

Early Images from Benin at the National Museum of African Art, Smithsonian Institution

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# Early Images from Benin at the National Museum of African Art, Smithsonian Institution



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CHRISTRAUD M. GEARY

*Meanwhile some of our demon photographers—I believe there were six or seven cameras amongst our party of nine—began taking photos of everything they could get within range of. Amongst our photographers was a Mr. Baddoo, a man from Accra, on the Gold Coast, the Consul General's chief clerk, and quite one of the nicest and most civil educated West Africans I have ever met....All the cameras fell into the King of Benin's hands with the rest of all our stores and baggage, and must have greatly exercised His Majesty's mind as to what they could be for.*

(Boisragon 1897:77–78)

In 1897, Captain Alan Boisragon, one of the two British survivors of Captain James Robert Phillips's ill-fated expedition to Benin, wrote the above passage about photographers who participated in the venture. At the end of the nineteenth century, taking pictures in Africa had become commonplace. Colonials carried cameras everywhere, and educated Africans made photography an avocation as well. Studios flourished on the West African coast, operated by foreigners from Great Britain, France, and Germany, as well as Lebanon and other places in the Near East, and Vietnam. A few

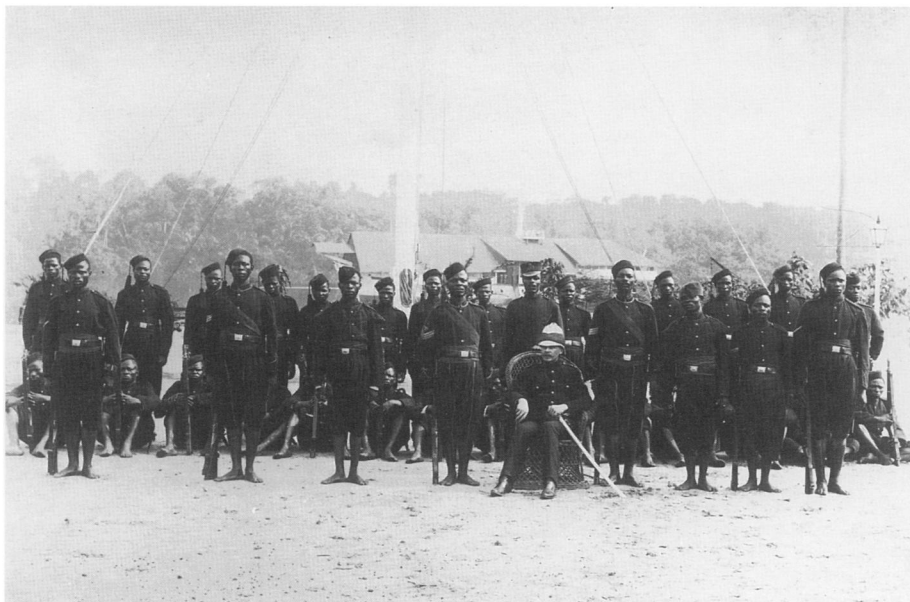
indigenous photographers went into business, too, some with great success. One was N. Walwin Holm (born in Ghana in 1865), who opened a lucrative studio in Lagos, produced many commissioned images for colonials, and was inducted into the British Royal Photographic Society in 1897, the same year the British destroyed Benin (Macmillan 1968:132).

Colonials commonly collected large, fancy albumen or silver gelatin prints as souvenirs, purchasing them from studio photographers and often gluing them into elaborate albums. If an image was appealing or showed an important subject or

event, the photographer sold multiple copies; thus the same picture may show up in many albums and archives. Besides these official, professional images, many of the photographic albums also contain personal pictures and snapshots of varying quality from different sources; some, for example, were taken by the owner himself, and others were gifts from friends and colleagues.

The albums tend to resemble each other in arrangement and contents, presenting landscape and city views, photographs of colonial military installations and ceremonies, portraits of colonials, photographs of African chiefs and so-called native types, and images of African personnel (Figs. 1, 2). Snapshots were sometimes of a more personal nature, showing the owner of the album or his friends in various locales and situations. Such photo albums can be found to this day in the hands of families in Great Britain. Occasionally they surface at estate auctions or antique and flea markets.

Over the past few years the Eliot Elisofon Photographic Archives of the



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**Opposite page: 1. "House Boys." Niger Coast Protectorate (formerly Oil Rivers Protectorate), Nigeria.** Albumen print, 15cm x 10cm (6" x 4"). Photographer unknown (very likely an indigenous studio photographer), ca. 1895. Nigeria Photographic Album, A1996-100052. Eliot Elisofon Photographic Archives. National Museum of African Art (NMAfA), Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

**Left: 2. "Detachment Niger Coast Protectorate Troups (Hausa's) Sapelli Benin. Capt. Ringer." Sapele, Niger Coast Protectorate (formerly Oil Rivers Protectorate), Nigeria.** Albumen print, 13.6cm x 20.2 cm (5.4" x 8"). Photographer unknown, ca. 1894. W. H. Himburg Photographic Album, A1995-240032. Eliot Elisofon Photographic Archives, NMAfA.

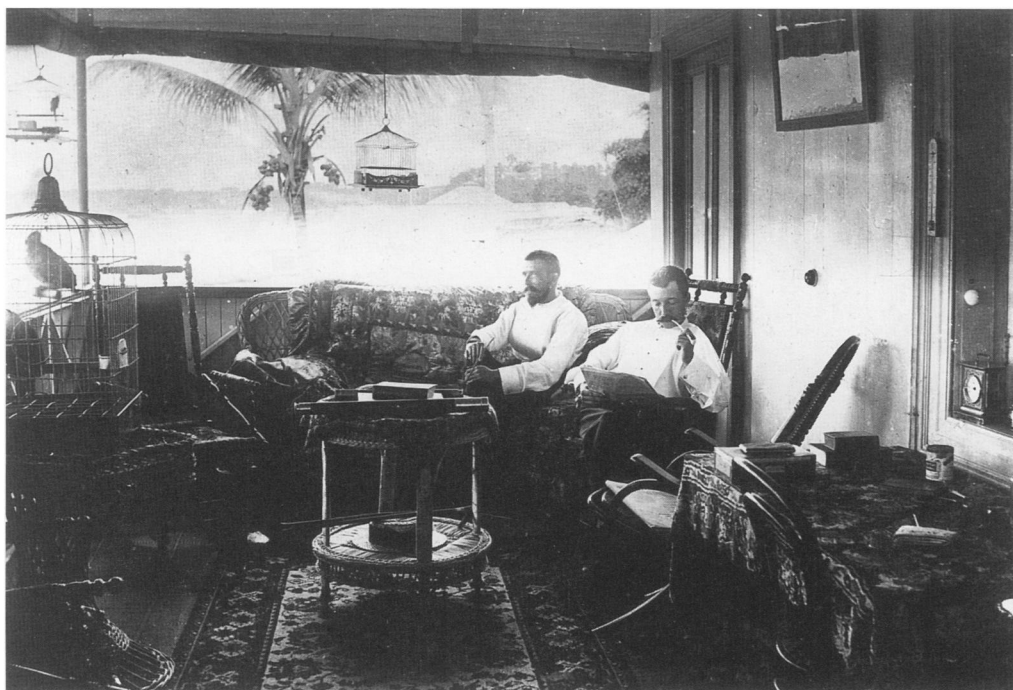
**Below: 3. "Cliff House Verandah. Old Calabar." Niger Coast Protectorate (formerly Oil Rivers Protectorate), Nigeria.** Albumen print, 13.6cm x 20.1cm (5.4" x 8"). Photographer unknown, ca. 1895. Nigeria Photographic Album, A1996-100012. Eliot Elisofon Photographic Archives, NMAfA.

National Museum of African Art has purchased several individual prints and four private albums, all dating to the last decade of the nineteenth century and showing peoples and regions that are now in southwestern and southeastern Nigeria.<sup>1</sup> Two albums are without provenance. A third belonged to a Mr. W. H. Himburg, very likely a representative of a trading company, and bears the fountain-pen inscription "W. H. Himburg, Grosvenor Club, Piccadilly 10." The

fourth album came from the estate of Claude Maxwell Macdonald, the British Consul-General of the Oil Rivers Protectorate (after 1895 the Niger Coast Protectorate). Macdonald was stationed in Old Calabar from 1891 to 1896, where he initially occupied a rather modest consulate. Excellent documentation in official government records on Macdonald's tour of duty helps to place the images in this album into their historical context. Not only that, "Mr. Mac" or "Self," as he refers

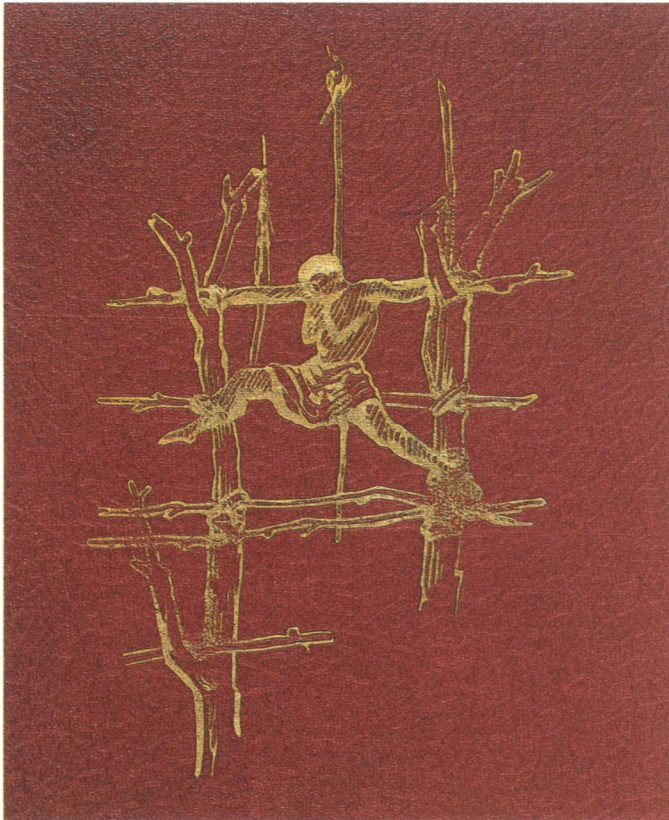
to himself in the album, captioned some of the images with names of fellow military men, chiefs, and of course "Mrs. Mac," who had followed him to the protectorate.

The events that affected Benin and Oba Ovonramwen in 1897 are writ large in colonial and Nigerian history. Amazingly, however, only a few images in these four albums refer either directly or indirectly to the British dealings with Benin. There are at least two reasons for this lacuna. While some regions and kingdoms in Africa cap-



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FRANKO KHOURY, COURTESY OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN ART

*Left: 4. Crucifixion scene, based on a photograph by J. H. Swainson (see Fig. 10). From Roth 1903: cover. Warren M. Robbins Library, NMAfA.*

*Below: 5. "Juju altar. Kings compound Benin City May 1891." Benin, Nigeria. Albumen print, 11.4cm x 15.5cm (4.5" x 6.1"). Photograph by Cyril Punch, May 1891. A1993-14. Eliot Elisofon Photographic Archives, NMAfA.*

*Opposite page, top: 6. "Abodoagmo and family, of Benin City. From a photograph taken by Mr. C. Punch, May 1891." Photograph by Cyril Punch, 1891. From Roth 1903: fig. 157. Warren M. Robbins Library, NMAfA.*

*Opposite page, center: 7. Members of Captain Gallwey's expedition to Benin. Benin, Nigeria. (The inset at lower left is the overlapping corner of another album print.) Silver gelatin print (noticeable deterioration of the original nitrate negative on the right side), 9.9cm x 15.2cm (3.9" x 6"). Photograph by J. H. Swainson, 1892. Macdonald Niger Coast Protectorate Album, A1996-190141. Copy photograph by Franko Khoury. Eliot Elisofon Photographic Archives, NMAfA.*

*Opposite page, bottom: 8. Captain Gallwey and several Edo chiefs. Benin, Nigeria. Silver gelatin print, 10.1cm x 14.8cm (4" x 5.8"). Photograph by J. H. Swainson, 1892. Macdonald Niger Coast Protectorate Album, A1996-190143. Copy photograph by Franko Khoury. Eliot Elisofon Photographic Archives NMAfA.*



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tured the Western imagination and attracted many photographers, others—Benin among them—were unpopular. Westerners created a myth about Benin as a degraded, wretched country, where human sacrifice was rampant and horrors abounded (Coombes 1994:8 ff.). In addition, the Oba's policies barring strangers kept the kingdom sealed off. The following discussion addresses some of the images of Benin and Oba Ovonramwen in these late-nineteenth-century albums and books at the National Museum of African Art, analyzing them and setting them into the larger context.

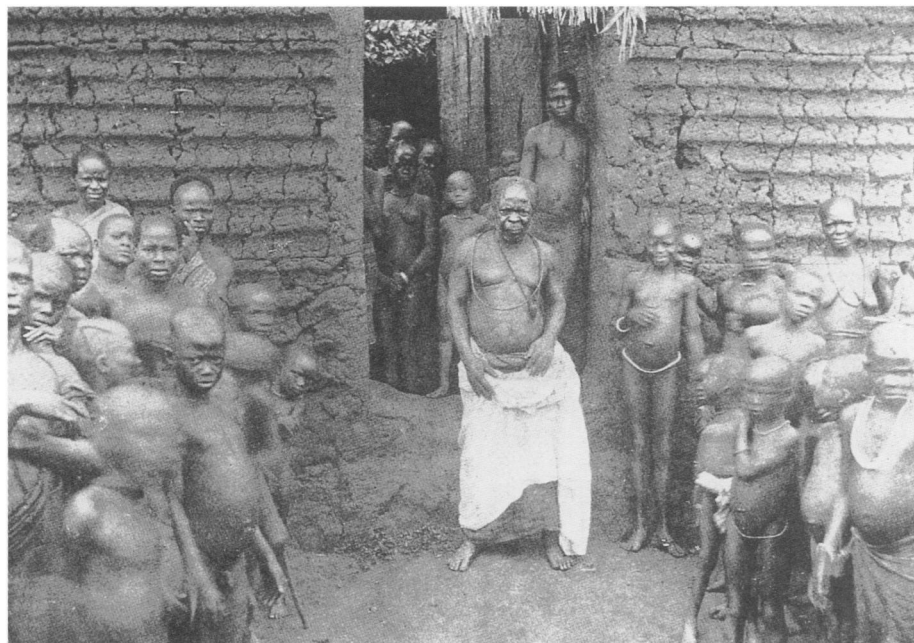
We begin with the few photographs predating the punitive expedition of February 1897. Around 1895 there were some two hundred Europeans in the Oil Rivers Protectorate, including a large contingent of merchants, some missionaries, and medical personnel (Home 1982:4). Old Calabar, the headquarters of the region, soon boasted official government buildings, clubs (Fig. 3), and even regular cricket matches.

The earliest images of Benin seem to have been taken by Cyril Punch, who came to the Protectorate as an independent trader and visited Benin several times between 1890 and 1892. Oba Ovonramwen initially traded with several white merchants, receiving brass, textiles, and beads (Home 1982:26). With supplies delivered by Punch, the king erected a large council house with a galvanized iron roof and decorated the walls with bronze plaques (Home 1982:35). Punch, certainly one of the British most knowledgeable about Benin before its destruction, later served as a consultant, in fact almost a co-author, for Henry Ling Roth, curator of the Bankfield Museum in Halifax, who wrote the classic *Great Benin: Its Customs, Art and Horrors* (1903). Roth refers to him in the acknowledgments:

Most of all, I am indebted to Mr. Cyril Punch, who has been so good as to revise the information I had collected, and who, besides providing me with valuable notes and sketches, has at the same time allowed me to choose for publication some of the most interesting of the many photographs he had taken while in Bini country.

(Roth 1903:vii)

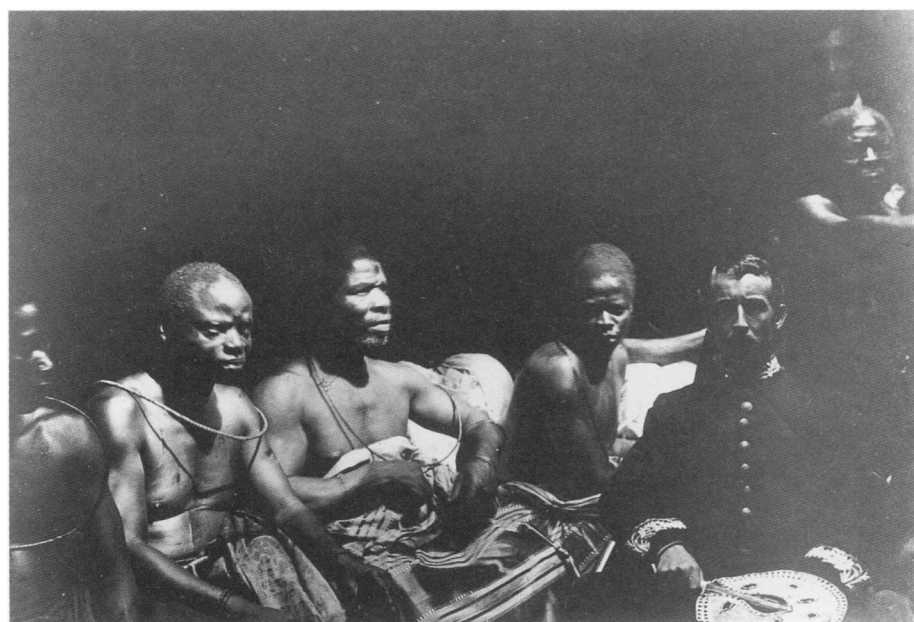
Punch's photographs, reproduced as halftones in the book, present some of the standard scenes that readers and viewers had come to expect in references to Benin. There is a tree where criminals were impaled (Roth 1903:52, fig. 57). These "crucifixion trees" became a visual metaphor for the horror and cruelty Westerners associated with the kingdom, so much so that a gold-embossed version of such an execution appears on the cover of Roth's book (Fig. 4). Another photograph alludes to the same stereotype of bloodshed and sacri-



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fice. It depicts a so-called "Juju altar in the Kings Compound" (Roth 1903:79, fig. 84). An original albumen print of this image is now in the Elisofon Photographic Archives (Fig. 5). This picture is of unique value, for it is, to my knowledge, the only one of an altar in Benin City taken before the destruction of the palace. Four brass heads support heavy ivory tusks; brass bells and other figurative sculptures complete the altar ensemble. The other four pictures by Punch in Roth's book show a "group of natives," a stream, "a house in the course of erection" with a group assembled in front of it, and "Abodoagmo and family, of Benin City" (Fig. 6). This last photograph illustrates some of the technical difficulties experienced by Punch. Apparently he used a very slow camera on a tripod; thus the slightest movement of his subjects caused blurring.

In 1892 John H. Swainson, a resident agent in Benin territory, who worked for the trading firm of James Pinnock in Liverpool, also took a camera to Benin. He and two other Englishmen, the consular assistant Haly Hutton and a Dr. Hanley, accompanied the Vice-Consul, Captain Henry Lionel Gallwey, on a mission to Benin (Figs. 7, 8) in order to negotiate a treaty with Ovonramwen that would place the kingdom under the protection of the British Crown (Holm 1982:7). Swainson's photographs<sup>2</sup> became widely known when Pinnock exhibited them in the Exchange Rooms in Liverpool, right after the news about the fate of the Phillips expedition had arrived in England on January 11, 1897 (Home 1982:49; Igbafe 1979:67). Pinnock also used the photographs for lecturing purposes (Coombes 1994:20, fns. 31–33, 229). *The Daily Graphic* ran some of Swainson's pictures in its first reports about the events in Benin; four of them subsequently recur as engravings in Roth's book, where they are referred to only as images from *The Daily Graphic*. Apparently Swainson's pictures were well known to his contemporaries and enjoyed great popularity. In fact, Claude Macdonald received or purchased nine of them. The small silver gelatin prints are glued onto the last two pages of his album, overlapping each other because of the limited space.

The photographs' trajectory from Swainson to Pinnock to *The Daily Graphic* and then to Roth's book not only obscured their origin but also led to misinformation. Roth described his figure 58 (Fig. 9) as "A woman crucified as an offering to the God of Rain. From a photograph taken by a member of the Punitive Expedition. (The *Daily Graphic*)" (Roth 1903:54). Swainson, of course, had taken the original photograph in 1892 (Fig. 10). It is this image which is loosely replicated on the cover of Roth's book, confirming and elaborating on the stereotypes about Benin (Fig. 4).

Another illustration based on a Swainson image (Fig. 11) is Roth's figure 164,



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"The king's wall, Benin City, drawn by Mr. G. K. Jones, *Daily Graphic*, Jan. 15th, 1897" (Roth 1903:166). Here the caption seems accurate. One of Roth's captions apparently corrects an error contained in *The Daily News* (Fig. 12). Based on Cyril Punch's information, the scene in the drawing by G. K. Jones is described as "The Malaku's House in Gwato (*not* the Juju House in Benin). *Daily Graphic*, Jan. 14, 1897, 'The figures are the Malaku, his wife and children. This appears to be the only case in which there were real idols in the Benin country' (C.P.)" The original photograph on which the drawing is based was very dark, and the print in the Macdonald album is faded and shows extensive silvering, although the double polarization treatment used by the museum photographer in copying the image has brought out some of the lost detail (Fig. 13). By contrast, Jones's illustration is quite clear and seems an accurate rendering of the photograph.

Among Swainson's most enigmatic images in the Macdonald album is the photograph of a Benin bronze horseman (Fig. 14). The sculpture sits on an Oriental-style rug similar to the rug seen in the photograph of Cliff House (Fig. 3). A retouched image of the figure appears in Roth's account, where it is described as a piece "in the possession of" James Pinnock, Swainson's employer (Fig. 15). Apparently the Oba had presented it to Swainson when the latter visited the

kingdom with Gallwey in 1892. In the 1970s, the owner of the sculpture was Swainson's great nephew. When it went to auction at Christie's in 1978, William Fagg wrote the entry for the auction catalogue and stressed its unique history as one of the bronzes which had peacefully left Benin before the punitive expedition (Fagg 1991:64–67). Fagg attributed the piece to the early Middle Period (probably ca. A.D. 1525–1575).

At least two participants in the punitive expedition photographed sights encountered during and immediately after the expedition, including the looting of the palace. One was Dr. Robert Allman,

**Above: 9. "A woman crucified as an offering to the God of Rain." Benin, Nigeria. Illustration in *The Daily Graphic*, based on a photograph by J. H. Swainson (see Fig. 10). From Roth 1903: fig. 58. Warren M. Robbins Library, NMAfA.**

**Opposite page, top: 10. Crucifixion scene (corner of overlapping print at lower left). Benin, Nigeria. Silver gelatin print, 10.2cm x 13.9cm (4" x 5.5"). Photograph by J. H. Swainson, 1892. Macdonald Niger Coast Protectorate Album, A1996-190136. Copy photograph by Franko Khoury. Eliot Elisofon Photographic Archives, NMAfA.**

**Opposite page, bottom: 11. The king's wall in Benin City, Benin, Nigeria. Silver gelatin print, 10.2cm x 13.9cm (4" x 5.5"). Photograph by J. H. Swainson, 1892. Macdonald Niger Coast Protectorate Album, A1996-190138. Copy photograph by Franko Khoury. Eliot Elisofon Photographic Archives, NMAfA.**



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the Chief Medical Officer for the Protectorate (Home 1982:86); the other was Lieutenant R. K. Granville, a Niger Coast Protectorate official and later one of the earliest British residents in Benin (Home 1982:117, 136). Granville's photographs of the looting and the burning of the town, among the most published images from Benin, are now in the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford and several other British museums. They also appear in Roth's book.<sup>3</sup> Roth had excellent access to all these materials through his brother, Dr. Felix

*Opposite page, top:* 12. "The Malaku's House in Gwato (not the Juju House in Benin)." Benin, Nigeria. Illustration in *The Daily Graphic*, January 14, 1897, by G. K. Jones, based on a photograph by J. H. Swainson, 1892 (see Fig. 13). From Roth 1903: fig. 83. Warren M. Robbins Library, NMAfA.

*Opposite page, bottom:* 13. Altar in Malaku's house, Gwato (Oghoton, port of Benin) (corner of overlapping print at lower right). Benin, Nigeria. Silver gelatin print, 10.2cm x 14.9cm (4" x 5.9"). Photograph by J. H. Swainson, 1892. Macdonald Niger Coast Protectorate Album, A1996-190139. Copy photograph by Franko Khoury. Eliot Elisofon Photographic Archives, NMAfA.

*Above left:* 14. Bronze horseman. Benin, Nigeria. Silver gelatin print, 15cm x 10.2cm (5.9" x 4"). Photograph by J. H. Swainson, ca. 1892. Macdonald Niger Coast Protectorate Album, A1996-190139. Copy photograph by Franko Khoury. Eliot Elisofon Photographic Archives, NMAfA.

*Above right:* 15. Bronze horseman. Benin, Nigeria. Retouched Swainson photograph (Fig. 14). From Roth 1903: fig. 100A. Warren M. Robbins Library, NMAfA.

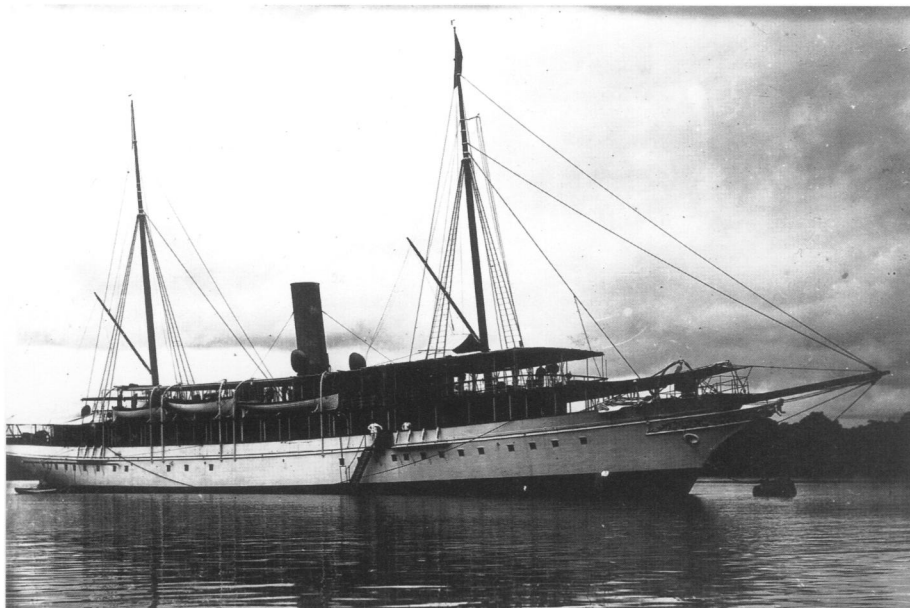
Norman Roth, a participant in the Benin punitive expedition (Home 1982:129).

Other British recorded what they saw in Benin after the conquest as well. Among them was Sweepings Wright, a special artist for the *Illustrated London News*. He reached the kingdom on February 21, 1897, and immediately began a visual documentation of the expedition's aftermath (Bacon 1897:109). At least one resident studio photographer produced professional photographs to satisfy the demand from colonials in the area and from newspapers and the general public in England. J. A. Green had a business in Bonny-Opobo, and many of the images in the four souvenir albums acquired by the Elisofon Photographic Archives may be his work. One of the most enigmatic is a loose image in the Himburg album, which bears Green's stamp, "J. A. Green, Artist Photographer, Bonny-Opobo," on the back (Fig. 17), along with a pencilled caption. According to this description, it shows a party of Benin prisoners, most of them women and children, with Major Peter Wade Grant Copland-Crawford, then Vice-Consul of the Benin and Warri districts, and several soldiers of the Protectorate troops. Yet, these captives could not have been photographed during or immediately after the punitive expedition, because Copland-Crawford was killed during the Phillips expedition on January 4, 1897. It is more likely that the image shows either captive Itsekiri, after the defeat of their King Nana in 1894, or Bini who fell into British hands during an abortive effort by Copland-

Crawford to reach Benin in September 1895 (Igbafe 1979:57).

Green also took several famous images of Oba Ovonramwen aboard *The Ivy*, on his way into exile. *The Ivy*, a heavily armed 131-ton steam yacht equipped with electric lights and air conditioning (Fig. 16), had been in the region since 1895, playing a key role in the transportation and housing of military officials (Home 1982:9). In September 1897, after the Oba had submitted himself officially to the British authorities, he and other "rebels" were tried for their role in the Benin "massacre" in the consular court of Benin City (Igbafe 1979:86). Sentenced to exile in Old Calabar, on September 15, 1897, he was taken on board *The Ivy*. Green photographed him several times—in shackles and in a wicker chair with Protectorate soldiers (Kaplan 1990:319), and seated in the same chair in a flowing robe with a fleur-de-lis design. His hands are serenely folded and his face seems to indicate his resignation (Fig. 18). Roth used a cropped and retouched version of the image as his frontispiece. Thus, photography captured the Oba in absolute defeat.

It is not surprising that the British public's interest in this event and in the "villainous" African king spawned a halftone postcard. In this portrait, probably taken in a studio in Old Calabar, the king again sits with hands folded, but this time in a wooden chair. His face seems sinister, more in compliance with popular stereotypes (Fig. 19). Wearing a white wrapper, bare of any ornament or insignia, he is the epitome of a dethroned king.



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The British who participated in the punitive expedition received high honors and recognition. Even African soldiers in the Protectorate troops and troops from as far away as the Gold Coast Protectorate were awarded "Benin medals" (Fig. 20). The photographs showing the Oba of Benin stripped of his regalia embodied the stereotype of the "evil and sinister" African subject, while the images of "loyal and

properly dressed" soldiers with the regalia of the new regime projected British hopes and expectations for a "civilized future."

These few photographs of Benin before, during, and after the punitive expedition not only commemorate an event; they also add a visual dimension to the writing of the history of this kingdom's tragic fate at the end of the nineteenth century. □

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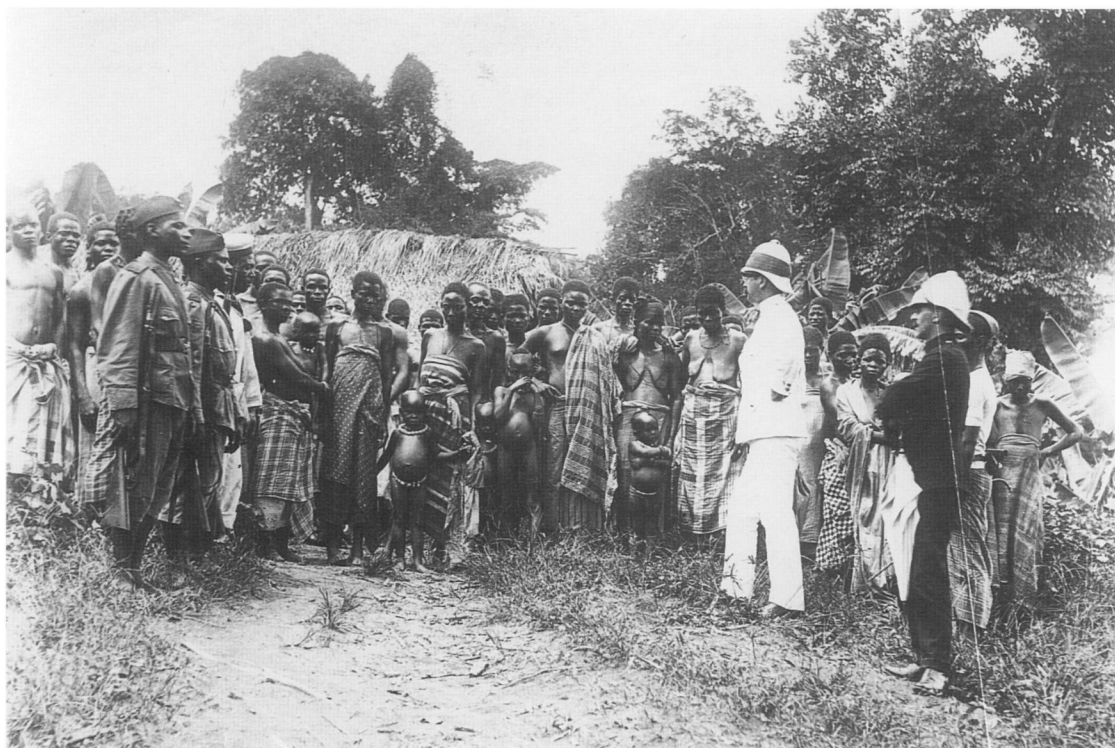
**Left: 16.** "H.R.M. Yacht Ivy. Old Calabar." Niger Coast Protectorate, Nigeria. Albumen print, 13.1cm x 19.8cm (5.2" x 7.8"). Photographer unknown, ca. 1896. Nigeria Photographic Album, A1996-100021. Eliot Elisofon Photographic Archives, NMAfA.

**Below: 17.** "This is a party of prisoners captured at Benin: the officer in white is Major [Copland-] Crawford, who was afterwards treacherously murdered by Natives, just after the occupation of Benin City, West Africa." The handwritten caption is erroneous, for Major Copland-Crawford was killed during Phillips's Benin expedition in early January 1897. The prisoners in the image may be from other parts of the region. Albumen print, 13.6cm x 20.7cm (5.4" x 8.1"). Photograph by J. A. Green, Bonny, ca. 1895. W. H. Himborg Photographic Album, A1995-240000. Eliot Elisofon Photographic Archives, NMAfA.

**Opposite page, top left: 18.** "King Overami [Ovonramwen] of Benin responsible for the Benin massacre Prisoner on the Govt. Yacht Ivy." Niger Coast Protectorate, Nigeria. Albumen print, 20.2cm x 13.6cm (8" x 5.4"). Photograph by H. A. Green, Bonny, September 1897. W. H. Himborg Photographic Album, A1995-240031. Eliot Elisofon Photographic Archives, NMAfA.

**Opposite page, top right: 19.** "Southern Nigeria. West Africa. Overani. Ex King of Benin City." Old Calabar, Nigeria. Postcard, halftone, 13.7cm x 8.8cm (5.4" x 3.5"). Photographer and publisher unknown, 1897/98. Postcard Collection, A1992-400051. Eliot Elisofon Photographic Archives, NMAfA.

**Opposite page, bottom: 20.** "G.C.P. [Gold Coast Protectorate] Soldier with Benin medal." Silver gelatin print, 19cm x 13.9cm (7.5" x 5.5"). Photographer unknown (very likely an indigenous studio photographer), ca. 1898. Nigeria Photographic Album, A1996-100035. Eliot Elisofon Photographic Archives, NMAfA.



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become scarce.

5. The influence of Portuguese commerce could be seen in the sixteenth-century "Bini-Portuguese" ivories.
6. The evidence refers to correspondence between Webster and Felix von Luschan at the Berlin museum.
7. Perhaps one of the most unrestrained recent attacks in this genre appeared in the London *Times*. In a review of the 1995 Royal Academy exhibition, Simon Jenkins stated that: "There are a few majestic pieces, notably the Benin bronzes, which stand out among the indigenous African works. There is much that passes for ethnography, rock paintings, carved sticks, stone heads and pot fragments.... Yet the bulk of the exhibition is what we would expect to find in the attic of a colonial governor, and one with peculiar tastes... a mass of diverting junk held in a time warp.... most of the exhibits are "found objects" of the past century. They are crude and a word detested by the politically correct primitive" (Jenkins 1995).
8. In a preliminary way, such support is being organized in Britain by the Africa Reparations Movement (ARM) and its head Bernie Grant, MP.
9. After Belgium returned more than forty objects to Zaire in 1970, an unspecified number of them reportedly reappeared on the market (see Greenfield 1996:261).

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#### GEARY: Notes, from page 53

1. The following prints and albums are discussed in this essay: King of Benin Print, donated by Merton Simpson (A1991-07); Benin Altar Print (A1993-14); West African Photographic Album (A1995-17); W. H. Himgburg Photographic Album (A1995-24); Nigeria Photographic Album (A1996-01); Macdonald Niger Coast Protectorate Album (A1996-19).
2. A collection of J. H. Swainson's photographs is in the National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside, Liverpool Museum. See also Kaplan 1990:333, fig. 13.
3. The following illustrations in Roth (1903) are photographs taken by Granville: figs. 72, 37, 75, 166, 167, 168, 169, 193. The following illustrations are photographs taken by Allman: figs. 55, 56, 67, 163, 274.

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#### GORE: Notes, from page 61

1. Archaeology still has much to contribute to this debate in Southern Nigeria, as the extent of present excavation is relatively limited.
2. The development of a short-lived provincial style, possibly connected to Udo, has been suggested (Ben-Amos 1995:34; Fagg 1963).
3. One such object is the mask still in the possession of the

Attah of Idah (Willett 1971:109).

4. This tradition may be a means of establishing a legitimacy from Ife, similar to some founding myths of the current dynasty.
5. Chief J. Inneh, personal communication, 1997; but see also Akenzua 1992:58-59.
6. Chief J. Inneh, personal communication, 1997.
7. Also B. Omadamwen, personal communication, 1991. The filing is left to youths of the compound or, as is often the case, to youths outside the Igbo ne Eronmwon on a piecework basis.
8. This is especially true in comparison with other crafts such as carving in ivory and wood (Ben-Amos 1975).
9. This provenance conforms very much to Western notions of the person and the European romantic tradition of the "genius" of the individual artist.
10. This is part of a wider exploration of the social organization of brasscasting in the twentieth century, undertaken in collaboration with Joseph Nevadomsky.
11. This description is based on accounts kindly given by Mr. Ozaize Omadamwen, the head of the family.
12. Asien (1995:31) records how, in the aftermath of 1897, the Ezomo was unable to call on servants from Ijero in Ekiti to repair his residence because Ijero lay within the Colony of Lagos rather than the Niger Districts Protectorate.
13. Fagg (1971) dates this increased demand specifically from 1958. For another account of interregional trade in artifacts, see Steiner 1994.

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#### EISENHOFER: Notes, from page 67

- I would like to thank my colleague Andrea Kugler for her valuable help in revising this manuscript.
1. For further information on the life of Felix von Luschan, see Krieger 1957:225 ff. and 1973:117-18; Oberhummer 1924; Rusch 1986; Grimm 1975; Kiffner 1958, 1960, 1962.
  2. Schmidt found 176 pieces (von Luschan 1919:8-9).
  3. The British Museum also made it possible for von Luschan to obtain photos of the most important pieces in English private collections (von Luschan 1919: vii).
  4. Unfortunately this card index was destroyed in the chaos of World War II (Krieger 1957:226; Dark 1973:15).
  5. As early as 1903 he had announced that his book would be ready the following year, but he was to repeat this prophecy annually, delaying actual publication until 1919. Expected publication dates were expressed in various letters. For example, see the Archiv Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Völkerkunde (henceforth SMB-PK, MV), Pars. I B 30-Vol. 6. Letter 1965/07 (to Prof. Hans Meyer, Leipzig, Oct. 19, 1907); Letter 1529/09 (to Ms. Herta Callsen, Düsseldorf, June 15, 1909); Letter E 1025/10 (to Dr. Elie Faure, Paris, May 31, 1910).

6. For example SMB-PK, MV, Pars. I B 30-Vol. 6. Letters E 1481/10; E 1917/07.
7. For example SMB-PK, MV, Pars. I B 30-Vol. 6. Letters E 501/10; E 1043/08.
8. SMB-PK, MV, Pars. I B 30-Vol. 6. Letters E 237/08.
9. See SMB-PK, M, Pars. I B 30-Vol. 6. Letters E 1043/08; E 237/08; E 501/10.
10. For example, see von Luschan's exchange of letters with Stefenelli (SMB-PK, MV, Pars. I B 30-Vol. 6).
11. This and all other German-to-English translations in this article are mine.
12. For a detailed discussion of these chronology problems see Eisenhofer 1993:72 ff.; 76 ff.
13. For a detailed discussion of these points see Eisenhofer 1993, esp. p. 84 ff.
14. Forty years later Sölken (1954) took up Marquart's aims, studying trade routes of the African hinterland. Marquart also provided a valuable consideration of the so-called Ogane problem (1913:ccxvii ff.). The Ogane, a king in the Benin hinterland, was mentioned in a Portuguese traveler's report in the early sixteenth century and was then considered to be some kind of religious overlord of Benin. There is still much speculation about the nature of this ruler, where he lived, and his relations with Benin. Perhaps a discussion of Marquart's material could renew research on this problem.
16. His article concerned the connection with the cult of the dead and drew a comparison with the customs and manners of ancient Egypt. In his search for explanations he misinterpreted the meaning of the iconography in a few instances. For example, he saw the Europeans as enemies of Benin, whereas European soldiers presumably fought not against but side by side with Benin soldiers (Ryder 1969).

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