METAPHORS AND WAYS OF SEEING: A STUDY OF THE PERMANENT EXHIBITION

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SUBMITTED: 1995
ABSTRACT

Traditions associated with conservatism, scholarly content, and durability inform the ideology of the permanent exhibition. Its close association with the hegemony of museum architecture has ensured its affiliation with the appropriate and enduring image of the temple rather than the democratic and fluid image of the forum. Current museum-related discourse is discarding this metaphorical referent and is in the process of investigating and questioning the ideological underpinnings of the permanent exhibition.

The intent of this thesis is to utilise a new permanent exhibition as a vehicle to question to what degree its final form is determined by the complexity of the inter-relationship between the collection, collector's rationale, object-related research, discipline-related theory, socio-political organisation of the museum, and philosophical, physical and financial constraints. In the tradition of anthropology this thesis explores and questions these inter-relationships through the idiosyncrasies of a single case study -- the installation of one individual's collection of ceramics into a new permanent gallery at the University of British Columbia, Museum of Anthropology.

It is concluded that the conceptual framework constructed to accommodate an organising principle of the exhibition is the product of a series of complex negotiations stemming from the inter-relationship of people, power and structure. It is further concluded that by incorporating these negotiations as a recognised element in the exhibition process, alongside the acceptance of the essentially fragmentary nature of exhibitions, the permanent exhibition can respond to public critiques and changes in the world scene thus ensuring a flexibility that can keep it relevant to museum-related discourse and move it closer to the image of the forum.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation has benefited from a number of sources. First, I would like to thank Dr. Walter Koerner - collector, connoisseur, gentleman and friend. His enthusiasm for his collection, his concern for scholarship and his desire to donate the collection to the Museum of Anthropology provided enough incentive, and original material, to embark on this research journey. Scholarships were received from the Canadian Museums Association, the Cultural Services Branch of the Province of British Columbia, and a leave of absence was awarded by the University of British Columbia.

The support and time given by my colleagues in other museums has been extremely valuable; they were all willing to share their time, collections and knowledge. In particular I would like to thank Michael Archer and John Mallet of the Victoria and Albert Museum, Dr. Jana Kybalova of the Applied Arts Museum in Prague, Dr. Rudolf Schnyder of the Landesmuseum in Zurich, and Meredith Chilton of the George R Gardiner Museum of Ceramic Arts in Toronto.

My colleagues and friends at the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology have, as always, been ready to both challenge and support the research process. A very special thanks is owed to the nurturing powers of Kenneth and Elliot Mayer, Dr. John Stanton of the University of Western Australia, and Ann Marie Fenger and Kersti Krug of the UBC Museum of Anthropology. Finally, I would like to thank Dr. Susan Pearce for her patience and encouragement during the past five years.
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CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

1.1. INTRODUCTION TO THE CASE STUDY

Displaying objects is the one thing that unifies all museums. When objects are displayed in a permanent exhibition they are accessible to all visitors all the time. This cannot be said for other forms of communication practised by the museum: performances, special events, films, and temporary exhibitions. The objects in a permanent exhibition are organised and interpreted according to formalised objectives recognised by the museum as being appropriate and enduring. Together they create an artificial "reality" of a particular past - an idealised landscape (Cannizzo 1987) constructed by museum professionals who see the world the way they do, not because that is the way it is but because they "have these ways of seeing" (Wittgenstein quoted in McGrane 1989:ix, Wittgenstein 1958:59-64)). In this thesis Wittgenstein's "ways of seeing" are used as a metaphor of all the senses. Exhibitions that do not provide accessible "ways of seeing" leave the visitor with the task of constructing meanings which may or may not run in conjunction with the "ways of seeing" of the creator of the object, the collector of the object, or the curator of the object. Just how important is it for the message to be received as intended? Should visitors be free to construct their own meanings?

Much of the current public and scholarly discourse has been concerned with the socio-political message conveyed, or otherwise, by the temporary exhibition. Even though the importance of this reflexive stance is recognised by those who work in or

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1 In this thesis "museum" refers to those institutions whose mandates include collection, preservation and exhibition of objects of nature and human manufacture.
write about museums, the same attention is not paid to the permanent exhibition which persists as a sentinel of a narrative relative to disciplinary discourse contemporary at the time of installation. Assumptions underpinning decisions about what message is appropriate, and how and why it is to be conveyed by an exhibition, vary over time, place and type of exhibit. The permanent exhibit may expose these assumptions as simple reflections of their makers. Traditions associated with conservatism, scholarly content, and durability inform the ideology of the permanent exhibition. These traditions ensure that museums "steer clear of the hot topics and big controversies, opting for safer passages through our turbulent times" (Ames 1992:7). The permanent exhibition continues to demonstrate what Duncan Cameron, a museologist, has referred to as an inherent human resistance to change (1971:11-23). It is not until the temporal chasm becomes difficult to bridge or defend, and/or physical deterioration is apparent, that attention is diverted -- albeit reluctantly -- from the temporary exhibition.

Given that permanent exhibitions endure for approximately one generation it is also not surprising to discover that they are seldom discussed in the contemporary museum-related critical literature. When a permanent exhibition opens, reviews are written in museum journals and there is a flurry of media attention which usually concentrates on the objects and the collectors. Once attention abates the permanent exhibition continues as a potent purveyor of the museum as a cultural artifact - its ideology validating rather than challenging visitors' stereotypic assumptions.

2Between 1985-1990 MUSE, the journal issued by the Canadian Museums Association contained thirty-seven articles on temporary and seven on permanent exhibitions. More recently there have been articles on the new permanent exhibitions at the Royal Ontario Museum (Crawford 1991:1-8) and the Victoria and Albert Museum (Hardie 1991:23-25)
In the tradition of anthropology, this thesis will explore and question this ideology through "the idiosyncrasies of a single case" (Ames 1986:12): the permanent installation of 580 European ceramics in a new wing at the University of British Columbia, Museum of Anthropology. The collection was donated by Dr. Walter C. Koerner in 1989; the exhibition was curated by the author of this study, Carol E. Mayer, and opened in November 1990.

The following research will argue that the anthropology of the museum reveals essential data that can be applied to the development of a new ideology for the permanent exhibit, removing it from its temporal constraints by introducing the capability of incorporating changes. The curator is most frequently informed by discipline-based theoretical stances that are utilized as investigative tools for both collection research and development of the exhibition objective. The evolution and current status of anthropological theory and how it is represented within the exhibition is investigated, as are the philosophical, physical and financial considerations associated with exhibition development. Considerations of these issues are augmented by an exploration of the collector's rationale, how it informs the exhibition's objectives and raises the question of how much, or whether, this rationale should be incorporated into the exhibition thesis. The thesis demonstrates how data resulting from this exploration may be integrated may be integrated into a proposed model for exhibition development.

An exhibition cannot be fully understood or even effectively critiqued without the knowledge of the workings of the organisation from which it emerged. As Karp and Lavine (1991:1) have noted "...every museum exhibition...inevitably draws on the cultural assumptions and resources of the people who make it". In recent years some exhibitions have been developed as products of a team approach, a concept borrowed from corporate practice. Prior to this, and certainly traditionally, the curator was recognised as the responsible person who received both acclamations and criticism for
the measurable success or failure of an exhibition. The team approach concentrated on process, with an underlying assumption that persons from different disciplines and with differing status within the traditional socio-political organisation of a museum could work together democratically, abandon established vertical lines of communication and produce exhibitions that would demonstrate the triumph of interdisciplinarity (Royal Ontario Museum, 1976). Ignored in this approach are the complex negotiations, often associated with socially determined ideologies, that influence the physical look of the exhibition and the effectiveness of the delivery of information. This thesis argues that the current climate of reflexivity and deconstructivism⁴ in anthropology can facilitate a move away from the preoccupation of the team focus on process by requiring the participants to articulate their perception of their role and how they negotiate their participation in the decision making arena. Once these perceptions are articulated the players are liberated to question why they do what they do and to contemplate the consequences of how they may answer these questions.

It is the intent of this thesis to use the permanent exhibition as a vehicle to question to what degree its final form is determined by the inter-relationship between the collection, collector's rationale, object-related research, discipline-related theory, socio-political organisation of the institution, and philosophical, physical and financial constraints. This thesis also questions whether the objectives of the exhibition are accessible to the public and whether the permanent exhibition is capable of changing to better facilitate accessibility and/or incorporate responses to new theories and the evolving socio-political context.

⁴In the literature deconstructivism is used interchangeably with deconstruction: the former being preferred in North America, the latter in England (Ginsberg 1991:11).
1.2. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY.

The construction of a study that focuses on specific facets of one phenomenon must necessarily recognise the limitations imposed by this subjectivity. As well, the range of the study is limited by constraints of time and resources. This research represents a historically particular investigation of the permanent museum exhibition in Canada with reference to American and English museums where appropriate; art gallery exhibitions are not included. Temporary exhibitions that have proven to be causal agents in change within the past five years are referred to when relevant. A general lack of literature on permanent exhibitions limits this study but is also a clear motivation for the advancement of critical literature in this arena.

The discussion is concentrated on one case study at the Museum of Anthropology, at the University of British Columbia, henceforth abbreviated as MOA. This study offers a unique opportunity to record and analyse the exhibition process before the gallery was constructed and before the museum owned the collection. It also focuses on artifacts that do not fit easily into the public or academic perception of what is appropriate to be exhibited in a museum of anthropology -- artifacts that "...hit a boundary of consciousness in our understanding of the nature and purpose of museums" (Smith 1989:9). Rather than viewing this as a limitation, the exploration of problems posed by this case study will make it possible "to throw light on the broader issues of methods of display and interpretation" (ibid). The focus on an individual collection may be viewed as a limitation since collecting "is a process which is dynamic and occurs in a context of wider social actions" (Kremer 1992:23). It can also be viewed as an opportunity to conduct primary research and introduce new knowledge.
articulating the collector's rationale within the context of the existing literature, rather than relying solely on the existing literature.

A portion of this research investigates the philosophical and physical relationships between newer and older permanent exhibitions within a museum, a limitation which focussed this comparative analysis on those museums that had installed a new, that is, within the past five years, permanent gallery featuring European ceramics in a building containing other older galleries exhibiting different cultural areas. This definition limited the research to the larger museums situated in urban areas. Five museums were located however, which could be visited within the research time-frame and financial resources available: The George R. Gardiner Museum of Ceramic Art, Toronto; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Boston Museum of Fine Art; The Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto; The Chicago Art Institute. A related limitation was language: only English, French and German literature was readily accessible, the cost of translation limited the accessibility of Czechoslovakian, Italian and Hungarian literature. Fortunately, large collections of European ceramics held in English, French and German museums were well documented within the respective literature. Czechoslovakian and Hungarian literature was often bi- or trilingual (Czechoslovakian, German, Russian) and a local collector held a large library which was made accessible during the research phase.

The UBC Museum of Anthropology has an unusual staff structure and method of operation that could arguably limit the applicability of the study. However, in the current rethinking of traditional hierarchical structures as inhibitors of change, there is a movement towards ideologies underpinning more horizontal and interdisciplinary models of operation similar to those seen to be practised at the Museum of
Anthropology (Glenbow Museum 1993, Royal British Columbia Museum 1993, unpublished reports). An analysis of the reality of these ideologies suggests that this case study is an appropriate choice.

One limitation, however, which can also be viewed as a strength, is the interdisciplinary approach that this study has taken: literature created within the disciplines and interests of museology, anthropology, psychology, and social and art history, is accompanied with ideas embedded in organizational theory, and architectural and design literature. In Dogan and Pahre's book *Creative Marginality* (1990), they argue that true innovation can be found at the intersections of social sciences where specialized subfields of different formal disciplines overlap, such is the case for museum studies as a subdivision of Anthropology. Cyril Belshaw, an anthropologist, agrees that "interdisciplinary connections are essential corpuscles in the lifeblood of anthropology, without which it would cease to be effective" (1989:89, in Dogan and Pahre). This openness to interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary linkages can allow different viewpoints and epistemologies to coexist and "perhaps even affirm their complementary strengths" (Brown and Yoffee 1992:22).

Penultimately, because of timing and staff changes, the study concentrates on the roles of the curator and designer in the creation of an exhibition. This is balanced by interviews conducted after the opening of the exhibition that record perceptions of other staff roles in the exhibition process. Finally, some validity of the research is dependent on the objectivity of the observer. Even within the grand anthropological tradition of participation and observation, it cannot be denied that an observer becomes on some level a participant and participation is seen as analogous with subjectivity (Barr, 1992; Geertz 1985, Maquet 1986). It is argued that as long as this participatory
role is recognised and rigorously recorded it can provide essential, considered and positive information.

1.3. FORMAT OF THE STUDY

Generally, the format of this study moves from description to data collecting to analysis, except where the "idiosyncrasies of a single case study" dictate otherwise. For example, when planning a permanent exhibition the process moves from ideology to pragmatism. The "story" is created in its ideal format by the curator. Its relationship to a museum's mandate may introduce altering considerations. It then proceeds through a number of stages towards the objective of integration into the (literal) construction. Because of the complexity of this case study and the linearity dictated by the typescript method of communication, the research has been deconstructed and arranged in discrete chapters which focus on the differing facets of the study. These facets are organised as far as is possible in the order in which they were researched and will be brought together at the end. The methodology is based on qualitative research, a field of inquiry derived from the field study traditions of anthropology, that crosses discipline boundaries and is guided by questions, issues and a search for patterns. In accordance with qualitative research methodology the case study is described in detail, in context, and holistically; appropriate questions are developed for in-depth interviews with collectors, curators, potters and museum staff, questionnaires are prepared and delivered to museum visitors, participant observations are recorded; archival documents and artifacts are examined; secondary data, including that found in available literature, is analysed. This large repertoire of research methods and variety of data sources contributed to the methodological rigor necessary for a single case study. Sufficient statistical data in the form of written, tape-recorded,
filmed, and photographed material was generated to enable objective examination of idiosyncrasies and the establishment of a scientific basis for analysis.

In order to set the scene for this study, Chapter Two investigates the anthropological literature to ascertain the articulated strength, or weakness, of historic and current academic theory within exhibition theses. This chapter proposes that much can be learned from three sources: relationships with ancestral anthropological teachers and founders; a reconsideration of existing material which provided the literary foundation for our subsequent grasp of how the discipline evolved; and influences from social and cultural movements. This investigation concludes that choices made between the multiple voices within a particular discipline can only reflect some of the evolving understandings of current scholarship. Chapter Nine addresses whether the rationale underpinning these anthropologically diverse choices are accessible to the museum visitor or reside only in the minds of the museum staff and the few visitors who are anthropologists or students. The theoretical stances adopted in this case study shift between the tenets of post-modernism and those of functionalism and are to some degree dependent upon which facet of the study is being addressed.

The research design proposed in Chapter Three encompasses approaches found in museifugal and museipetal research. These terms were proposed by David Barr (1992), curator at the Royal Ontario Museum, in an attempt to create a specific language for museum-related research which crossed discipline boundaries. Museifugal research is directed at the essentially curatorial task of pure-research on objects, museipetal research is directed at the museum as a physical/cultural entity. In this thesis the museifugal research begins with the collection and moves outwards to the collector and temporally backwards to the original cultural context of the collection and
then forward to the present. The collector is usually associated with museipetal research but for this case study it is more appropriate to include this area of analysis with museifugal research. A model of differing realities is proposed, not as a concrete construct, but as a useful device to generate different "ways of seeing". This is based on the concept that objects, studied within an anthropological context, exist in at least three historically and often geographically distinct realities wherein differing criteria attach differing meanings and names.

In the first reality, that of the maker, the objects are manufactured in response to a set of cultural requirements and are an integral part of the physical articulation of cultural processes. The second reality is that of the collector who chooses objects, often by type, and removes them from their intended context, treating them as commodities to be bought, sold, renamed as art or craft and evaluated within the tenets of connoisseurship and the surrounding art market. When the collector, for a variety of reasons, transfers his or her collection to the third reality, the museum, the objects are renamed again according to a constructed classification system which prioritises function. In this context they are either stored in a private space or displayed in a public space. At MOA, the storage (private) space is public, so all the collection -- with the exception of physically or spiritually sensitive material -- is accessible to the visitor. This model provides essential data for the development of the exhibition thesis.

The museipetal research design is based on primary research that seeks to analyse the socio-political organisation of the museum, pragmatic and philosophical factors associated with the creation of the exhibition, and an evaluation of the exhibition once it has opened to the public. The objective of the overall research
design is to provide an investigative tool which will facilitate the final analysis.

Chapter Four notes that the collection is unpublished although it is photographed and listed (Horvath, personal communication 1989). In summary the collection contains approximately six-hundred ceramics from southern, central and western Europe, ranging in date from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century. Within this geographic and temporal matrix three main traditions and technologies are well represented: tin-glaze earthenware, lead-glaze earthenware modelled in high relief and stoneware. The personal history of the collector was compiled from interviews, archives and a privately published autobiography (Koerner, 1988).

This case study has proposed from the outset that exhibitions cannot be considered outside socio-political considerations. Indeed, one of the important aspects of museum anthropology proposed by Boas and others is the study of the internal culture of any given institution. This culture is based on the inter-relationships of people, power and structure. Social bonds formed by professional allegiances, collective activities and personal interests are underpinned by rules, beliefs and customs, some articulated, some not - but all understood. Existing organisational models (for example: Newlands 1983, Geertz 1973, Heron 1990, Cohen 1985, Pfeffer 1981, Newstrom 1989) are compared to the ideology of the official "horizontal" Museum of Anthropology model. Using the long interview method (McCracken 1988) based on a short list of questions (example attached, as Appendix 'A'), staff were asked to articulate their perception of place and role within Museum of Anthropology. Data collected indicates that museum staff believe themselves to be both singular individuals with a psychological contract associated with personal objectives, and at the same time members of a sub-culture with collective objectives. Each of these
beliefs are associated with varying levels of power and influence dictated by their 
perceived place within the larger internal culture. This Chapter investigates how 
radical change, such as that caused by the addition of a new permanent exhibition, 
(combined in this case with a perceived change in mandate), will inevitably cause 
stress, at least temporarily, in the socio-political structure. It is argued that ideologies 
are employed either as weapons or remedies to negotiate avenues through the change. 
The choices made have a measurable influence on the progress of change and the 
integration, or otherwise, of the cause of change - the new exhibition. It is also 
suggested that the curator/designer paradigm created for this case study is a powerful 
synergy that is reinforced by the status of the incumbents, legitimised by the director 
and understood by the staff.

Each of these scene setters provides empirical data which supplied the means by 
which questions are formulated focusing on the relationship between each of these 
facets, and then facilitates the construction of investigative models.

The analysis of the collection is usually the prime focus for the curator and this 
is the focus of Chapter Five. It is argued that all exhibitions should be based on 
objects and therefore the study of objects is of primary importance to the development 
of an exhibition thesis. In the case study however, this focus was only one facet, albeit 
an important one, of the broader study. Approaches to the investigation of objects 
vary according to the objectives of the investigator and for this case study the questions 
asked were essentially exhibition-driven. Before a model could be developed or 
adopted it was essential to validate the collection -- all information in a permanent 
exhibition (or arguably any exhibition) must be the product of exemplary research, "An 
immortalised mistake can be pretty hard to live with" (Verlarde 1988:30). This

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validation process began the establishment of new relationships: those that exist between the curator and the collector, the internal culture of a museum and the collection, and between the museum and other museums also holding ceramic collections.

The majority of the ceramic types contained in the Koerner Collection are not contained in the mainstream of art-historical or decorative art literature. This chapter begins with the "pure" research associated with the validation of the collection, a process initiated by the cultivation of "visual literacy", ceramics have several inherent dimensions that can be explored - and continued with technical and aesthetic considerations. Hutterite chronicles, Renaissance writings, interviews with ceramics experts, studies of unpublished collections held in storage rooms, visits to a reconstructed pottery, a Haban village, and various stove installations all assisted in the development of typologies based on form and iconography. Ceramics also have a place, a time and a location in the world. Just where an object rests on the dimensions of time and place can affect its form and significance and these are reflections of conscious decisions by the makers. This approach provoked a number of questions which informed a preliminary model of investigation: which technologies are represented?, which geographic areas are represented?, which cultures are represented?, and is there any connection between them? (other than that deduced from the analysis of the collector's rationale).

Movement of the technologies over time could appear to present a possible exhibition thesis, but one that uses the objects as punctuators of a storyline rather than as "communicative devices through which social change is contemplated, proposed, initiated, enforced and denied" (McCracken in Reynolds & Stott 1987:109). Both the
production and use of ceramics by different cultures are a measure and a metaphor of that culture (Nye 1984). The next stage of research contained in Chapter Five comprises summaries of essays prepared as potential exhibition contexts for the collection. These include historic context, socio-economic subsystems, and factors influencing ceramic stability and change. Choices of foci were relational to current anthropological discourse, the MOA's ideology, the collector's rationale, and the prescriptors of time and space. These essays were designed to investigate ceramics as "communicative devices" and to question whether they carry messages that are not entrusted to language, an important test of the strength of the metaphor that sees material objects as a kind of language.

Exhibition-related organisation models, or conceptual frameworks, were developed from this research by the curator and designer. The relationship between the curator and designer is the focus of Chapter Six. There is a perceived struggle between a curator's culture (shaped by the authenticity of artifacts, specimens and materials) and a designer's culture (shaped by the expectations of a commercially conditioned public and, in this case study, by a monument-seeking architect (Heron 1990, Miles 1982)). The organisational models utilised by both the designer and curator moved from positivism to constructivism and were modified by their perceived roles within the socio-political organisation of the Museum. There is little useful literature on exhibit design and recent works admit to creating a "design grammar" by inventing language and borrowing language from other disciplines (Hall 1987). This chapter suggests a research model which enables the designer and curator to identify a common ground whereupon their socio-political affiliations to the larger culture, the museum, are shed and an exhibition-related synergism based on a shared "visual
literacy" is acquired (see figure 42). This chapter also investigates how miscommunication between designer and curator has resulted in the unintentional creation of exhibitions as vehicles of change. Highlighted is the exhibition "Into the Heart of Africa" curated at the Royal Ontario Museum, by Jean Cannizzo. Cannizzo believes that the meaning of collections is generated in the interaction between the curator, the object and the visitor. It is argued here that in actuality the meaning is actually facilitated, or not, by the designer. The exhibitions "The Spirit Sings" and "Trapline/Lifeline" are also discussed.

Much of the current museum-related discourse is concerned with the question of "who is speaking" in an exhibition. The move away from the singular authoritative voice towards the many-voiced conversation is a new challenge for the exhibition curator. In this chapter an analysis of text-object relationship, object-object relationship, object-case relationship, case-gallery relationship proposes a model of organisation which encompasses both the "cultures" of the curator and the designer.

In Chapter Seven the collector is viewed as part of a larger anthropological phenomenon. The collector is seldom considered important once s/he is detached from his/her collection yet, it is argued, the collector continues his/her control over the collection because the choices made by him/her construct the parameters of the possible exhibition theses. The interest of the anthropologist lies in the relationship between the objects and their originating culture and there appears to be little interest in their journey from the originating culture to the museum, their second reality. It is argued in this chapter that an analysis of the collector's rationale can illuminate and give relevance to the object's second reality. It is also suggested that both the collector and the curator can develop a specific relationship based on trust, wherein
the pentimento of collecting may be peeled away to reveal the palimpsest.¹ The question asked in this chapter is: "Should these levels of knowledge be consciously incorporated into the exhibition thesis?"

Regardless of these levels of knowledge, the main objective of the exhibition had to be compatible with the ideology expressed elsewhere in the permanent galleries of the museum: the Great Hall, the Masterpiece Gallery and the Visible Storage. Chapter eight addresses this ideology and the theories and myths from which it sprang. The existing philosophical theorems of democracy and accessibility dictated that all of the ceramics collection was to be exhibited. Other pragmatic factors analysed in this chapter include the overall building structure, discussed within the tenets of architectural theories, the existing and new exhibition spaces, and financial considerations. These issues modified the research model by adding elements of possibility and priority to the conceptual framework. The most important and restrictive of these pragmatic factors, from a curatorial viewpoint, was the time constraint imposed by the building programme. Research methodology associated with object study had to be exhibition driven focussing on pure research, or validation, and applied research, relevance to the objectives of the exhibition (see Chapters 5 and 7).

Once the ceramics exhibition was open to the public, museipetal research took precedence, its objective being to test whether the objectives of the exhibition were accessible to the visitor. This the focus of chapter nine. Visitor studies research is in its infancy as a science and there is some controversy over data-collecting methods (Bitgood, Benefield and Patterson (eds.) 1991, Alt and Shaw 1984). In order to gain some measurement that could be defended in terms of their objectivity, reliability and

¹ The term pentimento is a painter's term for something intended to be concealed but may become transparent over time. The term palimpsest is an archaeological term for a hidden layer that is not apparent until uncovered.
validity, data were gathered from five visitor study evaluations over a period of two years. Three of these (secondary data, visitor books and trackings) were based on anonymity without personal contact and concentrated exclusively on the new gallery; the fourth was a personally delivered questionnaire which also incorporated questions to do with the rest of the museum (Appendix 'B'). The fifth was a focus study group which included the new gallery as part of a broader study. This chapter concludes with a critical analysis of these evaluations and relates them to the analysis of the socio-political organisation of the museum.

The final chapter argues that the combination of powerful visual experience with thought content in this permanent exhibition can be an agent of change. The analysis of how this is achieved adds to the literature associated with design and curatorship of permanent exhibitions. It is also argued that this study and analysis of the permanent exhibition contributes to museum anthropology by its examination of the multiple relationships between the philosophical, pragmatic and theoretical stances and the cultural milieu of the museum, the collection, and the collector. It is further argued that a study of these relationships reveals ideologies which are discernible as components of a post-modern mosaic with kaleidoscopic capabilities - apparently clear from a distance but, when studied closely, are extremely complex and mobile.
CHAPTER TWO - SETTING THE SCENE: ANTHROPOLOGY THEORY AND EXHIBITS.

2.1. INTRODUCTION

This thesis investigates those choices involved in the organisation of museum exhibitions that are informed by a number of constituents: discipline theory, collection parameters, physical and financial constraints, and the institution's socio-political organisation. Each of these constituents can be better understood and analysed when seen in an historical perspective (Bann 1983). This chapter then, begins with a review of the history of anthropological theory as it relates to the general development of ethnographic exhibitions in British and North American museums and concludes with a discussion of the theoretical stances currently utilized in the formulation of exhibition ideas in Canadian museums.

In order to articulate fully how exhibition ideas are explored, conceptualized, and rationalized, much can be learned from the influence on anthropological thinking from three sources: our relationships with 'ancestral' anthropological teachers and founders; the reconsideration of existing material which provided the literary foundation for our subsequent grasp of how the discipline evolved; and influences - such as anti-war movements and the women's movement - from the changing world scene.

Existing material, histories of Anthropology developed by 'ancestral' teachers, encapsulate schools of thought that may be retrieved, renewed or kept as important relics - frequently revered and thought to be above criticism. They were often persuasively and elegantly written by scholars who have since acquired the cloak of guruship: Franz Boas, Evans-Pritchard, Lévi-Strauss, et al. Yet, each of these theories did not develop in a vacuum; instead they were part of social processes "a product of life histories embedded in time and place" (Silverman 1981.ix). These histories, and their
corresponding theories, are varied but all follow a familiar route initiated by references to the Renaissance and demarcated by the eighteenth-century philosophers of the Enlightenment, the nineteenth-century evolutionists and diffusionists, and the twentieth-century functionalists and structuralists. It is here that these histories are currently pausing, waiting for the more contemporary theories to acquire the patina of history before they can be transferred from the paperback journals to the hardbound historical literature.

Any relationship with these still-present 'ancestral selves' is framed in a kinship-like ambivalence that is both hierarchical, and encompassing. It is important to know when these paths set down by them are being followed and when deviations from those paths are conditioned by them. As these strands of earlier theories continue to inform contemporary thinking, ongoing dialogues with the past are detectable in the exhibition thesis: whether these anthropological notions are accessible to the museum visitor, or only in the minds of the museum staff and the few visitors who are anthropologists or students, is a question to be posited later in this thesis.

It is generally accepted that the discipline of Anthropology "grew out of expeditions and museums" (Kroeber 1954:764). The eighteenth-century "cabinets" or "museums" reflected a spirit of enquiry born of a changing intellectual climate in which "men no longer thought of the world either as settled or as well taken care of. They saw the world as man-made and ordered by man." The exhibitions in these cabinets were encyclopedic, systematically organised and carefully recorded as scientific evidence that would "separate falsehood from truth and tradition from evidence" (Wittlin 1970:41,42). These widening intellectual horizons encompassed a growing interest in different countries and a continued curiosity in the strange and rare (Hill 1973). Many early theorists did

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1. In his book Beyond Anthropology-Society and the Other, Bernard McGrane points to Christianity as being responsible for the creation of the non-European "Other" so avidly studied by later anthropologists (pp.ix). See also Findlen 1989.

2. Cornelius Osgood attempted, pre-World War I, to explain the basic concepts of anthropology in exhibits at Yale’s Peabody Museum, but he had to admit that the results were not effective (Osgood 1929:40).
not travel and, although it has been suggested that the very existence of other autonomous cultures was "enough reason for the rise and history of anthropology" (McGrane 1989:1-5) it was, for many, the actual encounter with other cultures that triggered a commitment to the discipline that became known as anthropology (Silverman 1981). Out of these encounters, anthropology developed, or was constructed, to account for and legitimize the distancing of cultures Other, both spatially and temporally, from the investigator Self (Fabian 1983, Geertz 1988, McGrain 1989). Yet, its origins as a purely scholarly activity remain elusive (Geertz 1985); the early practitioners of anthropology were trained in other disciplines and applied their knowledge to an essentially amateur and so-called armchair field of enquiry that "propounded theories about the nature of human society" (Evans-Pritchard 1968:46).

2.2. EXHIBITIONS AS VALIDATORS OF THEORY - EVOLUTIONISM

British anthropology can trace itself back at least as far as eighteenth-century Scottish moral philosophers, who viewed societies as natural systems or organisms. Natural law, they said, is derived from a study of human nature which proposes that man is alike everywhere and therefore advances along certain lines through set stages of development. These stages can then be hypothetically reconstructed by conjectural history, and what later became known as the comparative method. These philosophers may have drawn from the thoughts of Baron de Montesquieu (1689-1755), (considered by Evans-Pritchard and Durkheim to be the modern founder of anthropology) who emphasised the idea that "in any society all of its institutions constitute a system of interdependent parts. The relations between them can be discovered by the comparison of

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3 McGrane has a different view: "the history of anthropology is the history of an identity crisis, and a history of the different identities in which we have existed (1989:2)

4 Evans Pritchard (1981) references the writings of David Hume, Adam Smith, and Dugald Stewart.
observations made in a large number of different societies" (Evans-Pritchard 1981). Clearly there is a recognition here of the importance of empiricism, but rather than allowing the theory to be created from the data these early philosophers tended to speculate theories and then seek facts to corroborate them: they wrote many volumes purporting to show the origin and development of social institutions; they classified social phenomenon in terms of the "high" end beliefs and institutions of nineteenth-century Europe and America. Likewise, they sought data to demonstrate the logic of the historical development from one end to another, from the "low" to the "high", the "primitive" to the "civilized“. Systematic studies of social institutions were not conducted with any serious attempt at scientific rigour until the middle of the nineteenth century when works, now considered classics in their field, were written by lawyers, scholars, or gentlemen travellers." Evans-Pritchard, from his customary critical vantage point of hindsight, was critical of these "systematic" studies, referring to them as "dialectical, speculative and dogmatic".5

Earlier, in the eighteenth century, travellers and explorers had brought back 'curios', illustrations and diaries of their journeys containing romantic visions of "noble savages" and disparaging accounts of "barbaric customs." These profuse recordings of opinions, observations and drawings, sometimes based on only a few hours of contact, subsequently became primary source material for the study of other cultures 7. Their similarity to fieldnotes cannot be denied and their contents were converted from records of personal experience into "scientific" data for the "speculations" of the armchair scholars.

5 Well-known works from this period include: Henry Maine's Ancient Law (1861), J.J. Bachofen's Das Mutterrecht (1861), Fustel de Coulanges' La Cite Antique (1864), J.F. McLemar's Primitive Marriage (1865) and Tylor's Researches into the Early History of Mankind (1865).

6 Otis Tufton Mason, president of the Anthropological Society of Washington in 1895, cautioned curators to be particularly sceptical of travellers' accounts and their often unsubstantiated statements because "when men go out hunting similarities they usually find them, or, at least, rigid scrutiny without which our professed science is child's play (Mason 1895:116).

7 One explorer who brought back important and well-documented collections was Captain James Cook. His journals remain a primary resource for the study of eighteenth century Pacific Island and Northwest Coast cultures.
Thus eighteenth-century cabinets were stocked with anthropological specimens prized for their *otherness* - for their confirmation of the existence of 'exotic' cultures. Typological similarities were recognised and like objects were often organised into 'technological stages' based on alleged development in the complexity of the form.

Although many of these curiosities were the foundation material for early museums, it has been argued that their lack of documentation rendered many of them ineffective data for the scientific 'arrangements' favoured at the time. However, most of the early, selectively public, museums that existed in the late eighteenth century were large cabinets of curiosities. A traveller to the British Museum in 1799 wrote "...Nothing is in order, everything is out of its place; and this assemblage is rather an immense magazine in which things have been thrown together at random, than a scientific collection" (quoted in Wittlin 1970:105). In the middle of the nineteenth century, nevertheless, major museums started to expand their function from basic storage of material objects to research and education in the arenas of ethnology and archaeology. Exhibitions of this period reflected this move to a more 'scientific' approach and the 'curious objects' were reclassified as 'punctuators' of differing theories. So, whilst the organisation of anthropology was becoming institutionalised, curators asserted divergent views on how objects should be classified and organised. They looked to the sciences for models:

> If it be true that the order of the universe is expressed in continuity and not in cataclysm, we shall find the same slow but sure progress evident in each branch of the enquiry. We shall find that nothing is lost, that no race is absolutely destroyed, that everything that has been still exists in a modified form, and contributes some of its elements to that which is. We shall find that this, which no one doubts in regard to physical matters, is equally true of modes of thought. We may trace these to their germs in the small brain of the Paleolithic flint worker; or, if we care to do so, still further back. This principle has, as I understand, been fully accepted in geology and biology, and throughout the domain of physical science - what

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8 Pitt-Rivers compares the collecting of ethnological 'curiosity' specimens with natural history specimens selected "with a view to variety, affinity, and sequence" (Pitt-Rivers 1906)

should hinder its application to anthropology? (Brabrook 1910:622-623).

For example, A.C. Haddon, curator at the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (1900-1925), was trained in the Natural Sciences and, during an expedition to the Torres Straits to study marine biology, he became interested in the ethnology of the Islanders. He collected many objects, brought them back to Cambridge and displayed them in order to demonstrate how "the changing present had been derived from the unstable past" (Cole 1985:112). His displays were based on general topics such as development, degeneration, survival, parallelism, convergence and migration, all reflections of his nineteenth-century scientific training (Gathercole 1976:27).

By the late nineteenth-century, arrangements of artifacts in museums were based on two broad organisational models: developmental and geographic. These have been combined, refined, reorganised, reinterpreted in many ways and can still be found in contemporary museums. Indeed, the Koerner Ceramics Gallery at the Museum of Anthropology contains echoes of both models. As the name implies, developmental is associated with evolutionary and diffusionist theories: linear, sequential, progress, based on the spatial and temporal comparison of objects. This encouraged curators to organise by typology. The geographic model is associated with 'synchronic' functionalism and environmentally-based theories: the study of the interrelationship and interdependency of structures (social or material) within one or more cultural groups, usually at a specific time. This was often demonstrated in 'life-group' exhibitions: the interior of a house with wife cooking, husband sharpening weapons, skins hanging up to cure, children playing with toys, etc.

Both these models have been influenced by the changing world scene, the worldview of 'ancestors', and the availability of new knowledge. Many Canadian
curators trained in anthropology would agree that Lieutenant-General Pitt Rivers in England, and Franz Boas in America, successfully utilised the organisation and display of museum collections in order to authenticate their theories. How different are these approaches to the cultural organisation in the Museum of Anthropology’s visible storage area, which were deliberately incorporated into the Koerner Ceramics Gallery, or the concept of including a collector’s rationale in the organisation of an exhibition? Have the ancestral “ways of seeing” been discarded or are they being camouflaged?

Lieutenant-General Pitt Rivers, like Dr. Walter Koerner, was a collector who became fascinated with the idea of museums. He is an “ancestor” whose name is “indissolubly linked to a museum, and to the ‘evolutionary’ principle of its organisation” (Chapman 1985:15), just as Koerner’s name is linked to the Museum of Anthropology. As a young military officer, Pitt Rivers was engaged in the testing of rifles: he was struck by the “continuity observable” in small arms development and collected those which demonstrated ‘development’ over time. Around 1851, using precisely the same frame of reference, he began to collect ethnographic objects12. His travels in the army enabled him to extend his collection at a time when ethnographic objects were readily available. He promoted museums as an ideal, he became a leading expert on archaeological and ethnological collections, and joined forces with the British Anthropological Society in their quest to form an ethnographical museum “that shall be worthy of the country” (in Chapman 1985:30).

His collection was built up systematically to illustrate the origin, development, and continuity of the material arts - their evolution from ‘simple’ to ‘complex’. He hypothesised that this developmental model of organisation - which gave attention to the everyday, the ordinary, the less-than-perfect, the many rather than the few - could be applied to the evolution of man-kind. His attention to what is often considered to be the

12 It has been suggested that Pitt Rivers’ switch to a focus on ethnographic objects was connected to their availability and reasonable prices (Stocking 1985:16)
mundane aspect of anthropological collections provided, for Pitt Rivers, "sober deflation of expectation [preparing] the way for new criteria of cultural evaluation" (Hinsley 1985). In 1874 he outlined his objectives: "to trace out, by means of the only evidence available, the sequence of ideas by which mankind has advanced from the condition of the lower animals to that in which we find him at the present time, and by this means to provide really reliable materials for a philosophy of progress" (1906:10).  

Pitt Rivers felt that this representation of the evolutionary scheme was of sociological value because it revealed "the development of specific ideas and their transmission from one people to another, or from one locality to another" (in Cole 1985:111). There is no doubt that part of Koerner's collecting rationale was also based on demonstrating the transmission of ideas associated with technology from one locality to another but links to any evolutionary theory were absent. Whilst other museums concentrated on more geographic arrangements, Pitt Rivers focused on artifact types, placing all weapons, musical instruments, tools, coins, and so on together in sequences which illustrated and attempted to prove his theory. Here, the viewer could study "the development of any one of man's many lines of industry" (Dorsey 1899:464). Without these connecting links, Pitt Rivers argued, ethnographic collections "can be regarded in no other light than a mere toy-shop of curiosities...totally unworthy of science" (Pitt-Rivers, 1906:143). His system of classification, therefore, rejected the suggestion of independent invention being hasty assumptions "not in the true spirit of science" (Pitt Rivers 1906:xix). 

Pitt Rivers proposed that the technological development seen in the changing form of objects also demonstrated a succession of ideas in the minds of men: from simple to complex, from homogeneous to heterogeneous. "Progress," he said "is like a game of dominoes - like fits on to like. In neither case can we tell beforehand what will be the

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13 He was influenced by the German antiquarian Gustav Klemm who also organised his own collection through a typological system designed to demonstrate the sequence of technological development (Hinsley 1985).
ultimate figure produced by the adhesions; all we know is that the fundamental rule of the game is sequence" (emphasis in original quote: Pitt Rivers 1906:19). Darwin's publication of *The Origin of The Species* in 1859 added biological overtones to the ethnological thinking of the time, preoccupied as it was with tracing "all mankind back to a single source and to reconstruct the history of human racial differentiation and interconnection" (Chapman 1985:39-40). This range of opinion informed the displays organised by Pitt Rivers and, even though he was adamant that his system of arrangement was more appropriate for serious scientific study, he recognised that a great anthropological collection should ideally embrace both geographic and developmental systems. This acceptance by Pitt Rivers of the existence and possible value of other theories serves as a caution against any presumption of an automatic and tidy link between a singular anthropological theory or stance and exhibition arrangements. It is arguable, especially in retrospect, that the theory underpinning the organisation of the Koerner Ceramics Gallery embraces both geographic and developmental themes but also owes some allegiance to strands of 'Pitt-Riverian' connections between technological development and ideas "in the minds of men".

The desire of Pitt Rivers, shared by many collectors, to control the "way of seeing" his collection was illustrated when the collection outgrew his home and, in 1874, was transferred to the Bethnal Green branch of the South Kensington Museum. Pitt Rivers was under the impression that he would retain control of the system of arrangement and of the objects themselves. This proved to be incompatible with the museum's wishes to revise the interpretation so he removed the collection and donated it to Oxford University in 1884. His system of arrangement was guaranteed by a Deed of Gift which stipulated that nothing would be changed during his life and beyond except for details that may be "necessitated by the advance of knowledge" and did "not affect the general principle originated by the donor" (Chapman 1985:16). Pitt Rivers was keen that the collection be used as an educational tool and he had suggested "that a lecturer shall be appointed by the
University, who shall yearly give lectures upon Anthropology (ibid:36). Koerner also insisted that his collection be used for research and education and consequently a Curator of Ceramics was duly hired.

At Oxford a young man, E.B. Tyler, was hired by the University in 1883. He had no university degree yet history views him as a premier student of primitive societies who was among the first to treat them as a subject which might in itself engage the attention of serious scholars (Evans-Pritchard 1968, Silverman 1981). Although he held the title of Keeper of the University Collections, his interests were more in the areas of myth and religion than in material culture; as a result the organisation and installation of the collection was delegated to two students - Walter Baldwin Spencer and Henry Balfour. This angered Pitt Rivers and he later regretted his decision to send his collection to Oxford. His disappointment does not alter the fact that his donation placed anthropology for the first time within an academic setting in Britain. It also demonstrated something of the potential and the limitations of a collection organised by type: those who wanted to compare musical instruments from all over the world could find them conveniently placed together; those who wanted to study musical instruments within the context of, for example, leisure would have to search throughout the museum for the associated artifacts. The temptation to organise according to developmental models is still felt by curators and, as a result, selective threads of Pitt Rivers' scheme of organisation can be detected both in the Museum of Anthropology's permanent exhibitions and its contemporary classification system developed in order to access collections. Both of these were prescriptive factors were to be incorporated into the development of the Koerner Ceramics Gallery.

14 Beginning in 1883, Pitt Rivers started to collect in new subject areas: folk, paintings, Chinese vases, and other fine-art pieces. He arranged these according to his typological method in a museum on his estate at Farnham (Chapman 1985:39).
15 This is presuming that they would know what to search for. The temptation to create a personal "viewing framework" is demonstrated in James Peatson’s poem "The Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford" (quoted in Clifford 1988).
The Pitt Rivers Museum belongs to a period, located in the last decades of the
nineteenth century, now known as the "museum age" when numerous museums were
founded, reorganised or expanded, supported with funded by governments, learned
societies, universities, and men of wealth. The British Museum received the Henry Christy
Ethnographic Collection which contained sufficient material for them to organise their
ethnographic collections according to three main concepts within a broad geographic
model: "Man in his relation to the material world; man in his relation to his fellow; and
man in his relation to the supernatural." (British Museum 1910:15) Each section was
descriptive of the 'development' of particular peoples from 'savagery' towards 'civilization':
Europe was excluded, since it was 'civilized' and also in command of written languages.
In the British Museum's Handbook to the Ethnographical Collections, the author asks,
"What is the practical value of ethnographical studies?" and responds, "The story of
primitive man bears directly upon the intellectual, industrial, and social state of cultured
peoples; it explains how our own forefathers passed from savagery to civilization; it
affords a reason for the moral and material survivals which confront the investigator in the
most varied fields of historical research" (British Museum 1910:41).

This temporal separation of the Other from Self is a reflection of the world view
of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. This was also a time of colonial
expansion, during which England was the centre of an empire which claimed ownership of
many Others and was the recipient of their cultural goods. How this world-view was
reflected in the exhibition organisation can be found in the 1910 version of the British
Museum's Handbook to the Ethnographical Collections: 'A visit to an ethnographical
museum should awaken among the citizens of an empire like our own, familiarity with the
products of native art and industry, should promote an interest in the tribes which produce
them. It is needless to point out how much easier the administration of native territories
becomes when administrators can appreciate the reasons for native points of view" (p.43).
The British Museum and other national museums served essentially, and arguably still do,
"as the political instruments of the state" and "monuments to the benevolence and culture of the governing party" (Ames 1983:72). This is aptly demonstrated in the earlier "1898 Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution" where it was recorded that "the more intimate our acquaintance with the races we have to deal with and to subjugate, the more we shall find what it means to stand with them on the same platform of common humanity" (Brabrook 1898:636).

In the current climate of post-colonialism and the subsequent deconstructing of history, museums have tried to bridge the gap between Self and Other by initiating collaborative exhibitions that revisit the variety of indigenous stereotypes created by colonial ancestors of the immigrant population (Baxandall 1990:33-40). The hypothesis that bringing Europeans into the sphere of traditional museum-related anthropology can initiate, philosophically, the process of anthropologising Self is examined in this thesis.

2.3. EXHIBITIONS AND HISTORICISM

Museum exhibitions in North America utilised the Pitt Rivers scheme of organisation - at least, until it was challenged by Franz Boas. On September 16, 1886 Franz Boas, who already had a long-standing interest in cultural history and 'primitive' people which had been further fueled during an 1883 expedition to Baffin Island, disembarked at Victoria, British Columbia, Canada. This trip was auspicious for the repercussions that would last for decades in both the region's ethnology and in America's and Canada's museum scene (Freed 1991, Jackness 1985). This passionate, authoritative, directed, and tireless man "fostered the development of American Anthropology as an academic discipline and as a profession" (Silverman 1981:2), and contributed significantly to the professionalization of museums. Indeed, it can be argued that the development

16 Frederic W. Putnam's contribution to anthropology and museums is often eclipsed by that of Boas. Putnam reorganised the Department of Anthropology at the American Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution. He also trained anthropology students - "So great was his influence that in almost every museum where anthropology had a place there could be found a Putnam-trained student"
of what is now referred to as ‘museum anthropology’ may be traced to Boas. His career in museums began in Berlin, where he worked with Northwest Coast collections, and where he first met ‘Indians’ from the Northwest Coast. Nine Bella Coola Indians had been brought to Europe in 1885 where they were "exhibited" in Leipzig and twelve other cities. The "show" was not a financial success because the Bella Coola did not fit the existing stereotype of the North American Indian: their skin was the wrong tint, their noses not Roman enough, they did not carry tomahawks nor wear feather headdresses (Cole 1985:71). Boas saw them treated as examples of the Other, as evidence of a stage of evolution, as specimens or curiosities to be studied and exhibited.

He subsequently moved to the States where he worked as chief assistant to Frederick W. Putnam at the World’s Columbia Exposition in Chicago (1892), curator of the Field Museum (1894), assistant curator of ethnology at the American Museum of Natural History (1896) (Jacknis 1985:76). His background in mathematics, physics and natural history all contributed to the scientific reconstruction of anthropology which at this time was rife with careless theorizing and persistent stereotyping (Evans-Pritchard 1981).

At a time when interested amateurs were being replaced by trained anthropologists, Boas emphasized the importance of fieldwork and always tried to understand people "as part of the natural phenomena of the world" (Lesser 1981:8). Boas knew that civilization was rapidly transforming the very subject that occupied the raison d'être for anthropology (Asad 1973, Collier and Tschopik 1954, Cole 1985, Hinsley 1985, Geertz 1985). This resulted in extensive trading and collecting in North America, activities later echoed by Dr.

(Collier and Tschopik 1954:769).

17The collections gathered for the World’s Columbia Exposition were the impetus for the creation of the Columbia Museum of Chicago (1893), later to be known as the Field Columbian Museum. (see Dorsey 1900:247).

18In 1969 Sturtevant commented "In a few decades, anthropologists will surely look back on the present time as the last period when it was possible to collect hand-made traditional artifacts, and to document their production, local terminology, and uses by field studies, before they were completely replaced by mass-produced manufactured goods of the 'international style'. Nearly every ethnographer could collect now: hardly anyone does" (Sturtevant 1969:632).
Koerner - first in his rescuing of European Anabaptist pottery and later in locating and buying back the Northwest Coast objects previously "rescued" by dealers and anthropologists in the late 1800s.

When Boas first came to the American Museum of Natural History it still favoured a "Pitt Riverian" display method grouping objects by purpose and function, rather than cultural affiliation. To display an evolutionary sequence of development within each type, this stance necessitated the location of artifacts from one group within many different areas of the museum. In Boas's opinion, these groupings were based on artificial and deficient constructs which oversimplified the relationship between cause and effect and form and function. His attack on this typological evolutionary way of thinking ultimately revealed some fundamentally different conceptions of the nature of anthropology. He proposed that cultures should be understood in their own historical contexts "apart from the observer's ethnocentric standards of evaluation" (Lesser 1981:3) and that the concept of culture be removed as a synonym of 'civilization' to be considered as contexts of learned human behaviour. Boas contended therefore that objects should be exhibited in 'tribal' context and not in a typological framework analogous to biological classification. He argued that the notion of classifying ethnological phenomena according to the criteria of biological specimens presumes that there was a connection between ethnological phenomena of people widely apart. Rather, he asserted that the outward appearance of two phenomena might seem identical but that "their immanent qualities might be altogether different." The concentration on the external forms of the artifact by museums was, Boas argued, "superficial and deceptive", and he advocated a transfer of interest from the object's form to the object's meaning. Given this, any attempt to place an object in a typological evolutionary context was not only empirically incorrect but also removed it from the cultural contexts where it could be seen in relation to other objects. Boas believed that "the art and characteristic style of a people can only be understood by
studying its productions as a whole" (Boas 1887 in Lesser 1981:3). To do this he proposed exhibitions of 'life-groups' of specific tribes in the belief that technological and artistic achievements could be sensed by "even the most casual of visitor" (Herskovits 1953:21).19 His opponents counter-argued that the typological exhibition was equally important to those with special interests who wanted to concentrate on one specimen type: an American curator visiting the typological displays at the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford remarked, "I gladly acknowledge the fact that the Oxford Museum is one of the most fascinating I have ever visited. The various series are so complete, so well selected, and so well labeled, that each case of objects attracts one's careful attention" (Dorsey 1899:465).20 The same curator argued that Boas's exhibitions ignored the "opportunity to illustrate the influence of the contact of one culture upon another," gave idealised and false impressions of various cultures and necessitated the removal of the study collections to storage where they would "lose their vital interest and deteriorate" (Dorsey 1907:585-586).21

Both Pitt Rivers and Boas were willing to recognise the worth of geographic and developmental models, but each felt that his 'own' model was more worthy of scholarly attention and that the other model provided a useful but quite subsidiary perspective. A solution, in exhibition terms, proved to be a mixture of the two models with one emphasised over the other, organised within the constraints of space. Whereas purely typological exhibitions were sometimes informative but dull for the viewer, Boas provided an emotional as well as an intellectual appeal in his exhibits. The groups of people, illusions of reality, proved to be enormously popular (Jacknis 1985:82, Dorsey

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19 Dorsey refers to expeditions where 'plaster casts of certain Indians [were made] for use in the constructions of ethnic groups' (1900:257).
20 The Pitt-Rivers Museum was then known as the Ethnological Museum of Oxford.
31 Dorsey also questioned the accuracy of the "life-group" displays. In the Eskimo section he notes "According to the label the woman is dressed in clothing from Cumberland Sound, while her hair is dressed after the Labrador fashion. She is supposed to be talking to the man who is dressed in a costume from the west coast of Hudson Bay - a truly intertribal gathering" (Dorsey 1907:587)
Perhaps these early exhibitions that reflected Boas's recognition of the useful relationship between entertainment and popularity, also contained the philosophical seeds that grew to become Theme Parks? One of the arguments presented in this thesis will be the suggestion that other constituents such as intellect and emotion, alongside entertainment and popularity, are also fundamental to the measurable success of an exhibition.

The students of Boas went on to build anthropology departments in other museums. A student of significance to the background of this thesis is Edward Sapir, who Boas referred to as "his great illustration to himself of an anthropologist" (Lesser 1981:29). Sapir became Chief of the Anthropology Division of Canada's National Museum, Ottawa, from 1910 to 1925. He brought with him the Boasian concern with professionalism and discovered that the Canadian government was some years behind the United States in its interest in anthropology. Sapir found few Canadians with the appropriate credentials and was forced to search for qualified staff, often trained by Boas, from American sources. Even though it has been argued that Sapir created a Canadian version of anthropology (Darnell 1984:160), it cannot be denied that he was influenced both by events in the history of anthropology in the United States, and his continued correspondence with Boas. Following Boas's historicism, Sapir proposed that cultural data "cannot be understood either in themselves or in the relation to one another, except as the end-points of specific sequences of events reaching back into the remote past" (in Eggan 1954:768).

The basic pattern of anthropological activities in American museums was well

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22 In Europe there was no serious attempt to "reproduce types of the various races of the earth from actual life molds" (Dorsey 1899:472).
23 Sapir was appointed Chief of the Division of Anthropology at the Victoria Memorial Museum which was part of the Geological Survey of Canada in 1910. In 1920 these two separated and the division of Anthropology remained with the museum which is now known as the Canadian Museum of Civilization.
24 This has been attributed to a combination of a small population and gradual emergence from colonialism (Key 1973:128).
established by the time Sapir went to Ottawa. Collier and Tschopik (1954) record these activities as 'programs of exhibition, research, scientific and popular publication, contributions to journals, teaching, and popular lectures...Museum research was guided [either] by the need for collections [or] by the desire to follow up theoretical leads suggested by existing collections' (p.771). This is sometimes referred to as 'the Museum-University period', a time when curators were the teachers of anthropology at the universities, and universities sought to be associated with museums (Kroeber 1954:765, Sturtevant 1969:623). It was also a time when exhibitions reflected the theoretical views formulated as a result of the many curatorial expeditions. Objects were displayed geographically or chronologically, often with an eye to what Sturtevant has referred to as "pseudo-historical reconstruction" (1969:623). There were plenty of exhibition labels that made "no concessions to the limits of interest and attention span of the average visitor" (Collier and Tschopik 1954:772).

With the notable exception of Sapir and his disciples, anthropology elsewhere in the museums of Canada remained in the hands of keen amateurs; there were few anthropological activities that could be compared to the American model (McFeat 1976). Sapir's frustration with the burden of administration, which eroded his research activities, prompted him to seek employment in the United States. Boas wrote to him cautioning against leaving Canada. "The fundamental difficulty that you would find everywhere is that all purely scientific work...would have to be done as a side issue, and that the central interest of the museum is not exploration, but the exhibit, and ordinarily the popular exhibit" (in Darnell 1984:176). This from a man who had argued a few years previously that exhibitions should be popularised for those seeking entertainment. (Herskovits 1953:20).

It was fortunate for Canada that Boas kept his colleague at a distance, for Sapir

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25Kroeber lists the American universities and museums that established relationships with each other. He also noted that Oxford and Cambridge Universities in England had maintained anthropological museums (1954:766).
became involved in the public defense of 'native peoples'. He felt "that the responsibility of the Division as a national body for anthropological research was to act on behalf of Canadian native peoples" (in Darnell 1984:170). Sapir supported, for example, the continuance of the outlawed potlatch system practised on the Northwest Coast and the repatriation of treaty belts of wampum to the Six Nations Reserve in Ontario. He also contributed to the anthropological record by completing an ethnological and linguistic survey of several of the "tribes of Canada" (in Darnell 1984:160). The importance of his stance lies in its Canadian-ness and its containment of the essence of the early conceptual relationship between Canadian Museums and the living populations they collected and exhibited. Sapir also came close to including French-Canadian folkloric studies but retreated when he realised that this may dilute the funds available for studies of aboriginal peoples. It is of particular note to this thesis that early Canadian anthropology nearly embraced studies of Euro-Canadians alongside the aboriginal peoples within the museum setting. Eighty years passed before this embrace was made possible by the installation of the Koerner Ceramics Gallery alongside the Northwest Coast Galleries. One of the questions asked in this thesis is "do people recognise the significance of this embrace?" 26

Throughout Sapir's years at the National Museum he worked within the Boasian theoretical framework which emphasised the importance of studying culture outside of the ethnographic present. Boas had argued that "if anthropology desires to establish the laws governing the growth of culture it must not confine itself to comparing the result of growth alone, but whenever such is feasible, it must compare the processes of growth" (in Eggan 1954:767). This historical approach came under criticism from Bronislaw Malinowski and Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown who each proposed variations on the

26 Connections between art of the "other" and of the "self" has been explored by art historians who look to how "European" art has been influenced by "primitive" art and yet the sublimated nature of "primitive" art is demonstrated by decontextualising and isolating it in "the reverential atmosphere of the art gallery" (Phillips R. 1988:65).
theory known subsequently as functionalism.

2.4. EXHIBITIONS AND FUNCTIONALISM

Bronislaw Malinowski spent two years (1917-19) in fieldwork in the Trobriand Islands and, from the idiosyncrasies of his "single case study" he concluded that culture was an integrated system of institutions derived from primarily human needs and that the goal of anthropology was to construct a "science of culture." His colleague Radcliffe-Browne added "Human societies are natural systems in which all the parts are interdependent, each serving in a complex of necessary relations to maintain the whole (in Evans-Pritchard 1968:49). Functionalists compared these 'natural' systems in order to arrive at general explanations without recourse to history, oral or written, which they contended yielded only particularistic explanations. They also rejected the speculative reconstructions of the evolutionists and diffusionists, and the "Boasian treatment of culture traits extracted from their contexts" (Firth in Silverman 1981:103).

The functionalist contribution to anthropology was the emphasis on fieldwork where the reliance on information gathered by travellers or colonial officers was replaced by the personal investigation of human behaviour in its fullest social settings - a holistic approach. To achieve this, the anthropologists spent months or years among an Other people, learned to speak their language, tried to think in their concepts and feel in their values - a process described by Malinowski as attempting "to enter into the soul of a savage and through his eyes to look at the outer world and feel ourselves what it must feel to him to be himself" (in Sass 1986:57). Within this context it was posited that the fieldworker records what s/he sees and hears, s/he lives the experience over again critically and interpretively within the conceptual categories and values of his own culture and in terms of the general body of knowledge of his discipline: in other words he
translates from one culture into another. Malinowski was aware of the anthropologist as a factor in the field situation, and his own diary reveals his personal biases: he wrote of his "feeling of ownership" over the natives and his acknowledgement that "it is I who will describe them or create them" (in Sass 1986:57). This "feeling of ownership" can also be experienced by the exhibit curator who describes and validates a collection and then contains it inside a constructed new reality.

Today, fieldwork, considered fundamental to anthropology, is seldom practiced in Canada once the anthropologist joins the museum profession, and some "feel themselves not only deprived of moral and intellectual excitement but also inferior as professionals to their fellows who have ventured abroad" (Freedman 1978:105). The relationship between "museum" (artifacts) and "academe" (theory) was conjunctive during the time of the evolutionists and diffusionists: artifacts were used to substantiate theories. The Functionalist emphasis on fieldwork introduced scholarship based on social systems that could be described and explained without artifacts. Thus the "academy" moved closer to the "field" and away from the "museum." Museums attempted to deal with Functionalism in their exhibitions: the concept of the interrelatedness of things was illustrated -- "their functional similarities and interdependence, and their significance against the background of the total culture and its aspects" (Frese 1960:67). Such exhibitions were (and some still are) locked into an ethnographic present that not only denied a past but was destined to inevitably become a particularistic historical statement. These could not hope to 'illustrate' adequately the abstract nature of many social systems with artifacts either removed from context and/or a language (text) already culturally translated and recontextualised for accessibility.

So, whilst many museums tried to incorporate some of the ideas generated by the

27. There is no gender bias intended in the use of all male pronouns. The majority of early fieldworkers were male.
28. This was also a time when history museums built period rooms and natural history museums created habitats.
functionalist anthropologists, the spheres or fields of influence of anthropology continued
to widen: for instance, students of Franz Boas, Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead,
studied Freudian views of developmental psychology and moved towards studies based on
the relationship between personality and various aspects of society, quite distinct from the
traditional interests of the museum. 29 The research function of museums atrophied:
specimens were inadequate, inaccessible, neglected, and rarely consulted (Stocking 1985).

In Canada, many exhibitions became out-dated and were held in a state of
timelessness until the 1960s when an "assertion of sovereignty was reflected in the
development of a new historical consciousness" that culminated in a "sense of cultural
maturity and a feeling of national destiny" (Key 1973:170, 175). As Canada approached its
centennial year (1967), a number of museums were built, or refurbished, to meet
ideological and nationalistic needs to preserve and provide commentaries on the past.
Tourism also became an important industry and museums became 'destination points'. In
the flurry of building and renovation not all museums changed their permanent galleries:
Collier and Tschopik, in their earlier 1954 article, argue that this outcome was not
necessarily bad in that there "are many basic concepts of anthropology that may be put on
public view without fear that the exhibits which represent them will become obsolete
before the paint is dry" (p.778). Exhibitions do not necessarily become 'obsolete', since
some are worth preserving as historical records of earlier theories and attitudes; see for
example, the Pitt Rivers Museum (Oxford), the Musée de l'Homme (Paris), Sir John

In Canada, the museums built in the 1960s and 1970s appear to have had two
exhibition foci: first, the history of colonisation organised by historians and second, the
existence of aboriginal peoples organised by anthropologists. Many of these

29 Mead held the position of Assistant Curator at the American Museum of Natural History from 1926-
1978 and was involved in the curating of two versions of the permanent exhibition Hall of the Pacific
Peoples. Her final exhibition was more an "opportunity to experience her work as a museum curator"
than illustrative of her theoretical stance, according to Bergmann 1985.
anthropologists were trained in the Functionalist school, and as a result, exhibitions were situated in an ambiguous 'ethnographic present' organised according to the standard Functionalist fields of study: economics, ritual and religion, kinship and marriage, law and politics - with perhaps a few subfields also illustrated: technology, music and "primitive" art among others.

2.5. EXHIBITIONS AND STRUCTURALISM

Theories relating to cultural ecology were popular in the 1960s and 1970s: how adaptation to an environment explained "the development, maintenance, and transformation of social forms" or conversely, ways "in which social and cultural forms function to maintain an existing relationship with the environment" (Ortner 1984:133).³⁰ It is at this point that it is necessary to situate "self" in the discussion and adopt the observer/participant model of investigation rather than the observer/descriptive model.³¹ Geertz demands "that anthropologists have the ability to shift among perspectives and to be ironically self-aware of his or her own biases." He recognises that "this is a rare quality in the discourse of social science - a discourse that has largely sought to mask the subjected nature of social observation" (quoted in Sass 1986:57).

In the environment of the early 1970s most anthropology courses taught at Canadian universities (beyond introductory histories) focussed on cultural ecology, structuralism and anti-colonialism. Cultural ecology was viewed as little more than a reconsideration of Radcliffe Brown's Functionalism, all the pieces neatly fitting together, that incorporated a version of the empiricism considered so important in the nineteenth century. Courses in statistics were viewed as necessary in order to accomplish the gathering and organising of the data on crop yields, and the like, which were thought to be

³⁰ Marshall Sahlins and Roy Rappaport, respectively, held these two views: Sahlins leaning more towards an evolutionary model and Rappaport drawing heavily on systems theory (Ortner 1984).
³¹ This move from observer to participant is a result of author's personal involvement in the discipline, particularly between 1970-1975.
essential support for ideas about cultural adaptation. Exhibitions that had emphasised the interrelatedness of cultural systems now introduced the notion of 'environment', often as a controlling factor. Natural history specimens and geographic factors were now incorporated into the 'new' interdisciplinary approach that was considered critical to illustrate adequately cultural ecology within the exhibition format.

Beside cultural ecology was structuralism, or rather the student's view of the guru Claude Lévi-Strauss (Brenner 1977:303-306). Structuralist theory argued that "the seemingly bewildering variety of social and cultural phenomena could be rendered intelligible by demonstrating the shared relationships of those phenomena to a few simple underlying principles" (Ortner 1984:135). Regardless of its claims to accuracy in the search for an underlying logic, nothing seemed simple in Structuralism and the translations of Lévi-Strauss' writings require the reader to walk by his side and then accompany him on seemingly quantum philosophical leaps of logic. This view was timely however, and "cleared an imaginative space that a generation of characters in search of a play rushed to occupy" (Geertz 1988:26). Lévi-Strauss' training in geology, psychoanalysis and Marxism, which he referred to as his "three mistresses", gives some clue to the formidable complexity of his theories, and also insight into his belief that "understanding consists in the reduction of one type of reality to another; that true reality is never the most obvious of realities" (in Leach 1974:13). It is not surprising, therefore, that Structuralism, as practised by Lévi-Strauss, utilised ideas found in the science of Linguistics. He was interested in the distinction drawn by de Saussure between the external public language (la langue), which serves as a code, and the personal (la parole), sometimes idiosyncratic.

There is a large body of literature that deals with mechanisms of adaptation. Some of this dates back to the 1930s and was reprinted in the 1960s. See, for example, Forde C. Daryll, 1966. Habitat, Economy and Society. Methuen & Co.Ltd., London. For later works see the readings in Cohen Yehudi A. (ed.) 1968, Man in Adaptation - The Cultural Present. Chicago, and in Cox Bruce (ed.) 1973 Cultural Ecology: Readings on the Canadian Indians and Eskimos. McClelland & Stewart Limited, Toronto.

For example; Indian Fishing was an exhibition created at the Vancouver Museum in 1975, that included archaeology, natural history, ethnology and geography to illustrate the fishing tradition of the Sto:lo people of British Columbia.
use that an individual may make of it. He demonstrates this in his study of myth, in his search for the 'real' language that underlies its apparent structure.

In his introduction to Lévi-Strauss's book *Totemism*, Roger Poole offers one of the clearest explanations of structuralism. He adds two more Saussuerian contributions to the *langue*/*parole* dichotomy: the distinction between the *signified* and the *signifying* as communication codes, and the distinction between the *synchronic* and *diachronic* study of language. To these he adds the idea of binary pairs, binary opposition, binarism which "in their conjunction or opposition create meaning." How this all comes together for the structuralist is worth quoting in full:

Our task then, as structuralists, drawing on these rich finds of linguistics, is to 'read off' the *langue* and the *parole* in a given code, be it mythical, psychological, economic, social, literary or political. It is to define the *signified* and the *signifying* in a given context within these codes. It is to carry out either a synchronic study or a diachronic study of these codes, or both if we can or if we want to, but not to confuse our modes of study. It is to learn to read off the *opposition pairs* in a code. Finally it is to watch carefully for *position* and *inversion* in these codes. We have thus to think and to analyse in terms of a *total field of communication* in the given society, or myth, or work of art we are studying. (author's emphasis, Poole, in Lévi-Strauss, 1973:13)

Poole's reference to the work of art would seem to indicate that Structuralism could be an appropriate theoretical approach to material culture studies and exhibition organisation. Its debt to Linguistics suggests it could be effective in the development of exhibition text which is the vehicle commonly used to make objects intelligible. If, then, objects (material culture) can be seen as analogous to language, they can be read as text and subjected to structural (linguistic) analysis and literary criticism. The subjective nature of this thinking clearly poses some problems, but it does propose that objects are as significant as literature. If Barthes, a Structuralist, proposes that material texts are in many ways "more open, more radically plural, carnivalesque and out of authorial control, than any literary text" (quoted in Olsen 1990:195). Language can be manipulated to make the reader into a hostage of the author's intentions, but an object is separated from
the context of meaning controlled by the author (maker) once it is 'decontextualized', or liberated, from the "historical moment of creation, and committed to new readers and the future" (Olsen 1990:195).

As history progresses, it is apparent that the object and the material text, opens avenues to an infinite variety of readings (Appadurai 1986). The material signifier remains constant - the signified are frequently recreated and then lost through the historical act of re-reading. The number of avenues may well be infinite and consequently no one avenue or set of avenues can be privileged as the 'right' one(s). How to demonstrate this plurality in an exhibition eludes curators who may try to use structural analysis in their studies of the collection, or even in a catalogue. But when it comes to the physical reality of exhibitions it is comfortable to favour the mix of old categories and assumptions. If an exhibition was organised according to structuralist concepts it could not be developmental; it may be geographically organised, but not so to demonstrate the social relationships between objects. It may use minimal labelling, not only to escape semiotic analysis, but also to leave the viewer to 'intuit' meaning; it may well concentrate on one type of object. If the underlying theory is not accessible it follows that the ideology remains hidden and the exhibition may be muddled and the visitor bewildered accordingly. One such exhibition was *Degikup, Washoe Fancy Basketry*, mounted in the Fine Arts Gallery at the University of British Columbia in 1980. It was curated by a Fine Arts Historian, Glenn Allison, who was moving personally away from a traditional formalist approach to art, and reviewed by an anthropologist, Lesley Moore, who was trained in the Functionalist approach.

When the reviewer questioned the curator about the lack of explanatory text, he responded, "The few small texts allow the public to penetrate the rationale of the show without obstructing their viewing. If I can capture and magnify the essence of the artifact, there is no need to worry about the amount of information required to captivate the viewer. He will intuit the essence" (Moore 1980:22). The curator left the objects to
be read as 'material text' rather than 'literary text' which would put this exhibition within the sphere of structuralism. However, in 1980 some people felt the exhibition looked like a collection of 'ethnographic' objects masquerading as 'art', an opinion often voiced about the objects displayed in the Great Hall and Masterpiece Gallery at the Museum of Anthropology. Just how could this historical perspective inform the principles underlying the development of an anthropologically inspired conceptual framework for the Koerner Ceramics Gallery?

2.6. FRAGMENTISM AND THE CONTEMPORARY EXHIBITION

By the late 1960s exhibitions were looking different to their predecessors as design was beginning to play a much greater role, but under new colours and typefaces, curatorial concepts still owed much more to Boas and Malinowski than they did to Lévi-Strauss. When it is not clear how to use material culture to validate or illustrate a new theory, the use of exhibitions as a vehicle of communication will become less effective34. This served as a cautionary note in the research associated with the Koerner Ceramics Gallery.

The early 1970s were a time when 'whole world events' such as the anti-war movement and the women's movement questioned the existing social order. Some of this was expressed in anti-colonialism which rejected "the assumptions of bourgeois Western culture" (Ortner 1984:136). It was thought that we could not get to know the Other

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34 A recent exhibition mounted at the Musée de l'Homme, Paris, 1990, to celebrate Lévi-Strauss's eightieth birthday and to pay tribute to his scholarly works was disappointing for those looking for any evidence of Structuralism. Two display methods were used: South American life-groups and Northwest Coast artifacts and contemporary works were presented as art objects. Relying on visual impact and tombstone labels, in a mixture of old and new display cases, the exhibition was a somewhat pedestrian presentation of these two geographic areas. It offered no insights into Structuralism or its founder, and served to support the premise that the potential use of structuralism as a communication tool in the development of exhibitions has not been fully explored. Indeed, structural analysis would seem to be more successfully applied to exhibition text in retrospect than in the formation of exhibition storylines.
encountered by the earlier anthropologists and travellers because they were now altered irrevocably by the impact of Western culture: cultures studied were no longer 'pure'. This perspective denies the possibility that people are active agents and subjects in their own history rather than passive receptors of change. The category of the Other was also starting to visit museums and question the authority of those who chose to speak on their behalf.35

During this turmoil, a study of Canadian and American museums holding worldwide collections was carried out by Cornelius Osgood of the Peabody Museum. He reported that ethnological artifacts were usually arranged primarily according to geographic areas and then by cultural units within them. Within these units a range of cultural activities were demonstrated: food gathering, warfare, religion and rites of passage. These were based on models proposed by Boas and Malinowski and were often not complete because of the paucity of artifacts. Also, by virtue of the gaps, these exhibitions demonstrated the shortfalls of the collections, their weaknesses, and therefore their biases. This study missed an important point: gaps perceived by the curator did not necessarily exist in the mind of the collector(s). Rather than resisting or ignoring the collector's models, could it be possible to recognise that they are also part of the collection's life history and perhaps should be included in the public display? This question informed the analysis of Dr. Koerner's collecting rationale, moving it beyond the formal functional and descriptive approach, towards a more probing investigation of the differing realities that objects may pass through on their journey into the museum.

Osgood also noted two variations: first, systematic exhibitions within which a single type of object was selected as a group - weapons, shoes, masks, and so on. The objective was to show variation and/or 'development' - elements of Pitt Rivers' evolutionary model and later ideas focussing on cross-cultural comparisons. Second,

35 This is currently considered to be the most important change in museum-related ideology.
exhibits of objects were regarded as art objects: African figures, Southwest pottery, Navaho jewellery, and so on. Here the curator entered the realm of subjective evaluation more usually articulated by the connoisseur. To perpetuate the separation of Other from Self, these art objects were relegated to subfields of the Western fine/decorative arts traditions. Their recognition as art was qualified by descriptors such as *tribal* and *primitive* and they were often removed from any cultural context and exhibited singularly with minimum 'tombstone' text. This recognition of the individual artistic worth of simple objects gave reason for anthropologists to visit the theories utilised by Fine Arts and they brought back a language which recontextualised the objects and isolated them for individual comment.

This constituted a move away from the object authenticating the text to text authenticating the object. Behind this new approach was a growing realisation that the Other had a voice that was becoming to be heard in political, economic and artistic circles. Museum anthropology began to shed tentatively the authoritative voice and adopt more reflexive models that eventually started to appear in public programming and exhibitions: for example, the concept-based exhibition *Fieldnotes* mounted at the UBC Museum of Anthropology, 1990, consisted of the anthropologist, Nancy Mitchell's fieldnotes and photographs presented as a uninterpreted personal narrative. The goal of this anthropologist/curator was to expose anthropological fieldwork to a museum public and present the Zuni as "a modern-day Indian community - free of the stereotypical expectations of Native Americans as exotic or primitive" (Mitchell 1990:4). The issues being articulated by the Other were also at the centre of academic anthropological discourse and these have resulted in re-evaluating course contents and teaching methods. Given this, the connections between museum and academic anthropology could become intimate, and some say they are (Freed 1991:58), but the signs are few.

The question asked by Collier and Tschopik in 1954 still holds true today: "How can museums keep abreast of current theoretical trends in the face of the high cost of
installing exhibits?" (p. 779). They propose a temporary exhibit hall devoted to current problems which would "focus attention upon these issues" and help to "close the gap between current professional knowledge and that of the layman who, in science, at least, is traditionally several years or more behind" (ibid). Exactly how museums could relate historical collections to the modern world is not well articulated in the literature. Lavine also asks, "How can the voice of an exhibition honestly reflect the evolving understandings of current scholarship and the multiple voices within any discipline?" (Lavine 1991:151). This discourse initiated the research hypothesis that, within the Koerner collection, there were mechanisms which could relate the collection to this time and place.

In the current climate of change there has been an increasing number of specialized areas of study within anthropology which have produced change-oriented theories.

Exhibits have traditionally stood as teachers of established knowledge: curators who received their academic training ten or more years ago frequently shy away from what is often seen as faddism and fragmentation in modern cultural anthropology (Freed 1991:72). Rather, they tend to concentrate on the object as the intellectual stimulation for research and exhibitory, usually within a hegemonic model. It is only in the past five years that exhibits have been used as vehicles of theoretical stances, revisiting older material within a reflexive hermeneutic model (Faris 1988). The dearth of recorded oral history leaves the anthropologist with literature which was already historical when it was created in earlier times. The act of writing and interpreting these already configured and refigured narratives takes place in the present and future and, as such, it is not so much about the past per se as it is about what theory is informing us about it. As we libebrate, or decontextualize, the text "We cannot help but tell stories about ourselves" (Moore 1990:118). Anthropologists are currently occupying this rethinking mode which is struggling with the relationship between the 'knower' and the known (Giles 1983). They

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26 Twenty-one specialized areas of anthropology were identified in a 1993 American Anthropology Newsletter.
are reaching out to other disciplines, especially literary criticism, for models which can be adapted for use in the discourse on and around deconstructivism, post-structuralism and post-modernism. Halpin, an anthropologist and curator, defines academic post-modernism as "a fragmented, pluralistic, performative, located, concrete, non-authoritarian, de-centred, ironic, often feminist and politically very serious dialectical response to, and refusal of, scientism, modernism, and avant-gardism" (1987:3). One of the results of this reconsideration of the known and the known is the reformulation of the relationship between the exhibition as an authoritative 'one voice' to a democracy of "many voices". The challenge is to ensure that the "many voices" do not become a cacophony.

Halpin argues that Canadians have a national exhibition style that is intrinsically post-modern - "non-authoritarian, fragmented, and performative" (Halpin 1987:11). This style, she says, emerged at the two Expos (Montreal 1967, Vancouver 1986) which were essentially collages, the typical art of post-modernism. Post-modernism is responding to a changing world scene and within its own precepts it promotes a return to the concrete object "as a form of research into the logic of the material world" (Halpin 1987:12).

Wherever possible, research associated with the Koerner Ceramics Gallery adopted the constituents of this exhibition style.

Most anthropologically-trained curators organising an exhibition today would probably have to admit that the influence of Boas is still very strong, and may concede that there is still merit in post-Riverian systematics, but he or she may also claim to incorporate aspects of functional/structural training whilst still trying to comprehend the relevance of new theories that speak of material things in a language of abstractions.

There is no doubt that exhibitions are changing and, whilst curators may experiment with

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37Expo '86 initially intended to be an assemblage of museumlike exhibitions, full of rare objects. The cost proved to be prohibitive so the planners acquired accessible curiosities, at least curious to the Canadian eye, and presented them along with the architecture, the performances, and the vendors as a total experience. The Creative Director of Expo '86 referred to this experience as one which had "thousands of people lining up to see nothing." (personal communication, 1988)

38See also Pearce Susan M. 'Objects in Structures' in Museum Studies in Material Culture 1989, Leicester University Press, 47-59.
the new critical rhetoric, they will to some extent rely on the tried and true. There is no
one 'right' answer for some and the influence of research taking place in academic circles
will continue to offer new voices for the exhibition.

The exhibition will probably still contain well-researched (empiricism) artifacts
organised as illustration of 'certain scientific facts' (post-evolutionary), arranged to make
some developmental point (post-diffusionism), demonstrative of how they interact with
each other (functionalism), posed as counterpoints (structuralism) and left to speak for
themselves (post-modernism or some form of deconstructionism).

The organising of exhibitions involves a recognition that curators are informed by
levels of assimilation to new theories alongside existing knowledge and reconsideration of
older theories. Some time has been spent refuting older theories and labelling them as
colonialist, patronising, elitist, poorly considered or simply wrong. However, it can be
argued that these issues are still worthy of attention because strands of these ancestral
thoughts find themselves intertwined in the development of new theories. As Lévi-

Perhaps it would be wiser to let obsolete theories fall into oblivion, and not to awake
the dead. But...history does not produce useless events. If great minds were
fascinated for years by a problem which today seems unreal, it is because they vaguely
perceived that certain phenomena, arbitrarily grouped and ill analysed though they may
have been, were nevertheless worthy of interest. How could we hope to tackle them
for ourselves, in order to propose a different interpretation, without first agreeing to
retread pace by pace an itinerary which, even if it led nowhere, induces us to look for
another route and may help us to find it? (Lévi-Strauss 1973:83).

The recognition of strengths and biases inherited from 'ancestors' and how these
are changing offers tools to respond to new theories often generated by the changing
world. The First Nations Movement in Canada has had a profound and generally positive
effect on museum anthropology and one area where this has been successfully articulated
is in the exhibition. The question of 'who is saying what about whom?' is being
addressed earnestly (Geertz 1991:1-5) and this has initiated a critical re-examination of
exhibition organisation and policy, as well as calling into question the 'hegemonic message' contained in the existing permanent exhibitions. Analysis of this re-examination focus reinforced the use of the constituents already identified in the "Canadian exhibition style" identified by Halpin (1988:89-93).

Europeans have been excluded from anthropological theories and exhibitions because they were thought to have represented the "high" end of civilization towards which all others travelled. There have been academic studies of European cultures but the anthropology museums lag behind with exhibitions based on superficial and idealised assumptions: peasant based "folk art", painted Easter eggs, performance costumes. This fragmentation of culture presented under the guise of holism is being challenged and more museum anthropologists are being influenced by the writings of scholars outside the discipline (for example: Brown and Joffee 1992). In this thesis the unpredictable and exciting nature of some of the more recent theories is intertwined with the strands of some "ancestral" theories in order to provide "ways of seeing" associated with the exhibition process.
CHAPTER THREE - RESEARCH DESIGN: MUSEIFUGAL AND MUSEIPETAL

3.1. INTRODUCTION

Museum-related research has become a diverse field in the past ten years. Academic disciplines and professions, each using specific languages to describe their objectives and methodologies, are searching for a "better understanding of reality". David Barr, Assistant Director of the Royal Ontario Museum, integrates the many points of view into a global framework that he says "must remain unique, personal and individual" (1992:35). He proposes that an agreed terminology must be devised that can inform the discourse before surveying and categorizing such diversity. He uses the terms 'museifugal' and 'museipetal', both of which have proved useful constructs in defining the foundations of the research design for this case study.

Museifugal research is typically curatorial and carried out by those trained in disciplines which "do not depend on the existence of museums for their raison d'être or their methodology" (Barr 1992:36, Kingery and Vandiver 1986, Kingery 1993), and most often utilises the collection as the source of data, compiled and analysed to reconstruct the collections' time, place and method of manufacture. For the students of Boas the objects were viewed as "actual manifestations of behaviour that could reveal basic meanings" (Pocius 1991:xiv). When anthropologists began to focus on social systems the relevance of objects diminished, although they continued to engage the interest of art historians, art critics, philosophers and experimental psychologists (Berger 1977,
In recent years, the arrival of postmodernism, combined with literary theory, has facilitated new explorations of the complex relations between art objects and their social context, resulting in a renewed anthropological interest in material culture studies (Ames 1993, Bouquet & Branco 1988, Geary 1986, Maquet 1986, 1993, Pearce 1989, Stocking 1985, Thomas 1991). This postmodern discourse recognises that the collections are fragments of culture and the knowledge about them is a fragment of the "frame of reference" of the researcher (Woods 1989:14). For this study museifugal research is organised into two stages: "pure" research on objects in order to better understand them, and "problem oriented" applied research on objects directed at the creation of an exhibition. This second stage includes a study of the relationship of the rationale of the collector to the exhibition. Museipetal research concentrates on how the museum relates to, and affects, the exhibition; the museum being the physical building, the internal culture and the representatives of the external culture(s), the public (Dixon et al. 1974, Frese 1960, Osgood 1979). This is a topic that suffers from an inadequate theoretical framework, is frequently ignored and viewed with suspicion by those with academic training in a traditional discipline (Barr 1992:40). For this study, museifugal research and museipetal research exist side by side and are informed by the fragmented and non-authoritarian tenets of current museum-related post-modernism.

The recent move towards post-modern research approaches adds a note of caution to the above research types: based on the premise that true objectivity in human investigation of phenomena is impossible, some emphasis is placed on the individuality of

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the perceptions of the investigator. This "situating of self" in the debate questions the usefulness of relying totally on logical positivist research when studying what is essentially a creative act based on the participants' knowledge, varying talents and differently perceived social contracts, and situated in a socio-political and economically complex environment. There is much evidence in museum and current literature (Clifford 1983, Doyal and Harris 1986, Geertz 1988, Woods 1989) supporting the argument that the traditional scientific method based on total objectivity is flawed because the reality within which investigators are working is socially constructed, evidence is not collected in a conceptual vacuum and observations cannot be made of everything. Social sciences have a long history of qualitative work that is stronger and richer than its quantitative counterpart (Mills 1957:1-17, Ragin 1987:viii). The qualitative approach is marked by its focus on complexity, emphasis on interpretive questions, limited data base and attention to the idiosyncrasies of a single case study (Quinn-Patton 1987). It is further argued that the qualitative approach to research derives its appropriateness from the nature of the phenomena to be explored (Morgan & Smircich 1980).

This study incorporates both museipetal and museifugal research methodologies to produce qualitative/subjective interpretations as well as quantitative/objective and therefore measurable data (Morgan 1980:497-498). Methodological concerns included where and how data was to be collected, how theoretical concepts were to be translated into research operations, what analytical procedures would make sense of the data, and how were variables to be handled in the research design (Rosen & West 1973:3-4). The research design is in consonance with some of the current thinking in museum studies and seeks to demonstrate the shift from "how do we do what we do?" to "why do we do what we do?" to "the consequences of how we answer these questions" (Ames 1992, Cameron
Given the current climate of reflexive discourse, these questions are seen to be integral to discussions concerning the development of the story-line for a contemporary permanent exhibition. It is argued that the curator, like the ethnographer, is closely involved in the observable "how" as well as the culturally understood "why", and attempts to objectively analyse the interaction between the two is sometimes not possible until the observer/participant is detached from the focus of study. It is further argued that the development of theory, hypothesis and empirical observation, necessary for the creation of a paradigm of critical knowledge, is possible with a research design based on the interaction of museipetal and museifugal approaches (Maquet 1986:7).

In the current realities of the museum world, where downsizing and financial restraints are commonplace, the curator seldom has the opportunity to engage in pure research (Pocius 1991). The majority of all new research must have some pre-approved application associated with the objectives of the museum. Given this, the study of objects has moved away from the earlier formalist traditions, is rarely carried out in scholarly isolation, and is often dominated by the tenets of its ultimate application -- in this case a permanent exhibition. This research design is based on acquiring answers to questions that are relevant to the creation of a permanent exhibition -- the Koerner Ceramics Gallery. It is recognised that the questions will be formulated to facilitate the process and will move back and forth on an continuum framed by ideological/subjectivist and pragmatic/objectivist approaches. Questionnaires are individual in nature, developed to answer specific questions, are often case specific, and, if not rigorous, are unstandardised in the meaning and use of language (Singer & Presser 1987:97). Some research has been done on the interpretation and order of presentation of words (Smith 1987:99-107, Sudman & Bradburn 1983) and how these can provide linguistic lessons for
questionnaire preparation. Each discipline has its own language and the research must be alert to the potential disparity in meaning than can occur when fragments of these languages are brought together to formulate, or respond to, questions directed at the development of a permanent gallery.

The ideology underpinning the "story" is created as a symbolic construction, the reality of the museum is a concrete process that introduces alternate considerations. An interactive relationship is based on constant modifications which proceed through a number of stages towards the objective of being an integrated whole. The theoretical approach to the development of the storyline, anthropological in this case study, shifts between postmodern and functional (Halpin 1991). The exhibition-related theories utilised by the designer and curator move in the opposite direction: positivism to constructivism (Glusberg 1991). The objective for the new gallery had to be compatible with those expressed elsewhere in the museum -- the Great Hall, the Masterpiece Gallery and the Visible Storage. At the same time, this new gallery presented an opportunity to address criticisms of existing permanent exhibitions in the Museum and also to question some of the fundamental premises held about anthropology museums in general (Aagaard-Mogenson 1988, Ames 1983, Clifford 1991, Collier & Tschopik 1954). The existing philosophical theorems of accessibility dictated that the entirety of the collection was to be exhibited.

These considerations, in concert with the collector's rationale and interdisciplinary theoretical positions, informed the research model which was organised broadly into five components summarised in fig. 1. The first of these being the curatorial museifugal research associated with the collection and the collector; the second, the museipetal research associated with the curating and design of the gallery; the third, also museipetal
research, the theoretical and organisational considerations implicit in the museum's socio-political organisation; the fourth, a concentration on the pragmatic and prescriptive factors of finances, space and time. The fifth component focuses on the analysis responses and consequences.

3.2. RESEARCH PROCEDURES – MUSEIFUGAL

When studying cultural artifacts the objective identified by the researcher is the prime determinant in the development of a model of investigation (Ardies 1990). Within the context of an exhibition, the researcher will seek either those objects that form a metaphorical relationship to an exhibition thesis (e.g. the life and time of the Renaissance potter) or will work with groups of objects, defined by typological and/or cultural boundaries, to formulate questions that the exhibition will attempt to answer (e.g. how does Renaissance pottery reflect the life of the potter?). The Koerner collection had been gathered according to a deliberate set of criteria based on specific and intuitive curation (Kremer 1992). This necessitated the inclusion of objects that covered a wide range of human endeavour, some conforming to the standard requisites defined within the tenets of connoisseurship, and some not. The Museum's exhibition philosophy
determined that the entire collection was to be displayed (Halpin 1976:304-308); open-ended questions based on the funnel sequence (Sudman & Bradburn 1983: 219-222) were constructed that enabled an analysis of the collector's rationale to determine whether this was to be a component of the exhibition thesis. The objective was "to get into the mental world of [Koerner] to glimpse at the categories and logic by which he...sees the world" (McCracken 1988:9).

Models of object-related investigation are many (Ardies 1990, Pearce 1992,1989, Thompson 1991) and most incorporate analytical techniques and theoretical positions that provide the means to greater understanding of the object, and the tools with which critical questions may be formulated and pertinent answers subsequently derived. The model developed to analyse and interpret the Koerner collection incorporated some of the procedures used in these earlier models but its characteristics were controlled generally by the specificity of its application. The section that in most models refers to description of observable data, was expanded to include the cultivation of "visual literacy" (see fig.4). Again, using Wittgenstein's "ways of seeing" as a metaphor for all the senses, the research procedure moved beyond description to focusing on objects and exploring sensory understanding gained by looking and touching and acknowledging emotional responses. This direct association with the conjectural world of divination is recognised within curatorial circles but its distance from language removes it from analytical discourse: unfamiliar objects are usually approached with questions relating to what should be seen. "It takes time and experience to free oneself to consider the obvious" (Reynolds & Stott

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3 This approach has developed from the work done by Fred Schroeder (1976), see also Stott in Reynolds & Stott, (1987:16-17) and Csikszentmihayli and Robinson 1990.
This type of communication, and the potentially thin analytical ice with which it is associated, gains plausibility when underpinned with corroborating data supplied by those who have recognised technical expertise in ceramic analysis. Potters with established credentials were included in the investigation, and asked to comment on the relationship between technological aspects of the pieces being studied and the historical potter (McCraken 1988): "a big man must have made this" (why?), "this was overcooked" (how can you tell?), "this guy was in a hurry" (how do you know?), "this was done by an apprentice" (what tells you that?), "they never could get that red right" (why is it wrong?). This qualitative methodology, designed to produce data that contributed to the development of "visual literacy", was constructed with sensual cues that translated into empirical questions that could be applied to pieces that looked, felt, sounded "wrong" (Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton 1987). It was an exploration of an alternative way of establishing a meaningful dialogue between ideas and evidence (Ragin 1987:viii) and adheres to the concept that using multiple sources of information is "the best defence against being misled" (Stewart & Kamin 1993:32). This approach adds to the repertoire of qualitative research methods associated with validation.

Validation of the collection continued with an examination of secondary sources: the existing catalogue attributions, literature written in English, French and German; works in Czechoslovakian, Hungarian and Italian were also investigated and translated, as budget permitted. An advantage of secondary data collecting over primary was time and

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4The potters who participated in this stage of the research were: Gail Carney (potter, technician and kiln expert at Emily Carr College of Art and Design), Tam Irving (potter, ceramics teacher at Emily Carr College of Art and Design), Mary Daniels (potter, teacher in Art Education at University of British Columbia), Darcy Margesson (production potter).

cost; also, it provided comparative data for further research. However, it was recognised that earlier data could contain a deliberate or unintentional bias, and could be outdated (Hakim 1982:1-3, Stewart & Kamins 1993:5-6) particularly in the light of new archaeological findings (Archer, personal communication 1990, Mallet, personal communication 1990).

The bias of the art historian for "high art" was noted and partially addressed by the data gathered during the investigations by contemporary potters. Photographs of the pieces were also examined by ceramic experts in European and North American museums. In order to ascertain information about their frames of reference they were asked questions that followed the funnel sequence used in some questionnaires: this enabled a progression from general to specific observations (Sudman & Bradburn 1983:219-222). The methodology used to record this data depended on the circumstances, and included photography, video-taping, tape recording, and written notes. It is summarised in Table 1. Consultations with recognised experts in the field and learning to doubt their opinion is part of the development of a curator's scholarly research and connoisseurship skills (Lochman 1986:20-24). Attributions changed as the process of reassessment continued; this was integral to the qualitative research method:

"...if one recognizes that the social world constitutes some form of open-ended process, any method that closes the subject of study within the confines of a laboratory, or merely contents itself with the production of narrow empirical snapshots of isolated phenomena at fixed points in time, does not do complete justice to the nature of the subject" (Morgan & Smircich 1980:498).

All the material was transcribed, a data base was constructed, questions were asked and opinions were formed about the Koerner collection. Ultimately the curator is

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6Stewart & Kamins offer good directories and guides to secondary source material (1993:8-12).
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<th>Notes</th>
<th>Photography</th>
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Table 1. Research Methodology: Data collecting for object-based research.
responsible for the accuracy of the information and must make choices based on sound empirical observations. This is particularly prevalent in the preparation of a permanent exhibition where mistakes can last long beyond the life and times of the curator.

3.3. RESEARCH PROCEDURE: MUSEIPETAL

Staff at the Museum of Anthropology had no previous experience in organising a permanent gallery and it was considered substantive to compile data on other recently installed permanent galleries of ceramics. It is argued in this thesis that the communication between the designer and curator is crucial to the measurable success of an exhibition (Grant 1990). This is based on the following hypothesis: if these two professionals cannot create a shared conceptual framework, as well as a synergistic relationship, each will have differing perceptions of the objective of the exhibition and the relationship between form and content will be unsuccessful (Govaart 1993:52-53). For this reason, research for this case study began with testing this hypothesis. The curator and designer together studied permanent installations in other museums, the shared objective was to determine whether each individual's selection of successful elements concurred with both researchers' sensibilities. Design and curation are often thought of as single linear processes, from conception to specification, and descriptions tend of necessity to be written in this way to avoid confusion (Brawne 1982, Hall 1987, Klein 1986, Verlarde 1988). It is argued here that design and curation are negotiated processes involving logic and intuition, in which content, form and function are played off against

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7Christine Lilyquist (1984), curator of the new permanent Egyptian Gallery at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, also visited other museums with architect Kevin Roche to establish a conceptual framework which included her emphasis on "liveliness" and "light" and his on "permanence" and "endurance".
one another according to the individual values placed upon them. The success of the communication lies in the ability of the curator and designer to balance these values and insert them into the exhibition's conceptual framework (Cannizzo 1990).

Construction materials and methods, hardware, lighting, security, accessibility, artifact mounts, traffic flow were investigated - as were the more subjective aesthetic considerations associated with the integration of case design, artifact presentation, label format, surface finishes, lighting effects, use of colour, construction materials, space and volume relationships (Barclay 1983, Baxi 1980, Bitgood 1990). There were also important curatorial considerations beyond design and function within the gallery space. These were accommodated by grading the answers (1 = poor, 10 = excellent) to questions formulated originally by Harold Shettel (in Miles 1982), a visitor studies scholar: Was the exhibit attractive? Was there an ease of comprehension? Was there unity within the exhibition? Was it able to attract attention? Did it hold attention? Was the presentation appropriate? Was the information accurate? Where was the gallery situated? Was it on the route of crowd flow? What was the focus of attention? What was the relation of exhibit to surrounding and other exhibits? What were the communication techniques - sound, motion, demonstrations, charts, films, models, auxiliary teaching, visitor participation? (Shettel in Miles 1982:17-18, see also Bourdieu 1968, Chambers 1984). Areas that scored well were included in the conceptual framework and those that scored poorly were rejected (see Table 2). The relevance of this qualitative research methodology was determined by the prerequisite of mutual agreement on each score.

Five North American museums were located which had either recently installed permanent ceramics galleries or were planning to: George Gardiner Museum and Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Metropolitan Museum of Art
<table>
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<tr>
<th>INSTITUTIONS VISITED</th>
<th>LOCATION OF GALLERY</th>
<th>SPACE ORGANISATION</th>
<th>DESIGN OF DISPLAY UNITS</th>
<th>DISPLAY LIGHTING</th>
<th>COLOUR SCHEME</th>
<th>TEXT-OBJECT RELATIONSHIP</th>
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Table 2. Research Methodology - Comparison of physical and aesthetic data.
in New York, and the Chicago Art Institute. All of these museums had spent a considerable amount of time and money on developing their exhibitions but all had some problems which had not been foreseen by the designer or curator prior to installation (Chilton, personal communication, 1989). On one level it was the success or failure of how certain stimuli were combined and presented to the visitor: these included the relationship between real things (people, objects and events), written symbols, pictorial images (static and dynamic), sound (speech, music and natural sounds) and human interaction (physical and verbal).

On a practical level some problem areas identified included: cases difficult to access, lights difficult to change, out of reach areas of glass difficult to clean, reflections on glass, labels difficult to read, nowhere to sit (Hall 1983, Klein 1986, Lakota 1986). Most of these had to do with an emphasis of form over function and a lack of comprehension or recognition of how the space was to be maintained by the museum staff and utilised by the visitor. Compromises made during the process favoured form, the "look" of the gallery, over flexibility. From this the research question "how could these problems be avoided in the Koerner Ceramics Gallery?" was formulated. Cognisance of problems encountered elsewhere suggested a new approach to exhibit design and curatorship: the questions moved from "how do we do this?" or even "why do we do this?" to considering the consequences of how we answer the question "what should we...

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8 Also visited: the Musée des beaux arts, Montréal, and Art Gallery of Ontario, both about to renovated. The AGO also pioneered the use of computers in decorative and fine art galleries. The Guggenheim in New York to look at the relationship between the architecture and the collections. The contextual displays at the Frick and Cooper-Hewitt Museums proved to be useful comparisons to the five targeted museums and are included in the initial analysis.

9 These stimuli are referred to as modes by R.S. Miles (et al) in his book The Design of Educational Exhibits. George Allen & Unwin, London, 1982
During this early stage of museifugal research another objective was to ascertain, at least in a preliminary sense, the size, quality and scope of other museums' ceramic collections in order to form a comparative data base for the Koerner collection in Vancouver. This accessing of the discipline network began the validation process of the collection which is more fully outlined on pages 110-119. Open-ended questions associated with the organisation and interpretation of the collection within the exhibition framework were incorporated into discussions with curators, conservators, programmers and collection managers (Barclay 1983, Klein 1986, Patterson & Bitgood 1990). None of the museums visited had conducted visitor surveys so there was no measurable way to confirm whether or not the curator and designer's intentions were successfully received. This provided additional incentive to investigate appropriate questionnaires to conduct visitor studies of the Koerner Ceramics Gallery that could measure the success of the curatorial and design objectives, and create data which may be useful to other museums planning permanent installations (Singer & Presser 1987, Smith 1987, Sudman & Bradburn 1983).

To achieve these objectives professional relationships were established with the curators of ceramics and wherever possible, the exhibition designers. Access to the conceptual frameworks that underpinned the exhibitions was facilitated in the answers to a series of questions associated with the various galleries' technological and aesthetic components (Kool 1985, Verlard 1988). These questions were constructed from observations made prior to establishing contact with the relevant staff members. Each gallery was photographed in detail resulting in two hundred slides for reference and analysis throughout the research process.
From this research trip a collage of "elements" considered "successful" was constructed for further analysis and possible inclusion in the development of the design for the new gallery: handrails, seating, lighting from the Gardiner, contextualising, labelling and lighting from Boston, study tables, ease of case access from the Metropolitan (see plates 1-3). None of the visited museums had created successful labelling techniques: they were either "tombstones" or excessive narratives (see plate 4). Areas were identified where more thought should have been taken: reflections, visual pollution, height of displays (see plates 5-7). Each of the positive aspects of the galleries visited provided data for the formulation of the design schema, which was also informed by the existing Museum of Anthropology philosophy. There were parallels between the Gardiner's propensity to display all of its collection and the Museum of Anthropology's visible storage; similarities between the Chicago Institute's jewellery-like displays and the Museum of Anthropology's Masterpiece Gallery; echoes of Boston's and the Metropolitan's use of space and contextualising and the Museum of Anthropology's Great Hall. These were the strands of "ancestral" influence chosen as components for new ideas.

All of the institutions visited communicated through the medium of labelling and all used text based on art historical language couched in tenets of connoisseurship. This approach is value-laden and no longer considered appropriate in anthropology museums (Phillips 1988, Sant Cassia 1992), particularly when referenced to recent intellectual discourse that questions the ownership of information, the use of the authoritative voice and the validity of the "self" versus "other" dichotomy (Ames 1988b, Karp & Lavine 1991).

Labels were also assessed against the rules for writing labels constructed by visitor studies expert, Steven Bitgood (1990).
Rest was organised for the visitor in two distinct ways: seating opposite some display cases and hand rails attached to the front of cases which supplied support for leaning (also discouraged touching the glass). Both of these were used in the Koerner Gallery.
The lighting at the Gardiner was a combination of halogen and fluorescent that supplied overall light and spotlights. The idea was adopted but it was found later that the fluorescence were not necessary so they have been maintained as emergency lighting.

Plate 2. Lighting and context - The Boston Museum of Fine Art
The Silver Gallery was organised as a 'band of light' around the walls with central 'walk-around' cases in the centre. The use of halogen inside the cases and the low lighting outside the cases created an intimacy within the gallery space. This concept was adopted for the Koerner Gallery. Elsewhere in the museum some ceramics were displayed in some context - either with other objects from the same period or in mock period display cases. The 'idea' of context was adopted but it manifested itself differently in the Koerner Gallery.

Plate 3. Study tables and ease of access at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
The bulk of the copy and graphics in some galleries were displayed together on study tables which could be pause at and leaned on. The idea was interesting but space was limited in the Koerner Gallery so 'extra' information was placed in data books on tables where the visitor could sit and read them. The larger cube cases at the Met. had doors which could swing open - this was adopted for the feature cases in the Koerner Gallery.
In many museums that display ceramics, the text is usually organised in two formats. First, there is a long label prepared, with a type size that can accommodate the length. The copy relates the history of the ceramics on display. Then each ceramic is accompanied by a 'tombstone' label that supplies object name, date, place of manufacture and sometimes a catalogue number and the name of the donor. The tombstone presumes a level of reader knowledge, and the lengthy label presumes a level of reader attention. There was nothing in between. Also, these labels at the Gardiner were mounted behind plexiglass which reflected the light and made reading difficult. Type size, label length, position of label were all distancing mechanisms which adversely affected the accessibility of the information.

Plate 5. Reflections - The Gardiner Museum, Toronto
Reflections can be a useful device in a gallery but they can also be confusing. When galleries are being designed the reflective nature of glass is sometimes forgotten so objects can compete with reflections for attention. This was a useful caution in the design process of the Koerner Gallery and one that may have not been considered if the Gardiner Museum amongst others, had not supplied such a good example.
Sometimes the combination of natural and artificial light can be quite dramatic but, because the natural light is controlled by the environment, it is unpredictable. A sunny day can produce very harsh shadows which can fight for attention with the display units and their contents. It was this experience at the Met. that persuaded the curator and designer of the Koerner Gallery to eliminate the windows which were originally designed for the new gallery.

Plate 7. Height of display cases - The Royal Ontario Museum.
The variation in display case height is rarely noticed unless the visitor is taller or shorter than average or in a wheelchair. Good looking but poorly designed cases can be found in most museums. This example located at the ROM provided a few cautionary notes for the designer of the Koerner Gallery: the cabinet work overwhelmed the contents, there was nowhere for visitors to put their feet so they could not get close to the case without having to lean at an awkward angle, and it was too high for wheelchair users or children.
The installation of European objects alongside Northwest Coast objects in a museum of anthropology challenged the validity of the "self" versus "other" dichotomy, but whether one would be seen as marginalising the other was to remain conjectural until after the opening of the new wing. Within the premise that museums now accept broadly that they contain only fragments of "other" cultures is the recognition that they cannot hope to recontextualise what they do not have. As descendents of the owners of these fragments gain entrance to the museum, there will be an inevitable move from a holistic model to a more post-modern stance, wherein the authoritative voice is replaced by conversation between equals, where ownership of information is recognised and respected (Birnie Danzker 1990:20-34, Lavine 1991, Mitchell 1990, Riewe 1990:149-153). The vitality and relevance of this level of discourse encouraged its inclusion in the development of the research model. Information in the gallery, where possible, was based on translations of literature produced by the cultures being studied at the time of ceramic manufacture. Statements about contemporary works in the gallery were written by the artists who made them. Information about technology was edited for clarity by a potter/teacher. It is proposed here that the current discourse encourages the use of the metaphor "conversation" to better describe future exhibition theses associated with material culture. Exhibitions in anthropology, and arguably other, museums that offer "messages" or "instruction" carry with them the implication of an authoritarian metanarrative, this is no longer acceptable in museum-related discourse. Access to many

11. Recent Canadian exhibitions that reflect this move include "Fluff and Feathers", "Savage Graces" and "Indigema".

12. Mary Daniels, potter/artist/teacher, University of British Columbia.
voices, including the museum's, the visitors and the collector, is possible in the Koerner Ceramics Gallery.

Once the collection was validated the question of how it was to be organised within an exhibition context became the focus of research. Given that all the collection was to be exhibited and there was not one continuous storyline, an edited number of possibilities were considered: geographic, historic - social and/or political, function, technology. The objective was to identify one attribute which intercepted all others in some measurable way - this would then form the theme of the "storyline". During the research procedure, holistic Pitt-Riverian and Boasian inspired models (Boas 1907, Chapman 1985, Jacknis 1991, Pitt-Rivers 1906) were discarded in favour of knowingly presenting a exhibition of fragments based on the curatorial orchestration of the collector's rationale and the museum's philosophy (Halpin 1990), and communicating with information found in existing original documents from the cultures represented. This "way of seeing" formed the ideologival underpinning of the exhibition research model.

Museipetal research continued with the development of the exhibition process which included the establishing of time lines, areas of responsibility, meeting schedules and the acceptance of the inner culture of the museum that this project was moving from hypothetical to factual (Brawne 1982, Klein 1986, Miles 1982, Royal Ontario Museum 1976, Patten 1986, Verlard21988). Given that change means stress, some research was directed towards literature associated with this phenomenon. Initially, the most useful proved to be notes taken at a session at the American Association of Museum Conference, 1985: "Report on Institution Trauma: The Consequences of Moving or Building a New Wing" (Edgar 1985). Panel members had experienced the disturbance created by change and describe the curve of staff moral in an organisation undergoing change. Museipetal
research included questioning how staff reacted to change, the addition of a new wing, and whether their reaction did, or did not, effect the change (Blackler 1992, Gergen 1992, Reed & Hughes 1992, Smith 1987, Stein 1979). The theory proposed here being that the staff's reaction, supportive or not, would be determined both by their perceived position within the organisational structure and mechanisms used to negotiate pathways through the system. The ideology of MOA is based on a horizontal socio-political organisation overseen by the director (Byrne 1993, Hancocks 1987, Linstead & Grafton-Small 1992, Newstrom 1988). Creating a new wing necessitated moving two or more people out of this framework to form a sub-culture, a minority group with power. It is hypothesised in this thesis that staff who do not incorporate change into the larger culture will use their position, covertly, to ensure that an intellectual and physical separation is maintained between them and the "product" of the sub-culture.

The "inherent human resistance to change" is demonstrated by the resistance, of some, to any process of inclusion in the development of the exhibition and raises the questions "could the culture of the museum remain intact in the face of major change?" "If major change exposed a collectively known, but perhaps unstated, hierarchical power structure operating under the horizontal model, "how would this effect the new gallery?", "would the ability to demonstrate rejection by physical neglect or intellectual criticism channelled through the informal networks of the museum be activated?" These questions are addressed in the Visitor Studies research discussed in Chapter 9.

The final element of the research design involved museipetal research on the physical, philosophical and financial considerations which informed the integration of the new wing into the existing physical and ideological structures. Based on an anthropological premise, discussed in Chapter 2, (pp.18-50), that proposes interpretation
of the present cannot approach objectivity without some contemplation of the past (Levi Strauss 1973:83), archival material was examined to reconstruct the history of the museum architecture, the development of the existing permanent galleries, and the consequent perimeters created for the Koerner Ceramics Gallery. The archives of the founders of the museum were examined to document the evolution of the internal culture. A "founding/family" culture still exists in the Museum alongside an "immigrant" culture (Banks et al: 1990). In order to understand how the relationship between these two cultures operated, members of the staff from each culture were asked to draw their perception of the organisational structure and locate themselves within it: some drew the ideology of the horizontal structure with no actors named, others placed actors by name or specific roles within a hierarchical structure. Staff then responded to a short list of questions based on some concepts found in the long interview method, proposed by McCracken, an anthropologist (see Appendix 'A'). This component of the research necessitated rigorous attention to the fact that researchers are social creatures "who pursue their research in a contemporary milieu that influences not only the problems they address but the outcomes of their research" (Watson 1991:285). In theory McCracken's methodology enabled the gathering of information without becoming closely involved in the lives of the informants, and consisted of "A sharply focussed...intensive interview that seeks to diminish indeterminacy and redundancy that attends more unstructured research processes" (McCracken 1988:7). The interviews were intended to reveal the conceptual and constructive complexity of staff's experience in the organisation structure: the open-ended methodology provided an opportunity for staff to qualify answers.

12 All responses were tape-recorded and transcribed. The drawings were compared to ascertain whether there was a measurable difference between 'founder' and 'immigrant' cultures.
thereby giving a more adequate indicator of how the questions had been interpreted. This research procedure was important as an analytical tool because one of the two main players in the creation of the Koerner Ceramics Gallery belonged to the "family/founder" culture and the other to the "immigrant". It is hypothesised that a study of the interaction between these two players and their respective "places" in the organisation would have a direct affect on the physical appearance and intellectual content of the Koerner Gallery. It is also hypothesised that there would be a different reaction between the status quo philosophy of the "founding culture" and the identity-seeking "immigrant culture".

Reactions to the Koerner Ceramics Gallery were measured from two viewpoints: staff reaction and public reaction. Part of the research procedure involved a comparison of "what they (staff) say" from taped interviews versus "what they do" from observable behaviour. Analysis of visitor response was based on five methodologies: secondary data analysis, unobtrusive gallery tracking, visitor books, an interview questionnaire and a focus group. The questionnaire was based on a sequence of procedures outlined in the chapter "Questionnaires from start to finish" in Sudman and Bradburn's book Asking Questions (1983:281-286). This is a standard approach involving testing the questionnaire with a pilot group, and seeking critiques from experts in the field.\textsuperscript{14}

Using data compiled from these methodologies, the public's reaction to the Koerner Ceramics Gallery could then be compared with earlier reactions to the rest of the museum, the objective being to ascertain whether or not the new gallery had addressed some of the criticism leveled at the rest of the Museum, and whether or not it had

\textsuperscript{14} Critiques were solicited from Dr. Robert Kelly, Commerce Department, University of British Columbia and Ms. Kersti Krug, Director of Marketing, UBC Museum of Anthropology.
sufficient built-in flexibility in its physical components to incorporate intellectual, ideological, political, and social changes in the broader world scene. If the gallery demonstrated that it functioned as a vehicle for change then it could serve as a model for other museums planning new permanent installations. The final phase of the research procedure includes a brief overview of the measurable philosophical changes in the museum's mandate, or "ways of seeing", instigated by the Koerner Gallery with a view to the application of these to the wider museum world.
CHAPTER 4 - CONSTITUENTS OF THE CASE STUDY.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapters introduced the purpose, background, format, significance and limitations of this study and then set the scene for the research design through an investigation of anthropology theory and exhibits. This chapter describes the components that provided the data for analysis: the collection, the collector, the museum and its socio-political organisation. The creation of an exhibition is neither an isolated act within a larger museum culture nor, as this study argues, a procedure that than be accurately prescribed. The word "creation" implies an act based on a selection of choices drawn from the interrelationship between existing knowledge of what is known, procured knowledge, what is yet to be known, with the subjective nature of artistic endeavour. To understand how these choices are made and how they can inform future exhibitions it is pertinent to record, in the tradition of ethnographic studies, what information is available to be assimilated and what can be learned by the observer before the process begins, and then use this as a basis from which the product - the exhibition - may be critically assessed. Ames has pointed out that "People and processes are interrelated but independent events" (1992:65), yet both are grounded essentially in the philosophical and physical maxims of the institutional culture. Participation in the installation of a new permanent exhibition involved a process of knowledge-seeking, risk-taking and an acceptance that the final product, the exhibition, will not be perfect nor an end unto itself and, as time and actors changed, that it should serve as a vehicle to carry forward these changes.

Exhibitions have been a focus for many researchers within the field of Museum Studies but the researcher is usually an outsider, self looking at other, using the notion of the exhibition to investigate the validity of a theory. Like the viewer in an art gallery trying to decode an early twentieth century abstract expressionist painting (Bourdieu
1968), so too the researcher in a museum investigates a creative act, the exhibition, produced by others who are no longer there. Left with the task of reconstructing intent and then deconstructing meaning, this type of research analysis can lack the potential of adventuring further than the pentimento of the exhibition. Missing will be knowledge of how concepts, perceptions, stories etc. developed and the understanding of some of the reasons to do with why choices and priorities changed as the process moved along the temporal continuum.

The following descriptions of the collection, collector, museum and its socio-political organisation were first recorded in 1989, research on the collection and collector took place between 1988 and 1990 (the exhibition was installed in November, 1990). Research and analysis of why the exhibition evolved into its final form and how it impacted on the socio-political organisation of the Museum and the public perception of the Museum took place between 1990 and 1993. Insights and knowledge gained during the process have modified some of the following descriptions.

4.2. THE COLLECTION

The Koerner collection contains 580 examples of European ceramics ranging in date from the late fifteenth century to the early nineteenth century (a list is attached as Appendix 'C'). Collected over a period of eighty years the collection includes wares made for the church, the pharmacy and the home. Some are unique and demonstrative of the most sophisticated and up-to-the minute artistry; others were made specifically for the popular market. Within this range the main traditions and technologies which existed during the time period covered by this collection are well represented: tin-glaze earthenware, with its pure white surface; stoneware with its hard, resonant and non-porous body; and lead-glaze earthenware modelled in high relief. By way of introduction, the collection is presented as it was first revealed and according to the collectors own organising principles:
The collection can be divided into three main parts. First, the Italian Renaissance ceramic collection, which provides to the viewer experience of the important art of the Renaissance. Second, there is the Anabaptist (Haban) ceramic collection, originating in Moravia, made mainly by the early ancestors of today's Hutterites. This speaks to the viewer of the great religious struggles, that began in the Czech lands in the 14th and 15th centuries and spread to the larger part of central and northern Europe. Third, there is the collection of medieval, Renaissance and Baroque ornamental tiles, made for decorated ovens and stoves. These ornate pieces began as an ornamentation of very practical heating devices. Gradually, they became more elaborate and particular works of art in themselves, arising from the natural artistic sense of the native craftsmen" (Koemer 1988, personal communication, December 2nd).

For the collector these three "main parts" were the focus of the collection and all other pieces were collected to emphasise and support this focus. For example, when the communes collapsed some Anabaptist potters worked at a factory in Holitsch, which was then in Hungary and is now in Czechoslovakia (Kybalova 1964). Koerner collected wares from this factory because of their connection with his Anabaptist collection. This "connecting" logic pervades his collecting activities but a museum actively collecting ceramics might be working with a different logic and there is not always a comfortable fit between the two. The hegemony of the museum ensures a comfortable fit by subsuming the collector's rationale to its own. Each part of the collection, as identified by the collector, is presented here within a descriptive historical framework so that the reader can gain some sense of the context of the collection. His three "main parts" are presented first, followed by the rest of the tin-glaze earthenware and then the stoneware.

4.2.1. Italian Maiolica (83 pieces, 16th-19th century). In Italy tin-glazed earthenware, maiolica, was made from about 1250 to 1800 when it was overshadowed by two developments: cheaper, more easily produced creamwares from England and the re-invention at Meissen, Germany, of porcelain. The white opaque absorbent surface provided by tin glaze covered flaws in earthenware and supplied a canvas for the painter
of pottery (Mallet 1981). The imagery on pieces in the Koerner collection was drawn from many sources: meandering flowers and leaf patterns from Chinese porcelain, istoriato ('story-painted') from engravings or books, exotic animals, armorial trophies and virtually any fantasy that more or less echoed classical originals (see plate 8). These painted wares are considered the zenith of European ceramic art (Wilson 1987, 1989, Watson 1986) and are well-documented in the literature. Unlike most public collections of maiolica the Koerner collection extends beyond the boundaries set by art historians and connoisseurs to include the less well-known plain white dishes which were also manufactured in Anabaptist potteries by Italian potters, who had fled north to avoid religious persecution (Liverani 1957, Goldthwaite 1989).

Plate 8. Maiolica plate, Castel Durante, 1535-1540. Rim is decorated with trophies and figure in centre is probably Cupid. (CE259)

4.2.2. Haban ware. (103 pieces, 16th - 18th century). The pottery produced by the Anabaptists is known as Haban ware. The making of tin-glaze was brought north to central Europe by Italian potters who joined this nonconformist set known as the

Anabaptists (Kudelkova & Zeminova 1961, Irsa & Prochazkova 1987). They lived in communes and were obliged to maintain the strictest anonymity in all they did, their works were never signed. Distinctive wares were made by the Anabaptist potters from about 1590 (see plate 9). Their faith, with its demand for utter simplicity in all things, also deeply affected the form and design of their pottery, each piece being made according to an understood set of rules that excluded the use of animal or human imagery (Bender 1961, Kalesny 1976, 1981, Wiebe 1977). Once the communes were disbanded, the Anabaptist potter’s art gradually declined and the adoption of once forbidden decorative themes became common place (see plate 10), (Hostetler 1974). This is the largest public collection of Haban ware in North America.

Plate 9. Early example of Haban ware pottery (1639) manufactured according to a set of known rules (CH104).

Plate 10. Later example of Haban ware pottery (1697) illustrating the use of previously forbidden images of animals. (CH55)

4.2.3. Hafnerware (78 pieces, 16th - 18th century). Hafnerware is customarily used to describe different families of lead-glazed pottery originating in German speaking

2See Cernohorsky 1931.
countries. It is usually associated with the tiles used in the construction of stoves, although the same potters also made decorative vessels and dishes (Bellwald 1980, Blumel 1965). This lead-glazed ware had its own well-established tradition which was vigorous enough for it to effectively exist alongside tin-glazed earthenware. The subjects depicted on the tiles were often chosen from the lives and thoughts of those who commissioned them and are often a challenge.

Plate 11. Hafnerware high relief tile
Late 16th century. Allegorical scene referencing Autumn (CG111)

Plate 12. Tiled stove. 16th century
References are made to the new and old testament

for the current-day researcher (see plate 11). During the course of history the tiles have been detached from their stoves and preserved as individual art objects, this is the form in which they were purchased by Dr. Koerner.³ Their original function is often eclipsed in favour of promoting their individuality rather than their commonality. The context for

the 'art' pieces is supplied by a tiled stove, the largest object in the gallery (see plate 12). This is the largest public collection of Hafnerware in North America.4

The rest of the collection is comprised of three specific groupings of tin-glazed earthenware, Delft, Holitsch, and Murany, three general groupings, French faience, Central European fayence,5 Austrian/German fayence and one group of stoneware.

4.2.4. Delft (36 pieces, 18th century). Tin-glaze was introduced to the Low Countries by Italian potters in about 1548. Delft, a town in Holland, gave its name delftware to tin-glazed earthenware manufactured in Holland and later in Britain. Dutch potters of Italian descent moved to England to escape religious persecution and started the

Plate 13. Posset pot, Delft. The blue and white designs on this pot are imitative of those found on Chinese Ming porcelain. (CG187a/b)

manufacture of tin-glazed earthenware in about 1572. The delftware in the Koerner collection illustrates the move from imitating the pictorial tradition of Italian maiolica to the blue-and-white tradition of Chinese Ming porcelain (see plate 13) and, later, the

4There is some evidence that stove tiles were made in North Carolina, USA, by immigrant Hutterites (Bivins 1972, 1975).
5Tin-glaze earthenware is variously known as 'faience' in some countries, 'fayence' in others, and maiolica in Italy.

4.2.5. Holitsch (52 pieces, 1743-1827) was founded by Francis of Lorraine, consort to Empress Maria Theresa. The factory concentrated on the production of richly adorned sets intended to emulate the wares used by the aristocracy in the large western European centres. The Holitsch factory was built on the plain lying between the Minor Carpathians and the river Morava. There were fields of clayey earth which had been used by the three local settlements of Anabaptist potters since the sixteenth century.


The Anabaptists who still lived in the area looked to Holitsch for employment and early employment documents confirm Anabaptists among the early workmen (Kybalova 1964). These potters brought with them a sophisticated knowledge of faience techniques and some fine painterly skills. The factory responded to public taste by producing wares that echoed those from France, Italy, China and Japan. They were particularly well-
known as fine modellers (see plate 14). When porcelain became cheaper and other denser
earthenwares started to be produced the factory could not compete and was forced
close in 1827 (Kiss 1966).

4.2.6. Murany (34 pieces, 19th century). Once factories such as Holitsch were
closed, the manufacture of tin-glaze earthenware moved to small scale operations, making
wares for local markets. Such wares were decorated with vibrant splashes of colour
organised as informal designs, reminiscent of those found on the earlier tin-glazed
earthenware. These pieces are usually referred to as 'folk' or 'popular' art (Stiles 1940,
Holme 1911). It was this type of art that Dr. Koerner started to collect when he was
about ten years old.

4.2.7. French faience (85 pieces, 18th century). Most of the French faience in
this collection formed part of an eighteenth century seventy-five piece dinner service once
used by Koerner's family. In eighteenth century France fine dining in elegant settings, one
the prerogative of the rich, became within reach of the middle classes. They equipped
their tables with large faience services and faience factories became very popular (Lane
1970, Cushion 1976). Following popular taste, the designs on the dinner service in the
Koerner collection were copied from those used at Strasbourg which were based on Chine
porcelain-painting of the famille-rose (McNab 1987).

4.2.8. Austrian/German fayence (41 pieces, 18th century). Austria had an
established tradition of making lead-glazed high relief tiles and vessels in the sixteenth and
seventeenth centuries. In the earlier part of this period maiolica arrived from Italy to be
joined later by the fayence of Germany and delftware of Holland. By the 18th century
most Austrian potters were making tin-glazed vessels and many pieces had design
elements that can be traced back to those found on Anabaptist wares -- the central
location of the Austrian territories, and the continual movement of itinerant potters, made it possible to naturally absorb the various impulses (Langer 1988, Gollner 1989). This movement of potters helped create a section of the collection named Central Europe (36 pieces, 18-19th century), a designation for those pieces being difficult to geographically situate. Some of these are probably from Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia but no specific provenance has been identified.

4.2.9. Stoneware (18 pieces, 16th - 17th century) has a hard, resonant, non-porous body that is made of clay and a fusible stone. Technically it is impervious to liquids and does not require a glaze. Stoneware was well suited to the German tradition of monochrome applied and moulded relief ornamentation. Mostly drinking vessels were produced, their forms inherited from metal and leather prototypes. Fine pottery vessels were cheaper than those made of silver, pewter and brass and the banquets of the 16th and 17th century nobility, with five or six courses, guaranteed the demand for stoneware (Lowenstein 1986). The opening of porcelain factories and the rise in popularity of inexpensive faience in the eighteenth century relegated stoneware to the kitchen.

Most collections have orphans, pieces that do not seem to fit within the collection perimeters, usually acquired as gifts. Koerner's orphans included twelve pieces from England: eight from Staffordshire, one each from the Wedgwood and Rockingham factories, and two medieval pieces. From further abroad were two 19th century dishes from Mexico, three dishes and one tile from Turkey and one dish from Spain. It was clear from the beginning that the collector's rationale centred on the Anabaptist wares and radiated outwards. It was also clear that research was needed, not only on the collection but also on how it was to be presented in a permanent exhibition. Its fragmentary nature
eliminated the possibility of either presenting an overview of ceramic history or concentrating on one cultural group or one technology.6

4.3. THE COLLECTOR

Born July 21st, 1898, the youngest of ten children, Walter Koerner traces his family roots back to ancestors fleeing from the plague in Westphalia, to the area of western Germany, to Bohemia, in 1348. As immigrants they provided labour for the new promising craft-industry area of Europe. Koerner writes that Bohemia, peopled by the Czechs, was "the centre for the expansion of civilization to central and northern Europe" (Koerner 1988:23). The Czechs, he says, had thrown off the control of the Holy Roman Empire and the Catholic Church in the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries and gave homes to Protestant, Jewish and other religious groups, including the Anabaptists.

Koerner's knowledge about religious revolutions and persecutions is reflected in his collection: "In our collection of old pottery, we have some pieces (Haban ware) that remind us of this religious revolution and its aftermath" (Koerner 1988:25). In conversations about his collection of Haban ware, he always pointed out the negative connections of the name: "The artisans lived in large communal houses, could not speak Czech, and used the word haushaben meaning householders to describe themselves. The people living in the surrounding countryside would chant 'haben, haben' in a derisory manner" (Koerner, personal communication, November, 1989). The names of these potters are unknown, but the majority of the pieces are dated and decorated with the initials of the person who commissioned the piece. Although the potters were obliged to maintain the strictest anonymity, the quality of their work was so high that the word Anabaptist became synonymous for excellence. The Anabaptists were scattered during the final course of the Counter Reformation in the eighteenth century. Some survived and

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6 Missing from the Koerner collection is a good representation of Delft tiles (Ray 1968, 1973), a concentration on the vessel rather than modelled wares.
fled to the Ukraine and from there some went to the United States and then, in 1898, to Canada.

In 1866 the Prussians invaded Moravia in the course of the Seven Weeks War with Austria and the house of his grandparents was destroyed. He was subsequently brought up in Novy Jicin, close to the industrial area of Austrian Silesia, and it was here that he started to collect decorative ceramic objects made by peasant potters - spurred on by his mother who had an "unusual feeling for colour and the life of our native land" (Koerner, personal communication December 2, 1988). This childhood interest grew to include objects of many types leading to a multiple approach to collecting which has remained a pattern all his life.

This diaspora continued and Walter Koemer fled Czechoslovakia for England on September 22, 1938, prior to the German invasion, realising that by Nazi standards his family was racially, socially, politically Jewish. Most of his family escaped but three of his six sisters died in Auschwitz. He managed to ship out some of his personal possessions before the Germans took over in 1939. Amongst these was his collection of pottery. He lost his family company and its assets, never to be compensated. When Koerner left Czechoslovakia he had been Economic Director of the Czechoslovakian Central Wood Sales Organization.

Koerner admits that exile was a traumatic shock; he had no home and nowhere to go. His brother was particularly affected so was sent on a world trip to search for business opportunities. He went to the United States and Canada, and discovered the forests of British Columbia: the Koerner family moved to Vancouver and opened the company 'Alaska Pine', for business in May 1939, "it was a good name and a good beginning" (Koerner 1988:19).

He moved into a rented house which he later bought and has lived in ever since. He did not find the new land initially friendly, the family suffered the humiliation of being registered as enemy aliens and fingerprinted, just as some of the descendants of the
Anabaptists, known as Hutterites, had arrived in Canada some fifty years before the Koemers only to find their beliefs, once again, viewed with suspicion. Koerner's fascination with the Haban ware made by the Anabaptists was more significant to him than any other part of his collection. He traces his own ancestry back to those who rebelled "against accepted modes of behaviour and Church authority." He also collected religious wood carvings, paintings and old bibles, all symbols of the authority of the Church.

Koerner's collecting of Northwest Coast material culture is discussed in Chapter seven. It is important to note here that he added another branch to his tree of collecting and effectively created and supported an early art market for Northwest Coast material. In his self-defined role of "preserver, trustee, and educator," he used his personal funding as well as political connections to obtain government support for "rescue missions" to recover totems in remote places, whilst at the same time he continued to add to his European ceramics collection.

In 1947, Dr. Harry and Audrey Hawthorn came to the University of British Columbia to found the Anthropology Department. They joined in his campaign to save the First Nations' art. They also wanted native artists to train others and hand on skills to future generations. Koerner arranged for copies to be made of old poles to be sent back to villages. He was determined that the growing collection at UBC was housed properly: "I told Prime Minister Trudeau that if the government of Canada would give the money to the province for an anthropological museum attached to the university, I would give our collection of Northwest Coast Indian art to that museum." (Koerner 1988:149) From then on, his name was inexorably linked with the Museum, eclipsing those of other collectors.

*In Wiebe's book *The History of the Hutterites* he records the history of the Anabaptists, how their beliefs brought persecution, causing them to constantly flee. When they came to Canada they found people suspicious of their commune style of living. Attempts were made to prevent them buying up land by the introduction of the "Land Sales Prohibition Act" which forbade the sale of land to "enemy aliens, Hutterites and Doukhobours". The act was repealed in 1970.*
In 1980 he commissioned Bill Reid, a famous Northwest Coast Haida artist, to make the "Raven" sculpture suggesting that "it should occupy the area called the 'Rotunda'" (located on fig 2), a gallery space in the museum. However, apart from a plaque there is no evidence of Koerner, or any other collector, in the museum. As recently as 1988 Koerner noted in his private autobiography:

"It is still to be decided what shall be done with the many other objects in our private collection...especially early Czech faience. Some portions of this collection are important and should be kept together intact. How that will be done remains to be seen" (Koerner 1988:151).

By this time he had already approached the Vancouver Art Gallery but they said "This is not for us, we do not collect in this area" (Koerner, personal communication, 1988). His family were keen for the collection to go to the Royal Ontario Museum or the George Gardiner Museum in Toronto, but he wanted it to stay in British Columbia. Viewed from today's perspective his presence in the Museum of Anthropology is overpowering if considered in terms of numbers of artifacts and square footage his collections occupy. Yet he, and other collectors, are barely visible and there is little curiosity expressed by museum professionals about these people who actually supplied the components and set the parameters of the artificial environment so authoritatively created by curators and others.

Display and classification surround objects with new meanings and with new or different values than those held by those who collected them privately (Kremer 1922:142). When research began on possible themes for the new gallery some of the 'meanings' and 'values' of Dr. Koerner, the collector, were investigated and, as research proceeded, his 'meanings' and 'values' proved to be much complex than his public, official stance suggested:
Long ago, while I was still collecting, I came to the conclusion that the collection should be kept together -- be given a permanence and stability -- and made a part of the public domain in trust for the community and the nation, by being displayed and studied by scholars in a public institution. What more fitting an institution than the University of British Columbia, with which I have been so long and happily identified and to which I owe so much in stimulation and inspiration. It is particularly fitting too, that the collection should be part of this Museum in whose creation I was fortunate to be involved. Hitherto, the Museum's art has been predominantly Northwest Coast Indian and Asian. Now European decorative art will also be substantially represented.


The challenge was whether the collector's rationale should be available to the public or whether that part of the objects journey should be subsumed under 'more relevant' themes.

4.4. THE MUSEUM

The Koerner Collection is housed in a new wing attached to the UBC Museum of Anthropology. Designed by architect Arthur Erickson, the new wing includes 4,200 square feet of exhibition space, a laboratory, a library, an orientation area (lobby), a kitchen, a curatorial office, a high-security artifact storage area and two washrooms. The entrance to the gallery is to the left of the main foyer and the exit/leads to the Great Hall, where the massive sculptures of the Northwest Coast are housed (see fig 2).

The Museum of Anthropology was created to house an existing University collection which owed its beginnings to Frank Burnett, a traveller and collector, who travelled in the South Pacific Ocean from c.1895-1921 "looking for things most representative of the people of the present and incidentally of the past" (Burnett 1923:viii). He brought back thousands of objects which he bequested to the University of British Columbia in 1927. He wrote books chronicling his adventures and collecting practices. One of these includes a preface by a colleague, Francis Dickie, that records both the spirit of a different time and the origins of the Museum's founding collection:

Frank Burnett's weakness for collecting, led him to take many chances. He particularly wanted to get a certain idol from one of the devil houses of the natives. Now these devil houses, despite the name, are sacred places, taboo to the white man. Even the Solomon Island women are not allowed to look upon them. Determined to get this idol, Frank Burnett set off one day with a trader in his little coasting schooner. ...Reaching the devil house, Frank Burnett took the principal figure by the neck, pulled it from its sacred seat and tucked it under his arm. But just in that minute he saw a dozen Solomon Island warriors coming up another trail from the village. They ran silently, having sighted him at his sacrilegious vandalism. With the idol clutched under his arm, Frank Burnett set off at his best pace for the beach. ...A spear whistled by [his] head.... (Burnett 1923:ix),

The only museum on campus at the time of Burnett's donation was the M.Y. Williams Geological Museum. Mr. Williams arranged for the Burnett collection to be housed in a study room in the main Library until 1947 when it was transferred over to the basement of the Fine Arts building to form the foundation collection of the Museum. In the same year, Dr. Harry B. Hawthorn was appointed the first professor of anthropology and he and his wife, Audrey Hawthorn, were asked to take responsibility for the care and use of the collection. By that time, the collection had been catalogued by students, a procedure still being practised today. The Burnett collection has never been a focus of the museum; it remains a palimpsest.

The Hawthorns' interest lay in the Northwest Coast and this informed the future profile of the museum. Audrey Hawthorn identified three themes which shaped the history of the museum: "...A close relationship with the native carvers and craftsmen of the North-west Coast; an active teaching program involving students in use of the museum; and the desire of the many B.C. families with fine international collections to preserve these for future generations to appreciate" (Hawthorn 1976:52). The early collecting emphasis was on Northwest Coast and the late forties was a time when First Nations' families were selling heirlooms not gathered up in the collecting frenzy of the early 1900s.9

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9Museums in British Columbia were aware of the problem of collectors gathering up Northwest Coast collections. Sapir had noted c.1910 that the existence of museums helped reduce the export of artifacts. Even earlier, 1904, the Art, Historical and Science Association (later to become the Vancouver Museum) noted in its Annual Report that "We cannot too strongly impress upon our City Council the urgent necessity of securing the rapidly disappearing relics of the early history of our Province. American and European relic hunters are continuously degrading the country of those limited remains which should be secured for our own civic museum."
Today there is some discussion around whether the sellers of these heirlooms had the right to transfer ownership in them, and this in turn creates a subsequent dilemma of whether to accept contemporary offerings of heirlooms.

Expeditions in the mid-1950s funded by Dr. Walter Koerner and Dr. H.R. MacMillan (both local business men who worked in the lumber industry) were led to deserted coastal villages to salvage and bring back the totems and other carvings which remained. In the spirit of that time, these expeditions were seen as rescue missions seeking to salvage what Dr. Koerner referred to as "...one of the important monuments of past civilization." (Koemer 1988:144) Today First Nations question the motives of such endeavours which are now viewed as effacing the appropriation of objects, separating them from their meaning and recontextualising them as either relics of the past or an art form to be interpreted purely within a Western perspective. Some of the carvings obtained in this way were later housed in the Great Hall of the Museum of Anthropology (Ames 1983).

Several pioneer missionary collections came to the Museum between 1948 and 1960. These were important to anthropologists because they were collected in specific areas within a known time span by people who worked in the native communities. Although missionaries were often 'jack of all trades', working as bush lawyers, healers and traders, these aspects of their lives are seldom discussed nor is it noted that artifacts were often exchanged for favours not connected with any religion. Some missionaries are viewed negatively by the younger generation and with ambivalence by the older generation (Wilson, 1992, personal communication). Today the activities of these missionaries.
and other early collectors is central to much of the public discourse concerning loss of
native heritage. As well as art objects, they collected everyday traditional implements
which were being replaced with the easier to use manufactured goods. These goods
were incompatible with the anthropologists' belief that the other belonged within a
temporally frozen framework, in a state of purity, essentially intolerant of change. The
Museum's collections policy was directed at rescuing only the historical objects, and
manufactured goods were not viewed as the "real thing."

The Asian collection grew at the same time, particularly in the Japanese and
Chinese areas. The earliest contribution came in 1953, and was collected by Dr. Wayne
P. Suttles, anthropology professor, as a result of archaeological excavations in Okinawa.
In 1957, the Fyfe Smith family, who had visited the Orient a number of times, gave a large
private collection of Chinese and Japanese objects and left a bequest to the Museum
which has enabled the staff to add significantly to the Asian collection. The suitability of
adding Chinese and Japanese objects to the collection was questioned at that time because
these cultures possessed written languages which put them outside the definition of 'tribal'
and therefore altogether outside of the study area of anthropology. This demonstration of
the elevation of self over other was challenged by the curator who insisted on the
collections being 'world-wide' and, today, the Chinese and Japanese

collections continue to be housed in the Museum with little comment. Similar reactions
were made to the transfer of the Koerner collection to the Museum of Anthropology and
are discussed in Chapter nine.

In 1951, three hundred examples of Egyptian, Greek and Mediterranean art were
purchased and these formed the nucleus of the Classics collection. In 1956, a collection
of Classics ceramics was bequeathed to the university by Mr. Sid Leary, a former minister

13Objects made during the times of cultural hiatus, that are demonstrative of poor workmanship, are not
on display at the UBC Museum of Anthropology.
14Personal communication with Dr. Harry Hawthorn, 1990.
in the Provincial Cabinet who had spent part of World War 1 in Cyprus as a Captain in the Canadian army (Hawthorn 1993:44). By 1959, more pieces were added by donation from private collections and purchased from the British Museum. The discipline of Classics has a tradition of being associated with ethnographic collections but its well-controlled borders keep it separate. Until recently when its tenuous historical connections with the Koerner collection became more apparent, the Classics collection had existed in the museum in isolation, ignored by anthropologists but still used in the teaching of university Classics courses.

Between 1960 and 1970 the Museum's collections grew but the amount of space did not. Deep shelves hid many layers of artifacts. In order to facilitate improved accessibility the curator embarked on a major cataloguing project and each object was photographed and recorded on index cards. In 1967 Audrey Hawthorn completed the
book *Art of the Kwakiutl Indians* and, on publication, effectively moved the museum from being a hoarder of treasures alone to a provider of knowledge. Mayor Drapeau of Montreal saw the book and was so impressed by its content that he invited the museum to display its collections at the Montreal Exposition, Expo 67. This exposure, plus much lobbying by Dr. Koerner and the Hawthorn, convinced the university and the Federal government that the collection deserved a "proper" museum. In 1971 the Federal government chose to mark the occasion of British Columbia's Centennial by granting 2.5 million dollars for the purpose of creating a new Museum of Anthropology on the University of British Columbia campus.

In 1976 a new building was designed by architect Arthur Erickson which incorporated a twofold mandate: a setting to properly display the traditional art of the Northwest Coast, and to develop an artifact storage system for a teaching museum. The new building had 70,000 square feet of usable space, 20,000 for academic functions (offices, classrooms and labs), and 50,000 for exhibition preparation, galleries and other public services (see fig 2).

When the Museum opened, its collections were still being "preserved for future generations," permanently displayed either within a formalist rather than contextualist perspective, or stored en masse as specimens to be studied. The museum is founded on a collection acquired within the spirit of a different time, when techniques similar to those seen in the adventure movie *Raiders of The Lost Ark*, were not considered unsuitable: the adventurer/scholar/missionary entering uninvited into foreign territory to remove/steal valuable objects. Political and social pressure from indigenous communities, who are now demanding the repatriation of objects obtained under questionable circumstances, has forced museums to consider the ethical and moral strength of their own foundations. The word "force" is used advisedly to highlight the question of whether museums would have voluntarily taken the steps they are now taking with such enthusiasm.
The collections at MOA go beyond the traditional anthropological parameters to include the "high arts" of the Orient and Classical material from Europe and Egypt. As a researcher, the scope and potential of the collection is apparent, but the hegemony of the architecture and the presentation of the collection leaves the museum visitor with the impression that the MOA is only about the Northwest Coast. This impression, part of the paradox of the Museum, had never been challenged until the addition of non-Classical European material. Again it was Dr. Koerner who provided the driving force. Money existed for an expansion of the Museum but there was continued debate about the content. The original intention was that it contain Northwest Coast canoes but the promised canoes did not materialise. When Koerner offered his collection of European ceramics, on the condition that it be suitably housed, the museum decided to go ahead. The new addition was designed by Arthur Erickson and echoed the existing structure in its use of concrete walls, grey carpets, ramp accesses, soaring ceilings. The philosophical and pragmatic challenges posed by the new space are discussed in detail in Chapter eight.

4.5. THE SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT.

This description of the Museum of Anthropology's socio-political organisation begins with an examination of the theories underpinning organisation studies. From this examination, organisational models that are suited for the not-for-profit sector have been applied to the Museum of Anthropology's expressed and observed socio-political organisation. These models are situated in the following discussion of the historical development of the Museum's organisation. Methodologically, this portion of the case study required a rigorous examination of assumptions and values before engaging in contextual reflexive research in the culture of "self" (Smircich 1983, Davis 1989:4-5).

15The money for the expansion came from a bequest from the Odium family.
16Unlike for-profit (commercial) organisations, museums involve the production of "high culture" and are typified by labour-intensive technologies (DiMaggio 1987:200).
Since the end of the 1960s Organisation Studies have experienced considerable theoretical and methodological diversity (Gergen 1992, Handy 1976, Linstead & Grafton-Smith 1992, Martin 1992, Parker 1992). Changes in organisation forms, and the wider institutional settings in which they are situated, have questioned the theoretical stances and substantive issues that underpinned earlier organisational studies: diversity, plurality, uncertainty and fragmentation characterises contemporary research in organisation analysis (Reed 1992:3, Burrell & Morgan 1982). Gergen, a scholar currently in the forefront of developing theory, identifies Romanticism and Modernism as the two "hegemonic bodies of discourse" that have served as cultural leitmotifs for organisation theory (1992:208). Romanticism is associated with the notion of a 'deep interior' to the individual, and has generated ideas about creativity and commitment in organisation theory. Modernism is associated with the central belief in the power of reason, and has generated studies based on the assumption that individuals have predictable patterns of behaviour (see also Parker 1992). Recent postmodern studies argue that all theories of organisations are forms of language "guided by existing rules of grammar, constructed out of the pool of verbs and nouns, metaphors etc., that are found within the linguistic context" (Gergen 1992:207). Such studies conclude that language is a symbolic mode that facilitates shared meanings and shared realities that can only be understood within their own cultural context (Morgan 1986, Parker 1992:5, Sandelands L. & R. Drazin 1989, Schultz 1991). The move has been away from "the unacceptable constriction of orthodoxy" (Reed 1992:4), that kept the institution hermetically sealed, to an emphasis on the organisation as being "institutionally embedded in social and cultural practices" (Hughes 1992:296, see also Hassard 1991). This concept of culture has been borrowed from anthropology and linked with the study of organisations. The resulting "organisational culture" is a broad, complex and sometimes confusing concept: "the linking of culture and organization is the intersection of two sets of images of order: those associated with organization and those associated with culture" (Sinircich 1983:341).
Figure 3. Museum of Anthropology
Organisational Chart
(Permanent Staff)
Both culture and organisation can serve as metaphors for a system of rules, norms, and symbols on which members agree and which is a basis for action.  

This study of the MOA organisation structure is based primarily on an organisational culture theory which proposes that organisations are evolving cultural constructs created by individuals who search for meaning and purpose in their work activities (Smircich 1983). The following models are presented to demonstrate how these constructs are variously articulated: they will be referred to when appropriate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BEHAVIOURAL ORGANISATION MODEL →</th>
<th>Autocratic</th>
<th>Custodial</th>
<th>Supportive</th>
<th>Collegial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Table 3: Behavioural Organisation Models and their associated characteristics. (Source: Davis 1989, Newlands 1983, Smith 1982)

17The use of metaphor implies a "way of seeing" that permeates how we understand our world generally. Organisations have been viewed as brains, organisms, political systems, psychic prisons, and instruments of domination (Morgan 1986).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CULTURAL ORGANISATION MODEL</th>
<th>Power Culture</th>
<th>Role Culture</th>
<th>Person Culture</th>
<th>Task Culture</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CHARACTERISTICS</td>
<td>Dependent on central power source. Quality of central person paramount to success. Few rules, little bureaucracy.</td>
<td>Bureaucratic. Job description is more important than the individual. Security, predictability, low-risk.</td>
<td>Organisation is subordinate to the individual. Individual is central point.</td>
<td>Identifies the individual with the objectives of the organisation. Very adaptable. Little day to day control.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUGGESTED METAPHOR</td>
<td>Family/founder</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Entrepreneur</td>
<td>Commune</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Cultural Organisational models, associated characteristics and suggested metaphors. (Source: Handy 1976, Martin 1992, Stein 1979)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTRACT ORGANISATIONAL MODEL</th>
<th>Coercive Contract</th>
<th>Calculative contract</th>
<th>Cooperative contract</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CHARACTERISTICS</td>
<td>Person held by forces beyond his control. Control of rule &amp; punishment. Emphasis on conformity.</td>
<td>Control maintained by management who is able to give desired things (money, promotion, social opportunity). Based on exchange.</td>
<td>Control maintained by management's right to select people. Individual identifies with goals of organisation.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Psychological Contract Organisational models and associated characteristics. (Source: Handy 1976, Linstead & Grafton-Small 1992)
The present-day Museum of Anthropology is described as having a flat organisational structure which assigns equality to all staff with the exception of the Director, Dr. Ames (see fig. 3). This autocratic model (Davis 1989:4-5) evolved from the family/founder metaphors to be found in the philosophical stance of the Museum's founders: Dr. Harry and Audrey Hawthorn. Members of this "founder culture" worked in the old museum situated in the basement of the Fine Arts library building. Audrey Hawthorn functioned both as a curator and a mother, seated at the head of the metaphorical family typically associated with organisations based on a founder culture (Martin 1992:34, Stein 1979:290-301). The Hawthorns brought native artists to the campus and into the family atmosphere. Mungo Martin, a Kwakiutl artist, was the first - the family connection is apparent in Audrey Hawthorn's writings about Mungo Martin "Harry would drive him to the carving shed each morning..." "During his first year he became ill and we visited him in St. Paul's Hospital" (Hawthorn 1993:11-12). The other was welcomed "It was incumbent on me to drop what I was working on and show the contents of the storeroom, after which students would escort them [visitors] through the main room and we would dispense tea or coffee and cake" (op.cit. p.16). These visitors, and arguably the native artists, were situated in socially defined frameworks, symbolic domains, that separated them from the museum's socio-political organisation. In the contemporary MOA these domains are occupied by volunteers, students and contract persons.

In 1963 Audrey Hawthorn initiated the teaching of Anthropology 431, the first course in museum studies to be taught in Canada. However, teaching was not full time and Audrey Hawthorn concentrated on building the collection "...we love to collect. We value the achievements of craftsmen and artists, those who have sustained and embellished life. We do want to preserve what they have made and show it to others to study and enjoy. Avidity? Certainly something very like it. Perhaps it is avidity transmuted and
turned toward the best of ends" (Hawthorn 1993:52, italics added). Her continued collecting soon filled all available space. When she sought advice from Eric Douglas of the Denver Art Museum he responded, "You'll take it and pay for it and store it! Some day you may have all the space you need and maybe all the money, but you'll never have the materials unless you take them when they are available!" (Hawthorn 1993:48). She took him at his word and this became a philosophical basis that still endures. It became a shared pattern of thought, a "consensual script", that communicated a shared understanding of the fundamental nature and strategies of the organisation.

Audrey Hawthorn worked at the museum until 1975 when Michael Ames, professor in the Department of Anthropology, became director, and supervised the move from the old to new building. Those who joined after the construction of the new Museum building, and were closely involved in the move from the old to the new space, formed a new family/founder culture, based on the personality, values and beliefs of the new director. Ames now headed the Museum family's movement from matriarchal to patriarchal leadership. In the frenetic days of installation the organisational model can temporarily be described as Collegial (Davis 1989), autonomy coming from contributing equally. The necessity for teamwork resulted in an ownership of installations that has continued to the present, and is characterised by a strong will inhibiting change; this is typical of a founder culture. None of the permanent spaces have been altered significantly since the 1976 opening. The Museum staff added this "strong will" to the consensual script to ensure the continuance of this family/founder culture. Organisational theorists argue that this script would have to be changed before the culture could be changed (Bowles 1989:408, Fiol 1991:547, Kilman R.H., M.J. Saxton & R. Serpa 1989, Newlands 1983:18-21, ). The Autocratic organisation model, characterised by the acceptance of a central power source (Handy 1976), now functioned within and between Power and Task cultures: interdependent staff, few rules, little bureaucracy (power), little day to day
control, and individual identity with the objectives of the organisation (task). Any marked evolution was held in check by a lack of formalised management activities (Greiner 1972). Interdependence of the staff functioned alongside individual relationships between each staff member and the director, reflective of the academic model that characterise the relationship between professors and the heads of academic departments. The family metaphor is still reinforced by the ideology of the organisation (Martin 1992:34): in a recent survey of the Museum (Banks et al. 1990) Dr. Ames identified three critical issues central to the founder culture "...people must work together as friends...there must be fluidity and overlap in the member's work...and...the welfare of the museum should take precedence over one's own career" (op.cit. p.7).

The arrival of new staff after the opening of the new building, described here as "immigrants", brought with them differing attitudes towards hierarchy, process and the social contract. They found it difficult to identify explicit areas of responsibility and yet there were well defended territories which could not be approached methodically. They sought leadership (supportive model) but found power (autocratic model). Most adopted what Geertz (1973) has termed the "Strain" theory wherein actors experiencing the complexities of their situations attempt to solve problems posed by those situations. They learn to manoeuvre very carefully around the intersections of people, power and structure "...part of the culture here is the spontaneous, creative intellectual atmosphere - and god forbid that some organised person should come along and should deal with it and stifle those important iconographic ideals" (Staff interview 1992). The concept of power has been significant to the traditional understanding of organisation life (Handy 1976:113-143, Gergen 1992:218, Linstead & Grafton-Small 1992:339). If the MOA truly has a horizontal organisation structure then power would be equated with the Romanticist viewpoint that emphasises personal capabilities such as drive, determination, charisma (Gergen 1992). These capabilities can be articulated as either positive or negative power. Positive power, when the cultural climate is conducive, can produce innovative,
adventurous, and entrepreneurial concepts (Newlands 1983). Negative power is a latent power that operates at times of low morale, irritation, stress or frustration. It can breed lack of trust, distort information and generally exert influence laterally and upwards in organisations (Handy 1976, Newlands 1982, Fiol 1991). It is argued here that the museum's social contexts fluctuate between these two power models.

To date, the museum has two distinct social contexts that involve permanent staff: the founder culture and the immigrant culture. The earlier immigrants have been assimilated into the founder culture and have taken on the appropriate attributes associated with family. The point when somebody becomes "one of us" is not easy to identify but is apparently achieved by a series of harsh and gentle rites of passage - harsh, when newcomers cannot access the "right" way, and "gentle" when they are shown the way. How successfully these two cultures coexist had not been a topic for discussion until the installation of the Koerner Gallery.

The social context widens to include about 50 volunteer staff, also perhaps subconsciously divided into founders and immigrants, a large student population and a number of contractors who work in various parts of the museum for a specific amount of time. The concept of founder and immigrant is not formalised within the organisational structure, but becomes apparent when discussion concerning change or responsibility occurs. It is also important for this study because, as previously noted, the two staff members most closely involved with the new wing project come from different cultures. The designer may be viewed as one of the founder culture members and the curator as an immigrant. Their relative positions within the larger culture, and their subsequent abilities to gather supporters has had a direct bearing on the evolution of the new permanent exhibition. It also poses a wider question of whether and how the perception of role by staff is articulated as part of the exhibit process.

The museum is a unit of the Faculty of Arts, the Director reports to the Dean of that faculty, who in turn reports to the Vice President Academic (see fig 3), there is no
board of trustees. The museum is also linked with the Department of Anthropology and Sociology through five joint appointments. In terms of social context this structure significantly removes the museum from fundraising activities and from direct community input. This independence secures an isolation from many controlling factions and a freedom to experiment in areas avoided by others. It also ensures the continuance of the Autocratic organisation model.

There is no doubt that the social context of the University of British Columbia's Museum of Anthropology has been viewed as unusual by the wider museum community. However, in the current climate of downsizing and reorganisation that is happening in other Canadian museums in response to budget cut backs, the ideology of the small, horizontally organised permanent staff structure of the Museum of Anthropology, with its volunteer, student, contract support network, is now being viewed as an alternate workable model. This study questions the reality of this model, does it actually exist or is it an illusive metanarrative created by an idealised institutional “way of seeing?”

The strength of an organisation's ideology can be tested in times of change -- the opening of a new wing -- when stress introduces a disturbance to the predictability of life in the museum. Staff are diverted to new tasks, day-to-day procedures are supplanted by more pressing needs. The existing informal lines of communication break down and some staff perceive themselves to be isolated from the process, left to nurture latent antagonisms (Edgar 1985): "I think things have gotten exponentially more complicated here and you have to get exponentially more organised. And we are working on solving a lot of old problems" (Staff interview 1992, italics added). In his article "Evolution and Revolution as Organisations Grow" (1972) Larry Greiner, an organisation theorist, describes phases of evolution and revolution that underpin organisational growth and development. A long evolutionary period or growth with no major upheaval is followed by a revolution - a period of substantial turmoil in organisational life, as was caused by the addition of the new wing. Solutions to each revolution will determine the next state of
evolution. It is proposed in this thesis that acceptance or rejection of change began within the museum some time before the exhibition opened. It is further proposed that once the change was achieved this acceptance, or rejection, could be observed in the levels of enthusiasm expressed for development programming, regular maintenance, audience reaction and general incorporation of the change into the holistic image of the museum.

In a study of the museum structure conducted in 1990 by graduate students it was noted that "some staff feel they were not involved in the decision to accept the donation of a ceramics collection and to build the Koerner Gallery to house it. Some expressed doubts about the appropriateness of this addition to the museum's existing collection, yet they claim there has been little dialogue about why this project occurred and how it complements the museum's overall mandate" (Banks J. et al 1990:24). The same study also noted that "while the Koerner collection may have been openly discussed years ago, people 'tuned out' the information until it became a reality and it made them angry, or until it became somehow relevant to their day to day activities" (ibid.). Archival research revealed that the staff were asked to respond to a discussion document containing the proposed curatorial concept. It was noted in this document that "even at this early date we did acknowledge that it was important to ensure that the new wing be perceived as an integral part of the whole museum rather than an irrelevant attachment. The curatorial challenge was to ascertain how this could be done and then allow the answer to form the basic concept for the wing" (Mayer 1988:5). The only comment recorded next to this statement was "good". The lack of any other comment could be viewed as either tacit agreement or the silence of potentially negative power, preparing to resist change (Fiol 1991:547). Other unsigned comments gave clues to the political climate surrounding the new wing. For example, when it was suggested that "the connection between this wing and the rest of the museum was not really apparent" the responses included "must we address this?", "doesn't seem to be a big problem". Another issue put forward for discussion was whether or not the reasons for the collection being donated should be
articulated in the gallery - "why do need to deal with this", "does this need to be addressed?" "would be a no-win situation". If a discussion were opened on why the collection was coming to the Museum of Anthropology it would have provided a forum for a discussion of why it should not.

Staff had some more positive suggestions "I think 'trade' is important", "What about the socio-cultural role of potters? We need the people", "[how about] including space-age ceramics?" "Somehow I would also like to see heavy and dark furniture, tapestries and other contextualising objects". At the end of these suggestions was the response: "All this is very nice but space is strictly and severely limited". The tensions created between wanting to have input and yet not willing to address the associated issues were not discussed in the early stages of planning and once the collective memory was constructed the tensions became embodied in the internal culture of the museum. A postmodern stance would view these tensions as illustrative of the "essential fragility of organisational life and the myth of its stability" (Parker 1992:5).

From this description it is concluded that the MOA operates under a number of overlapping organisational models, some are philosophical and are presented as a metanarrative and others are behavioural and exist as subtexts. Philosophically the organisational models that describe this metanarrative are those listed in tables 1-3 as Collegial, Task and Cooperative. The subtext is described by the Autocratic, Person and Calculative models. The "family" and "founder" metaphors are both used to describe MOA's organisational culture, yet have different meanings. It is argued here that the staff's understanding of "family" is rooted in the ideology of the museum's evolution and related to an anthropological "way of seeing". The "founder" metaphor has been more recently adopted from organisational theory as a contemporary behavioural descriptor of MOA's internal culture. They are used interchangeably and the resulting ideology/behaviour paradox has left MOA with an illusory organisational structure based on a complex consensual script. As the organisation has grown so the family metaphor
has become more ambiguous (Martin 1992:125), more associated with the ideology of the metanarrative. Organisational theorists would argue the museum is left with two options: either to force behaviour to fit the metaphor or to change the metaphor (Smith 1982:333). However, because MOA switches between its own interpretation of two metaphors, it is able to preserve the "family" metaphor as the ideology to be described, and the "founder" metaphor as the behaviour to be observed. Behaviour is communication, it is iconic and contains a lexicon. Like any text it can be read and there is no doubt that the MOA's organisational structure can be read as historically morphostatic, and external "noise", such the arrival of the new wing, was to be blocked out or adjusted to; the consensual script would need to be revisited and the metaphors would need to be reinterpreted before the internal culture could accommodate the physical and philosophical changes effected by the new wing.
CHAPTER FIVE - ANALYSIS OF COLLECTION

5.1. INTRODUCTION.

In Chapter four the Koerner collection of ceramics was described within defined categories. However, when first encountered a discernible focus was not apparent, either in the way it was displayed in the collector's home or how it was catalogued. In the collector's home, the objects appeared to be clustered according to similarities in shape, form and/or colour and, although this resulted in some apparent typological clustering (stove tiles, tankards), it was not an overall organising principle. The existing catalogue was divided by geography, culture or factory with reference to technique (European stoneware, Anabaptist faience, Holitsch faience). The objects in the collection were the data for analysis and models of investigation were constructed, in essence, to search for patterning that could be translated into organising principles for the new permanent gallery. The quality of the data was affected by the original sampling procedures practiced by the collector, which then effected the representative-ness of the collection.

Herb Watson, vocalised the primary question asked about the collection "...all had to be exhibited, there was no selection process, so it was a question of how the hell do we do it?" (personal communication, 1992)

The ceramics could be observed, touched and lifted; they had a place in time and a location in the world; they functioned on a number of levels: technical, social, ideological, philosophical; they were produced and used by different cultures and could be viewed as measures and metaphors of those cultures (Deetz 1984, Nye 1984). They "can be studied as formal abstractions, as artistic statements, as chronological markers, as tools or objects with particular uses" (Sinopoli 1991:98, see also Brody 1991:55-61). The question that arose from a consideration of these inherent properties and varied dimensions of ceramics was whether a quantitative or qualitative method of investigation could be used to analyse and reconfigure them into an organising principle for the new gallery. Quantitative
analysis requires a sample of ceramics that is sufficiently large and is representative of the
greater population that is being classified. Early attempts to sort the collection into broad
morphological classes -- bowls, cups, jugs etc. -- permitted a finer-scaled classification of
vessel form but because this was not a criteria of the collector and because the collection
was not sufficiently concentrated either temporally or spatially it became clear that
quantitative analysis was not to be an appropriate method of investigation. This thesis
is based on "the idiosyncracies of a single case study" (Ames 1986:12) which includes an
exploration of the process of creation involved in the realisation of an exhibition and an
analysis of the social and political context in which this process takes place. Qualitative
methods were considered appropriate because they are guided by questions, issues and a
search for patterns and involve exploration, discovery and inductive logic (Quinn Patton
1987:15).

This chapter begins with an analysis of the museifugal research of the ceramics
collection. It includes the development of non text-related visual literacy and the
acquisition of technical knowledge prior to the development of models of investigation.
The first model, that of the connoisseur who validates the collection, is underpinned by
literary and comparative studies. The second owes more to the archaeologist in that it
suggests an organising principle based on situating the collection in a matrix of
time/space/technology. The third is anthropological and searches for culturally
determined patterns that could inform the storyline. It is demonstrates that elements
from all of these models are included in the gallery organisation and concludes with a
discussion of why some elements were not appropriate.

MUSEIFUGAL RESEARCH - THE DEVELOPMENT OF VISUAL LITERACY

When a new collection is acquired by a museum one component of the ritual of
transference reflects the need for the museum to establish authority over the collection by

1 A morphological study of the collection was completed and serves as a useful identification tool.
going through a process of validation (Kremer 1992). Also, it is argued that when a curator approaches a new collection outside of his or her expertise, this process of validation remains publicly one of establishing authority and institutionally one of establishing expertise. This expertise is considered necessary before the collection can be exposed to the public and subjected to exterior evaluation. There are a number of investigative tools which can be used to validate a collection. These include comparing the collection with other published collections, auction catalogues, museum collections, archival records; consulting with dealers, scholars, connoisseurs.

Ceramic objects can also be validated with more scientific methods such as spectro-electron microscopy and thermoluminescence. These tools require a careful objective, and therefore potentially scientific, description of each object. However, it is argued here that description is preceded by "the ways of seeing" of the individual - "Seeing comes before words. The child looks and recognises before it can speak" (Berger 1977:7). It is therefore also argued that the development of the visual mind is as essential to research as is the process of analysing evidence and argument. This first stage incorporated the "ways of seeing" metaphor proposed at the beginning of this thesis. The collection was investigated as individual objects with several inherent dimensions - "ways of seeing" - they could be looked at, touched, held, listened to, admired - or not (Deetz 1984). The constraints on this qualitative process -- the perceptions, experience and implicit biases of the individual researcher -- were eased, but not eradicated, by analysis offered by contemporary potters who worked with the same technologies as those presented in the collection, and the opinions of the collector. The ceramics were "looked at" as characteristics of the aesthetic experience (Maquet 1986:32). Some of these included separating each object from its visual environment, keeping the object whole by not analysing it as an assemblage of parts, detaching it from historical reference.

2 These last three may not be mutually exclusive.
3 See also Csikszentmihalyi and Robinson 1990. The Art of Seeing.
and value laden language, and being concerned with its appearance rather than its existence. The theory here is that mental responses to visual stimuli are not idiosyncratic or exceptional, and by silencing discursive activities and becoming totally absorbed by the object, it is possible to consider some answers to the type of question posited so well by ceramicist and author, Alan Caiger-Smith:

"What is it in a tradition that enables such feeling to come to the surface through what are, after all, mere lines and shapes painted on a simple glaze? Why does one piece have an inner content, whereas another, very similar, is only decorative? What is it that men pass down from one to another in a living tradition that makes that tradition more than the sum of its technical process and skills?" (1973:80)

Each piece was "looked at" individually and the singularity of some pieces endured and effectively disengaged themselves from the rest of the collection, the more objects that were observed the more able was the observer to 'intuit' differences. The visually obvious variety of ceramics in the Koerner collection would suggest the possibility of some pieces being evidently finer than others. However, such contentions are not compatible with an analytical attitude, so each of these "finer" pieces were provisionally selected to be included in the feature cases in the new gallery: cases when considered together served as a metaphor for the Masterpiece Gallery. Further analysis discussed later in this chapter, provided enough evidence to support the premise that twenty three of the twenty four selected pieces were indeed "fine". The twenty-fourth piece proved to be a fake. The cognitive process came into play only after the pieces had made an impact on what Csikszentmihalyi calls "a perceptual, emotional or even decidedly visceral level" (1990:42)

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4 See also Schroeder's "Seven Ways to Look at an artifact", American Association of State and Local History, technical leaflet #91.

5 The genuineness of a Renaissance dish with a portrait of a young lady painted in the bowl was questioned by John Mallet of the Victoria and Albert Museum, Timothy Wilson of the British Museum, Wendy Watson of the William A. Clark Collection. Their doubts were confirmed when Mallet examined the piece in Vancouver in 1991.
Potters participated in the visual investigation of the ceramics and their knowledge of technology aided the analysis of the collection. The three technologies represented in the collection had distinct characteristics: tin glaze is a thick white coating made opaque by adding tin oxide to a lead base, the smooth glaze masks defects and provides a clean background for painted decoration; lead glaze is a transparent glaze containing lead oxide, it can be clear or coloured and is used mainly on the tiles in the Koerner collection; stoneware is unglazed and has a hard, resonant, non-porous body (Hamer 1975, Charleston 1981, Morley-Fletcher 1984). Socio-economic subsystems associated with skills and technique were discussed: the shaping of vessels by modelling, coiling, wheel-throwing or moulding and decorative techniques such as incising, impressing and painting (Rice 1987). All known technologies were introduced in the gallery and, collectively, they situated the Koerner collection within the larger world of ceramics.

Bernard Leach, also a ceramicist and author, has suggested that "...in looking for the best approach to pottery it seems reasonable to expect that beauty will emerge from a fusion of the individual character and culture of the potter with the nature of his materials - clay, pigment, glaze - and his management of the fire..." (1976:18). Even though the culture of the potter was not being investigated at this early stage of analysis it was theorized that opinions derived from cooperatively-based investigation of the objects could provide insights into the world of the potter: glazes running and pooling in one direction indicated how the tiles were stacked for firing; the thinness of the body of a fourteen inch wide dish ("this is lighter than I thought it would be") attested to the wheel-throwing skill of the potter; the characteristic chipping of tin glaze around the edges of dishes provided both evidence of wear and, when absent on an istoriato dish, reason to investigate closer; fingerprints of the potter remained where he had held a vessel for glazing provided clues to the physical size of the potter "this guy had big hands" and how the piece was held during the glazing process:
When you hold a pot in your hands, when you go over its walls with your fingers, you feel the hands of the potter, his fingermarks, his touch. You may not know who he was or what he looked like, but, handling the pot, be it hundreds or thousands of years old, you can still feel the imprint of his hands. It is this fact about a pot that makes it so endearing, so very personal. It makes the physical handling of a pot such an important part of its appreciation, as important as its visual impact, and at times even more so. (in Rice P.1987:1)

The form of some pieces were examined. Bernard Leach has said "Beauty of ceramic form, which is at once subjective and objective, is obtained in much the same manner as in abstract (rather than representational) sculpture. It is subjective in that the innate character of the potter, his stock and his tradition live afresh in his work; objective in so far as his selection is drawn from the background of universal human experience." (1976:19-20). The potters were intrigued by the shape of the albarelli (Italian pharmacy jar) and surmised that the waisted middle had more to do with ease of grasping than elegance of form* (see plate 16) they wondered at the consistency and lack of experimentation of form in the Anabaptist wares^ they wondered at the consistency and lack of experimentation of form in the Anabaptist wares; a Renaissance painted dish had warped in firing leaving it with a distinct dip on the rim (see plate 17). Normally this would have been rejected^ yet one in the Koerner collection (#514) had survived. The potters determined that the warping happened in the second firing after the dish had been painted and "somebody" decided that the painting might have been more important than the imperfect form -- the painting style of the time certainly ignored the form (Wilson

6There is no reference to the origin of the albarelli form in Rudolf Drey's definitive work Apothecary Jars but Professor John Norris, professor emeritus of the department of History of Medicine at the University of British Columbia suggested that the typical albarelli shape was derived from sections of bamboo used to transport drugs and spices from Indonesia to Persia, where this shape was imitated c. fourteenth century (personal communication, 1991).
7 Dr. Jiri Pajer, Czechoslovakia, has suggested that there was no difference between the shapes of vessels made for home use and those made for sale (those in the Koerner collection were all made for sale). The same craftsmen made both - the difference lay in the glazing and decorative motifs (personal communication, 1991).
8 No warped painted dishes were found in any of the museum collections that were researched. Also, no reference to warped dishes were located in the literature. From this, it is concluded that the cost of producing the painterly ware was so high that a warped dish would have been unacceptable.
1987:39) -- or perhaps the piece was sold at a lower price and whoever bought it treasured it as a normally unobtainable heirloom. The dish warped because the potter did not succeed in "his management of the fire" but it was a conscious act that ensured its survival. Whether this was motivated by aesthetics or economics remains unknown. However it was agreed that the fact of survival was important enough to single out this particular dish for special attention in the gallery. The paintings on ceramics vary enormously both in quality and iconography. At this early stage of investigation the recognizable subject matter was noted: scenes from the Classics, religious themes, heraldry, scenery and architecture, flora and fauna, genre scenes, and symbols which seemed to be related to trades or medicine. There were also unidentified subjects, some of which appeared to allegorical and/or mythical (see plates 18-19).

Each piece in the collection was also touched, tapped, lifted and smelled. This constant contact and resultant familiarity contributed to the development of a visual literacy which enabled a basic aesthetic criticism. This text-free analysis resulted in the provisional inclusion of some objects, noted for their aesthetic singularity, in the conceptual framework that had started to be developed during the designer/curator research journey. The acquisition and use of visual literacy is not presented as an absolute model of investigation, rather as a curatorial construct underpinned with technical knowledge which initiate the bridging between the passion for objects and the objective analysis of objects. Once an experienced curator has established a relationship with a collection, each piece becomes identifiable by its own distinct attributes. From here, research concentrated on comparing the collection with pieces in Sotheby and

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9 Illustrations of this piece were used to demonstrate the technology of tin-glazing.
10 Tin glaze has a smooth surface - any colours added after firing will create bumps on the surface.
11 An ear was developed for the distinctive sound made when tin glaze ware was tapped. The sound changes when the piece is cracked or has been repaired.
12 The weight of a vessel is related to the amount of clay used in construction. The thickness of the walls, the size of the opening, ease of access to contents, volume, weight when full, location of centre of gravity, and vessel stability, can provide clues to function.
13 The paint on newly restored pieces leaves an odour that sometimes can be detected.
Christie auction catalogues and illustrations in literature published in French, German, Italian, Hungarian, Czechoslovakian and English. These findings were then compared with the notations in the collector's catalogue and the archival records associated with acquisition. This process is summarised in fig 4. From this research it was possible to confirm the age and provenance of approximately 50% of the collection.

![Figure 4. Research Methodology: Initial investigation of collection](image)

5.2. MODEL OF INVESTIGATION - CONNOISSEURSHIP

The objective of validating the total collection prior to the formulation of possible exhibition related themes was hampered by the dearth of Canadian ceramics scholars or comparable collections. Also, the collector did not see the necessity of validation: "You [the curator] were being put under the academic pressure from Koerner - you started questioning things and he was not receptive to his collection being questioned...so you came under his magnifying glass. He couldn't understand why you were doing work when as far as he was concerned the information already existed" (Watson, personal communication, 1992). The risk of offending the collector was mitigated by his desire for European experts to agree that his "was a good collection" (see table 2). This

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14 This was made possible by the availability in Vancouver of an excellent private collection of books, journals and magazines on European ceramics.
Plate 15. Stoneware tankard, c.1600-1650 (Cg144)

Plate 16. Pharmacy jar (albarelli), maiolica, Italy, 1700s. The indentations facilitated handling when jars were lined up on shelf. This context was not evoked by simple description (Ce325).

Plate 17. Warped dish, maiolica, Italy, c.1530. The rim would have warped during firing. This imperfection was overlooked in a time when decoration took precedence over form (Ce252).
Plate 18. Stove tile, tin-glaze earthenware. 1530-1540. Allegory to the sense of smell (Cg103)

Plate 19. Stove tile, tin-glaze earthenware. 1530-1540. Allegory to the sense of sight (Cg102)
necessitated a research trip to visit the curators of European collections, who were both scholars and connoisseurs, and their collections, most of which were held in storage.\(^{15}\)

The combination of the subjective nature of visual literacy and qualitative analysis of the collection with the tenets of connoisseurship and further comparison with European collections was a sufficiently scientific method to establish the validity of the collection. This with the acceptance that attributions change as the process of assessment changes. European curators of decorative arts base much of their "naming" on the tenets of connoisseurship underpinned with sound historical knowledge and awareness of contemporary research.

The power of connoisseurship lies partly in the understanding of production and a study of fakes. It is also solving the endless puzzle of who, and to whom, things belong as well as being about the journey not the destination. All this adds to the debate about the value of connoisseurship as an analytical tool. Some would prefer to emphasise less aesthetic and more historical lines of questioning and others believe it provides an essential basis for all art-historical enquiry (Schmitt (ed) 1988:23). The visual literacy referred to in this chapter is related to connoisseurship in that it recognizes the combination of conscious and unconscious stimuli that trigger a response in the viewer. If the viewer has sufficient experience he or she can "effect a recognition of the artistic personality manifested in the object being examined" (Cannon-Brooks 1988:5). Although the historiography of art history shows connoisseurship to be closely bound to the concept of attribution this was not to be a focus for those interviewed about the Koerner collection. Names of potters and painters of pottery were rarely recorded so the emphasis was placed on discovering where the pieces rested on the dimension of time and place.

The model of investigation was constructed with elements identified by connoisseurs as being important to the validation process (see fig 5). The relationship

\(^{15}\) The one exception was the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.
between curators and connoisseurs, who are also curators, is similar to that between the curator and the collector. There is an initial determining of level of knowledge -- the language of the connoisseur is encoded, vague and knowledgeable. This code is either totally understood because the receiver has access to the same level of information or it remains untranslated because the receiver does not have possession of the knowledge: "That is a very unusual piece. I think it's so unusual, it's probably alright" (Mallet)^\ref{note16}, "This is not Haban - another group, much later" (Kybalova); "Quite astonishing - a very late date for this type" (Schnyder). First, the connoisseurs' ownership of the codes was established, and then their recognition as "teachers" was counterbalanced by the curator's ownership of visual literacy, all of which when combined supplied the detail necessary to position the object(s) in time and place: "What is the back of this like?" (Mallet) "It has a yellow glaze" (Mayer) "That's probably just the effect of a clear glaze on the body...so it's probably alright" (Mallet). This relationship was strengthened by a mutual questioning of the original cataloguer's assertions: "This is not sixteenth century, the heraldry did not look like that" (Schnyder) "Why do you think the cataloguer put such an early date?" (Mayer) "Probably because that was what it said in the auction catalogue when he bought it" (Schnyder). Once this alliance was formed the anonymous 'distant' cataloguer became the target for criticism and the curator and connoisseur became allies in their 'quest for truth.'

All the connoisseurs' analysis began with the presumption that the objects were in fact tin-glaze earthenware, stoneware or lead-glaze high relief ware, modelled, moulded or wheel-thrown. The word 'presumption' is used to signify the reliance placed on the curator's presentation of the technical attributions - photographs are not the "real thing" but were useful at this initial stages of analysis as a recall mechanism. Normally the connoisseur would examine the object to confirm the technology - this process is named

\footnote{The experts contacted, their institutions and data collecting methodology are listed on table 1.}
"Technical factors" in figure 5. As well, technical factors can include object-specific analysis. The lid and body should have the same themes and the glazes should be the same. If the lid is loose, it may not be the original" (Chilton personal communication, February 1990)^7.

Once questions pertaining to technology were answered, or raised, aspects of each object's shape, colour and decoration were analysed. The shape of an object can be a useful indicator of function to an anthropology curator, but the connoisseurs' interested lay more in the analysis of shape as part of the previously referred to 'endless puzzle': "the most crucial thing about plates is the profile. If it's got a straight profile then I would say Bristol - the shape is flat on the bottom and straight up on the sides ...the London ones have a distinctive "S" shape" (Archer personal communication, Dec. 1989); sometimes the language was ambiguous "it has the gentle shape of Haban" (Kybalova, personal communication, 1990) and sometimes with no apparent basis "the shape can be attributed to Hanau and some can have a Dutch attribution^13 (Horvath, personal communication, 1989).

The ambiguity of language and the subjectivity of visual literacy was carefully considered when discussing the colours of glazes and paints. Colour is "seen" through the screen of language that permits naming about a dozen colours within ordinary usage^19 (Maquet 1986:43). Variations on these colours are achieved by combining the colours and adding culturally encoded precursors^20. "I'd say London or Brislington depending on...

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^7Meredith Chilton is curator at the George Gardiner Museum of Ceramic Arts in Toronto.

^8 During later meetings (1990) with Michael Archer at the Victoria and Albert Museum, he explained that many pieces attributed to Hanau are now being re-attributed to Delft in response to recent archaeological evidence.

^9 In his book The Aesthetic Experience, Jacques Maquet also refers to the Bureau of Standards where a system of designating colours permits the naming of 167 colours. He also refers to a system which starts with six primary colours (blue, green, red, yellow, magenta, and cyan) that can be combined by addition or subtraction to divide the spectrum. (1986:43)

^20 The Canadian Heritage Information Network (CHIN) system used in Canadian Museum cataloguing attempts to avoid the subjectivity inherent in the description of colour by allocating combinations of primary colours - the most prominent being listed first. This system was used to catalogue the Koerner
the colour of the actual glaze - it depends on how bluish the white is. If it is a duck egg blue, quite an extreme colour, then it is probably a Brislington (because nobody else did it in quite that way). If it is white, but is slightly bluish it could be either of them" (Archer, personal communication, 1989). Archer had been working from a colour xerox of a photograph so the colour balance had shifted significantly. It was therefore important for both the connoisseur and curator to agree on the "way they saw" this colour "duck egg blue" in order for Archer's analysis to be corroborated: "to say we use the word "blue" to mean 'what all these shades of colour have in common' by itself says nothing more than that we use the "blue" in all these cases" (Wittgenstein 1958:135). The method used to apply colour, the combination of colours and/or the thickness of the paint were analysed collection and has never proved to be a useful identifying tool because of the lack of unanimity in the perception of colour.
"The painting is not in relief is it? (Mallet), "no" (Mayer). "The classic date for these so called oak leaf jars is 1530-40 but that's for the raised blue ones. This is peculiar in that the blue is flat, which does occur on later ones but also you've got that ochre colour which is not usual with those...could conceivably be a sort of late sixteenth century of early seventeenth replacement of a set." (Mallet), "this combination of colours: yellow, manganese, and blue you find on the classic fragments excavated at Brislington" (Archer).

The decoration on some pieces in the collection aroused some interest as a device to occasionally identify the artist but more often to confirm a date or to challenge the authenticity of painted pieces. This required a knowledge of the imagery, style, and range of painting competence found in a particular time period "That looks bad enough to be by Negroponte...He was a very bad and prolific painter of the nineteenth century" (Mallet). "This, I think is a nineteenth century version. The painting is a little too painstaking - and I don't know if there is a windmill in there anywhere but if there is, it's a sign that it's a nineteenth or twentieth century piece. The Dutch became self-conscious about windmills [at that time]...There is a tendency too, to do this kind of decoration where they fit in every little bit and make it frightfully fine to show what a wonderful bit of work it is (Archer). "The apostrophe [in the inscription on an albarello] is a little suspicious because it is how a modern Italian would do it rather than a Renaissance one. Generally you don't get inscription much before 1510" (Wilson). Each of these pronouncements were pieces of each object's personal mosaic, there is seldom one single attribute that will confirm an theory:

all these things derive from other things, so that nothing is completely alone. Everything is connected with something, before and after. And that means it has a long historical dimension, and...a relatively broad dimension in its time...It's very interesting to find the position of the object (quoted in Schmitt M. (ed) 1988:132).

The range of decorations on the pieces in the collection could be grouped according to subject matter (see fig 6) but each subject was not necessarily confined to
any specific technological type. For example, images from the bible appeared on pieces throughout the collection: Adam and Eve on a Delft plate, John the Baptist on an Italian Renaissance Wall plaque, the expulsion of Hagar on a stove tile, symbols of the crucifixion on a Haban vessel. Whereas the connoisseurs paid some attention to the subject matter “this one is an allegory for the ear” (Schnyder). “This would seem to be Christ appearing to Thomas and that one is Christ teaching in the temple” (Mallet), their focus was on the technique of painting “It looks just a little bit thin and dry in the painting. I would be worried about that” (Mallet). “Those (tulips) certainly seem to be definitely English rather than continental” (Archer).

![Diagram]

**Fig 6. Decorative themes identified on objects in the Koerner collection**

Much of the imagery was identified with the use of Art History literature, personal knowledge and through consultation with scholars in the fields of Classics, Renaissance studies, Heraldry, History of Medicine. The area of the collection which contained the most consistent type of imagery, the Hafnerware tiles, was organised iconographically in the exhibition not as a passive reflector of culture but rather as a post-

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21 All literature sources were made accessible to the museum visitor by being recorded on the catalogue sheets in the data books held in the Koerner Gallery. This gave the museum visitor the opportunity to question attributions.

22 Scholars consulted at the University of British Columbia: Dr. Hector Williams (Classics Department), Dr. Mark Vessey (Renaissance Studies, English Department), Dr. J. Norris (Professor emeritus, Department of History of Medicine). Also consulted: Robert D. Watt - Chief Herald of Canada.
modern organisation wherein it is recognised that images contain codes which were understood by the makers and users and which indicate the existence of set of rules that may not be accessible today (see Ardies 1990:13, Bourdieu 1968:589-612,)

Occasionally the combination of available knowledge was not sufficient to positively identify an object:

"God knows what that is. It could be anything...it could be modern Italian, modern Spanish...the shape doesn't look particularly old. It doesn't tie with anything I can think of...The shape is so basic, the handle is so basic that it could have been thrown anywhere. It's the kind of underworld of pottery that you would find in lead glaze or tin glaze right across Europe and used as a handy thing. There's nothing to go by" (Archer 1989)

These objects were included in the Koemer Gallery as an interactive device which communicated the fact that curators are not all-knowledgeable and that museums are not necessarily places of revelation (see fig 7). This admittance is a small step toward the deconstructing of the museum's image - the embodiment of unquestionable ownership of knowledge:

**Sometimes it is very difficult to identify where Central European pottery was manufactured. First, there were the itinerant potters, not only trading wares but also transporting moulds, designs, techniques and sometimes even clay from location to location.**

Political boundaries were changed by events such as the Turkish invasions and, later, by the growth of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The potters responded by catering to the tastes of the new lords.

Religious proselytization in the 16th and 17th centuries compelled Italian potters to move to Central and Western Europe, taking the tin-glazing technique with them.

The move to mass production in the 18th century lured some potters from Germany, France and Italy to Central Europe. All fashionable wares were copied regardless of their origin and even the marks were faked.

**Economics, religion, politics and technology have all helped obscure the origin of the above vessels - for the moment.**

Fig 7. Label written for Central European case in Koerner Gallery admitting a curatorial lack of knowledge.
The validation process continued with the comparative analysis of the Koerner Collection with other collections in Europe (as summarised in table #1) and with available literature (as noted in bibliography). The analysis is never final and is subject to continued reassessment, as is all scholarly endeavour (Lochnan 1986, Schmitt (ed) 1988).

Some subjective themes, or perhaps foci, for the exhibition "storyline" were suggested by the "connoisseur" model of investigation -- rarity and aesthetics -- but given the premise that all the collection was to be shown and editing was not an option, this approach could only be an aspect rather than a focus of the exhibition. Selected pieces were shown individually in feature cases which together served as a metaphor for the Masterpiece Gallery (see plates 20-21).

5.3. MODEL OF INVESTIGATION - ETHNO-ARCHAEOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

Once the collection was validated and attributed it was possible to consider alternative models of investigation which could provide frameworks for the storyline (Hodder 1989:250-269). As an anthropologist it was important to ultimately make connections between the objects and the cultures that made them, but first it was necessary to group the objects in some accessible way that would effect those connections. Using a standard archaeological technique the collection was organised by technologies which were then clustered by date (see fig 8). The data indicated that the majority of the tin-glaze earthenware was manufactured between the 16th and 18th centuries, the majority of the lead-glaze ware in the 16th century and stoneware was concentrated in the 17th century. The three technologies were then organised by geographic origin and as figure 8 shows all the technologies present in the Koerner

Parenthesis around "storyline" is used to indicate a separation from the usual linear, progressive type of storyline adopted in most exhibitions.
Plate 20. Pieces selected for individual attention in the Koerner Ceramics Gallery.

The majority of the pieces displayed in these single cases were selected by the collector.

Plate 21. Pieces selected for individual attention in the Masterpiece Gallery.

The majority of the pieces displayed in these single cases were selected by museum staff.
Collection were located mainly in Central Europe, only tin-glaze demonstrated a wider geographic distribution.

![Distribution of technologies present in the Koerner collection](image)

**Figure 8.** Distribution of technologies present in the Koerner collection (tin-glaze, lead-glaze, stoneware) over time

![Spatial distribution of technologies in Koerner Collection](image)

**Figure 9.** Spatial distribution of technologies in Koerner Collection

The whole collection, regardless of technology, was then organised both temporally and spatially (fig 11). The results clearly illustrates that the majority of the collection is from Central Europe and dates between the 17th and eighteenth centuries. It also shows a smaller concentration in the 16th century in Southern Europe. The three charts demonstrate a clustering of technologies within time/place dimensions. The
addition of the social history associated with the journey of tin-glaze, as summarised in figure 10, was used as a determinant for the potential organisation of that portion of the collection. This organisation was arrived at independent of the collector's rationale and yet, upon analysis, it was clear that the two were compatible: the collector started his collection with the wares produced by the Anabaptist sect, situated them on the temporal continuum and then traced the Anabaptists' journeys back to Italy and forwards to other parts of Europe. The curator started with Italy where the earlier tin-glaze was found and then traced the technology forward to the Anabaptists and then on to the rest of Europe.

Figure 11. Distribution of all of Koerner Collection over time and space

The collector and curator had different "ways of seeing" but what they "saw" was similar, albeit with different emphasis. The history of the journey of tin glaze technology and its relationship to the Koerner collection was further researched and it is summarised as follows:

There are nearly five hundred pieces of tin-glazed earthenware in the Koerner collection dating from the late fifteenth century to the mid nineteenth century. As a group they illustrate the history of tin-glazed wares in Europe, beginning in Italy and spreading north to Switzerland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Germany, France, Holland and England. Although the collection is concentrated in Europe, tin-glazing can be traced back a
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**Figure 10: Research Methodology - Koerner collection organised within historical framework.**
further five centuries to Baghdad. This posed two questions "If this earlier history was not included would there be a risk of the story being presented as complete when in fact the beginning would be missing?" and "Was it necessary to include the earlier history in order to comprehend the rest of the story?"

Tin glazes were first used in decorating brick panels by the Assyrians after 900 B.C. (Rice 1987:12) and the knowledge was lost until it was rediscovered by Islamic potters in the 9th century AD when it was probably made for the Caliph's court in Baghdad24 (Caiger-Smith 1973:23). The city of Baghdad was founded in 762 near the beginning of the Abbadid Dynasty (750-1258) which ruled an area stretching from northwestern India, Turkestan, and Persia; through Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt; to North Africa and Spain (Osborne 1984: 585-593). Research indicated that there was only one complete vessel from Baghdad in a private Canadian collection so inclusion was not possible.25 Instead, the depth of history was indicated in a map (see fig 12).

Early forms of tin glaze ware found in Baghdad were imitative of Chinese ware and tin glaze successfully simulated the outward characteristics of porcelain, its whiteness and translucency. Tin glaze was never popular in China because the Chinese potter already possessed the secret of porcelain technology as early as the Northern and Sui dynasties (late sixth century A.D.) (Rice 1987:16).26 The secret was rediscovered in Europe in the early eighteenth century (Charleston 1981:10).

The cobalt blue which later became one of the prime colours used in the decoration of Italian Maiolica was first used in Baghdad in the 9th century AD. At this

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24 Harun-al-Rashid was Caliph from 786-809 (Caiger-Smith 1973)
25 Loans are not normally included in permanent galleries because there is a presumption that the gallery will be in existence for at least ten years and most museums are not willing to part with objects for that long.
26 Most literature points to the T'ang dynasty (A.D 619-906) as the earliest manufacturing dates. This is based on the recovery of Chinese porcelains from outside China. Excavations in the region of Anyang and Xian in northern China have yielded white porcelains which would indicate an earlier date of late sixth century (Li Guozhen and Zhang Xiqiu 1986:217-36)
Figure 12. The map prepared for the Koerner Gallery to illustrate the chronology of the historical journey of tin-glaze earthenware from Mesopotamia, through North Africa, Spain to Italy and then the rest of Europe. This movement of tin glaze echoes the movement of the potters.
time cobalt blue was not being used anywhere else. It is thought that the Chinese learned of the possible stability of this pigment from Islamic potters (Caiger-Smith: 24-25). The pure cobalt pigment, called "Mohammedan blue", was imported into China from Baghdad during the period of the Mongol Yuan dynasty (A.D. 1280-1367) and used for under glaze decoration in the manufacture of porcelain; the local cobalt in China was contaminated with manganese and apparently did not fire very well (Rice 1987:17). Once in possession of the cobalt blue the Chinese potter laid the foundation of the blue-on-white tradition that persists to this day (Medley 1976:177). This blue and white tradition was most prominent in the Delftware so a Chinese Ming dynasty (13 -1644) blue and white kendi (spouted jar) of the type exported from China was displayed with the Delftware pieces as a historical referent (see fig 13):

![Blue and white decoration on delftware is directly derived from Chinese porcelain of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644).](image)

Two Portuguese ships laden with Chinese blue-and-white Ming porcelain were captured by the Dutch East India Company in 1604 and brought to Amsterdam. These imports with their superb porcelain bodies and new forms of decoration gained instant popularity (see example above). This stimulated the Delft factories to produce wares of a similar type and the popularity of blue-and-white ceramics continued throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and remains unabated today.

Figure 13. Sample of label in Delftware case.

The tin glaze technique travelled from Baghdad to Cairo, Egypt when Ahmad ibn Tulun was appointed governor. He demonstrated his loyalty to the artistic style of his homeland by importing craftsmen from Baghdad who brought the tin glaze technique with them (Caiger-Smith 1973:30-31, Charleston 1981:76-77, Osborne 1984:590). Many potters continued to settle in Egypt, When Cairo fell to the Fatimids (969-1171), a

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27 Cobalt was one of the few colours available to the potter. As a pigment of mineral origin it was able to withstand the high firing temperatures needed for porcelain (Drey 1978:26)
28 Potters settled specifically in Fostat, a town situated a few miles south of Cairo, which became the centre of pottery manufacture and is now an important archaeological site (Rice 1987:119).
dynasty founded in Tunisia, pottery made great progress and lustre-painted ware became the most famous luxury pottery of its time. Painted decoration, which included human figures, fantastic birds and Christian subject were painted in a proficient and refined style (Charleston 1981:79). Archaeologists have found traces of Fatimid kilns at Fostat where the Fatimid potters lived alongside other craftsmen and traders.29

Cairo, under the rule of the Fatimids, was a free city which attracted money and skills that had previously been drained away to Baghdad. Their claim to be the true leaders of Islam had put them in opposition to the rest of Islam who regarded them as heretics.30 Undeterred, the Fatimids looked to the West, especially Spain, for commercial, cultural and military connections (Caiger-Smith 1973: 31,40). When the Fatimids fell in 1171 many craftsmen migrated to Spain taking their skills and knowledge of lustre production with them. There, they encountered craftsmen from Persia and Syria and the subsequent interaction of the cultures of Islam and Christendom resulted in the creation of the lustred tin-glaze Hispano Moresque ware (Charleston 1981:139, Hughes 1971, Hyde-Jocelin 1927). The demand for this luxurious ware was great and it was from Spain that the technique of tin glaze pottery spread to Italy via Majorca 31(Caiger-Smith 1973:53). This journey was recorded in the exhibition storyline by including one Spanish lustre-ware dish as part of the introduction to the Italian case. Also included was one Isnik dish that symbolised the Turkish wares which were also entering Italy by the sixteenth century.32 The distinctive tulip design on Isnik wares were so enthusiastically adopted by the Delft potters that tulips are popularly believed to have originated in Holland rather than Turkey. Sometimes an exhibition can effect change by offering evidence that questions beliefs that are popular but unfounded. This was achieved by

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29 The majority of the pottery excavated at Fostat was the more common type with a coloured transparent lead glaze (Caiger-Smith 1973:32)
30 This claim was based on their supposed descent from Fatimid the daughter of the Prophet. (Caiger-Smith 1973:31, Charleston 1981:76)
31 It was from the island of Majorca that tin-glaze wares received their Italian name of Maiolica.
32 Isnik was the main ceramic producing centre in Turkey.
placing an Iznik dish in the Delftware case alongside the Dutch version and presuming the visitor would not necessarily know that this was an odd thing to do, there was an accompanying explanatory label (fig 14)\textsuperscript{33}:

\begin{quote}
\textbf{English tin-glazed earthenware of the mid-seventeenth century is characterised by the dishes known as “blue dash chargers”}. The main subjects found on chargers were Adam and Eve (see example above), reigning monarchs, and tulip designs (see example above). Tulip and other flower designs were probably copied from Turkish Iznik pottery which had been imported into western Europe as early as the sixteenth century (see example above). It also brought a new range of colours and an easy painting style which ignored the contours of the dish. These influences can be seen in both Dutch and English delftware.
\end{quote}

\begin{center}
\textbf{Fig 14. Sample of label in Delftware case}
\end{center}

The sense of journey and place is recognised elsewhere in the gallery by the inclusion of maps in each section which situate the potteries in their individual country and their country within Europe. Thus, although technology/time/place were proposed as the main organising principles in the gallery and the subsumption of connoisseurship and iconography has already been noted, the anthropological venue precipitated an investigation of the collection within cultural contexts, identified initially within a functional paradigm (see fig 15). The traditional functionalist approach \textit{presumes that} "Material culture is an indispensable accessory of every single aspect [of a culture], every pursuit and institution" and that "Material culture should not be studied in isolation from other aspects of the culture nor from each other .... anthropologists seek to study the interaction between objects and associated ideas and behaviour" (Malinowski 1926:138). This approach was not possible for the Koerner collection because the collection was never intended to illustrate cultural links and therefore was fragmentary in its "cultural" nature.

The question asked was whether or not this aspect of the socio-economic subsystem - the context function or use of the ceramics - was a useful organising principle.

\textsuperscript{33}Delft, the city, was in the Netherlands. "Dutch" and "Holland" are used for clarity.
As can be clearly seen in figure 16, three broad functions are represented in the collection: domestic, religious and medical. Of these, the majority of objects were grouped in the domestic category.

Figure 15. Initial organising principle proposed for the Koerner Gallery

A further analysis of the "domestic" function, summarised in figure 17, revealed that a significant number (71%) of objects were engaged in the activities associated with food and drink and the majority of these were made of tin-glaze earthenware. The centrality of food preparation and consumption and the cultural definition of food in the construction of the social order has been considered by both functionalist and structuralist anthropologists. Jack Goody, an anthropologist, links the acquisition and consumption of food with the mode of production of material goods. He says that "the analysis of cooking has to be related to the distribution of power and authority in the economic

34 The eighteen pieces of stoneware were associated with drink.
sphere, that is to the system of class stratification and its political ramifications" (1982:37). Carla Sinopoli, an archaeologist, says "The involvement of vessels in the highly ritualised and meaning-laden food systems of a culture contributes both to the conservatism of vessel forms and to the assignment of symbolic significance to vessels and their use" (1991:122). Both of these points of view are based on the study of single cultural groups, and the fragments of the many European cultures represented in the Koerner collection which did not share a single spatial/temporal environment precluded the successfully utilisation of these interesting linkages in the exhibition.

Twenty six per cent of the collection is associated with comfort, that is, tiles that were originally intended to be integral parts of heating stoves - all of these were made of lead-glaze earthenware. Three per cent of the collection were categorised as "other" and included objects used in the home: ink wells, basins, letter rack, decorative figures and a jewellery box.

Figure 16. Functional analysis of Koerner collection

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The religious objects included holy water fonts and religious figures. Given the functional premise of this analysis non-religious objects decorated with religious themes were not included as data. Religious objects were located within all the technological parameters but were not in enough numbers to organise into distinct units. The medical objects were associated with the pharmacy and consisted of albarelli - drug jars (Kremers & Urdang 1946). All of the albarelli were tin-glazed so they could be organised within that technology, and most were Italian (90%) so they were exhibited close enough together within two display cases and could have an explanatory label. An analysis of the data confirmed that the purely functionalist approach was either too obvious, as with the preponderance of drinking and eating vessels, that it became generic, or too ambiguous, as with the scattered nature of religious and pharmaceutical wares, that it became obscured.

36 Albarelli were also used to store cosmetics or preserves rather than medicines. Most of Koerner's albarelli have drug labels - and the few that do not (4) could have been used for non-medicinal purposes. However the sample is too small to make any real difference to the relationship between the identified functions, and it is known that uninscribed jars were used by pharmacies (Drey 1978:29)
Graphics and text could have been used to illustrate some cultural links but these would have competed for space with the ceramics and the installation team at the Museum of Anthropology agreed with the concept that "the starting point for any gallery is the collection of artifacts that it will contain" (Royal Ontario Museum 1976:85) and the measurable success of that gallery will depend upon "the extent to which [it] enhances the artifacts and enables the visitor to perceive and appreciate them" (ibid). The observable function was implied in the tombstone label associated with each object and was subsumed under technology as an organising principle (fig 18).

Tankard, 1590-1600
Moravia, Czechoslovakia
Cat.no. Ch86

Figure 18, Example of 'tombstone' label

If observable function was to be subsumed the next challenge was to decide whether a ceramic's embodiment of "larger traditions and cultural trends" (Crew and Sims 1991:172) could be illustrated by the Koerner collection. The fact that the major technology represented in the Koerner collection (tin-glaze) was transported throughout Europe suggested an investigation of factors that may have influenced ceramic stability and change. Although it is appropriate to use an anthropological framework when investigating artifacts as responses to and reflections of socio-cultural changes (Reynolds and Stott 1987) it was the fields of ethno-archaeology and pottery analysis that provided the most usable analytical tools (Rice 1984, Kolb 1988, Thompson 1991, Watson 1991):

- Environmental and human resources: it was presumed that stability depended on the availability of potters, appropriate clay and kiln fuel. Change would be introduced
if the clays or fuels were exhausted (no relevant examples were found\(^3\)\(^2\)), or if the potters were resettled (as with the Anabaptists), or if there was evidence of environmental change or natural disaster (no examples were found).

- Efficiency and its relationship to stability: change could be induced if a level of acceptable efficiency was disrupted by the introduction of a new technology. For example, the manufacturing of cheaper mass produced wares caused the demise of tin-glaze production in England and the importation of cheap porcelain closed the pottery at Holitsch.

- Diet: this is associated with how food tastes and there was evidence that stability was associated with the desirable taste imparted by tin-glaze earthenware\(^3\) (Wilson 1987) - the predecessors being wood and pewter. However, porcelain would also have been associated with an equally desirable taste so, in time, this attribute was not a stability factor.

- Social interaction: associated with dining this changed when new foods were introduced which required different, or more dishes. Goldthwaite (1989), an economist, has proposed a theory that the popularity and stability of tin-glaze ware was related to economic changes due to the influx of different foods and a population decrease\(^3\). This change predicated the popularity of tin-glaze ware and although Koerner's collection reflected this popularity it did not reflect the change that caused it.

\(^3\)There is evidence that the need for vast amounts of wood required to feed the stoneware kilns of Germany created much friction between potters and foresters as far back as the sixteenth century. Also current day sensitivity towards environmental issues resulted in the 1983 closing of the last operating wood fired salt glaze kiln in Germany (Lowenstein 1986).

\(^3\)A traveller on a journey through Tuscany in 1581 said "considering the fineness of this earthenware which is so white and clean it seems like porcelain, I found it so cheap that it seems to me really pleasanter for the table than the pewter of France." (quoted in Wilson 1987:148-149)

\(^3\)Goldthwaite has made connections between the plague which significantly reduced the population in fifteenth century Italy, the subsequent decreased need for subsistence farming and increase in the variety of foods able to grown. These factors plus the importation of spices via the silk route laid the way for a more varied cuisine which moved away from the central all-purpose dish. More dishes were needed to accommodate the variety of food and subsequently the ritual of eating changed (Goldthwaite 1989).
Ritual behaviour: ensured the production of church-related wares and stability is demonstrated in the religious themes found throughout the collection which reaffirmed group identity (the biblical references on the Hafner tiles). However, the appearance of religious themes on Anabaptist wares reflected change because the Anabaptists did not allow the inclusion of religious, animal, or human imagery on their ceramics.

Value systems remained stable as long as there was a "closed" community orientation, sanctions against innovation and group identification with forms, ritual functions, decorations. Again, the only group that reflected these value systems were the Anabaptists whose work remained stable and unchanged as long as they could maintain their own closed communes. Once these were 'opened', form, function and decoration changed. Stability is also associated with the status of potters and market demand. Because potters were generally low status they have not become a preferred subject for historical discourse. However, knowledge of the techniques of tin glaze earthenware is based mainly on one publication and information from here was used to introduce the potter in the exhibition storyline. From this investigation it was clear that factors associated with stability and change helped to tell the story of tin-glaze but did not significantly affect the other technologies, lead-glaze ware and stoneware. Tin-glaze then, was presented as a story and organised as a series of intuitive typologies which reflected actual modes or patterns in the data "and in doing so [reflected] to a greater or lesser extent, conscious decisions of the artifacts' producers" (Sinopoli 1991:44). There is no absolute formula but the consciously subjective act of reconstructing decontextualised objects to produce these "type clusters" which shared form, decoration

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40In the seventeenth century the Anabaptists communes started to break apart under the pressure of the Catholics. Once the rules of manufacture could no longer be enforced previously forbidden imagery started to appear (Hofer 1955, Wiebe 1977).

41There has been some work done on potter's guilds as parts of larger studies but not enough to apply to all the ceramic groupings in the Koerner collection. (Wilson T. 1987, Goldthwaite R, 1989, Caiger-Smith, 1973, Kaufmann G, 1979)

42This was a three-part treatise written by Cipriano Piccolpasse of Castel Durante, Italy around 1557, entitled Tre libri dell'arte del vasaio (The Three Books of the Potter's Art)
and/or production technique was the decision of the curator. This organisation principle was echoed in the rest of the gallery. For example figure 19 illustrates how the tiles were organised by subject matter:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imagery</th>
<th>Technique</th>
<th>Cat.No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>Monochrome</td>
<td>Old Testament: Cg110, Cg131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Polychrome</td>
<td>New Testament: Cg97, Cg98*, Cg112, Cg122.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>New Testament: Cg120, Cg118, Cg122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allegorical</td>
<td>Polychrome</td>
<td>Cg113*, Cg40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soldiers/Royalty</td>
<td>Polychrome</td>
<td>Cg99*, Cg100*, Cg101, Cg108, Cg132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portraits/Royalty</td>
<td>Polychrome</td>
<td>Cg266*, Cg106, Cg116*, Cg112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts/Nature</td>
<td>Monochrome</td>
<td>Cg123, Cg151, Cg152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Polychrome</td>
<td>Cg115a*, Cg115b, Cg121</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 19. Example of Intuitive Typology used to create clusters in the Hafnerware Tile Case. (*= pieces selected by curator for special attention by designer.).

The foregoing discussion illustrates the layers of complexity involved in the analysis of a collection in order to develop an organising principle for a permanent exhibition. To this point the research remained sections of a mosaic yet to be formed. The questions were "what information should be included?", "what directions should be taken?" The designer agreed that "An exhibition cannot be all things to all ideas - and if one decides that it is going in a certain direction - to try and take it in a variety of directions then it ends up doing none of the directions well" (Watson, personal communication, 1992)

If the artifact is to maintain its primacy, and this was a prescriptor for the new gallery, then contextualising, a technique that can incorporate a large amount of information, could be an anathema capable of reducing the artifact to "prop". The question therefore, in the Koerner gallery, was whether to contextualise or not, bearing in mind that the Great Hall was seen to be contextualised and the new gallery was to reflect, or be in concert with, the rest of the museum. This question was to be part of the
ongoing dialogue between the curator and designer and contained the strands of theories formulated by Boas and Pitt Rivers. Having determined a collection's historic context and how it relates to change one final question was posed - "what does this artifact mean in this time and space?" It was hypothesised that some consideration of this important question could lead to an understanding of how to create or reveal relevance between the object and the viewer.

5.4. SUMMARY

The implications of this museifugal research for the case study were many. First, it was interesting to note that the visual literacy developed during early encounters with the collection produced two components to the storyline: emphasis on individual pieces and aesthetics. The analysis of information gathered indicated that a selection had to be made, otherwise the "conversation" in the exhibition would not be intelligible. Analysis of the collector's rationale, discussed in chapter seven, revealed some compelling reasons why his rationale could function as an important factor in the organisation of information. Data gathered from the models of investigation based on tenets of ethno-archaeological enquiry suggested the use of the technology/geography/time matrix as an organising principle: data associated with use was not conclusive enough to be included as an organising principle so it was subsumed under technology; connoisseur-driven models of investigation produced levels of subjectivity that would have been difficult to articulate so the conclusions were included as non-text intuitive devices in the gallery, text would be directed to technology and social history. One of the strengths of the exhibition message lay in its apparent simplicity but accessible complexity. It was not possible to display all the information gathered but it was possible to make it accessible, all the knowledge accumulated during the analysis of the collection was recorded in the catalogue sheets which are available in the gallery. It is this accessible complexity where knowledge can be
questioned that may lead to change. Within the space of a few years we may cease to think as we had been thinking up till then, and may look at the information presented in the Koerner Gallery and rethink the management of its perspective.
CHAPTER 6 - DESIGN AND CURATORSHIP OF EXHIBITIONS.

6.1. INTRODUCTION

Exhibitions are not only about objects, but also about collaboration, contemplation and judgment - that is, they are about people first and then they are about objects. This chapter rests on the hypothesis that the type of collaborative framework constructed between the curator and designer will determine the measurable success of an exhibition - success being the positive public reaction to the exhibition. This collaboration can be seen either as a struggle between two cultures — the curator's shaped by the authenticity of artifacts, the designer's shaped by expectations of "a commercially-conditioned public" (Heron 1990:49-56) — or as a co-operative effort which creates a sense of unity wherein the design techniques reinforce the curatorial intent and together they co-author exhibitions which are a powerful combination of visual experience with thought content.

The curator's disciplinary training provides theoretical stances and a language of discourse which can serve as distancing mechanisms between curatorship and design. Also, the curator is not usually trained in object-based research or how to present ideas outside the audience reached by academic/technical writing. Museum design does not have its own discipline training and those who write about exhibition design admit to inventing and borrowing language from other disciplines (Hall 1987). Because of this disparity it is argued that the interchange between the curator and the designer could be based on the development of shared sensibilities - "ways of seeing" - which transcend language: "If there is interchange between the curator and designer then the exhibit is

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1 This was apparent in the creation of alliances that happened between the curator and the collector, connoisseurs, potters.
2 This concentration on the relationship between the curator and designer is not intended to denigrate the roles of other museum professionals involved in the exhibition process. Programmers, in particular, were not involved in the process because of staff changes at the time of production. Their absence underlines the "idiosyncracies of a single case study."
3 In North America there is only one exhibition design degree programme. It was established in 1990 at the Philadelphia College of Art and Design - University of the Arts.
always better - if there is not much interchange then, in my experience, the exhibition is not successful "(Watson, personal communication, 1992).

It is important that the interaction between the designer and curator involve the sharing of information, both aesthetic and academic, in order to communicate a clear and accessible message. How this message is organised is the subject of much contemporary discourse and is a focus of this chapter. The curator establishes relationships with the objects and develops ideas about an organising principle, the designer establishes relationships with the three-dimensional informative space of the gallery. The designer and curator then have to establish mutual ground where the designer's and curator's conceptual frameworks can be shared. This shared area developed for the Koerner gallery, illustrated in figure 20, was both intellectual and sensual in its association with the organisation of the ceramics in the available space. This does not suggest advocating a sharing of all processes associated with an exhibition - it has already been demonstrated in the previous chapter that the research associated with the collection is a curatorial responsibility. It is not until this research is made available to the designer that the intellectual exchange can take place and often, this does not happen, until the curator is confident that his/her information is complete and attached to a flexible organising principle.

The importance of the designer's role in the organisation of an exhibition can be analysed in terms of whether his role in the interpretation of the exhibition is either objective or subjective. It could be argued that an objective stance would better facilitate a manipulation of form, colour and texture, unbiased by knowledge of content. This objectivity would underpin the "rightness" of the design. In contrast, if he becomes an amateur student of the subject being displayed then his subjectivity could introduce a bias
on the communication capability of his design. It is argued here that no exhibition involving the products of human endeavour can be totally unbiased, the very production of the original object was riddled with biases. It is argued further that if the designer and curator are aware of each other’s potential biases then together they could develop an objectivity based on shared knowledge. In order for the designer to contribute to the intellectual aspects of the conceptual framework he investigated the historical framework of the collection "I needed to have an understanding of what the whole thing is about - I needed to know that - I couldn't get a handle on the design until I understood" (Watson, 1992). This involvement in the communication of knowledge was at first perceived by the curator as territory-raiding but later it became clear that this knowledge facilitated a more democratic interaction between designer and curator. Further, it does suggest that the mutual ground can also become a place of shared responsibility. When responsibility is not shared the results can question the role of the museum as "moral educator [to] search for truth, to inform, to question and to provoke" (Ames 1988a:41) or
as communicator that offers "the truth of experience as we understand it" (Spalding 1992:29)

6.2. MESSAGE AND MEDIUM : EXHIBITIONS AS POLITICS

Three Canadian exhibitions that provide data supporting the crucial nature of the curator/designer collaboration are "Into The Heart of Africa" (Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto), "The Spirit Sings" (Glenbow Museum, Alberta) and "Trapline/Lifeline" (Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre, Yellowknife). All have been at the centre of much museum-related discourse in Canada and it is proposed here that their failure or success, as determined by public reaction, is directly related to the curator/designer paradigm. Of the three, only the curator of "Trapline/Lifeline" was aware of potential controversy. She, Lynette Harper, recognised that an exhibition which advocated the importance of hunting and trapping in the lives of northerners would irritate hard line animal rights activists and their committed supporters (Irving and Harper 1988:38-40). It was also recognised "that the English language is not equipped to communicate the concepts and nuances of another world view" and that "the best way to tell this story [was] to let it flow from the people themselves" (ibid. 39).

The design, storyline, selection of photographs was reviewed four times by the people featured in the exhibition and each time their suggestions altered the curatorial/design approach (Harper, 1991 lecture notes, University of British Columbia). This receptiveness of the curator and designer to input from the community resulted in an exhibition which communicated a conversation between equals. The exhibition did provoke controversy but it also "resulted in positive coverage of the exhibition and provided greater public awareness of the trapping issue" (Riewe 1990:71).

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"Into The Heart of Africa" was an exhibition which examined the lives and times of nineteenth century Canadian soldiers and missionaries in Africa and the objects they collected, and ultimately deposited in the Royal Ontario Museum. The collection was fragmentary and could not focus "on a single cultural group, a single topical theme, or any overview of the immensely complex history of the continent" (Cannizzo 1991:150). The curator wanted to use the objects and the words of the soldiers and missionaries "as an expression not only of the worldview of those who chose to make and use them but also of those who chose to collect and exhibit them" (ibid:151). The Royal Ontario Museum "maintains the position that the intellectual and thematic content of an exhibition is the curator's responsibility" (Grant 1990:79) so when the exhibition was publicly criticised for being racist, the criticism was aimed principally at the curator. The reasons for the negative response have been discussed widely (Fulford 1991, Grant 1990, Herle 1990, Nunley 1991, Ottenburg 1991) but it is argued here that the true failing of the exhibition lay in the fact that "The liberal view of the text was simply overwhelmed by the much more powerful imagery" (Fulford 1991:25). In other words, Cannizzo's curatorial concept was not communicated by the design of the exhibition suggesting that the curatorial and design conceptual frameworks did not sufficiently overlap to create a shared understanding of the objective.

"The Spirit Sings" was an exhibition intended "to present the richness, diversity and complexity of Canada's Native cultures as they were witnessed at the time of contact" (Harrison 1988b:12). The content of this exhibition was almost lost amidst the controversy created, not by the exhibition but by its sponsors - Shell Oil (Ames 1988bc, 5)Cannizzo used photographs as a mechanism to point out that the exhibition was about the past "about people and not just objects, and about interaction" (Cannizzo 1991:152). The interaction was explained in accompanying text which contained words such as "primitive" "savage" "barbarity". The photographs/graphics were large and the racist words were captured in parentheses - both of these are attention-getting devices and opened the exhibition to misinterpretation. 6Shell Oil had been drilling on land claimed by the Lubicon Indians who boycotted the Olympic Arts Festival being held in Calgary, as a protest. The exhibition was chosen because "the boycott would likely find support among the global museum community rather than the sports people who had little affinity or interest in native issues" (Harrison 1988:12)
Harrison 1988a, Phillips 1988, Simpson 1992, Trigger 1988). The six hundred and fifty artifacts were displayed as art objects which were "Intensely moving, [inspiring] profound admiration and respect, and no small measure of sadness" (Stott 1988:78). Unlike "Into the Heart of Africa" this exhibition did not focus on the collectors and their records but rather on the primacy of the object, and even though the accompanying text was "lucid, interesting and visually unobtrusive" its contents did not evoke criticism and it was not considered essential to the viewers' relationship to the exhibition. Six curators contributed to this exhibition so the designer's role was clearly one of bringing their contributions together within one design concept which enhanced the object. Information relating to the collectors was provided in a brochure. If critiques of this exhibition had not been dominated by the controversy that was taking place outside of the exhibition perhaps more attention would have been paid to the intended message which was clearly not as strong as the controversy.

The curator/designer paradigm was different for each of these exhibitions and using public response as the measure of success it would appear that the paradigm of shared knowledge only succeeded in "Trapline/Lifeline", it was designer-run at the "Spirit Sings" and curator-run at "Into The Heart of Africa". The sensitivity created in the museum community as a result of these three exhibitions resulted in a curatorial nervousness which not only carried the potential of self-censorship and, as Jeanne Cannizzaro has noted, also the possibility of exhibits "retreat[ing] to traditionalism" (1991:159). Much of the controversy created by these exhibitions would not touch the new ceramics gallery. First, the other exhibitions were about the "Other" and the ceramics gallery was about "Self" situated beside "Other" with the objective of marginalising neither. Second, the other exhibitions were mounted during a politically charged time when indigenous peoples were lobbying to tell their own stories and the

7 In Marjorie Halpin's review of "The Spirit Sings" she noted that it would have been useful to know who collected the objects and how (Culture VIII (1), 1988, 89-93)
European "...exploitation and appropriation of the "Other", and its systems of exclusion and exercising control [were] being challenged" (Birnie-Danzker 1990:23). Third, the ceramics gallery was comparable "Into The Heart of Africa" in that it was object-driven but the visual focus remained on the objects and even though cultural context was included in the text, graphics were used only to illustrate technology\(^6\). All the curators involved in these exhibitions shared intellectual access to the objects with the designer, albeit at different times in the process, but only the designer of "Trapline/Lifeline" shared sensual access with the curator. It was this aspect of sharing that contributed to the measurable success of the Koerner Gallery, a sharing that enjoyed parallels with the non-text related visual literacy developed by the curator and analysed in Chapter 5. Just as the ceramics had journeyed over time and space so too the curator and designer journeyed to other places to search for confidence and a shared aesthetic. Neither the curator or designer had ever worked on a permanent exhibition of ceramics and so there was a need to gather a body of knowledge which could underpin decisions relating to the Koerner Gallery:

One of the things that I think was so important was that you and I made that trip - not only to see what was being done but to see whether we were on the right track in our thinking. We learned a lot on that trip but we also learned that we weren't in a backwater - the things that we learned just honed our taste - we didn't need to be apologetic in any way. It's great to find out that you're o.k., that you're way ahead in most cases and that gives you tremendous confidence to go into a major project...I thought that we were going to see something that we didn't know existed but we didn't.

(Watson 1992. personal communication).

This process has already been analysed in Chapter 4. The product was the development of shared sensual knowledge that could be discussed both in terms of the intellectual content and the pragmatic factors associated with the exhibition space. Also, by observing other installations and speaking with curators and designers it was clear that few had seriously considered the consequences of an unsuccessful curatorial/design model

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\(^6\)This decision was precipitated after some investigation. The only known illustrations of Anabaptists are derogatory cartoons which ridicule their beliefs and way of life.
(see table 2). Some spoke of the pressures of time being responsible for shortcomings in exhibitions "We only had six months before it had to be opened" (Chilton 1989, personal communication), others spoke of the problems associated with contract designers who were not always available, and others spoke of curators who were always too busy. The emphasis at these institutions was on a process not preceded by the open-ended unscripted consultations practiced by the curator/designer of the Koerner Gallery: "Our trip cemented our communication - our response was exactly the same. How often do two people come together so that their sensibilities are so close that with very little effort the feeling that the other felt was acknowledged?" ... The designer, Herb Watson, recognised that this was unusual and cautioned "it could have been that two other people could have had a struggle" but he also recognised that he had previously only worked with "first time curators" (Watson 1992, personal communication). It is argued here that sharing of intellectual and sensual information is an essential component of the embryonic planning stages of an exhibition - to happen prior to the formalising of process. In order to achieve this, it is necessary that curatorship include a design-related knowledge base on which the relationship with the museum designer can be built.

6.3. DESIGN THEORY

Most designers accept the aesthetic-chronological-geographic format set within a grid system model of exhibit design. This continues to inform museum design even though the concept of space has changed since constructivist ideas in France and Germany began experimenting with the language of exhibitions (Hall 1987, Miles 1982). In 1946 the Victoria and Albert Museum mounted an exhibition "Britain Can Make It" which has been heralded as the one which put museum design on the map. This exhibition was "exciting and interesting where previously curators and draughtsmen had cobbled together displays" (Verlardi 1988:30). When Italians dominated the design field in the early 1950s the emphasis was on objects displayed splendidly - there to be enjoyed
and being allowed to speak for themselves, the audience left to intuit meaning. The 1950s exhibition design also derived its inspiration from theatre, tableaux and waxworks (Hall 1987). In Canada the first professional exhibition designers were appointed in the 1960s9. There was some resistance to this new profession and the designers "relations with curators have often been fraught with woe" (Miles 1982:7). This is not surprising considering the removal of curatorial control over exhibitions.

As recently as 1988, there has been an interesting shift in emphasis - reviews of exhibits no longer only concentrate on scholarly content or aesthetic value of objects, now they also include the design as an independent artistic profile10. A poorly curated exhibition with a paucity of artifacts can receive critical acclaim because it 'looks exciting' (Wines 1988:58). Whilst this indicates an opening of the frontiers of exhibit design to include the concept of the exhibition design as a cultural barometer it also introduces an inherent danger of museums becoming slaves to fashion. There is a danger that "exhibition spaces are invaded by so many intrusive interactions of form, texture, and colour that nothing on display can survive the competition" 11(Wines 1988:58).

Brawne, a designer, cautions that "exhibition design must...always concern itself with judgments about appropriate techniques of presentation, related to both the nature of the material and its position within the concept of the display as a whole" (1982:35). The designer can develop professional skills which can be channelled through personal qualities to fulfill the objectives of the exhibitions. These qualities have been identified by a designer as selling, persuading, exposing, parading, informing and delighting (Verlarde

9 The Museum of Anthropology hired its first professional designer in 1976.
10 An exhibition "Among Indians" shown at the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkundes in Leiden from December 1992 to March 1993 received extremely poor reviews. The design was referred to as "horrible" and "obliterating the effects of a good exhibition concept and of high quality artifacts" (Govaart 1993:53).
11 The exhibition "Canada Collects the Middle Ages" was an early example of this. The objects were fifteenth century religious icons and the display units were pink and grey, a fashionable combination, and the introductory panel was executed in neon lights. The time wounded objects disappeared behind the glitter.
These qualities, from a curatorial viewpoint, must always be subjugated to the primacy of the object.

When organising an exhibition's message few designers take any cues from drama or film which are environments where everything on display is questioned and brought into new frames of reference to be seen in new ways so that the viewing experience could be humanised and opened up to "the widest range of interpretation for the public" (Wines 1988:61). However, for drama or film experiences, the audience is accustomed to being seated and receiving information and having sensations formulated for them - they are not moving through time and space in a self-propelled fashion, in control of their own time and movements. The museum is trying "to reveal the true nature of the object in the clearest and most untrammelled way" (Brawne 1982:38) whereas the theatre is concerned with "the creation of illusion" (Amis 1986:168). There was no doubt that the Koerner gallery was going to transmit two messages at the same time "one, a message about reality and another,... a type of meta-commentary on the first, saying "this is not reality, this is illusion"" (Sjorslev 1991:15) and the visitor is writing the script.

The Koerner Gallery is a black box with no natural lighting. All interior light was created and controlled by the designer to create an atmosphere of "wonder". "Wonder" can be seen in certain stores and antique shops where lighting creates objects of desire which can be acquired and possessed. By creating this atmosphere, the museum can both awaken and eliminate the dream of possession (Greenblatt 1991:49). The lighting is contrived to direct attention to objects, not display cases, and yet deliver a sense of great height. The Koerner Gallery is the only gallery in the museum which offers seating - placed opposite display cases - and handrails for leaning on - attached to the front of all the display cases. The facility to pause was enhanced by the inclusion of music from seventeenth and eighteenth century Europe. The intent of this atmosphere is to induce an emotive response as the first level of interaction between the visitor and the collection, to provide reason for this interaction to linger. Everywhere else in the museum, the outside
world can be glimpsed - here reality is suspended. The power of the atmosphere is recorded in visitor comment books and discussed in Chapter nine. It is argued that this emotive response shares parallels with the curatorial non-textual development of visual literacy and the curator/designer development of an aesthetic framework (see fig 21).

A positive emotive response prepares the groundwork for the visitor's decision making process which produces the desire to seek information on how to continue. Pacing in the Koerner Gallery was dictated by the gallery shape, locations of entrances and exits and none of the basic flow patterns were applicable (Hall 1987). It was thought that people would use the space differently but the lack of a systematic "right" way to proceed presumed that most would adopt the "hunt and peck" approach. In a paper entitled "Techniques to Improve Exhibit Effectiveness" Robert Lakota, formerly of the Smithsonian, says "keeping information (theme and organizing method) from visitors forces them to conceptualize and organize the exhibits themselves, a time-consuming process that only a few visitors attempt successfully." He advocates the use of signage to ensure that visitors will make discoveries and understand what they have discovered (in Klein 1986:73). The shape of the Koerner Gallery and the theme of the exhibit were not conducive to any linear progression that could facilitate Lakota's ideas, and
copyright restrictions prohibited the construction of interior walls that would conflict with the architectural design (see fig 22)

There is a patronising and controlling philosophy inherent in Lakota's approach. Most introductions announce the harmonising theme which unifies the exhibit (Adams 1978:129) but these become too long when the theme is complex. It is argued here that the museum visitor prefers choices during a visit and the entrance of the Koerner Gallery provided choices - two labels were situated at the entrance of the gallery (marked X on fig 22) which served as 'advance organisers' providing conceptual orientation. The label adjacent to the technology case addressed technology - the primary organising principle of the gallery - and the label adjacent to the Italian case addressed history and function - other organising principles of the gallery. The situating of these two labels either side of one large pot informed the visitor that they were entering a gallery of ceramics and they could turn left or right (See fig 22). Whether the path through the exhibition was tightly

Figure 22. Koerner Ceramics Gallery - organisation of space
controlled or undetermined "...our experience of an exhibition is nevertheless always some kind of mosaic built up in our minds" (Brawne 1982:11).

This mosaic is based on relationships formed between the visitor and the multi-dimensional exhibition space - produced by the relationship between the designer and curator. It is therefore hypothesised that the nature of the visitor's relationship is directly connected to how the designer and curator have connected the theme of the exhibition and the physical restrictions to the gallery space and the exhibition furniture, how they created relationships between the exhibition cases and their content (objects/text), between objects displayed together in one case, between object and text. Put simply, and summarised in figure 23, the visitor's expectations of the visit are formed when entering the museum from the outside world, how he or she gains access to the museum, perception of the architectural style of the museum, how much is paid as an entrance fee, how well the signage works, whether the gallery can be easily located. As the visitor walks into the gallery he/she is entering a world where everything is tangible and real, but the totality is a construction of the relationship between the curator and designer, and their relationship with the larger socio-political organisation of the museum, and its relationship to the philosophies underpinning the mandate of the museum.

Figure 23. What the visitor 'sees' during a museum visit.
6.4. ORGANISATION OF EXHIBITION

The exhibition was organised within a general/specific framework constructed to accommodate curatorial/design intent, collector's rationale and philosophical requirements. Figures 24-28 illustrate how the levels of this framework were superimposed on to the gallery space. The general organising principle was based on a technological/geographical/historical matrix because these were attributes shared by all the collection (figs 25-25). Then, the ceramics that shared cultural affinity were grouped together: this was a loose affinity in that it was based on shared production which presupposes a common identity (Delftware, Anabaptists, Holitsch, Murany), shared function (the stove tiles, the albarelli, the tankards) (fig 26). The next grouping included those that shared iconography as cultural reflectors (the stove tiles, the Anabaptist ware, the Holitsch, the Delftware) (fig 27). Curators interviewed by Osgood expressed regret in the "diminution of areas devoted to the comparison of specimens of similar type" (1976:50) and Schueler insists that "The observer should find objects set into classificatory and functional theory in such a way that the authenticity and importance of the objects is paramount" (1983:34)

The final grouping (fig 28) was less obvious and was developed in response to the question "what does it mean in this time and place?" The Museum of Anthropology, along with other museums, has been collecting contemporary material in order to address the incorrect perception that all cultures in museums either belong to the "other", no longer exist or, if they do, have been assimilated but subjugated by the larger Western "self." Contemporary material is also collected with the understanding that existing collections may be candidates for repatriation.

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12 Duncan Cameron in his 1971 article "The Museum, A Temple or the Forum" notes that "A very special task in reform for those museums concerned with alien, exotic of historic cultures is to relate those collections to contemporary life and society.

13 Karp refers to the "other" as a "generalised artifact of the colonial and imperial encounter" (1991:374)

14 It is doubtful that the Koerner collection will be considered for repatriation because the objects were made for sale and have been circulating on the art market for at least one hundred years. However, one comment in the visitor book did read "Wouldn't the people of Slovakia like to get their ceramics back?"
Figure 24
Technology as an organising framework.
- Tin-glaze
- Lead glaze
- Stoneware
- Other

Figure 25
Geography and history as an organising framework.
- Southern Europe
- Central Europe
- Western Europe
- German speaking areas of Europe
- Other

Figure 26
Shared cultural affinity as an organising framework.
1. Delftware - production
2. French faience - domestic
3. Stove - domestic
4. Anabaptist - production
5. Murany - production
6. Holitsch - production
7. Anabaptist - production

Figure 27
Iconography as an organising principle —
Connoisseurship as an organising principle

Figure 50
Contemporary works in the gallery.
1. Illustrations by Gordon Miller
2. Pot by Laura Wee Lay Laq
3. Tapestry by Ruth Jones
4. Weaving by May Smith
5. Tiles by Ulricke Holbreuker.
Thinking generally about this current direction encouraged the curator to think about the contemporary relevance of the Koerner collection. Its use as a historical document was recognised but its relevance in this time and place was not clear. It had already generated work for some local craftspeople: glaziers, cabinet-makers and masons, who had together crafted a gallery which has become an icon of British Columbian craftsmanship. How else could the craftspeople of British Columbia be involved? A graphic artist, Gordon Miller, prepared the paintings for the Italian Maiolica interactive flip pad which illustrated the process of tin-glazing (see plate 22), a ceramist, Ulricke Holbrueker, prepared a series of lead glazed tiles to illustrate the process of mould-making (see plate 23). One potter, Laura Wee Lay Laq, was asked to produce a pot which illustrated hand-building and burnishing (see plate 24). It was intended that the pot be incorporated into the main technology case. However, it was so "resonant" that it 'demanded' to be displayed on its own in a display case juxtapositioned opposite a pot which technically was newer than Laura's but made four hundred years earlier. There is no empirical data to support the supposition that these two pots "look(ed) as though they were fated to be in such a combination" and maybe it is this association with curatorial divination, rather than orthodoxy, which requires others to verbalise that these two pots could, in a sense, "comment on each other" (see plate 24). Two other craftspeople, Ruth Jones and May Smith, were asked to take two types of ceramic - French faience and Anabaptist blue-scale ware - and use them as sources for decorations on weavings. In order to ensure artistic freedom and avoid curatorial hegemony the only criteria given was size. The weavings produced were displayed with their pottery counterparts and like the two pots shown in plate 24, commented on each other.

15 No general contractors were employed. The designer wanted the individuality of the craftsmanship of pieces in the collection to be reflected in the individuality of the craftsmanship of the gallery.
Plate 22. Illustration by Gordon Miller used to demonstrate the process of tin-glazing.

Plate 23. Tiles made by Ulricke Holbreuker used to demonstrate mold-making.

Plate 24. Pot by Laura Wee Lay Laq demonstrating hand-building. It is displayed opposite a pot 400 years its senior.
6.5. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OBJECTS AND EXHIBITION ENVIRONMENT

In Weil's article "Rethinking the Museum", he refers to the "fundamental relationship between ideas and objects, conception and presentation in the context of exhibitions." He coined the phrase 'Poetics and Politics of Representation', poetics referring to the identification of the "underlying narrative/aesthetic patterns within exhibitions"...politics referring to the social circumstances in which exhibitions are organised, presented and understood" (Weil 1990:59). Clearly these domains intersect and exist within a common pool of historical memory and shared, but not always conscious, assumption. The new gallery was embedded in a dualism - permanence/change - which was problematic as a conceptual framework for addressing curatorship and design.

Julie Cruikshank, an anthropologist and curator, speaks of "entrenched oppositions between the dualisms of 'self/other', 'subject/object', 'us/them' [which] inevitably leave power in the hands of the defining institution" (1992:6).

Permanence presumes conservatism and yet the new gallery was to have the capability of responding to changes in both scholarship and the social/political world scene. This required the introduction of flexibility into an essentially conventional environment cemented by the incorporation of philosophies which underpinned the existing permanent galleries elsewhere in the museum. The Museum's galleries had resisted the "aging" so apparent in most permanent exhibitions by concentrating on the primacy of the object and minimal labelling. The grey walls and carpets recede from the objects, display cases are either floor-to-ceiling glass "jewellery" boxes or glass fronted "storage" boxes. However, this neutrality of design and theme is still underpinned by

16 All information is gathered in data books which are situated throughout the galleries. These are computer print-out sheets based on the Canadian Heritage Information Network system of cataloguing. They are not "user friendly" and most museum visitors think they're a good idea but few use them effectively (Macfarlane N. and E.Perkins 1977, unpublished paper).
"political agendas and intended messages" that are now beginning to be questioned

6.5.1. **Object/Object Relationship**

The most important and essential quality of the ceramics in the Koerner collection are their unavoidable materiality "They are tangibly there and, unlike words and narrative, they usually do not disappear when one ignores them. Unlike words they can be deliberately destroyed and then they are irrevocably lost" (Sjorslev 1991:22). The relationship between objects and the viewer is a basic expression of museum practice and can be enhanced by contextualising - providing an environment of interaction between objects. This runs the risk of appearing artificial and contrived. The context of a museum is also inherently artificial "The works exhibited were intended for a vast variety of purposes...the only purpose for which we can be confident they were not designed was to be shown in a museum...they have been wrested from their setting and alienated from whatever role they were originally intended to perform" (Sir John Pope Hennessy quoted in Hall 1987:11). Unlike most objects found in anthropology museums, many of the ceramics in the Koerner Gallery were intended to be displayed and viewed and therefore the viewer is not a voyeur and the object's purpose has not been appropriated. Consequently the neutrality of the exhibition gave it the potential of becoming "an instrument of power, as well as an instrument of education and experience"(Karp 1991:14).

The ceramics are not passively awaiting interpretation and, although they do generate some kinds of meaning in themselves, it is their placement in the display case that is an act of interpretation (Faunce 1992:36).

A designer looking at Boas's exhibiting of contextuality said "these are placed within display cases as isolated, secondary elements within the larger displays of objects from the collections" (Klein 1986:69), which he referred to as "visually monotonous" and

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17Recent visitor study surveys have revealed that local audiences are discontented both with the lack of information in the Great Hall and Masterpiece Gallery and the presentation of objects only as art.
only "holding the interest of those persons who have a special involvement with the period the culture, or the objects". In order to incorporate the existing philosophy of abstract contextualising, as practiced in the Great Hall, ideas about creating any reconstructed environments were abandoned. The poles in the Great Hall stand on concrete against glass windows beyond which can be seen the world from which they came. They are detached from that world but can both see it and be seen by it. How could this be translated into the Koerner Gallery?

The solution was to create a contemporary context for some ceramics by using them as the source for the two weavers. Together they created a "resonance", a non-literary expression used by Greenblatt to describe the "power of the displayed object to reach out beyond its formal boundaries to a large world, to evoke in the viewer the complex, dynamic cultural forces from which it has emerged and for which it may be taken by a viewer to stand" (Greenblatt 1991:42). The curatorial task was to remove the borders created by the museum and deconstruct rather than reconstruct history. For example: the tapestry made by Ruth Jones was inspired by the faience dinner service. It is a work of art in its own right but when displayed with the ceramics the two combine to make a cultural statement -- normally a museum only displays one or two pieces from a dinner service to serve as a metaphor for the whole. However there was never one plate or dish at the type of dinner where this service would have been used, there were many and they were served in an environment of colour and textiles. Together they make present that which is not present - in itself a form of theatre (see plate 25). The text for the service and the tapestry were displayed separately thus avoiding the cementing of the relationship between the two - the relationship was to remain visual and non-literary if the viewer so wished. The most obvious contextualising in the gallery was the tiled stove which served to explain the function of the individual tiles which were displayed as art objects. The commitment to the primacy of the object precluded any Boasian-inspired context.
Plate 25. Tapestry by Ruth Jones (1990), in the 18th century Aubusson tradition, displayed with an 18th century French faience dinner service.

The objects are placed in a display case where they are surrounded by space, colour, texture and light which should combine to enhance them, not make them ill-at-ease. The display case acts as mediator between its contents and the larger space of the gallery. It is a miniature gallery with walls, floor, ceiling, furniture and technical support. The cases were created by craftsmen and incorporated positive attributes seen
elsewhere. The aesthetic developed by the curator and designer was created by the use of halogen lights, plexi-glass mounts, and neutral grey fabric(Adams 1978, Hall 1987, Neal 1980, Verlarde 1988). Of these, light was probably the most important factor and a delicate balance between quantity and quality created an illusion which had nothing to do with the cultural environment of the ceramics.

6.6. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OBJECTS AND TEXT - THE EXHIBITION LABEL

Marjorie Halpin, an anthropologist and museum curator, spoke about the relationship between objects and text during a broadcast on CBC radio in 1982. It is worth quoting in full:

In the museum we display objects, and that is the one thing that unified all museums...and where they're not displayed we're uncomfortable...because that's not a museum. A museum has to have that material object base. And then we have to have words around it that we call labels, which are there for people to read. Here's the connection; objects are real, they are no longer good ideas - they once were - they have been brought out into a three-dimensional reality...so they're real. Words on the other hand are merely possible. So we can say lots of things about an object, but that's still only some of the possible things that we could say. We believe that the words illuminate or give reality to the objects - but it's the other way around. The object makes our scientific statement real, or our interpretive statement real. The object lends weight and reality to our political or cultural theory or belief, so it is the reality of the objects that makes real the ideology that we surround them with.

In 1897 George Brown Goode, United States National Museums, said "the preparation of labels is one of the most difficult tasks of the museum man" Almost one hundred years later Elaine Heumann Gurian identifies the label writer as "teacher, co-conspirator, colleague, preacher and gossip columnist" (1991:185). Beyond the label

18 These included hand rails, room for feet at the base of the cases, easy access, secure locking system.  
19 Each of these had been seen in use at different museums. However, none in the combination adopted at the Museum of Anthropology.  
21 Gurian is deputy director for public programmes at the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution.
there exists another context which lies in the ideological fabric of the museum which informs what is in the label. Generally it is agreed that the purpose of a label "is to impart information in a compact, comprehensible form" (Adams 1978:129, see also Neal 1980:122, Tilden 1978:57-59, Verlarde 1988:59-81). It does this with language (readability) and layout (typography). Human language is "characteristically informative, in fact or in intention" (in Fabian 1983:162) but it can also be used to inform or mislead, it can contain bias, and it can be inaccessible. Readability is related to comprehension and fluency which is tied to size and style of typeface, lighting levels etc (Kool 1985).

Stephen Bitgood, an expert in Visitor Studies, refers to the criteria of attracting power, holding power, teaching power and, motivational power as essential for creating effective labels22 (1987:1-4). Margaret Hall, an exhibition designer, extends this criteria beyond the label and points to "the planning of the relationship between an object and the text to which it relates [as being] critically important" (1987:48). Before considering the type and amount of information to be included in the Koerner Gallery, examples of label positioning, gathered during research at other museums, were analysed in terms of their applicability to the new gallery.

There were no instances during this early research where the designer or the curator felt that the object-text relationship was successful, that is: close enough to be apparent yet far enough to not intrude on the visitor-object relationship. Margaret Hall suggests that "it depends upon the amount that the expected visitors can be expected to digest in a short time. The visitor has to use short-term memory taking things from one position to the next". The position of the object and the label, regardless of how close cannot be matched simultaneously - one (usually the object) will be memorised whilst the other is read and then the two are compared. If this is successful then "the two elements of actuality and language are welded together in the mind of the viewer into a single unit

22. The label's ability to capture the visitor's attention is called attracting power, holding power is the readability of the label, teaching power is the amount learned from the label, motivational power stimulates the visitor to seek more information. (Bitgood op.cit)
of verified experience" (Hall 1987:48). This unit is then taken forward to the next exhibit where the process is repeated. If a single matching does not take place it may not deter the viewer but continued failures are likely cause the alienation of the whole sequence resulting a lost of interest in the story. Hall goes on to say that if this model is correct then the first requirement, having made certain the object can be seen and studied, is that the label text is of a "clarity and length which makes [it] 'memorable' for the duration of the matching process" (Hall 1987:48).

A label is visual and can become an object in its own right, competing for space and attention with the object. Brawne notes that "if we are to be able to read words at about the same distance at which we are viewing the picture or sculpture or specimen, there is a minimum size below which the print cannot go if it is to remain legible" (1982:127). Labels should be visible but not intrusive, they so often form white windows in the display case and their geometric and functional nature can overwhelm the subtleties extruded by many artifacts (also Klein; Harris 1990). Frese, in his study of anthropological museums, questioned whether there should be any labels at all - they were missing from some institutions although he notes that this had more do with lethargy than principle (Frese 1979:45). He interprets this as the curator's desire for the public to respond emotionally or aesthetically, rather than intellectually - different meanings or no meaning could be attributed to the object. The object left to speak for itself runs the risk of being only relevant to the specialist who has previous knowledge and an existing conceptual framework (see Wittlin 1970, Miles 1982, Moore 1980) or it could reflect the theoretical stance of post modernism that views text as conveyors of "elusive meanings and ambiguous codes" (Halpin 1991:15). When labelled, the object also runs the risk of conveying one 'correct' meaning as prescribed by an authoritative voice speaking within cultural and historical circumstances.

Most designers would be much happier if labels were not part of the design brief\(^2^4\) (Klein 1986). However designers do view the label as an organic part of the exhibition which should conform in colour, type style, scale and location with the overall scheme\(^2^5\).

In the Koerner gallery the object and label existed on different planes. It was hypothesised that the viewer would find meaning in the intellectual gap between label and object where the information on the label has directed the viewer back to the object. This total process is summarised in figure 29.

6.6.1. LABEL CONTENT

The length and comprehensibility of labels are always topics of discussion and disagreement between curators and designers\(^2^6\). Research has shown that most visitors prefer long labels but do not read them (Patterson 1990:42)\(^2^7\). Perhaps having knowledge accessible is preferred because then a choice can be made - even if it is not to proceed. It has been argued that those that write labels address an audience of peers, leaving the majority searching for an unavailable code to give them access to the 'message'. They practice what has been called "intellectual provincialism based on a narrow range of cultural experiences" (Chambers 1984:47, see also Cochran Hicks (ed) 1986:36). Also, to address the problem of use of accessible language opens the writer (curator) to possible peer ridicule. Most curators are trained in the academic sphere wherein the

\(^{24}\)Conversations with Vancouver designers Herb Watson, David Cunningham, Mary Paddon.

\(^{25}\)Klein gives eight rules of thumb which cover height, line measure, spacing, colour, paragraph spacing, grouping labels, viewing position, viewing distance (Klein 1986:72).

\(^{26}\)The curatorial hands can be detected in this 1901 version of a descriptive label: (a) The label must tell the name of the object; its exact and technical name always, and if there be one, its common name. (b) It must call attention to the features which it is important for the visitor to notice. (c) It must explain its meaning and its relations to the other objects in the same series...If it is an ethnological object, its used and construction should be explained, its materials named, if they are not obvious, and supplementary information given by means of pictures; and where pictures are better than words, these may be attached. (d) The exact locality, date of collection, and sources of the specimen exhibited should be mentioned. (e) For the convenience of visitors it is well, in many cases, to give the dimensions or weight of the specimen (Browne Goode 1901 230-231)

\(^{27}\)See studies by Stephen Bitgood et al.
Figure 29. Suggested model for object/text relationship
formal relationship between writer and reader is prescribed within a specialised vocabulary judged by a peer jury, the writer is isolated from the general public. The result is long tedious labels littered with jargon and conditional phrases and clauses (Alt & Shaw 1984:25, Harris 1990:145). The overall appearance is one of potential hard work for the reader, if attempted it is necessary to read all the label in order to 'get the message'. American museums have used this as justification to move toward the idea of having a writing specialist on staff who can translate the curator's research into accessible text (Screven 1993:6-12).

Recent research in the field of oral history by Julie Cruikshank, curator at the Museum of Anthropology, questions the validity of reinterpreting "words associated with the expression of ideas through language" (1992:6). Chomsky, the linguist, says that "If we hope to understand human language and the psychological capacities on which it rest, we must first ask what it is, not how or for what purpose it is used" (in Fabian 1983:162). Such discussions are beyond the focus of this thesis but some attention was paid to the "voices" speaking in the gallery. The source for the text was derived, whenever possible, either from material contemporary with the time of manufacture or material reinterpreted by the descendants of the manufacturers. The past cannot be revisited for empirical reinspection and where such sources did not exist the text was augmented with information from the collector, scholars, and contemporary literature - impartiality was never a realistic goal. The construction of the text was a curatorial responsibility and it was written from the viewpoint of observer, not participant.

Opinions were muted by avoiding the use of superlatives "rare" "fine" etc. and inaccessible vocabulary "quatrocentro". If this had been delegated to a "writing specialist" it is argued that the intellectual and emotive space between the object and the text would be

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28 Most anthropologists receive little training in object-based research and when they transfer from academia to museum, one of their primary responsibilities is to curate exhibitions.
29 These specialists are also referred to as interpreters, authors, script-writers.
30 See also the exhibition "Trapline/Lifeline" which consciously does not reinterpret the words of the trappers.
weakened. The curatorial objective was to concentrate on information, leaving interpretation to the viewer. However there is some consideration of the question "whose voice is heard when a curator works through an established genre of exhibition"? (Lavine 1991:151, Sant Cassier 1992:30-31, Stanton 1983:149-163)

Interpretation implies that objects need to be interpreted, that the public needs us to interpret for them, that there is an 'us' and 'them' - we are as Spalding, a museum designer, so aptly put "a priesthood dispensing improvement" (1992:28). Interpretation can be "an unscalable barrier of knowledge around (the) subject that prevents people from even glimpsing it" (Spalding 1992:28).

Labels supply stepping stones that let people in and enable them to look back at the object with greater understanding but the act of reading can also become "a disproportionate intrusion upon our time and we perform it reluctantly or not at all" (Brawne 1982:127). An exhibition's narrative discourse has a temporal dimension. To tell a story takes time and yet the time taken seldom relates to the time passing in the story: "a year went by" takes two seconds. In the Koerner Gallery a journey through four centuries takes two hours31. A strategy was needed to ensure that the message could be picked up, so some labels were repeated so that visitors could retrieve information they may have missed at an earlier stage. Quick bites of information can be accessed if all labels in a gallery are similarly sequenced - as are the tombstone labels in the Koerner Gallery. The indexed label can also reduce the demands on a reader by including a main heading which orients him or her to the content of the total label and helps him or her decide whether or not to read, sub headings and body copy - each step providing more detail. An average viewing time per display case is approximately forty-five seconds32. Questions to be addressed are "how much of that forty-five seconds do you want the

31This is based on reading every label in the exhibition without sitting down or interacting with anybody.
32This to be within the framework of adults reading at the rate of about 250-300 words per minute, a preference for sentences of about 18-20 words,
view to spend on the label vs. the object?”, “How do you extend that forty-five seconds?” (Neal 1980, Klein 1986).

Designers are usually more concerned with the look of a label rather than its content, although some do comment on clarity. Neal quotes the Write Formula developed by John O’Hayre which enables the writer to write with “the strong, clear, native words non government English is blessed with” 33. The words may meet these criteria but it does not follow that when strung together they can convey accurately the meaning intended by the author. Klein argues for labels that give information but are not interactive, as he sees these as manipulative. He refers to “interpretation by anonymous authorities” and the relevant question is rarely whether or not to provide factual or interpretive information, but how much, at what level of comprehension, in what style, and by what method (Klein 1986:71). Each discipline can hold differing views on these questions and it is outside of the scope of this thesis to investigate them in any great detail.

Osgood noted that the presentation of scientific theories “should be comprehensible to an intelligent ten-year old” (Osgood 1979:91) Schueler, a natural scientist, says that “if exhibits are to reflect scientific knowledge, they must be complex” and this can be achieved by minimal labelling supplemented by in-gallery computers34. “Technology enables the museum to get as much information as possible, precisely and concisely, to a vast segment of the public. With the use of computer technology, you could not only

33. The Write Formula is based on the model that one-syllable verbs combined with adverbs create active verbs which can be used to describe the most complex or abstract actions. The formula emphasizes out the passive verbs: is, are, was, were, and ‘the’, because it is often not needed. The formula: 1) count a 100-word sample. 2) Count all one-syllable words except ‘the’, ‘is’, ‘are’, ‘was,’ and ‘were’re, count one point for each one-syllable word. 3) count the number of sentences in the 100 word sample to the nearest period or semicolon and give three points for each sentence. 4) Add together the one-syllable word count and the three points for each sentence to get your grade. A score of 70-80 is ideal for the average reader. To go above or below this may be too complicated or too simple. (Neal 1980:123-124)

show an artefact in a case but visually show where it sits in its particular culture; its meaning and use in the culture." (Cardinal 1986:14).

Computers were investigated as a communication tool for the Koerner gallery. They were rejected because the technology most suitable for the museum is still in its infancy, the computer experience is solitary, the older museum visitor is reluctant to interact with computers, the cost of technical maintenance is unknown, computer "noise" would compete with music in the gallery, and neither the curator or designer were keen to sacrifice the ambiance of the gallery. All information not contained in the labels was organised into data books which were situated at two places in the gallery, with comfortable chairs, where the visitor could leaf through colour photographs of different angles of each ceramics and have access to the sum total of curatorial knowledge.

This chapter has investigated the complex relationships that underpin the development and organisation of a storyline for a permanent exhibition. These relationships included those between people, people and space, people and information, people and objects, objects, objects and space and objects and information. Understanding how these relationships influences what "ways of seeing" are being shared, used or discarded during the evolution of an exhibition, may explain why certain decisions would take precedence, and then how the implementation of these decisions would impact on the final "look" of the exhibition.

35 If a computer is 'down' then information is available to nobody. For example: on two visits to Liverpool museum, 1990, 1993, England, the computer system in the ceramics open storage facility was down; on numerous visits to Science World, Vancouver, the computers have been down and the associated displays were closed.
CHAPTER SEVEN - INFLUENCE OF THE COLLECTOR - PENTIMENTO OR PALIMPSEST?

7.1. INTRODUCTION

All museums have permanent exhibitions based on their own collections; most of which were donated by, or purchased from, collectors. In the chapter addressing the development of anthropology theories, the link between these theories and the museum exhibition was investigated. It was demonstrated that objects were also often collected by anthropologists and organised in exhibitions to validate theoretical perspectives. However, the realities created by how collections were organised within these exhibitions were so determined by theories that are now disputed or rejected, that they have become temporally trapped within parameters which leave little room for the consideration or incorporation of new theories. Present day research therefore tends to view collections as symbolic entities which are demonstrative of the negative aspects of the current discourse focusing on issues related to gender bias, colonial attitudes, and appropriation. Acquisition of objects of the 'other' continues to both cement cultural chasms and demonstrate a politically incorrect but persistent "assumption of cultural superiority at the top of some evolutionary hierarchy" (Cannizzo 1991:154).

It is not clear whether early museum collectors such as Pitt-Rivers enjoyed a "collector's passion", their collecting rationale being subsumed by their theoretical stance:

He [Pitt-Rivers] forthwith commenced to make the ethnological collection with which his name will always be associated and which rapidly grew to large proportions under his keen search for materials which should illustrate and perhaps prove his theory of progress by evolution in the arts of mankind (Balfour in Pitt-Rivers 1906:v).
The relationship between the museum anthropologist and objects was, and often still is, described in terms of formal elements, symbolism, representative art, and style. Yet the literature sometimes hints that this relationship was not always formal: Boas admitted, for example, that "form and meaning combine to elevate the mind above the indifferent emotional state of everyday life" (Boas 1955:12). His firm belief in the exhibition format as an illustration of theory can be seen in the Hall of The American Indian: it is as much an exhibition of Boasian historicism as it is an exhibition of the motivation of Boas, the collector (Clifford 1981). Field-collecting based on the scale of academic theorizing enjoyed by Boas is unusual: most museum collections were once owned by private collectors who collected according to a different set of criteria. It has been argued that collecting can be analysed as an anthropological phenomenon (Pomian 1990:259) and therefore can be viewed as an integral part of museum anthropology. This chapter then, will investigate Koerner's collecting as a primary anthropological phenomenon, to be considered within the larger phenomenon of the exhibition. The choices made by those inside a museum, when organising an exhibition, are guided by the collection parameters determined by outside rationales which are seldom understood. The majority of the display areas in the MOA contain Koerner collections, yet his collector's rationale is subsumed under the museum's exhibition philosophy and documentation system. If he and other collectors were 'visible', the 'story' told would be quite different and perhaps more appropriate - at least in the sense of encompassing more than the institutional bias. In the exhibition he is often as anonymous as the maker of the artifact. When Koerner donated his ceramics collection to the museum it was an

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1This gallery is situated in the American Museum of Natural History, New York.
opportunity to investigate whether the private collector's rationale could influence the institutional organisation of his collection and then consider utilising this rational reflexive tool for reconsideration of the logic behind the existing, and now historical, exhibitions. This was also a rare opportunity to get to know a collection and a collector whilst both were unencumbered with museum classification and naming systems.

7.2. A FIRST ENCOUNTER WITH THE KOERNER COLLECTION.

The Koerner ceramic collection was first encountered in 1988, during a visit to his residence to collect a donation of African artifacts to the Museum of Anthropology. An existing interest in ceramics, and the knowledge that collectors who surround themselves with their objects cannot resist showing off their acquisitions, prompted a request for a 'tour'. His comments were couched in the language of the connoisseur: "This is a good piece," "This is very rare," "The Metropolitan has one of these," "There are only two of these in the world." He did not use emotional terms when describing his collection and initially there were no clues that these objects were charged with personal meaning. He seemed to conform to Joseph Alsop's (1983) description of a typical decorative arts collector: looking for age, rarity, skill, and aesthetic quality in objects that had become detached from their functional purpose and organised into collectors categories. On closer inspection he seemed to purchase indiscriminately because amongst his unique sophisticated wares, which edged comfortably into the realm of fine art, were naive wares which would be categorized as folk art. Later research revealed that this was associated with his buying habits which included purchasing whole collections and never selling.

2I had worked with collections of Asian and European ceramics at the Vancouver Museum for twelve years (1975-1987).
anything. One theory holds that collectors collect as a vehicle to ensure social contracts; however, Koerner did not attend auctions or publish or display his collection. He remains a very private person.

Initially, the geographic range of the collection: Italy, Central Europe, Germany, France, England, and a few pieces from Mexico and Turkey, did not suggest an obvious focus. Most pieces were purchased through dealers and agents so were not 'souvenirs' of past experiences or life markers and did not inspire reminiscences. Some pieces were obviously valuable and others were not, so desirability and price were not necessarily synonymous. Initial analysis suggested that Koerner's collection was neither truly systematic nor based solely on connoisseurship; it was not easily classified and did not seem to have the components associated with collecting theories found in the literature: fetishistic, souvenir, economic hoard (or booty), social prestige, and so on (Wittlin 1948, 1970, Pomian 1990, Alsop 1978, 1983). But it was a private collection "built or assembled by (through) the personal judgment and discretion of an individual [and] due to its personal nature may not be known publicly" (Kremer 1992:19). A research task was to investigate further to ascertain whether there was a covert organizing principle, a pentimento or a palimpsest, not discovered during initial analysis.

A few months later, this research task became an component in the methodological model adopted when it was announced that a new wing at the UBC Museum of Anthropology was to house the Koerner collection. Koerner had decided to give his collection to the university for three reasons: his sons were not interested in the

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3It was at this time that I decided this provided a unique opportunity to work with a collection as it moved from private collector to permanent exhibition in a public institution. A combination of archival, literary, and primary research seemed appropriate for a thesis.
collection, his grandchildren could not afford the insurance premiums necessary to keep them secure. Given this, he felt:

"...The collection should be kept together - be given a permanence and stability and made a part of the public domain in trust for the community and the nation, by being displayed and studied by scholars in a public institution" (Koerner, unpublished letter, December 2, 1988).

He also noted that the cultural institutions in Vancouver had collections which reflected the cultures and arts of the local aboriginal and Asian populations but there was no concentration on the European population, other than pioneer-related material. This is what he wanted to do with his collection but it was not necessarily why he collected what he collected.

7.3. COLLECTING AND COLLECTIONS - A DISCUSSION

Collectors construct collections out of what remain separate pieces: Koerner had placed the pieces into categories created by him, which together made a single entity. The identity of all these things as a collection, as opposed to a heap of objects, was validated by three distinguishing features: the objects were kept out of the circuit of utilitarian activities, they were carefully preserved and restored, and they were placed on display (Pomian 1990:259-260):

Nobody is slain by the swords, cannons and guns on display in the military museum, and not one single worker or peasant uses the utensils, tools, and costumes assembled in folklore collections or museums. The same is true of everything which ends up in this strange world where the word 'usefulness' seems never to have been heard of, for to say that the objects which now await only the gaze of the curious were still of some use would be a gross distortion of the English language, the locks and keys no longer secure any door, the machines produce nothing and the clocks and watches are certainly not expected to give the precise time of day (Pomian 1990:7).
Once a collection enters an institution its relationship to the collector becomes tenuous or is severed. Records on the collector are often kept as part of the history of the institution, but are not included as relevant information about the objects - collectors are relegated to the acquisition file or the archives, "viewed as stereotypes and left to fade away" (Halpin 1991:1). Yet, as has already been argued in previous chapters, museum exhibitions are informed by a number of constituents, one of which is collection parameters. An understanding of these parameters can only be gained through the recognition that they are constructed by the collector's rationale - yet this rationale is seldom recorded and what does exist is often lost in the reclassification process that collections are subjected to during the entrance ritual: they may be broken up and distributed to different departments or areas of the museum; they will certainly be manipulated to fit differing sets of criteria associated with the museum's documentation system. This criterion is based on the paradigm of conventional (positivist) inquiry which may include collector information: location of collecting, price of acquisition, date of collecting and so forth, but it never includes the "why" of collecting, this being considered idiosyncratic. The collector remains hidden at the heart of the museum, unrecognized as the essential component in its creation and growth. In a rare exhibition, Collections Passion, mounted at the Musee d'Ethnographie at Neuchatel, Switzerland, the curator asked "what it is that induces one section of humanity to put the other section in a museum?" After searching for links between collections and museum, collectors, and their passion they tried to understand the motives by which the collectors were driven.

^Part of the basic paradigm of conventional (positivist) inquiry is summarized by Guba as: "Epistemology: Dualist/objectivist - it is both possible and essential for the inquirer to adopt a distant, non interactive posture. Values and other biasing and confounding factors are thereby automatically excluded from influencing the outcomes". (Guba1990:20)
After their research they concluded:

Everyone collects, for collecting means, first and foremost, arranging, classifying, systematizing, putting in order, and then abandoning, only to start again, with a view to bringing order into the environment and everyday life. Collecting is part of living (Hainard 1983:158).

Curators have a reputation for being detached: any projection of sentiment being a negator of judgment. This detachment bestows authority upon their "voices" as they decide which information will form the construction bricks of the bridge they extend between the object and the viewer. This ownership of intellectual access is a form of power which distances the other, whether the other is the culture being studied or the culture being informed. It also eclipses the role of the collector, relegating him to sentimental amateur. However, collecting is, in my experience, as much about knowledge and scholarship as passion and commitment: "Collecting is the love and interest of my life" (Koerner 1989, personal communication). All are essential elements to be transmitted to those involved in the fabrication of exhibitions. Together they inform our creation of the exhibition's constructed reality: a combination of ambiance, scholarship and physical organisation. However, most curators, and those studying museum anthropology, ignore the collector and unfortunately most collectors are dead by the time curators try and understand the intentionality of their collecting.

Curators often work with many collectors over the years but only those who participate in the current discourse associated with reflexivity can begin to reconsider the relationship between the knower and the known as expressed in exhibitions. Some are beginning to rethink the non interactive posture adopted with collectors, which confined them to the formulation of object-related questions compatible with the objectivist criteria of documentation used by the museum: where/when did you collect this? What
were the circumstances of the collecting? and so on. It was ultimately the object's ability to illustrate storieslines developed by the curator, the 'authoritative' voice, a voice which not only distanced the other being displayed but also eliminated the voice of the collector of the other. Because private collections were normally accepted into the museum's storage area, not directly into an exhibition, the relationship between the collector and his/her collection was not recorded.

Studies of personal collectors and the process of collecting are few, a recent one by Roberta Kremer reveals that "almost no empirical data could be found concerning collectors and their characteristics" (Kremer 1992:11). Little is written in the psychiatric literature. In 1921 Dr. Henri Codet identified four motives for collection: need for possession, need for spontaneous activity, impulse to self-advancement and a tendency to classify things. Later, in 1938, the French analyst Rene Brimo was more sympathetic in his theorization that collectors are special kinds of artists with a love of beauty (Kawabata 1973:22-33) Other psychoanalysts describe collecting as a vehicle for sublimated voyeurism, libidinal and aggressive drives, relief of boredom, social advancement, enhancement of self-definition, and a way of making the world seem more orderly and intelligible (ibid). As has been noted in Chapter 2, there was some anthropological interest in the collector in these earlier times, but the rise of functionalism had seen the detachment of academic departments from museums, their concentration on the theoretical rather than the material moving them away from any consideration of the collector of 'things'. Yet, if the functionalists had utilised museipetal research methods and studied the museum as a social system and looked at the interdependence of the museum, the collection, and the collector they may have discovered valid material for their theoretical stances. Those still fond of cultural ecology, looking for the adaptive mechanisms used...
Attitudes are beginning to change in light of the post-modern reconsideration of concrete objects as intellectual stimulation for research into "the logic of the material world" (Halpin 1988:12). It can be argued that the inclusion of the collector as a piece of the collage of post-modern theory is essential in any discussion pertaining to exhibitions, because therein lies the material for the construction of what we say, and about whom we say it.

Given this, the participant observer should seek ways to connect to the collector's (Koerner's) collecting passion before developing the storyline for the exhibition. An understanding of how his collecting rationale shaped the personality or content of his collection was essential if his 'passion' or at least his voice was to be integrated into the exhibition as part of the 'conversation' with the museum's philosophical considerations outlined in Chapter 8. Prior to interviewing Koerner, the collection was photographed in situ at his residence, thus recording how he curated/organised the ceramics as a private collection. Later, when compared with the installation it was realised that his physical arrangements did occur in the gallery (see plates 26-27).

7.4 THE PENTIMENTO IN COLLECTING RATIONALE.

It was not possible to be a participant observer of the collecting process and it was necessary to develop a rigorous awareness of the difficulty of maintaining an objective stance when working with somebody who belonged to self not other. It was a question of weighing biases and personal involvement against insights to be gained by the potential...
Plate 26. Hafner tiles displayed in the collector's residence prior to donation to the museum. Some of them have been framed and are presented as art.

Plate 27. The same tiles displayed in the Koerner Ceramics Gallery. The original frames were left intact and the mounting technique is suggestive of framing. Here they are also presented as art.

of accessing *la parole*. Jacques Maquet, in his book *The Aesthetic Experience*, looks at this problem and concludes:

In the conventional paradigm of the validity of knowledge, as conformity to an external object, certainly involvement is an obstacle. In our phenomenological perspective, however, involvement may be turned into an asset, particularly at the descriptive stage of our inquiry (Maquet 1986:10).
Given this and the lack of any theoretical approaches to the collecting rationale, the extended interview seemed the most appropriate research tool. Questions ranging from the general to the specific, were asked: "Do you know your family history?" "Your mother sounds like an interesting woman - was she involved with your collecting?" "How did the war effect your collecting?" His answers opened avenues to other questions and gradually a general story of his life and his beliefs was formulated. The specific questions were intended to ascertain his depth of knowledge and feelings about the collection "Tell me about this piece?" "Why is this an important piece?" "How did you collect this piece?" "Do you know what the iconography means?" and so on. These interviews were conducted over an initial period of one year (November 1988-November 1989). They took place half a day per a week at his home, his clubs, and the museum. Koerner proved to be an elusive and complex man who could talk for hours - "What would you like to know Mrs. Mayer?" - but reveal very little. Research in the university and museum archives uncovered a paucity of material on his life, only records of his donations. The mechanics of how he collected were fairly easy to discover: he seldom participated in the purchasing of pieces; auction houses and dealers knew (and still know) he was (is) a collector of European ceramics and offered him pieces they thought would interest him; he also employed agents to seek out collections for him. In the article *Art History and Art Collecting*, Joseph Alsop says that "Every kind of collecting necessarily

5. Meetings with Dr. Koerner have continued to the present day as part of an ongoing objective to record his life history in as much detail as possible.

6. Koerner would not agree to the use of a tape recorder during the interviews. The social nature of our time together made constant note-taking intrusive, so I relied on recording the conversations in shorthand after each session.
coexists with some sort of history of the things collected and a collectors market", and that art collecting "has always been the basic element in a larger system of phenomena" (1978:851). Using Alsop's concept, external factors which could have influenced the direction of Koerner's collecting were identified (see fig 30). The resulting model did not provide specific clues to Koerner's collecting rationale but it did illustrate that Koerner's collecting habits, when viewed within an art historical framework, were subject to spheres of influence which would have affected all art collectors, to some degree or other.7

![Figure 30. Relationship between collector and external factors: a model constructed from information contained in Alsop J. 1978. "Art History and Art Collecting", The Times Literary Supplement, July 18, pp.851-853.](image)

Looking for clues in his own catalogue records proved to be futile: he had hired consultants to catalogue and evaluate the collection, nothing was revealed about the collector. The catalogue information was useful in that it contained photographs and long descriptions of each piece, approximate measurements, some locations, some

7 In Kawabata's article The Collector and His Motives he does not see the collector being subjected to outside influences, rather he suggests that without him "artists would stop producing and art historians, museum curators, and art dealers would wither away" (1973:33).
identifications of place of purchase. The lack of cultural context, iconographic, or technical information demonstrated that the cataloguer's knowledge was either limited or that this contextual information was not considered relevant. There were a number of inconsistencies in the quality of the catalogue record which indicated that the range of the Koerner collection was too wide to be encompassed by one expert.

Interviews followed a pattern frequently experienced, but seldom documented, by curators: the collector and curator parrying knowledge back and forth to establish a teacher/student or collegial relationship, or a growth from one to the other. A collector will often test the curator, and curators are not adverse to demonstrating their knowledge. However, this process seldom adventures beyond knowledge pertaining to the objects - knowledge about the creator of the collection is seldom sought. It was beyond the scope of this study to record Koerner’s complete biography and research parameters were limited to obtaining data which had to do with his collecting practices and the organisation of the exhibition.

Research at Koerner’s residence included the question of whether a logic underlying his collecting practices was apparent in the manner he had displayed his collection: the Delft was in his private reading room, the stove tiles were in the receiving room, the Habanware was either in glass cabinets or arranged on the wall running up the side of the main staircase, the Italian was not localized, but was spread throughout the house (very special pieces were arranged on shelves in the dining room), the folk pottery was in the kitchen and pantry. It was concluded that his collection was part of his everyday life but its arrangement did not illustrate any obvious collecting rationale. This

*A similar interaction was experienced between curator and connoisseur (see Chapter 5)*
is not unusual: seldom are collections hidden from the eye of the collector, most collectors want to stay in touch with their collections, they do not want to forget any of it. The collection was displayed amidst furniture, paintings and other objects. There were relationships between these objects which would disappear once the ceramics were removed: "This portrait is the mother of Prince Rupert who gave Canada its early name of Rupertland, he was a Czech." Because his collecting of pottery began as a young boy, and covered a span of eighty years, it is obviously an integral part of his life, so access to his personal history was necessary in order to gain an understanding of the motives by which he was driven. He would not agree to a tape recorder, so shorthand was used. After six months of interviews he made available a private autobiography which provided valuable data in the constructing a theory of collecting pertinent to Koerner.9

When questioned about his eclectic taste he said that his appreciation of art was developed in the "orbit" of three men: a poet-philosopher, a physician and the director of the local museum in Novy Jicin. Under their tutelage he began to develop a more discerning eye. He uses the metaphor of illness when describing his collecting "disease" or "bug" and recognises that he was driven to possess and to compete with others, not to trade or sell. He says that "there is a special feeling about acquiring an object to which one can then devote steady and delighted adoration."10 He was not guided by any strong sense of preservation or trusteeship - a vague notion that he may be collecting for his family, but nothing more. He travelled extensively to Rome, Florence, and Venice where he "saw beautiful things, and collected them." As is common with many wealthy collectors, he often avoided public association with his purchases by employing agents to

9A description of his personal history is included in Chapter 4)
10These words are echoed in Bruce Chatwin's book Utz which tells the story of a porcelain collector.
buy for him, collecting was not a social occasion. He valued the rarity of the Italian
collection highly, and his knowledge was not absolutely solid in this area and he sought
validation for this part of the collection. He was wise: Italian maiolica is the subject of
much forgery and unfortunately agents and dealers are not always as diligent as they
should be. His initial reasoning for including Italian maiolica in his collection had to do
with its connection to the history of the Haban ware (Goldthwaite 1989). During the
Reformation in sixteenth-century Italy, many potters from Faenza fled north to
Switzerland where some joined the Anabaptists and taught them the technology of tin-
glazed earthenware - maiolica. They also brought with them the painterly skills which can
be seen on the early Haban ware. By including Italian maiolica, Koerner was practicing
the art of curating his collection: tracing technique and style back to its origins. This
curating continued with the acquisition of Dutch and English Delftware, made in potteries
established by fleeing Anabaptists. Curating therefore, was included in the rationale of
his collecting and was the first pentimento to be encountered: Italian potters fleeing north,
taking their skills with them; joining the Anabaptists in Central Europe or heading west to
the Netherlands and then on to England. This was the central theme of his collection and
was closely connected with his own past. Of his own childhood he wrote:

I was a member of a small minority and thus early became unusually
sensitive to the position in which all minorities find themselves. And I was a
member of that minority which has for centuries been a special object of
misunderstanding, suspicion, prejudice and oppression. (217)

He says that the Jewish faith was regarded as the mainstay of the family in time of
adversity - and yet he found that certain doors were closed to him and this rejection grew
into a resentment against racist establishments and ethnic and religious hostility. “I have
always from an early period weighed the sincerity of those I met as a result of my deep
feeling about the injustice and stupidity of racism." (pp39) He became disillusioned with organised religion and detached himself from membership of any particular section. Rather, he developed a personal belief which was based on "a reverence for the universe and a confidence that the truth, love and justice it sometimes reveals is significant...and a belief in the moral idea of brotherhood that all men should walk erect and equal and not be subject to the harm which ethnic and religious hatred so often produces" (Koerner 1988:40). Psychoanalysts agree that specifics of childhood and adolescent experience can determine the kind of arts collected (Kawabata 1973:31), and Koerner agrees that his personal experience of persecution was one of the reasons that he sought out art made by others who had been persecuted. His creation of these collections was a conscious act of rescue which constituted a framework of experience that gave order to his own life and ensured the continuance of the memory of those who had been persecuted. The power and completeness of this story ensured its inclusion in the exhibition. This story may not have been available if the right questions had not been asked - it may have remained a pentimento.

The collection continues to trace the spread of the tin-glaze tradition to German speaking countries where it challenged the existing lead-glaze ware (Hafner ware) and stoneware traditions. There were no pentimentos here: connections between his tile collection and his tin-glaze collection were not associated with his curatorial rationale, but it was a demonstration of a multiple collector. He always insisted, "I just like them." When asked why he collected stove tiles (Hafner ware), he responded, "I like nice things, they are beautiful and rare...my love for tiles has nothing to do with price." In his home he had many of them framed as individual pieces of art: the exhibition text spoke about the differing aesthetic between the high relief lead-glaze ware and the flat surface tin-
glaze ware, but the tiles were displayed as art - as he perceived them (see plates 26-27). He agreed that they reminded him of passed times, of his childhood home but that was not the sole reason for collecting them. He did not discuss them in terms of their religious or allegorical iconography, instead he repeatedly told the story of "the ladies' dislike of the smoking fires in the castles being the impetus for the installation of these smokeless stoves" (personal communication, 1989). Although this causal theory could not be confirmed in the available literature it was arguable that most North Americans would be ignorant of the intended function of these tiles. In many European museums the function was made explicit by the inclusion of actual stoves. The Koerner collection did not include one and, although the addition of a stove would have been ideal, it was thought that graphics could supply sufficient context. Dr. Koerner was aware of this omission so he sought out and purchased a sixteenth century stove at an auction in Europe. At lunch one day he said "Mrs. Mayer, I have your stove". Ironically, the stove had been broken apart so that the tiles could be sold as separate pieces of art. He purchased them all. By doing this he demonstrated a continued power of ownership by supplying the first piece of context for the installation - and context was one of the philosophical premises that constituted part of the curatorial/design conceptual framework. The purchase of this stove also began the ritual of transference: this stove was never his, it never entered his house, he always viewed it as belonging to the museum in some ways, but it was the first signal that the collection was moving beyond his control.

The collection content and involvement of the donor were beginning to become areas of concern. As a result, there was discussion revolving around the question of whether a Museum of Anthropology was the appropriate home for a European ceramics
collection, particularly one that was owned by the museum's primary benefactor. This question continues to be asked. It is an important one and is discussed in Chapter 9, but it does not relate to any dispute concerning the quality of the collection. Koerner needed to be assured of the worth of his collection because now that it was becoming public, his choices would be subject to public scrutiny.

The transformation of a private collection into a public one first involves a physical transference. There was nothing in the literature about the transferring of objects and yet, the fact that they were moving from one alternate reality to another was worthy of investigation and understanding. This was a time of tension, the removal of his collection was stripping Koerner of part of his identity and the transferring process had to be conducted sensitively - it being psychological as well as physical. In retrospect the process evolved into a carefully orchestrated ritual - a rite of passage11. Collector's feelings are seldom considered, they are presumed to be pleased to be relieved of the responsibility of their collections. However, the amount of time spent with Koerner resulted in a frequent shift from objective to subjective observation. Initially, the transfer of ownership was completed in writing: meetings with lawyers, double-checking lists, evaluations and so forth, culminated in a short letter from Dr. Koerner in which he wrote "I am pleased to give my collection to the University of British Columbia." This was not a time to arrive at the house with a truck and a crew of white-coated museum workers. A convenient time for the physical transfer was negotiated, - two weeks after the "paper" transfer.

Physical transfer of the collection took four days. Dr. Koerner and a friend who

11 At the time the process was intuitive, it seemed to be "the right thing to do".
had been involved with his collection for some years worked with us. Some things were packed quickly - others were lingered over. It was necessary to be objective towards the packing procedures but subjective towards Koerner's observation of the proceedings, to be an ally of Koerner's and disconnected from the museum - his moments with special pieces were shared, the interview process continued, lunch stopped the process, the timing was orchestrated.  

His housekeeper became involved with the ritual, apparently embarrassed by the dust which had collected on pieces: she insisted on wiping them clean before handing them over to the 'other' hands of the museum professionals. She would never touch them again - the familiar was ritualised and distanced. Once the collection was removed Koerner's pragmatism came to the fore: he had the walls repainted, had his silver collection cleaned, brought out paintings from storage and the evidence of a ceramics collection was expunged. When asked if this was a sad experience Koerner responded "No, I had made up my mind and I have no regrets." There was a flurry of attention at the time of donation: material was produced which focused on the accomplishments of the collector, the quality of the collection was praised, the objects were highlighted, but the collecting rationale of the collector was not investigated beyond how long he had been collecting and the inspiration derived from his mother.

Koerner's involvement with the gallery did not end with the transference of his collection. He was concerned about the 'look' of the gallery and what he referred to as the "furniture" - i.e. the display cases. Normally, donors do not become involved with the process of installation, but the fact that Koerner had been involved with the museum since

12 Part of the 'ritual of transference' was videotaped for future reference.
its opening, and was funding the installation as part of his donation, afforded him some role in its formulation. Exactly what that role was proved to be an area of much negotiation. The process of establishing this part of our early relationship was now extended to the designer, Herb Watson, and a triangular connection was made: the donor, curator, designer. The negotiation of space within this triangle was based on the balancing of experience and political power. There was no 'last word' - there had to be agreement. The process proved to be ultimately beneficial to all and is discussed in detail in Chapter six.

7.5. THE PALIMPSEST IN COLLECTING RATIONALE.

The term pentimento, a painter's term for something intended to be concealed but that may become transparent over time, was used as a metaphorical referent for the research on collecting rationale. The term palimpsest, an archaeological term for a hidden layer that is not apparent until uncovered, was also used as a metaphorical referent for the research on the more private motives for collecting. Prior to the installation of the ceramics collection Koerner's main contributions to the museum consisted of Northwest Coast material. A discussion of this material is included in order to locate and analyse connections between his rationale for collecting in two such diverse cultural areas which were to be displayed adjacent to each other. Was there a palimpsest to be located? Would it be important to the development of the storyline for the new gallery. It could be argued that a portion of Koerner's ceramics collection, the Haban ware, were symbolic of the power of the belief systems of the Anabaptists: once these systems were eroded by the existing religious establishment the rules of manufacture relaxed significantly, the ceramics lost their purity of form and decoration and they were relegated to the realm of folk art.
By collecting the earlier 'purer' ceramics, at a time when they were virtually ignored by other collectors, Koerner has guaranteed that the power of the Anabaptist beliefs, symbolised as he thought in their ceramics, is not forgotten.

The anthropological literature has many examples of the use of objects, the motorcar, the spear, etc., as symbols of power. The few studies on the relationship between objects and self have dwelled on status symbolism. Status is also a form of power that is different from that associated with the motorcar or spear in that it consists of "respect, consideration and envy of others. A person with status sets the standards and norms by which others will act, and in this way embodies the goals of a culture" (Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton 1987:29). An object obtains status by being rare, expensive, often old, and attracting the attention of people who have status (ibid: 30) - the owner of such status symbols is looked up to by those with less power and therefore this ownership is an expression of the power to control others. This concept of ownership can be applied to the colonial administrators of the Northwest Coast who appropriated objects of status, religion and power from the other and displayed them as trophies: symbols of the power of self over other. This power was also embodied in new rules of behaviour which contradicted, and made illegal, existing indigenous customs.

Potlatches were forbidden and the associated artifacts were confiscated or sold to dealers. By collecting certain ceramics Koerner helped document the history of the struggle of the Anabaptist against their oppressors, by collecting Northwest Coast artifacts he became part of the documentation of the struggle to return status and power to a living people.

Koerner had been exposed to some Northwest Coast art in European museums, but when he saw it in its natural setting he "realized with a sense of awe that he was in the presence of one of the great art representations of the world." When he first arrived in
British Columbia he spent time with the First Nations People and learned, to his surprise, that the land he logged was not regarded as his and there existed a concept of ownership that was quite different to his. He also learned of deep feelings regarding past wrongs and a determination to regain status and reassert collective identity - this was something he could relate to. When asked whether he recognised a connection between his Northwest Coast and European collections, he agreed that he identified his own history of racial and religious persecution with that of the First Nations of the Northwest Coast and the Anabaptists of Central Europe. However, he also insisted that this was very personal and only one of the reasons that he collected from these two areas; others had to do with the constituents of connoisseurship. This palimpsest, obviously very personal and private, was only uncovered after much trust had been established, and his resistance to it being made public resulted in it not being overtly included in the development of the exhibition storyline.

He believed that the First Nations should have remained in the forests and not migrated to the cities since they did not fare well there: "There was no employment, they had no status". He believed that they could recover their culture by reviving their art which symbolised the strength of their past: he gave them lumber and tools and told them he would buy what they made. He was practicing a form of instrumental materialism: the cultivation of objects as essential means for discovering and furthering goals so that the objects are instruments used to realize those goals. (Czikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1987:231, Cannizzo 1991:155). Whenever he spoke about this time in his life he constantly referred to the role of the Church in destroying (by burning) First Nations' houses and poles: "The Church made them Christians but treated them like enemies". Determined to rescue the pieces that had already left the country, he became friends with
Wilson Duff, an early British Columbian anthropologist, and studied the art and culture and identified himself as "walking in the footsteps" of the anthropologists Franz Boas and Marius Barbeau.

He noted that UBC had no courses in anthropology and the provincial museum had a collection but it was poorly cared for. "From the point of view of the collector, it was a good time to enter the field. I knew from experience that such periods of neglect were the best times to buy, interest in the art was negligible and so were prices" (Koerner 1988:141). He employed agents to buy pieces on the world market and, in effect, created a market - he was determined to repatriate what he saw as British Columbian and Canadian heritage. "I am proud of my role in rescuing from neglect these pieces of great art. I am also proud of my small role in reviving the tradition of carving among the native people, and I am happy to see how appreciation of Northwest Coast Indian art has grown over the past forty years until now in the 1980s it is recognized for what it is: one of the world's great artistic expressions" (Koerner, personal communication 1989). He hopes that now that the art is recognized that the attitude of the white population toward First Nations people will change. The appreciation of Anabaptist ware is yet to be realised.

7.6. SUMMARY
The time with Koerner was invaluable. Each object in his collection shared certain characteristics identifying them as artifacts: they no longer functioned, they were preserved, they were historical/cultural documents and demonstrated evidence of technique. These characteristics do not change, but what can change is the rationale of the collector: Koerner's had moved from one of ownership to trusteeship, which explained his attitude towards his collections - and the ease with which he could part with
them. If the gallery had been organised according to the information made available in his catalogues and some of our conversations, it would not have looked substantially different. This rationale had to do with connoisseurship which, in the gallery setting, is usually indicated by emphasising the singularity of the object within a complimentary ambiance: labels recite the litany of rarity, age, and technical virtuosity. The Masterpiece Gallery in the Museum of Anthropology literally displayed these same attributes of Northwest Coast art, so the collector's rationale was in harmony with the existing philosophy of the museum's exhibition policy. However, the lack of contextual labelling was constantly criticised in the existing museum exhibitions, so labelling content was an area of negotiation. Alongside, or integrated with, his motivations of connoisseurship another more hidden rationale was located - one to do with cultural meaning. The first clue was the range of the collection which reached outside the parameters of connoisseurship towards folk art, which shares parallels with the concepts underlying tribal art. This multiple collector saw himself as rescuing the arts of the persecuted and using them to release the narrative of their history and re-establishing their power. This palimpsest of his collecting is not articulated elsewhere in the museum's existing exhibitions and, Koerner did not see it as being relevant to the displaying of his collection; its relevance lies perhaps more in its contribution to the further development of collecting theories. Only those who paid attention to Koerner-related labels throughout the museum might perceive some connections between the Northwest Coast and the European collections.

Working with the collector and taking the time to search beyond his stated rationale did provide new significant approaches to the storyline and the display technique. However, adding the voice of the collector to that of the curator and designer, can add
or subtract to the coherence of the exhibition conversation. The attainment of balance between those involved with the exhibition is fundamental to its measurable success. Information gathered during time with Koerner became an integral part of the research model developed for the organisation of the collection. On reflection, collecting rationale can be seen in the gallery in such themes as the story of the Anabaptists, the recontextualising of tiles as art objects, the singularity of "masterpieces". From this it can be proposed that the collector's rationale can be a powerful transformer in that it can emphasise some meanings and suppress others, it can assert some truths and ignore others.
CHAPTER EIGHT - ANALYSIS OF PRAGMATIC AND PHILOSOPHICAL FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH EXHIBITIONS.

8.1. INTRODUCTION

Exhibitions are the vehicle curators of anthropology use to present ideas to audiences not reached by academic/technical writing. Before translating ideas into a tangible exhibition accessible to this different "museum" audience, the curator should understand the context within which the exhibition process functions. This includes knowing that architecture, exhibition spaces, preparation facilities, and accessibility of the collection are physical considerations underpinned by philosophical constraints which together inform the size, structure, technical virtuosity, and timing of the exhibition. The curatorial content of the exhibition has to be negotiated within this general context. The curator's anthropological role transforms from gatherer and researcher of information in the cultural environment of the "Other", to conveyor and translator of information in the cultural environment of "Self" - the museum.

This association is, as a rule, formally recognised at the initial planning stages of an exhibition and incorporated into the process, sometimes as a constraint and sometimes as a negotiable guideline. As will be shown, this association is not necessarily instigated by the exhibition process, nor is it mutually exclusive to exhibitions. Rather it is, to borrow some Boasian historicism, both an end product of a historical process and generated as part of the ongoing creation of history. Although the exhibition's constituent parts can be considered individually, they operate within a functionalist paradigm - each part being interdependent and "serving in a complex of necessary relations to maintain the whole" (in Evans-Pritchard 1968:49). So, although most museum curators include contemporary
physical/philosophical and/or financial considerations when planning an exhibition, they seldom consider the historical context. It is argued here, as it was in Chapter two, that by recognising and incorporating these historical considerations into the exhibition's functional/structural paradigm, the anthropological singular empiricist "this is the way it is" model can be transformed into a museological multifarious humanistic "these are the reasons why things are the way they are" model. This reflexive approach was incorporated into the conceptual framework being developed for the Koerner gallery.

This chapter, then, will examine how the development of the building, the exhibition spaces and the non-public spaces of the UBC Museum of Anthropology was determined by philosophical, physical, and financial considerations. The (literally) concrete product of these considerations had to be an integral part of the research tool if the new gallery was to harmonize with what already existed. Information was gathered and analysed within a reflexive observer/participant, and therefore inherently subjective, framework. Throughout this thesis it has been noted that all anthropological fieldwork has elements of subjectivity, an "indecisive struggle to convert a personal experience into a 'scientific' one" (Freedman 1978:105).

8.2. THE BUILDING.

The functions of museums are changing - they are no longer only places to observe and contemplate - they are now performance centres, teaching and study centres, with retail shops and spaces to rent (Ames 1991, Cameron 1971:11-23). The architecture is intended to be reflective of the "modern" tendency toward buildings that

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1 One of the most positive responses to the New Wing has been that it created a lower lobby space which could be rented out for special events, thus increasing the museum's revenue.
are flexible, open spaces which advocate the process of "desanctification of the work of art [and] the production and consumption of culture" (Montaner 1986:13), an "instrument to democratize culture" (Herreman 1989:197). However, this recognition of increasing functional complexity is not reflected in the architecture (Montaner 1986) perhaps because an endlessly flexible building is unlikely to be an architectural statement. Many designers continue to believe that "museums are to serve as dignified repositories for symbols and icons of days gone by," (Vonier 1988:27) and the architecture affirms an ideological stance which recognises the power and social authority of a patron class, or the federal government (Duncan 1980, Ames 1992). The space is pharonic, tomb-like, reverential, and the museum visit is a silent legitimizing ritual which incorporates the acceptance of objects displayed as universal truths and the unquestioning recognition of the absolute authority of the creator(s) of these universal truths.

From the outside, the architecture of a museum reflects nineteenth- or twentieth-century ideas about what a museum should look like: church, palace, manor, bunker, historic house, office building. The image projected, be it grand or modest, creates an expectation which is carried by the visitor into the museum: hence, the building becomes a cultural artifact encoded as a response, or perhaps a monument, to government funding or the architect's ego. If an architect is uncompromising the building may be "a

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2 In 1972 (September and November), *Museum News* devoted two issues to museum architecture. Of note are those articles by Raymond Harrison on the Provincial Museum of Alberta, Olga Hughes on Storage Systems, MacDonald Becket on the Total Design Concept and a round-table discussion of museum designers and consultants discussing museum design as it effects their work. Particularly useful is the bibliography compiled of architecture and related articles (vol.52/53, pp42).

piece of art but an ineffectual building" (Pei quoted in Museum News 1972:12). Even if a museum is built specifically to house a given collection, as was the case with MOA, the architectural interpretation remains temporally fixed and usually spatially inadequate (Duncan 1980, Herreman 1989).

Even though more museums have been designed and built in Canada during the late 1970s and 1980s than ever before in the country's history 4, there are some museum professionals who would still agree with Sir Flinders Petrie when, in 1926, he wrote "...The first step in building a museum is to hang the eminent architect." Nearly seventy years later, it can be argued that the proliferation of new buildings has served to accentuated the tensions between architects and museum professionals. Architects experiment with new ideas but "the end product is a new building which may generate some excitement but there is a shared sentiment that the museum's requirements are not met" (Vonier 1988:26). Most would also agree that there is no one way to exhibit collections or build the museum to house them as attempts to accommodate all requirements could result in a "throw-away kind of museum." (Pei 1972:12) Montaner says that "within the museum building can be found various significant aspects of Post modernism: cultural politics, mass tourism and the mythification of travel, the search for figurative value in architectural forms the utilization of spaces from architectural history and the necessity for spaces and forms to house valuable objects, spaces and forms that

inter-related with the work of art, with the object rescued from the commonplace, with history, with the public and its collective memory" (Montana 1986:28, see also Herreman 1989:197).

The architecture of the Museum of Anthropology has been referred to as "a metaphor for the art of Northeast (sic) America that it exhibits" (Montaner 1986:45). There is no doubt that the large Northwest Coast carvings strongly influenced the architecture of the new museum and subsequently the message to be read by the visitor. Arthur Erickson said of his design that it was his intention "to convey the idea to all of those who visit the museum, and those who study it, that at one time on this coast, there was a noble and great response to this land that has never been equalled since" (Ames, unpublished paper n.d.). Those who visit the museum are ensured of a slow approach to the building because the width of the stairs leading to the entrance are too wide to negotiate with one stride and too narrow to negotiate with two. Twelve years after the opening of the museum of anthropology Vonier asks whether architects are "too busy toying with self-referential ideas and forms [to] care about the public and curatorial consequences of [their] design[s]" (Vonier 1988:27)

It is a maxim of architecture that form must follow function, i.e., a museum building should be created for or adapted to its own unique operations (Inverarity 1959, Pei 1959, Burcaw 1972). Curator, Audrey Hawthorn noted in her paper "Centennial Museum of Man at the University of British Columbia" that "the building should meet the specialized needs of modern care and display of the collections, of public information and enjoyment, of offices for the faculty associated with the museum uses, and of classrooms.

7. There were sufficient number of complaints and accidents as a result of the unfamiliar width of the entrance steps that yellow safety lines were drawn to delineate between each stair.
for students whose work makes use of the collection (c. 1972). G. Ellis Burcaw proposes in his book *Introduction to Museology* that a "balance must be struck between the building as an attractive object in its own right and its being a neutral setting for the exhibits" (Burcaw 1972:119). The Museum of Anthropology exhibits neutrality in its construction of glass, concrete, and grey carpets and it can be argued that the form of parts of the building is either a powerful architectural statement which functions on different levels of visual impact to the contents or as the contents main competitor. It does not, however, demonstrate neutrality in the architect's intent that "the museum should reassure our Indians of the greatness of their culture, and perhaps give them back some of their dignity and confidence, which was taken away by conquest, and then more humiliatingly, later, by welfare" (Erickson quoted in Iglauer 1981:113, italics added).

The building is a paradox; it looks like a temple but, with its commitment to teaching, claims to be a forum. It does not adhere to Burcaw's concept that "a building of modern design suggesting wealth and refinement would hardly be proper as a setting for a museum of rugged life on the great plains" (Burcaw 1972:119). Could it be a "proper" setting for European pottery? Visitor questionnaires have indicated that few realize the UBC Museum of Anthropology's post-and-beam construction echoes that of Northwest coast dwellings (see plate 28). It is also difficult to agree with Hawthorn's comment that the design is "low-keyed, thoughtful, ideally suited to the wooded, water-bound setting" (Hawthorn 1976:57), or Selz who refers to the building as "a subtle

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8 The impressive "back door" of the museum is more photographed and accepted as the image of the museum than the functional entrance of the museum which is more closely associated with a car park than the natural environment.
Plate 28. The University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology. The post and beam construction with the large glass windows is the public image of the museum. This view can be seen when the visitor walks away from the entrance and around the building. There are no entrances on this side.

metaphor for the arrangement of an Indian Village in its orientation to the sea and forest" (1981:529). All these facts and subtleties are not publicly recorded and therefore are not accessible to the visitor. More obviously, the building does conform to the idea that a museum building should itself be a piece of art, rather than simply a repository of art (Thompson 1991). Most visitors and writers about the building view the architectural features of the museum as the main contribution to the museum's uniqueness and what makes it an atypical museum (Coull 1982, Klein 1986, Pierre 1983, Selz 1981). When the
new wing was added to the museum, Arthur Erickson was once again the architect. The resulting structure echoes the same philosophical underpinnings found in the original building: the cross beam construction, the high ceilings, the grey concrete and carpeting - it continues in the mode of being overpoweringly neutral, a manipulation of volume and material, rather than a "response to social and psychological context" (Wines 1988:58).

8.3. EXHIBITION SPACES

The Museum of Anthropology has three types of permanent exhibition spaces:

The Great Hall - a large light-filled gallery built to house massive Northwest Coast sculptures; the Masterpiece Gallery - a low-lit gallery housing small Northwest Coast artifacts; and Visible Storage housing the rest of the collections (with the exception of light- or culturally-sensitive material which is kept in separate storage). Each of these galleries respond to differing philosophies and are subject to their own physical and financial constraints. The question for this case study was "how can harmony rather than competition be established between these three galleries and the gallery in the new wing?"

8.3.1. THE GREAT HALL

The two primary activities of any museum - preservation and display - can be viewed as contradictory and are a challenge for both designer and curator. The question of controlling the environment and the preservation of objects was not a priority in Erickson's design - the design criteria for the Great Hall was to be "primarily theatrical and

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"Not discussed here are the two temporary galleries, the rotunda gallery housing a single sculpture and the auditorium used for two-dimensional displays."
aesthetic" (arch. specs. 1972:27). The legacy is one of deteriorating artifacts in a magnificent setting, a setting that was not a new idea but rather one that can be traced back to the grand nineteenth-century architectural statements found in such places as the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, and the Museum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris (Parr 1959:313-334). These halls were used primarily as ceremonial spaces and later as exhibition halls - the Great Hall at the Museum of Anthropology is used as both. In a 1977 survey 50% of those surveyed chose the Great Hall as the focal point of their description of their visit, and an overwhelming majority of those concentrated on the architecture using words such as "lightness," "high ceilings," "windows," "spaciousness," and "a real visual experience" (Macfarlane 1977: 24). The building and its contents are clearly treated as independent aesthetic elements, the first dominating the second. This was viewed as a challenge to the design and curatorship of the new wing where the architecture was massive, echoing the Great Hall, yet the objects were small. The architect would not lower ceilings or agree to any interior walls because these would compromise the continuity of his design. This precluded the possibility of introducing a directed route through the exhibition and a challenge to create a comfortable environment for both the objects and the visitor.

The designer of the Great Hall installation, Rudy Kovach, recommended that the massive poles not be accompanied with graphics and left to "speak for themselves." The staff did not agree with this pre-post-modern exhibition style and argued for some context: photographs of the poles prior to their removal from their original sites were mounted at the base of the now-erect poles. The photographs showed poles leaning precariously or fallen with foliage growing over them. Visitor surveys indicated that these photographs actually reinforced the concept that the cultures represented were gone/passed/dead. To
rectify this artist, Gordon Miller\(^{10}\), prepared illustrations which showed the poles as they would have appeared when initially installed by their makers in their first reality. This reality was a reconstructed two-dimensional image placed next to the three-dimensional "real thing" existing in this time and place constructed museum reality. To demonstrate their resistance to change these illustrations were etched onto metal plates and situated at the base of the appropriate re-erected poles in the Great Hall. These poles are also contextualised, or deconstructed, by the outside world where there are other newer totem poles and Haida houses which can be seen through the glass wall of the Great Hall. Clifford, in his article "Four Northwest Coast Museums" sees this as the museum's most important message: "...Tribal works are part of an ongoing, dynamic tradition. The museum displays its works of art as part of an inventive process, not as treasures salvaged from a vanished past". (in Karp 1991:220-221). The inside and outside are only separated by transparent glass - the grey carpet inside meeting the grey concrete outside which is sitting on the gravel and grass. It was the architect's intention, following tenets of Japanese architecture, that there be visual continuity between inner and outer space.

The Great Hall, because of its massive expanses of glass reaching forty-five feet to the ceiling, is subject to the changing temperatures and humidity levels of the outside world.\(^{11}\) There is no doubt that natural light helps create a "people-friendly"

\(^{10}\) The same artist was used to illustrate the technology of tin glazing in the new gallery.

\(^{11}\) The nearby Vancouver Museum was constructed as three gardens, each surrounded by four galleries which had glass walls facing the gardens. Because of the fluctuating light and temperature it was decided to roof over the gardens which left the museum with glass windows facing courtyard galleries. The solution resulted in a confusing traffic flow, 'black box' galleries, and a loss of the outside world. Windows in museums are always controversial but the balance between 'public comfort' and 'artifact comfort' is worth consideration. The consequences of this were demonstrated in the past few years: three
environment and architects see light as an important factor in building design (Brawne 1982). Douglas Cardinal, architect of the Museum of Civilization, Ottawa, spent much time with curators and conservators trying to reach a compromise with their concerns and his own philosophy. He says

Light is the way that you see forms and shapes, and the use of light is very important to modulate the forms to develop a sense of drama and a sense of presence. So, to introduce as much dramatic natural light as possible has always been my petition. Natural light, too, has a special quality at each different time of the day in the different seasons, so the building is an ever-changing dynamic form, inside and outside, with the introduction of natural light. This, I believe, makes the building alive and vital. It’s necessary for people to be stimulated and it’s part of the human experience to be stimulated by all the forces of nature. That keeps us alive (Cardinal 1986:9).

Two elements of the Great Hall were initially integral architectural components that were to influence the design for the new wing. First, the use of natural light and second the stepped shape with its soaring ceilings\(^1\). The concept of exhibiting small vessels in a thirty-two foot high gallery was seen as a physical and intellectual challenge rather than a constraint. Whereas the association of the size of the Great Hall with the massive sculptures was familiar some consideration had to be given to whether "great halls are best used for the display of the smallest objects, which...insure maximum difference in scale and minimum danger of esthetic conflict or interference between container and contents" (Parr 1959:323)\(^2\). The concept of ‘massiveness’ and contextuality was

\(^1\) This separation of building and content is supported by Duncan Cameron, ex director of the Glenbow Museum, who criticises the low ceilings at the Glenbow "Even when the exhibits don’t poke up into the ceiling, the lighting fixtures poke down onto the exhibits. The exhibits are painted black and every

\(^2\) Natural light was eliminated after the curator/designer research trip in favour of a totally controlled environment.
incorporated into the Koerner Gallery with the use of two devices, lighting that was concentrated on the human level of interaction and monumental case design with contextualised contents. (plates 29-30).

8.3.2. THE MASTERPIECE GALLERY

The Masterpiece Gallery contains selections from the Koerner collection of Northwest Coast artifacts; it is a small rectangular space which has windows on one side covered with ultraviolet filters. These windows both separate the museum interior from the Northwest Coast exterior and contextualise one with the other. Little has been written about this gallery other than referring to it within the framework of its own title. The objects, the small sculptures, are presented in floor-to-ceiling glass cases as art or jewellery, described on tombstone labels, i.e. object name, material, tribal group, artist (if known), date (if known). They are intended to illustrate a modernist theory based on the idea that there are universal aesthetic qualities that have nothing to do with time, place or culture. The visitor can see the objects in a 360° span but no contextual information is given and new and old sit side by side as "timeless masterpieces" in our ethnographic present. The concept of masterpiece was borrowed from western art history and "elements which were vital signifiers of meaning to the original users were stripped away to facilitate the appreciation of formal qualities" (Phillips 1988:65). The gallery is presented within a holistic framework which presumes visitor knowledge will be sufficient to "intuit" the connection between the objects displayed and their roles as "masterpieces". What about effort has been made to minimize the distraction of exposed hardware, but it is undeniably there" (1977:30).
objects not displayed? Objects such as textiles and basketry, sacred and culturally sensitive material, everyday tools. The question "does their absence disqualify them as masterpieces?" remains unanswered.

Plate 29. The massive display cases in the Koerner Ceramics Gallery.

Plate 30. The massive sculpture displayed in the Great Hall.
At the time of installation the choice of objects was left to the designers who were aware of "a vague desire to show the 'good stuff'" and the need to "create a small 'shrine' to the Koerners" whose wishes to see the objects displayed as art resulted in "jewellery style" lighting and concentration on individuality (McLennan personal communication, 1993). This was aesthetic/political dualism that precipitated a permanent exhibition which, unlike the Great Hall, appeared to be an intimate, quiet and contemplative. "The visitor is transported through two contrasting worlds of Northwest Coast material culture, from the monumental...to the diminutive" (Hawthorn n.d.). The pieces are displayed as art because Dr. Koerner, and others, saw them as art. Post-modernism is deconstructing the term 'masterpiece' and yet the idea of singling out "connoisseur" pieces for concentrated study endures. The interaction between a visitor and one or two objects is a valid and sought after experience and one thought to be appropriate for the new wing. The question posed for the Koerner collection was "can pieces be separated out for inspection for reasons other than those associated with connoisseurship?" The answer proved to be a qualified "no". The extraction of objects from similar objects does not differ significantly from the extraction of unique objects. The act of selection indicates to the viewer a special quality which becomes attached to the object - it becomes an icon regardless of curatorial intent. The one possibility of addressing this special quality was with labelling which provided reasons why some pieces were singled out: reasons to do with technology, function and social history rather than presumptions of connoisseurship.

The Post-Modern approach resulted in a plurality of opinions but the "specialness" of the

14. Bill McLennan was one of the designers of the Masterpiece Gallery.
objects endured, and the deconstructing of "masterpiece" is yet to be totally successfully passed on to the museum visitor.

8.3.3. Visible Storage

The Museum of Anthropology displays all of its collection - a philosophical stance associated with the ideology of the museum that was to be reflected in the new wing. An understanding of why this philosophy developed and how it has manifested as well as the negative and positive associated with it were important considerations in the development of the conceptual framework for the new gallery.

The museum started to offer formal courses in 1963 and the Hawthorns used objects extensively in their teaching and believed that "the first priority of a teaching museum should be to have all objects kept safely but visible to students and the interested public" (Hawthorn 1976:56). The museum's commitment to teach museology and the anthropology of art and material culture developed into the philosophy behind the creation of visible storage which involved a complete rethinking of the teaching and research functions of the museum: a post-modern concept, paralleled by the architecture, that proposed "to make available to the public the entire collection of the museum; to share it all, keeping nothing hidden away in the private parts of the museum" (Halpin 1976:304), or, as the director noted, "All of our cataloguing mistakes are open to public inspection" (Ames 1977:73). Now, the visitor alongside the scholar had the opportunity to become a

15 Duncan Cameron, former director of the Glenbow Institute, Calgary, proposed a widening of the concept of accessibility to include not only artifacts but also people - the human resources of the museum. Instead of staff being invisible, they would be placed 'on view' for the public to access. This would require more space and more money - neither were available in the planning stages at the Museum of Anthropology.
student of all cultures, his role changing from passive to active - seeking information
rather than being fed it. The architect, Arthur Erickson, joins this confessional chorus:
"your superconscious finding what's relevant to you" and "here the whole mess, good and
bad, gives you the opportunity to train your eye and teach yourself, which is the only way
to learn. It's wrong for anyone to assume he can teach anyone else" (quoted in Iglauer

Within such a context it was difficult to identify parts of the collection that would
be more inherently useful or significant than others. Space constraints prevented the
display of the entire collection within curatorial or cultural selection principles. An
ordering system was developed based on a grid which was composed of two intersecting
dimensions: one referring to culture, the other to object. The cultural classification was
based on Murdock's Ethnographic Atlas which divided the world into six regions,
subdivided into a total of sixty areas. Objects are assigned to areas within identified
cultural groups if possible. It was thought that even the most poorly identified piece could
be allocated to a region, and then await further research. The objects within any of these
sectors were then grouped according to a principle of object classification which
contained fourteen categories.16

Physically, Visible Storage is a windowless area divided into the 'new' and 'old'
world, containing three sizes of 'storage boxes': drawer units for small objects, glass
shelves behind locked glass doors for medium-size objects and 'walk-in' cases for the
larger objects. These 'boxes' are organised in a series of bays which delineate regions

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16The categories were: dress and adornment; masks; music and noisemakers; toys and games; mortuary
objects; representations; instruments and utensils; containers; furnishings and architectural features;
transportation; media of exchange; records (and objects used to keep them): models; miscellaneous.
Each of these categories carried an explanatory text for the catalogue. (Halpin 1976:306)
identified on maps at the entrance of each bay (see plate 31) and each bay contains the
data book relevant to that area. It was thought that the visitor could perceive the visible
storage area as a library, the information being there for retrieval if wished, but the act of
retrieval being driven by a spirit of enquiry rather than obligation. To be able to see the
quantity and variety of tribal cultural traditions is an act of discovery not possible in most
museums. Surveys have since shown that this works reasonably well with students and
partly associated with the act of retrieval. Each group of artifacts is identified primarily
by drawn outlines and catalogue numbers. The grouping is then identified by its object
category, i.e. representation, by its associated catalogue book, i.e. 12b, and by the cultural
group, i.e., Haida and then by the cultural area, i.e. Northwest Coast. To access the
catalogue page, the visitor or student must remember or write down the book number, the
category and the catalogue number. The process is cumbersome and surveys have
shown it takes one person an average of three trips between object and catalogue to
locate the information (see Macfarlane 1977:32). Having found the data sheet many
complained that the data was insufficient - this was not an intentional omission but rather
an indication of the paucity of knowledge. Regardless, it can be argued that the true
potential of the concept is undermined by the lack of clarity exercised in its presentation.
For the visitor, visible storage is an unorganised version of other displays seen elsewhere
in the museum (see Macfarlane 1977, Stott 1991). In the Koerner Gallery the philosophy
of 'visible storage' is present but very difficult to detach from the rest of the gallery.

Most visitors did not understand that visible storage was different from an
exhibition concept and therefore their evaluation of what they saw was based on exhibition
expectations. Many complained of visual pollution with too many objects making the
mixture confusing. Some museum professionals as well do not like visible storage for a number of reasons: the potential confusion for the visitor; the removal of the curator as intermediary between the object and the viewer; the display of objects which were collected only for study purposes; the loss of privacy for the museum staff; and the need to increase interpretation-oriented programmes to make sense of it all. Ames notes that "the attitudes towards storage techniques are linked to more deeply felt notions about the role and use of knowledge in society, such as the extent to which knowledge should be structured and mediated by professionals or liberated from institutional interpretations" (1986:30). The liberation of knowledge removes power from curators and questions the validity of the "authoritative" voice. Visible storage systems seldom offer interpretations, rather they offer information which can be interpreted by the reader, or not. They also, it can be argued, "provoke an intimate sense of discovery, the excitement of an attic rather than the staged sublimity of great art" (Clifford in Karp 1991:222).

The use of the visible storage concept as a reflection of the ideology of the museum was adopted in the new wing (see plate 32). Not only was all the knowledge located to be accessible but the source of the knowledge was also to be recognised and wherever possible to be primary and unmediated. This resulted in five levels of possible choices for the visitor: tombstone labels for each object, introductory panels, narrative labels describing the technology and social history associated with individual objects, maps situating the objects geographically, narrative panels relating the objects to each other, and catalogue books giving colour photo(s) of each object, physical data and all known reference material. All this information could be altered or added in concert with
changing world-events or acquisition of new knowledge\textsuperscript{17}.

Artifacts that are on permanent display are susceptible to increased environmental and security risks. It is pertinent to this study that the architect, when drawing up the plans for the non-public spaces, omitted a conservation laboratory because the Canadian Conservation Institute had proposed opening a branch office in Vancouver and all work could be sent to them. The branch office did not materialise and neither did the conservation laboratory.

Conservation concerns expressed about the existing galleries included high lux levels produced by fluorescent tubing situated at the top of the many shelved display units: the artifacts on the top shelves received considerably higher concentration of lighting than those on the lower shelves. The spread of ambient light was insufficient for these lower shelves which resulted in poorly lit objects. Some lights were removed to lower the light levels, others were covered with UV filters which reduced the light levels at the top of the cases but also at the bottom. Choosing lighting was a financial decision which, as with most money-saving decisions, produced inadequate results which in turn have necessitated labour-intensive solutions. In the past fifteen years, lighting technology has advanced considerably and the addition of a new wing was an opportunity to consider halogen, fibre optics, and other lighting systems. Ames has noted that "some risk in regards to light is perhaps one of the trade offs between preservation and access that a teaching museum is obliged to accept" (Ames 1981:26). The enduring qualities of ceramics made this less problematic for the new wing. Lighting systems were investigated during the initial design/curatorial research trip and the most effective proved to be halogen because it

\textsuperscript{17} The labels were prepared with a computer programme so changing labels is simple compared to earlier periods when labels were typeset or silk-screened.
could both function as a spot and flood thus enabling the designer to control the relationship between ambient light and highlights.  

Other areas of concern to the conservator included open-topped cases in the Visible Storage area which allow dust and objects tossed by visitors to enter the cases, and glass shelves susceptible to earthquakes. Aesthetic concerns are sometimes subjective and certainly change with fashion: glass shelves that once looked so clean are dusty, are hooked onto 1970s green pegboard, and are holding objects at heights that cannot be easily accessed.

Display cases were once pieces of furniture which dominated museum galleries and were often well made enough to be considered objects in their own right (Selzer 1985). Today they have adopted a lower profile and most museum professionals regard them as obstacles to overcome rather than vehicles to enhance (Guichen G. and C. Kabaoglu 1985:64-67). The functional and aesthetic requirements are often positioned as inverse dualities which entrap and isolate the object: strong/invisible, secure/accessible, standardised/flexible, low-light/highlight. These 'functional/structural' requirements hold true for temporary and permanent exhibitions. The elements contained in the modular systems used for temporary exhibitions have become models for the display units used in permanent exhibitions.

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18. A secondary system of fluorescent lights proved unnecessary and now function as emergency lighting.

19. Vancouver is in an earthquake zone and recent experiments with the mounting systems in the Visible Storage at Museum of Anthropology demonstrated the futility of the mounts when subjected to earthquake conditions (Clavir Miriam, unpublished report, Museum of anthropology, 1992). See also Washizuka Hiromitsu "Protection Against Earthquakes in Japan" in *Museum* 1985: 119-122).

20. All modular systems are not successful. In her article "Swedish Paradox" Ann Andren, exhibition designer, notes criticisms of display cases specially made for a new museum "In our opinion" say the
between the ideologies reflected in the elegant glass cases in the Masterpiece Gallery and
the utilitarian units in the Visible Storage area. These ideologies are not articulated
anywhere in the museum and there is no indication that the culture of the museum is
questioning either. It can be argued that the physical separateness of the two installations
diminishes the potential of recognising one as a democratic exercise where "all [the]
collection and the data about them [are] immediately available to the public" (Vastokas
1976:11, author's italics) and the other as an autocratic exercise where "pieces selected at
some past moment in time [are] arranged by one curator to suit his theoretical orientation
or his particular aesthetic taste" (Vastokas 1976:11). It can be further argued that
objects in Visible Storage chosen for the Masterpiece Gallery were to be perceived within
contemporary modernist theory of a universal aesthetic but in reality they were
recontextualised and the data about them was reduced to tombstone dimensions. The
more the two installations are analysed the clearer it becomes that they are in
physical/philosophical opposition. One hypothesis for the new wing proposed that
incorporating all of the ideologies at work in the museum into the new space could result
in a compatibility between the two entities. Another hypothesis proposed that technical
and conservation advances could be incorporated into the new space as a demonstration of
the museum's awareness of contemporary criticisms of existing installations.

architect and curator, "the show-case system works badly. It is too heavy and is far too unstable when an
exhibition has to be taken down". Also, the positioning of holes and slots was inflexible, the glass was
cut too small, the cases have no roofs and external lighting set up reflections in the glass. (in Museum
1985:113-114).
3.4. NON PUBLIC SPACES.

The architectural tenet that buildings should be designed from the inside out and that form should follow function is seldom demonstrated well in the final form. Inadequate office spaces, inflexible design resistant to change or expansion is the norm (Inverarity 1959:293-303). The design literature tends to favour working out the visitor/museum building relationship but not the museum professional/museum building relationship (Thompson 1991:74). There is no doubt that current non-public spaces in the Museum of Anthropology are inadequate and the construction of a new wing offered an opportunity to help rectify this problem. However, as Michael Brawne, an architect, has pointed out "all architectural design deals with the solution of highly enmeshed problems, many of which depend on value judgments strongly guided by cultural and historical awareness" (1982:141). Yorke Edwards, former director of the Royal Columbia Provincial Museum, has also noted that few architects "have done their homework on what a museum needs or how it functions, and fewer still will be guided easily by anyone who knows what is needed from experience" (Edwards 1977:8).21 During the early planning stages the designer and curator were asked how much space was required for the Koerner collection. Both estimated approximately 4,200 square feet, which left approximately 4,000 square feet. How much of this space would be public? Would the ratio of public to non public be different in the new wing? Should it be different?

21. Articles on the design successes and failure in six museums are included in Museum, 1989, vol.XLI.No.3 pp.139-178. This is a useful series of articles which examines museums in Indian, U.S.A., Ecuador, Denmark, France, USSR, and Italy which have been built in the last 20-40 years.
In the original architectural specifications the designers identified a psychological environment wherein "the staff and their work areas are to be conceptually and perceptually accessible to the public" (1972:7). This was a popular idea of the time, also investigated by the Glenbow Institute in Calgary and at the Burke Museum in Washington. The concept of being accessible but not "on view" was accepted but not articulated so the public perception of accessibility has never been actively encouraged. The museum is organised on two physical levels referred to by staff as "upstairs" and "downstairs", terms which reflect the unstated, but shared, interpretation of the socio-political organisation. Twelve offices were installed for staff working "upstairs" and two offices for staff working "downstairs". Functions such as design, photography, registration, documentation, archives, shipping and receiving, and fumigation were "downstairs", invisible, poorly lit, poorly ventilated and crowded. Physical and mechanical security devices are also dealt with summarily by the architect with the comment that they "should not be allowed to destroy and or detract from the desired design psychological environment" (1972:27). The new wing was to be situated between the "upstairs" and "downstairs" environments, creating a "mezzanine". How would this alteration in the physical environment effect the internal socio-political organisation and would the creation of this new gallery instigate change in the museum's relationship with the external socio/economic/political world?

8.5. SUMMARY OF PHILOSOPHICAL, PHYSICAL AND FINANCIAL CONSIDERATIONS

In 1988 when plans to add a new wing became a reality, Arthur Erickson, in

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22 Over the years, offices have been created for the designer and the conservator. All other staff have work spaces in the laboratories.
accordance with a standing agreement, was appointed the architect. A design had existed since 1981 when a new wing was planned to receive an expected gift of Northwest Coast canoes. The canoes never materialised so the architect adapted the design for pottery.

In order that the installation of European ceramics in the new gallery enjoy some harmony with the rest of the museum it was decided that the exhibition design echo aspects of the philosophy demonstrated elsewhere in the museum: paralleling the Great Hall some ceramics were to be placed within a "monumental" context (see plates 29-30); mimicking the Masterpiece Gallery some ceramics were selected for individual inspection and isolated in individual 'walk-around' cases (see plates 20-21); and similar to Visible Storage all the ceramics were to be displayed along with all their data (see plates 31-32). The gallery therefore became a metaphorical referent for the rest of the museum (see fig 31). It also incorporated ancestral strands of Pitt-Riverian, Boasian and modernist theories within its post-modernist theoretical framework.

The major physical constraints were identified to be the gallery shape and height and the decision to include all the collection. Given that European ceramics are normally studied within the disciplines of decorative or fine arts where connoisseurship is an essential selection criteria for an exhibition, the philosophy of showing all to portray the full range of human experience was intended to cause comment. Alongside these changes there were upgrading of conservation, security, aesthetics, and work spaces. These decisions, because of timing of construction, were taken before the collection had been researched and before a survey of other galleries had been taken. However, the combination of the collection and the museum's philosophy, the ratio of space needed for the gallery versus the non public areas could be estimated.
Plate 31. A view of the Visible Storage area at the Museum of Anthropology where the majority of the collection is accessible to the visitor. Maps at the end of the bays locate the collections, each object is numbered and associated information, but no photographs, can be located in data books.

Plate 32. A view of the 'visible storage' philosophy at work in the Koerner Ceramics Gallery. Maps and information are located on the sloping front of the display units. Data books contain further information plus colour photos of each piece.
Figure 31. The Koerner Ceramics Gallery as a metaphorical referent for the permanent spaces elsewhere in the Museum of Anthropology.
Museum professionals who work with exhibitions know that all projects are subject to funding. The building of the new wing was funded by the university with a bequest from the Odum family and therefore became a project of the university's planning department which in turn approved architectural, structural, and mechanical aspects of the building. The curator and designer represented the museum at all meetings. The donor of the collection, Dr. Walter Koerner, offered to contribute $250,000 towards the installation. This amount was identified by the designer prior to installation and therefore, unlike many exhibitions, the Koerner Gallery was not subjected to cut backs or dependent on funding applications.

Once all prescriptive and pragmatic considerations were incorporated into the conceptual framework of the exhibition they could be analysed in terms of their role within the socio-political organisation of the museum.
CHAPTER NINE - VISITOR STUDIES RESEARCH

9.1 INTRODUCTION

The curatorship and design practices associated with the Koerner Gallery were different from those normally utilised at the Museum of Anthropology. This was the first permanent exhibition installed since the three that were prepared for the opening of the Museum in 1976. Two of these three inaugural installations honour the primacy of the object (the Great Hall and Masterpiece Gallery); the third (Visible Storage) combines object and information as a unit of investigation. Criticisms concerning the effectiveness of these installations as communicators of the 1976 ideology that underpinned their inception provided cautionary signals during the development of the curatorial/design conceptual framework. The new gallery was not only to incorporate the ideologies present elsewhere in the Museum, but also demonstrate that the museum could physically illustrate its ability to be reflexive and responsive to criticism. Also, the Koerner collection was created by cultures of Europe and, even though the Museum's Professional Guidelines document states "As an anthropology museum it [Museum of Anthropology] has always been concerned with the study and portrayal of human achievements from around the world as a means of furthering understanding of other cultures" (September 1993, unpublished paper, italics added), European, for many museum professionals does not qualify as "Other"; it is perceived as "Self" and as such "Self" is not found traditionally in an anthropology museum. The new gallery was to incorporate a new curatorial and design ideology, and compliment, but not compete with, the rest of the museum. The question "did we succeed?" is the focus of this chapter.

1The "Raven and First Man" sculpture by Bill Reid, well-known Haida artist, was installed in the Rotunda in 1982. Although this is viewed as an installation rather than an exhibition the primacy of the object is obvious.

2Most museums professionals in Canada are Euro-Canadian, that is they trace their origins to Europe and those working in anthropology are trained in the European anthropological tradition of studying non-European cultures.
This thesis questions whether the exhibition process is subject to a number of controlling factors and to what extent these factors effect the product - the exhibition. This product is usually evaluated by those who do not have access to the process - whether they be the general public, a museum studies researcher, or a visitor studies trained consultant.

Typically, curators and designers do not seek evaluation other than general validation by the media or reviews in professional journals. However, it is considered necessary to the significance of this study that reactions to the exhibition be examined because it is proposed that museum professionals need to go beyond asking the question of "why do we do what we do?" to considering the consequences of how this question is answered.

The visitor studies discipline proposes that evaluation is a way of thinking which should be incorporated into the exhibition process. When delivered after the event its findings may be accepted philosophically but not seen as practical in light of other more pressing matters "the roof leaks, the guards are on strike, and some benefactor just turned them down for a big sum of money." (Shettel in Cochran Hicks (ed) 1986:37). The Museum of Anthropology has never incorporated formal evaluation as part of the exhibition process, since there were no funds to hire a specialist in this field and none of the staff of the Museum of Anthropology had any related training. All past studies were summative and had been organised and analysed by students as projects associated with course work or internships. It could be argued, though weakly, that the research trip

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3Designers are particularly sensitive to evaluation because "design is a wholly intuitive and creative activity: and the formalism inherent in evaluation is "too structural to uncover the nuances inherent in [design]" (Verardi 1988:138).

shared by the curator and designer served as a formative evaluation for the new gallery. Learning from what existed could theoretically have enabled the recognition of elements that did not succeed in other installations. The decision to evaluate the new gallery stemmed from a Ph.D-driven curator.

The quality of the methodology associated with visitor research remains uneven and its claim to be a process which can contribute to "a climate in which excellence can thrive and visitors can learn, enjoy and be stimulated" (Cochran Hicks E. (ed) 1986:32) is still not grounded in a body of critical literature. Also, qualitative methods are often quite controversial because "method choices are linked to basic philosophical questions about the nature of reality and fundamental issues about what's important to know and how best to know it" (Patton 1987:21). For this study method choices were carefully considered, and recognized as being either constructed and/or examined in terms of their ability to answer questions considered important by the curator.

Museum staff are isolated from the public and often do not know who they are. Exhibitions are subject to at least two different perceptions: the traditional curator's perception which "sees" the exhibition as a place to acquire knowledge through the delivery of facts, and the public perception which sees the exhibition as a place of curiosity, enjoyment and social interaction. Harris Shettel, a psychologist and independent museum evaluation consultant, has noted "there is no doubt in my mind, though, that the effort to convey only factual, detailed knowledge is a blind alley" (in Hicks 1986:34). Another museum evaluator, Chandler Screven, agrees that the
curatorial/design preoccupation with scholarly, aesthetic and physical aspects of exhibitions has precluded discussion of what he considers to be the lesser understood "motivations, preconceptions, attitudes and learning capabilities of visitors - especially unguided visitors, the main audience, who view exhibits without the benefit of teachers, docents or others to explain or interpret what they see" (Screven 1993b:4). It is an axiom of visitor studies research that the only way to find out whether visitors are "adequately conceptually oriented is to obtain systematic input from a visitor study" (Bitgood 1992:15).

The major challenge when evaluating the Koerner gallery was defining what was important to know and then selecting a repertoire of research methods and techniques which would generate generalisations which could be supported with some methodological rigour. The curatorial objective was to "see" the gallery through the eyes of the visitor to ascertain whether their experience in the gallery mirrored the constituents of the curator/designer conceptual framework. Five methods were identified: secondary data analysis, unobtrusive tracking, visitor book analysis, delivery of interview questionnaire, and focus group interviews. By using different methods replication of results means that they could have a widespread applicability and replication is the foundation upon which truth in science is judged. Each of the methods was examined for incongruities which may or may not have effected the qualitative nature of the analysis. First, the evaluations did not all take place during the same time period: media-related secondary data was collected a six month period (August 1990-January 1991), tracking was completed over a four day period in September 1993, the questionnaire was delivered during a period of two months (March-April) in 1993, the visitor books covered a two-year period (January 1991-December 1992), and the focus groups were conducted.

7As is common with new exhibitions, media attention is clustered around the time of the opening - starting with advance news (gallery soon to be open) media attention was maintained for two months after the opening. The only article written by a recognised museum critic (Robin Laurence) was included in this secondary data not so much as an example of media attention but rather as a considered reaction to the exhibition, with similarities to those contained in written material received from the public.
in August 1993. Second, the people involved in delivering the surveys had different levels of experience: students gathered tracking and questionnaire data and a trained moderator led the focus group. Third, there was a variation in the number of responses obtained from each methodology - 20 from the secondary data, 48 from the questionnaire, 52 from the tracking, 965 from the visitor books, and 24 from the two focus groups. There is some ambiguity concerning the "right" number of people to ensure fair representation and it would seem that much depends on the method chosen, 6-12 people is considered appropriate for a focus group study, 100-2,000 people can be asked to complete a hand-out questionnaire depending on the scale of the study. It should also be noted that the museum was a passive recipient of information for two of the methodologies (visitor books and secondary data). The importance of the number becomes apparent when it is used as a quantitative statistic in support of a hypothesis. The objective of the Koerner gallery evaluation was not guided by hypotheses but by "questions, issues, and a search for patterns" (Patton 1987:15). No correlation was attempted between age/sex because the largest sample was gathered from the data books which did not consistently record either variable and so they were eliminated. All these qualifications were not seen as limitations but rather as strategies for assessing the effectiveness of the methodology. Given the experimental nature of this endeavour I decided that the validity of the qualitative data collected from each of these methods would have to be supported with similar data from at least two of the other methods giving a 3/5 ratio. This would eliminate the bias that a small sampling might introduce and add support to findings of non-interactive methods.

9.2 SECONDARY DATA ANALYSIS

Secondary data was compiled from printed material from three sources: museum generated print material, media coverage of the new gallery and unsolicited written public response. Museum generated material included a Calendar of Events, a museum brochure,
a gallery catalogue. The museum had control over content and the focus was on the
gallery content and the gallery as an addition to the museum. Articles, reviews and
other media coverage on the Koerner Ceramics Gallery were published during the opening
period. There is no accurate formula to evaluate the public response to either of these
methods but it was considered possible to gain access to the reporter's intended message,
and audience, by examining the language and content of the published material. What
reporters choose to write about is a reflection of what they think their audience would
want to know. The question was whether any correlation could be identified between
what the reporter chose for the public to know and what the curator wanted the public to
know. The media reports news, and news is made by people or events, not objects -
objects are only interesting in their relationship to either of these. All the articles
produced included reference to people: the collector, the curator, the designer, the
architect. The collector was well-known, wealthy, powerful and elusive - this made him
"newsworthy". However he seldom granted interviews and only one persistent reporter,
Douglas Sagi of the Vancouver Sun, could persuade him to have his photo taken in the
gallery "What we are trying to illustrate, Mr. Koerner, is a collection of art that illustrates a
man's passion - the photographer wants to take a picture of passion" (Sagi 1990. Saturday
Crockery". Other examples include "Giant Store(sic) Dominates New Museum Wing"
(Western News, December 23, 1990, p.1, 15), "Exhibit Transcends Peasant
Pottery" (Vancouver Courier, December 12 1990, p. 29). The language used in the body
of the articles was constructed with "knowing" words that would be used with caution, if
at all, in an anthropology museum, i.e. words that implied the personal opinion of the

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8The museum demonstrated a financial commitment to the new gallery by producing 110,000 new
calendars at $15,000.00, 200,000 brochures at $3,000.00, 2,000 gallery catalogues at $2,500.00.
9The importance of an object being owned, lost, destroyed, found, valued and so on is seen in terms of its
affect on people. Even objects in institutions are attached to a person when reported in the media - the
museum may have gained, lost an artifact but the fact of gain or loss is reported through the medium of a
person in the institution.
writer "one of a kind", "earliest", "best", "vivacious", "elegant", "giant", "wonderful". What do these mean? They are generally positive and principally emotive.

The opening of a new gallery of European objects would seem to be charged with controversy - in 1990 exhibitions featuring the collections of Europeans were being viewed as colonialist and racist and yet neither the press or any representatives of First Nations criticised this exhibition. Here was a collection of Europeans in an anthropology museum famous for its support of First Nations issues and yet only two reporters looked at the gallery in terms of its relationship with the rest of the museum "The cominctions. Wood and clay. Carvers and Potters. The Old World and the New. The rest, as they say is history. Or is it anthropology?" (Laurence1991:16) - the question was left unanswered.

In response to his own question "Why European Ceramics?" Eugene Horvath, collector and writer, proposes "It (Museum of Anthropology) is rich in West Coast Indian art and it has some good examples of Oriental decorative art, but it is sadly lacking European material. Until now, that is."(1990:13). Neither of these articles were in the popular press so the general public received information about the collector, the quality of the collection, people-related stories about the collection (persecution of the Anabaptists being a favourite), and the ambiance of the gallery: "Immediately, you are surrounded by consoling good taste. Panels of walnut (sic) and marble. Subdued lighting. Hushed ambiance. Baroque music playing." (Laurence 1991:14).

The political climate was not hostile to the media coverage of the new gallery¹⁰. Written comments reflected a willingness to take the time to communicate information associated with a critical examination of the gallery¹¹. This can be positive: "I think the exhibition is very well designed showing both chronological and geographical connections between different styles. I was especially interested in the tiled stove since I

¹⁰ The marketing director of the MOA, attributed the 12% increase in attendance (1991) in part to the Koerner Gallery. It is not possible to attribute this to media coverage as no surveys were done during the opening period.

¹¹ The written comments included letters mailed in and Query form available for public comment.
have often described them to my students as one of Central Europe's many contributions to civilization. Other comments could be organised into two categories: questioning the information and criticising the lack of signage: "are you sure the Venus von Willendorf was made in 23,000 BC?" "Kindly adjust your maps in the Ceramic exhibition to historic reality. Czechoslovakia did not exist until 1918"12 "There are two errors - Ch208 and 209. Eger, Czechoslovakia should say Hungary"13, "...it is very difficult for the first comers to identify and be aware of the Koerner Ceramics Gallery which is not clearly indicated when you enter the museum". These critiques were compared with the basically positive - affective information sent out to the public. The unsolicited information coming in from the public, was challenging - cognitive. Although such a small sample was not statistically useful these were the first indication that people did read labels and perhaps the lack of signage did reflect a political agenda.

9.3. UNOBTRUSIVE TRACKING.

Initially tracking and interviewing were to be coordinated on the premise that insights could be gained into the observer/participant question "does observation - the interviewer describing what people are doing - correlate with participation - what people say they are doing?" This did not prove workable: some visitors did not agree to be interviewed so matching was inconsistent; the need to remain committed to the chosen person or group necessitated missed opportunities with other visitors while tracking some who may then refuse an interview; tracking was supposed to be inconspicuous whereas interviewing is interactive. It was decided to separate tracking and interviewing and to rethink the question. Tracking was used to both record circulation patterns in the gallery

12 The MOA uses current political boundaries for all its maps, situating the objects in this time and place. As boundaries change so do the names change. Most people viewing a map of eighteenth century Europe would not relate parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire as being current day Slovakia. (Czechoslovakia at the time of installation). Historic overlays are not used elsewhere in the museum so it was decided to experiment with not using them in the Koerner Gallery.

13 This was the most common complaint. A city in Czechoslovakia is known both as Eger and Cheb (Eger being the older name). There is also a city called Eger in Hungary.
and measure the attracting and holding power of the exhibition by recording the reading of labels as "stops". The question here was whether the curator and designer's intellectual/sensual conceptual framework could be detected by tracking procedures.

Fifty two people were tracked over a four day period (the museum is closed on Mondays) between 12:30 and 3:30 pm. This is a quiet time in the museum (lunch time) and the number of visitors decreases making tracking more possible in the large gallery space.

Two hundred and sixty "stops" were recorded, and average of 5.2 stops per person. The tracker was positioned on a seat which gave him full vision of the gallery. He was asked to record the sex and approximate age of the visitor, the directions taken and where they stopped to read labels. The study recorded six main variables associated with directions taken by visitors: Those who entered through the entrance and exited through the exit (see fig 32), those who entered and exited through the entrance (see fig 33), those who entered through the exit and exited through the entrance (see fig 34), and those who entered and exited through the exit (see fig 35), those who turned right upon entering and those who turned left. The objective was to determine what stimuli influenced visitor circulation patterns. The patterns were compared to Steven Bitgood's proposed principles related to stimuli (1992:15-16):

*People tend to approach large objects - landmarks.* The landmarks, the large central marble cases in the gallery accounted for 24% of the total stops. (63/260) so the majority of visitors did not corroborate this principle, yet the stove had been designed to be a focal point and it could not be visually avoided in the gallery so the majority would have at least noticed it, or looked at it from a distance.

*Visitors tend to turn in the direction of the closest visible exhibit.* The visitor to the Koerner gallery was given two choices upon entering, ten of those entering through the entrance turned left and twenty-three turned right, nine of those entering through the

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14Because sex and age were not recorded consistently elsewhere this data was disregarded.
Figure 32. Circulation and "stopping" patterns of visitors entering through the entrance and leaving through the exit.

Figure 33. Circulation and "stopping" patterns of visitors entering through the entrance and leaving through the entrance.

Figure 34. Circulation and "stopping" patterns of visitors entering through the exit and leaving through the entrance.

Figure 35. Circulation and "stopping" patterns of visitors entering through the exit and leaving through the exit.
exit turned right and ten turned left. The tracking indicated that a larger number of people turned right upon entering but overall more attention was paid to the displays to the left than the right (145 to 115). Given that 3% of the visitors observed read the introductory label this clearly was not a significant factor in directing the traffic flow. Therefore other attracting powers were considered. The stove could be seen through the entrance case but it did not pull a majority of people around the case to the centre of the gallery. People had to turn either left or right in order to access the rest of the gallery and, even though most turned right, only 43% stopped at the first case (Italy), 90% of those that turned to the left stopped at the first case (technology). A total of 66 stops were made at these two cases, this is 20% of the total number of stops and both cases attracted more stops than any other. Of these stops 62% (41) were at the technology case and 38% (25) were at the Italian case. This small sample is significant in that it does support the theory that most people will turn to the right if there is an absence of explicit or implicit cues but even though those observed initially followed the "right-turn bias" they actually paid as much if not a little more attention to the left hand display case. Based on the hypothesis that the first interaction a visitor has with a gallery is emotive it is presumed that there must be a difference in the "look" of the technology case that gave it "attracting" power. Certainly the technology case contains more objects, their shapes vary significantly from figures to tiles to vessels to dishes, their technology ranges from hand-built to wheel-thrown, from burnished to glazed, from earthenware to porcelain - all this produces a richness in texture and form not enjoyed by the Italian case. The question is "does this matter?" Certainly the choice of direction being made visually rather than intellectually was not the curatorial intent and this small study indicates that work needs to be done on the introduction labels if it is still considered important that people make an intellectual rather than emotive decision. The gallery is not organised progressionally so initial direction is not vital. The question yet to be answered is "if the choice were made more accessible would this alter the traffic pattern?"
"Exhibit islands create pockets of low attention "apparently because the traffic flow does not place each object within the visitor's line-of-sight or because of no systematic way to see all of the exhibit objects in the space". During the tracking 13% of visitors stopped at one or more of the feature cases (34/260). Two feature cases received more attention than any of the others, the contemporary case containing Laura Wee Lay Laq’s pot and the case containing the Holitsch parrot and salts. Visitors heading to and from the technology (the most popular) case had to pass Wee Lay Laq’s pot and so it was "within the visitor's line-of-sight'. However, visitors heading to and from the Italian (the second most popular) case also had to pass the tankard but it attracted significantly fewer "stops" (13/2). Was it because the Wee Lay Laq pot "looked" different to everything else in the gallery? Was it because it had "an inner content, whereas another, very similar, is only decorative?" (Caiger Smith 1973:80).

"Exhibits on the periphery are less likely to be viewed than those in the centre The tracking patterns illustrated in figures 32-35 show clearly that the majority of visitors clung to the periphery of the gallery and 72% (187) of them stopped to read labels. These figures indicate that the holding power of this "visible storage" aspect of the gallery is greater than the rest of the gallery. This could be because "visible storage" cases are full of ceramics - there's lots to see and there's comfort in numbers. The wall cases have rails to lean against and corners offer private "safe" spaces - the island cases are situated in a public "vulnerable" space and accessed across a stretch of empty floor. So, given the choice most visitors cling to the safety of the edge before they negotiate the centre.

"People will tend to walk in a straight line unless some force pulls them in another direction: When visitors left the wall cases they headed for one target and then another. This was the intent of the curator and designer and has been termed the "hunt

15"Feature" cases was the name given to the island style display cases which exhibited one or two objects, intended for close inspection.
and peck" approach to museum visiting. It was not clear from this observation why some cases had more attracting power than others.

"Displays located along the shortest route between the entrance and exit receive the greatest amount of viewing." The sample did not totally support this. Certainly most attention was paid to the cases closest to the entrance (technology and Italian) but instead of heading straight for the stove which aligned with the exit, the majority of visitors proceeded around the wall edges of the gallery.

The general tracking of the gallery demonstrated that most visitors entered and left by the entrance doors. Visitor studies have shown that people need to know where they are and where they're going - the exit door to the Koerner gallery is dark glass and all that can be viewed through it is a cement wall. There is no signage inviting or permitting the visitor to adventure further. The tracking patterns indicated that the exit door, and its sign, was often missed altogether as it occurred, for most, midway through the visit and most visitors observed went back to the entrance which lead to a "known" place. Those who entered through the exit had no orientation at all and yet the majority circled the gallery before either returning to the exit or continuing on through the entrance. Each case had been designed and curated as independent units so the gallery visit was not one where information was needed in one area in order to make sense of another.

Tracking also provided data on the attracting power of different parts of the gallery and the holding power of individual cases. However, the unobtrusive nature of the methodology made it difficult to pinpoint which labels were being read. Trying to explain why people are attracted in one direction rather than another poses more questions than answers and perhaps has more to do with making connections between the visitors' and the museum's "ways of seeing."
9.4. VISITOR BOOK ANALYSIS

The Museum of Anthropology has been using visitor books to actively and consistently invite comments from visitors for the past five years. Once these books are filled they are deposited in the archives where they are accessible to researchers. Comments in visitor books are supplied voluntarily and they reflect many perspectives. The books are a safe place for public disclosures - safety being assured by the chosen anonymity of the writer. They are a place to record a name which will remain in the archives - assured of immortality. They can be a place to express the forbidden, to declare anger, to create poetry, to hate, to draw, to philosophize: "the mirror image of one painted soul is the reflection of another in his own life". They are also a place to ask questions without having to cope with the answers "What about translations to French? I thought Canada was a bilingual country. Or is it?". They are fragments of mind sets. How useful are they as an analytical tool? They provide a sanctioned place for visitors to "speak their mind" and therefore, it is hypothesized, the screen of language used is less guarded and the message written can provide insights to the "ways of seeing" of the visitor.

Books dated from January 1992, to December 1993 were available. The books were situated in the Koerner Gallery adjacent to one of the large central cases with a label reading "We invite your Comments". The statistics gathered included all legible comments that adventured beyond a name and address. Profanities, the majority of children's comments and unknown languages were also eliminated from the study.

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16People donate objects to museums to as metaphors of themselves - once they have gone the metaphor remains and so, within their frame of reference, do they.
17This is not to indicate that children are to be ignored. However, most come through with school groups and the visitor books are usually treated as palettes for graffiti. When a child individually made a comment, it was included.
After eliminating these, approximately one third (965) of the legible comments were eligible. These were divided into "generally positive", "specifically positive" and "critical". This is summarised in figure 36. Thirty-one (3%) critical comments were recorded and thirteen (42%) of these were critical of the lack of French text, other criticisms focused either on content: "what about Poland?" "what about Sardinia?" "I would like to see Middle Eastern wares", or the environment "more light please", "the music hinders appreciation". From this small sample it was surmised that the collector-defined parameters of the collection were not articulated clearly enough in the gallery and the "illusion" created by light was dependent on the reality associated with the life expectancy of light-bulbs.

The positive responses were given the designation of 100% and divided into "generally positive" and "specific positives" as illustrated in figure 37. "Generally positive" responses were couched in language similar to that used by the media: "beautiful", "restful", "charming", "remarkable", "magnificent" etc or by comments: "..it's

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18Canada is a bilingual country and all federally funded exhibition must have bilingual text. The Koerner gallery was not federally funded.
finally time to give pottery the limelight it deserves - thank you", "Quite interesting ever for me as a European tourist!". Although these were certainly positive and statistically useful (67% of the total positive responses were "generally positive" responses), they were too general to offer any insights into why the visitor was responding positively. The language used could suggest ambiance as possibly the prime affective constituent.

The reasons recorded by those who gave "specifically positive responses" were divided again, by language. The language used for "positive responses" referred to the collection, the music, the information, the organisation, the light, the stove, the contemporary works. Comments included: "Gorgeous collection of ceramics - and very interesting to trace the history of technique and influences. I've never seen it explained this way in a museum before, and its very effective. And the music is wonderful", "I really like the descriptions that go along with each display. I would like to see more of this in the other parts of the museum, like the research collection." "I have at last joined up the faience/delft wares. Thank you for the history and comments"

Figure 37. Comparison of generally positive comments to specifically positive comments in 1992-1993 Visitor Books.

The "specifically positive" comments were transferred to their own pie chart in order to gain a better visual idea of the areas of concentration (see fig 38). It is clear that the collection receives the most attention: "As a Greek (and true philhelleniste) I must say
that I was unaware of the beauty and grace of other ceramic creations besides Greece. What a lovely surprise!" , "as someone who has extensively studied Anabaptist, Mennonite and Hutterite history I find your Hutterite collection simply stunning" , "I have come from Czechoslovakia (Moravia) and I'm surprised how high quality (sic) collection I found in this museum".

![Pie chart showing specifics of comments](image)

**Figure 38.** Specifically positive comments in 1992-1993 Visitor Books

The text (information) in the gallery also received significant attention, 22% of specifically positive comments: "Good interpretive labels - interesting and easy to read" "The Ceramics display is excellent because of the progression of the detailed explanations" . "I'm a docent at the ROM in Toronto. Have been studying ceramics for many years especially in our Far Eastern Section. Your labels have explained different types of ware better than I've ever seen" This attention to the collection and the associated information was significant enough, 63% of specifically positive comments,\(^1\) to suggest that the curatorial/design objective to ensure the primacy of the object and the accessibility of information about it had been reached. The question was "is this supported by other visitor studies research?" and if it is not, is this still a valid assumption?

\(^1\)The 5% designated to the stove and 4% designated to contemporary pieces is included in this calculation because they are both considered comments about the collection, albeit pieces singled out for special attention
The other "specifically positive comments" were organisation, music, light (37%) and comments included "The objects are sensitively displayed, no feeling of clutter" "beautiful display - ceramics and textiles sparkle and compliment each other". It has already been noted that the language of the "generally positive" comments suggest an affective rather than cognitive reaction and if this were supported with data from other studies it could be hypothesised that the gallery's main message is an affective one. However, given the specificity of the sample that can be supported with data, it stands that the gallery achieved both curatorial/design objectives: that it be both affective and cognitive. A final quote illustrates the basic reason why a single methodology is not appropriate for the study of the "ways of seeing" of the visitor:

This [visitor] book itself is an archaeological find - A society ranging from the ignorance of youth with its inability to appreciate, its inability to express itself without profanity to the adults who try to achieve appreciation in youth by bringing them here - and failing, to the adult critics who are not fulfilled in themselves and bolster their self esteem by cutting down the efforts, talent, generosity, etc. of others to the few (sadly) who appreciate. This place has so much to offer, appreciate, admire and motivate. Absorb! Take away one lesson in life! Make yourself a better person. Be positive. I'm glad I came.

The general conclusions from this methodology were that the gallery had succeeded in mirroring "the constituents of the curator/designer conceptual framework". Only two comments were made about the lack of exterior signage for the gallery - could this have been because the comments were written about the visitors experience in the gallery not the journey to get there.

9.5. INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire is a survey tool that complements other methods of obtaining information (Singer & Presser 1987:97, Smith 1987, Sudman & Bradburn 1983). The interviewer, however, will only receive answers to questions asked which may be seen as preconceived and contrived. For this methodology it was important to determine what
type of question needs to be asked to generate data that meets the objective of the questionnaire. This was the only methodology that was both interactive and specifically designed for the Koerner gallery. Its objective was to use a series of gradually focusing questions to ascertain whether the curator/designer conceptual framework was accessible to the visitor. If the type of question asked invited a "yes", "no", "maybe" answer then the more idiosyncratic details of the informant's experiences would be missed. Yet, as has already been discussed, language screens the transmission between sender and listener and, in the current climate of deconstructivism, there is little use for the validity of the language of the interpreter as a conveyor of truth (Smith 1987:99-107). It was therefore important, as with the visitor books, that the words of the original speaker be used to support or reject the concepts of the interpreter. The qualitative nature of this methodology has both positive and negative aspects: it can provide insights missed by observation alone and yet it is the product of the interaction between two strangers, and as such carries with it all the variables possible in such a meeting. Herein lies some of the concern with the quality of methodology used in the discipline of visitor studies.

A questionnaire (attached as Appendix B) was used to survey 48 visitors to the gallery during March and April 1993, Tuesday to Friday, between 1.00 - 3.00 pm. It was intended that visitors be randomly selected for interview, random being based on the concept of using a rigid method to choose visitors so that the interviewer could not interject his or her own bias in the choice, and therefore the people interviewed would represent a random rather than contrived sample. The traffic flow in the gallery made this problematic - the interviewer had to position himself in the gallery because he could not predict whether visitors entering would leave by the exit or indeed, enter at the entrance. If he had positioned himself at the exit he would have missed the majority of visitors (see traffic flow figs 32-35) and if a visitor left through the door opposite his position he could not always reach the visitor before they were well into the Great Hall or close to the museum exit. After some discussion it was decided that the randomness of
the sample could be secured if the interviewer positioned himself as unobtrusively as possible in the middle area of the gallery and approach the first visitor that exited through either door. Each interview took 5-10 minutes, the interviewer then positioned himself back in the centre of the gallery and again approached the first visitor that exited through either door. Given the systematic nature of this process and the confidence in the interviewer following the process, I decided the sample could be considered random. It is explained at some length here to record it as an experimental process, open to further discussion.

The questionnaire was designed to obtain a few demographics such as where the visitors interviewed were from (20 from Vancouver, 10 from Canada, 10 from the U.S., 8 from overseas), and whether their intent was to visit Museum of Anthropology or the Koerner Gallery (35 intended to visit Museum of Anthropology, 3 the Koerner Gallery, 6 the campus). The rest of the questions evolved from general to specific and were designed to elicit qualitative responses. Responses to the general question *what impressions did you leave the Koerner gallery with?* ranged from "liking" the gallery to being "overwhelmed by the environment". Most were impressed with both the objects and the setting: "It is well displayed and well written". Comments were made on the breadth and age and quality of the collection: "I learned a lot about how ceramics came to Czechoslovakia," "This is the finest collection in North America", the music and lighting were noted: "This space feels good, intimate". At this general level all the comments were positive about one or more aspect of the gallery, their initial comments being emotive.

When asked more specifically what part of the gallery was of special interest all of the respondent referred to objects: 40% (19) cited the stove and the stove tiles and, when asked why, the responses included: "Just interested, I don't know why", "I liked the artistic detail", "because of the social history", "I have seen these in Yugoslavia where they still feed them with wood". Twenty-one per cent (10) chose the cases with
contemporary weavings or the Laura Wee Lay Laq pot, not because the objects were contemporary but because of their emotive power "I enjoyed the way it (the tapestry) was displayed". Different wall cases were singled out by 31% (15) people and, when asked why, those visitors who went beyond affective comments pointed to European connections: "my family is from Hungary", "I've never seen German steins here". The questioning then focused on the amount and presentation of text. This was chosen to see whether there was any correlation between quantity and clarity (see fig 39). Visitors were asked to rate each of these on a scale of 1-5. For the amount of information #1 indicated too much and #5 not enough - #3 was the medium of enough, for the presentation of the information #1 indicated very clear and #5 not clear - #3 was the medium of clear. Most of the visitors were not inclined to comment specifically and as figure 39 shows most went for the midpoint both for the amount of information and the presentation of information. This could indicate that the labels demonstrate a degree of success in their accessibility or that the visitors deferred to the authority of the museum and presumed the information was appropriate in length and presentation. The interviewer did report a reluctance to criticise content. The most supportable statement about the labels would perhaps be that this group of respondents found them to be neither excellent or poor.

One criticism did arise in later questions which is appropriate here - there was some difficulty in matching all tombstone labels with objects. This not a criticism of the presentation of information but rather of the relationship between label and object. The designer and curator had decided not to use a numbering system in the cases and used language to make the connections between viewer, object and text: top left, front right, wall-top and so on. Some of these worked and some obviously did not. This was very important because it was the first criticism of the organisation of the case interiors and
Figure 39. A comparison between the amount and presentation of information in the Koerner Gallery.

profiled the difference between the information the curator and designer thought they were projecting and the information "seen" by the visitor.

Visitors were then asked whether they could detect specific curatorial themes: the history of tin-glaze in Europe, technology, social history, inspiration for contemporary art. This proved to be the most difficult question because again, people appeared to lack conviction in their ability to interpret, deferring to the higher learning of the museum. If they did not perceive something, they saw it as their fault or associated their "ignorance" with the lack of time spent viewing. If they did pick out themes they sought approval: "I only spent 15 minutes in the gallery and I could pick out three themes - so that is good?"
The results indicated that the most commonly recognised theme was social history, those who spent more than 15 minutes tended to also recognise the history of tin-glaze and technology themes, the contemporary art was more elusive and not perceived as a theme - more an interesting idea. The specificity of this question was also avoided: "You have covered enough areas conceptually, so different people can take away what they want or are interested in", "I think that those who want to see a theme will do so, since we came to it prepared in our own way".

Further research on the effectiveness of these labels has shown that this difficulty has been expressed by other visitors. The relationship between the tombstone labels and the objects is now being reconsidered.

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The responses were not intended to quantify as usable statistics but they demonstrated some of the "ways of seeing" as expressed by visitors. One which echoes a continuing subject of discussion in the museum world - that of ownership of information: it would seem that some visitors still expect information in a museum to be the "right" information. At the same time some visitors recognise that they construct personal mosaics regardless of the curatorial intent. Also, a few specific responses did agree that the affective/cognitive paradigm was successful.

The final question was political: Anthropology museums traditionally do not exhibit European material. We have. What do you think of that? Two visitors, from Europe (Athens and London), disagreed with the premise of this question stating that in their experience European museums did not create a dichotomy between historic and cultural museums\footnote{This is debatable - all cultures may be represented in many European museums but the separation between European and non-European is clearly demarcated.}. The rest of the visitors interviewed thought the presence of the gallery was generally "fine", "important", "exciting", "relevant" but perhaps not totally expected: "I'm not surprised but I could see how some might be", "it's surprising but o.k." The Koerner gallery "provided relief from the Northwest Coast art and craft." Some responses revealed underlying perceptions, "ways of seeing", of what an anthropology museum represents "Its all old stuff, so that's fitting", "Its o.k. tribes [should not] be isolated ", "its good - culture is not exclusive to pre-literates", "it does seem out of place with the rest of the museum" "it does seem out of place with the rest of the museum" and more specifically "the European collection is set too much apart, with no conscious or explicit recognition of the sharp contrast - [you] should have some exhibits explaining contrasts and contexts - if this is the point - or explain its existence and placement"

At the end of the questioning the visitors were asked whether they had any comments ideas, observations or information that would help us to improve this gallery,
and/or better serve the public. Comments associated with inside the gallery included a request for more information on the collector and a desire "to see this kind of information and presentation in the rest of the museum." Fifty percent of visitors interviewed said the gallery was too difficult to find - some were seeking an exit and some thought they were not allowed to open the doors because "the dark doors make people think that the lights are turned off inside the gallery".

Solutions offered were unanimous: "improve the signage". It was also suggested a case outside the gallery would help guide people. The question posed for me by these solutions was "why would signage be so poor for a new gallery" and if the omission had been noted by visitors "why had there been no changes?"

9.6. FOCUS GROUPS

Focus groups are a qualitative method of social science research widely used in consumer research for product testing. They take the form of in-depth discussions, are lead by an experienced moderator, and usually consists of 6-12 participants and take about two hours. The moderator follows a pre-planned guide which is based on the objectives of the research and lets the participants express their feelings about what they think are the issues. At Museum of Anthropology three focus groups were organised: university students, west-side publics, and east-side publics. The purpose was "to discover whether there were any changeable reasons why some communities do not visit the Museum of Anthropology" and "whether they would become supporters if they simply came once..." The methodology included unguided visits to the museum's galleries by the participants. These would include the Koerner Gallery and even though this study was not focused specifically on the Koerner Gallery, data relating to it could be separated from the larger study for comparison with the other evaluation methods. One main theme emerged from the comments - lack of visibility of the gallery: "There was nothing, not much information to make you go in...", "They should have a sign at the end of the hall that says..."
Ceramics Gallery", "I thought it was closed because it looked so dark". Those who did
find the gallery commented "I like the little story captions that I saw - because I had got to
the point where I was frustrated [with] the museum", "...it's a shame too, because the
people who saw it - they really liked it". Only one person commented on the presence of
the gallery in the Museum of Anthropology: "...it didn't seem anthropological - it seemed
more like art, which I like, but it wasn't what I was expecting."

9.7 SUMMARY

From these five methodologies information that was corroborated in three or more
methodologies produced patterns which were considered qualitatively viable (see fig 40).
It is noted that figure 40 records observations as well as solicited and unsolicited
comments of what people thought important enough to respond to, whether it was
physically, emotionally and/or intellectually. Statements stemming from these responses
are both broad and specific. The gallery's ambiance was responsible for the "attracting
power" of the contents of display cases, the presentation of the information was
responsible for the "holding power" of the labels, the curator and designer's
intellectual/sensual construct was well-balanced but not perfect: the introduction did not
have sufficient attracting power and some tombstone labels did not have "holding power".
The message received or constructed by visitors was not "short and clear" - two attributes
considered essential by some for an ideal visit (Alt 1984:33).

Cognitive related information was more difficult to be certain about: visitors did
come positively on the information in the gallery and their actions did demonstrate the
labels' "holding power" and there were few complaints about the quality of the
information. Some of those responding to the questionnaire did recognise themes and
others "liked" the labels. Given these thoughts and the individual responses it can be
generalised that the information, when read, was well received - with the already noted
exceptions of some of the tombstones and the introductory label.
Visitors also provided confirmation of what had been observable but not articulated - that the gallery has not been incorporated into the holistic nature of the museum image. Part of this is an architectural problem - the new addition confused the traffic flow and the "old" traffic flow is simpler to negotiate. Very few visitors viewed the presence of the new wing as a problem and those who thought about it questioned the lack of signage directing people to the Koerner Gallery. The only signage at the entrance of the Koerner Gallery does not have sufficient attracting power (see plate 33), and the desire to have "an overall design for signage" has stalled any progress - temporary signage is viewed as cluttering the lobby and "polluting the architecture". One conclusion can be suggested: visitors accept and enjoy the gallery when they find it, and, if somewhere is difficult to find, those responsible for access are either not aware of the invisibility of the gallery or have reasons not to make improvements. This neglect, benign or otherwise, is further demonstrated in the inattention to the orientation area which provides access to the Koerner Gallery. This area is used almost exclusively for private functions and its role as a revenue generator has subsumed its public function as an orientation area. It is
sometimes stained and dirty, seats are not replaced and banquet rentals including food and drink are left in close proximity of artifacts during opening hours (see plate 34). It is not an inviting areas and it leads to the entrance of the Koerner Ceramics Gallery. Is this "bad housekeeping" a benign rebuke from those within the socio-political organisation who felt powerless during the decision-making process?, and now have the opportunity to ensure that the product is minimalised. Or, is this a physical manifestation of Duncan Cameron's assertion that most humans exhibit an "inherent resistance to change"? (Cameron 1971:23).
CHAPTER TEN - CONCLUSION.

10.1. INTRODUCTION

This thesis has questioned to what degree the final form of a permanent exhibition is determined by the inter-relationships between the collection, collector's rationale, object-related research, discipline-related theory, socio-political organisation of the museum, and philosophical, physical and financial constraints. This thesis also questioned how well the permanent exhibition serves the public as a conveyer of messages and whether it is able to respond to new ideas and the evolving world scene. In the tradition of anthropology these questions were explored through the idiosyncrasies of a single case study - the installation of one individual's collection into a new permanent gallery, the Koerner Gallery, at the Museum of Anthropology, University of British Columbia. This single case study was viewed as a concatenation where interdisciplinary linkages enabled the coexistence of different viewpoints and epistemologies. The research goal was not to uncover "the universal essence of things" or construct a metanarrative, but to respect and examine these differences and idiosyncrasies as possible agents of influence in the creation of the permanent exhibition.

Research of this scope is not normally possible because the sequence of events seldom fall within the working life of one individual - here was an opportunity to investigate a collector's rationale whilst he still owned the collection, to study the installation of that collection into a custom designed new gallery, to observe the reactions of the museum's internal and external culture with the goal of moving beyond an understanding of process to questioning why we do what we do. Students of Museum Studies have used the permanent exhibition to critique its curatorial and design strengths and weaknesses; to seek out covert meanings in the use of language in the text, and in the choice and placement of objects. The same exhibition could be critiqued by a
succession of students but they will never have access to the complex relationships underlying the interplay of knowledge, values and power that informed the final form of the exhibition. Current museum-related discourse recognises that exhibitions are formed by "people who have highly individualised visions and styles, in a process in which compromise is the order of the day" (Gurian 1991:188). This thought is reflected in Wittgenstein's philosophical suggestion that "we see the world the way we do, not because that is the way it is but because we have these way of seeing" (in McGrain 1989:ix). The underlying complexity of this statement guided the direction of the research throughout this thesis. Understanding was sought not in the discovery of new facts but through the significance of familiar facts.

This final chapter is divided into two sections: a review of the research and what this has revealed, and a discussion of the relevance of this research to the field of Museum Studies.

10.2. REVIEW OF THE RESEARCH AND WHAT IT HAS REVEALED.

The thesis began by recognising the need to deconstruct the complex and varied connections discovered during the research process in order to arrange them in the linearity dictated by the typescript method of communication. Initial research concentrated on a review of anthropological literature to ascertain the articulated strength, or weakness, of historic and current academic theory within exhibition theses, to discover whether anthropologists had studied the determining factors that inform the permanent exhibition, and to investigate the relationship between my academic training in anthropology and the curatorship of the Koerner Gallery. It was discovered that early anthropology and museums had a shared history, objects were collected to validate theories which both explained and ordered the world as it was perceived at that time. This concept of validation continued as the determining factor that informed the early permanent exhibition, until anthropology moved away from the study of objects once they
no longer informed the newer social-systems related theories - the research function of the museum atrophied. It was the changing economic and cultural world scene that contributed to the end of this hiatus: in Canada celebrations of the 1967 Centennial initiated an injection of federal funds, the ascent of tourism increased the museum-going public, the rise of the museum designer resulted in different looking exhibitions.

Anthropological theory in exhibitions has been slow to catch up with the fast changing world scene and these new exhibitions, for all their good intentions, are stranded on the temporal continuum and persist both as teachers of established knowledge and places where Euro-Canadians and First Nations remain trapped in a reconstructed world of idealised landscapes. The rise of structuralism offered ways of searching for underlying meanings in the use of language, resulting in a preoccupation with the meaning of "meaning".

In the current pluralistic climate the anthropologist has incorporated language and ways of thinking from other disciplines, including critical literature, fine arts, history and psychology to deconstruct what has been said and expose specific political agendas in the choice of artifacts, the arrangement and accompanying text. The post-modernist replaces the grand narrative with fragments of conversation. This concept of fragments extended to the cultural objects displayed in the Koerner gallery - no grand narrative is offered to comfort the visitor - no distinction is made between fine and ordinary pieces. Newer theories such as post-modernism may have consciously informed the objectives of the new permanent exhibition, but the review of the literature suggested that theoretical threads reaching back to Pitt Rivers, Boas, Sapir, and others were also embedded into the "ways of seeing" of the curator and could be detected in the way objects were organised in the Koerner gallery. This concept of revisiting "ancestors", retracing their itinerary, and accepting the role played by existing and familiar theories in the development of new theories or "ways of seeing", underpinned the research methodology for this thesis.
It was proposed in chapter three that the discipline of Museum Studies could benefit by creating a distinct vocabulary which informed the language of the discourse. The terms "museifugal" and "museipetal" research were introduced to define different areas of research. Museifugal research was problem-oriented, pure and directed at objects and their biographies, regardless of their curatorial disciplines. Museipetal research was directed at the museum as a physical and cultural entity.

For this study museifugal research was subdivided into three historically and often geographically distinct areas, "realities", wherein differing models of investigation attach differing meanings and names. In the first "reality", that of the maker, the object was manufactured in response to a set of cultural requirements and was an integral part of the articulation of cultural processes. This reality was accessed through interviews with scholars and potters and by examination of historic sites, museum collections, archival records and available literature. The second "reality" was that of the world of the collector where objects were removed from their intended context, treated as commodities to be bought, sold, renamed as art or craft and evaluated within the tenets of connoisseurship and the surrounding art market. This reality was accessed through interviews with the collector, curators and connoisseurs, and by examination of auction catalogues and available literature. The area of research has been of little interest to the discipline of anthropology, which concentrates on "self" rather than "other", but is of growing interest to the discipline of museum studies, where such distinctions are less central to the discourse. In the third "reality", the museum, objects were renamed according to a constructed classification system which prioritised function. The second "reality" was usually relegated to the archives and the objects were artificially reattached to their first realities. Recently, this reattachment has become issue-laden and academic anthropologists are beginning to reconsider the museum as a place worthy of investigation, it is no longer journey's end for the object.
The Museipetal research sought to examine and analyse the complex and many-dimensional sets of relationships associated with the creation of the new permanent exhibition, known as the Koerner gallery. These included those within and between objects, text, graphics, space and architecture, curator/designer/collector and the socio-political organisational structure of the museum. Initial data was gathered from other museums where new ceramics galleries had been installed within the last five years, the hypothesis was that these permanent galleries were such important, time-consuming and expensive investments that all aspects of planning and installation would have been carefully considered. This did not prove to be true, all had some problems which had not been foreseen by the designer or curator prior to installation. On one level it was the success or failure of how certain stimuli were combined and presented to the visitor, and on another it was lack of attention to technical factors such as reflections, legibility of labels and display cases difficult to access.

This investigation provided time for the designer and curator to agree upon which positive aspects of these installations could inform the development of the new gallery. It was first hypothesised that the type of collaborative framework, i.e. relationship, constructed between the curator and designer would determine the measurable success of any exhibition. The curator established relationships with the objects and develops ideas about an organising principle, the designer established relationships with the three-dimensional informative space of the gallery. The history of museum-related design theory is brief and sparse, and designers that had written about museum design borrowed vocabulary from other disciplines and emphasised technique, it was the look not the content that was considered important. The lack of a mutually understood disciplinary language that can ensure accurate communication between the curator and designer led to the proposal that their relationship be based on the development of shared sensibilities - "ways of seeing" - which initially transcend language. This required time, trust and the acceptance of shared ownership. If they could agree or disagree about why they do
what they do, they could also consider the consequences of how they answer their own questions. If this conversation was not present it was hypothesised that the relationships would not evolve and the hierarchy of the larger socio-political organisation would take precedence and this would determine the measurable success of the design and curatorship of the exhibition. This hypothesis proved to be true when tested on exhibitions elsewhere in Canada that have been at the centre of much museum-related discourse.

The building of the relationship between the curator and designer became part of the history of the development of the Koerner gallery. Threads of this relationship extended to the rest of the staff. To understand the "ways of seeing" of the staff, the history of the internal culture of the museum was investigated using museum archives and staff interviews. From this study it was proposed that the internal culture of the museum is divided into "founder" and "immigrant" terms borrowed from the "ways of seeing" of an anthropologist - and that each of these divisions have differing perceptions of power, knowledge and values. The 'founder' culture was involved in the move from the old premises to the new building and what they created became irrevocably 'theirs'. It was proposed that this 'ownership' continues to the present and is manifested in the emergence of a strong will inhibiting change.

A description of the case study included compiling the social history of the Koerner collection, the biography of the collector, the history of the development of the museum's collection and architecture, and the socio-political organisation of the museum. These histories provided new data for the biography of the museum and for further research in the area of collecting. Also, they joined the already assembled histories of anthropology and design theory as historical referents for the understanding of contemporary "ways of seeing".

The analysis of the collection is usually the prime focus for the curator and it is a precept of this study that all exhibitions should be based on objects and therefore the study of objects is of primary importance to the development of an exhibition thesis. Under the
umbrella of museifugal research the biographies of the objects were reconstructed by
studying the realities that the objects had passed through on their journey to the museum.
Based on the theory being that mental responses to visual stimuli are not idiosyncratic or
exceptional and are integral to the validation process, it was proposed that researchers
construct models of investigation that include the development of some visual literacy
towards objects prior to the introduction of descriptive language. This initiated the
examining of all available European ceramic collections that were included within the
parameters of the Koerner collection. The process then moved to the setting up of
alliances, relationships, with curators who worked within the tenets of connoisseurship,
decoding their language -- "it depends on how bluish the white is" -- and comparing all
data gathered with the Koerner collection. The implications of this museifugal research
were many: the visual literacy developed during early encounters with the collection
introduced two foci to the curatorial/design conceptual framework - an emphasis on
individual pieces and a recognition of the importance of the aesthetic experience.
Individual pieces separated out for attention served as a metaphor for an existing
permanent exhibition, the Masterpiece gallery; aesthetics functioned as a non-text intuitive
device.

The relationship between objects and the exhibition was analysed and it was
proposed that objects have relationships with each other, with their associated text, with
their place in the display unit, with their place in the gallery and its relationship with the
other permanent galleries in the museum. A model was suggested for successful object
text relationship which incorporated the designer's aesthetic considerations with the
curator's intellectual content. The complexity underlying the organisation of the storyline
for a permanent exhibit became evident during the analysis of the relationships between
the curator and designer, the object and text, the object and exhibit. A series of floor
plans illustrated how this complexity could be deconstructed into layers that clarified the
relationship between the curatorial concept and the design. Later analysis of the
collector’s rationale revealed some compelling reasons why it too could function as an important factor in the organisation of information.

Collection-related research initially concentrated on understanding the objects in terms of their first reality - the time and place of their making and using, and their third reality - their time and place in the museum. Between these two realities lies the second reality - their time and place in the world of collecting. Even though collectors and their practices are seldom considered important in an anthropology museum, it was argued that choices made by those inside a museum, when organising an exhibition, were guided by the collection parameters determined by outside rationales which were seldom understood. During the year spent interviewing Koerner about his collection and collecting, it became clear that there were many motivations, some easily accessible and others progressively more difficult to locate. Most collecting theories encountered were not based on prolonged interaction with collectors - rather on literature about collectors. The Koerner interviews enabled a relationship to develop between the collector and the curator. Over time it became apparent that his rationale had public, private and well-hidden dimensions which, if exposed, could add to the growing body of theory concerning the collector and collecting, and the development of museum collections. The concepts of pentimento, from the discipline of fine arts, and palimpsest, from archaeology, were adopted as metaphorical referents for these dimensions. It was concluded that choices concerning the degree of exposure of the collector’s rationale would impact on the organisation of the exhibition.

Once the collection entered the museum it was catalogued according to a collection-management system which normally relegated the collector to the archives. The collection now had a relationship with museums professionals in conservation, fabrication and collections management. Its parallel relationship with the curator and designer expanded to include the collector. Dr. Koerner was not relegated to the archives, he joined the designer and curator in all discussions pertaining to the development of an
organising theme for the collection. We collaborated on how the exhibition text and display methods could reflect those parts of his rationale that he was comfortable being made accessible to the public, without the rationale clouding the primacy of the object. This process now suggests the possibility of rethinking the validity of curatorial control over information and the implications of the existing hierarchical relationship between curators and collectors.

The research had started with relationships with literature, moved to objects and then to people. The next move was to the context - the museum as the vehicle curators use to present ideas to audiences not reached by academic/technical writing. My anthropological role was transformed from gatherer and researcher of information in the cultural environment of the "other" - outside the museum, to conveyor and translator of information in the cultural environment of "self" - inside the museum. Research had concentrated on how the development of the building, the exhibition spaces and the non-public spaces of the Museum of Anthropology were determined by philosophical, physical and financial considerations. The new gallery incorporated the philosophical underpinnings of the existing three permanent installations, the Great Hall with its massive sculptures, the jewel-like setting of the Masterpiece Gallery and Visible Storage where the majority of the collection was accessible. Time had been kind to these spaces and they had become icons of the Museum of Anthropology. They were illustrated in architectural and design literature as examples of "rightness" and yet research had indicated that visitors were critical of the lack of information in the first two and confused by Visible Storage. The new European ceramics gallery was to exist side by side with the Great Hall without marginalising either and, at the same time, be in harmony with the other permanent installations. The new gallery served as a metaphorical referent for the rest of the museum, underpinned by the same ideologies and yet capable of responding to change. It combined ambiance with information, whereas elsewhere ambiance was without
information (the Masterpiece Gallery) or information was without ambiance (Visible Storage).

The final stage of research utilised methodologies used by Visitor Studies to question to what degree the final form of the exhibit served the museum visitor. The exhibition had been created by museum professionals whose "ways of seeing" were embedded in the "look" and content of the gallery - a gallery which was to incorporate a new curatorial and design ideology, and compliment, but not compete with, the rest of the museum. This thesis had already questioned whether the exhibition process is subject to a number of controlling factors and to what extent these factors have effected the exhibition. Five methodologies were utilised to analyse public response: secondary data analysis, unobtrusive tracking, visitor book analysis, delivery of interview questionnaire, and focus group interviews. The data provided by these studies indicated that the curatorial/design objective was accessible to the public - this gave credence to the theory that the relationship between the curator and designer is essential to the clarity of the message - it is a conversation not an argument. Data also showed that the majority of people were not disturbed by the positioning of a European gallery in an anthropology museum but many also were not prepared to question the authority of the museum.

Visitors provided confirmation of what had been observable but not articulated - that the gallery had not been incorporated into the holistic nature of the museum image. Research also indicated that museum staff were often isolated from the public and often did not know who they were. They viewed exhibitions as places to acquire knowledge through the delivery of facts, not places of curiosity, enjoyment and social interaction. The main argument in this final portion was that museums should take the responsibility to evaluate their own work because only they have access to the internal structure and knowledge about why decisions were made and the ability to consider the consequences of those decisions. This was the first gallery at the Museum of Anthropology to be evaluated so rigorously. The gallery received high marks from the public, the rest of the
museum did not - the public had changed but the museum had not noticed. A new public, or more correctly many publics, want information - art for arts sake with twenty year old philosophical underpinnings was no longer acceptable.

10.3. RELEVANCE OF THIS RESEARCH TO THE DISCIPLINE OF MUSEUM STUDIES.

The critiques in this thesis of the exhibitions "Into the Heart of Africa", "The Spirit Sings", "Trapline/ Lifeline", demonstrated that the practice of anthropology in museums is now under intense public scrutiny and anthropologists practice in a highly politicized public setting. New economic and political realities have removed museums from their conservative niche and they are being forced to accept changes initiated by new and different forces, forces that are comprised of the "other" who demand scrutiny of post colonial bias in the presentation of the "other". Curators are now often subjected to more public scrutiny than their academic colleagues and are still learning how to respond to the changing external culture. The installation of European material culture in an anthropology museum challenged the concept that museums remain value-laden moralizing institutions displaying metanarratives created to validate discarded theories. The Koerner gallery is a conversation about reality fragments, it is an artificial construct, it displays "self" side-by-side with "other" without one marginalising the other, it is a response to the changing external culture. These are important points to be made by any museum that collects and displays the products of different peoples within one building - and they are made by the Koerner gallery. The focus of the collection is idiosyncratic in that it does not fit easily into the public or academic perception of what is appropriate to be exhibited in a museum of anthropology. It consists of historic ceramics made by cultures not addressed at the Museum of Anthropology, the uncomfortably close-to-home

1 Those developing new permanent exhibitions are now beginning to seek out the voices of the living cultures being displayed. In England the new ethnographic gallery at the Birmingham museum, in Canada the Grand Hall at the Canadian Museum of Civilization.
"self", rather than the comfortably distanced "other". It challenges peoples perception of what is correct in an anthropology museum. When the collection came to the museum the question posed was "what is that stuff doing in a museum of anthropology"? Answered but not yet with great conviction, by posing another question: "why shouldn't anthropology museums embrace Europeans and move beyond studying the "other"? This was qualified with the reasoning that anthropologists do claim to study all humankind - so bringing Europeans into the framework could facilitate the beginning of anthropologising "self". Furthermore, even, "is this not an opportunity to be more honest, less authoritative, perhaps even confront issues relating to racism and exclusion with action rather than rhetoric?"

This research on the Koerner Ceramics Gallery has demonstrated that the museum can be a forum - even if it continues to look like a temple, and has produced a challenging arena for those who would advocate the exclusion of "self" from the anthropology museum. It has metaphorically brought together all the ideologies at work in the museum as a conversation which is not yet fully comprehended. It has investigated how new physical spaces impacted on the relationship of the architecture to the socio-political organisation - negating the simple 'upstairs' and 'downstairs' dichotomy. It has provided the opportunity to address criticism of existing galleries and an incentive to turn the mirror and investigate "Self".

Research on collecting practice recognizes the role of the collector's rationale as a determinant of the parameters of museum collections. Museums should recognise the importance of collecting theories that go beyond "how" collections were formed to "why" they were formed. Dr. Koerner collected symbols of power of those oppressed, not to demonstrate his power over them but to demonstrate his sympathy with them. He used his wealth to ensure that the arts of the oppressed survived even though the people did not. This information was only made available once a relationship based on trust was established. It was a pentimento that contributed to the organising principle of the gallery
and added to the biography of the objects. Other more inaccessible rationales, palimpsests, can only be incorporated into future collecting theories if researchers can commit the time to contemporary collectors. The recording of these pentimentos and palimpsests raised the ethical question of who chooses what information should be accessible to the public. Also, collecting practices are beginning to come under the scrutiny of scholars who are discovering that the history of Canadian collections and collectors is poorly documented and little is published. This research on the collecting of the Koerner collection has contributed to this growing body of critical literature.

Much has been written in both museum and anthropological literature about the modernist approach to exhibitions - ahistorical, without context and adhering to a universal aesthetic, as defined by western art historians and anthropologists. An approach that viewed primitive art as equal to Western art and is now seen as an act of appropriation to consolidate Western ideas of quality. In the Koerner gallery the displaying of "crockery" next to the finer painterly ware in identical display cases could be viewed as either deceptive or democratic. Deceptive if seen from a modernist viewpoint: the displaying of all levels of human endeavour together denies the precept that there are levels of quality to be extracted and displayed as "art". Democratic if seen from a post-modernist viewpoint: the displaying of all levels of human endeavour as equal reflectors of the cultures that created them, differentiation to be made by the viewer, not appropriated by the curator. This design/curatorial display philosophy can lead to a questioning and awareness of the potential power of display conventions. Curators work with many professions, particularly the designer, in the production of an exhibition and it has been shown that the relationships are complex and subject to constant change. It has also been demonstrated in this thesis that curating an exhibition can be viewed as a creative act that extends beyond the normal perception of scholarly endeavour; idiosyncrasies can be respected and treated as components of this act, and it can be understood that it is also capable of embodying a given set of values, conventions, or
techniques. Curation is also based on solid research, collaboration, contemplation, and dialogue with the museum's internal and external cultures. This study has shown that insufficient dialogue can set the stage for demonstrations of power by those who feel unconsulted.

Philosophically the staff can express belief in an ideology that includes constant self-criticism and reflexivity, a trust of colleagues and a respect for each others professional judgment. Also, they can recognise obligations to share knowledge, and to discuss differences and similarities. That these ideologies and obligations are not always manifested in observable behaviour is demonstrated in this study of the creation of a new gallery. It could be further suggested that the new gallery had become a metaphor for tensions within the socio-political organisation of the museum. For example, research associated with the evaluation of the new gallery, demonstrated that the ideology underpinning the horizontal nature of the museum's organisational structure was itself underpinned by an understood and accepted hierarchy associated with power and authority. It demonstrated that these power relationships do exist and were changing. It demonstrated that the "art for art's sake - and minimal information" approach taken in existing galleries was no longer acceptable to the visitor and consequently doubt has been cast on the contemporary validity of the earlier theoretical underpinnings of the other galleries.

It has been shown that the process of rejection happened in the museum before the exhibition opened and even though opinions formed then could have been confirmed or altered in light of the public reaction to the gallery, it was argued that the only reactions heard were those that confirmed these earlier opinions. One staff member admitted: "there are staff members who have argued for it and there are staff members who argued against it - the staff members who argued for it.. won. Regrettably, the ones who argued against it will always be against it." The use of power "to get others to change the way

2Notes taken at a 1993 staff retreat where values and beliefs were articulated.
they think or what they do" (Newlands D. 1983:20) is being eroded at the Museum of Anthropology because power did not prevent the installation of the new gallery, and the primary expression of the internal culture "the source of traditions - rules, beliefs and customs that are known to all, obeyed by all, taken for granted and seldom if ever stated" (ibid) is no longer clear and is locked into an ideology/reality paradox.

Public reaction has produced data which would seem to confirm unvoiced tensions which are yet to be discussed openly by the staff of the Museum of Anthropology. People wield negative powers by keeping the gallery hidden "I thought it was closed because it looked so dark". It is suggested that the will to change must have a broad base of support - the commitment of a few is essential but without support change is difficult. The gallery proved to be popular with the media and the public and with the passage of time it has gained some patina of age and respectability. The international collaboration between the curator at the Museum of Anthropology and other curators on the museifugal research, and the subsequent attendance of those curators at a 1991 symposium, based on the Koerner collection, added credibility to the gallery. This also enabled the Museum of Anthropology to offer these key curators the opportunity to view an alternative method of presentation which may have influenced their own perceptions of the permanent exhibition. There are now signs of the Koerner gallery being incorporated into the "ways of seeing" of the internal culture: staff approved both the purchase of contemporary ceramics to be installed in the lower lobby adjacent to the Koerner gallery and the installation of a display case introducing the gallery. The gallery will now be "visible" from the lobby area. Volunteers who were confused by the inclusion of a European gallery have now voted to develop brochures for self-guided tours and the gallery is now used for programmes in art history, European history, ceramics technology and art education. The gallery itself may have been capable of responding to change

3See Birnie Danzker J. 1990:25)
4These papers will be published as proceedings of the symposium in 1994.
but it was clear that the inherent human resistance to change was well demonstrated by the internal cultures of the Museum of Anthropology. It is proposed that this resistance can be lessened if time is spent to answer the question "why are we doing this?" so that a climate for shared objectives and mutual trust can be developed.

Throughout this research it was clear that the spoken and written word was not capable of describing what we think we see in a manner equally accessible to somebody else. Members of the museum's internal and external cultures chose paths to the description that were varied and consisted of different levels of knowledge, different cultural affinities, different languages, different places in the socio-political organisation of family, profession, world. The final form of the permanent exhibition selected for this case study was influenced by the inter-relationships between the collection, collector's rationale, object-related research, discipline-related theory, socio-political organisation of the museum, philosophy and finances. Most museum professionals know that these elements exist and some may recognise that exhibitions are produced by a series of complex negotiations based on perceptions of inter-relationships between these elements. The complexity of these relationships was accepted as a source of richness rather than a source of criticism, a mosaic where subjectivity informed objectivity, where ideology complimented rationality, where conversation replaced ownership, where new facts added to familiar facts, where the museum was not the end of the journey and the permanent exhibition was not the final word, where the forum eclipsed the temple.
QUESTIONS USED IN STAFF INTERVIEWS AT THE MUSEUM OF ANTHROPOLOGY.

Interviews began by asking the staff members to draw an organisational chart of the museum's staff structure, then identify their place in the structure, and then, using him or herself as 'ego', identify all the people involved in the development of an exhibition. The interview elaborated on these diagrams, and used them to talk about the impact of a new permanent exhibitions on the inter-relationships as drawn. A list of base questions were asked and, depending on the answers, did or did not lead to further questions. Objective; to gain access to staff's knowledge about each other's roles in the exhibition process, perception of their 'place' in the socio-political organisation of the museum and their relationship with the development of the new Koerner Ceramics Gallery.

Whom do you answer to?
Whom do you work with?
Describe the exhibit process
Describe the curator's role
Describe the collection manager's role
Describe the designer's role
Describe the conservator's role
Describe the programmers role (school and public)
Describe the director's role
Describe the administrator's role
Describe your involvement in the exhibit process
Are there any other people involved with the process that you can describe?
What is your ultimate responsibility in the exhibition process?
Can you identify problem areas in the exhibition process?
How do you think the above differed in the case of a permanent gallery
Describe your role in the development of the Koerner Gallery
Whom did you work with?
What were their roles?
Who did you not work with? Why not?
Can you describe possible areas of tension in the exhibition process?
How would you solve problems?
Who was ultimately responsible for the new gallery?
What changes would you make to the gallery? Why?
KOERNER CERAMICS GALLERY QUESTIONNAIRE

Introduction

This gallery opened in 1990 as an extension to the Museum of Anthropology. We are now trying to gauge public reaction to it in order to decide how, and to what degree, we can improve or modify it, as well as the museum as a whole. To aid in this process we would like you to spend five minutes answering some questions which ask, first, for some general information about yourself, and secondly about your perceptions of the Koerner Gallery. We are also interested in any candid observations that you would be willing to share concerning the individual artifacts, or the gallery as a whole and its relationship to the Museum of Anthropology.

We are grateful to you for your help.
PART ONE.

(1) Where do you live?

( ) Greater Vancouver
( ) Vancouver Island
( ) Mainland B.C.
( ) Other Canadian Province
( ) U.S. State
( ) Other

(2) If you live locally, did you bring visitors with you?

( ) Yes  ( ) No.

(3) If yes, from where?

(4) What was the intent of today’s outing?

( ) visit Koerner Gallery
( ) visit Museum of Anthropology
( ) visit other UBC attractions
( ) general sight-seeing
or
( ) other, in which case what specific interest brought you to the Museum of Anthropology?

(5) How did you first become aware of the Museum of Anthropology?
PART TWO

(6) What impressions did you leave the Koerner Gallery with?

__________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

(7) What part of the Gallery especially interested you?

__________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

(8) What was it about that area that you found interesting?

__________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

(9) Several levels of information accompany the displays in the Gallery. How would you rate the following?

(a) The amount of information was
   1 ( ) Too much
   2 ( ) enough
   3 ( ) not enough
   4 ( )
   5 ( )

(b) The presentation of information was
   1 ( ) Very clear
   2 ( ) Clear
   3 ( ) Not clear

Comments?__________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________
PART TWO

(10) Here are some themes that the curator explores in the Koerner Gallery:
- 400 years of tin-glaze in Europe
- Technology
- Social History
- Inspiration for contemporary art

Now that I have mentioned these to you, do you think we could make them more explicitly.

(11) Anthropology museums traditionally do not exhibit European material. We have. What do you think of that?

(12) Do you have any further comments, ideas, observations, or information that would help us to improve this gallery, and/or to better serve the public?

(Thank you again for your help)
C291M PLATE
DELFT-CIRCULAR PLATE WITH FLAT WELL AND SHORT PEDESTAL BASE. BOWL CONTINUE TO EDGE OF RIM, FLAT RIM. FLOWERS AND GREEN LEAVES. FOUR DOGS CHASING A STAG IN THE BACKGROUND. DESIGN COVERS MOST OF SURFACE, EXCEPTING SMALLER FLOWERS AND LEAF PATTERNS. A BANDED EDGE DISTINGUISHES BOWL FROM PLATE.

C289I BOX
DELFT-DUTCH-CONTAINERS IN THE SHAPE OF A SMALL, OVOID BOX WITH CONVEX LID AND FINIAL IN THE BACKGROUND. DESIGN COVERS CENTRE OF WEL. LEAVES AND GARLANDS AROUND RIM. BLUE, GREEN AND ORANGE DESIGN ON WHITE. WHITE GLAZE.

C306 PLATE
DELFT-ENGLAND-CIRCULAR PLATE WITH FLAT BASE AND ANGLED EXTERIOR SIDES. BODY DEFINED BY BLUE SCALLOPED CIRCLE LINING CLEARLY DRAWN LANDSCAPE, 4 LEAF AND BRANCH PATTERNS ON NARROW ANGLED RIM. DESIGNS ARE BLUE, GREEN AND PURPLE ON BLUE-WHITE GLAZE.

C290 PLATE
DELFT-ENGLAND-CIRCULAR PLATE WITH FLAT BASE AND ANGLED EXTERIOR SIDES. BODY DEFINED BY BLUE SCALLOPED CIRCLE LINING CLEARLY DRAWN LANDSCAPE, 4 LEAF AND BRANCH PATTERNS ON NARROW ANGLED RIM. DESIGNS ARE BLUE, GREEN AND PURPLE ON BLUE-WHITE GLAZE.

C291 BOX
DELFT-DUTCH-CONTAINERS IN THE SHAPE OF A SMALL, OVOID BOX WITH CONVEX LID AND FINIAL IN THE BACKGROUND. DESIGN COVERS CENTRE OF WEL. LEAVES AND GARLANDS AROUND RIM. BLUE, GREEN AND ORANGE DESIGN ON WHITE. WHITE GLAZE.

C289 BOX
DELFT-DUTCH-CONTAINERS IN THE SHAPE OF A SMALL, OVOID BOX WITH CONVEX LID AND FINIAL IN THE BACKGROUND. DESIGN COVERS CENTRE OF WEL. LEAVES AND GARLANDS AROUND RIM. BLUE, GREEN AND ORANGE DESIGN ON WHITE. WHITE GLAZE.

C292 PLATE
DELFT-ENGLAND-CIRCULAR PLATE WITH FLAT BASE AND ANGLED EXTERIOR SIDES. BODY DEFINED BY BLUE SCALLOPED CIRCLE LINING CLEARLY DRAWN LANDSCAPE, 4 LEAF AND BRANCH PATTERNS ON NARROW ANGLED RIM. DESIGNS ARE BLUE, GREEN AND PURPLE ON BLUE-WHITE GLAZE.

C289I BOX
DELFT-DUTCH-CONTAINERS IN THE SHAPE OF A SMALL, OVOID BOX WITH CONVEX LID AND FINIAL IN THE BACKGROUND. DESIGN COVERS CENTRE OF WEL. LEAVES AND GARLANDS AROUND RIM. BLUE, GREEN AND ORANGE DESIGN ON WHITE. WHITE GLAZE.
Appendix 7
Korean Ceramic Collection
Catalog Listing

C0202 DISH DELFT-ENGLAND A LONG-PLUMED BIRD, INSECT, FLOWERS, BAMBOO AND FOLIAGE ARE PAINTED IN THE WELL OF THE CIRCULAR DISH. A DOUBLE BLUE RIM SEPARATES WELL FROM 3 FLOWERS AND LEAF PATTERNS ON RIM, LOW FOOT ON PLATE BASE, BLUE, GREEN, ORANGE-RED, WHITE.

C0209 PLATE DELFT-ENGLAND CIRCULAR PLATE HAS WELL DESIGN OF ONE LARGE FITTED WITH BAMBOO AND BY A LOW FENCE, BANDED BY AN ALTERNATING BAND OF FLOWERS AND LEAF FORMS. RIM HAS SCALLOP AND DIAPER BORDER, PLATE BASE IS PLAIN, GREEN, YELLOW, PURPLE AND RED ON BLUE-WHITE.

C0214 PLATE DELFT-ENGLAND CIRCULAR PLATE SHOWS SPOTTING WHALE WITH TAIL IN AIR IN WELL CENTRE. BLUE CROSS AND DOT DESIGNS ALTERNATE WITH A ABSTRACT FORMS ON NARROW RIM. PLATE HAS PLAT BASE BLUE, PURPLE, GREEN AND RED ON BLUE-WHITE.

C0218 DISH DELFT-ENGLAND CIRCULAR DISH WITH DESIGN PAINTED IN BLUE, GREEN, YELLOW, PURPLE AND RED ON WHITE. CENTRAL WELL HAS LINEAR ARRANGEMENT, 5 LARGE AND 5 SMALL, FLORAL SPIRES ALTERNATE AROUND RIM AND BLANK ON WELL. 1 CM HIGH FOOT. ABSTRACT FOLIAGE DESIGN IN CENTRE OF WELL AND AROUND RIM, ON EXTERIOR SIDES A MANNED FLOWERING TREE. BLUE, ORANGE-BROWN, BLUE, GREEN, YELLOW ON BLUE-WHITE.

C0220 PLATE DELFT-ENGLAND CIRCULAR PLATE WITH WELL LANDSCAPE OF FLOWERS, LEAVES, GRASS AND ROCKS. THREE PATTERNED FLOWS AND LEAVES REPEATED ON RIM LOW FOOT WITH PLATE BASE. BLUE, PURPLE, YELLOW AND GREEN ON BLUE-WHITE. RIM COLOUR BASE CHANGES TO CREAM WHITE.

C0225 PLATE DELFT-ENGLAND CIRCULAR PLATE WITH OVERALL DESIGN OF FLOWERS, LEAVES, GRASS AND ROCKS. TWO NARROW BLUE RIM. 3 FLOWERS AND LEAF PATTERNS ALSO ENCLOSED BY BLUE CIRCULAR BAND AT EDGE. BLUE, GREEN, YELLOW, RED ON WHITE.

C0226 PLATE DELFT-ENGLAND CIRCULAR PLATE WITH WELL LANDSCAPE OF FLOWERS, LEAVES, GRASS AND ROCKS. THREE PATTERNED FLOWERS AND LEAVES REPEATED ON RIM LOW FOOT WITH PLATE BASE. BLUE, PURPLE, YELLOW AND GREEN ON BLUE-WHITE. RIM COLOUR BASE CHANGES TO CREAM WHITE.

C0227 PLATE DELFT-ENGLAND CIRCULAR PLATE WITH OVERALL DESIGN OF FLOWERS, LEAVES, GRASS AND ROCKS. TWO NARROW BLUE RIM. 3 FLOWERS AND LEAF PATTERNS ALSO ENCLOSED BY BLUE CIRCULAR BAND AT EDGE. BLUE, GREEN, YELLOW, RED ON WHITE.

C0228 PLATE DELFT-ENGLAND CIRCULAR PLATE WITH OVERALL DESIGN OF TWO LARGE FLOWERS AND LEAVES, BANDED BY TWO NARROW BLUE BANDS, AND INSECT FLUNITG ON UPPER RIM. BLUE, ORANGE-RED, YELLOW, PURPLE-BROWN AND RED ON LIGHT BLUE.

C0231 PLATE DELFT-ENGLAND CIRCULAR PLATE WITH OVERALL DESIGN OF FLOWERS, LEAVES, GRASS AND ROCKS. THREE PATTERNED FLOWERS AND LEAVES REPEATED ON RIM LOW FOOT WITH PLATE BASE. BLUE, PURPLE, YELLOW AND GREEN ON BLUE-WHITE. RIM COLOUR BASE CHANGES TO CREAM WHITE.

C0234 PLATE DELFT-ENGLAND CIRCULAR PLATE WITH OVERALL DESIGN OF FLOWERS, LEAVES, GRASS AND ROCKS. THREE PATTERNED FLOWERS AND LEAVES REPEATED ON RIM LOW FOOT WITH PLATE BASE. BLUE, PURPLE, YELLOW AND GREEN ON BLUE-WHITE. RIM COLOUR BASE CHANGES TO CREAM WHITE.

C0235 PLATE DELFT-ENGLAND CIRCULAR PLATE WITH OVERALL DESIGN OF FLOWERS, LEAVES, GRASS AND ROCKS. THREE PATTERNED FLOWERS AND LEAVES REPEATED ON RIM LOW FOOT WITH PLATE BASE. BLUE, PURPLE, YELLOW AND GREEN ON BLUE-WHITE. RIM COLOUR BASE CHANGES TO CREAM WHITE.

C0236 DISH DELFT-ENGLAND CIRCULAR DISH WITH CENTER DESIGN OF BLUE AND YELLOW ORANGE FLOWERS, BANDED BY TWO YELLOW AND ORANGE RIBBON ON FLORAL STEM DETAIL. LINES IN BROWN AND BLACK.

C0237 DISH DELFT-ENGLAND DEEP DISH WITH WIDE LAIDEN WAVY RIM. 2 YELLOW AND BLUE STYLIZED FLOWERS IN BOWL, FORMAL BLUE FLORAL MOTIFS IN RIM SECTIONS. THIN PURPLE ENCRUSTING LINES BETWEEN FLORAL DESIGNS.

C0238 DISH DELFT-ENGLAND DISH LANDSCAPE OF FLOWERS, BAMBOO, LEAF AND INSECT IN WELL. ROUND DESIGN. FIVE FLOWERS AND LEAF PATTERNS INTERSECTED WITH SCROLL AND CIRCULAR LINES ON PLATE RIM BLUE, GREEN, YELLOW, ORANGE ON BLUE-WHITE.

C0238AB POSSET POT DELFT-ENGLAND DISH BULBS SHAPE POSSET POT WITH WIDE NECK, TWO HANDLES AT SIDES AND SPOT IN FRONT OF CHINESE FIGURES IN LANDSCAPES ON SEPARATE BAND. MALTESE CROSS ON TOP OF KNOB. SCROLLED HANDLES ON EITHER SIDE, AND DESIGN BAND AROUND RIM.

C0239 DISH DELFT-ENGLAND CIRCULAR DISH WITH WELL LANDSCAPE OF FLOWERS, LEAVES, GRASS AND DESIGN. CIRCULAR BAND AT NECK, LINEAR BAND AT BASE. BLUE, GREEN, YELLOW ON BLUE-WHITE.

C0241 DISH DELFT-ENGLAND CIRCULAR DISH DEEP DISH WITH WIDE LAIDEN WAVY RIM. 2 YELLOW AND BLUE STYLIZED FLOWERS IN BOWL, FORMAL BLUE FLORAL MOTIFS IN RIM SECTIONS. THIN PURPLE ENCRUSTING LINES BETWEEN FLORAL DESIGNS.

C0248 DISH DELFT-ENGLAND CIRCULAR DISH LANDSCAPE OF FLOWERS, BAMBOO, LEAF AND INSECT IN WELL. ROUND DESIGN. FIVE FLOWERS AND LEAF PATTERNS INTERSECTED WITH SCROLL AND CIRCULAR LINES ON PLATE RIM BLUE, GREEN, YELLOW, ORANGE ON BLUE-WHITE.
Appendix "C"

Kemper Ceramics Collection
Catalog Listing

CC026 TANKARD
FAIENCE-AUSTRIA
POWDER PURPLE, BALLUSTER SHAPE, FLAT BASE, LOOP HANDLE, MID NECK TO MID BODY, FLAT Pтвер LED HINGED TO LOOP HANDLE, LANDSCAPE WITH SHEEP, TREES, BLUE AND YELLOW STARS ON SIDES, RIM AT BASE, STRAIGHT SIDES AND ANGLED FLAT BASE.

CC027 TANKARD
FAIENCE-AUSTRIA
WHITE PURPLE TANKARD FLATTENED AT Base AND SHORT CYLINDRICAL, LOOP HANDLE FROM SHOULDER AT BASE AND SHORT CYLINDRICAL, WHTTE GLOBULAR TANKARD FLATTENED SQUARE WHITE COIN BANK IN THE FORM OF A MINIATURE TWO-TIERED STOVE. TO LOWER BODY FLAT PEWTER LID HINGED TO HANDLE. A RELIEF AT TOP TO LOWER BODY. HANDLE AT TOP TO LOWER BODY. A RELIEF IN THE CENTRE OF BODY A SCENE WITH BLACKSMITH, SPRIG FOLIAGE. SCROLLS.

CC028 TANKARD
FAIENCE-AUSTRIA
WHITE AND GREEN PLATTER.

CC029 TANKARD
FAIENCE-AUSTRIA
WHITE PURPLE TANKARD ON FLAT BASE WITH METAL MOUNT, LOOP HANDLE FROM MID NECK TO MID BODY, METAL MOUNT LED HINGED TO LOOP HANDLE, LANDSCAPE WITH SHEEP, TREES, BLUE AND YELLOW STARS ON SIDES, RIM AT BASE, STRAIGHT SIDES AND ANGLED FLAT BASE.

CC030 TANKARD
FAIENCE-AUSTRIA
WHITE PURPLE TANKARD ON FLAT BASE, LOOP HANDLE FROM MID NECK TO MID BODY, FLAT Pтвер LED HINGED TO LOOP HANDLE, LANDSCAPE WITH SHEEP, TREES, BLUE AND YELLOW STARS ON SIDES, RIM AT BASE, STRAIGHT SIDES AND ANGLED FLAT BASE.

CC031 TANKARD
FAIENCE-AUSTRIA
WHITE PURPLE TANKARD ON FLAT BASE WITH METAL MOUNT, LOOP HANDLE FROM MID NECK TO MID BODY, METAL MOUNT LED HINGED TO LOOP HANDLE, LANDSCAPE WITH SHEEP, TREES, BLUE AND YELLOW STARS ON SIDES, RIM AT BASE, STRAIGHT SIDES AND ANGLED FLAT BASE.

CC032 TANKARD
FAIENCE-AUSTRIA
WHITE PURPLE TANKARD ON FLAT BASE WITH METAL MOUNT, LOOP HANDLE FROM MID NECK TO MID BODY, METAL MOUNT LED HINGED TO LOOP HANDLE, LANDSCAPE WITH SHEEP, TREES, BLUE AND YELLOW STARS ON SIDES, RIM AT BASE, STRAIGHT SIDES AND ANGLED FLAT BASE.

CC033 TANKARD
FAIENCE-AUSTRIA
WHITE PURPLE TANKARD ON FLAT BASE WITH METAL MOUNT, LOOP HANDLE FROM MID NECK TO MID BODY, METAL MOUNT LED HINGED TO LOOP HANDLE, LANDSCAPE WITH SHEEP, TREES, BLUE AND YELLOW STARS ON SIDES, RIM AT BASE, STRAIGHT SIDES AND ANGLED FLAT BASE.

CC034 TANKARD
FAIENCE-AUSTRIA
WHITE PURPLE TANKARD ON FLAT BASE WITH METAL MOUNT, LOOP Handle FROM MID NECK TO MID BODY, METAL MOUNT LED HINGED TO LOOP HANDLE, LANDSCAPE WITH SHEEP, TREES, BLUE AND YELLOW STARS ON SIDES, RIM AT BASE, STRAIGHT SIDES AND ANGLED FLAT BASE.

CC035 TANKARD
FAIENCE-AUSTRIA
WHITE PURPLE TANKARD ON FLAT BASE WITH METAL MOUNT, LOOP Handle FROM MID NECK TO MID BODY, METAL MOUNT LED HINGED TO LOOP HANDLE, LANDSCAPE WITH SHEEP, TREES, BLUE AND YELLOW STARS ON SIDES, RIM AT BASE, STRAIGHT SIDES AND ANGLED FLAT BASE.

CC036 TANKARD
FAIENCE-AUSTRIA
WHITE PURPLE TANKARD ON FLAT BASE WITH METAL MOUNT, LOOP Handle FROM MID NECK TO MID BODY, METAL MOUNT LED HINGED TO LOOP HANDLE, LANDSCAPE WITH SHEEP, TREES, BLUE AND YELLOW STARS ON SIDES, RIM AT BASE, STRAIGHT SIDES AND ANGLED FLAT BASE.

CC037 TANKARD
FAIENCE-AUSTRIA
WHITE PURPLE TANKARD ON FLAT BASE WITH METAL MOUNT, LOOP Handle FROM MID NECK TO MID BODY, METAL MOUNT LED HINGED TO LOOP HANDLE, LANDSCAPE WITH SHEEP, TREES, BLUE AND YELLOW STARS ON SIDES, RIM AT BASE, STRAIGHT SIDES AND ANGLED FLAT BASE.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| C2209 | **Plate**
| | Faience-France
| | Circular white plate on flat base, with shallow curving sides and fluted octagonal wavy rim. A central spray of three red flowers, two smaller blue flowers and green leaves in well; three floral sprigs on rim. Scattered leaves all finely outlined in black. |
| C2210 | **Plate**
| | Faience-France
| | Circular white plate on flat base, with shallow curving sides and fluted octagonal wavy rim. A central spray of three red flowers and one smaller blue flower in well; 3 floral sprigs on rim. Scattered leaves all finely outlined in black. |
| C2211 | **Plate**
| | Faience-France
| | Circular white plate on flat base, shallow sides, fluted rim with double ridged, wavy edge. A central spray of three red flowers, two smaller blue flowers and yellow flowers, green leaves in well; three floral sprigs on rim. Scattered leaves all finely outlined in black. |
| C2212 | **Plate**
| | Faience-France
| | Circular white plate on flat base, with shallow curving sides and fluted octagonal wavy rim. A central spray of three red flowers, two smaller blue flowers and green leaves in well; three floral sprigs on rim. Scattered leaves all finely outlined in black. |
| C2213 | **Plate**
| | Faience-France
| | Circular white plate on flat base, with shallow curving sides and fluted octagonal wavy rim. A central spray of three red flowers, two smaller blue flowers and green leaves in well; three floral sprigs on rim. Scattered leaves all finely outlined in black. |
| C2214 | **Plate**
| | Faience-France
| | Circular white plate on flat base, with shallow curving sides and fluted octagonal wavy rim. A central spray of three red flowers, two smaller blue flowers and green leaves in well; three floral sprigs on rim. Scattered leaves all finely outlined in black. |
| C2215 | **Plate**
| | Faience-France
| | Circular white dish with ring base, shallow sides, fluted sides and fluted octagonal rim. A central spray of three red flowers, two smaller blue flowers and green leaves in well; 3 floral sprigs on rim. Scattered leaves all finely outlined in black. |
| C2216 | **Plate**
| | Faience-France
| | Circular white plate on flat base, with shallow curving sides and fluted octagonal wavy rim. A central spray of three red flowers, two smaller blue flowers and green leaves in well; three floral sprigs on rim. Scattered leaves all finely outlined in black. |
| C2217 | **Plate**
| | Faience-France
| | Circular white plate on flat base, with shallow curving sides and fluted octagonal wavy rim. A central spray of three red flowers, two smaller blue flowers and green leaves in well; three floral sprigs on rim. Scattered leaves all finely outlined in black. |
| C2218 | **Plate**
| | Faience-France
| | Circular white plate on flat base, with shallow curving sides and fluted octagonal wavy rim. A central spray of three red flowers, two smaller blue flowers and green leaves in well; three floral sprigs on rim. Scattered leaves all finely outlined in black. |
Appendix "C"

C. G. I. 7.3 DISH
ON RIM. ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK, CENTRAL SPRAY OF THREE RED WHITE OVAL PLATTER CIRCULAR OF THREE RED. ONE SMALLER YELLOW AND THREE SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS IN WELL. THREE FLORAL SPRAYS ON RM ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

C. G. I. 7.4 DISH
FAIENCE-FRANCE
CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE ON FLAT BASE, WITH DEEP WELL, CURVING SIDES AND FLUTED OCTAGONAL WAVY RM. A CENTRAL SPRAY OF THREE RED FLOWERS, TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS AND GREEN LEAVES IN WELL. THREE FLORAL SPRAYS ON RM ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

C. G. I. 7.5 DISH
FAIENCE-FRANCE
CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE ON FLAT BASE, WITH DEEP WELL, CURVING SIDES AND FLUTED OCTAGONAL WAVY RM. A CENTRAL SPRAY OF THREE RED FLOWERS, TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS AND TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS IN WELL. THREE FLORAL SPRAYS ON RM ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

C. G. I. 7.6 DISH
FAIENCE-FRANCE
CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE ON FLAT BASE, WITH DEEP WELL, CURVING SIDES AND FLUTED OCTAGONAL WAVY RM. A CENTRAL SPRAY OF THREE RED FLOWERS, TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS AND TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS IN WELL. THREE FLORAL SPRAYS ON RM ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

C. G. I. 7.7 DISH
FAIENCE-FRANCE
CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE ON FLAT BASE, WITH DEEP WELL, CURVING SIDES AND FLUTED OCTAGONAL WAVY RM. A CENTRAL SPRAY OF THREE RED FLOWERS, TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS AND TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS IN WELL. THREE FLORAL SPRAYS ON RM ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

C. G. I. 7.8 DISH
FAIENCE-FRANCE
CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE ON FLAT BASE, WITH DEEP WELL, CURVING SIDES AND FLUTED OCTAGONAL WAVY RM. A CENTRAL SPRAY OF THREE RED FLOWERS, TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS AND TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS IN WELL. THREE FLORAL SPRAYS ON RM ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

C. G. I. 7.9 DISH
FAIENCE-FRANCE
CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE ON FLAT BASE, WITH DEEP WELL, CURVING SIDES AND FLUTED OCTAGONAL WAVY RM. A CENTRAL SPRAY OF THREE RED FLOWERS, TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS AND TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS IN WELL. THREE FLORAL SPRAYS ON RM ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

C. G. I. 7.10 DISH
FAIENCE-FRANCE
CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE ON FLAT BASE, WITH DEEP WELL, CURVING SIDES AND FLUTED OCTAGONAL WAVY RM. A CENTRAL SPRAY OF THREE RED FLOWERS, TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS AND TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS IN WELL. THREE FLORAL SPRAYS ON RM ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

C. G. I. 7.11 DISH
FAIENCE-FRANCE
CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE ON FLAT BASE, WITH DEEP WELL, CURVING SIDES AND FLUTED OCTAGONAL WAVY RM. A CENTRAL SPRAY OF THREE RED FLOWERS, TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS AND TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS IN WELL. THREE FLORAL SPRAYS ON RM ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

C. G. I. 7.12 DISH
FAIENCE-FRANCE
CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE ON FLAT BASE, WITH DEEP WELL, CURVING SIDES AND FLUTED OCTAGONAL WAVY RM. A CENTRAL SPRAY OF THREE RED FLOWERS, TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS AND TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS IN WELL. THREE FLORAL SPRAYS ON RM ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

C. G. I. 7.13 DISH
FAIENCE-FRANCE
CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE ON FLAT BASE, WITH DEEP WELL, CURVING SIDES AND FLUTED OCTAGONAL WAVY RM. A CENTRAL SPRAY OF THREE RED FLOWERS, TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS AND TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS IN WELL. THREE FLORAL SPRAYS ON RM ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

C. G. I. 7.14 DISH
FAIENCE-FRANCE
CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE ON FLAT BASE, WITH DEEP WELL, CURVING SIDES AND FLUTED OCTAGONAL WAVY RM. A CENTRAL SPRAY OF THREE RED FLOWERS, TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS AND TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS IN WELL. THREE FLORAL SPRAYS ON RM ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

C. G. I. 7.15 DISH
FAIENCE-FRANCE
CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE ON FLAT BASE, WITH DEEP WELL, CURVING SIDES AND FLUTED OCTAGONAL WAVY RM. A CENTRAL SPRAY OF THREE RED FLOWERS, TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS AND TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS IN WELL. THREE FLORAL SPRAYS ON RM ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

C. G. I. 7.16 DISH
FAIENCE-FRANCE
CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE ON FLAT BASE, WITH DEEP WELL, CURVING SIDES AND FLUTED OCTAGONAL WAVY RM. A CENTRAL SPRAY OF THREE RED FLOWERS, TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS AND TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS IN WELL. THREE FLORAL SPRAYS ON RM ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

C. G. I. 7.17 DISH
FAIENCE-FRANCE
CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE ON FLAT BASE, WITH DEEP WELL, CURVING SIDES AND FLUTED OCTAGONAL WAVY RM. A CENTRAL SPRAY OF THREE RED FLOWERS, TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS AND TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS IN WELL. THREE FLORAL SPRAYS ON RM ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

C. G. I. 7.18 DISH
FAIENCE-FRANCE
CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE ON FLAT BASE, WITH DEEP WELL, CURVING SIDES AND FLUTED OCTAGONAL WAVY RM. A CENTRAL SPRAY OF THREE RED FLOWERS, TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS AND TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS IN WELL. THREE FLORAL SPRAYS ON RM ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

C. G. I. 7.19 DISH
FAIENCE-FRANCE
CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE ON FLAT BASE, WITH DEEP WELL, CURVING SIDES AND FLUTED OCTAGONAL WAVY RM. A CENTRAL SPRAY OF THREE RED FLOWERS, TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS AND TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS IN WELL. THREE FLORAL SPRAYS ON RM ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

C. G. I. 7.20 DISH
FAIENCE-FRANCE
CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE ON FLAT BASE, WITH DEEP WELL, CURVING SIDES AND FLUTED OCTAGONAL WAVY RM. A CENTRAL SPRAY OF THREE RED FLOWERS, TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS AND TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS IN WELL. THREE FLORAL SPRAYS ON RM ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

C. G. I. 7.21 DISH
FAIENCE-FRANCE
CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE ON FLAT BASE, WITH DEEP WELL, CURVING SIDES AND FLUTED OCTAGONAL WAVY RM. A CENTRAL SPRAY OF THREE RED FLOWERS, TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS AND TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS IN WELL. THREE FLORAL SPRAYS ON RM ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

C. G. I. 7.22 DISH
FAIENCE-FRANCE
CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE ON FLAT BASE, WITH DEEP WELL, CURVING SIDES AND FLUTED OCTAGONAL WAVY RM. A CENTRAL SPRAY OF THREE RED FLOWERS, TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS AND TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS IN WELL. THREE FLORAL SPRAYS ON RM ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.
Appendix "C"
Koem er Ceramics Collection

CG181 DISH
CIRCULAR WHITE DISH ON FLAT BASE, OCTAGONAL WAVY RIM. A SPRAY OF THREE RED FLOWERS, TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS IN WELL, THREE FLORAL SPRIGS ON RIM, GOLD LIP ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

CG166 PLATE
CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE ON FLAT BASE, WITH SHALLOW CURLING SIDES AND FLUTED OCTAGONAL WAVY RIM. A CENTRAL SPRAY OF THREE RED FLOWERS AND SMALLER BLUE AND YELLOW FLOWERS IN WELL, 3 FLORAL SPRIGS ON RIM ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

CG212 PLATE
CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE ON FLAT BASE, WITH DEEP WELL, CURLING SIDES AND FLUTED OCTAGONAL WAVY RIM. A CENTRAL SPRAY OF THREE RED FLOWERS AND TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS IN WELL. THREE FLORAL SPRIGS ON RIM ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

CG210 DISH
WHITE CIRCULAR DISH WITH FLAT BASE, OCTAGONAL WAVY RIM, COAT OF ARMS CENTERED, GOLD LIP ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

CG209 PLATE
CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE ON FLAT BASE, WITH DEEP WELL, CURLING SIDES AND FLUTED OCTAGONAL WAVY RIM. A CENTRAL SPRAY OF THREE RED FLOWERS, TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS IN WELL, THREE FLORAL SPRIGS ON RIM ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

CG208 PLATE
CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE ON FLAT BASE, WITH DEEP WELL, CURLING SIDES AND FLUTED OCTAGONAL WAVY RIM. A CENTRAL SPRAY OF THREE RED FLOWERS AND TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS IN WELL, THREE FLORAL SPRIGS ON RIM ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

CG207 PLATE
CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE ON FLAT BASE, WITH DEEP WELL, CURLING SIDES AND FLUTED OCTAGONAL WAVY RIM. A CENTRAL SPRAY OF THREE RED FLOWERS, TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS IN WELL, THREE FLORAL SPRIGS ON RIM ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

CG206 PLATE
CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE ON FLAT BASE, WITH DEEP WELL, CURLING SIDES AND FLUTED OCTAGONAL WAVY RIM. A CENTRAL SPRAY OF THREE RED FLOWERS, TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS IN WELL, THREE FLORAL SPRIGS ON RIM ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

CG205 PLATE
CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE ON FLAT BASE, OCTAGONAL WAVY RIM. A CENTRAL SPRAY OF THREE RED FLOWERS, TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS IN WELL, 3 FLORAL SPRIGS ON RIM ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

CG204 PLATE
CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE ON FLAT BASE, OCTAGONAL WAVY RIM. A SPRAY OF THREE RED FLOWERS IN WELL, THREE FLORAL SPRIGS ON RIM ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

CG203 PLATE
CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE ON FLAT BASE, OCTAGONAL WAVY RIM. A SPRAY OF THREE RED FLOWERS IN WELL, THREE FLORAL SPRIGS ON RIM ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

CG202 PLATE
CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE ON FLAT BASE, OCTAGONAL WAVY RIM. A SPRAY OF THREE RED FLOWERS IN WELL, THREE FLORAL SPRIGS ON RIM ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

CG180 DISH
WHITE CIRCULAR DISH ON FLAT BASE, OCTAGONAL WAVY RIM. A SPRAY OF THREE RED FLOWERS IN WELL, THREE FLORAL SPRIGS ON RIM ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

CG179 DISH
WHITE CIRCULAR DISH WITH FLAT BASE, OCTAGONAL WAVY RIM. A SPRAY OF THREE RED FLOWERS (PIONEERS) AND THREE SMALLER BLUE AND YELLOW FLOWERS IN WELL, 3 FLORAL SPRIGS ON RIM ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

CG178 DISH
WHITE CIRCULAR DISH WITH FLAT BASE, OCTAGONAL WAVY RIM. A SPRAY OF THREE RED FLOWERS (PIONEERS) AND THREE SMALLER BLUE AND YELLOW FLOWERS IN WELL, 3 FLORAL SPRIGS ON RIM ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

CG177 PLATE
CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE ON FLAT BASE, OCTAGONAL WAVY RIM. A SPRAY OF THREE RED FLOWERS (PIONEERS) AND SMALLER BLUE AND YELLOW FLOWERS IN WELL, 3 FLORAL SPRIGS ON RIM ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

CG176 PLATE
CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE WITH SHALLOW CURVING SIDES AND FLUTED OCTAGONAL WAVY RIM. A CENTRAL SPRAY OF THREE RED FLOWERS, TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS IN WELL, THREE FLORAL SPRIGS ON RIM ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

CG175 DISH
CIRCULAR WHITE DISH ON FLAT BASE, OCTAGONAL WAVY RIM. A SPRAY OF THREE RED FLOWERS, TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS IN WELL, THREE FLORAL SPRIGS ON RIM ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

CG174 DISH
WHITE CIRCULAR DISH ON CURVING RIM BASE, OCTAGONAL WAVY RIM. A CENTRAL SPRAY OF THREE RED FLOWERS, TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS IN WELL, THREE FLORAL SPRIGS ON RIM ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

CG173 PLATE
CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE ON FLAT BASE, OCTAGONAL WAVY RIM. A SPRAY OF THREE RED FLOWERS, TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS IN WELL, 3 FLORAL SPRIGS ON RIM ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

CG172 PLATE
CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE ON FLAT BASE, OCTAGONAL WAVY RIM. A SPRAY OF THREE RED FLOWERS, TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS IN WELL, 3 FLORAL SPRIGS ON RIM ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

CG171 PLATE
CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE ON CURVING RIM BASE, OCTAGONAL WAVY RIM. A CENTRAL SPRAY OF THREE RED FLOWERS, TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS IN WELL, THREE FLORAL SPRIGS ON RIM ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

CG170 PLATE
CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE ON FLAT BASE, OCTAGONAL WAVY RIM. A SPRAY OF THREE RED FLOWERS, TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS IN WELL, 3 FLORAL SPRIGS ON RIM ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

CG169 PLATE
CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE ON FLAT BASE, OCTAGONAL WAVY RIM. A SPRAY OF THREE RED FLOWERS, TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS IN WELL, 3 FLORAL SPRIGS ON RIM ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.
C2008 BOWL FAIENCE-GERMANY SQUARE WHITE BOWL ON CIRCULAR RING BASE. SHORTLY CONVEX WITH QUADRUPLE FLUTED SIDES. WAVY RIM. IN THE CENTRE A SPRAY OF THREE RED, TWO BLUE FLOWERS. SMALL FLORAL SPRAYS IN CENTRE OF BODY. SIMPLE MOLDED SIDES ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

C2013 PLATE FAIENCE-GERMANY CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE ON FLAT BASE, WITH SHALLOW CURVING SIDES AND FLUTTED OCTAGONAL WAVY RIM. A CROP ITEMS OF THREE RED FLOWERS, TWO SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS AND GREEN LEAVES IN WELL. THREE FLORAL SPRAYS ON RIM ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

C2019 PLATTER FAIENCE-GERMANY PLATTER WITH FLAT BASE, SHALLOW SIDES, FLUTTED WAVY RIM WITH SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS AND SCATTERED LEAVES IN WELL, THREE FLORAL SPRAYS ON RIM ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

C2025 A & B JUG FAIENCE-GERMANY WHITE PORCUPINE JUG ON FLAT RING BASE. WIDE MOUTH, LOOP HANDLE. MOLDED SHOULDER UNDER BODY IN CHINESE TYPE LANDSCAPE WITH DIN PALM AND TWO PERSONS BEATING DRUM, ALL PAINTED IN LIGHT GREEN. LEAF IN MIDDLE OF GREEN FLOWERS, LEAF AND BROKEN KNOB.

C2040 TANKARD FAIENCE-GERMANY WHITE BASE, CALYCELAR TANKARD WITH SMALLER RED FLOWERS. HANDLE ON RIM. länger LID DATED "1973", FIXED SIDES AND RIM MOUNT. HINGED AT HANDLE. TWO JAPANESE LANDSCAPES ON THE OUTSIDE. A SPRAY OF A WILD FLOWER BETWEEN TWO EXTREMELY LARGE BRISE FLOWERS. GREEN TREES.

C2041 TANKARD FAIENCE-GERMANY WHITE CYLINDRICAL TANKARD ON RIM PEWTER MOUNT, LOOP HANDLE, FLAT PEWTER LID HINGED AT HANDLE AND AROUND RIM ON THE BODY A PAIR OF LARGE BRISE FLOWERS. GREEN LEAVES. THREE FLORAL SPRAYS ON RIM. A SMALLER GARDEN WITH FOUNTAIN AND CASTLE.

C2042 TANKARD FAIENCE-GERMANY WHITE CYLINDRICAL TANKARD ON FLAT BASE, SHORTLY CONVEX WITH THREE RED FLOWERS. SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS. GREEN LEAVES. THE MAN SITS ON THE WOMAN'S LAP SHE WEARS A WHITE GARMENTS. INSCRIBED "SNICOLAUS".

C2045 B JUG FAIENCE-GERMANY WHITE PYRIFORM JUG TAPERING TO FLAT SPREAD BASE, SHORT NECK WITH PINCHED SPOUT, LOOP HANDLE FROM TOP TO MID BODY. FLAT PEWTER LID HINGED TO HANDLE AND AROUND RIM. ON THE BODY A PAIR OF LOVERS SITTING ON A TREE BRANCH, ARMS AROUND EACH OTHER. THE MAN SITS ON THE WOMAN'S LAP, HE SHE WEARS A WHITE SMALLER SPRIGS OTHER SIDE AND ENDS. THE MAN SITS ON THE WOMAN'S LAP. BOTH WEARING SMALLER SPRIGS OTHER SIDE AND ENDS. LARGE GREEN LEAVES IN WELL. THREE FLORAL SPRAYS ON RIM. SIMPLE MOLDED SIDES ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

C2046 B PLATE FAIENCE-GERMANY CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE ON RING BASE. MISPLACED HANDLE. SMALLER RED FLOWERS. SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS. GREEN LEAVES. THE MAN SITS ON THE WOMAN'S LAP. BOTH WEARING SMALLER SPRIGS OTHER SIDE AND ENDS. LARGE GREEN LEAVES IN WELL. THREE FLORAL SPRAYS ON RIM. SIMPLE MOLDED SIDES ALL FINELY OUTLINED IN BLACK.

C2047 JUG FAIENCE-GERMANY WHITE CYLINDRICAL TANKARD ON FLAT BASE, SHORTLY CONVEX WITH THREE RED FLOWERS. SMALLER BLUE FLOWERS. GREEN LEAVES. THREE FLORAL SPRAYS ON RIM. A SMALLER GARDEN WITH FOUNTAIN AND CASTLE.
Ch 348 A - B  FIGURE
FAIENCE-GERMANY
Figure of a Parrot Perched on a Brown Branch, with Head Turned to the Right. Painted Naturally in Green with Blue and Yellow Side Feathers, Purple-Red Breasts, Yellow Beak and Claws, Brown and Black Outline Details. Mark "DP" Inside Base.

Ch 231 A - B  TEAPOT
FAIENCE-GERMANY
White Ovoid Teapot Widening at Flat Ring-Base, Circular Brass at Mid Body. High Loop Handle from Shoulder to Lower Body. One Large Light Red Flower with Smaller Flowers on Body, Dashes on Spout and Handle. Circular Lid with Mushroom Handle.

Ch 227 A - B  DISH
FAIENCE-GERMANY
White Oval Bowl with Flat Base. Straight Sides, Vertical Ringed Rim. Flat Vertical Handle at Inside Lid. Lid Flat with Inset and Handle. Cutouts Flared at Flower. Conical Knob. Flowed Sprays on Sides and Lid in Red, Green, Yellow, Blue. Mark on Base.

Ch 209 B  DISH
FAIENCE-HOLICS
White Boat Shaped Dish on Oval Pedestal Base, Straight Sides with Evverted Short Ring Loop Handles on Sides. Four Blue Leaf and Flower Sprays on Outside. Leaves on Handle and on Inside Finials on Handles Mark on Base.

Ch 202 B  JUG
FAIENCE-HOLICS

Ch 190 B  PLATE
FAIENCE-HOLICS

Ch 204 B  JUG
FAIENCE-HOLICS
White Pitcher Pitcher on High Trumpet Base, with Blue Floral and Leaf Sprays in Spirals and Branches Along Edges, Defined by Lines. Included in Ashen Manner. Mark on Base.

Ch 203 B  PLATE
FAIENCE-HOLICS
White Rectangular Plate with Flat Base, Evverted Rim. Blue Formal Floral Sprays on Sides. Mark on Base.

Ch 185 B  TUREEN
FAIENCE-HOLICS
White Oval Bowl, on Flat Ring Base, Convex Fluted Sides, Evverted Rim with Relief Floral Scrollwork on Rim and Base. Orange, Yellow and Black. Decorated with Four Distinct Floral Sprays on Sides. Mark on Base.

Ch 186 B  TUREEN
FAIENCE-HOLICS
Oval White Pitcher Pitcher on Flat Base, Evverted Rim. Floral Sprays on Sides and Mark on Base.

Ch 187 B  TUREEN
FAIENCE-HOLICS
White Oval Bowl, on Flat Ring Base, Convex Fluted Sides, Evverted Rim. Relief Floral Scrollwork on Rim and Base. Orange, Yellow and Black. Decorated with Four Distinct Floral Sprays on Sides. Mark on Base.

Ch 188 B  TUREEN
FAIENCE-HOLICS
White Oval Bowl, on Flat Ring Base, Convex Fluted Sides, Evverted Rim. Relief Floral Scrollwork on Rim and Base. Orange, Yellow and Black. Decorated with Four Distinct Floral Sprays on Sides. Mark on Base.

Ch 189 B  TUREEN
FAIENCE-HOLICS
White Oval Bowl, on Flat Ring Base, Convex Fluted Sides, Evverted Rim. Relief Floral Scrollwork on Rim and Base. Orange, Yellow and Black. Decorated with Four Distinct Floral Sprays on Sides. Mark on Base.
<p>| CH158 POT | FAIENCE-HOLICS | WHITE BALLUSTER SHAPE JAR WITH FLAT BASE, SPRAVED FOOT, NARROWED NECK WITH FLANDED RIM ON ONE SIDE OF BODY FORMING A CONTAINER WITH A SMALL OPENING. SHORT CYLINDRICAL NECK, SHORT TAPERED RIM. SHAPE REPEATED IN UPPER PART. INTERNAL LANDSCAPE OF MAN CROSSING BRIDGE AND TWIG SHAPED HANDLE. ANGLED SPOUT FLORAL SPRAYS ON SIDES, SPOUT AND HANDLE. TWO HOLES UPPER BODY. FACTORY MARK ON BASE. |
| CH159 POT | FAIENCE-HOLICS | WHITE BALLUSTER SHAPE JAR WITH FLAT BASE, SPRAVED FOOT, NARROWED NECK WITH FLANDED RIM ON ONE SIDE OF BODY FORMING A CONTAINER WITH A SMALL OPENING. SHORT CYLINDRICAL NECK, SHORT TAPERED RIM. SHAPE REPEATED IN UPPER PART. INTERNAL LANDSCAPE OF MAN CROSSING BRIDGE AND TWIG SHAPED HANDLE. ANGLED SPOUT FLORAL SPRAYS ON SIDES, SPOUT AND HANDLE. TWO HOLES UPPER BODY. FACTORY MARK ON BASE. |
| CH162 JAR | FAIENCE-HOLICS | LIGHT GREEN-WHITE BULBOUS VASE WITH FLAT-RING BASE, FLUTED SIDES, SHORT CYLINDRICAL NECK, AND STRAIGHT RIM. DELICATE GREEN-SCROLL AND LEAF PATTERNS AROUND SHOULDER AND LOWER BODY. BASES ON BASE AND NECK. 8 HOLES UPPER BODY. FACTORY MARK ON BASE. |
| CH163 JAR | FAIENCE-HOLICS | LIGHT GREEN-WHITE BULBOUS VASE WITH FLAT-RING BASE, FLUTED SIDES, SHORT CYLINDRICAL NECK, AND STRAIGHT RIM. DELICATE GREEN-SCROLL AND LEAF PATTERNS AROUND SHOULDER AND LOWER BODY. BASES ON BASE AND NECK. 8 HOLES UPPER BODY. FACTORY MARK ON BASE. |
| CH164 POT | FAIENCE-HOLICS | WHITE PLATTERED PERFORATED POT WITH FLAT BASE AND FLARED FOOT, FLUTED SIDES, CYLINDRICAL NECK, Everted RIM, TWIN-SHAPED HANDLE, ANGLED SPOUT. FLORAL SPRAYS ON UPPER SIDES AND BETWEEN SPOUTS, 4 INSECTS ON SIDES, SPOUT AND HANDLE. FACTORY MARK ON BASE. |
| CH165 POT | FAIENCE-HOLICS | WHITE PLATTERED PERFORATED POT WITH FLAT BASE AND FLARED FOOT, FLUTED SIDES, CYLINDRICAL NECK, Everted RIM, TWIN-SHAPED HANDLE, ANGLED SPOUT. FLORAL SPRAYS ON UPPER SIDES AND BETWEEN SPOUTS, 4 INSECTS ON SIDES, SPOUT AND HANDLE. FACTORY MARK ON BASE. |
| CH167 JUG | FAIENCE-HOLICS | BULBOUS WHITE BOWL WITH HIGH OVAL PEDESTAL BASE, FLATTED BODY, SHORT CYLINDRICAL NECK, AND STRAIGHT RIM. DELICATE GREEN-SCROLL AND LEAF PATTERNS AROUND SHOULDER AND LOWER BODY. BASES ON BASE AND NECK. 8 HOLES UPPER BODY. FACTORY MARK ON BASE. |
| CH169 JUG | FAIENCE-HOLICS | BULBOUS WHITE BOWL WITH HIGH OVAL PEDESTAL BASE, FLATTED BODY, SHORT CYLINDRICAL NECK, AND STRAIGHT RIM. DELICATE GREEN-SCROLL AND LEAF PATTERNS AROUND SHOULDER AND LOWER BODY. BASES ON BASE AND NECK. 8 HOLES UPPER BODY. FACTORY MARK ON BASE. |
| CH170 FIGURE | FAIENCE-HOLICS | FIGURE OF A WOMAN SITTING ON A BROWN BASE AND HOLDING A TWO-PART CONTAINER IN HER LAP. GREEN-HAT, WHITE BLouse, YELLOW SKIRT, RED APRON. WHITE CONTAINER HAS RED FLORAL MOTIFS ON SIDES. RED RIMMED WHITE LID HAS A GREEN LEAF HANDLE. |
| CH171 FIGURE | FAIENCE-HOLICS | FIGURE OF A WOMAN SITTING ON A BROWN BASE AND HOLDING A TWO-PART CONTAINER IN HER LAP. GREEN-HAT, WHITE BLouse, YELLOW SKIRT, RED APRON. WHITE CONTAINER HAS RED FLORAL MOTIFS ON SIDES. RED RIMMED WHITE LID HAS A GREEN LEAF HANDLE. |
| CH172 FIGURE | FAIENCE-HOLICS | FIGURE OF A WOMAN, CEDING AND STANDING AND FACING LEFT, HOLDING HEAD CLOTH IN FRONT. FORMING A CONTAINER. WHITE DRESS WITH RED-FLORAL MOTIFS, YELLOW HEAD COVERING WHITE-YELLOW CONTAINER HEAD CLOTH SHOWS HEAD OF CHRI MT WITH CROWN OF THORNS MARK ON BACK. |
| CH173 FIGURE | FAIENCE-HOLICS | FIGURE OF A WOMAN, CEDING AND STANDING AND FACING LEFT, HOLDING HEAD CLOTH IN FRONT. FORMING A CONTAINER. WHITE DRESS WITH RED-FLORAL MOTIFS, YELLOW HEAD COVERING WHITE-YELLOW CONTAINER HEAD CLOTH SHOWS HEAD OF CHRI MT WITH CROWN OF THORNS MARK ON BACK. |
| CH175 JUG | FAIENCE-HOLICS | WHITE PLATTERED PERFORATED POT WITH FLAT BASE, SPRAVED FOOT, FLUTED SIDES, CYLINDRICAL NECK, WITH Everted RIM, TWIN-SHAPED HANDLE, ANGLED SPOUT. FLORAL SPRAYS ON UPPER SIDES AND BETWEEN SPOUTS, 4 INSECTS ON SIDES, SPOUT AND HANDLE. FACTORY MARK ON BASE. |
| CH177 JUG | FAIENCE-HOLICS | WHITE PLATTERED PERFORATED POT WITH FLAT BASE, SPRAVED FOOT, FLUTED SIDES, CYLINDRICAL NECK, WITH Everted RIM, TWIN-SHAPED HANDLE, ANGLED SPOUT. FLORAL SPRAYS ON UPPER SIDES AND BETWEEN SPOUTS, 4 INSECTS ON SIDES, SPOUT AND HANDLE. FACTORY MARK ON BASE. |
| CH178 FIGURE | FAIENCE-HOLICS | FIGURE OF A YOUNG MAN SITTING ON A STUMP. GREEN HEAD, HOLDING A TWO-PART CONTAINER ON HIS KNEES. RED-CHOC, GREEN-HAT, BLUE-TROUSERS. WHITE STOCKINGS. WHITE BOWL HAS GREEN-FLOWERED AREAS ATTACHED TO A WHITE-INTERNAL BASE. LID IS GREEN WITH A CHEERRY AND LEAVES AS KNOB. |
| CH179 FIGURE | FAIENCE-HOLICS | FIGURE OF A YOUNG MAN SITTING ON A STUMP. GREEN HEAD, HOLDING A TWO-PART CONTAINER ON HIS KNEES. RED-CHOC, GREEN-HAT, BLUE-TROUSERS. WHITE STOCKINGS. WHITE BOWL HAS GREEN-FLOWERED AREAS ATTACHED TO A WHITE-INTERNAL BASE. LID IS GREEN WITH A CHEERRY AND LEAVES AS KNOB. |
| CH180-B BOTTLE | FAIENCE-HOLICS | BOTTLE IN THE SHAPE OF A TWO-PART CONTAINER WITH A BROWN BASE AND FLATTED RIM OVERALL INTERIOR LANDSCAPE OF MAN CROSSING BRIDGE IN FOREGROUND, LARGE BUILDING BEHIND PAINTED IN PASTEL COLOURS OF BLUE, BROWN, GREEN, YELLOW FACTORY MARK ON BASE. |
| CH181-B BOTTLE | FAIENCE-HOLICS | BOTTLE IN THE SHAPE OF A TWO-PART CONTAINER WITH A BROWN BASE AND FLATTED RIM OVERALL INTERIOR LANDSCAPE OF MAN CROSSING BRIDGE IN FOREGROUND, LARGE BUILDING BEHIND PAINTED IN PASTEL COLOURS OF BLUE, BROWN, GREEN, YELLOW FACTORY MARK ON BASE. |
| CH182 PLATE | FAIENCE-HOLICS | CIRCULAR PLATE WITH FLAT-RING BASE, FLATTED BODY. 8 HOLES UPPER BODY AND ROUGH FOOT. WHITE INTERIOR Landscape. FOR FLORAL SPRAYS IN RESERVOIR AND SIDES INTO WELL. RED, GREEN, BLUE AND WHITE WITH BLACK-DECOATION OUTLINES. |
| CH183 TRAY | FAIENCE-HOLICS | CIRCULAR PLATE WITH FLAT-RING BASE, FLAT- HOLLOW BODY, FLATTED AND WAVY RIM IN CENTRAL. A CHINESE FIGURE IN LANDSCAPE, FOR FLORAL SPRAYS IN RESERVOIR AND SIDES INTO WELL. RED, GREEN, BLUE AND WHITE WITH BLACK-DECOATION OUTLINES. |
| CH184 TRAY | FAIENCE-HOLICS | CIRCULAR PLATE WITH FLAT-RING BASE, FLAT- HOLLOW BODY, FLATTED AND WAVY RIM IN CENTRAL. A CHINESE FIGURE IN LANDSCAPE, FOR FLORAL SPRAYS IN RESERVOIR AND SIDES INTO WELL. RED, GREEN, BLUE AND WHITE WITH BLACK-DECOATION OUTLINES. |
| CH185 PLATE | FAIENCE-HOLICS | CIRCULAR PLATE WITH FLAT-RING BASE, FLATTED BODY. 8 HOLES UPPER BODY AND ROUGH FOOT. WHITE INTERIOR Landscape. FOR FLORAL SPRAYS IN RESERVOIR AND SIDES INTO WELL. RED, GREEN, BLUE AND WHITE WITH BLACK-DECOATION OUTLINES. |
| CH186 PLATE | FAIENCE-HOLICS | CIRCULAR PLATE WITH FLAT-RING BASE, FLATTED BODY. 8 HOLES UPPER BODY AND ROUGH FOOT. WHITE INTERIOR Landscape. FOR FLORAL SPRAYS IN RESERVOIR AND SIDES INTO WELL. RED, GREEN, BLUE AND WHITE WITH BLACK-DECOATION OUTLINES. |
| CH187 TRAY | FAIENCE-HOLICS | CIRCULAR TRAY WITH FLAT-RING BASE, FLATTED BODY. 8 HOLES UPPER BODY AND ROUGH FOOT. WHITE INTERIOR Landscape. FOR FLORAL SPRAYS IN RESERVOIR AND SIDES INTO WELL. RED, GREEN, BLUE AND WHITE WITH BLACK-DECOATION OUTLINES. |
| CH188 TRAY | FAIENCE-HOLICS | CIRCULAR TRAY WITH FLAT-RING BASE, FLATTED BODY. 8 HOLES UPPER BODY AND ROUGH FOOT. WHITE INTERIOR Landscape. FOR FLORAL SPRAYS IN RESERVOIR AND SIDES INTO WELL. RED, GREEN, BLUE AND WHITE WITH BLACK-DECOATION OUTLINES. |
| CH189 TRAY | FAIENCE-HOLICS | CIRCULAR TRAY WITH FLAT-RING BASE, FLATTED BODY. 8 HOLES UPPER BODY AND ROUGH FOOT. WHITE INTERIOR Landscape. FOR FLORAL SPRAYS IN RESERVOIR AND SIDES INTO WELL. RED, GREEN, BLUE AND WHITE WITH BLACK-DECOATION OUTLINES. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CH70</td>
<td>Bottle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HABAN</td>
<td>White hexagonal container with flat base, vertical sides, flat top with central circular foot, flanged rim, three sides have landscapes of blue, one side has tools, flanked by purple, flanked on two sides by facing rampant lions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CH71</td>
<td>Jug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HABAN</td>
<td>Tall, pyriform white jug with flat base, slightly flared neck, loop handle, broad band with central green wreath enclosing a blue cartouche, flared rim, italics, blue flowers, and yellow flowers on band of round flowers above and below outlined in blue lines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CH72</td>
<td>Bottle</td>
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<tr>
<td>HABAN</td>
<td>Tall, pyriform white jug with flat base, slightly flared neck, loop handle, broad band with central green wreath enclosing a blue cartouche, flared rim, italics, blue flowers, and yellow flowers on band of round flowers above and below outlined in blue lines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CH73</td>
<td>Tankard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HABAN</td>
<td>Blue globular tankard on flat base, with fluted sides, cylindrical neck, loop handle at neck to mid body on centre front of body is scrawled flowers in blue, yellow and green, with “16 56” on either side, blue horizontal band lines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CH74</td>
<td>Tankard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HABAN</td>
<td>White globular tankard on flat base, with pewter mount, cylindrical neck, loop handle, domed pewter lid hinged to handle top of body, double blue band lines enclose curling flowers and leaves in blue, blue-green and yellow, with “18 57” at sides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CH75</td>
<td>Tankard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HABAN</td>
<td>White globular tankard on flat base, with pewter mount, cylindrical neck, loop handle, domed pewter lid hinged to handle top of body, double blue band lines enclose curling flowers and leaves in blue, blue-green and yellow, with “18 57” at sides</td>
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<td>CH78</td>
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<tr>
<td>CH79</td>
<td>Tankard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HABAN</td>
<td>White oval plate on trumpet pedestal base, flat well, outwardly fluted sides with scallloped edge at neck, loop handle, domed pewter lid hinged at handle with round floral arrangement above date “16 57” inscribed in well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CH80</td>
<td>Bottle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HABAN</td>
<td>Blue globular jug on flat base, with pewter mount, cylindrical neck, loop handle, domed pewter lid hinged to handle top of body, double blue band lines enclose curling flowers and leaves in blue, yellow and green, with “18 57” at sides</td>
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<td>CH81</td>
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<tr>
<td>HABAN</td>
<td>White globular jug on flat spread base, cylindrical neck, loop handle, pewter rim mount, double blue band lines define horizontal bands of blue-green and yellow, flanked by “16 75”</td>
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<td>CH82</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Catalogue Listing

Appendix 'C'

TO CURVING SIDES. WIDE FLAT EVERTED CH126 DISH ON BAND ABOVE. WEAVERS' EMBLEMS, OF GREEN WREATH ENCLOSING LINES DEFINE UPPER HORIZONTAL BAND LARGE WHITE PYRIFORM TANKARD ON SPRAY IN BLUE. DARK YELLOW, PURPLE, HABAN CH129 TANKARD RIM. BLUE CIRCLE AROUND INNER RIM. AND SCROLLING FLOWERS. INSCRIPTION HABAN "INRI" ACROSS TOP. "18 27" AT HANDLE CENTRE FRONT A PURPLE CROSS CENTRAL BAND OF SPIRALLING BLUE. HABAN CHI 30 TANKARD OUTLINE BAND OF SPIRALLED YELLOW. SPLAYED BASE, CYLINDRICAL NECK, GLOBULAR WHITE TANKARD ON FLAT BASE, CYLINDRICAL NECK, LOOP HANDLE. CENTRAL PANEL INSCRIBED IN PURPLE-BROWN WITHIN HEXAGONAL WHITE LIP LINE, DOUBLE BLUE LINES WITH GREEN FLOWERS. AND YELLOW FLOWERS AND LEAVES DOUBLE BLUE LINE BORDERS WITH SCROLL EDDINGS.

CHI 28 TANKARD HABAN BROWN. BLUE-GREEN FLORAL SPRAY, PATTERN OF 3 FORMAL BLUE FLOWERS AND WHITE DOUBLE LINES DEFINE OUTER LACE RIM. CENTRAL BAND OF SPIRALLING BLUE. HABAN "P.P." HINGED AT HANDLE. DOUBLE BLUE LINES WITH GADROON RING FLANKED OUTSIDE BY "16 94".

CHI 29 TANKARD HABAN WHITE OVOID TANKARD ON FLAT BASE WITH POWDER MOUNT, CYLINDRICAL NECK, LOOP HANDLE AT TOP OF HANDLE DOUBLE BLUE LINES WITH LACE OUTSIDE EDGING OUTLINE BAND OF SPRAYED YELLOW, BLUE, GREEN AND PURPLE FLOWERS, FLANKED BY "16 98".

CHI 30 TANKARD HABAN MARBLED WHITE OVER PURPLE GLOBULAR TANKARD ON FLAT UNGLAZED BASE WITH PEWTER FOOT MOUNT. SIDES ARE FLUTED. NECK IS SLIGHTLY FLARED. NECK TO MID-BODY PEWTER HINGE AND RIM MOUNT. HANDLE MOUNTED WITH WHITE DOUBLE LINES. INSCRIBED "CRISTOPH: HAFMAN 16:98" IN BLUE, YELLOW, PURPLE, GREEN, WHITE DOUBLE LINES Again, with yellow, blue, green and purple floral spray, INSCRIBED "16 98" IN PURPLE WITHIN "16 98".

CHI 31 TANKARD HABAN WHITE PYRIFORM TANKARD ON FLAT BASE WITH POWDER MOUNT, CYLINDRICAL NECK, LOOP HANDLE AT TOP OF HANDLE DOUBLE BLUE LINES WITH GADROON EDGING ENCLOSE SPIRAL OF 3 LARGE PURPLE FLOWERS, SMALLER FLOWERS AND LEAVES, FLANKED BY "16 98".

CHI 32 BOTTLE HABAN HEXAGONAL WHITE BOTTLE ON FLAT BASE. STRAIGHT HILTS, ROUND BODY, FLAT PEWTER LID TO LOOP HANDLE. DOUBLE BLUE LINES WITH GADROON EDGING ENCLOSE PRINCE. INSCRIBED "K. HABAN 16 99" ON NECK.

CHI 33 TANKARD HABAN MARBLED WHITE OVER PURPLE GLOBULAR TANKARD ON FLAT UNGLAZED BASE WITH PEWTER PEWTER MOUNT, CYLINDRICAL NECK, RIDGED PEWTER MOUNT TO LOOP HANDLE. DOUBLE BLUE LINES WITH GADROON EDGING ENCLOSE SPIRAL OF 3 LARGE PURPLE FLOWERS, SMALLER FLOWERS AND LEAVES, FLANKED BY "16 99".

CHI 34 RING HABAN DARK BLUE FLARED MELON SHAPE TANKARD WITH FLAT UNGLAZED BASE. CYLINDRICAL NECK. TOP OF NECK TO BODY, WITH HINGED, DOMED PEWTER LID ATTACHED AT TOP OF HANDLE."S" ETCHED IN BODY."S".

CHI 35 TANKARD HABAN DARK MARBLED WHITE TANKARD WITH FLAT UNGLAZED BASE. CYLINDRICAL NECK. TOP OF NECK TO BODY, WITH HINGED, DOMED PEWTER LID ATTACHED AT TOP OF HANDLE."S" ETCHED IN BODY."S".

CHI 36 JUG HABAN YELLOW-WHITE PYRIFORM TANKARD WITH BLUE MARBLED FRONT BASE WITH PEWTER MOUNT. CYLINDRICAL NECK. FLAT PEWTER LID WITH RIBBED DESIGN HINGED TO LOOP HANDLE.

CHI 37 JUG HABAN BOTTLE SHAPED AS A DOUBLE HEADED CROWNEDEAGLE FACING OUTWARDS, OUTSPREAD WINGS OPENINGS AT CENTRAL CROWN AND IN BEAKS PURPLE-BROWN BASE, CHEERY WING HEAD MARKINGS. YELLOW BREAST PLATTERS AND CROWN-BLUE ON WINGS AND CROWNED LEGS HOLD SCYPHUS, OBS.

CHI 38 TANKARD HABAN DARK MARBLED WHITE TANKARD ON FLAT BASE. CYLINDRICAL NECK. RIDGED PEWTER MOUNT TO LOOP HANDLE. DOUBLE BLUE LINES WITH GADROON EDGING ENCLOSE GREEN FLOWERS AND LEAVES, FLANKED BY "16 99".

CHI 39 TANKARD HABAN WHITE MARBLED TANKARD WITH FLAT UNGLAZED BASE. CYLINDRICAL NECK, RIDGED PEWTER MOUNT TO LOOP HANDLE. DOUBLE BLUE LINES WITH GADROON EDGING ENCLOSE BLUE FLOWERS AND LEAVES, FLANKED BY "16 99".

CHI 40 TANKARD HABAN WHITE MARBLED TANKARD WITH FLAT UNGLAZED BASE. CYLINDRICAL NECK, RIDGED PEWTER MOUNT TO LOOP HANDLE. DOUBLE BLUE LINES WITH GADROON EDGING ENCLOSE GREEN FLOWERS AND LEAVES, FLANKED BY "16 99".
CH101 TILE
HAFNERWARE
SQUARE GREEN TILE WITH RELIEF SCENE OF STYLED TULIP AND OTHER FLOWERS IN VASE WITH ARCHD DOSSEN FRAME, TWO FLANKING TULIPS WITH GROTESQUES IN CENTRE, RELIEF SCENE OF MAN WITH HORN UNDERGARMET, HOLDING A WAND WITH A CURVED TOP, WEARING A CURLY WIG. WITH BLUE AND WHITE BACKGROUND UNGLAZED SIDES AND BACK.

CH102 TILE
HAFNERWARE
RECTANGULAR STONE TILE WITH RELIEF SCENE OF MAN ON A GALLOPING HORSE, WEARING A HORN UNDERGARMET, HOLDING A WAND WITH A CURVED TOP, WEARING A CURLY WIG. WITH BLUE AND WHITE BACKGROUND UNGLAZED SIDES AND BACK.

CH103 TILE
HAFNERWARE
RECTANGULAR STONE TILE WITH RELIEF SCENE OF MAN ON A GALLOPING HORSE, WEARING A HORN UNDERGARMET, HOLDING A WAND WITH A CURVED TOP, WEARING A CURLY WIG. WITH BLUE AND WHITE BACKGROUND UNGLAZED SIDES AND BACK.

CH104 TILE
HAFNERWARE
RECTANGULAR STONE TILE WITH RELIEF SCENE OF MAN ON A GALLOPING HORSE, WEARING A HORN UNDERGARMET, HOLDING A WAND WITH A CURVED TOP, WEARING A CURLY WIG. WITH BLUE AND WHITE BACKGROUND UNGLAZED SIDES AND BACK.

CH105 TILE
HAFNERWARE
RECTANGULAR STONE TILE WITH RELIEF SCENE OF MAN ON A GALLOPING HORSE, WEARING A HORN UNDERGARMET, HOLDING A WAND WITH A CURVED TOP, WEARING A CURLY WIG. WITH BLUE AND WHITE BACKGROUND UNGLAZED SIDES AND BACK.

CH106 TILE
HAFNERWARE
RECTANGULAR STONE TILE WITH RELIEF SCENE OF MAN ON A GALLOPING HORSE, WEARING A HORN UNDERGARMET, HOLDING A WAND WITH A CURVED TOP, WEARING A CURLY WIG. WITH BLUE AND WHITE BACKGROUND UNGLAZED SIDES AND BACK.
CE255 JAR  CYLINDRICAL. WHITE. JAR. WITH INTEGRATED. NECK. BASE. EXPANDED. SHOULDER. WIDE. NECK. AND. FLANGED. RIM. HORIZONTAL, BLUE, YELLOW. SLASH, AND ORANGE. BORDERS. AT TOP. AND. BOTTOM. WITH BLUE. WOOLWORK. PATTERN. IN. CENTRAL. AREA.

CE256 JAR  NECK AND LIP AND SPLAYED FLAT BASE. NARROWED WAST. ROUNDED. CONVEX. JAR. CYLINDRICAL. SHAPE. WITH WHITE. GLAZE. PHARMACY. OR. STORAGE. PATTERN. IN. CENTER. AND. BOTTOM. WITH BLUE. SCROLLWORK. RIM. HORIZONTAL. BLUE, YELLOW, BLUE. SHOULDER. WIDE. NECK. AND. FLANGED. INDENTED. DISK. BASE. EXPANDED. MAJOLICA. ITALY.

CE257 DISH  MAGU AL-ITALY. WHITE. DISH. WITH. RING. BASE. CONCAVE. WELL, AND. WIDE. ARUBO. ETHERISED. REM. A. COAT. OF. ARMS. 4. Cm. WIDE. COVERS. REM. WIDTH. IT. SHOWS. A. RAMPTAN. ANIMAL. LEFT. SIDE. IN. A. SCROLLATED. SHEILD. BENEATH A. CROWN. PAINTED. IN. BLUE. BROWN. AND. YELLOW.

CE258 SAUCER  MAGU AL-ITALY. CIRCULAR. SAUCER. WITH. RING. BASE. SHALLOW. CURVING. SIDES. AND. ETHERISED. REM. INTERIOR. ENLACE. SCENE. WITH. CHRIST. AND. THOMAS. PAINTED. IN. LIGHT. BLUE. AND. ORANGE. OUTLINING. OF. SCENE. AND. BORN.

CE259 DIP  MAGU AL-ITALY. CIRCULAR. PLATE. ON. OGRE. PEDESTAL. BASE, RINGED. LIP. WITH. WINGED. CHERUB. CENTER. WITH HANDS, AGAINST. A. YELLOW. GROUND. INSIDE. RIM. OVERALL. COLOR. PATTERN. OUTLINES. SCENE. AND. AROUND. RIM.

CE260 SAUCER  MAGU AL-ITALY. CIRCULAR. SAUCER. WITH. RING. BASE. SHALLOW. CURVING. SIDES. AND. ETHERISED. REM. INTERIOR. SCENE. WITH. CHRIST. SURROUNDED. BY. MEN. IN. THE. TEMPLE. AND. THOMAS. PAINTED. IN. LIGHT. BLUE. BROWN. OUTLINING. OF. SCENE. AND. BORN.

CE261 SAUCER  MAGU AL-ITALY. CIRCULAR. PLATE. WITH. RING. BASE. FLARING. RIM. ON. ONE. SIDE A. BIRD. AND. LEAVES ON. OTHER A. RAMPTAN. LAMIN. AND. LEAVES. SIDES. NICK. AND. BASE. DECORATED. WITH. BLUE. AND. PURPLE. BROWN. LINES.

CE262 SAUCER  MAGU AL-ITALY. CIRCULAR. SAUCER. WITH. RING. BASE. EXPANDED. HANDLE. MOUTH. FLARING. RIM. ON. ONE. SIDE. A. BIRD. AND. LEAVES, ON. OTHER A. RAMPTAN. LAMIN. AND. LEAVES. SIDES. NICK. AND. BASE. DECORATED. WITH. BLUE. AND. PURPLE. BROWN. LINES.

CE263 PLATE  MAGU AL-ITALY. CIRCULAR. PLATE. WITH. RING. BASE. LOW. FOOT. DEEP. CURVING. WHEL. AND. WIDE. ETHERISED. REM. IN. THE. WELL. IS. A. COPULATEN. SIDE. RING. BASE. AND. A. COAT. OF. ARMS. 4. Cm. WIDE. COVERS. REM. WIDTH. IT. SHOWS A. RAMPTAN. ANIMAL. LEFT. SIDE. IN A. SCROLLATED. SHEILD. BENEATH A. CROWN. PAINTED. IN. BLUE. BROWN. AND. YELLOW.

CE264 DISH  MAGU AL-ITALY. CIRCULAR. DISH. WITH. RING. BASE. CONCAVE. WELL. LOW. SIDE. MOLDED. FORMING. BASE. THICKENED. ETHERISED. REM. WITH. GLOSSY. BORDER. A. CENTER. COAT. OF. ARMS. PAINTED. IN. BLUE. BROWN. AND. GREEN.

CE265 DISH  MAGU AL-ITALY. CIRCULAR. DISH. WITH. RING. BASE. CONCAVE. WELL. FLARING. RIM. ON. ONE. SIDE A. BIRD. AND. LEAVES, ON. OTHER A. RAMPTAN. LAMIN. AND. LEAVES. SIDES. NICK. AND. BASE. DECORATED. WITH. BLUE. AND. PURPLE. BROWN. LINES.

CE266 BOTTLE  MAGU AL-ITALY. WHITE. BOTTLE. SQUARE. SHAPE. DRAWN. WITH. WINGED. OR. THE. MOLDED. SIDES. ARE. WHITE. ARCO. OUTLINED. IN. ORANGE. WITH. BLUE. AND. ORANGE. EDGE. BORDERS.

CE267 JUG  MAGU AL-ITALY. WHITE. JUG. WITH. BALUSTER. SHAPE. BODY. AND. LOW. FOOT. SLIGHTLY. CURLING. WHEL. AND. WIDE. ETHERISED. REM. IN. THE. BASE. IS. A. COPULATEN. SIDE. RING. BASE. AND. A. COAT. OF. ARMS. 5. Cm. WIDE. COVERS. REM. WIDTH. IT. SHOWS. A. RAMPTAN. ANIMAL. ON. LEFT. SIDE. IN. A. SCROLLATED. SHEILD. BENEATH A. CROWN. PAINTED. IN. BLUE. BROWN. AND. YELLOW.

CE268 JUG  MAGU AL-ITALY. WHITE. JUG. WITH. BALLUSTER. SHAPE. BODY. TANKING TO. FLAT. BASE. FLAT. LOOP. HANDLE. TUBULAR. SPOUT. FROM. BASE. TO. MID. BODY. WIDE CYLINDRICAL. NECK. FLANGED. REM. AT THE. BASE. OF. THE. HANDLE. IS A. BLUE. CIRCLE. BENEATH A. CARPATAHE. WITH. "SYH. STADOIUS. M." INSCRIBED.

CE269 CONTAINER  MAGU AL-ITALY. SMALL. CIRCULAR. DISH. OGRE. BASE. SURROUNDED. BY. MEN. IN. THE. TEMPLE. AND. BROWN. SPIDER. ON. THE. BAR. CROWNED. IN. YELLOW. CENTER. TO. YELLOW. BROWN. BLUE. AND. WHITE. BANES. AT. EDGES.

CE270 DISH  MAGU AL-ITALY. CIRCULAR. DISH. WITH. RING. BASE. CONCAVE. WELL. LOW. FOOT. CURVING. WHEL. AND. WIDE. ETHERISED. REM. IN. THE. WELL. IS. A. COPULATEN. SIDE. RING. BASE. AND. A. COAT. OF. ARMS. 5. Cm. WIDE. COVERS. REM. WIDTH. IT. SHOWS A. RAMPTAN. ANIMAL. ON. LEFT. SIDE. IN A. SCROLLATED. SHEILD. BENEATH A. CROWN. PAINTED. IN. BLUE. BROWN. AND. YELLOW.

CE271 DISH  MAGU AL-ITALY. CIRCULAR. DISH. WITH. RING. BASE. CONCAVE. WELL. AND. WIDE. ARUBO. ETHERISED. REM. A. COAT. OF. ARMS. 5. Cm. WIDE. COVERS. REM. WIDTH. IT. SHOWS A. RAMPTAN. ANIMAL. ON. LEFT. SIDE. IN A. SCROLLATED. SHEILD. BENEATH A. CROWN. PAINTED. IN. BLUE. BROWN. AND. YELLOW.

CE272 DISH  MAGU AL-ITALY. CIRCULAR. DISH. WITH. RING. BASE. CONCAVE. WELL. AND. WIDE. ARUBO. ETHERISED. REM. A. COAT. OF. ARMS. 5. Cm. WIDE. COVERS. REM. WIDTH. IT. SHOWS A. RAMPTAN. ANIMAL. ON. LEFT. SIDE. IN A. SCROLLATED. SHEILD. BENEATH A. CROWN. PAINTED. IN. BLUE. BROWN. AND. YELLOW.

CE273 DISH  MAGU AL-ITALY. CIRCULAR. DISH. WITH. RING. BASE. CONCAVE. WELL. AND. WIDE. ARUBO. ETHERISED. REM. A. COAT. OF. ARMS. 5. Cm. WIDE. COVERS. REM. WIDTH. IT. SHOWS A. RAMPTAN. ANIMAL. ON. LEFT. SIDE. IN A. SCROLLATED. SHEILD. BENEATH A. CROWN. PAINTED. IN. BLUE. BROWN. AND. YELLOW.
CIRCULAR WHITE DISH WITH RING BASE, CONCAVE WELL AND WIDE, ARTICULATED ENCRUSTED RIM. 6 CM. DIAM. COVERED RIM WIDTH, IT SHOWS A BAREFOOT ANIMAL ON LEFT SIDE IN A SCROLLED SHIELDED RIM, CRUSSIIED IN BLUE, BROWN AND YELLOW.

CE275 DISH

CROWN, PAINTED IN BLUE, BROWN AND SIDE IN A SCROLLED SHIELD BENEATH A ARMS, 9 CM. WIDE. COVERED RIM WIDTH. IN SCROLLED SHIELD BENEATH Mourner. PAINTED IN BLUE, BROWN AND SIDE IN A SCROLLED SHIELD BENEATH A ARMS, 9 CM. WIDE. COVERED RIM WIDTH.

MAIOLICA-ITALY

WITH

CE250 DISH

SIDE. IN A SCROLLED SHIELD BENEATH A ARMS, 9 CM. WIDE. COVERED RIM WIDTH.

Koemer ceramics collection

CE277 JUG

SHOW S a  r a m a n i  a n i m a l , LANDSCAPE IN WELL O F A MAN ON A RIM AND WEDGED LIP. HUNTING MAIOLICA-ITALY

MAIOLICA-ITALY

OVAL

WHITE BULBOUS JUG WITH THUMB HANDLE. CENTRE AREA UNDER SPOUT PINCHED SPOUT AT RIM, GROOVED LOOP GREEN, ORANGE, RED, YELLOW, BROWN-

PROW , TOWN IN BACKGROUND. BLUE, MAIOLICA-ITALY

OTHER-C.EUROPE

CH206 TANKARD

AND PEOPLE IN BOAT, RECLINING NITOE IN RAISED WELL, FLUTED SIDES. WAVY RIM. HUNTING MAIOLICA-ITALY

OTHER-C.EUROPE

CIRCULAR GREY-WHITE PLATE WITH FLAT BASE, SHALLOW SIDES, WITH ANDED RIM. THREE PURPLE CIRCLES DELINEATING SIDES WITHIN WELL, A PEBBLE SHIELD AGAINST FRUIT, "NIT" IN OUTLINE ON FRUIT, AND SOFT GREENISH GLAZE VEINATED NEAR RIM.
C870 JUG
OTHER-C EUROPE
WHITE PERSIA JUG ON SHORT FLAT BASE, LOOP HANDLE FROM MOUTH TO MOUTH, PEARLIZED BASE, PEWTER LID HINGED AT TOP. WHITE CYLINDRICAL NECK, FLAT PEWTER LID ATTACHED AT HANDLE TOP.

C871 PLATE
OTHER-C EUROPE
WHITE CYLINDRICAL PLATE ON FLAT BASE, BRIDGES OF RIDGES ON LOWER AND UPPER BODY, TAPERING NECK, FLAT PEWTER LID HINGED AT TOP OF LOOP HANDLE. WHITE SHEAVES AND SHEAP ON RULE AND RIM. SIDES. HANDLE FROM MOUTH TO MOUTH, PEARLIZED BASE, PEWTER LID ATTACHED ABOVE. LANDSCAPE IN BLUE-WHITE CYLINDRICAL NECK, FLAT PEWTER LID ATTACHED AT HANDLE TOP.

C872 JUG
OTHER-C EUROPE
WHITE PERSIA JUG ON SHORT FLAT BASE, LOOP HANDLE FROM MOUTH TO MOUTH, PEARLIZED BASE, PEWTER LID HINGED AT TOP. WHITE CYLINDRICAL NECK, FLAT PEWTER LID ATTACHED AT HANDLE TOP.

C873 PLATE
OTHER-C EUROPE
WHITE CYLINDRICAL PLATE ON FLAT BASE, BRIDGES OF RIDGES ON LOWER AND UPPER BODY, TAPERING NECK, FLAT PEWTER LID HINGED AT TOP OF LOOP HANDLE. WHITE SHEAVES AND SHEAP ON RULE AND RIM. SIDES. HANDLE FROM MOUTH TO MOUTH, PEARLIZED BASE, PEWTER LID ATTACHED ABOVE. LANDSCAPE IN BLUE-WHITE CYLINDRICAL NECK, FLAT PEWTER LID ATTACHED AT HANDLE TOP.

C874 JUG
OTHER-C EUROPE
WHITE PERSIA JUG ON SHORT FLAT BASE, LOOP HANDLE FROM MOUTH TO MOUTH, PEARLIZED BASE, PEWTER LID HINGED AT TOP. WHITE CYLINDRICAL NECK, FLAT PEWTER LID ATTACHED AT HANDLE TOP.

C875 PLATE
OTHER-C EUROPE
WHITE CYLINDRICAL PLATE ON FLAT BASE, BRIDGES OF RIDGES ON LOWER AND UPPER BODY, TAPERING NECK, FLAT PEWTER LID HINGED AT TOP OF LOOP HANDLE. WHITE SHEAVES AND SHEAP ON RULE AND RIM. SIDES. HANDLE FROM MOUTH TO MOUTH, PEARLIZED BASE, PEWTER LID ATTACHED ABOVE. LANDSCAPE IN BLUE-WHITE CYLINDRICAL NECK, FLAT PEWTER LID ATTACHED AT HANDLE TOP.
OTHER-E. EUROPE
CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE WITH FLAT RIM BASE, CONVEX SIDES, FLAT EVERTED RM A FLORAL SPRAY WITH LARGE RED FLOWERS, SMALLER ORANGE AND BLUE FLOWERS IN WELL, BLUE BANDS ON RIM EDGES OUTER BAND HAS IMPRESSED DEsigns, FLOWERS AND LEAVES IN RIM EDGE MARK ON BASE.

CIRCULAR PLATE WITH FLAT RIM BASE, CONVEX SIDES, FLAT EVERTED RM A FLORAL SPRAY WITH LARGE RED FLOWERS, SMALLER ORANGE AND BLUE FLOWERS IN WELL, BLUE BANDS ON RIM EDGES OUTER BAND HAS IMPRESSED DESIGNS, FLOWERS AND LEAVES IN RIM EDGE MARK ON BASE.

CIRCULAR PLATE WITH FLAT RIM BASE, CONVEX SIDES, FLAT EVERTED RM A FLORAL SPRAY WITH LARGE RED FLOWERS, SMALLER ORANGE AND BLUE FLOWERS IN WELL, BLUE BANDS ON RIM EDGES OUTER BAND HAS IMPRESSED DESIGNS, FLOWERS AND LEAVES IN RIM EDGE MARK ON BASE.

CIRCULAR PLATE WITH FLAT RIM BASE, CONVEX SIDES, FLAT EVERTED RM A FLORAL SPRAY WITH LARGE RED FLOWERS, SMALLER ORANGE AND BLUE FLOWERS IN WELL, BLUE BANDS ON RIM EDGES OUTER BAND HAS IMPRESSED DESIGNS, FLOWERS AND LEAVES IN RIM EDGE MARK ON BASE.

CIRCULAR PLATE WITH FLAT RIM BASE, CONVEX SIDES, FLAT EVERTED RM A FLORAL SPRAY WITH LARGE RED FLOWERS, SMALLER ORANGE AND BLUE FLOWERS IN WELL, BLUE BANDS ON RIM EDGES OUTER BAND HAS IMPRESSED DESIGNS, FLOWERS AND LEAVES IN RIM EDGE MARK ON BASE.

CIRCULAR PLATE WITH FLAT RIM BASE, CONVEX SIDES, FLAT EVERTED RM A FLORAL SPRAY WITH LARGE RED FLOWERS, SMALLER ORANGE AND BLUE FLOWERS IN WELL, BLUE BANDS ON RIM EDGES OUTER BAND HAS IMPRESSED DESIGNS, FLOWERS AND LEAVES IN RIM EDGE MARK ON BASE.

CIRCULAR PLATE WITH FLAT RIM BASE, CONVEX SIDES, FLAT EVERTED RM A FLORAL SPRAY WITH LARGE RED FLOWERS, SMALLER ORANGE AND BLUE FLOWERS IN WELL, BLUE BANDS ON RIM EDGES OUTER BAND HAS IMPRESSED DESIGNS, FLOWERS AND LEAVES IN RIM EDGE MARK ON BASE.
C1917 PLATE OTHER-EUROPE CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE WITH FLAT RIM BASE, CONVEX SIDES, FLAT EVERTED RIM. A SINGLE BLUE FLORAL SPRAY WITH GREEN LEAVES IN WELL. ON RIM, SIX BLUE FLORAL SPRAYS WITH GREEN LEAVES FORM CONTIGUOUS BAND. BLUE LIPLINE. MARK ON BASE.

C1914 VASE OTHER-EUROPE WHITE BALUSTRADE SHAPE VASE ON PLATTEFLUTED BASE, SLIGHTLY FLARED TAPERING SIDES. LOOP HANDLES FROM TOP TO MID BODY. BLUE LIPSDASHING ON BODIES AND TREES. BLUE DASHES ON LIP HANDLES AROUND BASE.

C1911 PLATE OTHER-EUROPE CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE WITH FLAT RIM BASE, CONVEX SIDES, FLAT EVERTED RIM. A LARGE RED, SMALLER BLUE AND ORANGE FLORAL SPRAY IN WELL. ORANGE CIRCLE ON SIDES. GREEN, ORANGE AND BLACK SWIRL LEAVES ON RIM. BLACK RIM OUTLINE. MARK ON BASE.

C1910 PLATE OTHER-EUROPE CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE WITH FLAT RIM BASE, CONVEX SIDES, FLAT EVERTED RIM. A LIGHT RED, SMALLER BLUE AND ORANGE FLORAL SPRAY WITH GREEN LEAVES IN WELL. FOUR DARK BLUE FLOWERS ON RIM. LIP. BASE MARK.

C1908 PLATE OTHER-EUROPE CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE WITH FLAT RIM BASE, CONVEX SIDES, FLAT EVERTED RIM. A FLORAL SPRAY WITH LARGE PINK FLOWER, SMALLER BLUE AND ORANGE FLOWERS, GREEN LEAVES IN WELL. LIGHT RED FLORAL BAND WITH GREEN LEAVES ENCIRCLED BY AN ORANGE RIM LINE. MARK ON BASE.

C1905 PLATE OTHER-EUROPE CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE WITH FLAT RIM BASE, CONVEX SIDES, FLAT EVERTED RIM. A FLORAL SPRAY ONE LARGE RED FLOWER, SMALLER BLUE AND ORANGE AND RED FLOWERS IN WELL. BLUE BORDER BANDS ON RIM WITH LIGHT ORANGE AND ORANGE LINES BETWEEN MARK ON BASE.

C1903 PLATE OTHER-EUROPE CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE WITH FLAT RIM BASE, CONVEX SIDES, FLAT EVERTED RIM. A SINGLE PURPLE-RED FLOWER WITH BLUE-GREEN LEAVES INCISED BY FINE ORANGE LINES. MARK ON BASE.

C1902 PLATE OTHER-EUROPE CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE WITH FLAT RIM BASE, CONVEX SIDES, FLAT EVERTED RIM. A FLORAL SPRAY ONE LARGE PURPLE-RED FLOWER, SMALLER BLUE, ORANGE AND RED FLOWERS IN WELL. BAND OF PURPLE-RED FLOWERS ON RIM. ORANGE LEAVES ON RIM. ORANGE RIM LINES MARK ON BASE.

C1900 PLATE OTHER-EUROPE CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE WITH FLAT RIM BASE, CONVEX SIDES, FLAT EVERTED RIM. A FLORAL SPRAY ONE LARGE PURPLE-RED FLOWER, SMALLER BLUE, ORANGE AND RED FLOWERS IN WELL. BAND OF PURPLE-RED FLOWERS WITH BLUE-GREEN LEAVES ON RIM. ORANGE RIM LINES MARK ON BASE.

C1898 PLATE OTHER-EUROPE CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE WITH FLAT RIM BASE, CONVEX SIDES, FLAT EVERTED RIM. A FLORAL SPRAY WITH LARGE PINK FLOWER, SMALLER BLUE AND ORANGE FLOWERS, GREEN LEAVES IN WELL. LIGHT RED FLORAL BAND WITH GREEN LEAVES ENCIRCLED BY AN ORANGE RIM LINE. MARK ON BASE.

C1895 PLATE OTHER-EUROPE CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE WITH FLAT RIM BASE, CONVEX SIDES, FLAT EVERTED RIM. A FLORAL SPRAY ONE LARGE RED FLOWER, SMALLER BLUE AND ORANGE AND RED FLOWERS IN WELL. BLUE BORDER BANDS ON RIM WITH LIGHT ORANGE AND ORANGE LINES BETWEEN MARK ON BASE.

C1893 PLATE OTHER-EUROPE CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE WITH FLAT RIM BASE, CONVEX SIDES, FLAT EVERTED RIM. A SINGLE PURPLE-RED FLOWER WITH BLUE-GREEN LEAVES INCISED BY FINE ORANGE LINES. MARK ON BASE.

C1891 PLATE OTHER-EUROPE CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE WITH FLAT RIM BASE, CONVEX SIDES, FLAT EVERTED RIM. A FLORAL SPRAY ONE LARGE PURPLE-RED FLOWER, SMALLER BLUE, ORANGE AND RED FLOWERS IN WELL. BAND OF PURPLE-RED FLOWERS ON RIM. ORANGE LEAVES ON RIM. ORANGE RIM LINES MARK ON BASE.

C1890 PLATE OTHER-EUROPE CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE WITH FLAT RIM BASE, CONVEX SIDES, FLAT EVERTED RIM. A FLORAL SPRAY ONE LARGE PURPLE-RED FLOWER, SMALLER BLUE, ORANGE AND RED FLOWERS IN WELL. BAND OF PURPLE-RED FLOWERS WITH BLUE-GREEN LEAVES ON RIM. ORANGE RIM LINES MARK ON BASE.

C1888 PLATE OTHER-EUROPE CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE WITH FLAT RIM BASE, CONVEX SIDES, FLAT EVERTED RIM. A FLORAL SPRAY ONE LARGE PURPLE-RED FLOWER, SMALLER BLUE, ORANGE AND RED FLOWERS IN WELL. BAND OF PURPLE-RED FLOWERS WITH BLUE-GREEN LEAVES ON RIM. ORANGE RIM LINES MARK ON BASE.

C1886 PLATE OTHER-EUROPE CIRCULAR WHITE PLATE WITH FLAT RIM BASE, CONVEX SIDES, FLAT EVERTED RIM. A FLORAL SPRAY ONE LARGE PURPLE-RED FLOWER, SMALLER BLUE, ORANGE AND RED FLOWERS IN WELL. BAND OF PURPLE-RED FLOWERS WITH BLUE-GREEN LEAVES ON RIM. ORANGE RIM LINES MARK ON BASE.
TILE A CURLING FLOWER AND LEAF
THE WELL IS A YELLOW AND YELLOW-
OTHER-TURKEY
CU5 TILE
TRUMPET BASE WITH CONICAL CENTRAL
CE332 DISH
TAPERED FLAT BASE, NARROW
GI42 TANKARD
C 41 TANKARD
W ELL, CONCAVE SIDES AND WIDE.
MISSHAPEN CIRCULAR DISH ON SMALL
WITH SMALL BLUE FLOWERS, ON RIM.
BROWN FLORAL SPRIGS, ALTERNATING
BROWN FLOWERING BRANCH,
GREEN,
OTHER-TURKEY
CM 3 DISH
BAND WITH APPLIED
SHORTNECK
PAINTED IN BLUE, WHITE AND
LIGHT
Appendix "C"
CGI 49 TANKARD
CGI 43 TANKARD
NECK FRONT IS A RELIEF BEARDED MAN.
NECK
SPLAYED BASE. CYLINDRICAL SLIGHTLY CONVEX BODY.
RING BASE, WITH DEEP WELL,
GREEN-WHITE CIRCULAR DISH ON FLAT
OTHER-TURKEY
RED-BROWN TANKARD
RING BASE WITH DEEP WELL, CURVING
EDGE, ON ONE SIDE; POSSIBLY A GRIFFIN
MYTHICAL ANIMALS ON BOTH SIDES; A
BRANCHES
IN CIRCULAR MEDALLIONS WITH COATS OF ARMS.
BEARDED MAN, AND BENEATH HIM IS A
GREEN
SEGMENTS. OF CHRIST AND WEDDING AT
SCENE ON
CGI 33 TILE
CANAAN.'JOHAN 2 CAP' INSCRIBED AT
SECOND AREA DOWN RIGHT
TO FLAT BASE. NARROW TAPERING NECK,
RING BASE AND
BLUE PYRIFORM TANKARD ON FLAT
STONEWARE-EARLY
BROWN. WITH
STONEWARE-EARLY
COAT OF ARMS
AROUND.
COAT OF ARMS
CGI 44 TANKARD
CGI 46 TANKARD
RING BASE. CIRCULAR RELIEF
MOUNTS ON BASE AND NECK, DOMED LID
HINGED TO TOP OF LOOP HANDLE RELIEF
REARED MAN ON CENTRE NECK.
inscription ON BAND AROUND CENTRE BODY.
CGI 40 TANKARD
STONEWARE-EARLY
DARK BROWN TANKARD WITH CYLINDRICAL ALIGHTLY CONVEX BODY.
FLAT BASE WITH PEWTER MOUNT, AND
FLAT POWER LED HINGED TO TOP OF LOOP HANDLE ON BODY IS A RELIEF
MEDALLION WITH FEMALE BUST IN FRONT, PLANCED BY TWO RESTING STAGS SCENE WITH HUNTER, DOG, BEAR AT BACK.
CGI 40 TANKARD
STONEWARE-EARLY
DARK BROWN TANKARD WITH WIDE TAPPING BODY. FLAT BASE, INVERTED RIM, LOOP HANDLE AROUND BODY HAS CIRCULAR YELLOW MEDALLION IN FRONT ENCLOSING A COCKER-SHAPED SMALL, PLANCED BY TWO RESTING STAGS. THEN SCENE WITH HUNTER, DOG, BEAR RELIEF ROW OF FLUR DEYS ABOVE.
CGI 40 TANKARD
STONEWARE-EARLY
DARK BROWN TANKARD, CYLINDRICAL BODY WITH OUTSIDE FLAT BASE, TAPPING NECK, INVERTED RIM, AND LOOP HANDLE BAND AROUND BODY HAS CIRCULAR YELLOW MEDALLION WITH A WHITE HORSE PLANCED BY AN APPLIED HUNTING SCENE ABOVE AND BELOW ARE BRAIDED RELIEF BANDS.
CGI 39 TANKARD
STONEWARE-EARLY
DARK BLUE BELLOUS RIG ON FLAT SPAYED BASE, WIDE, RIDGED CYLINDRICAL NECK, LOOP HANDLE FROM MIDDLE TO MID BODY APPLIED INDIVIDUAL CIRCULAR FLOWERS OVER BODY.
CGI 40 TANKARD
STONEWARE-EARLY
BROWN PERFORM TANKARD ON FLAT SPAYED BASE, PIPE, INVERTED CYLINDRICAL NECK INVERTED MOUNT IN BASE AND RIM, FLAT POWER LEADED HINGED TO TOP OF LOOP HANDLE RELIEF BEARED MAN, AND BENEATH HIM IS A CIRCULAR RELIEF MEDALLION IN WHITE COAT OF ARMS.
CGI 40 TANKARD
STONEWARE-EARLY
BLUE OVER GREY PERFORM TANKARD ON CYLINDRICAL FLAT BASE, TAPPING NECK, PINCH SPOT POWER LED HINGED TO TOP OF LOOP HANDLE RELIEF DECORATION IN VERTICAL BANDS OF 3 BROWN MEDALLIONS ALTERNATING WITH WHITE SCROLLS. S P O W L BRANCHES AROUND NECK.
CGI 40 TANKARD
STONEWARE-EARLY
BROWN PERFORM TANKARD ON CYLINDRICAL FLAT BASE, TAPPING NECK, PINCH SPOT POWER LED HINGED TO TOP OF LOOP HANDLE RELIEF BEARED MAN, BENEATH HIM IS A CIRCULAR RELIEF MEDALLION IN WHITE COAT OF ARMS.
CGI 40 TANKARD
STONEWARE-EARLY
TALL BROWN OVOID BOTTLE TAPPING TO FLAT BASE, NARROW TAPPING NECK, INVERTED RIM, INVERTED MOUNT FROM NECK TO SHOULDER, ON UPPER FRONT IS A RELIEF BEADED MAN, "F" IS IMPRESSED BENEATH, ON SHOULDER, DARK GLAZE AREA DRAWN RIGHT SIDE.
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