by early missionaries, although they failed to perceive the sanctity of Oceanic cloths in mediating procreation, honouring rank, and protecting mana.[125]

Among the Maisin people living in Collingwood Bay, missionization started around 1890 and was entangled with collecting and exchange – both between missionaries and other colonial agents, and between missionaries and Maisin people.[126] Among these collectors was Bishop Stone-Wigg, who made the collecting of local objects a priority, instigating his missionaries to assemble a collection especially for the Anglican Mission. Some of these objects were used to educate the audience back in England about the necessity of the work of the Anglican Mission in the Maisin area. Other collections were sold to collectors in PNG and European museums. In 1903, Stone-Wigg donated 75 objects to the MAA, including six pieces of tapa (see Figures 5.4

and 5.5). By collecting inalienable objects like Maisin clan tapa, stripping local girls and women of these personal adornments, cutting their hair and prohibiting mourning and initiation rituals for women, missionaries tried to re-shape and reform local female bodies and thereby Maisin culture as a whole.[127] Although eventually all Maisin became Anglicans, not all bodily reforms were accepted. Facial tattooing and mourning rituals continued and Maisin people kept wearing their tapa garments until after the Second World War. Today, Maisin and neighbouring groups especially wear their tapa in the context of church festivals (Figure 5.13).[128] In these contexts, cloth, cosmology and physiology are interwoven in an embodied experience of belief that highlights people's connections with both their ancestors and the Anglican God and Church brought by missionaries like Bishop Stone-Wigg.

Barkcloth and the future of Oceania

The intimate relationship between barkcloth and identity is continuing, albeit in new contexts and performances, such as the church festivals in Collingwood Bay, which have replaced the traditional clan feasts.[129] One of the largest pan-Oceania events in which barkcloth features prominently as marker of specific Pacific identities is the Festival of Pacific Arts, also called FESTPAC.

FESTPAC is a travelling festival hosted every four years by a different country in the Pacific. The idea of the Festival was envisaged by the Conference of the South Pacific Commission (now the Secretariat of the Pacific Community, SPC) in an attempt to combat the erosion of traditional customary practices. Since 1972, delegations from 27 Pacific Island Nations and Territories have come together to share and exchange their cultures at each Pacific Arts Festival. The Festival 'is recognized as a major regional cultural event, and is the largest gathering in which Pacific peoples unite to enhance their respect and appreciation of one another'.[130] The festival has been described in terms of issues of identity politics and 'authenticity', and more recently on how the festival draws people into global flows of production and transnational capital, as well as being a site of power in Oceania in relation to debates and practices related to heritage.[131] Since the beginning, barkcloth has figured prominently at these festivals as part of people's performances, traditional dresses, and displays of arts and crafts.

For the Samoan, Fijian, Tongan and Hawaii'an tapa makers I spoke with during the most recent (2016) FESTPAC on Guam, tapa is about their culture. As Fijian Talei Manara stated, 'everything we do, we must wear masi (tapa)!' But it is also seen as something that connects Pacific Island societies with each other and the wider world. 'Masi will send you around the world', said masi maker Selai Buasala, who teaches her daughters how to make and design (paint) barcloth, just as her mother taught her. It opens up different pathways, enabling Pacific Islanders, and especially local women, to travel in order to promote and sell their barcloth work. But essentially, it is 'about our place in the world', as Moana Eisele from Hawai'i expressed, about what it means to be Hawaiian, Tongan, Samoan, or Fijian.[132] Similar comments were also made by Maisin (PNG) women, for whom tapa is intimately intertwined with their gendered, clan and ethnic identity.[133] In addition to these inalienable qualities, tapa is also an alienable commodity. And this property has enabled Maisin women to travel wide and far in order to promote and sell tapa to both national and international audiences

and customers. However, while FESTPAC provides opportunities to reach across the Ocean, not all Pacific people have access to the event. In the entire history of FESTPAC, only one Maisin person, Franklin Seri, has ever been able to attend due to the costs and logistics involved. And although Maisin tapa was sold at the FESTPAC held in Honiara, Solomon Islands (2012), most venues are too costly to attend for Maisin and PNG people in general.

Despite events such as FESTPAC, and the marketing of barkcloth as 'art' in the rest of the world, the future of barkcloth in Oceania is not certain. In 2002, the Maisin won their three-year battle in the PNG National Court and regained title to their traditional lands that had been threatened by illegal, large-scale logging. Aided by Greenpeace, which supported the Maisin's battle against logging by promoting local tapa as a form of sustainable art, the production of barkcloth increased significantly. However, not long after Greenpeace left, local and international markets collapsed. Moreover, environmental issues started to impact the making of tapa. During the late 1990s, there had been insufficient replanting of the paper mulberry plantations in the north-western Maisin villages, which were further damaged by being overgrown with weeds and a rising water table.[134] In June 2007, hardly any tapa was exchanged during life-cycle events, nor did any tapa hang from the walls or the altar of the church. The gardens near the villages had become too wet to grow paper mulberry saplings. In November 2007, garden lands across Collingwood Bay were again submerged and buried under silt, forcing the people to live on government rations of rice and the contributions of working relatives until the gardens could recover.[135] This again seriously impacted the growth and hence production of barkcloth as the mulberry trees will not grow in wet soils.

The impact of rising sea levels on barkcloth production can also be seen elsewhere in the Pacific. The Fiji Times Online has recently reported that climate change has had an impact on trees and plants that are raw materials for traditional assets such as *masi* (barkcloth) and woven mats. Fijian Director of Heritage and Culture for the Ministry of Education, Lusiana Fotofili, states:

> In some of our islands we are beginning to see the effects of climate change due to sea level rise, which impacts on the growing of raw material. These are the mulberry trees and its bark which is used for barkcloth (masi) making and the growth of pandanus leaves and even knowing which soils are the right soils to use for pottery making.[136]

She encourages everyone to be mindful of the need to cultivate more plants that are required for masi and mat making, keep this knowledge and the skills to make these objects alive, and look after the environment well.[137]

The current plight of both Pacific people and their cultures has been taken up by the Pacific Climate warriors of 350.org.[138] In an enduring effort to bring attention to rising sea levels in the Pacific, they have incorporated iconic visual markers of Pacific Island cultures in their campaigns, including barkcloth dresses (Figure 5.14). Under the mantra 'We are not drowning, we are fighting', the 15 Pacific Island Nations that are united under 350pacific.org[139] tell the world not a story about victimhood and



Figure 5.14. 'Raising our paddles', 350pacific.org Pacific Climate warriors. Photograph by Fenton Lutunatabua, Fiji. Used with permission of the photographer.

loss, but about Pacific resilience, strength and identity. The various Pacific campaigns emphasize the connection between land, culture and Ocean by using cultural signifiers.[140] Delegates from across the Pacific have used various types of dresses and ornaments in their 350pacific.org campaigns, as well as sculptures, canoes, woven mats and barkcloth in order to highlight the cultural diversity and resilience of the Pacific. As photographer and 350.org Pacific Regional Coordinator Fenton Lutunatabua explained, the use of masi in the Fijian campaigns provides 'a visual representation of who we are'.

> Masi is very important to us, we grew up with it and it connects the land (vanua) with the Ocean. Draped in masi, something that is authentic to us, we want to tell our story.[141]

This story, mediated through a series of images that show partly submerged, strong and proud Pacific women and men adorned in rich masi, conveys the acuteness of rising sea levels and climate change, and the importance of protecting Pacific cultures. Here barkcloth becomes a visualization of Epeli Hau'ofa's *We Are the Ocean*. Due to its generic and familiar use across the Pacific, barkcloth visually wraps and unites Pacific Islanders in their fight against climate change, drenched in, but at the same time reaching across the Ocean to raise awareness and protest fossil fuel industries.

The continued importance and political activation of barkcloth is also highlighted by a recent effort to safeguard barkcloth through UNESCO, and have it registered as Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH). In 2014, the first Tapa Festival of Oceania

took place in Tahiti, French Polynesia from 13-23 November 2014. Organized by the Association Tapa du Pacifique (ATAPAC) and the Wallis and Futuna Delegation in Tahiti, the Festival brought together barkcloth makers, supporters, government officials, NGOs and academics engaged in the safeguarding of tapa cloth within and outside of the Pacific. Participating Pacific islands included American Samoa, Cook Island, Easter Island, Fiji, French Polynesia (Marquesas Islands), Hawaii, New Caledonia, Pitcairn, Samoa, Tonga, Vanuatu, and Wallis and Futuna, with European academics representing PNG and Solomon Islands. The participants agreed to enlarge and strengthen ATAPAC by designating focal points at each island. A steering committee was tasked with carrying out preparatory works for the organization of the next 'Festival of Tapa', 'raising funds, and identifying cultural events in the future that would serve the safeguarding activities of tapa and further networking'.[142]

Whether these actions will be enough to safeguard the making and continued use of barkcloth in Oceania remains to be seen. Ironically, nations such as the US, Europe and Australia, which are largely responsible for climate change and its devastating effects in the Pacific, also hold the diverse repertoires of Oceanic barkcloth.[143] Interaction between museums and Pacific communities and the continued political and cultural activation of barkcloth will hopefully retain its capacity to mediate relationships with social, spiritual and environmental worlds, and continue to reach across the Ocean.

CHAPTER 6

'U'u: an unfinished inquiry into the history and adornment of Marquesan clubs

NICHOLAS THOMAS

~

The variety of the Marquesan war club known as the ʻuʻu is among the most renowned and impressive genres of Oceanic art. Powerful in its overall form, distinguished by a proliferation of faces on a variety of scales and in distinct styles, marked by arresting and intricate surface decoration, literally weighty, dark and deeply stained, in some cases to near-black, and sometimes featuring finely woven sinnet around a grip, it is hardly surprising that ʻuʻu have long been sought after by connoisseurs and curators, and have featured in so many museum displays and Pacific art compendia. Yet, given the density of the wood – Casuarina equistefolia, known in Marquesan as toa, also the word for warrior, as Steven Hooper has noted[144] – their making required sheer hard work, enviable dexterity and a high level of stylistic fluency on the part of the artist, manifest in the subtle and intriguing variations in motifs and design that render every ʻuʻu a unique art object. These clubs were emphatically works of extraordinary mana and status for Marquesans, before they ever entered the tournaments of value we associate with the world of tribal art (Figure 6.1).

Some 25 years ago, Carol Ivory explored questions of style and the discontinuity between the 'classic' ʻuʻu of the first half of the nineteenth century, and the more extensively decorated type made later for sale. She drew attention to the latter, an early tourist art paralleling the contemporaneous Māori souvenir arts documented by Roger Neich, but was less concerned with the earlier development of the form.[145] Complementing her studies, this paper addresses that earlier development, offering an incomplete answer to a seemingly simple question. It addresses also the methodological issues that the question gives rise to and the reasons why the investigation is unresolved, and perhaps unresolvable.

Its question is one that was raised in the 1920s, albeit only in passing, by the master of all interpreters of Marquesan art, Karl von den Steinen; it has been touched upon more recently, again in passing, by the distinguished historian of Polynesian art and Cook voyage collections, Adrienne Kaeppler. It is, quite simply, were canonically-decorated ʻuʻu made by Marquesans before European contact gained momentum in the 1790s, or are they an innovation of the epoch of early encounter, that brought Islanders iron tools, as well as so many other novel artefacts, ideas and relationships?



Figure 6.1. 'U'u, club, late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. Wood (Casuarina equistefolia). H 150cm. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, E 1904.462.

Most Oceanic art surveys (my own 1995 volume among them) which include examples of 'u'u have tended not to date the works at all, the implication being that the pieces shown simply represent a 'traditional' Marquesan genre.[146] In exhibitions and catalogues dedicated specifically to the art of the Marquesas, the particular 'u'u shown are attributed to the 'nineteenth century', or 'early nineteenth century'; the antiquity of the style is not discussed.[147] For his part, Hooper has stated, in relation to a finely ornamented British Museum example shown in his 2006 exhibition, *Pacific Encounters: Art and Divinity in Polynesia*, that 'The form was recorded during Cook's second-voyage visit', and this is certainly correct *of the form*.[148]

It was precisely the records and collections associated with Captain James Cook's second voyage that prompted von den Steinen's and Kaeppler's consideration in passing of the issue of the genre's antiquity. In April 1774, Cook and his companions in the *Resolution* called at Vaitahu, on Tahuata in the southern part of the Marquesas.[149] As elsewhere, officers, naturalists and ordinary seamen sought local artefacts enthusiastically, collections were made, and on the expedition's return to Britain, an engraving of five carefully-delineated Marquesan works was one of a series of plates dedicated to 'artificial curiosities' prepared to accompany the official narrative, Cook's 1777 *A Voyage Toward the South Pole* (Figure 6.2). These artefacts, like most of those drawn and engraved for publication in the *Voyage*, were collected by Johann Reinhold (or George) Forster and four of the five form part of the Forster collection, on display in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford (PRM). The exception is an 'u'u that, as Hooper stated, is formally consistent with the well-known club type, but lacks the subordinate faces and the complex and involuted surface decoration that render the 'classic' style so arresting and distinctive. An 'u'u in the collections of the British Museum (BM) does not have a documented Cook voyage provenance but closely resembles the work in the engraving in a sufficient number of details to have been firmly identified with it (Figure 6.3).

Von den Steinen knew the club only through the print. He raised the question of whether it might represent a 'primitive stage' of the sculptural style, but excluded the possibility on the grounds that the works known to have been made only 25 years

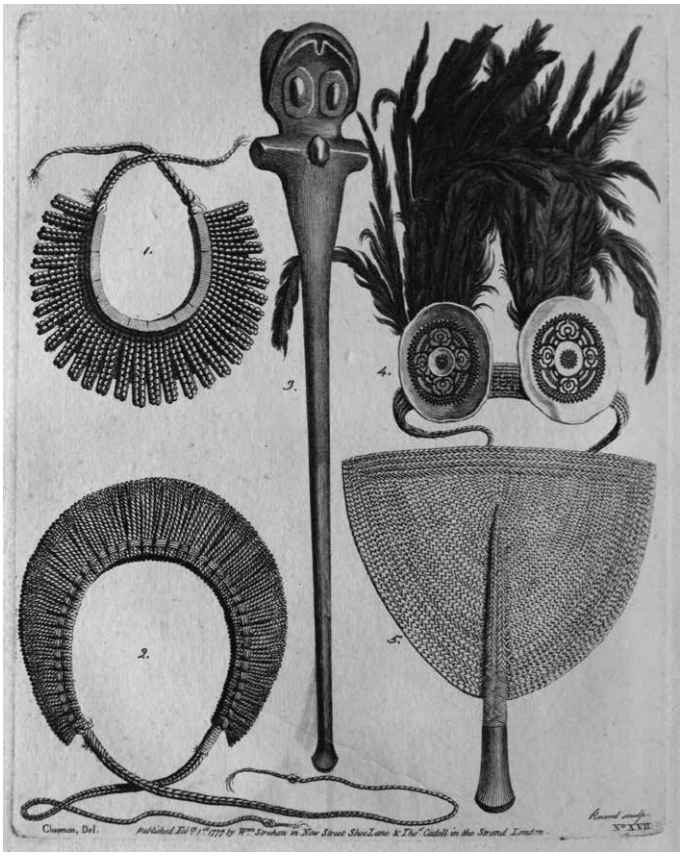


Figure 6.2. Marquesan artefacts, engraving published in James Cook, A Voyage Toward the South Pole (London, 1773).



Figure 6.3 (right). 'U'u, club, collected during the second voyage of Captain James Cook. Wood (Casuarina equistefolia). H 113 cm. Oc1978,Q.838. Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.

later – classic 'u'u collected around 1800 – required a 'long anterior development'.[150] In other words, he chose to treat the Cook voyage club as an anomaly rather than as representative of 'u'u made during or before the 1770s.

Kaeppler inverts this interpretation in a brief caption to this same unadorned work in the catalogue of the major Bonn exhibition of Cook voyage collections. 'This singular club with carved back-to-back faces is a prototype for the later elegantly carved clubs in which the carving was organized to form a series of human heads and or faces.'[151] The word 'prototype', which in general means an individual model of a novel form or device, does not seem strictly appropriate in the context, and Kaeppler may have intended 'precursor', but in any event the point is



Figure 6.4. ʻUʻu, club, collected c. 1800. E5027. Peabody Essex Museum, Salem.



Figure 6.5 (left). ʻUʻu, club, collected during the May 1804 visit of the Krusenstern expedition to Nukuhiva. H 160.3 cm. MAE 736-177. Kunstkamera (Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography), St Petersburg.

clear, that the piece anticipated the 'elegantly carved clubs' which were a 'later' development, 'later', that is, than 1774. Classic 'u'u were, in other words, *not* an older genre but an innovation of the period.

Ivory has however argued that 'plain' 'u'u do not constitute a distinct stylistic group.

> Their sporadic and generally late appearance in museum collections, coupled with the fact that two clubs are partially carved only on one side while fully carved on the other, reinforces the conclusion that these are not an early style club, as has been suggested, but merely unfinished ones.[152]

While the discovery of examples that are plain or more or less plain on one side but decorated on the other is intriguing, it is not conclusive, since an old plain club might well have been taken up and decorated or partly decorated by a later carver wishing to avoid the trouble of producing the basic form. 'Plain' 'u'u are, if not numerous, present in a number of collections: the example collected on Cook's second voyage is not unique, but typical of a select group represented also in the collections of the Musée d'Ethnographie Genèva, the PRM, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa), the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam and the Musée d'Acquitaine in Bordeaux. Given that curators typically display decorated rather than undecorated examples, there are no doubt others in reserve collections. All of these 'plain' examples are smoothed and stained, that is, in a finished state. The Tropenmuseum 'u'u among others also possesses conspicuous marks of use and wear which are inconsistent with the idea of incompleteness.

It is more or less a tautology to note that stylistic and formal change can be rigorously explored on the basis of dated examples. The problem in the Marquesan case is that the art works are, in general, poorly dated. Students might assume that the partial nature of the historic record makes it difficult to attribute nineteenth century and earlier artefacts from across Oceania to specific periods, but in fact the quality of evidence is very varied, and for certain islands and archipelagos – where collections were primarily made by resident missionaries, travelling scientists or naval men obliged to keep detailed logs – it is very rich, possible to identify the place, time and circumstances of acquisition, for both many individual artefacts and for extensive collections. If this is notably the case for Fiji and western Polynesia, Tahiti and New Zealand, the opposite is true of the Marquesas, for a variety of reasons including the relatively late establishment of mission stations and the apparent prominence of whalers and traders among those who brought objects away from the islands and into wider circulation, but typically kept cursory or no records of their acquisitions.

The artefacts we know in museums and private collections derive from those field acquisitions, but in most cases neither bear labels, nor are accompanied by information which enables us to understand when, where specifically or by which Islanders they were initially given by or sold to Europeans. Between them, the BM, Te Papa, the PRM and Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge (MAA) hold some 64 'u'u, of which just four are attributed to a specific field collector, and therefore a specific date of collection. Drawing upon von den Steinen and her own extensive research, Ivory lists 31, out of a total of 284 known to her (at the time of the preparation of her 1994 essay), either certainly or probably collected before 1844. This is to say that just over one in ten examples carry information of some sort. But out of these, just one, the Cook voyage example, is known to have been collected before 1800; just three or four further clubs were obtained in about 1800 and in 1804, by American traders and participants in the Krusenstern expedition respectively.

The earliest 'u'u of the fully adorned kind that were collected include two gifted to the East India Marine Society of Salem by the mariner John Fitzpatrick Jeffrie in 1803; the Marine Society's collections formed the core of what is now the Peabody Essex Museum, Salem (PEM E5027 and E5030; Figure 6.4). While the precise date of Jeffrie's visit is unclear, it appears to have been around 1800 to 1801. The first Russian voyage

around the world, led by Krusenstern and Lisiansky, reached Nukuhiva in May 1804. As Elena Govor has demonstrated, the 12-day visit was one rich in encounter, marked in particular by close engagements with Keatonui, the most prominent haka'iki or chief of the great valley of Taiohae, and with members of his family and with the priests and warriors of his circle. Perhaps the single most impressive ʻuʻu in any collection today is an unusually large and consummately sculpted example in the Kunstkamera in St Petersburg, thought to be a gift to the navigators from Keatonui himself. This example (MAE 736-177, Figure 6.5) is the only ʻuʻu which can be positively attributed to the Krusenstern expedition; others were certainly acquired but have not yet been identified among the collections from this voyage, which are now dispersed among Russian, Estonian, German, Swiss and Dutch museums.[153]

The Salem and St Petersburg examples exhibit subtle variations upon the more or less standard design elements of the 'classic' ʻuʻu: the smaller face at the very top, horizontally bisected by the arc defining the larger face; two subordinate arcs, within which a knob-like face or head, within the radiating set of lines, each standing as an eye; a further knob-like head in the centre of the cross-strut in the form of a vertically-elongated diamond, and below this, a further set of lines, motifs, and eyes, across the upper part of the club's flatter stem. It is worth detailing these features, since they demonstrate that by around 1800, the style had been fully developed. While, for von den Steinen, the level of stylistic resolution 'must' have reflected 'long anterior development', it has to be asked, why must it? How long does it take to create a style of this sort? Is 25 years long enough or not? Could the elaborated, refined style have been a development of the later 1770s, enabled by the re-introduction of iron, or the upshot of a more rapid process of artistic innovation that gained momentum only during the 1790s? What we know definitely is that the fully adorned ʻuʻu was evidently being produced in what had become a conventional style by 1800, if not earlier. By this time, the particular art form was also clearly an important expression of the identity of a prominent warrior or chief; the former at least were doubtless also capable of its terrifying and injurious or lethal deployment.

There is a more basic methodological issue. Where known, a date for field-collection tells us only that a work cannot have been created later. It provides a more specific indication of the date of creation, for works such as fragile, light-sensitive and perishable ritual assemblages, such as those we know were created for particular ceremonies, and typically discarded or destroyed after use. The ethnographers who acquired Baining, Sulka, hevehe, and similar New Guinea masks were mostly collecting things that were at the time new. If barkcloth can seldom have been very old when collected, inferences concerning its dating would be complicated in Tahitian and some other instances, since large bales are known to have been stored among the rafters of chiefs' houses, perhaps for many years. Solid wooden objects could have been decades old at the time they were collected; the stilt step or tapuvae in the Musée du Quai Branly-Jacques Chirac collected by Lieutenant Charles Duncan in 1867 is, for example, likely to have been sculpted around 1790.[154] 'U'u similarly could easily have been 50 years, or even a century, old by the time they were exchanged away.

The two issues – of poor documentation on the one hand, and the durability of the objects on the other – would seem to constitute a formidable problem for any periodization of these artefacts over the late decades of the eighteenth century and the early decades of the nineteenth. It is obvious that the pieces acquired *circa* 1800 and in May 1804 were made no later than those dates. But is it possible to establish whether, at the time of Cook's visit in 1774, ʻuʻu were decorated or not? Given that carbon 14 dating is both destructive of the works and too imprecise for the period in question to be useful, it might seem that the question of the antiquity of decorated ʻuʻu is not susceptible to resolution.

Yet the proposal here is that the question can be answered, albeit not definitively. A partial answer follows from consideration of the technical aspects of ʻuʻu adornment that have not, to my knowledge, been previously examined. Among standard elements, the radial set of lines constituting the circular forms of the main pair of eyes require work of particular intricacy but also of definition to achieve the effect evidently intended, of accentuating these eyes and rendering them captivating. From the perspective of these large eyes' centres, the lines are cut into the plane; from that of the surrounding face, they are raised above it, in relief. Their number may be considerable, around 120 or more being not unusual; they are typically very fine, approximately a millimetre across; they look to be even from end to end and evenly spaced, and the incisions between them similarly appear even, although both are necessarily thicker at the outer than inner ends: the visual or sculptural sleight of hand is an index of the virtuosity of the work.

While local variants on the adzes used across Oceania were certainly employed to shape ʻuʻu, we do not know precisely what types of implements Marquesan tuhunu or tuhuka (experts, artists) used for their fine adornment. In his compendium of Marquesan material culture, Linton refers to chisels and stone knives of various kinds,[155] but obsidian was not found in the archipelago and it is likely that out of non-introduced materials, only shark's teeth were sufficiently fine, hard and sharp to produce what we might call engraving, surface patterning or imaging, not unlike the treatment of copper plates and similar media in European printmaking. Even if woodworking knives featuring mounted teeth are not extant in early Marquesan collections, such implements must have been used for finer surface work on stilt steps, tapuvae, and on other genres.

A close comparison of ʻuʻu reveals variation in the definition, that is, in the sharpness of cuts. However, the bulk of examples are at the finer end of the range, and feature lines that can only have been made with iron tools, such as sharpened and hafted nails, or quality knives of English or German manufacture, which were introduced in considerable numbers in the course of the Krusenstern voyage's May 1804 visit to Nuku Hiva; some good knives no doubt reached the island group earlier.

Cook's own journal makes it clear that during the visit of April 1774, iron axes and nails, including large spike nails, were trafficked in considerable numbers.[156] The quantity received by the Vaitahu people would have been sufficient to create numerous iron tools, to empower and sustain a new approach to woodcarving, and since (we know from Edward Robarts' journal) people from the northern part of the Marquesas travelled periodically to the south for gift exchange, and specifically for manufactured



Figure 6.6. Study photos of 'u'u. Oc1920,0317.1. Courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 6.7. Study photos of 'u'u. Oc1920,0317.1. Courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 6.8. Study photo of 'u'u. Oc1931.1118.10. Courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum.

wooden objects, pieces made in a new manner, with iron implements, could soon have circulated throughout the six inhabited islands of the group. Yet if the comparatively soft iron nails of the period were extensively used, they may well have worn out quickly, and the archipelago was not visited again for 17 years. The 1791 and 1792 visits of the merchants Ingraham and Marchand in the *Hope* and the *Solide* respectively and Hergest in the HMS *Daedalus* (one of Captain George Vancouver's vessels) inaugurated a new epoch of more frequent contact, bringing much iron as well as a variety of other trade goods. Whatever stimulation carving may have received following Cook's visit, a new mode became established, or better established, as its technical needs were more readily and consistently available.

On occasion individually, more often together with *Pacific Presences* colleagues and associates, I have had the opportunity to study ʻuʻu in numerous collections, importantly including those in Amsterdam, Geneva, Leiden, Munich, Paris, St Petersburg and Wellington; it has been especially valuable to have been able to study the full set of some 20 examples at the BM on two occasions, the second in the company of Marquesan expert, Teiki Hu'ukena, and archaeologists Marie-Noelle, Marc and Pierre Ottino. The tentative conclusion of these observations of the actual artefacts (photographs in publications and on museum websites are seldom of sufficiently high resolution to adjudicate the nature of surface engraving) is that while, to reiterate, ʻuʻu are certainly varied in the fineness and sharpness of the cuts and lines that make up their surface decoration, I am yet to encounter any example which is characterized overall with the 'softer' or broader grooves and incisions that would typically be associated with tools of stone or teeth (Figures 6.6, 6.7 and 6.8). Whereas some Tongan clubs collected during Cook's voyages, in particular during the second voyage, exhibit less fine decoration than that typical of even slightly later examples, *all* of the Marquesan ʻuʻu of the 'classic', decorated type that I have had the opportunity to see suggest the use of sharp, almost certainly iron blades.

These observations thus tend to confirm Kaeppler's implication that the 1774 ʻuʻu in the BM is indeed a precursor of the classic genre. This position tends to be confirmed by close analysis of the BM work, which is substantially shorter than many 'classic' examples (113 versus 140-150 cm), but also appears stylistically to be less 'resolved' than later works, in the sense that the lugs protruding sideways dominate the head rather than vice versa. The elongation typical of the 'classic' form is also conducive to more arresting visual effect, as well as deployment with greater physical force. This suggestion, essentially that the early work is less aesthetically powerful, is needless to say impressionistic and subjective, and there are other qualifications that should be made, with respect to the argument offered here.

I have stated that the fineness of ʻuʻu decoration is consistent with the use of iron tools rather than sharks' teeth, or some other implement or cutting medium available before European contact. This again is an impressionistic judgement and it is not one that has been tested through experimentation with the use of appropriately hafted teeth on casuarina. It is possible, but unlikely, that such experimentation would determine that apparently post-contact works could indeed have been made with tools available pre-contact.

What of von den Steinen's suggestion that a style of this kind simply could not have been developed over a comparatively short period, of 20 or so years? We could consider that the designs in question were already present in Marquesan iconography, in tattoo for example, and were thus available for adaptation across other genres. But von den Steinen has a point: the formal and iconographic coherence of the corpus we know points to a stable stylistic formation rather than a plethora of experiments. At the risk of entering a realm of complete speculation, I would suggest that these works and this history can best and most parsimoniously be explained by imagining that the classic Marquesan ʻuʻu was the invention of one artist, one tuhuna, or more likely a school or workshop somewhere in the archipelago, who embraced the opportunity provided by novel materials and tools, and no doubt experimented, but arrived relatively rapidly at a resolved approach to design. That school's approach was recognized for its extraordinary mana and no doubt emulated by other carvers.

This suggestion begs further questions. We know that ʻuʻu were carried by warriors and chiefs (haka'iki) across the archipelago, but were they made on every island, or created primarily in one or two places and distributed elsewhere through gift exchange or trade? The sheer virtuosity of many examples points more to the second possibility, of specialized and probably localized art practice, than the first. If so, how many could have been, or are likely to have been made, by the artists associated with just a couple of centres of production? What proportion of the total number created are likely to have been collected at one time or another by Europeans, and what fraction of those collected are likely to have ended up in museums and otherwise in documented collections today?

Some of these questions may never be answerable, others may be resolved through further research. The evidence points towards a different understanding of ʻuʻu. This was not so much a 'type' as a historically specific art form: the product of a time of limited and sporadic early contact with Europeans and an astonishingly accomplished innovation. The fact that von den Steinen was, despite the profundity of his knowledge of Marquesan art, very likely wrong about the antiquity of classic ʻuʻu underlines a vital aspect of Oceanic art that has long been obscured by traditional perspectives: it is that artists were magnificently inventive. They did not merely reproduce customary forms, they made new things, they did so in response to new opportunities, and their works were spectacularly replete with power, with mana.

PART TWO

~

COLLECTION HISTORIES AND EXHIBITIONS

CHAPTER 7

Haphazard histories: tracing Kanak collections in UK museums

JULIE ADAMS

~

During the 1970s, the Kanak politician and cultural leader Jean-Marie Tjibaou (1936-1989) travelled to Paris and enrolled in a course to study ethnology at the Sorbonne. Driven by a desire to explore and fully comprehend the effects of colonialism upon the Kanak psyche, he was determined to contest the enduring negative perceptions of metropolitan France towards his people. He declared: 'We want to proclaim our cultural existence. We want to say to the world that we are not survivors from prehistory, even less some sort of archaeological relics, but rather men of flesh and blood.'[157] Upon returning to New Caledonia, he threw his energies into supporting a festival to celebrate Melanesian arts. *Melanesia 2000* took place in Nouméa in November 1975 and proved to be hugely popular. Crucially for Tjibaou it was also a catalyst, reorienting the focus of Kanak people away from a European frame, within which they remained second-class citizens, towards a collective Melanesian and, more broadly, Oceanic identity.[158]

Somewhat paradoxically, at the heart of Tjibaou's vision for the revalorization and renaissance of Kanak culture were the collections of Kanak artefacts housed in European museums. Soon after the conclusion of the *Melanesia 2000* festival, he called for an inventory of these collections to be compiled. It was crucial, he argued, that the 'scattered heritage' of the Kanak people be documented.[159] Subsequently, the French government invited Roger Boulay, of the National Museum of African and Oceanic Art in Paris, to begin this process of museological surveying. Boulay's task and Tjibaou's vision extended beyond a straightforward charting of the thousands of Kanak objects dispersed across Europe. Rather, they hoped that the inventory would lead to the formation of new relationships between European museums and Kanak communities. Although Tjibaou did not live to see it materialize, the initial phase of the inventory helped to enable the first major exhibition of Kanak art in over 50 years.[160] Further outcomes of this surveying work were realized after the opening of the Tjibaou Cultural Centre in 1998, when a programme was initiated to loan rare and prestigious artefacts from a number of European institutions to Nouméa. Later, Boulay was joined in the task of surveying by Kanak curator Emmanuel Kasarhérou and, together, they curated the exhibition *Kanak: L'art est une parole*, which opened to great acclaim at the Musée du quai Branly

in Paris in October 2013, before travelling to Nouméa in 2014. Kasarhérou has described the 'ultimate goal' of the inventory as the creation of a universally accessible database allowing Kanak collections around the world to be traced and researched.[161]

To date, the inventory team has (understandably) focused their attention on institutions with well-known, prestigious collections of Kanak material such as those found in France, Switzerland and Austria. The only UK-based institution to be visited, thus far, has been the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge (MAA), although the British Museum (BM) is certainly a target for the future. In the meantime, however, a project based at the BM instigated some initial research into the scope of Kanak collections held in UK museums. The *Melanesia Project* (2005-10), funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council and led by Dr Lissant Bolton and Professor Nicholas Thomas, focused on exploring the BM's unparalleled collections from Melanesia. Money to bring Indigenous curators, artists and researchers to London to study the collections was written in to the grant from the outset. Thus, in 2008, Kanak archaeologist François Wadra and Julia-Jessica Wamytan, of the Musée de Nouvelle Calédonie, travelled to London and spent three weeks researching objects with the project team, in the BM's stores. Subsequently, Wadra has returned to the UK on several occasions and he and I visited the Pitt Rivers Museum Oxford (PRM), the MAA, Manchester Museum, the Hunterian and Kelvingrove Museums in Glasgow, National Museums Scotland Edinburgh (NMS), the Horniman Museum in London and Maidstone Museum and Bentlif Art Gallery, in Kent (Figure 7.1).

This essay provides an overview of Kanak collections and sheds light upon some of the haphazard histories that account for their presence within UK museums. It also identifies significant collectors whose presence in New Caledonia at particular



Figure 7.1. François Wadra and Julie Adams working in the stores at the Museum of Archaeology & Anthropology, Cambridge, in October 2013. Photograph by Mark Adams.

moments in its post-contact history allowed them to acquire important artefacts. In so doing, it seeks to illustrate the point made by Nicholas Thomas in the introduction to Volume One of this series: that 'collections are made up of relations as much as they are made up of things'.[162]

Overview of Kanak collections in the UK

In total, there are more than 2,000 Kanak artefacts in museums across the UK. The largest collections are in institutions well-known for their holdings of material from the Pacific: the BM (496 Kanak objects), the MAA (407), the PRM (281) and NMS (161) (Figure 7.2). Other interesting and significant collections are housed in less obvious locations. Manchester Museum has 160 Kanak artefacts; there are over 100 objects in Glasgow (split between the Hunterian Museum and Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum), while the Maidstone Museum and Bentlif Art Gallery has just over 80. Smaller collections can be found at institutions, such as the Horniman Museum in South London (70), World Museum, Liverpool (50), Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter (19) and Brighton Museum and Art Gallery (13). In common with most collections of ethnographic material, weapons are the most frequently represented object type and examples of Kanak clubs can be found everywhere from Plymouth on the southwest coast of England, to Montrose on the northeast coast of Scotland.

The long trajectory of Europeans collecting Kanak artefacts began in September 1774 with Captain James Cook and the crew of the *Resolution*, meaning that some of the oldest surviving items of Kanak material culture can be found in the UK. Although many pieces have lost their original documentation, a handful with a direct link to Cook's voyage do survive. These include a group of 13 objects now in the PRM, associated with Johann Reinhold Forster, the ship's naturalist. In Cambridge, two Kanak clubs and a sling from Cook's voyage can be found in the collections of the MAA.[163] There is little doubt that items from these first encounters would also have entered the BM but, as yet, it has not been possible to identify them due to a paucity of documentation.



Figure 7.2. A wooden figure from New Caledonia now in the collections of National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh. A.1956.958. Copyright National Museums Scotland.

At the other end of this temporal trajectory, objects related to Kanak cultural life have continued to be acquired by UK museums. Both the BM and MAA have collected bolts of brightly-patterned Chinese-made cloth that are central to the most visible aspect of contemporary Kanak culture: the coutume – a ceremonial exchange of words and

gifts which takes place at all gatherings and celebrations. Between these points in time, the biographies of Kanak collections have largely involved contingencies and chance. Unexpected connections between people and place, quirks of fate, financial hardship, ambition, inheritance and cross-generational obligation all feature in the histories that have brought Kanak culture into the orbit of UK museums. However, what at first glance might appear to be mere serendipitous acquisitions have often created opportunities for research and dialogue with Kanak communities in the present.

A spear thrower collected on Cook's voyage

Among the objects attributed to Cook's second voyage in Oxford is a finely-made spear thrower (Figure 7.3). The main body of the object consists of a thick eight-ply square plait made from plant fibre. It is looped at one end, where the spear would have been inserted and below this hang a number of decorative coiled cords ornamented with strands of flying fox fur. The flying fox, New Caledonia's only endemic mammal, has a patch of orange/red fur on its upper body that was traditionally incorporated into many prestigious Kanak objects.

In September 1774, Cook landed at Balade, on the northeast coast of New Caledonia's main island. As this was the ship's only landing site and Cook's only visit to New Caledonia, it can be assumed that this spear thrower is from the Balade region and was collected between 4 and 13 September 1774. According to Cook, the locals were 'a strong robust active well made people, Courteous and friendly and not in the least addicted to pelfering [sic]'.[164] In the days following their arrival, the *Resolution's* crew were introduced to a local chief whose name they recorded as Teabooma. Cook referred to him as 'my friend' in his journal and seemed anxious to please him, deciding



Figure 7.3. A spear thrower collected in Balade, New Caledonia, in September 1774 during Captain Cook's second voyage. 1886.1.1678. Copyright Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

to cement their friendship by honouring Teabooma with a gift of two Polynesian dogs he had been given in Tahiti. It took some effort to persuade Teabooma that he was meant to keep the animals. Once he was finally convinced, however, Cook wrote that he could 'hardly contain himself for joy'.[165] In return, the local people gifted and traded various items, the nature of which Cook described in his journal as being: 'arms such as Clubs, darts &ca….'.[166]

Nicholas Thomas has commented upon the striking difference between Cook voyage collections from Polynesia (which include a vast array of artefact types, from the everyday to the prestigious), and those amassed in Melanesia, which are predominantly made up of weapons.[167] He suggests that weapons and small items such as pan-pipes, which also feature in collections, are the sorts of objects that men would have carried with them when away from their villages. This limited range of artefacts, he argues, is evidence that encounters in Melanesian contexts were more guarded than in Polynesia, with ships' crews being strategically kept away from domestic environments and village life. Certainly, the surviving Kanak artefacts from Cook's voyage in the PRM would seem to support this argument as they consist of: six sling stones and a bag in which to carry them; three clubs; two hair combs and the spear thrower discussed here. That said, a straightforward mapping of European typologies of objects onto Indigenous categories can be misleading. For example, some Kanak clubs were decorated with prestigious materials, including flying fox fur, shells and barkcloth. Similarly, certain spears had intricately incised faces incorporated onto their shafts. These features blur the boundaries between the utilitarian and the ceremonial and, according to Roger Boulay, testify to their function as something more than weapons. He argues for a more nuanced consideration of such items, one that recognizes them as 'objects of prestige'.[168] The Cook voyage spear thrower discussed here is a case in point, with its delicate flying fox fur decoration evidence that it was probably reserved for ceremonial use. In light of the reciprocal nature of traditional exchanges in the Pacific, it is perhaps plausible to suggest that this valuable spear thrower might have belonged to Cook's acquaintance, the chief Teabooma, and was gifted in response to the presentation of the Tahitian dogs. In which case, far from being an opportunistically traded artefact of encounter, this small spear thrower might be reimagined as material evidence of the first efforts at mutual understanding and friendship between Kanak and Europeans.

A cruise among the South Sea Islands

Maidstone Museum and Bentlif Art Gallery is home to the extensive and extraordinary collections amassed by Victorian gentleman explorer Julius Lucius Brenchley (1816-1873). Brenchley, who was born in Maidstone, was ordained in 1843 and planned to embark upon a life in the church. After undertaking a tour of Europe, however, he had a radical change of heart and decided to become an explorer instead. Subsequently, he spent over 20 years travelling the world collecting natural history specimens and ethnographic artefacts from the places he visited. His adventures included being shot with an arrow in North America and falling down a live volcano in the Hawaiian Islands. Assumed lost by his fellow travellers, they were in the midst of mourning his death when he struggled back into camp in time to be guest of honour at his own wake. In 1865, he cruised through the Pacific Islands aboard HMS *Curaçoa* and later

published an account of his experiences in Niue, Samoa, Tonga, Fiji, New Hebrides (Vanuatu), Solomon Islands and New Caledonia.[169]

In recent years, Maidstone Museum has undergone significant renovation so that some of the most impressive pieces Brenchley acquired, such as a large Solomon Islands canoe, can be appreciated by visitors. The galleries also contain a series of display cases, one of which features the collections made during his ten-day stay in New Caledonia (Figure 7.4). Among the prestigious items on view are a ceremonial adze with a greenstone blade, a large mask often used in mortuary ceremonies for chiefs, several carved wooden figures, two engraved bamboos, a large roof finial and spears with flying fox fur decoration. This group of culturally significant artefacts might suggest that Brenchley had forged good relationships with local Kanak people or, perhaps, that he had desirable items to trade which enabled him to acquire such valuables. Yet, in his published account, he writes that he 'saw but few natives'.[170] Instead, his engagements with Kanak people were almost entirely limited to a few offshore encounters with Islanders who sailed out to the ship bringing only vegetables to trade. So how are we to account for the impressive collections in Maidstone? One possible scenario can be inferred from Brenchley's written account. Soon after their arrival in Port-de-France (then the name of the capital), the crew of the *Curaçoa* were introduced to the French Governor, Monsieur Guillain, and his wife. Madame Guillain recounted details of an ordeal when she had been suddenly 'surrounded by natives, who attempted to carry her off'. The Governor, she said, returned just in time to rescue



Figure 7.4. A display case at Maidstone Museum, containing artefacts acquired by Julius Brenchley in New Caledonia in 1865. Copyright Maidstone Museums. Photograph by Pernille Richards.

her and declared 'in the fulness of his indignation' that he would be 'revenged upon them for causing her this fright'.[171] According to Madame Guillain, the Governor's revenge had recently been wrought and had involved the murder of an entire village of some 60 or so inhabitants on the north coast of the Island. Brenchley writes that those who were not shot or bayonetted were 'burnt in their houses, men, women, and children … not a soul survived to tell the tale'. Although the Governor agreed that this was indeed 'a terrible vengeance', he believed it necessary and justified as 'it would have its effect for a long time'.[172] Mindful of the fact that it was not uncommon for punitive expeditions to seize and confiscate objects, it is possible that the Governor and his troops availed themselves of this tribe's cultural artefacts and returned with them to Port-de-France as visible evidence of their 'success'. Perhaps Brenchley's timely arrival in the region, along with his position as a gentleman of some status, resulted in the Governor offering such objects to him. Although there is no mention in Brenchley's published account of how he came to be in possession of a group of such prestigious Kanak artefacts, their presence and display in the Maidstone Museum is a reminder of the imbalance of power that often accompanied cultural exchanges or appropriations and is testament to the global reach and enduring legacies of European colonialism.

Emma Hadfield of the London Missionary Society

The London Missionary Society (LMS) evangelist Emma Hadfield is the largest single donor of Kanak artefacts to UK museums. Emma was posted to the Loyalty Islands (off the coast of the main island) alongside her missionary husband James, and from 1878-1920 they worked together, firstly on Ouvéa and then subsequently on the island of Lifou. Emma was a true partner in the missionizing endeavour, instructing the wives of Kanak men that her husband was teaching, hoping that they, like her, could become 'something more than the wives of pastors'.[173] James Hadfield was a keen conchologist who amassed a large collection now in the Manchester Museum. Emma developed an interest in Kanak culture and, as a result of witnessing the many changes to traditional ways of life, she began to document what she observed as well as to collect examples of local material culture. She collected broadly, acquiring a wide range of object types that included practical items of everyday life, such as rotary drills, adzes, garments and plaited pandanus leaf bags as well as valuable objects such as jade and flying fox fur necklaces. She also collected examples of what might be considered 'tourist art', including a number of small, painted, figures whose problematic appearance perfectly captures the contradiction of European/Kanak relations in the early twentieth century, when Kanak culture was being simultaneously denigrated and exoticized for consumption by a European audience (Figure 7.5). Concerned that her lack of training might be an impediment to her efforts, Emma acquired a copy of *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* and contacted Charles Hercules Read, then Assistant Keeper of the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities and Ethnography at the BM. In their ensuing correspondence, she expressed her conviction that her collecting could 'serve some useful purpose'.[174] Citing the example of turtle shell fishhooks, she noted how Islanders were almost exclusively using metal hooks acquired from Europeans and had no time to 'sit for a whole day or two rubbing at the piece of … tortoise



Figure 7.5. Examples of 'tourist art' collected by Emma Hadfield and now in the collections of National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh. A.1911.87; A.1911.89. Copyright National Museums Scotland.



Figure 7.6. Fishhooks made from turtle shell from the Loyalty Islands, collected by Emma Hadfield and given with the Beasley Collection in 1944 to the British Museum. Oc,1944.02.338 a&b, 339, 340, 343, 344, 348. Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.

shell'[175] (Figure 7.6). Charles Hercules Read encouraged her research and supported the publication of her book *Among the Natives of the Loyalty Group* in 1920.

Despite Emma's claims that she was collecting artefacts in order to salvage them from obscurity, it is clear that she also had another agenda. Understanding that her family would require money once James' employment with the LMS ended, and they had to return to England, Emma recognized that these now rare artefacts might also contribute to their future financial wellbeing. How much of her collecting was motivated by this pragmatism and how much by her anthropological concerns is a matter for debate. However, Emma successfully negotiated relationships of 'mutual benefit'[176] with several UK museums and private collectors and, through the sale of Kanak artefacts, was able to supply her family with a valuable additional income stream. Today, these artefacts can be found in the PRM, the Horniman Museum, Manchester Museum, the BM and NMS.

In 1910, James and Emma returned to Britain for a year-long visit, staying with their son James Arthur Hadfield, who was then living in Edinburgh. During that time, they placed two collections on loan with what was then known as the Royal Scottish Museum. Although no doubt the result of Emma's collecting, neither group of objects was registered in her name. The first was documented as coming from her son and the second from her husband, although in the register's notes she is acknowledged as being the source of the collection. Thus the centrality of her role in relation to the collection was deliberately obscured, though the significance of the objects themselves was not. Having formally purchased the second of the two Hadfield collections (comprising some 94 pieces), the Museum placed a great many of the objects immediately into their galleries for display. In the Museum's Annual Report for 1911 they are described as: 'The most important additions to the Ethnographical gallery' and their significance ascribed to the fact that the objects had been 'collected on the spot and brought to the Museum direct from the hands of the native peoples who made and used them'.[177] Once again, the crucial role Emma played in the selection, collection and sale of the artefacts was eclipsed, as the Museum sought to conjure up a sense of intimacy between its visitors and the 'native peoples' to whom they had formerly belonged.

Almost a century later, a descendant of Emma and James Hadfield visited Edinburgh and called in at the Museum. While in the galleries, he came across a jade necklace from New Caledonia displayed with a label referencing Reverend James Hadfield. Upon contacting the then curator, Chantal Knowles, it transpired that among the many Hadfield pieces the Museum had acquired, three jade and flying fox fur necklaces had been held back from purchase and, therefore, remained on loan and the property of the family. After careful negotiations between family members and the Museum, the Hadfields took the decision to return the necklaces, along with several other items that had always stayed in family hands, to New Caledonia and to place them in the care of the Musée de Nouvelle Calédonie. Their arrival at the museum transformed the national holdings of Loyalty Islands' material from under ten objects to over 100. In 2013, these necklaces formed the centrepiece of an exhibition dedicated to the Hadfield collection in the museum in Nouméa, and Emma's grandson Douglas Hadfield, then in his nineties, was guest of honour at the opening. NMS and the BM loaned Hadfield objects to the exhibition, reconnecting them with descendants of their

makers from the Loyalty Islands for the first time and providing an opportunity for Kanak communities to encounter items like the turtleshell fish hooks, that Emma had documented, and which now survive only in European museums.[178]

Zoological methods, ethnographic collecting

An ethnographic collection comprising over 270 objects, assembled by Paul Denys Montague while in New Caledonia in 1914, is today housed in the stores of the MAA. The collection contains a range of prestigious and everyday objects as well as a large number of magic stones, a ubiquitous feature of traditional Kanak life. Montague, a young zoologist, travelled to the islands to document and collect natural history specimens. During the 12 months he spent on the Grande Terre (main island), he had close contact with the tribes of the Houailou Valley and dedicated an ever increasing proportion of his days to researching local languages and culture and to making a collection. Although he had no formal training in anthropology, he was close to Alfred Cort Haddon, himself an experienced fieldworker and Lecturer in Ethnology at the University of Cambridge. Correspondence between the two survives in the Museum's archives which makes it clear that Haddon was acting as Montague's mentor, encouraging his burgeoning anthropological endeavours and advising him on collecting. Indeed, Montague's metamorphosis from zoologist to ethnographer was such that, by the end of his time in the islands, his daily journal contains scant reference to his zoological work. Instead, it is filled with musical annotations of Kanak songs, pencil illustrations of various aspects of Kanak material culture and lists of Indigenous terms from the Houailou Valley and his attempts at translating them into English (Figure 7.7). Immediately upon his return to the UK in early 1915, Montague drafted a book titled *Ethnological Notes*

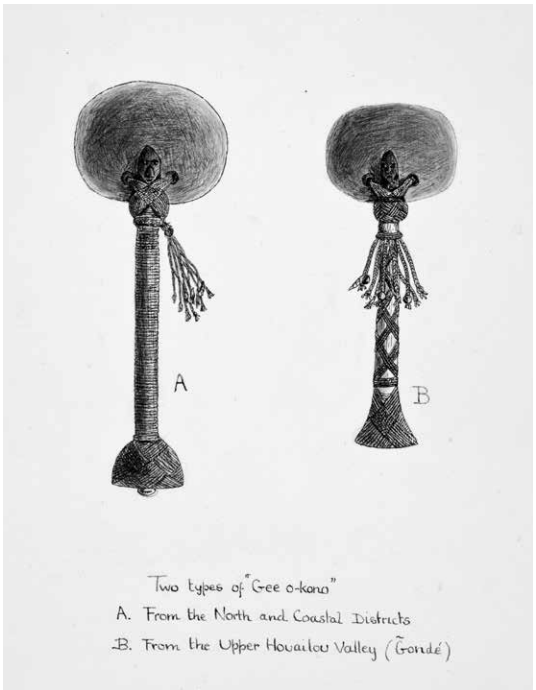


Figure 7.7. Illustration of two ceremonial adzes by Paul Montague, 1914. Archives of the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge. Photograph by Gwil Owen.

from the Houailou Valley, New Caledonia. Although hastily written and peppered with spelling errors, crossings out and notes that read 'insert more here', the monograph is full of insightful observations about local culture and, in particular, the cosmological underpinnings of Kanak society. As if to stress the 'professional' nature of his work and his commitment to the still developing discipline of anthropology, Montague prepared a typed frontispiece for the handwritten catalogue of his collection that reads: 'Montague Collection: M.S. Catalogue compiled by the Collector P.D. Montague, B.A., Gonville and Caius College. N.B. These objects were obtained from the Natives themselves by P.D.M'.[179] The collection, Montague wants us to know, is not the work of a dilettante traveller, nor is it that of a missionary whose motives for collecting are inseparable from their task of conversion. Rather, this is a scientific collection assembled by someone who has significant knowledge of 'the Natives themselves'.

Although Montague's transition from zoologist to anthropologist is not particularly remarkable, what is of interest is the way in which his zoological training shaped his ethnographic collecting. Zoological collections can only be considered empirically sound if care is taken to note down the exact date, location and circumstances in which a specimen is acquired. Montague transposed these techniques to his ethnographic collecting, ensuring that the same detailed information about how objects were acquired was recorded. This meticulous methodology has secured a significant legacy for the collection and, during fieldwork carried out in 2016, as part of the *Pacific Presences* project, it was possible to reconnect specific objects with particular families in the Houailou Valley.

Montague was killed in the First World War, before his book could be published. Despite the good intentions of his mentor, Haddon, Montague's collection was largely forgotten. Soon, however, one of its most striking objects will see the light of day in a major exhibition (Figure 7.8). On 29 September 2018, a large ceremonial mask with human hair decoration and a cloak of black feathers, collected by Montague in Hienghène, northern New Caledonia, will go on display in the Royal Academy's first ever exhibition dedicated to the arts of Oceania. The exhibition will open 104 years and two days after he acquired it. Like many of his contemporaries, Montague saw loss as a defining condition of Pacific peoples at the time, and his own role as an urgently-required archivist of this loss. Today, the presence of this iconic object in the Royal Academy exhibition will attest to the vibrancy and resilience of Kanak culture.



Figure 7.8. Mask collected by Montague in Hienghène, New Caledonia, in September 1914. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, 1917.118.131. Photograph by Gwil Owen.

'From the hands of natives'

In the collections of the BM is a large group of artefacts acquired from Louis Joseph Bouge (1878-1960), a French colonial administrator whose career was divided between the Caribbean and the South Pacific, with a five-year sojourn between 1922 and 1927 spent in India. During his time in the Pacific, Bouge was variously posted to New Caledonia, the New Hebrides (Vanuatu), Wallis and Tahiti. In an obituary written following his death in a traffic accident in 1960, he was remembered as a 'humane governor' and a 'lovely man' and his talents as a colonial administrator attributed to his 'intellectual curiosity' and appreciation for the 'science and arts' of the Islanders among whom he lived and worked.[180] Bouge was a conchologist, a philatelist, a linguist, a historian and an ethnographer who assembled vast collections and regularly contributed to scholarly debates and publications.

In 1913, during a return visit to his home town of Toulon in the south of France, Bouge contacted the BM seeking to sell some of his collections. His first letter to the Museum's Director, dated 8 August 1913, along with subsequent correspondence addressed to Charles Hercules Read in the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities and Ethnography, survives in the Museum's archives. From the outset, Bouge sought to establish himself as a figure of authority; he described his collection as 'important' and was careful to point out that the objects had been amassed during the 12 years he had lived in the Pacific Islands.[181] Read was intrigued and replied promptly asking to see some photographs of the collection's principal pieces.[182] A month later Bouge wrote again, enclosing a detailed list of the objects and apologizing for the 'lack of photographs'. Stating that he had no wish to 'be demanding in my price', he asked Read to pay him £30 for the entire collection, which consisted of over 300 objects from New Caledonia, New Hebrides (Vanuatu), Wallis and Solomon Islands. Having agreed, the objects were dispatched to London but not before Bouge reconsidered the less than 'demanding' price he had originally offered, and stated that £40 would be a fairer reflection of their value.[183]

The reason for this sudden increase in price was justified, Bouge argued, due to the rarity of the objects included in the collection. However, this was not his only strategy for promoting its significance. Despite the long established presence of Europeans in the region by the time Bouge assumed his position as secretary general in New Caledonia, he asserts that the objects he is offering have 'been made without the influence of whites' and were not 'created for sale'. Despite his claims, several artefacts clearly suggest the contrary. These include two miniature examples of the carved door posts found on either side of the entrance to a Kanak hut; a model canoe and a pair of carved and 'dressed' male and female figures that were not part of the spectrum of traditional Kanak art (Figure 7.9). Seeking to account for this obvious paradox, Bouge altered his position and wrote that although some of the pieces had undoubtedly been recently made, they were created by an old chief who was well-versed in the traditions of 'his country' and had not been 'influenced by Europeans'. He concluded by saying that 'all my objects have been collected for the purposes of study by myself, on the spot and from the hands of natives'.[184]

As we have seen, Emma Hadfield claims authenticity for her collection as a result of her time living among the Loyalty Islanders, while Paul Montague situates his collection

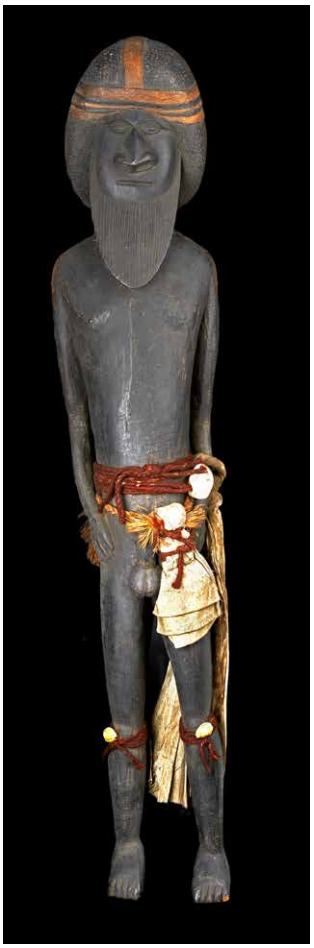


Figure 7.9. Carved figure acquired by Louis Joseph Bouge and sold to the British Museum in 1913. Oc1913,1115.362. Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.

within a scientific paradigm. In a similar vein, Bouge asserts his personal experience in the Pacific to add financial value to the objects he wants to sell. Whether curators were concerned about the pieces in his collection that clearly demonstrate European influence is not known'. Today, however, it is precisely these 'transitional' objects that are of interest to researchers. Their presence indexes the shifting dynamics of the early twentieth century: with their cultural life in dramatic transition, the production of new, or adapted, types of artefacts could afford Kanak People a degree of financial agency when dealing with rapid change.

Curatorial contingencies

Whether Charles Hercules Read's decision to acquire Bouge's collection in 1913 demonstrates foresight, or was merely fortuitous, it pre-figures the attitude the BM has adopted to collecting the contemporary. Throughout the twentieth century, and into the present day, curators have taken a proactive approach to valuing and acquiring what Pacific peoples are producing, so as to continue to reflect contemporary Pacific life and cultures. It is this that makes the BM's Pacific holdings distinctive among those of other European institutions whose collections frequently began to stagnate after the end of the colonial era, or whose approach to collecting has been to prioritize the acquisition of historical pieces. Evidence of this proactive approach is, for example, manifest in the collections made by curators themselves during fieldwork. A case in point is Keeper of the Department of Africa, Oceania and the Americas Lissant Bolton's work with the Vanuatu Cultural Centre's fieldworker programme. For 20 years, Bolton has been visiting Vanuatu and each year collects examples of the latest trends in plaited baskets for the BM's collection. Cheaply and readily available in the markets of Port Vila, these baskets now form a unique archive, charting changes in style and influence among Ni-Vanuatu women. Although to a somewhat lesser degree, the Museum's Kanak collections have also continued to grow. In 1991, former staff member Margaret McCord donated two bags created from soft drink containers, which she had bought a year earlier on the Loyalty Islands. And, in recent years, a number of research projects have also provided opportunities for acquiring new pieces for the collection. As part of the *Clothing the Pacific* project (2001-04), researcher Melanie Paquet purchased five *robes mission*, the ubiquitous cotton dress of Kanak women, the style of which can be



Figure 7.10 (left). Shirt presented to John McLeod to wear to a wedding on Lifou, Loyalty Islands, in 2009. 2009,2028.2. Copyright Trustees of the British Museum.

traced back to the garments worn by the wives of European missionaries. Similarly, as a result of fieldwork I carried out for the *Melanesia Project* in 2009, a shirt made from imported cotton, presented to my travel companion to wear to a local wedding, was donated to the collections (Figure 7.10).

The most recent Kanak artefacts to enter a UK museum collection were acquired in June 2016, in the town of Bourail. Travelling with *Pacific Presences* project photographer, Mark Adams, I visited a local market and got chatting to Melanie Rolland, a Kanak weaver selling fruit and vegetables. Rolland explained that she, and many other Kanak women, had no time to dedicate to weaving the traditional pandanus baskets and mats that their grandmothers used to make. Instead, she had taken up crocheting, using brightly coloured wool to create small bags and matching hats that she works on in the evenings when her children are asleep. We purchased a hat and bag from Melanie and these are now in the collections of the MAA (Figure 7.11).



Figure 7.11. Bag made by Melanie Rolland of Bourail, New Caledonia. Collected by Julie Adams. Photograph by Josh Murfitt. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, 2016,191.

These contemporary acquisitions are a testament to the complexities of the concepts of 'culture' and 'heritage' in the context of modern-day museum collections. They resonate with the words of Kanak cultural leader Jean-Marie Tjibaou when he said:

> One always speaks of traditional culture. But what is traditional? It is how others lived before us. But in one hundred years, it will be how we are living today that is traditional, and in 1,000 years, what we are living today will perhaps be worth its weight in gold![185]

Tjibaou's vision of the role museum collections could play in building a renewed sense of Kanak cultural pride has indeed been realized. And, as this brief overview of Kanak collections held in UK museums reveals, it is in these haphazard histories that the 'gold' may be discovered.

CHAPTER 8

Inaccuracies, inconsistencies and implications: researching Kiribati coconut fibre armour in UK collections

POLLY BENCE

~

A survey of an ethnographic collection is a challenging undertaking. Collectors and curators of the past were often not meticulous in their record keeping. There were, perhaps, a different set of drivers and factors at play. Details such as the specific island provenance, the particular use of an object, or a maker's name, all of which are of paramount importance to us today, were often not deemed to be so by the very person who first acquired or accessioned an object into a collection. This, when coupled with historic dispersals and cuts to museum budgets, can leave collections with a history that is sometimes hazy at best, and at worst incomprehensible.

In 2014 the *Pacific Presences* project teamed up with colleagues at the British Museum to research coconut fibre armour from the islands of Kiribati in Micronesia. Over three years we undertook an object-specific survey of this material in UK museum collections. It is pertinent to mention that there are many fantastic collections containing armour around the world, but our project focused on the UK only. Our aims were to ascertain what material existed in UK collections, when this had been collected and by whom. We were also hoping to elaborate further about the wider picture of collecting in Kiribati in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The results of our survey are explored in detail in the 2018 publication *Fighting Fibres*.[186]

In this chapter I firstly discuss the challenges faced in performing survey work, before highlighting four specific findings that came to light during the research itself.

Data-gathering

Our first challenge was to create a list of UK museums known to have ethnographic collections from the Pacific. Using a number of historical collections surveys, we produced a master list of 175 UK museums, adding contact details of those responsible for each collection.[187] We split the museums into size of collection and regions, so that we could better manage the contact phase and the responses provided. We began reaching out to museum collections, asking colleagues to let us know if armour was present in their collections. We produced a document identifying search terms for armour

and included photographs of armour held in the British Museum to use as examples. When museums replied positively, we asked for registration numbers, acquisition details, geographic provenance and any other curatorial or archival information. Some colleagues knew exactly what to look for and responses began to come in. This data-gathering phase took over two years due to the following challenges.

Challenges

No reply and unrecorded

Twenty of the 175 museums that we contacted for information did not reply to our emails and much time was spent contacting and chasing for a response. It is possible that some pieces of armour remain unrecorded and/or unidentified.

In all 23 museums where armour was found, colleagues invested their time and provided useful information. Two museums that once had armour in their collections replied to say that the armour could not be now located – one example of te tanga (cuirass) once held in Dr Grierson's Museum in Thornhill and a helmet in Bankfield Museum, Halifax.

Collection visits were conducted in 21 museums, and measurements, photographs and acquisition details were recorded alongside other information, such as copies of registers and whether the material had ever been on display. After the collections interrogation we needed to process and understand our data. We compiled a database using the information gathered from all 23 museums that participated and we began to research the histories and biographies of various collectors and donors as these started to emerge.

Terminology

The terminology used historically in the literature and by collectors of armour has varied greatly. For example, armour worn on the upper and lower body has been described variously as: body shield, corselet, sleeveless suit of armour, jerkin, tunic, coat of mail, defensive coat, war jacket, breast musket plate, cuirass, overhauls, dungarees, fighting dress, leggings, body dress, pantaloons, pair of trousers, coat, jacket, native dress, sweater, arm coverings, matting, long jacket, man's dress (Figure 8.1). Their original description

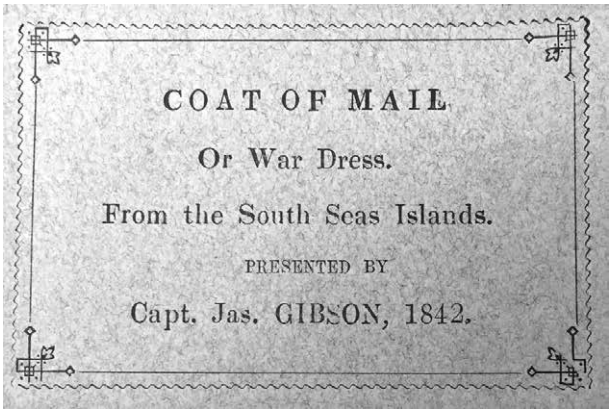


Figure 8.1. Old exhibition label describing a cuirass as a 'coat of mail' from Montrose Museum c.1840s. Photograph taken by Polly Bence, 2017. Courtesy of ANGUSalive Museums.

in the archives has often been transferred over time to museum databases, adding further complications. These variations are likely to have affected the results from data searches in collection management systems – success really did depend on each curator and collection manager knowing what precise terms to use for their particular collections. Unless colleagues knew to search for terms such as jerkin or corselet, sash or pantaloons, there is potential that these pieces were not identified in our search.

Since we needed to categorise each piece of armour for our results, the project team added two more terms to this expansive list: bolero was used for upper body armour; and dungarees for the armour covering the legs and waist and chest. One outcome from the survey is that a new terminology for armour has been created.[188]

Documentation

Some of the armour we recorded had incorrect documentation, as well as those pieces with little or no provenance to begin with. In some cases the collector of the material was neglected and we cannot assume that in these cases the same person that donated an object also collected it. In other cases, pieces of armour may have lost their collector identity or geographical location due to human error, loss of labels, and transfers and exchanges between museums or dealers. Many of the donors of armour were collector-dealers: Harry Beasley, William Ockelford Oldman, Wellington Thompson, Joseph Ritson Wallace, William Downing Webster and George Yates. Within this wide network of collectors, individuals would have crossed paths as members of societies like the Royal Anthological Institute as well as meeting in auction rooms to exchange objects and fill gaps in their collections. It is well known, for example, that Webster considered Oldman a protégé and Oldman regularly supplied Beasley with objects.[189]

An example of this complicated and yet common history is found in a suit of armour including a te baratekora (coconut fibre helmet) now on display in the Pitt Rivers Museum. It was from the large collection amassed by Harry Beasley, yet the cuirass and body armour had previously been in the Horniman Museum collection before 1929. Beasley acquired the helmet from the Rijksmuseum, Leiden in 1930 before adding it to the rest of the suit to complete the display in his Cranmore Ethnological Museum (1941.2.74.1-4) (Figure 8.2). Frustratingly and yet interestingly, the provenance trail does not begin until Beasley acquired the armour from museum transfers. On a wide

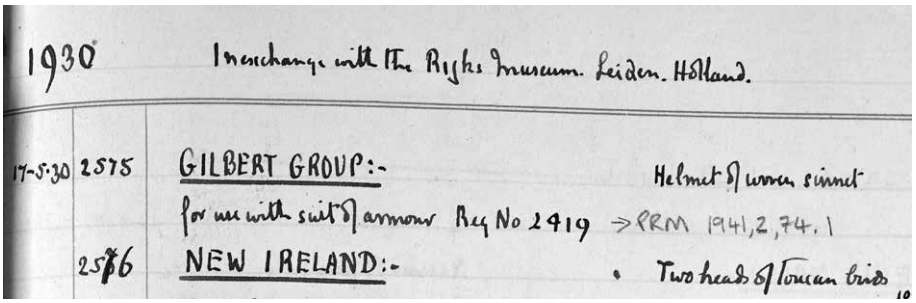


Figure 8.2. Original Harry Beasley register entry for a coconut fibre helmet, previously in the Rijksmuseum, Leiden. Pitt Rivers Museum 1941.2.74.1-4. Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.

scale, and with alarming regularity, the details noted in museum registers do not begin with the collector's name, date and place of collection. Sadly, the maker or wearer of a piece of armour is virtually non-existent on our survey.

Geographical provenance

Due to the varying sizes of museums and their documentation systems, at times there was no easily searchable database, and we had to rely on card indexes, archives and inventory lists on boxes. Colleagues needed to search not only for Kiribati but also for the historic names for these islands – the Gilbert Islands and Kingsmill Islands – in order to capture and include historic information or comments.

As well as the terms above, locations recorded for armour varied: Fiji, New Zealand, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tokelau and Tonga. This variety has been a surprising outcome and is an interesting concept in itself – whether these locations are incorrect, either falsely noted at the time of collection, or perhaps wrongly attributed post-collection in museum documentation. As Roger Neich, the late Curator of Ethnology at the Auckland War Memorial Museum once explained, 'collections are very ephemeral; they come and go, are assembled and deconstructed all the time, and the pace of this manipulation is increasing with the advance of the digital age'.[190] Perhaps the variety in these recorded locations could be due most interestingly to armour being found in these areas and this led to discussions on trade and movement between Islands.[191]

Specialist staff

Although responses to the survey were forthcoming from the larger museums, it was more challenging to obtain results from smaller museums. Many of our first contact emails bounced back from closed collections and extinct addresses resulting from historic collection dispersals. In many occasions when we did get a response, colleagues were not familiar with this material.

Since the Gathercole and Clarke survey of UK museums in 1979, some museum services have faced a barrage of funding cuts, which in many cases have led to a loss of subject specialist staff. This situation leaves colleagues with no option but to take responsibility for collections that perhaps they are not familiar with, nor have the appropriate training for. Concerning ethnographic collections in particular, very often smaller museums have one curator whose collections remit is huge, for example 'World Cultures' and on occasion these roles also cover other areas like Social and/or Natural History. This is a challenging role and very often specialisms are left unexplored and unpromoted, especially when collections staff are faced with external pressures such as community engagement and financial management.

This erosion of expertise occurs regularly in smaller, regional museums, and it can also affect larger Nationals; for example one recent development seen at the British Museum was the Collection Management Review of 2015, where a new staffing structure was implemented. This review saw a move towards a homogenously skilled workforce that can move between departments when required, in time replacing the historic practice of specialist, experienced staff who are conduits to the collections they are responsible for. In the worst case scenario, ethnographic collections could become static and unutilised.

The recent Mendoza Review reflects on the challenges faced by the museum sector at this current time:

> Effective collections management (and making best use of collections for public engagement and research) requires expertise. Even the larger museums do not have dedicated experts for all parts of their collections; often there is just one curator covering the entire collection, with additional responsibilities besides.[192]

I will now discuss four specific examples that emerged from the UK survey, further explaining the challenges faced during the course of this project.

The illustration of 'Bob'

The first example highlights the importance of specialist collection knowledge working in collaboration with clear and precise documentation. Midway through this project's research, we discovered an illustration that simultaneously informed and



Figure 8.3. Illustration of a Kingsmill warrior, 'Bob' and surrounding helmets in James Edge Partington's 'An album of the weapons, tools, ornaments, articles of dress of the natives of the Pacific Islands' 1890. Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.

perplexed us. It comes from James Edge-Partington's 1890 publication (Figure 8.3).[193] It is an illustration based on a photograph of an I-Kiribati man known as 'Bob', wearing armour from the British Museum (BM) collection.[194] The illustration, 'Native of the Kingsmill Group wearing armour', also shows a number of helmets situated around the central figure. The helmet to the right of the central figure is clearly BM helmet Oc.8045, with tropic bird feathers, from Mr King in 1873, likely London Missionary Society missionary Joseph King.

Through a process of logical deduction and detective work we have now identified each helmet in the illustration, all in the BM's collection, including a rare hood-type helmet on the top left (Oc1980,Q.954-955), acquisition details unknown. The helmet on the bottom left was unknown to us at first but was swiftly found in the museum's unregistered 'duplicate' collection. This raises questions about museum collections, why some objects were deemed 'duplicates' and why they still remain that way. As a result of this survey, this helmet was registered in to the main collection as 2017,Q.38. The object on the bottom right was more confusing. After searching through the database it was discovered to be a 'cap' from Tubuai in the Austral Islands and was identified as Oc,EP.8, collected by Hugh Cuming in the early nineteenth century (Figure 8.4). This cap had also been given a Q (query) number in 1981 probably because it had been found without a label or associated registration number and sometime after 1981 it was attributed to Oc,EP.8. So why had James Edge-Partington included this Tubuai cap in his 1890s illustration of Kingsmill armour? Potentially, at that time he considered it to be a helmet to be from the Kingsmill Group. It is certainly of a similar style and material to Kiribati helmets, yet on closer inspection its manufacture is comparable to inner caps from headdresses of the Austral Islands, even down to the minute detail of the stitching and the noticeable holes where the cap would have been wrapped in barkcloth.

By looking at the materiality of this piece and by checking the relevant documentation, the provenance assigned to this cap in the 1980s has been confirmed. We have compared it to similar pieces in other museums, and now there is no doubt of its Tubuai provenance.



Figure 8.4. Coconut fibre inner cap for a headdress from Tubuai, Austral Islands collected by Hugh Cuming, early 19th century. Oc,EP.8. Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.

A porcupine fish helmet in the British Museum

This next example focuses on the importance of combining specialist knowledge with historical and pictorial archives. An example of te barantauti (porcupine fish helmet) collected by Admiral Davis in 1892 made its way to the BM and entered the records in 1904 as 'Helmet made from the spiked skin of the parrot fish. Collected by Adml Davis during the cruise of HMS Royalist 1891-3. Gilbert Islands. Col No. 495' (Figure 8.5). It was entered into the register as '28. Fish skin helmet, covered with spines. Gilbert Islands'. Both of these descriptions are contradictory with the helmet that we see today. An inner coconut fibre cap can be seen inside the fish skin helmet, and this has a large white cowrie shell suspended from it (Figure 8.6). After viewing 16 porcupine fish helmets found in UK collections, it seemed strange that this helmet should have an inner cap. I began to wonder if these were really two separate helmets that did not belong together and instead I believed that it was likely to be a case of object fabrication, an assumption of what a Kiribati helmet should look like, made in the Museum's past. While researching this helmet I discovered photographs from the BM Pacific ethnography galleries from the 1960s. Two photographs showing Kiribati armour displayed on a mannequin immediately caught my attention (both 1966 as captioned on the reverse of the photograph). On further inspection, the choice of display case as well as the arrangement of the objects is different in each photograph, and noticeably, or rather unnoticeably, the cowrie shell is hidden in the second. It is not known which arrangement came first (Figures 8.7 and 8.8). From the awkward positioning of the helmets in these photographs, it was clear to me that the two helmets do not belong together but instead they had been forged together for display purposes. They proved my initial thought that what you see when looking at the helmet registered as Oc1904,0621.28 are two separate helmets, and this is further confirmed by the original registration documentation. Having discovered this, I was surprised to see that this togetherness was preserved over the decades that followed. The fabricated helmet is illustrated in Rosemary Grimble's book of 1972[195] and by this time it had physically moved location to the collection store in East London, although it was passed over for display in the 1980s Museum of Mankind's exhibition *Pattern of islands: Micronesia yesterday and today.*

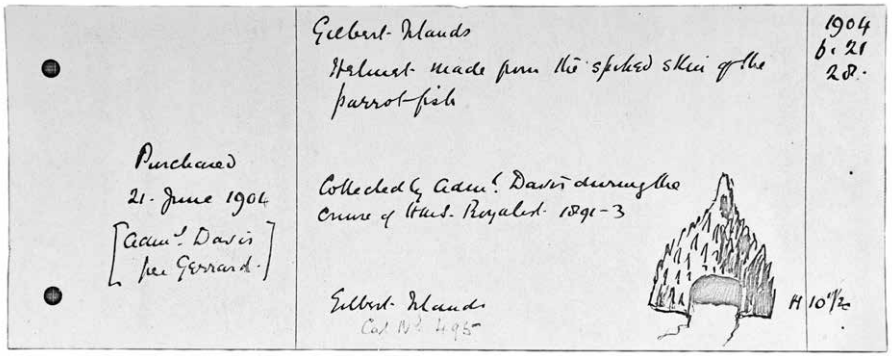


Figure 8.5. Original registration slip showing the porcupine fish helmet collected by Admiral Davis in 1892, with no inner helmet. Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 8.6. Porcupine fish helmet collected by Admiral Davis in 1892. Oc1904,0621.28. Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 8.7. Photograph of a Kiribati display case in the British Museum Pacific Ethnography galleries in 1966. Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 8.8. Photograph of a Kiribati display case in the British Museum Pacific Ethnography galleries in 1966 with the cowrie shell missing. Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 8.9. Object Journeys Kiribati case in the Wellcome Trust Gallery at the British Museum, August 2017. Copyright Trustees of the British Museum and the map is © Mark Gunning. Courtesy of Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge.

Almost 50 years after being on display in the Pacific ethnography galleries in Bloomsbury, this helmet was once again selected for display, this time in 2017 for the Wellcome Trust Gallery. It was selected by a group of I-Kiribati women to tell the story of the islands of Kiribati to the visiting public (Figure 8.9). There are other porcupine fish helmets in the collection but it is interesting that it was this helmet that was selected. The myth that they are one helmet is further perpetuated today. There is no record in the register for the inner coconut fibre helmet with cowrie shell and so at present it has no number. It will be registered separately once it comes off display and further research will be carried out in order to establish its provenance.

A coconut fibre helmet in National Museums Scotland

This third example highlights a piece of armour that was recorded as being from Kiribati when on further inspection we can confidently say that this provenance is incorrect. A coconut fibre helmet in the collections at National Museums Scotland (A.1899.299) is described in the register as a 'war hat, beehive form, of brown creeper tendrils coiled on a fibrous core, with lozenges in black fibre. Kingsmill Islands. Micronesia' (Figure 8.10). It was purchased from well-known collector-dealer William Downing Webster in 1899 and a label attached to the inside of the helmet reads 'Gilbert Islands'. This helmet instantly struck me as a very unusual example of a Kiribati helmet. Firstly because it is covered in lozenge decoration and although lozenges are found on many cuirasses in the survey, none have been found on helmets. Secondly, these lozenges are not made of human hair cord but instead are dyed coconut fibres. Thirdly, the whole helmet is made from plaited coconut fibre and not twisted two-ply fibre cord, which

is the usual Kiribati helmet manufacture, and lastly this helmet is much more dome-shaped than Kiribati helmets.

After further research and liaison with colleagues at the Bishop Museum, it can now be concluded that this helmet, known as a taka'a, is from Atiu in the Cook Islands. Two similar helmets in the Bishop Museum (C.02848 and C.02849) are described in Peter Buck's publication as being made for warfare and worn by warriors[196] (Figure 8.11).



Figure 8.10. Coconut fibre helmet with dyed lozenge decoration purchased from William Downing Webster in 1899. A.1899.299. © National Museums Scotland.



Figure 8.11. Coconut fibre helmet from Atiu in the Cook Islands. C_02848. Photo by Jesse W. Stephen. Copyright Bishop Museum; Bishop Museum Archives.

This misattribution is an example of mistaken identity, possibly made by Webster or a prior dealer, before it was sold to the Museum in Edinburgh. This incorrect provenance has remained in the Museum's records throughout the last century, eventually leading to it being displayed with a suit of Kiribati armour in the Museum's Pacific gallery, *Facing the Sea*. It is only through a detailed collection survey of this nature and communications with other specialists that such a misattribution can be identified and subsequently corrected.

A knotted band with pearlshell decoration

Another potential case of incorrect geographical provenance that emerged from the survey is a rectangular band of knotted coconut fibre in the BM collection (Figure 8.12). This was also thought to be from Kiribati but, again, it was a very unusual piece. Waist bands with human hair decoration are a familiar part of Kiribati armour collections, although the manufacture of this rectangular band is different from the others. The knotting technique and the attachments to the wooden terminals are different in this example. However, the most unusual feature is the adornment of pearlshell pieces attached to the front of the band. No other object like this was found in the survey. After discussions with I-Kiribati colleagues we are uncertain that it comes from the islands of Kiribati and it has been concluded that it is a very unlikely garment to be worn in warfare. The shape of the pearlshell attachments has raised further questions. They are pointed at one end and rounded at the other, a design that at first seems fairly distinctive and therefore indicative. Pearlshell was and still is a scarce resource in Kiribati and although fishhooks and some rare ornaments were made utilising this precious material, it is likely that it was imported from elsewhere.

The original registration slip for the band reads:

> Eastern Pacific, Rectangular band of woven brown coconut fibre string at each is lashed a small stick of brown wood; one face has been ornamented with transverse strings of pearlshell lozenges, each pierced twice and threaded so as to lie in the same plane (Figure 8.13).

In the original BM register, the object described on the line above this band is a piece of shoulder armour from the Gilbert Islands. There are ditto marks underneath the term Gilbert Islands and I believe that this could have been mistakenly attributed to the entry below it, at the point of registration. Having decided to remove this object from the survey, it prompted me to establish where this object could be from. The shoulder

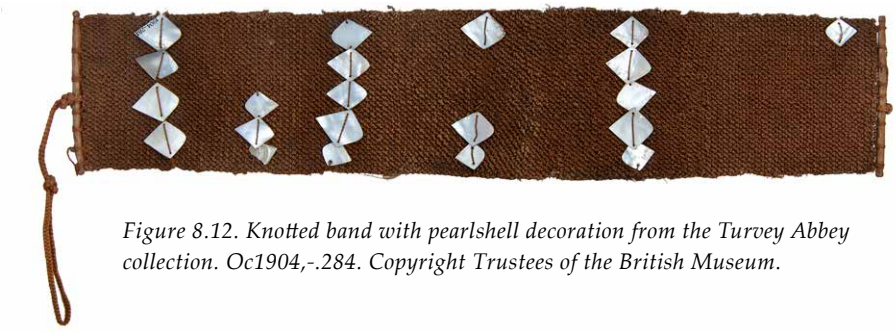


Figure 8.12. Knotted band with pearlshell decoration from the Turvey Abbey collection. Oc1904,-.284. Copyright Trustees of the British Museum.

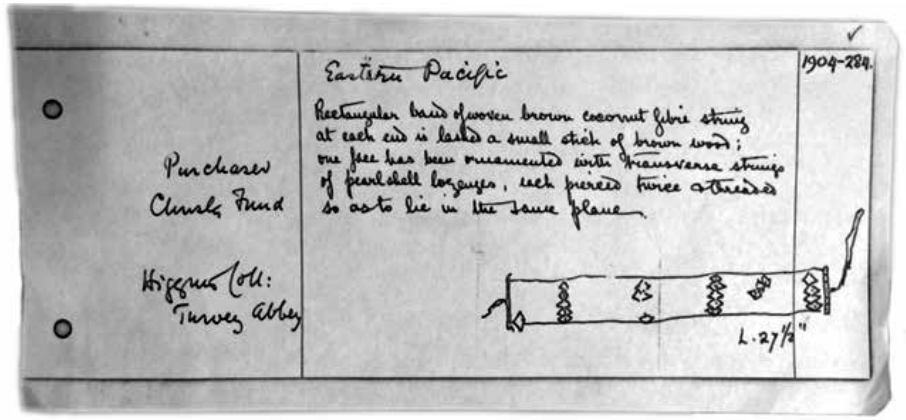


Figure 8.13. Original registration slip for the knotted band. Oc1904,-.284. Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.

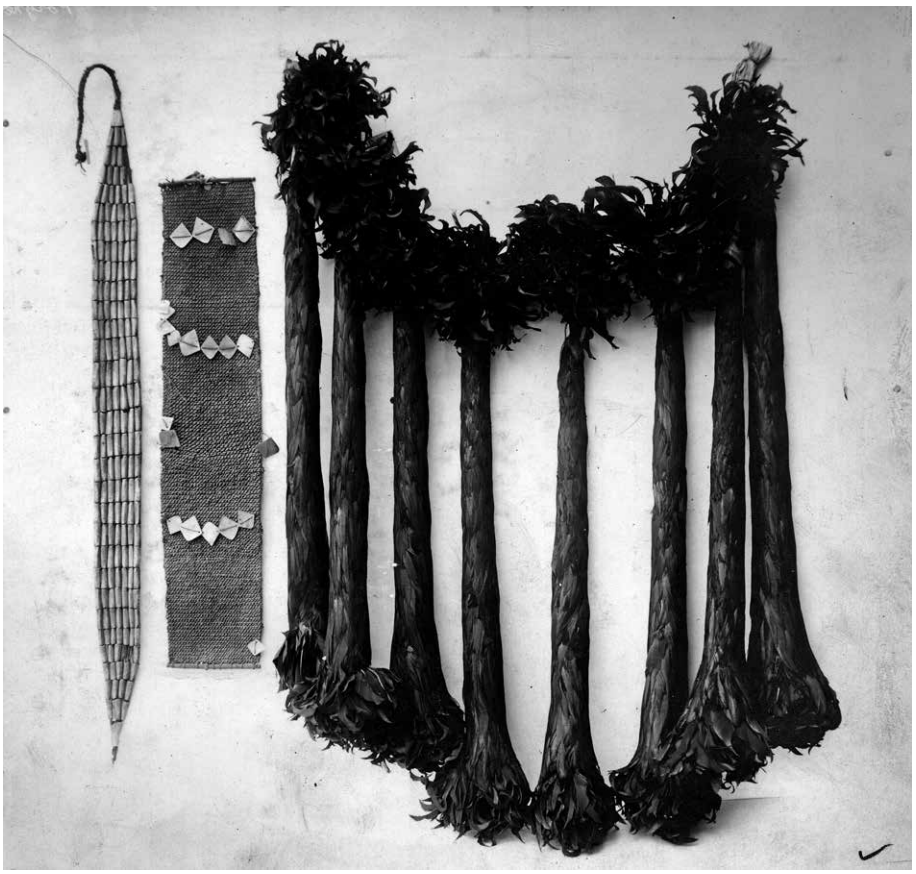


Figure 8.14. A photograph in the British Museum pictorial collection. Oc-A69-30. Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 8.15. Print engraving made by John Keyse Sherwin in 1785, after 'A dance in Otaheite' by John Webber. Oc2006,Prt.57. Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.

armour and fibre band were part of a collection from Turvey Abbey which was registered in 1904, although James Edge-Partington and Charles Hercules Read, both of the BM, first visited the collection in 1890. This collection was amassed by Charles Longuet Higgins and it is thought that many of his objects were bought from the 1851 Christie sale of the Thomas Dawson collection. In the sale catalogue, the name Higgins is next to various objects from across the globe and he did not seem to be geographically selective in his choices, although it does look as though he favoured items from the Pacific. Many other pieces with Higgins' name as purchaser include the following from Tahiti: lot 486 'A woman's war dress', lot 487 'three war belts' (sold with 486) and 488 'A gorget; a shield; and a war belt' (sold with 486). It is unknown where these objects ended up and it is not at all clear whether this sale catalogue describes this band.

A photograph in the BM's pictorial collection (Oc-A69-30) shows three objects photographed together (Figure 8.14) with the accompanying caption, '30. Mourner's feather tassels and a string belt. Tahiti'. The feather object (Oc,LMS.85) is clearly a Tahitian dance garment as illustrated in 'A dance in Otaheite' by John Webber, the artist on board Captain James Cook's third voyage to the Pacific, 1776-1780 (Figure 8.15).

Frustratingly it is unclear which 'belt' in Figure 8.14 the above caption refers to. It could describe the middle object, the coconut fibre and pearlshell band, due to the fact that the object on the right is mostly made of bone pieces strung onto coconut fibre cords, attributed to the Marquesas Islands on the Museum's database. Thoughts led me to wonder if this object could be from the Society Islands but then a label attached to the band shows a comment in pencil that could be interpreted as 'Herveys', later Cook Islands (Figure 8.16). The 'Herveys' label may be a further complication in the history of this piece and may have been added years after accession, by curatorial supposition.

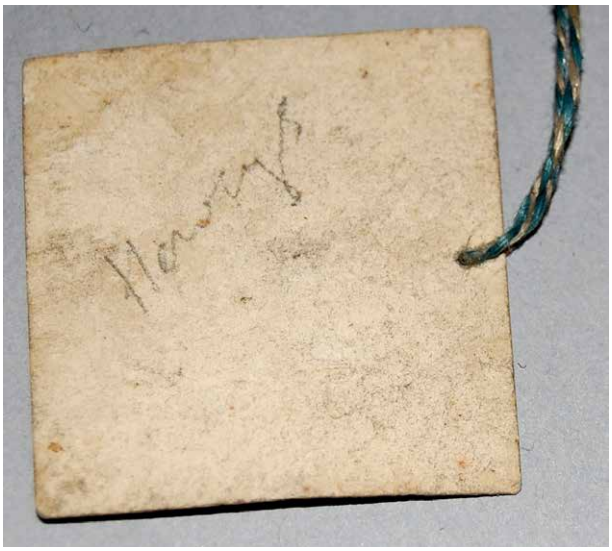


Figure 8.16. Label attached to the knotted band. Oc1904,-.284. Photograph taken by Polly Bence, 2017. Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.

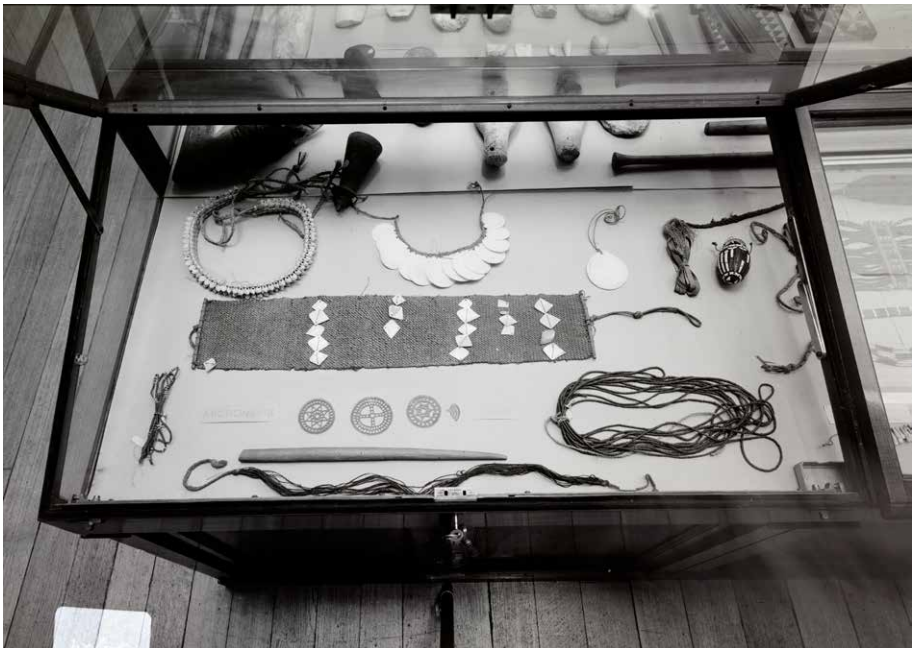


Figure 8.17. Knotted band on display in the British Museum ethnography galleries in the 1960s. Oc1904,-.284. Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.

The band was included in a display in the BM Pacific ethnography galleries in the mid-twentieth century with shell valuables from Micronesia (Figure 8.17).

It must be considered that this piece could be a unique object, and that perhaps someone added precious adornments to an otherwise plain band for their own interest or purpose. It could be a hybrid object made from ideas and experiments from various places. The pearlshell pieces could have been recycled from a no longer worn dance

ornament, or the band could have been made for a specific purpose which we do not yet know. After some consideration, it is possible that this band is Micronesian, or perhaps Eastern Polynesian.

Having focused on trying to categorise and localise this object, it is also important to pause and ponder the necessity of doing so. Identity of place is layered and fluid and there has always been constant physical movement between island groups. Cultural exchanges and the dissemination of knowledge over space and time mean that ideas and techniques are continually ebbing and flowing like the tide.

What is the significance of such delineations? Is the role of a museum collection to categorise objects into classifications and store in neat boxes forever tucked away, or is it to shed light on objects, provide possibilities and allow viewers and researchers to come to their own conclusions? The answer is surely a delicate and considered combination of the two. On a British Museum storage visit with Natan Itonga, a Kiribati cultural advisor and teacher in November 2017, Curator Julie Adams described objects with an unknown locality as being 'at sea' and sentenced to 'live a life of obscurity'. Though it is a complex task, collection staff and researchers need to establish basic aesthetic coordinates for specific genres of objects, to allow for a more nuanced understanding of form, style and adaptation.

Legacy

Although this is not the first collection survey to have been undertaken across UK collections, it is object specific. Rather than focusing on collectors or regions, or even viewing a large proportion of a collection, we have identified, viewed and catalogued every piece of coconut fibre armour discovered within UK collections. By physically viewing and, crucially, seeing every piece of armour, we now recognise discrepancies of style which led to some interesting outcomes, some of which have been discussed in this chapter.

As well as studying the armour in detail, we employed a holistic approach and delved in to original registers, pictorial collections and historical accounts. We also studied the collectors and donors of this material and compiled biographies that highlight those active in the islands in a very interesting point of the history of Kiribati.

The outcome of this project is a publication intended for all those interested in the history and manufacture of armour, and its whereabouts in the UK. Our aim is to improve the description, curation, storage and accessibility of this material for future museum exhibitions.

The success of this survey really depended on the appropriate staff being in post, their knowledge and experience of the collections that they care for, their ability to search database records, bearing in mind the correct terminology and their availability to host our team for a store visit. With the loss of specialist curators and collections staff comes the absence of experience and the decimation of knowledge. In order to continue accessioning, displaying, researching, collecting and promoting these collections we must replace specialist staff when they leave. Museums need to think long-term and invest in expertise for future generations.

Working together with colleagues of different backgrounds, focus and expertise meant that we encountered and adopted multiple ways of viewing and interpreting collections. The legacy of this collaborative approach to surveying a specific type of object is a comprehensive and detailed survey of coconut fibre armour in UK museums. There is merit in this approach to collection work and there are far-reaching possibilities for similar projects to be undertaken for specific genres of art across Pacific collections.

CHAPTER 9

From Russia with love: Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay's Pacific collections

ELENA GOVOR

~

An anthropologist of 'the new type'

The Russian explorer Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay (1846-1888), a highly respected figure in Russian anthropology, holds the unusual privilege of also being remembered and cherished by communities living along the Maclay Coast (now the Rai Coast of Papua New Guinea's Madang Province). He lived there for nearly three years (1871-1872 and 1876-1877), being the first European man to settle in that area. In the memory of many people of the Maclay Coast, he became a culture hero, who brought iron tools and diverse plants, European tobacco and salt. The Russian terms for some of these goods travelled along trade routes for hundreds of kilometres into the island's interior, while his local name, Makarai, became associated with European people and cargo cults in many areas of Papua New Guinea.[197] The island of New Guinea was the central focus of his studies, but between 1871 and 1883 he also travelled extensively in Island Melanesia and Eastern Micronesia, and visited Mangareva, Tahiti, and Samoa, as well as Indonesia, the Malay Peninsula and the Philippines. The main aim of his studies was uncovering the ethnogenesis of the Pacific Islanders, but his first-hand experience with different Islander communities in the turbulent 1870s and 1880s reshaped his attitudes to both the overall objectives of his studies and to the collecting of locally produced artefacts. He became deeply involved in the defence of the Pacific Islanders' rights and is famed for his humanitarian, anti-colonialist stance in respect of South Pacific peoples. He earned the praise of writer Leo Tolstoy, who wrote to him in 1886:

> I do not know what contribution your collections and discoveries will make to the science for which you serve, but your experience of contacting the primitive peoples will mark an epoch in the science which I serve, that is, the science which teaches how human beings should live with one another.[198]

At the same time Maclay's engagement with the Indigenous people of New Guinea prompted Bronislaw Malinowski to refer to him as an anthropologist of 'the new type'.[199]

Maclay's collecting and field experience

The bulk of Maclay's Oceanic collections are housed in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (MAE) in St Petersburg, and warrant serious attention in a number of respects. By the 1880s the idea of 'collecting' was gaining negative connotations among Russian humanists such as Leo Tolstoy, who saw Maclay's 'collections' and 'science' as secondary to his humanitarian position, and further argued:

> I wish to tell you the following: if your collections are very important – more important than anything that has been collected so far in the whole world – even in this case all your collections and your scientific observations are nothing in comparison with your observations of the essence of humanity, which you made after settling amongst the wild people in communion with them, and influencing them with reason alone.[200]

In reality, there was no opposition between these two spheres, and Maclay's humanist attitudes shaped his collecting practices to a significant degree.

From the onset of his travels, Maclay had very limited finances and opportunities for acquiring and transporting his collections, and developed quite a critical attitude towards 'collectors' per se, whom he described as 'suppliers of various European museums', and 'commis voyageurs' or salesmen.[201] In 1882 a New Zealand journalist published a characteristic yarn of Maclay's confrontation with Otto Finsch, a German naturalist:

> Otto Finsch observed with some astonishment that though Maclay had spent years among the islands and had unrivalled opportunities for collecting, he, nevertheless, had not brought back a single specimen of any kind. The haughty Russian could not stand that. Drawing himself up with an air of superb disdain, he said – 'Pardon, Monsieur le docteur, je n'suis pas commis-voyageur!', which being interpreted means 'Excuse me, Sir, but I am not a confounded bagman.' It was a palpable hit against poor Otto Finsch, whose sole mission in life is to collect curiosities for the museum of his Society at Bremen.[202]

Nevertheless, as Maclay travelled, his encounters with people in different parts of Oceania made it clear to him that the region was experiencing rapid change, and that the particular skills and crafts of artefact manufacturing were rapidly falling into disuse. 'Seeing this everywhere on the islands of the Pacific', he wrote, 'despite my marked antipathy to the assembly of collections, I began to systematically acquire everything that characterised the way of life of the natives of those areas where I ended up living'[203] (Figure 9.1).

Maclay's approach to collecting was different to that of other 'collectors'. While living on the Maclay Coast, although his supplies of goods were gradually depleted, he took pains to observe fairness in bargaining with the local people. Characteristic in this respect is a scene which took place during his visit to the village of Male in October 1872, when three different men reported to him that tamo russ (*i.e.* 'Russian men', the

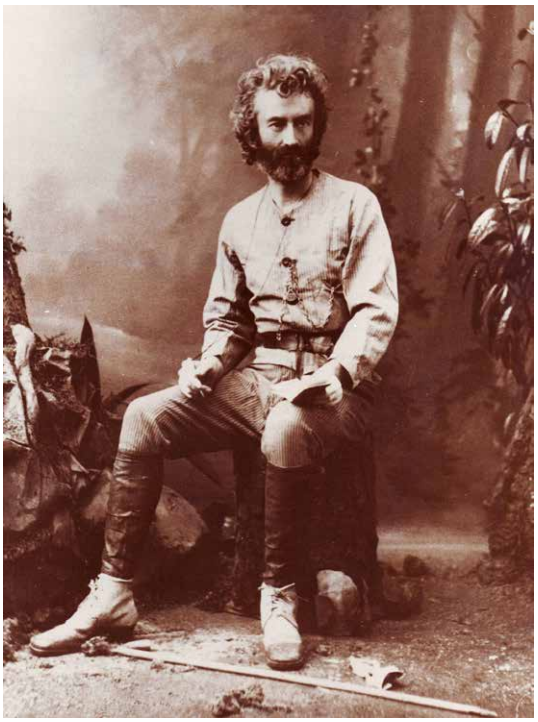


Figure 9.1. Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay, c.1873, upon return from New Guinea.

members of the Russian naval corvette *Vitiaz*, which brought him to New Guinea) had taken an okam 'small drum (made by mountain people)', a nenir 'basket for catching fish' and a very good spear from either their huts or a fishing spot (in the case of the nenir). He described his response in his journal:

> Being sure that these complaints were not inventions, I considered it only fair to satisfy their demands and promised to compensate them for the articles taken by the tamo russ. Knowing that the natives value the okams very highly, I promised to give an axe for it, for the nenir I suggested a knife, and for the spear it seemed to me sufficient to give three large nails. They could get all these things, when they wanted to, at Garagassi [Maclay's place of residence]. My decision, which it seems they in no way expected, aroused great enthusiasm, and exclamations of 'Maklai is a good, good man' were heard from all sides.[204]

Moreover, while travelling in Melanesia and seeing the unscrupulous dealing of the traders, he tried, for instance, to explain to Islanders the difference in the relative worth of iron and steel, to prevent traders from cheating Islanders out of high-quality materials.[205]

For Maclay the collecting of artefacts was not a final goal. He believed that data about the 'purpose, use, and meaning of collected objects' was of paramount importance, and that it was impossible to obtain such data without 'time and more time, and on top of this, trust towards the white man living among them, knowledge of the language, etc.' None of these aims could be achieved by short-term visitors, be they 'a whole learned



Figure 9.2. Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay's sketch of telum, ancestral figures from Bili Bili Island, PNG. (N.N. Miklukho-Maklai, Sobranie sochinenii v piati tomakh, vol. 5 (Moscow-Leningrad: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1954), p. 68).



Figure 9.3. Telum, ancestral figures from Bili Bili Island, PNG, collected by Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay, 146 & 102 sm. (Miklukho-Maklai, Sobranie sochinenii v piati tomakh, vol. 5, p. 48).

expedition' or 'the most indefatigable and canny collector'.[206] For many artefacts in his collection we can find drawings and comments in his field notebooks. For instance, before he acquired a pair of Maclay Coast telum (ancestral figure) he drew them in their natural surroundings. He also recorded the personal names of the telum, first in Russian while drawing and talking with the Islanders, then in English while reworking the drawing[207] (Figures 9.2 and 9.3). When collecting musical instruments, he recorded their names, material, and context of use, and sketched the position of the musician playing the instrument in his surroundings.[208] In another case, the unsightly frame of a headdress comes to life in his drawings, which show the aesthetic and practical aspects of the frame's usage.[209]

Collecting stone tools, Maclay painstakingly sketched and described each stage of their production and use, and was interested not only in traditional forms of manufacture, but also kept a record of how new artefacts and materials introduced by Europeans were incorporated into traditional practices. For instance, he argued that people from the Admiralty Islands valued iron hoops, which successfully replaced sharpened shells in their axes and served as a currency in barter; at the same time he believed their other tools surpassed European ones in their functionality and would hardly ever be replaced. Visiting Melanesian islands at a time of rapid change, he warned fly-by-night 'collectors' and armchair scholars that the people of Oceania valued the crafts of other Oceanic people more than European trinkets, and that traders often brought artefacts from one island to another for barter. Without knowledge of the local language, these pseudo-local crafts might be wrongly provenanced.[210]

Maclay had a deep interest in Oceanic art and made sketches of it whenever he saw and acquired it. In the 1870s, after his first stay at the Maclay Coast, he published accounts of 'Traces of art' that he found there, arguing that materials – bamboo, for instance – determined the patterns, in this case straight lines.[211] By this time he had noticed the uniformity of certain designs applied to bamboo, wood and pottery, and noted that the study of carved sculptures might be 'of great interest because they can provide some indications about the relation between Melanesian tribes'.[212] As he travelled, his horizons broadened, and he began to see these patterns quite differently, as part of the heritage of possible ancient migrations in Oceania. While visiting the Admiralty Islands in 1879 he zealously collected patterns on pottery and tattoo coming from the same location, commenting on the tattoo sketches: 'There is a very similar pattern marked on the pots made of two straight lines.'[213]

Maclay's collections in St Petersburg

Maclay brought his Oceanic collections to St Petersburg in 1886. He wanted to donate them to the museums, but the academic establishment was in no hurry to accept his gift and the collections remained stranded at the railway depot. Only upon his appeal for assistance from the Emperor were the collections transferred to the Great Hall of the Academy of Sciences, where he could unpack and prepare them for exhibition. This exhibition, which was originally planned for just three days but lasted much longer, provoked considerable interest among the public, academics and dignitaries.[214] Maclay's contemporaries noted how he would 'with passion' tell the visitors interesting stories about each artefact. Vladimir Mainov, an ethnographer who visited the exhibition, argued that it demonstrated the

'necessity, which had now come to a head' of the construction of an ethnographic museum for Russia, as such museums were being established all over Europe.[215]

After the exhibition Maclay's collections were donated to the MAE in St Petersburg. The collections were accompanied by a catalogue produced by Maclay which included detailed data about artefacts, including their local names and the names of the villages where they had been acquired. His collection includes about 800 items; the bulk of them are in the MAE, but some are preserved in the Russian Geographical Society in St Petersburg, in Dnipro Historical Museum (Ukraine), in the Macleay Museum in Sydney, and even in the Museum of Ethnology in Leiden (now part of the National Museum of World Cultures). According to the calculations of MAE curatorial researcher Elena Soboleva, New Guinea and Melanesian artefacts comprise nearly 80% of his overall collection. Maclay's interest in the 'daily life' of the Islanders is evident in the composition of the collection. Tools in the collection account for one fifth of all artefacts; in combination with the raw materials used for their production, they comprise nearly one third. On the other hand, weapons comprise 15%; ceremonial objects, dance regalia, musical instruments and other cultural and spiritual items make up 11%. 'As we can see', argues Soboleva, 'it was not characteristic for this scholar to chase after sensationalist rarities. He was able to expand the typology of artefacts usually falling into the hands of travellers.'[216]

Living heritage

Maclay's personal involvement with almost every artefact that he collected, as part of a process in which the acquisition of an item was only the beginning of a dialogue between the source community, the general public, and the academic community, is a remarkable feature in the context of collectors of this period. His involvement with source communities is revealed by the marginalia on his drawings, where he recorded, often in Russian scribbles, what people were commenting on while he was drawing their artefacts.[217] The public involvement is obvious from his inspirational talks at his exhibition in St Petersburg when quotidian objects inspired tales which gathered crowds around him. When donating his collections to MAE, Maclay insisted on provisions to ensure his ongoing access to the artefacts, which he needed while preparing his field materials for publication, envisaging their images as an integral part of this publication.[218] Tragically, Maclay died in 1888, soon after returning to Russia, without publishing his main works; moreover, many of his papers, including some of his field journals, were lost. What has survived has been studied and published by Russian scholars. Currently his artefact collection is one of the best studied and published in the MAE holdings. A significant proportion of it was published in the two editions of Maclay's *Collected Works* in 1940-1941 and 1954. A special volume consisting of an illustrated catalogue of Maclay's collections was the result of painstaking research by Ludmila Ivanova, Elena Soboleva and other scholars, and was recently published in the new edition of his *Collected Works*.[219] The mesmerizing influence exercised upon the Russian public in the early and mid-twentieth century by the Oceanic artefacts brought by Maclay was discussed in Chapter 4 in *Volume One*.[220]

The dialogue that Maclay started in the 1870s with Pacific Islanders has recently been renewed. The first steps in this field were made during my collaborative project with Chris Ballard, *The Original Field Anthropologist: Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay in Oceania, 1871-1883*, which included the repatriation of copies of Maclay's drawings and images of artefacts to source communities and the recording of responses to them while visiting people in the field or via ni-Vanuatu fieldworkers. This work drew on that undertaken by Russian ethnographers in 1971, when they visited the Maclay Coast and collected data, for instance, on the preservation of the tradition of the usage of musical instruments.[221] One of the first cases when Pacific Islanders used Maclay's drawings of their artefacts to reinstate their traditional culture was on Efate Island in Vanuatu, where the local Lelepa and Mangaliliu communities acquainted themselves with Maclay's drawings and high resolution photographs of artefacts from the MAE. Ballard noted that along with Maclay's portraits of the villagers,

> The details of carved decoration on spear shafts, clubheads and slit drums […] excite Lelepa viewers, and have served, along with photographs of woven baskets collected by Miklouho-Maclay and held in Russian collections, as templates or inspiration for a craft revival. Slit drums, carved in imitation [of Maclay's drawing …] have been produced on Lelepa for the first time in more than a century, and forgotten weaving patterns reconstructed after close inspection of the photographs of baskets.

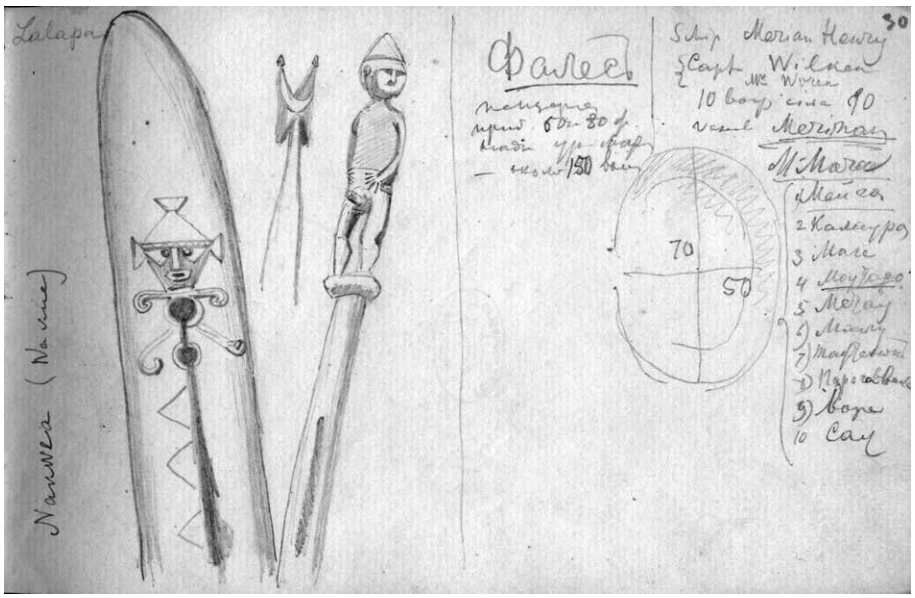


Figure 9.4. Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay, drawing of Lelepa napea, slit drums, and scheme of Feles cave, Vanuatu. Archives of the Russian Geographical Society, 6-1-70, f. 30.



Figure 9.5. Manearu, Lelepa expert-carver, and new napea, slit drum, recreated by Maclay's drawings, Vanuatu, 2006. Photograph by Chris Ballard.

As Ballard reiterates, however, 'There seems to be little interest in producing exact reproductions of these heirloom images, […] as contemporary makers seek to instil in their artefacts an element of their own individual creativity and identity', thus continuing the multimedia dialogue opened by Maclay with their ancestors[222] (Figures 9.4 and 9.5).

By comparison with other Oceanic collectors, Maclay's collections might not appear particularly rich or spectacular. When Germany annexed the Maclay Coast soon after Maclay's departure, meticulous collections of every type of artefact and their variations were made. Among these collectors were Otto Finsch, the Hungarian Ludwig Biro and German missionaries; their collections surpass those of Maclay in quantity and variety, but Maclay's collection remains distinguished by the manner in which it was assembled, with a sense of deep intercultural understanding, respect and love.

CHAPTER 10

Collecting procedure unknown: contextualizing the Max Biermann collection in the Museum Fünf Kontinente in Munich

HILKE THODE-ARORA

~

A large part of collecting for German museums was performed by colonial officials – encouraged by their superiors to bring together zoological and ethnological specimens for museums in Germany, they were often able to improve their social status by receiving an order/decoration in return, and by finding an established market of 'Naturalienhandlungen' (traders in natural history artefacts), especially in the port cities. [223]

This paper argues that collecting in the classification-obsessed late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was also an activity signalling education and sophistication, and that collection could have been an avenue to cope with the unfamiliar living conditions in remote places. Furthermore, the paper seeks to turn attention to the hitherto under-researched role of German expatriate and colonial networks in collection activity as well as in ethnographic documentation and research activities. These ideas will be elucidated by focusing on German consul and imperial commissar Max Biermann who spent 1888 to 1895 in the Pacific, and on his ethnographic collection now housed in the Museum Fünf Kontinente in Munich. The collection, overwhelmingly from Micronesia, is small,[224] and Max Biermann's stay in Jaluit spans a mere two years, 1889-1891 (Figure 10.1). Colonial files housed in the German Foreign Office[225] and the German Federal Archives[226] assisted in the reconstruction of Biermann's professional activities. In addition, Biermann's private reminiscences,[227] written for his children, shed some light on his personal tastes, attitudes and feelings. All these sources can help to contextualize his largely neglected collection activities, as his actual collection procedure cannot be established in spite of a large amount of papers on his office and personal life.

The situation on the Marshall Islands during Max Biermann's stay

Starting in the mid-nineteenth century, several German and American trading companies had opened stations in the Marshall Islands. They followed the Boston Mission, which had commenced commercial activities in the area earlier.[228] The



Figure 10.1. Max Biermann and his family. The photo must have been taken between 1895 and 1898, probably in Bombay. Private collection.

Marshall Islands had few natural resources worth exploiting. Dried coconut kernels, better known as copra, figured as the only important trade article, although they were of higher quality than copra from other Pacific islands.[229] To trade for copra, provisions, cotton, tobacco, weapons and tools were imported to Micronesia. Pressured by the German traders, the imperial flag rose in 1885, and in 1886, the British-German treaty defined regional spheres of interest thus consolidating the German presence in the Marshall Islands. In late December 1887, the Jaluit Company was founded and German trading activities, unimpaired by Spain's official rule, extended to the Caroline[230] and Gilbert Islands.[231] By January 1888, a contract between the German Reich and the Jaluit Company established an arrangement[232] freeing the German government from most of the costs required for running the colony: an administration of German officials, consisting merely of an imperial commissar and his secretary as well as a ship's pilot, and never more than six Indigenous policemen, was installed. The Jaluit Company paid and guaranteed their salaries and all administrative costs, provided an office room and dwellings for the commissar and the secretary, and allowed them to take their meals in the company mess and promised them free passage and fare on the Company's inter-island schooners. In return, the trade firm had the exclusive privilege of use and property right on 'un-appropriated' land, pearl fishing if not done by the Marshallese, and on guano resources.[233] Soon, German traders controlled 80% of all foreign trade in the Carolines and Marshalls. The small staff of imperial officials thus was very much

dependant on the Jaluit Company and under frequent pressure to pass legislation for the Company's benefit. Hezel's characterization of the company is apt:

> For the next eighteen years, the Jaluit Company ran the Marshalls like the company store: its investment was minimal and always measured with an eye to the profit column on the firm's ledgers at year's end. Under such a system there was little hope of the government initiating any major social reforms or development programs.[234]

Marshallese society, as other Micronesian societies, had a distinct hierarchical structure. The highest social stratum, the iroij or paramount chiefs, ruled over small districts on one or several islands where lineages lived under the authority of the appointed heads. By the mid-1880s, the Boston Mission had ordained a number of Micronesian ministers in the Marshall and Caroline Islands and many persons dressed according to missionary standards and were literate. In a rigidly stratified society, conversion – as well as colonial service, for example as interpreter or scribe – could be a way of upward mobility in ways of prestige, power and wealth. However, as several contemporary observers noted, it was mainly the chiefs who benefitted from the German indirect rule: the poll tax introduced by the Germans, to be delivered in copra by each adult, was collected by the chiefs who were allowed to keep one third of it. Tribute had been part of the political system before, as had absolute authority of the iroij, but now most Marshallese lived in poverty.[235] Wealth and the display of European luxury and collectors' items were common among the iroij: Loiak of Ebon dwelled in a large house surrounded by cannons, dressed elegantly in European clothes and dined on a table set the European way; Jaluit's largest land-owning chief was said to have had an annual income of 30,000 marks (twice as much as the imperial commissar's annual pay).[236] This, in short, was the situation when Max Biermann took office as imperial commissar on Jaluit in March 1889.

Max Biermann as Imperial Commissar and Collector

Max Louis Friedrich Biermann (23 November 1856-3 January 1929)[237] studied law after high school. Three leitmotifs or prominent personal inclinations guide his memoirs. Already as a boy, he was very fond of physical exercise. For all his worldwide assignments, the Pacific ones among them, there are descriptions of daily swimming or exercise, long bicycle rides, hours-long walks or horse rides, partly for exercise, partly for leisure, and partly because bicycle or horse riding was an uncomplicated way of getting around. Secondly, Biermann had a pragmatic, sober approach to life: he certainly was not a dreamer or careerist, his input into education and professional work was purposefully measured in a way to pass examinations well, but not to excel, and to keep an equilibrium between work and pleasure. There are repeated remarks that, in his career, he chose assignments where he had a large degree of autonomy of decision, including his own time management. The most prominent leitmotif of his writings, however, was his love for travel and exploring. A lengthy trip throughout Germany during his formative years turned him into an enthusiastic traveller. During his professional career, he took every opportunity to see more of the places he was

assigned – sometimes he even created these opportunities with a professional pretence, as he alludes in his private reminiscences. A career in the Foreign Service seemed most suited to fulfil his personal tastes.

Max Biermann held his first assignment as a vice-consul under consul Wilhelm Knappe in Apia, Samoa, from mid-1888, at a time when the Germans under Eugen Brandeis had formed a government with the Tamasese faction.[238] After only six months,[239] Biermann was made imperial commissar in Jaluit. He went for a furlough in Germany in 1891 to then become consul in Samoa's tripartite government from 1892 to 1895. After leaving the Pacific for good, his career continued as consul in Bombay (1896-1898, with a six-month-stint as chargé d'affaires in Bangkok), consul in Pretoria (1898-1904), consul general in Helsingfors (1905-1906) and St. Petersburg (1906-1914), and finally at the Foreign Office in Berlin.[240]

While colonial Samoa had a thriving expat community with leisure activities like sport and theatre clubs or beer parties,[241] there were only about 20 Europeans and Americans in Jaluit, most of them traders and missionaries. A recurrent theme with newcomers were heat, mosquitoes and boredom.[242] Even as late as 1896, a German magazine dwelled on the monotonous life and complete lack of singing birds, 'so that only the roaring of the sea, the rush of the sudden rain pouring down with great force, and the thundering of the surf against the coral reefs interrupt the deathlike quiet'.[243] On the other hand, the small expatriate community, especially married Jaluit Company employees and missionaries, tried to adhere to Western middle-class standards by creating flower gardens around their houses, having paintings on the wall, and curtains and clavichords in their homes. The storehouses of the Jaluit Company were said to have been able to provide every kind of luxury good, from sewing machines to Strasbourg pâté de foie gras.[244]

Max Biermann apparently set out to carefully explore the scope between dependence on the Jaluit Company and his own initiative. Shielding the German economic advantage from foreign competition and keeping the Boston Mission from interfering with imperial jurisdiction and trade interests were main objectives for him, as for his predecessors and successors.[245] When Jaluit got a postal station a few days after Biermann's arrival, he obligated all ships leaving the port to take letters, thus solving the long-standing mail delivery problem.[246] He raised the business tax for companies resident in Jaluit and gave in to pressure by the Jaluit Company to let it do the poll tax gathering of copra from the islands, thus saving the Company extra sales travels there.[247] On the other hand, he shielded the Micronesians from the Company's exploitation, especially from encumbrance by making purchases on credit or from having their land alienated:[248] All contracts with local Marshallese exceeding a certain sum had to be submitted to the imperial commissar, and he forbade the establishment of stations or the settling of traders on seemingly unclaimed land belonging to Micronesians, if not resulting from a recognized agreement.[249]

Although Biermann's working day consisted of only five hours of office work, he does not seem to have been bored like other expats; there is not a single complaint of this sort in the memoirs. He had himself instructed in navigation by the European pilot, and later took daily boat trips on the lagoon. His desire to see more of the Marshall and Caroline Islands got soon fulfilled when he joined a warship captained by a personal

acquaintance.[250] More requests followed to travel his realm, preferably whenever one of the comfortable navy ships called at the Jaluit port. Some of Biermann's legal decisions did not conform to existing law and on occasion even seem arbitrary, yet they are contextualized through his aforementioned desire for travel. Although legally only responsible for penal jurisdiction, for example, Biermann insisted to go to the Carolines and outer Marshalls in person to settle civil cases as well.[251] This went to such an extent that the Jaluit Company complained about the high travel and administration costs, and that Biermann was ordered by the Foreign Office to use the Company schooners as much as possible.[252] Unfazed, the imperial commissar continued to travel, exchanging the cockroach-ridden small cabins[253] on the copra schooners for a sleeping place on deck.

It is probably during these journeys that Max Biermann collected the artefacts that he later endowed to the Museum Fünf Kontinente – or they might have been on offer back in Jaluit.[254] The fact that the Munich collection encompasses objects from places never visited by Biermann, such as the New Hebrides, Nukuoro and Ruk, supports the assumption that he bought the collections partly or wholesale from intermediaries. The list of artefacts he promised the museum[255] does not agree with the pieces ascribed to Biermann in the museum's entry log. There is a second lot of Micronesian artefacts acquired in the year 1891 from the naval staff doctor ('Marinestabsarzt') Dr W. Schubert,[256] which may indicate a mix-up and wrong ascription of artefacts dating to the time. Apart from the Marshall Islands, Biermann's list mentions pieces from Ruk, Meijit, Nauru, Uleai, Nukuoro and Yap, but also from the Gilbert Islands, New Hebrides, the Solomon Islands and Samoa. The museum entry log contains more items than Biermann's list, including some from Kosrae (which Biermann visited). Frustratingly, in his 800 pages of memoirs, Biermann dwells elaborately on the natural beauty of the Micronesian islands he roamed but fails to mention his ethnographic collecting on his journeys. There is only a single instant where he explicitly shares his artefact acquisition. Upon arriving on Jaluit, Biermann encountered a number of old, quite dejected Gilbert island chiefs detained there. Their imposed exile was the result of an arbitrary act instigated by the Jaluit Company blaming the chiefs for not having paid a due amount of copra. He saw to it that the



Figure 10.2. The 'Gilbertese' (actually Nauruan) armour given to Max Biermann as a present by the Gilbertese chiefs he had set free. In the Max Biermann collection of the Museum Fünf Kontinente, Munich. 91-866. Photography by MFK-Marianne Franke.



Figure 10.3. Warrior's cap, Nauru; 29 cm x 30 cm x 17.5 cm. Coconut fibre; human hair (no shell or feather decoration). In the Max Biermann collection of the Museum Fünf Kontinente, Munich. 91-876. Photograph by MFK-Marietta Weidner.



Figure 10.4. Neck ornament marremarre lagelag/buni; Jaluit; 8.5 cm. Sperm whale tooth; glass beads; spondylus shell; pandanus. In the Max Biermann collection of the Museum Fünf Kontinente, Munich. 91-936. Photograph MFK-Marianne Franke.

chiefs were released, and in his words, they not only paid the required copra but out of gratitude sent Biermann a 'Gilbert Island'[257] armour along with several shark-tooth spears (Figures 10.2 and 10.3).

Contrary to Antonie Brandeis,[258] who lived in Jaluit just a few years later, Max Biermann does not seem to have been interested in a systematic collection or the recording of Indigenous culture. For him, collecting and displaying artefacts apparently was a leisure time activity[259] which could involve a certain prestige factor. He mentions in his memoirs how he embellished his new Jaluit home by having curtains sewn and decorated with tridacna pieces after his own design, and later on by mounting his ethnographic collections to the walls, which not only made his house more homely, but also 'found the admiration of many overseas visitors'. Although apparently a keen and interested observer, as his little article[260] on boat models used in Butaritari games shows, he did not feel the urge to document his observations. Upon leaving Jaluit, he had the collections carefully packed to protect their significant value, and forwarded to Hamburg with the Jaluit Company's ship (Figure 10.4).[261]

As can be established from many entries in Max Biermann's memoirs, he made use of existing German networks wherever he went. Invariably, he would be referred to a German club, German diplomats, traders or settlers, some of whom could be found in even the remotest parts of the world, happy to host compatriots for longer or shorter periods of time and to share German cuisine and beverages with them. Certain annual social events brought the German community and German visitors together in larger numbers – one of the most important ones mentioned in many sources from colonial times was the emperor's birthday in late January. It was here that old connections were renewed and new ones forged. On his way from Samoa to Jaluit, at the turn of the year 1888/1889, waiting for his ship to Jabwor, Biermann had a stopover in Sydney.[262] It was here during the emperor's birthday celebration that he met the curator of the Royal Ethnological Collection in Munich, Max Buchner, who was on a trip to Asia and the Pacific at this time. In 1891, Biermann offered Buchner his collection as a present for the Munich museum, apparently refusing a Bavarian medal as unnecessary.[263]

Perhaps partly relevant for Max Biermann's Micronesian collection now in Munich, his memoirs reveal a wide and long-term network of acquaintances. He was a cousin of the well-known writer on Samoa, Franz Reinecke; a classmate of his predecessor as imperial commissar in Jaluit, Franz Sonnenschein; stayed with Rudolf von Benningsen and Wilhelm Solf, both of whom were to play important roles in the Pacific's colonial history later, in East Africa; found his wife travel on the same ship as a merchant named Genthe who might have been related to the journalist of the same name writing a travel book on Samoa later; had Robert Louis Stevenson as a house guest in Jaluit and politically crossed swords with him during his assignments in Samoa; worked under Wilhelm Knappe and stayed in touch with Oscar Wilhelm Stübel even when in St Petersburg; worked under Eugen Brandeis in Samoa and became his superior in Jaluit and later his friend; had the romantic travel writer Otto Ehlers and the famous doctor Robert Koch as house guests; stayed in long-term contact with Augustin Krämer and Elisabeth Krämer-Bannow who visited him in St Petersburg, to mention just a few.[264]

The influence of such global and local German networks should not be underestimated and has not yet been systematically researched. In most museum collections, there are artefacts coming from collectors who verifiably have never set foot on the areas of origin. Museum documentation suggests that there might have been centres and key persons for retrieving desired types of artefacts from several regions, and for distributing them to interested parties, for example Emma Kolbe, known as 'Queen Emma' in German New Guinea's Herbertshöhe.[265] These networks can only be established by systematically evaluating published and unpublished biographies, travel logs as well as administrative and museum files, which should be a desideratum for future research.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, shaped by discoveries and systematic comparisons in medicine and natural history, private collection and classification of the collected items was a widespread middle and upper-class leisure activity: similar to a canon of literature, classical music and knowledge of ancient Greek and Roman myths which everyone would understand and be able to allude to, collecting and classifying signalled a modern interest in natural history and thus education and sophistication. While middle-class collecting encompassed budget activities like the botanizing of plants, the catching and impaling of butterflies or acquiring stamps and postcards for their motifs, upper-class accumulations were distinctive through pricier items, rarities or collectables from far away. The academic value of creating systematic databases for comparative study was also the reason why German colonial officials were urged to collect and (in theory, though often not in practice) to pass their collections on to Berlin institutions. At the same time, collecting helped to overcome the utter monotony of life as a pioneer overseas, as a number of sources state.[266] It is in this field of upper-class sophistication, serving a broader academic interest and developing resources against boredom that Max Biermann's collecting activities have to be seen.

CHAPTER 11

Made to measure: photographs from the Templeton Crocker expedition

LUCIE CARREAU

~

Introduction

Photographs often sit at the periphery of ethnographic museum collections. Historically, they were rarely considered equivalent to three-dimensional objects but provided evocative illustrations of culture in motion, populated, akin to a truthful diorama often crystallizing stereotypes about otherness. In the past three decades, much work has been done by academics in and out of museums to re-engage with photography, bringing attention to the circumstances under which images are formed (the relationship between the two sides of the camera), articulated (their relationship to another image or to a group of objects) and received (their relationship to the various audiences/spectators).[267]

The Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (MAA) at the University of Cambridge cares for a collection of approximately 330 artefacts from the Solomon Islands collected during the scientific expedition conducted by Charles Templeton Crocker in 1933 (Figure 11.1). While well catalogued, the collection is nonetheless poorly documented, at the level of individual objects or the assemblage as a whole. It was this lack of detail which first prompted me to seek alternative ways through which to make sense of the material. Confronting and contrasting the objects with the large collection of more than 800 photographs made during the expedition and also under the care of the MAA was, disturbingly, unrevealing: the collections did not seem to inform each other at all. On the one hand, the photographs placed people at the core of the expedition: material culture was rarely a focus, or even a presence. On the other, the artefacts had been severed from any form of human interaction, anonymized and taxonomized. The fact that the two collections seemed to tell different stories about the Templeton Crocker expedition prompted me to investigate the mechanisms through which narratives are preserved, retrieved and represented in museum contexts. While it would be tempting to see the emergence of divergent narratives as inherent to the distinction between artefacts and images, I argue here that what should be considered instead is the act of sampling. In the museum context of the 1930s, objects – whether two or three dimensional – were generally sampled or selected for their ability to fulfil what was perceived as the museum's documentary duty and complement pre-existing

articulated ensembles. Rarely were extraneous narratives (such as the approach or vision of an expedition like Templeton Crocker's) incorporated into a museum's existing discourse.

There is limited information available on the Solomon Island scientific expedition. The bulk of the archive is housed at the California Academy of Sciences (CAS) in San Francisco. Donated to the CAS by Charles Templeton Crocker himself, it is an extensive resource, which includes participants' personal diaries, lists of artefacts collected, film footage and hundreds of photographs. Unfortunately, substantial building work at the CAS prevented the consultation of any of these documents as part of this research.[268] While many museums received collections of objects or photographs from the expedition (see below), they were rarely provided with contextual information. In addition, for reasons that are still unknown, very few publications resulted from the expedition.[269]

If narrative is shaped by availability and accessibility of material, then so too is method. Lack of access to primary documentation at the CAS forced me to develop a tangential approach to research. Without personal narratives to contextualize the unfolding of the expedition, the extensive artefacts and photograph collections at the MAA became witnesses of specific encounters and fragments to reassemble in order to start engaging with the scientific vision, documentary approach and private moments of the expedition. The exhibition *L'Éclat des ombres: L'Art en Noir et Blanc des* îles *Salomon* at the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac in Paris (18 November 2014-1 February 2015) brought to my attention another series of images, originally given by Templeton Crocker to the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro in 1934. Confronting the two sets raised more questions than it answered, and in some cases contradicted some of the preliminary results obtained from research on the MAA's collection. This prompted me to seek and subsequently investigate other sets in the summer of 2016 – one in the archives of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum in Honolulu and a composite one at the National Museum of the Solomon Islands in Honiara, formed of over 200 copies of images in the care of the National Museum of Ethnology (Minpaku) in Osaka, Japan and the San Francisco Academy of Sciences. The approach I developed was one that reflects the experience of the expedition from a number of partial and distributed assemblages, and



Figure 11.1. 'All for Bishop Museum. Food bowls, boys, arrows, mats, paddles and everything!', Suva, Fiji. Photograph by Toshio Asaeda, late July 1933. Osaka, National Museum of Ethnology archives (X0077317). © Osaka, National Museum of Ethnology.

investigates how each depicts an impressionistic and original take on the expedition but also how they relate to each other.

In this chapter, I do not intend to give an authoritative interpretation of the 1933 expedition – which could not be achieved without extensive fieldwork in the locations visited by Templeton Crocker and a thorough investigation of the CAS collections. Instead, I want to use the expedition as a case study to reveal the limits and partiality of museum collections and the ease with which collections can be tailored into 'authoritative' narratives, more revealing of the institutions that host them than they are of the initial encounters that generated them.

The expedition

The 1933 expedition to the Solomon Islands was led by Charles Templeton Crocker (1884-1948), an American millionaire, heir to the fortune amassed by his father and grandfather through their investments in the USA Central Pacific Railroad, and briefly husband to Helene Irwin, Hawaiian sugar plantation heiress. Templeton Crocker was a keen mariner, enrolling in the Navy as ensign in 1917. In the late 1920s, he commissioned the building of the *Zaca*, a lavishly fitted schooner on which he circumnavigated the globe between June 1930 and May 1931 (Figure 11.2). Soon after his return he started collaborating with the CAS, sponsoring scientific expeditions to Guadalupe (1931) and Mexico and the Galapagos Islands (1932). The latter was the first of many expeditions Templeton Crocker undertook with Toshio Asaeda, a Japanese artist and photographer. A student of geology, zoology, botany and geography

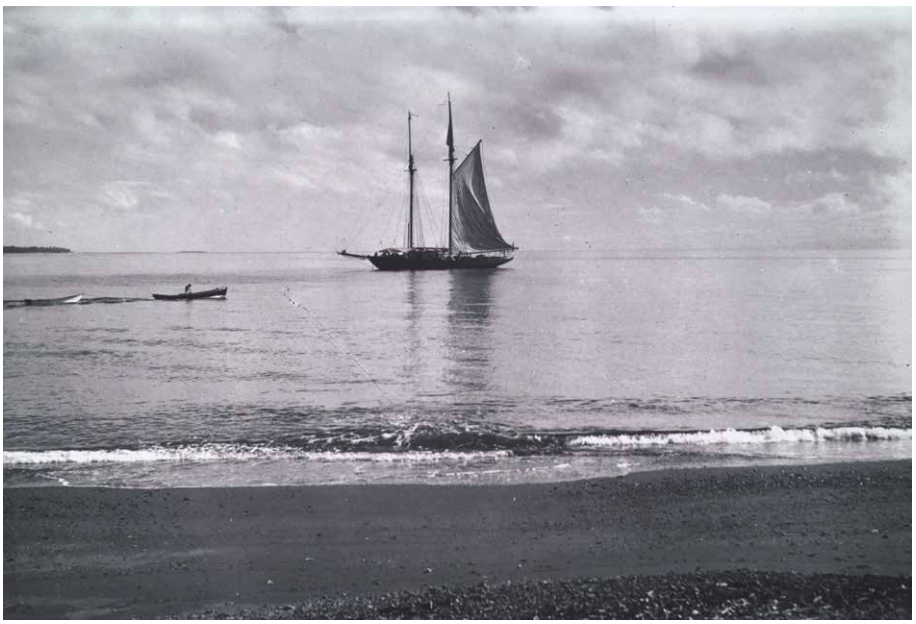


Figure 11.2. 'Zaca drying sails after the rain', Ugi [Uki ni masi]. Photograph by Toshio Asaeda, 28 June 1933. Osaka, National Museum of Ethnology archives (X0077118). © Osaka, National Museum of Ethnology.

and a graduate from a teacher training college in Tokyo, Asaeda moved to the USA as an international student in 1923. He subsequently took charge of taxidermy and exhibit preparation for the American Museum of Natural History in 1924. After moving to San Francisco, he was hired as an artist for the Ichthyology Department at the CAS and joined a series of expeditions led by Templeton Crocker between 1931 and 1938 as artist, photographer and film-maker.

The main goal of the expedition was to conduct extensive multi-disciplinary research in the Solomon Islands, focusing on islands populated by Polynesian communities, in particular those of Rennell and Bellona, which had been largely left out of research on Pacific migration. It was hoped that the collection of extensive data would unlock new ways of understanding how the Pacific was settled, from where and in which order. Compared with many other Pacific Islands, Rennell and Bellona had been scarcely visited by foreign vessels – both islands being raised coral atolls surrounded by sharp cliffs, offering very few places for safe anchorage. Moreover, as they had very limited potential to provide commercial crops, they remained largely outside the field of operation of traders and planters. Christian missions made several attempts to convert Islanders, with little result until after Templeton Crocker's expedition, in the late 1930s.[270]

The tale of an almost untouched community had fascinated Templeton Crocker since he first met Dr Sylvester Lambert (medical practitioner affiliated to the Pacific Healthcare Department) in Suva in 1930. Lambert had recently returned from several weeks of medical research in Rennell on the *France*. Over a couple of nights, he shared with Templeton Crocker his notes, his memories and his hopes for further research, planting the seed of the expedition discussed here.[271] Three years later, Templeton Crocker had carefully selected a team to gather scientific data in the fields of medicine, natural history and anthropology. In addition to Toshio Asaeda and Dr Lambert, members of the expedition included Gordon White (British Solomon Islands' healthcare department), Malakai Veisamasama (medical practitioner from Fiji), Gordon Macgregor (ethnologist affiliated to the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum), Norton Stewart (naturalist), Maurice Willows (entomological collector), Dr John Hynes (ship's surgeon) and a number of unnamed men (some from the Pacific) assisting with the navigational or logistical aspects of the expedition. The luxurious fitting of the *Zaca* made the journey very comfortable: electric lights and fans, space for arranging, packing and storing the scientific specimens collected, and freezers to ensure the crew had a varied and pleasing diet.[272]

The expedition left San Francisco on the *Zaca* on 2 March 1933, calling at Honolulu, Palmyra Atoll, Pukapuka in the Cook Islands, Tikopia, Santa Cruz Islands, Reef Islands, Sikaiana, Guadalcanal, Florida (Nggela) and Tulagi, Malaita, Rennell (Mungava) and Bellona (Mungiki), San Cristobal (Makira), Santa Catalina (Owariki), Santa Ana (Owaraha), Santa Cruz Islands, Anuta, Suva, Hull (Orona) and Sydney (Manra) Islands, arriving back in San Francisco six months later, on 15 September (Figure 11.3). Although Polynesian outliers were at the centre of the expedition's scientific goals, many other locations were visited on the way to Rennell and Bellona and back, offering opportunities for additional research in the field of natural history and mass medical examination (Figure 11.4).

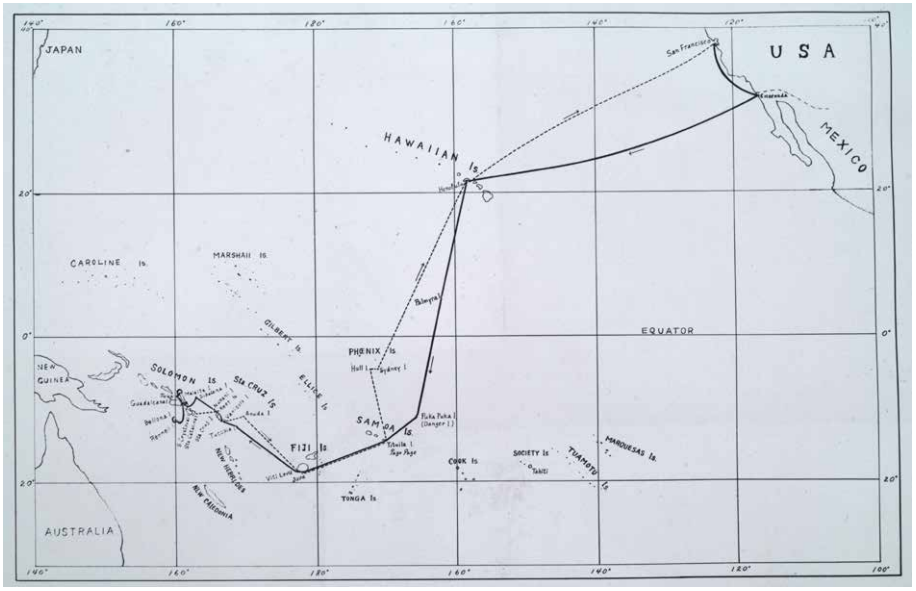


Figure 11.3. Map retracing the journey of the Zaca, presumably drawn by Toshio Asaeda. Osaka, National Museum of Ethnology archives (X0076522). © Osaka, National Museum of Ethnology.



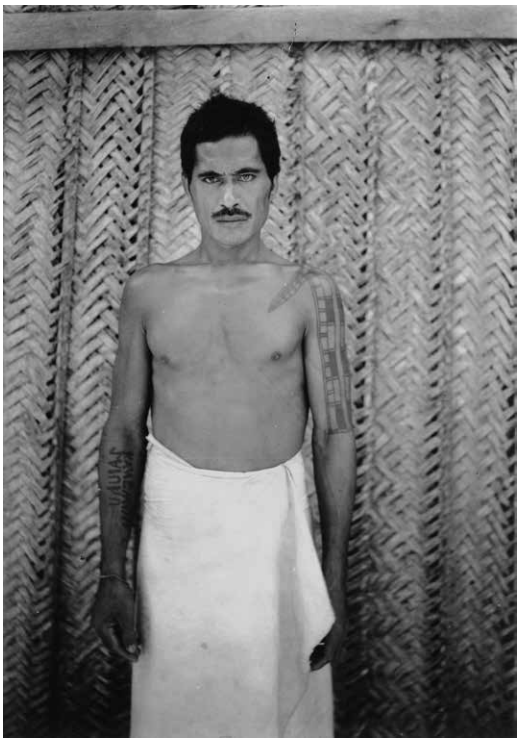
Figure 11.4. Women lining up for a medical inspection organized by the Templeton Crocker expedition, Malaita. Photograph by Toshio Asaeda, probably May 1933. Courtesy of Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, P.3248.ACH1.

It is estimated that in the course of the expedition, Templeton Crocker and his team amassed a collection of approximately 3,200 ethnological objects,[273] and 1,400 images,[274] as well as sound recordings and films.[275]

Templeton Crocker photographs at the MAA

There are at least 800 images associated with Templeton Crocker's 1933 expedition at the MAA. These images appear on a wide range of media, from prints (including duplicates and cropped images) to lanternslides. A few negatives are likely to be copy negatives made from a print to facilitate further reproduction. It is estimated that the MAA cares for approximately 700 *unique* (not original) images, many of which will also exist in other institutions.

Approximately half of the Templeton Crocker images from the Solomon Islands in the care of the MAA show people (c.360), some including a face and side view of the same individual (Figures 11.5 and 11.6). Such types of representation are not uncommon in ethnographic museums. As early as the 1870s, anthropometric photography was used to 'capture' a representation of foreign people in an attempt to extend research beyond the field and extract valuable information on the evolution of peoples across the globe.[276] Quickly, the method was laid out in practical terms to facilitate its systematic implementation in different field contexts and maximize



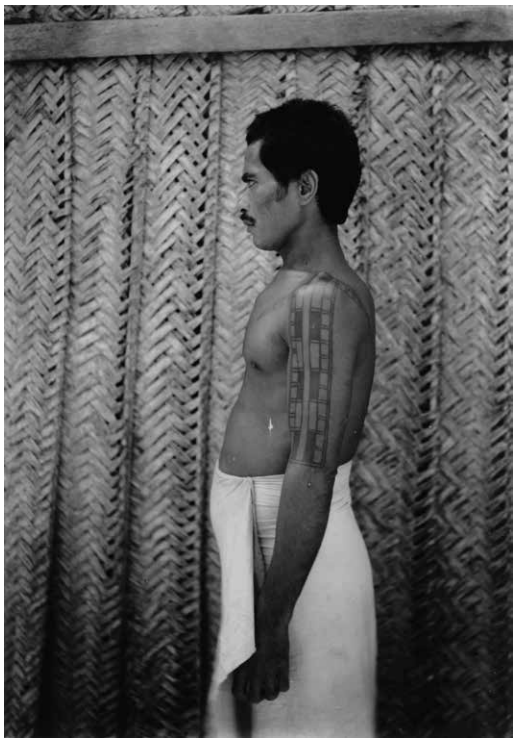


Figure 11.5 (left) and Figure 11.6 (right). Man with tattoo Man with tattoo on arms, front and side, Sikaiana, Solomon Islands. Photograph by Toshio Asaeda, May 1933. Courtesy of Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, P.4214.ACH1 and P.4215.ACH1.

its benefit to the wider research community.[277] Recommendation included the use of a neutral background and scales and advocated that the individuals stood straight, hands along the body, expressionless.[278] Some of the photographs made by Asaeda in the first few weeks of the expedition suggest that he had been briefed about – or was familiar with – the requirements of anthropometric photography. In Sikaiana, some of the individuals photographed stood in front of a woven house wall, displaying little or no expression. There was, however, already a great lack of consistency in the framing of the body (some people photographed to the knees, others to the hips), in the neutrality of expression and in the amount of dress worn by the individual depicted. I would thus argue that while the expedition remained concerned with anthropometric measurements – that Macgregor recorded on paper (Figure 11.7) – photography was not employed as an essential or systematic scientific complement.

Within weeks, the images produced by Asaeda did not address any of the scientific ideals and needs of anthropometry. Instead of seeking neutrality of background, the photographer played with the depth of field to make the individual stand out or relate to her/his surroundings (Figures 11.8 and 11.9). Most people photographed looked straight into the camera, displaying a great range of emotions and attitudes. While the photographer may have 'directed' each individual to stand in a certain place, or in a certain way, it is clear that in most photographs, people have been given control over their body posture and facial expressions (Figure 11.10). The photographs made by Asaeda evinced an increased artistic re-appropriation of the anthropometric tool and a growing presence and control of the people depicted. Although still described

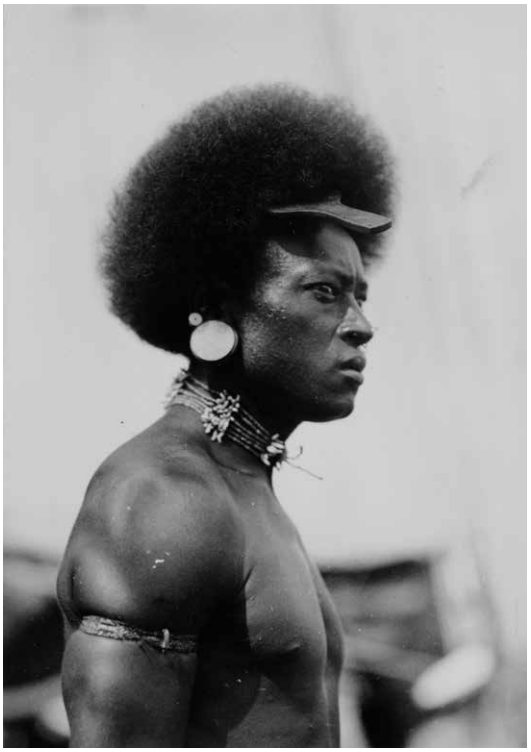


Figure 11.7. 'At the tent Macgregor was busy on measuring natives', Bellona. Photograph by Toshio Asaeda, 18-23 June 1933. Osaka, National Museum of Ethnology archives (X0077083). © Osaka, National Museum of Ethnology.









as representations of 'human types' by the expedition members,[279] the photographs had become portraits, depicting individuality and character. Separated from the now missing anthropometric measurements recorded by Macgregor,[280] they would have held very little scientific potential (Figure 11.11).

The shift is particularly visible on the set of photographs made on Rennell Island. Although the expedition's visit was short – 5 to 17 June 1933 – two factors contributed to making it extremely productive: familiarity and language. The Rennellese remembered Lambert who had spent several weeks there in 1930. His presence on the *Zaca* helped establish trust between Islanders and crew. Similarly, Macgregor's ability to converse in Polynesian languages meant that needs, restrictions and expectations could be more clearly heard by both parties.[281] Unexpectedly, it also blurred the boundaries between familiar and foreign, opening doors for Macgregor (and at times other crew members) to be introduced to sacred and secret sites and knowledge.

The images currently in the MAA's collection are valuable ethnographic, historical and artistic records of the Templeton Crocker expedition, which – as highlighted previously – are the product of both the expedition's research agenda and the specific focus of a photographer. Very few images, relative to the collection as a whole, engage with the landscape, the architecture or the material culture of the communities encountered during the expedition. Emphasis is placed on the depiction of people, of all ages and social status, but canoes too seemed to have captured the interest of the expedition. Over 200 images depict canoes – in the water, on land, details of lashing or engineering, shelters and houses, *etc.* (Figure 11.12). While such a theme may tie in with the expedition's goal to investigate migration patterns, or with Templeton Crocker's personal interest in navigation, another element is worth some consideration. Since 1932, Templeton Crocker had been in touch with Louis Clarke, then director of the MAA, who introduced him to influential Cambridge anthropologist Alfred Cort Haddon (then retired, and honorary curator for the MAA's New Guinea collections), mentioning his interest in canoes and his forthcoming publication on the topic.[282] The three men met for the first time in Cambridge on 13 February 1933. Aware of Templeton Crocker's upcoming expedition to the Solomon Islands, Clarke expressed interest in acquiring examples of Indigenous currency – of which he obtained many pieces in 1934.[283] Haddon must have made his personal interest equally clear, for Templeton Crocker reported in August 1933 that he had been able to do some work for him on canoes.[284] Many of the photographs and a few sketches made by Asaeda informed the arguments developed by

Figure 11.8 (opposite page, above left) and Figure 11.9 (opposite page, above right). Tattooed chief, front and side, Bellona. Photograph by Toshio Asaeda, June 1933. Courtesy of Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, P.4255.ACH1 and P.4256.ACH1.

Figure 11.10 (opposite page, below, left). Two tattooed women, Rennell. The marks on their forehead indicate that they are widows. Photograph by Toshio Asaeda, June 1933. Courtesy of Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, P.4386.ACH1.

Figure 11.11 (opposite page, below, right). Man on board the Zaca, Santa Catalina. Photograph by Toshio Asaeda, late June or early July 1933. Courtesy of Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, P.3131.ACH1.



Figure 11.12. Fishing canoes, Tikopia. Photograph by Toshio Asaeda, probably 5 May 1933. The annotations, made by A.C. Haddon refer to the inclusion of the image into the Tikopian section of his book, Canoes of Oceania (vol. II). It was published as figure 35, not 34 as anticipated. Courtesy of Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, P.60730.ACH2.

Haddon in *Canoes of Oceania* and some were even used as illustrations. There is thus a real correlation between the set of objects, images and drawings presented to Cambridge and the demands of the Museum prior to the expedition.

Other collections of photographs from the 1933 expedition

Was the expedition undertaken with other institutions in mind? At the Bishop Museum, the promise of having first pick of the ethnographic collections assembled certainly influenced the Museum's decision to allow anthropologist Macgregor to join the party. The Bishop Museum played an important part in the assemblage and division of the object collection,[285] but did not seem to be involved with the processing of the photographs, which are only acknowledged in passing as a 'large set of photographs, the work of Mr Toshio Asaeda'.[286] The 'set' is in fact an album, recording the chronological unfolding of the expedition. It contains just over 150 photographs made in the Solomon Islands, half of which are portraits and a quarter canoe-related. While 40 images at the Bishop Museum are not present at the MAA, the others were given identical reference numbers and similar captions in both institutions, suggesting the existence of a master list of numbered, pre-written captions from which Templeton Crocker drew (Figure 11.13). Interestingly, he provided the Bishop Museum with an album – a curated, organized ensemble telling a story in a particular way – while he had sent the MAA a set of loose prints explaining that 'I have not attempted to have them put in an album as you probably will prefer to arrange them your own way'.[287]



Figure 11.13. Tattooed legs of a woman of high status, Rennell. Caption at MAA as 'Tattoo on woman's legs. White Sands. Kunggava Bay' and at the Bishop Museum as 'Tattoo of a woman's leg, back view. Rennell Island, Solomon Group'. Photograph by Toshio Asaeda, June 1933. Courtesy of Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, P.4410.ACH1.

What Templeton Crocker's decision suggests is a distinction between a narrative of the *expedition* told at the Bishop Museum through an album, and a *body of data*, flexible enough to be articulated by and tailored to the MAA through its academic activities. Intriguingly, pencil and pen annotations in the Honolulu album give additional registration numbers and suggest that some of the images were duplicated, or that additional copies had been given by Templeton Crocker or Macgregor and provided the institution with more flexible options.

Another aspect unfolds in Paris, where Templeton Crocker sent a set of photographs in June 1934. Incorporated into the collection of the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro, and later into the photothèque of the Musée de l'Homme, these photographs were gradually mounted on card and provided with shortened and revised versions of the captions sent by Templeton Crocker.[288] Figure 11.14 is a case in point: in the caption given to the MAA, Templeton Crocker identified the man photographed as the brother of the chief, a man whose high status was confirmed by the extensive coverage of his body with tattoos. In Paris, the identity of the individual had been erased, creating a human type defined by the decoration of his chest. Many of the French captions associated with the photographs were re-taxonomized, transforming the expedition in a succession of types: human, architectural or navigational. The photothèque at the Musée de l'Homme was used for scientific research, exhibition, teaching and commercial purposes prompting the creation of new negatives made from the prints facilitating further duplication on varied supports.

In Asaeda's homeland of Japan, the National Museum of Ethnology (Minpaku) cares for a large collection of images made during the 1933 expedition. The set is part of a larger body of work concerned with Asaeda's life and artistic achievements which was donated to the Museum by his family in 1986.[289] Of particular interest is a series of three

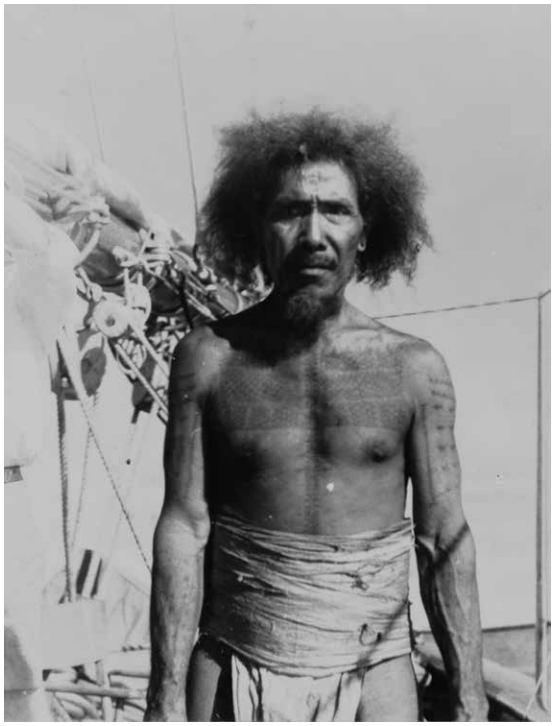


Figure 11.14. 'Fully tattooed man. The brother of the chief' as captioned at MAA, titled 'Homme à la poitrine tatouée' in Paris, Tikopia. Photograph by Toshio Asaeda, probably 5 May 1933. Courtesy of Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, (P.4168.ACH1) and Paris, Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac (PP0002186).

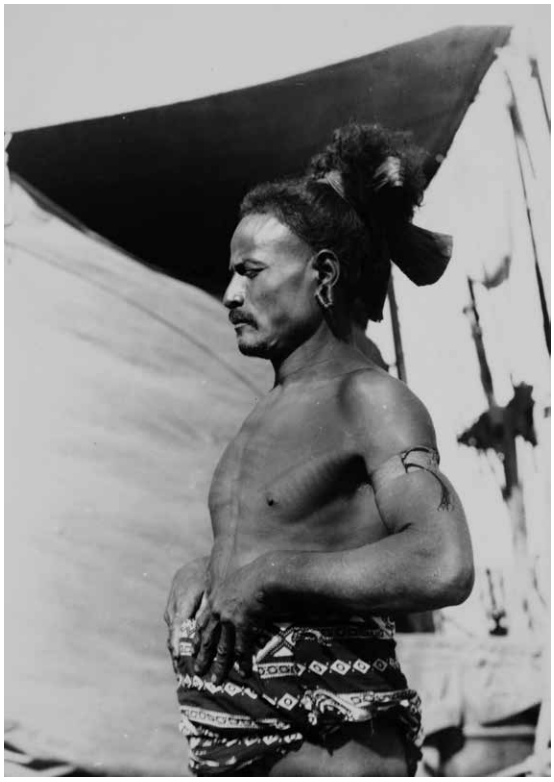


Figure 11.15. Man on board the Zaca, Rennell. Photograph by Toshio Asaeda, June 1933. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge (P.4349.ACH1), Paris, Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac (PP0002236), and Osaka, National Museum of Ethnology (X0076880).



Figure 11.16. Captain Pedersen being tattooed on the deck of the Zaca, Rennell. Photograph by Toshio Asaeda, June 1933. Osaka, National Museum of Ethnology (X0076910). © Osaka, National Museum of Ethnology.

albums bound in barkcloth, presumably assembled by the photographer. Organized chronologically the albums contain many images found in other institutions. What they offer, however, is unique: in addition to a clear timeline of the expedition, some of the photos are accompanied by captions written by Asaeda himself (in English), and referring to his personal memories or interests. Figure 11.15 exemplifies the different approaches to captioning hinted at here: in Cambridge, the image was simply described as 'Man. White Sands. Kunggava Bay'. In Paris, he was recorded as a 'Type of man [?] slanted eyes'.[290] In Osaka, the image is titled: 'His name is Panio'.[291]

The narrative developed through the Minpaku's albums is not one driven by a scientific vision but shaped by a scientific process, as Asaeda's work was presumably guided by the needs and expectations of his academic colleagues. For that reason, perhaps, his albums are valuable in their ability to make the expedition's research methods visible. A number of photographs (see Figure 11.7) depict the crew at work. They remind the viewer of the scientific mission and anthropometric concerns of the expedition, but also of Asaeda's extraordinary ability to re-introduce individuality in what is a depersonalizing process of data crunching. Other images reveal more intimate moments shared between Islanders and crew (Figure 11.16) and highlight the *Zaca* as a liminal space where Islanders and visitors alike were relieved of some of the restrictions and responsibilities imparted to them on land. Interestingly, these working photos were carefully edited out of the sets sent to Cambridge, Paris or Honolulu. They currently only exist in Asaeda's personal albums and in the exhaustive archives of the CAS.

Conclusion

In 1996, 63 years after the expedition and a decade after Asaeda's family presented his collection to the Minpaku, Lawrence Kiko, government archaeologist at the National Museum of the Solomon Islands in Honiara, undertook a curatorial course in Osaka. During his visit, he assisted the staff at the Minpaku in identifying some of the documents received in 1986 and was able to copy 215 prints, which were brought back to Honiara and are kept in the Library of the Museum. In 2001, the Museum received an additional series of 56 prints – some duplicates of images already copied in 1996 – 'donated to the people of the Solomon Islands by Luther Greene' and copyrighted to the CAS. These two collections numbered 243 images in total, none of which were provided with captions, or information on locations, dates or context. In their 'raw' state, they remain(ed) invisible to the people of the Solomon Islands and difficult for the Museum to deploy in its galleries or as part of its cultural activities.

While most museum professionals recognize the necessity of deploying collections with as much information, data and contextualization as possible, it is important to acknowledge the fact that the very information, data and contextualization provided needs to be engaged with carefully. The presence of data can indeed be as problematic as its absence. All the distinctive photographic sets examined in the course of this research have been informative in highlighting *specific* aspects of the expedition, as

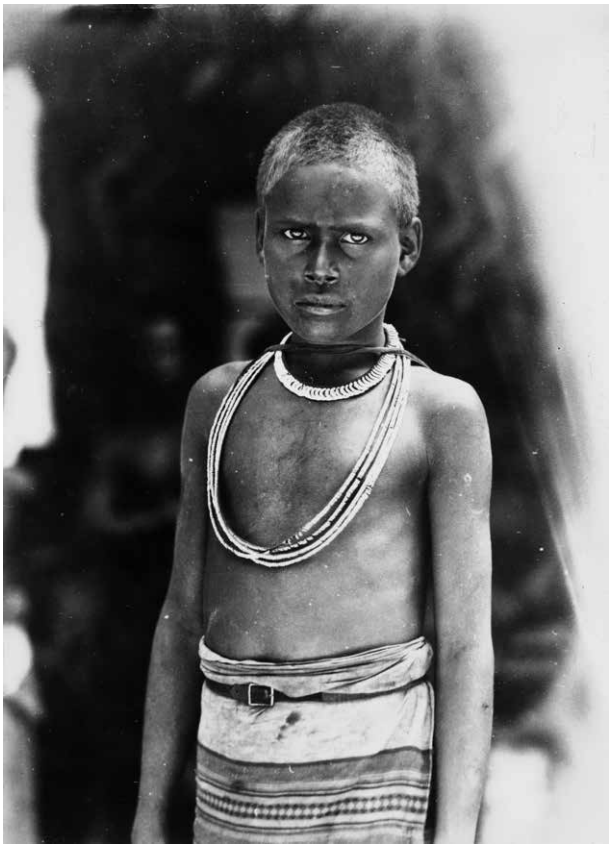


Figure 11.17. North Malaita Boy. One of only two photographs encountered in all institutions examined for this research: Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge (P.3262. ACH1), Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac in Paris (PP0002298), National Museum of Ethnology in Osaka (X0076836), Bishop Museum in Honolulu (IDNO unknown); California Academy of Sciences in San Francisco (IDNO unknown) and National Museum of the Solomon Islands in Honiara (no IDNO known, two copies, one from the Osaka collection, the other from the CAS). Courtesy of Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, P.3262.ACH1.

well as *particular* institutional interests (Figure 11.17). However, none, no matter how extensive or articulated, has proved sufficient to engage with the multi-faceted aspects of the expedition. In Cambridge, Paris and Honolulu, the sets were aimed at scientific use – depersonalized and taxonomized – turned into samples that could be isolated or assembled to fit the institutions' needs, and mobilized in a variety of ways, from teaching to display. At the opposite end of the spectrum in Osaka, the collection of photographs is embedded in a dual narrative driven by both professional duty and personal journey of discovery.

In relation to Templeton Crocker's 1933 expedition to the Solomon Islands, there are undoubtedly many other macro- and micro- narratives to uncover and much work to be done to properly investigate those briefly highlighted here. What this chapter aimed to highlight was not the detail of the voyage but to draw attention to the partiality of the interpretation that would result from engaging with a single museum collection as a closed sample. While private documents are commonly understood as highly personal and reflective of individual narratives, museums are generally perceived as neutral spaces receiving and generating 'samples' that are more scientific, academic and impartial – perhaps because of the systematic processes set in motion to acquire, record and deploy the collections under their care. However, re-considering museum collections as partial, loaded and constructed samples is essential to the process of photographic elicitation and digital repatriation. By taking into account and – when necessary – challenging the authoritative voice generally granted to (and claimed for) museums, new, revised and overlapping narratives can emerge and compose a picture that is more complex, more nuanced, shifting and multi-authored than at first glance.[292]

CHAPTER 12

German women collectors in the Pacific: Elizabeth Krämer-Bannow and Antonie Brandeis

AMIRIA SALMOND

~

Standard histories of anthropology focus on men's achievements, reinforcing the idea of early ethnographic practice as an exclusively male domain. This is despite extensive and widely available evidence in museums and archives that many of those who conducted fieldwork, formed collections, and published books and articles in the subject's fledgling period were women. These mainly amateur scholars took advantage of opportunities to participate in scientific research that opened around the turn of the twentieth century during the discipline's emergent phase, prior to its widespread acceptance as a legitimate academic subject and progressive institutionalization.

As in other 'new sciences' such as archaeology and Egyptology, educated middle-class women carved out space alongside male colleagues in which to pursue distinctive intellectual agenda (the fact they were often married to a colleague was a significant but not always defining factor). Around 1900, at a time when access to these learned circles at least required no particular formal training or qualifications, women ethnographers were among those able to capitalize on the new priority given to individual experience over armchair speculation.[293] Like missionaries, traders and colonial officials who encountered different peoples at first hand, instead of merely reading about them in published works by tourists and travellers, these women found their impressions of native life in different places invested with a novel social and intellectual capital on which they could draw to advance certain ends. While their authorship was often obscured, typically being subsumed to that of a husband, many women did publish and exhibit ethnographic material under their own name. Yet it is the striking degree to which their contributions are so evident in archival and museum collections that begs questions as to why so little of these women's work has been acknowledged and delivered as such to posterity.

When it comes to the Pacific, it might be tempting to argue that while early women ethnographers' roles have been downplayed, the renown of later iconic figures like Margaret Mead has worked to rebalance the picture. Yet, as Ruth Behar pointed out in *Women Writing Culture*,[294] even Mead's work has often been dismissed as romantic

and populist by male colleagues seeking to link her publications to an alternative 'women's tradition' of ethnographic writing[295] 'associated with the 'untrained' wives of anthropologists'. Even today, some of the most prominent women ethnographers have had to work hard to emerge from the shadows of colleague-husbands; and it is telling that marriages did not always survive a woman's ascent into the sunlight of professional recognition. It is also true that women remain considerably less likely than men to gain tenure and to be promoted in a discipline that nonetheless prides itself on its inclusive politics.[296]

Antonie Brandeis and Elizabeth Krämer-Bannow are just two of a significant but as-yet uncounted number of women who were active in the Pacific around the turn of the twentieth century as amateur and professional ethnographers. Brandeis, married to a colonial officer, developed a profound interest in Micronesian customs, material culture and mythology during five years in the Marshall Islands between 1898 and 1906. She systematically assembled a collection of several hundred ethnographic artefacts now in the Freiburg Museum Natur und Mensch which was accompanied by a detailed descriptive and photographically illustrated inventory,[297] and published four articles on ethnographic topics before 1908. Yet she is remembered primarily as the author of a *Cookbook for the Tropics* (1907), and as an active member of the German Women's Colonial Society who helped establish a Colonial School for Women in Rendsburg in the 1920s.

Krämer-Bannow (Figure 12.1) spent more than two years between 1906 and 1910 conducting both survey- and long-term fieldwork in the Pacific with her husband Augustin Krämer, now regarded as one of the 'founding fathers' of German anthropology. A gifted artist and photographer, she was employed as an official team member on two of the three research expeditions in which she took part, during all of which she pursued her own ethnographic interests. Together she and her husband produced and documented vast typological collections of ethnographica which helped found the Linden Museum in Stuttgart and the Ethnological Museum of the University of Tübingen. She exhibited paintings and photography in Germany and published two articles and a book,[298] but her role as her husband's research partner was never fully recognized, either during her lifetime or long after. Research by Anna Pytlik, Volker Harms and Sven Mönter has, however, more recently demonstrated the indispensability of her contribution to her husband's reputation and achievements, as well as the importance of her work in its own right.[299]

These women, like many others, made significant scholarly contributions to the emergent discipline of anthropology in the early twentieth century. While a few publications have sought to bring the work of such figures out of the shadows to which they have otherwise largely been consigned by disciplinary histories,[300] the distinctive roles played by particular women within the early discipline demands further examination. In the case of Brandeis and Krämer-Bannow, most of the limited literature on them has for obvious reasons been published in German, so an aim here is to bring knowledge of their careers to a wider, Anglophone, audience. In drawing special attention to their collecting, and to the importance of collections in this period more generally, a focus is simultaneously trained on the (gendered) relations



Figure 12.1. Elisabeth Krämer-Bannow in her early 30s, at the time of the South Sea Expedition. Photograph from the 'Allgemeines' Expedition volume, 1927. Reproduced with permission of the Museum für Völkerkunde Hamburg.

through which such assemblages were produced, adding to the broader literature on ethnographic field collecting and its complex legacies for museums and Indigenous peoples.

Antonie Thawka Brandeis (1868 – c.1942)

Margarete Brüll's research on the history of the Freiburg Völkerkunde Museum's Pacific collections sheds important light on Antonie Brandeis's ethnographic legacy.[301] In studying the origins of a substantial group of objects from Micronesia, donated in 1900 and 1901 in the name of Eugen Brandeis, Brüll discovered correspondence in the Freiburg town archives demonstrating that the collection was in fact put together, documented and dispatched direct from Jaluit by Brandeis' wife Antonie, and that he himself had little if anything to do with its assembly.

Upon Brandeis' appointment as Acting Chief Administrator of the Marshall Islands in 1898, the Director of the Freiburg museum, Hugo Ficke, wrote to him with a request for ethnographic objects to enhance the Museum's collections. (Ficke was aware the colonial officer had been born in Freiburg and had attended its renowned university.) Brandeis responded positively, but cautioned that 'almost everything from the region has unfortunately [already] been taken', adding that while he himself had little opportunity to collect, his wife was nonetheless already 'eagerly acquiring suitable artefacts for the museum'. When Ficke wrote back, effusively thanking him for his kind assistance, Brandeis responded with his own request not to make any official acknowledgement as

> I myself have taken no trouble over it; my wife, who also drafted the labelling and the inventory following in special envelopes, has put together an even more complete collection of local jewellery for you, while Ludwig Kaiser, the District Commissioner on the island of Nauru, made the effort to collect the Nauru artefacts enclosed.

Despite this apparently modest gesture, Eugen Brandeis was officially thanked by the city of Freiburg for the donation. It is his name carved into the marble plaque at the Museum's entrance, and inscribed in the Museum's register as the author and donor of the collection.[302]

Brüll notes that one could regard the marginalization of Antonie Brandeis' contribution as simply typical of the period, and irrelevant to the importance of her collection. Yet the descriptions she sent to accompany the objects, Brüll argues, demonstrate that Brandeis took herself seriously as an ethnologist and put considerable thought into the collection's internal coherence and relational integrity. When she returned to Berlin for a rest period without her husband in 1901, furthermore, Antonie herself wrote to Ficke, asking for a transcript of the list she had compiled of 'my collection', because she wanted to use the time in Germany to study ethnology. She had already published an article about the Marshall Islands in a colonial magazine, and would go on to put out three further pieces on mythology and customs in Nauru and the south Pacific, at least one of which appeared in an ethnological publication.[303]

Antonie Brandeis was disposed to take an interest in cultural difference through the unusual circumstances of her own background. Her mother, Emily Ruete (Figure 12.2), was born Sayyida Salama (Salmé) bint Sa'id Al-Sa'id, a princess of Oman and Zanzibar



Figure 12.2. Emily Ruete (Princess Sayyida Salama [Salmé] bint Sa'id Al-Sa'id) (Or. 27.135 D 1). Reproduced with the permission of Leiden University Library.

and daughter of the Sultan Sa'id ibn Sultan Al Bu-Sa'id and one of his secondary wives, Jilfidân, a Circassian concubine. Born in the Bet il Mtoni Palace near Zanzibar City in 1844, Salmé eloped as a young woman with a German merchant, Rudolph Heinrich Ruete, and spent much of the rest of her life in Germany. Aside from raising a family, she wrote prolifically, gaining international renown for her *Memoirs of an Arabian Princess from Zanzibar*, first published in German in 1886 and soon translated into several languages.[304] In her writings Antonie's mother reflected at length and with an eye for ethnographic detail on the many differences of habit and customs between the places in which she had lived. Staying together with her daughter for a time in Jaffa and in Beirut after the untimely death of Antonie's father, she wrote a short piece on *Syrian Customs and Usages*,[305] for example, and it was no doubt under her tutelage that Antonie's interest in the young discipline of ethnology was awakened.

The collection Antonie carefully assembled for the Freiburg Museum comprises a range of artefacts more-or-less typical of Pacific collections from the colonial period, including weapons, tools, household implements, fishing equipment, items for food gathering and preparation, clothing and personal adornment, mats, and examples of weaving and plaiting at various stages of completion. Notable are the model of a war canoe (Figure 12.3) made and presented as a personal gift to Antonie's husband by the Samoan chief Mata'afa (who was their neighbour during the latter's exile to the Marshall Islands), and some fine examples of Marshallese weaving, including square mats with elaborate geometrical borders (Figure 12.4) as well as samples of raw materials and in-progress technical demonstrations. Notwithstanding its good range of textile artefacts, however, this does not especially stand out as a woman's collection. Unlike the group of objects sold to the Freiburg museum by Lothario Müller, a Catholic nun who was stationed as a school teacher on the Palau Islands from 1909-1913, for instance – which focuses exclusively on women's crafts and personal adornments – the Brandeis collection contains weapons as well as tools and other equipment associated with men's activities.

As Brüll notes, Brandeis sent photographic illustrations to accompany her collection showing artefacts in use, along with vivid descriptions of the work and living conditions of the Marshall Islanders, in accounts that referred to specific donated items. Under the heading 'Housing', for instance, she described the manner in which houses were constructed, the difference between various house forms, and the division of labour between men and women, all in relation to the hooks, needles and the model of a chief's house she had collected. Similar accounts are given of Marshallese clothing, food, activities and household furniture.[306] Brüll further draws attention to the way that Brandeis does not overemphasize the more exotic aspects of Marshallese life, including in her descriptions changes in clothing associated with colonization and the negative impact of these on Islanders' health, for example, as well as the fact that household furniture often included sewing machines and petroleum lamps alongside more traditional items.

Brüll attributes Antonie's refusal to submit to the social conventions that normally ruled the lives of 'white women in the colonies' to her background, in particular her experiences of different cultures gleaned through accompanying her mother to her homeland of Zanzibar and the Middle East. This did not prevent her, Brüll notes, from however 'sometimes expressing the typically superior attitudes of white colonists' in her published writings.[307] While rehabilitating Brandeis as a woman in the male-dominated



Figure 12.3. Model war canoe (II/0657), built ca. 1898 by the Samoan chief Mata'afa Iosefo during his exile in the Marshall Islands, and presented as a gift to Eugen Brandeis. Photograph courtesy of the Museum Natur und Mensch – Ethnologische Sammlung – Städtische Museen Freiburg.



Figure 12.4. Marshallese mat with elaborate geometrical borders (II/1254) collected by Antonie Brandeis between 1898 and 1900. Author's research photograph, reproduced with permission of the Museum Natur und Mensch – Ethnologische Sammlung – Städtische Museen Freiburg.

field of ethnology, therefore, Brüll's account risks obscuring another aspect of Antonie's personhood, namely her complex position as a woman of colour occupying a privileged position within a repressive colonial regime. Her husband Eugen Brandeis was renowned by this time for bringing the full weight of imperial power to bear on recalcitrant Indigenous subjects. Following a long career punctuated by punitive raids and the escalating use of flogging as a punishment, he was eventually forced to retire on grounds of brutality against the Islanders. The couple separated in 1923; it is not known whether Eugen's conduct in his professional life was connected to the failure of their marriage.

Elisabeth Krämer-Bannow (1874-1945)

Like Antonie Brandeis, Elisabeth Krämer-Bannow's ethnological pursuits were made possible through the position of her husband. Whereas Brandeis married a colonial officer towards the end of his career, whose attitude towards her activities was one of benign indulgence, Krämer-Bannow found herself engaged in 1903 to a scholar still approaching the zenith of his professional achievements, who welcomed the enhancement of his own productivity through his wife's curiosity and talents.

A gifted artist who became an accomplished photographer and writer, Krämer-Bannow was also her husband's chief collaborator and research partner, accompanying him on all three of the field expeditions he undertook after their marriage and supporting every aspect of his work, from research to teaching and publication. The couple never had children, and Elisabeth was thus able to direct her energies towards underwriting her husband's successful career. Yet until recently, the significant contribution she made to Augustin Krämer's considerable reputation and accomplishments remained unrecognized, and her life and achievements were in danger of fading into obscurity. Only in 1997, some 50 years after her death, was a dedicated study made of her life and work, in the German language monograph *Träume im Tropenlicht: Forscherinnen auf Reisen* by Anna Pytlik, focused on Krämer-Bannow and another early woman ethnologist, Marie-Pauline Thorbecke, who was active in Africa.[308]

Then, in 2004, Volker Harms published an article on the Krämers' private collection at the Ethnological Museum of Tübingen University, which emphasized Elisabeth's role both in relation to the collection and to her husband's career. Writing of the three voyages Krämer made to the Pacific in her company, for instance, he notes that from the beginning of the marriage 'it is no longer possible to speak of the researcher-collector Augustin Krämer in the singular, but rather only of the husband-and-wife Krämer research partnership'.[309] Harms goes on to point out that, while Krämer did acknowledge his wife's contribution in various forewords and preliminaries, it was his name that appeared as the sole author of publications on which they had both laboured. In this sense, insufficient consideration was paid to Elisabeth's work, and especially to the fact that she not only graphically documented their field research and illustrated their publications but also actively pursued her own research (Figure 12.5).[310] Krämer himself seems to have recognized a certain lack of due credit, writing in the Foreword to the first of the Palau volumes:

> Not only were drawing and painting her field; in studying the lives of women, too–their work, economy, cooking skills etc.–I owe her so much that some chapters should really appear under her name.[311]

Yet – in contrast to that of Antonie Brandeis – Krämer-Bannow's scholarly activity did not go entirely unrecognized in her own lifetime. Her popular travelogue of their New Ireland sojourn, *Bei kunstsinnigen Kannibalen der Südsee* (1916), was favourably reviewed by members of the women's movement and by ethnologists who praised her descriptions of native life 'from a female perspective'.[312] The Pacific expedition leader and prominent anthropologist Felix von Luschan may have been dismissive, describing the book as *anspruchslos* (lowbrow or unambitious), a characteristic he attributed to



Figure 12.5. Elisabeth Krämer-Bannow at work in the field on Palau. Photograph reproduced with permission of the Museum für Völkerkunde Hamburg.

a desire on Elisabeth's part not to prejudice her husband's publications.[313] But others were clearly impressed by her abilities, as evidenced not least by her appointment as a paid official member of the research teams that undertook the Deutsche Marine Expedition of 1908 to 1909 and the Hamburger Südsee Expedition of 1909-1910.[314]

Like Harms and Pytlik, Sven Mönter has drawn attention to Krämer-Bannow's role alongside her husband as a producer as well as collector of images, ethnographic information, and artefacts. He notes that her research deliberately complemented that of her husband, focusing on weaving, plaitwork and binding, as well as on *Frauenfragen* (women's questions).[315] Elisabeth herself indeed reflected on how gender affected her ability to cultivate relations in the field, writing that her painting and drawing activities allowed local women, whom she considered very reserved, to become accustomed to her presence to the point where they would eventually strike up conversations. These often concerned techniques of women's handcraft, and through a combination of sign language and practical demonstration she was able to learn a good deal about the names and construction methods used to produce different kinds of woven and basketry objects.[316] The longer-term fieldwork she conducted with her husband in Palau, combined with their aesthetic regard for local artforms (particularly the island's ornately painted housefronts), seems also to have facilitated a degree of intimacy and fellow-feeling with locals that was not attained during brief survey-type visits. Whereas she routinely used the demeaning term 'Weiber' to describe New Ireland women, for instance, those on Palau were systematically referred to more respectfully as 'Frauen'.[317]



Figure 12.6. Fine fabric strips (tah) from the island of Tobi, collected by Elisabeth Krämer-Bannow. Author's research photograph, reproduced with kind permission of the Ethnological Collection of Tübingen University.

These gendered relationships are manifest in the Krämers' widely dispersed collections, the bulk of which are now held in institutions in Tübingen, Stuttgart and Hamburg. At Tübingen for instance, among some 830 Pacific objects from the Krämers' private collection are a series of plaited mats as well as fine fabric strips called *tah* from the island of Tobi, intricately woven on backstrap looms with elaborate geometrical patterns (Figure 12.6). Volker Harms, for many years curator of the Ethnological Institute's collection, maintains that these would have been personally collected by Elisabeth, whom he notes was also substantially responsible for publications on weaving that appeared under her husband's name.[318] Tübingen too holds a large number of Elisabeth's glass-plate slides and negatives, several of which depict women and girls, and a small number of watercolours and drawings. Most items acquired in an official capacity by the couple during the Hamburger Südsee Expedition were of course deposited in Hamburg, whereas much Samoan material (mostly collected by Augustin Krämer prior to his marriage) is held at the Linden Museum in Stuttgart. Krämer-Bannow's New Ireland fieldnotes are at the Ethnological Institute of the University of Göttingen.[319]

CHAPTER 13

The illustration of culture: work on paper in the art history of Oceania

NICHOLAS THOMAS

~

In the mid-1990s, the fields of Indigenous art history and Oceanic art history were marked by a landmark discovery and a landmark publication. The discovery was made by Harold B. Carter, the biographer of Joseph Banks, who came across a late allusion in Banks' correspondence that resolved one of the mysteries aired but not resolved by Rüdiger Joppien and Bernard Smith in their magnificent catalogue raisonnée, *The Art of Captain Cook's Voyages* (1985-1987). The first volume of that set, dedicated to the voyage of the *Endeavour,* reproduced a group of pencil and watercolour illustrations that were clearly not the work of any of the professionally-trained draughtsmen or artists on the ship. Joppien and Smith speculated that they might have been the work of Banks himself, but the letter uncovered by Carter made it clear that Tupaia, the priest, navigator and confidante of the prominent chiefly woman Purea, was the artist.[320] This finding immediately made sense, in the context of Tupaia's previously well-known authorship of a much-discussed map representative of Polynesian customary geographic and navigational knowledge, and in that of the priest's close interaction with Banks and his party, including his artists, over the duration of the visit to the Society Islands and subsequently.

The discovery of Tupaia's authorship moreover exemplified the zeitgeist of the moment: following the publication of inspiring works by Greg Dening, Marshall Sahlins and Anne Salmond, a new historical anthropology was emerging in the Pacific which foregrounded the fertility of cross-cultural encounter and the innovations early meetings generated. In particular, Tupaia's sketch of a European, thought to be Banks himself, engaged in exchange with a Māori man wearing a cloak – hence evidently a man of status – a sheet of paper and a crayfish passing between them became an icon of encounter and was widely reproduced in publications and otherwise (Figure 13.1).

Yet, as I have argued elsewhere, the most arresting feature of the sequence of works was not Tupaia's adoption of western media, materials and illustrative conventions. It was the fact that he embraced the descriptive, documentary register associated with the natural history of Banks' undertaking. For example, his 'scene in Tahiti', which shows canoes in the foreground, a house and a number of plants behind, carefully represents the architecture of canoes and the manner in which fighting-stages were employed (Figure 13.2). It depicts



Figure 13.1. Māori bartering a crayfish. Tupaia, 1769. Add. MS 15508, f.11. Copyright The British Library.



Figure 13.2. A scene in Tahiti. Tupaia, 1769. Add. MS 15508, f.14 no.12. Copyright The British Library.

not just any old trees but the species most prominent in the Tahitian useful flora: coconuts, breadfruit, pandanus and taro. Similarly, the works described as 'diagrammatic drawing[s] of marae' by Joppien and Smith delineate the structures – in one case the distinctive stepped structure of the Mahaiatea marea – of these ritual precincts and the presentation of sacrifices within model houses or shelters on posts within them. These works were therefore 'illustrations' rather than simply drawings.

The landmark publication referred to was Andrew Sayers' *Aboriginal Artists of the Nineteenth Century* (1994) a history and catalogue of the work then known of William Barak, Tommy McRae, Micky of Ulladulla and other Indigenous Australian artists who also worked on paper – variously employing ink, pencil and crayons – and who similarly adopted European illustrative conventions.[321] The exhibition Sayers curated at the National Gallery of Australia in 1994 gave this remarkable body of work unprecedented exposure. McRae's images of corroborees, European sailing ships in the background, some including William Buckley, a convict who had famously 'gone native', resonated with new interests in cross-cultural art history, colonial hybridity and related themes. Like Tupaia's scene of exchange, these works became iconic.

While both Tupaia's works and the later Indigenous Australian corpus have since been much discussed, it has not been recognized that there is a considerably more extensive corpus of cross-cultural illustration through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Early exemplars include works by the Māori Tuai and Titiree (made during their visit to England in 1818) in the Auckland Public Library. This essay draws attention to a more coherent group of works made by Islanders who interacted closely with professional ethnographers, including Haddon, Seligman, Hocart and Rivers, in the Torres Strait, Papua, and the western Solomon Islands respectively, at the end of the nineteenth century and in the opening years of the twentieth.

This text is concerned merely to point towards this corpus and suggest that it deserves sustained study. The existence of a range of drawings can be attributed to the interest of anthropologists in the period in drawing as an index of cultural evolution, cognitive orientation and a variety of other more or less dubious comparative questions. The terms of this interest are exemplified in a section of the famous guide to field inquiry, *Notes and Queries in Anthropology.* The 1899 edition included an extended section, which read in part:

> 1. Have the natives a natural aptitude for drawing? 2. Do they draw animals in preference to other subjects? Are the most conspicuous features such as the head, nose, &c. generally exaggerated? 4. Have they the least knowledge of perspective? … 9. Are the drawings: a. historical.., b. religious…, c. obscene… 14. Do they readily understand European drawings? 15. Do they show any aptitude for copying European designs?[322]

This is not to suggest that individual ethnographers such as Haddon and Hocart necessarily subscribed to the particular conceptual orientations. Nor, more importantly, does it suggest that Islander research collaborators simply acquiesced in this particular strand of colonial ethnological experimentation. Rather to the contrary, the works suggest that the fieldwork encounter was one which stimulated these local actors themselves. As

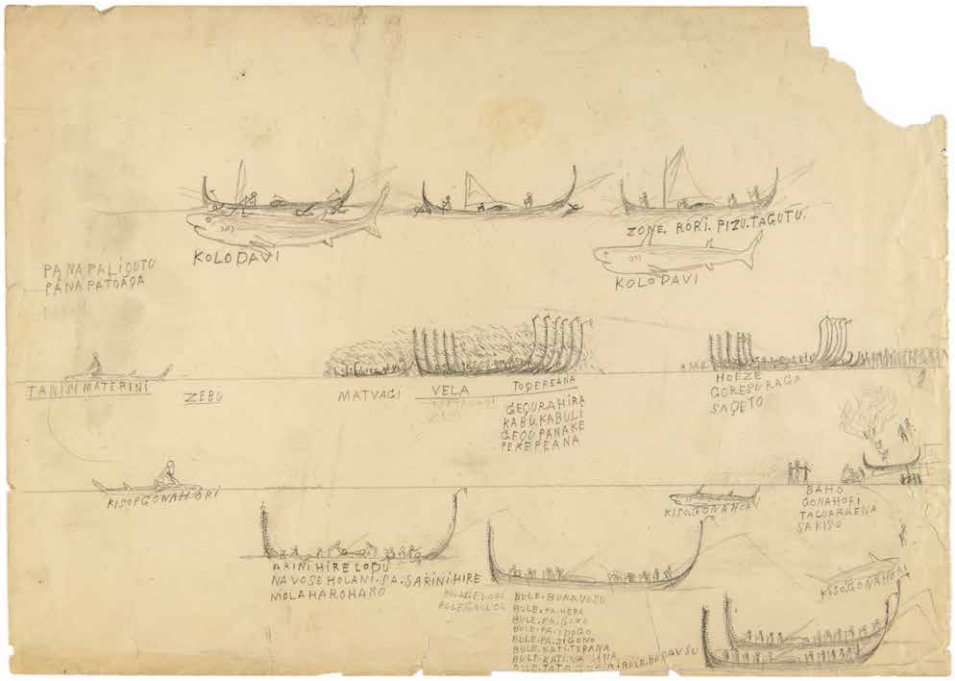


Figure 13.3. Canoes by Aqo, 1908. 2010.441. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge.

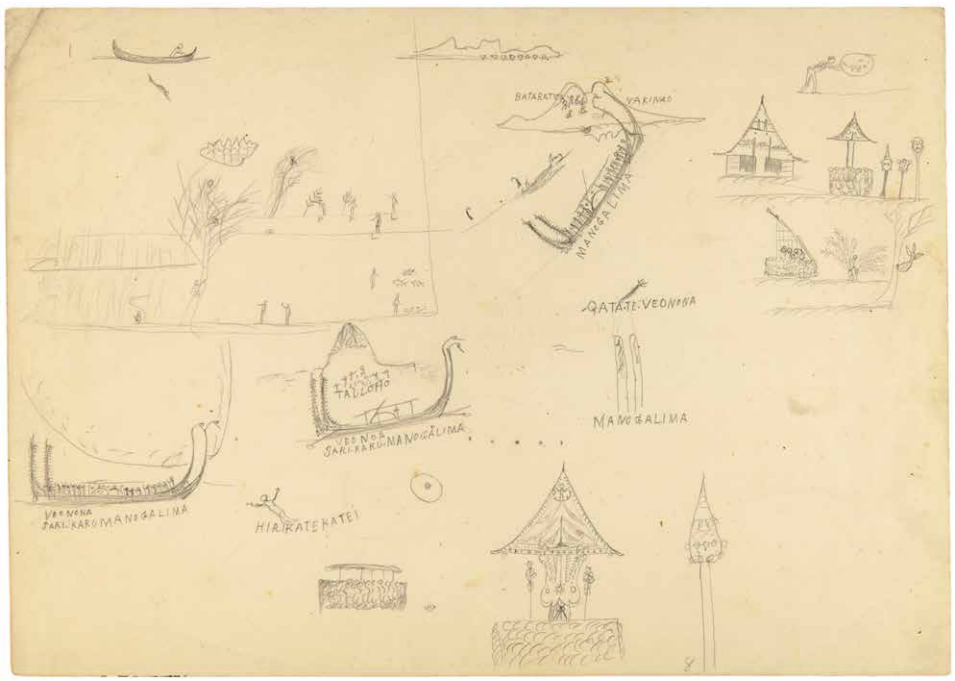


Figure 13.4. Canoes and building structures by Aqo, 1908. 2010.443. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge.

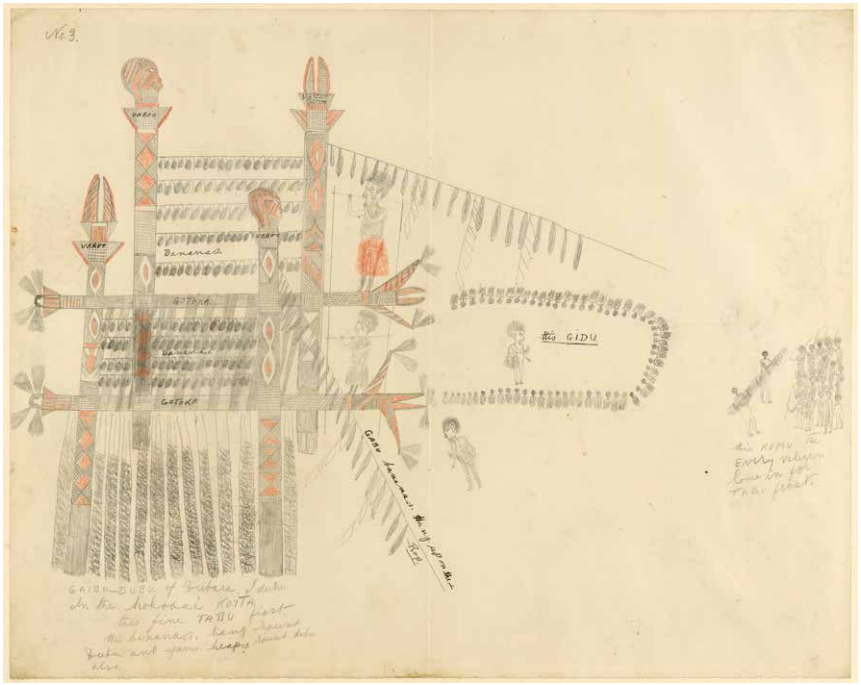


Figure 13.5. Drawing of a dubu decorated with yams and bananas, Papua New Guinea by Charles Seligman. Oc2006,Drg.689. Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.

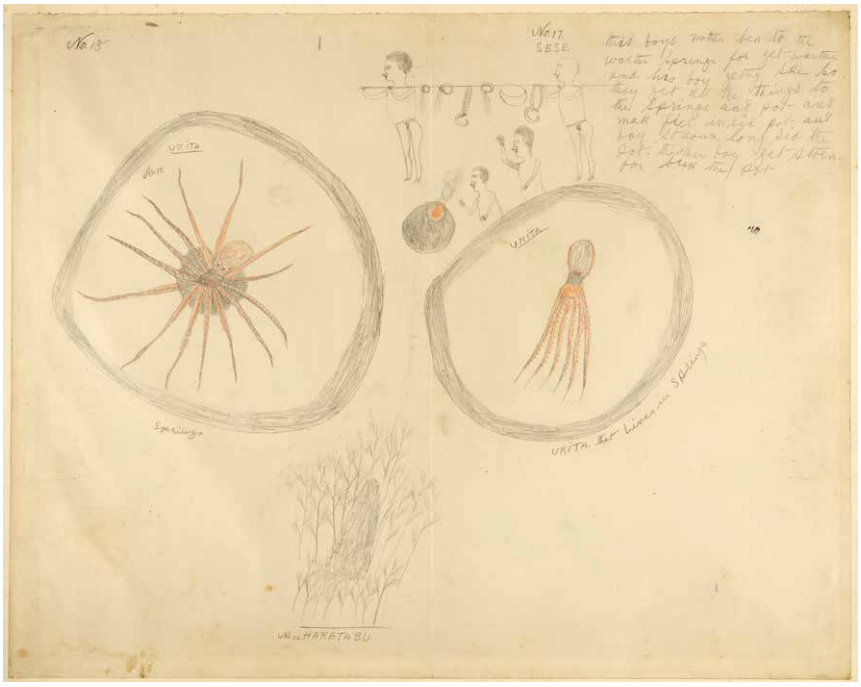


Figure 13.6. Drawing of octopi and men, Papua New Guinea by Charles Seligman. Oc2006,Drg.694. Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.

most people who have undertaken field research are well aware, the particular interests of Indigenous collaborators (formerly described as 'informants') are often stimulated and even validated by a visiting researcher's interest and engagement. An ethnographer's project may often act as a catalyst, prompting an essentially independent inquiry on the part of a local researcher. Hence drawings such as those by Aqo from Simbo (Figures 13.3 and 13.4) and Ahuia Ova from Hanuabada, Port Moresby (Figures 13.5 and 13.6), suggest an eager, carefully thought-out and imaginative response to an opportunity, rather than a docile or servile response to an instruction.

These two sets of works are discussed in detail by Tim Thomas and Heather Donoghue respectively and I do not repeat their insightful analyses here.[323] But I would draw attention to commonalities that the works share with others, from Torres Strait, for example, and from mainland Australia in the twentieth century.

The illustrations represent customary practices that had at the time been recently abandoned or suppressed, such as headhunting in the case of the western Solomon Islands. They thus bear a particular temporality: they represent 'custom' as it was historically enacted. They are not necessarily and not evidently 'commemorative' or nostalgic. This genre of drawing does not typically convey 'mood', and it should not be presumed that these Islanders would have lamented the end of local warfare, or the end of particular ritual practices. Yet, if it is impossible to reconstruct the artists' particular investments in the practices and stories represented, the drawings are unambiguously historical: they document a past, though also one within living memory.

Aqo's works, like those of Tommy McRae and Barak, arguably refract Indigenous aesthetics through particular devices, such as the imaging of a mass of canoes (or a line of dancers, in the Australian works). Their relationship to customary art forms is thus more layered and oblique than it might initially appear. On the one hand, there are affinities that are deeper than might be presumed, despite the dissimilarity of media, materials, style and other conventions. On the other hand, the artists – like Tupaia – have produced works which, to a powerful extent, represent culture, custom and history. While varied in their subjects and styles, they exemplify a vital strand in the art history of Oceania, that has been obscured by the classic approach to the discipline, which foregrounds sculpture, masks and other genres privileged by the tribal art market. Works of this kind, which illustrate culture, were sporadically published by the ethnographers who encouraged their creation, but have otherwise typically disappeared into archives of field notes and photographs. They should now be rediscovered, reinterpreted and recognized as innovative and imaginative expressions of Oceanic art.

CHAPTER 14

Two Germanies: ethnographic museums, (post) colonial exhibitions, and the 'cold odyssey' of Pacific objects between East and West[324]

PHILIPP SCHORCH

~

Introduction

Many, if not most, readers will be familiar with the Humboldt Forum currently under development in Berlin, Germany, which attempts to reconfigure the rebuilt Berliner Schloss (Berlin Palace) as a museum forum for the world.[325] This ambitious project has brought Germany's difficult colonial past back to the surface of a changing national commemorative culture while subjecting it to international scrutiny, critique, and protest.[326] Most, if not all, readers will also know that modern Germany was separated into two – the German Democratic Republic (GDR), or East Germany, and the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), or West Germany – by the victorious allies after the Second World War up until its reunification in 1990, a year after the Berlin Wall was torn down and the Cold War ended. What is less known, however, is how (post)colonial history as well as the corresponding histories of anthropology and ethnographic museums evolved differently in East and West Germany due to the different, ideologically-driven perspectives on a common past.[327]

Georg Forster, who joined Captain James Cook on the second journey across the Pacific together with his father Johann Reinhold Forster, for example, first reached legendary status as one of the most widely travelled Germans in the eighteenth century. By the nineteenth century, he was virtually forgotten in imperial Germany because of his treasonous affiliation with the Mainzer Republik (Republic of Mainz) and the French Revolution. In the twentieth century, he never (re)gained the same reputation as his travel companion and mentee Alexander von Humboldt after whom the Humboldt Forum is named.[328] In East Germany, however, Georg Forster was rediscovered, glorified and, at the same time, politicized as a forerunner of anti-bourgeois and socialist thought. A scientific base in Antarctica was named 'Georg Forster Station',[329] and the Academy of Sciences of the GDR published a monumental edition of his collected works.[330]

This historical rewriting that was implicated in, and constitutive of, the construction of the two Germanies, I want to suggest, was not an exclusively discursive affair confined to history books, but a process that was materially as well as spatially embedded and

articulated. In other words, the historical (re)writing was inscribed in, and expressed through, material-spatial settings, such as urban landscapes, architectural monuments and museums. Once again, the Humboldt Forum illustrates this point. Here we can see how the former Berliner Schloss associated with its imperial and colonial past is currently being rebuilt, but with a different agenda: the (re)completion of Berlin's fragmented historical centre in the heart of a unified Europe with a cosmopolitan outlook that drives the Humboldtian tradition into the twenty-first century. Often forgotten, however, is a prior chapter of the same material-spatial story: the demolition of the very same burned-out Berliner Schloss in 1950 in order to eradicate those highly symbolic material traces of Germany's imperial past, and its replacement through the Palast der Republik (Palace of the Republic), the seat of the Volkskammer, or GDR parliament, in 1976, as a modernist statement intervening in the ideological battle between East and West.[331]

In tracing this complex story, this chapter extends the material-spatial (re)writing of history beyond the building itself, as in the case of the Humboldt Forum, to explore the internal process of museum *exhibitions*. In doing so, I show how the Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig (Museum for Ethnology in Leipzig, now Grassi Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig), located in the East, reconstructed its Pacific exhibition in 1969-1970 and, through this endeavour, rewrote (East) Germany's (post)colonial relationship with the Pacific. The chapter then proceeds to introduce a particular *collection*, the so-called Leningrad-Sammlung (Leningrad collection), which was first housed at the Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde Berlin (Royal Museum for Ethnology Berlin, now Ethnologisches Museum Berlin) and at various security bunkers within and beyond the city during the Second World War. After the War, it was taken by Soviet Union trophy brigades to Leningrad (today's St Petersburg), and then it continued its 'cold odyssey' to the Museum in Leipzig (in the GDR) in 1977-1978 during the Cold War before being returned to re-unified Berlin in 1990-1992. This 'Leningrad-Sammlung' collection functioned as a secret bargaining chip through which the ideological competition between East and West could be fought out. The socio-political life of this collection, as a product of specific political and national contingencies, is then further broken down later in the chapter to the level of Pacific *objects*, through which the political-symbolic trajectory – separation, odyssey, and reunification – became materialized and can thus be traced. At the same time however, as will be shown, it is the *stubborn persistence of material presences* (exhibitions, collections and objects) that resisted the de/reformation by totalizing ideological prescriptions, and ultimately rendered their discursive utopian ambition materially and spatially impossible.

Exhibiting the (post)colonial Pacific at the Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, GDR (1970)

Since the early 1950s, the ZK (central committee) of the SED,[332] the governing socialist party of the GDR, pursued an 'ideological offensive' aimed at shaping a socialist consciousness among the citizenry of the nascent workers' and peasants' state. From the late 1950s, this ideological approach increasingly encroached upon academic institutions and museums to centralize and direct their intellectual orientation, and

control unwanted deviations.[333] For example, members of the ministry of higher education[334] repeatedly demanded an 'updating' of Völkerkunde (Ethnology), which was largely seen as being associated with political imperialism and the academic bourgeoisie, both archetypical features of the so-called class enemy, the West, that had to be ideologically renovated. In 1969, the Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig was about to celebrate its 100th anniversary.[335] For this occasion, a diverse programme consisting of a scientific conference and other events was developed by the Americanists of the institution and submitted to the ministry. Both concept and anniversary celebration were cancelled, however, with the explanation that the museum had not sufficiently addressed its colonial past. Instead, the ministry ordered the convening of a conference devoted to the 100th birthday of Vladimir I.U. Lenin with the topic: 'The significance of the Leninist teachings for the national liberation movements in Asia and Africa with particular consideration of traditional power bodies.'[336]

As the title of the conference indicates, academic institutions and museums were now rethought to have a scientific *and* political-ideological mandate, which was determined through a series of reforms of higher education – the third and last in 1967-1968 with major impacts on the study of Völkerkunde in Leipzig[337] – and culminated in a general 'unity of politics and science'.[338] This unity required that, along with the societal changes in the GDR (the 'socialist state of the German nation'), 'history had to be seen and edited anew', as curator (and former head of the department of scientific museums at the state secretariat)[339] Ernst Germer put it in the book devoted to the 100th anniversary.[340] As Germer stressed on numerous occasions, this historical revision entailed the development of a 'Marxist museology' that not only paid scientific attention to its ethnographic material but also to the latter's framing under the 'meta-science of historical materialism'.[341] Germer later followed this conceptual agenda, as head of the Südsee (South Seas) department, in two cases: the temporary exhibition *Waffen der Südseevölker* (Weapons of the South Seas People) in 1965 and the renovation of the permanent Südsee exhibition in 1970.

The old Südsee exhibition (Figure 14.1) was opened in 1954 by Hans Damm, who worked as a curator in the museum until 1945, but was then fired because of his membership of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP). He was ultimately reappointed in 1952 and assumed the museum's directorship from 1954 until 1970.[342] This was the first exhibition that opened after the Second World War, which had a remarkable (yet unsurprising) resemblance with the prior exhibition that suffered war damage in 1943 (Figure 14.2).[343] In the guide through the South Seas and Indonesia division, published in 1938, Damm still writes about German colonies in the present (although all were lost after the First World War) and describes the cabinets with 'black-white-red frames' – the colours of the Wilhelminian imperial flag – which hold 'collections from the German colonial regions',[344] thus reflecting the widespread nostalgic longing for the prestige that Völkerkunde once enjoyed during Germany's colonial expansion[345] and the calls for its renewed 'significance … in the new Germany' of the 1930s.[346] While Damm could not risk such outward colonial sympathies in 1954, the underlying synchronous-regional (rather than diachronic-evolutionary) mechanism of ordering, naming, and exhibiting remained largely the same, as one can clearly see in the photographs below. This classification system was



Figure 14.1. Alte Südsee-Ausstellung. Photo: Archiv Grassi Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, 1954.

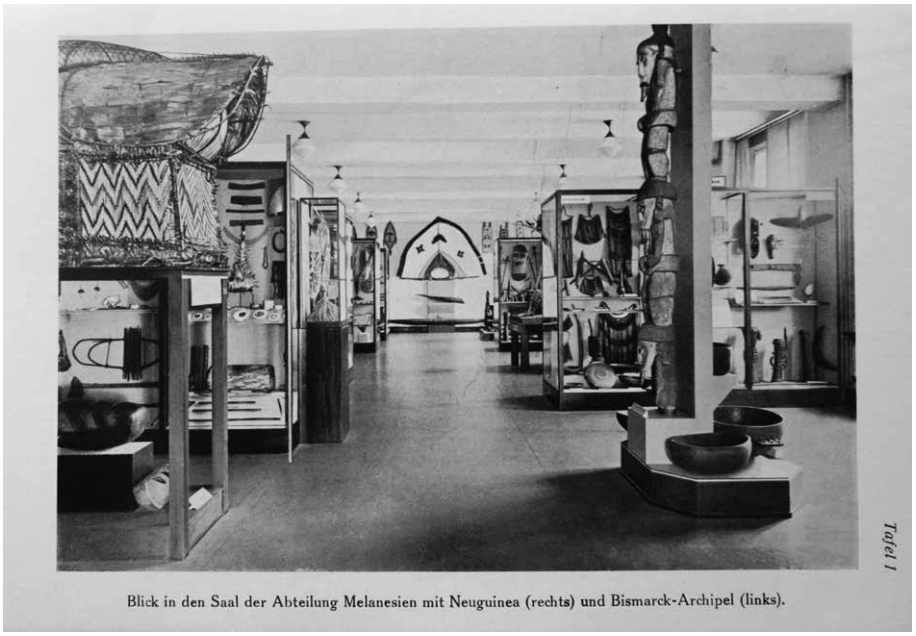


Figure 14.2. Blick in den Saal der Abteilung Melanesien mit Neuguinea und Bismarck-Archipel. Photo: Hans Damm (1938). Führer durch die Abteilung Südsee/Indonesien. Städtisches Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig.

postulated by Adolf Bastian in an attempt to create a 'universal archive of humanity'[347] at the Museum für Völkerkunde Berlin and influenced the Grassi Museum in the late nineteenth century.[348]

When the Südsee exhibition was revamped in 1969, in conjunction with the 100th anniversary of the museum, Germer insisted that it needed to be rearticulated (ideologically) according to Marxist principles, while moving (methodologically) from a classical object-based style to a radically historicized Völkerkunde approach with its attendant exhibitionary display.[349] After the opening in 1970, Germer wrote that the exhibition *Völker Australiens and Ozeaniens* (Peoples of Australia and Oceania) was unique in Europe in its historical conceptualization, which addressed colonial histories as well as anticolonial struggles and postcolonial liberation in the present (and future).[350] These *methodological* and *ideological* innovations had, moreover, a new *aesthetic* quality, which can be observed in Figures 14.3 to 14.8. That is, the ideological reframing of Pacific ethnographic objects was accompanied by, and enacted through, an exhibitionary aesthetics that differed markedly from the 1938 and 1954 exhibits. The battle for ideological supremacy, in which the museum increasingly operated as a foreign policy tool deployed to ensure international legitimacy of the GDR,[351] was therefore staged to portray socialism as a modernizing project, which, at the same time, was clearly differentiated from opposing 'neocolonial' modernizing concepts.[352]

This methodological-ideological-aesthetic break with the past, however, failed in its totalizing ambition, as Christian Dellit has shown, due to personal, discursive and material continuities. While history museums, such as the Museum für Deutsche Geschichte (Museum for German History) in East Berlin, often evolved into 'Papiermuseen' (paper museums), which imprinted their ideological prescriptions on the tabula rasa surface of paper sheets, the object-based nature of



Figure 14.3. Neue Ausstellung 'Völker Australians and Ozeaniens' (Peoples of Australia and Oceania) (1970). Photo: Archiv Grassi Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig.



Figure 14.4. Neue Ausstellung 'Völker Australians and Ozeaniens' (Peoples of Australia and Oceania) (1970). Photo: Archiv Grassi Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig.



Figure 14.5. Neue Ausstellung 'Völker Australians and Ozeaniens' (Peoples of Australia and Oceania) (1970). Photo: Archiv Grassi Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig.



Figure 14.6. Neue Ausstellung 'Völker Australians and Ozeaniens' (Peoples of Australia and Oceania) (1970). Photo: Archiv Grassi Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig.



Figure 14.7. Neue Ausstellung 'Völker Australians and Ozeaniens' (Peoples of Australia and Oceania) (1970). Photo: Archiv Grassi Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig.



Figure 14.8. Neue Ausstellung 'Völker Australians and Ozeaniens' (Peoples of Australia and Oceania) (1970). Photo: Archiv Grassi Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig.

museums of Völkerkunde was never fundamentally questioned (albeit ideologically reconfigured, as we have seen).[353] The 'Durchherrschung', or total governance,[354] and 'Interpretationshegemonie', or interpretive hegemony,[355] aspired to by the political establishment thus faced limitations in material continuities which were embodied

in the ethnographic objects as well as their associated ethnographic discourses and scientific norms.[356] This allowed for a niche position of museums of Völkerkunde[357] and academic Völkerkunde within the political-scientific apparatus.[358] In the next section, we witness how this niche position played out in the case of a collection that, through its very material presence, stubbornly resisted to be ruled by decree.

The secret odyssey of the 'Leningrad-Sammlung' to Leipzig (1977-1979)

In 1975, the embassy of the Soviet Union approached the GDR foreign minister with the wish to return 44,561 ethnographic objects stored in 610 boxes from the Institute of Ethnography at the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad to the GDR.[359] This gesture followed a trajectory of returns, beginning in 1955 with paintings from the Dresden gallery through which, for the first time, art looted during and after the Second World War was redefined from 'trophy' to 'temporarily in the Soviet Union safeguarded cultural assets for the GDR',[360] thus metamorphosing from victory trophy over Nazi Germany to material symbol and marker of friendship between brother states in order to stabilize the Cold War.[361] In a similar vein, J.V. Bromley, director of the Institute, argued that the collection was part of the (East) German heritage which should be (re)exhibited as such. However, the Soviet decision did not consider the problems that would arise for the GDR. The State Museums in East Berlin did not have an ethnological department in which the collection could be incorporated and a return to the Museum für Völkerkunde (from which the objects originated, as we see below) in West Berlin was politically impossible. At the same time, the GDR did not want to miss out on this treasure since it could be used as an object of exchange for holdings that were being claimed from the Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation) in West Berlin, in the hope they could be returned to Museum Island (in the East).

The central committee (ZK) of the governing socialist party (SED) thus decided on 6 August 1975 to transfer the collection from Leningrad to the Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, the largest ethnographic museum of its kind in East Germany, with the order to keep the entire process secret and refrain from exhibiting its contents.[362] In a letter sent from the minister for culture, Hans-Joachim Hoffmann, to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the ZK and state council chairmen, on 11 May 1979, the successful and secret completion of the endeavour was confirmed. Hoffmann also suggested the integration of the collection into the inventory of the museum and the inclusion of individual objects into exhibitions – always in close consultation with Soviet and GDR authorities – while diplomatic efforts should be made to indicate to the West that the collection, which, according to him, 'doubtlessly' derived from Berlin (and Hamburg), could be returned, based on international law, but only in return for Eastern objects housed in the West.[363] The 'Leningrad-Sammlung' thus turned into a bargaining chip between the German Cold War fractions.

On the Leipzig side, however, the inventory prescribed from 'above' never proceeded 'on the ground'. One reason was the unwillingness of some museum staff, who had to sign a confidentiality agreement, due to moral concerns and commitment to a (universal) scientific ethos. It seems that two camps existed – one in favour and

one against the collection's incorporation – and the one that refused to accept it as their own property succeeded. Up to this date, the collection has been known as the Leningrad (rather than Leipzig)-Sammlung. Another aspect that prevented the collection from being (re)integrated was its pure material presence, the sheer number and size of objects, which overstretched logistical infrastructures and human resources and overloaded spatial capacities.[364] As Christian Feest would later write, '[n]o sane museum ever acquires 45,000 objects in a single stroke'.[365] In fact, spatial constraints at the Institute of Ethnography at the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad (and not only political gesture, as seen above) seem to have been one of the driving forces for Bromley to initiate the transfer with Wolfgang König, who succeeded Damm as director (1970-1979), in the first place. As contemporary witnesses attest, the shortage of space was a constant thread weaving its way through the collection's odyssey.

In Leningrad, it was housed in the attic, and looked after meticulously by Ms Zinaida Petrovna Akisheva.[366] It then took two years to unpack and repack 727 wooden boxes, 505 large packages and 293 individual packages. Trucks transported the objects secretly on 12 trips to Leipzig,[367] where it took an equally Herculean, as well as secret, effort to store it first in the attic and then, after water damage was caused by the heating system, in the space for temporary exhibitions. A scientific study was conducted (and kept secret) to work out the theoretical groundwork of a 'Netzplan' (network plan) for the monumental (re)inventory (Figure 14.9), but because of the aforementioned reasons – morally and scientifically motivated reluctance, the ungovernable bulk of material, and logistical/spatial constraints – putting the plan into practice looked vastly different (Figure 14.10). The largest items, such as totem poles from the North

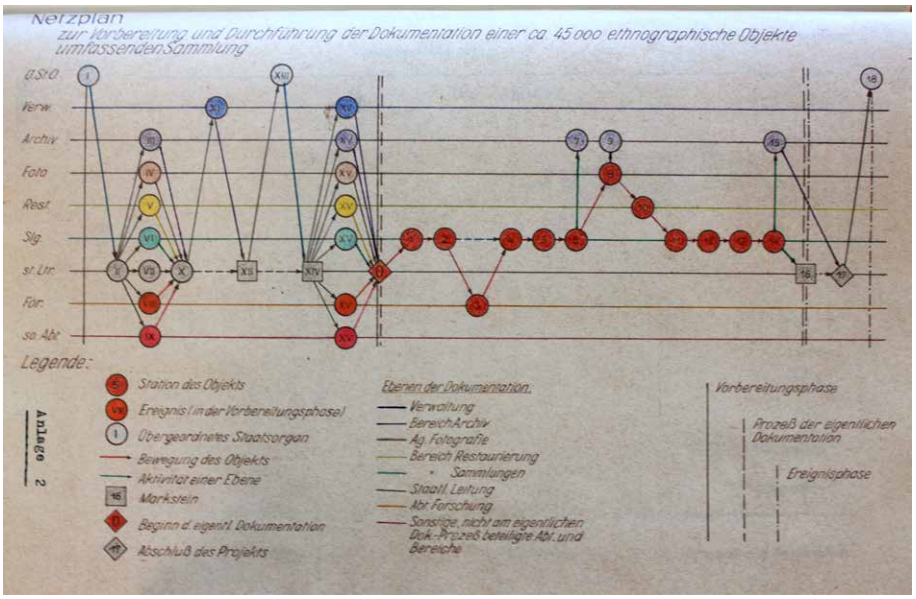


Figure 14.9. Klaus Schüritz (1981): 'Netzplan' in Die Vorbereitung eines neuen Systems der Dokumentation Ethnographischer Objekte im Intensivmagazin des Museums für Völkerkunde Leipzig. Fachschulabschlussarbeit: Fachschule für Museologen Leipzig.

American Northwest Coast, could not even be stored in a locked-up room but had to be provisionally covered with plastic sheets in the entrance hall of the museum.[368] The entire political-ideological mission was not only unfeasible in material/logistical/spatial terms, but it also undermined its secrecy.[369]

The same mix of reasons that caused the failure of the collection's planned integration into the Museum in Leipzig must have prompted museum staff to send signals to their colleagues in West Berlin (where the objects 'doubtlessly' originated, as we have seen above). In 1981, curators prominently displayed a striking 'Schlitztrommel' (log drum) from Cameroon at the entrance to the new Africa exhibit in the hope that experts from the West, who could visit as tourists or professionals, would recognize it.[370] Peter Göbel would later write how this tactic aimed at sending 'Rauchzeichen' (smoke signals) at a time when direct communication at the professional level between East and West was strictly limited and tightly controlled. Unfortunately, this 'mysterious signalling'[371] remained unanswered, which spurred museum staff to recruit visiting scientists from the Western block, with whom partial connections could be maintained, as messengers to convey the message directly to the Museum für Völkerkunde Berlin. Subsequent official inquiries from West Berlin remained unanswered by the East: another episode of the typical cat-and-mouse game between the Cold War rivals.[372]

On the Berlin side, it took a few more years of uncertainty until the whereabouts of the collection in Leipzig became official at a conference titled 'The Pre-Columbian Collections in European Museums', which was held in February 1985 in Leningrad. After rumours were spread from the Soviet side, a Berlin delegate approached – in the presence of witnesses – the delegation from Leipzig, who confirmed the existence



Figure 14.10. Leningrad-Sammlung at Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig. Photograph stored at Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

of the collection but stressed its status as state (rather than museum) property. In a subsequent and more intimate conversation, the Leipzig representatives gave a brief history of the collection's journey and an assessment of its current state, and suggested to the museum in West Berlin that it contact its counterpart in the East through official channels since it was, in their opinion, only a matter of time until official acknowledgement had to be given. The representative and other witnesses from the Museum für Völkerkunde Berlin were later 'bound to secrecy' from their institution,[373] arguably to avoid the triggering of a chain of mutual restitution claims, which would have caused further strain on the already tense relationship between East and West. It would take a few more years, until the fall of the iron curtain, before the 'cold odyssey' would continue, become public, and lead to material reunification.

The end of the 'Old Odyssey' and material reunification

In 1934, one year after the Nazi Party (NSDAP) assumed power, preparations began in Berlin (and elsewhere) to separate museum holdings into three categories: 1) irreplaceable; 2) particularly valuable; and 3) the remaining objects. The reduced Schausammlung, or public exhibition, of the Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde in central Berlin remained open until mid-1941, and in November of the same year began the Auslagerung (removal from storage) to secure locations within (Figure 14.11) and beyond the city (Figure 14.12).[374] The sector lines, along which Berlin and Germany were divided into occupation zones by the Soviet Union as well as the USA, Great Britain and France after the War (seen in the photographs), were not set into stone yet during the War, when the capital was taken over by allied forces. In the course of events, several facilities where ethnographic objects were stored, such as the Flakturm Zoo (Zoo Flak Tower) and the depot in Dahlem – which in 1970 became the site of the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin, today's predecessor of the Humboldt Forum – were looted by Soviet forces before they became part of the Western sectors.[375]

While objects stored in the Western sectors, as in the Celle Castle, began – after years of legal bickering – to be returned in the late 1950s,[376] the destiny of those which were taken to the Soviet Union remained mostly unknown, and the process of tracking them has been a painstaking task to this date.[377] It seems that most ethnographic items that later formed the 'Leningrad-Sammlung' were taken by the Red Army from the Schräbsdorf Castle in Selisia (today's Poland), where the Museum had stored the holdings, during its occupation in 1945-46. From there, the objects must have been transported to Leningrad, and possibly to other locations in the Soviet Union.[378] The precise itinerary of their 'cold odyssey', the secret journey from World War booty to Cold War pawn, remains a mystery. In 1959, the Museum in Berlin received an address of a 'man of confidence' in Schräbsdorf from the Haus der ostdeutschen Heimat (House of the East German Fatherland) – here referring to the East of the Third Reich – in Berlin, but the exchange of letters at the museum archive shows that no information about the collection's whereabouts could be obtained. It took almost 30 years of rumours and speculation, fuelled by a concrete lead in 1965 about objects seen in Leningrad,[379] until in 1985, as we have seen above, the 'cold odyssey' became public.

After the incident at the conference in Leningrad, the Museum in Berlin tried to tackle this avowedly 'affair' of 'great significance' and determine where objects were initially removed to by the Museum, and then transported to by the Soviet forces. It was suspected that most objects were part of the African collection, so it was concluded that the largest share must have been brought to Schräbsdorf since this was the main location of removal used by the Museum's African department.[380] It took some more years until this guesswork was given material substance. The first official personal contact between both museum directors – Lothar Stein, Leipzig, and Klaus Helfrich, Berlin – took place on 31 January 1990,[381] a few months after the wall fell. A few days earlier, on 18 January 1990, Stein wrote to the minister of education, Hans-Heinz Emons, stating that he assumed his 'colleagues' in West Berlin were aware of the situation, stressing that his museum was neither materially nor personally capable of



Figure 14.11. Map from Maren Eichhorn, Jörn Grabowski and Konrad Vanja, Die Stunde Null – ÜberLeben 1945 (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 2005), p. 129. Graphics: Ellen Senst. Photos: Zentralarchiv, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

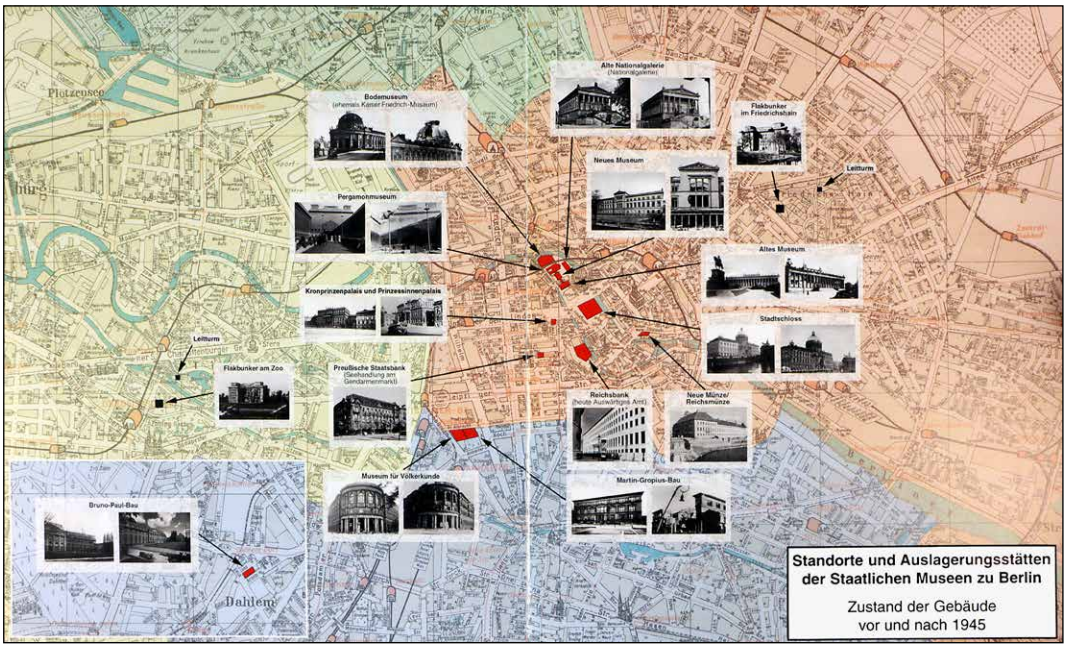


Figure 14.12. Map from Maren Eichhorn, Jörn Grabowski and Konrad Vanja, Die Stunde Null – ÜberLeben 1945 (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 2005), pp. 130-31. Graphics: Ellen Senst. Photos: Zentralarchiv, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

adequately looking after the collection, and suggesting that the 'Leningrad-Sammlung' should be returned to its original location.

The museum scientists supported his recommendation, Stein concluded, but the ultimate decision rested with the governing bodies since it obviously concerned 'property of national interest'.[382] In a second letter, dated 2 February 1990, Stein reported his meeting with Helfrich. By that time, the tone of his writing assumed a managerial and logistical (rather than political) quality. Both dates, 1965 and 1985, were confirmed as critical moments in the collection's history while arrangements for the potential return and future collaborations between both institutions were laid out.[383] On 21 March 1990, the minister forwarded the information, and roughly two months later in this tumultuous time of inter-German to intra-German reconfiguration, on 23 May 1990, his successor Markus Mackel confirmed in a letter to the minister of education and science, Hans-Joachim Meyer, that the return was approved and the foreign ministries were informed. The museums were expected to execute the transfer in direct correspondence, so the Museum in Leipzig should be notified accordingly.[384] The 'cold odyssey', then, through which the separation of the two Germanies could be materially written, was politically geared towards its next and ultimate stage: reunification.

Between 22 August 1990 and 1 July 1992, the 'Leningrad-Sammlung' was finally returned from Leipzig to Berlin. This endeavour required 11 transports comprising 17 art trucks and one trailer truck to move 704 wooden boxes as well as 806 packages and cardboard boxes to Dahlem. At the Museum für Völkerkunde, a new storage

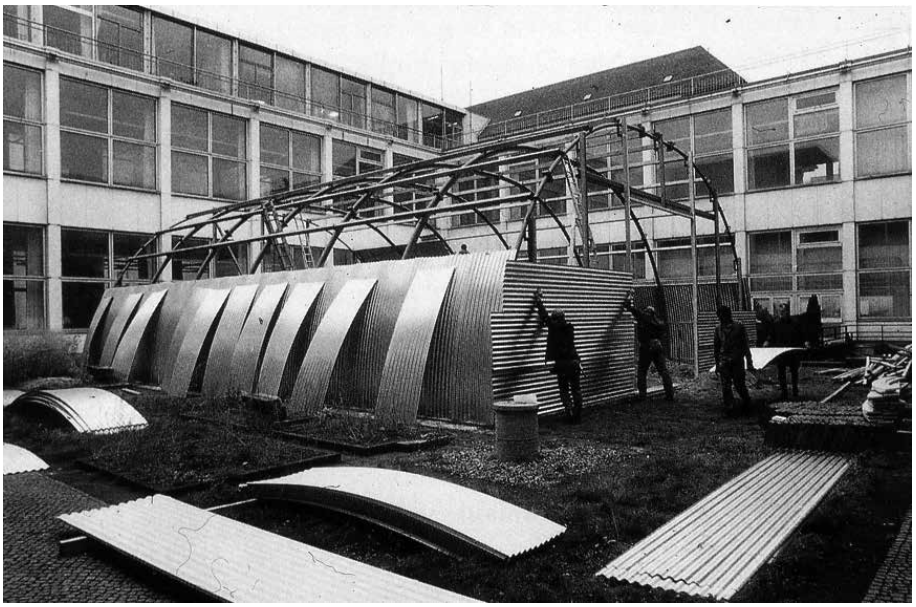


Figure 14.13. Building of 'Leipzig-Halle'. Photograph: Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.



Figure 14.14. 'Leipzig-Halle' with objects, museum staff and computer during inventory. Photograph: Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

facility had to be built, the 'Leipzig-Halle' (Figure 14.13), which remains in situ under this name to this day. Since even this new venue could not house all new arrivals, another facility was temporarily used in Hohenschönhausen, East Berlin, which seems to have been formerly used by Minister Alexander Schalck-Golodkowski, the Devisenbeschaffer (foreign currency procurer) of the constantly almost bankrupt GDR, and his 'economic empire, Commercial Coordination (KoKo), which indulged in such activities as the confiscation of works of art to sell them abroad'.[385] In 1992, 225 boxes and 251 packages were brought from there to Dahlem. Apart from the intriguing reuse of the same logistical facility for different ideologically-driven purposes, the emergence of new technology, such as computerized documentation and processing of collections, presented a critical juncture at the time (Figure 14.14).[386] According to current museum employees, the Museum is – at least in the context of the museum landscape in Berlin – ahead of 'the game' in terms of digitization, thus still benefiting from the investments in, and innovations of museum infrastructure triggered by the large-scale return of the 'Leningrad-Sammlung'. Its registration took from 13 May 1991 until 13 January 1992 with 46,469 inventory numbers (compared to 44,561 from the Russian lists).[387]



Figure 14.15. Two house posts from the Admiralty Islands at the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin. Photograph by Julie Adams.

Conclusion

Figure 14.15 depicts two house posts from the Admiralty Islands, which were separated before the Second World War. The one on the left with the catalogue number VI 17253 remained in the depot in Dahlem while the one on the right, VI 17254, was exhibited in the Museum in central Berlin. VI 17253 went on the 'cold odyssey', which can, as we have seen, only be traced in its broad itinerary without precisely localizing its various stopovers, and was turned into an 'Ossi' (Easterner). VI 17254 seems to have stayed and was turned into a 'Wessi' (Westerner).[388] Both are now reunited and could be seen as symbolizing the history of Germany: its division, Cold War separation, and reunification. This chapter has argued, however, that material presences, such as the *Völker Australiens and Ozeaniens* exhibition at the Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig and 'Leningrad-Sammlung' travelling between East and West, not only reflect or symbolize but also assist in materially negotiating/writing history as well as contesting/enacting its ideological grounding. Importantly, this process occurs both publicly and in secret. Even while the 46,469 objects of the 'Leningrad-Sammlung' weathered the Cold War mostly absent from public view and hidden in boxes and secret depots, they still operated as present pawns through which the ideological battle between East and West could be fought. In other words, the separation and reunification of Germany relied – in its ideological-cum-political ambition – on its material negotiation/writing and contestation/enactment through material-spatial presences such as museum exhibitions, collections and objects. What remains are the spatial and logistical constraints caused by the *stubborn persistence of material presences*, which renders any ideological reconfiguration an incomplete and at times impossible task. The reintegration of the 'Leningrad-Sammlung' into the Museum in Berlin has been a Herculean effort, which remains unfinished to this day and is reminiscent of its prior failed (re)inventory in Leipzig.[389] The objects now await their potential incorporation into the Humboldt Forum. Whatever this entails, they will stubbornly persist (and resist) and make us rewrite whatever ideological story we have in mind.

CHAPTER 15

Museum dreams: the rise and fall of a Port Vila museum

PETER BRUNT

~

> But one thing should be noted: the phenomenon of collecting loses its meaning as it loses its personal owner. Even though public collections may be less objectionable socially and more useful academically than private collections, the objects get their due only in the latter.[390]
>
> Walter Benjamin

In 2014 I visited the home of Wallisian artist Aloï Pilioko with photographer Mark Adams. Situated on a two-acre property beside Erakor lagoon on the outskirts of Port Vila, the capital of Vanuatu, it had long been the studio-home of Pilioko and his partner and fellow artist, the late French-Russian émigré Nicolaï Michoutouchkine. Adams and I wanted to document it. Known as Esnaar, the property holds the remains of a once enormous collection of Oceanic artefacts amassed by Michoutouchkine (with Pilioko's help) in the late 1950s and early 1960s.[391] Slit drums, fern-trunk figures and an elaborately carved pole from the Sepik region of Papua New Guinea stood in the garden along with other works as part of a small outdoor display, open to tourists and visitors. In an old shed a scatter of canoe hulls, ritual costumes, ceramic pots, bowls, masks, figure carvings and an old wooden shipping crate full of barkcloth, gathered dust in the tropical heat (Figures 15.1 and 15.2). Inside Pilioko's home, more artefacts were interspersed among sofas, cabinets, paintings, memorabilia and a table top shrine to the memory of Michoutouchkine, who passed away in 2010, put together by his Wallisian partner (Figure 15.3).

In these intimate spaces the remnants of Michoutouchkine's collection evoked the enigmatic presence of their absent collector more than they did their makers or diverse places of origin. As Walter Benjamin once observed (speaking of books, but his observations apply equally to ethnographic artefacts), for the 'true collector', the objects of his collection have their real significance, their beginning and end, in the life and passion of the collector. It is the adventure of collecting rather than the edifice of the collection that matters most. What drives the 'true collector' is the thrill of chance opportunities and on-the-spot negotiations in the quest to possess and own, the love



Figure 15.1. Collection storage shed, Esnaar, Port Vila, Vanuatu. 19 February 2014. Photograph by Mark Adams.



Figure 15.2. Collection storage shed, Esnaar, Port Vila, Vanuatu. 19 February 2014. Photograph by Mark Adams.



Figure 15.3. Memorial shrine for Nicolaï Michoutouchkine, Esnaar, Port Vila, Vanuatu. 19 February 2014. Photo by Mark Adams.

affair with each and every object. What the collector experiences in the contemplation of his collection is not the structured order of a museum display or a public library but the 'chaos' of memories that 'surges' towards him as he remembers the multiple scenes of acquisition and the almost 'childlike element' that animates his desire: the wish to effect a 'rebirth', 'to renew the old world'. Indeed, Benjamin says, 'there is in the life of a collector a dialectical tension between the poles of order and disorder',[392] between the public structures of social knowledge, on the one hand, and the labyrinths of subjective desire, on the other. That tension lay at the heart of Michoutouchkine's project as a collector of Oceanic art as well. For it began almost simultaneously with the ambition to create a public museum in the Pacific Islands in which to house it all – a museum at Esnaar.

In the early 1970s, Michoutouchkine's plan to construct a museum of Oceanic art on the site at Esnaar was made public through various magazine articles and newspaper reports in Port Vila and elsewhere. One cited a wealthy benefactor in New Caledonia willing to contribute a sizeable sum to the project. Others cited the promising interest of the French territorial government in funding its construction. Some included illustrations of detailed architectural plans showing the museum's design, layout and elevations.[393] At the core of the project was the artist's intention to donate his entire collection, then numbering more than 3,000 objects, to the project as a foundational gift, made in memory of his Russian parents, exiled Cossacks given refuge by France in the early 1920s. The museum would include distinct spaces for permanent and temporary exhibitions, state-of-the-art storage facilities, administrative offices and the capacity for future developments and extensions, including an 'artisanal centre' or artists' workshop, where, it was imagined, traditional masters and modern Pacific

artists, like Pilioko, would work with students and apprentices in a new context for the revitalization of Oceanic arts. Furthermore, the museum would be overseen by a group of advisory elders on the model of a Council of Chiefs. But the museum was never built. As the 1970s progressed, the project became enmired in the cultural politics of decolonization in the New Hebrides, and in competing visions of the nature and role of museums and cultural centres in a 'post-colonial' Pacific.

The origins of this extraordinary ambition lie, in part, in the biographies and ethnic histories of Michoutouchkine and Pilioko and the geopolitics of empires that brought them together as travellers in the late 1950s. They also lie in the ideologies of cultural primitivism that determined European – and indeed some Indigenous – attitudes to the fate of Oceanic art in the immediate decades following the Second World War. Primitivism was alive and well, if not resurgent, in France and the French Pacific in the so-called 'trente glorieuses'.[394] But the ideologies of cultural primitivism in the colonial world had a productive side as well, often overlooked in their blanket condemnation today. In their admiration and empathy for Indigenous art and artists, modernists like Michoutouchkine played a crucial role in the emergence of Indigenous modernisms.[395]

Michoutouchkine was the son of Russian Cossacks exiled after the October revolution of 1917 who, as mentioned, found refuge in France, where the artist was born in Belfort in 1929. He came to the Pacific, arriving first in Nouméa, New Caledonia in 1957 as a young traveller and adventurer – a 'modern Marco Polo'. The term was coined by Levi-Strauss in reference to what he described as a unique social phenomenon: the symbiosis between French 'adolescents' fanning out into the world in the 1950s in a 'deluded' repetition of the European quest for the exotic and the 'primitive', and the continuing metropolitan fascination with their travels, mediated by newspaper reports, magazine articles, slide shows, exhibitions, and so forth.[396] Whatever personal reasons motivated such travellers, the persistence of the myth in an age of decolonization pointed to its profound place in European consciousness. Michoutouchkine's 'personal reasons' were certainly deep: they reflected his awareness of his parents' cultural and religious losses and displacements and his own deracination in the Cossack diaspora; and his experience as a teenager witnessing the devastation of France and Europe (and distant Russia) during the Second World War.

In 1953, he had set out on what he would later call his 'pilgrimage to the East', an open-ended journey through Greece, Turkey, the Middle East, South Asia and South East Asia, before heading to New Caledonia (forced by obligations to fulfil military service to return to French territory).[397] It is not possible in this chapter to say more about these travels but it is worth noting the extent to which they set a paradigm for his modus operandi as an artist.[398] He staged exhibitions of his work en route – typically paintings and drawings of local sites and people – in a quasi-official, diplomatic world of embassies, consulates, centres for religious diplomacy, government offices, and the like. The exhibitions were supported by local officials and elites; their openings often attended by politicians and religious leaders (the Dalai Lama, Indira Gandhi, the King of Sibbun, among others), evidently willing to endorse the efforts of a young European traveller to artistically engage with the local culture. As a traveller, Michoutouchkine would stay several months in most locations, eager to immerse himself in the social life of each place. In India he stayed

two years. But he was eventually driven by the dialectic of travel to move on from one place to another.

His time in Nouméa was another iteration of this pattern but it also changed the direction of his life in two significant respects: he became a collector of Oceanic art and he met his future partner, Pilioko. At first Michoutouchkine immersed himself in the social life of the township's political and cultural elites. He worked as a translator for the governor, hosting international visitors (he was fluent in French, English and Russian), and subsequently for the Nouméa Museum as an acquisitions officer (Figure 15.4). That role gave him opportunities to visit Kanak villages in various parts of Grande Terre and sparked his interest in traditional artefacts. When objects were not acquired by the museum, he acquired them for himself. It was also in Nouméa that he encountered a network of expatriate modernists, drawn to the Pacific, like him, from France and other parts of the Francophone (and Anglophone) world, who moved between the townships of Nouméa, Port Vila and Papeete. Galvanizing this mobile sub-community, Michoutouchkine opened an art gallery in Nouméa in 1959 – the first in the Pacific Islands outside of New Zealand and Hawai'i – that for the short time of its existence became a social hub for itinerant (and local) artists and their urbanite supporters. The gallery also attracted the attention of Pilioko, at the time working as a labourer at a nearby building site. Pilioko was also a traveller. He had left his home island of Wallis in 1957 along with other young Wallisians seeking work in the urban French Pacific. After two years on a copra plantation in Efate in the New Hebrides, he left for Nouméa where he came upon Michoutouchkine's art gallery. As the story



Figure 15.4. Michoutouchkine with the governor of New Caledonia, Aimé Grimald, at an exhibition at the Noumea Museum, c.1958. Image courtesy of Aloï Pilioko.

goes, he was fascinated by the paintings on display and the social buzz surrounding the gallery, unlike anything he had seen before. Michoutouchkine befriended him and encouraged his interest in painting and drawing.

But the real catalyst of their friendship and the origins of the idea of creating a museum occurred a short time later on the island of Futuna, near Wallis.[399] After two years in New Caledonia, Michoutouchkine left Nouméa to take a position as the manager of a trading store in Sigave, the capital of Futuna, with the intention of continuing his travels and new-found passion for collecting Oceanic art. Pilioko visited him soon after, leading to their partnership ('romantic only at the beginning', Pilioko told me[400]). In this arrangement, Michoutouchkine would manage Pilioko's ambition to become a modern artist, while Pilioko would assist Michoutouchkine in his collecting expeditions (Figure 15.5) and grand scheme to create a museum *in* the Pacific Islands *for* Pacific Islanders. Indeed, it was first imagined as a museum in Futuna.

The experience of Futuna had a profound impact on Michoutouchkine and in many ways set the terms of his museological ambition. On the one hand, the ambition was an expression of primitivist ideology. For Michoutouchkine, the island's remoteness from urban centres and thriving cultural life made it seem like the dream destination for an alienated traveller who had turned his back on Europe. It was thought of – and depicted – in Gauguin-like terms as the utopian opposite of the messed-up civilisation he had fled. The things he collected – decorative mats and tapa cloth, items of personal adornment like combs and belts, ceremonial objects like kava bowls and dance paddles[401] – were things he felt were threatened by modernity as an alien and ineluctably destructive force. He would later characterize the motive for his collecting, from Futuna and elsewhere, as originating from a deeply felt sense of 'responsibility' to

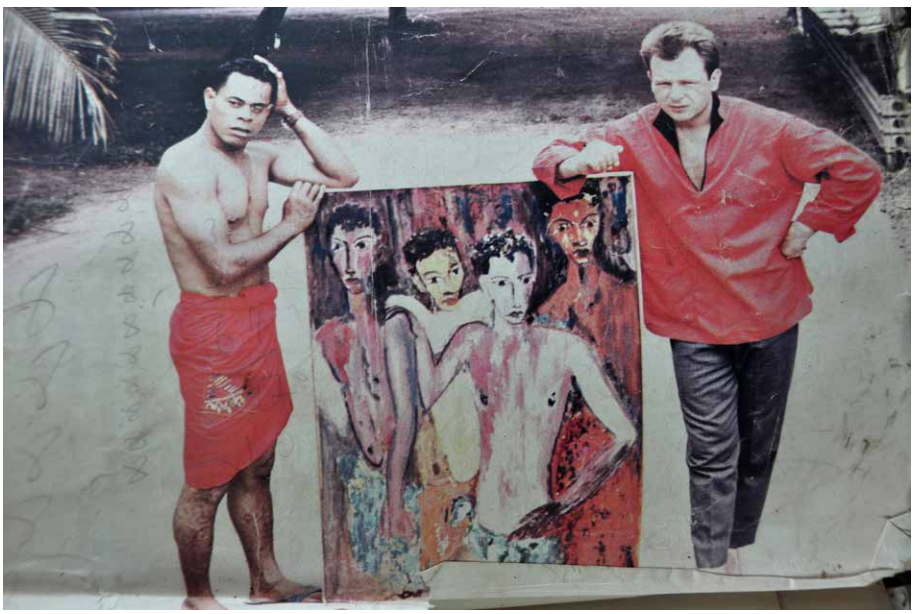


Figure 15.5. Aloï Pilioko and Nicolaï Michoutouchkine, Futuna, 1959. Pacific scrapbook, Michoutouchkine and Pilioko archive. Image courtesy of Aloï Pilioko.

'preserve' and 'safeguard' such objects from 'disappearing [from the Pacific], to be resold for the profit of a few dealers of primitive art'.[402] On the other hand, the modernity of Futuna was everywhere self-evident: Catholic for more than 100 years; colonized and administered by France; inundated with American soldiers during the Second World War; integrated into the world copra industry (to which Michoutouchkine's local store was connected); and its people linked to the urban Pacific through emigration and back and forth travel. It would have been more accurate to have seen Futuna's artistic continuities and thriving cultural life as evidence of its resilience in the face of modernity. Michoutouchkine recognized this ambiguity too. For at the same time as he projected the disappearance of the region's cultural patrimony, he saw that 'the vestiges of the past … always remained, as well as the traditions, and above all, what it was to be in the Pacific could never disappear.'[403]

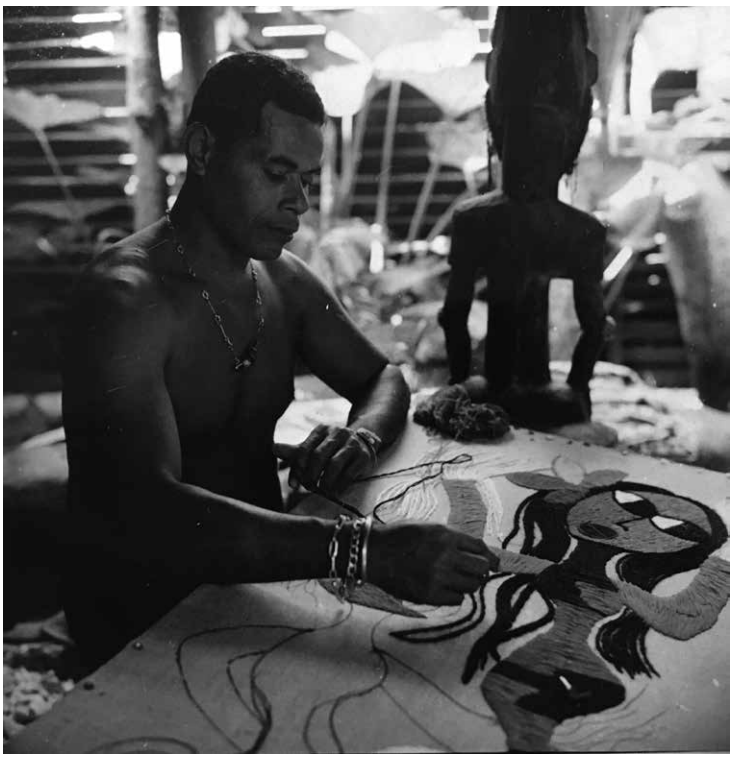
There was a further reason he wanted to create a museum: he felt that Futunians, and Pacific Islanders in general at the time, did not yet appreciate the 'artistic' or 'heritage' value of their creations, and that by amassing a collection and creating a museum of Oceanic art in the Pacific, he was anticipating a future in which museums and artistic heritage would become important. In that respect, the future he anticipated was not the imminent destruction of Indigenous arts by post-war modernity but its re-coding *as* 'art' and 'heritage' precisely through the creation of a museum.

After their attempts to get land and French permission for a museum in Sigave proved unsuccessful, Michoutouchkine and Pilioko transferred their project to Port Vila, where they resettled in 1961, eventually acquiring the property at Esnaar. With the idea of a museum set in their minds, they set out on an extraordinary period of travelling, collecting and exhibiting. In 1961, Pilioko staged his debut as a modern Pacific artist with a series of exhibitions at the Port Vila Cultural Centre, the hall of the French Institute of Oceania in Nouméa and (in 1962) the Papeete Museum in Tahiti. For the next five years, travelling on ferries, cargo boats, private schooners and airlines like UTA and TEAL, and exploiting contacts in consulates, embassies and churches, they staged makeshift exhibitions in local museums, village grounds, school-rooms, churches, embassies, airports, hotel lobbies, government buildings and ships' cabins of their modern paintings, and traditional works from their expanding collection. Making looping returns to their base at Esnaar, they visited the main islands in the New Hebridean archipelago, the Solomon Islands, the Society Islands, every one of the Marquesan Islands, Fiji, Samoa, Tonga, Rotuma, New Caledonia, Wallis, Futuna, Kiribati, Sydney, Canberra, Adelaide and more. In 1964, they mounted an ambitious series of collecting expeditions to eastern New Guinea, visiting the Admiralty Islands, the Maprik region, the Sepik and the Highlands (Figure 15.6). While these travels are not the subject of this chapter,[404] it is worth noting the extent to which their collection emerged from the life-worlds of the modern Pacific, from villages and townships, fairs and festivals, tribal art depots and trading stores. Along the way they were hosted as guests in people's homes, staged openings as community events, met and excited local artists, and planted the seeds of 'art' collections and 'exhibitions' that were about their own traditions and that of their regional neighbours. Meanwhile, Pilioko's reputation as a modern Pacific artist burgeoned in the region. In 1966, he exhibited again in Vila, Nouméa and Papeete, showing his breakthrough 'needle paintings' – tapestries on copra sacking made with coloured wool (Figure 15.7) – first shown at Rotuma in 1965.



Figure 15.6. Snapshot from Michoutouchkine's collecting expedition to the Sepik region, Territory of Papua and New Guinea, now Papua New Guinea (exact location unknown), January 1964. Michoutouchkine and Pilioko archive. Image courtesy of Aloï Pilioko.

Figure 15.7. Aloï Pilioko working on a tapestry, Esnaar, 1971. Photo: Jean Gabus. Image courtesy of Archives du MEN © Musée d'ethnographie de Neuchâtel, Switzerland.



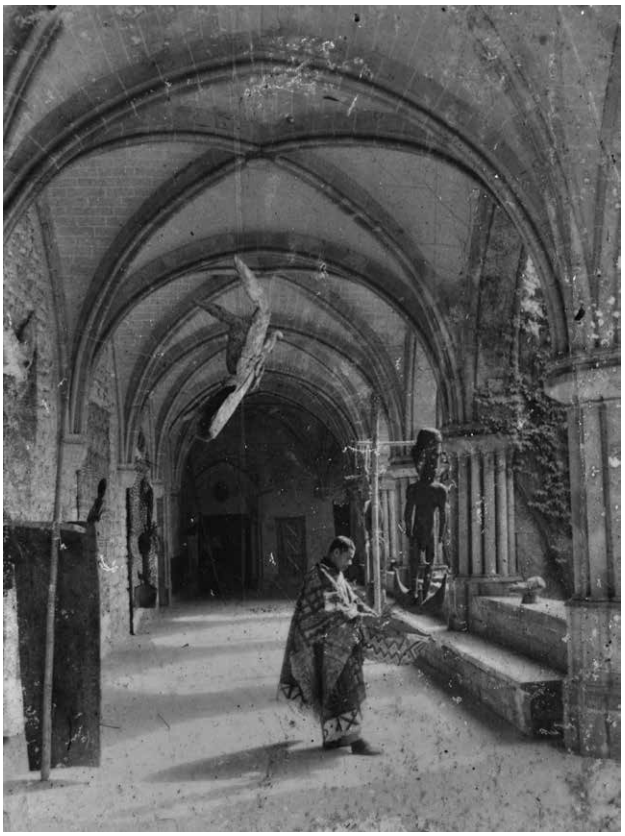


Figure 15.8. Pilioko at the Abbey Prémontrés during the exhibition Exhibition of the Arts and Traditions of Oceania – Collection Michoutouchkine, 1967-68. Image courtesy of Aloï Pilioko.

Figure 15.9. Melanesian and Polynesian Art: Collection Michoutouchkine, installation view, Belfort, France, 1967. Image courtesy of Archives du MEN © Musée d'ethnographie de Neuchâtel, Switzerland.



Through this period, Michoutouchkine was also laying the groundwork for an ambitious return to France in 1967 – after 14 years away – with what eventuated as three consecutive exhibitions at the Museum of Modern Art in Paris (where their collection and modern works were included as part of a contemporary show called *Comparisons*), the Abbey Prémontrés in Pont-à-Mousson where their collection works were installed to striking effect in the porticos and interior of an eighteenth-century church turned modern arts centre (Figure 15.8), and the Belfort Museum in Michoutouchkine's home town (Figure 15.9). The aim of this return was in part to advance Pilioko's growing international reputation as an artist and to better position their museum project in the sense that a positive metropolitan reception would publicize the collection and give it legitimacy. The strategy worked. For the exhibitions in France succeeded in winning their project an important collaborator: Professor Jean Gabus, director of the Museum of Ethnography at Neuchâtel, Switzerland, and president of the European Council of Museums. He and Michoutouchkine met in 1967 at a time when Gabus was preparing his own exhibition of Oceanic art at Neuchâtel. It opened under the title *Oceania* in 1970 with a combination of works from European ethnographic museums and private collections, including 40 works from Michoutouchkine's collection.

Jean Gabus was a museological innovator who recognized the post-war imperative to reform ethnographic museums in the West and their counterparts in the former colonial world. While Michoutouchkine and Pilioko's museum dream may appear eccentric or even fanciful, the question of the role of museums – and their post-war offshoot: cultural centres – was at the heart of the politics of decolonization across the world. Organizations like UNESCO worked with new or emerging nations and former imperial powers to encourage and fund the creation or revivification of museums and cultural centres in myriad locations. Michoutouchkine and Pilioko were ahead of the game in the Pacific in 1959 but in the 1960s and 1970s, many such projects were underway in the region, in western and eastern New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, the Cook Islands, Tonga, the New Hebrides and elsewhere.[405]

From his position at the Museum of Ethnography at Neuchâtel, Gabus had already been involved in similar initiatives in Asia and Africa. In the late 1950s, supported by UNESCO, he and his team at Neuchâtel advised the Kabul Museum in Afghanistan on the modernization of its facilities. A little later they were invited by the newly independent Senegalese government to oversee the design and construction of a 'dynamic museum' in Dakar in anticipation of the first Negro World Festival of Arts in 1966.[406] Indeed, Neuchâtel had become a veritable laboratory of museological innovations, from visible storage facilities and modular display units to structural concepts like the complementarity of the 'static' and 'dynamic' museum, and 'temporary' and 'permanent' areas of display. Gabus' encounter with Michoutouchkine in France and Switzerland was thus a serendipitous meeting of minds. It gave Michoutouchkine the chance to realize his ambition with the support, clout and experience of Gabus; and it gave Gabus the chance to extend his professional mandate to reform the post-war museological landscape into the South Pacific.

With the possibility of the French government funding the construction of the museum, they became collaborators. At Michoutouchkine's invitation, Gabus visited Port Vila for four weeks in September and early October 1971, staying as a guest at

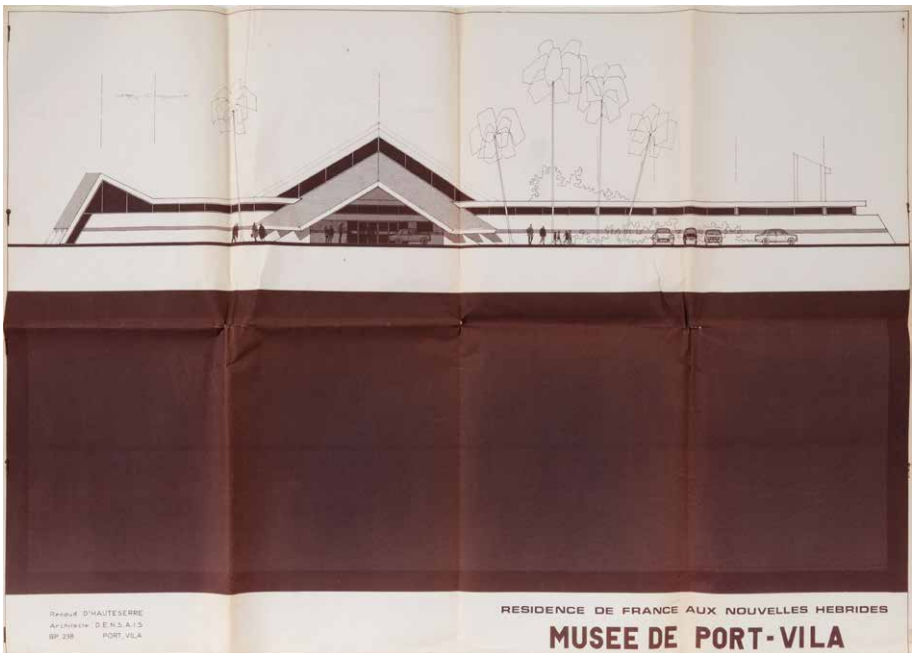


Figure 15.10. Musée de Port Vila, architectural drawing, 1972. Jean Gabus archive, courtesy of the Musée d'Ethnographie de Neuchâtel, Switzerland. Image courtesy of Archives du MEN © Musée d'ethnographie de Neuchâtel, Switzerland.

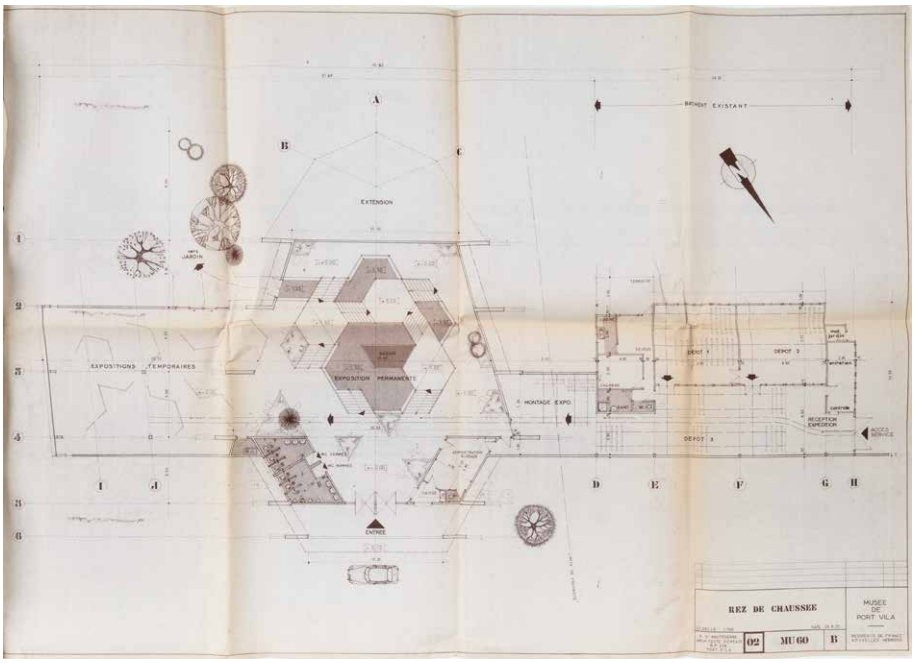


Figure 15.11. Musée de Port Vila, architectural drawing, 1972. Jean Gabus archive, courtesy of the Musée d'Ethnographie de Neuchâtel, Switzerland. Image courtesy of Archives du MEN © Musée d'ethnographie de Neuchâtel, Switzerland.

Esnaar. Their purpose was to publicize the museum project, meet with key people in the French administration, and solicit the support of influential individuals. On the eve of his departure, Gabus and Michoutouchkine presented a fully-realized set of architectural plans to the Resident French Commissioner of the New Hebrides, Robert Langlois and his Chief of Staff, Henry Vallet. In reporting the visit, Gabus wrote encouragingly: 'These contacts were immediately very sympathetic and open, especially since the idea of a central museum was already shared by the Resident'[407] (Figures 15.10 and 15.11).

However, while indications of support looked promising, the proposal coincided problematically with concurrent attempts to revitalize and reset the direction of another institution in Port Vila: the Vila Cultural Centre (VCC), as it was known at the time. The Centre was established in 1956 to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Condominium – the joint British and French administration of the New Hebrides – and housed from 1959 in a purpose-built but unremarkable building on the waterfront. It was intended to be a museum, library and archival centre but its collections were meagre, its staff miniscule, and its activities dominated by the interests of European expatriates – individuals like Michoutouchkine.[408] As Lissant Bolton has written, 'During the 1960s and early 1970s the VCC was primarily a Western institution in its scope and preoccupations.' 'Islanders', she adds, '…do not appear to have seen the VCC as having any relevance to them.'[409] In the early 1970s, however, concerted efforts were made, with Condominium support, by British, French and Australian academic advisors to make the Cultural Centre more relevant and meaningful to Indigenous New Hebrideans in anticipation of political power over their own affairs returning to them in some form as the struggle for decolonization unfolded. The ambiguity of *what* form exactly was at the heart of those struggles, given Britain's preference to shepherd its colonies towards independence and France's preference to negotiate autonomy within a greater French Republic, and the divided loyalties and aspirations those positions generated among Indigenous New Hebrideans, settlers and more recent migrants. In 1972 or 1973, for example, Jean Guiart, then director of Ethnology at the Musée de l'Homme and an anthropologist who had worked with Indigenous communities in the New Hebrides and New Caledonia, proposed to the Cultural Centre's management the oral histories recording program that would involve sending men with audio and visual recording devices into their villages and communities to document stories, legends and ceremonies.[410] Through the 1970s and since, the Vanuatu Cultural Centre, as it came to be known, was the leading force in the revival of kastom as the basis of national culture and identity.[411]

Michoutouchkine's museum, however, was an oblique development in this context and it made Guiart uncomfortable. On 9 July 1973, he wrote a memo to Gabus, expressing his concerns. He questioned whether the artist, as a non-Melanesian, was the right person to be driving such a project; he worried that the museum would divide or draw funds away from the Culture Centre; he questioned the ethnographic value of Michoutouchkine's collection, disparaging it as mostly travel 'souvenirs' (with the exception of the material he had acquired from Futuna); and he cast suspicion on the ethics of Michoutouchkine's collecting practice, going so far as to claim that he had acquired certain cultural artefacts from the New Hebrides and exported

them illegally.[412] That claim led to a lawsuit against Michoutouchkine that went to court in Port Vila in July 1976, resulting in a judgement in favour of the defendant: Michoutouchkine had not acquired or exported the objects illegally.[413]

Guiart's opposition rattled the project and while it does not appear that he was entirely opposed to it, his memo precipitated a long and acrimonious dispute between the two men with mutual colleagues often caught in the middle. Michoutouchkine railed in letters to Gabus against Guiart's presumptive authority over what was right and proper, and made counter aspersions about Guiart's own collecting from the region and exhibitions in Paris. While Michoutouchkine was acquitted in the lawsuit above, the charge implicated his activities as a collector with the illegal expatriation of Melanesian cultural artefacts and the clandestine trading of the tribal art market. Michoutouchkine denied that his collecting was involved with any of that, insisting that his intention, to the contrary, had always been to create a collection of Oceanic art *for* the Pacific. The sensitivity of the issue, moreover, was heightened in the 1970s as political control over a previously poorly regulated artefact trade began to shift back to Melanesians. In New Caledonia, the New Hebrides and Papua New Guinea, there were outcries against the illegal expatriation of cultural artefacts, which raised broader issues of cultural loss, repatriation, and the responsibilities of museums. The controversies cast a shadow of uncertainty over Michoutouchkine's collection. How was it all acquired? Where does it properly belong? Should it all be returned?[414] Meanwhile, Michoutouchkine and Gabus attempted to address the project's other vulnerabilities. Aloï's nephew George Pilioko was primed to assume administrative charge of the museum by being sent to Neuchâtel and the Musée de l'Homme to train and become properly credentialed, supported by Gabus and Guiart. While George Pilioko was not a Melanesian, as Guiart would have preferred, Guiart's support of him reflected an acknowledgement of the need for professionally trained Pacific Islanders. Attempts were also made to have one of Guiart's postgraduate students inventory Michoutouchkine's collection (the works that had travelled to France and Switzerland). And supporters of the museum attempted to persuade Guiart of the merits of the project. One was Marjorie Crocombe, a Cook Islander then teaching at the University of the South Pacific in Fiji. Addressing the reiteration of his concerns in a letter to her, she addressed them one by one. Her remarks are worth quoting at length for they capture the intricacies for one Islander of what was a complicated set of issues. About the museum's impact on the Cultural Centre, she asked:

> Would it not be possible to combine the two aims? There may even be an advantage to having more than one centre. Much will depend on who will be the owner. If it was to belong to Mr Michoutouchkine and he had the power to sell it there would be a danger. But we understand that he is giving his whole collection free and with legal guarantee to ensure that the items remain there and are accessible to New Hebrides people for viewing. As you mention, a similar problem arises with the cultural centre and museum in Port Vila which at the moment comes under the control (effectively if not legally) of France and Britain. No doubt there too there will be effective guarantees that this falls into Melanesian hands.

On the appropriateness of Michoutouchkine leading such a project, she invoked the work he and Pilioko had made for the University of the South Pacific and the role they played during a visit there in 1972. 'Their visit enabled us to begin a wider programme of creative arts activity which is something which you too have been wanting to encourage.' On newspaper reports that Michoutouchkine wanted the museum to bear his name, which Guiart thought was inappropriate, she wrote:

> I think I would agree that it would be better if it was given a Melanesian name, but if he is giving a very valuable collection perhaps it will be necessary to accept his wish for recognition in this way. If the point is a very important one perhaps he would agree to a Melanesian name being given to the museum and to having a large metal plate in a prominent position describing the fact that the original collection was given by him, with a brief description of his activities in the Pacific Islands. If it is a problem we should be doing everything possible to explore ways of overcoming it. It would be very easy to lose his collection from the islands on a matter of that kind.

On the problem of 'private speculation in rare Pacific artifacts', she agreed it 'needs to be stopped'. 'But it is my understanding,' she added, 'that Mr Michoutouchkine has been collecting and not speculating.' On the sensitive matter of the loss of cultural patrimony from Melanesia and the role of museums in the new Pacific in responding to the issue, she wrote:

> You mention that you feel that the New Caledonian pieces in his collection should be returned to New Caledonia, the New Hebrides pieces to the Museum and Cultural Centre at Vila, and the New Guinea pieces to the Museum in Port Moresby. I sympathise with the general principle, but I think it needs to be applied carefully in particular cases. On our recent visit to Europe last year [with her husband Ron Crocombe, a Pacific historian] we saw thousands and thousands of pieces of Pacific art from all over the islands lying in European museums – much of it in backroom stores and not even displayed and in many cases with many duplicate examples of similar things. I think a much higher priority should be placed on having such things from the museums of Europe returned to the Pacific than to shifting material from one Pacific museum to another.
>
> I have been closely involved with the people who are trying to encourage the return of artifacts to the Pacific Islands and I know Mr Somare and others who are equally concerned. But none of them are demanding everything back from Europe or elsewhere. They are pleased and proud that things from their countries and cultures are displayed in other countries of the world. You have a magnificent collection at the Musee de L'Homme which we had the pleasure of seeing when we were in Paris. Hundreds of people see it everyday and it gives people in France an appreciation of the Pacific world. None of the Pacific leaders would like to destroy that display. What they would like is to have

> some of the many duplicates that you have there returned to various Pacific museums. Naturally the highest priority is on getting things back to the place where they came from, but it is not the only priority and most of us would like to see each Pacific museum having some items from other parts of the Pacific to broaden the understanding and awareness of Pacific cultural forms, and not just of the local parochial ones. Most of us in the South Pacific Creative Arts Society, and most of the leaders of Pacific government that I have spoken to would not have any objection to the museum containing Michoutouchkine's material in the New Hebrides containing items from other parts of the Pacific, provided they were clearly marked as having come from this or that island. In fact I think that islands leaders would generally be very happy to see such an arrangement.

And finally, I cite her evocation of the museum at Esnaar:

> To return to Mr Michoutouchkine's collection, if the museum was to be built where he at present has his studio on the shore of the bay at Erakor, this is a really beautiful place and is quite close to the capital and would seem to me to be an excellent place for the collection provided it was protected, it belonged to government or preferably to Melanesian interests, and it was open to all members of the public (and preferably free or as cheaply as possible to New Hebrideans).[415]

But it was not to be. As the decade progressed, the imminence of independence made French withdrawal inevitable and Michoutouchkine and Pilioko's museum was increasingly overshadowed by the discourse of nationhood and national culture. Exactly why the project fell over in the end, why it was not funded or its terms agreeably resolved, remain buried in private archives and the annals of the French territorial government.

Michoutouchkine and Pilioko's museum represented a different museological vision to that realized by the Vanuatu Cultural Centre. Would it have been possible to combine their two aims? Could they have worked in Port Vila, independently? Both were mediated in their origins by Europeans, but whereas the Cultural Centre started as the project of Western scholars – anthropologists, linguists and archaeologists – Michoutouchkine and Pilioko's museum originated in the discourse of visual modernism. Where the Cultural Centre anticipated the re-empowerment of ni-Vanuatu and the revival of 'kastom' as the basis of national identity, the museum was the entrepreneurial venture of two immigrants: one a Polynesian, the other a Russian from France. While the latter also imagined it would be under Indigenous control, exactly what that meant was contentious. Was George Pilioko an 'acceptable' museum director in the cultural optics of an independent Vanuatu? Who would comprise the group of advisory elders they proposed? Where would they come from? What voice did Michoutouchkine deserve in the future direction of the museum? Unlike the Cultural Centre, his collection was pan-Pacific in scope; it was regionalist rather than nationalist, and intended to show the differences in artistic traditions. Moreover, his collection was premised on the displacement of its contents from the myriad contexts

from which it was gathered and its re-coding as 'art' for exhibition. Making exhibitions was primarily what he and Pilioko did with it, and in that respect it was oriented to the international and the increasingly global traffic in exhibitions across cultural and national boundaries. But the museum was also imagined as a place for artists, a new context for the continuation of Oceanic artistic traditions conceived not as revival but as a dialogue between exponents of traditional genres and experimental modernists.

Despite the museum's demise, Michoutouchkine and Pilioko continued their travelling and exhibition-making, including the staging of a remarkable series of exhibitions at nine different locations in the Soviet Union between 1979 and 1986. These exhibitions threw Michoutouchkine's project into touching relief as his passion for Oceanic art served, ironically, to acquaint him with the homeland of his ancestors and the rediscovery of his Russianness.[416] The museum was also not entirely abandoned. Esnaar was made over in the 1990s with a small sculpture garden and a row of open-air pavilions with paintings and memorabilia. But much of the collection is now dispersed. Some 350 objects are on long-term loan to a museum in Bali. Some pieces have been gifted to museums in Russia, France and Switzerland. Some, loaned decades ago to hotels, airline companies and friends, have been lost track of or await return to Pilioko as part of Michoutouchkine's estate. In the catalogue of their 2007 retrospective at the Tjibaou Cultural Centre, Michoutouchkine repeated a statement he had made three decades earlier when the museum still seemed a real possibility.

> I am not an ethnologist and I don't pretend to be a museum curator; I have come to value my indigeneity (je suis arrivé à garder mon indigenat) and my artistic freedom, and I want to underline the spirit in which this collection was gathered, how each new acquisition was a gesture of love for each object found.[417]

Here, as a lover, he is giving his collection its due.

PART THREE

~

LEGACIES OF EMPIRE

CHAPTER 16

Kings, Rangatira and relationships: the enduring meanings of 'treasure' exchanges between Māori and Europeans in 1830s Whangaroa

DEIDRE BROWN

~

Exchanges between Indigenous people and other sovereign powers have been the basis for much recent discussion about the role of artefacts in imperialism and colonization. Exchange, however, is a two-way process, and for some Indigenous peoples represents an ongoing reciprocal relationship.[418] Māori communities are beginning to regard some gifts received from the British Crown as evidence of its recognition of Indigenous sovereignty and are drawing them into contemporary legal processes and other activities to assert political rights. This has been the case with 21 taonga Māori (Māori treasures) collected and then presented by the Ngāpuhi rangatira (chief), Titore (?-1837), to King William IV of Great Britain and officers of the HMS *Buffalo* in 1834 and 1837, seven of which have been located in the British Museum, Queen Elizabeth's Royal Collection, Rome's Museo Nazionale Preistorico Etnografico Luigi Pigorini and the Dresden Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde (Figure 16.1). A suit of bright cuirassier armour sent in response by the King to Titore in 1835 subsequently attained significant mana (prestige) and tapu (restricted usage) as a taonga tuku iho (treasure passed down) between a number of rangatira (chiefs) before being deposited in the Dominion Museum (now the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa) in 1908. In 2016, I presented the story of this exchange as a Brief of Evidence to the Waitangi Tribunal to support Ngāpuhi's claim that the tribe never ceded its sovereignty to the Crown under the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi.[419] The brief argues that these exchanged treasures are evidence of a mutual recognition of sovereignty and rangatiratanga (Māori sovereign rights) immediately prior to the signing of the Treaty. Reconsidering these objects in this way restores their political agency and reinvigorates museums as sites associated with post-imperial activism.

'Collecting' is practised in societies outside Europe, and Titore's activities in this regard offer a glimpse into motivations for acquiring and commissioning taonga Māori (Māori treasures) and other Pacific treasures within complex social and economic systems. The chief's impetus to collect was almost certainly related to his role in leading a



Figure 16.1. Portrait of Titore by Conrad Martens, 1835, pencil. In Conrad Martens, 'Sketchbook 1834-1836', Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales (PX C294).

series of armed conflicts, originally begun by Hongi Hika, which led to the confederation of a number of northern hapū (subtribes) into modern Ngāpuhi, now the largest tribe in Aotearoa New Zealand. Rangatira who engaged in battle for territorial consolidation had to broker relationships with allies and former enemies carefully as the social, political and spiritual cohesion of Māori society relied on the maintenance of utu (balance) between people, nature, and deities. Oral histories, from tribes around the country, recount the exchange of intrinsically valuable taonga – particularly mere pounamu (greenstone[420] cleavers), taiaha (staffs), kākahu (cloaks) and waka taua (decorated canoes) – as gifts or settlements that either created or satisfied obligations. The stories of these exchanges were inexorably tied to each taonga, adding to their mana and tapu, which would then be further enhanced if they were re-presented in subsequent exchanges, each layer of 'ownership' retold as a whakapapa (lineage story) for the taonga. Titore would no doubt have negotiated many deals of this nature and, if the artefact record he left behind is any guide, the taonga involved would have been commissioned or acquired through koha (exchange, gifting), muru (plunder) or trade with Europeans.

Enterprising leaders like Titore sought to enhance the mana and resources of their communities through commercial engagement with the European and American trading vessels that visited the Bay of Islands and Whangaroa harbours to acquire provisions and timber from the beginning of the nineteenth century (Figure 16.2).[421] Rangatira actively cultivated alliances with reliable trading enterprises to become their preferred suppliers,



Figure 16.2. Map of Bay of Islands and Whangaroa harbours, New Zealand.

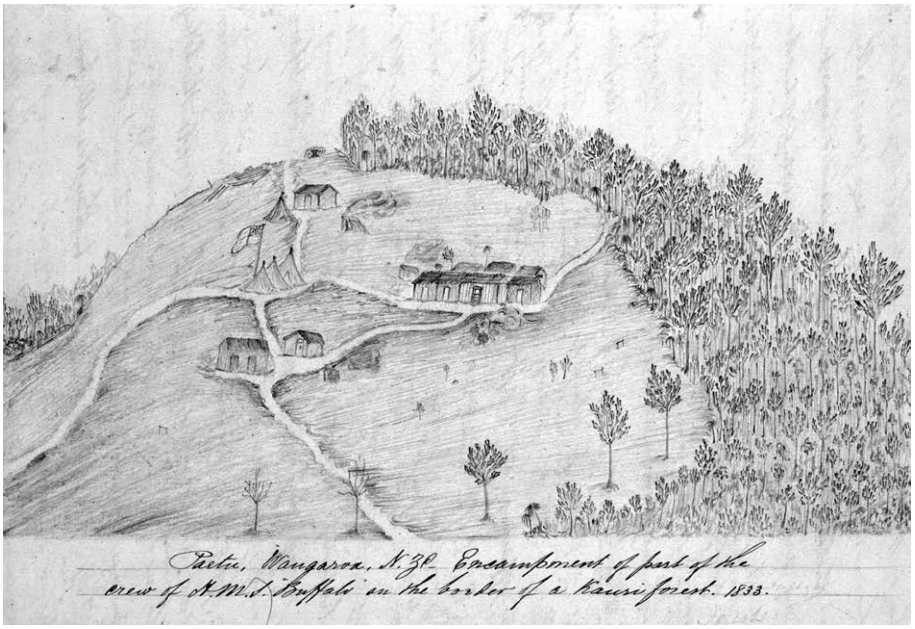


Figure 16.3. Paetu encampment, Whangaroa, 1833, as seen and sketched in pencil by Thomas Laslett. In Thomas Laslett, 'New Zealand Journal 1', Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand (MS-Papers-8349-1).

so it is not surprising that Titore would have seized on the opportunity to develop an advantageous relationship with the British Crown when the HMS *Buffalo* arrived at Kororāreka in the Bay of Islands in 1833, seven years before New Zealand became a British colony. Unlike the largely privately-owned trading, whaling and sealing ships frequenting the Bay, the *Buffalo* was a more significant commercial proposition, a large British Royal Navy storeship sent to New Zealand with timber surveyors, a mast maker, and carpenter's mates to fell, dress and load a full cargo of timber spars for masts and booms.[422] Titore, who had seized control of the notorious port town of Kororāreka only a few years earlier, quickly directed the *Buffalo* out of the Bay to the Whangaroa Harbour, further north, where the politics were more settled and the kauri (*Agathis australis*) timber reserves abundant.[423] Here the ship's shore party, together with Māori deployed by Titore, established a well-built encampment called Paetu and felled and dressed trees from December 1833 to June 1834, with a brief interlude to work further south in Mahurangi (Figure 16.3).[424] The captain, William Sadler, offered generous barter goods, well beyond the value paid by other traders for similar cargo,[425] including 200 muskets with ammunition, blankets, fishhooks, tobacco, iron pots and forks.[426] In response, Titore and his people took every effort to demonstrate manaakitanga, a lavish form of hospitality, during the shore party's stay, presenting the crew with kaitaka (flax cloaks), mere pounamu and other traditional weapons as they left to return to the United Kingdom.[427] Amidst the Māori-led pageantry for the *Buffalo*'s departure on 26 June, which included an accompanying flotilla of feather-dressed waka taua (carved war canoes),[428] Titore presented Sadler with personal gifts designed to oblige him to return and other presents for delivery to the King, via Sadler.

Captain William Sadler's gifts, 1834

Sadler's family retained his gifts from Titore until July 1896, when a granddaughter, Belle Sadler of Brixton, offered nine for sale to Charles Read, Keeper of Ethnology at the British Museum.[429] Four were purchased by the British Museum and are currently in storage:

1. A mere pounamu (Figure 16.4).[430] Māori stone cleavers are very difficult to date from their formalism, and there is currently no method of establishing its antiquity.

2. A pounamu hei tiki pendant with an unusual double head and accompanying bone toggle (Figure 16.5).[431] Belle Sadler told the museum its purpose was to protect the wearer from 'evil spirits', a story in keeping with northern Māori beliefs about such taonga.[432]

3. A kōauau (flute), presently in the human remains store, which Belle Sadler said was made from a man's thigh bone (Figure 16.6).[433] The fashioning of remains into utilitarian objects was sometimes a means of desecrating a person's tinana (body) and wairua (everlasting spirit).[434]

4. A whalebone aurei (cloak pin) (Figure 16.7).[435] Before the arrival of the European whaling industry, whalebone was only obtainable through stranding, which was interpreted as a sign of divine favour as a beached whale provided large amounts of food, fat and oils.[436] Whale ivory became more readily available with the advent of







Figure 16.4 (left). Mere pounamu, pounamu (greenstone/nephrite) cleaver, given by Titore to Captain Frederick Sadler of the HMS Buffalo in 1834. Now in the British Museum (Oc1896,-.929). Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.

Figure 16.5 (middle). Hei tiki, humanoid pounamu (greenstone/nephrite) pendant given by Titore to Sadler in 1834. Now in the British Museum (Oc1896,-.925.b and Oc1896,-.925.b). Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.

Figure 16.6 (right). Koauau, flute, human bone, given by Titore to Sadler in 1834. Now in the British Museum (Oc1896,-.930). Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 16.7. Aurei, whale ivory cloak pin, given by Titore to Sadler in 1834. Now in the British Museum (Oc1896,-.931). Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.

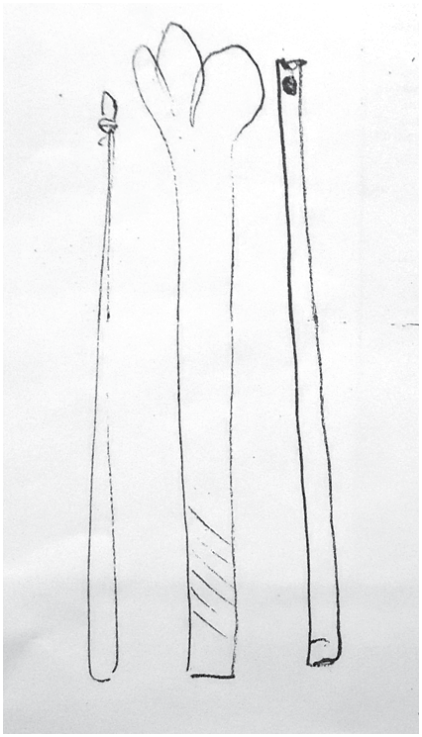


Figure 16.8. Annotated 1896 drawing by Belle Sadler of gifts given to her grandfather, Captain Frederick Sadler, by Titore in 1834. The image appears to show (L-R) a taiaha (Māori wooden staff), I-ula tavatava (Fijian wooden throwing stick) and fangufangu (Tongan flute). Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.

commercial whale hunting, which had reached peak activity in the southern ocean by the 1830s.[437] Whalebone is also difficult to date.

After much misunderstanding and haggling, the British Museum agreed to purchase the four items, paying £30 for the mere and £2 for the hei tiki.[438] It declined to buy the remaining five, some of which were illustrated in one of Sadler's letters, and the fate of these items is still to be determined (Figure 16.8). They included another pounamu hei tiki, a one metre long 'polished wooden club, carved at one end', probably a taiaha, two figures 'carved from roots of trees', which appear from her sketch to be Fijian I-ula tavatava throwing sticks, and an 80 cm long 'polished wooden stick or club carved at either end'.[439] The latter item does not appear to be Māori, but could be a Fijian bowai or 'pole club'.[440] By the 1830s, many Oceanic objects were circulating around the Pacific, and it is possible that non-Māori Pacific items were acquired by Titore from a sailor, or through exchange with other Māori who had similar contacts or had travelled to the Pacific Islands.[441]

One measure of mana was the extent of a rangatira's social and economic networks. The acquisition of Pacific taonga would have demonstrated the depth of Titore's trading relationships and the expanding boundaries of his material world well beyond Aotearoa New Zealand's shores, all attributes he would have wanted to make known to his new trading partner. The taonga he gifted to Sadler were not the usual cross-section of Māori-made items that Europeans wished to acquire as local souvenirs; they were Titore's determination of what Sadler needed to know about him as a trader and leader.

King William IV's gift, 1835

At the same time Sadler received his gifts, Titore together with Patuone, a chief from the Hokianga Harbour further west, presented him with two finely woven cloaks and two mere with a request that they be delivered to King William, 'as a mark they said of the high esteem they always held for Englishmen'.[442] Perhaps anxious to ensure that his role in hosting the *Buffalo* was not lost on the King, Titore distinguished his taonga from that of Patuone by dictating an accompanying letter of explanation for the King to the missionary William Yate:

> King William
> Here am I, the friend of Captain Sadler. The ship is full and is now about to sail. I have heard that you afore time were the Captain of a ship. Do you therefore examine the spars, whether they are good, or whether they are bad. Should you and the French quarrel, here are some trees for your Battle-Ships. I am now beginning to think about a ship for myself. A native canoe is my vessel, and I have nothing else. The native canoes upset, when they are filled with potatoes, and other matters for your people. I have put on board the Buffalo a meri ponamu [sic; greenstone cleaver] 'Puwaro,' and two garments for you: these are all the things which New Zealanders possess. If I had anything better, I would give it to Captain Sadler for you.
> This is all mine to you, mine.
> Titore[443]

Titore would have regarded the King as an ariki, or paramount chief, of the United Kingdom. The letter clearly emphasizes what he sees as the continuing importance of his role in maintaining the Royal Navy through trade in timber, the mana of his gifts, and his need for a ship of his own (intimating the King's obligation). Protection against French aggression had occupied Titore's thoughts in recent years; just a few years earlier he and 12 other rangatira signed a letter appealing to King William for protection from France, with the result that James Busby was appointed British Resident at Waitangi in 1833.[444] Titore's provision of a personal name for the mere pounamu, 'Puwaro', signifies that it was a special taonga of the type reserved for ceremonial exchange between subtribes and tribes to forge relationships. Given Titore's recent territorial expansion, he may have wanted a ship to enable his oversight of production and trade in these areas, and to patrol their sea boundaries; one can only imagine how he had intimidated his rivals when sailing around Northland on the HMS *Buffalo*. When seen in the context of his continuing conflict with other rangatira further south, the taonga given to the *Buffalo*'s crew and for the King instantiated a much-desired alliance with the British for mutual economic and strategic advantage.

Titore and Patuone's gifts were taken to the Admiralty soon after the *Buffalo* arrived in Portsmouth on 20 November 1834, along with instructions from Sadler about 'the motives of these chiefs in sending the presents and the New Zealand custom of a return being made'.[445] There are no records documenting their transferral from the Admiralty to the King himself. The Royal Collection does not contain kaitaka from this period, but does have one mere pounamu that was deposited before 1860s (Figure 16.9).[446] Its wrist strap

is a repurposed leather belt, which suggests it was carried, if not used, by a chief who was in contact with Europeans but still wore customary chiefly insignia as part of his dress. There is some debate as to whether traditional weapons used for hand-to-hand combat, like mere pounamu, would have been employed during Titore's inter-tribal Musket Wars of the 1820s and 1830s, and the value of pounamu had certainly dropped in the broader Māori exchange economy following the widespread introduction of iron and muskets from the first decade of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, stories abound of mere pounamu and kaitaka still being presented as taonga tuku iho between rangatira at this time. Not all objects 'presented' to British royalty in the nineteenth century reached the monarch or their family; many were dispersed to local and national institutions like the Victoria and Albert Museum, and later to international museums as well. Those that did find their way to the monarch were sometimes given to relatives who were setting up new households.[447] Since there is no surviving paper record of exchanges between Royal households, we can only speculate that Titore's taonga, except possibly the mere pounamu described above, were dispersed either within the extended Royal family or beyond to one or more institutions.

While it is not clear whether Titore's gifts for King William ever found their way to the monarch, they were acknowledged by the Crown. On 26 December 1834, the King's Private Secretary, Sir Herbert Taylor, requested that Lord Aberdeen, the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, arrange for a suit of armour to be sent to Titore, as a response to Sadler's advice about the Māori custom of reciprocity.[448] The Tower of London raised a number of queries to ensure that it supplied a suit that Titore could use, enquiring with Sadler about his build, and suggesting that knee length black, rather than bright, armour would allow for better movement and maintenance in an imagined, and wildly fanciful, Māori battle environment.[449] The completed order, however, comprised bright armour of the type worn by the King's personal guard, clothing to wear underneath, gauntlet gloves, and boots, and an enclosed letter to Titore from Lord Aberdeen.[450] As New Zealand moved closer to annexation, the Crown was becoming increasingly cautious in the way it acknowledged northern paramount



Figure 16.9 Mere pounamu, pounamu (greenstone/nephrite) cleaver with a strap made from a repurposed leather belt that may have been given by Titore for presentation to King William IV of Great Britain in 1834. Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2018 (62811).

chiefs. Aberdeen's letter refers to Titore as 'His Highness', whereas in previous decades George the Fourth and George the Third had used the title 'King' to address Titore's predecessors, Hongi Hika and Te Pahi, respectively.[451] These nuances would have been lost on Titore, and possibly Busby who received the armour in November 1835 and passed it on, along with an explanation of the letter, to Titore, who received both 'with much gratification'.[452] A more ambivalent oral narrative would surface later, describing how, after putting on the armour including the helmet, Titore decided to test a story that it could deflect bullets, and handed a musket to his son asking him to fire it at his head. Since his son was shaking too much to take aim, they instead placed the helmet on a tree stump and fired, penetrating the metal.[453] It is perhaps not surprising that there are no further stories of Titore wearing the armour, but by this stage, like other taonga exchanged between rangatira, its utilitarian purpose was superseded by a symbolic value significantly enhanced by its Royal origins.

The socio-cultural and physical trajectory of Titore's armour as a taonga tuku iho adds to our appreciation of what constituted a 'taonga' in that time, and how relevant this might be for Māori today.[454] Its British manufacture and association with the King added to the taonga's mana and tapu, the armour's value accumulating as it was passed between rangatira, until it reached the cusp of what might be termed te ao tawhito (the old world) and dawn of a Māori te ao hou (new world) at the beginning of the twentieth century. At this point, it departed from a Māori environment to lie, somewhat dormant, in the national museum for another century, until it and the multiple Māori and Pakeha paradigms it represented were once again needed.

Reconstructing the story of Titore's armour has required disentangling a number of narratives, including its confusion with Hongi's chainmail suit received from King George IV in 1820. Three years after Titore's death, the armour was presented to Te Wherowhero, the paramount chief of the Waikato region who would become the first Māori King in 1857. The armour is said to have been given as part of a Ngāpuhi peacemaking gift made at a spectacular 1844 feast Te Wherowhero hosted at Remuwera (known today as Remuera) in Auckland for 4,000 Māori.[455] That October, it had again changed hands and into the possession of the paramount chief of Ngāti Maniapoto, Taonui Hikaka I, who had received it as recompense after Te Wherowhero performed an insulting song about him and other chiefs.[456] The travelling artist, George French Angas, drew the armour when he saw it at Taonui's village at Paripari and noted that it was 'regarded with a sort of superstitious veneration by the natives, who look upon it as something extraordinary'[457] (Figure 16.10). It was evidently already highly tapu by this stage.

The armour continued to be passed down. At some point, it was presented to Te Heuheu, the paramount chief of Tūwharetoa, who then gave it to Aperahama Ruke, a relative and chief of Taupō, and his wife Ngaweuweu, perhaps as a wedding gift, following the practice of giving significant koha in recognition of strategic family alliances through marriage.[458] The couple later brought the armour to Ngaweuweu's senior relative, Hori Kingi Te Anaua, a leader of the Whanganui tribes, who, due to its tapu, kept it at Pukehika village, in what he called 'the sacred house', presumably a pātaka (raised store house) or a wharenui (meeting house).[459] Pukehika was abandoned in the second half of the nineteenth century. The deteriorating state of the 'sacred house' together with rumours that European collectors were planning to steal its contents prompted Hori Kingi's

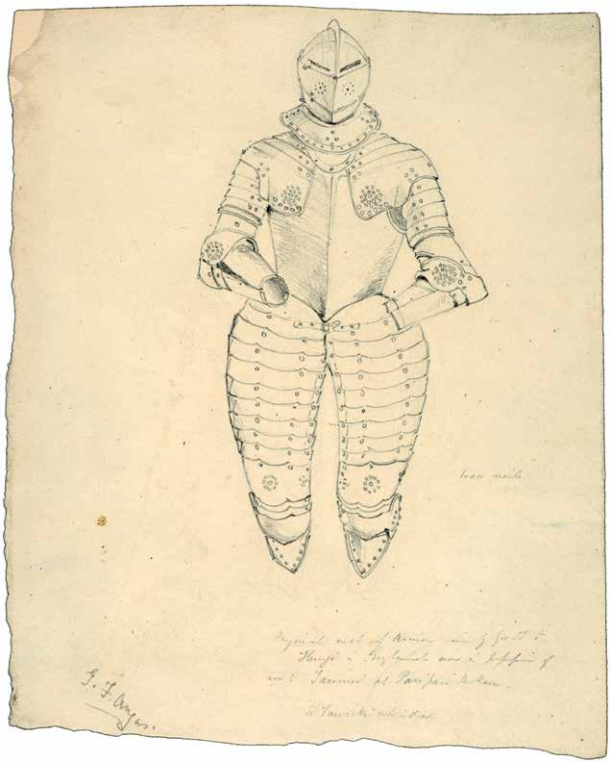


Figure 16.10. George French Angas, sketch of Titore's armour as seen at Paripari, 1844, pencil. National Library of Australia (2887977).



Figure 16.11. Armour believed to have been given by King William IV to Titore in 1835. Now in the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (ME001845).

relative Waata Wiremu Hipango and Hori Pukehika to recover and hide the armour in scrubland around the empty settlement in the early 1890s.[460] Still concerned about the wellbeing of the armour, in late 1908, Pukehika and Dr Maui Pomare removed it from the pa and deposited it in the Dominion Museum, now the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, where it remains in the collection to this day (Figure 16.11).[461]

The passing of the armour out of a Māori environment and into the museum has been the most dramatic shift in the armour's symbolic signification. Pukehika was a Native Sanitary Inspector and carver who worked closely with museum curators on exhibitions, and Pomare, who had trained in the US as a medical doctor, was a leading intellectual and Māori (Public) Health Officer.[462] As public health officials, the pair were actively involved in encouraging Māori to put aside certain customary beliefs, like tapu, in favour of accepting European lifeways and especially Western remedies to recover from endemic Western diseases. Their recontextualization of a taonga tapu (or prohibited object) to museum artefact may have been a form of whakanoa, or spiritual cleansing to make safe, a rite that was also completed when the tapu of Titore's death was neutralized by another gift to the *Buffalo*.

Captain William Sadler's gifts, 1837

More of Titore's taonga were to make their way to Britain. When the HMS *Buffalo* returned briefly to the Bay of Islands in September 1837, a posthumous gift from Titore, described as 'some mats and other articles of native manufacture', was waiting for Captain Sadler. [463] Three months before, Titore had died of tuberculosis, one of the many deadly contagious European diseases then spreading around the Bay.[464] Thomas Laslett, the *Buffalo*'s Second Surveyor, reported that, 'when he found himself seriously ill [Titore] begged those about him to hand … to [Sadler] and further to give to the new expedition all the assistance in their power'.[465] Sadler, however, had been promoted and was no longer on board. It appears that some, if not all, of Titore's taonga were received and retained instead by the *Buffalo's* Senior Master, Joseph Chegwyn.[466]

In February 1896, another Joseph Chegwyn (from Bexhill, Sussex) wrote to the British Museum offering to sell 'New Zealand curiosities which my late father Staff Commander Chegwyn R. N. had presented to him by a native chief named Titouri [*sic*] in 1837'.[467] These taonga are almost certainly those shown in an undated and unattributed image held in the British Museum Photographic Collection, likely the same image Chegwyn referred to in his correspondence with the museum (Figure 16.12).[468] The Chegwyn collection comprised of eight items that he also priced:[469]

1. A mere pounamu, £60.
2. A patu parāoa (whalebone cleaver), £10.
3. A pounamu toki (greenstone adze) blade, £25.
4. A pounamu hei tiki pendant with one shell inlaid eye, £20.
5. A shark-tooth knife that appears to be Hawaiian rather than Māori in origin, £5.
6. A kapeu pounamu (greenstone neck pendant), not priced.
7. A finely made kaitaka flax cloak with intricate tāniko details, £10.
8. 8. A unique split-handled hoe (paddle), 'adorned with the figures of a God and Goddess … inlaid with mother of pearl', that Chegwyn senior had said was used as 'a symbol of authority on board the large war canoes', £150.

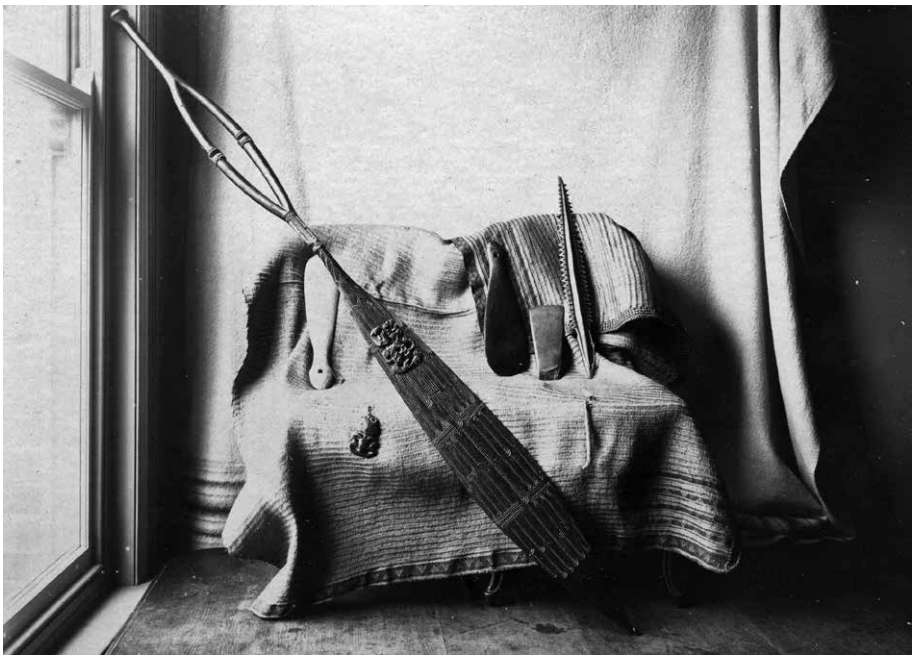


Figure 16.12. Titore's gifts for Captain Frederick Sadler, received by Staff Commander Joseph Chegwyn in 1837, and photographed in London in 1896. The hoe (paddle) is in the Dresden Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde (8564), and the hei tiki was once in the Pitt-Rivers Collection, although the current whereabouts of the latter and the other taonga in this image is not known. British Museum Photographic Collection (Oc,B3.18). Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.

Once again, the gift demonstrates Titore's profile as a leader of influence, even at the end of his life, and his ability to intervene in critical moments of inter-tribal and inter-cultural engagement. The mere pounamu, hei tiki, kaitaka and chiefly hoe, if not also the other taonga Māori on offer, were objects of mana, the addition of a Hawaiian shark-tooth knife another allusion to Titore's diverse and expanding trading networks. By 1837, Europeans could no longer acquire taonga Māori of any quality or size for barter in the Bay of Islands, as local Māori had realized their value and were demanding cash payment.[470] Titore's posthumous gift had significant value in both worlds, and his insistence on its presentation to the *Buffalo* demonstrates his belief that he was already in a binding relationship with the Navy and, by extension, the Crown.

As discussions with the British Museum had begun to break down, Chegwyn initiated conversations with at least one other collector, leading to the dispersal of the collection as a whole.[471] After three months of negotiation, the ethnographic dealer William Webster purchased the hoe, the two patu parāoa, the toki and the hei tiki, and was offering them for sale in his April 1896 catalogue for about half the price that Chegwyn had requested from the British Museum (Figure 16.13).[472] The hei tiki was purchased for £10 by the ethnologist and collector Augustus Pitt-Rivers, becoming part of his so-called 'second collection' that

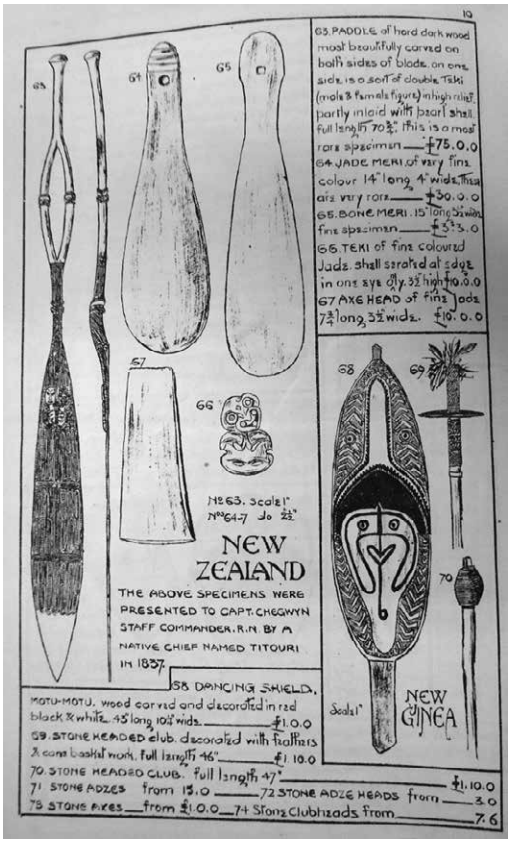


Figure 16.13. William Webster auction catalogue showing the items from Titore that Webster purchased from Joseph Chegwyn jnr. in 1896. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge.

was progressively sold by the family from the 1950s (Figure 16.14). Its current whereabouts are not known. The hoe was sold by Webster for £75 to the Dresden Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde in May 1896, where it is still part of the collection (8564).[473] Although the hoe survived the bombing of Dresden during the Second World War, an associated file of letters, containing correspondence over July 1896 to March 1897 about the hoe from the collectors Thomas Hocken, Thomas Cheeseman, Gilbert Mair, and Horotio Robley, as well as Chegwyn Jnr, was destroyed.[474] An unpublished New Zealand catalogue written by a staff member in 1901, and still in the museum archive, recorded some of Chegwyn Jnr's comments, noting that his father had been told that the hoe was made by a captive chief.[475] The ethnologist, Roger Neich, stylistically attributed the paddle to the Bay of Plenty, a region that Titore and other Ngāpuhi tribal leaders attacked in 1832 and 1833.[476] The patu parāoa and toki took longer to sell, appearing in later Webster catalogues (13 and 19). Horatio Robley acquired the kapeu and sold it in June 1896 to the Museo Nazionale Preistorico Etnografico Luigi Pigorini, Rome, where it was recently rediscovered by Ngarino Ellis.[477] The fate of the patu parāoa, toki, kaitaka and shark-tooth knife, like that of the Sadler collection not purchased by the British Museum, is yet to be established. Despite this, their mana as taonga tuku iho remains in their recovered histories.

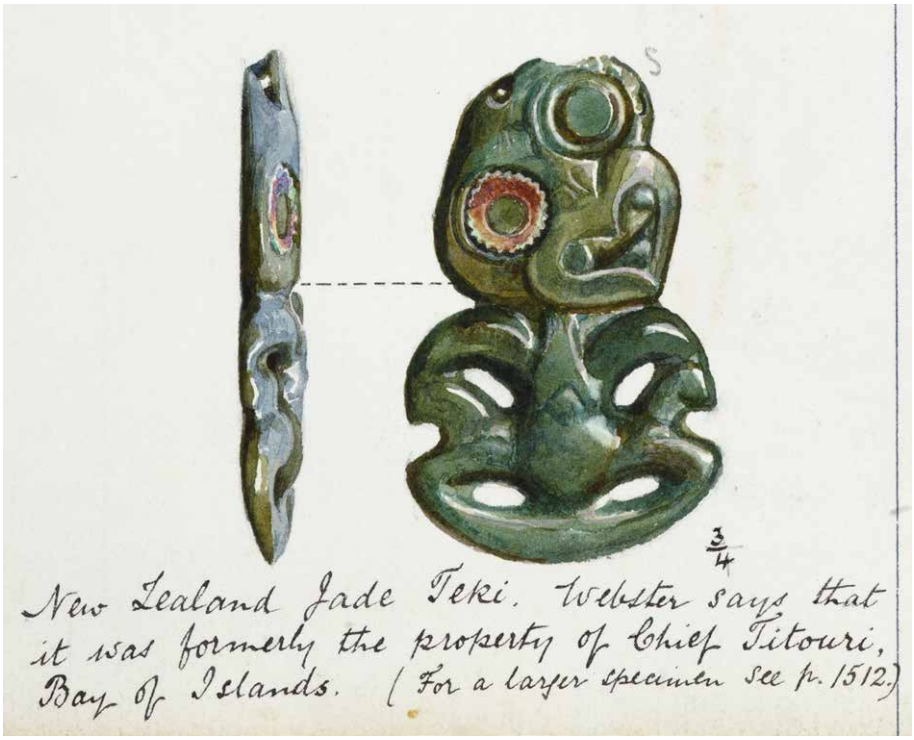


Figure 16.14. Entry for Titore's pounamu (greenstone/nephrite) hei tiki, received by Chegwyn snr. in 1837. In the manuscript catalogue of Pitt-Rivers 'second' collection, 1898. Courtesy and copyright, Anthony Pitt-Rivers and the Syndics of Cambridge University Library (MS Add.9455).

Waitangi Tribunal

The idea that taonga have qualities such as mauri (embedded spirit) or mana, that generate affect beyond their tangible manifestations is important to contemporary Ngāpuhi as it is in Māori society at large. Ngāpuhi histories of the gifts Titore gave to Sadler and the King, and the reciprocal gift of the King and return of the HMS *Buffalo* demonstrate their enduring significance. Through his gifts, Titore wanted to secure Ngāpuhi prosperity through continued trade with the British, and to ensure the preservation of his rangatiratanga under British protection. Neither eventuated. The chief Hakiro, claiming to represent Titore's posthumous wishes, at the signing of the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi annexation document, told Lieutenant William Hobson 'some might tell you stay here, but I say this is not the place for you. We are not your people. We are free. We don't need you and we don't want you'.[478] Although the Treaty was endorsed by a majority of chiefs at that meeting, Hakiro was perhaps aware of a crucial distinction between the reo Māori (Māori language) version of the Treaty, which ceded Māori kawanatanga (governance), and the English version, which ceded Māori sovereignty. The story of the spectacular failure of the King's suit of armour to resist musket fire must have seemed a portent of things to come, when Ngāpuhi's disillusionment with the Treaty brought them into direct conflict with British-led

colonial forces during the first Anglo-Māori War of the mid-1840s. In 2014, the Waitangi Tribunal, the New Zealand government's permanent commission of inquiry into Crown breaches of the Treaty, found that Ngāpuhi never intended to cede their rangatiratanga, interpreted as sovereignty, at the signing.[479] The following year, The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa sent the rusted and broken remains of Titore's armour to become part of a powerful display of taonga Ngāpuhi (Ngāpuhi treasures) associated with rangatiratanga at the new Waitangi Museum, adjacent to Busby's residence where Titore received it and the Treaty of Waitangi was signed. The vicissitudes of time had not diminished the mana and tapu of this taonga tuku iho.

The Tribunal continued with Ngāpuhi hearings after the release of its initial 2014 findings. While undertaking research for this chapter, I received a request from my hapū (sub-tribal kin group) to submit a Brief of Evidence that would strengthen their taonga-based submissions. This is the point in my research story where my professional practices as an art historian, writing in the third person, entangles with the responsibilities inherited as a member of Titore's hapū, Ngāti Rehia. The exchanges between Titore and Sadler and the King, along with other earlier research, seemed to me relevant to the claim. Reconstituting the research involved a significant change in approach, from an art historian's objectivity to an advocate's conviction, requiring the reconsideration of interpretations as facts to achieve a body of evidence and burden of proof that was certain beyond any reasonable doubt. The speculations associated with those useful words, 'might', 'could be', 'possibly', 'perhaps', and 'suggest', that leave space for revision in the face of better information, had to become either 'is' or 'are' conclusions, or be completely abandoned. 'Them' and 'they' also became 'us' and 'we' and, more emphatically, 'I'.

Whangaroa remains a predominantly Māori community that suffers from high unemployment, crime and suicide, low rates of educational achievement, and severe environmental degradation caused by unsustainable forestry and farming practices. Participating in the Tribunal process caused me to think about how we had gone from being wealthy, healthy and engaged in trade with other Māori, Europeans and Pacific peoples to this state of deprivation in less than 200 years. My argument is that multiple Treaty breaches had led to a diminution of the rangatiratanga or sovereignty that had earlier been inherent in Titore's gifting relationships, thus removing the roles of art commissioners, collectors, givers and receivers. A compounding factor has been a shift to the wage economy from the koha and tuku economy, diminishing the traditional systems of makers' remuneration and the impetus for material reciprocity and gifting. The loss of native timber and flax reserves, through land alienation, pastoral farming and unsustainable felling practices, further reduced access to the materials required to make taonga. In effect, the conditions no longer exist for the arts and relationships, apparent in Titore's gifts, to be created or obtained, a symptom of our loss of self-determination and current inability to participate in customary economic practices. The brief, like this chapter, argues that the taonga exchanged between Titore and the King, and his representatives, are evidence of a mutual recognition of rangatiratanga and sovereignty immediately prior to the signing of the Treaty. Reconsidering these taonga in this way restores their political agency.

Another aspect of the Tribunal claimant process is the recommendation of restitutions. This raises the question of potential remedies or compensations for the loss of artistic traditions between the period immediately before the Treaty and today. An obvious response would be the restoration of Ngāpuhi customary art production in the Northland region. This has been attempted before. In the late 1920s and through the 1930s, a national School of Māori Arts and Crafts 'revived' a number of wood and fibre arts (except clothing) for their building projects in Māori communities by using museum-held collections as exemplars of original making traditions.[480] Although carving had not been widely practised in Northland since the mid-nineteenth century, the School's carvers adapted patterns from Whangaroa and other Ngāpuhi waka koiwi (bone caskets) in Auckland Museum, to create a new 'northern' style of tiki for internal meeting house poupou (wall carvings) for a project at Waitangi (opened in 1940). The style has been copied by subsequent generations of carvers. An issue with artistic revival movements is that they sometimes, as in this case, operate within the conditions that led to the art tradition's demise. Having uncovered and reassembled the history of Titore's collection of taonga Māori, including a number of the gifts he sent out to initiate reciprocal relationships, my view is that these taonga demand the recovery of Māori-determined social, environmental and economic conditions, one which needs to take place to enable art to be meaningfully made, commissioned or acquired from Māori by Māori for Māori needs in the twenty-first century and beyond. This evidence accords with that of other Māori claimants, recounting instances of the Crown's suppression of Māori beliefs, land rights, knowledge, language and, ultimately, aspirations.

European collections from the Pacific can be so much more than exemplars of past artistic practice and the passions of the Europeans who acquired them. Titore's gifts represent the mana of a rangatira, extending far beyond the Māori world and in direct engagement with Europeans. They are a snapshot of self-determination immediately prior to British annexation and colonization and provide a potential benchmark for remediating a presently difficult situation. The taonga from Titore's gifts that are now in museum collections have acquired a new role as representations of 'Māori', a single collective identity that would have been unthinkable in Titore's lifetime, but a driving objective for leaders like Te Wherowhero, Te Heuheu and Maui Pomare. Yet, the gifts also manifest a distinct tribal, social, economic and artistic authority that has as much currency now as it did in the 1830s.

CHAPTER 17

An early Tongan ngatu tahina in Sweden

NICHOLAS THOMAS

~

On 16 October 2017, project photographer Mark Adams and I visited the Etnografiska Museet, Stockholm, an impressive and innovative museum, though one housed in a red building from the 1970s which gives little initial sense that some collections date back to the renowned eighteenth-century scientific societies and travellers associated with Linnaeus. Our particular interest was in an unusually large barkcloth (1848.1.13), thought to have been collected during Captain James Cook's first voyage (1768-1771).

The textile forms part of an important early collection given by Joseph Banks to Stockholm merchants and naturalists, the Alstromers, which was at first in their private museum, and later, in 1848, transferred to the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences; the Academy's collections in turn entered those of the scientific museums of the nation. The Alstromer collection constitutes an important part of a larger puzzle, that is, what became of the many artefacts – probably numbering over 200 – which remained in Banks' possession following the voyage of the HMS *Endeavour,* and were initially kept by him at houses in New Burlington Street and Soho Square, in London's West End. While the British Museum (BM) might have been assumed to be the 'natural' destination of objects owned by the influential, entrepreneurial traveller, natural historian and President of the Royal Society, and Banks did indeed make donations of voyage artefacts to the BM, the bulk of the material appears subsequently to have been removed and given away to scientific friends including the important Danish entomologist Johann Fabricius. Banks presented some objects to Christ Church, an Oxford college, which are now in the Pitt Rivers Museum (PRM); others appear to have been widely dispersed.[481]

The gift to the Alstromers was published by Stig Rydén in *The Banks Collection: An Episode in 18th-Century Anglo-Swedish Relations*.[482] While this work includes a full catalogue and was carefully prepared, the author was not an expert in either Pacific history or art; nor was he able to benefit from the scholarship of Adrienne Kaeppler and others regarding Cook collections that began to be published a few years later.

The Stockholm collection includes clubs from Tonga which cannot have been collected during the first voyage, but Rydén assumed that Banks was the field collector of most of the material and published the barkcloth as Tahitian, associating it with a formal welcome soon after the arrival of the *Endeavour* in April 1769, when Banks

wrote of being presented with a large piece of cloth. Had it been, it would have been enormously significant.[483] The Tahitian practice of ceremonially presenting large 'bales' of cloth was documented from the Cook voyages onward, but the only such 'bale' extant was collected over 50 years later.

Rydén's book had included a black-and-white photograph of the cloth, taken out of the window on a higher floor of a building, extended on the ground outside. The image conveyed the piece's spectacular scale but provided little sense of the detail of its appearance. Until our October 2017 visit, the textile had not been unrolled for many years and the information on the museum's online catalogue reflected Rydén's Tahitian attribution.

We gathered in a large exhibition hall surrounded by African and other world cultures exhibits. Our excitement mounted as the Stockholm curatorial team unrolled the cloth (Figures 17.1 to 17.3). It quickly became apparent that it was dissimilar to the Tahitian examples we had previously seen, and featured a typically Tongan rubbed design and reddish-brown colouring (Figure 17.4). While Cook voyage and other early Tongan cloth is itself diverse, this example is very similar to one in the PRM (Figure 17.5), which is part of the collection presented by Johann Reinhold Forster to the University of Oxford, following his return from Cook's second voyage. That work also includes the same broad, freely marked diagonals and lines along the otherwise plain fringe, as do related ngatu in Göttingen, probably also collected by Forster (Oz 576, 577).[484]

But these are not sections cut from the same larger ngatu – on the PRM piece a diagonal and vertical rubbed pattern alternates whereas this features only a diagonal, rubbed from the same board along the full length and in reflection on both sides of the Stockholm piece. The rubbing was not against the kupesi coconut leaf forms well



Figure 17.1. Unrolling the barkcloth, Etnografiska Museet, Stockholm, 16 October 2017. Photographs by Mark Adams.



Figure 17.2. Unrolling the barkcloth, Etnografiska Museet, Stockholm, 16 October 2017. Photographs by Mark Adams.



Figure 17.3. Unrolling the barkcloth, Etnografiska Museet, Stockholm, 16 October 2017. Photographs by Mark Adams.



Figure 17.4. Ngatu tahini. 1848.1.13. Photograph by Mark Adams.

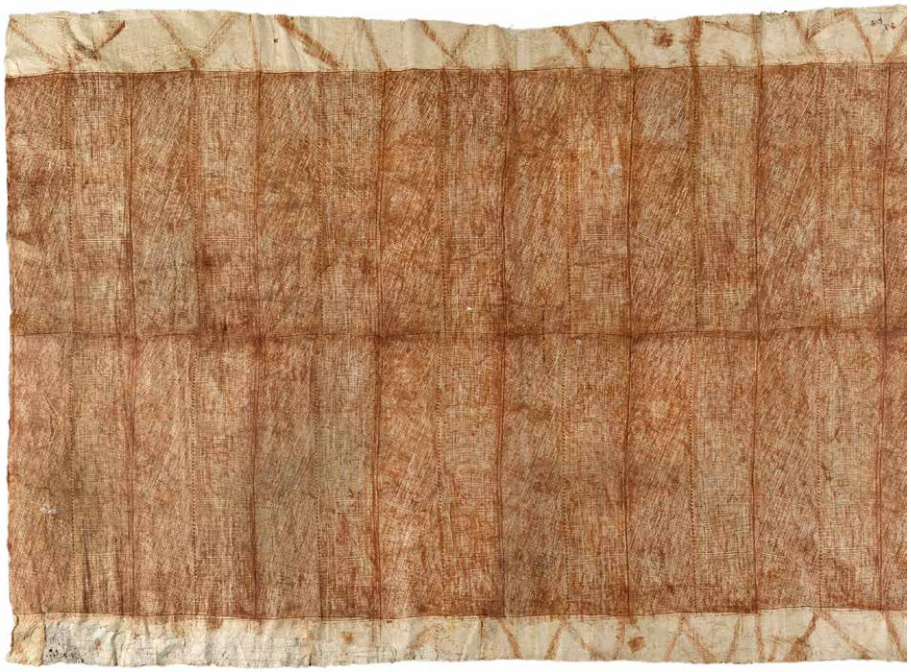


Figure 17.5. Ngatu tahina, Tongan archipelago, collected by Johann Reinhold Forster in 1773 or 1774. 600 cm x 220 cm. 1886.1.1238 [old number: Forster 51]). Copyright Pitt Rivers Museum.

known to scholars of barkcloth, but a solid wooden slab, an upeti la'au; examples in museums include one in the Museum Fünf Kontinente, Munich (20-12-19) collected near the end of the nineteenth century, which has considerably more complex designs than those evidently used by the eighteenth-century makers of the Stockholm, PRM and Göttingen ngatu.[485]

The Stockholm barkcloth is approximately 14.77 x 2.6 metres, about 40cm wider than the one in the PRM. However the affinities are close enough to imply that the Stockholm example was from the same community of makers; it was no doubt acquired by one of the Forsters or some other participant in Cook's second voyage, given to Banks and by him to the Alstromers. The HMS *Resolution* called at Eua and Tongatapu over five days from 2 to 7 June in 1773, and at Nomuka over three days, 26 to 29 June 1774. While there were extensive exchanges in both places, George Forster makes particular reference to cloth and mats during his account of the first of these visits. A chief who came on board at an early stage in the encounter was presented with a variety of European things. 'Our English cloth and linen he admired most, and iron wares in the next degree', George Forster wrote in the published narrative.[486] The 1773 encounter may also appear more probable a context for such a significant gift, as it was not marked by the violence that erupted during the briefer Nomuka visit. But the European record gives no definite indication that a large barkcloth was obtained during either visit. Only further research by Tongan specialists may determine which community the ngatu most likely originated from.

This seems to be the largest piece of barkcloth with a Cook voyage provenance, which remains extant. While it represents a significant addition to the known corpus of early Tongan ngatu, it is however unfortunate, indeed tragic, particularly in the context of a revival of Tahitian interest in barkcloth,[487] that no large Cook voyage example – the gift in its integrity – appears to have been preserved. While there are many textual references to the presentation of textiles of this size, the only very large surviving cloth appears to be the one at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, likely to have been presented 50 years later to the LMS missionary George Bennet.[488] However, a large piece of Tahitian tapa is among the relatively few artefacts associated with Bougainville's voyage (Figure 2.2, volume 1), one of the Forster pieces in Göttingen is 120 x 362 cm in size, and an eight-metre section thought to have been acquired by James Wilson during the voyage of the HMS *Duff* which established the London Missionary Society is in the collection of the Great North Museum: Hancock in Newcastle. Examples of this kind could inform future inquiry into Society Islands bark cloth.

CHAPTER 18

Wilful amnesia? Contemporary Dutch narratives about western New Guinea

FANNY WONU VEYS

~

The Netherlands holds the largest and most diverse collections from the Indonesian provinces of West Papua and Papua. Despite the fact that Dutch colonial involvement in these Indonesian provinces lasted almost 20 years longer than for the other parts of the archipelago, the Netherlands seems to have forgotten about its former colony. School children and young people have no idea that the western part of New Guinea was ever a Dutch colony. While political events in other Dutch colonies such as Suriname receive ample attention in Dutch media, Papua is hardly discussed. On the other hand, older Dutch people who were born and raised in western New Guinea have strong feelings of nostalgia. The raising of the Papuan Morning Star flag during peaceful manifestations is officially condoned in the Netherlands, but bearers of the flag have been arrested by the police. This paper will examine through the museum experience whether Papua is subjected to a case of wilful amnesia.

Dutch enmeshment in New Guinea

Of the more than 75,000 objects from Oceania held in Dutch museums, two-thirds come from the western part of New Guinea.[489] The collection testifies to, but also materializes, the connection the Netherlands has to this day with the contemporary Indonesian provinces of Papua and West Papua in western New Guinea. Between 1898 and 1962 this area was an official Dutch colony. However, the Dutch involvement in New Guinea has a much longer history that is closely connected to the establishment in 1602 of the *Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC, the Dutch East India Company) and its insuring of an advantageous position in the international spice trade. The Dutch government protected the private commercial interests of the VOC by securing the sole right to grant licences east of the Cape of Good Hope and west of the Strait of Magellan, thus creating a monopoly, but also dislodging the Portuguese from their privileged position in the Indonesian archipelago. The VOC's exclusive control extended throughout the Pacific with the exception of the Spanish Philippines.[490]

As with other nations, the search for spices such as cloves, nutmeg and mace, and aromatic and medicinal massoy bark were for the Netherlands a major trigger for exploring what western New Guinea had to offer. In the seventeenth century the

exploration of the area was transferred from the Portuguese and the Spanish to the Dutch.[491] However, not finding any significant amounts of trading goods in New Guinea, Dutch interest waned, considering the region solely as an important buffer zone protecting the spice trading area.

Yet, the attention on western New Guinea was rekindled when the British and later the Germans started, through the exploration of the eastern part of New Guinea, threatening the Dutch monopoly in the Indonesian archipelago.[492] The expedition led by Jacob Weyland in 1705 was aimed at halting these British incursions onto New Guinean soil. Concurrently, the VOC's income steadily increased, but its expenses rose to even higher levels leading to the rapid decline of the Company from 1780 onwards. The Dutch East India Company eventually folded in 1796.[493] The position of western New Guinea as a Dutch buffer zone was compromised until a treaty was signed in 1814 securing several islands near Numfor along Teluk Cederawasih (Geelvink Bay) in the north. From as early as 1828, collections from western New Guinea continued to arrive in the Netherlands, thus witnessing the different aspects of Dutch colonial histories.

After a serious dispute over the borders of the German and British areas in eastern New Guinea, the two nations agreed, in 1898, to establish the most western edge of their territories on the 141st meridian east. This imaginary line, dividing the island of New Guinea effectively in two, pulled the Netherlands out of its inaction as the administration began establishing government posts. Western New Guinea was split up into administrative areas: Manokwari was the main town of the north, and Fakfak of the west and south. The Dutch spur of activity in New Guinea was reflected in its ethnographic museums. The Museum Volkenkunde in Leiden opened in 1907 an exhibition on the van der Sande collection from the Wichmann Expedition, and in Rotterdam, objects from the Southwest New Guinea Expedition were on display in 1910.[494]

Up until the Japanese army set foot on New Guinea in 1942, during the Second World War, Dutch colonial activity had mainly consisted of exploration and missionization. Monetary investments had been limited, and became even scarcer during the economic crisis of the 1930s. The Papuans had to pay taxes, but had absolutely no role in the government of their country. In the gap between European governing classes and local Papuans, a middle class arose made up of Chinese, Sulawesi, Malaccan and Javanese policemen, catechists, traders and shopkeepers. They were responsible for the increasing linguistic and cultural influence of the Indonesian archipelago that had been occurring for centuries.[495] When oil and precious minerals were found, the Netherlands became keener than ever to hold on to what became known as 'Dutch New Guinea'. Many large mining corporations also set their sights on the rich resources of the country.[496]

After Indonesia achieved independence in 1945, the new nation wanted to take control of all Dutch possessions in the east and free themselves completely of the Dutch. It argued that therefore western New Guinea should become part of the Indonesian independent state. However, the Dutch were convinced that the Papuans as 'ethnic Melanesians' did not belong in Indonesia, and that the Dutch should lead them on the way to self-determination.[497] To that end, the Dutch government educated part of the population to become the future leaders of a self-governing nation. The democratically chosen New Guinea Council (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakjat*) would administer the region until the nation West Papua (*Papua Barat*) would become independent on 1 February

1961, raising the Morning Star flag (*Bintang Fajar*) and singing the national hymn *Hai Tanahku Papua*. In the meantime, the Tropenmuseum, originally founded as the Colonial Museum, and intimately connected to the colonial project, organized exhibitions that showed New Guinea as a region waiting for exploration and knowledge gathering by the Netherlands. The New Guinea exhibition that opened in October 1948 focused on the state of exploration and the Dutch involvement in western New Guinea, displaying mainly maps. Objects served as decoration.[498] Towards the end of the 1950s, fearing the impending loss of western New Guinea, both the Tropenmuseum and the Museum Volkenkunde increased their exhibition activities, this time featuring the collections that had been gathered for over more than a century.[499]

The Dutch efforts to carry out what was termed 'Papuanisation' did not diminish Indonesia's determination to annex western New Guinea. In the early 1960s, the Indonesian government sent paratrooper assaults to 'free' Papuans from the Dutch presence. In the hope of settling the disagreement, the United Nations New York Agreement of 1962 transferred Dutch rule for a period of six years to an interim United Nations Temporary Executive Authority (UNTEA).[500] The inhabitants of western New Guinea would be consulted about whether they wanted to be attached to Indonesia. However, in 1963 Indonesia renamed western New Guinea, *Irian Barat* (West Irian) and integrated it as a new province of the archipelago state. After General Suharto's attempted coup in 1965 resulted in his election in 1968, western New Guinea was formally and politically integrated into the 'New Order Government' of Indonesia.[501] The whole process has consistently gone hand in hand with extreme violence mainly perpetrated against the Indigenous Papuans. Estimates range between 100,000 and 400,000 people being killed since 1969.[502]

The colonization of western New Guinea is a narrative of carving out a space for the Dutch nation on a global scene with the Portuguese, Spanish, Germans and British as major national players. However, it is the entangled relationship with the Indonesian state, the Indigenous Papuan population, international mining companies and the histories of colonization that characterize and mark the attitude of the Dutch governments, media, the public and museums towards western New Guinea.

Papua and West Papua in the Dutch public domain

As a curator at the National Museum of World cultures, who has guided tours of the museum's Oceania galleries at the Museum Volkenkunde in Leiden, the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam and the Wereldmuseum in Rotterdam, I have formed an impression, albeit partial, of Dutch people's relationship with western New Guinea. Other links with New Guinea transpire from the questions I receive from the public, and from object donors. The latter group consists mainly of people who were born in New Guinea or worked there as a government official, missionary, member of the medical staff, military officer or were settlers who did not want to go to the Netherlands after Indonesia's independence, or were no longer welcome in Indonesia. These people have an obvious, very personal, direct and often nostalgic link with New Guinea and are familiar with some of the debates around the decolonization of what they often call 'our New Guinea'. People with a direct connection to western New Guinea are the driving force behind initiatives such as PACE (Papoea Cultureel

Erfgoed, Papua Cultural Heritage) which was founded in 2001. Its mission statement is as follows:

> PACE (Papua Heritage Foundation) is committed to provide care, respect and attention for Papua Cultural Heritage, which exists within the Netherlands (Former Dutch New Guinea was once a Dutch colony). This shared cultural heritage has value for Papuans in Papua (now part of Indonesia), Papuans in Diaspora and the Dutch themselves.[503]

Because PACE was not financially viable, it had to stop its activities, but it managed to keep its website active. Some of the instigators of PACE are also involved in a city council initiative named 'Stichting Kamma terug in Wierum' (Foundation Kamma back in Wierum) organizing an exhibition and activities focusing on the life of the missionary Freerk Kamma (1906-1987).

Ideas and opinions are less clear-cut in the children of this generation with direct connections. They frequently contact the museum when clearing the house of their deceased parents or other kin. Though not feeling this connection with New Guinea themselves, they usually want to find a good home for the objects that their family collected or received. Their stories are on the whole more vague. Most young people who come through the different museums have no idea why our holdings of western New Guinea materials are the largest in the world. That the Netherlands started the colonization of New Guinea from the early nineteenth century onwards comes as a big surprise to them. Whereas people attending Dutch secondary school in the 1970s learnt place names such as Jayapura, Fakfak and Agats as part of their curriculum, today's school children are hardly confronted with western New Guinea history or geography. Moreover, the media does not help. Search results for 2017 in major Dutch newspapers such as the *de Volkskrant* and the *NRC*[504] show disappointing results. Only five articles dealt with Papua and West Papua in the *de Volkskrant*, and a further 23 articles were about Papua New Guinea, the independent eastern half of New Guinea. The *NRC* gives similar results: in 2017, 31 articles were published about New Guinea but only four were about Papua and West Papua. In both newspapers, one article was generated by the museum because of the 'Power Mask' exhibition of masking costumes in the Wereldmuseum in Rotterdam.[505]

Contrary to the assiduity of the conversations about the Dutch colonial past in Indonesia, the Caribbean, Suriname, and the Dutch collaboration in the slave trade, former Dutch New Guinea receives less attention and seems on the verge of being forgotten. The *de Volkskrant* newspaper observed, on 4 September 2017, that

> Almost no Dutch person younger than 60 will remember, but the Dutch presence as a colonial power in Asia did not end in 1949, with the recognition of Indonesia's independence, but only in 1962, when New Guinea was handed over to Indonesia.[506]



Figure 18.1. West Papuans demonstrating in The Hague, 31 March 2009. Photographer: Apdency.

This begs the question of what has happened between 1945 and now. Can we talk about wilful amnesia from the side of the Dutch authorities? It would seem the case if one considers the scant attention given to New Guinea in the education system, the media and public debates. The contrast is even starker when considering the wide public support for Papua and West Papua in New Zealand, a country that has never had political, economic or colonial links with western New Guinea.[507] Many Dutch Papuans descending from the Papuans attending civil servant and medical courses in the Netherlands and who could not return to their country after Indonesian annexation think that the Netherlands is wilfully forgetting about them. During regular marches in the city of The Hague, the centre of the Dutch government, the violence suffered in western New Guinea is highlighted with placards saying, for example, 'Netherlands why are you being ignorant of West Papua?' (Figure 18.1). These marches, organized by members of the Free West Papua movement, which grew out of a desire for self-determination during the Dutch period of Papuanisation, usually receive little consideration from the public and are sometimes repressed by Dutch authorities. For example, on Veterans Day – an event for showing appreciation and recognition to all Dutch veterans – on 27 June 2015, a woman was reprimanded by the police because she was carrying the Morning Star flag, prohibited on that day so as not to offend Indonesia, the official message stated. The year before, Iskander Bwefar, the son of a Papuan veteran, was forcefully arrested because he was carrying the Morning Star flag.[508]

In the meantime, Indonesian authorities argue, through their diplomats, that Papuan objects in Dutch museums should be presented in the same space as other Indonesian

art and material culture, lest the public be confused about Papua and West Papua's political belonging. Hence, when the Brussels arts festival Europalia hosted Indonesia in 2017-2018, the two main exhibitions entitled *Ancestors & Rituals* (11 October 2017-14 January 2018) and *Power and other things. Indonesia & Art (1835 – Now)* (18 October 2017-21 January 2018) featured western New Guinea as an integral part.

Diplomatically, the Netherlands wants to keep cordial relationships with its former colony Indonesia; other nations also uphold this policy of politeness.[509] However, most Dutch museums have incorporated western New Guinea in their Oceania displays, thus emphasizing the people's cultural and kinship links with the eastern half of New Guinea.[510] Yet, as the Dutch ethnographic museums are moving towards thematic displays, objects from western New Guinea are becoming less firmly embedded in Oceania.

A number of temporary exhibition projects in twenty-first century Dutch museums have attempted to remind the general public of (West) Papua's existence. In 2001, the exhibition *Race to the Snow* in the Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam, centred around glass slides made during the Dutch and British expeditions to the snow covered Puncak Trikora (called Wilhelmina Peak in the first half of the twentieth century). Museum Volkenkunde in Leiden organized in 2003 *Papua lives! Meet the Kamoro* (Papua leeft! Ontmoet de Kamoro), emphasizing the living culture of the Kamoro. The *Bisj Poles: a forest of magical figures* exhibition of 2007 created an impressive atmosphere around the aesthetically exhibited huge sculptures. Finally in 2008, *Asmat, Historical and Contemporary photography*, a photo exhibition of historical photographs together with portraits of Asmat people made by Wim van Oijen, was shown. The second decade of the twenty-first century has paid less attention to New Guinea. Notable exceptions are Alana Jelinek's art film set in Museum Volkenkunde in Leiden entitled 'Knowing' (2015; see Chapter 28 in this volume) and reflecting on what museum objects from Java, western New Guinea and the Netherlands can tell us about people and their stories.

The objects from western New Guinea serve as nagging reminders of a historical relationship with and perhaps also a moral responsibility towards the former colony of the Netherlands. In the words of the Papuan man Benny Wenda in the film 'Knowing' when asked how he feels seeing these things:

> It upsets me, but at the same time it is good that these precious things are kept safe. This is our value, this is our spirit … but how are my people? This makes me cry – hard, hard cry. How are my people?

Amidst the political and economic interests and tensions, the Dutch museums can play a role in bringing back memories, with all their nuances, to audiences who, willingly or unknowingly, are suffering from amnesia with regards to western New Guinea.

CHAPTER 19

A glimmering presence: the unheard Melanesian voices of St Barnabas Memorial Chapel, Norfolk Island

LUCIE CARREAU

~

Introduction

Norfolk Island is a fascinating, beguilingly complex place, with a long and often troubling history of human presence which defies the geographical, political and ethnic classifications traditionally applied to the Pacific.[511] Located at the crossroads of Melanesia and Polynesia, the history of Norfolk Island has been marked by a succession of dramatic and abrupt changes. Recent excavations at Emily Bay, on the Island's south side, revealed a period of settlement by communities from Aotearoa New Zealand or the Kermadec Islands, between the thirteenth and early fifteenth centuries.[512] By the time Captain James Cook visited on 11 October 1774, however, and named it after the Duchess of Norfolk, the island had been deserted for at least two centuries, leaving no trace of previous occupation. In the eyes of the British Empire, its geographical isolation made it a perfect annex to the penal colonies recently established in Australia. The first convict reached the island in 1888, but the colony was judged too costly and abandoned in February 1814. Re-opened in 1825, it was active for another 30 years until Britain ceased deportation to Tasmania and dealt with the penal servitude of its citizens on its own territory (Figure 19.1).[513]

In 1856, a new form of settlement took place. Queen Victoria offered Norfolk Island to the Pitcairn Islanders, who had outgrown their own island 6,000km away in the Eastern Pacific. Following the mutiny on HMS *Bounty* in 1789, nine of the mutineers along with six Tahitian men, twelve Tahitian women and a baby girl settled on Pitcairn. By the mid-1850s, the population had reached 193 individuals, stretching the resources of the island. The whole population travelled to Norfolk on 8 June 1856. Within the first decade, 44 people chose to return to Pitcairn. The rest made Norfolk a home, settling in the buildings left unoccupied after the dismantling of the penal settlement, adapting to a different climate, food crops and habitat.

In 1867, a decade after the arrival of the Pitcairners, the Melanesian Mission, whose island trainees were struggling to cope with the climate of the Mission's Auckland headquarters, relocated to the western part of Norfolk Island, from where



Figure 19.1. Prison ruins, Norfolk Island. Photograph possibly made by James Murchison, who travelled the Pacific in 1906. Courtesy of Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, P.12029.ACH2.

they operated until 1920. Throughout the twentieth century, fluctuating relationships between Britain, Norfolk and Australia led to a number of political adjustments, leading to its autonomy in 1979 with the Norfolk Island Act. On 12 May 2015, the revocation of the Act led to Norfolk's Legislative Assembly being dissolved and the Island and its people placed under the jurisdiction of New South Wales as of 1 July 2016. The change of governance remains fiercely contested by a majority of Islanders today.

Norfolk Island's complex history, its disconnected settlements (successive or overlapping) and its geographical position explain why the Island has been difficult to put in a 'box', as well as why some aspects or moments of that history remain little researched. Most academic interest in Norfolk has focused on very distinctive moments of the Island's history, in particular those connected to the penal colony, or the relocation of the Pitcairn Islanders. Today, traces of Norfolk Island's multifaceted composition remain visible in its built and natural heritage, and indeed in the curated space of its Museum. What seems to be missing, however, is a greater *articulation* of these fragments: of whether and how settlements, their legacies and their descendants relate to and impact on each other.[514]

This chapter focuses on an important and visible part of Norfolk Island's built heritage – the Chapel of St Barnabas (Figure 19.2). It is seen here as a nexus of individuals at once 'local' and 'foreign', embodying new visions and old practices, and connecting past and present. While I mainly focus on the creation and use of St Barnabas in the late nineteenth century, I also hope to demonstrate that although some of the historical aspirations placed in the building have become obscured, their



Figure 19.2. View of Saint Barnabas Chapel from Pine Avenue, Norfolk Island. Photographer unknown, probably late 19th or early 20th century. Courtesy of Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, P.60407.ACH2.

efficacy rests unaltered and the chapel remains central to the life of the island. In many ways, this chapter is another micro-history, focusing on a particular time period and settlement. But it is one which, I hope, aims at an articulation of, and connection to, the other micro-histories of the island and its peoples.

The Melanesian Mission on Norfolk Island

The Melanesian Mission was founded in 1849 by Bishop George Augustus Selwyn (1809-1878). Educated at Eton and at the University of Cambridge where he was a scholar and then fellow of St John's College, he was ordained deacon in 1833 and priest the following year. In 1841, he was offered the Bishopric of New Zealand and, in 1848, he turned his attention to the Diocese of Melanesia.[515] His vision was novel: while other missions had established long-term missionary presence in a number of Pacific Islands, he was reluctant to follow their paths. European missionaries and their families were not suited to permanent life in tropical climates, he felt, and their success was slow as they had to master the language before being able to convey their message. Bishop Selwyn's vision was that of a conversion from within, through 'native' footsoldiers. European missionaries were needed, but as guides and mentors, not as direct agents of the holy endeavour. Students were recruited in various islands, brought to the Mission's headquarters in Auckland, where they would be taught about Christianity and Christian ways of life and, when ready, would return home with their holy message. With the trust



Figure 19.3. Canoes from the Santa Cruz Islands visiting the Melanesian Mission's ship Southern Cross. Photograph attributed to John Watts Beattie, 1906. Courtesy of Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, P.60755.ACH2.

of their people and the ability to express new ideas in their home tongue, Selwyn believed that conversion could be gradual, peaceful and undisruptive. In 1855, he was joined by John Coleridge Patteson who was consecrated first Bishop of Melanesia six years later and developed further Selwyn's humanistic approach. The two Bishops were supported by a small group of European missionaries who divided their time between the running of the Mission headquarters and visits to the islands (Figure 19.3).

The weather in Auckland proved too cold for the students,[516] leading to sickness and tragic deaths. The entire headquarters were thus relocated to the milder climes of Norfolk Island in 1867, with the additional benefit of bringing the Mission physically closer to the islands where it was operating. The Mission's ship, the *Southern Cross*, would travel to the islands twice a year, for several months, recruiting new students and returning graduates to their communities.

The move of the Melanesian Mission to Norfolk was not unproblematic. From the point of view of the recently settled Norfolkers (generally referred to by the Mission staff as 'Pitcairners'), the land had been granted to them exclusively, with no plans for additional settlers with whom they would be obliged to share. The arrival of a new community and the loss of an extensive plot of land (400 hectares) to the west of the island was met with tension and resentment (Figure 19.4).[517] But there was also support from some. In his history of the Melanesian Mission, E.S Armstrong notes that

> [a]t Norfolk Island… the Pitcairners were much interested in the Melanesians. They offered to take the boys into their own houses and treat them as their own children; and the Bishop saw more clearly than ever that Norfolk Island was the place for the Missionary College.[518]

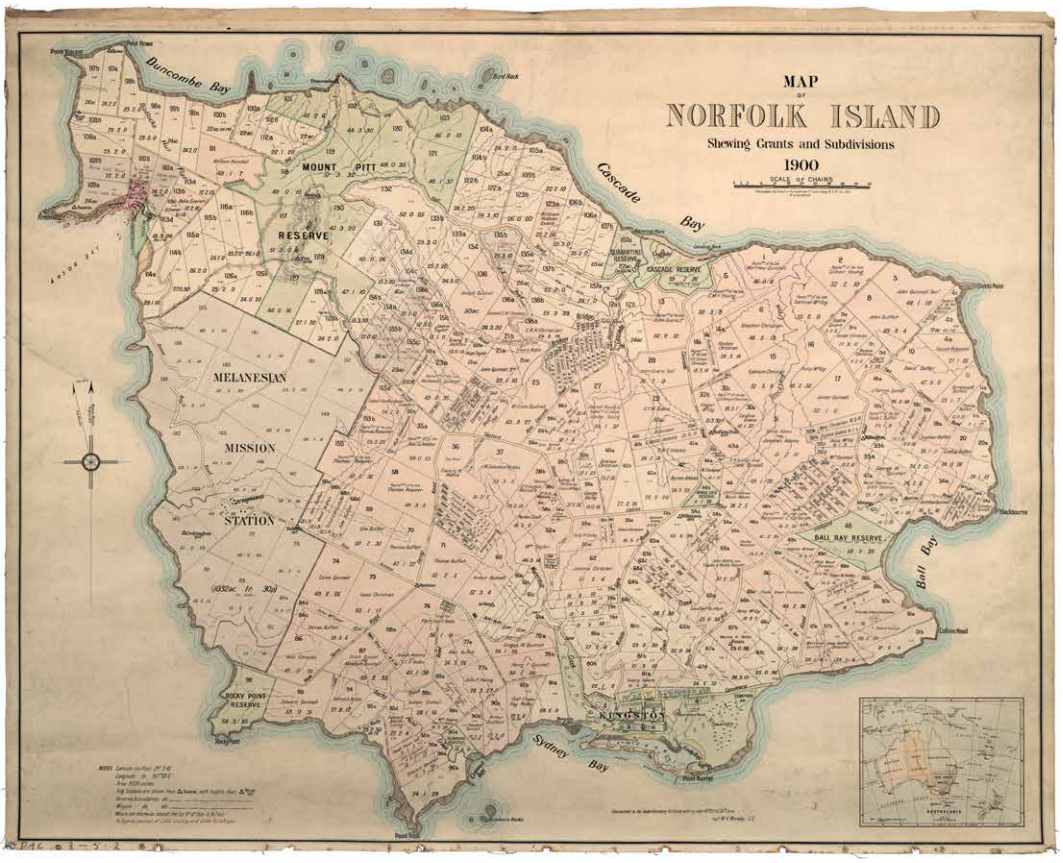


Figure 19.4. M.V. Murphy, map of Norfolk Island showing grants and subdivisions, 1900. The large plot of land given to the Melanesian Mission is located to the west of the island. National Library of Australia, MAP RM 2459, http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-231835675.

There is little doubt that both the enthusiasm attributed to the Pitcairners and their paternalistic attitude to the arrival of Melanesian communities was glorified and romanticized as part of the Mission's attempt to justify its actions and presence on the islands, and to include the Norfolk Islanders in their endeavour. Nonetheless, years before the Mission settled on Norfolk, Bishop Selwyn had been making regular visits, sometimes leaving his wife there while he was conducting his tour of the island. Strong relationships had thus already been established between the missionaries and the Islanders. Some Pitcairners also played an active role in the success of the Mission. The harsh and jagged nature of the shoreline of both Pitcairn and Norfolk Islands had earned Islanders a reputation as exceptional seafarers: qualities scarce among the missionaries. As early as 1857, Pitcairners started accompanying the Mission on its yearly island voyage, providing essential navigational assistance as well as receiving some of the teaching and supporting other aspects of the Mission's work.[519]

The landscape of the Mission

The original set-up of the Mission was humble in scale, with a few houses for the clergy, a small chapel, and communal dormitories. Larger numbers of students settling at the Mission every year triggered a need to provide a wider range of accommodation and communal buildings. The Mission, however, was still deprived of the inspiring teaching space to which it had long aspired, conceptualized by Patteson in 1863 as 'a small but exceedingly beautiful Gothic chapel, rich inside with marbles and stained glass and carved stalls and encaustic tiles and brass screen work'.[520] Less than ten years later, Patteson was to be the reason behind the erection of the chapel he had previously longed for.

Bishop Patteson was killed on 20 September 1871 during a visit to the island of Nukapu in the Santa Cruz Group, Solomon Islands. Believed to have been mistaken for a labour recruiter,[521] his death caused an outcry in Britain and fuelled some heated discussion about the regulation of the labour trade throughout Melanesia, leading to the 1872 Pacific Islanders Protection Act.[522] Deeply affected by the loss of the Bishop, the Mission's supporters raised funds to erect a memorial chapel on Norfolk Island, known as Bishop Patteson's Memorial Chapel of St Barnabas.

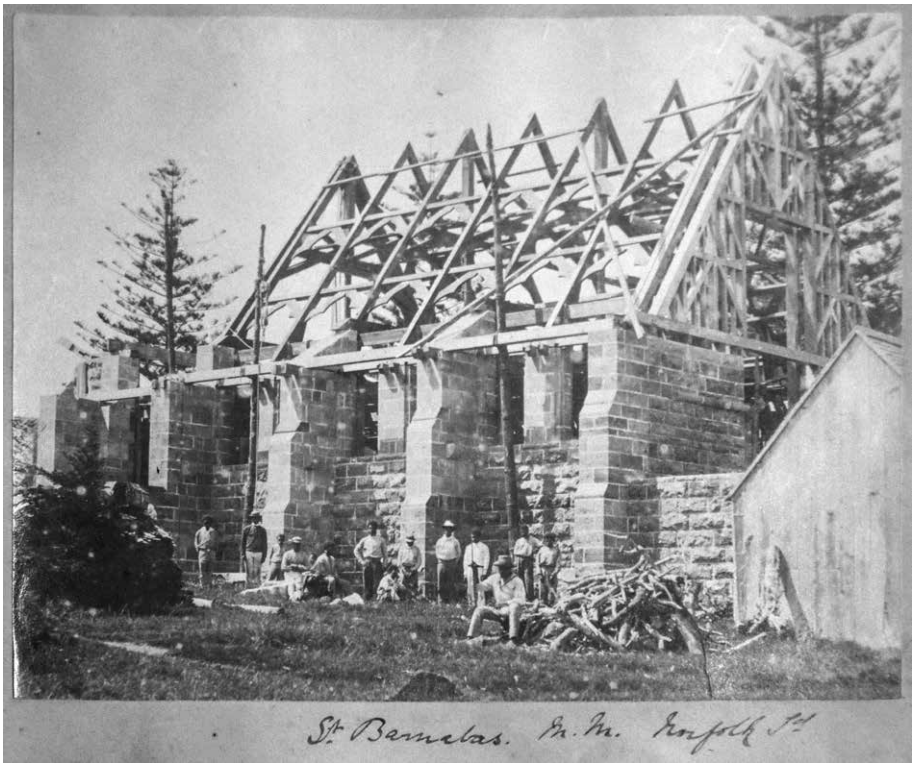


Figure 19.5. 'The Chapel. St Barnabas. M.[elanesian] M.[ission] Norfolk Island'. Photograph made around 1877 during the construction of the Chapel's roof. It may originally have been part of a (now dismantled) photographic album. Norfolk Island Museum archive collections (NIM 5507). Image reproduction courtesy of Norfolk Island Museum.

Original plans for the chapel were produced by Sir George Gilbert Scott (1811-1878), but rejected as too expensive. New and more successful plans were drafted by Thomas Graham Jackson (1835-1924), a distinguished architect (who also designed the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Cambridge) and old Oxford College friend Rev. Robert Codrington, then acting head of the Melanesian Mission. The projected chapel remained humble in size and responded to a number of climatic concerns with respect to earthquakes, cyclones and ventilation.[523] The chapel was built between 1875 and 1880 under the supervision of Codrington himself – a real achievement when one considers the isolation of the island and the lack of qualified tradesman. In his letters to his family back in England, the churchman describes the many challenges and setbacks he faced, his inability to retain skilled labour and the escalating cost of qualified tradesmen.[524] While he mentions employing 'Pitcairn Islanders' on various building tasks, he never discusses the involvement of the clergy or the Melanesian students of the Mission. It is, however, unlikely that the Mission could have achieved its ambitious build without involving the communities it was predominantly working with and concerned about. Several photographs made during the construction seem to confirm that the students were indeed the driving force behind the erection of the chapel (Figure 19.5). The Bishop Patteson's Memorial Chapel of St Barnabas was officially consecrated on 7 December 1880, an event well attended and reported on in Sydney and further afield.[525]

The very fabric of the chapel is a testimony to Norfolk Island's complex and continuous relationships with other parts of the world. Local materials were articulated with others sent from Britain (where the Melanesian Mission was born) and New Zealand (where it was first active). The carpentry work used local Norfolk Pine and New Zealand Kauri, the stone work repurposed stones from the old convict settlement on Norfolk Island, combined with stone from Devon and Oamaru on the South Island of Aotearoa New Zealand. In many ways, St Barnabas was the crystallization of the hopes and aspirations of the Melanesian Mission – a place built by the community, for the community, using knowledge, materials and techniques that reflected its extensive and growing network of supporters in Britain as well as in the Pacific. In the past 130 years, the church has consistently been praised for the beauty of its stained glass windows designed by leading Pre-Raphaelite artist Edward Burne-Jones and produced by his friend William Morris, and for the quality of its Henry Willis organ from Liverpool, recently restored.

Inlaid idiosyncrasy

Another element that has consistently caught the attention of visitors since the chapel was first consecrated is the beautiful shell inlay work decorating the pews. Yet although noted in almost every published account describing the chapel, the decoration is never discussed in detail or attributed to an artist or group of people. Codrington himself does not mention it in his letters to his family.

In the epilogue to this volume, I briefly explain the great amount of mess, omission and inconsistency surrounding the collections in the care of the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology attributed to Norfolk Island, and their arbitrary inclusion or exclusion of material from Pitcairn Island and Melanesia. To me, the chapel's inlay panels are equally

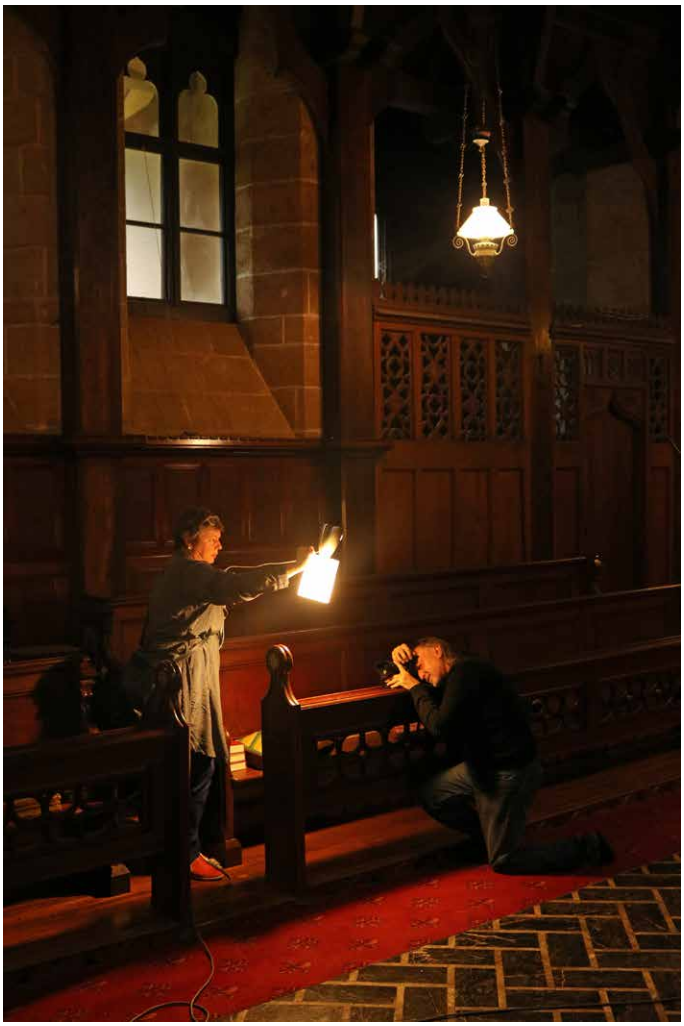


Figure 19.6. Mark Adams and Areta Wilkinson photographing the inlay panels. Norfolk Island, St Barnabas Memorial Chapel. Photograph by Mark Elliott, 21 May 2016.

symptomatic of a failure to articulate the complex and multi-authored story of Norfolk Island. As told in guide books, postcards, historical accounts and archives, the story of the chapel is one that is at once inclusive – of ideas, materials, peoples – and exclusive in that the Melanesian students of the Mission are usually presented as *users* rather than builders, designers and actors of the life and development of St Barnabas. As part of my field research in 2016, I set out to survey the inlaid panels of the chapel. With the help of artists Mark Adams and Areta Wilkinson, we photographed each panel (Figure 19.6), capturing a more accurate picture of the decorative programme and discovering some intriguing features, which I will discuss below.

Drawing on a technique employed in the Solomon Islands, minute pieces of shells were assembled to form a wide range of motifs decorating side panels and medallions. There is no record of who designed and created these panels. It seems likely, however, that the students of the Mission themselves were intensely involved in the process. Many of them came from areas of the Solomon Islands where objects



Figure 19.7. Side panel (left) and medallion (right) showing shell inlays cut using techniques frequently encountered in the manufacture of objects from the Solomon Islands. Norfolk Island, St Barnabas Memorial Chapel. Photograph by Mark Adams, 21 May 2016.

were traditionally inlaid with mother-of-pearl or nautilus shell. The levels of skill required to achieve the kinds of complex cuts employed suggest that the technique was not learnt from scratch on Norfolk (Figure 19.7). While it is possible that some of the students had the skills to cut shell *in situ*, it is equally possible that students were using pre-cut pieces they had brought with them, or that the pieces were collected during the regular recruitment voyages of the *Southern Cross*.

Only a fraction of the students would have been familiar with the kind of decoration applied to the pews in St Barnabas. Is it appropriate, therefore, to interpret the inlay work as the product of a discrete sub-community of Solomon Islanders within the student population? I would argue that such a view would be contrary to the spirit of the Melanesian Mission. From the outset, it was concerned with finding common ground for all to build together: Mota, a language from the Banks Islands, was selected as the *lingua franca* of the Mission, used by clergy and students alike to converse, pray and teach in. The daily chores, gardening, farming were also shared by clergy and students. The church itself, built with stalls facing the nave, was conducive of a collegial atmosphere. It thus seems likely that the decoration of St Barnabas, rather than being the product of a very small group of people was also undertaken as an inclusive exercise involving students and clergy whose artistic traditions and influences may have varied considerably. This may explain why some of the inlaid pieces are less elaborately cut than others, or why the selection of shell includes a wider range



Figure 19.8. Side panels showing inlays in a variety of types of shell. Norfolk Island, St Barnabas Memorial Chapel. Photograph by Mark Adams, 21 May 2016.



Figure 19.9. Medallion depicting Bishop John Richardson Selwyn's monogram. Norfolk Island, St Barnabas Memorial Chapel. Photograph by Mark Adams, 21 May 2016.

of types and colour, including types not traditionally used in Solomon Islands inlay, creating motifs reminiscent of European mosaics (Figure 19.8). Further research will be essential to determine the provenance of the purple and orange shells as they may reveal a great deal about the kind of inspiration and collaborative work underpinning the decoration of the chapel.

Three types of motif are found in the chapel: geometry, figurative representation and Christian symbolism, the boundaries of which are sometimes obscure. Figure 19.9 shows one of the medallions located close to the sanctuary, which appears at first glance to be a geometric motif, but is actually the monogram of John Richardson Selwyn, Second Bishop of Melanesia and head of the Melanesian Mission from 1877. Christian iconography is quite prominent throughout the chapel, with plethora of crosses, christograms and Christian symbols such as doves, swallows and even crabs (Figure 19.10).

Perhaps more surprising is the inclusion, in two different ways, of Indigenous iconography. Throughout the chapel, many panels are inlaid with the motif of the frigate bird, a seabird of particular importance in the Solomon Islands. Often depicted in relation to bonito fishing,[526] it is widely carved, painted or engraved on ethnographic material, albeit being represented differently in each province. At St Barnabas, the depictions of the frigate are reminiscent of those found on objects from Malaita province (Figure 19.11). But they also appear on a different kind of medium, engraved on tridacna shell pendants (Figure 19.12). These pendants were high status ornaments and important heirlooms. They were often associated with Malaita, where they are known as sa'ela'o, sa'ela'o doe, la'oniasi or ulute, although some travelled further afield through exchange networks.[527] It is likely that many were brought by the students of the Mission as their personal possessions. Some may have been exchanged with, sold or given to staff of the Mission, or collected by the clergy during their yearly voyage to the Solomons and Vanuatu. While they are all unique, their iconography revolves around the depiction of the frigate bird and fish (presumably bonito).

Inlaid in other panels, tridacna plaques of similar shape display Christian iconography (Figure 19.13). A significant number of those seem to have been engraved on the back of pre-existing pendants – which we can presume were carved with the type of traditional iconography described above. They were then inlaid displaying the most recently carved face. Figure 19.14 provides evidence for this: the plaque was originally drilled with a hole visible to the right of the swan's wing, from where a neck cord would have been suspended. Taking the iconography into consideration, the location of the hole would not have worked as a hanging point, which in my view suggests that the artefact is indeed a modified version of a pre-existing pendant, carved or re-carved specifically for inclusion into the chapel.

Whether visible – by displaying the original carved face – or invisible – by putting the original carved face against the very fabric of the pews and displaying a Christian image, the inclusion of these pendants is a statement. Why are these pendants – originating from a very specific part of the Diocese of Melanesia – the only kind of material culture inlaid in the chapel? Why were some engraved with Christian imagery while others have been included unaltered? Their presence in Saint Barnabas raises questions about the circulation of material culture and knowledge specific to certain areas of Melanesia, and how these were shared and communicated among the many displaced groups living on







Figure 19.10. a) Side panel showing a cross enclosed in a border reminiscent of a Celtic knot made from sections of trochus shell and an additional border of half conus shell discs; b) Medallion depicting the Chi-Rho christogram; c) Side panels inlaid with IXΘΥΣ (ichthys), acronym for 'Iēsous Christos, Theou Yios, Sōtēr' or 'Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour' also depicting a crab, from the story of St Francis Xavier. Norfolk Island, St Barnabas Memorial Chapel. Photographs by Mark Adams, 21 May 2016.



Figure 19.11. Side panels with frigate bird inlays. Norfolk Island, St Barnabas Memorial Chapel. Photographs by Mark Adams, 21 May 2016.



Figure 19.12. Tridacna shell pendants inlaid on the pews. Norfolk Island, St Barnabas Memorial Chapel. Photographs by Mark Adams, 21 May 2016.

Norfolk Island. Placed in the chapel, these pendants may have been a sign of acceptance of the church, a way to acknowledge the adoption of new religious practices and make manifest the abandonment of old ones. Equally, they may have marked some of the students' sense of identity – offering these Melanesian men and women the opportunity to inscribe part of themselves, their ancestry and their culture into the making of the chapel, acting almost like a form of signature. More unlikely I believe – yet important to

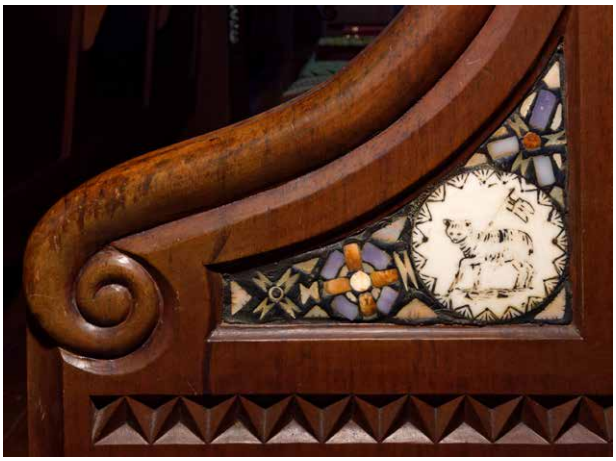


Figure 19.13 (above). Pendant showing the Agnus Dei or Lamb of God. Norfolk Island, St Barnabas Memorial Chapel. Photograph by Mark Adams, 21 May 2016. Copyright Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge.



Figure 19.14 (above, right). Pendant showing a swan, a Christian symbol of long lasting friendship and emblem of St Hugh, patron saint of sick people. Norfolk Island, St Barnabas Memorial Chapel. Photograph by Mark Adams, 21 May 2016. Copyright Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge.

suggest here and explore in the future – the pendants may also have been placed there as a sign of defiance or resistance to the transformations advocated by the Mission, as a way to bring non-Christian ways into the church.

Conclusion

Part of my endeavour here is to rehabilitate the inlaid panels of St Barnabas as a great work of Melanesian art. To an extent, finding out whether the panels are the work of a discrete sub-community from the Solomon Islands or a large and more cosmopolitan enterprise is irrelevant to achieving the wider recognition St Barnabas deserves. The panels discussed here were designed and produced by displaced communities attempting to create work that reflected their present by juggling and articulating traditional and new – skills, techniques, materials, iconography. It is revealing of a present in flux, one that is not about rejecting the old to embrace the new, but about creating a balance that allow old and new to cohabit, elevate and – I would argue – question each other.

There is much more work to be done to understand the wider significance of the decoration of St Barnabas. A detailed analysis of the iconographies at play (geometrical, Christian, Indigenous, figurative) in relation to their location in the church, a study of the techniques and materials employed and in-depth archival research would be important steps in raising new questions and identifying new directions for further investigation. Only then, perhaps, will we start recover the names and the intentions of the anonymous artists who continue to animate St Barnabas with their glimmering presence and whose work continues to inspire and amaze Norfolk Islanders and foreign visitors alike.

CHAPTER 20

The Titikaveka barkcloth: a preliminary account

NICHOLAS THOMAS

~

Barkcloth was made right across Oceania, from insular Southeast Asia through New Guinea and across the islands of western and eastern Oceania; its making and elaboration very likely date back millennia. In some places the cloth has been made continuously and is made today; in others its revival is under way. As is noted elsewhere (by Hermkens in Chapter 5 of this volume), the fabric was made by soaking and beating bark, primarily from *Ficus* (fig) species, into thin sheets that were then beaten together, sometimes into very fine, muslin-like wrappings, but also into heavier, felted cloths that were in some cases varnished. Barkcloth was variously left undecorated, stained, painted, stamped and stencilled; though used for everyday purposes, in its refined and decorated forms it was vital to Indigenous ritual; it was a form of wealth, and an expression of status and sanctity.[528]

But, if cloth was vital to social life in multiple senses, the level of investment in its making notably varied across the Pacific: in some cases very large quantities were made, in others production was more limited. Similarly, the quantities collected, or at any rate preserved in museum collections, also varied. Barkcloth from the Cook Islands is, in particular, rare relative to the very extensive and varied collections from western Polynesia, among other regions.

On Rarotonga, precolonial barkcloth bore dark, dense zigzag patterns and was used to wrap sculpted wooden 'staff' gods, many of which were destroyed or offered up to missionaries in the 1820s (Figure 20.1). There is a hiatus between this tradition and later expressions. The early phases of these innovations – works dating from the 1830s, 1840s and 1850s – are represented in collections globally by relatively few works, though distinctive tiputa (ponchos, see Reynolds, Chapter 30 in this volume) were introduced from the Society Islands at the same time as, or in the wake of, conversion, enabling Christian Islanders to embody new standards of dress that covered the upper body. While these may have been made on a number of islands, tiputa made from dark-stained cloth, decorated with scissor-cut patterns typically made up of diamond-shaped motifs are primarily associated with Mangaia; there is one in the Australian Museum from the collection of the missionary ethnographer William Wyatt Gill (1828-1896) who was primarily based on that island between 1852 and 1872; he was



Figure 20.1. Wrapped staff god, Rarotonga, Cook Islands. Courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum (Oc1978,Q.845).



Figure 20.2. Titikaveka barkcloth, Rarotonga, Cook Islands, 1842-1846. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, 2017.25.

later stationed on Rarotonga. Apart from such tiputa, barkcloth garments were made and painted freehand with designs around the very end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth; these were costumes made in sets for dance ensembles.[529]

Rarotongan barkcloth history is thus marked by an apparently extended hiatus between the forms with strong ritual associations, made up to the 1820s, and the costumes from the turn of the century. Across the wider Cook Islands, the only pieces dating from the middle and later decades of the nineteenth century are the tiputa mentioned and a few larger, but very scarce pieces from Aitutaki; the best preserved of these is at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge (Figure 3.11).

Hence the significance of the work described here (Figure 20.2).[530] As the tiputa exemplify, barkcloth was a medium that was transformed over the colonial period, bearing new motifs and styles, and created in new forms, as people abandoned ancestral religion, and made Christianity a novel focus for sociality and for the imagination of history and identity.[531]



Figure 20.3. Titikaveka church, Raratonga, Cook Islands, 2011. Photography by Jerrye and Roy Klotz. Creative Commons BY-SA 3.0.

The work represents the front facade of what was then the newly-built church at Titikaveka, on the south coast of Rarotonga. The church remains extant today and, although the roof line was at some time altered, its distinctive arrangement, with a pair of narrow windows either side of the central doors, is unmistakeable (Figure 20.3). The painting's representational character may have been inspired by the imagery of printed missionary literature, and possibly by sketching undertaken by European men and women associated with the church. The representational element is however fully assimilated within an Indigenous aesthetic: the linear designs, reminiscent of tattoo motifs, imply vitality and sanctity, while the plants evoke the botanical adornment of houses, ritual sites and the person which was (and is) part of the aesthetic of the environment and daily life across Polynesia.

The historical significance of this fabric is hard to overstate. It was made for a Christian 'meeting' (a periodic, large-scale, festive event), painted apparently by a boy, acquired by Rosanna E. Corrie, mission schoolteacher and sister-in-law of Charles Pitman (1796-1884), one of the founding figures of the Rarotongan mission, known to have been at Titikaveka through the relevant period.[532] In a number of archipelagos, sheets or stripes of barkcloth were laid out, held up, wrapped around people or structures, or otherwise displayed on ceremonial occasions. The reference to 'flags' in Miss Corrie's label, and to the display of 'banners' on Rarotonga in a missionary magazine implies that a customary mode of displaying prestigious fabrics was adopted for the mission 'meetings', major community gatherings that probably took on the character of customary feasts.

Corrie's label notes that the minor water staining affecting the work occurred during a severe hurricane of 1846. Since the church was completed only four years earlier, the painting may confidently be dated to 1842-46. While an unprovenanced, smaller and less impressive barkcloth featuring the same church is in the collection of the Cuming Museum in London, the present work is one of the very earliest figurative images of a colonial or Christian subject created in any part of Oceania. In the context of its creation, this would not have been a unique work, but one of a number, painted by individuals, though made collectively for a Christian festival. It now stands as an almost unique survivor of a moment of innovation and experimentation, a vibrant expression of a community's pride in a new centre of ritual and social life. It reflects the sense in which Christianity was, in the Pacific as well as in Africa and elsewhere, not an uncomplicated colonial imposition but a way of life actively embraced – for varied, local reasons – by local people and communities.

CHAPTER 21

'The woman who walks': Lucy Evelyn Cheesman, her collecting and contacts in western New Guinea

KATHARINA WILHELMINA HASLWANTER

~

The Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (MAA) in Cambridge holds a unique assemblage of objects from western New Guinea.[533] It comprises eight collections of more than ten entries[534] and some smaller ones. By far the largest collection – with 231 entries, more than half of the whole assemblage – is the Alexander Frederick Richmond Wollaston collection from along the Rivers Mimika (1910-1911) and Utakwa (Otakwa)[535] (1912-1913) on the south coast. The second largest accession with 60 entries reached the museum in 1934 from the National Museum in Copenhagen. Duplicate specimens, held by the MAA, from the Territory of Papua (the former British New Guinea, today part of Papua New Guinea), were exchanged for these objects which were collected by Engelbertus Eliza Willem Gerards Schröder between 1916 and 1919 and by Antonie Augustus Bruijn in 1877. Four other larger and fairly early collections came from John Young Buchanan (collected in 1875), Francis Henry Hill Guillemard (1883), Baron Anatole von Hügel (donated between 1892 and 1918), and James Hornell (1918); all of these were collected along the north coast and its off-shore islands.

Every single one of these collections would allow different intriguing stories to be told; this essay, however, focuses on the last of the larger collections, namely the Evelyn Cheesman collection. It was chosen first and foremost because it is MAA's only substantial collection of western New Guinea material gathered by a woman, and because it is a very diverse and interesting collection of objects. From the archival material at the MAA, at the University Library Cambridge, and at the Natural History Museum Archives in London as well as Cheesman's written accounts, one gets insight into Cheesman's field approach and the specific collecting circumstances, her aptitude for ethnographic observation, and the relationships she had with the Indigenous people she met and worked with in western New Guinea.

(Lucy) Evelyn Cheesman (1881-1969)

The entomologist Evelyn (she did not use her first name Lucy) Cheesman (Figure 21.1) grew up as the third of five children in the rural village of Westwell in England. As a child she collected animals, insects and plants and reared and bred them in sheds and



Figure 21.1. Photograph of Evelyn Cheesman in her kakoia (rain shield) on Japen Island in 1939. Portrait collection of the Natural History Museum Library, London. © The Trustees of the Natural History Museum, London.

outbuildings of the family house. Her other early interests included drawing, painting, and reading books about nature.[536] Later, when she worked as governess for a fox-hunting family in Gumley, she continued her natural explorations with the recreational study of botany and nocturnal watching of badgers and foxes. After a year in Germany, where she taught English and improved her German, she intended to study at the Veterinary College. This however did not admit women at that time, very much to the disappointment of Cheesman, so she took up a position as a canine nurse in a dog hospital outside Croydon (south London) until the outbreak of the First World War. During the war she worked as a temporary civil servant for the Admiralty, checking British companies for contacts which might aid Germany. Her German language skills were invaluable in this work.[537]

Through the mediation of an acquaintance, she met Harold Maxwell Lefroy, Professor of entomology at the Imperial College of Science, shortly after the war. Lefroy was looking for someone who could improve the Insect House at the London Zoological Gardens, which had been neglected during the war. Cheesman took charge of the Insect House, making rapid improvements within a few months and, alongside this, she attended a two-year course in entomology at the Imperial College of Science in London. She enjoyed this new challenge so much that she decided not to enrol at the Veterinary College when they lifted their ban on women.[538] However, her unbounded love of adventure did not let her stay at the London Zoo for long before she departed from Europe on the first of her seven expeditions to various Pacific Islands.

Her first voyage was as a member of the *St. George* Expedition in 1924-1925, visiting the Galapagos Islands and the islands of Tuamotu, Tahiti, and the Marquesas in Eastern Polynesia. The leader of the scientific team on board the *St. George*, of which Cheesman was part, was James Hornell (1865-1949), a marine biologist and oceanographer, who had a great passion for all kinds of water vessels. Today he is mostly known for the monumental three volume work on the *Canoes of Oceania*[539]. He published this series together with Alfred Cort Haddon, which was at that time Reader in Ethnology at the University of Cambridge and affiliated with the Museum. Today, the MAA holds a collection of about 260 entries collected by James Hornell; 37 entries are part of the western New Guinea collection.

In March 1924, when the *St. George* anchored in Tahiti, Cheesman decided to part from the expedition and to only travel on her own in the future. Alone, she went to the interior of Tahiti, to Raiatea, Huahine and Borabora before returning to England in September 1924.[540] From this first expedition, she brought back around 26,000 entomological specimens,[541] and a great hunger for more solo travelling. She decided to give up her position at London Zoo, started to work voluntarily at the British Museum of Natural History (today the Natural History Museum), and undertook further solo collecting trips.

In 1928 she set off to collect in the New Hebrides (today Vanuatu), where she stayed for two years. Shortly after her return, Cheesman was contacted by Louis Colville Gray Clarke, the curator at the MAA, and she decided to give her ethnographic collection from the New Hebrides to the Museum in Cambridge, and not to the British Museum as initially intended.[542] She continued to do so with ethnographic objects from her expeditions until 1939.

Her next journey brought her to the Territory of Papua (the southern half of today's Papua New Guinea) in 1933-1934.[543] From these first two solo expeditions, the MAA holds 43 object entries from Vanuatu (mainly from the islands Malekula and Tanna) and ten entries from the Territory of Papua.

At the end of 1935, she travelled to the north coast of Dutch New Guinea, where she collected in the Cyclops Mountains and around Lake Sentani for about ten months.[544] She headed again for Dutch New Guinea in 1938, this time to the islands Waigeu (today Waigeo, Figure 21.2) and Japen (today also spelled Yapen), respectively west and east of the bird's head peninsula.[545] On these two trips, she collected about 130,000 biological[546] as well as some ethnographic specimens. The MAA holds 15 objects from her first trip to the Cyclops Mountains and around Lake Sentani and one object from her stay in Japen, namely the rain shield she wears in Figure 21.1.[547]

Even in her later years, Evelyn Cheesman continued her collecting work abroad. In 1949, she travelled to New Caledonia and in 1954, already 73 years old, she travelled a second time to the New Hebrides, namely to its southernmost island Aneityum. From these later travels, the MAA has no objects. Between her expeditions she volunteered for the British Museum of Natural History, where she classified and sorted the insects she collected, and published her findings in scientific papers. Cheesman made her living mainly through writing popular books.[548] She died in London in 1969, 87 years old.[549]

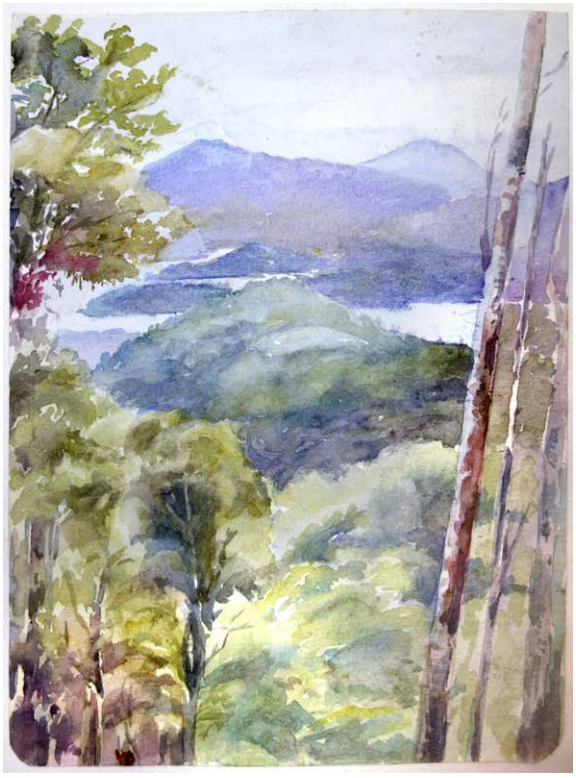


Figure 21.2. Evelyn Cheesman, captioned 'Looking down on the head of Mayalibit Bay from Camp I. on Mt. Nok. Fak Fak Bay showing on the right', 1938, water colour on paper. Natural History Museum Archives, London, ENT MSS Cheesman A 5:5, E. Cheesman, Photos & Maps Localities of Cheesman Expeditions, Album British New Guinea, South-east New Guinea, Territory of Papua, Dutch New Guinea, Cyclops Mts, Northern Coast, Waigeu Is., Japen Is. © The Trustees of the Natural History Museum, London. Photograph by Katharina Haslwanter.

Cheesman's travels in western New Guinea

On 29 November 1935,[550] Cheesman set sail for Dutch New Guinea. Her aim was not only to collect entomological, zoological and botanical specimens, but also to investigate the geology along the north coast of the island, recording geological conditions along her route.[551] With this, she hoped to support her theory of a land mass – namely the Cyclops Mountains, Mt Bougainville near the border to the Mandated Territory (today Papua New Guinea), and the Torricelli Range in the Mandated Territory – which was not submerged during the late Cretaceous. This would explain the continental diversity of species in New Guinea and support her argument that the insects on New Guinea are Asian in their origin rather than Australian.[552]

Cheesman reached Hollandia (today's Jayapura) on 31 January 1936[553] on the Dutch steamer *Rochussen* and spent the first nights in the post-house on the outskirts of Hollandia. Soon after her arrival she met Wilhelm Stüber,[554] a German plantation owner and former bird of paradise trader. She was introduced to him via a letter from Maurits Anne Lieftinck,[555] who Cheesman visited en route to New Guinea at the end of December 1935. Stüber collected and traded orchids as well as entomological specimen, especially Odonata (dragonflies and damselflies); the latter he sent exclusively to Lieftinck. In 1936, Stüber additionally took on a post as assistant administrator. His task was to build a road to the southwestern foothills of the Bewani Mountains near the border to the Mandated Territory, through and into a region not yet under Dutch control, and construct a government station there.[556]

Stüber was Cheesman's first informant regarding local conditions, and when Stüber mentioned to Cheesman that he planned to reconnoitre parts of the region, namely the Ijapo group and Mount Nomo, Cheesman decided to accompany him. For Cheesman, who usually collected alone, this was unusual, and it must have been quite a challenge to travel and collect in the company of someone who she probably saw as her social equal, as she seems to have preferred being in charge. However, the two appear to have got along very well together. Cheesman describes Stüber as generous, energetic, very talkative, and with a fertile but sometimes erratic mind, while Stüber praised Cheesman's achievements on the Cyclops Mountains and generally spoke positively of her, with the one exception of her being 'a little niggardly'.[557] Even after Cheesman's return to England, the two stayed in contact. On 3 November 1937, Stüber sent one lot of insects to Cheesman, whom he addresses with 'Dear little Miss Cheesman!'[558]

After this successful collecting trip with Stüber on the foothills of Mt Nomo, Cheesman continued alone and first collected on the steep slopes of Mt Lina followed by two more camps on different altitudes on the southwestern slope of the Cyclops near Sabron.

Cheesman's relationship with the western New Guineans

In all three camps she employed Indigenous people for a wide range of tasks, such as clearing the camp site of trees and building huts, clearing a higher area for the moth screen, putting the screen up, keeping the camp running (gathering firewood, fetching water, cooking, and washing), transporting equipment and stocks from nearby villages and between camps, bringing collected specimens to a safe room in the village, and helping with specimen collection.[559]

On one hand, Cheesman complaines several times in her writing about stealing and other problems with her camp staff – especially in her first camp – and expresses great disappointment with most of the hunters she employed. She ascribed this to the fact that the people she hired were orang laut (People from the Sea) rather than orang hutan (People from the Forest), and therefore would be afraid of the forest and not 'possess[..] any real bush-lore', like tracking forest animals or knowing their behaviour.[560]

On the other hand, she shows understanding for their desire to possess some of her objects, like tins with well fitted lids which were very useful to keep things like tobacco or tinder dry in the damp climate,[561] and many times she was impressed by the knowledge the Papuans had of their own environment, and their practical skills. For example, that the women at Iffar were able to recognize an earth burrowing snake as a snake and did not take them for worms, which according to Cheesman could easily happen as their scales are only visible under a microscope and their eyes are the only distinction between the two species; or the three very young boys who brought a snake to her which they themselves killed and attached to a carrying pole; or the ability of the Indigenous people to make their sea-going praus (canoes) respond to the smallest breeze; or to recognize others on the lake from a great distance; or to do mental arithmetic faster than herself.[562]

After about four and a half months in quite challenging conditions in the Cyclops mountain camps, she made the post-house in Iffar[563] her base and collected around Lake Sentani.[564] Here too, she had help of the Indigenous people, who transported

her in their praus and carried her luggage from place to place and – again – helped her with collecting.

Of Cheesman's employees during this collection trip, two people seem to stand out. Usually Cheesman employed people for specific tasks for up to a couple of weeks, but Adam she kept on for nearly three months. Adam came from the coastal village Sarmi, about 300km west of Hollandia. Cheesman met him in Hollandia and hired him as a 'camp servant',[565] because, as she notes, he was good in washing clothes, and picked up skills quickly and easily, *e.g.* how to collect and store specimens. Adam worked for Cheesman in all three camps, and Cheesman was very pleased with him and would probably have employed him for her whole stay, if there had not been miscommunication between him and the colonist family from whom Cheesman was renting a room, and complaints about his attitude towards their employees. Cheesman regretted not having heard about these difficulties earlier and blamed the colonists for their conflict aversion.[566]

The other person she mentions very favourably was Elam, who worked for her during her time at Lake Sentani. Elam lived on the farther shore of the lake and came every day in his canoe to Iffar to work for Cheesman.

> Elam was one of my prau boys, a gentle creature with good manners and always nice with small children. I liked him better than any boy I had hired before. He was anxious to be house boy, and was coming early to make coffee and wash some clothes.[567]

But Elam was of much greater help to Cheesman than she describes here, especially on one occasion: the pick-up arrangements for Cheesman's specimens did not run according to plan, leaving her with only a few hours to bring her collection from Iffar to Hollandia, a distance usually reckoned a day's journey. However, thanks to Elam, who accompanied her, arranged for carriers and organized food for them, she managed to reach the steamer in Hollandia in time, despite a big downpour during their prau passage on the lake from Iffar to Coiabo, the closest shore to Hollandia. On their way back, they had to walk all the way from Hollandia to Pim on Jotefa Bay as the bad weather did not permit a prau journey on this sea shore stretch. Elam was exhausted, because he had no food for himself as there were no sweet potatoes or paw-paw (papaya) available in Hollandia, but he still had the stamina to guide Cheesman through the marshy parts of the way on a moonless night. After some rice in Coiabo, Elam felt much better, and they took a prau to Iffar, which they reached at 3am, the whole journey there and back taking them less than 15 hours. This episode was what brought Cheesman the soubriquet 'the woman who walks'.[568]

In Iffar, the Indigenous people were intrigued by Cheesman's collection of specimens in jars, and men, women and even children brought a variety of animals in all sorts of receptacles to Cheesman, who paid two cents for every specimen she kept.[569]

One of these receptacles – namely the palm leaf bag shown in Figures 21.3 and 21.4 – caught Cheesman's eye, as the bag was in her opinion more interesting than the little snake it contained, and 'would have made a handbag quite fit for London streets'. The bag

was made by an elderly man who came from an inland village. Cheesman describes him and their encounter as follows:

> He was a very serious, little old man, quite diffident about coming in[to the post-house] at all, and was ready to bolt back to safety if I should make any alarming movement; but when I appeared pleased with the snake and paid him a little extra for the bag his confidence was quite restored. He held a long conversation in an unknown tongue; but I quite understood what a long way he had walked since the sun came up, and how his legs ached with the unwonted dry road, and he had evidently heard much about my collection so was allowed a tour of inspection. By his clucking and strange exclamations I gathered that he was deeply gratified, and every object was examined. This finished, he did not linger or need to be sent off, and he turned at the gate before going down the steps and made me a little speech which I would have given anything to have understood.[570]



Figure 21.3. Nipon palm leaf bag in which a little snake was transported, western New Guinea, Evelyn Cheesman, collected in 1936. 14.7 x 15.9 x 4.9 cm, Nipon palm leaf, plant fibre strip, wood. 1937.309. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge. Photograph by Josh Murfitt.



Figure 21.4. Nipon palm leaf bag from back, with the continuing of the plant fibre strip visible on the right side, western New Guinea, Evelyn Cheesman, collected in 1936. 14.7 x 15.9 x 4.9 cm, Nipon palm leaf, plant fibre strip, wood. 1937.309. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge. Photograph by Josh Murfitt.

Cheesman writes in her book that the bag was made from pandanus. However, on the object label at the MAA written in Cheesman's hand the material is given as 'Niebung leaf bract' and 'Nipon palm (leaf bract)' respectively. This is more likely, as pandanus leaves firstly have a different texture and colour, and secondly are only a few centimetres wide and therefore would have needed sewing together to make up the width or height of the bag. However, she is right that it 'was very neatly made, the edges sewn with fibre and a flap fastened with a sort of skewer'.[571] An ingenious feature of the bag is the plant fibre strip which is used for the seam, continues to fasten the two side flaps, and finally forms the carrying strap of the bag, as can be seen in Figure 21.4.

Cheesman's ethnographic collecting and aptitude for observation

Despite her focus on natural history, Cheesman also had an interest in ethnography, which was seemingly private rather than academic, as she writes herself.[572] This interest is reflected in her ethnographic collecting and in her writing. She describes vividly the daily life around Lake Sentani and gives a detailed account on the different fishing methods used by the people living around the Lake:

> The shallows of the lake are allotted to each village for fishing, and are dotted with fish traps, which consist of posts driven into the bed in circles about 10 to 12 feet wide. Fishing is specially women's work. Any kind wood is used for the posts if not too rotten, and fish come to browse on the alga which grows on it. Several women combine to fish. One sees their long praus all over the lake whenever the weather is suitable […]. Sometimes they surround the posts armed with sticks to beat the water while other women catch the fish inside the circle, but usually a large net is drawn round the posts.[573]

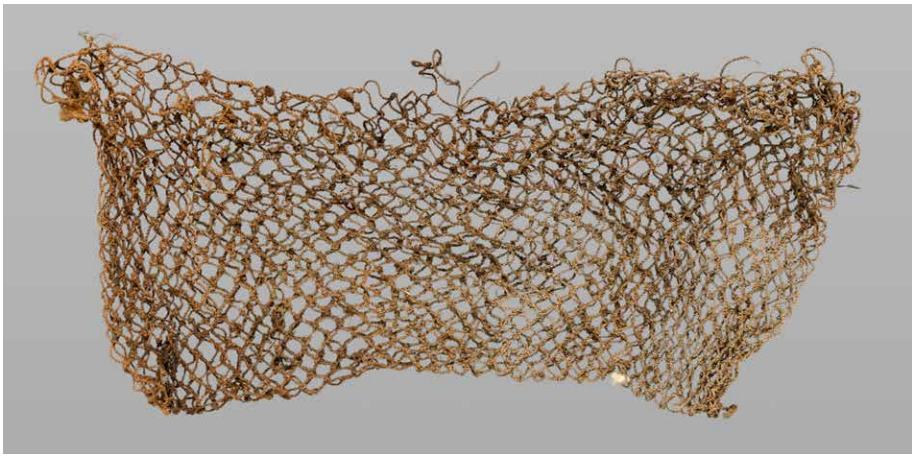


Figure 21.5. Woman's fishing net, tray-shaped. The drawstring, which tightens the back margin over the elbows, can be seen best in the top left corner, running through the topmost slings. Iffar, Lake Sentani, western New Guinea, Evelyn Cheesman, collected in 1936. 48 x 22.4 cm, plant fibre. 1937.310. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge. Photograph by Josh Murfitt.

> The most ingenious fishing that I have ever come across was that of the Sentani women. They have tray-shaped nets made of strips of bark or fibre, square, fastened to elbows and fingers which stretch the net taut [see Figure 21.5]. With these they dive in among the fish swimming in the circular traps, select what they require and come to the surface with the net folded against their chests holding a struggling fish. It is a most fascinating operation to watch.[574]

> I had it demonstrated to me by one of the older women before I could understand how it was managed; and had to scoop up imaginary fish all over the verandah until she was satisfied that I knew my lesson.[575]

However, even after investigating the net and reading the various descriptions of the technique, it was still difficult to make sense of how exactly it would have been used. A sketch (see Figure 21.6) in the Archive of the MAA[576] finally helped with the illuminating information noted to the left of the sketch: '[…] with the hands from inside the net'. Cheesman had great difficulties to buy one of these nets. She writes: 'I could not understand why the women refused to sell to me, until Elam explained that they took some time to make and there were none to spare.'[577] Finally, she was able to obtain an

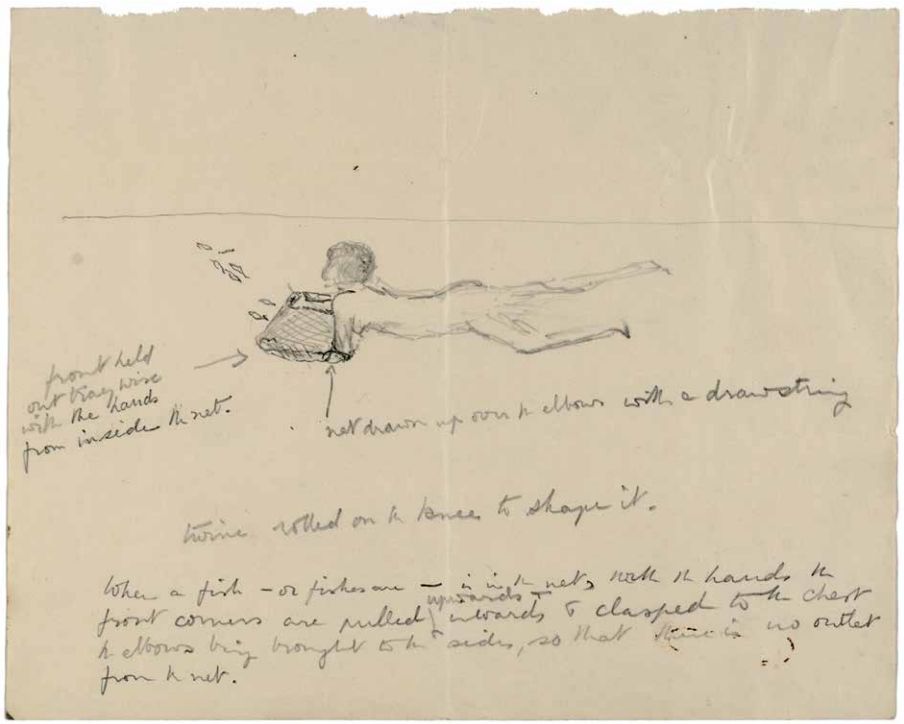


Figure 21.6. Evelyn Cheesman, sketch of a woman fishing, 1936, pencil on paper. Correspondence 1936, Letter Evelyn Cheesman to Louis Clarke, 28 August 1936. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge. Photograph by Josh Murfitt.

old, disused net, which she passed on to the MAA, saying '[I] expect it is suitable as a museum specimen.'[578]

Cheesman also mentiones other ethnographically relevant topics, like trade routes[579] and different gender duties. She notes for example that the palm leaf thatch (atap) for huts in camps were made by the Sentani women,[580] who in most cases would also have been responsible for the fishing,[581] and that the men had never seen a burrowing snake like that which the women brought to her, because it was women's duty to garden, and the soil is where these little snakes are found.[582] Furthermore, she understood local life and customs, *e.g.* that food at new villages is scarce until gardens are established,[583] or how to mount a tabu (secret or restricted) sign at the front door to keep people from entering while she was away,[584] and generally accepted local habits without too much complaint.[585]

Shortly before she left western New Guinea, she stayed at the village Pué, accompanied by Elam. Here, she took photographs of the local people[586] and with the assistance of the krano (the village chief) she was able to acquire ethnographic objects from villagers, namely a sago bowl, a plain woman's tapa skirt, a carved wooden food bowl, and some bamboo arrows. All of these except the arrows are at the MAA.[587] The circumstances of acquisition might explain why her collection is quite heterogeneous. It includes daily life objects of the female as well as from the male realm. In *The Land of the Red Bird* Cheesman writes:

> The earthenware bowl and carved wooden spoon[588] were the property of one woman, an old woman with a pleasant, wrinkled face. I offered my small hurricane-lantern for it, as that is a much coveted object; but having accepted this the woman changed her mind, and asked, through the krano, whether she could have eight pence instead. The lantern cost double that, and I told him that if she did not want it I would give her the full price instead. This announcement was received with great approbation: they were very appreciative and responsive in that village. I watched her counting over the money in her brown hand with a face full of delight, and said to her 'Well, Venus! have you made a good bargain?'–in English–of course no word was intelligible to her, but she guessed the sense, for she leaped to my side, seized my hand and stroked it. This is always the spontaneous sign of pleasure of a Papuan woman. Her delight was touching.[589]

In this and other accounts Cheesman paid generally reasonable prices. Many times, in her book, she mentiones her payments to carriers and local collectors, giving between two and four cents for every biological specimen she kept. Her employees were usually content – only once she describes an argument with carriers on Mt Lina. According to Cheesman, they agreed on a payment of double the usual price due to the conditions in the mountains, but once in the camp, the carriers complained and asked for more, which Cheesman refused.[590] In addition to the objects mentioned above, her collection includes two lime bowls, a carved coconut lime receptacle, a lime gourd with stick, a second wooden sago spoon, a carved fruit, a stone head of a sago pounder and a green stone axe head.[591]

After about eight months in western New Guinea she left the country, undertaking a 200km long coastal voyage along the north coast, over the border to Aitape in the Mandated Territory. There she intended to collect in the Torricelli Mountains to further support her zoogeographical hypothesis but was put into quarantine – an ordinance with the aim to prevent the outbreak of infectious diseases. After 18 idle days in an empty house and garden she left in canoes to catch a steamer in Wewak for Sydney. On her way back, the steamer called at New Ireland, where she collected for half a day, and New Britain. She reached England on 31 December 1936.[592]

Conclusion

Even though collecting natural history specimens was clearly Evelyn Cheesman's first and foremost interest, her ethnographic collection together with her letters and the descriptions and photographs[593] in her books show Cheesman's aptitude for observation and are a valuable record of the material culture available at the time in western New Guinea. Furthermore, her writing provides an insight into the encounters and relationships she had with the Indigenous peoples in New Guinea.

Cheesman was clearly a tough and independent woman with a straightforward and forceful personality, who had definite rules in her camps and around the houses she occupied in villages. She was strict and demanding towards the people she worked with and clearly showed that she was in command. Nevertheless, she was true to her word and fair towards the Indigenous people, who had great respect for – if not fear of – her and was on good terms with them. And even though her writing is in places insulting and generally reflects the European imperial attitudes of her time, a mutual acceptance, if not liking and sympathy,[594] shines through many of her accounts; her description of her helpers being caught up in the excitement when she tried to catch an elusive species; her joking with the prau crew about her age; the Chinese shopkeeper, who invited her to a cup of coffee on her walking journey from Hollandia back to Iffar; the warm farewell she received from the women in Iffar and from Elam, who accompanied her once again to Hollandia; and several other instances in her book *The Land of the Red Bird*.

It seems that it was not only the shared interest in the specimens which connected Cheesman and the Indigenous people, but also the mutual benefits.[595] Cheesman clearly would not have been able to collect such high numbers of specimens without the support of the Indigenous community and their manifold skills. On the Papuan side, there seems to have been a great curiosity about this 'human freak',[596] who even spoke Malay, and her doings. Working for her not only allowed people to watch her closely, but also to pay their head-tax[597] to the Dutch administration,[598] and it brought a certain degree of prestige to people, as Cheesman became quite a celebrity in the area, known as 'the woman who walks'.[599]

CHAPTER 22

History and cultural identity: commemorating the arrival of British in Kiribati

ALISON CLARK

~

Introduction

In the mid to late 1800s, European traders and missionaries of many nationalities were establishing plantation, trade and religious interests throughout the Western Pacific. This often resulted in conflicts with the Indigenous population, but also among European agents themselves. Crimes committed by Europeans in the Pacific led to punishment by their parent country in order to protect the Indigenous population. At the same time, crimes committed by Pacific Islanders against Europeans also resulted in punitive action, with European nations sending warships to protect their citizens and their interests. Attempts were made to control the recruitment of Pacific Islanders for labour and to restrict the sale of guns by traders to the Indigenous population. These factors among others built up pressures for the acquisition and control of the various island groups by European countries. HMS *Royalist* is part of this history. Over a three-year period the Australian station third class cruiser sailed around the Western Pacific attempting to remove guns sold to Pacific Islanders, enforce law and order within both the Indigenous and European populations living in the region, and declare some islands British protectorates.

Born in Galway in 1846, Edward Henry Meggs Davis commanded HMS *Royalist* between 1890 and 1893. During this period he sailed around the Western Pacific, stopping at islands then known as the New Hebrides (Vanuatu), New Caledonia, New Guinea (Papua New Guinea), Solomon Islands, Fiji, the Gilbert and Ellice Islands (Kiribati and Tuvalu) and the Marshall Islands. His voyages were divided into three distinct periods each with a different aim: the first trip, which spent most of its time in the New Hebrides, was operated under the auspices of the Anglo-French Joint Naval Commission. The New Hebrides had been declared a neutral territory by France and England, and Davis spent most of his time maintaining law and order in the islands, addressing conflicts over land, and removing arms sold by traders to the Islanders. On the second trip he was instructed to establish law and order in Solomon Islands and New Guinea after the deaths of several European traders in the region, and spent approximately a year there conducting significant punitive expeditions among the islands. The third voyage visited the Gilbert and Ellice Islands (Figure 22.1), and the



Figure 22.1. The crew of the HMS Royalist on the Gilbert Islands.1892. Unknown photographer. Copyright the Fiji Museum.

Marshall Islands, albeit the latter very briefly. Hardly any research has been conducted on this third voyage, and how it differs from the first two which were marked by considerable violence and controversy. In contrast, the narrative of the third voyage is one of peace.

In 1886, British and German governments agreed to divide their spheres of influence in the Western Pacific. Germany chose the Marshall Islands and Nauru, and the United Kingdom was given the option of acquiring the Gilbert Islands, Ellice Islands and Ocean Island, now known as Kiribati, Tuvalu and Banaba. Unlike Germany, who quickly acquired the Marshall Islands, Britain made no immediate movement in this area. It was not until 1892, when competition over trading interests between Germany and America in the Gilbert Islands suggested that those Islands might be acquired by Germany, that Britain made a move. In 1890 the British High Commissioner for the Western Pacific based in Fiji recommended the acquisition of the Gilbert Islands by Britain, not only to forestall possible action by Germany, but also to control the recruitment of labour, the sale of guns and liqueur, and to end growing turbulence in the islands. Captain Davis was sent to the area in 1892 to carry out this work and to declare the Gilbert Islands a British Protectorate.

Collecting in Kiribati

Crew members aboard HMS *Royalist* collected objects throughout all three voyages and the collection has become indicative not just of a period of colonial collecting in the Pacific, but also the development of museum collections in the UK and Europe. Today the object collections made aboard HMS *Royalist* can be found in museums in Europe, Australia and New Zealand, with 20 objects currently housed in the Museum

of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge (MAA) where the *Pacific Presences* project is based. Davis himself made a collection of 1481 objects. These were collected from the islands he worked on, as well as the islands that the ship passed on its way back and forth to Australia where the ship was stationed in between voyages. Davis collected 259 objects from Kiribati and about 80% of these have been located in museums across Europe and New Zealand. Davis was not tasked with collecting objects on any of his voyages but the traffic in objects created by missionaries, traders, explorers and colonial officials meant that collecting was a common practice during this period, particularly due to the monetary potential offered by selling these objects to dealers or museums back in Europe. Publications such as the Royal Geographic Society's *Hints to Travellers* and the Anthropological Institute's *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* gave travellers tips and recommendations on what and how to collect. The opening page of *Hints to Travellers* reads that 'this work will come into the hands of very different readers'[600] and goes on to state the book's aims as:

> assisting all travellers to make their travels more pleasant to themselves and more profitable … and [assisting] those residents abroad whom duty compels to spend large portions of their lives in remote localities, and who have therefore, the best opportunities for presenting complete and accurate information concerning distant regions.[601]

Many missionaries, government workers and amateur collectors owned a copy of *Hints to Travellers*, and it is frequently referred to as 'the collectors handbook' amidst the correspondence of collectors in the late nineteenth/early twentieth century.[602] The collecting practices of Davis may have been shaped or influenced by the recommendations made by the publication, whose duty as a naval officer did indeed 'compel him to spend large portions of [his life] in remote localities'.[603] In the anthropology section in *Hints to Travellers* it is noted that a collector should aim to include information about an object or the maker of that object according to the following categories: physical character, mode of subsistence, religion and customs, arts and manufacture, personal ornaments, hairstyle, carving, money and miscellaneous, which includes games, names, and cosmology. Similarly *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* (1874) provided a framework for how to think about the cultural groups travellers like Davis encountered and may have also influenced what type of objects he deemed worthy to collect. Davis appears to attempt to fulfil the criteria laid out in these books by recording information in almost all of the mentioned categories for many of his voyages. It thus seems he was anxious to produce a comprehensive account of the peoples and cultures he encountered. For example, in the proceedings of HMS *Royalist*[604] Davis made notes during his third voyage on categories such as housing, social customs, clothing, arms and armour, food, and the exports of Gilbertese people, as well as physical anthropological descriptions. However, while hinting at an awareness of ethnographic analysis, perhaps shaped by *Hints to Travellers* or *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, none of his notes describe the acts of actually collecting objects. Throughout all three voyages his correspondence with the colonial office and the foreign office only mentions removing European



Figure 22.2. Coconut fibre and ray skin cuirass. Oc1904,0621.29. Copyright The Trustees of the British Museum.

weapons, charging Pacific Islanders with crimes and, in the case of the third trip, the desire of the I-Kiribati to raise the British flag on their island. It is unclear then how much agency local people had in the formation of Davis' collection. Was Davis selecting the objects himself, or was the selection controlled by Islanders? Davis' arrival marked a moment of immense social change for the Gilbert Islands. The civil wars that were rife in the period before his arrival had been gradually brought to an end by the British. This pacification and the resulting stability may be the reason why Davis managed to collect relatively rare objects, like the coconut fibre cuirass (Figure 22.2), with ray skin inlay on the front, as Islanders would no longer have any use for armour and weapons now that major local conflicts had ended.

Returning to Bexhill, England, in 1894, Davis commissioned a local printer to publish a catalogue of his Pacific collection (Figure 22.3). Davis aimed at selling the collection in order to fund his retirement.[605] Originally, he intended to sell the collection to a friend; however, this person later declined to make the purchase, which forced Davis to seek another buyer. The catalogue, which lists 700 lots and a total of 1481 objects, was meant to promote his collection and attract potential buyers. Davis chose the firm Gerrard and Sons, a London based taxidermist and dealer, to sell the collection on his behalf. Collectors needed 'assistance to get the material from the ships, pay any government duties owed, and co-ordinate' with the museum that would receive the objects.[606] Importantly, the recipient museum 'was not always willing to accept material sent to them and furthermore they would not take responsibility for the return of any specimens or objects'.[607] Hence, an intermediary was needed. Gerrard and Sons set themselves up as intermediaries, adding to their income through this service, with Davis as one of their clients.

Collecting the collection

While the formation of Davis' collection is indicative of one chapter in the history of British maritime exploration and colonial expansion, the dispersal of the collection is indicative of another chapter; that period when collectors such as Harry Beasley, James Edge-Partington and Umlauff 'systematically tapped this source, each amassing superb private collections by this process'.[608] 'Very early on, well before the end of the nineteenth

century, the nearby Gerrard workshops had become famous as a place where hunters, travelers and naturalists could meet and exchange or sell specimens.'[609] Davis' collection was housed at Gerrard and Sons while it awaited sale and it would have been viewed by a great number of private collectors, dealers and curators. Both Davis and Gerrard and Sons also sent copies of the Davis catalogue to museums in order to drum up interest in the collection. Collections such as Davis' are complex relational assemblages. People were connected both personally and professionally and through all of these networks of interested parties, people were trading information about the kind of collections that were coming out of the Pacific Islands, as well as exchanging, selling, donating and

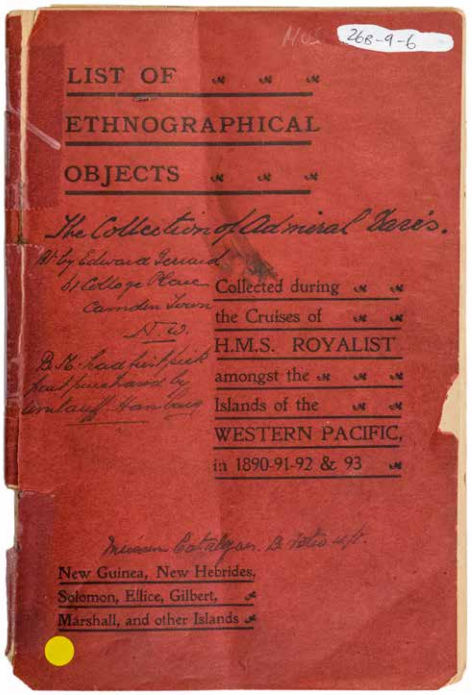


Figure 22.3. Catalogue of the collection by Captain Davis. Photograph by Josh Murfitt. Copyright The Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 22.4. The crew of HMS Royalist at Roviana, Solomon Islands.1892. Unknown photographer. Copyright the Fiji Museum.

buying the objects themselves. The movement of these objects relied on these relations, and in turn my attempts to assemble the collection has relied on being able to use this network to follow the movement of the objects to their current homes. The main reason for reassembling this dispersed collection is to bring it 'back' to Kiribati.

Research conducted into the objects and photographs collected during the second voyage has already revealed the contemporary salience of HMS *Royalist* within the Solomon Islands. Figure 22.4 was taken in Roviana during the punitive expeditions of the second voyage of the HMS *Royalist*, and has been frequently used when discussing the history of collecting and British colonial enterprises in the Solomon Islands. It has also been used by visual anthropologist Chris Wright in his work on memory and material culture in Solomon Islands. He took this photograph and a series of other photographs back to Solomon Islands in order to speak to people in Roviana about the significance of the images today. Wright notes that the event in the photograph is 'frequently referred to [by local people] in general discussions about history and contemporary change in Roviana and is often used in comparisons between past and present', with people comparing present day ethnic tensions as being like those experienced during 'the time of the royalist'.[610] I wondered if there were traces of the *Royalist* among the other communities it had visited, and what might the contemporary relevance of this period of colonial history be for I-Kiribati?

The Union Jack Anniversary Celebration

On 8 June 1892, Davis wrote:

> I proceeded at noon for Teretei [sic]- meeting the king and the southern chiefs on the way- they evidently not caring to land until I arrived. I was met in the Maniaba by about 500 natives. Having explained my mission, and hoisted the flag, I told people that the war was over, and that in future there were to be no North and South parties- there was to be one party only and I hoped that now that peace was established they would try to improve the island.[611]

Today local people describe how, at the time that Davis arrived at Taratai, the island of Tarawa had been engaged in a period of civil war involving ten successive conflicts over four generations between different chiefly groups. When Davis arrived they were in the period of Matang's war, a chief from South Tarawa who was in conflict with Tentikinaich a chief from North Tarawa. Davis, who had heard of the conflict, arrived just before the fighting began only to be informed that Matang had already died.[612] Oral tradition states that he told Tentikinaich to stop the war and asked all I-Kiribati to give up their guns, a list of which is recorded in the colonial office correspondence. He collected all guns introduced by European and American traders from both North and South Tarawa and told everyone to return to their villages as a new government was going to be established to look after them. The first government was established at Taratai, later being moved to Abaokooo and then Bairiki where the main offices are based today.

During a visit in 2016, I was keen to see how, like Wright, the *Royalist* features in everyday life and found that the legacy of HMS *Royalist* and Davis feature quite strongly not just in local oral histories, but also within the national curriculum, the



Figure 22.5. The British and Kiribati flag poles at Taratai village, North Tarawa. Photograph by Alison Clark 2016. Copyright Alison Clark.

historical resources of the Catholic church, and the tourist industry. When I showed people pictures of the objects and photographs collected from Kiribati during the voyage, I asked about both the history of the objects, as well as how they were made. Some people wanted to talk about objects, some people wanted to talk about history. Generally, historical discussions about HMS *Royalist* centred on a festival at Taratai, which is held in June each year with a date chosen based on the tides. It is well known throughout the Islands and was started by the father of Raakai Curry, a current festival committee member, who petitioned the British High Commission on behalf of Taratai village to commemorate the centenary of the arrival of the British in 1992. The British High Commission agreed to the festival, and donated solar lights, a volleyball net (almost every village in Kiribati has one), two flag poles, a plaque commemorating the arrival of the British in 1892 and a small boat called the *Royalist* in order to allow people from Taratai no longer living in the village to attend the festival at Taratai, which is only accessible by boat (Figure 22.5).

When interviewed, people from Taratai recalled that the festival was started to commemorate the moment when Davis brought peace to the island of Tarawa. The story of that peace has been passed down through the generations and people said that it was a good thing as it brought equality among the island for all living on it. Local council members said that in 1892 the community of Taratai welcomed Davis and his crew, and that they saw him as coming to help them.[613] Kiribati being a peaceful nation is a very big part of Kiribati culture. You see it written on t-shirts and te be, the traditional skirt worn by men and women, used in advertising and tourism, and it is this message that is more important than the potentially negative impact British colonialism had on the

Islands. After independence from the UK in 1979, the national motto of Kiribati was also developed to emphasize the peaceful nature of the Islands and its people; it reads 'Te Mauri, Te Raoi, Te Tabomoa', meaning health, peace and prosperity. The festival was started after the 1979 independence. Prior to independence and until 1992, Taratai village celebrated the Queen's birthday every year. Natan Itonga,[614] a member of the Taratai diaspora in South Tarawa, suggested that the establishment of the festival was in part about maintaining that connection with the British who had left. The festival was so popular with the village that a committee was set up and in 2017 it celebrated its 25th year. The committee is currently based in Betio, South Tarawa, which contains a large Taratai diaspora who have moved to South Tarawa for better job prospects and access to education.

Known as The Union Jack Anniversary Celebration, each festival (Figure 22.6) has a packed programme that begins with a parade led by the police band. Children from each school in Taratai and the surrounding villages march behind the police band and line up in rows in front of the marquee in which local dignitaries sit. Speeches are then made by the local priest and the President of Kiribati or representatives from the government, and women from Taratai then perform a traditional dance. The Kiribati flag and the Union Jack are then hoisted up the two flag poles and the national anthems of each country are sung. The chairwoman of the festival committee then gives a speech, before all of the dignitaries are taken to the beach on the ocean side of the village to visit the place where nei Kateara, the ancestor of Taratai, sat waiting for her husband. More dancing and refreshments are provided and then everyone is moved back to the mwaneaba (meeting house) for further speeches, the announcements of donations, more dancing and a large feast (Figure 22.7). The formal activities finish anytime between 3pm and 5pm and are marked by a volleyball match in front of the mwaneaba. Evening activities for those who can stay commence around 6pm with another feast, a beauty contest and a quiz. Planning and fundraising for the festival begins each March and on average the festival costs 10,000 Australian dollars (the currency of Kiribati) to run. Aside from local fundraising from businesses and many of the resident high commissions, members of the expatriate Taratai community who live in Australia, England, the USA and New Zealand also contribute money, as do Taratai seamen working on ships abroad. This financial contribution, which can be given in lieu of attendance, maintains those families' place in the structure of the community which expects all of its members to contribute.

In 2017, I participated in the festival and it was claimed that I was the first British person to have attended the festival since its inauguration in 1992. This inaugural festival was the first and the last time that the British High Commission, which no longer has offices in Kiribati, attended. In addition to raising money for the festival through a crowdfunding campaign, I was also asked to give a speech at the festival on the history of HMS *Royalist* in Kiribati. As a British researcher, looking into the legacy of this historical encounter I have become inadvertently entangled in, what could be argued is, a delayed exchange relationship between the community at Taratai and the British.[615] Davis was perceived as representing the British government and its subjects. Hence, the relationship that commenced with his arrival in 1892 was not between two individuals, or even between an individual and a group, as Davis may have thought, but rather, a



Figure 22.6. The mwaneaba decorated for the Union Jack Festival at Taratai village, North Tarawa. Photograph by Alison Clark 2017. Copyright Alison Clark.



Figure 22.7. Dancers at the Union Jack Festival at Taratai village, North Tarawa. Photograph by Alison Clark 2017. Copyright Alison Clark.

relationship between the village of Taratai and the UK. For the community of Taratai, Davis brought peace and a new way of life, which, because it flattened a hierarchical chiefly social system, was largely seen as beneficial for the whole village. His arrival in 1892 earmarked Taratai as a place of importance, and its role as the first seat of the new national government is still remembered today. In return, Davis received 259 objects, not just from Taratai, but other Kiribati communities he visited also. While for Davis, these objects were commodities that he sold on, perhaps representing one-sided gifts, or even some form of compensation for his work, to the people of Taratai these objects initiated the beginnings of a 125-year long relationship with the British. When I first arrived at Taratai in 2016, people thought that I was from the British High Commission, and they raised the Union Jack to celebrate my arrival. There was a sense of disappointment when they understood that I was not from the High Commission, but there remained an expectation on their part of what my role should be as a British citizen. Whether it was intentional or not, the donation of goods and the stamp of approval given by the British High Commission to the festival in 1992 had perpetuated the relationship initiated by Davis in 1892. When I left the village in 2016, I was given instructions to deliver an invitation for the 2017 festival to the British High Commission in Fiji and to ask them to fix the now broken boat that was donated in 1992.

The annual celebrations of the festival, which include the British national anthem and the British flag, highlight the importance of the British connection for the people at Taratai. Not only do the celebrations allow them to maintain their relationship with the British, it also maintains Taratai's status as an important village in Kiribati history. When I returned in 2017 and spoke to people at the festival, the special nature of Taratai and its descendants was obviously important to people, and they spoke about how 'Taratai people are the cleverest in Kiribati, which is why so many of them leave the village',[616] reiterating that Taratai is an important place within Kiribati national history. For the organizing committee, for the council at Taratai, and for the Taratai community, the festival is a chance to bring the dispersed community back together once a year and to celebrate how special and how important it is to be from Taratai. Civic pride is linked to national pride, but in order for it to be upheld it also requires that colonial ties remain and that these relationships, however tenuous, are upheld. The Union Jack Anniversary Celebration can be seen then as a microcosm for wider issues relating to the reliance of previously colonized now independent Pacific nations, such as Vanuatu, Solomon Islands, Tuvalu or Kiribati, on foreign aid, whether that be from the country who colonized that island nation or from elsewhere. Foreign aid makes up around 20-25% of the gross domestic product (GDP) of Kiribati, allowing Kiribati to make much needed infrastructure improvements. Foreign donations from Taratai expatriates and supporters, and from the Taiwanese, Australian and New Zealand high commissions based in South Tarawa also make up around 50% of the money needed to run the festival at Taratai each year. Taratai expatriates support the festival because it is an important part of their identity.

The reasons for holding the Union Jack Anniversary Celebration are ultimately linked to celebrating one's culture, its importance and its survival. Just as the people of Roviana use the arrival of HMS *Royalist* to discuss contemporary social issues,[617] the people of Taratai use the Union Jack Anniversary Celebration to celebrate Taratai and

wider Kiribati culture, which, in the face of a rapidly changing island due to migration and climate change, is an important constant in the face of change. As one of the committee members said: 'we will continue to hold this festival until we are covered by water'.[618] In a 2017 article in the *Guardian* former Kiribati President Anote Tong said

> climate change for most if not all of the countries in the Pacific is a survival issue … if we do not address the climate change challenge, all of our efforts in trying to achieve economic survival, economic viability all will come to nought.[619]

Tong's statement can be applied not just to economic survival but also cultural survival. I-Kiribati are reliant on the help of other nations to ensure their survival, and, for the community at Taratai their reliance on the relationship with the UK is more important than ever. Should the Islands eventually disappear, the Kiribati – UK relationship will inform a new chapter in the history of British maritime exploration and colonial expansion. The objects that formed a part of the initial exchange relationship will be crucial in this process, as they act as a kind of diaspora of Kiribati material culture.[620] The objects received and collected by Davis will continue to mediate relationships between Kiribati and the UK. How this relationship develops and continues, remains to be seen.

CHAPTER 23

Makereti and the Pitt Rivers Museum, 1921-1930, and beyond

NGAHUIA TE AWEKOTUKU AND JEREMY COOTE

~

By the time Makereti moved to England in 1912 to take up a new life among the landed gentry of Oxfordshire as the wife of Richard Staples-Browne, she had already enjoyed two highly successful careers.[621] Born Margaret Pattison Thom on 20 October 1873, to a high-born Māori mother, Pia Ngarotu Te Rihi, and a retired English army officer, William Arthur Thom, she attended schools in Rotorua and Tauranga, finishing her formal education at the renowned Hukarere Māori Girls' College, in Napier, founded by the Anglican Church. Articulate and attractive, Makereti first gained fame as Guide Maggie Papakura, escorting visitors, including many celebrities and members of the royal family, through the geyser valley of Whakarewarewa. By 1910, she had become a successful entrepreneur, leading and managing concert party tours of Māori cultural performers to Australia and the UK. Makereti was also already receiving extensive attention from the press, being featured both inside and on the covers of newspapers and popular magazines, as well as in promotional brochures and postcards. She was much more than an exotic figure, however, campaigning vigorously to protect, interpret, and promote Māori culture, and writing acerbic letters to policy makers and editors. Widely read and well educated in both Māori and Pakeha worlds, she published her own *Guide to the Hot Lakes District and Some Māori Legends* in 1905,[622] and was considered a prodigious and keenly opinionated correspondent by her friends, government officials, and the press of the day (Figure 23.1).

After nearly two decades in the public eye, however, Makereti wanted privacy. Soon after her wedding to Staples-Browne, she wrote to her friend T.E. Donne: 'I had retired from public life many months ago & have no wish to see my name in print again.'[623] Although eager to settle into a comfortable and anonymous life in Oxfordshire, she sustained her identity as an aristocratic Māori woman by bringing her significant personal collection of carvings, cloaks (Figure 23.2), ornaments, and weapons, displaying them in the 'Māori Room' of her various homes. She also had with her a copious archive of photographs, manuscripts, newspaper cuttings, and other ephemera. After sharing so much of her culture with strangers for nearly 20 years, Makereti may have perceived that the remoteness of Oxfordshire from her native village, as well as its unique ambience, offered an ideal opportunity for reflection, for thinking about

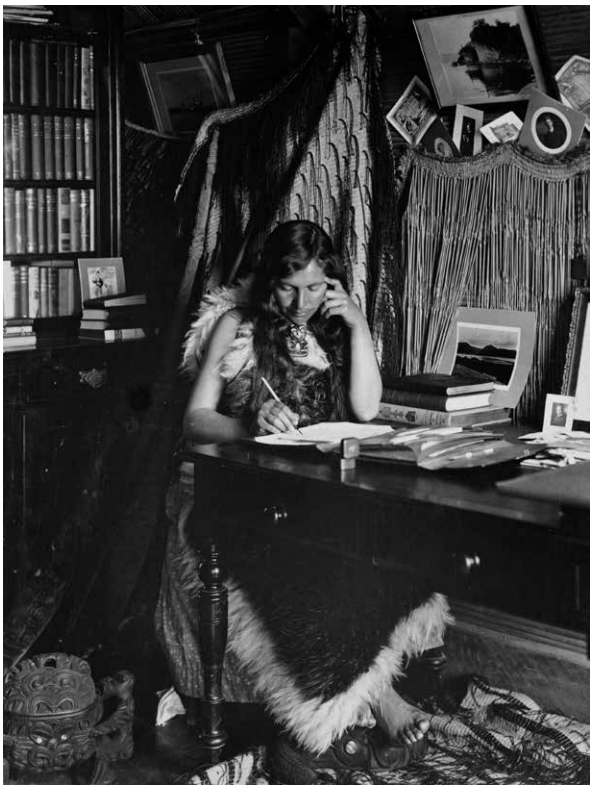


Figure 23.1. Makereti at her desk in Tukiterangi, her house at Whakarewarewa, circa 1909; from a silver gelatin print of a photograph, by an unidentified photographer, in an album in the collections of the Alexander Turnbull Library. New Zealand News Ltd, Photographs from the Auckland Star, Auckland Star Album 1, PA1-q-012-39-2. Courtesy and copyright, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.



Figure 23.2. Makereti with part of her collection of cloaks and mats, in Oxford circa 1926. From a print of a photograph, by an unidentified photographer, in the PRM's collections (1998.266.36). Courtesy and copyright, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

and recording, without distraction and clamour, the material and intellectual legacy she had inherited. It may also be that she had already developed plans to turn her vast experiential and accumulated knowledge into a book, and that she saw Oxford as a suitable location to pursue her plans. As well as being of the landed gentry, her new husband was a serious, though amateur, scientist. Having read natural sciences, medicine, and then biology at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, Staples-Browne had been drawn by the famous biologist William Bateson to work in the new field of genetics. He conducted research subsidized by the Government Grant Committee of The Royal Society, and published accordingly in the major scientific journals.[624] This aspect of her new husband's character and connections might have been part of his attraction as Makereti withdrew from public gaze and sought out a more private, scholarly and intellectually reflective life.

It is not known when Makereti first visited the University of Oxford's Pitt Rivers Museum (PRM; Figure 23.3),[625] or met the anthropologists associated with it, in particular its curator Henry Balfour (1863-1939) and Robert Ranulph Marett (1866-1943) who had succeeded Edward Burnett Tylor as Reader in Anthropology in 1910. She may have visited in 1911 when she first travelled to the UK and spent time in Oxfordshire with friends who had relatives living in the Rotorua district. Or her first encounter with the PRM may have occurred in 1912 after she and her husband



Figure 23.3. View of the displays on the south wall of the PRM, in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. A number of Māori objects were included among the typologically organized displays. From a glass plate, taken for the museum by Alfred Robinson, in the PRM's collections (1999.19.1). Courtesy and copyright, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

had settled in Bampton, west of Oxford, or later when they were living at Brashfield House in the north. It is possible that during this time her husband's scientific interests brought both of them into contact with the natural historians at the University Museum, the PRM's sister institution.

If not before, then contact must surely have been made soon after 29 October 1921 when Te Aonui (aka William Francis Dennan; born 1891), Makereti's son from her brief marriage to Frank Dennan, formally became a member of the University. After a short career in engineering and serving with the New Zealand Expeditionary Force in Egypt and at Gallipoli he matriculated as a student at The Queen's College and registered for the Diploma in Anthropology, to be taught by Balfour, Marett and anatomist Arthur Thomson (Figure 23.4).[626] That November, the Staples-Brownes moved to Oddington Grange, a few miles closer to Oxford. Also that month, on the 17th, Te Aonui joined the Oxford University Anthropological Society (OUAS) at a meeting held at the museum.[627] This was a 'bring and tell' event, so as well as becoming a member Te Aonui also described to the 'about 20' members present 'the making of Māori mats and cloaks for chiefs, and exhibited some very fine specimens'.[628] There is nothing in the records to suggest that Makereti, whose mats and cloaks Te Aonui must have borrowed for the occasion, attended the meeting, but it is probably not a coincidence that it was also in November (precise date unknown) that, as Mrs Staples-Browne, Makereti donated to the PRM a piupiu (skirt) (1921.64.1; Figure 23.5).[629] What may be seen in hindsight as another step in the developing relationship between Makereti and the PRM came on 9 March 1922, when 'Mrs Staples-Browne, of Oddington Grange, Islip' was herself



Figure 23.4. Group portrait of the teaching staff of the PRM with the Diploma class of 1910-1911. PRM Curator Henry Balfour, Professor of Anatomy Arthur Thomson, and Reader in Anthropology Robert Ranulph Marett are in the front row (with students Wilson Dallam Wallis, Diamond Jenness, and [Frédéric Charles Joseph] Marius Barbeau behind). Unfortunately, no group portrait photograph exists of the year groups of Te Aonui or Makereti. From a print, by an unidentified photographer, in the PRM's collections (1998.271.11). Courtesy and copyright, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

elected an Associate Member of the OUAS.[630] Two days later, the OUAS's committee resolved to invite Te Aonui to give a formal paper to the society the following term.[631] Thus, at the meeting on 22 June 1922 'Mr Dennan read a paper, illustrated by lantern slides, entitled 'The Māoris of New Zealand";[632] no doubt Makereti was one of the 'about 25' members present.

Te Aonui did not complete the Diploma course, leaving the University the following Easter. This was not, however, the end of Makereti's involvement with the PRM. Far from it. In June 1923, when her marriage to Staples-Browne was coming to an end and she may have needed funds, she sold some objects to the museum for £5. This collection comprised eight prehistoric stone tools that had been dug up in 1908 near Hamilton in the Waikato region (1923.76.1-.8),[633] along with two stone pounders – a patu muka for pounding harakeke (flax) and a paoi for tenderizing fern-root (1923.76.9-.10). While the prehistoric stone tools had, presumably, little or no personal associations for her, the two pounders had been used by Makereti's foster parents, her great-aunt Marara Marotaua and Marara's brother Maihi Te Kakau Paraoa, who had raised her from soon after her birth until the age of nine. Also in June, Makereti gave the PRM a pair of mako shark-tooth ear-pendants (1923.31.1; Figure 23.6), once worn by both her mother and her great-aunt. That Makereti offered such ostensibly personal, family items to the PRM suggests that she held the museum, or more particularly perhaps its curator Henry Balfour, in high regard.



Figure 23.5. View of the Māori section of the displays devoted to Textiles and Clothing (installed mid-1970s) in the PRM. The piupiu (skirt) that Makereti gave the PRM in 1921 (1921.64.1) features prominently on a panel below photographs of portraits of Ngairo Rakai Hikuroa and Ana Rupene and her daughter by Gottfried Lindauer that were bequeathed to the PRM by Henry Balfour (1938.35.1880, 1938.35.1881); to the right is a selection of cloaks. From a photograph taken for the museum by Michael Peckett in March 2018 (PRM0001858315165). Courtesy and copyright, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.



Figure 23.6. Pair of ear-pendants, shark's tooth and sealing-wax on black ribbon, 85 mm long. In the PRM's collections (1923.31.1). Courtesy and copyright, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

In November 1923 Makereti filed for divorce, the decree absolute being granted almost two years later on 27 July 1925. It seems likely that the idea of writing a book on Māori life surfaced again at this time, as well as the possibility that she might register as a student at Oxford in her own right. In early 1926 she travelled back to Aotearoa New Zealand to spend the first half of the year 'at home'. During this time, she carried out further research, and requested the support of her elders for her scholarly endeavours. Family anecdotes recall that the elders were immensely proud of her and endorsed her plans. She also became a life member of the Polynesian Society and tried, unsuccessfully, to meet with Elsdon Best, ethnologist at the Dominion Museum (the precursor of The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa) and the author of many volumes on Māori history and culture.[634] It is not clear whether she had already determined to register for the Diploma in Anthropology, but it certainly appears that she was taking steps towards making the writing up of her research into a more formal project. T.K. Penniman later recollected that she became a member of the University of Oxford 'at the suggestion of Professor Henry Balfour, Dr. R. R. Marett, and Miss Grace Hadow, Principal of the Oxford Society of Home-Students'.[635] It may be that this had already been mooted and that part of the reason for Makereti's visit home was to gather further information and materials, as well as to secure Māori affirmation for 'what she planned as a series of books on every feature of the life of the Māori as he was'.[636]

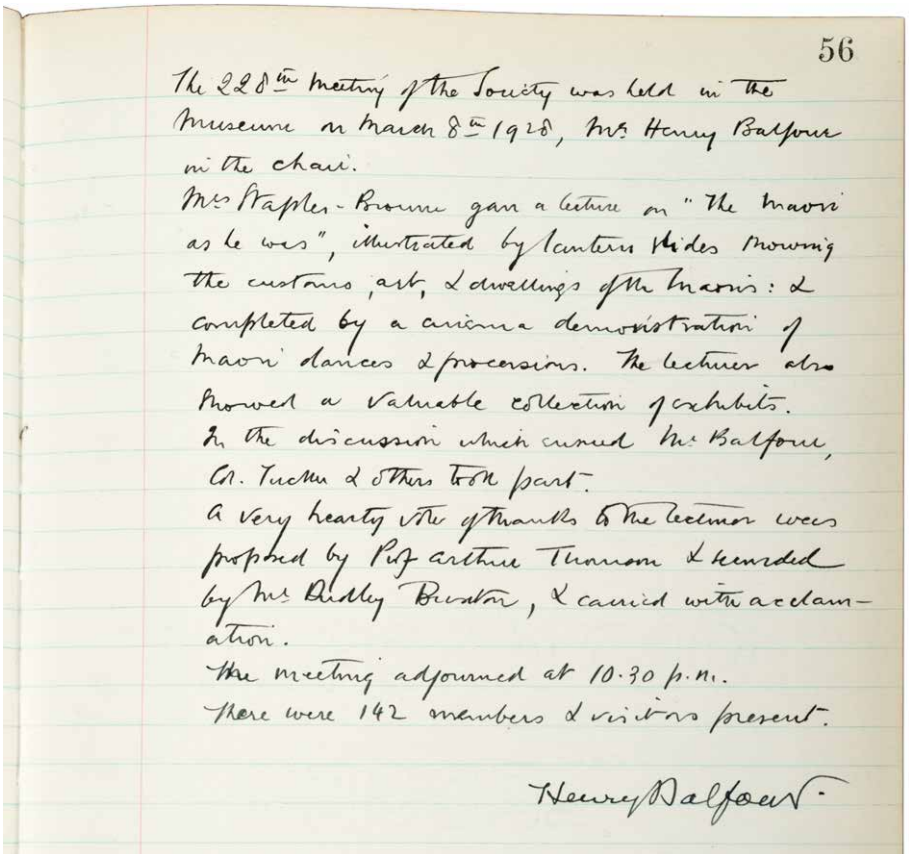
Makereti returned to England and to Oxford in August 1926 and on 27 September gave a talk on the BBC on 'Traditions and Customs of the Māori'.[637] In December she donated to the PRM an old adze with a trade-iron blade (1926.57.1), and three kete, or flax bags (1926.57.2-.4): one, a putewa, covered with kiwi feathers, and another worked with coloured wool (Figure 23.7). The records do not say, but it seems likely that Makereti had acquired these objects during her visit home earlier in the year. The following month, Makereti was admitted to the Society of Home-Students (precursor of the present-day St Anne's College) and registered as a student for the Diploma in Anthropology.[638]

In March 1927, Makereti donated a tukohu, an openwork cordyline basket for cooking food in the hot springs at Whakarewarewa (1927.8.1); probably also received



Figure 23.7. View of the Pacific section of the displays devoted to Bags (installed 2011) in the PRM. Two of the bags Makereti gave the PRM in 1928 are exhibited here: the putewa (1926.57.3), covered with kiwi feathers, is second from top on the left, the kete (1926.57.4) worked with coloured wool is at bottom right. From a photograph taken for the museum by Michael Peckett in March 2018 (PRM0001858325165). Courtesy and copyright, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

during her visit home in 1926. Towards the end of the year, on 7 December 1927, the OUAS committee resolved to invite 'Mrs Staples-Browne' to give a paper the following term.[639] Thus, at the 228th meeting of the Society, held on 8 March 1928 in the museum, with Balfour in the Chair, 'Mrs Staples-Browne gave a lecture on 'The Māori as he was" (Figure 23.8). This was 'illustrated by lantern slides showing the customs, art, & dwellings of the Māoris' and was 'completed by a demonstration of Māori dances & processions'. Makereti 'also showed a valuable collection of exhibits'. Indeed, Penniman says that Makereti 'brought the greater part of her collection to the Museum' for the occasion.[640] Most OUAS meetings at this time attracted a modest audience of some 20 members. Remarkably, on this occasion 'there were 142 members & Visitors present'.[641]



56

The 228th meeting of the Society was held in the Museum on March 8th 1928, Mrs Henry Balfour in the chair.

Mrs Stapler-Browne gave a lecture on "The Maori as he was", illustrated by lantern slides showing the customs, art, & dwellings of the Maoris: & completed by a cinema demonstration of Maori dances & processions. The lecturer also showed a valuable collection of exhibits.

In the discussion which ensued Mrs Balfour, Col. Tucker & others took part.

A very hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer was proposed by Prof Arthur Thomson & seconded by Mrs Dudley Buxton, & carried with acclamation.

The meeting adjourned at 10.30 p.m.

There were 142 members & visitors present.

Henry Balfour.

Figure 23.8. Page 56 in Volume 2 of the Minutes of the Meetings of the Oxford University Anthropological Society, in which the official account of the meeting addressed by Makereti was recorded. Courtesy and copyright, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

Penniman recalls that while Makereti was a member of the School of Anthropology 'she gave several informal lectures', as well as the more formal talk to the OUAS; thus the recollections we quote here are generalized, but they serve to give an authentic flavour of how her lecture must have been received by the Oxford academics, students, and guests in attendance:

> those of who knew her can never forget the slight turn of her body which set the piupiu skirt curling and uncurling, or the graceful and intricate movement of the poi balls during the Canoe Song composed by her sister Bella, or the thrill of the motion of a weapon which she took from our awkward hands and held as it should be held. When she wore Māori dress, she became not only her former self, but all her people, and it was not only the chieftainess who stood before us, but the tangata whenua, the lords of the land. No people ever had a better ambassador and interpreter than the Māori had in her.[642]



Figure 23.9. Feeding funnel, ngutu ta moko or korere, wood, 165 mm long; donated by Makereti to the PRM in 1928 (1928.1.2). Courtesy and copyright, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

Around this time, Makereti made her last donation to the museum: 'Two carved wooden funnels, ngutu ta moko, for feeding a chief while being tattooed' (1928.1.1-.2; Figure 23.9). Remarkably, one of the funnels had been used by Makereti's great uncle Maihi Te Kakau Paraoa, and before him by his maternal grandfather Te Aonui. Such a significant gift perhaps reflected her appreciation of the success of her lecture.

At this time it was decided that Makereti had effectively demonstrated her intellectual and analytical capacity and that rather than completing the Diploma course she should submit some of the material she had been writing up as a dissertation for the graduate degree of Bachelor of Science. To this end, despite recurrent illness, she worked conscientiously over the next two years. Two weeks before her 30,000-word thesis was due to be submitted to the University, however, she died – on 16 April 1930, of a ruptured aneurysm.[643] Fortunately for posterity, in her fellow student Penniman, who had registered for the Diploma in Anthropology a few months before her, Makereti had found a true friend (Figure 23.10). While holding a series of short- and part-time positions at Oxford, he had already been serving as her amanuensis for some time and he remained in service as her editor after her death:

> For the last two years of Makereti's life I spent a morning or an afternoon three or four times a week at the house in North Oxford she had taken to be free from all social engagements while she was writing. We began by going

> over the genealogies, the framework of her history, and every name had memories. These memories were sorted out into the various chapter-headings of this book. I asked her what order the notes should take, took them home, and typed them out. She then took the manuscript and re-wrote it entirely, often several times, until she was satisfied that the chapter was a true presentation of the facts and of the spirit.[644]

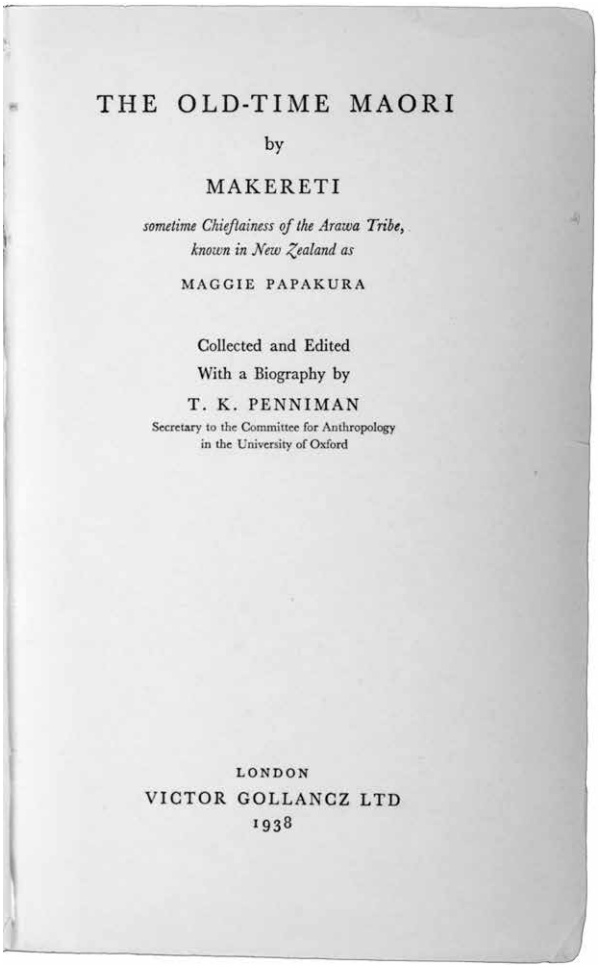
After Makereti's death, then, Penniman took on the task of bringing Makereti's manuscript to publication, consulting with the Arawa elders through her son Te Aonui, who had returned to New Zealand where, after a long and quiet courtship, he married the celebrated Guide Rangi of Rotorua in 1937. Rangi later described him as 'an excellent 'bridge' between Māori and pakeha and … deeply involved in all the committees'.[645]

The resulting volume *The Old-Time Māori*, published posthumously in 1938, eight years after her death, was the major outcome of Makereti's time at Oxford and her engagement with the PRM (Figure 23.11).[646] Arguably, Makereti could have written such a book anytime and anywhere. As two critical reviewers at the time noted,[647] the text is not explicitly engaged with then current anthropological debates, and indeed reading it now it is sometimes not clear to what extent Makereti had her academic readership in mind, rather than 'her people' back home. Because of the relaxed nature of the narrative, however, contemporary Māori readers comment



Figure 23.10. T.K. Penniman, aged about 58, outside the back door of the museum. From a print of a photograph, taken by an unidentified photographer in 1953, in the PRM's collections (1998.267.86). Courtesy and copyright, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

that they hear her voice, that she is addressing them. As time passes, it becomes increasingly clear that she was writing primarily for 'her people', anticipating the kaupapa Māori research paradigm that has emerged in recent times.[648] *The Old-Time Māori* has an authenticity and directness, considering such everyday elements of a Māori woman's life as menstruation and child-minding. Makereti's cultural and social commentary engages the contemporary Indigenous reader, as she writes with the authority not solely of the academic and objective scholar but also with the integrity of having done it, of having been there. That she was prepared to present such a subjective account for examination reveals to her academic mokopuna (descendants) her commitment to expressing an unmediated Māori voice. No doubt this is why the gentleman scholar Best and others like him avoided her. Yet with such men, Makereti could also be extremely generous. Her 30-year correspondence with T.E. Donne,[649] which continued through the early 1920s, demonstrates her considerable, unacknowledged contribution to his publication.[650] At the same time, she continued to work on her own book, producing a posthumous volume that remains a taonga, a treasured resource, for Māori scholars today.



THE OLD-TIME MAORI

by

MAKERETI

sometime Chieftainess of the Arawa Tribe,
known in New Zealand as

MAGGIE PAPAKURA

Collected and Edited
With a Biography by
T. K. PENNIMAN
Secretary to the Committee for Anthropology
in the University of Oxford

LONDON
VICTOR GOLLANCZ LTD
1938

Figure 23.11. Title-page of The Old-Time Māori, *by Makereti, published by Victor Gollancz in 1938; from the copy bequeathed to the PRM's Balfour Library by R.R. Marett. Courtesy and copyright, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.*

For the English or Pakeha reader, she does make the occasional comparison with a familiar aspect of English life, such as comparing the Māori method for hurling a hoeroa (a long whalebone weapon) underarm 'in much the same way as a fielder at third man throws down the wicket at cricket'.[651] More particularly, there are a number of references to the PRM and her time at Oxford, which seem to serve as a literary device for grounding her text in her experience as a member of the School of Anthropology. She refers, for example, to a glass plate of a lamprey-weir on the Whanganui 'which I showed in my lecture at Oxford',[652] and to a lecture of Balfour's in which she was reminded 'of certain hooks which were fashioned by nature, and needed little finishing by the human hand'.[653] Unsurprisingly, she refers throughout to objects in her personal collection, which are illustrated in the published plates. Aside from one reference to a pouwhenua (double-handed fighting staff) in the collections of Auckland Museum,[654] however, all her other references to objects are to those in the collections of the PRM. In her discussion of food production, she remarks 'When you see their primitive tools in the Pitt Rivers Museum, you realize how patient and industrious they were';[655] while later on she refers to a specific chief's cloak,[656] a specific hoeroa,[657] and 'the finest marotaua [belt] I have ever seen'.[658]

As outlined above, by the time of her death in 1930, Makereti had given or sold 20 Māori objects to the PRM: a women's skirt, a pair of ear-pendants, a collection of stone tools, two stone pounders, an old adze, three modern bags, a basket used for boiling food, and two carved wooden funnels used for providing broth to chiefs during the application of their moko, or facial tattoo. The ear-pendants, the pounders, and the funnels had been used by named family members and may thus be seen as very personal gifts. Given the extent of Makereti's personal collection – of cloaks, hei tiki, weapons, and the like – it is clear that, despite what is sometimes assumed, she never intended to sell, give or bequeath her whole collection to the PRM.[659] Nevertheless, after her death a few more objects passed to the museum. In 1930, Te Aonui sold the PRM ten carvings (1930.85.1-.7) from the house Ruamano – at Parekarangi, five miles from Whakarewarewa – that had belonged to Maihi Te Kakau Paraoa and Marara Marotaua, along with three canoe carvings (1930.85.8-.9), and three further *tukohu* (1930.85.10.-.12), used for boiling food in the hot springs at Whakarewarewa.[660] Two years later he gave the PRM three unfinished cloaks (1932.27.1-.3).

Each of these objects is important in and of itself, and over the years many of them have been selected for exhibition in the museum. In 1942, during the Second World War, Penniman took the opportunity provided by the removal of the PRM's Cook-voyage collection for safe-keeping to mount a new exhibition of Māori cloaks (Figure 23.12).[661] This included the three unfinished cloaks donated by Te Aonui, an enlarged print of Plate IV from *The Old-Time Māori* showing Makereti at work (Figure 23.2 above), a stuffed kiwi, and other supporting materials, along with other cloaks recently donated by Miss Fenwick. Elsewhere in the museum, the adze with a trade-iron blade was put on display in a case devoted to 'European Materials Adapted as Tools', and one of the three food baskets Te Aonui sold the PRM was displayed in a case devoted to 'Food Preparation'. Since the mid-1970s, the skirt Makereti gave the PRM in 1921 has been on display in the 'Māori' section of the displays devoted to 'Textiles and Clothing' (Figure 23.5 above); since 2012, the two funnels have been on



Figure 23.12. View of the display of Māori cloaks and related material at the PRM (installed 1942, dismantled 1964); from a photograph taken for the museum by Peter Narracot in 1964 (64.7.17). The display includes: in the lower part of the case, the three cloaks from Makereti's collection that were donated to the PRM by her son Te Aonui (William Francis Dennan) in 1932 (1932.27.1-.3); at bottom left on the floor, a hei tiki that is thought to have belonged to Makereti's ancestor Te Pahau (1940.10.01), and, at bottom right on the floor of the case, an enlarged print of the photograph reproduced as Plate IV in The Old-Time Māori *in which Makereti is shown working on one of the cloaks (see Figure 23.2). (The other four cloaks had been donated to the Museum by Miss E.F. Fenwick in 1941 (1941.8.292-.295).) Courtesy and copyright, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.*

display in the 'Ta Moko' section of the displays devoted to 'Body Arts';[662] since 2012 two of the kete have been on display with other bags from the Pacific (Figure 23.7 above); since 2015 two carvings from Ruamano have been on display in a case devoted to 'Māori Wood Carving', along with the three canoe carvings (Figure 23.13); and in 2017 two of the prehistoric stone tools Makereti sold the PRM in 1926 were included in a new archaeology display. More prominently, since 2002 one of the carvings from Ruamano, the lower section of a bargeboard, has been on display in the 'Introduction to the Museum', along with a reproduction of one of the famous studio portraits of Makereti taken around 1893 (Figure 23.14).[663]

Though less visible than the objects, the PRM also holds important collections of photographs, papers and ephemera from Makereti's archive that passed to the PRM in the 1940s. As Balfour's health declined, in January 1939 Penniman was appointed Deputy Curator, continuing to serve in the role after Balfour's death in February through to October 1939 when he was appointed Curator. Once he was in charge of the museum, Penniman took pains to ensure that Makereti's memory was preserved. We have already mentioned the display of cloaks he installed in 1942. In addition, there are numerous



Figure 23.13. View of part of the 'Māori Wood Carving' display (installed 2014) at the PRM. The display includes five carvings from the collection sold by her son Te Aonui to the PRM in 1930, of which two are visible here: a canoe sternpost (1930.85.8.1) and a door-jamb from the house Ruamano at Parekarangi (1930.85.7.2). From a photograph taken for the museum by Michael Peckett in March 2018 (PRM0001858345165). Courtesy and copyright, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.



Figure 23.14. View of part of the 'Introduction to the Pitt Rivers Museum' display (installed 2002) in the PRM. The display features a print of a portrait photograph of Makereti and a maihi (bargeboard) from Ruamano that is part of the collection sold by her son Te Aonui to the PRM in 1930 (1930.85.1). From a photograph taken for the museum by Michael Peckett in March 2018 (PRM0001858355165). Courtesy and copyright, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.



Figure 23.15. Three mounted prints of photographs of Makereti in the collections of the PRM. Left: studio portrait, taken in Melbourne in 1910; 205 mm x 105 mm (1998.277.62). Centre: signed studio portrait, taken around 1893; 184 mm x 147 mm (1998.277.98). Right: Makereti posing in front of the pataka (storehouse) made by Tene Waitere that is now in the collections of the British Museum, taken by a photographer from Talma and Co. at 'the Māori village' at Clontarf in 1910; 136 mm x 97 mm (1998.277.61). Courtesy and copyright, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

notes in Penniman's hand in the museum's accessions registers providing further information about the objects from Makereti's collection. In June 1943, the collection of photographs that Makereti had given Penniman to draw on for the plates in *The Old-Time Māori* was accessioned into the collections (Figure 23.15),[664] and it was probably also then that Penniman formally passed to the museum the papers that Makereti had entrusted to him. Currently stored in eleven acid-free boxes they include: five boxes of drafts, typescripts, and research materials for *The Old-Time Māori*, along with related manuscripts; two boxes of genealogies; and three boxes of scrapbooks containing newspapers cuttings, photographs, and ephemera relating to life at Whakarewarewa and the concert party visits to Sydney and London (Figures 23.16 to 23.19).[665] Over the years, these papers have become increasingly well known, both to scholars and to members of Makereti's extended family, and they are now one of the most frequently consulted bodies of material held by the museum. Many descendants and relatives have journeyed to Oxford to examine the materials with emotions that oscillate between grief and celebration, concern and gratitude. Information in the manuscripts the museum holds has been used to inform Waitangi Tribunal Reports,[666] drawn on by graduate students writing university theses,[667] and used by a range of other researchers.[668] It is heartening that so many of the authors and researchers who have drawn on Makereti's papers in



Figure 23.16. Cutting from The Weekly Graphic and New Zealand Mail *for 28 December 1910 in a volume entitled 'Māori Newspaper Cuttings' in the Makereti collection at the PRM. This is a group photograph of the concert party, billed as 'Maggie Papakura: The Arawa Warriors and Māori Maidens', who travelled to the Festival of Empire, London, in 1911. Centre front is the chief, Mita Taupopoki; to his right is Makereti; to his left, her sister Bella. Their niece, Harata, is next to Makereti. Behind and between them is Hera, grandmother of Ngahuia te Awekotuku. Over the years, the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of many of these artists have travelled to Oxford to visit Makereti's collections at the PRM and to weep over her grave at St Andrew's Church in nearby Oddington. Courtesy and copyright, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.*

their work are from the descent lines that she recited in her own work and recalled from her life in Whakarewarewa and the Hot Lakes District of Rotorua.

Penniman had one more task to perform. In 1945 it was discovered by Penniman's colleague Beatrice Blackwood that some carvings that Makereti had taken to England were standing in a farmyard on the Oddington estate 'overgrown with grass and nettles' and painted pale green, while others 'had been built into a shed'. They were from her house Tuhoromatakaka, built by master carver Tene Waitere (1853-1931) at Whakarewarewa. It transpired that Te Aonui, who had died in 1942, had failed to arrange for their return before the outbreak of the Second World War. Penniman set about arranging with Te Aonui's widow Rangitiaria and the New Zealand government for their return (what we would call now their 'repatriation'), which he described in the opening words of the PRM's annual report for 1947 as 'the outstanding event of the year'.[669] The carvings were later installed in the meeting house Hinemihi (named after the historic carved house that stands in Clandon Park, Surrey) that was opened at Ngapuna, near Whakarewarewa, in 1962.[670] Another carving was found at Oddington

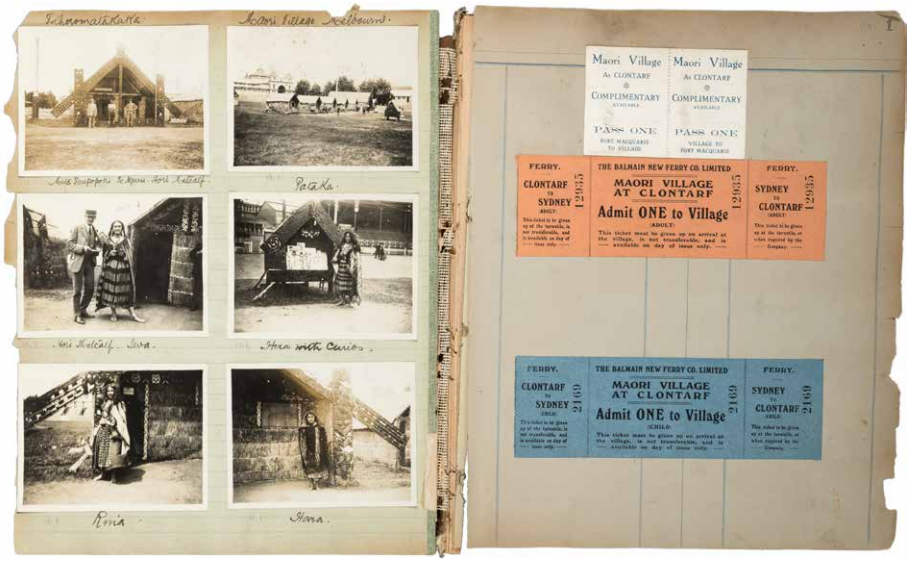


Figure 23.17. Opened scrapbook showing photographs taken at 'the Māori Village' at Clontarf in 1910, along with complimentary ferry and entrance tickets. In a volume of press cuttings and other ephemera in the Makereti collection at the PRM. Courtesy and copyright, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

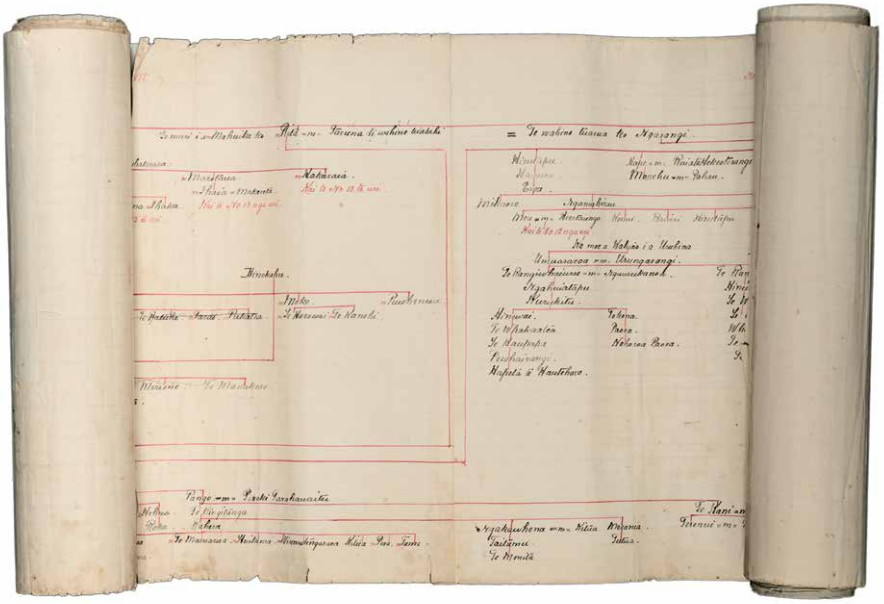


Figure 23.18. Part of an eight-metre long 'scroll' recording the genealogies of the families of Whakarewarewa. In the Makereti collection at the PRM. Courtesy and copyright, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

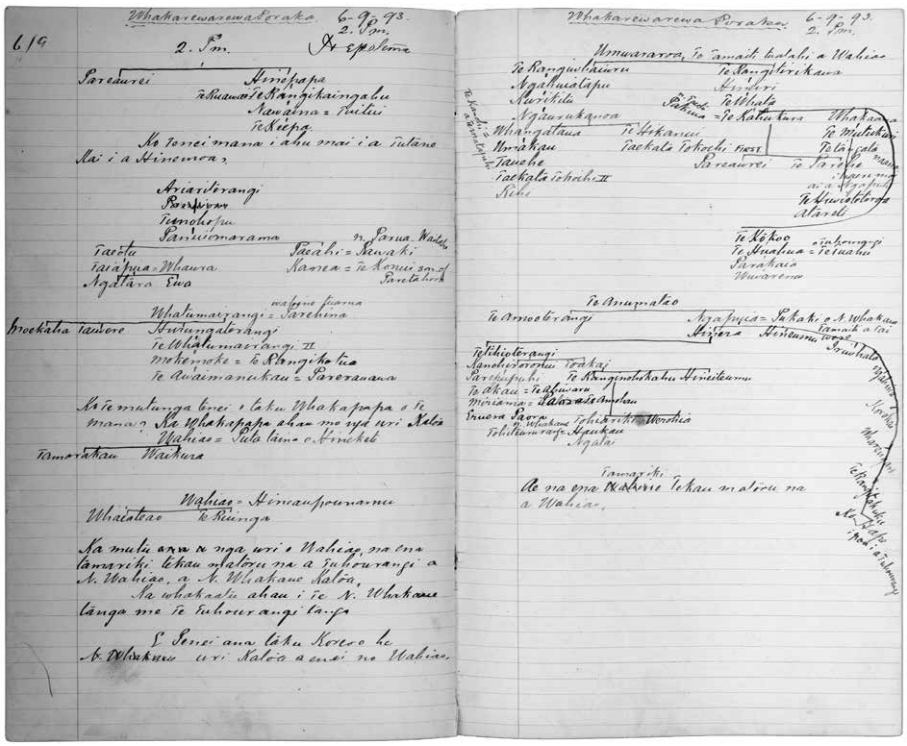


Figure 23.19. Opened notebook labelled 'Whakarewarewa Poraka 1893' in which Kepa Rangipuawhe recorded the proceedings and genealogical recitations at a Māori Land Court hearing held in August/September 1893. In the Makereti collection at the PRM. Courtesy and copyright, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

in 1980 (and is now in Rotorua Museum), and yet another in 1999. In 2000, the latter was handed over to the care of the London Māori group Ngati Ranana at a ceremony attended by Jeremy Coote as the representative of the museum.[671]

Makereti continues to be present in Oxford's PRM. For the casual visitor she is there in the case devoted to introducing the museum: her striking photograph displayed alongside the bargeboard from Ruamano. Interested visitors may also note her name – or, better, names: Makereti, Mrs Staples-Browne, Maggie Papakura, Dennan – on the labels or captions for the other 16 objects on permanent display. More lightheartedley, Makereti features as one of the eight figures in *The Anthropologists Fund Raising Ritual* (1996), Tim Hunkin's dynamic collecting box, alongside the donor of the founding collection General Pitt-Rivers; former members of staff Henry Balfour, Beatrice Blackwood, Schuyler Jones, and Edward Burnett Tylor; and collectors Mary Kingsley and Captain Rattray. Made of recycled materials, the collecting box is a deliberately humorous addition to the museum's furniture, with the eight figures being caricatures with only passing resemblance to the originals (Figure 23.20). Nevertheless, that Makereti is one of the only eight people selected is significant, for it speaks of her enduring influence on the institution. In 1996, she was also one of the dozen people to be featured in the first of a series of booklets about 'collecting for the Pitt Rivers Museum'.[672]



Figure 23.20. Figures in The Anthropologists Fund Raising Ritual (1996), Tim Hunkins' dynamic collecting box. From left to right: General Pitt-Rivers; collector Captain Rattray, mostly hidden behind Makereti (wearing strings of beads!); former curator Schuyler Jones, with Henry Balfour's head just visible behind; Edward Burnett Tylor; Beatrice Blackwood, and collector Mary Kingsley. From a photograph taken for the museum by Malcolm Osman in 2014 (PRM0001858385165). Courtesy and copyright, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

Through her words, through her objects, photographs and papers, through the visits of descendants, researchers and members of her iwi, Makereti's legacy continues to be felt in the museum. There is also a strong oral history in which Makereti's life – and especially her involvement and contribution to the museum – is passed on from generation to generation. Throughout the institution, staff in all departments know her name and her story as part of the story of the museum, demonstrating the insightful truth of Penniman's comment that 'great and lovable characters are great and lovable regardless of time and place'.[673] No one working at the museum today is fortunate enough to have seen her swirl her piupiu skirt, dance with the poi, or wield a patu, but they know that she did and that in those moments the museum was transformed and enriched.

He rau kiokio, to wharikiriki e; he rau koromiko to urunga e…[674]

PART FOUR

~

CONTEMPORARY ACTIVATIONS

CHAPTER 24

ARCHIVES Te Wāhi Pounamu

ARETA WILKINSON AND MARK ADAMS

~

The situation of taonga Māori (valued customary possessions) in museums at home and abroad is a natural subject for a Ngāi Tahu artist or a Pakeha artist with any interest in the history of Te Waipounamu the South Island. Our Home. Ngāi Tahu is a Māori tribal group of the South Island and Pakeha are the descendants of white settlers of New Zealand. An ongoing relationship with the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (MAA) in Cambridge with support through the Leverhulme Trust, The European Council funded *Pacific Presences* Project and a *Pacific Presences* Research Fellowship at the MAA has allowed our collaborative practice to develop.

A residency in 2009-2010 at the MAA placed us in the awkward position of finding a way to respond to the museum, and those parts of its collections that meant something to us. The museum as subject had long been a part of our respective practices but this was the first time an institution had supported us in this way. In Areta's case the focus was wearable taonga (customary treasurers), the personal adornment in the MAA collection that connected directly to her whakapapa (genealogy). Mark's interest was in the history of museums' collecting, and the contested situation of taonga absent from its rohe (home district) as a partial index of that complicated history.

Research began by identifying taonga in the collection catalogue that we could provenance to known places in the Ngāi Tahu rohe and Te Waipounamu. This included Totaranui Queen Charlotte Sound and the Wairau Bar site. Though outside the tribal boundary as it stands today, important to the histories prior to the sixteenth century when the peoples that eventually coalesced as Ngāi Tahu fought their way south, and later for the crucial exchanges that happened during James Cook's several visits to the area.

We found a small number of taonga from home. It was also apparent that there was a history of object exchanges, including taonga and plaster casts of taonga, between New Zealand museum staff and their counterparts in the United Kingdom and Europe (Figure 24.1). The exchanges piqued our interest in tracing the personal connections between the individuals who made them and the places they came from (Figure 24.2). This all adds up to research in the broad sense. The actual problem in a situation like this is what to do with the findings. How to respond as artists in a useful and meaningful way? How to make something of this? If, after having made something of this, the most crucial question remaining is how will it be received, especially at home?



Figure 24.1. Areta Wilkinson and Mark Adams, Z29399 Clutha River. Collections of Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, UK, 2010, silver bromide photograph on fibre based paper. 11.2cm x 10.8cm.



Figure 24.3. Areta Wilkinson and Mark Adams, Z6469 Cheviot Hill. Collections of Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, UK, 2010, silver bromide photograph on fibre based paper. 9cm x 11cm.

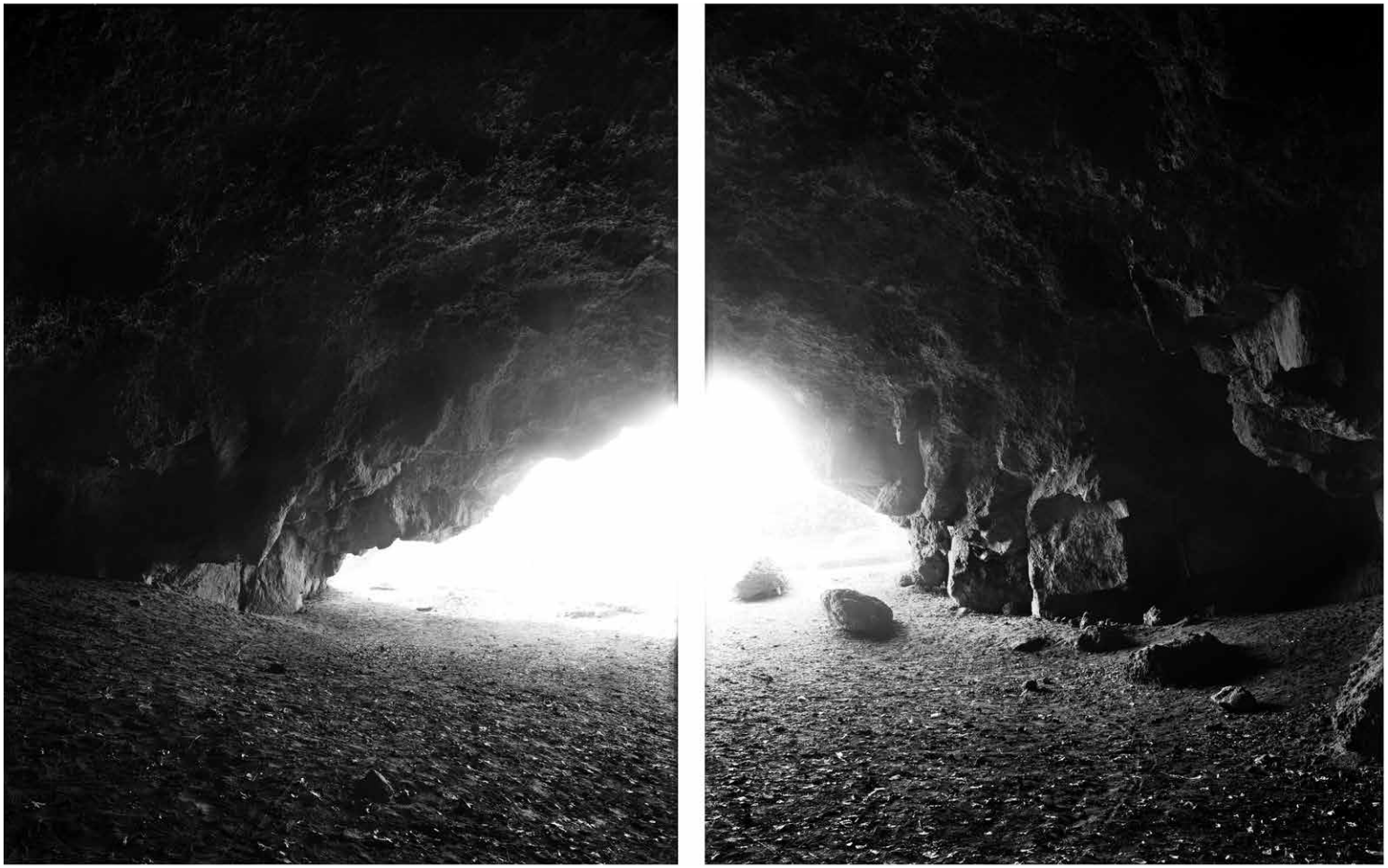


Figure 24.2. Mark Adams, 1989. Te Ana O Hineraki Moa Bone Cave. Christchurch. Te Waipounamu, 1989, silver bromide photograph on fibre based paper. 24 x 40 inches. Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, Auckland, New Zealand.



Figure 24.4. Areta Wilkinson and Mark Adams, Z6469 Cheviot Hill. Collections of Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, UK, 2017, Cyanotype blueprint. H17.8cm x W12.6cm.



Figure 24.5. Making a cyanotype photogram at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, in 2017. Photograph by Alison Clark.

One goes into this situation more or less cold and fearful that one's response will not measure up, will be weak (Figure 24.3).

We photographed these few taonga in various ways using analogue large format cameras and digital cameras. Mark had already been photographing the museum itself for several years so it was obvious that photographs of taonga and the museum context in this case was not going anywhere new. Photographing taonga being warmed by hands was one such experimentation.

Something else had to happen and luckily chance happened. There was a packet of blueprint (cyanotype) photographic paper lying around. A sheet was purloined to make a blueprint photogram of a tiki with provenance to a place familiar to us in North Canterbury, which had come to the museum, we imagined, from Canterbury Museum in an exchange.

To make a photogram an object is placed directly on a piece of light sensitive photographic paper. The object on the paper is exposed to white light and then developed in the usual way to produce an analogue silver based photographic print or, in this first case of ours, a cyanotype print. There is no camera involved, so no optical physics and no negative film. The image is a one-off image (Figures 24.4 and 24.5).

This first photogram of ours was a success in two unexpected ways. First it signified the breakthrough we had been looking for, and second, in its making and concept, it was collaboration that produced the image. A collaboration between one Māori artist and one Pakeha artist. We emphasize that this is a conceptual collaboration not a technical collaboration. The work exists as a delicate balance of Māori and Pakeha actions and interests in the making of the art object. This struck us as being possibly unprecedented and unlocked new territory to explore.

Photograms have a long history and are part of photography's canon. Anna Atkins made cyanotypes of plant specimens beginning in the early 1840s. Later modernist artists Man Ray, László Moholy-Nagy and New Zealand artist Len Lye, for example, made silver bromide photograms in the early part of the twentieth century. In all of these images the fact that the objects used in their making remained absent and left only their shadows on the light sensitive paper was not the key to any understanding of their images (Figure 24.6).

In our case the absence of the object was central. The taonga in the image are simply not there. The taonga have touched the paper and their momentary presence during the exposure to light has created the negative shadow which is the image. For Mark, a Pakeha descendant of white settlers, this opened up a way of engaging with taonga that did not mess with taonga. Any Pakeha interest in, or use of Māori taonga, runs the risk of re-engaging in hegemonic forms of colonial relationships. Western cultures of collecting, and western artists uses of Indigenous art in refashioning themselves during the modernist era in metropolitan centres and on the colonial peripheries, has been critically examined for some time. Not least by ourselves in our practices at home in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Areta's ambition on the other hand was to engage directly with taonga and the conceptual space that taonga occupies for Māori (Figure 24.7). The shadow images provoked a new way of relating to ancestral forms beyond reproducing them. The shadow activated a shift towards intangible cultural concepts such as mau mahara (remembering), āhua (the form or semblance) and taonga tuku iho (treasures passed



Figure 24.6. Areta Wilkinson and Mark Adams, 3.7.2015 Silver Bromide Photogram. VI 29337 Fachgebiet Ozeaniea. Collections of Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin, 2015, silver bromide photogram on fibre based paper. 36cm x 28.5cm.



Figure 24.7. Areta Wilkinson, Hine-Āhua and Huiarei (toggle), 2013, 24 carat gold from Māori Creek Tai Poutini West Coast of NZ, muka flax fibre, legal ribbon. 30cm x 20cm x 0.4cm. Photograph by Studio La Gonda.

on). This inquiry resulted in a doctoral investigation that included consultation with hapū (subtribe) and other cultural experts alongside studio practice.

Uplifting something from the past and bringing it into the current time for Māori is a recalling of whakapapa (genealogy or provenance) and the shadows provoked a new generation of form. New contemporary wearable adornments were created out of the negative space yet belonged to a specific cultural continuum – they acknowledged and belonged to a lineage.

Our ambition to return the shadows of taonga abroad back to Te Waipounamu was realized through a joint exhibition at Dunedin Public Art Gallery (Figures 24.8 and 24.9) in 2015 called *ARCHIVES Te Wāhi Pounamu*. These were exhibited within a broader context of site photographs made by Mark from earlier projects addressing Southern colonial history plus Areta's contemporary jewellery and audio narratives. Timed to coincide with the Ngāi Tahu Hui-a-Iwi a bi-annual Ngāi Tahu tribal festival, the exhibition returned a full suite of photogram shadows of early customary treasures back to Te Waipounamu and to the world of the living.

Repatriation: a collaboration and *Moa Hunter Fashions*

The earliest Māori adornments of Aotearoa New Zealand were unearthed at Wairau Bar on the northeast coast of Te Waipounamu the South Island. Archaeologists have recently begun speaking of this site as the first place continuously occupied in the whole Aotearoa



Figure 24.8. Areta Wilkinson and Mark Adams. Silver bromide photograms and jewellery objects installed in ARCHIVES Te Wāhi Pounamu at Dunedin Public Art Gallery, Dunedin in 2015.



Figure 24.9. Areta Wilkinson. Contemporary taonga worn by silhouetted whanau installed in the exhibition ARCHIVES Te Wāhi Pounamu at Dunedin Public Art Gallery, Dunedin in 2015.



Figure 24.10. Māori cultural material sent in exchange to the University Museum of Ethnology and Archaeology, Cambridge (now MAA) by H.D Skinner in 1920. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge.

New Zealand archipelago. In the Canterbury Museum stores we saw sets of reel-shaped units that were components for hei or necklaces. They were among grave goods excavated from the site by Jim Eyles and the museum director Roger Duff during the 1940s and 1950s. These taonga were made of Moa bone and must count as among the first personal adornment objects made in the country. Potentially they are the whakapapa link between Polynesia, and the new environment of Aotearoa New Zealand.

Our collaborative artist inquiry of taonga Māori abroad expanded to encompass Indigenous material samples raw or sometimes partially worked, and examples of customary tools (Figure 24.10). In 2015 photograms were made of eight quartzite tools (found with Moa bones in Canterbury) from the 1911 von Hügel Collection at the MAA. These Moa Hunter period tools incited the 2015-2017 Great Moa Hunt and Big Moa Disaster.

The tools were part of exchanges made in the 1920s by Henry Devenish Skinner from Otago University Museum with Baron Anatole von Hügel, Director of the MAA. Tools consisted of knives for butchering Moa meat, stone, wood and bone working files, cutters, scrapers, grinders and hammers. The tools came from Ngāi Tahu mahinga kai sites of occupation and places for traditional food and resource gathering. These are very familiar sites that we have walked over and photographed. The contemporary context of these sites has long been a subject of Mark's photographs.

Our interest in place, materials and their trajectory in the currency of exchange coalesced nicely. We segued from making photograms of the exchanged sets of tools, to the materials worked, in this case Moa bone. This brought us back to the beginning, the Moa bone of the Wairau reels, and inevitably to the traffic in bones and to the bone specimen first described in 1839 by Professor Richard Owen as a new species of struthious bird (Figure 24.11).



Figure 24.11. Mark Adams, 20.04.2016 Moa Hunter diorama Canterbury Museum, 2016, Silver bromide photograph on fibre based paper, 20 x 24 inches.

Our Great Moa Hunt began 2015 in the University Museum of Zoology in Downing Street, Cambridge, across the road from the MAA. Collections Manager Mathew Lowe kindly showed us a range of sub fossil bones and midden bones from east coast Te Waipounamu sites at Waitaki and Rakaia, both familiar to us. The following year in 2016 we made our first Moa bone photograms from some groups of these midden bones. Then realizing that the larger species meant larger scale images we got Mathew to articulate a Dinornis leg and foot on a mural sized sheet of photographic paper (Figures 24.12 and 24.13).

Inevitably hubris intervened and the type specimen of Dinornis maximus, articulated by Professor Richard Owen and on display at Oxford University Museum of Natural History, suggested itself next. Repatriate this shade. The reconstructed skeleton is in a freestanding glass case. We realized we could attach a sheet of photographic paper to the back of the case and throw the shadow of the bird onto the paper by placing a floodlight in front of the case. This could only be done at night with all the gallery lights off. Unfortunately, security lights could not be switched off but a large sheet of black polythene draped over the case shielded the light sensitive paper and two exposures were made. These were stored in a light proof box and left in MAA for a year as it was not possible to develop the very large photograms before our scheduled flight back home. This delay proved to be the ruin of our attempts. When we developed the two sheets of paper a year later the image was a green grey sludge and unreadable – a big Moa of a disaster.



Figure 24.12. Collections Manager Mathew Lowe and Areta Wilkinson at University Museum of Zoology, Cambridge.



Figure 24.13. 16.08.2016 Silver bromide photogram. Von Haast Christchurch. Collections of University Museum of Zoology, Cambridge, UK. Areta Wilkinson and Mark Adams. Silver bromide photogram 2016. Framed H1815 x W590 x D60mm. Acknowledgements: University Museum of Zoology, Cambridge, United Kingdom. Collection of artists.



Figure 24.14. Moa Hunter Fashions: Vertebra I,II,III. Areta Wilkinson. 24 carat gold from Otago, flax bailing twine. Mixed sizes 2017. Collection of artist. Photograph by Studio La Gonda.



Figure 24.15. Catalogue cover for the exhibition Repatriation and Moa Hunter Fashions held at The National, Christchurch, New Zealand 22 August – 9 September 2017. Acknowledgements: University Museum of Zoology, Cambridge.



Figure 24.16. Areta Wilkinson and Mark Adams developing a Moa bone photogram in the darkroom at Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, 2017. Photograph by Jocelyne Dudding.

Meanwhile, the British Museum's store had boxes of midden bones which provided more manageable material for image making. Labelled 'Fragments from Moa Hunters Camp, Shag Point, South Island' these bone remnants were evidence of mahinga kai (traditional food sources) from a site significant to Ngāi Tahu called Waihemo (Figure 24.14).

2017 Moa bone investigations took us into the holdings of Leeds Museum Discovery Centre and The Natural History Museum at Tring, and afforded a second opportunity to revisit and reshoot collections of the British Museum and Oxford University Museum of Natural History (Figure 24.15).

Collaborative photograms from the Big Moa Hunt and new responding adornments by Areta were shown at The National, a Christchurch dealer gallery. The joint exhibition *Repatriation* and *Moa Hunter Fashions* was accompanied by a catalogue with an essay by Dr Damian Skinner discussing the bicultural nature of our collaborative practice entitled 'Taonga in the Post-Treaty Settlement Era: A Case Study of Photograms by Mark Adams and Areta Wilkinson' (Figure 24.16).

The Treaty of Waitangi signed by Māori chiefs and the British Crown in 1840 established a contested British Sovereignty in Aotearoa New Zealand. The Treaty recognized Māori sovereignty of all their lands, waters and all their customary resources. Eventually pressure of Pakeha settler demands for land to make settlements produced the inevitable wars over sovereignty. Māori saw vast areas of their land pass into Pakeha ownership. Since the 1980s the assertion of the Treaty as a legally enforceable document saw Māori regain a small measure of their original sovereignty through the Waitangi Tribunal process of resolution and reconciliation. Ngāi Tahu settled their grievances with the Crown in 1998 and are now in a post settlement relationship. This is the nature of our world in Te Waipounamu now and we choose to engage with this history through our respective individual practices. The bicultural collaborative practice between Areta and Mark also references this political context and self-consciously seeks and explores new creative partnership methodologies.

Hangā Whakaahua

The Māori concept of whakapapa is a cultural system to remember genealogical relationships and histories. We wanted to consider the connections as we traced the international exchanges and relationships between museum institutions and collectors. Provenance information, if recorded, often lead us back to Te Waipounamu and the cultural landscapes where such materials were sourced.

Images were made onsite in museum galleries, stores or darkrooms, or out in the field. For Areta, making sense of the research also happened at the workbench. Studio methodologies endeavoured to explore 'collapsing time' bringing the cultural production of Māori ancestors and her contemporary artworks into close proximity and into conversation. This was a conscious effort to acknowledge historic taonga as relevant and critical to her current practice yet not imitate the past. It was therefore an unexpected detour by Areta in the most recent of all the *Pacific Presences* investigations to confront this ethical stance head on. That is, to enact the museum practice of making a replica in order to complicate the narrative and create something new.

Every jeweller needs equipment and, from the MAA collection (Figure 24.17), Areta selected seven stone tools of South Island provenance for her toolbox. The kit was comprised of a stone drill head, cutting edges, a scraper, a filing edge, a hammer stone and grindstone. Around 700 photographs were taken of each taonga and run through photogrammetry software to digitally map the object from all angles. This was used to create same scale duplicates using a 3D printer. Out of data emerged the familiar forms, prototypes printed in coloured sandstone composite and stainless steel. Areta would get to do what museums cannot – experiment with the ancient tool to cut, scrape and hammer, to see what results it would produce. The Māori term whakaahua (meaning concept to take form) is more commonly used and understood to describe the photographic image. Hangā whakaahua describes a concepts physical transformation into three-dimensional form. The terms hangā and whakaahua are both noun and verb, belonging to a worldview where a 'thing' can be 'an action' at the same time. These tool copies have become authentic tools in their own right when used to make new artworks. Stone age technologies applied to contemporary practice maintain whakapapa and enact cultural reconnection.



Figure 24.17. Areta Wilkinson, Whakapapa III, 2018, Nickle plated stainless steel (420SS) binder jetting, stainless steel (304). 3D prints modelled from collections of Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, United Kingdom.

It was ironic that the first taonga object we ever viewed at the MAA that floored us with its magnificence was the plaster cast replica (Z 29399) of the Reiputa from Clutha River donated by Otago University Museum in 1962. We made a photogram from this plaster cast and visited Otago Museum to pay homage to the real deal and pondered about the role facsimile would have in our narrative.

Sometimes the artistic process is wonderfully cyclical.

CHAPTER 25

Hoe Whakairo: painted paddles from New Zealand

STEVE GIBBS, BILLIE LYTHBERG

AND AMIRIA SALMOND

~

A unique series of intricately carved and painted hoe whakairo (decorated canoe paddles) has been identified as the work of a distinct group of eighteenth-century artists from the East Coast of New Zealand. Some of these hoe are known to have been collected during Cook's first circumnavigation, and the series as a whole is now distributed among more than ten museums internationally. Steve Gibbs, associate professor at the Toihoukura School of Māori Art in Gisborne and a member of the Ngai Tāmanuhiri iwi (tribal group), has been studying this group of hoe for almost a decade, together with Billie Lythberg and Amiria Salmond. Gibbs has produced his own series of original artworks based on this research, and has worked to bring some of the hoe back to the East Coast, where they are regarded as cultural treasures, continuing to inspire the descendants of those who made them.

The paddles were first noticed to share striking aesthetic characteristics by the late curator and scholar of Māori art Roger Neich, who published many of them as a group in his book *Painted Histories*.[675] Neich also noted their significance as the earliest surviving examples anywhere in the world of kowhaiwhai painting, the curvilinear designs typically seen on meeting house rafter panels, which have become emblematic of Māori art. Research in the 1970s by Adrienne Kaeppler had linked some of the paddles to the Cook voyages, and Neich established their connection to the East Coast.[676] Leslie Jessop then identified further examples and showed that at least one hoe, now in the Hancock Museum in Newcastle, UK, was undoubtedly collected by members of the *Endeavour* crew in 1769 during Cook's first visit to New Zealand.[677] This paddle was sketched in watercolour on board the *Endeavour* by the artist Sydney Parkinson, who died later in the voyage (Figure 25.1).

Amiria Salmond's research, focused on two hoe in the Sandwich (Trinity College) collection at the Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology in Cambridge,[678] built on work by the late Peter Gathercole to establish that these examples too were collected during Cook's first Pacific voyage, almost certainly at the same place – and on the same occasion – as the Hancock paddle. Both figured prominently in an inventory of items



Figure 25.1. Three Paddles from New Zealand (ascribed title), by Sydney Parkinson, October 1769; pen, wash, and watercolour on paper; 29.5 cm x 22.8 cm; the paddle on the left matches that in the Hancock Museum, Newcastle. British Library, London (Add. MS 23920, f. 71(a)). Courtesy and copyright, The British Library.

that were delivered to Trinity College in October 1771, some three months after the *Endeavour* returned to England.[679]

In addition to these three documented 'first-voyage' hoe, a fourth example in the British Museum (BM) was noticed by Kaeppler to match a 1771-1772 drawing by John Frederick Miller, an artist employed by Joseph Banks, now in the British Library (Figure 25.2).[680] And Steven Hooper has identified a fifth paddle in the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa as that faithfully reproduced in Benjamin West's 1771-1772 portrait of Joseph Banks (Figure 25.3).[681] This makes a total of five hoe with documented connections to Cook's first Pacific voyage.

While the hoe in the Banks portrait is stylistically distinct from the others, the remaining four first-voyage paddles are so similar that it is difficult indeed to imagine they were not produced by a single group of artists.[682] Their carved throats in particular are ornamented with the same stylized manaia head,[683] carved if not by the same hand then clearly with reference to each other (or to a prototype) in the same deep-chiselled fashion known in Māori as taratara-a-kae (Figure 25.4). Notwithstanding these striking resemblances, though, the painting on the blades is obviously the work of at least three different artists (Figure 25.5). The two Cambridge hoe both display complex and intricately composed designs, though each looks to be the work of a different hand. The Hancock blade seems to have been painted by the person responsible for Cambridge D 1914.66, while that of Oc,NZ.150 in the BM displays a simpler design, executed with a rather different order of compositional facility.



Figure 25.2. Comparison of the hoe Oc,NZ.150 in the British Museum and one sketched by John Frederick Miller, 1771-72. Miller's sketch is now in the British Library; pen and wash, 20.3 x 16.5 cm (Add. MS 15508, f. 29 (no. 31) (detail). Composite image by Steve Salmond. Photographs courtesy and copyright, the Trustees of the British Museum and the British Library.

Figure 25.3 (below). Comparison of the hoe ME 14921 in the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, and that depicted in the portrait of Mr. Banks (1773) engraved by John Raphael Smith after a painting by Benjamin West, National Library of Australia, nla.obj-135299145. Composite image by Steve Salmond. Photographs and engraving courtesy and copyright of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa and the National Library of Australia.





Figure 25.4. Comparison of the carved throats or grips of four hoe (paddles) collected on Cook's first voyage: Oc,NZ.150 in the British Museum; C589 in the Hancock Museum in Newcastle; D 1914.67 and D 1914.66 in Cambridge (L-R). Composite image by Steve Salmond. Photographs courtesy and copyright Trustees of the British Museum, Tyne and Wear Museums, and the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge.



Figure 25.5. Comparison of one side each of the painted blades of four hoe (paddles) collected on Cook's first voyage: Oc,NZ.150 in the British Museum; C589 in the Hancock Museum in Newcastle; D 1914.67 and D 1914.66 in Cambridge (L-R). Composite image by Steve Salmond. Photographs courtesy and copyright the British Museum, Tyne and Wear Museums, and the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge.

Drawn to look closely at the carved throats or grips by observations made by Wilfred Shawcross, we have noted equally striking similarities between the four paddles described above and a further eight examples in different collections.[684] These are at the Pitt Rivers Museum (PRM) in Oxford, the Museo di Anthropologia in Naples, the Hunterian Museum in Glasgow, the Linden Museum in Stuttgart, the Sunderland Museum, and in the BM (Oc1896,–.1147 – a second example aside from that depicted by Miller).[685] And, at Te Papa Tongarewa in Wellington, there is another painted paddle (in addition to the one in the Banks portrait) as well as a grip detached from its blade and shaft, both of which would seem on the basis of carving style and design to be part of the same 'set'.[686] Four of these eight paddles, including the detached grip, are unpainted; while the Glasgow and Stuttgart examples as well as Web. 1121 in Wellington and Oc1896,–.1147 in the BM are ornamented with kowhaiwhai designs similar to those sketched by Parkinson, the Oxford, Naples and Sunderland blades – like the grip in Wellington – appear entirely devoid of painted designs.[687]

In addition to the 12 paddles above, which in our view were clearly produced by a single group of eighteenth-century East Coast artists, our research has identified a further eight hoe whakairo that bear somewhat more varied stylistic resemblances to the core group of four similar, documented *Endeavour*-voyage, paddles. These include additional examples at the BM (Oc.5370), the PRM (1886.1.1157), the Linden Museum (40234) and Te Papa Tongarewa (ME967), as well as hoe held at the Museo di Storia Naturale at the University of Florence (248), the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna (7834), the Sammlung für Völkerkunde at the University of Göttingen (Oz. 285) and the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, Massachusetts (E 5492).[688] It is possible that one or more similar paddles exist in the collections of the Kunstkamera of St Petersburg, Russia.[689]

With the help of Cook scholar Anne Salmond and her work on encounters between Māori and *Endeavour* crew members, aided by hydrographers on board HMNZS *Resolution*, we have been able to pinpoint exactly where and when at least our core group of hoe were almost certainly acquired. The relevant exchange took place on 12 October 1769[690] off the coast at Whareongaonga, south of present-day Gisborne, just three days after Cook had encountered local people for the first time, with bloody results. Following the violence at Tūranganui, the ship sailed southward before finding itself becalmed off shore, close to Whareongaonga. Seven canoes carrying about 50 people paddled toward the *Endeavour* from the nearby coast, but their occupants could not be persuaded to come on board until a further canoe, manned by four people, arrived from the north. A lively series of exchanges ensued as the Māori spoke with Tupaia, the Tahitian navigator and interpreter, and traded clothing, weapons and ornaments with the crew. The day's transactions were recorded in several voyage journals, among them Cook's, who noted the acquisition of a complete set of paddles from a single canoe in exchange for Tahitian barkcloth.[691] This was the only occasion on which the collecting of paddles was recorded during the *Endeavour* voyage.[692]

Having established the likely provenance of the hoe, contact was made in 2010 with tribal representatives from the Whareongaonga area with a view to sharing knowledge of the paddles' existence and their whereabouts with the descendants of those who had produced these singular works of art. Steve Gibbs and Dawn Pomana of Ngai Tāmanuhiri organized a hui at Muriwai School and a presentation was made by Amiria

Salmond with Hera Ngata-Gibson of Toi Hauiti[693] to pākeke (elders) and other iwi members. Steve described his own reaction upon seeing images of these taonga on screen for the first time:

> Whakamana oku tipuna o Tāmanuhiri [confirming the mana or efficacy, greatness of my Tāmanuhiri ancestors]. I felt excited, cautious, an overriding sense of pride that was uplifting, and at the same time a great responsibility.… 'Oh that makes so much sense,' I thought. A huge feeling of loss and recovery for our tribal people, the magic of seeing something that has been removed from our creative consciousness being returned.

As it happened, Steve was at the time conducting research in preparation for a tribal exhibition to be held at the Tairāwhiti Museum in Gisborne. The idea was to put together a database of Ngai Tāmanuhiri taonga tuku iho (treasures handed down from ancestors) that are held in museum collections around Aotearoa New Zealand and overseas, and to bring some of these taonga back to the area, at least for the duration of the exhibition. Also to be included in the displays were contemporary artworks by Tāmanuhiri artists. An ambition was immediately expressed by those at the hui to bring the paddles back to Tūranganui, so that Tāmanuhiri descendants would be able to revitalize their relationships with these ancestral artworks in person.

Back in England, Amiria continued to gather information on the series of paddles, studying examples in Göttingen, Germany and at the BM with fellow members of the Cambridge-based *Artefacts of Encounter* project, and sending pictures and notes back to Steve in New Zealand. In 2011 she received a visit at the museum in Cambridge from Hope Tupara of Ngai Tāmanuhiri's governance board, who was able to view and handle the two Trinity College Collection hoe. Later that summer, these paddles were filmed for a documentary about Tupaia, the Tahitian priest-navigator on the *Endeavour*.[694] Samoan-Tahitian artist Michel Tuffery admired their artistry and speculated with Amiria and Anne Salmond on camera (Figure 25.6) about whether they might have been presented to Tupaia as gifts; the Rā'iatean priest had not only been instrumental during these exchanges as translator, but – according to voyage journals – had also 'gratified' the locals 'with a sight of his tattaoued hips'.[695]

In 2012, a second hui on the paddles was held at Muriwai, where the *Artefacts of Encounter* team updated Steve and other members of Ngai Tāmanuhiri, together with Anne Salmond, on their overseas research to date (Figure 25.7). The news that further paddles had been identified was received with enthusiasm by the iwi, who in turn confirmed that the people who lived at Whareongaonga at the time of Cook's visit were a hapū (sub-tribe) of Ngai Tāmanuhiri, a kin-group called Rangi-i-waho. Steve describes the importance of the paddles from within this tribal perspective:

> These items were the result of the first peaceful encounter with Europeans in 1769. Through this research we've been able to regain something that has been absent from our creative memory. The realization and confirmation that our



Figure 25.6. Still from the feature documentary Tupaia's Endeavour, July 2011: Artist Michel Tuffery discusses the acquisition of the hoe (paddle) D 1914.67 with Anne Salmond (L) and Amiria Salmond (R) in the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge. Photograph courtesy of Lala Rolls.



Figure 25.7. Hui (meeting) with members of Ngai Tāmanuhiri at Muriwai, south of Gisborne, New Zealand, January 2012. Photograph courtesy of Billie Lythberg.

> tipuna were responsible for creating these taonga tuku iho has already been a source of inspiration, and will continue to inspire ongoing creativity and research.

As he recalls:

> A strong voice was heard that says 'Bring these taonga back home so that we may enjoy them and what they bring again.'

In 2013, Ngai Tāmanuhiri launched their tribal exhibition, curated by Steve Gibbs and a team of iwi-based artists as a collaborative initiative involving iwi, the Tairāwhiti Museum, Te Papa Tongarewa and the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge (MAA).[696] While planning this event, it became clear that the costs and logistics of bringing the paddles now in England back to New Zealand were prohibitive, but the Museum was able to negotiate the loan of the paddle depicted in the West painting of Banks from Te Papa. Upon its arrival from Wellington, this taonga was welcomed onto the marae at Muriwai before being taken to the Museum. A moving ceremony was held in which the hoe was laid out on the mahau (veranda) of the meeting house Te Poho o Tāmanuhiri to be welcomed like a long-lost relative with ritual oratory and waiata, and to be wept over by its descendants (Figure 25.8). A video of this event was produced by Ngai Tāmanuhiri and has been published online.[697] The paddle was then taken to the Museum and placed on display among other Ngai Tāmanuhiri taonga and contemporary works by iwi artists. High-resolution digital images of the Cambridge paddles had been provided by photographer Kerry Brown. As Steve notes,

> we were able to project the designs up and paint these directly onto the walls of the Museum to create a backdrop for our tribal taonga. This was the first real opportunity we had to engage with these original designs, as (other than those represented in Parkinson's paintings) they had up until this point not been seen in a public arena since 1769. (Figure 25.9).[698]

Yet the longer-term kaupapa (project) of bringing the other paddles back to Tūranga was not forgotten. In 2015, with research grants from his employer, Eastern Institute of Technology-Tairāwhiti, and from the *Pacific Presences* project at Cambridge (which followed on from *Artefacts of Encounter*), Steve made the voyage to Britain and Germany to examine some of these taonga in person, as part of his doctoral research (a project entitled *Te Hoe Nukuroa*). He travelled to London, Cambridge, Newcastle and Stuttgart to meet the curators and was able to handle, photograph and sketch the different paddles in detail (Figure 25.10). Building on these visual and tactile analyses back home in New Zealand, he then produced a series of original paintings titled *Trade Me* (Figure 25.11), later mounted in a solo exhibition at Tairāwhiti Museum called *A-Hoe!*[699]

> The Trade Me series comprises ten analytical observational paintings based on the painted design systems found on ten of the hoe waka. They discuss the events that took place on the arrival of the Endeavour into Tūranganui and



Figure 25.8. The hoe from Te Papa Tongarewa, the national museum of New Zealand, lying on the mahau (veranda) of the meeting house Te Poho o Tāmanuhiri at Muriwai, December 2013. Photograph courtesy of Steve Gibbs.



Figure 25.9. Toi Tāmanuhiri exhibition, Tairāwhiti Museum, Gisborne, December 2013. The wall in the background displays curvilinear kowhaiwhai patterns which were painted over photographic projections of designs on the paddles in Cambridge. Photograph courtesy of Dudley Meadows, Tairāwhiti Museum.

> the legacy that remains in terms of working out what actually happened and the subsequent social impact, discovery and awareness that is taking place within Tūranga iwi social politics.

Here Steve refers to controversies that broke out over plans to mark the 250th anniversary of the *Endeavour*'s arrival in Aotearoa New Zealand. A series of exhibitions and events were scheduled to take place in 2019 in Gisborne and in other places



Figure 25.10. Steve Gibbs with the hoe C589 at the Hancock Museum in Newcastle, showing the comparison with Parkinson's sketch (see Figure 25.1), July 2015. Photograph taken by Leslie Jessop.

where Cook's crew made landfall. When it appeared that these events might amount to a commemoration or even celebration of Cook's arrival, a number of local Māori protested. Given the bloody nature of his first encounters, they argued, during which at least four Māori were shot dead on the beach Cook called 'Poverty Bay', this was hardly a cause to celebrate. Some pointed out that Cook, as an agent of empire, was charged with expropriating Indigenous people and facilitating British rule over the Pacific, tasks he performed with both success and alacrity. Soon a statue of the navigator on the Gisborne waterfront became the target of creative defacements (Figure 25.12), while the 2019 events became a lightning rod for critical debates on social and national media about the explorer's character and the legacy of his 'discoveries'. While some Māori commentators placed positive emphasis on the dual Māori and pākehā (settler) heritage characteristic of many families and tribes of the area, others pointed to extreme levels of inequality indexed by high levels of poverty and incarceration among local Māori as well as negative health and educational statistics. Planning for the sestercentennial continues; it remains to be seen how these discussions will inflect the events and activities that eventually take place.

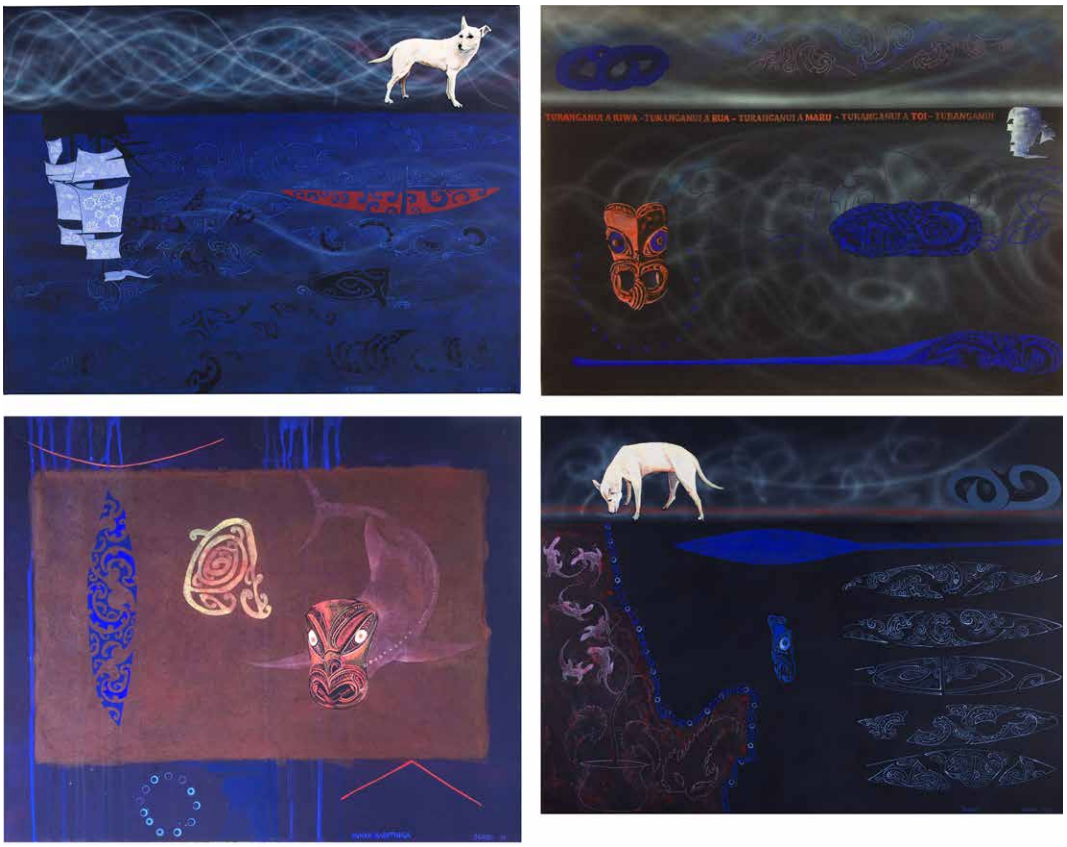


Figure 25.11. Paintings from the series Trade Me by Ngai Tāmanuhiri artist Steve Gibbs. Above left: 6th Sense; acrylic on canvas, 90 x 120 cm. Above right: Turbulence, acrylic on canvas, 90 x 120 cm. Below left: Whakawhitinga – Transition (Waka to Whare), acrylic, harakeke paper on board, 60 x 74 cm. Below right: Scent, acrylic on canvas, 90 x 120 cm. Images courtesy and copyright Steve Gibbs.

The paddles too have been enrolled (or enrolled themselves) in these struggles to assert *mana* (authority) over these seminal encounters and their historical interpretation. As Steve puts it, 'these hoe waka have a voice':

> One thing that was always going to happen has begun to unfold. Once you replace something that has been removed from our tribal visual memory, such as the hoe waka, they have their own visual voice. As a result of the Toi Tāmanuhiri exhibitions, neighbouring iwi are also very interested in laying claim to ownership of these taonga tuku iho. This is expected and the most important thing is to be able to listen to the voices as part of learning about them.



Figure 25.12. Coned Cook on the waterfront in Gisborne, New Zealand (2005), an earlier example of creative defacements of the explorer's image. Photograph courtesy of the Gisborne Herald.

> My position on this matter of ownership is this: we as tribespeople of Tūranganui a Kiwa (Rangi-i-Waho, Ngai Tāmanuhiri, Rongowhakaata, Te Aitanga a Mahaki, Ngati Oneone) have a very strong connection to these taonga. We are all closely related to the creators of these, as we all whakapapa to [are descended from] them. As creative people (artists) these connections are even stronger. The evidence of our creative being is all around us to see and experience. Some of us are happy to share this with the rest of the world. It is not so much about ownership as about belonging to, and having a connection with, these taonga.

Putting this kaupapa (approach) into action, Ngai Tāmanuhiri have joined with other iwi from the Tūranga area under the auspices of the pan-tribal authority Te Runanga o Tūranganui a Kiwa to organize a 2019 exhibition featuring some of the paddles from overseas collections.[700] This ambitious project, called *Kānohi Ora*, is to be mounted at Tairāwhiti Museum as part of the events marking – rather than celebrating – the 250th anniversary of Cook's visit. The Museum has assumed the role of host institution, and is applying for international loans on behalf of the Runanga with the support of Te Papa Tongarewa, New Zealand's national museum. It is hoped that the loans will include 11 of the hoe as well as other taonga that may have been

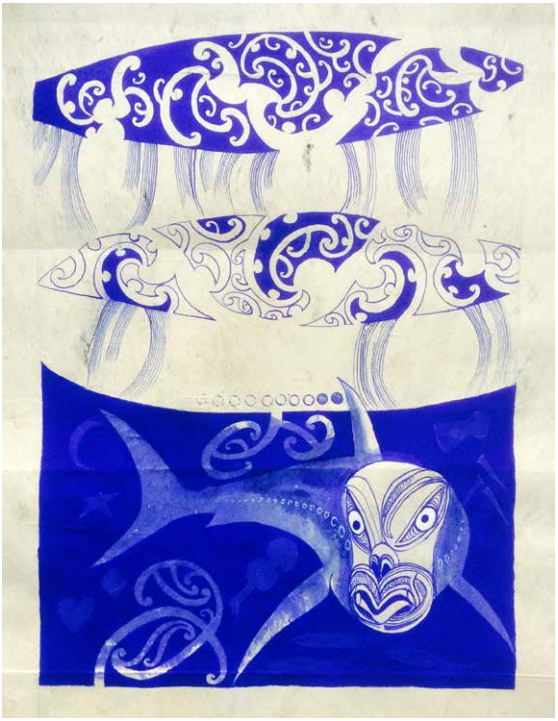


Figure 25.13. Takoha (2017) by Steve Gibbs, presented as a gift to the Hancock Museum, Newcastle in June 2017. Acrylic on fine Fijian barkcloth; 80 x 60 cm. Image courtesy and copyright Steve Gibbs.

acquired in or near Tūranga during Cook's visits. Bringing the hoe back to their place of origin, it is envisaged, will allow artists from local iwi to examine them, perhaps uncovering old connections between the different whare wananga (places of learning which included carving schools) for which the region has long been renowned.[701]

Just as recently, the Hancock paddle became the focus of an episode in a documentary series called *Artefact*, created for Māori Television by Billie Lythberg and writer Rob Antony. Hosted by Professor Anne Salmond, *Artefact* recounts stories of Aotearoa New Zealand's past, present and future through the lens of artefacts in museums and private collections worldwide. The hoe whakairo and Steve's doctoral research anchor a programme exploring the Māori concept of the hau of the gift. Viewers follow Steve on his second journey to reconnect with the Newcastle hoe, in 2017, and his preparation of a gift presented to the Hancock museum authorities at the end of his visit, as a means of helping to bring the hoe home to its people. Steve's gift, *Takoha* (2017), is a painting on fine barkcloth recalling exchanges between Cook's crew and local *iwi* at the time the *hoe* originally changed hands. Fine white barkcloth sourced from Tahiti was a popular trade item on the East Coast in 1769, where, by the time of Cook's first visit, it had become a scarce resource.[702] A painting by Tupaia, the navigator from Rāʻiatea who travelled with Cook, shows the 'gentleman scholar' Joseph Banks exchanging a large cooked crayfish for a handkerchief-sized piece of white fabric, most likely Tahitian barkcloth.[703]

By taking to Newcastle a barkcloth bearing images inspired by the hoe whakairo there (Figure 25.13), Steve directed attention back to the nature and intentions of these

first exchanges between Māori and their British – and Rāʻiatean – visitors, and the ongoing obligations of those now caring for the hoe whakairo toward those whose ancestors made and gifted them. Steve was also demonstrating the impact made by the return of the hoe to the creative consciousness of the descendants of their makers and donors, via photographs, visits and the sharing of research data.

Conclusion

By drawing together a globally distributed group of artefacts along with a widely dispersed body of associated historical and visual evidence, it has been possible to reassemble an artistic corpus that was scattered more than two centuries ago. Never quite forgotten in its place of origin, the return of knowledge of these unique hoe whakairo to the Tairāwhiti region has helped to stimulate a resurgence of evidence and of whakapapa (genealogies, oral histories) that lay dormant for a while but which have now begun to resurface as our ongoing research progresses. As Steve explains:

> When reporting back to iwi through a series of workshop and hui, information began to reveal itself through a variety of sources: narratives have come forth that include the location of pa (fortified village) sites, burial places and wananga settings in and around Whareongaonga. Stories of turnip soup and bags of potatoes have emerged, as has a handful of glass beads traded on the voyage.

The names of some of the ancestors involved in these transactions have similarly emerged as have other long-buried taonga like the toki (adzes) specific to canoe-building and the shaping of hoe which featured in the *Artefact* documentary. All this is feeding into and off broader processes of iwi and hapū-based research and artistic efflorescence that simultaneously draws on other movements, such as digital repatriation, whereby the artistic wealth of the past is becoming ever more accessible, at least in virtual forms . These developments are not without tension and debate, but this too feeds the drive to find out more, to build the best arguments, and to demonstrate mana through artistic practice and creativity.

Yet none of this replaces the importance of being able to greet long-lost ancestors kanohi-ki-te-kanohi (face-to-face):

> No-one from my people had seen these hoe kanohi-ki-te-kanohi for 250 years; they'd only been seen and handled by museum people and researchers. They'd been hidden away. So, coming face to face with them was bitter sweet for me. Both a joy and also a sadness, thinking about how we'd lost not only the hoe but also our first-hand knowledge of them. They're practical paddles and also weapons, they were items of great mana and prestige but more than that they are so beautiful.
>
> To physically touch them and hold them was magic. They are light, so beautifully balanced, it was like lifting up a small bird. Having photographs to share with our people at home, that's one thing, but laying hands upon the hoe and being with them, with the ancestors who made them… that's something else.

CHAPTER 26

Toi Hauiti and Hinematioro: a Māori ancestor in a German castle

WAYNE NGATA, BILLIE LYTHBERG

AND AMIRIA SALMOND

~

> Many generations ago the ancestors of Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti arrived in Ūawa. They lit a fire at a small coastal cove and called the place Ōpoutama, after events that had befallen them in far off Hawaiki – the ancient homeland. Flames were lit along the coast and atop promontories – we had arrived. Our stories were told in the crackling firelight; Uenuku, Rangatoro, Paikea, Irakaipūtahi, Hinemoana, Ruawharo, Kahukura and so many more, our gods, our heroines, our villains, our triumphs and times of trial and retribution. But Paikea had told us 'Leave Hawaiki to Hawaiki – this is our new home'. As generation dissolved into generation an unbroken line of whakapapa and wānanga cascaded stories of love, innovation, action and adventure. Then there was Hauiti, our ancestor, and in his time the flames were fanned by turmoil, warfare, and subsequent victory where they continue to burn with pride within his descendants today.
>
> Some 21 generations after those first arrivals, in the time of Hinematioro and Te Whakatātare-o-te-Rangi, a ship arrived. Our leadership welcomed the Endeavour, Captain James Cook, Tupaia and the crew to Ōpoutama. It was a welcome respite and sanctuary for weary sailors. We were transfixed with the adventures of Tupaia and the stars rose and fell on the stories we shared around the fire for those few days in 1769.[704]

Toi Hauiti are the arts management arm of Te Aitanga a Hauiti, the Māori iwi or tribal group that hails from Ūawa (Tolaga Bay) on the east coast of Aotearoa New Zealand's North Island (Figure 26.1). Te Ahikā describes the iwi's unbroken inhabitation of Ūawa, and their whakapapa (kinship) ties to that place; it literally means 'a long-burning home fire'. Ūawa today boasts a township of around 800 people – mostly members of the iwi, whose name means 'the descendants of Hauiti' – set in a wide-mouthed bay about an hour's drive north of Tūranganui (Gisborne). Beyond this tribal heartland, thousands

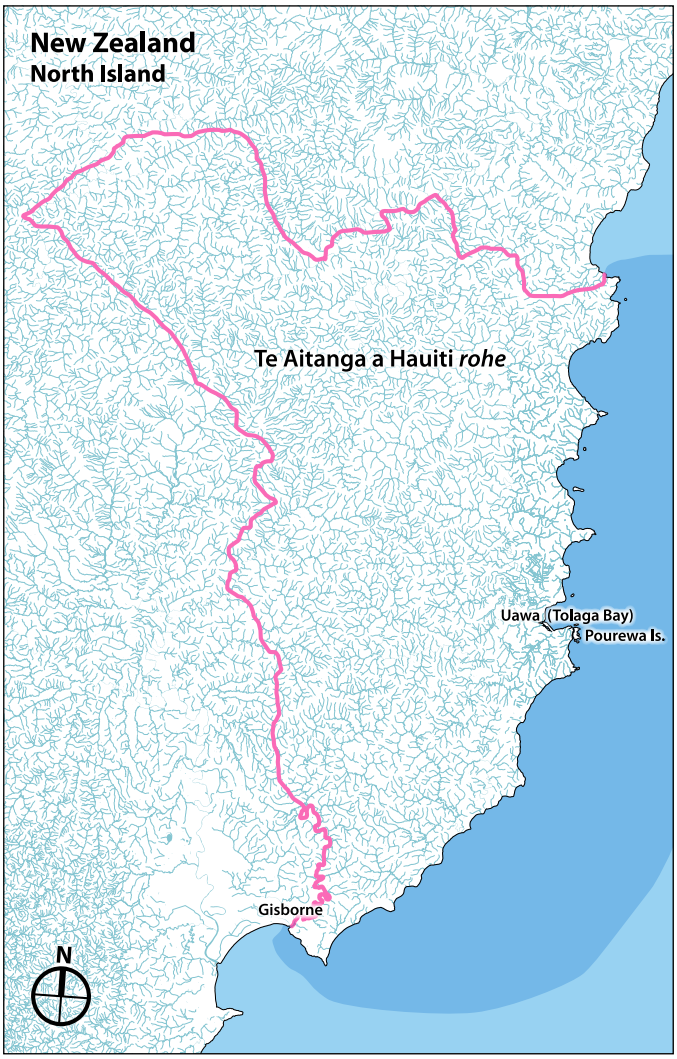


Figure 26.1. Te Aitanga a Hauiti rohe (tribal area). Map by Mark Gunning. Copyright Te Aitanga a Hauiti.

of Hauiti's progeny are dispersed across the country and beyond throughout the world. Whakapapa connections – ties of descent and affinity – are maintained and extended through visits home and via social media sites and other digital platforms for sharing histories, events and 'ancient futures'. Whakapapa is also activated in journeys made by Te Aitanga a Hauiti members to visit their taonga (treasured artefacts) in museum collections overseas, to greet and study these living ancestors and to educate those who care for them. For Hauiti whakapapa is much more than genealogical kinship. At home and in their international activities, Toi Hauiti mobilizes whakapapa as philosophy, empirical analysis and political action. Their ties to Hauiti, to each other, and to their taonga tuku iho (treasures passed down) operate as a kind of practical ontology, enabling the continued vitality and flourishing of Hauititanga (Hauiti ways of being) into the present and future.[705]



Figure 26.2. Members of Toi Hauiti at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, 2008. Photograph courtesy of Kerry Brown.

Over the past decade, Toi Hauiti have built strong and enduring relationships with institutions including the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (MAA), in Cambridge in the UK. The group has visited Cambridge on several occasions, first as advisors and workshop leaders for the *Pasifika Styles* exhibition (2006-2008) (Figure 26.2)[706] and later as research partners on the Museum's *Artefacts of Encounter* project (2010-2013). They have worked closely with the Museum's staff and audiences to develop understandings of the present-day importance of ethnographic collections to the descendants of those from whom they were collected. During *Artefacts of Encounter*, they travelled with MAA colleagues to visit Te Aitanga a Hauiti taonga in other international collections and, together with project members, developed a digital repository for Ūawa taonga tuku iho that helped theorize digital repatriation, digital reciprocity, and whakapapa-based digital systems.[707] These initiatives in turn built on collaborative projects Toi Hauiti had earlier undertaken with Te Papa Tongarewa, the national museum of New Zealand. They helped pave the way for the group's ongoing work with the American Museum of Natural History in New York[708] and with other international institutions holding Te Aitanga a Hauiti taonga.

Since many of their most important treasures are in museums that are unlikely – at least in the foreseeable future – to release them, Toi Hauiti resolved early on to pursue alternative means of repatriation, at least initially, in particular via digitization. This approach, combined with annual trips to visit, greet and study ancestral treasures overseas, means that members of the group have worked collaboratively with museums more often than inside them.[709] Like their ancestors before them, Toi Hauiti have become trail blazers and innovators, leading the way when it comes

to transforming curatorial practice in institutions where their taonga reside, and where these treasures act – as Wayne Ngata puts it – as a 'globally positioned resource'.[710] Their projects have led to new approaches in material culture research and exhibitions, and have produced novel outcomes by applying Mātauranga Hauiti (Hauiti knowledge systems) to digital time and space in ways that further the ongoing efflorescence and vitality of their whakapapa.[711]

Reassembling the treasures of Te Rāwheoro

A particular focus of Toi Hauiti's recent activities has been on reassembling a corpus of artworks associated with Te Rāwheoro, the renowned whare wānanga (house of learning) that operated for four centuries in their rohe or tribal area. Aside from a number of carvings now held in museums in Aotearoa New Zealand, Te Rāwheoro's legacy includes a singular and important group of artefacts associated with the Pacific voyages of Captain James Cook. Chief among these is a carved poupou or wall panel brought to Europe on the *Endeavour*, following the ship's visit to Ūawa during Cook's first circumnavigation in October 1769. After being lost for more than two centuries, this taonga resurfaced in the 1990s at the University of Tübingen, Germany. It has since received repeat visits from Hauiti descendants and has become the subject of several scholarly publications.[712] This chapter describes the history of this carving, which Toi Hauiti hold as 'the face and body of those to whom it belonged – Hinematioro and her people of Pourewa' (Figure 26.3),[713] and their whakapapa approach to repatriating and rekindling knowledge for cultural vitality: to keeping the long-fire burning.

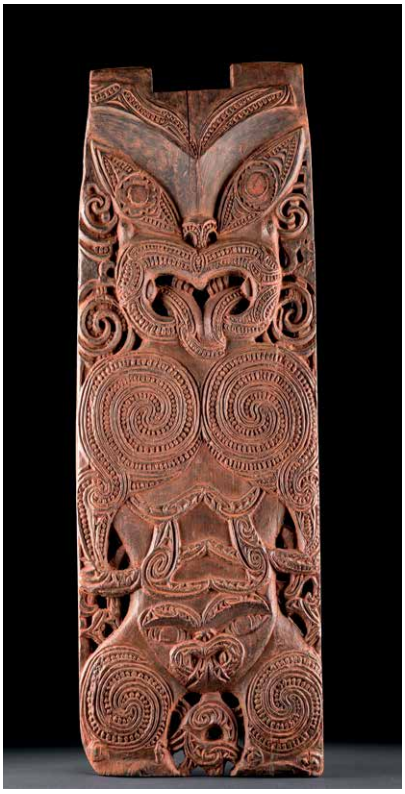


Figure 26.3. The Poupou of Hinematioro. With kind permission of the Museum of the University of Tübingen MUT. Photographer: Valentin Marquardt.

Historically, whare wānanga were institutions within Māoridom where experts in tribal knowledge systems, artforms and philosophy passed on their learning and skills to talented novitiates and apprentices. Established some 500 years ago by Hauiti's father Hingangaroa, Te Rāwheoro soon acquired a renown that attracted generations of students from the ranks of Hauiti's descendants as well as from other iwi (tribes) throughout New Zealand's North Island.[714] Ngarino Ellis has described several related accounts of the school's founding derived from written and oral sources. Chief among these is the lament for Tūterangiwhaitiri by his father Rangiuia,[715] a piece of oratory

today 'regarded as the main source of information about carving and its exponents in this period'.[716] Translated from the original, the sixth verse reads as follows:

> Te Rangi-hopikia had Hinehuhuritai,
> Who had Manutangirua, whose son was Hingangaroa.
> He it was who established the house, Te Rawheoro
> And arts and crafts flourished, my son, at Uawa
> There came in payment the Ngaio-tu-ki-Rarotonga,
> And there went in exchange the Manaia and the Taowaru,
> Passing round thence to the north, Te Apanui,
> Emerging at Turanga, where you will face
> The clouds from the south, whence came your doom.
> So shall your elder and parent hear,
> Even Te Matorohanga![717]

Robert Jahnke expands on this translation to note that:

> Around the 16th century Tukaki of Te Whanau a Apanui and Iwirakau of Ngati Porou attended the carving school of Hingangaroa called Te Rawheoro. They took with them the famous cloak Te Ngaio Tu ki Rarotonga in exchange for the gift of carving from Hingangaroa, the manaia and the taowaru.[718]

As Ellis writes, citing Āpirana Ngata, 'Te Rāwheoro soon became the leading whare wānanga from Wharekahika down to the Wairarapa':

> Others included Te Aho Matariki at Whāngarā, Puhikia-iti near the Cook monument in Gisborne, Te Tuahu and Whare-kōrero. Ngata names three tohunga (whom he describes as 'Professors') at Te Rāwheoro: Rangiuia, Tokipuanga and Mohi Ruatapu.

Though Te Rāwheoro officially closed during the nineteenth century, many of its teachings continued to be passed down by experts well into the historical period,[719] despite the dispersal of many of the carvings and other taonga in which this knowledge was instantiated.

Te Rāwheoro in context

Today regarded as well off the beaten track in terms of road and rail transport, Ūawa was an important centre of food production and a site for the seasonal harvesting of plentiful marine resources long before the arrival of Europeans. The area's wealth and fertility of land and sea provided optimal conditions for the flourishing of the artistic, cultural and cosmological traditions that were maintained and developed from the sixteenth century onwards at Te Rāwheoro, 'the defining cultural institution of Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti'.[720] The distinctive artistic tradition that emerged from this school came to influence carving styles in neighbouring areas. Nonetheless, those trained in these traditions are still able to identify certain techniques and motifs as descending from Te Rāwheoro's teachings. As Ellis explains:

> By the end of the eighteenth century specific carving styles had emerged. Along the East Coast four different schools of carving appeared: Te Whānau-a-Apanui (or Tūkākī) at Te Kaha, Iwirākau/Tāpere in the Waiapu Valley, Te Rāwheoro at Ūawa and Rongowhakaata at Manutuke… Each carving school was keenly aware of the others' styles.[721]

These styles were intimately related, as were the original exponents of the three younger schools, who all trained at Te Rāwheoro according to East Coast oral traditions.[722] Hingangaroa and his wife Iranui (the sister of Kahungunu) had three sons: Taua, Mahaki-ewe-karoro and Hauiti. Jahnke, citing Ngata, lays out the whakapapa of these different schools of art, all of which, he maintains, emerged from Te Rāwheoro:

> Tukaki of Te Kaha and Iwirakau of Waiapu attended the Te Rawheoro Wananga established by Hingangaroa at Uawa. Tukaki is a descendant of Taua, the oldest son of Hingangaroa through Apanui Waipapa, Rongomaihuatahi, and his father, Apanui Ringamutu whereas Iwirakau enters the genealogy of Hingangaroa through his union with Rakaitemania, the daughter of Te Ao Hore, the son of Mahaki-ewe-karoro who was the younger brother of Taua.[723]

Jahnke identifies the Rāwheoro style as 'exemplified in a carved panel from Pourewa Island of 1769' – the poupou from Hinematioro's house, now in Tübingen. Among a handful of other signature carvings of this style he mentions is 'the kuwaha (storehouse entrance) from Paringamouhoki carved in the mid to late 18th century' now in Berlin's Humboldt Forum (VI 27460 a-k), and an eighteenth-century panel at Te Papa Tongarewa.[724]

One of the most distinctive stylistic features associated with Te Rāwheoro is the denticulate notching called taratara-ā-kae, which Āpirana Ngata understood to be the 'Taowaru' gifted to Iwirākau and Whānau a Apanui in Rangiuia's lament above.[725] (Jahnke too, following Ngata and Paki Harrison, attributes a Te Rāwheoro origin to this feature.)[726] Jahnke indeed asserts that Te Rāwheoro was responsible for introducing much of 'the essential visual vocabulary' that would later feature in carving styles throughout the Bay of Plenty and along the East Coast.[727]

The poupou of Hinematioro

The poupou that now resides in Tübingen was collected on Pourewa Island, just south of Ūawa, where an impressive wharenui (large house) was being built for Hinematioro, a young chieftain descended from Hauiti's most senior lines, at the time of the *Endeavour*'s visit. Later described as a 'Queen' of the area by missionaries, Hinematioro was a high-born member of Ūawa's ruling family, then led by her uncle Te Whakatātare-o-te-rangi. Their whakapapa extended back through Hauiti and his father Hingangaroa to the great Polynesian explorers and navigators such as Toi, Paikea, Kiwa and Paoa, who charted a course down the star-paths of the southern Pacific Ocean generations earlier to discover and settle the earth's last significant uninhabited land mass. Sailing back to their Eastern Polynesian homelands, these daring captains returned with their families

and domesticated species such as kūmara (sweet potato), aute (paper mulberry) and kuri (the Polynesian dog), their descendants soon spreading out across the archipelago that would come to be known as New Zealand.

The panels assembled for the construction of Hinematioro's whare would have reproduced this detailed and far-reaching whakapapa; poupou like the one in Tübingen are the bodies of specific ancestors. As John Taiapa explains:

> Before you carve a meeting house the tribe usually comes together. You have to know the genealogy of the ancestors so that you can depict them as pillars of the meeting house. You have to know the history of the people.[728]

Captain James Cook was thus a relative latecomer to the area, arriving at Ūawa in the ship *Endeavour* on 23 October 1769, during his first circumnavigation. Cook and his men remained in the Bay for a week, botanizing, trading for food and valuables and negotiating access to water. During this time they had extensive interactions with local people, whose interest was much focused on Tupaia, the *Endeavour*'s Tahitian pilot and translator. A high-born priestly expert from Raʻiātea (an island in the archipelago Cook had just named the Society Islands, now part of French Polynesia), Tupaia could understand Māori and made himself understood even in discussions of esoteric knowledge. A member of the Arioi order, he was versed in legends and whakapapa whose threads were interwoven with those still remembered by Hauiti's people, brought with them centuries before from Raʻiātea and other ancestral Eastern Polynesian homelands. On an excursion to the small bay of Ōpoutama (Cook's Cove) to fetch water, for instance, Banks recorded that:

> Tupia who staid with the waterers had much conversation with one of their preists; they seemd to agree very well in their notions of religion only Tupia was much more learned than the other and all his discourse was heard with much attention. He asked them in the course of his conversation many questions…[729]

Banks's 'preist' was undoubtedly a tohunga (learned expert) from Te Rāwheoro.[730] Oral histories handed down to the present among Hauiti descendants record that these conversations continued through the night in a cave where Tupaia stayed while in the bay, in which traces of a drawing of a ship and some fish, long attributed to him by local people, were recorded by a film crew as recently as 2015.[731] It is possible that one of the Tahitian's famous watercolour sketches, of a Māori chief exchanging a crayfish for a piece of white cloth with an officer or supernumerary (perhaps Banks), was also executed during this visit.[732] These were clearly momentous exchanges, in which whakapapa (histories and genealogies) brought peoples from across the Pacific together after generations of separation.

On 28 October some members of the *Endeavour* crew made a visit to Pourewa Island, the stronghold of Whakatātare-o-te-rangi and his chiefly family. The group from the ship, which included Banks, Spöring and Parkinson, probably Cook and possibly also Tupaia, recorded seeing a large canoe ornamented with intricate carvings, the

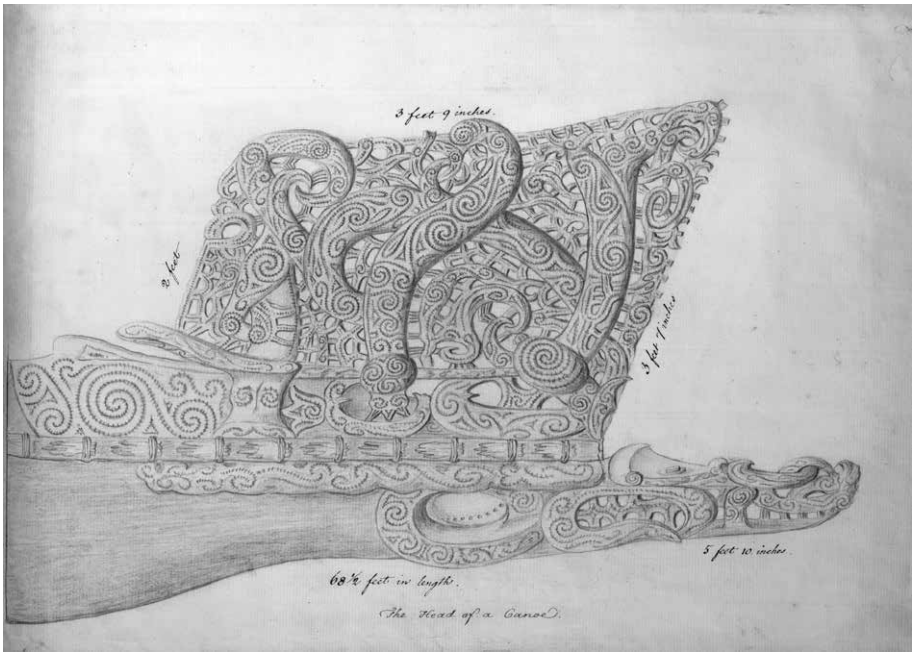


Figure 26.4. 'Carved canoe prow', in Ūawa (Tolaga bay), by Herman Diedrich Spöring, 1769. British Library, London, Add. MS. 23920, f. 77b. Copyright The British Library.

prow of which Spöring sketched in detail (Figure 26.4). At the same place, probably on the landward side of the island,[733] they saw a substantial house apparently abandoned (perhaps temporarily) while in the process of being erected. Banks described the unfinished structure in his journal, writing:

> We saw… a house larger than any we had seen tho not more than 30 feet long, it seemd as if it had never been finishd being full of chipps. The woodwork of it was squard so even and smooth that we could not doubt of their having among them very sharp tools; all the side posts were carvd in a masterly stile of their whimsical taste which seems confind to the making of spirals and distorted human faces. All these had clearly been removd from some other place so probably such work bears a value among them.

Oral histories from Ūawa record that this house belonged to Hinematioro, a young woman at the time, and one of exceptionally noble birth. They also indicate that she met Cook – though probably not on this occasion[734] – who presented her with blue beads that were later handed down as taonga among her descendants.[735]

As Anne Salmond has noted in writing about this visit, 'Chiefs' houses were often decorated with carved side posts, or poupou, and indeed these were commonly shifted from old, decaying houses to a newer structure'.[736] Banks apparently somehow acquired one of the panels he described on that day, either directly or through the agency of Tupaia. Soon after the voyage returned to England, he hired the artist John Frederick



Figure 26.5. 'Carved plank from New Zealand', pen and wash sketch by John Frederick Miller in London, 1771. British Library, London, Add. MS. 23920, f. 75. Copyright The British Library.

Miller to make drawings of 'artificial curiosities' he had collected while on his grand tour of the Pacific. Among Miller's sketches, now in the British Library, is an intricately detailed image of a carved poupou from a Māori meeting house (Figure 26.5).[737] Salmond was the first to point out that this panel was undoubtedly collected at Ūawa, since 'no other opportunity presented itself to acquire such a carving while the *Endeavour* was off the coasts of New Zealand'. It is possible, she went on to speculate, that the local chiefs presented it as a gift to Banks, 'although carvings embodied ancestors and this house must have been highly tapu'.[738]

In later publications, Salmond revised this view to suggest that the poupou might have been presented instead to Tupaia, a scenario we also consider more likely.[739] The Tahitian's status and genealogical connections would have demanded acknowledgement from Hauiti's people in the form of ceremonial gifts (as indeed happened between Cook's officers and Māori in a number of other locations). Such presentations were not lightly made, and an important taonga like this ancestor, full of the mana of its kin group, would have been reserved only for the most distinguished guests and the most potent of transactions. If Hinematioro's poupou was offered to any member of Cook's crew, it would surely have been to the Ra'iātean priest. Today, indeed, there are still descendants of Hauiti who bear his chiefly name, handed down through the generations as a legacy of his visit.[740]

Taken aboard the 'floating world' of the *Endeavour*, Hinematioro's poupou was carried back to England, where it was soon to be sketched by Miller. Tupaia did not survive the voyage; he died of a fever at Batavia and his worldly possessions were appropriated by Banks. The carving too disappeared from history for a time, soon after its remarkably accurate portrait was taken in London. When Salmond first wrote about Miller's drawing, indeed, the whereabouts of the carving itself was still unknown. In 1996, however, the panel was located among the collections of the University of Tübingen in Germany by Volker Harms, then curator of the Ethnology section. Harms immediately set about publicizing its whereabouts, and – although he retired some years ago – he continues to welcome successive Te Aitanga Hauiti delegations



Figure 26.6. The Poupou of Hinematioro, pre-restoration. With kind permission of the Ethnological Collection of Tübingen University. Photographer: Evelyn Gärtner.

to Tübingen, where they travel to greet their ancestor.[741]

Harms identified the carving from Miller's drawing, which he noticed while studying artefacts collected by Cook (together with drawings of them from the period) in Adrienne Kaeppler's catalogue of *Artificial Curiosities*.[742] Having matched the artefact to the image, he contacted both Salmond and Kaeppler, who agreed that the poupou in Tübingen was the one sketched by Miller and must therefore have been brought back to Europe on the *Endeavour*. It had been donated without provenance to the University in 1937 by Emma von Luschan, daughter of the noted geographer Ferdinand von Hochstetter, whose private ethnographical collection she inherited.[743]

Upon being re-identified, the poupou was found to be in a state of considerable degradation. The top part of the panel had been cut down, removing parts of the slanted eyes of the main ancestral figure (Figure 26.6). A rough restoration had been carried out in 1977, when the piece was prepared for an exhibition celebrating the 500th anniversary of Tübingen University. The sawn-out voids were patched with pieces of local conifer wood, and the carving was covered with a purple-red paint. Aware both of the poupou's value as a Cook voyage object and its importance to Hinematioro's descendants, Harms swiftly organized a more sensitive restoration. Conservator Anke Scharrahs' 're-restoration' replaced the wooden patches with aged totara wood sourced from Aotearoa New Zealand to match the poupou's original timber. Scharrahs used Miller's sketch as a guide to reinstate the fine whakairo on the new totara patches, and she carefully recreated the original red pigment applied to the poupou, discovered in the form of a residue beneath its coat of purple-red and a previous layer of black.[744] The totara timber was brought to Dresden, where the carving was being restored, by Anne Salmond in response to Harms's request; as part of a research trip to Europe, she travelled to the former East German city especially to see this ancestor and to support the work being carried out to bring Hinematioro's whakapapa back to Te Ao Marama (the world of light).



Figure 26.7. Members of Toi Hauiti in Tübingen, Germany, with the Poupou of Hinematioro. Photographer: Stefanie Hildebrand.

Reunions

Alerted by Salmond's publication of this find,[745] a Toi Hauiti delegation made contact with Harms and travelled to Tübingen in February 2008 for an emotional reunion with their ancestor in Germany. Members of the group, including carver Mark Kopua, painter Alison Waru and weaver Fiona Collis, were among the descendants able to touch and greet their ancestor for the first time in over two centuries (Figure 26.7). Genealogies were recited and traditional songs were sung to the carving in celebration of Hinematioro's antecedents and the endurance of her many lineages. Photographs were taken and articles appeared in local newspapers, and the visit was reported on German radio and television. Asked by journalists about the group's interest in repatriating the carving to Ūawa, Hera Ngata-Gibson praised the University's care of the poupou, as well as Harms' hospitality and detective work.[746] This was among the first of a series of visits to Tübingen by Hauiti descendants to greet their ancestral treasure and to 'keep warm' the relationships established with Harms and the University's curators.

Te Ahikā

Toi Hauiti's activities over the past two decades underline the importance of whakapapa – the relations binding Te Aitanga a Hauiti into Ūawa's land and seascapes, weaving their origins in Hawaiki together with the knowledge carried forward by Te Rāwheoro through and beyond the new/old worlds visited upon them in 1769. In enlivening Te Rāwheoro's teachings as a blueprint for their iwi's future, the group has successfully mobilized whakapapa as both guiding principle and practical ontology. Their interest in 'Cook artefacts' has less to do with Cook himself, of course, than with

the capacity these taonga have to inspire awe, pride and creativity among descendants, when confronted with the enduring presence and artistic genius of ancestors. Similarly, snapshots of Ūawa in the era of Hinematioro and Whakatātare-o-te-rangi produced by the *Endeavour*'s crew members are valued for the light they shed on this extraordinary period of iwi pride and achievement. More recently, old connections to Tahitian homelands that were enlivened via exchanges with Tupaia have once again been revitalized through ocean-going waka voyages across the Pacific, in which Te Aitanga a Hauiti members took part as crew. In these and many other ways, research associated with the Cook voyages keeps stimulating interest among members of the iwi and pride in their distinguished cultural and artistic heritage.

Toi Hauiti's most recent whakapapa-based innovation is a project aptly named *Te Ahikā: Our Story, Our Voice, Our Place*. This showcases Te Aitanga a Hauiti's aspirations in relation to planned regional commemorations of the 250th anniversary of the first encounters between Māori and Europeans that took place on the 1769 *Endeavour* voyage. Hinematioro's poupou is central to this kaupapa (initiative), positioned within it as Te Koha Tuatahi – 'the first gift' – an instantiation of some of the first friendly encounters to take place on the voyage and as such an initiator of reciprocal relations. Alongside plans to revisit the poupou in Germany in 2020, Te Ahikā advances the development of a series of new poupou, steel and Perspex beacons swirling with whakairo designed to convey a visual narrative of the heritage of Ūawa. Standing 10 metres tall, these impressive sculptures will be visible as people arrive and leave the rohe (lands) of Te Aitanga a Hauiti; illuminated by solar-powered LED lights they will glow like the burning flames of the past.



Figure 26.8. Te Pourewa Installation 2019. Artists' impression by Kaaterina Kerekere and Tai Kerekere. Copyright Te Aitanga a Hauiti.

A series of Te Ahikā poupou will be installed along the walkway to Ōpoutama or Cook's Cove, and one is a beacon named Te Pourewa (Figure 26.8) after the island of Hinematioro's whare. Te Pourewa's visual narrative will include kōrero tīpuna, ancestral histories of the voyages made from and to Hawaiki and the knowledge transported with people, plants and animals on ocean-going waka. Tupaia and Hinematioro feature too among these narratives of arrival, settlement, ongoing innovation and ahikā, recalling a recent past and ancient futures, in other words, the whakapapa of Te Aitanga a Hauiti. These pou and the kōrero tīpuna (ancestral histories) they depict recall the ancestors from Hawaiki, from Hingangaroa, from Hauiti and from Hinematioro, presenting themselves as guiding lights, beacons of fire from the past so that innovation and creativity will continue to thrive for their descendants – Kia tipu anō te whaihanga.[747]

CHAPTER 27

Reinvigorating the study of Micronesian objects in European museums: collections from Pohnpei and Kosrae, Federated States of Micronesia

HELEN A. ALDERSON

~

Introduction

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Micronesians engaged with many outsiders. For example, people from beyond Oceania visited the volcanic high islands Pohnpei and Kosrae, wondered at the Islanders' monumental stone architecture and chiefly histories,[748] and frequently collected local objects. Today, Pohnpeian and Kosraean items are curated in over 30 museums worldwide, including in Oceania, Asia, America, and Europe. In Europe, the collections are largely a latent cultural resource, but researchers can activate them to make new enquiries into the Micronesian past. This overview provides an historical background of Pohnpeian and Kosraean material culture. It then outlines particular nineteenth and early twentieth century European collections and suggests how researchers and Indigenous stakeholders might engage with the assemblages, and each other, moving forward. The data presented were compiled during a 2015-2018 PhD study on dynamic Micronesian identities, which focuses on textiles, graves, and other decorated media.

Pohnpei and Kosrae are adjacent Micronesian islands, settled by Austronesians around 2,000 years ago.[749] Although settlers on each island developed distinct polities, languages and types of material culture, both groups created similar chiefdoms, monumental architecture, and technologies, including weaving.[750] The Islanders' cultural differences highlight their autonomy, while their similarities indicate shared heritage and, perhaps, sustained interaction. In the 1820s, people began arriving in great numbers from outside Oceania, and Spaniards, Germans and Japanese successively claimed the islands over the subsequent century.[751] Many outsiders, including academic researchers, explorers, missionaries, sailors and traders, gathered keepsakes that often found their way into museums. After the Second World War, both islands became part of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands under US jurisdiction, with Kosrae administratively subordinate to Pohnpei district until 1977.[752] In 1979, the national constitution of the Federated States of

Micronesia (FSM) entered into force, with the member states Pohnpei, Kosrae, Chuuk and Yap, and in 1986 the FSM gained independence from the trusteeship.[753]

European scientific researchers as collectors

European scientific researchers, including ethnologists and naturalists, visited Pohnpei and Kosrae during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The earliest expeditions to land in Kosrae were conducted by explorers and scientists aboard the French *Coquille* (1824) and the Russian *Senyavin* (1827-1828).[754] Neither group alighted in Pohnpei, although the *Senyavin* sailors interacted with Pohnpeians who came out to their ship in 1828.[755] Modern scholars often cite the early academic publications resulting from these voyages, and their assemblages and writings form useful comparative collections, unique to their time periods. Notably, the Russian navigator Fyodor Litke's collections from the *Senyavin* voyage[756] represent a rarely-recorded juncture in Pacific history. The *Senyavin* researchers were likely the second group of non-Oceanians to interact directly with Kosraeans, arriving just three years after the French expedition led by Louis Isidore Duperrey on the *Coquille*.[757] Therefore, collections in the Kunstkamera in Saint Petersburg, Russia, hold some of the earliest Kosraean textiles and other perishable items known outside the region.

Independent British researcher-explorers also created extensive collections, including those compiled by Charles Frederic Wood in 1873, J. Cumming Dewar in 1890, and F.W. Christian in 1896.[758] Their artefacts are now in collections at National Museums Scotland (Edinburgh), the British Museum (London), Pitt Rivers Museum (Oxford), and the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (Cambridge). I suggest that these collections have roles to play both in broadening our understanding of individual Micronesian experiences and answering wider questions concerning the nature of socio-political hierarchies. For example, Christian collected a textile which provides a glimpse of its maker (Figure 27.2). He recorded that,

> In the king's household, for the last two or three days, the fair maidens Kenie, Kusue and Notue, have been hard at work producing specimens of their delicate fabric – gifts for their guest to take away to his bleak northern home.[759]

National Museums Scotland holds a corresponding textile, a photograph of which appears in Christian's book.[760] The textile displays both the name Kenie and the word Malem, which is a Kosraean municipality (although Christian identified both words



Figure 27.1. Tol, woven textile, Kosrae, likely 1890s, collected by Arthur P. Alexander. Possibly woven by a woman called Sepe. 86.1 (sans fringe) x 5.2 cm. Photo courtesy of Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawai'i, USA. Photo by Jesse Stephen, 2016. 1977.524.046. Copyright Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum.

as weavers' names).[761] A similar textile is held in Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum in Honolulu, Hawai'i, upon which another woman recorded what may be her name (Sepe), and identified her location as Kusaie (Kosrae) (Figure 27.1). A.P. Alexander collected this item in the 1890s.[762] The textiles are unusual examples of nineteenth-century Micronesian objects whose female creators likely recorded their own names and homes. Christian also collected shell jewellery and other shell valuables from the elite hub Nan Madol, Pohnpei (*i.e.* Figure 27.3), including items from the paramount chief's tomb.[763] These objects illustrate how some aspects of chiefly status and hierarchy were displayed in the past.

German museums also hold substantial Pohnpeian and Kosraean research collections from expeditions. In particular, the Hamburger Südsee-Expedition researchers conducted an extensive ethnographic study in 1910. Georg Thilenius, director of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg, organized the expedition team, which included Elisabeth Krämer-Bannow, Augustin Krämer, Ernst Sarfert, Franz Hellwig and Paul Hambruch.[764] Conducting extensive ecological, linguistic, archaeological and ethnographic studies, the researchers collected objects that exemplified the processes that they recorded, such as weaving.[765] Decades earlier, Otto Finsch, a German ornithologist, ethnologist, and colonialist, also amassed and



Figure 27.2 (right). Kenie, tol, woven textile, Kosrae, commissioned and collected by F.W. Christian in 1896. 88 (sans fringe) x 4 cm. Photo courtesy of National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland. A.1899.17.4. Copyright National Museums Scotland.



Figure 27.3. Shell adze, Nan Madol, Pohnpei, collected in 1896 by F.W. Christian. 46.5 x 10 cm. Photo by Josh Murfitt 2017. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, 1954.71.

published objects, drawings and notes.[766] The Südsee-Expedition collections are now dispersed, as researchers moved and sold or exchanged items, although clusters can be found in German institutions,[767] and in the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge (MAA). Finsch's collections are housed by museums including the Weltmuseum Wien, Vienna, and the American Museum of Natural History, New York.

Missionaries as collectors

In many museums worldwide, Pohnpeian and Kosraean collections also include contributions from missionaries, whose main objectives were not to record Indigenous culture. Nevertheless, they sometimes assembled extensive, well-documented collections and wrote diaries and letters. Some American institutions, including Bishop Museum, hold collections associated with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM). European missionary collections are more limited in their scale, but include Ernst Wiese's objects in the Weltkulturen Museum, Frankfurt. Such differences between collections can, I suggest, provide insights into the different ways in which Micronesians interacted with Americans and Europeans. By the late nineteenth century, Kosraean women were manufacturing new trade textiles, in association with a Christian mission which was coordinated by American missionaries.[768] Perhaps consequently, American museums such as Berkeley's Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology acquired such textiles in bulk, which had often passed through curio dealers.[769]

Other collectors of Micronesian items

European museums also house collections made by other individuals, including sailors and traders. Occasionally, their provenances are unknown or imprecise. As Kosraean and Pohnpeian objects are sometimes superficially similar, they are occasionally either confused, or more generically labelled as being from Micronesia or the Caroline Islands. The use of archaic names for Pohnpei (*i.e.* Ascension Island, Bornabi, Ponape) and Kosrae (*i.e.* Strong's Island, Oualan, Kusaie, Kuschai) also hinders inquiry. However, because most systematic research expeditions were conducted either in the 1820s, or from the late nineteenth century onwards, items collected by various individuals in the mid-nineteenth century are key to understanding material culture change. Today, as more collections are digitized, researchers are more easily able to compare collections of poor provenance with those that are well-documented. For example, in my doctoral research, I use statistical analyses of textile designs to identify mislabelled items and to match them with their closest geographical and temporal equivalents.

The composition of Pohnpeian and Kosraean collections in European museums

European museum collections[770] of Pohnpeian and Kosraean materials include items associated with clothing makers (textiles, fibre skirts, hanks, spools, looms, warping benches, beaters, implement baskets), carvers (carved blocks, dancing-paddles, adzes, chisels), fisher-people (fishhooks, bailers, nets), performers (dancing paddles, headbands, drums), cooks (basins, bowls, breadfruit splitters, pounders), tattooists (needles, ink containers), elites (shell valuables, belts, headbands, embellished fibre skirts) and warriors or hunters (slings, sling-stones). Significantly, in Pohnpeian and



Figure 27.4. Kosraean warping bench, Kosrae, Federated States of Micronesia. Collected in 1910 by Augustin Krämer. 66.5 x 31 x 9.2 cm. Photo by Josh Murfitt 2017. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, 1954.60.

Kosraean material culture in European museums, and within the ethnographic record dating to the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, few items have figurative imagery (although models including tiny houses[771] were produced for trade). The relative absence of figurative imagery, along with object dispersal and mislabelling, has likely contributed to scholarly oversights of Pohnpeian and Kosraean collections. Nonetheless, I have found that many of the seemingly utilitarian items (listed above) can provide insights into specialization within stratified chiefdoms. On Kosrae, many items can be linked directly to recorded tasks, which were often performed in highly stylized and ritualized manners by specialist practitioners who, in turn, could be commissioned by elites.[772] Even clothing decorations denoted particular tasks,[773] and some items, including Kosraean warping benches, were intricately decorated, possibly to aid or accentuate their function (see Figure 27.4).[774] Perhaps, many of the Islanders' artistic expressions were performance-based[775] in sanctioned tasks. If so, Kosraean and Pohnpeian collections could be freshly researched as assemblages of items that indicate performance, with an eye toward understanding how these processes situated each individual within a broader chiefly hierarchy, or perhaps even a heterarchy of specialists.

Activating Micronesian museum collections through community engagement

To activate Pohnpeian and Kosraean museum collections appropriately, I suggest that the research process should involve descendant groups. During archaeological fieldwork in January – March 2017, I took a small photographic display to Pohnpei

and placed it in both the Pohnpei Public Library and the College of Micronesia. The display included 13 professional photographs of 12 Micronesian textiles, one warping bench and one adze, all from the MAA and Bishop Museum. Each photograph was set onto a humidity-resistant board. The display's initial purpose was to communicate and share my research; however, it gradually became a pilot study in digital repatriation. I quickly learned that many Pohnpeians were neither aware that overseas museums hold Micronesian objects nor that some images are accessible online. Furthermore, several young people were surprised to learn that Pohnpeian women had previously woven fine textiles from banana fibre. However, while many Pohnpeians had never seen such objects, other local people either remembered or care for comparable items.

At the conclusion of the small display, respondents to my questionnaire reflected that new, larger exhibitions could enhance the accessibility of Pohnpeian material culture. They emphasized an aspiration to educate students, young people and visitors, suggesting that future displays might take place in locations including schools, the College of Micronesia, the Pohnpei State Government, local community meeting houses and publicly accessible areas such as libraries, the airport, the post office, hospitals or online. One, however, expressed concern that there would be 'less benefits to people in rural areas where displays may not travel'.[776] Another individual suggested that future exhibits occur in 'Places that have something to do with the items [which] would be displayed'.[777] Such an approach would be, in my view, a thought-provoking way to draw perishable ethnographic objects back into their original landscapes. A different person reflected that 'I find it interesting as it linked me back to the big loop of Dohr [textile belt] in our old family nahs [meeting house]'.[778] The same individual also commented that they were interested in seeing items that 'can make researchers link history, transition and identity' in the future. Their comments illustrate the ways in which displays might spark memories and facilitate dynamic re-engagement with objects.

Survey respondents expressed a wish to see images depicting items such as clothing (chiefly belts, headwear, fibre skirts, ornaments), textiles, pottery, model boats, valuables, instruments, weapons, kitchen utensils, animal bones, drawings, photographs, and tattoo patterns in future displays. One person asked for 'Combined photos of makers/culture items'.[779] However, another responder noted that 'The display of personal photographs, old photographs can be problematic esp. if permission is not received'.[780] Given the types of Pohnpeian material culture that are curated in European museums, it is unsurprising that people were interested in personal items that are linked to social status, identity, specific tasks, performance, and process.

In addition to the responses from members of the Pohnpeian public during my 2017 fieldwork, I also met with Keropin David in the municipality Kitti. Keropin David is a high-ranking cultural knowledge holder who is well-known throughout Pohnpei. He curates two woven elite belts that are among the last extant on the island and that previously belonged to his grandfather. The belts were originally worn by Keropin David's great-great grandfather, a previous Nahnken en Kitti,[781] and the Nahnken's son, a former Wasahi en Kitti[782] (Wasahi David). Keropin David's great-great grandmother, a previous Nahnkeniei en Kitti[783], was a skilled weaver. Keropin David keeps the belts with other important items, including photographs of both the weaving process and the previous Wasahi en Kitti wearing one of the belts. The ways in which Keropin

David curates the chiefly belts further illustrate the Pohnpeian emphasis on process and identity expressed through personal, visible items of dress.

Future research directions

As I have outlined in this brief overview, the objects in European institutions offer significant potential for renewed study in collaboration with locals. These collections can offer special insights into past Micronesian lifeways, particularly in terms of individual experiences, chiefly hierarchy and perhaps even a heterarchy (or networks) of people with specific skills who performed aspects of their identities. Initial results from recent fieldwork on Pohnpei have demonstrated to me that many people are unaware of Micronesian collections in European museums and are interested in learning more. In consequence, my plans include further dialogue among museum professionals, researchers and local people, both outside and within Micronesia. I suggest that through displays and digitization outreach projects, museum professionals can expand the access Micronesian peoples have to objects curated in Europe. Given new awareness of diverse collections, Micronesian traditional knowledge holders and researchers may choose to explain or explore how objects were used (including their important performative aspects) and/or where they originated, enabling us to enrich museological narratives. My hope is that richer dialogues undertaken between museum professionals and Micronesians can clarify longstanding misinterpretations and pave the way for future research collaborations.

CHAPTER 28

Knowing and not knowing

ALANA JELINEK

~

Knowing (2015) is an artwork made as part of the *Pacific Presences* research project into Oceanic Art in European Museums. Working to a brief is an unusual process for me. Research projects are not like site-specific interventions, which are invitations to work in a specific context, my usual and preferred method of working. Nor is contributing to a research project similar to making autonomous artworks that are the result of an independent process of thinking and making. For these reasons, my contribution to the larger research project had to be devised from first principles: what can art say about Oceanic art in European museums?

Knowing was conceptualized in two parts: the live, discursive part with participants, which can be described as a participatory or dialogic art practice, and then the film itself. The needs of the film were considered only after the participatory events were complete. In other words, time spent with participants was privileged over the product of those encounters. This decision was based on the types of ethical considerations that define my art practice, including projects such as *The Field* (2008-2017). In my participatory art practice, a primary goal or value is to attempt to have genuine, honest, open and egalitarian engagements with participants; inviting participants from all backgrounds and esteeming all in our diversity: in short, having ethical engagements with the other as Other.[784]

Unhampered by the technical requirements of the film-making process or the aesthetic considerations of the finished product, the focus was on the many days spent with participants at the collections storage base for the Museum Volkenkunde in S'Gravenzande, Netherlands. The separation between these two aspects of the project was so strong that the material filmed and recorded of the encounters between people and things was treated as objets trouvés (found objects) during the editing process. 'Found objects' are those things that have not been designed for an artistic purpose but which exist for another, already established purpose, following Marcel Duchamp's use of a urinal in Fountain (1917). In the case of the footage for Knowing, this 'other purpose' was a conceit and a way of allowing both for personal and open engagement with people while present and the distance required to make an artwork after the fact. As observed by Grimshaw and Ravetz, a 'critical interrogation of form or medium is central to their [artists'] approach' (2015: 419).[785] This critical interrogation requires a



Figure 28.1. Recording in location at Museum Volkenkunde stores, Netherlands. Photograph by Katharina Haslwanter.

distance that is inappropriate to relationships of trust and openness, which is why the two modes within the project were conceived and maintained. The fact that encounters between people and things were being recorded was discussed, and participants had the right to delete any of the material they recorded. Participants did not have any rights over the final edit, though.

The original aim of the project was to explore the politics of occupation and colonialism through the objects from West Papua in the Museum Volkenkunde (now part of Werldculturen Museum) in Leiden (Figure 28.1). In order to do so, people from Papuan backgrounds living in the diaspora (Netherlands and UK), Javanese people living both in Indonesia and the Netherlands, and also Dutch people of white Dutch origin with a personal or family connection to the region were invited to participate. The idea was to ask everyone to select objects to talk about from the museum's collection and to talk about the choices other participants had made. Each participant would engage both with objects from their own culture and with those from the other cultures. Because the museum has not collected objects from Dutch culture, those from a Dutch background were asked to bring objects from home from a similar period to the Papuan collection: things from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

From the outset my sympathies were with the colonized, namely the Papuans, but in attempting an open, and therefore unbiased, engagement with all participants, I aimed at putting aside my sympathies in order to elicit meaningful, strong and sympathetic stories from all participants irrespective of background or culture. Nevertheless, I did maintain a set of assumptions, a hypothesis, until it became clear that the relationships and inter-relationships between people and things were far more complex than I had originally anticipated. The working hypothesis I tested throughout the project was the idea that colonized people know more about the colonizing culture than colonizers know about the cultures they colonize. Calling the project *Knowing* was to highlight

the assumption. This assumption was based on my own experience of being born and raised in Australia.

In my generation and from my background, I was exposed to almost no knowledge of Aboriginal Australia, the history of encounter, their many cultures or nations, or anything positive about contemporary Aboriginal life. This contextual vacuum was filled with news reports at the time of so-called endemic problems, such as glue-sniffing, domestic abuse and alcoholism. Throughout my own history of art-making, I have been exploring racist myth-making and stereotyping by dominant cultures. With this in mind, I believed the *Knowing* project would highlight the asymmetry of colonial relationships. I also assumed stereotypes would emerge through discussion, particularly stereotypes of Papuans by Javanese and Dutch people, and that it would be evident there had been little or no engagement with the actual lives of Papuans in Indonesia or in Dutch New Guinea, as West Papua was known until 1963. I was also interested in attempting to convey some of the Indigenous cultural complexity of the region, a complexity that pre-existed colonial occupation and that continues to exist in different ways within Dutch, and later Indonesian, colonial rule.

Originally I wanted to invite people from both Java and Sulawesi because the majority of 'transmigrants' to Papua are from those two Indonesian islands. Transmigration is the term used to describe the movement of people from the western islands of Indonesia to Papua. Understood by Indonesian patriots as a way of developing and sustaining meaningful relationships across the scores of islands and territories that comprise 'Indonesia', it is understood by others as a strategy to populate the region with non-Papuan Indonesians. One hypothesis is that when a referendum regarding the future of Papua is held one day, as a gesture of compliance to international demands for democracy, there will be significant numbers of non-Papuan Indonesians living in the region who tip the balance against Papuan independence. For some Papuan independence activists, transmigration is understood as a policy of forced miscegenation in order to breed out the Papuans from Papua.

Indonesians were the most difficult group to recruit for this project. In the end, I only found people from Java to participate and not those from transmigration communities. I understood the suspicion any Indonesian person might have of me and of this project, given that few are naïve of world opprobrium regarding regimes of colonialism more generally, and Indonesia's deplorable human rights record. I am therefore especially grateful to those Indonesian people who gave me their time and confidence. I took their gift in a spirit of respect and hoped to do them justice. For similar reasons, I want to honour the contributions of Dutch people. I understand it is especially difficult to be an informant when one comes from the culture of the perpetrator.

To make *Knowing*, I made repeated visits to the Museum Volkenkunde in Leiden, and its collection stores located more than an hour's drive away in S'Gravenzande with a variety of people between 3 October and 20 November 2014. Most people were interviewed for half a day and some had multiple trips to the collection stores. In the first instance, participants were found via relationships with the museum. Gershon Kaigere from Lake Sentani, Papua, and Silvy Puntowati from Java had been employed by the museum as docents. Silvy then invited both Sudarno and Ignatius Supriyanto, both from Java, where Sudarno, an historian, currently lives. Ignatius currently lives in

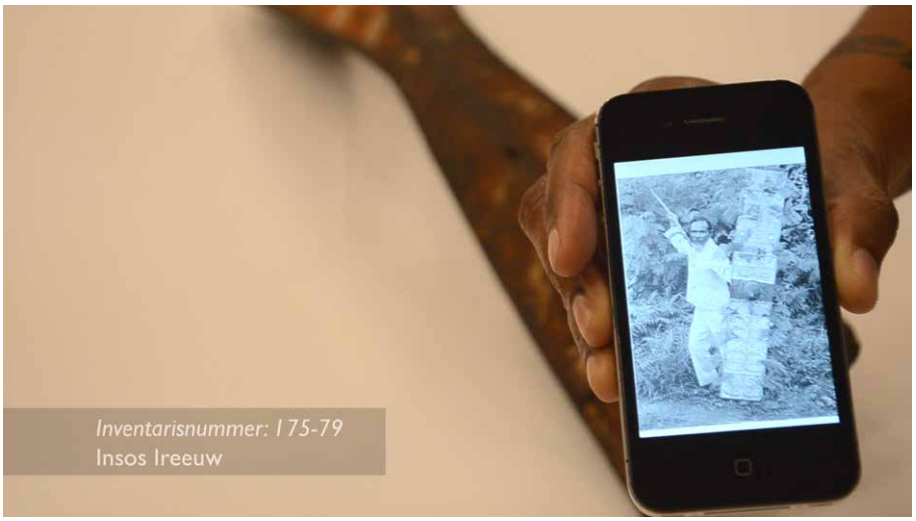


Figure 28.2. Film still (Insos Ireeuw). Screen shot Knowing. Camera Ulrike Folie and Ali Clark.



Figure 28.3. Film still (Max and Insos Ireeuw). Screen shot Knowing. Camera Ulrike Folie and Ali Clark.

the Netherlands. Niek van Rijkswijk, a Dutch collector of Papuan material culture had volunteered for the museum, and Annette Schmidt, an archaeologist, is the museum curator for Africa. Benny Wenda from the Dani people in the Highlands of West Papua had worked on a previous project with the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, and he brought with him Oridek Ap and Martin Derey who are involved with the Free West Papua movement in the UK and the Netherlands. Insos Ireeuw (Figure 28.2) was known to the Volkenkunde museum as a caterer and events organizer for many previous Pacific projects. She later brought her family (Figure 28.3),



Figure 28.4. Film still (Silvy Puntowati). Screen shot Knowing. Camera Ulrike Folie and Ali Clark.

which included her mother and father, Betty Ireeuw-Kaisiëpo from Biak and Max Ireeuw from Tobati, both of whom are Papuan-born under Dutch colonial rule and currently in exile since Indonesian occupation. The family group also included her daughter, Oriana Pentury, born in the Netherlands, and her father's cousins, Fin Maya Hay and Margriet Siu-Lan Ireeuw, visiting the Netherlands from Papua. Peter Waal was known to the museum via his anthropological interest in Papua and Eric Venbrux, an anthropologist with experience in the Tiwi Islands, Australia, was thereby known to the Oceania curator, Fanny Wonu Veys, and also willing to participate. Finally, Marie-Christine Engels, an historian, was invited via a friend of a friend of mine.

Gershon accompanied Insos on the first day's filming of the project, which was the only day we filmed within the museum itself. All other interviews were conducted at the museum's stores. In addition to the visit with Insos, Gershon participated with Peter Waal as his interlocutor on another occasion and he also accompanied Benny Wenda, Oridek Ap and Martin Derey on our final day of filming. Niek van Rijswijk was interviewed on the same day as Eric Venbrux. Silvy (Figure 28.4) was first interviewed with Annette Schmidt and she later accompanied Sudarno in order to translate for him. Marie-Christine Engels attended the day Sudarno was interviewed. Silvy also invited Ignatius Supriyanto, who came alone one afternoon in November. I recorded conversations on a hand-held Edirol sound recorder and proceedings were filmed either by fellow *Pacific Presences* researcher Ali Clark or Ulrike Folie, an intern on the project. Ulrike has a great deal of previous experience in Papua working as a visual anthropologist and she speaks fluent Indonesian. She has also spent time in Java. Though not recorded, she also became an informant, filling in some background information and nuancing my understanding of the contemporary situation in both Papua and Indonesia. Her sympathies lie with both Javanese and Papuan cultures. Translation from Dutch and much logistical work was undertaken by Fanny Wonu

Veys, curator for Oceania at Museum Volkenkunde. Groups ranged from three to eight people on filming days including us. I asked questions while someone else filmed.

Where anthropologists have 'methodology', artists could be said to have 'rules', and particularly those artists working with the legacy of 1960s Conceptual Art, as I do. The most important aspect of the participatory part of the project therefore were the 'rules of the engagement'. The rules were that everyone had to talk about at least one object from their own culture. Papuans and Javanese people were asked to select up to five objects from the museum stores. Dutch people were asked to bring items from home from a similar period. All participants, regardless of background, could also choose objects from the collections of Papuan material to talk about, this being the emphasis of the project. Having made their selections, each participant was then asked to talk about the objects that other people chose, in addition to their own. Each was asked about things from Papuan, Javanese and Dutch cultures. As Dutch people generally took their objects home with them, the majority of Dutch objects were only available to those groups that came together on the same day. The exception was the clog, which was left behind by Eric Venbrux for comment by future participants. Because of the constraints of working within the stores, objects were not always consistent over the duration. Sometimes 'similar-looking' objects were brought out for comment instead of the ones originally chosen by participants. At the time, 'similar-looking' seemed unproblematic to me, a person with little or no knowledge of any of the cultures from which participants spoke. I easily exchanged one object for another on the basis of morphology. Since listening to the stories that emanated from the exchange, the idea of 'similar-looking' is now problematic. Two objects can appear similar to my eye (and as described by the collections catalogue) but be completely different. This turned out to be a 'happy accident', as artists like to call it, which is when an accident that could have been fatal to an artwork turns out to be to its benefit (named after the crack in the glass that emerged by accident in Marcel Duchamp's *The Bride Stripped Bare by Her Bachelors, Even,* 1915-23).

The following details are provided, given the inter- and multi-disciplinary nature of the *Pacific Presences* research project, for those who may find it ethnographically or art historically relevant. Ordinarily I would not record, much less write about, this type of detail, but it is in the nature of working across disciplines to alter one's ordinary practice. I include the catalogue numbers because the museum's collections are online and accessible. During the first session, Insos Ireeuw chose a prow ornament (museum catalogue number 53-73), trumpet (1482-1), korwar ancestor figure (2119-27), two necklaces (16-531 and 53-101), beads (185-9), an armband or bracelet (16-501) and an earring (929-110). For the second session, when it was Silvy Puntowati and Annette Schmidt's chance to choose, Silvy opted for a model rice basket (370-1061), a parasol stand (370-1765) and a costume crown (3600-2964) from the Javanese collection. Annette brought from home a framed 1950s magazine picture of Louis Armstrong in profile, a 1902 copy of the Darwin's *Origin of the Species* and a sapphire and diamond engagement ring from her family. In addition, Silvy and Annette were offered my versions of Insos's choices: a different small seated wooden korwar figure (3600-6452), different beads (B99-17), different woven armbands (3600-7295) and another prow ornament (370-3848). From the Papuan collections, Silvy chose a longer korwar

sculpture (5990-60?) and Annette a flat korwar prow ornament (3600-6455) with what appeared to be Dutch Delftware 'mosaic' for decoration. For the third session with Peter Waal and Gershon Kaigere, Peter brought his father's watch and chose from the Volkenkunde collection a penis sheath (Figure 28.5) (4949-24). Both he and Gershon Kaigere chose a chalk holder (1528-118) and Gershon chose a sago bowl (5875-16). They were offered the same korwar (3600-6452) as Silvy and Annette to talk about, and the same armbands (3600-7295), beads (B99-17) and prow ornament (370-3848). They were offered for discussion the longer korwar sculpture that Silvy chose for comment. The session with Peter Waal and Gershon Kaigere was followed by one with Eric Venbrux and Niek van Rijswijk. Eric brought an array of items from home, including a single childhood clog, some batik cloth, a late nineteenth or early twentieth century corrugated tin wash board, a painted metal collection box for the Catholic missions and a set of four pottery cannisters in white and delft blue. The cannisters, two large and two small, each had one of four words painted on its side to indicate its contents: Rijst (rice), Nageleon (cloves), Nootmuscaat (nutmeg) and Sago. Niek chose an Asmat shield (3070-164) and an Asmat bone dagger (B239-127) from the Volkenkunde collections and together they chose a fish-shaped prow ornament (929-766). They were offered to comment on a carved wooden serving dish (5990-19?) in place of Gershon's choice of sago bowl (5875-16) and a different chalk holder (3600-7629). Eric also chose a magic stone (2467-1504). Sudarno and Marie-Christine were offered for discussion the same shield that Niek had chosen (3070-164), the same korowa figure given to Silvy and Annette, replacing the one Insos chose originally (5990-60?) and the same beads (B99-17) that replaced the ones Insos originally chose (185-9). Sudarno and Marie-Christine were offered the same chalk holder that Niek and Eric discussed (3600-7629) which replaced the one Gershon had chosen originally (1528-118). They were also offered the model rice basket (370-1061), the parasol stand (370-1765) and the costume crown (3600-2964) that Silvy had chosen and the clog

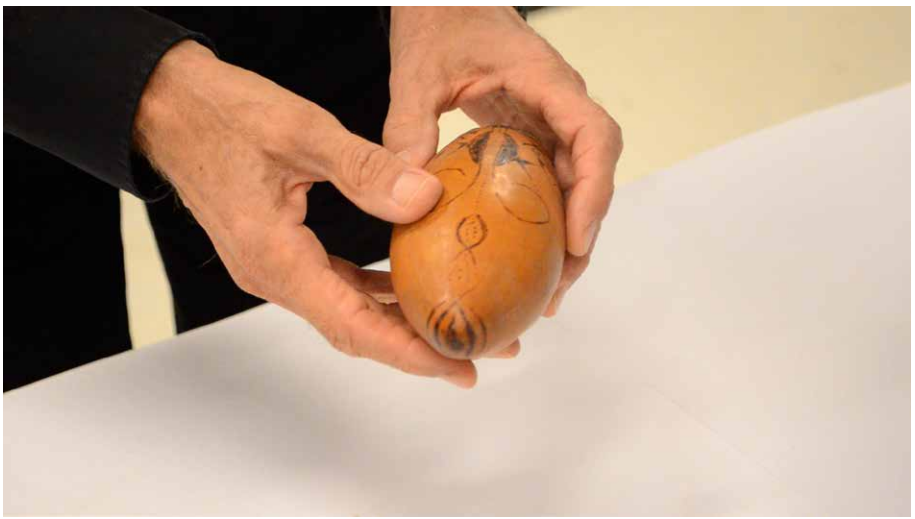


Figure 28.5. Film still (Peter Waal). Screen shot Knowing. Camera Ulrike Folie and Ali Clark.

that Eric had left behind. Sudarno also chose from the Javanese collection to discuss a fish trap (300-1013), a perforated spoon (3600-3143), a wooden slit gong (370-1813?) and a single-tiered painted parasol (370-1709). Marie-Christine declined to choose additional objects from the Volkenkunde stores, explaining that she knew nothing about the objects in the collection and so she could not choose.

When Insos's extended family visited the museum stores, they were offered the fish trap (300-1013), the slit gong (370-1813?), and the perforated spoon or ladle (3600-3143) that Sudarno had chosen. They were also offered for comment the bone dagger that Niek had chosen (B239-127) and the clog that Eric left behind. They chose from the museum collection to talk about a fish prow ornament (929-766), a crocodile prow ornament (300-1126), a fishing net from Sentani (1904-826), an ancient prow from Sentani (300-1122), and a parry shield from Biak (175-79). In addition, they viewed the second set of beads (B99-17).

Insos brought with her four plates (Figure 28.6) which she had discussed on her first visit at the beginning of the project. She stated that the plates are the 'biggest currency' (a currency greater than beads) and that they are not part of the museum collection. Her father brought with him a scholarly book about beads[786] and his personal collections of money and objects of wealth and status. His collection included two strings of beads, one with an amber bracelet attached, strung rosary-fashion in a ring. The other was strung simply in a line. Both sets included blue and yellow beads, some opaque and others transparent. Max also brought with him three perspex boxed mint-condition collections of coins, which included a set of coins from Papua New Guinea. He used the coin collections to demonstrate how collections are more valuable when complete. The comparison with the sets of coins also demonstrated that, like coins,



Figure 28.6. Insos Ireeuw's collection of plates, with her family. Photograph by Ulrike Folie.

beads can have incrementally increasing values, and also that value is symbolically attributed to colour, just as happens in Europe with bronze or copper, silver and gold coloured coins. For Max, beads should be strung in order of increasing value, which is the correct aesthetic for beads. He observed that this order is rarely kept today even in Papua and it seems to be absent from the museum's collections of beads from Papua. The collection included a shell bracelet from Insos that, when added to the beads, increases their value and Max also brought with him his personal chiefly stone bound with rattan to its wooden mount or handle to form a hand axe.

Ignatius Supriyanto was offered for comment the crocodile prow ornament (300-1126), fish prow ornament (929-766) and the fishing net (1904-826) that the Ireeuw family had chosen. He was also offered the fish trap (300-1013) and perforated spoon (3600-3143) that Sudarno had chosen and the parasol stand that Silvy had chosen (370-1765). He was offered a different parasol to replace the one that Sudarno had chosen: one with three-tiers and painted gold on one side with birds on the underside (370-1798) instead of the less elaborate painted single-tiered parasol (370-1709). Ignatius chose a kris (5573-1), which is a type of dagger, and a basket (1647-106) from the Javanese collections to talk about, a cloth hanger (1904-588) and part of a loom (3219-1M). He also chose a prow (3092-66) from the Papuan collections. Finally, Benny Wenda, Oridek Ap and Martin Derey chose drums or 'tifal' (300-541 and 3790-2), an axe (1971-871B) and a bow for shooting arrows (5778-12). These three objects, they said, symbolize the Free West Papua movement. In addition, they were offered for comment the fish trap that Sudarno had chosen from the Javanese collections (300-1013) and the basket that Ignatius had chosen from the Javanese collections (1647-106). They were also offered the three tier parasol that replaced the one Sudarno had chosen (370-1798) from the Javanese collections. From the Papuan collections, Benny, Oridek and Martin were offered the fishing net that Max chose (1904-826), the crocodile prow ornament that Insos chose (300-1126) and the piece of the loom that Ignatius chose (3219-1M). This 'methodology' created all the mis-attunement that a game of 'Chinese whispers' is meant to illustrate. In the end, this process informed the structure for the film.

Throughout each encounter, I asked participants to describe what things were made of, how they were made, who made them and what any symbolism might be in the iconography or materials used. As an artist, I believe these are the primary questions to ask of an object or artwork. It is from the material and how it's worked that meaning can be extracted. Artists believe that objects are not mute, but instead that they speak using visual languages that we believe to be decipherable. Over and above this 'inherent' meaning, there is the specific cultural meaning: the meaning that only those from within a culture can describe and those from outside that culture can only guess at or approximate. In addition, I asked participants about the (apparent) use of the object and, sometimes, what an object meant to them personally. I was interested in the interpretation of objects, and not particularly in the actual 'biographies', histories or facts of the objects.

For this project, I was interested in harvesting the stories that arise from new encounters with objects previously unseen, as distinct from those stories already embedded in the objects as part of continuing relationships with that object. I was less

interested in knowledge or stories about the specificities of a known object and I was least interested in stories about those objects from personal collections. I nevertheless encouraged participants to speak about their personal collections specifically in order to create an atmosphere of openness to, and genuine engagement with, the Volkenkunde collection.

This process of exploring the more distant type of relationship between person and object was important for two reasons, one far more important and complex than the other. The simpler reason is because most people most of the time encounter artworks at this more distanced level, as an encounter with an object that has no personal relationship to the viewer but that nevertheless evokes deep emotional and intellectual responses. The other and more important reason was because I wanted to create parity across the encounters between people and things, so that all the objects were in a similar relationship to the participants. I hoped this would equate to a parity across the stories that emerged from the encounters with the objects. I wanted to avoid the type of privileged, or particular, knowledge and story-telling that comes from intimacy with an object. For this project, I wanted to emphasize the aspect of the encounters that I anticipated would be different across the different groups of participant, namely, the interpretations, knowledge and story-telling that emerges as a consequence of the different cultural frameworks of the participants. In some sense, therefore, the objects were 'symbols of objects' and so I hoped they would inspire stories about relationships, feelings and stories more generally: the type of stories and knowledge that might emerge on reflection or as inspiration. I wanted to evoke the type of stories that emerge from experiences with art in an art gallery or in public spaces and bring these types of stories together.

In addition to setting out to form true, honest, genuine relationships, however transitory, with participants, I set out to make a good artwork according to ideals or values to which I subscribe. As such I set out to create a nuanced artwork that explored the complexity of knowledge. I did not set out to explain colonial relationships of the region or its history, as a documentary or a piece of journalism might. Nor did I intend to create knowledge within the field of anthropology. As it happens, though, some new anthropological knowledge did emerge.

The most dazzling example of new knowledge was when Insos Ireeuw described how plates were the largest currency on Biak, larger than beads or anything else with currency, and even today they are used as brides' money both in Biak and in the diaspora. Plates from Biak have never been collected by Volkenkunde, or possibly any other museum. There are at least two reasons for this. First, perhaps collectors did not know about plates because they were kept hidden from outsiders and, since they retain their high value, they were not readily given away. Insos had to convince her mother to allow her to bring her own collection of plates to the museum for us to see. For safety, they are stored at her mother's home and not with Insos who has growing children. Her mother, Betty Ireeuw-Kaisiëpo, did not show us her own collection of plates. Insos said the reason she told us about the plates is because, being Dutch-born, she has a different attitude to the continuation of her culture. For Insos, the Papuan cultures she inherited will continue if she shares the knowledge. Her mother, on the other hand, believes that it is secrecy that helps to preserve a culture.

A second reason the plates are unknown and uncollected may be because the plates do not appear to be authentically Biak. To my eyes, which are wholly uneducated in these matters, they all appeared 'foreign' and some quite old. One was decorated in blue and white, with apparently fake Chinese characters and may be an example of Delftware and another had, in red, a crescent and star painted on the base and flowers with foliage in green. A third had geometric patterns, like Greek key pattern tiles, painted in a deep ochre and the fourth was Majolica-like and multi-coloured. All the plates are the large size of serving plates, not dinner plates.

In bringing the scholarly book about beads, Max wanted to demonstrate and emphasize the history of trade in beads. He says that some of the beads found in Papua originate from all over the world and that this is not a recent phenomenon with colonialism (either Dutch or Indonesian), but that the distribution of beads, perhaps from as far away as Western Asia, embodies a deep history of contact and trade. I believe a similar sentiment is felt about the plates.

Other new anthropological or curatorial knowledge may have emerged in the details of the various things that were discussed. As I have been asked to share the information provided about prows with a researcher in anthropology, I believe this must be the case. The person with the most knowledge of Papuan iconography was Gershon Kaigere (Figure 28.7) who could explain what various details represent. He is from Lake Sentani and, during Dutch rule, became a dental assistant travelling throughout Papua as part of his job, thereby coming into contact with a wide variety of the Indigenous cultures. Once in exile in Netherlands, after Indonesia took over Papua, he became involved with the Museum Volkenkunde and so learned about various cultures including 'home' cultures through the museum. His knowledge is the product of studies in the museum, from encounters with cultures different from his own within Papua, and also from back home, understanding gained from his childhood milieu.



Figure 28.7. Film still (Gershon Kaigere). Screen shot Knowing. Camera Ulrike Folie and Ali Clark.

The following is an abridged and simulated transcript of Gershon's contributions. It is faithful to the things that he and others said. The information he and his interlocutors provide is juxtaposed with the information the Volkenkunde online catalogue which is translated.

Item 1

Volkenkunde catalogue (abridged): [1482-1] Trumpet from Lake Sentani 47x10cm wood. Over the entire piece, there are spirals, herringbone pattern, squares and triangles. Sande… collected wood flutes which look like this one but he did not write anything. [Sande, G.A.J. van der (1907) 'Ethnography and Anthropology' in 'Nova Guinea' III]

Insos Ireeuw (II): Looking at the trumpet with drawings of two fish 'In iconography, there are always two, maybe like yin and yang?' My father [Max Ireeuw] continues to draw the symbolic shapes and images from home but hasn't passed on the meaning to me. I recognize 'my' things – things from my homeland – by the symbols and 'drawings'

Gershon Kaigere (GK): The circles on the trumpet is unity of going and coming back: the rings made in water from a paddle.

Item 2

Volkenkunde catalogue (abridged): [53-73] Prow decoration, Dorey Bay (now Manokwari area), 80 cm, wood. (translated from Dutch) The prows … are adorned with various carvings, usually of birds, other animals or humans. In Humbolt Bay the canoe decorations were usually attached to the stern. People attributed supernatural powers to the canoe decoration and believed that they helped the crew to steer in the right direction, such as to schools of fish or home.

GK: Coral imagery is carved into prow for ocean-going people, unlike circles on trumpet, which symbolize the quieter water of the Lake (Sentani)

Item 3

Volkenkunde catalogue (abridged): [2119-27] Statue, Biak, place of origin Manokwari, 21.3cm wood 1927. (translated from Dutch) Korwar housed a resident spirit and his help was called in times of tension and danger. … In the Indigenous communities of northwestern New Guinea korwars are rarely found today. The transition to Christianity has, in many cases been accompanied by a massive destruction of these 'pagan' images.

GK: Korwar is a God figure. This one is from Biak placed on prow for protection. All gods are for protection, not to bring things, to protect for safe travels. [(This is a new understanding for Insos.)] The korwar is also to protect in war.

Item 4
Volkenkunde catalogue: [16-501] Bracelet, fibre, bamboo fibre, circumference 7.3cm, Papuan culture. No contextual information.

GK: Nose rings are not just for decoration but to make the nose into an instrument to attract birds. This [bracelet] is from Asmat, which Gershon can tell from the pattern.
II: With us everything is red or black

Item 5
Volkenkunde catalogue: [16-531] Necklace, rope, seed Andenanthera rosea, 56cm, Mimika (Kamoro) region [Sandal bead tree seed?] No contextual information

GK: Necklace from seeds from watermelon from Asmat. Necklaces are worn for the sounds they produce while dancing.

Item 6
Volkenkunde catalogue:[53-101] Necklace, seeds, shell, bead, fibre, rope fibre, stone, 38cm double, Yos Sudarso [Humbolt Bay] No contextual information

II: I know these beads are part of the heritage from my dad's side
GK: The beads are from Manokwari and are made from honey. He explains it like this: when the birds can't get to the nectar, the flowers dry out and the nectar dries out. People wash the dead flowers and the beads are found. In Sentani, greenstone is for chief's arm decoration but these are from Manokwari so it's not the same, also for Biak people (who live in Manokwari).

Item 7
Volkenkunde catalogue: [185-9] Beads,1cm, Yos Sudarso Baai [Humbolt Bay] No contextual information

II: Beads have different values and in the old days beads were money. Different values from the different colours.
GK: These beads are from Manokwari. In Sentani we also have the beads especially for the bride's price.

The film

A great deal was left out in the editing process. Twenty-two hours were recorded which left me with the choice to use all the material, thereby allowing access to all the intricacies and nuances of the relationships with the objects as they emerged, or to edit the film down to a watchable length. I believed that if I wanted anyone to watch the film the whole way through, it would have to be a length that audiences have learned to expect (even art audiences) of a film or documentary, that is, between 30 and 150 minutes. Possibly because audiences have become accustomed to the shortness of TED talks and YouTube videos, even art audiences happily walk in and out of lengthier

art films when shown in gallery exhibitions, so I believed it would be difficult to hold people's attention even for an hour. Before I started the process of editing I did not know how long the film would be but I knew it would be much shorter than 22 hours and that there would be valuable and even beautiful stories and knowledge left on the cutting room floor.

One of the great losses to the final film was the absence of the most unexpectedly emotional encounters with objects. For most of the participants, there were many emotions evoked by the encounters with museum objects. There were moments of pride, nostalgia, curiosity and even anger. What I had not anticipated was the evocation of a childhood feeling of real loss, as distinct from nostalgia. Most surprising for me was the fact that the two people who were moved to tears were Silvy Puntowati and Peter Waal, both of whom had fathers connected with Irian Jaya, Netherlands Nieuw Guinea. At the other end of the emotional spectrum, sheer joy was expressed by Max Ireeuw when he picked up the fishing net and started to play, simulating fishing, oblivious to the horror on the faces of the collections manager and curator at his energetic handling of an object from the collection. His whole stance transformed from that of an old man to one of a young boy in a way that could have been understood as magical.

Hilary Mantel describes the act of making art for the 2017 Reith Lectures. She said that art is a process of editing from truth, *operating self scrutiny and finding discrimination*, discriminating between 'truth and the whole truth'.[787] This relatively lengthy piece, which catalogues some, though not yet all, of the details that happened in truth, in reality, some of which are recorded, others not, and all of which remain absent in the finished artwork, demonstrates her point. I have chosen to include them here because I understand that it is these details that are important to those working in other disciplines. I include them here to demonstrate the very different, not incompatible, truths that can be achieved and the difference between art and art history, between art and ethnography or museums practice, and between art and history. *Knowing* (2015), the 48-minute film, pursues another way of knowing.

Knowing is available on vimeo: https://vimeo.com/133133132.

CHAPTER 29

Interview

KAETAETA WATSON, CHRIS CHARTERIS,

LIZZY LECKIE AND ALISON CLARK

~

Kaetaeta Watson is an I-Kiribati master weaver and artist from Tabiteuea, one of Kiribati's coral atolls. Chris Charteris is a New Zealand based jeweller, and artist whose work takes inspiration from his I-Kiribati, Fijian and English heritage. Lizzy Leckie is a Pakeha weaver from Aotearoa New Zealand who has worked with Māori and Kiribati weavers learning traditional weaving techniques. Alison Clark is an English museum researcher based at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (MAA), University of Cambridge. In 2013 the three artists started working together as part of *Tungaru: The Kiribati Project*, a New Zealand based initiative that explored Kiribati material culture. In 2016, after meeting Clark at the Festival of Pacific Arts in Guam, they joined the *Pacific Presences* research project, based at the MAA. Led by a mutual research interest in Kiribati armour, how it was made and used, and whether it could still be made, Clark asked Watson, Charteris and Leckie to produce a new suit of Kiribati armour for the exhibition *The Island Warrior*, displayed at the MAA from 4 April until 25 September 2017. As part of this project Watson, Charteris and Leckie researched historic armour in museum collections in New Zealand, and came to the UK and Europe in 2017, where they and Clark also visited museums in London, Glasgow, Cologne and Berlin, where this interview was conducted on 13 April 2017.

Alison Clark: Creating a new suit of Kiribati armour has been an incredibly time consuming project for you all, what do you feel you have learnt from it, and what do you feel the process has revealed about the armour and how it was made?

Chris Charteris: The first thing is to acknowledge the many weeks or months of labour that would have gone into producing the armour. Even just making the string would have been a huge undertaking. For us, as we were using pre-prepared string, that was a whole process we didn't have to go through. So from the beginning, we recognized that making the armour would have to have been a communal effort. While we learnt a lot about the practicalities of making the armour, there are other aspects of the process that are still quite mysterious. For example, the magic and rituals behind



Figure 29.1. Kaetaeta Watson and Chris Charteris studying the armour at Auckland Memorial Museum. Photograph by Lizzy Leckie, 2016.

its production and the patterns which adorn it are still largely unknown to us. But we are learning.

AC: Making the armour has involved a lot of research and you have all visited many museum collections (Figure 29.1) and seen a variety of historic suits of armour. Do you think that by looking at armour in collections you can get closer to understanding what the cultural significance of the materials and designs used might have been?

CC: In light of our research, we suspect that there was probably a common set of designs or motifs that people used but that there was also an element of creativity – the freedom to do something different. We now know that there are a lot of different variations in terms of the patterns and designs but there are also differences in form. For example, the cone shaped cuirass we saw at the Ethnologisches Museum in Berlin and at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Figure 29.2) – I think there might only be three like that in the world or the hoods at the British Museum (Figure 29.3). The armour held in museum collections is like a library, it is an invaluable resource for researchers like us. The fibres connect the past with the present.





Figure 29.2 (left). Kiribati armour. FE010428. Copyright Museum New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa.

Figure 29.3 (above). Kiribati hood. Oc1980,Q.954. Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.

Kaetaeta Watson: For me seeing all of the different armour in the different museums just confirms that individual creativity was an important part of these objects. People were and are free to create, and interpret and to make something that's a bit different from the armour that was first made. When we were first asked to make the armour we thought that they are so amazing we didn't want to make something that was identical. Instead we wanted to pay great respect to what we were seeing. We can never replicate what the ancestors made but we hoped that by learning the skills through museum consultation and from people in the community we could maintain these skills, and perhaps teach others.

AC: Could you explain how you went about selecting the materials and the methods for constructing the new suit of armour? (Figure 29.4)

Lizzy Leckie: We tried all sorts of fibres. We started by experimenting with various samples but quickly realized that we needed a huge quantity of string, at least 400 metres! So, like people in Kiribati, we wanted to use what was around us and what was easily available. We chose sisal, which is used to make ropes and matting. Although it was plied, rather than the plaited string that would have traditionally been used, it worked quite well. For that reason we used it for the overalls. Also, sisal has a hairy texture, like coconut fibre, so we got a big bail of it and made the overalls and arms. Initially, we tried using multiple strings. We came up with a technique where every knot consisted of two strings joining and then separating again. We



Figure 29.4. Kautan Rabakau. 2017.14.1-3, 2017.15. Photograph by Josh Murfitt. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge.

were relying on our ability to look at images of historic armour, deconstruct them in our minds and then reassemble them using new materials. It was a process of trial and error but we got there.

KW: Initially I had hoped that we could use te kora (coconut fibre string) to make the new armour, but because it was not easily available we were happy with the sisal and felt that it was more important to focus on figuring out the skills needed to make the overalls. The process of making the overalls showed us that it was really possible to insert individual creativity into these objects, and that you need more than one person to make them. Lizzy did one leg and I did one and we joined them (Figure 29.5). I think that is one of the benefits of working together. We were able to talk and compare as we went along. After a few weeks of making the overalls using multiple lengths of sisal, I began thinking about the nets people use in Kiribati, for fishing. Although I couldn't remember how they were made, I knew that my nephew did. So we went and spent a couple of days with him. He showed us the techniques he knew and we progressed to using one single strand of sisal. This was much easier, and that is how we made the sleeves (Figure 29.6). So the overalls and the sleeves are made using two different techniques. My nephew did a starting netting knot for me, but it was so neat and tight that my fingers became sore when I tried to do it. I just couldn't do it that way, so I made it looser. I did the top bit first then the sleeves afterwards which are joined in the middle. I just left a neck hole and then joined the shoulders. It was fiddly but it was fun and exciting and I definitely preferred the second knot, the netting one.

LL: For the cuirass, we used a manila rope for the core fibre before wrapping over it with a nylon netting string. The roll we had was bright orange and we thought: it's too bright we can't have that! So we dyed it brown, to resemble coconut fibre. I started working on the cuirass using a metal needle and I was nearly in tears because it was so difficult that it took me a day to complete just three rows. So I decided not to make it so tight and I asked Chris to make me another needle because the metal needle was really hard to use. He made some whalebone needles and they really helped. Then we were able to manage a few hours a day and the armour slowly grew (Figure 29.7). We started at the back at the bottom, making



Figure 29.5. Kaetaeta Watson and Lizzy Leckie making the overalls. Photograph by John Watson, 2016.



Figure 29.6. Chris Charteris and Kaetaeta Watson demonstrating the netting knot. Photograph by Lizzy Leckie, 2016.



Figure 29.7. Lizzy Leckie demonstrating using the bone needle to make the cuirass. Photograph by Chris Charteris, 2016.

it wide at first and then going up and joining in the diamond shapes. We looked at examples in museums to work out how the 'backboard' bit behind the head would have been attached and added in extra cord for that. In total, the cuirass probably took a couple of months to make and various people gave us a hand with it at different times. Several members of the community contributed and that was a really wonderful feature of the project. Once the armour got to a wearable size, people could try it on, just to see how it felt and the balance of it. It was quite an amazing feeling to have it on.

CC: The final stage in making the cuirass was securing the backboard. We had observed that they were often supported by poles of wood that were bound to the cuirass, and so we decided to do this too. I bound dowling rods onto the edge of the cuirass using nylon netting string (Figure 29.8). There was quite a lot of tension in the weave for the back of cuirass, and this made the backboard a bit wonky. Attaching the dowling rods straightened everything out. To complete the costume we really wanted a fish skin helmet. The traditional helmets were made from porcupine fish, but we don't have those in our waters in New Zealand, so we put the word out to our fisherman friend and through him we managed to get hold of two pufferfish within the time we had available. Then we made use of the internet to learn how to clean a pufferfish! We worked out that you cut the head off and then you peel the skin away from the internal parts. The spiky bit has quite



Figure 29.8. Chris Charteris inserting the dowling into the backboard of the cuirass. Photograph by Lizzy Leckie, 2016.



Figure 29.9. Chris Charteris holding the balloon inside the pufferfish skin. Photograph by Lizzy Leckie, 2016.

a thick leathery membrane so you can pull the rest of the flesh away from it, and it comes away quite cleanly. We removed the insides and the head, which created the space where the wearer's face would be. We soaked the skin in bleach and salt to try and remove the smell, and we blew a balloon up inside the skin so it would retain its shape (Figure 29.9). We then hung it out to dry, and in two days it was sufficiently dry to allow me to drill some holes around the edge. Then it was sent to Kaetaeta who made the lining from harakeke (New Zealand flax, Phormium tenax), and wove in a shark tooth design along the front rim.

KW: I really wanted to make the lining with pandanus leaves, but the pandanus I had was too old and hard so I chose harakeke, which I have worked with a lot (Figure 29.10). I also made some thin te kora to bind the edges using the holes that Chris had drilled.

AC: Do you think that having consulted the historic armour in museum collections could have actually restricted your creativity?

KK: I don't think it restricted me. For me the research in museums opened my eyes to things that I hadn't thought about before. You have to look back to go forward, and looking at the armour in the museums has opened up my creativity.



Figure 29.10 Kaetaeta Watson starting the lining for the pufferfish helmet. Photograph by John Watson, 2016.

CC: Whenever I make an artwork I always try to link back to what is important in order to go forward. The challenge we were given was to see how the armour was made and to make our own interpretation of it. Part of that challenge has been to relearn the technical aspects of how armour was made originally. We could have taken a completely new approach without referring to the techniques of the old armour but I don't think that is a productive angle. The foundation of old technical skills is usually where all apprenticeships start. You can start from another angle and come up with something totally new but you still need to go back to those original skills in order to get a solid foundation. So no, I don't think it did restrict us as looking at the old armour and asking other people about it gave us new skills that can be shared with the community.

AC: Over the course of this project you have each spoken about the relevance and importance of collaboration and community. Why has it been so important to you to involve the wider community?

LL: For me, working with the community is the most important aspect of this whole journey. That is what is *living* about this project: it's what it has all been about.

CC: The making of the armour required us to engage with other people in the community to get help and to share what we were doing. The good thing that comes out of that is represented in the name that we gave to the new armour, Kautan Rabakau [Figure 29.4], which means 'to awaken'. To awaken the connection to the ancestors and to the skills that have come from the past. Such awakenings are the things that keep that part of your soul alive.

KW: As Chris said, it is about stepping back to move forward. Looking at what has been done in order to go on and hopefully making a connection, not just for the three of us, or even for my family, but for the Kiribati community as a whole. As a Kiribati person I know there can be difficulties going into a community. There are certain sensitivities that must guide the approach you need take. Sometimes it can be frustrating but then, all of a sudden, you get a breakthrough and the whole thing works. That is a great reward.

LL: Working with the communities in New Zealand has also been so valuable. The sharing has been important. Meeting Kaetaeta's extended family, that now live in New Zealand, was great. They were excited about the project and keen to get involved. Her family has incredible skills that they are willing to share.

CC: I think our involvement in the previous project, *Tungaru: The Kiribati Project*, has been important too, it showed our commitment. We are at a stage where critical skills are getting lost, and in one generation you can lose a whole skill-set and it is crucial to try and keep some of those skills alive. Not just because you can, but because they are important, and useful.



Figure 29.11. Isabella Levet modelling the new cuirass and helmet. Photograph by Lizzy Leckie, 2017.

AC: Finally if you could make the armour again, what would you do differently?

LL: Ideally we would make the armour from te kora, and make the overalls and arms bigger, so that they could be worn properly. In the new armour, only the cuirass could be worn (Figure 29.11). We would also like to try and make a woven helmet out of te kora, not just a fish skin helmet. It might be easier to try this as the first thing we make from te kora because it's a bit smaller and more achievable.

CC: Currently there is another project in the pipeline to make another suit of armour for the Asia Pacific Triennial in Brisbane. Whether we are able to make it entirely from te kora we don't know yet, as we will need to acquire funding to cover the huge cost of buying all of the te kora that would be needed. There are also other new questions surrounding this new project such as would we make it in New Zealand, or in Kiribati? If we did it in Kiribati it could be turned into an educational community project, so that people could see how it's made and learn the skills we have learnt.

KW: If we do make another one, it would also be good if it could be given to Te Umwanibong (Kiribati Museum and Culture Centre) on Tarawa atoll. These things need to go back to the community, to be seen, felt and understood by them.

CHAPTER 30

Piecing together the past: reflections on replicating an ancestral tiputa with contemporary fabrics

PAULINE REYNOLDS

~

In the 1820s visitors to Pitcairn Island collected a significant amount of tiputa (ponchos or tunics made from barkcloth) produced by the first generation of women born on the island. Their mothers were the Polynesian (Māʼohi) women taken from the shores of Tahiti in 1789 by the *Bounty* mutineers, who arrived at Pitcairn in 1790. Their names were Mauatua, Teraura, Vahineatua, Toofaiti, Tevarua, Teio, Opuarai (or Puarai), Faahotu, Teatuahitia, Teehuteatuaonoa, Tinafanea (or Tinafonea), and Mareva. These women originated from Tahiti, Huahine, and Tubuai, where each island had different techniques and specialties in tapa making.[788] While only six of the women bore children on Pitcairn, in such a small community they all had a significant impact on the new evolving culture, including the art of making, dyeing and decorating barkcloth. The women's breadth of knowledge and masterful technical skill is demonstrated through the wide range of cloths they produced. The daughters' arrangement of these components together into works of wearable art show their ingenuity – despite extreme isolation from their mother's homelands – and an assertion of identity. Today, museum collections hold known examples of the tiputa in Aberdeen, Munich, Scotland, Oxford, London and Chicago. These museums are the holders of these taoʼa (treasures), which are significant for descendants of the makers, like myself, as markers of paparaʼa tupuna (genealogy). This essay discusses some of these taoʼa used as inspiration in creating my interpretation of a Pitcairn tiputa made from modern textiles for the *Pacific Presences* project.

In April 2017, as a Pacific Collaborator I worked alongside Research Associates Lucie Carreau and Erna Lilje of the *Pacific Presences* team. We explored some collections I had previously studied in 2010 as a Churchill Fellow (British Museum, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Aberdeen Museums, Kew Gardens Collection, Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology). We also discovered new treasures at the Centre for Anthropology in the British Museum, Hastings Museum and Art Gallery, and the Museum Fünf Kontinente in Munich. Visiting most of these collections with Lucie, and Munich with Erna, allowed for a vibrant exchange of ideas, which in turn provided useful directions for the process of creating my version of a Pitcairn tiputa.

These tapa, including the tiputa, are valuable sources of information. Despite the Māʾohi women's involvement in one of the most famous episodes in maritime history, there is little information about them on the historical record. For this reason, the use of the barkcloths as primary sources has provided access to evidence about how they were raised, the information they were privy to growing up in their homelands and the skills they were taught, as well as indicators of their social status. Fortunately, for many generations, Pitcairn (and later Norfolk Island) women followed the Polynesian custom of gifting vast amounts of tapa to visitors to the island, and those visitors on arrival home then donated these gifts to museum and private collections, predominately in Europe. Up until this project, my study of these valuable sources had been from the perspective of a historian and descendant of the makers attempting to rewrite the women's story.

The tiputa are genealogical manifestations. Artist Rosanna Raymond describes meeting objects in collections for the first time:

> [l]ooking at taonga that is so familiar, yet very separated from its original place and purpose can be a frustrating and painful process, especially if you feel connected to it, spiritually. It is as if a direct line (whakapapa) opens up with my cultural heritage, the past becomes present.[789]

Bearing this in mind, I attempted to position different barkcloths made by my ancestresses within my genealogy. Because collection details of some of the tapa include the name of the maker, it is possible that many of these tao'a can be placed in time and space, both in the storyline of the creator's life and within the genealogies. This means that descendants of the makers can identify particular barkcloths in their personal papara'a tupuna. For me, these tapa represent the skills and knowledge learned by generations of women. They are the tao'a that unite me to those first-generation women of Pitcairn, the 12 Māʾohi women, and their ancestresses far beyond them. These genealogies stretch back deep in time and forward towards me, here in the present.

For this project, I sought out Polynesian artists' perceptions of working with museum material heritage. Carine Durand, who was a doctoral student at the time, writes of her experience of working on the *Pasifika Styles* exhibition with Rosanna Raymond where artists of Māori and Pacific backgrounds were encouraged to engage with the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology's collections.[790] Replicating and connecting with objects from different perspectives can shine a new light on them, and in Raymond's case, her practice of producing contemporary interpretations while engaging with the 'traditional' offer future direction for ethnographic research approaches.[791] Museum conservator Sally Malenka contends that a replica is 'part of the same narrative time of the original', which can 'define or re-define the original, but always reveal itself as distinct'.[792] Similarly, in his paper for the Objects Specialty Group, philosopher Lucio Privitello argues that a replica can enable an interrogation and interpretation from within a space of historical awareness, where the object 'vibrates' and becomes an 'excitable object'.[793] This approach allows the replica to become an active agent, further defining the original as having 'an epistemological *meaning*' while the replica acts as 'a methodological *reference*'.[794] In reference to the *Life in the Pacific of the 1700s* exhibition in Honolulu in 2006, Maile Andrade wrote:

> I am linked genealogically to the pieces from Hawai'i lying behind the glass cases; they are my ancestors. The lack of interpretive materials in the galleries relegated the works to mere historic 'objects'.[795]

As a master kapa maker, Andrade's reflections are significant to my work. She comments that the absence of interpretive signage around particular tapa pieces meant that opportunities for education about resources and expertise were missed, particularly where present experts could have illustrated the recovery of ancient knowledge, emphasizing 'precontact and contemporary customary practices'.[796] With my replica, I am interested in disrupting, or at the very least interrupting, the museological narrative. I hope to provide some fragments of knowledge where there are none at all. It can be distressing for researchers and others who have particular connections to tao'a when tiputa hang in public galleries or are rolled away in storage areas, no longer able to pass on their messages of prestige, skill and stories. My work seeks to address this.

The historic Pitcairn tapa come in many textures. Some examples of undecorated tapa at the British Museum (BM) are: a cream coloured lace-like 'ahufara (stole or shawl) made from the bark of the breadfruit tree (*Artocarpus altilis*), and a fragment of a larger length of ivory coloured gauzy cloth as fine and lightweight as webbing.[797] Another piece made from paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*), has been evenly beaten with a mallet (called an *e'e* on Pitcairn) which was engraved in relief with small diamond shapes, and produced a fibrous yet sheer cloth of embossed diamonds, outlined by denser rhombus shapes.[798] Equally luxurious is another example made from breadfruit bark held in the Turnbull Library collection, which drapes like a raw silk and is characterized by vertical ribs that have been pressed into the cloth.[799] I mention these examples of undecorated textiles fabricated here because their surface qualities are remarkable, and as Sean Mallon argues, 'we often think of barkcloth in its decorated, finished form' rather than considering the textile itself as a work of art.[800]

By using modern fabrics rather than barkcloth in my replica, I am attempting to shift the focus to details not usually considered in the museum context, where one often assumes that all tapa are the same. To the contrary, this textile comes in many forms, in terms of texture, production and base materials. Often, in a museum or exhibition setting, the focus can be on the composition of designs and decoration on the cloth's surface. I argue that both elements – the cloth itself and its surface adornment – are equally important. With this in mind, I drew from my days of working with fabrics – sewing, pasting, printing, dyeing, and assembling – in my home on Huahine, as well as Norfolk Island, incorporating skills learned from my 'Ahu Sistas: Meralda Warren, Sue Pearson, and Jean Clarkson.[801] By employing a mix of approaches, I was able to get a sense of engagement with the women who created the originals. My methods of data collection in museums included looking at the tapa and analysing textures, colours, techniques, then measuring, drawing and photographing. This was compiled into a list of timelines of events and visitors to Pitcairn to locate them within timeframes and any ships logs or diaries, then adding genealogical information around the makers, and an object biography of the tiputa, detailing their journey to the collections they inhabit today.



Figure 30.1. Pitcairn tiputa, tapa poncho, pre-1825. 133 x 60 cm. Museum Fünf Kontinente, Munich (Coll. 'Cook', Inv. Nr. 131). Photo by Marietta Weidner.



Figure 30.2. Tiputa made by Dinah Adams on Pitcairn Island, 1821. 125 cm. University of Aberdeen Museums (ABDUA:4007).

The inspiration for my replica came from three original tiputa: one from the Museum Fünf Kontinente in Munich (Figure 30.1) and two from the University of Aberdeen Museums. One of the Aberdeen tiputa (Figure 30.2), which I have encountered twice at Aberdeen (in 2010 and 2017) and again in 2013 at the 'Made in Oceania' conference and exhibition in Cologne, has become a favourite of mine.[802] The museum description is:

> A poncho-like garment made by a daughter of one of the Tahitian women who accompanied the Bounty mutineers to Pitcairn Island in 1791. The Tahitian 'tiputa' was a rectangle of cloth with a hole in the centre for the head, and reaching to the knee. Our small 'tiputa' may have been made for a child.

On the reverse side of the tiputa is written:

> From Pitcairn Island 11th April 1821 presented to Mr C.W. Nockells by Captn Raine, Ship Surry. Gift of Dianna Adams



30.3. Reverse side, Dinah Adams, tiputa, tapa poncho, Pitcairn Island, 1821. 125 cm. University of Aberdeen Museums (ABDUA:4007). Photo by Lucie Carreau.

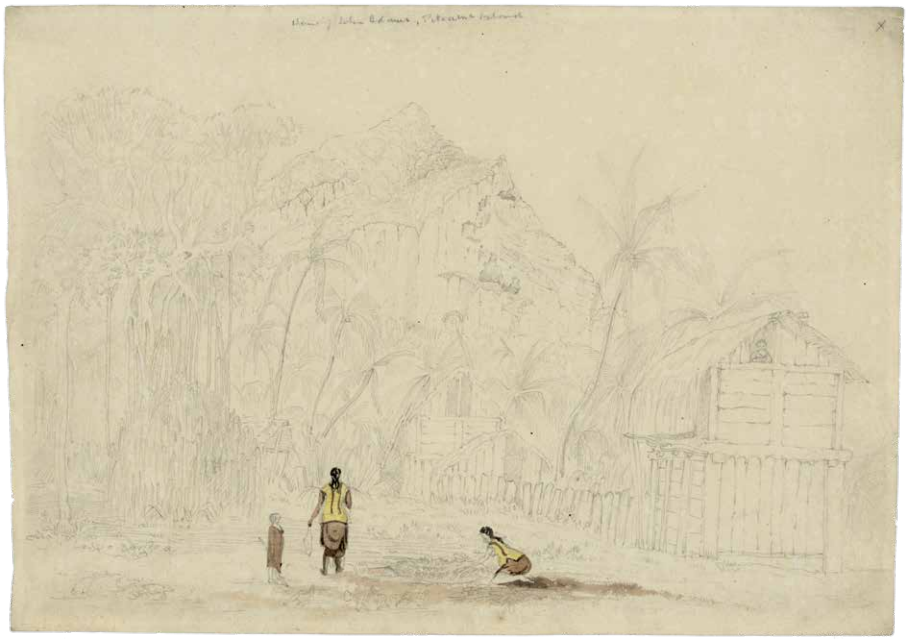


Figure 30.4. Frederick William Beechey, House of John Adams, Pitcairn Island [picture], 1825, Pencil and watercolour. 23.4 x 32.8 cm. National Library of Australia (2373067).

This tiputa was made and worn by Dinah Adams (Figure 30.3), daughter of one of the Māʾohi women named Vahineatua and her husband the *Bounty* mutineer John Adams. While Tahitian tiputa of the time were long enough to reach to the knees, the Pitcairn tiputa were shorter, worn to around the area of the waist, possibly because they were worn as one went about their daily work. This can be seen by the women in the Beechey drawing (Figure 30.4), where the women are attending to an underground oven. Dinah's tiputa bears signs of wear and tear, stretching to accommodate her shape,

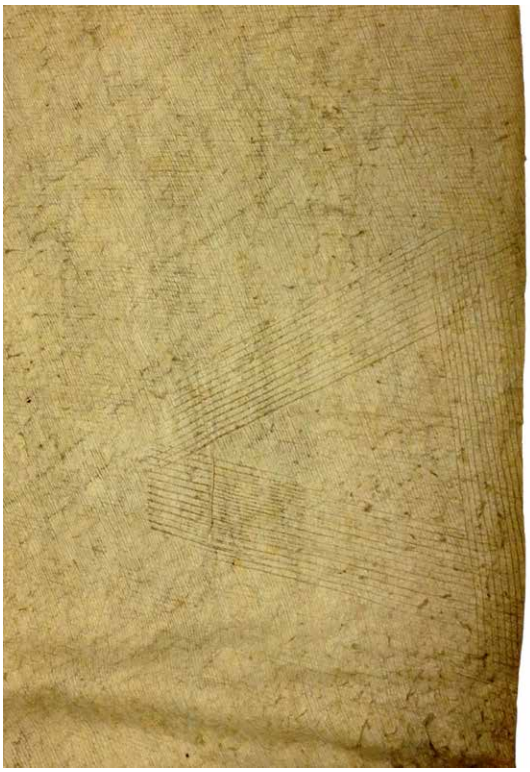


Figure 30.5. Back of Pitcairn tiputa showing imprinted mark of possession, 1820s. University of Aberdeen Museums (ABDUA:4008). Photo by Lucie Carreau.

as well as careful repairs around the neckline and on the body of the garment. At the time that she presented it to the *Surry*'s Captain Raine, Dinah was pregnant and possibly no longer able to wear it.[803] The second Aberdeen tiputa, recently discovered in the museum's stores, seems to be experimental because it has unique features and does not appear to have been worn.[804] An appealing point of difference from the Dinah tiputa is a backing of soft white tapa, which resembles raw silk and would have been smooth and pleasant against the skin (like the one discussed earlier from the Turnbull Library). It was beaten in even strokes and pressed so that over the entire length of the fabric there is a consistent imprint of grooves (much like the effect of cotton twill), possibly to let air pass through more easily and allowing for a certain amount of stretch. Additionally, there is an unmistakable watermark symbol resembling an 'A' made by the imprint of the tapa beater, easily discernible against the twill-like parallel lines (Figure 30.5).

This appears to refer to the Pitcairn practice of marking possessions such as trees, animals, crockery and tapa beaters. The custom was brought with the Pitcairners to Norfolk Island when the entire population settled there in 1856.[805] Examples of these marks are on exhibition in the Norfolk Island Museums, as engravings on the bottom of ceramics.[806] The third tiputa used to inspire my experiment is from the Museum Fünf Kontinente in Munich.[807] This example closely resembles the Dinah tiputa – it does not have the soft, luxurious tapa on the reverse side, and its placement of balanced sections of the poncho is almost identical. Although they seem to have come

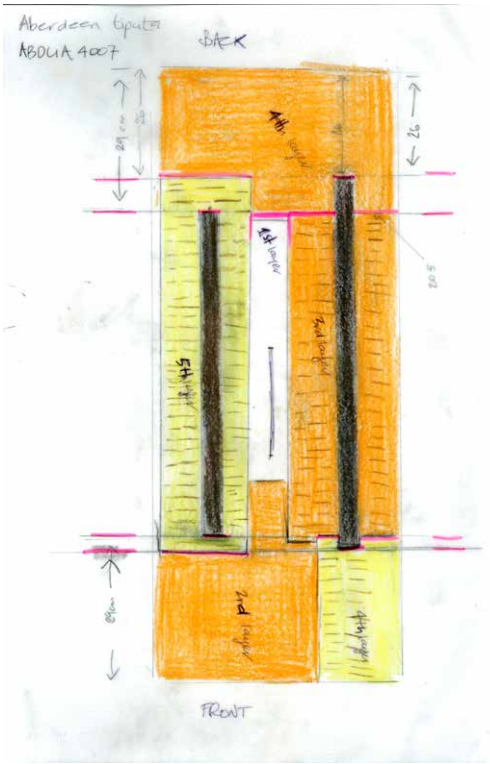


Figure 30.6. Pauline Reynolds, Sketch of Aberdeen tiputa ABDUA:4007, pencil on paper, 2017.

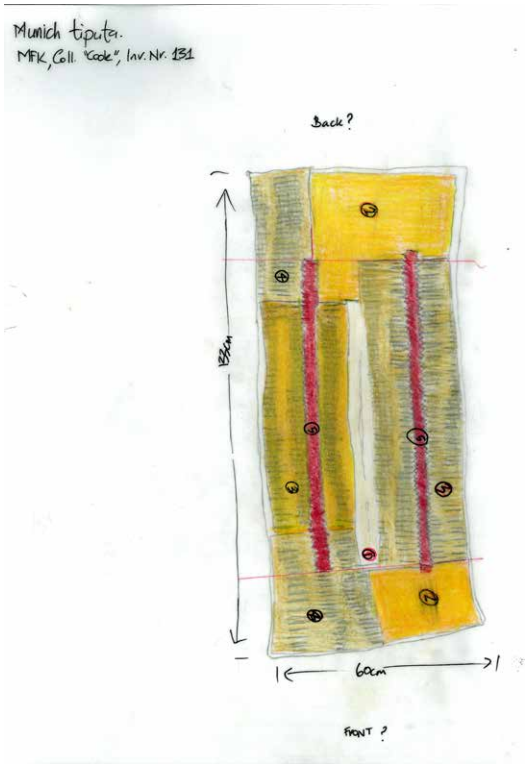


Figure 30.7. Pauline Reynolds, Sketch of Munich tiputa Inv Nr 131, pencil on paper, 2017.

to the collections along different routes, the Munich and the Dinah tiputa appear to have been made by the same hands, with the same inspirations, and at the same time, because of their similarities. The main difference is the shoulder strips: the Dinah tiputa has straight-edged strips over the shoulders whereas on the Munich tiputa (like the second Aberdeen one) the shoulder bands are serrated. I have chosen these three examples as prototypes in order to include their diverse elements in my reproduction.

To create my replica, I analysed photographs and notes from my data collections, and produced sketches (Figures 30.6 and 30.7) establishing the order in which the cut pieces of tapa were to be positioned on the double-layered substrate. On the original tiputa, these first two layers resemble felted layered cloth, a result of single layers that have been placed one over the other and beaten together, resulting in a thick, durable material resembling chamois leather. The first two layers of my tiputa are calico, acknowledging this material's utilitarian nature as a kind of canvas on which to build the rest of the work. For the tiputa garment, I cut the full length and width of calico adding two centimetres on all edges so that, like the originals, they can be finished off with a seam by folding from the back over to the front and pasting it down. This has the benefit of strengthening the garment from being torn.

The next layer required two colours, which on the originals I am working with, have faded and dulled. On some tiputa at the BM, it is possible to see the original brilliant yellow colour in the sections not exposed to the light, and I chose to replicate this intensity. For the undyed felted sections I used calico again, and for the yellow, I used brightly coloured silk that I had hand-dyed on Huahine with the root of the nono tree (*Morinda citrifolia*), just as it was used on Pitcairn.[808] In this process, the root is grated and boiled to release a vibrant gold colour. For the third layer, at either end of the length of calico, I placed yellow rectangles (so that there is one at the front and one at the back when worn). Next, a calico section running along the length of the tiputa over the left shoulder was attached to overlap both yellow rectangles. On the originals, it is apparent that all parts were positioned consecutively, one after the other. Over the right shoulder, a corresponding section of yellow silk balanced either side. The fifth layer comprised two pieces of calico, one at the front, counterbalanced by one at the back. When looking at my tiputa laid flat on a work surface, the effect of all these components is a harmonious distribution of visual weights across the composition. The three sections of yellow and three of calico all overlap and interconnect to create a pleasing, almost symmetrical arrangement, and over the top of all of these fabric pieces, two brown bands with serrated edges were attached. On the Dinah tiputa, these bands are straight; however, I incorporated the cut edges inspired by the Munich cloth. In the originals, these bands cross over each different block of fabric so that no part of the tiputa is left unconnected. The original long strips are an intense red-brown, likely extracted from the nut of the tutui or candlenut tree (*Aleurites moluccana*), but

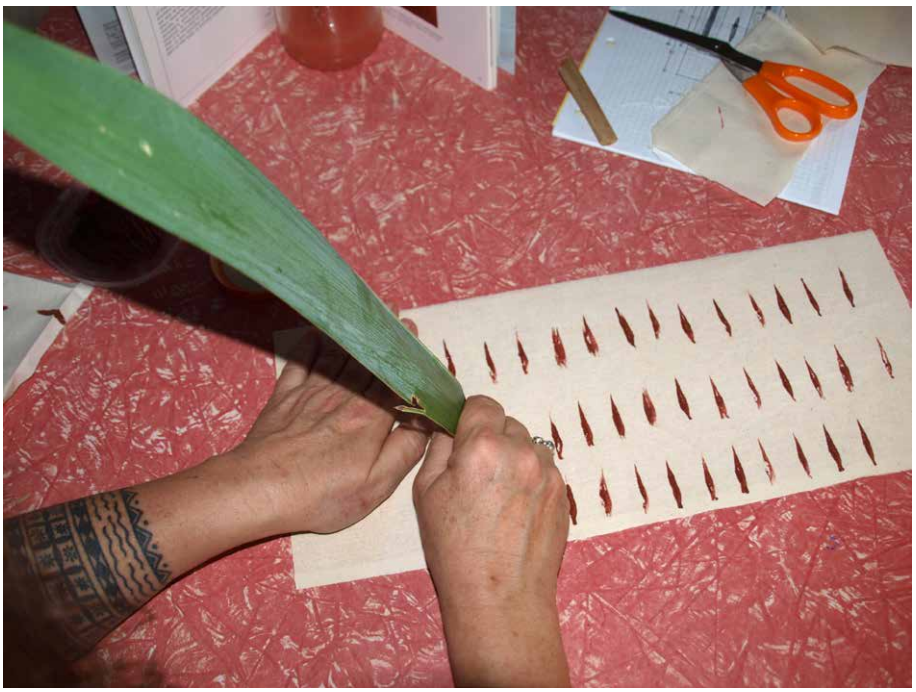


Figure 30.8. Close up stamping calico for the tiputa, 2017. Photo by Mauatua Barff.

not having access to this plant, I used a hand-dyed cotton. To cut the serrations, a Stanley knife was used, which leads me to think that the Pitcairn bands were cut with something similar, perhaps a shark's tooth or knife, or scissors that may have been salvaged from the *Bounty* or given by visitors to the island. The process of pasting and sewing these two elements proved time-consuming because they needed to sit straight down the length of the tiputa, and this served as a reminder of the patience required to compose the whole tiputa. The final adornment was the brown stamping (Figure 30.8) added either side of the bands, and on a separate area in the front.

To reproduce the stamping, I experimented with a combination of the cut end of flax that grows in my local creek (which on Norfolk is called 'drienflaegs'), a fine paintbrush, and acrylic paint. It is possible that the cut end of the pandanus leaf was used for the Pitcairn stamps. Quite by chance while at the BM stores in 2017, Lucie and I viewed some Tahitian tiputa with the intention of comparing the quality, patterns, and dyes. I was delighted to find a couple of examples of tiputa with almost identical stamps to the



Figure 30.9. Tahitian tiputa, 255 x 126 cm. Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum (Oc,TAH.102).



Figure 30.10. Tahitian tiputa, 245 x 118 cm. Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum (Oc.1982).

Pitcairn ones.[809] On each of these striking ponchos, a piece of tapa with the texture of light gauze has been stamped and superimposed over one area. On Oc,TAH.102 this is over one shoulder area; and on Oc.1982 the stamping was gummed over what appears to be the back side. The stamps are not organized in rows like the Pitcairn ones, but the stamp itself is unmistakably made from the same material and the link is clear.

The information for reference Oc,TAH.102 gives a collection date from Tahiti between 1780 and 1820 which suggests that the Māʾohi women of Pitcairn imported this design element from Tahiti, further supported by the fact that Pitcairn's relative isolation until the early 1820s would have allowed for little exchange of textile design and inspiration before then between the two islands. One last design element, repeated on several Pitcairn and Tahitian tiputa, comprises of splatters of red-brown pigment. Because of the spotting over most parts of the Dinah example, I added this element to my tiputa. Final processes included the folding over of the edges to create a seam visible from the front, and the pasting and sewing of one last layer of soft white silk on the underside of the garment in reference to the second Aberdeen tiputa.

Future directions in this research may lead to attending workshops to learn how to make the different textures and kinds of tapa in the Tahitian and Pitcairn tiputa. This technique of creating a 'modern' interpretation could be usefully applied to certain complex Tahitian tiputa located in the BM such as those discussed earlier, to replicate the dyeing, patterning, layering and pasting that is integral to their design. Apart from gaining understanding about how the object was created, the ultimate revelation would be achieved by seeing the tao'a worn and observing how it moves with the body; taking in the maker's intended effect.



Figure 30.11. Pauline Reynolds, Pauline's Tiputa No. 1, calico, silk, interfacing and cotton thread. 141 x 56 cm. Donated to Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge 2018.

The collaboration with *Pacific Presences* and resulting process of replication (Figure 30.9) has been an essential step towards recovering the intentions, inspirations, skills and epistemologies of those first-generation women, who were guided by their mothers' knowledge in tapa making while adding distinctive and innovative dimensions to the tiputa they assembled. The tiputa indicate a method of creation demanding the input of women of different generations working together on a kind of production line, yet each tiputa had a point of difference allowing for individual tastes and possibly the identification of personal clothing. It is easy to imagine the women putting ideas together and creating these unique tao'a, displaying their papara'a. This way of engaging with historical tiputa has enriched my understanding of not only barkcloth but also the Polynesian ideas of artistic balance and harmony. What previously appeared to be careless and random compositions now emerge as results of careful planning, so that no area is wholly isolated, but instead connected and linked to others, much like the women themselves, related to their past, their future, and each other, all through the cloth they created. This project has been an inspiring journey. By questioning my own thinking and understanding of Pitcairn and Tahitian tapa, this method of accessing historical and genealogical knowledge, and engaging in an inquiring creative practice, has reinvigorated my research.

CHAPTER 31

Interview

DAIRI ARUA AND ERNA LILJE

~

Dairi Arua (Figure 31.1) is a Motu man from Porebada village, in the National Capital District (NCD) of Papua New Guinea (PNG). He makes and sells artefacts and educates people, school students and researchers, about Motu culture. Dairi's status as a cultural expert, registered with the National Cultural Commission, has led to him being consulted by a range of researchers over the years. Erna Lilje is a museum researcher based at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge. They first met at Ela Beach Craft Market, Port Moresby, in 2008 when Erna had just begun to research fibre skirts. Since then Erna has consulted Dairi on several occasions. This interview[810] took place a few days after their first meeting at his relatives' home in Waigani, a suburb of Port Moresby, on Sunday 28 September 2008. The interview was conducted in English.



Figure 31.1. Dairi shows his tattoo. Photograph by Erna Lilje.



Figure 31.2. The sago fibre skirt that Dairi calls a 'product' because he makes them specifically for sale at markets. Photograph by Erna Lilje.

Erna Lilje: We met at a craft market, where you were selling traditional handcrafts that you had made. I noticed a sago fibre skirt dyed with a particular pattern [Figure 31.2] that I've seen used by people of different cultural backgrounds, North Mekeo, Roro, Motu and Koita. Can you tell me what it means to you?

Dairi Arua: I call these types of designs as 'products' because they are the type I make to sell at the market. It is a type that anyone can wear.[811] This one is of my own design. I usually add details that I will recognize when they are worn at ceremonies, like using triangle and diamond shapes [not shown].

EL: I see that you have a large amount of nypa fibre prepared. Are you planning to make many skirts?

DA: Yes, I am making skirts for, I call it, 'traditional gospel'. I combine gospel messages with songs and dances that follow the traditional format. These are performed by church groups. The skirts that I make with the nypa fibre will be used for this.

EL: It seems unusual that a man of your age [36 years in 2008] should know so much about traditional handcrafts. Can you please tell me how you learned about Motu culture and history?



Figure 31.3. A few of the items donated to the Australian Museum, together with bundles of nypa fibre and a fibre skirt. Photograph by Erna Lilje.

DA: My grandfather was the head of his clan and the second chief of Porebada village and very respected. He had been a great lakatoi[812] builder and had been the baditauna[813], the man who initiates the building of a lakatoi and undertaking the Hiri.[814] Both my grandparents taught me about Motu traditions and handcrafts from an early age. My grandfather taught me how to weave armbands and about boat-building. My grandmother made fibre skirts, string-bags, hand-fans, and pots. I learned how to make pots from her in 1996; this came about because there were people from the PNG National Research Institute who wanted to document the last beating of the clay pots. She also showed them tattooing on me (we both laugh), using the traditional technique of charcoal mixed with water and bush thorns. She lived a very long time, and knew how to do all of these things, she was 114 when she died in 2000.

EL: Where did she tattoo?

DA: That was on my thigh. Now there are other ones.

EL: You have decided to donate some of your personal cultural material to the Australian Museum. Can you tell me why? [Figure 31.3]

DA: I want them to go there because I know that they will be looked after, for the future. Here, anything can happen and then they are lost. Most of the things were passed down to me by my grandparents so I want them to be in a safe place. Some of the things are from the time of the Hiri voyage, like the sticks used to count the

days of the voyage. There is also the leftover lashing used to construct the last real trade lakatoi, I think in 1969, made into an armband. Also from my grandfather, are some armbands that he gave to me to wear for a school Cultural Day when I was a young boy in grade 3. I had been searching for something to decorate myself, when my grandfather saw he gave me all these things! At the time I was so small this armband almost fitted on my head. Then there are also a few things he made when he was sick [late in life], projects that he could occupy himself with and that helped him keep his eyes open.

EL: And he gave them too you?

DA: No, my grandmother kept them. I got them and the coconut fan that she'd made in the 1980s, after. That's going to the Australian Museum as well as these coconut shell armbands. She made these for me in 1987, when I was in grade 7, to wear for a performance at the Kupiana Arts Festival.

EL: It sounds like you've been interested in traditional handcrafts and festivals since you were a boy.

DA: Yes, I have always tried to learn, even when I was young. It is important to hold on to these things. That is why something like Hiri Moale Festival[815] is important, because we can celebrate our culture and history. For several years I have helped with Hiri Hanenamo.[816] I help to prepare girls for the competition and have also been on the judging panel. I teach dancing, and traditional knowledge, and help to make their body decorations and skirts. When they go before the judges they must show their knowledge of Motu traditions and proper behaviour, and they must hold themselves properly and have grace when they move and dance.

CHAPTER 32

'In Process'

ALANA JELINEK

~

There are many ways to describe art, the art world, the relationship between art and audience, and the process of art-making. I have noted elsewhere[817] that many anthropologists focus solely on those contemporary artists whose work is valued by the art market; those who have the highest profile are by definition a tiny percentage of contemporary practising artists. It is notable that anthropologists do not usually operate such pre-selection in attempting to understand a given society or its subsets. It is therefore noteworthy that, in the case of contemporary art, the conventions of ethnographic engagement tend to be informed by art historical bias. A lead is set for anthropologists of art by those art historians who have a disciplinary rationale for selecting a small percentage of artistic practices as exemplars.

It is ironic perhaps that it is through the discipline of art history that we come to understand historical changes in how artists and artworks are perceived. Art world networks, including the biennial circuit, and entanglements with international investment structures have been analysed by art historians, such as Chin-tau Wu[818] and Anthony Gardner,[819] in addition to sociologists, including Pascal Gielen[820] and Olav Velthuis.[821] A history of art historical writing demonstrates that some highly esteemed artists are, over time, re-evaluated or forgotten and, conversely, art movements and artists overlooked by the establishment of their day are valued latterly both in artistic and market terms. This is not to say that, in the end, history is right, just that at any one moment, we cannot assume that high visibility equates with enduring value, or that the market is an arbiter of quality, for a number of reasons that both sociologists of the market and art historians have rehearsed for decades, including Stuart Plattner, Julian Stallabrass and Gregory Shollette.[822] For these reasons I caution anthropologists against taken-for-granted assumptions about value and artistic practice promulgated in the establishment parts of the art world.

While Roger Sansi does an admirable job in describing contemporary art practices and the surrounding art world in *Art, Anthropology and the Gift*, nevertheless, the dialogue between him and Marilyn Strathern published in *Hau*,[823] responding to some of the questions raised in *Art, Anthropology and the Gift*, demonstrates some of the many areas of ongoing differences in understanding between practising artists and anthropologists (including the definition of art, as Strathern's comments to Sansi

betray, albeit with irony and perhaps knowingly wry). Rather than tackling all the various differences in understanding, here I will focus on the question of process, networks or relations and how these concepts may be understood from the point of view of an artist.

Process, networks and relations are words with deep histories within the thought and theories of anthropology. These concepts, though, have a different set of histories, and therefore a differently nuanced interpretation and meaning for artists with an interest in process philosophy working in the contemporary art world. I will beg the question of what these concepts convey within anthropology, but I will mention in passing that neither Alfred Gell's[824] idea of an art with agency nor the process described by Tim Ingold[825] sit comfortably within these other theoretical conceptions of process.

Key philosophers bringing the three interlinked concepts of process, networks and relations together include Martin Heidegger, with his concept of human understanding as a dimension of the process of being, Deleuze and Guattari,[826] and Erin Manning and Brian Massumi,[827] working through Alfred Whitehead. The process of process philosophers, such as Manning, informs the description of my own process within the *Pacific Presences* project 2013-2018 to follow. While most artists are content to leave theories of art to philosophers, anthropologists and historians, other artists including Coco Fusco, Andrea Fraser and Joseph Kosuth contribute to art theory, as I also do. Like these other artists, I also turn to philosophers, historians and sociologists to inform the theory I write, but I do so from the disciplinary perspective of a practising artist.

The process of process philosophy is a process of becoming, in which reality is continuously going on and coming about. According to Manning, Whitehead's process philosophy is focused around the idea of the actual occasion. For Whitehead, while process is what constitutes the extended continuum of the world, a certain monadicity is absolutely necessary. The emergence (prehension) of actual occasions is synonymous with what we know or experience. Occasions are co-constituted with their worlding, creating 'superjects' (subjects of the event) in their passing. If, as artists, we perceive both obstacles to creation and (artistic) acts, as occasions, we can understand both as waypoints, and neither destination nor termination. Any given outcome or obstacle is always interlinked with other relations and things, so the processes, networks and relations countervail against concepts like 'genius', exemplars and 'masterpieces' or agency located in the individual (person or object). While failure or success may be intrinsic properties of any one artwork (this cannot be ruled out if we believe that either bad art or non-art exists), they are also the consequence of the interplay of processes, beyond the volition of an individual, that is, one acting singularly. Although there may be failures in terms of artistic excellence or disciplinary values, and failures of the network in terms of support or possibility, these are the emergent properties of location, at a moment in time, working within a wider context of possibility.

The text here briefly describes a wider set of networks, processes and relations: the ecology, so to speak, supporting one artist in one location over a period of time. This type of description foregrounds the idea of art as a process of relations, which are often overlooked or taken for granted in the process of commissioning or hosting artists, despite being fundamental.

I began the *Pacific Presences* project while still completing the final year of my post-doctoral research project funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (2009-2014). My research project, called *The Collector's Desire*, investigated the relationship between collections, collectors and the collected, where the collected is understood as both people and things. On starting work with *Pacific Presences*, I understood my contribution to be comparable with the other, non-artist, researchers on the team, and working somewhat in the vein of my previous research project in which artworks, exhibitions and publications are the outputs. There were to be other artists on the project but, as they were commissioned differently, their artistic process and goals were different from my own. The difference between 'creative' or 'practice-based' research and other forms of artistic research for exhibition and artistic production purposes is quite literally academic. I suspect it is a debate with only limited interest outside art and design departments in Higher Education and Research Councils, yet it was uppermost in my own mind when considering my contribution to the *Pacific Presences* project.

I chose to investigate West Papua, at the most western end of the project's research area. I chose the area because I am interested in the legacies of colonialism and, of all the highly contested regions of Melanesia and Micronesia, the original parameters of the project, it seemed to me that West Papua is the most contested, the most politically hot. I wanted to talk about colonialism and its legacy with this project, as I had done in previous work. To do so by working with the specificity of the most flagrant contemporary example felt generative and a productive starting point. The outcome of this decision can be seen in *Knowing* (2015), which is described in Chapter 28 of this volume.

Knowing was a participatory event in the Netherlands with Papuans living in the diaspora, Javanese people, some of whom live in Indonesia, others in the Netherlands, and (white) Dutch people with family or personal connections to the region (Figure 32.1). It was also a film made as an artefact of these encounters. The film was shown in locations in the Netherlands and Britain and has been published online, with links from the *Pacific Presences* website. The *Knowing* project culminated at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, in a day event open to the public called 'Knowing West Papua', which included performances by the Lani Singers, talks by project participants Insos Ireeuw and Benny Wenda, who has been shortlisted for the Nobel Peace Prize for his work with the Free West Papua movement, a curators' tour of the exhibition *Sounding Out the Morning Star: Music and West Papua*, and screenings of the film, *Knowing*.

I had intended to follow up *Knowing* with a visit to West Papua, in order to add a layer to the original encounter between people and things, by taking the film and footage to West Papua in order to see what people know at home; to see whether there is a different kind of knowledge inside Papua as compared with outside. This never materialized. I was warned by people with recent experience of West Papua of the dangers of my visit. I was told that white European tourists to the resorts on the peninsula had been shot at random in the past weeks or months, and that there were very few journalists willing or able to work in the region. The area is *that* dangerous, I was told. More importantly, I was warned that, while I may or may not be at risk

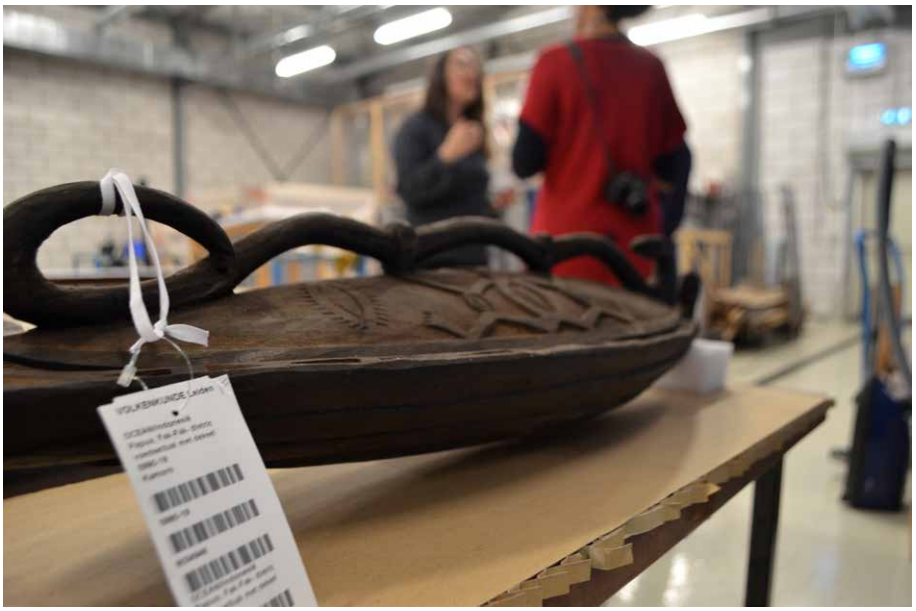


Figure 32.1. Filming of Knowing. Photograph by Ulrike Folie.

personally, I would be imperilling the lives of those I meet, those who will offer me their stories, knowledge and hospitality. 'Was my project worth that risk?', I was asked. Of course I knew it wasn't. It wasn't worth the risk in the abstract: what project is worth the lives of others? It wasn't worth the risk specifically either: how could I know whether I would produce a good, or even good enough, work of art? Artists always set out to make good, even great, art but we don't know at the outset whether we will achieve it. We can only hope. And hope is not tangible enough to gamble my own, let alone someone else's, life with. So I didn't pursue it. I decided not to go to West Papua, not even for an international arts festival or to the capital Jayapura. Not that I was devastated. I am not someone at ease in the tropics: too hot, too humid, and too many biting creatures. But the decision left me with the requirement to find a new direction for the next part of the project.

One joyful requirement of the project was to give papers at international conferences and in 2016 this included Auckland, New Zealand and Guam, Mariana Islands, a US territory in Micronesia. These opportunities afforded me the possibility of meeting curators and Indigenous people from across Oceania, which therefore created the possibility of a project encompassing this range of views. Thinking about the potential of these meetings and working within the ethics that I consciously maintain in my practice,[828] as well as the question of representation that Gayatri Spivak addresses,[829] I knew that I would be required to work with the type of media that allows people to represent themselves. This meant that I would have to work in sound and probably with film once again. Never having been trained in audio visual techniques or even in photography beyond high school, I was never comfortable working with lens-based media. Yet I knew I must use it. For the projects where self-representation and self-authorship is the only ethical approach, I am required to use a medium that enables this.



Figure 32.2. Screening of Knowing, The Cera Project, London 2016. Photograph by Juliette Brown.

I worked with film for the first time in my career as an artist in the previous research project, for which I needed to record the voices of people telling facts, myths, knowledge and stories of Fijian cannibal forks in the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology's collections for the 2010 art film 'Tall Stories: Cannibal Forks'.[830] Because it was part of my earlier post-doctoral research project, *The Collector's Desire*, I had a small budget and I could afford to pay for a camera person and editor of the film, Marianne Holm Hansen. By contrast, the *Pacific Presences* project had no budget for production costs, for professional sound or video recording, but there was a small budget for editing. The up-side of a very low production budget was that it kept the size of the team to small, workable and not-too-intimidating groups, which enabled open conversations between the participants and me. The result (Figure 32.2), edited by Holm Hansen, is a good art film in terms of subject and execution, but one that is too low in quality to be seen at film festivals, cinemas or most art venues.

Originally *Knowing* was to be shown as part of the permanent display in the Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden, as it refers to the collection of that museum. In the ebb and flow of museum work, this idea might simply have been left on the backburner. Having curated independently and for small artist-run galleries, as well as working at Tate Modern in its initial years, I understand the types of decisions that go into exhibitions. In short, despite being a good art film, the possibilities for it are extremely limited. This is true because the subject matter is of marginal interest in the context of Britain. West Papua was never a colony of Britain and therefore it lies well outside a general UK audience's awareness. This limits its general interest and because of its low production values and being digital, not film (or analogue), it also has limited exhibition potential in art circles.

I mention this in order to demonstrate the interplay of artistic vision with real world material constraints and the power of networks to nurture and sustain in the

production of an artwork. Every artwork requires a network of sustenance, visible and acknowledged or otherwise, in order to be actualized.

Art historians and anthropologists such as Alfred Gell wrongly imagine that the strength of the networks surrounding an artwork reflect the agency (often understood as artistic merit) of a work. A philosophy of process sees the question differently. Networks and relations create the conditions or processes by which art is made in the first place and, once it is made, the networks and relations for art create the conditions for it to be both shared and valued. Even after an artwork is made, networks and relations sustain and nurture it. Agency is not located in the artwork, but as the emergent property of networks.

The story of my next artwork for *Pacific Presences*, *Belonging* (2016-2018), follows its own path of networks, support and constraint, as all artworks do. In short, a project that began as a film with an exhibition opportunity became, in the face of a loss of exhibition venue, an intervention on a tablet computer as an interactive new media piece. In turn, when faced with a loss of data from a crashed external hard drive and a lack of resources, *Belonging* became in 2017 a series of podcasts to download from various websites, including the *Pacific Presences* website.

Despite the changes to the final incarnation of the artwork as a result of changing resources and expectations, the content and aim of *Belonging* remained consistent from when it was first conceived. For *Belonging*, I interviewed museum curators, Indigenous people who live in the diaspora, outside their home countries, living and working all over Europe and the Pacific, and Indigenous museum curators. I was interested in investigating whether we can understand objects as belonging in the diaspora just as people who live in the diaspora belong. It was from this angle that I wanted to investigate the question of the repatriation of museum artefacts.

Being the type of artist described by Grimshaw and Ravetz, as one for whom a 'critical interrogation of form or medium is central to their approach',[831] I am interested in reflecting on the form an artwork takes, and how the form influences meaning, its interpretation, which needless to say, is not fixed. The interviews are edited and juxtaposed with different bits of other people's interviews. This process of juxtaposition will, as it always does, create new sympathies and meanings. While I will always try to remain true to the original meaning of each interview, it is nevertheless the case that the juxtaposition of one with another will move the listener to feel and understand things differently. So that there is no one single mix of interviews, and no single definitive version or reading of the work, the interviews are juxtaposed differently across the series of podcasts. The artwork lies in the entirety of mixes and juxtapositions across the series.

These two examples of art, made under the auspices of the *Pacific Presences* project, describe indexes of relations and networks; ones that also reveal traces of process. As in any artwork, most of the processes are invisible. One artwork is complete and now exists in the past in that, as far as I understand, it is no longer part of continuing or present networks. No further resources, including attention, are attributed to it. The processes are all past, though of course, through networks, they could be revitalized and become part of future processes, networks and relations. The other artwork will be part of networks in the future when it is shown, or heard, finally. The full extent of these future networks is as yet unknown. The resources and networks are potential.

CHAPTER 33

Backhand and full tusks: museology and the mused

ROSANNA RAYMOND

~

I cry the ocean
I bleed the earth
I sleep with mountains
I greet you with my dead

May my waters greet your waters
May my mountains greet your mountains
May my house greet your house
May my people greet your people

Let us take a moment to acknowledge the past, for we are the past, we are the present, we are the future.

Se'i muamua se fa'asao a manu vao

Before bird-catching, a little offering must be made, so it is here I must acknowledge my ancestors of the past and in the present, and take time to thank the peoples who have helped shape my artistic and cultural journey: Leali'ifano Albert Refiti, Maualaivao Albert Wendt, Hūfanga 'Okusitino Māhina, Ole Maiava, The Pacific Sisters, The SaVAge K'lub, Gafa Arts Collective, Amiria Salmond, Dame Anne Salmond, Billie Lythberg, Divya P.Tolia-Kelly, Ron Brownson, and the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, for supporting the work of myself and the Moana.

Fa'afetai ma le fa'afetai

The people and landscape of the Pacific have been viewed and constructed by the lens of the West since first contact, creating a visual mythology that has defined – for the Western other – the Pacific body, land and ocean. Growing up in Aotearoa New Zealand, the evidence reflecting back to me, of the large and diverse Pacific presence living there, was limited to my knowledge of my own community, alongside lashings of negative



Figure 33.1. Suiega with leaf shaped club. Courtesy of Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, P.4738.ACH1.

stereotyping from mainstream media. By the 1970s, the Pacific community largely imported as a blue-collar workforce from the islands had become inconvenient to New Zealand's first covenant between the Māori and the White settler community. Pacific Island migrants were rendered unwelcome by government policies and the general populace of NZ society, as the dawn raids carried out by immigration officers and the police force darkened the thresholds of our houses, recasting our families as overstayers.

Beyond *Crimewatch* and the pages of *National Geographic* – which locked us into constraints of another kind – some of the first images reflected back to me of Polynesian people were historical photographs of the Dusky Maiden (Figure 33.1).

Topless, wearing nothing but flora and fauna, surrounded by flotsam and jetsam of her culture, staring off into the distance; a princess, a ceremonial virgin or the daughter of a chief. Presented as an authentic portrayal of the exotic other that had not been sullied by modernity, she was used for anthropological studies and sold around the world in postcards. As a NZ-born Pacific Islander, these images informed my own experience of my being, often to my own exclusion.

The Dusky Maiden of old became an icon for the Western hunger for the exotic; needless to say, she didn't look like any of the Polynesian women I knew. And while I knew a few daughters of chiefs, if we walked around topless we would be punished, made to feel shame. To my own Pacific community, she was a reminder of the dark primitive pagan past, while to my politically astute 'nesian friends she was a construct of Western imagination, a stereotype selling us holidays to homelands some of us had never been to.



Figure 33.2. Rosanna Raymond, Amanda Barnes, Full Tusk Maiden, 2009, AO digital print on Diabond. Photograph Kerry Brown, courtesy of the artist.

As problematic as she was, I was enthralled to meet her, for my own drive to find a unacculturated version of my Pacific body was developing. The Dusky Maiden was the closest I could find to a pre-missionary Pacific body – she was not completely fabricated, but she was, it seemed, reduced to a passive, nubile dancing girl in a grass skirt. Sexualized and devalued, the Dusky had been written out of the political, spiritual domain she once inhabited, by the West, by the missionaries, by the academy and, finally, by many of our own community who now believed the tropes they been had taught.

Through my research and persistent questioning of elders and mentors, I uncovered the multiple roles we had within our culture. We were Mana Wāhine (female authority) descended from the gods; the givers of life, potent and volatile; educated in arts and ceremony, we slept with gods, we were warriors, healers, peacemakers. We commanded power, women's hands and knowledge provided wealth and mana to the community, we were treated with respect, our naked bodies clothed in ceremony, in bodies that carried no shame.

The need to shed the shame of a 'naked' body became a core theme I would muse over within the arts collective Pacific Sisters. This group challenged many notions of the role of wāhine (female) in the Pacific today. *Full Tusk Maiden* (Figure 33.2) was the first to have an embodied presence as I pondered what happened to the Dusky as she grew older,





Figure 33.3. Ngāti Rānana, Whakarite mauri, the ritual to invoke the mauri, 2004, The Enlightenment Gallery, Kings Library, British Museum. Photograph Kerry Brown, courtesy of the artist.

Figure 33.4. Rosanna Raymond, Amanda Barnes, Backhand Maiden, 2009, AO digital print on Diabond. Photograph Kerry Brown, courtesy of the artist.

not so nubile, a little longer in the tooth. Adorned with handmade cultural treasures fusing traditional and contemporary techniques and materials from seeds, tusks and shell, she is a warrior ready to take on the challenges of life in urban Polynesia.

Producing culturally-specific artworks is my way of bringing my heritage into the NOW, making it relevant to me as a modern Pacific person. I create spaces to bring together the past, the present, the future *through my body*. It is the space I use to privilege the Polynesian genealogy I carry within me.

After moving to the UK at the end of 1999, I bumped into the Dusky again through the photographic collections in museum archives and displays. The museum space became an important geography for me in the UK and Europe as it was one of the only spaces where I found a Pacific presence outside the small but active cultural groups I was a member of: Ngāti Rānana (Figure 33.3) and Beats of Polynesia. The legacy of the colonial past in the Pacific had been silenced in the repositioning of the UK as a European Nation – there was little room for its imperial past. So, while the museum collections opened up the ancestral past for me, without the living community and lived cultural practice I would not have been able to endure my time so far away from my homelands, in a land that had stolen my lands, my language and much of my cultural heritage. While I lived in the UK I brought my body, and the bodies of other Polynesians, into the museums, into the galleries, along with a diversification of the Dusky Maiden (Figure 33.4).

One a day – A 7 maiden rave on or …The Dusky ain't dead she's just diversified

Full Tusk Maiden

ex cannibal, still got a few head hunting tendencies and sometimes can't tell a predator from the prey… oh well, they all taste the same. Long of the tooth but still fertile, a red clay lady, been around since the first dawn, introduced Papatūānuku and Nafanua to the Virgin Mary and they have been friends ever since, certainly makes for great ladi nights out. Once had a shark king for a husband but swapped him for a warrior god in the shape of an octopus because he gave better cunnilingus.

Rave on Maiden

that girl can talk, you can't help but listen, her voice is soft and dry like a breeze playing with the autumn leaves, she's got skin like the bark of the tree, so often hides in the forest, don't worry if you can't see her as she smells of a thousand gardenias. Good to have around on long black nights as she is full of myth and magic and has her own sickle moon for you to make a wish on. Loves wearing dog skin, banana flowers and no undies on formal occasions, so don't make her sit cross-legged or try to hide her in the rafters.

Hand to Mouth Maiden

a sweet soul ladi, with paua shell eyes, you can see her back arching across the sky at night, it's swathed in a cloak knitted from glitter, works so hard but always poor, keeps her slim though. Will never reveal your secrets, they are safe with her. There

not much to eat up there in the heavens so she feasts on rainbows and the odd spaceman, her best friend lives on the moon, she can fly, so no need for a space-waka, but rarely comes down to visit, as earthly pleasures are not to her liking.

Hand in Hand Maidens

always ready for some girl-on-girl action, once they were stuck back to back but were torn apart when they were out playing with some thunder and lightning. Sometimes weighed down by life but loads of sex, good shoes and great friends keeps them happy enough, they ain't going to fade to black, because they can chase the clouds away. Have been known to scare the boys so only men need apply to take a peek at their tattooed thighs and hairless vaginas and don't forget to hang on if you go for a ride.

Back Hand Maiden

a ceremonial virgin, with centipede edges, never one for compliments, she's a true savage, quick to bare her buttocks at the slightest offence, has no qualms about slapping your lips and telling you to eat shit, whilst trussing you up like pig ready for the spit… but has the most fantastic manners and a loving face with much warmth in her eyes. She had a big black eel for a lover but had him chased away, lest they were discovered, as it would be her own facial blood, not that of her hymen, she would be covered in.

Fully Laiden Maiden

got big bones and big hair, when she breathes her breasts rise and fall like the swell of the shallow sea, loves wearing mother of pearl and pounamu all at the same time, so she chimes when she walks, always busy so can seem a bit distracted, nevertheless, a no fuss, no bother, can do, sort of a girl. Pretty in a strange sort of a way, you can't help but stare at her eyes, they are vast and can light up the night sky, you see she has no pupils, they are vessels containing old gods… just don't trip over and fall into them… you won't come back alive.

Tu Mucho Maiden

has the meanest huruhuru froufrou you ever did see, thick and dark, they look great all oiled up and sprinkled with turmeric, matches her black lips and sunshine smile, loves the feel of leather and feathers and don't pick a fight with her as she knows what to do with a big stick. You should see her on the dance floor, she's got butterfly thighs, you'll want to take her home and introduce her to your mother. Be aware, she needs the salt water to cleanse in, so she can't live far from the sea, and make sure she has a soft mat to recline on when indoors, she'll treat you to a song and make you cry.

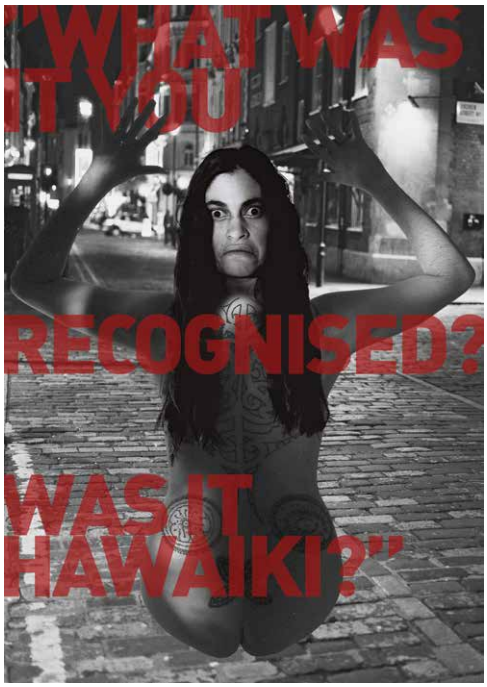


Figure 33.5. Rosanna Raymond, Meet you in Hawaiki, 2001, A0 Poster Series. Photograph Kerry Brown, courtesy of the artist.

To this day, many people only encounter Polynesian cultural heritage locked behind the glass cases of museums, culture out of context. Severed from a living dynamic, darkly lit, atmospherically controlled to preserve its physical properties, steeped in anthropological overtones and theory. Others encounter taonga (cultural treasures, specifically Māori but used more widely) in tribal art magazines, as expensive commodities untainted with modernity, aesthetically pleasing artworks cleansed of native and colonial histories, ready for life in a box, on a shelf, on a cabinet, on a wall. Or maybe it was on holiday, purchasing some crafts after watching a 'dance' troop entertain them; in this role, the Dusky Maiden and Noble Savage are well and truly alive. Non-Polynesian audiences often get confused when they meet a fully diversified, living breathing twenty-first century urban Pacific body: we often don't meet up to their expectations; I have certainly disappointed many (Figure 33.5).

The museum, in all its forms and functions, is a place that simultaneously stimulates me and horrifies me. The museum is not my natural habitat, but living away from my homelands it became a very important place to me … culturally, creatively, and professionally. It's a challenging space to negotiate. The museum is itself an artefact of colonization, and this legacy is deeply embedded in the core of most museum policies, practices and communities. I have to tread softly, slowly, sometimes painfully so, aware that if I act out of step I may never be invited back. So, I have learnt the rules and regulations, and implemented a few of my own. I act 'appropriately', for ultimately the invitations to collaborate and gain access to the collections are firmly in the control of the museum.

Inevitably, museum values remain firmly centred on those of Western knowledge and frameworks of expertise. As a consequence, many museum collections around the world have lost their agency. The mauri (life force, Māori) of the taonga have ebbed, lost through



Figure 33.6. Rosanna Raymond, Backhand Maiden Acti.VA.tion, 2017, Natural History Museum, NYC. Photograph Kerry Brown, courtesy of the artist.

the silencing of the intangible histories that are intrinsically part of them. But the Western collector's voice and stories are always there; prominent and determining. Descriptions of materials and techniques are always diligently noted, however misinformed these might be. Ironically, many taonga are never to be seen. They have been conserved out of existence, into deep vaults, in an effort to preserve them for future generations. Indigenous epistemologies and ontologies are pushed to the margins. Privilege is given to the institutions' modes of displaying and interpreting 'their' collections.

This gave me cause to push against the limitations of engaging with culture and cultural belongings through the past and the lens of the Western academy. The fact that I lived in the UK helped me create a space through my art practice to challenge and engender change and become a part of the taonga. I do this by centralizing the Samoan Indigenous index of the Vā as an embodied practice. Vā – a Samoan term for space. This 'space' is not a linear space, or indeed an empty one. The Vā is an active space. It is activated by people. It binds people and things together. It forms relationships, and reciprocal obligations. The Moana Tā/Vā (time/space) philosophy has hugely influenced me.[832] I use it as an embodied methodology to decolonize the museum space (Figure 33.6).

My Polynesian body is the vessel for the ancestor. It is the house of the ancestor. It is the space where genealogical matter comes together, binding the past with the present. My body brings the ancestor into the NOW… So, when I meet taonga, I acti.VA.te the space between the past and the present. My body collapses time and space, bringing the ancestors into the NOW.



Figure 33.7. Rosanna Raymond, Self-portrait with Siapo, 2013, Customized digital image with Tapa Cloth, Z 30709, Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge. Photograph Rosanna Raymond, courtesy of the artist.

I am the ancestor,
I am the house,
I am the taonga,
I am the museum

The living dynamic woven between taonga and my body exceeds the spatial confines of the curatorial cabinet creating new cultural narratives that circulate beyond the bounds of the museum space. They walk, they sing, they lament, both them through me and me through them as we share the same space (Figure 33.7). Narratives from the past and the present are acti.VA.ted by the body so that new relationships can build and grow with taonga. It is, after all, the taonga that bring us together. I am not interested in replicating the past but adding to it, using my body to bind myself into the narrative of the taonga, intersecting with the past in the present.

I am interested in the rupture of the tissue of relationships, the Vā, brought about by the exchange of things during first contact between European explorers and Polynesian peoples, as this has affected how we relate to and interface with each other today. Much scholarship has concentrated on the formal qualities of taonga, often ignoring the function and the cultural practices that were associated with them, allowing them to be transformed into objects. I believe that just as we conserve physical objects we must conserve the relationships with the living communities, along with the cultural



Figure 33.8. Rosanna Raymond, Backhand Maiden Acti.VA.tion, 2017, Natural History Museum, NYC. Photograph Kerry Brown, courtesy of the artist.



Figure 33.9. Rosanna Raymond, Backhand Maiden Acti.VA.tion, 2017, Metropolitan Museum, NYC. Photograph Richard Wade, courtesy of the artist.

practices that belong with – and to – both the communities and the collections. For me, without the living dynamic and an active relationship, museums are just depositories of historical objects. If museums do not Teu le va (cherish/nurture/care for the relationships), they become mausoleums for dead histories and objects.

The real 'art' of my work is in the fabrication of the acti.VA.tion, the relationship between the taonga and my genealogical self. My presence inside the museum space is to reinvigorate and revive the collections (Figure 33.8). This process allows the mauri of the collections to live once more beyond the confines of the museum enclosure.

There is still enormous work to be done if we are to add new vital strands to the frozen narratives, attitudes and practices embedded in most museum practice. I believe working with museums can help bridge the gap between first nations peoples and their cultural belongings that has developed over the past 200 years of Western-centric collecting, curating and theorizing of Indigenous art practices. We need to work together for this change if it is to be more meaningful than lip service, more than just another theory, more than a blockbuster exhibition (Figure 33.9).

Say my Name

Speaking through the mouths of priests
the gods are calling

They are gasping for air

Breathing in glass
Running out of breath

They have been stripped naked, publicly exposed
mutilated

Now demanding your assimilation

Come gather… enter through my womb

I will take the tapu… turn it into bloodlines

If I have to I will eat my own flesh
scrape my own bones
stretch my own skin

The tension feeds me
like the voracious appetite of the atua

Prostrate yourselves while I
nourish them with the body of a brown Christ

Open your legs…protect me

I ask for nothing
but to sit in my own womb

My waters have broken

So, to give (re) birth
to forgotten pantheons

They bear women's names
In bodies that carry no shame

Created in the rays of the Milky way… Hine Rau Renga
In the waves of the sea… Hine Moana
By red clay… Hine Ahu One

Deified… Kihawahine
Celestial… Mareikura

WhakaRONGO mai

We are one and the same

So say my name

I'll stop the winds

And you will never have to pray in his name again

EPILOGUE

Underpinning most research projects centred on material culture and museum collections is an interrogation: are historical collections relevant and salient to today's world? If so, how can they best be mobilized to explore complex and often painful histories located in the past and act as a bridge upon which to build dynamic relationships in the present and the future?

With ethnographic collections at its core, *Pacific Presences* offered me an opportunity to do what I am most passionate about – unravel the threads of collection-making that envelop, sometimes to the point of suffocation or distortion, objects from the Pacific. Research in the history of collections has often been understood as a 'western' (for lack of a better word) exercise in self-gratification, focused on the history and pathways of an object once in the hands of its European collector. This kind of engagement with collections has often generated results in which the non-Pacific history of an object dominates its biography – partly due to the imbalance of historical records. Even when an object is well documented, the traditional documentation which allows researchers to make sense of its history and multiple legacies remains one-sided. When known, the point of view of the Islander who made, cared for and willingly or unwillingly parted with an object is, at best, recorded in and interpreted through the writing of foreign visitors.

To many, myself included, investigating the history of a collection starts with the 'end' point of an object – its presence in a museum and the documentation associated with its inclusion in the collections. Intriguingly, while the writing of explorers, missionaries or colonial administrators has been increasingly engaged with and deployed critically (and rightly so), this is often less true of the kind of knowledge crystallized in museum archives. With a public scientific, academic and educational mission, and a battery of systematic processes and actions to transform objects into museum artefacts, museums are often perceived as more reliable sources of information. The knowledge contained in their archives and registers, not aimed to be made public and often rendered anonymous by the processes inherent in the incorporation of object into permanent museum collections, can often be perceived as more stable, more authentic and less open to interpretation than what is found in publications. Yet clearly, museum objects, their selection, the information that is retained once in the collections and what is made visible through documentation, exhibition and publication is far from being impermeable to selective and personal interpretation. Since the birth of museums as educational and cultural institutions, the curation of knowledge has been ceaselessly reconfigured and renegotiated, both to the benefit and detriment of collections themselves. This makes museums repositories and *generators* of difficult histories. There is much attention to be paid to the mechanisms through which knowledge is recorded, retained, deployed and sometimes plainly created in museums. By untangling the process of curation (in its wider definition), one can find elements that point towards new pathways to explore, narratives that are not expressed in words but in choices and actions.



Figure 34.1. Arrow tip collected by Reverend Edgell between 1895 and 1905 and describe in a letter he sent to MAA as a '[p]ortion of a boys arrow that I found in the first pigeon I shot on N.[orfolk] I.[sland] last year'. The term 'boys' referred to the Melanesian students of the Mission. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, Z 31637.

Retracing and reconstructing pathways necessitates and permits collaboration in multiple contexts and multiple ways. My own research in *Pacific Presences* has led me to work with artists in the Pacific and Europe, curators, experimental archaeologists, missionaries and Cambridge colleges in a way that has not only extended our understanding of the complex histories of Pacific collections in Britain, but also stretched my own practice in challenging and enriching ways.

Recently explored, the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology's (MAA) historical collection from Norfolk Island is a discrete and surprising assemblage of about 20 objects. None were manufactured on Norfolk. They were brought by Islanders who came to train at the headquarters of the Melanesian Mission. But all were subsequently catalogued under 'Norfolk Island' (Figure 34.1). A series of drawings of tamate masks from the Banks Islands were never associated with Norfolk Island, although they *were* likely to have been produced there. One was made by Taki, a Solomon Islander from Makira in 1877, for Reverend John Still (Figure 34.2). Similarly, a piece of barkcloth from Pitcairn Island was never associated to Norfolk Island, although it was collected there in 1877 from Mr Nobbs, over 20 years after the Pitcairn Island community was relocated to Norfolk Island (Figure 34.3). Finally, the small number of photographs from Norfolk in the Museum's collection focus on the Melanesian Mission and the islands' built heritage as a penal colony: the settled Pitcairn Islanders are almost invisible.

This cacophony of places and their partial representation may seem like a mess of technical errors for the Museum to fix. I would argue, however, that the 'mistakes' are not only understandable: they are valuable. They are powerful evocations – or



Figure 34.2. Drawing of tamate dancer from the Banks Islands, Vanuatu, sketched by Taki, an Islanders from Bauro, Makira, Solomon Islands. Taki is described as one of the 'boys' (students) of the Mission. It is likely that the drawing was made on Norfolk Island at the request of Reverend John Still who gave it to the Museum in 1901. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, 2010.427.



Figure 34.3. Barkcloth from Pitcairn Island, brought to Norfolk Island when the Pitcairners were relocated to Norfolk in 1856. It was probably kept as an heirloom by the Nobbs family until Mr Nobbs gave it to Reverend John Still of the Melanesian Mission in 1877. Still presented it to the Museum in 1901. Photograph by Josh Murfitt. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, E 1901.190.

evidence – of the extraordinarily complex history and equally complicated and painful present of Norfolk Island. Rather than being ironed out or divided into micro-histories to be explored separately, by specific communities and specialist researchers,



Figure 34.4. Researcher and textile artist Pauline Reynolds and her daughter, Mauatua, reading through a series of 17 letters addressed by descendants of the Bounty to Rear Admiral Marcus Lowther and collected by Harry Beasley in 1926. They are compiled into a large ledger kept at the Anthropology Library and Research Centre at the British Museum (KX PIT M28980). Photograph by Lucie Carreau, 19 April 2017.

they offer the opportunity for a macro-history to emerge. One in which objects challenge and transcend the boxes that museums make for them and help uncover a multiplicity of contrasting and overlapping histories: a dynamic and cosmopolitan place at the crossroads of Polynesia and Melanesia where displaced, relocated and dislocated communities from the Pacific and Europe were cohabiting, competing and collaborating. This was not the story we were looking for, but it is one that powerfully underlines the necessity to engage with both presences and absences, with what one finds and what is missing, misplaced, or seems irrelevant.

While most historical investigations of collections rely on published and unpublished written accounts, *Pacific Presences* offered an opportunity to push beyond traditional academic methods. Objects were understood as valuable sources, witnesses, evidence in their own right. The techniques employed to make them, the tool marks, their wear hinted at their previous lives, at how they were valued, worn, cared for. Aside from their potential to reveal aspects of the past, objects have also been valued for their potential to impact the present – by connecting people, generating discussions and prompting questions. Much of the research of the project was conducted collaboratively with scholars, artists, museum professionals and cultural practitioners from the Pacific and Europe, each bringing a distinctive approach and set of expectations. These visits were invaluable moments – highlighting the versatile nature of objects and reminding us of the reason why museum collections are and should remain a space of tension, contention and debate, as well as a space for inclusion, discovery, experimentation and reflection. While collaborative visits have often revealed new paths for investigating specific artefacts or whole collections, they have also offered an opportunity to reflect on the legacies of Oceanic collections in the care of European museums and to discuss

how links between historical collections and communities throughout the Pacific can be strengthened in the future (Figure 34.4).

As museums' collections become increasingly visible in physical or digital spaces, distinctive approaches and perspectives can be productively brought together through collaborative research, exhibitions and publications to expand the potential of objects and collections to resonate beyond the walls of galleries or storerooms and reveal the intimate, amicable, but also difficult or contentious stories and histories that lie within.

Lucie Carreau

> We sweat and cry salt water, so we know that the ocean is really in our blood.[833]

On 30 May 2014, a group of researchers, curators and conservators gathered around the workbench at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge (MAA) to study a collection of Kiribati armour. Armed with measuring tapes, torches, cameras and magnifying glasses each artefact was explored and recorded. We noticed that some of the armour displayed a white bloom on the surface. It was not mould, but we wondered what it could be. The artefacts were packed away and focus turned to a survey of armour in UK museum collections (see Chapter 8). It wasn't until 2017, when a research conservator and I brought out of one of the suits of armour to prepare it for



Figure 34.5. White bloom on the back of a Kiribati cuirass. Photograph by Josh Murfitt. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, Z 7034.

exhibition, that the question of the white bloom arose again: what were these artefacts trying to tell us? (Figure 34.5) Comparison with armour in other museum collections, whose familiar white blooms had been tested, revealed the presence of salt crystals sitting on top of the rolled and knotted coconut fibre that make up these impressive artefacts. Over time and as the artefact had acclimatized to museum stores, the salt in the water that had once soaked into every fibre that made up these pieces of armour, was now being expelled.

As a student of art history, I was taught that the artefact is the starting point. I was taught to study the artefact in minute detail, asking how it was made or composed. What could it tell you? What do you understand of it? This entire exercise is subjective; what is interesting or important to one person can be completely different for another. Where one person sees Kiribati armour as a costume of war, another may see an economic use of coconuts, and another, an example of weaving or fibre art. Museums and their collections can inspire new ways of thinking, looking and working and this is the opportunity that the *Pacific Presences* project afforded me. What started out as an exhibition that was to be entirely about the conservation of Kiribati armour quickly developed into an exhibition with a focus on different ways of understanding the armour. For the research conservator and myself, this meant that we needed to know everything about these artefacts, starting from how they were made and in what conditions, but also what the significance of these materials and these artefacts was and why. It also meant widening the team so the exhibition would not become limited by our own disciplines or indeed our lack of knowledge about Kiribati; we wanted as many voices as possible to be distilled into the final exhibition. It would not have been possible to fulfil this brief if the team had not been interdisciplinary and if it had not been a joint initiative; a group of people working together in a mutually beneficial way with a shared goal that they were all passionate about. The core team was formed of one researcher, one conservator, and three I-Kiribati and New Zealand artists, as well as a wider team formed of I-Kiribati cultural experts both in Kiribati and New Zealand. This joint work was a constant negotiation and challenged each of us to think beyond how we would normally work, but also to share our approaches with each other throughout the process in order to gain a more nuanced understanding of Kiribati armour.

Without the presence of conservators at that first gathering in 2014, would I have pursued the exact source of the white bloom? Maybe not, but I am glad we did. By travelling to Kiribati and by watching *Pacific Presences* associate Kaetaeta Watson demonstrate (Figure 34.6) how to make Kiribati coconut fibre string (te kora), I learnt that it is prepared by soaking the individual coconut fibres in the sea for one week before it is dried out and rolled into cords. It is not until you visit Kiribati that you fully understand the role of the sea in Kiribati consciousness. Life on the atolls, which at their highest point are only three metres above sea level, is as intrinsically linked to the land as it is to the sea, and both are relied upon for people's livelihoods. Life is therefore lived both in the sea and on the land, and many of these historic cuirasses would have at one point during their histories been worn in water. The MAA cuirass, whose white bloom was so intriguing, was physically giving us clues to follow and encouraging us to ask more questions.



Figure 34.6. Kaetaeta Watson demonstrating how to make coconut fibre string at a workshop in Cambridge in 2017. Photograph by Josh Murfitt. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge.

The possibilities offered by research projects such as *Pacific Presences* are huge, not just for the researchers involved, but for all of the people and institutions that they or the project itself involves itself with. Many hands and many voices have made up these two volumes and as the chapters, particularly in Volume Two, attest, the broad scope of the *Pacific Presences* project allowed for many strands of very focused enquiry, none of which would have been possible without this joint work.

Alison Clark

In June 2016, *Pacific Presences* photographer Mark Adams and I were in a small silver hire car, climbing up the steep Col des Roussettes (Figure 34.7), or Hill of the Flying Foxes, in the Houailou Valley, central New Caledonia. Suddenly, we heard sirens and caught sight of the flashing blue lights of the gendarmes in our rear view mirror. My heart sank as it became clear they were gesticulating for us to pull over and Mark cautiously steered the car into a lay-by on the crest of the hill. Each of us, in different ways, was ill-prepared for such a scenario. Mark, a New Zealander, was anxious about his driving, as New Caledonia's status as a French territory means they drive on the right. My job was to navigate, to alert him if he accidentally drove on the wrong side of the road, and to speak French. While my high-school French had served us well ordering coffee and croissants in local bakeries, I had not anticipated needing to converse with the police.



Figure 34.7. Col des Roussettes, Houailou Valley, New Caledonia, June 2016. Photograph by Mark Adams.

Stepping out of the car into the late afternoon sunshine, the Houailou Valley landscape looked stunningly beautiful. The view reminded me of a photograph taken in 1914 by Paul Montague, the collector whose footsteps we were now following. As four policemen approached us and asked to see our documents, I took a deep breath and began trying to explain what we were doing there. It went something like this: 100 years ago, a young English zoologist, Paul Montague, came to the Houailou Valley to collect specimens. Once there, he became interested in the local Kanak people and began to document their culture and collect artefacts. He brought over 200 home with him, which he then donated to the MAA in Cambridge. We were retracing his steps, meeting local people and talking to them about Montague's collection and Mark was taking photographs using an old glass-plate camera. There was a confused silence. I took out a copy of a small book, translated into French, about Montague's work, and Mark opened the boot to show them the camera. They seemed intrigued and an animated discussion ensued before they eventually wished us well, climbed back into their vehicle, and drove away. It was the second time that day that I had had cause to reflect on the distinctly unusual nature of the job of a museum researcher and to wonder at the bizarre sequence of events, that had begun with my discovery of Montague's collection in Cambridge, and that had brought Mark and me to the Houailou Valley.

Earlier that morning, we had visited the village of Gondé and spent time talking with local people. We were accompanied by our Kanak co-researcher, François Wadra, and two staff members from the Musée de Nouvelle Calédonie, Edmond Saumé and Yamel Euritein. Upon arriving in the village, we had been invited to sit at a table inside a communal meeting house, built to resemble a traditional Kanak case. Four senior men from the village sat down opposite us. Their serious expressions and the long silence that followed gave me cause for concern. I tried to meet François' eye but he was staring at the ground. Finally, the senior man began to talk. Why had we come, he wanted to know. What did we want? What was the point of talking about objects that had been stolen, when what they wanted to know was when these heirlooms were going to be returned to them. During a further long silence, I tried to assess whether it would be appropriate for me to respond, or whether I should leave it to

François, Edmond or Yamel. Eventually François rose and began to speak. He talked about the work we had been undertaking for several years, tracing Kanak collections in UK museums. He suggested that for Kanak people to reconnect with these cultural artefacts, they first had to know of their existence and where they were held. This was our aim, to share images of the pieces Montague had acquired from their ancestors and to leave with them copies of his written notes and the photographs he had taken in 1914. Gauging a slight shift in the mood, I distributed copies of the book about the collection and handed a tablet with images of objects to a young boy who sat at the feet of the older men. He immediately began swiping through the pictures and excitedly pointing things out to the others. Then the discussions began. Several hours later, we jumped into the back of a truck and were driven to the house of the senior man, where an enormous lunch had been prepared and was laid out awaiting our arrival. Although this had clearly been the plan all along, it had first been necessary to acknowledge the difficult histories and to establish a space in which to operate in the present. At the end of the visit, our host got to his feet and said: 'a hundred years ago, a connection was made between Houailou and Cambridge, and that connection lives on'.

Today, many European museums are working to reconnect collections with communities by a variety of means. This policy is written into funding applications, presented in publications and promoted at conferences, and is now universally (and rightly) seen as being among the most necessary and significant aspects of museum work. In practice, it is researchers working on projects like *Pacific Presences* who go out into the field and are faced with the realities of those commitments. As one such researcher, I came to accept that, in certain situations, I would be seen as the embodiment of the museum for whom I was working. But more than this, to some I became the living manifestation of the entangled histories that saw objects leave their Pacific contexts for Europe. Even beyond that, I was occasionally cast as the face of European colonialism itself. Being freighted with these difficult and contentious histories is, of course, challenging – but it is not enough to be daunted or confined by them. Facing up to these histories in an attempt to strike up new relations beyond their reach is to be accepted and not avoided. As Nicholas Thomas has written in his introduction to Volume One, museum 'collections are made up of relations as much as they are made up of things'. Today, researchers and Indigenous stakeholders, both on the ground in the Pacific and in the storerooms of museums across Europe, are forging these relationships anew, seeking out new routes not solely driven by the past.

Julie Adams

The four ladies who would teach me sat on mats with bundles of prepared pandanus leaf material around them. The fibre skirt tutorial had been relocated to beneath the pastor's house because rain had started to fall. They are older women, grandmothers, but not frail, it is apparent from their movements as they settle in to work that they are very limber. Not from yoga, but because they have just been dancing for half an hour; my party had received a generous, very unexpected, welcome to the village, with many people dancing, drumming, singing, and showing their red fibre skirts to best effect.



Figure 34.8. Tutorial of pandanus skirt-making at Babagarubu village, 2017. Photograph by Erna Lilje.

Betel nut consumed and seated on the ground, the women worked in pairs with one woman constructing the skirt and the other, as assistant, making final trimmings-up of the pandanus strips (Figure 34.8) and handing them over grouped together so that they could easily be added to the construction. As the work progressed I took photos and asked questions. They do not usually pair up but they had this time to make the work faster. Pandanus fibre skirts are not the type they use now. It is emphasized that this is the style they used to wear in the past and that they are making it because it is what I had arranged to see. Now they wear western clothes and have vibrant red fibre skirts for special occasions.

A solo voice begins to sing, followed, after a phrase or two, by all of the women gathered. They harmonize with individuals occasionally adding a little ornamentation. A pleasant surprise that there are work songs that accompany the making of fibre skirts. The women tell me that it is nice to sing while working and that any woman can take the lead. In the past women could use singing as an opportunity to send a message to a particular but un-named man. Courting songs were a means of communicating with men indirectly, which is preferred (the murmur of hearty agreement from those gathered).

Not sure why the singing should be a surprise to me, work songs exist all over the world. Perhaps because historic photos, artefacts hold no trace of this intangible. There are images of special occasions marked by dancing, drumming and one imagines that there is singing too. And there are images of women sitting together making skirts, pots or other things, however, neither these, the objects in museums, or historical accounts suggest a singing practice associated with the making of skirts. My surprise reminds me, again, of the importance of getting out of museum storerooms and talking to people.



Figure 34.9. Fibre skirt from Babaka village. Photograph by Josh Murfitt. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, Z 36632.

The work songs and the singing and dancing that greeted us to the village make me certain to include sound and vision in the exhibition about fibre skirts and bark belts that I would curate later that year.[834] Because the stillness of objects behind glass belie the DNA of the object when it was in use. And, without the right glasses on, the desiccated state of the century-old object[835] (Figure 34.9) misrepresents the aesthetic, sensual, performance objectives of those who used them.[836]

There are benefits to sitting under the house being shown how things are made, beyond that of the researcher. As the documentation shows, many more people were involved than those demonstrating the skills. Around us a crowd of interested people, including many young people, observed and heard and will remember. An unintended consequence of my interest is that it sparks curiosity and interest in others, or at the very least creates memories that may be recalled and valued later.

We were welcomed to the village with dancing, drumming and singing because we were expected. My research into fibre skirts was the impetus and focus but the trip to Babagarubu served a second purpose. I had made my arrangements through my aunt because her colleague was from an area that wore pandanus skirts, the production of which I was keen to document. My aunt and her colleague are also friends and prior to my project had discussed the possibility of my aunt visiting Babagarubu village. My research trip caused talk to solidify into definite plans.

Why do I feel the need to contextualize, or confess, a lack of objective distance? Because so much writing-up of research requires that we pay no attention to the man or woman behind the curtain but actually it is good, at least occasionally, to show the contingent nature of all knowledge-making and the unintended effects of field-based research. The unspecified 'my party' mentioned above were family. Beyond

my research, the visit created an opportunity for people to connect. I, despite having no intention to do so, have become a connection catalyst between the museum and people in Papua New Guinea (PNG), one village and another, young people and the knowledge of elders.

Erna Lilje

Since the mid-1990s, I have been making artwork, curating exhibitions and writing in response to questions that emerge from the legacy of colonialism. I encountered these questions when I emigrated from Australia in 1991. It was in Britain that I learnt of the genocidal impact of settler-colonial culture on Australia's original populations. When I lived in Australia, as a fifth generation Australian on one side and second generation on the other, I was concerned not so much with Aboriginal Australia but with the day-to-day racism I personally encountered. Australia was, and is, a deeply racist culture, though few white people really believe me when I say this, or they assume I am referring to the bush, the outback. Urban, educated Australians are not racist, apparently.

Despite having relatively long roots in Australian soil from the point of view of European settler culture, I never felt I belonged: neither in Melbourne, where I was born, nor Maryborough, Queensland from where my ancestors hail. My Aussie roots are long but wrong. As far as I know, none of my ancestors are British or Irish. These are the right roots for an Australian, despite the fact that Germans comprised one-third of the immigrant population to Australia during the colonial growth spurt of the nineteenth century, that Germans named much of the 'Top End' and that Australia's highest mountain peak was named after a Polish military general by a Polish explorer. Nevertheless, the Australian imaginary is forged in Britain. Multiculturalism is imagined as recent.

Half of my ancestors were Lutheran Germans, with later generations abiding by the more arcane, bizarre and actively racist of the Dissenting religions. The other half are Jewish from the Austro-Hungarian Empire, refugees from Nazi invasion, first to Britain and then to Australia. Any confusion in terms of 'race' and nation is deepened by the latterly discovered genealogy of my Australian grandfather. Neither Danish, nor German as we had believed, it seems he was (insert hushed tones here) black. I felt the brunt of Australian racism by not looking Aussie enough, not being identifiable as a 'Skip' (after 'Skippy the Bush Kangaroo'). I was stopped often enough by strangers on the streets questioning me about where I was from. This was the 1970s and 80s, and Melbourne's 'Skip' Vs 'Wog' wars were in progress.

I explore the legacy of colonialism as a white woman, attuned to racism in both its overt and its insidious forms, by virtue of having grandparents that fled genocide in their home countries, and 12 years of schooling that memorialized The Shoah. I relate to the racist experiences of Indigenous people in Australia and elsewhere, and the racist experiences of Black British people, through the lens of my Jewish heritage. It did not seem a great leap to imagine my own experience of racism as not dissimilar to the experience of racism that anyone feels. Except that I am white. Even once we

discovered our Pacific Islander genes, I relate to racism as a white woman. I have white privilege. I am afforded the status of 'normal' most of the time. I inhabit the unmarked category so I can do more or less what I please. To deny this would be to deny structural inequalities that afford me freedom and esteem while denying it to others. It would be to deny the entrenched melanin-based racism that continues to haunt my family, informing their denial of our heritage.

There are a few of us white people trying to face the ugly legacy of colonialism and white supremacist assumptions. The field is fraught with both good intentions and malign, including the seductions of capitalizing on exotic areas of artistic and academic enquiry for one's own ends. It is a field that has rightly attracted scepticism of the contributions of white people. Both academia and the mainstream art world obscure and marginalize the contributions of black and brown colleagues, until one is asked to represent a whole community, or whenever 'their issues' become topical, until 'their issues' become 'our issues'. I work in this area not for Brownie points, to be seen as a good person, or because I will be offered opportunities to publish or exhibit artwork. I work in this area because racism defines my heritage. Racism has defined my own sense of myself, as a victim, firstly, and later as a bystander, and finally one day I also realized, as a perpetrator. From June 2001 until June 2004, for three years, I kept a diary of racism as an artwork, describing everyday occurrences in these terms. My work continues in this vein, albeit in different and subtler ways.

The *Pacific Presences* project gave me the opportunity to extend my thinking into new areas. Through the project I met a wide range of fellow academics and artists with Indigenous heritage from across the Pacific. I met people visiting Cambridge and I met even more people when I visited the Pacific region for the first time in 2016. These encounters inspired me to think in new ways, inadvertently helping me understand differently the question of heritage, genealogy or whakapapa. I had understood my heritage in terms of 'race' and nation, through the negative lens of racism, but whakapapa seems to be a wider, more expansive term than genealogy. Genealogy is burdened with notions of genes and heredity, what DNA is meant to mean (but does not). Genealogy carries all the faux science of the colonial enterprise, later atrocities and ongoing structural inequalities. Whakapapa offers something more: ancestors as relational, perhaps. I am grateful for the expansion in my conceptual model, my way of knowing and being in the world. I do not mean to appropriate what is not mine. I know how offensive that is. But I am grateful to have been shown other ways of thinking and relating beyond the ones inherent in a Western mind-set dominated by 'race' and nation.

Alana Jelinek

I remember beginning my studies in Pacific art and anthropology. As I pored over the published catalogues of early Pacific art exhibitions and organized visits to museum stores in England, Ireland and Scotland, I assumed that museum collections were pretty much a known quantity, that the overall shape of Pacific art had been outlined and was now being coloured in. Post-doctoral research took me down further avenues of enquiry and led me across the Channel to museums in France, Italy and Spain where

I began to understand that the known geography of collections across Europe was more like the tip of an iceberg. Scholarship had established what was above the ocean line but below the water's surface, tucked away in the stores of smaller ethnographic museums, were scores of treasures, what seemed like vast resources to be tapped. *Pacific Presences* was a project, expansive in the breadth of its vision and scope that presented an opportunity to delve deeper with European colleagues into these collections. Gaining access to the stores was an important opportunity to forge partnerships with these institutions and support curators in their endeavours to raise the profile of the Pacific within the hierarchy of their own museums. Working as a team, we organized visits and devised granular projects inviting Pacific colleagues to join us. Tracking the individual histories of works and mapping the complex trajectories to European shores is slow and steady. The research was collaborative and multi-disciplinary. Resources and manpower are often limited and Pacific art for many European institutions is out on a limb and requires champions that can advocate for its profile.

Alongside the usual cataloguing of data (photographing works, logging dimensions and transcribing labels and inventories), there was conversation. The aim was to bring people into the stores: Pacific scholars, artists, practitioners – to tie up the often disjointed dialogue between the scholarship of the European museum world and expertise, knowledge and practice in the islands. Sometimes there were five or six of us in the stores having animated conversations around 'things'. The works themselves led this dialogue – their materiality, the traces of hands and history on their surfaces. For in many instances they are the crucial components of the much larger puzzle we are all engaged in piecing back together. Vital in the sense that they are often the only extant *material* primary source available to us, we rely on them heavily to help us recover eclipsed knowledges and crystallize oral histories.

I continue to be very much invested in the methodological framework of the project which informs much of my curatorial practice. Working now in New York with the Oceania collections at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, I often reflect on the legacy of *Te Māori,* the ground-breaking exhibition that the museum hosted back in September 1984. What the exhibition did so deftly was vividly highlight the distinctive manner in which Pacific peoples conceive the agency and role of their art. Fully engaged Māori participation from the outset was a crucial element of the exhibition's outstanding success as it travelled to three further venues in the United States.[837] Many were invited to participate in the ritual protocols of opening ceremonies (whakawatea) at each venue. Others witnessed at first hand the engagement in the galleries of affiliated Māori who accompanied their tribal treasures. Handed down across the generations, these highly prized taonga tuku iho were newly clothed in song, chant and gesture at each venue. Audiences could appreciate that these were not deceased, static relics confined to a distant past but very much living spiritual objects that remained *in relation* with their living descendants.

This ancestral relationship really drives the connection between people and art in the Pacific – and has gained traction as a model with which to guide current engagements with Pacific art in museums and galleries, both in the Pacific and outside the region. In the decades since *Te Māori*, our discipline (which operates productively on the boundaries between art history – anthropology – historical ethnography and museology) has seen

many exciting developments. Collaborative research projects now see Pacific artists, scholars and cultural practitioners working alongside museum curators and conservators, accessing major collections of Pacific art together – pooling their knowledge bases, they bring new perspectives to the collections that lessen the gap between 'knowledge' and 'practice'. Written documents are no longer perceived as the only valid primary sources – artefacts and objects have taken centre stage to open up pathways to different kinds of knowledge and understandings. Theoretical frameworks that centre materiality and an analysis of 'things' (in and of themselves) direct a discourse that acknowledges the active agency of objects. Indigenous epistemologies are encouraged to take root so that the cosmological and cultural coordinates of an artwork can be attended to alongside its formal attributes … and scholars in the Academy have begun to take more seriously the perspectives and viewpoints of such collaborators.

For those of us born overseas, the Pacific artworks encountered in the displays and stores of overseas museums can act as anchor points which connect us to home. They are a vital link creating a connection to the whenua (land) which bring us back into relationship with one another. Our Pacific ancestors had the imagination to visualize deep networks of ancestral relations, lines of lineage that meshed a current generation into the intricate folds of time and space. The power of Pacific art is unleashed when we help join up history with its people. Bringing people – physically or digitally – into the space of the museum helps to activate and enliven these relationships. The projects that invite participation push at the boundaries of institutions, forcing self-reflection and re-assessment, they signal the need for dialogue to better accommodate the next wave of change that must come.

Maia Nuku

ENDNOTES

Chapter 1

1 Observations made by Micheal Ame during his visit to the stores of the Australian Museum in 2007.

2 Erna Lilje, 'From maker to museum: fibre skirts from Central Province, Papua New Guinea', doctoral thesis (2013).

3 The figure uses part of an original map by Sydney Ray, 1894.

4 Interview with Avia Kivori in Kilakila village, 3 October 2008.

5 O.C. Stone, 'Description of the country and natives of Port Moresby and neighbourhood, New Guinea', *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 46 (1876), 34–62, p. 58.

6 William Y. Turner, 'On the ethnology of the Motu', *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 7 (1878), 470–99, p. 489.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 476.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 476.

9 Stone, 'Description of the country and natives of Port Moresby and neighbourhood, New Guinea', p. 58.

10 Turner, 'On the ethnology of the Motu', p. 476.

11 William George Lawes, Papuan Journals [1876–1884], (A385–A391), Sydney, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, entry for 23 July 1881.

12 'Queen' is not an Indigenous designation. She is remembered as a significant chief by people living in Hisiu and Nara villages today.

13 Lawes, entry for 23 July 1881.

14 A.C. Haddon, 'Studies in the anthropogeography of British New Guinea', *The Geographical Journal*, 16(3) (1990), 265–91, p. 277.

15 C.G. Seligman, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910), p. 93.

16 Seligman, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, p. 93.

17 Seligman, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, pp. 93–4.

18 N.D. Oram, 'Pots for sago', in Tom Dutton (ed.), *The Hiri in History*, Pacific Research Monograph No. 8 (Canberra: Australian National University, 1982), pp. 1–33: p. 17.

19 W.N. Beaver, *Unexplored New Guinea: a record of the travels, adventures, and experiences of a resident magistrate amongst the head-hunting savages and cannibals of the unexplored interior of New Guinea* (London: Seeley, Service & Co., 1920), pp. 239–40.

20 J. Chalmers, *Pioneering in New Guinea* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1887), pp. 91–2.

21 A.C. Haddon, Unpublished 1898 journal. A.C. Haddon papers, Cambridge University Library. Entry for 17 July 1898, pp. 180–1.

22 Lilje, 'From maker to museum', p. 248.

23 Interview with skirt-makers Gabina Kilagi, Nuruka Rawali, Kilagi Bala and Gaba Laka. Also present were Gini Alan, who acted as translator, Marie Vele and many others, Babagarubu village, 13 May 2017.

24 Avia Kivori (now passed away) said that in Kivori (both her surname and her village) custom if you want someone to come and dance for an occasion you have to ask the head of the village (Avia's

village) and you have to bring one head of betel nut, one rooster and 50 kina for permission. The dance will go on all night and afterwards you have to give the dancer – the leader – one pig, 20 rice bags and other things like bananas, which are given to the clan dancing and the clan will give the head of pig and leg to main dancer (interview 2008, see note 4).

25 Ara Kere (now passed away) was a Gabadi woman; we spoke in Pinu Village in Kairuku-Hiri District in Central Province, in 2010.

26 Group conversation in Hisiu village in Kairuku-Hiri District in Central Province, 12 May 2017.

27 These have not been discussed in this chapter but include such things as the protective power against both sorcery and further physical assault in battle, when held aloft by a woman over a fallen man, as told to me by Dairi Arua and mentioned in historical sources. Or, in a different vein, using the shoots of young sago palms to make skirts for a young girl and more mature plants for women, as told to me in by Ara Kere in Pinu village (2008).

Chapter 2

28 As concluded by T. Scarlett Epstein, *Capitalism, Primitive and Modern: Some Aspects of Tolai Economic Growth* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1968), p. 26.

29 For example, Benjamin Danks, '*On the shell money of New Britain*', Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland 17 (1888), 305-17.

30 For instance, the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (Ethnological Museum, Berlin) was founded in 1873 and opened in 1886 as the Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde (Royal Museum for Ethnology) and the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, was founded in 1884 as the University of Cambridge Museum of General and Local Archaeology which further incorporated ethnological material.

31 For a detailed investigation of the German context, refer to Rainer F. Buschmann, '*Oceanic carvings and Germanic cravings: German ethnographic frontiers and imperial visions in the Pacific*', Journal of Pacific History 42 (2007), 299-315.

32 See Buschmann, '*Oceanic carvings and Germanic cravings*', for more detail on the ideologies of 'salvage anthropology' in this time period.

33 Oskar Schneider, *Muschelgeld Studien* (Dresden: Ernst Engelmann's Nachfg., 1905). The translated passage is provided in Gewertz, Deborah B., and Frederick K. Errington. "*Duelling currencies in East New Britain: the construction of shell money as national cultural property*." Occidentalism: Images of the West (1995): 161-191.

34 Richard Parkinson, *Thirty Years in the South Seas: Land, Custom and Traditions in the Bismarck Archipelago and on the German Solomon Islands*, translated by J. Dennison, edited by J.P. White (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 2010 [1907]).

35 The same two elements can be seen in the large Melanesian shell money collections of the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, US.

36 Primarily Carl Ribbe (Solomon Islands 1893-1896), Franz Hellwig (Bismarck Archipelago 1902-1904) and Otto Finsch (New Guinea, Polynesia, Australia, New Zealand 1879-1882, New Guinea 1884-1885).

37 Albert B. Lewis, '*Melanesian shell money in Field Museum collections*', Field Museum of Natural History Anthropological Series 19 (Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1929) and Alison Hingston-Quiggin, *A Survey of Primitive Money: The Beginnings of Currency* (London: Methuen and Co., 1949).

38 For example: T. Scarlett Epstein, *Capitalism, Primitive and Modern: Some Aspects of Tolai Economic Growth* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1968), Richard F. Salisbury, *Vunamami: Economic Transformation in a Traditional Society* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California

Press, 1970), and Klaus Neumann, *Not The Way It Really Was: Constructing the Tolai Past* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1992).

39 Hingston-Quiggin, *A Survey of Primitive Money*, p. 158.

40 For a description of raw materials generally used in shell money production in Malaita, refer to C.M. Woodford, '*Notes on the manufacture of the Malaita shell bead money of the Solomon Group*', Man 8 (1908), 81-4.

41 Personal communication from Serah Kei, Langalanga Lagoon, Malaita, August 2016.

42 See Parkinson, *Thirty Years in the South Seas*, pp. 38-40.

43 Ibid., p. 41.

44 Ibid., p. 65.

45 Ben Burt, *Body ornaments of Malaita, Solomon Islands* (London: British Museum Press, 2009).

46 Parkinson, *Thirty Years in the South Seas*, pp. 55-6.

47 See also Pei-Yi Guo, '*From currency to agency: shell money in contemporary Langalanga, Solomon Islands*', Asia-Pacific Forum 31 (2007), 17-38.

48 Roy Wagner, *Asiwinarong: Ethos, Image, and Social Power Among the Usen Barok of New Ireland* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014).

Chapter 3

49. Adrienne Kaeppler, *'Artificial Curiosities', being an exposition of native manufactures collected on the three Pacific voyages of Captain James Cook* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1978), p. 40.

50. Michaela Appel, 'Female Figures from Aitutaki: Traces of Genealogy and Descent', *Münchner Beiträge zur Völkerkunde* 15 (2012/13), pp. 244-91. Figure from K.H. Stolpe, 'On Evolution in the Ornamental Art of Savage Peoples', *Transactions of the Rochdale Literary and Scientific Society*, vol. 3 (1892).

51. John Pakoti and Henry Nicholas (transl.), 'Te autara ia Aitutaki; tona katiri anga ia. Ko te autara teia ia Ru. The First Inhabitants of Aitutaki; The History of Ru', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 4 (1895), pp. 59-70; and Timi Koro and Dury Low, 'Traditions of Aitutaki, Cook Islands: 1. The Story of Ru's Canoe and the Discovery and Settlement of Aitutaki', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 43 (1934), pp. 17-24.

52. Appel, 'Female Figures from Aitutaki', pp. 249-52.

53. Michaela Appel and Ngaa Kitai Taria Pureariki, 'Aitutaki Patterns or Searching for our Future in the Discoveries of our Past', *Pacific Arts* 16(2) (2017), pp. 5-19.

54. W.E. Gudgeon, 'The Origin of the Ta-Tatau or Heraldic Marks at Aitutaki Island', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 14 (1905), pp. 217-18.

55. Te Rangi Hiroa (Peter H. Buck), 'Some Tattoo Patterns from Aitutaki', *Dominion Museum Bulletin* 3 (1911), p. 98.

56. Te Rangi Hiroa (Peter H. Buck), *The Material Culture of the Cook Islands (Aitutaki)* (New Plymouth: Thomas Avery & Sons Ltd, 1927).

57. Therese Mangos and John Utanga, *Patterns of the Past: Tattoo Revival in the Cook Islands. Photography Kirsty Griffin* (Auckland: Punarua Productions, 2011), pp. 121-28.

58. Michael Tavioni, ''Akairo (Motifs) of the Cook Islands', in R. Dixon, L. Crowl and M.T. Crocombe (eds), *Cook Islands Art & Architecture* (Suva, Fiji: USP Press, 2015), pp. 210-37.

59. Gudgeon, 'The Origin of the Ta-Tatau or Heraldic Marks at Aitutaki Island', p. 217.

60. Mangos and Utanga, *Patterns of the Past*, pp. 120-21.

61. Koro and Low, 'Traditions of Aitutaki, Cook Islands', p. 21; see also Te Rangi Hiroa, *The Material Culture of the Cook Islands (Aitutaki)*, p. XIX. According to Pakoti and Nicholas, 'Te autara ia Aitutaki', pp. 65, they entered through a passage called Rautaro.
62. Koro and Low, 'Traditions of Aitutaki, Cook Islands', pp. 21-2); Te Rangi Hiroa, *The Material Culture of the Cook Islands (Aitutaki)*, p. XIX, explains that the name was derived from utauta, a cargo, and taki, to lead. It refers to Ru leading the valuable human cargo over the sea. Another name given to the island is Ararau-enua-o-Ru-ki-te-moana. Ararau is to search for land at sea with a canoe, and the name applied to the island refers to Ru's search on the ocean. The first name was shortened to Aitutaki, and the second to Araura; see also Pakoti and Nicholas, 'Te autara ia Aitutaki', p. 65, and Koro and Low, 'Traditions of Aitutaki, Cook Islands', p. 74, note 1.
63. According to Te Rangi Hiroa, *The Material Culture of the Cook Islands (Aitutaki)*, p. XIX and map, p. 209, Ru's marae was called Te-Hautapu-o-nga-Ariki.
64. Also Pakoti and Nicholas, 'Te autara ia Aitutaki', p. 65.
65. According to Ngaa Kitai, kuriri is the name of a certain bird; according to Jasper Buse and Taututi Taringa, *Cook Islands Māori Dictionary*, edited by B. Briggs and Rabgi Moeaka'a (Rarotonga: Ministry of Education, 1995), p. 204, a shore bird, the wandering tattler (Heteroscelus incanus).
66. Waiau in Gudgeon, 'The Origin of the Ta-Tatau or Heraldic Marks at Aitutaki Island', p. 217.
67. Kaki in Gudgeon, 'The Origin of the Ta-Tatau or Heraldic Marks at Aitutaki Island', p. 217.
68. Te Rangi-matoe in Gudgeon, 'The Origin of the Ta-Tatau or Heraldic Marks at Aitutaki Island', p. 217, but Rangi-pae-uta and Rangi-pae-tai in Parkoti and Nicholas, 'Te autara ia Aitutaki', p. 67 and Rangi-pai-uta and Rangi-pai-tai in Koro and Low, 'Traditions of Aitutaki, Cook Islands', pp. 77-9.
69. Te Toenga-rangi in Gudgeon, 'The Origin of the Ta-Tatau or Heraldic Marks at Aitutaki Island', p. 218.
70. Pakoti and Nicholas, 'Te autara ia Aitutaki', p. 67; according to Te Rangi Hiroa, *The Material Culture of the Cook Islands (Aitutaki)*, p. XX and map, Te 'Erui landed at a point on the reef called Te Rua-karae. Here he was opposed by Ru's descendants. After slaying various opponents, Te 'Erui cut a channel through the reef with his adze, Haumapu, and finally settled at Reureu. The passage which was created by Te 'Erui is called Te Ruai-i-kakau; see also Koro and Low, 'Traditions of Aitutaki, Cook Islands', pp. 77-9.
71. According to Koro and Low, 'Traditions of Aitutaki, Cook Islands', p. 80, they stayed at Kakeu-te-Rangi only for about three months and then moved to a more suitable place where Te 'Erui built a new marae and named it Aurupe-te-rangi, as it was still known in 1927. Having completed the marae, they started to build a small settlement at a place which Te 'Erui called Ureia and gave it to his two brothers Tavi and Tava, while he and his brother Matareka moved to another place about a mile to the south. This was situated on higher ground and nearer to Ru's settlement. Here he built another marae which he named Reureu-i-te-mata-o-Te-Erui-Ariki, 'representing the eyes of Te 'Erui Ariki'. According to Pakoti and Nicholas, 'Te autara ia Aitutaki', p. 67, Te 'Erui came to Perekiatu where he went inland and named the place Kakeu-te-rangi. His brother Matareka stopped at Ureia, also called Aurupe-te-rangi, while Te 'Erui sailed as far as Arutanga and Reureu. He named the place Tukinga-rangi and erected a marae which he called Kopu-te-rangi. Here he established himself and settled down and took possession of the district which was called Te-Reureu-i-te-mata-o-Te-Erui 'Tears of Te 'Erui'.
72. According to Te Rangi Hiroa, *The Material Culture of the Cook Islands (Aitutaki)*, p. XX, Kopua-honu or Kopu-o-Ruatapu.
73. Iseraela Tama and J.T. Large (transl.), 'Ruatapu, e Tupuna Māori Rongo Nui, ma tona au uri I teia pa enua. Ruatapu – a Celebrated Māori Ancestor and his Cook Island Descendants', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 15 (1906), pp. 215-16, recorded that Ruatapu and his crew ascended the highest

land near Maunga-pu, where they erected a ma (an altar devoted to the worship of evil spirits), which was called Paenga-Manuriri and a marae called Au-matangi. Ruatapu married Tutunoa, one of the lords of the village Vaitupa, and they had a son called Kirikava. After a quarrel between Ruatapu and his son Kirikava the family marae was broken up and Kirikava took up his residence in Aputu and built a marae there, while Ruatapu remained at Au-matangi. The son refused to submit to the authority of his father any longer, which eventually led to Ruatapu abandoning that part of the island, and coming to live at Ruatea, on the Arutanga side of the island. Later he dwelt with Taruia at Orongo in the Arutanga district.

74. Gudgeon, 'The Origin of the Ta-Tatau or Heraldic Marks at Aitutaki Island', pp. 217-18; Te Rangi Hiroa, *The Material Culture of the Cook Islands* (Aitutaki), pp. 366-7; Mangos and Utanga, *Patterns of the Past*, pp. 121-2; Appel and Pureariki, 'Aitutaki Patterns', pp. 11-12. There are two more vaka, I-tere of Taite Atai Nui o Iva and Titi Au Tonga, which arrived in Aitutaki (see Figure 3.6), but no tattoo patterns are recorded for them, so we have omitted them here.
75. Te Rangi Hiroa, 'Some Tattoo Patterns from Aitutaki', and *The Material Culture of the Cook Islands (Aitutaki)*; Mangos and Utanga, *Patterns of the Past*, pp. 120-23.
76. Nicholas Thomas, 'Unstable Categories: Tapu and Gender in the Marquesas', *Journal of Pacific History* 22 (1987), pp. 123-38.
77. Nicholas Thomas and Julie Adams (eds), *Tapa: Barkcloth Paintings from the Pacific* (Birmingham: Icon Gallery, 2013).
78. Appel and Pureariki, 'Aitutaki Patterns', p. 8.
79. Thomas and Adams, *Tapa*.
80. Alfred Gell, 'Closure and Multiplication: An Essay on Polynesian Cosmology and Ritual', in D. de Coppet and A. Iteanu (eds), *Cosmos and Society in Oceania* (Oxford: Berg, 1995), pp. 21-56.

Chapter 4

81. Excerpt from a poem by Craig Santos Perez, a Chamoru poet who represented Guahan/Guam at the Poetry Parnassus, a spoken word event held at London's Southbank Centre as part of a series of cultural events linked to the London Olympics in 2012.
82. Turtle shell headdress. Nauru. Late nineteenth century. Accession no. 91.874, Museum Fünf Kontinente, Munich, Germany; width (turtle shell section at widest point) 43cm. A further example of a turtle shell visor – Accession no. Mi 2167; width 35cm – was exhibited and published in Barbara Treide, *In den weiten des Pazifik: Mikronesie*: *Ausgewahlte Objekte aus den Sammlungen der Museen für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig und Dresden* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1997), p. 225, catalogue no. 49.
83. Paul Hambruch, *Ergebnisse der Südsee-expedition, 1908-1910: Ethnographie: B, Mikronesien Vol. II Nauru* (L. Friedrichsen, 1915), pp. 326-7. Hambruch's fieldwork in Nauru took place October – November 1910.
84. Turtle shell headdress. Nauru. Late nineteenth – early twentieth century. Accession no. 1983.545.6, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (visit www.metmuseum.org for more details); width (turtle shell section at widest point) 30.8cm; Provenance: Hiltrup Mission Museum, Hiltrup, Germany, by c.1938 until c.1971; Thomas Schultze-Westrum, Munich, Germany and London, c.1971-1981; John A. Friede, New York, 1981-1983; Martin and Faith-dorian Wright, New York, in 1983; Israel Museum, Jerusalem, through American Friends of the Israel Museum, New York, in 1983.
85. Turtle shell headdress. Nauru. Accession no. 00-8-70/55481, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University, Cambridge, MA; width (turtle shell section at widest point) 42cm.

86. Pedro Ferdandez de Quiros, *The Voyages of Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, 1595 to 1606,* ed. Sir Clements Markham (London: Hakluyt Society, 1904), II, pp. 199-204.
87. Tropic bird feather and pearlshell headdress (*parae*). Society Islands. Early nineteenth century. Accession no. Z 28418, Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge; height 93cm.
88. Maia Nuku, 'Galvanising the Gods: A pearlshell and feather mask from Tahiti' in J. Adams, B. Lythberg, M. Nuku, A. Salmond and N. Thomas (eds), *Artefacts of Encounter: Cooks' Voyages, Colonial Collecting and Museum Histories* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2016), pp. 214-17.
89. Maia Jessop [Nuku], '*Heiva tupapa'u*: an instantiation of potency in life or death?', unpublished MA dissertation (Sainsbury Research Unit, University of East Anglia, 2002).
90. Composite turtle shell mask (buk). Mabuiag Island, Torres Strait Islands. Mid-late nineteenth century. Accession no. 1978.412.1510. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, visit www.metmuseum.org for more details; height 53.3cm
91. 'Flying the frigate bird flag on Nauru', ABC, 23 September 2012, www.abc.net.au/news/2012-09-24/flying-the-frigate-bird-flag-on-nauru/4277252 (accessed 15 May 2016).
92. Arthur Francis Grimble, *Tungaru Traditions: Writings on the Atoll Culture of the Gilbert Islands*, edited by H.E. Maude (University of Hawai'i Press, Pacific Islands monograph series, No. 7, 1989).
93. Solange Petit-Skinner, *The Nauruans* (San Francisco: MacDuff Press, 1981), pp. 149-64.
94. *Ibid*., pp. 149-50.
95. *Ibid*., p. 152.
96. Krämer dedicates a whole chapter to his visit to Nauru in his book *Hawaii, Ostmikronesien und Samoa: Meine Zweite Sudeereise (1897-99)* (Nabu Press reprint), pp. 441-57. He also published an article, 'Nauru', in *Globus* Band 74 (1898), in which he recorded his geological and ethnographic observations of the island.
97. Petit-Skinner, *The Nauruans*, p. 162.
98. *Ibid*., p. 162.
99. Alfred Gell, 'The Technology of Enchantment and the Enchantment of Technology' in A. Gell, *The Art of Anthropology: Essays and Diagrams*, edited by E. Hirsch (London: The Athlone Press, 1999), pp. 159-86.
100. Te Rangi Hiroa, *Arts and Crafts of the Cook Islands* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Bulletin 179, 1944). See also 'Conclusions' in Maia Jessop [Nuku], 'Unwrapping Gods: encounters with gods and missionaries in Tahiti & the Austral Islands 1797-1830', doctoral thesis (Sainsbury Research Unit, University of East Anglia, 2007).
101. See H.C. Maude, *The String Figures of Nauru Island*, Occasional Papers on Asian and Pacific Studies No. 2 (Adelaide: Libraries Board of South Australia, 1971). In Nauru, string games accompanied the re-enactment of legends and stories where they had been perfected into a special branch of the dramatic arts. The lengths of string in with which these stories were recounted had also customarily been made with human hair (Petit-Skinner, *The Nauruans*, p. 183).
102. Petit-Skinner, *The Nauruans*, p. 153-4.
103. Frigate bird feather girdle. Accession no. 26811, Rautenstrach-Joest Museum, Cologne, Germany includes a label which reads 'Nauru 1898'. Three layers of frigate bird feathers are attached to a fibre band that sits around the waist of the wearer, secured by a coconut fibre cord that can run around the waist.

Chapter 5

104. Quote from *Siu i Moana: Reaching Across the Ocean* by Robin White and Ruha Fifita.
105. I am deeply indebted to the Maisin people of Collingwood Bay, the participants of the tapa workshop and conference in Tahiti (2014) and the tapa-makers at the Pacific Arts Festival on Guam (2016) for sharing their knowledge and stories about tapa with me.
106. Epeli Hau'ofa, 'The ocean in us', in *We Are the Ocean: Selected Works* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press 2008), p.58.
107. Anna-Karina Hermkens and Mandy Treagus, 'Robin White and Ruha Fifita Siu i Moana: Reaching across the ocean', *Artlink Magazine* (2016), pp. 1-5: p. 5, www.artlink.com.au/articles/4514/robin-white-and-ruha-fifita-siu-i-moana-reaching-a/.
108. Nicholas Thomas, *Oceanic Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1995), p. 132.
109. Alice Te Punga Somerville, *Once we were Pacific: Māori Connections to Oceania* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), p. 194.
110. Margaret Jolly, 'A Saturated History of Christianity and Cloth in Oceania', in H. Choi and M. Jolly (eds), *Divine Domesticities: Christian Paradoxes in Asia and the Pacific* (Canberra: ANU Press, 2014), pp. 429-54: p. 429.
111. Margaret Jolly, 'A Saturated History of Christianity and Cloth in Oceania', p. 433; Anna-Karina Hermkens and Katherine Lepani, 'Revaluing Women's Wealth and Work in the Contemporary Pacific', In A. Hermkens and K. Lepani (eds), *Sinuous Objects. Women's Wealth in the Contemporary Pacific* (Canberra: ANU E-Press, 2017), pp.1-36: p. 9-10.
112. Roger Neich and Mick Pendergrast, *Traditional Tapa Textiles of the Pacific* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1997).
113. MAA E1976.1591
114. These are the MAA E1903.505 and Z9102 series.
115. See further: Julie Adams, 'Magic and memory: Paul Denys Montague's collection from New Caledonia', *Journal of the History of Collections,* 28 (2015), 279-92.
116. Anna-Karina Hermkens, *Engendering Objects. Dynamics of Barkcloth and Gender Among the Maisin of Papua New Guinea* (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2013).
117. Anna-Karina Hermkens, 'Women's Wealth and Moral Economies among the Maisin in Collingwood Bay, Papua New Guinea', in *Sinuous Objects*, pp. 91-124.
118. Nicholas Thomas, 'Spiderweb and Vine: The Art of Ömie', in Peter Brunt and Nicholas Thomas (eds), *Art in Oceania: A New History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2012), pp. 484-5.
119. Gregory Bateson, 'Further Notes on a Snake Dance of the Baining', *Oceania*, Vol. 2 No. 3 (1932), 334-341: p. 336.
120. Neich and Pendergrast, *Traditional Tapa Textiles of the Pacific*, pp. 136-39; Jane Fajans, *They Make Themselves, Work and Play Among the Baining of Papua New Guinea* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997).
121. Neich and Pendergrast, *Traditional Tapa Textiles of the Pacific*, pp. 139-40.
122. Eric Venbrux, 'Robert Hertz's seminal essay and mortuary rites in the Pacific region', *Le Journal de la Société des Océanistes,* 124 (2007), 5-10.
123. Graham Were, 'On the materials of mats: Thinking through design in a Melanesian society', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* 19 (2013), 581-599.
124. Margaret Jolly, 'A Saturated History of Christianity and Cloth in Oceania', pp. 429, 431.

125. Margaret Jolly, 'European Perceptions of the Arts of Vanuatu: Engendering Colonial Interests', in Joël Bonnemaison, Kirk Huffman, Christian Kaufman and Darrel Tryon (eds), *Arts of Vanuatu* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996), pp. 264, 267-77.
126. Anna-Karina Hermkens, 'The Materiality of Missionization in Collingwood Bay, Papua New Guinea', in Choi and Jolly (eds), *Divine Domesticities*, pp. 349-80.
127. *Ibid*
128. Anna-Karina Hermkens, 'Church Festivals and the Visualization of Identity in Collingwood Bay, Papua New Guinea', *Visual Anthropology,* 20 (2007), 347-64.
129. *Ibid.*
130. https://festpac.visitguam.com/visiting-the-festival/about-the-festival
131. Rosita Henry and Lawrence Foana'ota, 'Heritage transactions at the Festival of Pacific Arts', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 21 (2015), 133-52: p. 134.
132. Moana Eisele (1942-2017) was a dedicated kapa maker and teacher, who participated in various museum projects and tapa workshops in Hawai'i and across the world.
133. Anna-Karina Hermkens and John Barker, "Maisin is Tapa!' Exploring the meaning and use of tapa among the Maisin people in Papua New Guinea', in M. Charleux (ed.), *TAPA. From Tree Bark to Cloth: An Ancient Art of Oceania. From Southeast Asia to Eastern Polynesia* (Somogy Éditions D'art, 2017), pp. 99-104.
134. John Barker and Anna-Karina Hermkens, 'The Mothers Union Goes on Strike: Maisin Women, Tapa Cloth and Christianity', in M. MacCarthy and A. Eriksen (eds), *Gender and Christianity in Melanesia: Towards a Unified Analysis*, Special issue of *The Australian Journal of Anthropology,* 27 (2016), 185-205.
135. *Ibid.*
136. https://islandculturearchivalsupport.wordpress.com/2015/08/19/climate-change-impacts-fijis-traditional-arts/
137. *Ibid.*
138. 350.org is a global climate movement, coordinated by a global network that is active in 188 countries, including the Pacific. It uses online campaigns, grassroots organizing and mass public actions. See https://350.org/about/ (accessed 26 March 2018).
139. http://350pacific.org/
140. For one of their initial campaigns, see: www.youtube.com/watch?v=8xZlswE7IVI
141. Personal communication with Fenton Lutunatabua, 26 July 2017.
142. Unesco, 'Safeguarding Tapa – Cultural Link in Oceania', 24 November 2014, www.unesco.org/new/en/apia/about-this-office/single-view/news/safeguarding_tapa_cultural_link_in_oceania/
143. Margaret Jolly, 'Sinuous Objects, Sensuous Bodies: Revaluing 'Women's Wealth' Across Time and Place', in *Sinuous Objects*, pp. 261-292: p. 284.

Chapter 6

144. Steven Hooper, *Pacific Encounters: Art and Divinity in Polynesia 1760-1860* (London: British Museum Press, 2005), p. 163.
145. Carol Ivory, 'Re-viewing Marquesan art', in Philip J.C. Dark and Roger Rose (eds), *Artistic Heritage in a Changing Pacific* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993), pp. 63-73; Carol Ivory, 'Marquesan 'u'u: a stylistic and historical review', *Pacific Arts* 9/10 (1994), 53-63. See also Roger Neich, *Carved Histories* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2001).
146. Peter Gathercole, Adrienne L. Kaeppler and Douglas Newton (eds), *Art of the Pacific Islands* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1979), p. 124; Nicholas Thomas, *Oceanic Art* (London:

Thames and Hudson, 1995), p. 71; Anne d'Alleva, *Arts of the Pacific Islands* (New York: Abrams, 1998), p. 112.

147. Michel Panoff (ed.), *Trésors des îles Marquises* (Paris: Musée de l'Homme, 1995), p. 116; Eric Kjellgren and Carol S. Ivory, *Adorning the World: Art of the Marquesas Islands* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005), pp. 85-7; Carol Ivory *et al.*, *Matahoata: arts et sociétés aux Îles Marquises* (Paris: Musée du Quai Branly / Actes Sud, 2016), pp. 126-9.
148. Hooper, *Pacific Encounters,* p. 163.
149. J.C. Beaglehole (ed.), *The Journals of Captain James Cook* (London: Hakluyt Society / Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955-67), II, pp. 363-76.
150. 'Daß die Keule von 1774 keine minderwertige oder unfertige sei, sondern einen primitiveren Zustand der Schnitzerei repräsentiere, kann nicht in Betracht kommen, weil die ein Vierteljahrhundert später gesammelten Stücke einen ornamentalen Schmuck aufweisen, dem wir eine lange Vorgeschichte zugestehen müssen'; Karl von den Steinen, *Die Marquesaner und ihre kunst* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1925-28), II, p. 265. See also von den Steinen, *Les Marquisiens et leur art* (Papeete: Musée de Tahiti et des Îles / Te Fare Iamanaha, 2005), p. 265.
151. Adrienne Kaeppler *et al.*, *James Cook and the Exploration of the Pacific* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2005), p. 218.
152. Ivory, 'Marquesan 'u'u', p. 61.
153. Elena Govor and Nicholas Thomas (eds), *Tiki: Marquesan Art and the Krusenstern Expedition* (Leiden: Sidestone, 2019 [forthcoming]).
154. Nicholas Thomas, *A Critique of the Natural Artefact* (Wellington: Victoria University [Brown Lecture Series], 2015), pp. 33-5.
155. Ralph Linton, *Material Culture of the Marquesas Islands* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum, 1923), pp. 320-31.
156. Beaglehole, *The Journals of Captain James Cook*, II, pp. 365-67.

Chapter 7

157. Jean-Marie Tjibaou, *La Présence Kanak*, edited and compiled by A. Bensa and E. Wittersheim (Paris: Editions Odile Jacob, 1996), p. 48
158. A. Bensa and E. Wittersheim 'Nationalism and Interdependence: The Political Thought of Jean-Marie Tjibaou', *The Contemporary Pacific* 10 (1998), 369-90.
159. Jean-Marie Tjibaou cited in Emmanuel Kasarhérou, 'The Inventory of Kanak Collections in Europe: Stolen Heritage or Common Heritage to Revive' in S. Ferracuti, E. Frasca and V. Lattanzi (eds), *Beyond Modernity: Do Ethnography Museums Need Ethnography?* (Rome: Espera Libreria Archeologica, 2013), pp. 99-106.
160. The exhibition *De Jade et De Nacre* opened in Nouméa before travelling to Paris in 1990.
161. Kasarhérou, 'The Inventory of Kanak Collections in Europe', p. 105.
162. Nicholas Thomas, 'Presence and Absence: an Introduction' in L. Carreau, A. Clark, A, Jelinek, E. Lilje, and N. Thomas (eds), *Pacific Presences: Oceanic Art and European Museums Volume One* (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2018).
163. See Nicholas Thomas, Julie Adams, Billie Lythberg, Maia Nuku and Amiria Salmond (eds), *Artefacts of Encounter: Cook's Voyages, Colonial Collecting and Museum Histories* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2016), p. 288.
164. J.C. Beaglehole (ed.), *The Voyage of the* Resolution *and* Adventure, *1772-1775* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for the Hakluyt Society, 1961), p. 539
165. *Ibid.*, p. 536.

166. *Ibid.*, p. 531.
167. Nicholas Thomas, 'Such was the prevailing passion for curiosities: Cook voyage collections from Melanesia', in *Artefacts of Encounter*, p. 162
168. Roger Boulay, 'Les Sagaies Ornées' in Emmanuel Kasarhérou and Roger Boulay (eds), *Kanak: L'art est une parole* (Paris: Musée du quai Branly / Actes Sud, 2013), p. 258
169. Julius Lucius Brenchley, *Jottings During the Cruise of H.M.S. Curaçoa Among the South Sea Islands in 1865* (London: Longmans, Green & Co, 1873).
170. *Ibid.*, p. 341.
171. *Ibid.*, p. 332.
172. *Ibid.*, p. 333.
173. James Hadfield, 'Annual Report to the London Missionary Society, 1902'. Annual Reports, Box 5, Council for World Mission Archives, SOAS, London.
174. Emma Hadfield, 'Letter to Charles Hercules Read, dated 18 February 1910'. Department of Prehistory and Europe Archives, The British Museum, London.
175. Emma Hadfield, 'Letter to Charles Hercules Read, dated 17 November 1905'. Department of Prehistory and Europe Archives, The British Museum, London.
176. Hannah Ivory, 'Emma Hadfield: Among the natives of the Loyalty Group' in *Melanesia: Art and Encounter* (London: The British Museum Press, 2013), pp. 313-17
177. Chantal Knowles, 'Life histories: The Reverend James and Mrs Emma Hadfield Collection', National Museums Scotland Blog, http://blog.nms.ac.uk/2014/04/01/life-histories-the-reverend-james-and-mrs-emma-hadfield-collection/ (accessed 14 November 2017).
178. *Héritage D'Une Mission: James et Emma Hadfield, Iles Loyauté, 1878-1920*. Exhibition Catalogue (Nouméa: Musée de Nouvelle Calédonie, 2014).
179. Object catalogue for the Paul Denys Montague collection. Copyright Archives of the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge.
180. C. Laroche, 'Nécrologie: Le gouverneur Louis Joseph Bouge' in *Revue Française d'histoire d'outre-mer*, 47 (1960), 485-6. My translation.
181. Louis Joseph Bouge, 'Letter to the Director of the British Museum dated 8 August 1913'. Department of Prehistory and Europe Archives, The British Museum, London.
182. Charles Hercules Read, 'Letter to Louis Joseph Bouge dated 12 August 1913'. Department of Prehistory and Europe Archives, The British Museum, London.
183. Louis Joseph Bouge, 'Letters to Charles Hercules Read dated 19 September and 26 September 1913'. Department of Prehistory and Europe Archives, The British Museum, London.
184. *Ibid.*
185. Jean-Marie Tjibaou, *La Présence Kanak*, p. 296.

Chapter 8

186. Julie Adams, Polly Bence and Alison Clark (eds), *Fighting Fibres: Kiribati Coconut Fibre Armour and Museum Collections* (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2018).
187. Peter Gathercole and Alison Clarke, *Survey of Oceanian collections in museums in the United Kingdom the Irish Republic* (Paris: UNESCO, 1979); Elizabeth Kwasnik (ed.), *A Wider World; Collections of Foreign Ethnography in Scotland* (Edinburgh, National Museums Scotland, 1994); Len Pole, *Devon Ethnography Project: Final Report* (South West Museums Council, 1995). Len Pole, *World Connections; A Survey and Inventory of Ethnographic Collections in the South West of England* (South West Museums Council, 2000); Len Pole (ed.), *World Cultures in Wales: Survey of Non-European Ethnographic*

Collections in Welsh Museums (Council of Museums in Wales, 2007); Yvonne Schumann (ed.), *Survey of Ethnographic collections in the United Kingdom, Eire and The Channel Islands: interim report* (Hull: The Museum Ethnographers' Group, 1986), Volumes 1 and 2; Janet C.M. Starkey, *Myths and Mirrors; A report on Ethnographic Collections in the North East of England* (Newcastle upon Tyne: North East Museums, 1998).

188. Adams, Bence and Clark, *Fighting Fibres*.
189. Hermione Waterfield and Jonathan C.H. King, *Provenance: Twelve Collectors of Ethnographic Art in England 1760-1990* (London: Paul Holberton Publishing, 2009).
190. Roger Neich,'Pacific collections here and there', *Journal of Museum Ethnography* 17, (2005), 172-5: p. 174.
191. Adams, Bence and Clark, *Fighting Fibres*.
192. Neil Mendoza, *The Mendoza Review: An Independent Review of Museums in England* (London: Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport, 2017), p. 44.
193. James Edge-Partington, *An Album of the Weapons, Tools, Ornaments, Articles of Dress of the Natives of the Pacific Islands/Drawn and Described from Examples in Public and Private Collections in England by James Edge-Partington* (London: Issued for private circulation by James Edge-Partington and Charles Heape, 1890).
194. Adams, Bence and Clark, *Fighting Fibres*.
195. Arthur F. Grimble and Rosemary Grimble, *Migrations, Myth and Magic from the Gilbert Islands: Early Writings of Sir Arthur Grimble/Arranged and Illustrated by Rosemary Grimble* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972).
196. Peter Buck, *Arts and Crafts of the Cook Islands* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Bulletin 179, 1944).

Chapter 9

197. Elena Govor, Chris Ballard and Carol Priestley, 'Makarai: language and trade in first contact encounters in New Guinea, 1871-83' (forthcoming).
198. Leo Tolstoy, 'Letter to Miklouho Maclay. 25 September 1886', in N.N. Miklukho-Maklai, *Sobranie sochinenii v shesti tomakh*, vol. 5 (Moscow: Nauka, 1996), pp. 773-4.
199. B. Malinowski, *A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term* (London: The Athlone Press, 1967), p. 155.
200. Tolstoy, 'Letter…', p. 774.
201. N. Miklukho-Maklai, 'Na Malakkskom poluostrove' [On Malacca Peninsula], in *Sobranie sochinenii v shesti tomakh*, vol. 2 (Moscow: Nauka, 1993), p. 77; 'Chteniia N.N. Miklukho-Maklaia v Geograficheskom obshchestve' [N.N. Miklouho-Maclay's lectures at the Geographical Society], *ibid.*, p. 520.
202. 'Notes', *Timaru Herald*, 11 April 1882, p. 2. Cf. Finsch's own reference to this discussion: O. Finsch, 'Nikolaus von Miklucho-Maclay, Reisen und Wirken', *Deutsche geographische Blätter* XI(1888), pp. 297-8.
203. N. Miklukho-Maklai, 'Chernovik rechi na otkrytii vystavki etnograficheskikh kollektsii v Akademii nauk' [Draft of speech for opening of exhibition of ethnographic collections at the Academy of Sciences], in *Sobranie sochinenii v shesti tomakh*, vol. 5, p. 553.
204. N. Mikloucho-Maclay, *New Guinea Diaries, 1871-1883*, translated by C.L. Sentinella (Madang: Kristen Press, 1975), p. 226.
205. N. Miklukho-Maklai, 'Ostrovok Andra' [Island Andra], in *Sobranie sochinenii v shesti tomakh*, vol. 2, p. 284.
206. Miklukho-Maklai, 'Chernovik…', p. 552.

207. N.N. Miklukho-Maklai, *Sobranie sochinenii v shesti tomakh*, vol. 3 (Moscow: Nauka, 1993), p. 71; vol. 6 (Moscow: Nauka, 1999), p. 177.
208. *Ibid*., vol. 3, p. 76; vol. 6, p. 182.
209. *Ibid*., vol. 6, pp. 390, 184.
210. N.N. Miklukho-Maklai, *Sobranie sochinenii v piati tomakh*, vol. 5 (Moscow-Leningrad: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1954), pp. 55, 56, 58; Miklukho-Maklai, 'Ostrovok Andra', pp. 283-4, 296-7.
211. N. de. Miklucho-Maclay, 'Vestiges de l'art chez les Papouas de la Cote-Maclay en Nouvelle Guinée', *Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, Sér. 3(1) (1878), 524-31.
212. N.N. Miklukho-Maklai, 'Etnologicheskie zametki o papuasakh Berega Maklaia na Novoi Gvinee' [Ethnological notes about Papuans of the Maclay Coast in New Guinea], in *Sobranie sochinenii v shesti tomakh*, vol. 3, p. 66.
213. Miklukho-Maklai, *Sobranie sochinenii v shesti tomakh*, vol. 6, p. 428.
214. B.N. Putilov, 'Vokrug etnograficheskoi vystavki N.N. Miklukho-Maklaia' [Around the ethnographic exhibition of N.N. Miklouho-Maclay], *Etnografiia, istoriia, kultura stran Iuzhnykh morei. Maklaevskie chteniia 1995-1997* (St Petersburg: MAE, 1997), pp. 21-9.
215. V. Mainov, 'Posle vystavki g. Miklukhi' [After Mr. Miklukho's exhibition], *Novosti i birzhevaia gazeta*, 21 December 1886, p. 3.
216. E.S. Soboleva, 'Etnograficheskie kolleltsii N.N. Miklukho-Maklaia: istoriia izucheniia i printsipy publikatsii' [Ethnographic collections of N.N. Miklouho-Maclay: a history of the research and principles of publication]. N. Miklukho-Maklai, *Sobranie sochinenii v shesti tomakh*, vol. 6, p. 15.
217. C. Ballard, 'Marginal history', *History and Anthropology* (forthcoming 2019).
218. N.N. Miklukho-Maklai, 'Letter to L.I. Shrenk, 5 December 1886', in *Sobranie sochinenii v shesti tomakh*, vol. 5, p. 478.
219. Miklukho-Maklai, *Sobranie sochinenii v shesti tomakh*, vol. 6.
220. Elena Govor, 'Oceania in Russian history: expeditions, collections, museums', in L. Carreau, A. Clark, A. Jelinek, E. Lilje and N. Thomas (eds), Oceanic Art and European Museums Volume One (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2018).
221. B. Putilov, 'Pesenno-muzykalnyi folklor bonguantsev' [Song and musical folklore of Bonguans], *Na Beregu Maklaia (Etnograficheskie ocherki)* (Moscow: Nauka, 1975), pp. 227-52.
222. C. Ballard, 'The return of the past: on drawing and dialogic history', *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* 14(2) (2013), 143-4.

Chapter 10

223. Ethnographic artefacts were considered as being natural history objects in many instances, as sales brochures show. See Rainer F. Buschmann's chapter 'Oceanic collections in German museums: collections, contexts, exhibits', in L. Carreau, A. Clark, A. Jelinek, E. Lilje and N. Thomas (eds), *Pacific Presences: Oceanic Art and European Museums Volume One* (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2018).
224. Sixty-two of the original 90 pieces labelled in the museum's entry log have survived the world wars. The collection comprises types of artefacts which were more or less typical for ethnographic acquisitions from the same period: jewellery, Marshallese mats, boat models, weapons, fish hooks, tools and a Gilbert island/Nauru armour. Cf. Amiria Salmond, 'German women collectors in the Pacific: Elisabeth Krämer-Bannow and Antonie Brandeis', Chapter 12 in this volume.
225. The files consulted in the Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes were: Personalakten 1066-1077; R 19488- R 19495, R 19497 – R 19508, R 19511, R 19525, R 19526, R 19543 – R 19548, 19575, R 141963, R 252919; R 252920.

226. The files consulted in the Bundesarchiv were R/901/33652, R/901/54191, R1001/2378, R1001/2770, R1001/2971, R 1001/3074, R1001/3078, R1001/2865, R1001/2866, R1001/2879, R1001/2602a, R1001/2662, R1001/2715, R1001/2719-2721, R1001/2948, R1001/3019-3022, R1001/2502, R1001/2667, R1001/2744, R1001/5349, R1001/6129, R1001/6524.
227. I am very much indebted to Max Biermann's great-grandson Rainer Scheller who graciously and generously allowed me to read these private family papers.
228. If not mentioned otherwise, this paragraph follows Helmut Christmann, Peter Hempenstall and Dirk Anthony Ballendorf, *The Caroline Islands in German Times: A Case Study in Colonial History* (Bremen: LIT Verlag 1991), p. 172; Gerd Hardach, 'Die deutsche Herrschaft in Mikronesien', in H.J. Hiery (ed.), *Die deutsche Südsee 1884-1914. Ein Handbuch* (Paderborn-München-Zürich-Wien: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2001) pp. 508-34: p. 510; Francis X. Hezel, *Strangers in Their Own Land. A Century of Colonial Rule in the Caroline and Marshall Islands* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003), p. 46; Wolfgang Treue, *Die Jaluit-Gesellschaft auf den Marshall-Inseln 1887-1914. Ein Beitrag zur Kolonial- und Verwaltungsgeschichte des deutschen Kaiserreichs* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1976), pp. 21, 31, 38, 59, 60-61, 69, 70-71, 77.
229. Robert Quentin McKinney, *Micronesia Under German Rule, 1885-1914*, typewritten MA thesis (Leland Stanford Junior University, 1947), pp. 21-2. The large-scale exploitation of guano had not started when Max Biermann held his position as imperial commissar in Jaluit.
230. After the Spanish-American war which left the Spanish state in a dire financial situation, the Carolines would become a German colony in 1899, but even before that time, Spain had no trade interests in the region.
231. I will stick to this term from colonial times as today's Kiribati is larger and includes the Line Islands and Banaba.
232. This was changed by a new legislation in 1906.
233. Pearl fishing never became a lucrative enterprise, however, as the wages on the Marshall Islands were much higher than in New Guinea or on other islands. For the same reason, except for coconut palms, the Jaluit Company did not start any plantations: the input would not have been worthwhile, as crops were not seasonal, which would have allowed for a limited occupation of workers. With harvest times around the year, the costs of keeping workers would have been too high.
234. Hezel, *Strangers in Their Own Land*, p. 48
235. In 1890, there was an estimated population of 15,000 on the Marshall Islands, in 1910 of about 10,700 (Hardach, 'Die deutsche Herrschaft in Mikronesien', pp. 513, 531); this decrease in population size might have been a result of the difficult conditions.
236. Richard Gary Brown, *Germany, Spain and the Caroline Islands, 1885-1899*, unpublished PhD thesis (University of Southern Mississippi, 1976), pp. 14-15; Gerd Hardach, 'Defining separate spheres: German rule and colonial law in Micronesia', in H.J. Hiery and J.M. MacKenzie (eds), *European Impact and Pacific Influence* (London/New York: Tauris, 1997), pp. 231-58: p. 243; Hardach, 'Die deutsche Herrschaft in Mikronesien', pp. 514-15; Hezel, *Strangers in Their Own Land*, pp. 45, 48-9, 53; Arthur J. Knoll, 'Zealotry among the converted: American Board Missionaries in Micronesia, 1852-1919', in Hiery and MacKenzie, *European Impact and Pacific Influence*, pp. 100-18: p. 108; McKinney, *Micronesia Under German Rule*, pp. 28-9; Treue, *Die Jaluit-Gesellschaft auf den Marshall-Inseln 1887-1914*, pp. 70-3
237. Cf. Biermann n.d., I: Vorwort by his son Friedrich Biermann. The 'Erinnerungen' consist of three typed volumes of 136 (I), 440 (II) and 234 (III) pages, divided in different chapters. They were meant as private notes for Max Biermann's children. As Biermann had to give up his post as consul general in St Petersburg in a hurry, at the time of the First World War, he was forced to leave his belongings

behind, a number of letters among them which apparently had helped him to write the first chapter of his reminiscences. Unfortunately, the papers from Samoa and Jaluit were also lost in St Petersburg. The 'Erinnerungen' were written from memory between 1925 and 1928. (Max Biermann, 'Erinnerungen', typewritten manuscript, Vols I – III. Berlin n.d. [1925-1928], private collection.)

238. See Peter Hempenstall, 'Germany's Pacific Pearl', in H. Thode-Arora (ed.), *From Samoa with Love? Samoan Travellers in Germany, 1895-1911. Retracing the Footsteps* (Munich: Hirmer, 2014), pp. 26-45: see pp. 34-41. This was the first time Biermann worked with Brandeis. Cf. Amiria Salmond's essay 'German women collectors in the Pacific: Elisabeth Krämer-Bannow and Antonie Brandeis' on Brandeis' wife – Chapter 12 in this volume.
239. I am indebted to Carsten Brekenfeld and Dieter Klein who made available to me stamped postcards from their private collections, written by Max Biermann. It is a lucky coincidence that one of them (in Mr Brekenfeld's collection) allows the dating of Max Biermann's arrival in Australia, who had to wait there for the ship to Jaluit, to December 1888. It was a few weeks later, in January 1889 at the occasion of Emperor's Birthday, still waiting for his ship, that he met Max Buchner. This meeting resulted in Biermann's presenting his collection to the Munich museum upon leaving Jaluit in 1891.
240. File 1069 (Personalakten), Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, Berlin.
241. Biermann, 'Erinnerungen', Vol. I.; Hilke Thode-Arora, 'The brothers Fritz and Carl Marquardt – settlers in Samoa, ethnic show impresarios and traders in ethnographica', in Thode-Arora, *From Samoa with Love?*, p. 47.
242. Hardach, 'Defining separate spheres', p. 250.
243. Beilage zum Deutschen Kolonialblatt. Jahresgebiet über die Entwicklung der deutschen Schutzgebiete 1896: 144 as quoted in McKinney, *Micronesia Under German Rule*, p. 17. I am indebted to Dieter Klein for making a hand-drawn map of colonial Jabwor available to me from his collections of historical papers, which shows the positions of the Jaluit Company and imperial commission as well as the small size of the island: Max Biermann writes that it took him less than an hour to surround and traverse the island on his daily after-work strolls.
244. Carl Hager, *Die Marshall-Inseln in Erd- und Völkerkunde, Handel und Mission* (Leipzig: Eduard Baldamus, 1889); Francis X. Hezel, *The First Taint of Civilization. A History of the Caroline and Marshall Islands in Pre-Colonial Days, 1521-1885*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1983), pp. 290-91.
245. In the correspondence with the Foreign Office in Berlin, there are frequent complaints in letters on captains of non-German ships inciting the Marshallese, and on missionaries rendering judgements in Marshallese affairs. The Boston Mission's ban on tobacco and dealing in religious writings instead was seen as interference with German trade interests, as was their church tax of copra. The sale of alcohol and weapons to Micronesians had already been prohibited by the German administration in 1885. See also Hezel, *The First Taint of Civilization*, p. 316; McKinney, *Micronesia Under German Rule*, p. 41.
246. Reinhard Klein-Arendt, 'Die Nachrichtenübermittlung in den deutschen Südseekolonien' in Hiery, *Die deutsche Südsee 1884-1914*, pp. 177-97: p. 181. Earlier, the Hernsheim company had made it a point to send triple copies via different routes, so that at least one of the three letters would hopefully arrive.
247. Peter Sack, 'Das deutsche Rechtswesen in Mikronesien' in Hiery, *Die deutsche Südsee 1884-1914*, pp. 535-57: p. 537; Treue, *Die Jaluit-Gesellschaft auf den Marshall-Inseln 1887-1914*, pp. 84-5.
248. Both of which would also have kept them from the production of copra and would have thus been economically unsound in the long run.

249. McKinney, *Micronesia Under German Rule*, pp. 22-3; Treue, *Die Jaluit-Gesellschaft auf den Marshall-Inseln 1887-1914*, p. 45. The first imperial commissar Wilhelm Knappe had already prohibited the buying of land from Micronesians.
250. Biermann, 'Erinnerungen', pp. 82-136.
251. Sack, 'Das deutsche Rechtswesen in Mikronesien', p. 539.
252. McKinney, *Micronesia Under German Rule*, pp. 22-3; Treue, *Die Jaluit-Gesellschaft auf den Marshall-Inseln 1887-1914*, pp. 19, 82.
253. The colonial files of 1888 and 1889 contain correspondence with the Foreign Office in Berlin about the logistics of deporting Samoan paramount chief Malietoa (cf. Peter Hempenstall, 'Germany's Pacific Pearl', in Thode-Arora, *From Samoa with Love*, p. 34) with no navy ship in nearby waters, as copra schooners were considered too squalid for passengers, let alone to travel in style (Bundesarchiv, R1001/3078-3080).'
254. The tracing and role of Max Biermann's Micronesian exchange partners in object transfers could not be pursued in this research which had to focus on European sources. The kind of relationship they established in these processes, and the way they adhered to Western ideas and demands of collectable and desirable items, *e.g.* the Gilbertese-Nauruan armours and weapons, can only be speculated about and would be a starting point for future research. Cf. Markus Schindlbeck, 'The art of the head-hunters: collecting activity and recruitment in New Guinea at the beginning of the twentieth century' in Hiery and MacKenzie, *European Impact and Pacific Influence*, p. 40; and J. Adams, P. Bence and A. Clark (eds), *Fighting Fibres: Kiribati Armour and Museum Collections* (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2018).
255. Letter to Max Buchner, 4 Nov. 1891, Museum Fünf Kontinente, Munich.
256. Neither the research in the German navy archives nor in other archives produced any results on Marinestabsarzt W. Schubert – probably due to the fact that his surname is so common, and his first name not known. The museum files of 1889 mention Marinestabsarzt W. Schubert as living in Würzburg and having given a collection of African artefacts; much later, in 1938, a retired medical doctor W. Schubert, living in Wiesbaden, gave an Asian collection to the museum – it could not be ascertained whether we are dealing with one and the same W. Schubert or several different persons here. However, I am indebted to Dieter Klein who made the following, albeit scarce, information available to me from documents in his private collection: W. Schubert joined the Imperial Navy in 1881 to become Marinestabsarzt on the cruiser corvette *Alexandrine* from 1889 till May 1890. In the early months of 1890, the *Alexandrine* touched the Marshall Islands where barter trade with the Marshallese is mentioned. Maia Nuku discusses a turtle shell headdress from the Biermann collection; see Chapter 4 in this volume.
257. According to Hambruch, the kind of armour received from Biermann is actually characteristic for Nauru as it lacks the human hair ornaments of the Gilbert Islands (Paul Hambruch, *Nauru. Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition 1908-1910*. II Ethnographie B. Mikronesien. Band I. 2. Halbband (Hamburg: L. Friederichsen & Co., 1915), p. 175). See also Adams *et al.*, *Fighting Fibres*.
258. See Salmond, Chapter 12 in this volume.
259. Cf. Anett Holzheid, 'Einfach modern. Zur Beschleunigung der Kommunikationskultur per Postkarte', in Roland Prügel (ed.), *Geburt der Massenkultur. Beiträge der Tagung des WGL-Forschungsprojekts ‚Wege in die Moderne. Weltausstellungen, Medien und Musik im 19. Jahrhundert' im Germanischen Nationalmuseum, 8.-10. November 2012* (Nürnberg: Verlag des Germanischen Nationalmuseums, 2014), pp. 81-91 on collecting postcards as a middle-class activity around 1900, signalling education and sophistication. Part of the prestige going with collecting was to let other persons know that one collected in the first place, and to display the collections in some way, *e.g.* in albums or frames.

260. Max Biermann, 'Gleitboote der Kingsmill-Insulaner', *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 51 (1919), 19-21.
261. Biermann, 'Erinnerungen', Vol. I, pp. 87, 135.
262. See note 16.
263. Letters from Max Biermann addressed to Max Buchner, 4 and 6 Nov. 1891, files of the Museum Fünf Kontinente. The original text says 'Die am Schluß Ihres gefälligen Schreibens bemühte Angelegenheit ist für meine Entschließung nicht wesentlich gewesen. Ev. kann man ja später einmal davon weiter reden.' ('The issue mentioned at the end of your esteemed letter has not been of importance for my decision. Possibly one can talk about that at some point in the future.': letter 6 Nov. 1891, translation by Hilke Thode-Arora). Buchner's letter no longer exists.
264. Further research could try to establish whether interferences or influences can be observed between Biermann's and the aforementioned acquaintances' writings. Reinecke for example took a clear anti-missionary stance which is also apparent from Biermann's memoirs.
265. See for example Hilke Thode-Arora, *Tapa und Tiki. Die Polynesien-Sammlung des Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museums Köln* (Köln: Wienand, 2001), pp. 14-15.
266. Stefan von Kotze (*Südsee-Erinnerungen* (Berlin: Dom-Verlag, 1925), p. 23) for example, wryly writes about his stay in fever-ridden Papua New Guinea in the 1880s: 'All of us gathered [collected] something, and if it only was experience. Collecting was the only intellectual stimulation, the only captivating activity in the monotony of our existence. Shellfish, butterflies, fish, shells, ethnologica – everything found its enthusiasts.' ('Jeder von uns sammelte etwas, und wenn es nur Erfahrungen waren. Es bedeutete die einzige geistige Anregung, das einzige fesselnde Interesse in dem Einerlei unseres Daseins. Schaltiere, Lepidopteren, Fische, Muscheln, Ethnologika – alles fand seine Liebhaber.'; translation by Hilke Thode-Arora.)

Chapter 11

267. See, among others, Christopher Pinney, 'Other Peoples' bodies, lives, histories? Ethical issues in the use of a photographic archive', *Journal of Museum Ethnography* 1 (1989), 57-69; Ann Maxwell, *Colonial Photography and Exhibitions: Representations of the 'Native' People and the Making of European Identities* (London: Leicester University Press, 1999); Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums* (Oxford: Berg, 2001); Robin Boast, Sudeshna Guha and Anita Herle, *Collected Sights: Photographic Collections of the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 1860s – 1930s* (Cambridge: MAA, 2001); Gerry Bloustien, 'Introduction: Envisioning Ethnography – Exploring the Meanings of the Visual in Research', *Social Analysis* 3 (2003), 1-7; Sudeshna Guha, 'Sights of Reference: Photography in the Construction of an 'Ethnographic' Record', in F. Kerlogue (ed.) *Performing Objects: Museums, Material Culture and Performance in Southeast Asia*, in series *Contributions in Critical Museology and Material Culture* (London: Horniman Museum, 2004), pp. 87-102; Christopher Morton and Elizabeth Edwards (eds) *Photography, Anthropology and History: Expanding the Frame* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009); Marcus Banks and Richard Vokes, 'Introduction: Anthropology, Photography and the Archive', *History and Anthropology* 4 (2010), 337-49; Christopher Wright, *The Echo of Things: The Lives of Photographs in the Solomon Islands* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013).
268. The archives of the CAS were closed to the public between 2015 and 2017.
269. The only two known 'narratives' of the expeditions are Sylvester Lambert's *A Yankee Doctor in Paradise* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co, 1941), pp. 323-65 and the unpublished account written by Gordon Macgregor, 'A Summary of the Anthropological Survey of the Templeton Crocker Expedition' (Harvard: Tozer Library, OC. M 178 s). Because Lambert's book reflects on his professional life, only a small section is dedicated to Templeton Crocker's 1933 expedition. Macgregor's unpublished 'Summary' contains valuable information about the expedition's scientific goals but does not engage with the personal and technical aspects of the work. Some scientific observations based

on natural history collections were published by Joseph R. Slevin, 'The Templeton Crocker Expedition to Western Polynesian and Melanesian Islands, 1933. No. 15. Notes on the reptiles and amphibians, with the description of a new species of sea-snake', *Proceedings of the California Academy of Sciences* 21 (1934), 183-8; C.H. Curran, C.P. Alexander and E.T. Cresson, 'The Templeton Crocker Expedition to Eastern Polynesian and Melanesian Islands, 1933. No. 30. Diptera', *Proceedings of the California Academy of Sciences* 22 (1936), 1-66; Edward P. van Duzee, 'New Species of Hemiptera collected by the Templeton Crocker Expedition to the Solomon Islands in 1933', *The Pan-Pacific Entomologist* 26 (1940), 178-92.

270. See Northcote Deck, *South from Guadalcanal: the Romance of Rennell Island* (Toronto: Evangelical Publishers, 1945); David Hilliard, 'The Battle for Rennell Island: A Study in Missionary Politics', in G.A. Wood and P.S. O'Connor (eds), *W.P. Morrell: A Tribute. Essays in Modern and Early Modern History presented to William Parker Morrell, Professor Emeritus, University of Otago* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1973), pp. 105-24.
271. Lambert had already visited Rennell and Bellona between 11 May and 6 June 1930 on the *France*, See Sylvester Lambert, 'Health Survey of Rennell and Bellona Islands', *Oceania* 2 (1931), 136-73 and *A Yankee Doctor in Paradise*, pp. 291-322.
272. Lambert, *A Yankee Doctor in Paradise*, pp. 291, 321, 323.
273. Anonymous, 'The Templeton Crocker Expedition to the Solomon Islands'. *Science* 79 (1934), 345. So far, collections have been located at the Bishop Museum in Honolulu (over 650 objects identified in 2016), the MAA (330) and Field Museum in Chicago (854), acknowledged in the *Field Museum News* 7 (1934), p. 3.
274. Anonymous, 'The Templeton Crocker Expedition to the Solomon Islands'. Photographs (on all mediums and often numerous copies) can be found at the MAA, Field Museum in Chicago, Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac, Museum of Ethnology (Minpaku) in Osaka, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum in Honolulu and California Academy of Science in San Francisco.
275. Sound recordings have been located at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris and at the CAS. Films are recorded at the American Museum of Natural History Film Archives in New York, archives of the Bishop Museum in Honolulu and CAS.
276. See, among others, Everard im Thurn, 'Anthropological Uses of the Camera', *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 22 (1893), 184-203; Marcus Banks, 'Anthropology and portrait photography: Gustav Fritsch's 'natives of South Africa', 1863-1872', *Kronos* 27 (2001), 43-76; Cory Willmott, 'The Lens of Science: Anthropometric Photography and the Chippewa, 1890-1920', *Visual Anthropology* 18 (2005), 309-37; Sera-Shriar Efram, 'Anthropometric portraiture and Victorian anthropology: Situating Francis Galton's photographic work in the late 1870s', *History of Science* 53 (2015), 155-79.
277. British Association for the Advancement of Science, *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* (London: Royal Anthropological Institute, 1929 [5th edition]), pp. 371-80.
278. At the MAA, many images made by W.H.R. Rivers and A. Hocart in 1907-1908 during the Percy Sladen Trust Expedition show their interest in anthropometric photographic but also their difficulty in implementing the required set up in the field.
279. See Gordon Macgregor, 'Anthropological Work of the Templeton Crocker Expedition, 1933', *Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin* 24 (1934), 38-43 and MAA archives, WO3/1/11, letter from Charles Templeton Crocker to Louis Clarke, 18 August 1933.
280. The location of Macgregor's original notes and observations is unknown.
281. Macgregor had previously conducted fieldwork in Rotuma (his notes can be found in the archives of the Bishop Museum) and Tokelau where he had made important linguistic observations and gained reasonable command of the languages; see Gordon Macgregor, *Ethnology of Tokelau Islands* (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin, 1937).

282. MAA archives, WO3/1/11, note by Louis Clarke, dated 4 November 1932. At the time, Haddon was already working on the three volumes of *Canoes of Oceania* published with James Hornell between 1936 and 1938.
283. MAA archives, WO3/1/11, note by Louis Clarke, not dated but written shortly after Templeton Crocker's visit to the MAA on 13 February 1933.
284. MAA archives, WO3/1/11, letter from Charles Templeton Crocker to Louis Clarke, 18 August 1933.
285. After the *Zaca*'s visit to Hull (now Orona) and Sydney (now Manra) islands in the Republic of Kiribati, Gordon Macgregor sailed to Honolulu. The entire ethnographic collection was catalogued there (presumably by Macgregor), and a selection of about 670 objects was made by Herbert E. Gregory (then Director at the Bishop Museum). The rest of the collection was sent to San Francisco where it was re-catalogued, then offered to the Field Museum in Chicago and later to the MAA.
286. Gordon Macgregor, 'Anthropological Work of the Templeton Crocker Expedition, 1933', p. 43.
287. MAA archives, WO3/1/11, letter from Charles Templeton Crocker to Louis Clarke, 5 December 1933.
288. Images mounted on card and annotated with manuscript captions were probably made between 1934 and 1937. Images annotated with typed captions could only have been mounted after 1937, when the Musée de l'Homme was provided with a typewriter (Carine Peltier-Caroff, pers. comm. 20 June 2017).
289. Data on the collections under the care of the Osaka National Museum of Ethnology was collected by Hannah Eastham, in January – March 2018, based on database records and examination of albums, diaries and art works.
290. My translation. The original text reads: 'Type d'homme [?] yeux bridés', see original card for PP0002236 at the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac.
291. See Osaka, National Museum of Ethnology (Minpaku), Asaeda's Album, Volume 2, p. 53, X0076880.
292. See Karin Becker, 'Picturing Our Past: An Archive Constructs a National Culture', *The Journal of American Folklore* 105 (1992), 3-18; and Marcus Banks, *Visual Methods in Social Research* (London: Sage, 2001).

Chapter 12

293. Billie Melman, *Women's Orients: English Women and the Middle East, 1718-1918 – Sexuality, Religion and Work* (London: Macmillan, 1992).
294. Ruth Behar, 'Introduction: Out of Exile', *Women Writing Culture* (California and Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), p. 9.
295. Lila Abu-Lughod, 'Can there be a Feminist Ethnography?', *Women and Performance* 5(1) (1990), 18-19.
296. Notwithstanding current discussion of anthropology's 'feminization' (ever-higher numbers of women students), proportions of women (and especially women with children) continue to reduce dramatically the higher one ascends academic rank and salary scales. David Mills and Mette Louise Berg, 'Gender, disembodiment and vocation: Exploring the unmentionables of British academic life', *Critique of Anthropology* 30(4) (2010), 331-53; see also Committee on the Status of Women in Anthropology, American Anthropological Association (AAA), 'We've Come a Long Way, Maybe: Academic Climate Report of the Committee on the Status of Women in Anthropology' (AAA, 12 May 2008), www.americananthro.org/LearnAndTeach/ (accessed 1 February 2018); Michael Burton, Patty Jo Watson, Naomi Quinn and Cynthia Webster, 'Academic Employment of Women in Anthropology' (AAA, 1992), www.americananthro.org/ParticipateAndAdvocate/ (accessed 1 February 2018); Eli Thorkelson, 'Gender Imbalance in Anthropology', Decasia, 12 September 2009, https://decasia.org/academic_culture/2009/09/12/gender-imbalance-in-anthropology/ (accessed 1 February 2018).
297. Brandeis' inventory is in the Stadtarchiv Freiburg. I am grateful to Stefanie Schien for providing me with copies of this and of two of her articles.
298. Elisabeth Krämer-Bannow, *Bei kunstsinnigen Kannibalen der Südsee* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1916); Elisabeth Krämer-Bannow, 'Heimatschutz in die deutschen Kolonien', *Der Kunstwart*, July 1913,

pp. 13-23. Elisabeth Krämer-Bannow, 'Menschenschutz in unseren Kolonien', *Kosmos: Handweiser für Naturfreunde* 1913 X(9), 353-60.

299. Anna Pytlik, *Träume in Tropenlicht – Forscherinnen auf Reisen: Elisabeth Krämer-Bannow in Ozeanien 1906-1910, Marie Pauline Thorbecke in Kamerun 1911-1913* (Reutlingen: Coyote Verlag, 1997); Volker Harms, 'Die ehemals private Südsee-Sammlung von Augustin Krämer in der Tübinger Universität', *TenDenZen*, published by Überseemuseum Bremen, 2004, Band XI, pp. 51-60; Sven Mönter, "Out of the shadow' – biographical details of Elisabeth Krämer-Bannow or 'The woman behind Dr. Augustin Krämer", Graduate Conference Day seminar, Department of History, University of Auckland, 2008. Available on the Etpison Museum Krämer Translation Project page: www.etpisonmuseum.org/kramer.html (accessed 1 February 2018).
300. For example those cited above as well as Bettina Beer, *Frauen in der deutschsprachigen Ethnologie. Ein Handbuch* (Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, 2007); Ute Gacs, Aisha Khan, Jerrie McIntyre and Ruth Weinberg (eds), *Women Anthropologists: Selected Biographies* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989).
301. Margarete Brüll, 'Kolonialzeitliche Sammlungen aus dem Pazifik' in Städtische Museen Freiburg Museum für Völkerkunde, *Als Freiburg die Welt entdeckte: 100 Jahre Museum für Volkerkunde* (Freiburg: Promo Verlag, 1995), pp. 109-45. Available at: www.freiburg-postkolonial.de/Seiten/Adelhauser-Bruell2.pdf (accessed 1 February 2018).
302. The above quotations are drawn from Margarete Brüll's German language citations of letters and other primary material held in the Stadtarchiv Freiburg. All translations are my own.
303. Antonie Brandeis, 'Von den Marshallinseln', *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, 1897, p. 248ff; Antonie Brandeis, 'Das Gesicht im Monde. Ein Märchen der Nauru-Insulaner', *Ethnologisches Notizblatt*, 1904; Antonie Brandeis, 'Südsee-Erinnerungen', *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung Nr. 1*, Berlin, 4 January 1908, pp. 6-7. Antonie Brandeis, 'Nauru', *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung Nr. 54*, Berlin, 22 August 1908, pp. 599-601.
304. Emily Ruete, *Memoiren einer arabischen Prinzessin* (Berlin: Friedrich Ludhardt Verlag, 1886).
305. Sayyida Salmé/Emily Ruete, *An Arabian Princess between Two Worlds: Memoirs, Letters Home, Sequels to the Memoirs, Syrian Customs and Usages*, edited by E. van Donzel (Leiden: Brill, 1993).
306. Brüll, 'Kolonialzeitliche Sammlungen aus dem Pazifik', p. 135.
307. *Ibid.*
308. Pytlik, *Träume im Tropenlicht*.
309. Harms, 'Die ehemals private Südsee-Sammlung von Augustin Krämer', p. 54.
310. *Ibid*., pp. 54-5.
311. Krämer-Bannow is also credited by her husband as 'my collaborator' at the beginning the first of his series of volumes on Palau, published between 1917 and 1929 among the results of the Hamburger Südsee Expedition. Augustin Krämer, *Palau: Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition 1908-1910, Teilband 1* (Hamburg, 1917).
312. Krämer-Bannow, *Bei kunstsinnigen Kannibalen*; Beer, *Frauen in der deutschsprachigen Ethnologie*, p. 130.
313. Beer, *Frauen in der deutschsprachigen Ethnologie*, p. 130.
314. Mönter, "Out of the shadow".
315. *Ibid.*
316. Krämer-Bannow, *Bei kunstsinnigen Kannibalen*, pp. 34-5; see also Beer, *Frauen in der deutschsprachigen Ethnologie*, p. 129.
317. I am grateful to Volker Harms for drawing my attention both to the Krämers' aesthetic sensibilities and to the significance of this usage.

318. For example Augustin Krämer, 'Anfänge und Unterschiede des Flechtens und Webens', *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 59(3/6) (1927), 362-77. See also chapters in Krämer, *Palau*.
319. Volker Harms ('Die ehemals private Südsee-Sammlung von Augustin Krämer', p. 55) notes that why Krämer-Bannow deposited her notes from this voyage in Göttingen remains obscure. He suggests that a comparison of her New Ireland research with that of Hortense Powdermaker, who visited many of the same settlements just ten years later, asking similar questions, would make an excellent subject for future research.

Chapter 13

320. Anne Salmond, *Between Worlds: Early Exchanges Between Māori And Europeans* (Auckland: Viking, 1997).
321. Andrew Sayers, *Aboriginal Artists of the Nineteenth Century* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1994).
322. British Association for the Advancement of Science, *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, third ed. (London: Anthropological Institute, 1899), p. 121.
323. Tim Thomas, Heather Donoghue, catalogue entries in Peter Brunt and Nicholas Thomas, *Oceania* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2018).

Chapter 14

324. In Germany, *Ethnologie* is used synonymously for social and cultural anthropology, while *Anthropologie* originally referred to physical anthropology and has recently been also adopted for cultural anthropology, as in *Kulturanthropologie*. Similarly, ethnographic museums tend to be called 'ethnologisch' or are still associated with *Völkerkunde* (which has disappeared in the academic context). At the same time, there is a shift towards renaming museums and replacing the 'ethnologisch', as in the case of the Humboldt Forum. In this chapter, I use these categories depending on the respective historical context while opting for 'ethnographic' to make my own points because of its prevalence across the Pacific and internationally.
325. Friedrich von Bose, *Das Humboldt-Forum: Eine Ethnografie seiner Planung* (Berlin: Kulturverlag Kadmos, 2016). Horst Bredekamp and Peter-Klaus Schuster (eds), *Das Humboldt Forum: Die Widergewinnung der Idee* (Berlin: Wagenbach, 2016). Stiftung preußischer Kulturbesitz, *The Laboratory Concept: Museum Experiments in the Humboldt Lab Dahlem* (Berlin: Nicolai, 2015).
326. T. Thiemeyer, 'Deutschland postkolonial: Ethnologische und genealogische Erinnerungskultur', *Merkur: Deutsche Zeitschrift für europäisches Denken* 70 (2016), 33-45. See 'No Humboldt 21!', www.no-humboldt21.de/ (accessed 10 May 2017).
327. On History, see Matthew Jefferies, *Contesting the German Empire, 1871-1918* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), especially 'The East German View', pp. 37-42. On Völkerkunde/Ethnologie, see Dietrich Treide, *Erlebte Ethnologie: Ein Rückblick auf die Geschichte der Universitäts-Ethnologie in Leipzig 1951 bis 1993*, edited by Barbara Treide (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2013). On Volkskunde/Europäische Ethnologie see: You Jae Lee, 'DDR-Volkskunde als Wissenschaftsgeschichte: „… als ob die Volkskundler schwarze Schafe wären.' Wissenschaft, Politik und Eigensinn in der DDR-Volkskunde 1945-1973', in T. Scholze and L. Scholze-Irrlitz (eds), *Zehn Jahre Gesellschaft für Ethnographie – Europäische Ethnologie in Berlin: Wolfgang Jacobeit zum 80. Geburtstag* [special issue], *Berliner Blätter – Ethnograpische und ethnologische Beiträge* 23 (2001), 75-104.
328. Jürgen Goldstein, *Georg Forster: Zwischen Freiheit und Naturgewalt* (Berlin: Matthes & Seitz, 2015). Georg Forster, *A Voyage round the World*, edited by N. Thomas and O. Berghof (Honolulu: University

of Hawai'i Press, 2000 [1777]). See also P. Schorch, C. McCarthy and A. Hakiwai, 'Globalizing Māori Museology: Reconceptualizing Engagement, Knowledge and Virtuality through Mana Taonga', *Museum Anthropology* 39 (2016), 8-69.

329. See 'A wall of ice', Deutsches Museum Bonn, www.deutsches-museum.de/en/bonn/collections/icebreaking/icebreaking-episodes/a-wall-of-ice/ (accessed 18 June 2017).
330. Georg Forster, *Reise um die Welt* [A Voyage round the world], vol. 1, vol. 2 (Berlin: Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, 1989 [1777]).
331. Thorsten Klapsch, *Palast der Republik* (Mannheim: Edition Panorama, 2010).
332. SED = Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands.
333. Christian Dellit, 'Ethnologie im „antiimperialistischen' Staat: Das Leipziger Völkerkundemuseum 1958-1969', unpublished Master's thesis (Greifswald: Ernst-Moritz-Arndt-Universität, 2012).
334. Ministerium für Hoch- und Fachschulwesen.
335. On the history of the Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, see G. Blesse, 'Daten zur Geschichte des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig (1869-1994)', *Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig* 40 (1994), 24-71; as well as G. Blesse, 'Das Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig 1869-2009 – eine Chronik', in C. Deimel, S. Lentz and B. Streck (eds), *Auf der Suche nach Vielfalt: Ethnographie und Geographie in Leipzig* (Leipzig: Leibnitz- Institut für Länderkunde, 2009), pp. 347-70.
336. My translation of the conference title 'Die Bedeutung der Leninschen Lehren für die nationale Befreiungsbewegung in Asien und Afrika unter Berücksichtigung der traditionellen Machtorgane'; see Treide, *Erlebte Ethnologie*, pp. 58-60; and B. Treide, *Ethnografische Arbeitstagung zum 100. Geburtstag W. I. Lenins (1. und 2. April 1970)* [special issue], *Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig* 28 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1972).
337. Treide, *Erlebte Ethnologie*.
338. H.D. Kubitschek, 'Die Entwicklung der Regionalwissenschaften in der DDR und ihr Verhältnis zur Orientalistik und Völkerkunde', in D. Neuland-Kitzerow and L. Scholz-Irrlitz (eds), *Akteure – Praxen – Theorien: Der Ethnografin Ute Mohrmann zum siebzigsten Geburtstag* [special issue], *Berliner Blätter – Ethnographische und enthologische Beiträge* 52 (2010), 20-29.
339. My translation for 'Leiter Abteilung Wissenschaftliche Museen im Staatssekretariat' [Dellit, 'Ethnologie im „antiimperialistischen' Staat', p. 41].
340. E. Germer, 'Die Vorgeschichte des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig 1869-1969: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Ethnographie und des Museumswesens', in *Zum einhundertjährigen Bestehen 1869-1969* [special issue], *Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig* 26 (1969), 5-40.
341. Dellit, 'Ethnologie im „antiimperialistischen' Staat', pp. 75, 30.
342. Treide, *Erlebte Ethnologie*, p. 23.
343. See Blesse, 'Daten zur Geschichte des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig (1869-1994)', and 'Das Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig 1869-2009 – eine Chronik'.
344. Hans Damm, *Städtisches Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig: Führer durch die Abteilung Südsee/Indonesien* (Leipzig: Städtisches Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, 1938), p. 8.
345. Karl Weule, 'Die deutsche Völkerkunde vor, während und nach der Kriegszeit' [1923], in K. Geisenhainer, L. Bohrmann and B. Streck (eds), *100 Jahre Institut für Ethnologie der Universität Leipzig*: *eine Anthologie seiner Vertreter* (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2014), pp. 29-54.
346. Friedrich Rudolf Lehmann, 'Die Bedeutung der Völkerkunde im neuen Deutschland (1934), in Geisenhainer *et al.*, *100 Jahre Institut für Ethnologie der Universität Leipzig*, pp. 111-24.
347. Manuela Fischer, Peter Bolz and Susan Kamel, *Adolf Bastian and His Universal Archive of Humanity: The Origins of German Anthropology* (Hildesheim: Olms, 2007).

348. Dellit, 'Ethnologie im „antiimperialistischen' Staat', p. 50; Glenn Penny, *Objects of Culture: Ethnology and Ethnographic Museums in Imperial Germany* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), p. 4.
349. Dellit, 'Ethnologie im „antiimperialistischen' Staat', p. 82.
350. E. Germer, 'Völker Australiens und Ozeaniens: Eine Einführung zur Neugestaltung der Südseeausstellung', *Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig* 33(1970), 8-14. According to one of my interlocutors, the opening had to be postponed due to an 'ideological dispute' which brought a commission from Berlin to Leipzig. 'The reddest points' – meaning the most communist/socialist – 'were often prohibited', which points to the situational arbitrariness of a supposedly straightforward ideological framework. The archival material stored in the bequest of Dietrich Dost, former curator Africa and deputy of Damm, at the Grassi Museum für Völkerkunde, hints at another example since it does not lack Marxist-Leninist rhetoric in preparation of the anniversary celebration and thus does not warrant its cancellation (see above), at least on paper.
351. The so-called 'Hallstein-Doktrin' of the West German government considered any diplomatic relation of third countries with East Germany as an unfriendly act against itself. On 20 October 1969, the West German chancellor spoke for the first time of 'two states of one nation in Germany', which laid the basis for direct negotiations and a contract sealing mutual recognition in 1972 (see Hanns Jürgen Küsters, '1955: Die Hallstein-Doktrin', 2013, www.bundesarchiv.de/DE/Navigation/Home/home.html, accessed 3 July 2017). On 18 September 1973, the 'two Germanies' became members of the United Nations (see Ulrich Eisele, 'Die DDR in den Vereinten Nationen 1973-1990', www.bundesstiftung-aufarbeitung.de/uploads/pdf-2010/eisele.pdf, accessed 3 July 2017).
352. Dellit, 'Ethnologie im „antiimperialistischen' Staat', p. 52. For a history of the permanent exhibitions, including the GDR era, see Claus Deimel, 'Rundgänge in einer Welt. Geschichte der ständigen ethnographischen Ausstellung', in Deimel *et al.*, *Auf der Suche nach Vielfalt*, pp. 391-412.
353. Dellit, 'Ethnologie im „antiimperialistischen' Staat'.
354. Jürgen Kocka, 'Eine durchherrschte Gesellschaft', in H. Kaelbe, J. Kocka and H. Zwahr (eds), *Sozialgeschichte der DDR* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1994), pp. 547-53.
355. Scheunemann Jan, *'Gegenwartsbezogenheit und Parteinahme für den Sozialismus': Geschichtspolitik und regionale Museumsarbeit in der SBZ/DDR 1945-1971* (Berlin: Metropol, 2009).
356. Roland Cvetkovski shows with regards to 'Soviet Museology' how these limitations were overcome in another context in which 'ideological pressure' led to the use of 'supplementary objects' that 'gradually transformed the museum into a kind of text whose important characteristic became its readability' (p. 223 in 'Object ideology: The formation of museology in early Soviet Russia', in L. Förster (ed.), *Transforming Knowledge Orders: Museums, Collections, and Exhibitions* (Paderborn : Wilhelm Fink, 2014), pp. 198-229). In other words, 'the linear historical narrative to which the objects were subordinated eventually overrode the material and visual complexities of the artefacts themselves' (Larissa Förster, 'Introduction', in Förster, *Transforming Knowledge Orders*, pp. 7-20).
357. Dellit, 'Ethnologie im „antiimperialistischen' Staat', p. 6. See also Günter Schade on the ideological flexibility of art museums versus history museums in G. Schade, 'Die staatlichen Museen zu Berlin in der Kultur- und Bildungspolitik der DDR: Erfahrungen und Erlebnisse' *Jahrbuch Preußischer Kulturbesitz* 34 (1997), 153-93.
358. Treide, *Erlebte Ethnologie*.
359. G. Schade, 'Kriegsbeute – oder 'Weltschätze der Kunst, der Menschheit bewahrt'? Beschlagnahme deutscher Kulturgüter durch die Sowjetunion am Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges und ihre teilweise Rückkehr zwischen 1955 and 1958', *Jahrbuch Preußischer Kulturbesitz* 41 (2004), 199-25. See p. 242.

360. Konstantin Akinscha and Grigori Koslow, *Beutekunst: Auf Schatzsuche in russischen Geheimdepots* (München: Deutscher Taschenbuchverlag, 1995), p. 232.
361. M. Oberhofer, 'Die Wederentdeckung und Reinterpretation einer verloren geglaubten Afrika-Sammlung aus Bamum (Kamerun)', *Mitteilungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* 31 (2010), 73-88.
362. Schade, 'Kriegsbeute – oder 'Weltschätze der Kunst, der Menschheit bewahrt'?', pp. 242-4.
363. Letter stored in the Archive of the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin.
364. The story seems a Cold War variation of the earlier history of German ethnographic museums and the spatial 'chaos' they constantly and paradoxically suffered due to the endless collecting aimed at bringing human diversity into 'order' (see Penny, *Objects of Culture*).
365. Christian F. Feest, 'Coming Home At Last: Reunification and Repatriation in Germany' *Museum Anthropology*, 15 (1991), 31-2.
366. I appreciate the details offered via email by Regine Dehnel at the Deutsch-Russischer Museumsdialog (DRMD) of the Kulturstiftung der Länder.
367. Letter on 'Die Rückführung der sogenannten „Leningrad-Sammlung' von Leipzig nach Berlin: Zur Chronologie der Verlagerungen und Rückführungen', stored in the Archive of the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin, folder *MV Rückführung* (subsequently abbreviated as 'Letter on Rückführung').
368. I acknowledge the background information provided by Christian Feest via email.
369. This paragraph draws on conversations with Giselherr Blesse, Lothar Bohrmann, Rolf Krusche, Peter Göbel and Lothar Stein.
370. Newspaper article 'Leipziger Trommel wurde erhört – Das Ende einer Odyssee; 45000 Objekte wieder im Dahlemer Museum', *Berliner Morgenpost*, 24 August 1990, stored in the Archive of the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin.
371. Newspaper article written by Peter Göbel, 'Rauchzeichen verloschen: Geheimnisvolle Nachrichtenübermittlung beendet', *Leipziger Volkszeitung*, 21 June 1991, stored in the Archive of the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin.
372. This information stems from a variety of sources, which I do not want to disclose for the sake of anonymity.
373. Report titled 'Nachrichten über verloren geglaubte Sammlungsbestände des Museums für Völkerkunde Berlin, Staatliche Museen preußischer Kulturbesitz', written by Immina Schuler, signed 19 March 1985.
374. Letter on Rückführung; Sigrid Westphal-Hallbusch, 'Zur Geschichte des Museums', in K. Krieger and G. Koch (eds), *100 Jahre Museum für Völkerkunde Berlin* (Berlin: Reimer, 1973), pp. 1-100; Gerd Koch, 'Abteilung Südsee', in Krieger and Koch (eds), *100 Jahre Museum für Völkerkunde Berlin*, pp. 141-74.
375. Akinscha and Koslow, *Beutekunst*, p. 105; Ehemals Staatliche Museen Berlin (ed.), *Die Berliner Museen* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1953), pp. 124-37.
376. See Gerd Koch, 'Kriegsbedingte Verlagerungen von Sammlungen und deren Rückführung – Schloss Celle', in Krieger and Koch (eds), *100 Jahre Museum für Völkerkunde Berlin*, pp. 377-84. A chain of letters housed at the Archive of the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin reveals a fascinating dispute: visiting curators from Berlin, who inspected the collections housed at the castle of Celle after the War, accused the Museum für Völkerkunde in Hamburg of attempting to annex items stemming from Berlin into their collection. The story seems to reflect and continue the civic competition of late nineteenth century imperial Germany when both museums were founded (Penny, *Objects of Culture*).
377. See publications of Deutsch-Russischer Museums Dialog: www.kulturstiftung.de/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/Arsprototo_Sonderausgabe-DRMD.pdf and www.kulturstiftung.de/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/Broschuere_Verlust_Rueckgabe_deu.pdf (both accessed 20 June 2017);

Irene Kühnel-Kunze, *Bergung-Evakuierung-Rückführung: Die Berliner Museen in den Jahren 1939-1959*, Jahrbuch Preußischer Kulturbesitz [special edition 2] (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1984); Beate Wild, *Kriegsbedingte Verlagerung: Abteilung Amerika* (Berlin: Ethnologisches Museum Berlin, 1990).

378. Letter on Rückführung.
379. Letter written by Horstmann to L. Vajda on 14 June 1965, stored in the Archive of the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin.
380. Letter to the Generaldirektor der Staatlichen Museen written on 20 May 1985.
381. Letter on Rückführung.
382. Letter stored in the Archive of the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin, folder *MV Rückführung.*
383. Letter stored in the Archive of the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin, folder *MV Rückführung.*
384. Letter stored in the Archive of the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin, folder *MV Rückführung.*
385. Martin Kitchen, *A History of Modern Germany: 1800 to the Present* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), p. 351. I thank Mario Graber from the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin for the information.
386. See the special issue, P. Schorch and A. Pascht (eds), *Reimagining Oceania Through Critical Junctures*, *Oceania* 87 (2017), 114-87.
387. Letter on Rückführung. I appreciate the background information on IT-based documentation and processing of collections given by Boris Gliesmann and Ilja Labischinski of the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin. For publications on the return of the Leningrad-Sammlung see: Schade, 'Kriegsbeute – oder 'Weltschätze der Kunst, der Menschheit bewahrt'?'; G. Höpfner, 'Die Rückführung der 'Leningrad-Sammlung' des Museums für Völkerkunde', *Jahrbuch Preußischer Kulturbesitz* 29 (1993), 157-71. Peter Bolz and Hans-Ulrich Sanner, *Indianer Nordamerikas: Die Sammlungen des Ethnologischen Museums Berlin* (Berlin: G & H Verlag, 1999), pp. 45-9; Richard Haas, 'Brasilien an der Spree: 200 Jahre ethnographische Sammlungen in Berlin', in *Deutsche am Amazonas – Forscher oder Abenteurer?: Expeditionen in Brasilien 1800 bis 1914*, Veröffentlichungen des Ethnologischen Museums Berlin (Berlin: Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, 2002), pp. 16-25.
388. I thank Julie Adams, Dorothea Deterts and Markus Schindlbeck for the support in tracing the separation and reunification of the posts.
389. I appreciate the (ongoing) conversations with Paola Ivanov and Hendryk Ortlieb as well as their reference to the website of former depot administrator Hans-Joachim Radosuboff: www.radosuboff.de/em/1991/afro_jahr1991.html (accessed 28 May 2017).

Chapter 15

390. Walter Benjamin, 'Unpacking My Library', *Illuminations*, edited by Hannah Arendt, translated by Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), pp. 59-87: p. 67.
391. Aside from articles in dozens of newspapers and magazines, the three key sources on Michoutouchkine and Pilioko are a biography of Michoutouchkine by Marie Claude Teissier-Landgraf, *The Russian from Belfort: Thirty-Seven Years Journey by Painter Nicolaï Michoutouchkine in Oceania* (Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies/University of the South Pacific, 1995); on Pilioko by Michoutouchkine, *Aloï Pilioko, Artist of the Pacific* (Suva, Fiji: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, undated [c.1980]); and an exhibition catalogue accompanying the 2007 retrospective of their work at the Tjibaou Cultural Center with essays by eight authors on various aspects of their life and work; see Gilbert Bladinières (ed.), *Nicolaï Michoutouchkine et Aloï Pilioko: 50 ans de creation en Océanie* (Nouméa: Éditions Madrépores, 2008).
392. Walter Benjamin, 'Unpacking My Library', p. 60.

393. See 'Michoutouchkine's Homage', *New Hebrides Nakamal*, 10 March 1973, pp. 6-7 [author unnamed]; N. Michoutouchkine, 'Vers Un Musée Vivant', *Bulletin du Pacifique Sud* 3 (1975), 52-5; and Frank Wiley, 'Tons of Artifacts and No Museum', *Los Angeles Times*, 18 July 1971.
394. See Daniel J. Sherman, *French Primitivism and the Ends of Empire, 1945-1975* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2011). The 'trente glorieuses' is the period from 1945 to 1975.
395. Ruth Phillips, 'Aesthetic Primitivism Revisited: The Global Diaspora of 'Primitive Art' and the Rise of Indigenous Modernisms', *Journal of Art Historiography* 12 (June 2015), 1-25.
396. See Claude Levi-Strauss, *Tristes Tropiques*, translated by John and Doreen Weightman (London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1973 (1955)), pp. 42-52, 44 and 47.
397. Teissier-Landgraf, *The Russian from Belfort*, pp. 79-91.
398. For a more in-depth account of them, see Peter Brunt, 'Falling into the World: The Global Artworld of Aloï Pilioko and Nicolaï Michoutouchkine', in Elizabeth Harney and Ruth Phillips (eds), *Mapping Modernisms: Art, Indigeneity, Colonialism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2018 [forthcoming]); as well as Teissier-Landgraf, *The Russian from Belfort*, and Bladinières, *Nicolaï Michoutouchkine et Aloï Pilioko*.
399. On their sojourn in Futuna, see Christian Coiffier, 'Futuna, catalyseur de la symbiose des deux artistes: Aloï Pilioko et Nicolaï Michoutouchkine', *Le Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 122-123 (2006), 173-186; Christian Coiffier, 'Le Séjour à Futuna 1959-1961, in Bladinières (ed.), *Nicolaï Michoutouchkine et Aloï Pilioko*, pp. 79-81; and Teissier-Landgraf, *The Russian from Belfort*, pp. 21-30.
400. Personal Communication, 3 September 2013.
401. Tessier-Landgraf, *The Russian from Belfort*, p. 27.
402. Nicolaï Michoutouchkine, 'À propos de ma collection', in Bladinières, *Nicolaï Michoutouchkine et Aloï Pilioko*, p. 135.
403. *Ibid.*
404. I discuss them in greater depth in Peter Brunt, 'Falling into the World'.
405. For an overview of the post-war history of Pacific museums, see Soroi Marepo Eoe and Pamela Swadling (eds), *Museums and Cultural Centres in the Pacific* (Port Moresby: Papua New Guinea National Museum, 1991).
406. This information is based on the exhibition *Le Musée Réinventé* at the Musée d'Ethnologie, Neuchâtel, Switzerland, curated by Bernard Knodel and students from the University of Neuchâtel about Jean Gabus' museological projects and innovations during the 'Trente Glorieuses' (1945-1975). I visited the exhibition on 1 December 2017.
407. Jean Gabus, 'Nouvelles-Hébrides: Projet de Musée a Port-Vila (Ile de Vaté), Nouvelles-Hébrides', *Ville de Neuchâtel: Bibliotheques Et Musees 1971* (Neuchâtel, 1971), pp. 163-8: 163 (translation by me). *Ville de Neuchâtel: Bibliotheques Et Musees* was the annual report of civic museums and libraries to the city of Neuchâtel. Courtesy of the Jean Gabus archive, Museum of Ethnography, Neuchâtel, Switzerland.
408. The artist staged a number of exhibitions there in 1961 including Pilioko's first public exhibition. I believe he also may have collected ethnographic artefacts for the Vila Cultural Centre in this period and served on its board.
409. Lissant Bolton, *Unfolding the Moon: Enacting Women's Kastom in Vanuatu* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003), pp. 33-4.
410. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
411. For the history of the Vanuatu Cultural Centre, see Bolton, *Unfolding the Moon*, pp. 6-50. For the political history of decolonization in Vanuatu, see Bolton, *Unfolding the Moon*, pp. 6-22; and Robert

Aldrich, *France and the South Pacific since 1940* (Hampshire/London: MacMillan Press, 1993), pp. 196-239.

412. Jean Guiart to Jean Gabus, letter dated 9 July 1973. Jean Gabus archive, Museum of Ethnography, Neuchâtel, Switzerland. Box 692.
413. 'Tribunal du 1er Degre', Jugement no. 48/76, dated 20 July 1976. Jean Gabus archive, Museum of Ethnography, Neuchâtel, Switzerland. Box 692.
414. See, for example, the newspaper article by Fara Diba, 'Halte Aux Pilleurs Du Patrimonie Caledonien' ('Stop the Looters of New Caledonian Patrimony'), *La France Australe*, 20 September 1975, pp. 10-25. Jean Gabus archive, Museum of Ethnography, Neuchâtel, Switzerland. Similarly, in the transition to independence in Papua New Guinea, officers of the National Museum and Police and Customs officers intercepted culturally significant objects slated for illegal export in June 1972, the basis of a 1974 exhibition called *The Seized Collections*. See Mark Busse, 'Short History of the Papua New Guinea National Museum', in Barry Craig, Mark Busse and Soroi Eoe (eds), *Living Spirits with Fixed Abodes* (Adelaide: Crawford House, 2010), pp. 5-14: p. 11.
415. Marjorie Crocombe to Jean Guiart, letter dated 16 October 1974. Jean Gabus archive, Museum of Ethnography, Neuchâtel, Switzerland. Quoted with the permission of Marjorie Crocombe.
416. See Ludmilla Ivanova, 'Souvenirs de Russie', in Bladinières, *Nicolaï Michoutouchkine et Aloï Pilioko*, pp. 141-2; and Ludmilla Ivanova, 'NN Mishutushkin and Exhibition: Ethnography and Art of Oceania', *Ethnographic Quarterly* (2010) 2, 97-110.
417. The statement was originally made in N. Michoutouchkine, 'Vers Un Musée Vivant', *Bulletin du Pacifique Sud* 3 (1975), 52-55: p. 55; it was repeated in Nicolaï Michoutouchkine, 'À propos de ma collection,' in Bladinières, *Nicolaï Michoutouchkine et Aloï Pilioko*, p. 135.

Chapter 16

418. Anne Salmond, *Between Worlds: Early Exchanges Between Māori and Europeans, 1773-1815* (Auckland: Viking, 1997), pp. 176-7.
419. Brief of Evidence of Deidre Brown, 28 October 2016. In the Matter of a claim by Moana Nui A Kiwa Wood, Terry Smith and Waitangi Wood on behalf of themselves and the descendants of Ngāti Rua ki Whangaroa (Wai 1661), Te Paparahi o Te Raki Inquiry District (Wai 1040), Waitangi Tribunal.
420. Pounamu, or 'greenstone', is a collective name for bowenite, nephrite jade and serpentine.
421. See Geoff Park, *Forestry and Timber Trading in the Bay of Islands, 1769-1840* (Wellington: Treaty Research Series, Treaty of Waitangi Research Unit, 2006).
422. H. Campbell, 'Pine spars and plate armour: convicts and colonists. H.M.S. Buffalo in the South Seas', *Auckland – Waikato Historical Journal* 52(1) (April 1988), 15.
423. Park, *Forestry and Timber Trading in the Bay of Islands*, pp. 12-3.
424. Thomas Laslett, New Zealand Journal 1, MS-Papers-8349-1, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, pp. 7, 28-9.
425. Robert Sexton, *HMS Buffalo: An Account of His Majesty's ship Buffalo, Naval Storeship and Timber Carrier, Quarantine Ship, Transport and Emigrant Ship Bringing the First Governor to South Australia* (Adelaide: Australasian Maritime Historical Society, 1984), p. 33.
426. Michael Roche, 'The Commodity Chain at the Periphery: the spar trade of northern New Zealand in the early 19th century', in Christina Stringer and Richard Le Heron (eds), *Agri-Food Commodity, Chains and Globalising Networks* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), p. 207.
427. Thomas Laslett, New Zealand Journal 1, MS-Papers-8349-1, p. 39.
428. *Ibid*., p. 41.

429. Belle Sadler, Brixton Hill, letter to the British Museum, 8 July 1896, British Museum Archives.
430. The mere pounamu was shown at the British Museum's 1998 'Māori' survey exhibition and toured with the *Treasures of the World's Cultures* exhibition to East Asia between 2005 and 2007.
431. The hei tiki has been shown seven times in various European locations since 1979.
432. Belle Sadler, Brixton Hill, annotated drawing accompanying letter to the British Museum, 8 July 1896, British Museum Archives.
433. There is no recent exhibition history for the kōauau, and it is unlikely to be displayed in the near future because of its human materiality. In 2004, the British Museum received a repatriation request for this object, most likely from the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa.
434. Mervyn McLean, *Māori Music* (Auckland: Auckland University Press), p. 185.
435. The aurei has no recent exhibition history.
436. Deidre Brown, 'Indigenous Art Animals,' in Annie Potts, Philip Armstrong and Deidre Brown (eds), *A New Zealand Book of Beasts: Animals in our Culture, History and Everyday Life* (Auckland: Auckland University Press), p. 171.
437. Nigel Prickett, *Archaeology of New Zealand Shore Whaling* (Wellington: Department of Conservation, 2002), p. 2.
438. Charles Read, British Museum, letter to Belle Sadler, Brixton, 23 July 1896; Handwritten note on Belle Sadler, Brixton Hill, annotated drawing accompanying letter to the British Museum, 8 July 1896, British Museum Archives.
439. Belle Sadler, 8 July 1896, British Museum Archives.
440. I thank Dr Billie Lythberg, University of Auckland, for this observation.
441. Frederick Sadler does not appear to have travelled to either Fiji or Tonga, so a less likely scenario is that he had acquired these items and added them to his collection.
442. Thomas Laslett, New Zealand Journal 1, MS-Papers-8349-1, p. 39.
443. William Yate, 26 June 1834, Journal and diary 1833-1845, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, MS-2544, pp. 116-17, in Parkinson, 'Tuku: gifts for a king and the panoplies of Titore and Patuone', *Tuhinga* 23 (2012), p. 57.
444. Henry Williams, *The Early Journals of Henry Williams, Senior Missionary in New Zealand of the Church Missionary Society, 1826-40* (Wellington: New Zealand Electronic Text Centre, 2006), p. 192.
445. Frederick Sadler, 14 July 1836, Memorandum, 209/2, p. 371. National Archives, Kew, London, in Parkinson, 'Tuku', p. 61.
446. Sally Goodsir, Assistant Curator of Decorative Arts, Royal Collection Trust, personal communication to Deidre Brown, 6 July 2016.
447. Goodsir, personal communication to Deidre Brown, 7 July 2016.
448. Parkinson, 'Tuku', p. 58.
449. Frederick Sadler to Colonial Office, 12 January 1835, in Campbell, 'Pine spars and plate armour', p. 19; Parkinson, 'Tuku', p. 58.
450. R. Bryham to Robert Hay, 1 May 1835, in Campbell, 'Pine spars and plate armour', p. 20.
451. Lord Aberdeen to Titore, 31 January 1835, in CO 202/30, p. 274, in Campbell, 'Pine spars and plate armour', p. 20; Parkinson, 'Tuku', p. 58; Boris Gorelik, *'An Entirely Different World': Russian Visitors to the Cape, 1797-1870* (Cape Town, South Africa: Van Riebeek Society, 2015), p. 22; 'Heathen Anecdotes', *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 16 June 1821, p. 2.
452. James Busby to the Colonial Secretary of New South Wales, 30 November 1835, in Campbell, 'Pine spars and plate armour', p. 21.

453. Wiremu Hipango in Augustus Hamilton, 'On Some Armour Presented to Titore, a Ngā Puhi Chief, by H.M. William IV in 1835', *Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand* 42 (1909), p. 44; A bullet hole-like aperture does appear on the remains of the helmut. Ngāti Rehia whakapapa (geneaologies), suggest that Titore may have been childless, however, Māori sometimes had 'classificatory' children, who were whāngai (a Māori form of adoption) or under the care and/or mentorship of other relatives, who were sometimes referred to as sons and daughters in historical texts.
454. See Paul Tapsell, 'The Flight of Pareraututu: an investigation of taonga from a tribal perspective', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 106(4), 323-74.
455. George French Angas, *Savage Life and Scenes in New Zealand: Being an Artist's Impressions of Countries and People at the Antipodes 2* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1847), pp. 86-7.
456. *Ibid*., p. 87.
457. *Ibid*., p. 87.
458. Hipango in Hamilton, 'On Some Armour Presented to Titore', pp. 44-5.
459. Otago Witness, 13 November 1908, 'Important Historical Dispute: chief Hongi's armour, a Māori relic', p. 70. Note that the armour belonged to Titore, not Hongi, as stated in the report.
460. Hipango in Hamilton, 'On Some Armour Presented to Titore', p. 44; Otago Witness, p. 70.
461. Otago Witness, p. 70.
462. *Ibid*.
463. Thomas Laslett, New Zealand Journal 2, MS-Papers-8349-2, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, p. 3.
464. Joel Polack, *New Zealand: Being a Narrative of Travels and Adventures During a Residence in the Country Between the Years 1831 and 1837* (London, 1838), p. 205.
465. Thomas Laslett, New Zealand Journal 2, p. 3.
466. S.A. Memory, 'F. W. R. Sadler', State Library of South Australia, www.samemory.sa.gov.au/site/page.cfm?c=3547 (accessed 15 July 2016).
467. Joseph Chegwyn to British Museum, 7 February 1896, 1896-1898 C, Brit: Ant:, British Museum. He had previously and unsuccessfully offered these items for sale to the Walter Rothschild Zoological Museum at Tring, see Joseph Chegwyn, 'Letter from Hastings, 7 February 1896', Natural History Museum Library and Archives (London), TM 1/12/1.
468. Joseph Chegwyn to British Museum, 7 February 1896; Joseph Chegwyn to Augustus Franks, British Museum, 24 February 1896, 1896-1898 C, Brit: Ant:, British Museum.
469. Joseph Chegwyn to British Museum, 7 February 1896; Joseph Chegwyn to Augustus Franks, British Museum, 17 February 1896, 1896-1898 C, Brit: Ant:, British Museum.
470. John King, Te Puna, letter to James Blea, Chipping Norton, 18 May 1837, private collection.
471. Charles Read, British Museum, to Joseph Chegwyn, n.d., 1896-1898 C, Brit: Ant:, British Museum; Joseph Chegwyn to Charles Read, British Museum, 24 February 1896, 1896-1898 C, Brit: Ant:, British Museum.
472. William Webster to Augustus Pitt-Rivers, 22 April 1896, Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum Pitt-Rivers Manuscript Collection, B456, http://web.prm.ox.ac.uk/rpr/index.php/article-index/12-articles/827-saswm-letters.html (accessed 16 July 2016).
473. Auckland Star, 'Relics of the Māori', 2 November 1901, p. 3.
474. Petra Martin, Curator, Dresden Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, personal communication to Deidre Brown, 26 July 2016.
475. According to Martin the inventory was written by W. Foy, a museum employee, in 1901.

476. Roger Neich, *Carved Histories: Rotorua Ngati Tarawhai Woodcarving* (Auckland: Auckland University Press), pp. 12, 280.
477. Ngarino Ellis, 'Ako mai, Ako atu: learning from our taonga Māori overseas', Auckland Museum public programme lecture, 23 October 2018.
478. William Colenso, *The Authentic and Genuine History of the Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi* (Wellington, 1890; Christchurch: Capper Press reprint, 1971), p. 24 in Claudia Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, p. 279, footnote 56.
479. Waitangi Tribunal, *He Whakaputanga me te Tiriti/The Declaration and the Treaty: the report on stage 1 of the Te Paparahi o Te Raki Inquiry 1* (Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 2014), p. xxii.
480. Deidre Brown, *Tai Tokerau Whakairo Rakau: Northland Māori Wood Carving* (Auckland: Reed Publishing, 2003), pp. 57-63.

Chapter 17

481. For recent research on Cook voyage collection histories, see Jeremy Coote (ed.) *Cook Voyage Collections of 'Artificial Curiosities' in Britain and Ireland, 1771-2015* (Oxford: Museum Ethnographers' Group, 2015); and Nicholas Thomas, 'A case of identity: the artefacts of the 1770 Kamay (Botany Bay) encounter', *Australian Historical Studies* 49 (2018), 4-27.
482. Stig Rydén, *The Banks Collection: An Episode in 18th-Century Anglo-Swedish Relations* (Stockholm: Almquist and Wiksell, 1965).
483. Rydén, *The Banks Collection*, pp. 75-6, figs 24, 25.
484. Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin and Gundolf Krügers (eds), *James Cook: Gifts and Treasures from the South Seas* (Munich: Prestel, 1998), p. 308.
485. Michaela Appel, *Oceania: World Views of the South Seas* (Munich: Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, 2005), p. 157, fig. 171.
486. George Forster, *A Voyage Round the World*, edited by Nicholas Thomas and Michael Dettelbach (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), I, pp. 229-261, 406-19: p. 230.
487. See Hélène Guiot's film, *Paroles de tapa* (France, 2015).
488. Julie Adams, "As much as three men could lift': a bale of barkcloth from Tahiti', in N. Thomas, J. Adams, B. Lythberg, M. Nuku and A. Salmond (eds), *Artefacts of Encounter: Cook's Voyages, Colonial Collecting and Museum Histories* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2016), pp. 198-201.

Chapter 18

489. For a more in-depth discussion of the collection and exhibition history, see Fanny Wonu Veys, 'Papua collections in the Netherlands: a story of exploration, research, missionization and colonization', in L. Carreau, A. Clark, A. Jelinek, E. Lilje and N. Thomas (eds) *Oceanic Art and European Museums Volume One* (Leiden: Sidestone Publishing, 2018).
490. Arie Wilschut, *De tijd van ontdekkers en hervormers, 1500-1600. Kleine geschiedenis van Nederland* (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgeverij, 2007), pp. 143-7.
491. In 1511 or 1512, the Portuguese captains Antonio d'Abreu and Francisco Serrano were the first Europeans to sight New Guinea from afar; see Veys, 'Papua collections in the Netherlands'.
492. Dirk Vlasblom, *Papoea. Een geschiedenis* (Amsterdam: Mets & Schilt Uitgevers, 2004), pp. 43-59.
493. Arie Wilschut, *De tijd van pruiken en revoluties, 1700-1800. Kleine geschiedenis van Nederland* (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgeverij, 2007), p. 17.
494. See Veys, 'Papua collections in the Netherlands'.

495. Western New Guinea has been linked for at least 2,000 years to Island South East Asia through trade in bird-of-paradise feathers, spices, betel nut, metal, glass beads and pottery. Other goods such as Chinese porcelain, copper gongs, *kain timur* (textiles) and iron have been attested for in the region since the 1500s. Jaap Timmer, 'Cloths of Civilisation: *Kain Timur* in the Bird's Head of West Papua', *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* 12 (2011), 383-401; Duncan Wright, Tim Denham, Denis Shine and Mark Donohue, 'An Archaeological Review of Western New Guinea', *Journal of World Prehistory* 26 (2013), 25-73.
496. Hugh Brody, 'December 1, 1961: Fly the flag of independence – West Papua and the Indonesian Empire', OpenDemocracy, 30 November 2011, www.opendemocracy.net/hugh-brody/december-1-1961-fly-flag-of-independence-west-papua-and-indonesian-empire (accessed 2 February 2018).
497. Karen Jacobs, *Collecting Kamoro. Objects, Encounters and Representation on the Southwest Coast of Papua* (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2011), p. 93; Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), pp. 176-8.
498. Denise Frank, 'Oceania in view', in David van Duuren (ed.), *Oceania at the Tropenmuseum* (Amsterdam: KIT Publishers, 2011), pp. 161-78: p. 166.
499. See Veys, 'Displaying western New Guinea in the Netherlands', in 'Papua collections in the Netherlands'.
500. Pieter J. Drooglever, *Een daad van vrije keuze. De Papoea's van westelijk Nieuw-Guinea en de grenzen van het zelfbeschikkingsrecht* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2005); Pieter J. Drooglever, *An Act of Free Choice: Decolonization and the Right to Self-Determination in West Papua* (Oxford/New York: Oneworld, 2009).
501. Jacobs, *Collecting Kamoro*, p. 94; Dirk Vlasblom, *Papoea. Een geschiedenis* (Amsterdam: Mets & Schilt Uitgevers, 2004), pp. 124-485.
502. Brody, 'December 1, 1961'.
503. PACE, 'Vision, Mission Statement and Objectives', www.papuaerfgoed.org/en/Vision_Mission_Statement_and_Objectives (accessed 23 February 2018).
504. *NRC* is the name that is used for a daily newspaper that was originally called *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant*.
505. Arjen Ribbens, 'Je verandert je identiteit met een masker', *NRC*, 30 August 2017, www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2017/08/30/je-verandert-je-identiteit-met-een-masker-12736033-a1570701 (accessed 2 February 2018); Sacha Bronwasser, **'**Van Beirendonck viert het masker en overrompelt je visueel', *de Volkskrant*, 6 October 2017, www.volkskrant.nl/beeldende-kunst/van-beirendonck-viert-het-masker-en-overrompelt-je-visueel~a4520313/ (accessed 2 February 2018).
506. Author's translation from Dutch: 'Vrijwel geen Nederlander jonger dan 60 zal het nog weten, maar de presentie van Nederland als koloniale mogendheid in Azië eindigde niet in 1949, met de erkenning van de onafhankelijkheid van Indonesië, maar pas in 1962, toen Nieuw-Guinea aan Indonesië werd overgedragen.'; see also Bart J. Stol, 'Een goede kleine koloniale mogendheid': Nederland, Nieuw-Guinea en de Europese tweede koloniale bezetting in Afrika en Melanesië (ca. 1930-1962)', PhD thesis (Utrecht University, 2017).
507. Personal communication, Sean Mallon, November 2015; Maire Leadbeater, 'New Zealand as a potential West Papuan peace broker: Learning from Bougainville', in Peter King, Jim Elmslie and Camellia Webb-Gannon (eds), *Comprehending West Papua* (Sydney: Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Sydney, 2011), pp. 159-76.
508. Omroepwest, 'Zoon van West-Papoease strijder opgepakt op Veteranendag', 29 June 2014. www.omroepwest.nl/nieuws/2597501/Zoon-van-West-Papoease-strijder-opgepakt-op-Veteranendag (accessed 2 February 2018).
509. Brody, 'December 1, 1961'.
510. See Veys, 'Displaying western New Guinea in the Netherlands' in 'Papua collections in the Netherlands'.

Chapter 19

511. The territory of Norfolk Island is formed of three islands: Norfolk, Nepean and Philipp. Only the largest (Norfolk, 35 km^2) is currently inhabited.
512. Atholl Anderson and Peter White (eds), *The Prehistoric Archaeology of Norfolk Island, Southwest Pacific*, Records of the Australian Museum Supplement 27 (Sydney: The Australian Museum, 2001).
513. See Raymond Nobbs (ed.), *Norfolk Island and its Second Settlement, 1825-1855* (Sydney: Library of Australian History, 1991) and Tim Causer, "The Worst Types of Sub-Human Beings': the Myth and Reality of the Convicts of the Norfolk Penal Settlements, 1825-1855', in *Islands of History: Proceedings of the 25th Anniversary Conference, Professional Historians Association* (Sydney: Anchor Books, 2011).
514. This has been partially pointed out by John Rickard, 'Norfolk Island', *Australian Historical Studies*, 26 (1995), 480-84.
515. For more information on Selwyn's work in New Zealand and the foundation of the Melanesian Mission, see, among others: David Hilliard, *God's Gentlemen: A History of the Melanesian Mission, 1849-1942* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1978) and Allan K. Davidson (ed.), *A Controversial Churchman: Essays on George Selwyn, Bishop of New Zealand and Lichfield, and Sarah Selwyn* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2011).
516. E.S. Armstrong, *The History of the Melanesian Mission* (London: Isbister, 1900), p. 23.
517. Joshua Nash, 'Melanesian Mission Place Names of Norfolk Island', *The Journal of Pacific History* 47 (2012), pp. 479.
518. Armstrong, *The History of the Melanesian Mission* , p. 30.
519. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
520. Charlotte Yonge, *Life of John Coleridge Patteson: Missionary Bishop of the Melanesian Islands* (London: Macmillan, 1874), Vol. II, pp. 79.
521. Many narratives of Bishop Patteson's death exist. See, among others: C.H. Brooke, *The Death of Bishop Patteson* (London: W. Wells Garner, 1872) and Thorgeir Kolshus and Even Hovdhaugen, 'Reassessing the death of Bishop John Coleridge Patteson', *The Journal of Pacific History* 45 (2010), 331-55.
522. Owen Parnaby, 'Aspects of British policy in the Pacific: The 1872 Pacific Islanders Protection Act', *Historical Studies: Australia and New Zealand* 8, 54-65.
523. The architectural specificities of the building are discussed in G.A. Bremner, 'Gothic *In Extremis*: Missions, Mediation, and the Case of the Patteson Memorial Chapel in the South Pacific', in T. Brittain-Catlin, J. De Maeyer and M. Bressani (eds), *Gothic Revival Worldwide: A.W.N. Pugin's Global Influence* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2017), pp. 142-55.
524. A timeline of the building of the chapel is given in John Gutch and John Pinder (eds), *Patteson Memorial Chapel, Norfolk Island: An account of its building based on the Revd Dr. R. H. Codrington's letters to his brother and an eyewitness account of its consecration from 'The Island Voyage' of 1880* (Watford, 1980), although it does not mention the inlaid panels discussed in this chapter. See also Codrington's letters to his aunt at the Bodleian Library, Oxford (MSS Pac.s.4), in particular 146a, 157b, 182b.
525. Among others: *Ibid.*; Anonymous, *Consecration of Memorial Chapel: A week at St Barnabas, Norfolk Island* (Sydney: C.E. Fuller, 1881) and Anonymous, 'Bishop Patteson Memorial Church', *Illustrated London News*, Saturday 12 March 1881, p. 251.
526. Deborah Waite, 'The Architectural Tie Beam in Transition, Solomon Islands', *Pacific Arts*, 15/16 (1997), 97-111; Michael W. Scott, 'La pêche à la bonite: au Coeur d'un maelstrom sacré', in M. Mélandri and S. Revolon (eds), *L'Éclat des Ombres: L'art en noir et blanc des îles Salomon* (Paris: Musée du quai Branly and Somogy Editions d'Art, 2014), pp. 165-9.

527. Ben Burt, David Akin and Michael Kwa'ioloa, *Body Ornaments of Malaita, Solomon Islands* (London: The British Museum Press, 2009), pp. 98-109.

Chapter 20

528. Relevant studies and catalogues include: Simon Kooijman, *Tapa in Polynesia* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum, 1972); Roger Neich and Mick Pendergrast, *Pacific Tapa* (Auckland: Auckland Museum/ David Bateman, 1997); Peter Mesenhöller and Oliver Lueb, *Made in Oceania: Art and Social Landscapes* (Cologne: Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, 2013); Nicholas Thomas and Julie Adams, *Tapa: Barkcloth Paintings from the Pacific* (Birmingham: Ikon Gallery/Cambridge: MAA, 2013).
529. Neich and Pendergrast, *Pacific Tapa*, pp. 74-82.
530. The piece was first published by Michael Graham-Stewart, *Jesus in the Pacific* (Michael Graham-Stewart, 2016), cat. 51. This text made the important identification with the Titikaveka church, though Corrie's identity and other aspects of the work's history were not clarified.
531. Nicholas Thomas, 'The case of the misplaced ponchos: speculations concerning the history of cloth in Polynesia', *Journal of Material Culture* 4 (1999), 5-20. See also Jeffrey Sissons, *The Polynesian Iconoclasm: Religious Revolution and the Seasonality of Power* (Oxford: Berghahn, 2014).
532. Corrie presumably brought the work back to Britain in the 1850s or 1860s. It was somehow then acquired by one William S. Kahnweiler, a merchant of German descent who lived in eastern United States but travelled periodically to Europe. He donated it to the Montclair Art Museum in New Jersey where its registration number was 20.9. The Montclair, which is a museum of American art, deaccessioned it in approximately 2012. Corrie's biography and work in support of the mission would be illuminated by journals and correspondence from and by Pitman and others on Rarotonga over this period, in the London Missionary Society archives (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London), which might also help understand the context of barkcloth making over the period; at the time of writing I have not had the opportunity to work through these sources.

Chapter 21

533. With western New Guinea, I am referring to the western half of the Island New Guinea, which was a Dutch colony at the time of Cheesman's travels. In 1963, this last remaining Dutch territory in the Pacific was annexed by Indonesia. Currently it is divided into two Indonesian provinces, Papua Barat (West Papua) and Papua.
534. 'Entry' means an assigned number in the collection record of the Museum, reflected by the Accession Register and the corresponding digital records on the object database system of the Museum. However, one such entry can be a single object or a group of objects.
535. In this essay the historic place names are used. However, when mentioned first, the current name is given in parenthesis.
536. Cheesman's talent in drawing and painting can be seen in Figure 21.2 and Figure 21.6, as well as in her sketch books, *e.g. No. 4. A. Hymenoptera of New Guinea. 25 Genera of Broconidae* at the Natural History Museum Archives (hereafter NHM Archives), London, ENT MSS Cheesman A 5:1, E. Cheesman, Expedition Notebooks & Diaries. All material from the Natural History Museum is used here by permission of the Trustees of The Natural History Museum.
537. Evelyn Cheesman, *Things Worth While* (London: Readers Union, 1958), pp. 7ff., 30ff. and 55ff.
538. *Ibid.*, pp. 72 ff.; Elizabeth J. Morse, 'Cheesman, (Lucy) Evelyn (1881-1969)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 5.

539. Alfred C. Haddon and James Hornell, *Canoes of Oceania*, 3 volumes (Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, 1936-1938).
540. Hugh Laracy, 'Lucy Evelyn Cheesman (1881-1969): Traveller, writer, scientist', in *Watriama and Co: Further Pacific Islands Portraits* (Australian National University Epress, 2013), pp. 191ff.
541. This number derives from a handwritten list entitled 'summary' at the NHM Archives in London (ENT MSS CHE Cheesman C 1:1, L.E. Cheesman Correspondence).
542. Letter Evelyn Cheesman to Louis Clarke, 22 April 1931, Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Museum Archives, University of Cambridge (hereafter MAA Archives), WO3.1.11, Miss Cheesman and Mr. Templeton Crocker.
543. Laracy, 'Lucy Evelyn Cheesman (1881-1969)', pp. 193ff.
544. Evelyn Cheesman, *The Land of the Red Bird* (London: Herbert Joseph Limited, n.d. [1938]).
545. Evelyn Cheesman, 'Two Unexplored Islands off Dutch New Guinea: Waigeu and Japen', *The Geographical Journal*, 95 (1940), pp. 208-17.
546. According to the Typescript 'Collecting Expedition to Mt. Cyclops in Dutch New Guinea. Miss L. E. Cheesman', dated 20 April 1937, p. 2 at the NHM Archives in London (ENT MSS CHE Cheesman C 1:1, L.E. Cheesman Correspondence), she collected 27,000 specimens on her trip to mainland western New Guinea. This number however derives from an estimation by Cheesman herself and at the time the collection was mounted was thought to be much too low (Memorandum, Miss F.R. Mold, 22 November 1937, NHM Archives, London, ENT MSS CHE Cheesman C 1:1, L.E. Cheesman Correspondence). In addition to this quantity, Laracy ('Lucy Evelyn Cheesman (1881-1969)', p. 206) quotes another 63,000 on the islands Waigeo and Japen, as well as 20,000 in the Mandated Territory, where she also collected another 20,000 for the South Australian Museum.
547. This rain shield (1939.274) is the only object at the MAA which derived from Cheesman's second trip and no further information concerning its acquisition could be gathered. Therefore, this essay focuses on her first trip to the Cyclops Mountains and Lake Sentani.
548. Typescript 'Miss L.E. Cheesman', p. 1, NHM Archives, London, ENT MSS CHE Cheesman C 1:1, L.E. Cheesman Correspondence.
549. Laracy, 'Lucy Evelyn Cheesman (1881-1969)', pp. 203 ff.
550. Letter Norman Riley to Thomas Woddisse, 14.11.1935, NHM Archives, London, ENT MSS CHE Cheesman C 1:1, L.E. Cheesman Correspondence.
551. Cf. Cheesman's notebook *Collecting Sites of L.E. Cheesman: Local maps, notes on topography etc. Publications* in NHM Archives, London, ENT MSS Cheesman A 5:1, E. Cheesman, Expedition Notebooks & Diaries.
552. L.E. Cheesman, 'The Cyclops Mountains of Dutch New Guinea', *The Geographical Journal*, 91 (1938), p. 21.
553. Letter Evelyn Cheesman to Norman Riley, 4.2.1936, NHM Archives, London, ENT MSS CHE Cheesman C 1:1, L.E. Cheesman Correspondence.
554. In her books and papers, as well as on a list and object labels at the MAA, Cheesman refers to him as 'Stuber' or 'F. Stuber' respectively.
555. Lieftinck was at that time Zoologist at the Zoological Museum and Laboratory of the Botanical Gardens in Buitenzorg (Bogor), Java. With the help of specimens collected by Wilhelm Stüber, who collected in less than '10 years more species than the combined total of all previous collectors', Lieftinck was able to write his 900-pages strong seven-volume monograph *The dragonflies of New Guinea and neighbouring islands* (1932, 1933, 1935, 1937, 1938, 1942 and 1949). Cf. Matti Hämäläinen and Albert

G. Orr, 'Wilhelm Stüber (1877-1942) collector extraordinaire of New Guinean dragonflies, discoverer of the fabulous Sepik blue orchid, tragic victim of war', *Agrion* 20(2) (July 2016), pp. 71ff.

556. Hämäläinen and Orr, 'Wilhelm Stüber (1877-1942)', pp. 7 ff.
557. Cheesman, *The Land of the Red Bird*, pp. 30 ff.; Hämäläinen and Orr, 'Wilhelm Stüber (1877-1942)', p. 84.
558. Letter Wilhelm Stüber to Evelyn Cheesman, 3 November 1937, NHM Archives, London, ENT MSS CHE Cheesman B 1:1, Entomology, Cheesman, L.E., Correspondence.
559. Cf. Cheesman, *The Land of the Red Bird*.
560. *Ibid*., pp. 186ff, 91, 76, 52; Letters Evelyn Cheesman to Norman Riley, 8 April 1936 and 11 July 1936, NHM Archives, London, ENT MSS CHE Cheesman C 1:1, L.E. Cheesman Correspondence.
561. Cheesman, *The Land of the Red Bird*, p. 60.
562. *Ibid*., pp. 141, 230ff., 241, 267, 277.
563. Iffar is approximately where the Sentani airport is located today.
564. *Ibid*., p. 227.
565. *Ibid*., p. 44.
566. *Ibid*., pp. 44ff., 144 and 178f.
567. *Ibid*., p. 228, italics in original.
568. *Ibid*., pp. 249ff.
569. *Ibid*., pp. 157ff.
570. *Ibid*., pp. 240ff.
571. *Ibid*., p. 240.
572. Cheesman, *Things Worth While*, p. 153 cited in Laracy, 'Lucy Evelyn Cheesman (1881-1969)', p. 195.
573. Cheesman, 'The Cyclops Mountains of Dutch New Guinea', p. 29.
574. Cheesman, *Things Worth While*, pp. 241ff.
575. Cheesman, *The Land of the Red Bird*, p. 236.
576. Letter Evelyn Cheesman to Louis Clarke, 28 August 1936, MAA Archives, Correspondence 1936.
577. Cheesman, *The Land of the Red Bird*, p. 236.
578. Letter Evelyn Cheesman to Louis Clarke, 28 August 1936, MAA Archives, Correspondence 1936.
579. *E.g.* in Cheesman, *The Land of the Red Bird*, pp. 36ff. and 77.
580. Image caption by Evelyn Cheesman, NHM Archives, London, ENT MSS Cheesman A 5:5, E. Cheesman, Photos & Maps Localities of Cheesman Expeditions.
581. Cheesman, *The Land of the Red Bird*, p. 235.
582. *Ibid*., p. 241.
583. *Ibid*., p. 91.
584. *Ibid*., p. 238.
585. *Ibid*., p. 58.
586. Some of these photographs can be found in her book *The Land of the Red Bird*.
587. These objects bear the numbers 1937.301, 1937.311, and 1937.306.
588. The sago bowl number 1937.301 and probably the carved sago spoon number 1937.307, as this one has more carvings than 1937.308.
589. Cheesman, *The Land of the Red Bird*, p. 264, italics in original.
590. *Ibid*., p. 106ff.
591. These are numbers 1937.302 and 1937.303, 1937.304, 1937.305, 1937.308, 1937.312, 1937.313, and 1937.315.

592. Cheesman, *The Land of the Red Bird*, pp. 267ff.; Letter Evelyn Cheesman to Norman Riley, 6 November 1936 and Typescript Norman Riley to Trustees, Report, 17 April 1937, NHM Archives, London, ENT MSS CHE Cheesman C 1:1, L.E. Cheesman Correspondence.
593. The NHM Archive unfortunately has only very few photographs from Cheesman's time in western New Guinea. However, in her book *The Land of the Red Bird* and the article 'The Cyclops Mountains of Dutch New Guinea', images are published showing *e.g.* fish traps and her Papuan assistants. Regrettably, Cheesman does not give names for the people in her images.
594. Cf. Cheesman, *The Land of the Red Bird*, pp. 227, 115f., 234, 125, 269.
595. *Ibid*., p. 241.
596. *Ibid*., p. 104.
597. The head-tax was the annual fee per able-bodied men demanded by the administration of the time.
598. Cheesman, *The Land of the Red Bird*, p. 58.
599. *Ibid*., p. 250.

Chapter 22

600. David Freshfield, *Hints to Travellers: Scientific and General* (Royal Geographic Society: London, 1989) p. 1.
601. *Ibid.*
602. Natural History Museum Archives DF254/9, Mollusca correspondence 307/8, 1925. By permission of the Trustees of The Natural History Museum.
603. Freshfield, *Hints to Travellers*, p. 2.
604. Edward H.M. Davis, *The Proceedings of the HMS* Royalist*, May-August 1892, in the Gilbert, Ellice and Marshall Islands* (The Tungavalu Society: Tarawa, 1976).
605. Department of Prehistory and Europe, British Museum Correspondence, Davis, 23/9/03.
606. Jude Philp, 'KRAR: Nineteenth Century Turtle-shell Masks From Mabuiyag Collected by Samuel McFarlane', *Memoirs of the Queensland Museum,* Vol. 8 (2014), pp. 107.
607. *Ibid.*
608. Steven Phelps, Art *and Artefacts of the Pacific, Africa and the Americas: the James Hooper Collection* (London: Hutchinson and Co Ltd, 1975), p. 14.
609. Pat Morris, *Edward Gerrard and Sons: A Taxidermy Memoir* (London: MPM Publishing, 2004), p. 8.
610. Christopher Wright, *The Echo of Things* (New York: Duke University Press, 2013), p. 179.
611. Davis, *The Proceedings of the HMS* Royalist*, May-August 1892*, p.7.
612. Sister Alaima Talu, *Kiribati: Aspects of History* (Tarawa: University of the South Pacific, 1979).
613. Interview with Taratai council, 12 May 2016.
614. Interview with Natan Itonga, 16 June 2017.
615. Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies* (Oxford: Routledge, 1990).
616. Interview with Nabuti, 17 June 2017.
617. Wright, *The Echo of Things*.
618. Interview with Raakai Curry, 15 May 2016.
619. Mike Bowers, 'Waiting for the tide to turn: Kiribati's fight for survival', *Guardian*, 23 October 2017.
620. Paul Basu, 'Object Diasporas, Resourcing Communities: Sierra Leonean Collections in the Global Museumscape', *Museum Anthropology* 34 (1) (2011), 28-42.

Chapter 23

621. For an illustrated account of Makereti's life, see Paul Diamond, *Makereti: Taking Māori to the World* (Auckland: Random House, 2007). For general accounts of her life and work, see also: June Northcroft-Grant, 'Papakura, Makereti, 1873-1930: Tuhourangi Woman of Mana, Guide, Ethnographer', in *1901-1920*, Volume 3 of *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (Wellington, 1996), pp. 378-80; Ngahuia te Awekotuku, 'Introduction–Makereti: Guide Maggie Papakura, 1872-1930', in *The Old-Time Māori* (Auckland: New Women's Press, 1986), pp. v–xi; Ngahuia te Awekotuku, 'Remembering Makereti', in her *Mana wahine Māori: Selected Writings on Māori Women's Art, Culture and Politics* (Auckland: New Women's Press, 1991), pp. 143-54; and Ngahuia te Awekotuku, 'Guide Maggie: Makereti Papakura, 1872-1930', in Charlotte Macdonald, Merimeri Penfold, and Bridget Williams (eds), *The Book of New Zealand Women / Ko Kui Ma Te Kaupapa* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1991), pp. 491-93.
622. Makereti, *Guide to the Hot Lakes District and Some Māori Legends* (Auckland: Brett, 1905).
623. Quoted in Diamond, *Makereti*, p. 130.
624. What appears to be the last of Staples-Browne's scientific papers, published in 1923, contains references to a number of his earlier contributions; see Richard Staples-Browne, 'On the Crossing of Some Species of Columbidae, and the Inheritance of Certain Characters in their Hybrid Offspring', *Journal of Genetics*, 13(2) (August 1923), pp. 153-66.
625. For an account of the history and work of the Pitt Rivers Museum, see Michael O'Hanlon, *The Pitt Rivers Museum: A World Within* (London: Scala, 2014), and the references therein; for Makereti, see pp. 122-25.
626. Te Aonui matriculated, as William Francis Dennan, on 29 October 1921; see *Oxford University Gazette*, Vol. 52 (no, 1,657; 2 November 1921), p. 133; see also Register of Diploma Students; University of Oxford, Pitt Rivers Museum, Manuscript Collections. In an odd twist of fate, a hei tiki on long-term loan to the PRM from The Queen's College (1940.10.01) is said to have belonged to Makereti's and Te Aonui's ancestor Te Pahau. It had been bequeathed to the College in 1841 by Robert Mason, but it is not known whether Te Aonui or Makereti knew of its existence.
627. For an account of the history of the OUAS, see Robert Parkin, 'Oxford Anthropology as an Extra-Curricular Activity: OUAS and JASO', in Peter Rivière (ed.), *A History of Oxford Anthropology* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2007), pp. 137-54.
628. Minutes of the Meetings of the Oxford University Anthropological Society; University of Oxford, Pitt Rivers Museum, Manuscript Collections.
629. In the 1980s, all the objects in the PRM's historic collections were retrospectively assigned three-part accession numbers (year, collection, object). These numbers may be used to access the relevant entries – which include accession records, display and publication histories as well as researchers' notes – in the regularly updated and illustrated database: www.prm.ox.ac.uk/databases.
630. As note 627.
631. Minutes of the Meetings of the Committee of the Oxford University Anthropological Society; University of Oxford, Pitt Rivers Museum, Manuscript Collections.
632. As note 627.
633. These stone tools have been published recently; see Yvonne Marshall, 'New Zealand', in Dan Hicks and Alice Stevenson (eds), *World Archaeology at the Pitt Rivers Museum: A Characterization* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2013), pp. 554-63, fig. 28.1 on p. 557.
634. Diamond, *Makereti*, p. 152.

635. T.K. Penniman, 'Makereti', in *The Old-Time Māori* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1938), p. 24. Grace Hadow (1875-1940) was a literary historian, vice-chairman of the Women's Institute, and an eloquent international advocate of women's education.
636. *Ibid*.
637. See *Radio Times*, Vol. 13 (no. 156; 24 September 1926), p. 18. Unfortunately, no script or record relating to this broadcast survives in the BBC Archives.
638. Makereti matriculated, as 'Staples-Browne, Margaret Pattison (Mrs.)' on 27 January 1927; see *Oxford University Gazette*, Vol. 58 (no. 1,826; 2 February 1927), p. 297; see also Register of Diploma Students; University of Oxford, Pitt Rivers Museum, Manuscript Collections.
639. As note 630.
640. Penniman, 'Makereti', p. 24. Penniman also says that Makereti 'showed a film of Māori life which had been made under her constant supervision'. The whereabouts of any surviving copies of this film are unknown.
641. As note 627.
642. Penniman, 'Makereti', pp. 23-4.
643. An obituary notice appeared in the University's official publication: *Oxford University Gazette*, Vol. 60 (no. 1,934; 24 April 1930), p. 459. Her death was also announced at the meeting of the OUAS held on 1 May; as note 630.
644. Penniman, 'Makereti', pp. 24-5. The role suited Penniman peculiarly well. Much of his career was devoted to editing the work of others, as well to sorting out the PRM's collections and documentation after Balfour's death in 1939. He also seems to have worked particularly well with female colleagues, later forming an extraordinarily successful partnership with his PRM colleague Beatrice Blackwood; see Frances Larson and Alison Petch, "Hoping for the Best, Expecting the Worst': T. K. Penniman– Forgotten Curator of the Pitt Rivers Museum', *Journal of Museum Ethnography* 18 (1996), pp. 125-39.
645. Rangitiaria Dennan, *Guide Rangi of Rotorua* (Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1968), p. 106.
646. Makereti, *The Old-Time Māori* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1938); reprinted as Makereti, *The Old-Time Māori* (Auckland: New Women's Press, 1986).
647. Eric Ramsden, Review of *The Old-Time Māori*, by Makereti (London, 1938), *Mankind* 2 (6) (May 1939), p. 191; Ralph Piddington, Review of *The Old-Time Māori*, by Makereti (London, 1938), *Man* 40 (5) (May 1940), p. 78. A review by the writer, poet, and literary editor Sir John Squire in *The Illustrated London News* demonstrated much greater understanding of Makereti's intentions and achievements than the anthropologists did; see 'Māori Life from Within – By an Oxford-Trained Chieftainess: 'The Old-Time Māori': By Makereti – An Appreciation', *The Illustrated London News*, no. 5,161 (19 March 1938), p. 480.
648. See, for example, Shayne Walker, Anaru Eketone, and Anita Gibbs, 'An Exploration of Kaupapa Māori Research, its Principles, Processes and Applications', *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 9 (4) (2006), pp. 331-44.
649. Wellington, Alexander Turnbull Library; Donne, Thomas Edward, 1860-1945: Scrapbooks; Scrapbook Labelled 'The Māori at Home' (qMS-0623); Scrapbook Relating to Maggie Papakura (qMS-0621).
650. T.E. Donne, *The Māori Past and Present: An Account of a Highly Attractive, Intelligent People, their Doubtful Origin, their Customs & Ways of Living, Art, Methods of Warfare, Hunting & Other Characteristics Mental & Physical* (London, Seeley Service & Co.,1927).
651. Makereti, *The Old-Time Māori*, p. 322.
652. *Ibid.*, p. 249.
653. *Ibid.*, p. 234.

654. *Ibid.*, p. 319.
655. *Ibid.*, p. 198.
656. *Ibid.*, p. 251. Makereti is probably referring here to one of the cloaks given to Christ Church, his old Oxford college, by Joseph Banks in 1771 after sailing to the Pacific with James Cook on the *Endeavour*, and held at the PRM since 1866 (1886.21.19). Makereti would not have known of its Cook-voyage provenance, which was not documented until 2002; see, for example, Jeremy Coote, 'The Cook-Voyage Collections at Oxford', in his (ed.) *Cook-Voyage Collections of 'Artificial Curiosities' in Britain and Ireland, 1771-2015*, MEG Occasional Paper, No. 5 (Oxford: Museum Ethnographers Group, 2015), pp. 74-122. This is the cloak that Paul Tapsell has suggested may have been given by Māori to Tupaia, the Raiatean priest-navigator who sailed to Te Aotearoa with Cook and Banks on the *Endeavour*; see Paul Tapsell, 'Footprints in the Sand: Banks's Māori Collection, Cook's First Voyage, 1768-71', in Michelle Hetherington and Howard Morphy (eds), *Discovering Cook's Collections* (Canberra: National Museum of Australia Press, 2009), pp 92-111. Whatever the validity of Tapsell's suggestion, it has served to give Tupaia a presence, if a vicarious one, in the PRM.
657. Makereti, *The Old-Time Māori*, p. 321. This is part of the collection of the settler Charles Smith, who lived at Wanganui, that was purchased by the PRM in 1923 (1923.87.5).
658. *Ibid.*, p. 335. Makereti is probably referring here to a belt (1886.21.2) that is also part of the Banks collection (see note 655). Again, Makereti would not have known of its Cook-voyage provenance.
659. Other objects from Makereti's collection survive elsewhere. For example, a model of a pataka, store-house, from Whakarewarewa, carved by Tene Waitere, survives in the British Museum (Oc1933,0708.1), given by a Mrs Todd (see Dorota C. Starzecka, Roger Neich, and Mick Pendergrast, *The Māori Collections of the British Museum* (London, 2010), pp. 33-4, cat. no. 95); while the National Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa purchased a kahu huruhuru, feather cloak, from her collection in 1974 (ME013125).
660. The collection also includes a lime-gourd and a bag from the Solomon Islands (1930.85.13-.14), a gourd in a string-bag from the Loyalty Islands in New Caledonia (1930.85.15), and a piece of (possibly Fijian) barkcloth (1930.85.16).
661. T.K. Penniman, 'Report of the Curator of the Pitt Rivers Museum (Department of Ethnology) for the Year Ending 31 July 1942', §17 of 'Fifty-Fourth Annual Report of the Delegates of the University Museum (for the Year Ending 31 July 1942)', *Oxford University Gazette*, Vol. 73 (no. 2,396, suppl.; 10 March 1943), p. 324.
662. A replica in plaster of a cast that had been taken, in life, from the tattooed face of Taupua Te Whanoa, which Makereti had given to R.R. Marett (one of her Oxford teachers) and was donated to the PRM by Marett's widow (1943.11.2), has also been on permanent display in the 'Ta Moko' section of the 'Body Arts' displays since 2002. The original cast is in the collections of the British Museum (Oc1854,1229.93), another replica is in the collections of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (R000032). One of the earliest replicas remains with Te Whanoa's descendants in Ohinemutu, Rotorua, and is displayed during ritual encounters on the marae; see Ngahuia te Awekotuku, *Mau Moko: The World of Māori Tattoo* (North Shore, Auckland: Penguin Viking, 2007), p. 52.
663. The PRM holds two mounted prints (1998.277.97.1 and 1998.277.97.2) of this studio photograph, along with a print (1998.277.98) of another photograph taken at the same time.
664. Originally accessioned as collection 1943.6.1B, these have been retrospectively assigned the collection number 1998.277. There are 153 items in this collection, all of which have been digitized and are accessible at www.prm.ox.ac.uk/databases.

665. The papers were copied on to microfilm in the 1950s as part of the Australian Joint Copying Project; see Ekarestini O'Brien (compiler), *Australian Joint Copying Project Handbook: Part 8, Miscellaneous Series*, 3rd edn (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 1998), p. 113, entry 302. Copies are held at the Alexander Turnbull Library at the National Library of New Zealand (Papakura, Makereti, 1873-1930: Papers; Micro-MS-Coll-20-2415-2421), and at the National Library of Australia (Australian Joint Copying Project Microform Collection; Makereti, 1872-1930: Papers; M2415-2421).
666. See, for example: Jonathan Mane-Wheoki, 'Ngati Wahiao and Whakarewarewa: A People, a Place, a History and a Heritage', research report commissioned by the Ngati Wahiao Forest and Land Claims Committee in association with the Crown Forestry Rental Trust (1996) (Wai 1200, A53, Central North Island Inquiry); Stephen Quinn and David Alsop, 'The Ngati Wahiao Tribe's Involvement in Tourism in the Whakarewarewa Geothermal Valley', research report commissioned by the Rahui Trust in association with the Crown Forestry Rental Trust (1996) (Wai 1200, A40, Central North Island Inquiry).
667. See, for example Ngahuia te Awekotuku, 'The Socio-Cultural Impact of Tourism on the Māori People of Rotorua, New Zealand', unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Waikato (1981), www.researchgate.net/publication/36332332 Peter Kuru Stanley Waaka, 'Whakarewarewa: The Growth of a Māori Village', unpublished MA thesis (University of Auckland, 1982), https://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/handle/2292/2993.
668. See, for example, John C.M. Cresswell, *The Hot Lakes Guides: A Short History of Guiding in the Rotorua Area from Pre Eruption Te Wairoa to Whakarewarewa until the Nineteen Eighties* (Rotorua: Lois Ion, 2008), and Marian Mare and Alona Parker, *Wahiao: The People of Whakarewarewa* (Auckland: Zamare Productions, 2017). The latter book was co-written by members of Makereti's extended family, many of whom have visited the PRM to study Makereti's papers.
669. T.K. Penniman, 'Report of the Curator of the Pitt Rivers Museum (Department of Ethnology) for the Year Ending 31 July 1947', §16 of 'Fifty-Ninth Annual Report of the Delegates of the University Museum (for the Year Ending 31 July 1947)', *Oxford University Gazette*, Vol. 78 (no. 2,570, suppl. 1; 23 January 1948), p. 417.
670. Dennan, *Guide Rangi of Rotorua*, pp. 130-33.
671. Jeremy Coote, 'A Sunday Afternoon in Oddington', *The Friends of the Pitt Rivers Museum Newsletter*, no. 33 (July 2000), p. 7.
672. Hélène La Rue, 'Makereti', in Alison Petch (ed.), *Collectors: Collecting for the Pitt Rivers Museum* (Oxford: Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford, 1996), pp. 31-5.
673. Penniman, 'Makereti', p. 22.
674. These lines, a form of tribute to the deceased, are from the famous poi chant 'Pakete whero', composed by Makereti and her sister Guide Bella Wiari for the concert party that travelled to London in 1911: 'May you rest upon fine soft ferns, with a scented pillow.'

Chapter 25

675. Roger Neich, *Painted Histories: Early Māori Figurative Painting* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1993), pp. 59-68.
676. Neich, citing Orchiston, noted that the one place where Māori paddles were recorded in voyage journals as having been collected was just south of present-day Gisborne. Neich, *Painted Histories*, p. 63. D. Wayne Orchiston, 'Cook Voyage 'Trading Stations' in early Protohistoric New Zealand', *Dominion Museum Records in Ethnology* 2(12) (1974), 133-56. Adrienne Kaeppler, *'Artificial Curiosities': An*

Exposition of Native Manufactures Collected on the Three Pacific Voyages of Captain James Cook, R.N. (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1978), pp. 202-03.

677. The Hancock paddle's accession number is C589. Leslie Jessop and Janet Starkey, *No Contemptible Workmanship: Material Culture of the Pacific Region Represented in the Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne* (Newcastle: Tyne & Wear Museums, 1998), p. 80 and plate D. See also Leslie Jessop, 'Cook-Voyage Collections in North-East England, with a Preliminary Report on a Group of Māori Pendants Apparently Traceable to the First Voyage', in J. Coote (ed.), *Cook-Voyage Collections of 'Artificial Curiosities' in Britain and Ireland, 1771-2015* (MEG Occasional Paper No. 5) (Oxford: Museum Ethnographers' Group, 2015), pp. 219-55.
678. The accession numbers of the two hoe in Cambridge are D 1914.66 and D 1914.67.
679. Amiria Salmond, 'Artefacts of encounter: the Cook voyage collections in Cambridge', in Coote, *Cook-Voyage Collections of 'Artificial Curiosities' in Britain and Ireland*, pp. 33-73; Amiria Salmond, "'Their paddles were curiously stained': two Māori paddles from the East Coast', in Julie Adams, Nicholas Thomas, Billie Lythberg, Maia Nuku and Amiria Salmond (eds), *Artefacts of Encounter: Pacific Voyages and Museum Histories* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2016), pp. 118-21.
680. The accession number of this paddle is Oc,NZ.150. Kaeppler did not point out the significance of its association with the drawing, namely that the paddle was thus almost certainly collected on Cook's first voyage. Kaeppler, *'Artificial Curiosities'*, p. 203.
681. The accession number of the paddle in Te Papa Tongarewa, depicted in West's portrait of Banks, is ME 14921. Steven Phelps [Hooper], *Art and Artefacts of the Pacific, Africa and the Americas: The James Hooper Collection* (London: Hutchinson, for Christie, Manson, & Woods, 1976), pp. 27, 412, Plates 6 and 7.
682. Hooper has pondered the stylistic differences between the Banks portrait hoe and the other documented first voyage examples, proposing that 'this attractive inlaid paddle, perhaps belonging to a high-status Māori, [may have been] given by the leading Māori visitor to Tupaia, who was helping co-ordinate operations and translating, and as is now clear, was regarded as a 'chief'". Steven Hooper, pers. comm. 10 April 2018.
683. The manaia is a stylized zoomorphic figure characteristic of Māori art.
684. Wilfred Shawcross, 'The Cambridge University Collection of Māori Artefacts, Made on Captain Cook's First Voyage', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 79(3) (1970), 305-48.
685. PRM 1886.1.1158; MAN register number unknown – thanks to Jonathan King for alerting us to its existence; Sunderland TWCMS 1997.442; HMG E.619; LM 40325. Neich in *Painted Histories* had already noted 'the presence of a distinctive Poverty Bay style of carving' on the Cambridge paddles as well as on BM Oc1896,–.1147 and those at Glasgow, Stuttgart, and in the Hancock Museum (1993, pp. 63-4). As his study focused on painted paddles, it excluded the hoe in Oxford, Naples and Sunderland.
686. The grip detached from blade and butt is Web. 369 (WE000369), while the painted paddle is Web. 1121 (WE001121). At the time Neich's *Painted Histories* was published he was not aware that this example was painted. Roger Neich, pers. comm., 14 June 2010.
687. We have not yet been able to examine the Naples example, but we understand that, like the Sunderland paddle, it bears no visible traces of *kowhaiwhai* painting.
688. Our thanks to Maia Nuku for providing us with images and information about this latter example.
689. Elena Govor, pers. comm., 4 October 2011.
690. 12 October naval time (as in Cook's journal), 11 October civil time.
691. Anne Salmond, *Two Worlds: First Meetings between Māori and Europeans 1642-1771* (Auckland: Viking Penguin, 1991), pp. 141-3; Salmond, 'Artefacts of Encounter', p. 54; Salmond, "Their paddles were curiously stained".

692. Orchiston, 'Cook Voyage 'Trading Stations".
693. Toi Hauiti is an arts management group of Te Aitanga a Hauiti, another local iwi, and a research partner on the Artefacts of Encounter project.
694. *Tupaia's Endeavour* (documentary film), produced and directed by Lala Rolls of Island Productions, New Zealand, 2017.
695. From the journal of William Monkhouse, ship's surgeon on the *Endeavour*, in John Cawte Beaglehole (ed.), *The Voyage of the Endeavour, 1768-1771* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, for the Hakluyt Society, 1955), p. 572. Tupaia's background and his role in other transactions during this voyage is discussed in Ngata, Lythberg and Salmond, Chapter 26 in this volume.
696. *Toi Tāmanuhiri: Mana Moana, Mana Whenua, Mana Tangata* (15 December 2013 to 31 March 2014).
697. *Arrival of the Hoe at Tamanuhiri marae from Te Papa Museum (10/12/13)*, directed and produced by Ngai Tāmanuhiri, New Zealand, 2013, www.youtube.com/watch?v=fl7XJvxjxw4 (accessed 25 January 2018). See also the longer documentary *Toi Tamanuhiri – Hoe at Tamanuhiri Marae*, directed and produced by Ngai Tāmanuhiri, New Zealand, 2013, youtube.com/watch?v=hIrNKV6GWzw&t= (accessed 25 January 2018).
698. Further videos, including one of the opening of this exhibition and another of interviews with iwi members describing its importance to them, are accessible on YouTube: *Toi Tāmanuhiri Powhiri at te Tairāwhiti Museum – 15/12/14*, directed and produced by Ngai Tāmanuhiri, New Zealand, 2013, www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y6dbZ_fX8UE (accessed 25 January 2018); *Interviews with whānau at the Museum opening for Toi Tāmanuhiri – 15/12/13*, directed and produced by Ngai Tāmanuhiri, New Zealand, 2013, www.youtube.com/watch?v=aSR6t6-jbyM (accessed 25 January 2018).
699. *A-Hoe!* at Tairāwhiti Museum, January to March 2017.
700. The other two iwi still involved are Ngati Oneone and Te Aitanga a Mahaki. Rongowhakaata participated in the early planning stages but is not named on the loan applications.
701. For instance, Mark Kopua of Te Aitanga a Hauiti was able to examine the Cambridge hoe in 2006, and noted the possibility of a connection to Te Whanau a Apanui, an iwi whose rohe (territories) lie north of East Cape. It is well-known that distinguished carvers travelled widely and taught in different locations in this and other regions. See Ngarino Ellis, *A Whakapapa of Tradition: 100 Years of Ngāti Porou Carving, 1830-1930* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2016); also Robert Jahnke's doctoral thesis 'He Tataitanga Ahua Toi: The House that Riwai Built / A Continuum of Māori Art' (Department of Māori Studies, Massey University, Wellington, 2006). The history of noted whare wananga in the Tairāwhiti region is discussed in Ngata, Lythberg and Salmond, Chapter 26 in this volume.
702. Paper mulberry, known as aute in Māori, had been carried to Aotearoa New Zealand and was cultivated there but failed to thrive. By 1769 it was already a scarce resource, as described by Joseph Banks at the Bay of Islands: 'they shewd us a great rarity 6 plants of what they called *Aouta* from whence they made cloth like the Otahite [Tahiti] cloth; the plant provd exactly the same, as the name is the same, as is usd in the Islands…Whether the Climate does not well agree with it I do not know, but they seemd to value it very much and that it was very scarce among them I am inclind to believe, as we have not yet seen among them pieces large enough for any use but sticking into the holes of their Ears'. Beaglehole, *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks, 1768-1771*, p. 444.
703. Anne Salmond, 'Back to the future: first encounters in Te Tai Rawhiti', *Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand 42*(2) (2012), 71. 'Māori bartering a crayfish'. Tupaia, 1769. British Library, Add. MS 15508, f. 11.

Chapter 26

704. Te Ahikā, Launch Project Report, October 2017, p. 3. Text by Victor Walker.
705. Billie Lythberg, Wayne Ngata and Amiria Salmond. 'Curating the uncommons: taking care of difference in museums', in C. McCarthy and P. Schorch (eds), *Curatopia: Museums and the Future of Curatorship* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018); Billie Lythberg, Carl Hogsden and Wayne Ngata, 'Relational systems and ancient futures: co-creating a digital contact network in theory and practice', in B. Onciul, S. Hawke and M. Stefano (eds), *Engaging Heritage, Engaging Communities* (Heritage Matters series) (London: Boydell and Brewer, 2017), pp. 205-26; Amiria Salmond, 'Transforming translations (Part I): 'The owner of these bones'', *Hau Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 3(3) (2013), 1-32; Wayne Ngata, Sarah [Hera] Ngata-Gibson and Amiria Salmond, 'Te Ataakura: Digital taonga and cultural innovation', in Amiria Salmond and Billie Lythberg (eds), *Digital Objects, Cultural Subjects*, special issue of the *Journal of Material Culture* 17 (2012), 229-44.
706. Rosanna Raymond and Amiria Salmond (eds), *Pasifika Styles: Artists Inside the Museum* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2008).
707. Lythberg *et al.*, 'Relational systems and ancient futures: co-creating a digital contact network in theory and practice'; Salmond, 'Transforming translations (Part I)'; Ngata *et al.*, 'Te Ataakura: Digital taonga and cultural innovation'.
708. Billie Lythberg, Jenny Newell and Wayne Ngata, 'Houses of stories: the whale rider at the American Museum of Natural History', in *Museum education today: synergies and innovations in multicultural contexts*, special issue of *Museum and Society* 13 (2015), 195-220.
709. Though Wayne Ngata was until recently Head of Mātauranga Māori at Te Papa Tongarewa, New Zealand's national museum, and other members of Te Aitanga a Hauiti have held museum positions in the past. While earlier plans anticipated the building of their own multi-functional arts, museum, information and technology centre at Ūawa, this 'bricks and mortar' approach is currently on hold due to the high level of resourcing such a facility would demand.
710. Lythberg *et al.*, 'Curating the uncommons: taking care of difference in museums'.
711. Amiria Salmond, 'Transforming translations (Part II): Addressing ontological alterity', *Hau: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 4 (2014), 155-87.
712. In particular, Volker Harms. 'Ein 'Ancestor Panel' der Māoris von der ersten Südsee-Reise (1768-1771) James Cooks in der Ethnographischen Sammlung der Universität Tübingen entdeckt', in Baessler-Archiv, *Beiträge zur Völkerkunde.* N.F. (Berlin: Band XLVI, 1998), pp. 429-41.
713. Toi Hauiti, 'Toi Hauiti activities 2000 – 2013' (internal report).
714. Victor Walker, 'Te Aitanga a Hauiti and the transit of Venus', *Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand*, 42 (2012), 105-12; Ngarino Ellis, *A Whakapapa of Tradition, 1830-1930* (Auckland, Auckland University Press, 2016).
715. See Wayne Ngata, 'Te Waiata Tangi a Rangiuia', MA thesis (Massey University, 1993).
716. Ellis, *A Whakapapa of Tradition*, pp. 22-4.
717. Āpirana Ngata, 'The Origin of Māori Carving' (Part I), *Te Ao Hou: The New World*, 22 (April 1958), 35-7.
718. R.H. Jahnke, 'He Tataitanga Āhua Toi: the House the Riwai Built. A Continuum of Māori Art', PhD dissertation (Massey University, 2007), p. 132. The manaia is a stylized zoomorphic figure characteristic of Māori art. The significance of the term 'taowaru' has long been debated.
719. Ellis, *A Whakapapa of Tradition*, p. 24.
720. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
721. *Ibid*., p. 27.

722. An alternative tradition is upheld among some hapū (sub-tribes) of Rongowhakaata at Tūranganui, that their signature carving style came from a different whare wānanga, located in the hills behind Gisborne.
723. Jahnke. 'He Tataitanga Āhua Toi', p. 98.
724. Ellis gives the accession number of this carving as ME 483. Jahnke goes on to identify the house Te Hau ki Turanga, carved by Raharuhi Rukupo of Rongowhakaata at Manutuke south of Gisborne between 1839 and 1843, as the 'most exemplary lineage' of the eighteenth-century Rāwheoro style. This claim is the subject of some controversy, as some Rongowhakaata histories (see note 721 above) assert that Rukupo was trained at a different whare wānanga and should not therefore be regarded as an exponent of the Rāwheoro style.
725. Ngata, 'The Origin of Māori Carving', p. 37.
726. Jahnke, 'He Tataitanga Āhua Toi', p. 99, footnote 281.
727. Jahnke, 'He Tataitanga Āhua Toi', p. 124.
728. John Taiapa, cited in Arapata Hakiwai, 'Te Toi Whakairo o Ngati Kahungunu: The Carving Traditions of Ngati Kahungunu', Master's thesis (Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand, 2003), p. 92.
729. J.C. Beaglehole (ed.), *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks 1768-1771* (Sydney: The Trustees of the Public Library of New South Wales in association with Angus and Robertson, 1962), Vol. I, p. 420.
730. Anne Salmond, 'Back to the Future: First Encounters in the Tai Rawhiti', *Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand* 42(2) (2012),69-77: p. 71.
731. Another early European visitor to the area recorded seeing these drawings in the 1830s. J.S. Polack, *New Zealand, Being a Narrative of Travels and Adventures during a Residence in that Country between the Years 1831 and 1837*, Volumes I and II (London: Richard Bentley, 1838), pp. 135-6; Salmond, *Aphrodite's Island: the European Discovery of Tahiti* (Auckland: Penguin, 2009), p. 230.
732. Anne Salmond, *The Trial of the Cannibal Dog: Captain Cook in the South Seas* (London: Penguin, 2003), 125-6, notes that this picture was 'almost certain' to have been painted at Ūawa, since 'exchanges of such goods for crayfish were mentioned only during this visit'. Yet, while the presence of crayfish pots was recorded at Ūawa, Banks notes that exchanges involving these crustaceans as well as white linen cloth were made on 1 November, after rounding East Cape (heading north from 'Tolaga'). On 14 November he adds, 'we have had [crayfish] in tolerable plenty in almost every place we have been in', and in his general Account of New Zealand writes: 'Of them we bought great quantities of the natives every where to the Northward' of the country.
733. Anne Salmond notes that 'Pickersgill's chart of Uawa marked an 'Indian town', which was probably the site of this house, on the landward side of the island'. Anne Salmond, *Two Worlds: First Meetings between Māori and Europeans 1642-1772* (Auckland: Penguin, 1991), p. 173.
734. Salmond speculated that the meeting could have taken place on this occasion in *Tears of Rangi* (2017), p. 32. As she noted in a 2012 publication, however, 'the fortified village on Pourewa Island (where Hine Matioro had her home) [was] deserted' at the time of the *Endeavour* group's visit. Salmond, 'Back to the Future', p. 71.
735. The missionary Williams recorded this oral history in 1888. William Leonard Williams, 'On the Visit of Captain Cook to Poverty Bay and Tolaga Bay', *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* XXI, 1888, pp. 389-97. See also Salmond, *Two Worlds: First Meetings between Māori and Europeans 1642-1772*, p. 181; Salmond, *Tears of Rangi*, pp. 22-3.
736. Salmond, *Two Worlds,* p. 173.
737. See also Rüdiger Joppien and Bernard Smith, *The Art of Captain Cook's Voyages, Vol. I The Voyage of the Endeavour 1768-1771* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 216.

738. Salmond, *Two Worlds,* p. 173.
739. Salmond, *The Trial of the Cannibal Dog*, p. 126. Here it is mistakenly asserted that Hinematioro's poupou is 'the only surviving carving from the Te Rawheoro school'.
740. This chapter uses the Tahitian spelling Tupaia, though in Raʻiātean it would be Tupaiʻa, and in Māori it is rendered Tupaea. Paul Tapsell, 'Footprints in the Sand: Banks's Māori collection, Cook's First Voyage 1769-71', in M. Hetherington and H. Morphy (eds), *Discovering Cook's Collections* (Canberra: National Museum of Australia, 2009), p. 93.
741. A full account of the rediscovery is given in Volker Harms, *The Tübingen Poupou: A Māori Carving from James Cook's First Voyage of Discovery* (Tübingen: Museum der Universität Tübingen, 2017).
742. Adrienne L. Kaeppler, *'Artificial Curiosities': An Exposition of Native Manufactures Collected on the Three Pacific Voyages of Captain James Cook, R.N.* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1978), p. 199.
743. Harms, 'Ein 'Ancestor Panel' der Māoris von der ersten Südsee-Reise'.
744. Anke Scharrahs, 'Poupou is alive again–Die Re-Restaurierung eines 'Ancestor Panels' der Māoris aus Ethnographischen Sammlung der Universität Tübingen', in *Beiträge zur Erhaltung von Kunstwerken* (Bonn: Verband der Restauratoren e.V., 2002).
745. Salmond, *The Trial of the Cannibal Dog*, p. 126.
746. Joachim Kreibich, 'Um die halbe Welt gereist', *Reutlinger General-Anzeiger*, 26 February 2008, p. 19. See also Hans-Joachim Lang, 'Kostbares Schnitzwerk der Ahnen', *Schwäbisches Tagblatt*, 26 February 2008, p. 23.
747. Literally: So creativity and innovation will flourish once more.

Chapter 27

748. See L.J. Gorenflo, 'Demographic Change in Kosrae State, Federated States of Micronesia', *Pacific Studies* 16 (1993), 67-118 (specifically pp. 69-70); D.L. Hanlon, *Upon a Stone Altar: A History of the Island of Pohnpei to 1890* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1988).
749. P.V. Kirch, *On the Road of the Winds: An Archaeological History of the Pacific Islands Before European Contact. Revised and expanded edition.* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2017), pp. 157-60, citing the following papers: J.S. Athens, 'Nan Madol pottery, Pohnpei', in R.L. Hunter-Anderson (ed.), *Recent Advances in Micronesian Archaeology: Selected Papers from the Micronesian Archaeology Conference, September 9-12, 1987. Micronesica* (1990) Supplement 2, pp. 17-32 (specifically p. 21); W.S. Ayres, 'Pohnpei's position in eastern Micronesian prehistory', in Hunter-Anderson, *Recent Advances in Micronesian Archaeology*, pp. 187-212; P. Rainbird, 'Prehistory in the northwest tropical Pacific: The Caroline, Mariana, and Marshall Islands', *Journal of World Prehistory* 8 (1994), 293-349 (specifically p. 299); J.S. Athens, J.V. Ward and G.M. Murakami, 'Development of an agroforest on a Micronesian high island: Prehistoric Kosraean agriculture', *Antiquity* 70 (1996), 834-46; M.J. Levin and W.S. Ayres, 'Managed agroforests, swiddening, and the introduction of pigs in Pohnpei, Micronesia: Phytolith evidence from an anthropogenic landscape', *Quaternary International* 434 (2016), 70-77.
750. S.H. Riesenberg, and A.H. Gayton 'Caroline Island belt weaving', *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 8 (1952), 342-75; J.E. Bath, *A Tale of Two Cities: An Evaluation of Political Evolution in the Eastern Caroline Islands of Micronesia Since A.D. 1000*, unpublished PhD dissertation (University of Hawaii, Manoa, 1984); Kirch, *On the Road of the Winds*, pp. 160, 179, 182-3, citing W.H. Goodenough, 'Sky world and this world: The place of Kachaw in Micronesian cosmology', *American Anthropologist* 88 (1986), 551-68; J.S. Athens, 'Archaeology of the Eastern Caroline Islands, Micronesia', in E.E. Cochrane and T.L. Hunt (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Prehistoric Oceania* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, print: 2018, online: 2014).

751. For an overview, see Gorenflo, 'Demographic Change in Kosrae State, Federated States of Micronesia', pp. 71-3.
752. Gorenflo, 'Demographic Change in Kosrae State, Federated States of Micronesia', p. 73, citing R. Shinn. 'Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands', in F.M. Bunge and M.W. Cooke (eds), *Oceania: A Regional Study* (Foreign Area Studies, American University. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1984), pp. 295-348: p. 325.
753. 'Government: Micronesia, Federated States of' in *The World Factbook – Central Intelligence Agency,* https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/fm.html (accessed 18 January 2018).
754. L.T. Ritter and P.L. Ritter, 'The European Discovery of Kosrae Island: Accounts by Louis Isidore Duperrey, Jules Sébastien César Dumont D'Urville, René Primevère Lesson, Fyedor Lütke, and Friedrich Heinrich von Kittlitz', *Micronesian Archaeological Survey Report, no. 13* (Saipan: Office of Historic Preservation, Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, 1982).
755. Hanlon, *Upon a Stone Altar: A History of the Island of Pohnpei to 1890*, pp. 31-6, citing F.P. Lütke, *Voyage autour du monde exécuté par ordre de Sa Majesté l'empereur Nicolas 1er, sur la corvette le Séniavine, dans les années 1826, 1827, 1828, et 1829 Par Frédéric Lutké… commandant de l'expedition*, 4 vols. and atlases (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1836).
756. Collections are held in the Kunstkamera, Saint Petersburg, Russia.
757. Gorenflo, 'Demographic Change in Kosrae State, Federated States of Micronesia', p. 69.
758. C.F. Wood, *A Yachting Cruise in the South Seas* (London: Henry S. King and Co., 1875); J. Cumming Dewar, *Voyage of the Nyanza, R.N.Y.C.: Being the Record of a Three Years' Cruise in a Schooner Yacht in the Atlantic and Pacific, and Her Subsequent Shipwreck* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1892); F.W. Christian, *The Caroline Islands: Travel in the Sea of the Little Lands* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899).
759. Christian, *The Caroline Islands*, p. 168.
760. *Ibid.*, plate between pages 396 and 397.
761. *Ibid.*, p. 398.
762. Folder 1977.524, the Alexander Collection, Ethnology Department, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawai'i, USA.
763. Now in: National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh; British Museum, London; Pitt Rivers Museum Oxford, Oxford; Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge. See Christian, *The Caroline Islands*, plate between pages 398 and 399, and descriptions on pp. 89-91, 399.
764. M.L. Berg, "The Wandering Life Among Unreliable Islanders' The Hamburg Südsee-Expedition in Micronesia', *The Journal of Pacific History* 23 (1988), 95-101.
765. *i.e.* E. Krämer-Bannow 'Loom Weaving: a) The Loom Weaving Technique' in E. Sarfert, *Results of the South Seas-Expedition, 1908-1910 Sarfert: Kusae, 1 Half-Volume*, translated by C. Petrosian-Husa, edited by G. Thilenius (Kosrae, Federated States of Micronesia: Kosrae Historic Preservation Office, unpublished Anthropological Report 2008/1a [1919, English ed. 2008]), pp. 162-87.
766. H.S. Howes, "It is not so!' Otto Finsch, Expectations and Encounters in the Pacific, 1865-85', Historical Records of Australian Science 22 (2011) 32-52
767. Including those in: the Museum der Universität Tübingen, Tübingen; the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg; the Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Leipzig; the Linden-Museum, Stuttgart.
768. Christian, *The Caroline Islands*, p. 398.
769. Riesenberg and Gayton 'Caroline Island belt weaving', (see page 355, footnote 22).

770. Including those in: British Museum, London; Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin; Glasgow Museums, Glasgow; the Horniman Museum and Gardens, London; Kunstkamera, Saint Petersburg; Linden-Museum, Stuttgart; Musée du quai Branly, Paris; Museum der Universität Tübingen, Tübingen; Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg; Museum für Völkerkunde, Leipzig; the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge; Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden; National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh; Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford; Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim; Etnografiska Museet, Världskulturmuseerna, Stockholm; Weltkulturen Museum, Frankfurt; Weltmuseum Wien, Vienna; World Museum, Liverpool.
771. *i.e.* 'Model van een huis', RV-828-50, Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden, Netherlands, http://collectie.wereldculturen.nl/Default.aspx?ccid=673257&lang (accessed 18 January 2018).
772. For examples, see Sarfert, *Results of the South Seas-Expedition, 1908-1910*, pp. 112-13, 120, 217, 231.
773. A. Krämer, 'Order and Ornaments of the Clothing Mats of Kusae and their Relationship with those from the Ralik-Ratak Island[s]' and E. Sarfert 'Appendix', in E. Sarfert, *Results of the South Seas-Expedition, 1908-1910*, pp. 188-97; Christian, *The Caroline Islands*, pp. 122-24.
774. *i.e.* A. Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 74.
775. *i.e. ibid*., p. 95.
776. Response collected from an anonymous survey conducted at the College of Micronesia, National Campus, Pohnpei, Federated States of Micronesia. 1 March 2017.
777. *Ibid*.
778. *Ibid.*
779. *Ibid.*
780. *Ibid.*
781. A chief.
782. A high-ranking chiefly title holder.
783. The Nahnken's wife; a high-ranking chiefly title holder.

Chapter 28

784. Alana Jelinek, 'The Field: An Art Experiment in Levinasian Ethics', *Living Beings: Perspectives on Interspecies Engagements* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013); Alana Jelinek, 'A Response to the Issues Raised in the Special Ethics Edition', *Ethnos: Journal of Anthropology* (2015).
785. A. Grimshaw and A. Ravetz, 'The ethnographic Turn – and after: a critical approach towards the realignment of art and anthropology', *Social Anthropology/Anthropologie Sociale* 23 (2015), 418-34: p. 419.
786. Lois Sherr Dubin and Togashi, *The History of Beads: From 30,000 BC to the Present* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2006).
787. Hilary Mantel, 'Silence Grips the Town', BBC Radio 4 Reith Lectures 2017, aired 27 June 2017, www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b08vy0y6 (accessed 2 April 2018).

Chapter 30

788. Twelve women and a baby girl arrived at Pitcairn aboard the HMS *Bounty* in 1790. Only six of the women had children. The woman from Tubuai named Tinafanea had no children on Pitcairn, but still had a substantial influence over the making of tapa as she lived until 1831.
789. Rosanna Raymond, 'Full Tusk Maiden Aotearoa: Ramblings of a New Voyager in Words and Visions', in K. Stevenson (ed.), *Pacific Island Artists: Navigating the Global Art World* (Oakland, CA: Masalai Press, 2011), p. 155.

790. Carine A. Durand, 'Artistic Practice and (Museum) Ethnography', *Curator: The Museum Journal* 53 (2010), 491-500.
791. *Ibid.*, pp. 496, 498.
792. Sally Malenka, 'The ritual around replica: from replicated works of art to art as replica (part I)', *Objects Specialty Group Postprints* 7 (2000), p. 21.
793. Lucio Angelo Privitello, 'The ritual around replica: from replicated works of art to art as replica (part II)', *Objects Specialty Group Postprints* 7 (2000), pp. 29-30.
794. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
795. Ivy Hali'imaile Andrade, 'Life in the Pacific of the 1700s: The Cook/Forster Collection of the George August University of Göttingen', *Contemporary Pacific* 19 (2007), 341-5.
796. *Ibid.*, p. 342.
797. British Museum references in order: Oc1981,Q.1645; Oc1855.1220.173a-b.
798. British Museum reference: OcTAH.97.
799. Turnbull Library, New Zealand, reference: MSI Papers 3477.
800. Sean Mallon, 'Beyond the Paperskin', in *Paperskin: Barkcloth across the Pacific* (Brisbane and Wellington: Queensland Art Gallery, Museum of New Zealand, 2009), p. 22.
801. The 'Ahu Sistas comprise of artists Meralda Warren (Pitcairn Island), Sue Pearson, and Jean Clarkson (both Norfolk Islanders living in New Zealand), and Pauline Reynolds. Together they have held exhibitions in Tahiti and Norfolk Island, and have focused on protecting the tapa made by their foremothers in collections around the world.
802. University of Aberdeen reference: ABDUA:4007.
803. Robert Varman, *The Bounty Tahitian Genealogies: of the Pitcairn Island Descendants on Norfolk Island* (Central Coast, NSW: R.V.J. Varman, 1992), p. 37.
804. University of Aberdeen reference: ABDUA:4008.
805. Pauline Reynolds, 'Tapa Cloths and Beaters: tradition, innovation and the agency of the *Bounty* women in shaping a new culture on Pitcairn Island from 1790 to 1850', *Textile History* 47 (2016), 190-207.
806. 'A World Class Ceramics Collection', Norfolk Island Museum Blogspot, http://norfolkislandmuseum.blogspot.co.uk/2012/05/world-class-ceramics-collection.html (accessed 10 October 2017).
807. Museum Fünf Kontinente reference: Coll. 'Cook', Inv.Nr. 131.
808. Lars-Åke Göthesson, *Plants of the Pitcairn Islands: Including local names and uses*, (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 1997), p. 310.
809. British Museum reference Oc.1982 www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?assetId=1351554001&objectId=512986&partId=1 (accessed 10 October 2017); British Museum reference Oc,TAH.102 www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=515141&partId=1&searchText=Oc+TAH.102&page=1 (accessed 11 October 2017).

Chapter 31

810. The text of this chapter represents only a portion of a larger conversation. I have paraphrased Dairi's statements to make this possible.
811. Avia Kivori, Figure 1.1, is shown wearing a skirt with a similar design that she had made. She said that the style was originally a Roro design, that is, her cultural area in Kairuku District, but also added that anyone is free to wear it. Interview 2008.
812. Lakatois are double-hulled sailing watercraft used for long sea voyages.

813. Baditauna was a man of some standing. They were required to prepare themselves spiritually, by observing abstinence from physical intimacy and dietary rules, among other things. Further observances were followed, and taboos applied to them, for the duration of the voyage.
814. The Hiri was a long-distance exchange voyage undertaken by the Motu. It was a more or less annual expedition that departed from the Port Moresby area and sailed along the coast to the Gulf of Papua, where the Motu exchanged pots and shell arm bands for the sago and canoe hulls of their trading partners. Specialized maritime trading cycles such as the Hiri were irrevocably disrupted by colonial processes.
815. The Hiri Moale Festival is usually held annually in Port Moresby. It is a celebration of Motu culture and history that is named to commemorate the great Hiri trade voyages. Koita people, a cultural group closely allied with the Motu, also participate. The event is held over a couple of days and includes boat racing, traditional dancing and choirs singing peroveta (prophet) songs; it attracts a wide Papua New Guinean and international audience.
816. Often translated as a beauty quest, which implies something different to what it actually is. The event is open to Motu and Koita young women.

Chapter 32

817. Alana Jelinek, 'An artist's response to an anthropological perspective (Grimshaw and Ravetz)', *Journal of European Social Anthropology* 24 (2) (2017); Alana Jelinek, 'Gender and the Visual Arts' in Hilary Callan (ed.), *The International Encyclopedia of Anthropology* (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2018).
818. Chin-tau Wu, *Privatising Culture: Corporate Art Interventions Since the 1980s* (London: Verso, 2002).
819. Anthony Gardner and Charles Green, *Mega-Exhibitions: Biennials, Triennials, Documentas* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2016).
820. Pascal Gielen, *The Murmuring of the Artistic Multitude: Global Art, Memory and Post-Fordism* (Amsterdam: Valiz, 2009).
821. Olav Velthuis, *Talking Prices: Symbolic Meanings of Prices on the Market for Contemporary Art* (Princeton, NJ and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2005).
822. Stuart Plattner, *High Art Down Home: An Economic Ethnography of a Local Art Market*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); Julian Stallabrass, *Art Incorporated: The Story of Contemporary Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Gregory Sholette, *Dark Matter: Art and Politics in the Age of Enterprise Culture* (New York and London: Pluto Press, 2011).
823. Roger Sansi and Marilyn Strathern, 'Art and anthropology after relations', *Hau: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 6 (2) (2016), 425-39.
824. Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).
825. Tim Ingold, *Making: Anthropology, Archaeology, Art and Architecture* (London: Routledge, 2013).
826. Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, translation and foreword by Brian Massumi (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013).
827. Erin Manning and Brian Massumi, *Thought in the Act: Passages in the Ecology of Experience*, (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2014).
828. Alana Jelinek, 'The Field: An Art Experiment in Levinasian Ethics', *Living Beings: Perspectives on Interspecies Engagements* (London, Bloomsbury, 2013); Alana Jelinek, 'A Response to the Issues Raised in the Special Ethics Edition', *Ethnos: Journal of Anthropology* (2015).
829. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'Can the subaltern speak?', in Rosalind C. Morris (ed.), *Can the subaltern speak?: Reflections on the History of an Idea* (New York/Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2010).

830. Alana Jelinek, 'Art in Museums: An Artist's Response – Tall Stories: Cannibal Forks (2010) at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge', *Journal of Museum Ethnography* 25 (2012).
831. A. Grimshaw and A. Ravetz, 'The ethnographic Turn – and after: a critical approach towards the realignment of art and anthropology', *Social Anthropology/Anthropologie Sociale* 23 (2015), 418-34: p. 419.

Chapter 33

832. A.L. Refiti, 'How the Tā-Vā theory of reality constructs a spatial exposition of Samoan architecture', *Pacific Studies* 40(1/2) (2017), 267-88; T.O. Ka'ili and O. Māhina, 'Introduction: Tā-Vā (Time-Space): The birth of an Indigenous Moana theory', *Pacific Studies* 40, 1-17; P.-A. Addo, 'Geographies of textile authenticity: Making Tongan temporal and social relationships in diasporic cultural production', *Pacific Studies* 40, 18-30; T.O. Ka'ili, 'Tāvani: Intertwining Tā and Vā in Tongan reality and philology', *Pacific Studies* 40, 62-79; D.M. Georgina, 'Circles of self: Tā-Vā expressed in traditional Samoan dance, culture and self', *Pacific Studies* 40, 31-61; T. Kalavite, 'Tā-Vā Kāinga, time-space relationships theory of reality and Tongan students journey to academic achievement in New Zealand tertiary education', *Pacific Studies* 40, 79-104; O. Māhina, 'Time, space, and culture: A new Tā-Vā Theory of Moana anthropology', *Pacific Studies*, 40, 133-53; S.F. Potauaine, 'Tatau: Symmetry as conflict mediation of line-space intersection', *Pacific Studies* 40, 154-79; N. Seve-Williams, 'Reading realities through Tā-Vā', *Pacific Studies* 40, 180-93; U.F. Va'a, 'Samoan cultural perceptions of Tā-Vā' *Pacific Studies* 40, 194-211; F.M. Van der Ryn, 'Samoan Tā-Vā (Time-Space) concepts and practices in language, society, and architecture', *Pacific Studies* 40, 212-44; K.U. Māhina-Tuai, 'Tatau: Symmetry, harmony, and beauty in the art of Sēmisi Fetokai Potauaine', *Pacific Studies* 40, 267-88; P. Rosi, 'Concepts of Tā-Vā (Time-Space) in the art practice of Samoa-Aotearoa artist Shigeyuki Kihara', *Pacific Studies* 40, 289-326.

Epilogue

833. Teresia Teaiwa, as quoted in Epeli Hau'ofa, *We are the Ocean: Selected Works* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008).
834. *Swish: carved bark belts and fibre skirts of Papua New Guinea*, Spotlight Gallery of the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge (26 September 2017 to late 2018).
835. One of three collected by Alfred Cort Haddon (1855-1940) in 1898 when he visited the southeast coast of New Guinea as part of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Strait. He observed a dance performed by girls to ensure luck for the gardens, during a harvest festival. Haddon wrote a detailed and evocative description of the dance, made sketches, collected three of the skirts and a bunch of thyme used to anoint the girls (Z 8861) during the ceremony, and either Haddon or a fellow expedition member, probably Anthony Wilkins (1878-1901), took photographs.
836. This is not to dismiss the value of museum collections, or of this old skirt which is unusual in the degree to which there are contextualizing materials associated with it but one must recognize not only the strength but the limitations of a source.
837. The exhibition continued to St Louis, San Francisco and Chicago (1984-1986) before returning home to New Zealand as *Te Hokinga Mai: The Return Home.* Unprecedented levels of people (900,000 people, 28% of the then population) came out to witness for themselves remarkable Māori tribal treasures (*taonga*), songs were composed in its honour and it was described at the time as 'the most remarkable cultural phenomenon this country has ever experienced' ['*Te Māori* Archive – 'Press clippings'; Goldwater Library, Department of the Arts of Africa, Oceania and the Americas (AAOA), The Metropolitan Museum of Art].

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, J., S. Hooper and M. Nuku, 2016. *A'a, a deity from Polynesia*. London: British Museum Press

Armstrong, E.S. 1900 *History of the Melanesian Mission*. London: Isbister and Company Ltd.

Blais, H. 2005. *Voyages au grand océan: géographies du Pacifique et colonisation (1815-1845)*. Paris: CTHS-Ed. du Comité des Travaux historiques & scientifiques.

Bolton, L, N. Thomas, L. Bonshek, J. Adams and B. Burt (eds.). 2013. *Melanesia: art and encounter*. London: British Museum Press.

Bonnemaison, J., K. Huffman, C. Kaufmann, and D. Tryon (eds.) 1996. *Arts of Vanuatu*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Bremer, S., Mercatorfonds and Wereldmuseum (2011). *Wereldmuseum: het Wereldmuseum presenteert de meesterwerken uit zijn etnografische kunstcollectie in een vijfdelige catalogus (The Wereldmuseum presents masterpieces from its ethnographic collections in a five-volume catalogue)*. Brussels: Mercatorfonds.

Brunt, P., Thomas, N., Mallon, S., Bolton, L., Brown D., Skinner, D. and Kuchler, S. (eds.) 2012. *Art in Oceania: a new history*. London: Thames and Hudson/ New Haven, CN: Yale University Press.

Buck, P.H. 1932. *Ethnology of Manihiki and Rakahanga*. Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

Buschmann, R.F. 2009. *Anthropology's Global Histories The Ethnographic Frontier in German New Guinea, 1870-1935*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Charleux, M. (ed.) 2017. *Tapa: de l'écorce* à *l'étoffe, art millénaire d'Océanie: de l'Asie du Sud-Est* à *la Polynésie orientale (Tapa: from tree bark to cloth: an ancient art of Oceania: from Southeast Asia to Eastern Polynesia)*. Paris: Somogy.

Choi, H. and Jolly, M. (eds.) 2014. *Divine Domesticities Christian Paradoxes in Asia and the Pacific*. Canberra: ANU Press.

Coote, J. 2004. *Curiosities from the Endeavour: a forgotten collection*, Whitby Captain Cook Memorial Museum.

Coote, J. (ed.). 2015. Cook-Voyage Collections of 'Artificial Curiosities' in Britain and Ireland, 1771-2015 (MEG Occasional Paper, No.5), Oxford: Museum Ethnographers Group.

Diamond, P. 2007. *Makereti: taking Maori to the world*. Auckland: Random House.

van Duuren, D. and Vink, S. 2011. *Oceania at the Tropenmuseum*. Amsterdam: KIT Publishers.

Edwards, E. 2010. *Raw histories: photographs, anthropology and museums*. Oxford: Berg.

Effert, R. 2008. *Royal cabinets and auxiliary branches: origins of the National Museum of Ethnology, 1816-1883*. Leiden: CNWS Publications.

Finsch, O. 1893. *Ethnologische Erfahrungen und Belegstücke aus der Südsee. Dritte Abtheilung: Mikronesien. I. Gilberts-Inseln, etc. (Annalen des k.k. Naturhistorischen Hofmuseums. Separatabdruck aus Band VIII. Heft 1.)*. Wien: Alfred Hölder.

Gacs, U. 1989. *Women anthropologists: selected biographies*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Gathercole, P.W. and Clarke, A. 1979. *Survey of oceanic collections in museums in the United Kingdom and the Irish Republic*. Paris: UNESCO.

Gell, A. 1998. *Art and agency: an anthropological theory*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Gottschalk, S. and Hartmann, H. 2016. *German colonialism: fragments past and present*. Berlin: Deutsches Historisches Museum.

Greub, S. 1988. *Expressions of belief: masterpieces of African, Oceanic, and Indonesian art from the Museum voor Volkenkunde, Rotterdam*. New York: Rizzoli.

Gunn, M. and P. Peltier (eds.). 2006. *New Ireland: art of the South Pacific*. Paris: Musée du quai Branly

Hager, C. 1886. *Die Marshall-Inseln In Erd-Und Völkerkunde, Handel Und Mission: mit einem anhang, die gilbert-inseln*. Leipzig: Georg Lingke.

Hanson, L. and A. Hanson. 1984. *The art of Oceania: a bibliography*. Boston: G. K. Hall

Hau'ofa, E. 2010. *We are the ocean: selected works*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Hezel, F.X. 2011. *Strangers in their own land: a century of colonial rule in the Caroline and Marshall Islands*. Honolulu: Center for Pacific Islands Studies.

Hilliard, D. 2013. *God's Gentlemen: A History of the Melanesian Mission, 1849-1942*. Brisbane: University of Queensland Press.

Hooper, S.P. 2006. *Pacific encounters: art & divinity in Polynesia, 1760-1860*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Institut etnografii imeni, N. N. Miklukho-Maklaia. *Sbornik Muzeia antropologii i etnografii*. Leningrad: Izd-vo Akademii.

Ivory, C.S. 2016. *Mata Hoata: arts et société aux îles Marquises*. Paris: Musée du Quai Branly – Jacques Chirac.

Jacquemin, S. 1992. *Rao, Polynésies: Catalogue Edité à l'occasion de l'exposition … Musée des Arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie, Octobre 1992 – Mars 1993*. Paris: Éditions Parenthèses / Réunion des Musées nationaux.

Kaeppler, A.L. 1978. *Artificial curiosities: being an exposition of native manufactures collected on the three Pacific voyages of Captain James Cook, R.N*. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

Kaeppler, A.L. 2008. *The Pacific arts of Polynesia and Micronesia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kaeppler, A.L. and Fleck, R. 2009. *James Cook and the exploration of the Pacific*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Kaeppler, A.L. 2011. *Holophusicon: The Leverian Museum: an Eighteenth-Century English Institution of Science, Curiosity, and Art*. Altenstadt: ZKF Publishers.

Kasarherou, E. and Boulay, R. 2013. *Kanak: l'art est une parole*. Arles (Bouches-du-Rhone): Actes Sud.

Kirk, R.W. 2008. *Pitcairn Island, the Bounty mutineers, and their descendants: a history*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co.

Kjellgren, E. and Ivory, C.S. 2005. *Adorning the world art of the Marquesas Islands*. New York/New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Yale University Press.

Kramer, A. 1906. *Hawaii, Ostmikronesien und Samoa: meine zweite südseereise (1897-1899) zum studium der atolle und ihrer bewohner*. Stuttgart: Steecker & Schroder.

de L'Estoile, B. (2010). *Le göut des autres: de l'exposition coloniale aux arts premiers*. Paris: Flammarion.

Lattanzi, V., Frasca, E. and Ferracuti, S. 2012. *Beyond modernity: do Ethnography Museums need ethnography?* Rome: Espera.

Lavondès, A. 1990. *Vitrine des objets oceaniens: inventaire des collections du Museum de Grenoble*. Paris: ORSTOM.

Le Fur, Y. 2009. *Musée du Quai Branly – the collection: art from Africa, Asia, Oceania, and the Americas*. Paris: Flammarion.

Macgregor, G. 1935. 'A summary of the anthropological survey of the Templeton Crocker expedition'. (Manuscript).

Melandri, M. and Revolon, S. 2014. *L'éclat des ombres: l'art en noir et blanc des* Îles *Salomon.* Paris: Musée du quai Branly/Somogy éditions d'art.

Menter, U., Castro, I.s.d. and Walda-Mandel, S. 2017. *Hawai'i. Königliche Inseln im Pazifik*. Dresden: Sandstein Verlag.

Mesenhöller, P. and Lueb, O. 2013. *Made in Oceania: Tapa – Kunst und Lebenswelten (Tapa – art and social landscapes)*. Mainz: Nünnerich-Asmus Verlag & Media.

Monquil-Broersen, T. 2007. *Universitaire collecties in Nederland: nieuw licht op het academisch erfgoed*. Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers.

Neich, R. 2001. *Painted histories: early Maori figurative painting*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.

Neich, R. and Pendergrast, M. 1997. *Traditional tapa textiles of the pacific*. London: Thames & Hudson.

Notter, A. (ed.) 1997. *La Découverte du paradis Océanie: curieux, navigateurs et savants*. Lille/Paris: Association des conservateurs des musées du Nord-Pas-de-Calais/Somogy.

Onciul, B., Stefano, M.L. and Hawke, S.K. 2017. *Engaging heritage, engaging communities*. Martlesham, UK: Boydell Press.

Peltier, P. 2015. *Sepik: arts de Papouasie Nouvelle-Guinée*. Paris/Gallimard: Musée du quai Branly.

Penny, H.G. 2002. *Objects of culture: ethnology and ethnographic museums in Imperial Germany*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Petit-Skinner, S. and Maude, H.E. 1995. *The Nauruans: nature and supernature in an island of central Pacific*. San Francisco: MacDuff Press.

Raymond, R. and A. Salmond (eds.). 2008. *Pasifika styles: artists inside the museum.* Dunedin: University of Otago Press / Cambridge: Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology

Rubin, W. (ed.) 1995. *"Primitivism" in 20th century art: Affinity of the tribal and the modern*. New York: Museum of Modern Art.

Sarasin, F. 1929. *Ethnologie der Neu-Caledonier und Loyalty-Insulaner*. München: C.W. Kreidel.

Shafranovskaia, T.K., A.I. Azarov, 'Katalog kollektsii otdela Avstralii i Okeanii MAE' [Catalogue of the [MAE's] Australia and Oceania collections], *Sbornik Muzeia Antropologii i Etnografii*, 39 (1984). Typescript translation by Glynn Barratt, AIATSIS Library, Canberra.

Sologub, I.P. 2004. *Problemy etnografii i istorii kul'tury narodov Aziatsko-Tichookeanskogo regiona*. St Petersburg: Peterburgskoe Vostokovedenie.

Speiser, F. 1941. *Kunststile in der Südsee*. Basel: Museum für Völkerjunde.

Speiser, F. 1996. *Ethnology of Vanuatu: an early twentieth century study*. Bathurst: Crawford House.

Speiser, F. and Wirz, P. 1931. *Kult und Kunst auf Neu-Guinea*. Basel: Gewerbemuseum.

Steinen, K. von den. 1925-28. *Die Marquesaner und ihre Kunst: Studien uber die Entwicklung primitiver Südseeornamentik nach eigenen Reiseergebnissen und dem Material der Museen*. Berlin: D. Reimer.

Stevenson, K. 2011. *Pacific island artists: navigating the global art world*. Oakland, CA: Masalai Press.

Tcherkezoff, S. 2009. *Polynesie-Melanesie: l'invention francaise des races et des regions de l'Oceanie, XVIe-XXe siecles*. Pirae: Au vent des Óles.

Thilenius, G., (ed.) 1914-54. *Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition, 1908-1910*. 30 vols. Hamburg: L. Friederichsen.

Thode-Arora, H. and Hempenstall, P.J. (eds.) 2014. *From Samoa with love?: Samoan travellers in Germany 1895-1911: retracing the footsteps*. Munich: Hirmer Verlag.

Thomas, N. 1995. *Oceanic art*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Thomas, N., Adams, J. et. al. 2013. *Tapa: barkcloth paintings from the Pacific*. Cambridge/Birmingham: Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology/Ikon Gallery.

Thomas, N., Adams, J., Lythberg, B., Nuku, M., Salmond, A. (eds.) 2016. *Artefacts of encounter: Cook's voyages, colonial collecting and museum histories*. Dunedin: Otago University Press.

Waterfield, H. and King, J.C.H. 2010. *Provenance: twelve collectors of ethnographic art in England 1760-1990*. London: Paul Holberton Publishing.

Willemsen, M.A.T. 2011. *Volkenkunde in Breda van Indische verzameling tot Rijksmuseum Justinus van Nassau en de Vereniging voor Volkenkunde*. Breda: Bureau Cultureel Erfgoed, Directie Ruimtelijke Ontwikkeling, Gemeente Breda.

Wright, C.J. 2013. *The echo of things: the lives of photographs in the Solomon Islands*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Zimmerman, A. 2001. *Anthropology and antihumanism in Imperial Germany*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

CONTRIBUTORS' BIOGRAPHIES

Editors

Lucie Carreau is a researcher based at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (MAA), University of Cambridge. Educated at the École du Louvre (Paris) and Sainsbury Research Unit (Norwich), her work focuses on the history of collecting and collections in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century and the role of objects in mediating relationships between Pacific Islanders and European visitors. She previously worked as a researcher on the *Artefacts of Encounter* project (2010-2011, ESRC) and *Fijian art* project (2011-2014, AHRC) at MAA, where she co-curated the exhibition *Chiefs & Governors: Art and Power in Fiji* (2013-2014).

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

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

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

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

Contributors

Julie Adams is Curator of the Oceania collections at the British Museum. For the last decade she has curated, researched and written on the histories of Pacific collections in European museums. From 2011-2015, she was Senior Research Fellow at the MAA in Cambridge and was editor of *Artefacts of Encounter: Cook's Voyages, Colonial Collecting and Museum Histories*.

Mark Adams is one of New Zealand's most distinguished photographic artists. He was born in Christchurch, and attended Canterbury University School of Fine Arts from 1967 to 1970. He subsequently became well known for work concerned with cross-cultural interactions around Rotorua, Samoan tatau (tattooing) among the diaspora in New Zealand, the voyages of Captain Cook and other dimensions of colonial history in New Zealand, elsewhere in the Pacific, and in Europe. His work has been exhibited at biennales in São Paulo and Johannesburg, and otherwise in countries including Australia, Britain, Canada, the Netherlands and New Zealand.

Helen Alderson is a New Zealand archaeologist, who has been a part of fieldwork projects in Micronesia, Polynesia, and Melanesia. Her MA thesis (University of Otago, 2013) examined the architecture of Nan Madol, Pohnpei, Federated States of Micronesia. In 2015, she received a Gates Cambridge scholarship to the University of Cambridge. Her PhD considers how Pacific islanders maintained and developed their identities in the increasingly cosmopolitan world of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, focusing on the material culture of Pohnpeians and Kosraeans in Micronesia.

Michaela Appel received her PhD in Ethnology, Indology, and Tibetan Studies from the Ludwig Maximilians University of Munich, Germany. She did research into life cycle ceremonies on the islands of Timor and Java in Indonesia. She is Senior Curator at the Museum Fünf Kontinente in Munich, formerly for Indonesia and Oceania and presently for South Asia, Southeast Asia and Australia. Michaela is especially interested in the history of collections, in object biographies and the symbolic meaning of objects. In the past few years, her research focus has been on the Cook Islands.

Dairi Heri Arua is a Motu man from Porabada village in the National Capital District of Papua New Guinea who is greatly interested in what he terms 'cultural revival'. He makes and sells traditional and tourist craft objects and teaches traditional craft skills to a range of audiences.

Ngahuia te Awekotuku has worked in the heritage sector as a professor, governor, and curator. She was made a Fellow of the Auckland War Memorial Museum, and in 2017 received the Royal Society Pou Aronui Award for 40 years of outstanding service to the arts and humanities. She has published several works of fiction, poetry and nonfiction, including the award winning *Mau Moko: the World of Maori Tattoo* (2007), and *E Nga Uri Whakatupu Weaving Legacies* (2015) for the exhibit which won the Museums Aotearoa Best Exhibition Taonga Maori Award. She now serves as a female ritualist for her tribe Ngati Whakaue of Rotorua. Her grandparents, Ruapotakataka Tawhai and (Guide) Hera Tawhai Rogers, were members of Makereti's touring concert party.

Polly Bence has worked in the curatorial team in the Oceanic section of the Department of Africa, Oceania and the Americas since 2011. Over the past five years as the Project Curator, Oceanic collections, she has been preparing the Oceanic collection for a move into the World Conservation and Exhibition Centre – a new onsite collections store facility in Bloomsbury. During this time she has also collaborated on the ERC funded *Pacific Presences* project, locating and researching UK collections that contain coconut fibre armour from Kiribati. She has also worked at National Museums Scotland (2010-2011) on the Royal Museum Project permanent re-display.

Deidre Brown (Ngapuhi and Ngati Kahu tribes) is an Associate Professor at the School of Architecture, University of Auckland. Her specialist research interests are Māori and Pacific architectural and art history, and the broader discipline of indigenous design. She has written several books over the past decade and has undertaken numerous research projects associated with her Northland tribal district and tipuna (ancestors) Titore and Te Pahi. Recent book publications include the multi-authored *Art in Oceania: A New History* (2012) and sole-authored *Māori Architecture* (2009). She is currently co-writing a comprehensive Māori art history.

Peter Brunt is senior lecturer in art history at Victoria University of Wellington where he teaches the visual arts of the Pacific, with a research emphasis on the post-colonial era. He received his PhD from Cornell University and has published in various journals, edited volumes and exhibition catalogues, including essays on New Zealand artists John Pule, Tony Fomison and Gordon Walters. He is co-editor of *Art in Oceania: A New History* (2012), winner of the 2013 Author's Club Art Book prize, and *Tatau: Photographs by Mark Adams: Samoan Tattooing, New Zealand Art, Global Culture* (2010). He is also co-curator (with Nicholas Thomas and Adrian Locke) of *Oceania* at the Royal Academy of Arts, London, in 2018.

Chris Charteris is a New Zealand based jeweller, sculptor and artist whose work takes inspiration from his I-Kiribati, Fijian and English heritage. He is passionate about making new innovative works that reflect the present yet are deeply rooted within past traditions. His work can be found in a number of private and public collections including the British Museum, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa and the MAA, Cambridge.

Jeremy Coote is Curator and Joint Head of Collections at the University of Oxford's Pitt Rivers Museum. Since he joined the staff of the Museum in 1994, he has taken a special interest in the objects that were acquired by the University in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and in developing historiographical understandings of their documentation and interpretation. He is currently a Leverhulme Trust Major Research Fellow (2017-2019) working on an account of 'Oxford's Cook-Voyage Collection in Historiographical Perspective, 1772-2019'.

Steve Gibbs was born and raised in Gisborne and is committed to the ongoing development of the Māori visual arts. He has been a practising Artist / Art Educator since graduating from Ilam School of Fine Arts, Canterbury University, with a Diploma of Fine Arts in painting, printmaking and art theory, in 1978. He completed a Diploma in Secondary School Teaching at the Christchurch College of Education in 1979, and a Masters in Maori Visual Arts from Massey University 2006. Steve is currently an Associate Professor at Toihoukura, School of Contemporary Maori Visual Arts. Eastern Institute of Technology, Gisborne. His work, incorporating contemporary Māori Design within a traditional context, is inspired by the uniquely painted meeting houses in his home region of Tairāwhiti. Much of his imagery contains personal references to his tribal histories of Turanga (Gisborne) and his Papakainga, or ancestral home, Tamanuhiri Marae, Muriwai. His recent works have been based on life experiences and the creative energy absorbed from working and living in his coastal environment.

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

Katharina Wilhelmina Haslwanter is a PhD student at Zurich University and an affiliated researcher on the *Pacific Presences* project. After finishing her Master's thesis on the history of the Pacific collection of Eduard Graeffe, she lectured in the Ethnography Department and conducted provenance research at the Ethnographic Museum at Zurich University. In the past decade, she co-curated exhibitions in Vienna and Zurich, contributing to publications including *Drinking Skills* (2014), *Gesichter eines Museums* (2014), *Kosmos* (2014) and *Encountering, Retracing, Mapping* (2018). For her PhD project 'Dutch New Guinea in flux', she is investigating collections from western New Guinea, focusing on colonialism, change and indigenous agency.

Anna-Karina Hermkens is a lecturer and researcher who specializes in Pacific anthropology, ethnographic art, museum collections, and religious and gender studies. She did her PhD research among the Maisin people of Collingwood Bay, looking at the interplay between gender and barkcloth art from a longue durée perspective. This research was published as *Engendering Objects* (2013). Between 2005 and 2016, she worked as a post-doctoral research fellow on two collaborative and one individual research project. These fellowships resulted in several publications, including the co-edited volume *Moved by Mary. The Power of Pilgrimage in the Modern World (*2009), and *Sinuous Objects: Revaluing Women's Wealth in the Contemporary Pacific* (2017). Between 2016 and 2017, she was a visiting research fellow on the *Pacific Presences* project at the MAA, University of Cambridge. She is currently working at the Department of Anthropology, Macquarie University, in Sydney Australia.

Lizzy Leckie is a weaver from Aotearoa New Zealand. She has worked with Māori and Kiribati weavers learning traditional weaving techniques. Lizzy is project manager for *Tungaru: The Kiribati Project*. She not only works weaving fibre but also weaving people, communities and their stories.

Billie Lythberg works at the junction of museum ethnography and economics at the University of Auckland Business School. She has worked with Wayne Ngata and Toi Hauiti since 2010, beginning with her post-doctoral research role on Artefacts of Encounter at MAA (2010-2013), and is co-editor of *Artefacts of Encounter: Cook's Voyages, Colonial Collecting, and Museum Histories* (2016). Her research interests include Oceanic sciences, arts and oral histories; cross-cultural theories of value, valuables and valuation; sustainability and environmental management; and social innovation.

Wayne Ngata is currently Chief Advisor Te Ao Māori (the Māori World) at the Ministry of Education. He is the former Chair of Toi Hauiti and former Head of Mātauranga Māori at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. He is also currently Chair of the Māori Language Commission, and has long been an advocate for te reo Māori and mātauranga Māori as platforms for helping Māori to contribute constructively to the advancement of New Zealand society, particularly in the education and museum sector. His research interests include revitalization of indigenous languages and knowledge as future models of best practice.

Maia Nuku is currently Evelyn A. J. Hall and John A. Friede Associate Curator for Oceanic Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. She was born in London and is of English and Māori (Ngai Tai) descent. Her doctoral research focused on early missionary collections of Polynesian gods and their extraordinary materiality, which sparked an interest in drawing out the often eclipsed cosmological aspects of Oceanic art. She followed up her involvement on the major exhibition *Pacific Encounters: Art and Divinity in Polynesia 1760-1860* (2006) at the Sainsbury Centre for Visual Arts, with post-doctoral research at the MAA, Cambridge on the AHRC project *Artefacts of Encounter* and the ERC *Pacific Presences* project.

Ngaakitai Taria Purereriki grew up on the island of Aitutaki in the Cook Islands. He lived in Australia for 20 years before he returned to his homeland in search of his cultural roots. He studied Anthropology at the University of the South Pacific and did excavations on Aitutaki together with the archaeologist Mark Eddowes. Presently he is Director of Aitutaki Punarei Culture Centre, and as a member of the Cook Island Tourism Board he is active in creating a foundation for sustainable tourism. Ngaakitai is involved in a research project on Cook Island objects in European museums together with Michaela Appel.

Over the past 20 years, **Rosanna Raymond**'s activities have made her a notable producer of and commentator on contemporary Pacific Island culture, in Aotearoa New Zealand, the UK, and the USA. She specializes in working within museums and higher education institutions as an artist, performer, curator, guest speaker, poet and workshop leader.

Pauline Reynolds is an historian and textile artist who is interested in how objects can reveal voices that have been left out of historical narratives. She was a Churchill Fellow and a Pacific Collaborator with the *Pacific Presences* project, which allowed her to examine the ancestral treasures held in museums made by her foremothers, as well as related Polynesian objects (especially tapa cloth), and to engage with them on a creative level. She is a founding member of the 'Ahu Sistas – a group actively involved in the documentation, representation, and protection of cultural practices of her heritage. Her PhD by Creative Practice allows for fresh perspectives on story-telling and historical representations of her ancestresses.

Amiria Salmond's research interests include Māori weaving (whatu and raranga), artefact-oriented ethnography, cultural and intellectual property, digital taonga, and the 'ontological turn' in social anthropology. Her book *Museums, Anthropology and Imperial Exchange* (2005), based on her doctoral thesis, was published by Cambridge University Press. She co-edited *Thinking Through Things: Theorising Artefacts Ethnographically* (Routledge, 2007), and *Pasifika Styles: Artists inside the Museum* (University of Otago Press, 2008), based on a ground-breaking exhibition curated with artist Rosanna Raymond. A former senior curator and lecturer at the MAA, University of Cambridge, she has also curated and designed exhibitions at the Tairāwhiti Museum in New Zealand.

Philipp Schorch is Head of Research for the State Ethnographic Collections of Saxony, Germany, and Honorary Fellow at the Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation, Deakin University, Australia. He received his PhD from the Victoria University of Wellington, Aotearoa New Zealand, and held fellowships at the Lichtenberg-Kolleg – Institute of Advanced Study, Georg-August-Universität Göttingen, and at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität Munich, Germany (Marie Curie, European Commission). Philipp is co-editor of the volumes *Transpacific Americas: Encounters and Engagements between the Americas and the South Pacific*

(Routledge, 2016) and *Curatopia: Museums and the Future of Curatorship* (Manchester University Press, 2018).

Katherine Szabó is trained in both archaeology (Australian National University) and anthropology (University of Auckland) and specializes in the analysis of cultural objects made of shell. She has conducted extensive field and analytical research across Island Southeast Asia and the Pacific with extended fieldwork in Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands and the Philippines. Her research sits at the nexus of the sciences and humanities and endeavours to creatively apply scientific techniques to address cultural and culture-historical questions.

Hilke Thode-Arora is a German social-cultural anthropologist, and the Curator for Oceania at the Museum Fünf Kontinente in Munich. Her specialization lies with material culture and the history of museum collections, interethnic relations and ethnic identities, images and stereotypes. Her work has included long-term fieldwork in Niue, Samoa and New Zealand in close collaboration with Niuean and Samoan communities. She curated the exhibition *From Samoa with Love? Samoan Travellers in Germany, 1895-1911. Retracing the Footsteps*, which contextualized the history of the Samoan collection in Munich.

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

Kaetaeta Watson is an I-Kiribati master weaver and artist. She was born on one of Kiribati's atolls, Tabiteuea. As a little girl she watched her mother, grandmother and other female relatives weave virtually all the things they needed around the house.

Areta Wilkinson is an artist of Ngāi Tahu descent, a Māori tribal group of Te Waipounamu the South Island of New Zealand. Wilkinson has investigated the intersection of contemporary jewellery as a form of applied knowledge and practice with Māori philosophies, especially whakapapa (genealogies) and a worldview informed by Ngāi Tahu perspectives. These ideas are articulated in her 2014 PhD Creative Arts with Massey University. Wilkinson's work is seen in New Zealand public collections and current artworks will be featured in the 9th Asia Pacific Triennial of Contemporary Art (APT9).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The research that forms the basis of this volume is the result of a collaborative work between the European Research Council (ERC) project *Pacific Presences*: Oceanic Art and European Museums (2013-2018) and its many partners, research associates and interns. The publication of these papers would have not been possible without the support of the ERC, under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007-2013) / ERC grant agreement n° [324146]11. Generous thanks also go to Abi Saffrey for her tireless work in copyediting this volume and to the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge for waiving reproduction fees.

Julie Adams would like to thank staff at the National Museums Scotland, Brighton Museum and Art Gallery, Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Manchester Museum, the British Museum and Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, for their assistance with her chapter. In particular, she would like to thank Pernille Richards at Maidstone Museum and Bentliff Art Gallery, as well as Nicholas Thomas, Emmanuel Kasarhérou, Mark Adams, Colin Adams and John McLeod for their support with her ongoing research into the Paul Montague collection. Finally, Julie acknowledges the work of François Wadra and his efforts to reconnect Kanak communities with museum collections in the United Kingdom.

Helen Alderson is grateful to Gus Kohler, Rufino Mauricio (National Historic Preservation Office of the Federated States of Micronesia), Mordain David, Emelihter Kihleng, Alfredson Ladore and Jason Lebehn (Pohnpei State Historic Preservation Office) all of whom facilitated the 2017 research and small photographic display in Pohnpei. Takuya Nagaoka (Pasifika Renaissance), Lester Ezekias (Pohnpei Public Library), Jennifer Helieisar, Dana Lee Ling and Krystilyn Atkinson (College of Micronesia National Campus) also helped to facilitate the display. Many thanks to Emelihter Kihleng for her encouragement and stimulating conversation, and to the Ladore family for their hospitality. Special thanks to Keropin David for sharing his knowledge and family's history. The small photography display was created in association with the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (Cambridge), the *Pacific Presences* project, and Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum (Honolulu). Mara Mulrooney and Andrew Lorey greatly contributed to designing and producing the exhibition panels. Jesse W. Stephen and Josh Murfitt took the photographs. The following individuals provided important information about collections and/or gave access to their museums' collections: Alice Christophe, Kamalu du Preez, Mara Mulrooney, Charmaine Wong, Andrew Lorey, Tia Reber (Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawai'i), Julie Adams, Jill Hasell (British Museum, London), Dorothea Deterts (Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Germany), Ulrich Menter (Linden-Museum, Stuttgart), Magali Melandri (Musée du quai Branly, Paris), Volker Harms (Museum der Universität Tübingen, Germany), Jeanette Kokott (Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg), Lucie Carreau, Ali Clark, Remke van der Velden, Rachel Hand (Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge), Fanny Wonu Veys (Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden, Netherlands), Antje Denner, Margaret Wilson (National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh), Ed Johnson (Glasgow Museums,

Glasgow), Nicholas Crowe, Zena McGreevy (Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford), Eva Raabe, Matthias Hofmann (Weltkulturen Museum, Frankfurt), Aoife O'Brien (Etnografiska Museet, Världskulturmuseerna, Stockholm), Reinhard Blumauer (Weltmuseum Wien, Vienna), Alex Blakeborough (World Museum, Liverpool), Amiria Salmond, Elena Govor, and Eve Haddow. Helen is grateful to Ali Clark, Lucie Carreau and Elizabeth DeMarrais for their comments on this paper, and for advice from David Hanlon and Josh Levy. She is also grateful to Nicholas Thomas and the rest of the *Pacific Presences* project team for their support.

Michaela Appel and Ngaa Kitai Taria Pureariki would like to thank Papa Tupuariki Puna, and colleagues at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, and the Museum Fünf Kontinente in Munich.

The success of Polly Bence's survey was dependent on assistance from museum colleagues and she is pleased to say that she and project colleagues visited all 21 museums that held armour. She greatly appreciates all of the time and assistance given by colleagues across the UK. Special thanks to Julie Adams, Alice Christophe, Alison Clark, Antje Denner, Jim Hamill, Jill Hasell, Georgia Mallin, Marques Marzan, Jonathan Mortemore, Josh Murfitt, Lizzie Northcott, Len Pole, Mike Row, Geoff Rubenstein, Tim Teuten and Maggie Wilson. Her thanks also to Chris Charteris, Natan Itonga, Lizzie Leckie and Kaetaeta Watson for their in-depth knowledge, and to the Vivmar Foundation for their support on this project.

Peter Brunt's interest in Nicolai Michoutouchkine and Aloi Pilioko now goes back several years and he is indebted above all to Aloi and his nephew George Pilioko for hosting him at Esnaar in Vanuatu and allowing him access to Nicolai's personal archive. He is also grateful for conversations with Max Shekleton, Kirk Huffman, Chief Jerry Taki, Elena Govor, Lissant Bolton, Lucie Carreau, Leonie Brunt, and the late Paul Gardissat – though the viewpoint expressed in his chapter is of course his own. Research for this chapter was made possible by a *Pacific Presences* Fellowship at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, and the support of Victoria University of Wellington. His thanks to Nicholas Thomas, Ali Clark and colleagues in the *Pacific Presences* project; to Marc-Olivier Gonseth, Olivier Schinz, and Bernard Knodel at the Museum of Ethnography, Neuchâtel, for access to the archives of Jean Gabus; to Mark Adams for photographs; and finally to French and Russian translation helpers: Pauline Charrier, Lucie Carreau and Olga Suvorova.

Lucie Carreau would like to acknowledge the enthusiasm and hard work of Alice Bernadac and Hannah Eastham during their internships on the *Pacific Presences* project. She would also like to thank the following individuals who have provided access to collections when possible, shared their knowledge and discussed the collections: Laurence Kiko (Solomon Islands National Museum, Honiara); Rebekah Kim and Yolanda Bustos (California Academy of Sciences, San Francisco); Alice Christophe, Marques Hanalei Marzan, Kamalu du Preez, B.J. Short, Tia Reber and Leah Pualaha ʻole Caldeira (Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu); Norio Niwa and Peter J. Matthews (National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka) and Carine Peltier-Caroff (Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac, Paris). Finally, Lucie would like to thank the people of Rennell and Bellona, which she met in the Solomon Islands in 2016 and whose interest and enthusiasm is highlighting the salience and importance of these photographs. She

would also like to thank the people of Norfolk Island for welcoming a research party to their amazing and beautiful island in June 2016 and for their generosity in sharing their knowledge and recollection of the Mission. Lucie would particularly like to thank Janelle Blucher and the staff at the Norfolk Island Museum, Rachael McConnell, Scottie Greenwoods, David Buffet and Reverend David Fell. Thanks are also due to Areta Wilkinson for her continuous assistance and enthusiasm and to Mark Adams for producing an amazing set of images of the chapel and never complaining about the difficulty of the task! Finally, Lucie would like to thank Mark Elliott for his invaluable support with research and childcare while visiting the island.

Alison Clark is indebted to all the museum staff who assisted with collections visits; special thanks go to Jill Hasell and Polly Bence at the British Museum, Oliver Lueb at the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, Inbal Livne at the Powell-Cotton Museum, Kolokesa U.Mahina-Tuai at the Auckland War Memorial Museum, and Nicholas Crowe at the Pitt Rivers Museum. My humble thanks also go to Chris Charteris, Lizzie Leckie, Kaetaeta Watson, Natan Itonga, Raakai Curry, Maemae Muller Tiaon, Siarawa Sally Brechtefeld, and the whole Taratai community for their in-depth knowledge, experience and generosity. Chris Charteris, Lizzie Leckie and Kaetaeta Watson would like to thank Grace Hutton, Kolokesa U.Mahina-Tuai, Sean Mallon, Nina Tonga, Moira White and Fuli Pereira for collections access, John Watson and Mwemwetaake Ataniberu and the whole of New Zealand's I-Kiribati community for their knowledge and support.

Jeremy Coote and Ngahuia te Awekotuku are grateful to Pitt Rivers Museum colleagues – especially Philip Grover, Chris Morton, and Michael Peckett – for advice, assistance, and suggestions; and they acknowledge the work of previous generations of staff in preserving and caring for the objects, photographs, and manuscripts from Makereti's collections and for making them accessible to generations of visitors from Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Steve Gibbs, Amiria Salmond and Billie Lythberg would like to give thanks to Ngā Pākeke a Ngai Tāmanuhiri; Uncle Temple Isaacs (Ngāti Rangi i Waho, Ngai Tāmanuhiri), Horomona Pohatu, Warren Pohatu, Noel Pohatu of Ngai Tāmanuhiri. Also to Derek Lardelli (Ngāti Konohi, Rongowhakaata); Stan Pardoe (Rongowhakaata, Ngati Ruapani); Mark Kopua, Wayne Ngata and Hera Ngata-Gibson of Te Aitanga a Hauiti; to Jody Wyllie (Ngai Tāmanuhiri, Rongowhakaata) and to Maureen Lander (Ngāpuhi, Te Hikitu) for providing contacts, connections and important observations on the hoe whakairo. Steve Hooper, Jonathan King, Leslie Jessop, Maia Nuku, Rosanna Raymond and Nicholas Thomas provided tip-offs to additional examples of which they were not yet aware. Julie Adams and Jill Hasell in London, Jeremy Coote at Oxford, Sally-Anne Coupar in Glasgow, Gundolf Krüger in Göttingen, Ulrich Menter at Stuttgart, Andrew Parkin in Newcastle, and Gabriele Weiss in Vienna also provided helpful information, images and/or access to the hoe in their collections.

Elena Govor would like to thank Arina Lebedeva (Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, St Petersburg) and Ekaterina Balakhonova (Museum of Anthropology of Moscow State University) for their assistance in acquiring illustrations and conducting research. She would also like to thank the *Pacific Presences* team, in particular Alison Clark for commenting on earlier drafts of her paper and Fanny Wonu Veys who also provided invaluable editing.

Katharina Wilhelmina Haslwanter would like to thank the *Pacific Presences* team, as well as the staff at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Cambridge, for invaluable support, thought-provoking impulses and many helpful discussions, and is especially grateful to Ali Clark, Erna Lilje and Lucie Carreau for their thorough proofreading and the valuable comments given. Thanks are also due to the Swiss National Science Foundation for funding part of the research, as well as to the Trustees of the Natural History Museum, London, and the staff of its library and archives, especially Sarah Sworder for her assistance. Finally, this essay would not have been possible without the kind support of Martin Woodhouse and Anita Haas.

Anna-Karina Hermkens would like to thank the *Pacific Presences* project, and especially Professor Nicholas Thomas, for providing the opportunity to conduct research at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, and to attend the Festival of Pacific Arts in Guam. I am deeply indebted to the Masim people of Collingwood Bay, the participants of the tapa workshop and conference in Tahiti (2014) and the tapa-makers at the Pacific Arts Festival on Guam (2016) for sharing their knowledge and stories about tapa with me. I would also like to thank to the staff and other research affiliates of the project, whose assistance and support has been invaluable in making my research project possible and seeing this paper coming to fruition.

Alana Jelinek would like to acknowledge the following people for their generous participation in the artworks that were produced as a result of the *Pacific Presences* project: Insos Ireeuw, Gershon Kaigere, Silvy Puntowati, Annette Schmidt, Peter Waal, Niek van Rijkswijk, Eric Venbrux, Sudarno, Marie-Christine Engels, Max Ireeuw, Betty Ireeuw-Kaisiëpo, Fin Maya Hay, Margriet Sui-Lan Ireeuw, Oriana Pentury, Ignatius Supriyanto, Benny Wenda, Oridek Ap, Martin Derey, Julie Adams, Lilja Kapua Addeman, Susanna Rianna Balai, Liz Bonshek, Rodney Kelly, Emelihter Kihleng, Oliver Lueb, Kolokesa Māhina-Tuai, Ole Maiava, Sean Mallon, Imelda Miller, Wayne Modest, Pala Molisa, Rick Pa, Pandora Fulimalo Pereira, Jackie Shown, Maria Stanyukovich, Reina Sutton, Kat Szabo, Nina Tonga, Alisa Vavataga, Wonu Veys, Kaetaeta Watson, Maria Wronska Friend, Wayne Dawson, Erna Lilje, Kinsi k'Abdullah, Amiria Salmond and Anaïs Tondeur. There was also technical and administrative help from Fanny Wonu Veys, Ulrike Folie, Ali Clark, Katharina Haslwanter and many others at the Museum Volkenkunde in Leiden that she would like to acknowledge. In addition, essential translation and enthusiastic background support by Insos Ireeuw and Silvy Puntowati made it all possible and this too must be acknowledged. The following artworks would never have been created without the generous support of the ERC and the *Pacific Presences* project: 'Knowing' (2015), 'Belonging' (2017), and 'Being and Change' (2017).

The essential assistance of archivists, librarians, curators and other staff at numerous institutions are too numerous to mention; however, Erna Lilje reserves a special mention for the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge. Foremost, fellow members of the *Pacific Presences* team Nicholas Thomas, Lucie Carreau and Alison Clark for their support and generosity. Senior Curator Anita Herle, Rachel Hand and Jocelyn Dudding for their respective wealth of knowledge about the object collection and photograph collections. Similarly, in Papua New Guinea those that have been of assistance are too numerous to name. She is glad to have known Max Kuruku Madaha, sadly now passed, whose good judgement kept her safe while

travelling in Papua New Guinea. Erna is also greatly indebted to those, both living and passed, who have taught her about fibre skirt making: Dairi Aura as well as Avia Kivori (now passed), and Joseph Oa Akauma and their family, Ara Kere (now passed) and her family, and Gabina Kilagi, Nuruka Rawali, Kilagi Bala and Gaba Laka. She would like to acknowledge the many people in Hisiu and Nara villages, that shared their knowledge with her, in particular, Taita Ikaro, Taita Ovia, Poi Ikaro and Ikupu Paru. Erna also wishes to acknowledge Mure Eli Lilje and Dairi Arua for acting as translators on many occasions. She is grateful for the hospitality and assistance of her family, in Kila Kila, the children and families of the late Momo Rabura Girigi and Ovaro Eli, and Stuart Fancy, Moi Eli, Paul Fancy and Vili Romney for very practical support. Finally thanks go to Annie Clarke, Robin Torrence and Jude Philp for nurturing this initial research into fibre skirts and for their unstinting patience and support, and to Sonia Lawless and Erna's family Uwe, Mure and Osu Lilje.

Billie Lythberg and Wayne Ngata would like to give thanks to Volker Harms for personally welcoming successive delegations of researchers and of Hauiti descendants to Tübingen, well into his retirement. Also for his persistence in continuing to trace the movements of this taonga once in Europe, and for publicizing the results of his research, most recently in the booklet *The Tübingen Poupou: A Maori Carving from James Cook's First Voyage of Discovery* (Tübingen: Museum of the University of Tübingen, 2017).

Maia Nuku's chapter was first presented as a paper during the *Pacific Presences* panel at the Pacific History Association (PHA), 19-21 May 2016, Guam. The conference theme was 'Mo'na: Our Pasts Before Us' and was hosted in collaboration with the University of Guam and the Guam Preservation Trust in the few days prior to opening ceremonies for the XIIth Festival of Pacific Arts, Guam (22 May – 4 June 2016). Maia was fortunate to be a post-doctoral research fellow on the *Pacific Presences: Oceanic Art and European Museums* project for the first 12 months of the project and thanks all members of the research team for their collaboration, input and ideas over the course of her involvement especially Julie Adams, Mark Adams, Michaela Appel, Lucie Carreau, Ali Clark, Alana Jelinek, Erna Lilje, Amiria Salmond, Nicholas Thomas and Fanny Wonu Veys for intrepid travels and animated conversations in museum stores throughout Europe. She thanks close colleagues at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology at the University of Cambridge for their continued support of the project and its endeavours, especially Anita Herle, Rachel Hand, Mark Elliot, Georgina Amos, Chris Wingfield and Wendy Brown. To her Pacific network: curators, researchers, artists, practitioners and consultants, friends, colleagues and relations – spread across the world, all working towards the same vision: thank you for replenishing our energies and perspectives, for your grace and good humour. Ehari taku toa i te toa takitahi. Engari he toa takimano e! In 2013, Paul D. Miller, aka DJ Spooky, undertook a creative residency at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and as a result of research into the Oceania collections devised a project that focused on Nauru. A new composition *The Nauru Elegies* and live performance/multimedia event (Jan 18, 2013) was one of the outcomes of this residency. Aiming to highlight the 'hidden geometry of global commerce' it was described as 'a reflection site of many of the issues facing our contemporary information economy'. See www.djspooky.com/naurueleges for

more information. *The Nauru Elegies* project also then endorsed The Nauru Project – a collaborative initiative about Nauru: www.nauruproject.blogspot.com/

Pauline Reynolds gives thanks to the *Pacific Presences* project and all the team, led by Nicholas Thomas, for the fabulous opportunity to collaborate in this way. Her eternal gratitude to Lucie Carreau and Ali Clark for organizing her research trip, to Lucie for accompanying her to most of the collections, and to Erna Lilje for accompanying her to the Five Continents Museum in Munich. To the curators who are always so generous with their time and knowledge: at the British Museum, Julie Adams and Jill Hasell; Hilke Thode-Arora and Michaela Appel at the Five Continents Museum; Nicholas Crowe and Faye Belsey at the Pitt Rivers Museum; Catherine Harvey at Hastings Museum; Neil Curtis and Louise Wilke at the King's Museum, Aberdeen; Andy Mills, Mark Nesbitt, and the team for their time and access to the Kew Gardens tapa at the Centre for Textile Conservation; and Patricia Allan and Edward Johnson of the Glasgow Museums. Heartfelt thanks to Lucie Carreau and Mark Elliott for their warm hospitality while Pauline and her daughter, Mauatua, were in Cambridge.

Amiria Salmond would like to give special thanks to Emeritus Professor Volker Harms of the University of Tübingen for his generous research support and advice on the Krämer and Krämer-Bannow legacy. Her gratitude too to Stefanie Schien and Heike Gerlach of the Freiburg Museum Natur und Mensch, and to Constanze Dupont of the Etpison Museum Krämer Translation Project in Palau for advice and access to archives and collections. Rainer Buschmann and Hilke Thode-Arora kindly reviewed the piece, and Alberto Corsín Jiménez, Alex Golub and members of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania e-mail list (ASAO-Net) provided invaluable references and suggestions on women in anthropology.

Philipp Schorch appreciates the support of numerous individuals within the context of this project. Some are already listed in the endnotes and others are, above all, the various staff members at the archives and libraries at the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin and the Grassi Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig without whom he would not have been able to detect the sources and conduct the research. He also appreciates the detailed reviews by Rainer Buschmann and Katharina Haslwanter, the continuous support by the whole *Pacific Presences* team and the close copyediting by his partner Eliza.

Katherine Szabo's research was supported by an Australian Research Council Future Fellowship (FT FT140100504) and access to the MAA collections was facilitated through a visiting research fellowship within the *Pacific Presences* Project. Thanks to her MAA hosts and colleagues Nicholas Thomas, Anita Herle, Ali Clark, Rachel Hand, Mark Elliot, and especially my collaborator Lucie Carreau. For access to the collections of the Ethnologisches Museum in Berlin and support during two research visits, thanks to Dorothea Deterts and Peter Jacob. For access to the collections of the Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden, and support during a research visit there, thanks to Philipp Schorch, Petra Martin and Hagen Friede. Additional thanks to Andrew Fairbairn for the identification of the palm endocarp beads. Interviews and ethnoarchaeological research in the Solomon Islands were conducted under University of Wollongong Human Research Ethics permit 2016/228.

Hilke Thode-Arora would like to thank all the archive staff who provided access to the Max Biermann- and Marshall Islands-related files of the Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes (Political Archive of the German Foreign Office) and to the colonial files in the Bundesarchiv (Federal Archives), both in Berlin. She is very much indebted to Rainer Scheller who graciously and generously made his great-grandfather Max Biermann's private reminiscences available to her, allowed her to quote from them and to publish a family photo, and who took such a lively interest in the project. Special thanks go to Carsten Brekenfeld, Berlin, and Dieter Klein, Wuppertal, who contributed with valuable details on Max Biermann's journeys and the Marshall Islands as a German colony from their private collections of postcards, letters, maps and other contemporary documents as well as from their research based on them. Hilke would also like to express her gratitude to Dr Michaela Appel who introduced her to Max Biermann, his collections and writings, and to the late Dr Christine Kron, both of them for establishing and supporting this project at the Museum Fünf Kontinente. A big thank you to Rainer F. Buschmann who gave valuable recommendations as a peer reviewer for the article. Last but not least, she is very much indebted to Professor Nicholas Thomas and the *Pacific Presences* team for letting her be part of this wonderful international and interdisciplinary project on Pacific collections all over the world, and for their most generous support.

Nicholas Thomas wishes to thank Jeffrey Sissons for his help in identifying Rosanna Corrie, and John Gow for facilitating the acquisition of this work by the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. He would also like to give special thanks to Anna Fahlen, Aoife O'Brien and Stockholm colleagues for their time and generosity. He is grateful also to Julia Lum for the information concerning the Newcastle barkcloth.

Fanny Wonu Veys would like to acknowledge Anna-Karina Hermkens' insights and remarks when she presented the very first version of this article during the *Pacific Presences* workshop in 2017. She would also like to thank the reviewers and her mum for their useful comments.

Areta Wilkinson and Mark Adams would like to acknowledge staff at the following institutions and funding bodies for their support: Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, New Zealand; Creative New Zealand Craft Object Fellowship 2015, Dunedin Public Art Gallery, Dunedin, New Zealand; Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin; Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge; University Museum of Zoology, Cambridge; ERC *Pacific Presences* project; and the Leverhulme Trust.

INDEX

Note: Page locators in ***italics*** refer to figures or tables.

A

Adam, Leonhard 1:65-7
Aitutaki female figure 2:39-50
  barkcloth with related patterns 2:47-9
  tattoo patterns 2:42-7
Alstromer collection 2:223-4
Andrade, Maile 2:376-7
Anuchin Research Institute and Museum of Anthropology of Lomonosov Moscow State University (MAMSU) 1:186-7, 1:192-3
Aqo 2:*168*, 2:170
*ARCHIVES Te W*āhi *Pounamu* 2:305, 2:*306*
armour
  gift to Titore 2:207, 2:214-17, 2:220-1
  see also Kiribati armour; Kiribati armour, inaccuracies and inconsistencies in researching
Arnoux, Louis 1:*99*, 1:105-6
Arsenal (Armoury), Tsarskoe Selo 1:176
art history of Oceania 2:165-70
  see also contemporary Pacific art
Artis Ethnographic Museum, Netherlands 1:135, 1:142
artistic movements inspired by ethnographic collections 1:64, 1:*65*, 1:107-10, 1:214, 1:*215*
Arua, Dairi 2:387-90, 2:480
Asaeda, Toshio 2:141-2, 2:*143*, 2:144-8, 2:149-51, 2:152
Asmat collections 1:63, 1:145, 1:*145*, 1:146, 1:*147*, 1:*149*, 1:*150*, 1:*151*, 2:234
Australian Museum, Sydney 1:64, 2:249, 2:389, 2:*389*, 2:390

B

Baal, Jan van 1:143
bag, palm leaf 2:258-60
Baining masks 2:69-71
Balfour, Henry 2:279, 2:*280*, 2:281, 2:282, 2:283, 2:*284*, 2:288, 2:289, 2:294, 2:*295*
Ballard, Chris 2:129-30
Banks, Joseph 1:40, 1:*41*, 1:86, 1:199, 2:165, 2:223-4, 2:337
  distribution of collections 1:43, 1:45, 2:39, 2:223
  hoe depicted in portrait of 2:316, 2:*317*
stay in Ūawa 2:335-6
barkcloth 1:*106*, 1:*156*, 2:65-77, 2:*405*
  350.org campaigns 2:75-6
  Aitutaki 2:47-9
  Baining masks 2:69-71
  beater 1:*50*
  book binding derived from 1:63
  contemporary nioge 1:75, 1:*75*
  dating 2:84
  Elema masks 2:72
  Etnografiska Museet, Stockholm 2:223-7
  Festival of Pacific Arts (FESTPAC) 2:74-5
  and future of Oceania 2:74-7
  MAA collection 1:*75*, 2:47-9, 2:66-73, 2:227
  made for sale 1:*157*
  Maisin 2:68-9, 2:73-4
  MAMSU collection 1:186
  phallocrypts 2:*70*, 2:72
  Pitcairn Island 2:376, 2:377-81, 2:*411*
  Rarotonga 2:249-52
  in religious transfigurations 2:73

Tahiti 1:*42*, 1:85, 1:*85*, 1:*100*, 1:*179*, 2:223-4, 2:327
Takoha 2:327, 2:*327*
Tapa Festival of Oceania 2:76-7
Titikaveka 2:250-2
Tonga 1:*91*, 2:224, 2:*226*
Tonga, contemporary re-interpretation of 2:65, 2:*66*
UNESCO efforts to safeguard 2:76
University of Göttingen 2:224, 2:227
Bastian, Adolf 1:203, 1:210, 1:216
Bateson, Gregory 1:62, 1:63, 1:64, 1:*65*, 2:72
beads 1:*156*, 2:*136*, 2:358-9, 2:361, 2:363
see also shell money in Western Island Melanesia
Belonging 2:396
belts, woven elite 2:348-9
Bennet, George 1:49, 1:*50*, 2:227
Bibliothèque Nationale 1:95, 1:97, 1:102, 1:105
Biermann, Max
as Imperial Commissar and collector 2:135-8
situation in Marshall Islands during stay of 2:131-3
Bishop Museum, Honolulu 1:29-35
E Kū Ana Ka Paia: Unification, Responsibility and the Kū Image exhibition 1:32-4
Hawaiian Hall renovation 1:29-31
Pacific Hall, renovation 1:31-2
Pohnpeian and Kosraean artefacts 2:345, 2:346
Templeton Crocker expedition photographs 2:*140*, 2:148-9, 2:*152*
Bismarck Archipelago 1:180, 1:208, 1:209, 2:26, *2:174*
shell money *2:30*, 2:36, 2:37
Blumenbach, Johann Friedrich 1:199
'Bob,' illustration of Kingsmill warrior 2:111-12
Bolton, Lissant 1:75, 2:92, 2:103, 2:199
Bougainville, Louis-Antoine Comte de 1:82-5, 1:199
Bouge, Louis Joseph 2:102-3
Brady, Henry Bowman 1:55
Brandeis, Antonie Thawka 2:156, 2:157-61
Brandeis, Eugen 2:134-137, 2:157-8, 2:160-1
Brenchley, Julius Lucius 1:*54*, 1:55, 2:95-7
Britain 1:37-80
anthropological institutions 1:55-7
collecting after World War II 1:67-8
decades of decolonization 1:68-70
expeditionary anthropology 1:60-3
exploration and encounter, voyages of 1:39-45, 1:50-1
forming of societies 1:51-3
growth of Empire and further collecting opportunities 1:58-60
missionary expeditions 1:47-50
'provincial life' and collecting 1:51-5
size and number of collections 1:37-9
trading voyages to Pacific 1:45-7
twenty-first century 1:71-9
British Museum 1:43, 1:*49*, 1:*51*, 1:58, 1:63, 1:67-8, 1:81, 2:*103*
Christy's collection 1:*56*, 1:57
contemporary collecting 1:71, 1:75, 2:103-5
Enlightenment Gallery 1:*77*
Kanak collections 2:97-8, 2:102-4
Kingsmill Warrior 'Bob' illustration 2:111-12
Kiribati armour 2:113, 2:*114*, 2:366, 2:*367*
'Māori**'** exhibition 1:70, 1:71
Melanesia Project (2005-10) 2:92, 2:104
Museum of Mankind 1:68, 1:69, 2:113
Otaheite and South Sea Rooms 1:45, 1:*46*
paddles, painted New Zealand 2:316, 2:*317*, 2:*318*, 2:319, 2:320
porcupine fish helmet 2:113-15
Sadler's gifts 2:210-12
Seligman illustrations 2:*169*
size of collection 1:37
staffing structure review 2:110
Stanley's collection 1:50, 1:*51*
Tahitian tiputa 2:383-4
'u'u 2:80-2, 2:*86*, 2:87
Broekhuijse, Johan Theodorus 1:158, 1:*160*

Buffon, Georges-Louis 1:86-7
Burlington Fine Arts Club 1:64-5

C

Cabinet et Jardin du Roi 1:84, 1:86-7, 1:95
California Academy of Sciences (CAS) 2:140, 2:152, 2:*152*
Cambridge
  Expedition to Torres Straits 1:61-2, 2:*17*, 2:*18*
  University Museum of Zoology 2:308, 2:*309*, 2:*310*
  see also Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (MAA), Cambridge
canoe house tie-beam 1:*54*, 1:55
canoes
  carvings 1:*91*, 2:*238*, 2:288, 2:289, 2:*290*, 2:335-6, 2:*336*, 2:362
  illustrations 2:*166*, 2:*168*
  model of a war 2:159, 2:*160*
  models 1:58, 1:59, 1:*59*
  prows 1:*144*, 1:*148*, 1:*156*, 2:336, 2:*336*, 2:362
  Santa Cruz Islands 2:*238*
  splashboard 1:50, 1:*51*
  as symbols for women on Aitutaki barkcloth 2:49
  Templeton Crocker expedition photographs 2:147-8
Caroline Islands collection, Russia 1:173, 1:*173*
Centre Culturel Tjibaou 1:117, 1:*119*
Chapel of St Barnabas 2:236-7, 2:240-1
  inlaid panels 2:241-8
Charteris, Chris 2:365-6, 2:*369*, 2:370-2, 2:373, 2:374, 2:481
Cheesman, (Lucy) Evelyn 2:253-63
  biography 2:253-5
  ethnographic collecting 2:260-3
  travels in western New Guinea 2:255, 2:256-63
Chegwyn (junior), Joseph 2:217, 2:218-19
Chegwyn (senior), Joseph 2:217, 2:*218*, 2:*220*
Christian, F.W. 1:*47*, 2:344, 2:*344*, 2:345, 2:*345*
Christianization of Pacific 1:47, 1:93, 2:73-4, 2:237-9, 2:250-2
  and relinquishing of god images 1:*48*, 1:49, 1:*49*
Christy, Henry 1:*56*, 1:57
Clercq, Frederik Sigismund Alexander de 1:150
climate change 2:75-7, 2:275
contemporary Pacific art 2:391-2
  and artistic revival 2:129-30, 2:222
  Gende 1:75, 1:*76*
  Gribbs 2:322, 2:323, 2:*325*, 2:*327*
  museums' engagement with 1:30, 1:33, 1:70, 1:118, 1:*119*, 1:120, 1:122
  Nuku 1:71, 1:*73*, 1:120, 1:*121*
  Pasifika Styles project 1:71, 1:*72*, 2:331, 2:376
  processes in making of 2:391-6
  reinterpretation of Tongan barkcloth 2:65, 2:*66*
  Te Porewa Installation 2019 2:340-1
  see also Māori taonga, artists in residence at MAA working with; Raymond, Rosanna
Cook, Captain James 1:39-45, 1:60
  The Art of Captain Cook's Voyages 2:165
  barkcloth samples attributed to 1:*42*
  contemporary views of 2:324, 2:*326*
  differences between collections from Polynesia and Melanesia 2:95
  dispersal of Banks' artefacts 2:223-4
  German collections 1:199
  Kanak artefacts in UK museums 2:93-5
  Last Voyage of Captain Cook exhibition 1:170, 1:*170*
  Pacific Treasures: Cook Collections from the Kunstkamera, St. Petersburg 1:170-1
  paddles 2:315-18, 2:319, 2:320, 2:*321*, 2:*324*
  plans to mark 250th anniversary of first Pacific voyage 2:324-5, 2:326-7, 2:340-1

Poupou of Hinematioro 2:332, 2:*332*, 2:334-9, 2:340
Russian collections 1:169-71, 1:176
spear thrower attributed to 2:94-5
tapa collection in Estonia attributed to 1:178, 1:*179*
'u'u 2:80-2
Cook Islands 2:119-20
Atiu helmet 2:116, 2:*116*
Rarotonga 2:249-52
see also Aitutaki female figure
Crocombe, Marjorie 2:200-2

D

Dampier, William 1:*40*, 1:42, 1:138
David, Keropin 2:348
Davis, Edward Henry Meggs 2:113, 2:*113*, 2:265-6, 2:267-8, 2:269, 2:270, 2:271, 2:272-3, 2:274
Denon, Dominique Vivant 1:95, 1:*96*
Die Brücke (The Bridge) 1:214, 1:*215*
digital repatriation 2:320, 2:322, 2:328, 2:331-2
photographic display in Pohnpei 2:347-8
documentation of collections 1:17, 1:118, 1:120
coconut fibre armour 2:109-11
Dumont d'Urville, Jules 1:88, 1:90-3, 1:97, 1:102, 1:*103*, 1:105, 1:115
Duperrey, Louis-Isidore 1:88-9
Dusky Maiden 2:397-8, 2:401, 2:403
diversification of 2:*400*, 2:401-2, 2:*404*, 2:*406*
Dutch East India Company (Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie, VOC) 1:138-9, 2:229, 2:230
Dutch New Guinea 2:230-1
narratives in public domain 2:231-4

E

Easter Island 1:115, 1:*115*, 1:127, 1:176, 1:*177*
Edge-Partington, James 1:*56*, 1:57, 2:*111*, 2:112, 2:268
Elema masks 2:71
Ellis, Ngarino 2:332, 2:333-4
encounters 1:21-4
with artefacts in *Knowing* project 2:351-64
British voyages of exploration and 1:39-45
Cheesman and indigenous people of western New Guinea 2:257-60, 2:260-3
Cook's voyages and, with Islanders 1:40, 2:329, 2:335-6
of diaspora with overseas museums 2:423
Dutch and peoples of Oceania 1:127, 1:138-9, 1:150, 1:157
fertility of cross-cultural 2:165, 2:167-70
Miklouho-Maclay and Islanders 2:123, 2:124-5
with Polynesian cultural heritage 2:403
reuniting communities with artefacts 2:320-3, 2:339, 2:412-13, 2:416-17, 2:421-3
see also repatriation
environmental issues 2:75-7, 2:275
Estonia 1:177-8
Historical Museum 1:*20*, 1:*23*, 1:178, 1:*179*
ethnographic borderlands 1:203, 1:*204*, 1:210, 1:*211*
Ethnologisches Museum (formerly Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde), Berlin 1:16, 1:*23*, 1:*25*, 1:190, 1:199, 1:*200*, 1:*201*, 1:205, 1:206-8, 1:*210*
house posts *2:184*, 2:185
moving Oceanic collection to Humboldt Forum 1:222
removal of objects to secure locations 2:180, 2:*181*
shell money 2:*28*, 2:30, 2:*30*
stores of Oceania artefacts 1:16, 1:19
transfer from Leipzig of Leningrad-Sammlung 2:180-4
war damage 1:218, 1:*219*
Etna Expedition 1:139, 1:149-50, 1:*152*

Etnografiska Museet, Stockholm 2:223
barkcloth 2:223-7
exchange
artefacts made for sale or 1:58-9
Cook voyage 2:95, 2:165, 2:*166*, 2:227, 2:319, 2:327, 2:335, 2:340
delayed relationship between Taratai community and British 2:272-5
between early expeditions and Pacific Islanders 1:83-4, 1:127, 1:212, 1:*213*, 1:214-16, 2:56
GDR using 'Lenningrad-Sammlung as an object of 2:177, 2:180-4
islanders interested in cross-cultural and commercial 1:40-1, 1:58-9, 1:65
between Miklouho-Maclay and Papuans 2:124-5
'silent' 1:214
see also Māori and European exchanges of 'treasure'
exhibitions
Anthropological Exhibition 1:185, 1:*185*
ARCHIVES Te Wāhi Pounamu 2:305, 2:*306*
The Art of Primitive Peoples 1:64
Asmat, Historical and Contemporary Photography 2:234
Bisj Poles 2:234
Bottled Ocean 2116, Te Ao Māori 1:120, 1:*121*
De Jade et de Nacre – Patrimoine Artistique Kanak 1:115-16
E Kū Ana Ka Paia: Unification, Responsibility and the Kū Image 1:32-4
Eastward Bound! Art, culture and colonialism 1:164
Ethnography and Art of Oceania 1:193, 1:*193*
Exposition Ethnographique des Colonies Françaises 1:110-12
Exposition Universelle 1:102
French colonial 1:107, 1:109-10, 1:110-12
International Exhibition of Art and Technology in Modern Life 1:113
International Surrealist Exhibition 1:64, 1:*65*
Irian Jaya, Images of the Ancestors and Crucifixes 1:164
The Island Warrior 1:*27*, 2:365
Journey to Oceania 1:191
Kanak: L'art est une Parole 1:122, 2:91-2
La Découverte du paradis, Curieux, navigateurs et savants 1:116-17
Last Voyage of Captain Cook 1:170, 1:*170*
L'Éclat des ombres: L'Art en Noir et Blanc des îles Salomon 2:140
MAA 1:26, 1:*27*, 2:365
Māori exhibition, British Museum 1:70, 1:71
Matahoata: Arts et Société aux Îles Marquises 1:122
Melanesian Art 1:161
Oceania, Royal Academy 2:101, 2:*101*
Oceania, Switzerland 2:197
Pacific Treasures: Cook Collections from the Kunstkamera, St. Petersburg 1:170-1
Pacifique(s) Contemporain: Les artistes du Pacifique au Havre et à Rouen 1:120
Papua Lives! Meet the Kamoro 2:234
Paradise: portraying the New Guinea Highlands 1:68
Pasifika Styles 1:71, 1:*72*, 2:331, 2:376
Race to the Snow 2:234
Repatriation and *Moa Hunter Fashions* exhibitions 2:305-12
reuniting communities with artefacts on loan for 1:32-4, 1:116-18, 2:322, 2:326-7
From Samoa with Love? 1:220-1
Under the Spell of the Ancestors 1:163
Tairāwhiti Museum, Gisborne 2:320, 2:322, 2:*323*
Te Māori 1:69, 2:422
Völker Australiens and Ozeaniens 2:175, 2:175-7

F
Festival of Pacific Arts (FESTPAC) 2:74-5
fibre skirts 2:13-23
adoption of Western styles of dress 2:20-1, 2:22
in collections 1:*149*, 1:*186*, 2:15, 2:21
diversity and change 2:13-18
layering of different materials 2:15, 2:*17*, 2:*18*
nypa 2:14, 2:15, 2:*15*, 2:*17*
pandanus 2:14, 2:15, 2:*15*, 2:*18*, 2:22
plastic and pandanus 2:*21*, 2:22
production and exchange 2:19-21
'products' to sell in markets 2:388, 2:*388*
sago 2:14, 2:*14*, 2:15, 2:*16*, 2:*17*, 2:*18*, 2:19, 2:388, 2:*388*
for special occasions 2:21-2
work songs accompanying making of 2:418-19
Fifita, Ruha 2:65, 2:*66*
Finsch, Otto 1:*207*, 2:59, 2:345, 2:346
Firth, Raymond 1:64-5, 1:67
fishhooks 2:97, 2:*98*, 2:100
fishing, women 2:260-2
Forge, Anthony 1:67, 1:68
Forster, George 1:40, 1:178, 1:199, 2:80, 2:171, 2:227
Forster, John Reinhold 1:40, 1:43, 1:45, 1:171, 1:199, 2:80, 2:93, 2:224, 2:*226*
Fotofili, Lusiana 2:75
France 1:81-124
1789-1830s 1:87-97
1830s – 1930s 1:97-110
1930s – 1960s 1:110-15
1960s – 2000s 1:115-18
artistic avant-garde 1:107-10
Bottled Ocean 2116, Te Ao Māori 1:120
Bougainville expedition 1:82-5
colonization of Pacific 1:97-101
development of ethnographic collections in museums 1:101-7
Dumont d'Urville expedition 1:90-3
Duperrey expedition 1:88-9
Dupetit Thouars expedition 1:98
eighteenth century voyaging 1:82-7
exploration and science 1:87-93
Freycinet expedition 1:87-8
institutional chaos and neglect of ethnographic collections 1:94-7
La Korrigane expedition 1:110, 1:*111*
missionary presence in Pacific 1:93-4, 1:98
museums in previous Pacific colonies 1:117, 1:118, 1:*119*
provincial museum ethnographic collections 1:105-7, 1:113-15, 1:116-17
'récolement' of museum collections 1:118, 1:120
repositories for early collections 1:81-2
size of collections 1:81
Surville expedition 1:85-6
twenty-first century transformation of Parisian collections 1:118-23
Franks, Augustus Wollaston 1:57
Freiburg Museum 2:156, 2:157-8, 2:159, 2:*160*
Freycinet, Louis de 1:87-8
Frigate birds 2:59, 2:62
feathers in turtle shell headdresses 2:55-6
hunting and taming 2:59-61, 2:62
inlays in Chapel of St Barnabas 2:245, 2:*247*

G
Gabus, Jean 2:197-9, 2:200
Gauguin, Paul 1:107, 1:*108*
Geelvink Bay 1:140, 1:151, 1:*152*, 1:153, 1:*156*
Gende, Simon 1:75, 1:*76*
Gerbrands, Adriaan 1:146, 1:*150*
German Democratic Republic (GDR)
exhibiting (post) colonial Pacific 2:172-7
Leningrad Collection a pawn in Cold War 2:177, 2:180-4
return of Leningrad collection from Soviet Union 2:177-80
Germany 1:197-224
colonization of Pacific Islands 1:202-5

comparisons with other European collections 1:197-8
contemporary exhibits 1:220-3
Die Brücke (The Bridge) 1:214, 1:*215*
early collections 1:198-202
German Naval Expedition 1:212, 1:*213*
Hamburger Südsee Expedition 1:209, 1:212, 1:216, 1:218, 2:54, 2:161, 2:163, 2:345-6
museum developments 1914-1990 1:218-20
museum exhibits before Great War 1:216-18
number of objects in ethnographic institutions 1:198, 1:*223*
Orders and decoration of collectors 1:205-6, 1:*206*, 1:*207*
proliferation of ethnographic museums and collecting activity 1:202-9
see also German Democratic Republic (GDR)
Gerrard and Sons 2:268, 2:269
Gibbs, Steve 2:315, 2:319, 2:320, 2:322-4, 2:325-6, 2:*325*, 2:327, 2:*327*, 2:328, 2:482
Godeffroy, J.C. 1:200-1
Gooszen, Anthony Jan 1:142-3, 1:*147*, 1:*148*, 1:153
Groenevelt, Carel 1:145, 1:*149*, 1:153, 1:*156*, 1:161
Gudgeon, Walter E. 2:42-3, 2:45, 2:*45*
Guiart, Jean 2:199-200
Crocombe's correspondence with 2:200-2

H

Haddon, Alfred Cort 2:20, 2:100, 2:101, 2:147-8, 2:255
Hadfield, Emma 2:97-100
Hamburger Südsee Expedition 1:209, 1:212, 1:216, 1:218, 2:54, 2:161, 2:163, 2:345-6
Hamy, Ernest-Théodore 1:102, 1:105
Hancock Museum, Newcastle 2:227, 2:315, 2:316, 2:*316*, 2:*318*, 2:*324*, 2:327-8, 2:*327*
headdresses 1:*96*, 1:*112*, 1:*143*, 1:*159*, 1:*161*, 2:56-7
inner cap 2:112, 2:*112*
Nauru turtle shell 2:52-4, 2:54-6, 2:57-8, 2:62
Heape, Charles 1:57
helmets
coconut fibre 2:109, 2:115-17
porcupine fish 2:113-15
Hints to Travellers 2:267
HMS *Royalist* 2:265-6, 2:271
collecting by crew in Kiribati 2:266-8
in Gilbert Islands 2:113
in Solomon Islands 2:265, 2:*269*, 2:270
Holophusicon (Leverian Museum) 1:43-4, 1:45, 1:176
Hooper, Steven 1:71, 2:*79*, 2:80, 2:316
Hornell, James 2:255
Horniman Museum 1:57, 1:58, 2:93, 2:109
Humboldt Bay 1:151, 1:153, 1:154, 1:*156*
Humboldt Forum 1:222, 2:171, 2:172, 2:334

I

illustrations of culture 2:165-70
Ivory, Carol 2:79, 2:82, 2:83

J

Jahnke, Robert 2:333, 2:334
Japan Museum 1:128, 1:135
Jomard, Edme-François 1:97

K

Kaeppler, Adrienne 2:79, 2:80, 2:81-2, 2:315, 2:316, 2:338
Kaigere, Gershon 2:357, 2:361-3
Kalahele, Imaikalani 1:31, 1:35
Kamoro
collections 1:140, 1:142, 1:*143*, 1:*144*, 1:145, 1:146, 1:*147*, 1:*148*, 1:*150*
exhibitions of living culture 2:234
Kanak artefacts *see* New Caledonia
Kanak Culture Development Agency 1:117-18
Kiribati
British acquisition of 2:266
coconut fibre string 2:413, 2:*414*
collecting in 2:266-8
dispersal of collections 2:268-70

HMS *Royalist* voyage to 2:265-6
Union Jack anniversary celebration 2:270-5
Kiribati armour
Biermann collection 2:135, 2:*135*, 2:*136*
coconut fibre and ray skin cuirass 2:268, 2:*268*
interviews with creators of a new set of 2:365-74
Museum New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa 2:366, 2:*367*
understanding white bloom on 2:413-15
Kiribati armour, inaccuracies and inconsistencies in researching 2:107-22
challenges 2:108-9
coconut fibre helmet 2:115-17
Kingsmill Warrior 'Bob' illustration 2:111-12
knotted band with pearlshell decoration 2:117-21
legacy 2:121-2
porcupine fish helmet 2:113-15
knotted band with pearlshell decoration 2:117-21
Knowing 2:234, 2:351-64, 2:393-5
aim of project 2:352, 2:359-60
critical interrogation 2:351-2
details of objects offered and chosen for discussion 2:356-9
the film 2:363-4, 2:394-6
Gershon Kaigere's contribution 2:357, 2:361-3
new knowledge emerging in discussion of objects 2:358, 2:*358*, 2:360-1
recruitment of participants 2:353-6
Koloniaal Museum, Haarlem 1:135, 1:153, 1:159, 1:*162*
Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin *see* Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin
Kooijman, Simon 1:145, 1:146, 1:163, 1:*163*
Kosrae *see* Pohnpei and Kosrae
Krämer-Bannow, Elisabeth 2:156, 2:*157*, 2:161-3
Krusenstern, Adam 1:*23*, 1:43, 1:171, 1:*172*, 1:173, 1:174, 1:177, 1:199, 2:*82*, 2:83-4, 2:84, 2:85
Kudriavtsev, Boris 1:187, 1:*188*
Kunstkamera (Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (MAE)) 1:21, 1:170-1, 1:173, 1:174, 1:175-6, 1:*177*, 1:179-81, 1:*184*, 1:187, 1:189-91, 1:*192*, 1:193-4, 1:*195*, 2:128, 2:344
Miklouho-Maclay on state of 1:183
'u'u 2:82, 2:*82*, 2:84-5

L

La Korrigane expedition 1:110, 1:*111*
La Pérouse, Jean François Galaup de 1:86, 1:90, 1:95
Lawes, William 2:19-20
Le Roux Expedition 1:157, 1:158, 1:*159*
Leckie, Lizzy 2:365, 2:367-8, 2:368-70, 2:373, 2:374, 2:483
Leningrad Collection 2:172
a bargaining chip between East and West Germany 2:177, 2:180-4
returned from Leipzig to Berlin 2:182-4
secret transfer from Soviet Union to GDR 2:177-9
Lesson, Pierre-Adolphe 1:90, 1:99, 1:*100*
Lesson, René-Primevère 1:88, 1:*89*
Leverian Museum 1:43-4, 1:45, 1:105
Linden, Karl von 1:205, 1:210
Linden Museum, Stuttgart 1:218, 2:156, 2:163, 2:319
London Missionary Society 1:49, 1:93, 2:13, 2:40, 2:97, 2:112, 2:227
Loppé, Étienne 1:106-7, 1:115
Lübeck Völkerkunde Museum 1:208, 1:209
Luschan, Felix von 1:205, 1:212, 1:214, 2:161

M

Macklot, Christian 1:140-1, 1:*143*
Maidstone Museum and Bentlif Art Gallery 2:93, 2:95-7
Maisin people of Collingwood Bay 2:68-9, 2:73-4

Makereti 2:277-95
continued presence at PRM 2:294-5
donations to PRM 2:*278*, 2:280, 2:281, 2:*281*, 2:282, 2:*282*, 2:*283*, 2:285, 2:*285*, 2:288-9
first encounter with PRM 2:279-80
The Old-Time Māori 2:285-7
photographs and papers at PRM 2:289, 2:291-4
repatriation of carvings belonging to 2:292, 2:294
sale of objects to PRM 2:281, 2:288
MAMSU (Anuchin Research Institute and Museum of Anthropology of Lomonosov Moscow State University) 1:186-7, 1:192-3
Manchester Museum 1:53, 1:57, 2:93, 2:97
Māori *see* Makereti; Māori and European exchanges of 'treasure'; Māori taonga, artists in residence at MAA working with; paddles, decorated New Zealand; Toi Hauiti
Māori and European exchanges of 'treasure' 2:207-22
artistic revivals 2:221-2
contemporary 2:327-8
gift for King William IV 2:213-14
gifts for Captain Sadler, 1834 2:210-12, 2:217-19, 2:*220*
HMS *Buffalo* hosted by chief Titore 2:210
suit of armour for Titore 2:207, 2:214-17, 2:220-1
Waitangi Tribunal 2:219-22
Māori taonga, artists in residence at MAA working with 2:299-313
3D printed tools and new artworks 2:312-13
ARCHIVES Te Wāhi Pounamu 2:305, 2:*306*
hangā whakaahua 2:312-13
jewellery 2:*305*, 2:*306*, 2:307, 2:*310*, 2:312
photograms 2:*302*, 2:303-5, 2:307, 2:308, 2:*309*
plaster casts 2:299, 2:313
Repatriation and *Moa Hunter Fashions* exhibitions 2:305-12
silver bromide photographs 2:299, 2:*300*, 2:*301*, 2:303
Marind Anim collections 1:141, 1:142, 1:143, 1:*144*, 1:*145*, 1:*147*, 1:153
Marquesas Islands
colonization of 1:98-9
French museum artefacts 1:*99*, 1:*104*
Russian collections from 1:171, 1:*172*, 1:175, 1:186, 1:187
tattooing 2:49
war clubs *see* 'u'u, Marquesan
Marshall Islands
Antonie Brandeis collecting in 2:157-61
Biermann as Imperial Commissar and collector 2:133-8
Russian collections 1:172, 1:*186*
at time of Max Biermann's stay 2:131-3
masks 1:*65*, 1:*72*, 2:101, 2:*101*, 2:410, 2:*411*
barkcloth 2:69-72
turtle shell 1:*61*, 2:58, 2:*58*, 2:59
Melanesian Mission 2:235-6, 2:237-9
building of Chapel of St Barnabas 2:236-7, 2:240-8
Mendoza Review 2:111
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 1:69, 2:*54*, 2:55-6, 2:*58*, 2:59, 2:422
Michoutouchkine, Nicolaï 2:193-4, 2:200, 2:203
background 2:191-2
collecting expeditions 2:193-4, 2:*195*
exhibiting collections 1:193, 1:*193*, 2:194, 2:*196*, 2:197, 2:203
remains of collection at Esnaar 2:187-90
see also Port Vila museum project, Vanuatu
Miklouho-Maclay, Nikolai 2:123-30
an anthropologist of 'the new type' 2:123
collecting approach and field experience 2:124-7

collections in Russia 1:180, 1:183, 1:187, 1:191, 2:127-8
living heritage 2:128-30
Miller, John Frederick 2:316, 2:*317*, 2:318, 2:336-7, 2:*337*
Minpaku (National Museum of Ethnology), Japan 2:149, 2:151, 2:152, 2:*152*
missionaries
among Maisin people of Collingwood Bay 2:73-4
barkcloth as 'icons of conversion' 2:73
British collecting by 1:47-50
and Christianization of Pacific 1:47, 1:93, 2:73-4, 2:237-9, 2:250-2
Dutch 1:136-7, 1:139, 1:142, 1:158
French 1:93-4, 1:98
influences over dress 2:20-1, 2:65
in Papua New Guinea 2:13, 2:20-1
Pohnpeian and Kosraean artefact collections 2:346
Raratonga 2:249-50, 2:251
Utrecht Protestant Missionary Society collection 1:153, 1:*155*
see also London Missionary Society; Melanesian Mission
Moa Hunter Fashions and *Repatriation* exhibitions 2:305-12
Montague, Paul Denys 1:18, 1:*27*, 1:62, 2:100-1
retracing steps of 2:416-17
mo'o 1:28-9, 1:32, 1:34-5
mourning attire 1:*46*, 1:54, 1:199, 2:56-7, 2:*67*
Moyne, Lord (Walter Edward Guinness) 1:63
Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Rochefort 1:90, 1:*91*, 1:*100*
Musée d'Artillerie, Paris 1:*104*, 1:105
Musée de la France d'Outre-mer, Paris 1:*108*, 1:112-13
Musée de l'Homme, Paris 1:*96*, 1:110, 1:113, 1:*114*, 1:115, 1:120, 2:149, 2:199, 2:201
Musée de l'Université de Montpellier II 1:88, 1:*88*, 1:105
Musée de Nouvelle-Calédonie, New Caledonia 1:115-16, 1:117-18, 2:91, 2:92, 2:99-100, 2:192
Musée de Tahiti et des Îles – Te Fare Manaha 1:117
Musée des Colonies, Paris 1:110-12
Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro, Paris 1:102-5, 1:110, 1:*111*, 1:113, 1:*114*, 2:149
Musée du Louvre, Paris 1:95-7
Musée Ethnographique at 1:102
Musée Naval at 1:82, 1:*91*, 1:92, 1:102, 1:*103*
Pavillon des Sessions 1:120, 1:*121*
Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac (MQB), Paris 1:16, 1:120-2, 1:*124-5*
collection 1:84-5, 1:*89*, 1:94, 1:*94*, 1:*96*, 1:98, 1:*111*, 1:*112*
exhibitions 1:15, 1:122, 1:*122*, 2:91-2, 2:140
Musée National de l'Ancienne École de Médecine Navale, Rochefort 1:85, 1:88, 1:89, 1:90
Musée National des Arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie, Paris 1:*96*, 1:107, 1:113, 1:115, 1:*116*, 1:120
Museum d'Histoire Naturelle de Grenoble 1:*99*, 1:105-6
Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle et d'Ethnographie, Rochelle 1:85, 1:*85*, 1:89, 1:*89*, 1:102, 1:*103*, 1:*104*, 1:106-7, 1:115, 1:*115*, 1:120, 1:*121*
Museum Funf Kontinente, Munich 1:*16*, 1:220, 2:52-4, 2:227
Aitutaki female figure *see* Aitutaki female figure
Biermann collection 2:131, 2:135-8
Pitcairn tiputa 2:378, 2:*378*, 2:380-1
From Samoa with Love? 1:220-1
Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden 2:34-6, 2:36-7, 2:*218*, 2:219
Museum für Völkerkunde Hamburg 1:208-9, 1:*224-7*, 2:*29*
Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig 1:201, 1:205
decision not to incorporate Leningrad collection 2:177-8
exhibiting (post) colonial Pacific in GDR 2:172-7

return of Leningrad collection to Berlin 2:180-4
secret transfer of Leningrad Collection to 2:177-9
Südsee exhibition 2:173-5
Völker Australiens and Ozeaniens 2:175-7
Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (MAA), Cambridge 1:60, 1:63, 2:93
Aqo illustrations 2:*168*, 2:170
barkcloth 1:*75*, 2:47-9, 2:66-73, 2:227
Bateson artefacts 1:64, 1:*65*
Bennet artefacts 1:50, 1:*50*
Brady bequest 1:55
Cheesman collection 2:253, 2:255, 2:258-62
contemporary objects 1:*73*, 1:*74*, 1:75, 1:*75*, 1:*76*, 2:104, 2:*105*, 2:*384*
exhibitions 1:26, 1:*27*, 2:365
founding of 1:57
Hamilton Gordon collection 1:60, 1:*60*
headdress 2:56-7
HMS *Royalist* collections 2:266-7
The Island Warrior, making Kiribati armour for 2:365-74
Kanak artefacts 1:*18*, 1:21, 2:93, 2:100-1
Layard collection 1:*62*
Maudslay Gallery 1:*78*
Montague collection 1:*18*, 2:100-1, 2:416-17
Norfolk Island collection 2:410-12
paddles from first Cook voyage 2:315-16, 2:*318*
Pasifika Styles 1:71, 1:*72*, 2:331, 2:376
Pohnpeian and Kosraean artefacts 2:344, 2:*345*, 2:346, 2:*347*
shell money 2:*29*, 2:30, 2:31-4, 2:37
Templeton Crocker expedition artifacts 2:139
Templeton Crocker expedition photographs 2:144-8, 2:149, 2:*150*, 2:*152*
Toi Hauiti relationship with 2:331
ʻuʼu 1:*20*, 2:*80*, 2:83
western New Guinea collection 2:253, 2:255, 2:258-62
see also Māori taonga, artists in residence at MAA working with
Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa 1:120, 1:122
armour given to Titore 2:*216*, 2:217, 2:220-1
Kiribati armour 2:366, 2:*367*
paddles from first Cook voyage 2:316, 2:*317*, 2:*318*, 2:319, 2:322, 2:*323*
Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden 1:128, 1:135, 1:136, 1:141, 1:*166*, 1:*167*, 2:230
displaying western New Guinea collections 1:159, 1:161, 1:163, 1:164
Papua Lives! Meet the Kamoro 2:234
project discussing West Papuan objects in *see Knowing*
western New Guinea collections 1:140, 1:141, 1:142, 1:143, 1:146, 1:*147*, 1:*148*, 1:150, 1:151, 1:155, 1:158
Museum voor Land-en Volkenkunde *see* Wereldmuseum, Rotterdam
museums
accessibility of collections 1:16-17
collection catalogues 1:16, 1:17, 1:*25*, 1:38
collections as relational assemblages 1:18-19
concepts of collections 1:17-18
curation of knowledge 2:409
digitalization of collections 1:16, 1:17
founding collections 1:53
Raymond on 2:401, 2:403, 2:403-4, 2:405-6, 2:407
reconnecting collections with communities 2:320-3, 2:339, 2:405-6, 2:412-13, 2:416-17, 2:421-3
reinvigorating and reviving collections 2:347-9, 2:405-7

N
Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Amsterdam 1:*143*, 1:*144*, 1:*145*, 1:*146*, 1:*147*, 1:*148*, 1:*149*, 1:*150*, 1:*151*, 1:*152*, 1:*154*, 1:*156*, 1:*157*, 1:*159*, 1:*160*, 1:*161*, 1:*162*, 1:*163*
see also Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam; Wereldmuseum, Rotterdam
National Museum of Ethnology (Minpaku), Japan 2:149, 2:151, 2:152, 2:*152*
National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh 2:*93*, 2:*98*, 2:99, 2:115-17, 2:344, 2:*344*
Nauer, Karl 1:208, 1:*209*
Nauru 2:51-63
armour 2:*135*, 2:*136*
Frigate bird hunting and taming 2:59-61, 2:62
history 2:51-2
materials 2:56-9, 2:62
turtle shell headdresses 2:52-4, 2:54-6, 2:57-8, 2:62
Neich, Roger 2:110, 2:219, 2:315
Netherlands 1:127-67
collecting approaches 1:139-40
displaying western New Guinea collections in 1:159-64, 2:233-4
Dutch New Guinea 2:230-1, 2:231-4
Etna Expedition 1:139, 1:149-50, 1:*152*
first encounters with Oceania 1:127, 1:138-9
Le Roux Expedition 1:157, 1:158, 1:*159*
Military Exploration of New Guinea 1:142, 1:*147*, 1:*148*
Mimika Expedition 1:157
North New Guinea Expedition (Wichmann Expedition) 1:150, 1:*154*
northhwest coast New Guinea collections 1:149-55
South New Guinea Expeditions 1:142, 1:*146*, 1:*147*, 1:155
southwest coast New Guinea collections 1:140-9, 1:*145*
Star Mountains Expedition 1:158, 1:*161*
Stirling Expedition 1:157
Triton expedition 1:140, 1:141, 1:*143*
Utrecht Protestant Missionary Society collection 1:153, 1:*155*
West New Guinea collections 1:140-59, 2:229-30
western Central Highlands collection 1:155-9
New Caledonia
barkcloth 2:67-9
Bouge's collection from 2:102-3
Brenchley's acquisition of artefacts in 2:96-7
Christianization of 1:93
compiling an inventory of European collections from 2:91-3
Cook's landing at 2:94-5
engraved bamboo 1:*23*
French annexation of 1:99-101
Hadfield's collection from 2:97-100
independence referendum 1:123
Kanak collections in UK 2:91-105
Michoutouchkine in 2:192-3
Montague's collection from 1:18, 1:*27*, 2:100-1, 2:416-17
Musée de Nouvelle-Calédonie 1:115-16, 1:117-18, 2:91, 2:92, 2:99-100, 2:192
Tjibaou's cultural vision for 2:91-2, 2:105
working to reconnect Kanak collections with communities 2:415-17
Nijmeegs Volkenkundig Museum 1:137
Norfolk Island
Chapel of St Barnabas 2:236-7, 2:240-1, 2:241-8
history 2:235-6
MAA collection 2:410-12
Melanesian mission 2:235-6, 2:237-9
Notes and Queries in Anthropology 2:97, 2:167, 2:267
Nuku, George 1:71, 1:*73*, 1:120, 1:*121*

O
Oxford *see* Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford
Oxford University Anthropological Society (OUAS) 2:280, 2:281, 2:283-4

P
PACE (Papua Heritage Foundation) 2:231-2
paddles, Chegwyn collection 2:217, 2:*218*, 2:219
paddles, decorated New Zealand 2:315-28
from Cook's first voyage 2:315-18, 2:319, 2:320, 2:*321*, 2:*324*
loans to Tairāwhiti Museum 2:320, 2:322, 2:*323*, 2:326-7
as part of events marking 250th anniversary of Cook's visit to New Zealand 2:324-5, 2:326-8
similarities between Cook voyage, and a further group 2:319
Trade Me paintings 2:322, 2:323, 2:*325*
visits to UK collections 2:322, 2:*324*, 2:327-8
Papua 1:*128*, 1:*137*
artefacts in British collections 1:50
Cheesman's travels in 2:256-63
contemporary Dutch involvement with 2:229-31
Dutch collecting in West Papua and 1:138-40
Indonesian annexation 2:231
political arguments over museum displays of objects from 2:233-4
and West Papua in Dutch public domain 2:231-4
Papua New Guinea
Baining masks 2:69-71
British collections 1:*65*, 1:68, 1:*74*, 1:75, 1:*75*
Cheesman collecting in 2:253, 2:255, 2:256, 2:*256*
fibre skirts *see* fibre skirts
illustrations 2:*169*
interview with Dairi Arua 2:387-90
Maisin people of Collingwood Bay 2:68-9, 2:73-4
Michoutouchkine's collecting in 2:187, 2:*195*
Miklouho-Maclay in 2:123-7
rapid social change 2:13
Russian collecting in 1:193, 1:*194*
shell money 2:*30*
shell money girdle 2:34-6, 2:36-7
Waghi battle shields 1:69, 1:*69*
Parkinson, Richard 1:*207*, 2:26, 2:*29*, 2:30, 2:34, 2:36, 2:37
Pasifika Styles 1:71, 1:*72*, 2:331, 2:376
Peabody Essex Museum, Salem 1:32, 1:33, 2:*82*, 2:83
Penniman, T.K. 2:282, 2:284, 2:285-6, 2:288, 2:289-91, 2:292, 2:295
Perez, Craig Santos 2:51
Perth Museum and Art Gallery 1:53-4, 1:*54*
Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (MAE) *see* Kunstkamera
Picasso, Pablo 1:105, 1:107, 1:*108*
Pilioko, Aloï 2:187, 2:192-3, 2:194, 2:*195*, 2:*196*
Pitcairn Islands 2:375
marking possessions 2:380, 2:*380*
tapa 2:376, 2:377, 2:*411*
tiputa 2:375-6, 2:378-81
tiputa, creating a replica 2:381-5
Pitt Rivers, Augustus Henry Lane Fox 1:57
Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford 1:63, 1:70, 1:*70*, 1:*79*, 2:*279*, 2:*280*, 2:294, 2:*295*
barkcloth 2:224, 2:*226*, 2:227
coconut fibre helmet documentation 2:109
Forster collection 2:80, 2:93, 2:224, 2:*226*
founding of 1:55, 1:57
Makereti archive photographs and papers 2:289, 2:291-4
Makereti artefact collection 2:*278*, 2:280, 2:281, 2:*281*, 2:282, 2:*282*, 2:*283*, 2:285, 2:*285*, 2:288-9
Makereti's continued presence at 2:294-5
Makereti's first encounter with 2:279-80

paddles, painted New Zealand 2:319
Penniman as Curator 2:289-91
size of Pacific collection 1:37
spear thrower 2:94-5
Titore's hei tiki 2:218-19, 2:*220*
plates 2:358, 2:*358*, 2:360-1
Pohnpei and Kosrae 2:343-9
activating collections through community engagement 2:347-9
composition of collections in European museums 2:346-7
European scientific researchers as collectors 2:344-6
missionaries as collectors 2:346
woven elite belts 2:348-9
Pomare IV, Queen 1:93, 1:98, 1:99, 1:*100*
porcupine fish helmet 2:113-15
Port Vila museum project, Vanuatu
alternative vision of Vila Cultural Centre 2:197, 2:199, 2:202
Crocombe's support for 2:200-2
demise of 2:202-3
Gabus collaborates on 2:197-9
Michoutouchkine's plans for 2:190-1, 2:194, 2:203
opposition to 2:199-200
remains of Michoutouchkine's collection 2:187-90, 2:203
Poupou of Hinematioro 2:332, 2:*332*, 2:334-9, 2:340
Primitive Art 1:65-7
Primitivism 1:64, 1:66, 2:191, 2:193

R

Ramsay, David 1:53-5
Rao 1:94, 1:*94*
Rarotonga 2:249-52
Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, Cologne 1:216, 1:222, 2:62
Raymond, Rosanna 1:71, 2:376, 2:397-408, 2:484
acti.VA.te space between past and present 2:404-7
Backhand Maiden 2:*400*, 2:402, 2:*404*, 2:*406*
creating cultural spaces through body 2:401, 2:404-7
Dusky Maiden 2:397-8, 2:401, 2:403
Dusky Maiden, diversification of 2:*400*, 2:401-2, 2:*404*, 2:*406*
encounters with Polynesian culture out of context 2:403
Full Tusk Maiden 2:399, 2:*399*, 2:401
on museums 2:401, 2:403, 2:403-4, 2:405-6, 2:407
Pacific culture through Western lens 2:397-8
repatriation
of carvings belonging to Makereti 2:292, 2:294
Crocombe on 2:201-2
digital 2:320, 2:322, 2:328, 2:331-2, 2:347-8
of Maclay's drawings of artefacts 1:129-30
of a Māori Toi Moko from France 1:120
ownership and 2:325-6
of part of Hadfield collection to New Caledonia 2:99
temporary 1:32-4, 1:64, 1:116-18, 2:322, 2:326-7
Repatriation and *Moa Hunter Fashions* exhibitions 2:305-12
Rivet, Paul 1:110
Roquemaurel, Gaston de 1:92-3, 1:105
Royal Cabinet of Curiosities 1:135
Royal Collection 2:213-14
Ruete, Emily 2:158-9
Rumiantsev, Count Nikolai 1:176-7, 1:184-5
Russia
collections outside St Petersburg 1:177-9
Cook expedition collections 1:169-71, 1:176
early collections 1:169-72
early presence in Pacific 1:169
Krusenstern expedition collection 1:*23*, 1:171, 1:*172*, 1:173, 1:174, 1:177, 1:178, 2:*82*, 2:83-4

Lutke expedition collection 1:173, 1:*173*
Marquesan collection 1:171, 1:*172*, 1:175, 1:186, 1:187
Miklouho-Maclay collection 1:180, 1:183, 1:187, 1:191, 2:127-8
Moscow museums 1:184-7, 1:192-3
nineteenth and early twentieth century collections 1:179-83
private collectors and collections 1:176-7
Soviet period collections 1:187-93
St Petersburg museums 1:173-6, 1:179-84, 1:187-92
see also Leningrad Collection
Rydén, Stig 2:223-4

S

Sadler, Captain Frederick 2:210-12, 2:213, 2:217-19
sale, artefacts made for 1:58-9
tourist art 1:58-9, 1:68-9, 2:79, 2:97, 2:*98*
Samoa
German collections 2:159, 2:*160*, 2:163
From Samoa with Love? 1:220-1
Sayers, Andrew 2:167
Seligman, Charles 1:62, 2:20, 2:*169*
Sentani, Lake 1:153, 1:*154*, 2:260-1
shell money in Western Island Melanesia 2:25-38
breaking the rules 2:31-6
'didactic' collections 2:28-31, 2:38
girdle 2:34-6, 2:36-7
moving from 'money' to 'not money' 2:38
Nggela multi-stranded 2:31-4, 2:37
or 'not money' 2:36-8
production and use of 2:25-7
slit drums 2:129, 2:*129*, 2:*130*
Solomon Islands 1:*54*, 1:*92*
HMS *Royalist* in 2:265, 2:*269*, 2:270
Museum 2:152, 2:*152*
shell inlays 2:242-3
shell money 2:31-4, 2:37
Templeton Crocker's expedition to 2:139-40, 2:142, 2:144-52
State Admiralty Department Museum 1:*172*, 1:173, 1:174-5, 1:176, 1:190
Strathern, Marilyn 1:68, 1:*74*, 1:75, 2:391-2
Surrealism 1:64, 1:*65*, 1:109, 1:110, 1:214, 1:*215*
Surville, Jean François Marie de 1:85-6
Sviatlovsky, Vladimir 1:181, 1:*182*
Sweden, barkcloth in 2:223-7

T

Tahiti 1:47, 1:*47*, 1:49, 1:85, 1:93, 1:171, 2:119
barkcloth 1:*42*, 1:*85*, 1:*100*, 1:*179*, 2:223-4, 2:327
Bougainville in 1:83, 1:*84*
mourning ensembles 1:54-5, 1:199, 2:56-7
Tapa Festival of Oceania 2:76-7
tiputa 2:378-9, 2:383-4
Tairāwhiti Museum, Gisborne 2:320, 2:322, 2:*323*, 2:326-7
tattoos 2:49, 2:*387*, 2:389
Aitutaki female figure 2:42-7
Templeton Crocker photographs 2:*144*, 2:*146*, 2:*149*, 2:*150*, 2:*151*
Te Ahikā: Our Story, Our Voice, Our Place 2:340-1
Te Aonui (William Francis Dennan) 2:280, 2:281, 2:286, 2:288, 2:*290*, 2:292
Te Rangi Hiroa 1:32, 2:42, 2:45, 2:*45*
Te Rāwheoro, reassembling treasures of 2:332-8
Templeton Crocker, Charles 2:144-8
expedition photographs 2:144-52
Solomon Islands expedition 2:139-40, 2:140-4, 2:142
tiputa (poncho), creating a Pitcairn replica 2:375-85
Titikaveka barkcloth 2:250-2
Titore 2:207-10, 2:220, 2:222
gift for William IV 2:213-14
gift from William IV 2:207, 2:214-17, 2:220-1

gifts for Captain Sadler 2:210-12, 2:217-19, 2:*220*
Tjibaou, Jean-Marie 2:91, 2:105
Toi Hauiti
reassembling treasures of Te Rāwheoro 2:332-8
relationships with overseas institutions 2:331-2
reunions with Poupou of Hinematioro 2:339, 2:*339*
Te Ahikā: Our Story, Our Voice, Our Place 2:340-1
Te Aitanga a Hauiti kinship ties 2:329-30, 2:339-40
Tolstoy, Leo 2:123, 2:124
Tong, Anote 2:275
Tonga 1:*47*, 1:*96*, 1:171
barkcloth 1:*91*, 2:224, 2:*226*
barkcloth, reinterpretation of 2:65, 2:*66*
first encounters with Europeans 1:127
Torres Straits
Cambridge Expedition 1898 1:61-2, 2:*17*, 2:*18*
turtle shell mask 2:58, *2:58*, 2:59
tourist art 1:58-9, 1:68-9, 2:79, 2:97, 2:*98*
Trade Me paintings 2:322, 2:323, 2:*325*
Triton expedition 1:140, 1:141, 1:*143*
Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam 1:135, 2:83
displaying western New Guinea collections 1:161, 1:164
exhibitions 1:164, 2:231, 2:234
western New Guinea collections 1:142, 1:143, 1:145, 1:146, 1:150, 1:153, 1:157, 1:158
see also Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Amsterdam
Tübingen University Ethnological Museum
Krämer-Bannow collection 2:156, 2:161, 2:163, 2:*163*
Poupou of Hinematioro 2:332, 2:*332*, 2:334-9, 2:340
Tupaia 2:319, 2:320
illustrations 2:165-7
stay in Üawa 2:329, 2:335-6, 2:337
turtle shell 2:58-9
masks 1:*61*, 2:58, 2:*58*, 2:59
Nauru headdresses 2:52-4, 2:54-6, 2:57-8, 2:62

U

Umlauff Company 1:201-2
UNESCO 1:37-8, 2:76, 2:197
Union Jack anniversary celebration 2:270-5
University of Aberdeen Museums 2:378-80, 2:381
University of Göttingen 1:43, 1:199, 2:163, 2:224, 2:227, 2:319
Utrecht Protestant Missionary Society 1:153, 1:*155*
ʻu'u, Marquesan 2:79-88
development of decorated style 2:79, 2:81-2, 2:84, 2:87-8
difficulties in dating 2:80, 2:83, 2:84-5

V

Vanuatu 1:101, 1:*111*, 1:*112*, 1:116, 2:103
recreation of Miklouho-Maclay's drawings 2:129-30
see also Port Vila museum project, Vanuatu
Vila Cultural Centre (VCC) 2:194, 2:197, 2:199, 2:202
Volkenkundig Museum Gerardus van der Leeuw 1:137
von den Steinen, Karl 2:79, 2:80, 2:83, 2:84, 2:88

W

Waghi battle shields 1:69, 1:*69*
Waitangi, Treaty of 2:207, 2:220, 2:312
Waitangi Tribunal 2:207, 2:219-22, 2:291, 2:312
Walkabout 1:63, 1:*63*
war clubs, Marquesan *see* ʻu'u, Marquesan
Watson, Kaetaeta 2:365, 2:367, 2:368, 2:*369*, 2:372, 2:373, 2:374, 2:413, 2:*414*, 2:485
Waxell, Lev 1:176
Wellcome, Sir Henry 1:57-8
Wenda, Benny 2:234, 2:393

Wereldmuseum, Rotterdam 1:135, 1:139, 1:164, 2:232
displaying western New Guinea collections 1:161, 1:163-4
western New Guinea collections 1:142, 1:145, 1:146, 1:*147*, 1:153, 1:155, 1:*155*, 1:158, 1:*160*
see also Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Amsterdam
West Papua 1:*89*, 1:*128*, 1:*137*
contemporary Dutch involvement with 2:229-31
demonstrations at Hague by people from 2:233, 2:*233*
discussing objects from Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden *see Knowing*
displaying of collections in Dutch museums 1:159-64
Dutch collecting in Papua and 1:138-40
Indonesian annexation 2:231
and Papua in Dutch public domain 2:231-4
political arguments over museum displays of objects from 2:233-4
White, Robin 2:65, 2:*66*
Wilkinson, Areta 2:*300*, 2:*302*, 2:*304*, 2:*305*, 2:*306*, 2:*309*, 2:310, 2:311, 2:*311*, 2:312, 2:*313*, 2:485
William IV, King 2:213-14
Wirz, Paul 1:142, 1:*145*, 1:153, 1:155, 1:163
women ethnographers 2:155
Brandeis 2:156, 2:157-61
Hadfield 2:97-100
Krämer-Bannow 2:156, 2:*157*, 2:161-3
see also Cheesman, (Lucy) Evelyn
World War II
collections destroyed or damaged in 1:177, 1:218, 1:*219*, 1:220, 2:219
removal of objects to secure locations 2:180, 2:*181*, 2:*182*
Soviet looting 2:177, 2:180
transfer to Leipzig of' Leningrad-Sammlung looted in 2:177-80

PACIFIC PRESENCES – VOLUME 2

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

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

Volume II illustrates the sheer variety of Pacific artefacts and histories in museums, and similarly the heterogeneity of the issues and opportunities that they raise. Over thirty essays explore materialities, collection histories, legacies of empire, and contemporary projects.



Sidestone Press
ISBN: 978-90-8890-626-8

PACIFIC PRESENCES 4B