Religion at the 1883 Colonial and Export Trade Exhibition in Amsterdam

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I. General Introduction

World exhibitions or world fairs were major business in the second half of the nineteenth century. Millions of people visited the fairs and admired the exposition buildings with their vast displays of the arts and crafts of various nations. The Great Exhibition of the Works and Industry of All Nations, which opened on May Day 1851 at the newly constructed Crystal Palace in Hyde Park, London, is generally considered to be the first in a long series of world fairs and industrial exhibitions. Improved forms of transportation – especially the establishment of railroads – made these exhibitions possible and allowed for a mass audience. The 1851 Great Exhibition, for instance, counted six million paid entrances, whilst the 1900 World Exhibition in Paris could boast some forty-eight million visitors.

The fairs epitomized progress and made it very clear that not all nations were at the same level of industry and civilization. According to the Smithsonian exhibition curator G. Brown Goode, who was involved in the preparations for the World's Columbian Exhibition (held in Chicago in 1893), this event had to become "an *illustrated encyclopedia of civilization*". It would illustrate "the steps of progress of civilization and its arts in successive centuries, and in all lands up to the present time."[1] The educational and civilizing intentions of the organisors were evident. The explicit international character of this exhibition, in which various nations and peoples participated with their own pavilions, did not, however, preclude a furthering of nationalistic feelings. Relics of American

[1] Quoted in Robert W. Rydell, All the World's a Fair. Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876–1916, Chicago/London (University of Chicago Press) 1984, 45 (emphasis in the original). For the famous Chicago World's Parliament of Religions see, foremost, the proceedings: John Henry Barrows, ed., The World's Parliament of Religions, 2 vols., London ("Review of Reviews" Office) 1983, and Richard Hughes Seager, The World's Parliament of Religions. The East/West Encounter, Chicago 1893, Bloomington/Indianapolis (Indiana University Press) 1995, and Seager, The Dawn of Religious Pluralism. Voices from the World's Parliament of Religion, 1893, La Salle, Illinois (Open Court) 1993.

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history, such as a lock of Thomas Jefferson's red hair, were shown at the Chicago Exhibition and, to make it a really national event, Francis J. Bellemay drafted the Pledge of Allegiance to the flag of the United States. At the opening ceremonies school girls formed a living flag, whereas millions of children around the country pledged "allegiance to my flag and the Republic for which it stands, one Nation indivisible with Liberty and Justice for all."[2] The fairs provided the visitors with nationalistic images, reinforced by ritualistic practices.

If one looks at the photographs of the great fairs, it is easy to imagine how the magnificent architecture of the buildings and the design of the huge exhibition spaces and amusement parks must have made a deep impact on the minds of the visitors.[3] There were Javanese, Egyptian, Indian and Eskimo villages, German and Hungarian bands, camel drivers and donkey boys, dancing girls from Samao to Brazil, and the Ferris Wheel, from which it was possible for visitors to enjoy a bird's eye view of the attractions and the crowds below. The international exhibitions were not just popular fairs, but they also brought architecture, museal display and popular entertainment together. This mixture of "lower" and "higher" culture, must have impacted strongly on the visitors. The simulated native villages doubtless furthered prevailing racial stereotypes, which were largely underpinned by ethnological scholarship.[4]

Most buildings were constructed for the duration of the fairs and were later demolished. Only a few constructions, such as the Eiffel Tower in Paris, have survived to the present day. The Tower, measuring around 276 metres in height, was built by Gustave Eiffel for the 1889 *Exhibition Universelle* in Paris, which celebrated the centennial of the French Revolution. Exposition buildings were primarily seen as engineering (rather than architectural) challenges and, consequently, engineers became the new architects. This development met criticism, as is clear from an article by the French novelist and devout Catholic J.-K Huysmans entitled "Le Fer" ("Iron"). According to Huysmans, the Eiffel Tower was "of a disconcerting ugliness" and revealed "an absolute lack of artistic sense". One may conjecture that it is "the tower of a new church in which are celebrated … the divine services of the High Bank". If this conjecture is right, "its material of a safe, its color of a stew, its structure of a factory

[2] Quoted in Rydell, All the World's a Fair (n. 1), 46. The clause "under God" was added in 1954 to distinguish the United States from the atheistic Soviet Union; cf. Joan Didion, Fixed Opinions, or the Hinge of History, in: The New York Review of Books 50/1, January 16, 2003, 56.

[3] Norman Bolotin/Christine Laing, The World's Columbian Exposition. A 100-year Retrospective, Washington (The Preservation Press) 1992.

[4] Cf. Burton Benedict, Rituals of Representation. Ethnic Stereotypes and Colonized Peoples at World's Fairs, in: Robert W. Rydell/Nancy Gwinn, eds., Fair Representations. World's Fairs and the Modern World, Amsterdam (VU University Press) 1994, 28–62.

stack, its form of an oil well, its skeleton of a great dredge capable of extracting the auriferous mud of stock exchanges, are explained. It will be the spire of our Lady of the Barter, a spire deprived of bells, but armed with a cannon that announces the beginning and end of services, that calls the faithful to the masses of finance, the vespers of speculation, a cannon that sounds with its showers of powder the liturgical feast days of Capital!"[5] The severe critique of the architecture of the *Exposition Universelle*, and thereby, of contemporary culture as such was cast by Huysmans in religious terms.

Such religious comparisons were by no means exceptional. The most famous quotation in this regard is without doubt Walter Benjamin's characterization of the world exhibitions as "places of pilgrimage to the fetish commodity" ("Wallfahrtsstätte zum Fetisch Ware"[6]). Both Huysmans and Benjamin were highly critical of the fairs and the glorification of the exchange-value of commodities, but religious imagery was used in a positive way as well. For the opening of the Amsterdam Colonial and Export Trade Exhibition in 1883, the Dutch church minister and poet J. J. L. ten Kate had composed a hymn, welcoming those who had, finally, reached the end of their "pilgrimage", eager to enter the fairgrounds, as the "gates of the temple" swung open.[7] The utopian flavour of many of the world exhibitions provoked this kind of religious language: the construction of the 1893 Chicago Exhibition – part of which was called the "White City" – was seen as the building of a New Jerusalem: "The city so holy and clean, / No sorrow can breathe in the air; / No gloom of affliction or sin, / No shadow of evil is there"[8]. Without taking into account the religious dimension, these great occasions cannot be fully understood.

The fairs were in many respects at the cross-roads of important nineteenth-century developments. On the one hand, they played an important role in promoting fine arts as a salable commodity on the international market and, on the other hand, their purpose was to improve the quality of consumer goods and the living conditions of industrial workers. National identities were negotiated and represented at the *Rue des Nations*, where colonial villages could at the same time strengthen the sense of the superioriy of the West, and reflect the loss of artisan craftmanship. Ultimately, these events were related to massive technological

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[5] Joris K. Huysmans, Iron, in: Elizabeth Gilmore Holt, ed., The Expanding World of Art, 1874–1902, vol. I: Universal Expositions and State-Sponsored Fine Arts Exhibitions, New Haven/London (Yale University Press) 1988, 74–78; translated from Huysmans, Le Fer, in: Certains (1889), third edition, Paris (Stock) 1898, 169–181, here 179.

[6] Walter Benjamin, Paris, die Hauptstadt des XIX. Jahrhunderts, in: Illuminationen, Frankfurt a. M. (Suhrkamp) 1977, 170–184, here 175.

[7] Ileen Montijn, Kermis van Koophandel. De Amsterdamse wereldtentoonstelling van 1883, Bussum (Van Holkema/Warendorf) 1983, 15.

[8] Rydell, All the World's a Fair (n. 1), 48.

and industrial developments and to the on-going colonization of the non-Western world. Because they were such complex phenomena, the fairs can be approached from various angles, such as industrial, political, colonial, and social history. In this context, it is important to note that these exhibitions were examples of material culture. Research, however, is complicated here by the fact that the fairgrounds themselves and most of the exhibition buildings no longer exist. To reconstruct their history, therefore, we have to rely mainly on photographs and written documents, such as reports and catalogues. Peter Burke was quick to see the irony of the history of material culture in general being based less on the artifacts themselves than on literary evidence. As material objects rarely have an intrinsic meaning of their own, we need contemporary documents to decipher the meanings attached to them at the time.[9]

To speak of material artifacts, or objects, is too simple to really capture the complex structures of the world exhibitions. This is evident, if we take into account the categorization of material culture as used by Colleen McDannell in her book on *Material Christianity*, in which she divided the body of evidence into four categories: artifacts, art, architecture, and landscapes.[10] Artifacts are made by human hand and are mostly used in an every-day context. Architecture relates first and foremost to the design of buildings, such as museums and churches, whereas art is perceived as having a distinctive – aesthetical – dimension, which determines its special place in homes, museums, and parks. The landscape is perhaps the least obvious category: McDannell points to cemeteries as shaped by human intent, but one could also think of war memorial sites and *lieux de mémoire* in general. The categories are not to be neatly seperated from each other, but are just a pragmatic, analytical device. If we take a look at the exhibitions, we can see that all four categories are represented. Many contemporary sources begin with a description of the overwhelming impression made by the architecture of the various buildings; the commodities displayed and sold are clearly to be ranged under the heading of "artifacts", and there are also specimens of industrial art as well as of the fine arts, the last being exhibited in special buildings. Finally, the grand design of the fairgrounds themselves, including the various indigenous villages, make up a landscape. These various aspects will be touched upon in the course of this essay.

The actual subject of this essay is the Amsterdam Colonial and Export Trade Exhibition of 1883. The choice of this fair is, admittedly, somewhat arbitrary. The first time I came across this exhibition was dur-

[9] Peter Burke, Overture. The New History, its Past and its Future, in: Burke, ed., New Perspectives on Historical Writing, Cambridge (Polity Press) 1991, 1–23, here 14.

[10] Colleen McDannell, Material Christianity. Religion and Popular Culture in America, New Haven/London (Yale University Press) 1995, 2.

ing my research on the emergence of early Dutch science of religion. Looking for contexts which influenced the rise of the scientific[11] study of religion in The Netherlands, I first researched book series, journals, academic positions, and so on.[12] But this early scholarship was not only an inner-academic affair: the study of religion also attracted popular attention, as is evident from the work of the pioneers in the field, such as Friedrich Max Müller and Cornelis Petrus Tiele.[13] The Amsterdam exhibition seemed a good opportunity to see how religion was represented before a large public and how scholars were involved in the process of translating their knowledge, as well as in listing and describing religious objects.[14] But as the problem turned out to be more complex than expected, I had to widen my perspective, by not only studying the representation of religious artifacts at the 1883 exhibition, but also in describing (some of) its religious aspects against the background of Dutch colonial and national history. The main conclusion will be that religion "pervaded" – so to speak – the exhibition as a whole, and that it was not located in one single place. Firstly, I will outline the design of the Amsterdam exhibition, and I will then argue for the "pervasiveness of religion", by discussing successively the architecture of the Dutch colonial building, the religious exhibits on display there, the special ethnographical exhibition, and the related conferences.

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[11] I use the word "scientific" in this context, because the early protagonists of religious studies stressed the "scientific" character of their undertaking.

[12] Arie L. Molendijk, At the Cross-Roads: Early Dutch Science of Religion in International Perspective, in: Sigurd Hjelde, ed., Man, Meaning & Mystery: Hundred Years of History of Religions in Norway. The Heritage of W. Brede Kristensen, Leiden (Brill) 2000, 19–56; Molendijk, The Principal Religions: A Landmark in the Early Study of Religion in The Netherlands, in: Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift 54, 2000, 18–34.

[13] Cf. Lourens P. van den Bosch, Friedrich Max Müller. A Life Devoted to the Humanities, Leiden etc. (Brill) 2001; Norman J. Girardot, Max Müller's *Sacred Books* and the Nineteenth-Century Production of the Comparative Science of Religions, in: History of Religions 41, 2002, 213–250; Arie L. Molendijk, The Heritage of C.P. Tiele, in: Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis 80, 2001, 78–114.

[14] Cf. John P. Burris, Exhibiting Religion. Colonialism and Spectacle at International Expositions, 1851–1893, Charlottesville/London (University Press of Virginia) s.a. [2001], xiv: "This study is concerned with utilizing international expositions as a means of identifying some of the key elements that allowed a field of religion to become a distinct, differentiated, and permanent feature of the Western intellectual landscape". Burris intends to study "the material context that contributed to the formation of the discipline" (xviii). My contribution aims only to provide one further context for the rise of the scientific study of religion in The Netherlands. I am more sceptical than Burris about what the study of exhibitions can teach us about early science of religion, and whether we can really succeed in identifying the key elements for the rise in the science of religion this way.

II. The Design of the Exhibition

The Amsterdam exhibition of 1883 was the first and also the last of its kind in The Netherlands.[15] It was not easy to establish the exhibition, and remarkably the initiative was taken by a foreigner, the Frenchman Edouard Agostini. In the summer of 1880, Agostini published a booklet on the potential usefulness of an international exhibition in The Netherlands and sent it to King William III and his son Alexander, as well as to some influential Amsterdam citizens. Agostini referred to the great Dutch tradition of trade, the magnificent public works, such as the recently established North Sea Canal, and the beautiful Crystal Palace in the Amsterdam Frederiksplein[16], which all cried out for an international exhibition.[17] The estimated costs amounted to a total of 2,500,000 guilders. The Amsterdam business men were highly interested, but the central government turned down the request to fund 500,000 guilders. In the end, two Belgian entrepreneurs, Tasson and Washer, guaranteed the exhibition in its entirety. In return, they would receive all the admission fees (visitors paid up to one guilder entrance charge), as well as the fees charged to the participating countries and firms, based upon the amount of space they occupied (12.50 to 50 guilders per square meter). To charge the exhibitors was exceptional in the history of the world fairs. Although – as the preparations advanced – the Dutch government made some financial means available, the whole undertaking was primarily a private initiative, and in that sense more kindred to the Anglo-Saxon than to the Francophone tradition of organizing world fairs.[18]

The exhibition was a great success, as the estimated one and half million visitors testifies; most of them came by rail, with railroad companies subsidizing groups of working class people travelling to Amsterdam. The exhibition was also covered extensively by the press. One cartoon shows a woman returning home and being asked if she has brought

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[15] John E. Findling/Kimberley D. Pelle, eds., Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions, 1851–1988, London (Greenwood Press) 1990. For a short history of earlier exhibitions in The Netherlands, see Saint-Foix, Rapport sur l'exposition internationale industrielle d'Amsterdam en 1883, adressé à M. le ministre du commerce …, suivi d'une étude sur les colonies des indes néerlandaises, par Aubert, Paris (Imprimérie nationale) 1885, 1–7; cf. T.M. Eliëns, Kunst – Nijverheid – Kunstnijverheid. De nationale nijverheidstentoonstellingen als spiegel van de Nederlandse kunstnijverheid in de negentiende eeuw, Zutphen (Walburg) s.a. [1990].

[16] Cf. Emile Wennekes, Het Paleis voor Volksvlijt (1864–1929). 'Edele uiting eener stoute gedachte!', Den Haag (Sdu) 1999.

[17] E. Agostini, *La Hollande artistique et commerciale et l'Europe industrielle. De l'utilité d'une exposition universelle dans les Pays-Bas*, Péronne (J. Quentin) 1880, esp. 13.

[18] For this distinction, see Pieter van Wesemael, Architecture of Instruction and Delight. A Socio-historical Analysis of World Exhibitions as a Didactic Phenomenon (1798 – 1851 – 1970), Rotterdam (010 Publishers) 2001, 653.

a souvenir from the Amsterdam world exhibition. She answers: I do believe so, my angel. Look here – pointing to a little negro baby, whom she apparently had bought at one of the colonial villages. Another image depicts "delicious Surinamese girls", who charge one guilder for a photograph of themselves.[19] These depictions aptly illustrate the racial stereotyping and the commodification of the exotic. Here one is reminded of Walter Benjamin's observation that world exhibitions "glorify the exchange-value of commodities. They create a framework in which commodities' intrinsic value is eclipsed. They open up a phantasmagoria that people enter in order to be amused. The entertainment industry facilitates this by elevating people to the level of commodities. They submit to being manipulated while enjoying their alienation from themselves and from others."[20]

The fairgrounds were located behind the National Gallery (*Rijksmuseum*) and covered some 220,000 square metres. The space was much larger than the present-day "museum square" (*Museumplein*), and allowed for a multitude of temporary buildings and pavilions to be erected. Prominent among them were the main building (the largest displays were those presented by The Netherlands, Belgium, France, and Germany, but there were also smaller ones from countries like China, Italy, Persia, Japan, the United States, Brasil, Britain, Sweden, and Transvaal), the Dutch colonial building, the gallery of fine arts, the machine gallery, and the important park zone. Here one could visit Dutch, German, and English restaurants, Japanese and Chinese bazars, Dutch and Munich beer-halls, and even a "champagne bar", as also many places selling German and Spanish wines, Eau de Cologne, "Roisdorfer mineral water", and liqueurs from the firm Lucas Bols. Machines – among them a "pulsometer", a steam crane, and a centrifugal pump – were on show, in addition to colonial commodities and bibles. The police, the firefighters, the Red and the White Cross, the Society for the Education of Orphans, the Tourist Office, and even the Customs Clearance Service were present. In sum, it was a small town in its own right.[21]

The fairgrounds were a mixture of education and amusement. The official exhibition preparation scheme did not provide for an "entertain-

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19 Montijn, Kermis (n. 7), 54f.

20 Walter Benjamin, Reflections. Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings, ed. by Peter Jemetz, New York (Harcourt Brace Jonavich) 1978, 152; quoted after Curtis M. Hinsley, The World as Marketplace. Commodification at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893, in: Ivan Karp/Steven D. Lavine, eds., Exhibiting Cultures. The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display, Washington/London (Smithsonian Institution Press) 1990, 344–365, here 344. For the German text see Benjamin, Illuminationen (n. 6), 175.

21 It is a pleasure to visit the attractive and informative internet site with photographs of this exhibition; cf. http://esf.niwi.knaw.nl/esf1996.

ment zone", which became ever more important in the history of world fairs, but mentioned only the following five sections: 1) the colonial exhibition, 2) the export trade exhibition, 3) the retrospective exhibition of fine and industrial arts, 4) special exhibitions (focusing on arable products and market farming in particular), and 5) lectures and scientific conferences.[22] By including this fifth section, the educational and civilizing mission of the exhibition was underlined. The general aims of the Amsterdam *exposition universelle* were to expand the commercial enterprises, to encourage the various industries, to boost the moral strength of peoples, and to tighten the ties which united the nations – all for the good of the colonies, as well as for the motherland.[23] The specific aim was to organize a competition between the colonial powers, and to this end various committees evaluated and ranked the displays of the countries involved in the *Exposition Universelle Coloniale et d'Exportation Générale*, as it was known officially. French was still the main international, diplomatic and commercial language at the time in The Netherlands, and it is no coincidence that the catalogue of the Dutch colonies appeared in Dutch as well as in French. Even the admission tickets and the exhibition journal were bilingual.[24]

The emphasis of the Amsterdam exhibition was on trade, and on the colonies in particular, the importance of which for The Netherlands was generally recognized. The secretary of the Royal Colonial Institute in London, Frederick Young, made this point very clear: "The possession of Colonies has been especially advantageous to Holland. It has certainly preserved her commercial existence, and enabled this ancient State to retain its place among the Great Powers of Europe, instead of being swallowed up by its neighbours, or reduced to a few fishing villages. No nation of Europe depends so much upon a Colonial policy as Holland. In no country colonial possessions are so valuable."[25] The Dutch did not hesitate to call themselves the second colonial empire of the

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[22] J.A. Alberdingk Thijm, De Waereld-Ten-Toon-Stelling van 1883, in: De Gids 47/4, 1883, 292–310, quoted extensively the circular of the organizing committee, which outlined the objectives of the exhibition (295–297).

[23] Alberdingk Thijm, De Waereld-Ten-Toon-Stelling van 1883 (n. 22), 297, quotes from the "mission statement" of the exhibition: "Uitbreiding der handelsondernemingen, aanmoediging der verschillende industriën, opbeuring van de zedelijke kracht der volken, vernaauwing der banden, die de natiën vereenigen, ziedaar wat de heilrijke uitkomsten moeten zijn der vereeniging van zoo veel krachten, ingespannen zoowel om den wille der Koloniën, als om dien van het Moederland".

[24] Montijn, Kermis (n. 7), 37, 63.

[25] Frederick Young, On the Political relations of Mother Countries and Colonies. A Paper Read at the Congress of Amsterdam, September 19, 1883, in: D. Josephus Jitta, ed., Exposition internationale coloniale et d'exportation générale, Amsterdam 1883. V^{e} Section. Congrès Internationaux. Rapport sur les Congrès, 2 vols., s.l., s.n., s.a.[1884], vol. II, 97–114, here 103 (quoting Lord Brougham).

world (the first being, of course, England).[26] It comes as no surprise, therefore, that the organizers framed the whole undertaking as a colonial exhibition.[27]

In addition to the official colonial exhibition, there were special attractions from the Dutch West and East Indies (present-day Surinam [Dutch Guiana] and Indonesia). Close to one of the entrances of the fairgrounds there was a gamelan orchestra, which managed to play the then Dutch national anthem "Wien Neêrlandsch Bloed" ("In whom Dutch blood runs through the veins") on their instruments. The story goes that on the occasion of the visit of the Dutch King William III and his spouse, Queen Emma, on 26 August, 1883, the orchestra mistakenly played "God save the Queen" instead.[28] This aptly illustrates how the colonies were included in the Dutch national project. Another attraction was an Indonesian kampong with native people practising their crafts. The village was an hodge-podge of houses from different regions of the East Indian archipelago, and the engineer and explorer Daniël Veth (1850–1885) had taken great pains in shipping over 121 boxes and even

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[26] Th. Ch. L. Wijnmalen, ed., Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië. Uitgegeven vanwege het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, ter gelegenheid van het Zesde Internationale Congres der Oriëntalisten te Leiden, 2 vols., 's-Gravenhage (Nijhoff) 1885, vol. I, 1; F. W. van Eeden, De koloniën op de internationale tentoonstelling te Amsterdam, in 1883, Haarlem (Loosjes) 1884, 45; P. J. Veth, ed., Catalogus der Afdeeling Nederlandsche Koloniën van de Internationale Koloniale en Uitvoer-Handel Tentoonstelling (van 1 Mei tot ult^{o}. October 1883) te Amsterdam, Leiden (Brill) 1883; Catalogue de la section des colonies néerlandaises à l'exposition internationale coloniale et d'exportation générale, tenue du 1 mai au 31 octobre 1883, à Amsterdam, Leiden (Brill) 1883. The catalogue was brought out in three volumes, which will be cited as follows: Veth 1883 (Dutch or French), I, II, III, and page number, here Veth 1883 (both editions), I, 2–3: "[L]es Pays-Bas sont la seconde puissance coloniale du monde, puisque ses possessions en dehors de l'Europe ne sont surpassées en étendue et en importance que par celles de la Grande-Bretagne. En chiffres ronds les possessions néerlandaises couvrent, dans l'archipel indien, en y comprenant la partie néerlandaise de la Nouvelle Guinée, une aire du 32800 milles géographiques carrés, et, dans les îles des Indes occidentales, une aire de 2200 milles carrés, en tout 35000. C'est à peu près le cinquième de la superficie de l'Europe, ou soixante fois celle du royaume des Pays-Bas en Europe".

[27] D. Josephus Jitta, ed., Exposition internationale coloniale et d'exportation générale (n. 25), vol. II, 1: "L'Exposition d'Amsterdam a surtout dû son succès à son caractère d'exposition *coloniale*. L'idée primitive qui lui donne naissance a été d'établir une comparaison entre les diverses colonies, leurs produits naturels et industriels, leur population indigène et leur colons. Ce n'est que plus tard que l'on en est venu à y ajouter une section d'exportation, et, là encore, l'exportation vers les colonies et les pays d'outremer a été le point de départ" (emphasis in the original); cf. Aubert, Étude sur les colonies des Indes néerlandaises [Étude sur les colonies néerlandaises des Indes orientales], in: Saint-Foix, Rapport sur l'exposition (n. 15), 335–594.

[28] Harry Poeze, with contributions by Cees van Dijk and Inge van der Meulen, In het land van de overheerser. I. Indonesiërs in Nederland 1600–1950, Dordrecht etc. (Foris) 1986, 19.

securing the transportation of native livestock to Amsterdam.[29] For the visitors to the native village, a special guide (in Dutch and English) was prepared by H. J. Eerlich van Gogh, who himself had contributed a "working-class house from private companies in West Java."[30] By bringing together houses and artifacts from all over the Dutch East Indies, the colony was presented to the visitors as a unity. It was such a great success, that at the Paris world exhibition of 1889 The Netherlands was again represented by a colonial village, this time a *village javanais*, where rice tables were served.[31]

To secure more attention for the West Indies, a special committee organized an exhibition of Surinamese people from various tribes and races, who were even more of a curiosity than the people from the East Indies and doubtless subject to even greater racial stereotyping. They were stared at, and considered to be, at best, semi-civilized. Apparently, they did not feel well, and one member of the group even died during his stay in Europe (reputedly of a disease he had contracted at home).[32] Interestingly, they were also subjected to (amateur) anthropological scholarship. Prince Roland Bonaparte (1858–1924), a great-nephew of Napoleon, devoted a luxuriously illustrated book to these 28 "inhabitants of Surinam"[33]. He firstly presented the geography, statistics, and history of Surinam, followed by a description of local human culture, according to the following classification: food, habitation, clothing, work and commerce, civil morality and religion, social institutions, and sciences and arts. The whole was supplemented by large photographs – *en face* as well as *en profil* – and physiological descriptions (race, nation or tribe, place of origin, age, sex, colour, hair, nose, lips, waist, head circumference) of the exhibited people, who were clearly seen as objects of anthroplogical

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[29] Marieke Bloembergen, De koloniale vertoning. Nederland en Indië op de wereldtentoonstellingen (1880–1931), Amsterdam (Wereldbibliotheek) s.a. [2002], 11, 71–74; cf. Martin Bossenbroek, Holland op zijn breedst. Indië en Zuid-Afrika in de Nederlandse cultuur omstreeks 1900, Amsterdam (Bert Bakker) 1996, 329–335; P. J. Veth/Joh. F. Snelleman, eds., Daniël Veth's reizen in Angola, voorafgegaan door eene schets van zijn leven, Haarlem (Tjeenk Willink) 1887, esp. 29–31.

[30] Poeze, In het land van de overheerser (n. 28), 19; Montijn, Kermis (n. 7), 20. The inhabitants of the colonial village are discussed in Veth, 1883 (Dutch) (n. 26), I, 153–156, whereas the buildings are listed in Veth, 1883 (Dutch) (n. 26), II, 14ff.

[31] At various fairs the Dutch were represented by a colonial – preferably Javanese – village. A good example is also the 1898 National Exhibition of Women's Labour in The Hague; cf. Maria Grever/Berteke Waaldijk, Feministische Openbaarheid. De Nationale Tentoonstelling van Vrouwenarbeid in 1898, Amsterdam (Stichting Beheer IISG/IIAV) 1998, 167–171. For the Dutch pavilions at later world exhibitions, see Maria Theresia Antoinette van Thoor, Het gebouw van Nederland. Nederlandse paviljoens op de wereldtentoonstellingen 1910–1958, Zutphen (Walburg) 1998.

[32] Montijn, Kermis (n. 7), 35–42.

[33] Cf. http://www.a-m-e-r.com/recherches/rb/bonaparte.htm.

scholarship and not as living subjects with their own stories and histories.[34]

The display of people as mere curiosities had, of course, a longer history. The Fat Boy, the Bearded Woman, snake-women, dwarfs and giants, and other freaks, had long been standard "attractions" at travelling circuses. Given the scope of the world exhibitions, it was only natural that colonial people would be present and represented in some way. They served as waiters in Egyptian and Algerian cafés as well as in Ceylonese and Indian tea-houses, or they sold exotic products, and at the Paris World Exhibition in 1867 there was even a Tunesian barbershop open for business. The historian Paul Greenhalgh has divided these human exhibits into four types, which he labels the Imperial, the Educational, the Commercial and the Ambassadorial.[35] As displays could have features representing various "types", it is probably better to regard them as different aspects, which may be involved in exhibiting colonial people. An important development, Greenhalgh argues, was the building of native villages, thereby situating people in what was thought to be their daily business and practice, at which they were to be viewed by the visitors. Greenhalgh selects the 1889 Exhibition in Paris as the great breakthrough in this respect, which may be true, but the kampong built at the Amsterdam exhibition is also a good – and earlier – example of this development. The imperial dimension is evident in such displays, but the foremost aim was to show the diversity of the human race, in its various evolutionary stages.[36] As these human showcases and their artifacts were turned into things to be looked at (and looked upon), to be scientifically described and to be hierarchically categorized, and, eventually, to be paid for, they answered to imperial, scientific, and commercial discourses all at once.

There were hardly any critical voices of such practices at the time, but they were not completely absent. A French critic sensed the alienation to which these human beings were exposed, as he wrote in 1883 about the displays in the Paris' *Jardin d'Acclimatation*: "These individuals, in effect, are transported to an environment where they can no longer, so to speak, be themselves. Everything is changed in their way

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[34] Roland Bonaparte, Les habitants de Suriname. Notes recueillies à l'exposition coloniale d'Amsterdam en 1883, Paris (A. Quantin) 1884.

[35] Paul Greenhalgh, Ephemeral Vistas. The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851–1939, Manchester (Manchester University Press) 1988, 82.

[36] On the stereotyping of various peoples involved in this kind of representation, see Burton Benedict, Rituals of Representation. Ethnic Stereotypes and Colonized Peoples at World's Fairs, in: Rydell/Gwinn, Fair Representations (n. 4), 1994, 28–61; cf. Raymond Corbey, Ethnographic Showcases, 1870–1930, in: Cultural Anthropology 8, 1993, 338–369; Nicolas Bancel, et al., eds., Zoos humains. De la vénus hottentote aux *reality shows*, Paris (La Découverte) 2002.

of life; and they must contend on one side with the administration of the Jardin, on another with those who brought them, on another with the crowds of the curious, and another side with a committee that comes out to examine and measure them by means of little trinkets".[37] Yet, his main point of regret seemed to be that under these circumstances serious research was impossible. Another example was the critique of the Amsterdam exhibition voiced by the director of the Dutch Colonial Museum in Haarlem, F. W. van Eeden. He regretted the fact that in Europe the machine reigned, whereas in the colonies personal artisan skills still existed, adding that: "We Europeans are the real barbarians."[38] But Van Eeden's misgivings about industrial modernization and his sincere effort to counter racial prejudice, did not preclude a sense of moral superiority over other colonial powers. The Dutch, he argued, had always taken good care of the well-being of the indigenous population, and neither did they push aside the natives nor killed them, as did the English and the French.[39] Doubtless, in his view, The Netherlands had a special mission to civilize the colonized peoples.

III. The Dutch Colonial Building: Discussing Cultural-Religious Identity

The Dutch identity was ultimately represented and manifested in its colonial building. A huge – three volume – catalogue covering the Department of the Dutch colonies was prepared by the leading Dutch East Indies scholar Pieter Johannes Veth. These books are a rich source, not in the least for the information they provide on the ways in which religion was incorporated into the design both of the exhibition and of the building as such. The religious exhibits will be discussed in the next section (IV), whereas here I will deal with the building and, more specifically, with its architecture. Veth was a towering figure at the time, and he more or less shaped the Dutch view of the Dutch East Indies. "Who is not astonished by Professor Veth's knowledge does not know anything about knowledge". These are the words of the nineteenth-century Dutch author Multatuli (Eduard Douwes Dekker, 1820–1887), whose famous and controversial novel *Max Havelaar* – a strong protest against the suppression

[37] Leonce Manouvrier in: Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie 6, 1883, 724; quoted after William H. Schneider, An Empire for the Masses. The French Popular Image of Africa, 1870–1900, London (Greenwood) 1982, 134.

[38] F. W. van Eeden, De Koloniën op de Internationale Tentoonstelling te Amsterdam, in 1883, Haarlem (Loosjes) 1884, 78.

[39] Van Eeden, De Koloniën (n. 38), 110.

of the Javanese – had been favourably reviewed by Veth.[40] Veth translated Alfred Russel Wallace's *The Malay Archipelago. The Land of the Orang-Utan, and the Bird of Paradise. A Narrative of Travel, with Studies of Man and Nature*[41], and was himself a prolific author and influential popularizer.[42]

The Dutch colonial section of the Amsterdam Exhibition was accommodated in a special building, which covered some 4,200 square metres. In front of the building stood the Atjeh Monument, erected as a tribute to the great efforts and sacrifices of the Dutch army and navy in the Atjeh wars (starting in 1873 and ending in 1924), and a plaster statue of Jan Pieterszoon Coen (1587–1629), the man who had "established our colonial power and founded Batavia"[43]. The statue of the conqueror of Jakarta symbolized the successful aspect of colonization, whereas the Atjeh Monument reminded the visitors of the fact that the subjection of the Dutch East Indies was not yet finished. Veth was aware of this fact, and wrote that large regions had no regular colonial administration, which meant, unfortunately, that the natives did not feel the hand of their master whose task was to exercise sovereignty over them.[44]

Catalogues, of course, were very important to the whole undertaking of exhibiting; the categorization and the description they contained determined the way the visitor-readers would perceive the colonies. Michel Foucault has argued, that the "idea of accumulating everything, of

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40 P.J. Veth, Multatuli versus Droogstoppel, Slijmering & Co, in: De Gids 24/1, 1860, 58–82, 233–269; cf. P.G.E.I.J. [= Paul] van der Velde, "Nederlands-Indië op papier", in: Van der Velde/Jan Justus Witkam, eds., Nederlands-Indië op papier. De wetenschappelijke beschrijving van de archipel door P.J. Veth (1814–1895) en enkelen van zijn tijdgenoten in boeken, prenten, foto's, kaarten en brieven. Catalogus bij een tentoonstelling in de Leidse Universiteitsbibliotheek van 8 april tot 12 mei 1995, Leiden (Legatum Warnerianum, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit) Leiden, 1995, 7–24; Van der Velde, Een Indische Liefde. P.J. Veth (1814–1895) en de inburgering van Nederlandsch-Indië, Amsterdam (Balans) 2000.

41 Original edition: London 1864. Wallace had developed – independently from Charles Darwin – the idea of the survival of the fittest, and had given a strong impetus to the new paradigm of "social evolutionism" in Victorian anthropology; cf. George W. Stocking, Victorian Anthropology, New York etc. (The Free Press) 1986, 96–101.

42 [Veth, ed.], Insulinde. Het land van den orang-oetan en den paradijsvogel, door Alfred Russel Wallace, uit het Engelsch vertaald en van aanteekeningen voorzien door P.J. Veth, 2 vols., Amsterdam (Van Kampen) 1870–1871; cf. also the bibliography in: Feestbundel van taal-, letter-, geschied- en aardrijkskundige bijdragen ter gelegenheid van zijn tachtigsten geboortedag aan Dr. P.J. Veth, Leiden (Brill) 295–313.

43 Bloembergen, De koloniale vertoning (n. 29), 78–80, discusses the two monuments in more detail.

44 Veth, 1883 (French) (n. 26), I, 3: "En réalité cependant il existe encore dans cet immense territoire de vastes espaces où n'a point encore été établie d'administration régulière, et dont la population, clair-semée et nomade, connaît à peine ou du moins ne sent guère la main du maître qui prétend exercer sur elle la souveraineté [sic]". The French version of the Exhibition Catalogue contains various language errors.

establishing a sort of general archive, the will to enclose in one place all times, all epochs, all forms, all tastes" is typical of nineteenth-century modernity.[45] Except for the museums of fine arts, people were not looking for unique specimens, but for objects which illustrated certain general laws or tendencies.[46] The exhibitions in those early days were so stuffed with huge collections of materials, that it is hard to imagine that visitors really had the opportunity, or took the time, to look at all the objects on display. As with other museum-goers, visitors to the Amsterdam exhibition must have been overwhelmed by the sheer bulk of the exhibits, which were shown close together. Veth's catalogue contained one long sequence of descriptions of the nature and origin of the objects.

After a short preface lamenting the fact that the catalogue is incomplete (due partly to the fact that many contributions arrived too late in Amsterdam), it opens with four pages on the exhibition building itself. The architect – Ary Willem Stortenbeker – had given the building an oriental design which, according to Veth, was a good decision. Because the "treasures of East and West" were so unevenly distributed, the American element had to be subordinated to the Asian.[47] More difficult to answer was the question of which oriental style was to be applied. As the natives, according to Veth, had developed no independent architecture of their own, a choice had to be made between the art forms of the main civilisations that had dominated the East Indian Archipelago, namely the Chinese, the Hindu, and the Arab civilisations. The Chinese style was not an option, however, because the Chinese had remained foreigners and had hardly transmitted any of "their particularities" to the native population. And, indeed, the Chinese were included, together with the Japanese and the Arabs, among the group of so-called "foreign orientals", discriminated against by colonial rule.[48]

More was to be said, according to Veth, for the Hindu style, to which British India owed so many delightful monuments. Notwithstanding its great contribution both to Java and to some other islands, however, Veth argued that the Hindu culture was languishing and represented mainly by ruins. The few monuments that still remained were of an outstanding religious character and constructed (as, for instance, the Borobudur with its open galleries) in such a manner that they could not be used as models for the Amsterdam colonial building. That left them with the Arab culture – tacitly equated by Veth with the Islam – which was much more influential than "Shivaism" and Buddhism, and still gaining ground among the

[45] Michel Foucault, Of Other Spaces, in: Diacritics 16, Spring 1986, 22–27, here 26.
[46] Tony Bennett, The Birth of the Museum. History, Theory, Politics, London (Routledge) 1995, 42f.
[47] Veth, 1883 (Dutch) (n. 26), I, v-vi (French edition, xiii).
[48] Different juridical rules applied to the three main population groups: the "foreign orientals", the natives, and the Europeans.

"heathen population". The Islam had developed a Moorish style, which was not confined to mosques, but applied also to palaces and other secular buildings. This was moreover the style for which the "more civilized" inhabitant of the East Indies looked "in those rare cases that he feels the need to raise himself above the styleless insignificance of the native buildings".[49] Veth suggested further that the architect had been inspired by the Spanish Alhambra. The front of the building was decorated with the Dutch royal coat of arms, as well as the arms of Batavia, Sumatra, Surabaja and Surinam. The paving stones of the entrance bid the visitor welcome in three languages: Arab, "low Malay", and Dutch.

Veth went into some detail in describing the Dutch Colonial Buildung and in justifying its Arab style. The ways in which the relationship between the colonizing powers and the colonies were to be represented, was a big issue at all the fairs. The Amsterdam Exhibition was, of course, a very important occasion, at which the Dutch had to (re)negotiate their identity as a colonial power, and at a symbolic level too. The Dutch Colonial Building was the focal point of this identity, and because such places were "highly charged sites for the contested negotiations over the ownership of the symbolic capital"[50], it comes as no surprise that the building was much discussed in the press. The critic John F. Groll, who was an architect himself and who – contrary to Veth – had actually visited Asia, pointed to its inconsistencies such as the minarets at the top of this secular building and the classical lion-heads in front of it. Groll would have preferred an old Dutch brickstone façade, which would have reminded the visitors of the glorious days of Jan Pieterszoon Coen.[51] Another critic regarded the *pastiches* of the Arab architecture presently then prevalent in "our East" as unacceptable and asked why the Hindu monuments in the East Indies had not been taken as sources of inspiration. As ancient architecture all over the world had borrowed from religious buildings, the religious purpose of such constructions was – according to this author – no problem.[52] The outstanding monument in this respect was the Borobudur, which was much studied at the time. Various books – scholarly as well as the more popular – began to appear in the last decades of the nineteenth century[53], and a series of

[49] Veth, 1883 (Dutch) (n. 26), I, vii.
[50] David Chidester/Edward T. Linenthal, Introduction, in: Chidester/Linenthal, eds., American Sacred Space, Bloomington (Indiana University Press) 1995, 1–42, here 16.
[51] Bloembergen, De koloniale vertoning (n. 29), 86.
[52] Alberdingk Thijm, De Waereld-Ten-Toon-Stelling van 1883 (n. 22), 307.
[53] C. Leemans, ed., Bôrô-Boedoer op het eiland Java, afgebeeld door en onder toezigt van F.C. Wilsen, Leiden (Brill) 1873; N. J. Krom, Korte gids voor den Boro-Budur, Batavia (Landsdrukkerij) 1914. For an example of the role of the Borobudur in more recent Indonesian history see Benedict R. O'G. Anderson, Language and Power. Exploring Political Cultures in Indonesia, Ithaca/London (Cornell University Press) 1990, 179–180.

photographs of this "gigantic temple" was shown at the colonial building.[54]

The debate over the architecture of the Dutch colonial building shows – in passing – the extent to which the cultures of the colonies could, at the same time, be defined in terms of religion. From "Arab" to "Islam", and vice-versa, was apparently a very small step. Foreign cultures were intimately associated with religion. Against the background of the fundamental tension between the European empires and their colonies, efforts were made to forge a symbolic religio-cultural unity out of the religious and cultural diversity of the Dutch East Indies. This explains the choice of an "oriental" style for the building. But – as we will see in the discussion of the religious exhibits themselves – the struggle for symbolic and administrative unification did not resolve the actual religious diversity of the colony.

IV. Veth on Religion in the Dutch East Indies

To get an idea of the colonial Dutch exhibition itself, we have to turn to Veth's catalogue, which sets out the displays in sequence. The exhibition was subdivided into three main groups: (1) the nature of the colonies, (2) the native population of the colonies, and (3) the Europeans in the colonies and their relationship to the natives. The catalogue of the Dutch colonies followed the same pattern as the general catalogue.[55] The first division contained not only such categories as geography, metereology, geology, mineralogy, and the world of plants and animals, but also (physical) "anthropology" (among other things, "sculls and stuffed heads"). The second group was subdivided into areas, such as domestic and societal life, means of existence, arts and sciences, religion and religious customs, forms of government and public institutions. The third group dealt with voyages of discovery, the colonial systems, the navy and land forces, the postal system, (shipping) trade, agriculture and industry, education (including mission), and scientific research. This division legitimized the whole colonial undertaking: (1) the rich resources and (2) the primitiveness of the indigenous populations call for (3) the modernizing and civilizing intervention of Dutch government and entrepreneurship.[56]

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[54] Van Eeden, De Koloniën (n. 26), 6.

[55] Officiëele Catalogus der Internationale, Koloniale en Uitvoerhandel. Tentoonstelling van Amsterdam 1883, Brussel (E. Guyot) 1883, xvii-xxi; cf. Catalogue officiel de l'exposition internationale coloniale et d'exportation générale d'Amsterdam 1883, Bruxelles (E. Guyot) 1883. The three volumes of the catalogue corresponded to the three groups mentioned above.

[56] This idea is borrowed from Bloembergen, De koloniale vertoning (n. 29), 68f.

Important for our purpose is the twelfth class of group II: "religion and religious customs", which was prefaced by Veth himself.[57] His introduction began as follows: "It is completely justified to consider Islam as the dominant religion of the Indian Archipelago". All those who have reached a certain level of civilisation "follow the doctrine of the prophet of Mecca" and acknowledge the prescriptions of the Qu'ran. Islam was making much more progress than Christianity. Islam, Veth contended, had its priests, schools, houses of worship in many places, and even if a powerful and profound religious life was rare, many were prepared to die for their confession.[58] Christianity was excluded here. The main group III (the Europeans in the colonies and their relationship to the natives), however, had a section on education, including missions, which listed the various Dutch missionary associations. Out of a population of almost 20 million people in the East Indies, the estimated number of Christians was approximately 175,000.[59] Linguistic works, bible translations, and models of mission churches were exhibited. The Christian religion was clearly a minority affair in the Dutch colonies. The religions of the colonies and Christianity were categorized in different groups, corresponding to the separate display of the nature and culture of the colonies, on the one hand, and the European contributions to the colonized societies, on the other.

To illustrate the large influence of Islam, Veth pointed to the fact that Islam was rather successful among those tribes remaining largely faithful to the "ancestral worship of nature". These people, he claimed, converted much more easy to Islam than to Christianity.[60] Some pages were devoted to a historical narrative of the way Islam was conquering the world in general and the East Indian Archipelago in particular: religious and worldly authority were unified in one person; the spread of the doctrine took place by holy war, and the conquered areas were ruled by Islamic

[57] Veth was the main writer and compiler of the catalogue, to which various scholars contributed, each responsible for one or more (sub)sections.

[58] Veth 1883 (French) (n. 26), II, 306 (Dutch edition, 319): "L'Islam a partout ses prêtres, ses écoles, ses maisons de prière, et si une vie religieuse forte et intime est rare, les grands préceptes de l'Islam sont plus ou moins observés, jamais ils ne sont tout à fait méconnus, et nombre de ceux qui se montrent peu disposés à vivre conformément à leurs croyances, sont prêts à mourir pour elles quand ils les croient menacées".

[59] Veth 1883 (French) (n. 26), III, 242 (Dutch edition, 242): "Nous ne parlerons pas des *fruits* de l'oeuvre des missions, soit de ceux qu'elle a portés pour les populations en faveur desquelles elle a été entreprise, soit de ceux qu'en ont retirés les différentes branches de l'étude de notre archipel. Ce n'est pas ici le lieu, et voulût-on en parler, la rédaction ne pourrait pas nous accorder la place nécessaire. Disons seulement que les derniers relevés publiés par l'Etat accusent l'existence de 8600 chrétiens indigènes ou chinois à Java et à Madoura, et celle de 167806 dans les Possessions extérieures" (emphasis in the original; this introductory text to the 22nd class of group III ["education"] was written by Th.Ch.L. Wijnmalen).

[60] Veth 1883 (French) (n. 26), II, 306 (Dutch edition, II, 319).

law.[61] In this way, Islam was seen by Veth as an extremely powerful force, which encountered few difficulties in pushing aside old religions, including the "speculative" and "mystical" "religious consciousness" of the Hindu. The contrast between power, externality, and legalism, on the one hand, and inwardness and religious purity, on the other, pervades Veth's description, thereby emphasizing the impurity of Islam. Not only in the sense that politics and religion were mixed, but also in the sense that Islam had taken over many elements of the old animistic religions.[62]

In speaking about the pre-Islam era, one should not over-emphasize the difference between the Javanese and Malay beliefs, on the one hand, and those of the Bataks and the Dajaks, on the other. On the contrary, Veth claimed remarkable similarities between them, right down even to the smallest details of (religious) practice. This prompted him to postulate an "original folk unity". Different climates and outside influences had allegedly caused the present differences and, accordingly, Veth considered the Archipelago as being inhabited by a broad mixture of races and peoples. This theory of an original folk unity, however, was immediately put into perspective. It was not justified to conclude from apparent similarities that there existed folk or racial unity, because, in Veth's view, the religion of primitive peoples was basically the same all over the world. It was very hard, therefore, to determine whether likenesses should be explained by kinship relations or by "pecularities which return with all races on the same level of development or civilization"[63]. Here,

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[61] Veth 1883 (French) (n. 26), II, 309–310 (Dutch edition, II, 322–323): "Dans l'état fondé par Mahomet, le pouvoir suprême, tant ecclésiastique que séculier était entre les mains d'un seule homme. Toute l'organisation de l'Etat était censée reposer sur les institutions de Dieu, telles qu'elles sont contenues dans le Coran et complétées par la tradition concernant les actions et les sentences de Mahomet. La propagation de la doctrine se fit par la guerre sainte; les pays gagnés à l'Islam furent ajoutés comme conquêtes à l'empire des Califes et étaient en général gouvernés d'après les règles de droit public et de droit administratif qui avaient cours du temps du phophète. L'unité de l'Eglise et de l'Etat était complète".

[62] Veth 1883 (French) (n. 26), II, 306–307 (Dutch edition, II, 319–320): "Les croyances des sectateurs de l'Islam sont loins d'être pures de tout mélange; le coeur et le sentiment de la très grande partie de la population sont remplis de la crainte des esprits, dont le culte de la nature peuple les bois et les montagnes, les fleuves et les campagnes; ils cherchent à gagner leur faveur par une foule de cérémonies superstitieuses, se laisent conduire par des songes et des divinations pour fixer l'époque favorable à toute action de quelque importance. Le culte d'Allah n'a pas refoulé l'animisme originaire des peuples de la nature, mais se trouve à côté, sans que l'indigène sente ce qu'il y a là de contradictoire, ou réfléchisse assez pour sentir le besoin de résoudre cette contradiction".

[63] Veth 1883 (French) (n. 26), II, 307 (Dutch edition: 320): "L'étude de l'ethnologie comparée, en tant qu'elle a pour but la recherche de l'origine et de la parenté des peuples, est rendue bien difficile par la difficulté que l'on éprouve à décider si des points de ressemblance pareils peuvent être attribués à une communauté d'origine, ou si ce ne sont que des particularités qui se présentent chez toutes les races arrivées au même degré de développement, ou de civilisation". My translation in the main text is based on the Dutch original.

two competing paradigms of explanation stand opposed to each other: the evolutionary point of view (which looks for a generally applicable scheme of development) and the diffusionist viewpoint (which explains similarities on the grounds of intercourse).[64] Veth's observations in this regard show more methodological awareness than is generally acknowledged. In the historiography of Dutch anthropology, he is seen primarily as a representative of the old, encyclopedic approach in the field.[65] This is probably correct, if we look at what he actually did, but it does not imply that he was blind to the new problems and methods which faced anthropology in the last three decades of the nineteenth century.

Veth's introduction to the section on religion, sketches the actual religious history of the Dutch East Indies. I will not discuss his exposition in detail, but will point only to the teleology in his narrative. Veth's deepest concern was to argue that the Hindu period was definitively over and done with, and that the more civilized sections of the population were now Muslim. Veth even argued that the Dutch East Indies actually no longer had the right to call themselves "Indian", if this term was to be taken in a strict sense.[66] Correspondingly, the most appropriate style for the colony was the Moorish style, and this, of course, justified the architecture of the Dutch Colonial Building.

The introduction is followed by descriptions of the various religious exhibits. The – in comparison to other classes rather small[67] – twelfth class of "religion and religious customs" had 49 entries, each more often than not comprising several items (number 25, for instance, contained seventeen stone figures from Java).[68] The whole collection was divided into three main subgroups: "Polynesian religions" (15 entries)[69], "Hin-

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[64] Cf. George W. Stocking, After Tylor. British Social Anthropology 1888–1951, London (Athlone) 1996, 11: "Reduced to the alternative of 'independent invention' or 'diffusion' (intercourse and racial inheritance being two different historical manifestations of a common historical source), this issue serves as a marker of several major transitions in the history of anthropology. The first was the transition from diffusionary 'ethnology' to evolutionary 'anthropology' in the 1860s, in which Tylor emerged as the preeminent British anthropologist of the late nineteenth century; the second was the reaction against evolutionism and the international reassertion of diffusionary ethnology in the early twentieth century".

[65] P. E. de Josselin de Jong/H. F. Vermeulen, Cultural Anthropology at Leiden University. From Encyclopedism to Structuralism, in: W. Otterspeer, ed., Leiden Oriental Connections 1850–1940, Leiden etc. (Brill) 1989, 280–316.

[66] Veth 1883 (Dutch) (n. 26), II, 324.

[67] Veth 1883 (Dutch) (n. 26), II, 319–335 (French edition, II, 306–320).

[68] Cf. also the list of objects sent to the Amsterdam exhibition by the Dutch Missionary Society (*Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap*, founded in 1797), which was added as a kind of appendix to the third volume of the catalogue and contained 38 religious items (Veth [Dutch] [n. 26], III, 219–256).

[69] The indigenous religions of the Dutch East Indies were classified by Veth under the heading of "Polynesian religions"!

duism" (23 entries), and "Islam" (11 entries). Nearly all the items were from the East Indies.[70] The first subgroup contained religious material objects, classified as "idols", "amulets", and "means for sorcery and dowsing books". The second group (Hinduism) included sculptures, photographs and even "37 oil sketches of some of the most important Hindu monuments of Java, made by H. N. Sieburgh".[71] Whereas the Polynesian indigenous religions were classified as "idolatry"; Hinduism, clearly, represented a much higher level of religion. The first two exhibits in the Hindu section were, characteristically, books: Wilhelm von Humboldt's *Über die Kawi-Sprache auf der Insel Java, nebst einer Einleitung über die Verschiedenheit des menschlichen Sprachbaues und ihren Einfluß auf die geistige Entwicklung des Menschengeschlechts* (Berlin 1836–1839), and Sir Thomas St. Raffles' *Antiquarian, Architectural and Landscape Illustrations of the History of Java* (London 1884), the latter volume being submitted by Veth personally. This section also contained various books with photographs of "Hindu ruins", and Leemans' prestigious volume "The Borobudur at Java" was represented twice at the exhibition, because it was submitted both by the Department of the Colonies and the Royal Military Academy in Breda.[72] The third group concerning Islam included mainly models and photographs of mosques in the Dutch East Indies.

Bearing in mind that the Polynesian religions were categorized in terms of idolatry, and the Hindu religion was mainly represented by sculptures from bygone times and photographs of ruins, it meant that the visitor-reader was left with only one viable alternative, i.e. Islam, being the dominant and the most civilized form of religion in the Dutch East Indies. The first exhibit in the third group was a model of the "Masdjid or Mesigit Raja" (translated as the "big mosque") in the city of Kota Radja, which was under the authority of the government of Atjeh. Interestingly, the catalogue described the history of the represented mosque rather extensively. As the original mosque was destroyed during the second expedition against Atjeh in 1874, the governor-general decided to have it rebuilt, and on 27 December 1881 the newly-restored mosque was handed over to the "heads and priests of Atjeh" in an official ceremony. About the design the following was said: After consulting the most

[70] In the twelfth class I noted only one object from Surinam: item 15: "Cassette de Surinam avec objets servant aux pratiques idolâtres, dans l'état où ils ont été saisis par la police"; cf. Veth 1883 (French) (n. 26), II, 314 (Dutch edition, II, 327). There were also a few items from New Guinea.

[71] Jean Victor de Bruijn, H. N. Sieburgh en zijn beteekenis voor de Javaansche oudheidkunde, Leiden (Drukkerij 'Luctor et emergo') 1937, stresses the archeological importance of Sieburgh's paintings of monuments and sanctuaries (which have since disappeared).

[72] Leemans, Bôrô Boedoer op het eiland Java (n. 53).

knowledgeable "Muhammedan priests", it was decided that the building should have a "Byzantine-Moorish" architecture. This design did not preclude the stepped gable of the façade reminding Veth somewhat of the Old Dutch building style. European bricks as well as teakwood from the British Indies were used as materials, and the whole process of construction was supervised by Dutchmen. This last point was fully recognized by Veth, and to such a degree, that he felt the need to make the additional comment that this building could only be listed in this part of the catalogue because, in essence, it complied with the "traditional style requirements of a Muhammedan temple".[73] The whole story well illustrates how the style of the rebuilt mosque was not only, or primarily, an adaptation to actual existing practises, but was also the invention of the colonial power, asserting its dominance by adapting local religious architecture to its own principles.

V. The Ethnographical Section

The organisation of such a huge colonial and export trade exhibition was a hazardous undertaking at the time. The vicissitudes in bringing the ethnographical section of the Amsterdam exhibition to fruition show this very clearly. A short discussion is appropriate here, because it sheds some light on the perception and study of religion in those days. The special catalogue of this section, edited by Lindor Serrurier, the then director of the National Ethnographical Museum in Leiden, provides us with the necessary information. First, an additional site had to be sought, and it was eventually found in the overarched inner courtyard of the National Gallery (*Rijksmuseum*) in Amsterdam. Judging from Serrurier's introduction to the catalogue, there were no preconceived conceptions of what the ethnographical section should be.[74] It was expected that there would be a wide variety of exhibits which would not fit in the other exhibition buildings, and a new section was, therefore, organized.[75]

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[73] Veth 1883 (Dutch) (n. 26), II, 333.

[74] On his ideas on museums and how to catalogue, see Bloembergen, De koloniale vertoning (n. 29), 90–92.

[75] L. Serrurier, Catalogus der ethnographische afdeeling van de internationale koloniale en uitvoerhandel tentoonstelling (van 1 Mei tot ult^{o} October 1883) te Amsterdam, Leiden (Brill) 1883; Serrurier, Catalogue de la section ethnographique de l'exposition internationale coloniale et d'exportation générale, tenue à Amsterdam du 1 mai au 31 octobre 1883, Leyde (Brill) 1883, 3: "Lorsque l'année passée on pût prévoir que l'exposition recevrait un grand nombre d'objets que l'on ne pourrait placer ni dans le bâtiment du commerce général, ni dans la section coloniale, le comité d'exécution décida de demander au gouvernement l'autorisation de disposer de la grande cour intérieure du Musée national, afin d'y placer une section spéciale, à laquelle on destina le nom de section ethnographique à cause de la grande variété de provenance des collections que l'on attendait".

It was divided as follows: (1) the British East Indies and Persia, (2) Oriental religions (Hinduism and Buddhism), (3) China and Japan, (4) historical-ethnographical collections, and (5) the private "comparative ethnology" collection of Augustus Henry Lane Fox Pitt Rivers (1827–1900), who was an army officer, the "father of British archeology", and founder of the archeological and ethnological Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford.

The success of the exhibition depended strongly on the cooperation of individuals and institutions. By far the largest division, on India and Persia, could only be established with the help of, among others, the Prince of Wales, Earl Lytton (former Viceroy of the British East Indies), the South Kensington Museum in London, and Raja Sourindro Mohun Tagore (1840–1914), a connoisseur of Hindu music, who had obtained an honorary doctorate from the University of Utrecht a couple of years before.[76] Tagore had donated 125 Sanskrit books to the University of Utrecht[77], and on the occasion of the Amsterdam exhibition he gave a collection of Hindu musical instruments to the Dutch government.[78] These were later put on display in the National Ethnographical Museum in Leiden.

The second, and probably also the fifth, division could not take place, because in the end the organizers failed to purchase the collections. At the time the catalogue was being prepared, the General Pitt Rivers collection had not yet arrived, and the materials which were supposed to be shown in the second section could not be obtained either. This was a severe blow to the whole undertaking, and to the religious element of the exhibition in particular. Some miscellaneous religious items were now to be found, primarily, in the first and third divisions.[79] The main contributor to the second division should have been the French industrialist Emile Guimet (1836–1918), founder of the *Musée Emile Guimet*, the first museum of religious history in the world, initially established in Lyon in 1879. On further consideration, however, Guimet did not feel Lyon was the right place, and he tried to transfer the Museum to Paris. He succeeded finally in convincing the French government to raise the funds for a suitable building in the capital, and for the preservation of the collection. To this day, (part of) Guimet's collection is still on show in the museum in the *Place de Iéna* in Paris.

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[76] His name is spelled in various ways. James W. Furrell, The Tagore Family. A Memoir (Printed for private circulation), London (Kegan Paul/Trench, & Co) 1882, 168–182, transcribed: Sourendra Mohun Tagore. I use Serrurier's transcription.

[77] Jaarboek der Rijks-Universiteit Utrecht 1880–1881, Utrecht (Beijers) 1881, 102.

[78] Cf. Serrurier, Catalogue de la section ethnographique (n. 75), 113–136 (Dutch edition, 111–132).

[79] Serrurier, Catalogue de la section ethnographique (n. 75), 5 (Dutch edition, 5): "On n'a plus pu constituer le groupe. Les quelques objets relatifs au bouddhisme, au sintoïsme et au taoïsme qui sont exposés ont été réunis au groupe III, Chine et Japon; ceux qui se rapportent au culte indou ont été renvoyés parmi les collections provenant de l'Inde anglaise".

Guimet's importance to the history of French comparative religion and ethnography can hardly be overestimated. With the American Smithsonian Institute in mind, Guimet inaugurated a series of books and popular lectures, plus two extremely influential scholarly journals, the *Annales du Musée Guimet* and the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*.[80] Several Dutch scholars, such as A. Kuenen, C.P. Tiele, H. Kern, A.G. van Hamel, J. Hooykaas, H. Oort, and J. J. M. de Groot also contributed to these series and periodicals. Early Dutch science of religion certainly influenced scholarship in France; indeed, Albert Réville and Jean Réville of the famous Fifth Section of the *École Pratique des Hautes Études* received part of their training in The Netherlands.[81]

Serrurier suggested that Guimet had suddenly changed his mind concerning his contribution to the Amsterdam exhibition[82], although there is no further explanation of why the plan failed. Perhaps it had to do with Guimet's sustained negotiations with the French government about the transfer of his museum to Paris, but we do not know this for sure. There were other difficulties in obtaining collections for the exhibition. From abroad, only Great Britain had a large share in the ethnological exhibition. The Pitt Rivers collection was planned to be displayed separately, mainly because the items were not grouped according to provenance, but rather according to their nature and form. This kind of categorizing presupposed that all over the globe (primitive) people think and work similarly.[83] Such a division, however, was rather exceptional.

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[80] [Guimet], Le jubilée du Musée Guimet. Vingt-cinquième anniversaire de sa fondation 1879–1904, Paris (Leroux) 1904, is an extremely helpful booklet, which reproduces some of the foundational documents, a list of collaborators, a list of donations (of books and items), a list of the public speeches held at the Museum, and a short table of contents of the two periodicals connected with the Museum; cf. Keiko Omoto/Francis Macouin, Quand le Japon s'ouvrit au monde. Émile Guimet et les arts d'Asie (1990), Paris (Gallimard) 2001.

[81] Cf. Patrick Cabanel, "L'institutionnalisation des 'sciences religieuses' en France (1879–1908). Une entreprise protestante?", in: Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français, 140, 1994, 33–80.

[82] Serrurier, Catalogue de la section ethnographique (n. 75), 5 (Dutch edition, 5): "Malheureusement M. Guimet s'est ravisé et a jugé devoir s'abstenir d'exposer à Amsterdam".

[83] Serrurier, Catalogue de la section ethnographique (n. 75), 4 (Dutch edition, 4): "La collection Pitt Rivers a, comme l'on sait, ceci de particulier que les objets qui la composent n'ont pas été classés d'après leur provenance, mais d'après leur nature et leur forme. On a voulu rendre sensible par ce classement le fait que dans les contrées les plus distantes du globe l'homme est conduit par un enchaînement d'idées qui suit partout essentiellement la même marche, et que tant les formes des objets que les ornements dont on les charge se déduisent régulièrement d'une forme à l'autre". Col. A Lane-Fox, "On the Principles of Classification Adopted in the Arrangement of His Anthropological Collections, Now Exhibited in the Bethnal Green Museum", in: Journal of the Anthropological Institute 4, 1875, 193–194 (quoted from Bennett, The Birth of the Museum, 43): "The collection does not contain any considerable number of unique specimens, and has been collected during upwards of twenty years, not for the purpose of surprising any

The items at the Amsterdam exhibition of 1883 were generally grouped around the region from which they came. It can thus be concluded that the colonial, including the ethnological, section showed a marked interest in indigenous religion. It was not a prime subject, but was an integral part of the display of colonial and ethnological items.

VI. Conferences

The fifth section of the Amsterdam exhibition comprised the international conferences. As the report on this section had it, exhibitions and conferences had the same goal of bringing people from different nations together and of promoting a fruitful exchange of ideas.[84] Colonial, commercial, and artistic topics were discussed in several meetings. The International Congress of Trade and Industry, the Congress of Colonial Medicine[85], and the International Literary Association[86] all convened in Amsterdam in 1883.

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one, either by the beauty or value of the objects exhibited, but solely with a view to instruction. For this purpose ordinary and typical specimens, rather than rare objects, have been selected and arranged in sequence, so as to trace, as far as practicable, the succession of ideas by which the minds of men in a primitive condition of culture have progressed from the simple to the complex, and from homogeneous to heterogeneous"; cf. William Ryan Chapman, Arranging Ethnology. A. H. L. F. Pitt Rivers and the typological tradition, in: George W. Stocking, ed., Objects and Others. Essays on Museums and Material Culture, Wisconsin (University of Wisconsin Press) 1985, 15–48; M. W. Thompson, General Pitt-Rivers. Evolution and Archaeology in the Nineteenth Century, Bradford-on-Avon (Moonraker Press) 1977.

84 D. Josephus Jitta, ed., Exposition internationale coloniale et d'exportation générale (n. 25), vol. I, 3: "Les congrès sont l'accessoire, pour ainsi dire obligé, des expositions internationales … Expositions et congrès ont un but commun: rapprocher les hommes les uns des autres; c'est pourquoi on a toujours profité de la présence, dans une ville d'exposition, d'hommes appartenant à des nations diverses pour leur donner le moyen d'échanger leurs idées sur des questions d'un intérêt général. L'abus que l'on a fait des congrès ne prouve pas contre leur usage, sans doute le travail collectif d'une assemblée d'hommes est loin de représenter le produit de leur capacités réunies, mais le travail individuel a besoin d'être soumis de temps en temps au choc courtois des opinions, il ne peut qu'en profiter, et les liens que les congrès des temps modernes ont formés entre un grand nombre de penseurs, ont certes été pour beaucoup dans les progrès qu'a faits dans ces mêmes temps l'idée de la solidarité humaine".

85 B. J. Stokvis, Discours d'Ouverture. Exposition internationale coloniale et d'exportation générale. Congrès internationale de médecins des colonies, Amsterdam 1883, Amsterdam (De Roever Kröber-Bakels) 1883; cf. Exposition Internationale Coloniale Amsterdam. Mai – 1883 – Octobre. Catalogue Provisoire de l'Exposition Coloniale Médicale, s.l., s.n., s.a. [Amsterdam 1883]. This last item is available in the university libraries of Leiden and Amsterdam (UVA).

86 The original French name was *Association Littéraire Internationale*; cf. T. M. C. Asser, Il y a trente ans! Souvenir de la session d'Amsterdam de l'Association Littéraire Internationale 1883. Paroles de bienvenue, La Haye (Van Langenhuysen) 1913.

The international exhibition had not only its own congresses (which were formally part of it), but it also provided good opportunities for other meetings and conferences. A fine example of this last category was the International Congress of Freethinkers, which gathered under a large portrait of Multatuli garlanded with flowers.[87] Another example was the Sixth International Congress of Orientalists in Leiden, which aptly represented the link between the – economic and colonial – project of the exhibition, and scholarship. Originally, it was scheduled for 1884, but "with the approval of the Dutch government and after consultation with the previous congress bureau" the decision was made to convene it a year earlier.[88] Congress participants visited the Colonial Exhibition and were received by the Amsterdam municipal authorities.[89] The Congress was chaired by the Old Testament scholar Abraham Kuenen, who had the sad task of replacing the famous oriental scholar R. P. A. Dozy, who had died during the preparatory phase of the meeting, and was commemorated by Kuenen with the words: "Un chef, un grand capitain est tombé en Israel."[90]

The opening ceremony took place on September 10, 1883, in the "auditorium hall" (*Stadsgehoorzaal*) of the city of Leiden. The opening speech was delivered by J. Heemskerk Azn., the Dutch Home Secretary and Honorary President of the Congress. He singled out two main factors which had contributed to the flourishing of the study of oriental languages in The Netherlands. The first was the revolt against the Spanish rule of Philipp II. Heemskerk understood this revolt to be a religious one, i.e. a popular uprising in the defence of the freedom to read the Bible. The Dutch people wanted to have reliable translations. It was no coincidence, therefore, that the university of Leiden (which was founded in 1575 by William of Orange, after the town had successfully endured a Spanish siege) had, from the very beginning, appointed a professor of Hebrew. Secondly, Heemskerk referred to the trade with the Levant which also stimulated oriental studies.

This second point was stressed by Kuenen as well. The reason for convening the Congress of Orientalists in a small country like The Ne-

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87 Cf. Bloembergen, De koloniale vertoning (n. 29), 44–47; Montijn, Kermis (n. 7), 61.

88 M. J. de Goeje, ed., Actes du Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes, tenu en 1883 à Leide, Part I: Compte-Rendu des Séances, Leide (Brill) 1884–1885, vol. I, 1–3.

89 De Goeje, Actes du Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes (n. 88), vol. I, 44, 212–218. The Mayor of Amsterdam stressed the intimate ties between economics and the sciences: "C'est dans une ville commerçante comme Amsterdam, que vous Messieurs … pouviez être assurés de trouver un accueil cordial et sympathique, parce que, mieux peut-être qu'ailleurs, on y comprend et apprécie les rapports intimes et les liens indissolubles qui rattachent entre elles la vie matérielle, objet du commerce, et la vie idéale, objet de la science" (215).

90 De Goeje, Actes du Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes (n. 88), vol. I, 41. The reference is to II Sam. 3,38; cf. Otterspeer, ed., Oriental Connections, 1–2.

therlands was, without doubt, the fact that it possessed colonies. Kuenen considered the connection to be obvious, and tried to explain it from an ethical point of view. The *mission civilatrice* of the metropole regarding its colonies also concerns the "conquest of the colonies in favour of science".[91] Indeed, many institutions contributed to this objective. Kuenen mentioned the missionary societies, the Dutch Bible Society, the Batavian Society of Arts and Letters, the Royal Dutch Institute of Philology, Geography and Ethnography of the Dutch East Indies (*Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*), the Indies' Society and the Geographical Society, as well as the colleges for training of civil servants for the Indies.[92] In addition to these private initiatives, Kuenen also referred to the introduction of several new courses (and chairs) – e.g. on "Muhammedan law and other institutions and customs of the Dutch Indies" and on the geography and ethnography of the Indian archipelago – into the university curriculum, thanks to the new Higher Education Act of 1876. Kuenen still missed a rise of national consciousness in The Netherlands[93], but he expressed the hope that the various events held in 1883 would lead to an improvement in this regard.

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[91] De Goeje, Actes du Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes (n. 88), vol. I, 44–45 (from Kuenen's opening speech): "Ainsi, entre le fait que les états européens possèdent des colonies et l'existence de notre Congrès, il y a un rapport que l'on reconnaît de toutes parts. Mais en quoi consiste ce rapport? Question dangereuse, qui ouvre un si vaste champ à la pensée qu'il semble impossible de ne pas s'y égarer. Mais nous pouvons nous placer à un point de vue supérieur à tous les autres, au point de vue du devoir. Chacun de vous, Messieurs, serait libre de choisir tout autre côté qu'il lui plairait pour aborder cette question en ce qui regarde les Pays-Bas; mais les Néerlandais n'ont pas cette liberté, puisqu'il s'agit d'un dépôt qui leur a été confié, et de la tâche qui leur incombe de ce fait. Dans cette tâche est compris, cela va sans dire, ce que l'on pourrait appeler la partie morale du devoir d'une métropole à l'égard de ses colonies, celui de travailler à la culture et à l'éducation des populations qu'elle se voit confiées. J'ai cependant en vue en premier lieu une autre obligation, qui se trouve étroitement liée à cette tâche civilatrice, c'est le devoir de conquérir les colonies *au profit de la science*. Vous savez comme Schleiermacher envisageait la tâche que l'humanité est appelée à remplir; c'est celle de faire assimiler la nature par la raison. Ce développement se produit par un progrès double, qui avance par deux voies parallèles. Il y a la conquête de la nature, 'die Bildung', l'acte par lequel l'homme la moule pour ainsi dire; mais il y a aussi, également indispensable, également précieuse, la conquête intellectuelle de cette même nature, 'die Erkennung', l'acte par lequel [l']homme la fait passer au dedans lui" (emphasis in the original).

[92] Cf. C. Fasseur, De Indologen. Ambtenaren voor de Oost, 1825–1950, Amsterdam (Bert Bakker) 1993; P. van der Velde, Van koloniale lobby naar koloniale hobby. Het Koninklijk Nederlands Aardrijkskundig Genootschap en Nederlands-Indië, 1873–1914, in: Geografisch Tijdschrift (Koninklijk Nederlands Aardrijkskundig Genootschap), new series 22/1, 1988, 211–221.

[93] De Goeje, Actes du Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes (n. 88), vol. I, 49: "[C]es griefs disparaîtraient d'eux-mêmes, emportés par la force de l'opinion publique, *si la conscience nationale se réveillait pour ne plus s'assoupir.* … [L]a nécessité de l'étude de l'Orient, et surtout sur notre Orient à nous, ne s'est pas imposée encore au sentiment

Besides the sections (1) Semitic, (2) Aryan, (3) African (Egyptian), and (4) Central Asia and the Far East, a new section (in contrast to previous congresses) on Malaysia and Polynesia was also included.[94] This was thought to be a major improvement. The emphasis was on linguistic studies, although the congress volumes also included contributions on religious and historical topics.[95] The focus was always on texts and inscriptions; there was no place for ethnological and geographical articles. Such contributions were to be found in the two volumes edited by the Royal Institute of Philology, Geography and Ethnology of the Dutch East Indies, on the occasion of the Leiden Congress of Orientalists.[96] None of these articles, however, dealt with religious history.

VII. Conclusion

Their heterogeneous character means that world fairs are rather difficult to analyze. Ideally, the scholar aims at an integral approach to such mega-events, but he or she can never be sure of covering all the relevant aspects involved. As is clear from the above, the fairs were concerned with processes of commodification and commercialization, but also with the shaping and representation of the identies of empires and colonies. The rhetorics of progress and the duty to civilize, had imperialistic as well as scholarly dimensions. Michel Foucault's concept of heterotopia sheds more light on the complexities involved in world fairs. Besides utopias, which are sites with no real place, there are – according to Foucault – also "places that do exist and that are formed in the very founding of society – which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and, inverted. Places of this kind are outside of all places, even though it may

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nationale" (emphasis in the original). On Dutch nationalism, see Henk te Velde, "Nederlands nationaal besef vanaf 1800", in: Ton Zwaan, et al., eds., Het Europees Labyrint. Nationalisme en Natievorming in Europa, Amsterdam (Boom/Siswo) 1991, 173–188.

94 Cf. De Goeje, Actes du Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes (n. 88), vol. I, 23.

95 Cf. M. J. de Goeje, "Mémoire posthume de M. Dozy contenant de nouveaux documents pour l'étude de la religion des Harriens" (section 1, 281ff.); C. P. Tiele, "La déesse Ištar surtout dans le Mythe Babylonien" (section 1, 493ff.); J. S. Speijer, "Le mythe de Nahusha" (section 2, 81ff.); E. S. W. Senâthi Râja, "A few remarks on the Saiva sect of Hindus in South India" (section 2, 289ff.); J. Lieblein, "Über altägyptische Religion" (section 3, 45ff.); J. J. M. de Groot, "Buddhist masses for the dead at Amoy" (section 4, 1ff.).

96 Th. Ch. L. Wijnmalen, ed., Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië (n. 26).

be possible to indicate their location in reality. Because these places are absolutely different from all the sites that they reflect and speak about, I shall call them, by way of contrast to utopias, heterotopias"[97]. World fairs clearly constitute the ultimate attempt to represent the whole globe, to give "an illustrated encyclopedia of civilization"[98]. In some way, such fairs are indeed outside the real sites within the culture which they represent by means of exhibits, commercial sites, and conferences.

Such happenings do not simply "mirror" the arts and industry of all nations, but they also "represent" national cultures and identities. As religion at the time was a basic part of the identity of the metropolis as well as of the colonies, it comes as no surprise that these exhibitions were also about religion. Being part and parcel of the negotiation of national and cultural identies, it is not to be expected that religion occupied a single location at such events. The present essay has tried to explore various spaces, in which religion was represented or somehow implicated. The exhibition of "religious" artifacts is a relatively simple case to study, whereas it is much more difficult to give an appropriate analysis of the discourse on the colonial building and the native villages which highlighted the "religious" dimensions involved. The religious element – being an integral part of the discourse – needs to be studied carefully, but at the same time it must not (and cannot) be disentangled from the larger discourse as a whole.

Here we touch upon the point of how the relationship between cultural and religious studies is to be conceived. If religion is located in a separate sphere – examples are rituals performed in demarcated sacred spaces such as churches, and the doctrines of religious communities – religious studies analyzing these subjects make sense. But in the case of the religious aspect being embodied in a broader cultural practice, the analysis of it has to be an integral part of cultural studies.[99] To illustrate this point, we may look at the way the exhibits were catalogued for these world fairs. The subsection "religion and religious customs", for instance, was part of the second group (the native population), whereas the Christian religion was represented under the heading of missions, belonging to the third group (the Europeans in the colonies and their relationship with the natives). This opposition is not specific to the subject of religion, but pervades the whole design of the colonial exhibition. The logic of the description applies to all artifacts, religious or otherwise. It tells (1) what the object was supposed to be, (2) where it was to be lo-

[97] Foucault, Of Other Spaces (n. 45), 24.
[98] Cf. note 1 above.
[99] This distinction between religion as a distinct phenomen and an integral part of a broader cultural practice is, of course, not clear-cut, but one made here for reasons of convenience.

cated and (3) who had submitted it for the exhibition. In this way, the exhibits from the colonies were given (a new) meaning by the authoritative scholarly endeavour of identifying and classifying, which implicitly or explicitly related the "origin" of the objects to the (colonizing) persons or institutions (who made these items available). Scholarship is used in much the same vein to classify cultural as well as specific religious objects.

This is not to say that there is nothing specific in the treatment of religion at such fairs. A clear example of the Amsterdam exhibition is the teleology involved in the display of the religious artifacts and models: from native religion, to Buddhism, and, finally, to Islam. But even this fits loosely into the general rhetoric surrounding progress and the civilizing of colonized peoples. This did not extend, however, to Veth seeing the religion of the colonial power reigning triumphant in the Dutch East Indies. In his view, the Islam was by far the most dominant religion, and it was an important reason for his defence of the Moorish architecture of the Dutch colonial building. This last case is particularly appropriate in that it illustrates that it is sometimes not possible – and even not desirable – to disentangle some sort of "religious analysis" from a more general cultural analysis. Of course, we have to be aware of the interplay between "religious", "ethnic" ("national"), and "cultural" notions, but it makes no sense to distinguish these here in terms of alleged independent "domains".

Describing the world fairs as "heterotopias" explains the difficulty inherent in providing a comprehensive description and forging an adequate theoretical framework for analysis. At least for the moment, we have – as far as I can see – hardly any theoretical tools with which to analyze such events. An either/or approach, evidently, will not do, because the fairs were designed for both education and amusement, they were national, but also international events, commercial and edifying, civilizing and repressive, secular and religious, and so on. If one focusses on the exhibitions at world fairs, the parallel with museums is interesting, the latter also having an educative purpose. The working-class man, in particular, had to be attracted away from the pleasures of taverns and taprooms. "In the earlier phase, the rules and proscriptions governing attendance at museums had served to distinguish the bourgeois public from the rough and raucous manners of the general populace by excluding the latter. By contrast, the museum's new conception as an instrument of public instruction envisaged it as, in its new openness, an exemplary space in which the rough and raucous might learn to civilize themselves by modelling their conduct on the middle-class codes of behaviour to which museum attendance would expose them".[100] Moreover, museums

[100] Cf. Bennett, The Birth of the Museum (n. 46), 28.

as well as world fairs were accessible both to men and women.[101] Respectable women could now enter the public sphere; they could even visit these sites without male companionship.

The factual interdependence of the Amsterdam exhibition and several museums can hardly be overlooked. The director of the National Ethnological Museum in Leiden was involved in the preparations of the 1883 exhibition in many ways. The director of the Colonial Museum in Haarlem, the already mentioned F. W. van Eeden, welcomed the new stream of supplies for his museum after the exhibition closed at the end of October 1883.[102] This transfer of exhibits indicates a noticeable difference as well: fairs had a temporary character, whereas museums were meant to last. Museums are the archives of material culture, in which an allegedly "timeless" new order of things is instituted. But in museums as well as at world exhibitions, objects were – often forcefully – appropriated and removed from their (historical) contexts and put into a new environment. I will not try to deal with the implications of this process[103], but simply point to the fact that scholars too were very much involved in it. According to the influential cultural anthropologist Franz Boas (1858–1942), the task of ethnological museums was to preserve the valuable material that had been collected; and such collections constituted, at the same time, the foundation of science.[104]

It is important to stress once more that (the representation of) religion at the Amsterdam Colonial and Export Trade Exhibition involved much more than the religious exhibits themselves. They alone – insofar as they are still in the collection of the Leiden Ethnological Museum – are the actual and tangible remains of that event. For the architecture of the Dutch Colonial Building, for the native villages, and many other things, we have to rely on pictures and texts. This is the irony Peter Burke referred to. Ultimately, however, the scholar of religious material history is interested in the meanings attached to material culture, in the ways religion was represented, and how material culture shaped the individual and collective identities of believers as well as non-believers. From this

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101 Cf. Maria Grever, Reconstructing the Fatherland. Comparative Perspectives on Women and 19th Century Exhibitions, in: Maria Grever/Fia Dieteren, eds., A Fatherland for Women. The 1898 "Nationale Tentoonstelling van Vrouwenarbeid" in retrospect, Amsterdam (IISG/VVG) 2000, 13–29.

102 F. W. van Eeden, Gedenkschrift bij het twaalf en een half-jarig bestaan van het Koloniaal Museum op het Paviljoen te Haarlem, 13 Januari 1884, Haarlem (Loosjes) 1884, 21.

103 Cf. George W. Stocking, ed., Objects and Others. Essays on Museums and Material Culture, Wisconsin (University of Wisconsin Press) 1985, esp. 4–6.; Eva Sturm, Konservierte Welt. Museum und Musealisierung, Berlin (Reimer) 1991; Tim Barringer/Tom Flynn, eds., Colonialism and the Object. Empire, Material Culture and the Museum, London/New York (Routledge) 1998.

104 Franz Boas, Some Principles of Museum Administration, in: Science 25, 1907, 921–933, here 929f. (from Stocking, ed., Objects and Others [n. 83], 193).

perspective, it is evident that in most cases the analysis of material remains, as such, will not suffice. My purpose in this contribution has not been to argue that the Amsterdam exhibition was fundamentally about religion, but that exhibiting The Netherlands and its colonies involved religious representation, not always (or, mostly not) as a separate subject, but as an inherent element of colonial culture as such.[105]

It is remarkable, in fact, that The Netherlands chose the form of a colonial exhibition. Such a choice obviously had to do with the idea that in this way (and only in this way) the Dutch could compete with other nations. But this conviction is significant in itself. The possession of the Dutch East Indies was thought to be so important that the best way of representing The Netherlands was apparently to organize a world fair focussing on its most important colony. This link between The Netherlands and its former colony, has not completely disappeared, however. Once when showing a Scandinavian visitor around, I suggested without much thought that we should do something typically Dutch and have a meal in an Indonesian restaurant, whereas my guest– as it turned out later – would have preferred the delights of Dutch pancakes!

Zusammenfassung

Das Thema dieses Aufsatzes ist die Art und Weise, in der Religion auf der Weltausstellung 1883 in Amsterdam repräsentiert wurde. Zuerst wird die facettenreiche Komplexität der Weltausstellungen ("Wallfahrtsstätte zum Fetisch Ware", Walter Benjamin) umrissen, um dann den Aufbau der Amsterdamer Kolonial- und Exportausstellung zu beschreiben. Solche Ausstellungen waren heterogene Mischungen aus Erbauung und Unterhaltung, aus nationalem Stolz und internationaler Verbundenheit, aus Bewunderung für die Handarbeit der kolonialen Bevölkerung ("Wir, Europäer, sind die eigentlichen Barbaren") und westlichem Superioritätsbewußtsein. Die religiöse Dimension der Amsterdamer Ausstellung wird dann besonders anhand der Auseinandersetzungen über den – arabisch-islamischen – Stil des niederländischen Kolonialgebäudes und an der Art und Weise, in der hier religiöse Objekte der Kolonialvölker zur Schau gestellt wurden, gezeigt. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit gilt weiter der ethnographischen Sektion (mit geplanten Exponaten von Pitt-Rivers aus Oxford und Emile Guimet aus Paris) und den begleitenden wissenschaftlichen Konferenzen. Zum Beispiel begrüßte die Tagung der Orientalisten ohne zu zögern die Eroberung der Kolonien 'au profit de la science'. Zum Schluß wird – in Anlehnung an das von Michel Foucault geprägte Konzept des Heterotopia – die komplexe Beziehung zwischen Repräsentation und 'abgebildeter' Wirklichkeit erkundet. Religion ist nicht an *einem* bestimmten Ort lokalisiert, sondern "durchdringt" sozusagen das diffuse Ganze der Weltausstellung als solcher.

[105] In this paper I have touched upon various aspects of the "pervasiveness of the religious", without claiming to have given a full overview. Further research could uncover more dimensions and locations of religion at world exhibitions. Presentations of this paper were given at the Graduate Centre of the Faculty of Humanities of the Groningen University (October 2002) and the convention of the AAR in Toronto (November 22, 2002). I thank the discussants, Jan Bremmer and Hetty Zock for their comments.