Défense et illustration du Musée d'Ethnographie. Repairing Ethnography and exploring the notion of "French" American Collections through museum genealogies

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Keywords:
Ethnographical museums, Pre-Columbian art, French national collections, Américanisme, E.T. Hamy.

ABSTRACT:

This article brings together four episodes of French 19th century museal history through which to explore the tensions inherent to incorporating the (material) culture of others – in this case Pre-Columbian America – into national collections, and the process through which they become part of a national patrimoine. As a guiding thread, we use not a particular collection but the idea of "American French collections" and their association to a specific type of national institution that used them abundantly in its historical genealogy: the idea of a "French national museum of ethnography." We offer a historical panorama where Amerindian and Pre-Columbian French collections found themselves at the heart of several debates regarding the definition and function of the museum and during which the need to "repair" – either an object, a national institution or a concept – was invoked.

L'articolo riunisce quattro episodi della storia museale francese del XIX secolo, attraverso i quali è possibile esplorare le tensioni insite nell'incorporazione della cultura (materiale) di altri – in questo caso dell'America precolombiana – nelle collezioni nazionali, e il processo attraverso cui essa diventa parte del patrimonio nazionale. Come filo conduttore, non utilizziamo una collezione specifica, ma il concetto di "collezioni americane francesi" e la loro associazione a un particolare tipo di istituzione nazionale che le ha ampiamente utilizzate nella sua genealogia storica: l'idea di un "museo nazionale francese di etnografia". Offriamo un panorama storico in cui le collezioni francesi amerindiane e precolombiane si sono trovate al centro di numerosi dibattiti sulla definizione e la funzione del museo, durante i quali è stata invocata la necessità di "riparare" – riferita a un oggetto, un'istituzione nazionale o un concetto.

Opening Picture:

Fig. 02: Ancient Peruvian figurines at the Cabinet des Médailles, ca. 1830-1840, by Jean-Baptiste Muret. In Recueil. Monuments antiques (1830-1866), vol. 1 folio 131. BnF département Monnaies, médailles et antiques, RES-MS-70100-MUR-GF- (1).

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In 1930 the newspaper *L'Intransigeant* called, in a scathing article, for a "sweeper" to come save the collections of the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro from being buried under "filth and dust".[1] Paul Rivet (1876-1958) and Georges Henri-Rivière (1987-1985), then at the head of the museum, answered by recalling the recent inauguration of the "Galerie Américaine" which presented the Trocadéro's considerable Amerindian and Pre-Columbian collections in a new and modern space, experimenting with novel museographical techniques set against a simple and minimalist aesthetic. They noted that "[the project] gardened great sympathy and interest in France, both amongst the members of Parliament and the public".[2]

If the situation of the Musée d'Ethnographie was particularly dire,[3] the need to *repair* and *rethink* the museum reflected a larger crisis of the nature and function of the "modern museum", which included topics such as the modernisation of infrastructure, the difference between "scientific" and "fine arts" museums, the pedagogical value of the institution, the professionalisation of its staff, and the role reserved to visitors and the public. The 20th century already appeared, to the protagonists of this debate, "the 'century of museums' (...) weather one finds in this epithet cause for celebration or regret".[4]

The favourable response from the public gave Rivet and Rivière hope in their project of "repairing" their museum beyond this first gallery: to "repair" the physical damage the collections had suffered over the last few decades of neglect in the old, dusty and non-insulated exhibits and storage. But also hope that by "repairing" the museum they would also repair French Ethnography and reflect the new directions the discipline had undertaken since the turn of the century.[5] Chiefly amongst these, the need to develop fieldwork and collecting and, in turn, enrich the museum and contribute to France's "admirable colonial efforts".[6]

That Rivet and Rivière chose to start their project by "repairing" the Galerie Américaine is not a fortuitous choice. Since the beginning of the century, interest in non-European arts and artefacts had been steadily increasing amongst intellectuals and artists, as well as amongst collectors, gallerists, and art dealers. This was also the case for Amerindian and Pre-Columbian objects, especially after the success of the exhibit *Les Arts Anciens de l'Amérique* organised in 1928 at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs by Rivière and other collaborators, and which featured pieces from private collectors and museums, including the Musée du Trocadéro.[7] The American collections (*fonds américains*) of the museum had been the largest since its inauguration in 1882. The old Galerie Américaine thus became a viable testing-case for Rivet and Rivière's project to "repair" the museum.

This was not the first instance in which calls were made to "save" the ethnographic and archaeological collections from the Americas that were kept in different French national institutions. I want to explore four instances throughout the 19th century where French Amerindian and Pre-Columbian collections found themselves at the heart of different attempts to (re)define the

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museum and during which the need to "repair" – either an object, a national institution or a concept – was invoked. Far from being an exhaustive historical survey, and more in the spirit of an essay, I will try to bring together different episodes through which to explore the tensions inherent to incorporating the (material) culture of others – in this case mostly Pre-Columbian America – into French collections, and the process through which they become part of the national *patrimoine*. As a guiding thread, I will use not a particular collection but the idea of "American French collections" and their association to a specific type of national institution that used them abundantly in its historical genealogy: the idea of a "French national museum of ethnography."

1. *Après la Révolution*: "Repairing" Royal Collections

"Exotic" or "curious" objects from the Americas have been collected in Europe since the first contacts with the New World. Prior to the Latin-American Independencies of the early 19th century, objects sent to France came mainly from Brazil, the Caribbean, the Guyana and the territories in North America and Canada where France had been engaged, with varying degrees of success, in colonial enterprises during the 17th and 18th centuries.

French royal collections of antiquities and curiosities were dispersed amongst a variety of spaces, such as the "Bibliothèque Royale" (rue Vivienne) and the "Cabinet du Roi" at the Jardin des Plantes in Paris. "A treasure of nature and a triumph of good taste", according to the Abbé Expilly (1719-1793), who in 1768 visited the Cabinet: "[It is] a superb gallery; hanging from the ceiling are all kinds of arms, utensils and clothing from the savages (…) the cupboards, in total twenty-two, are crowned (…) with clothing and feather-works from the Indians".[8] Even if detailed inventories from this period are scarce,[9] some information survives of what became of the objects from the New World after the French Revolution. Considerable archival work was already undertaken in the 1880s and 1890s by Ernest-Théodore Hamy (1842-1908), the first director of the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro. An Americanist[10] and ethnographer by training, Hamy dedicated his later years to documenting the collections his museum had inherited from other institutions and writing a history of the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro.[11]

More than an institutional history, Hamy was writing the genealogy of French ethnography – deeply interwoven with the history of Modern France – and of which the last and crowning chapter was the creation of the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro at the end of the 19th century. We will come back to Hamy later. For now, let us point out that a considerable amount of his research into the earliest non-European collections in France – which he playfully calls *raretés, singularités, curiosités* in a nod to "pre-scientific" usages[12] – relate to Amerindian and Pre-Columbian objects.

Hamy attributes the first true attempt (*essai*) at creating an ethnographical national museum to Barhtélemy de Courçay (1744-1799) and Aubin-Louis Millin de Grandmaison (1759-1818) and their "Museum des

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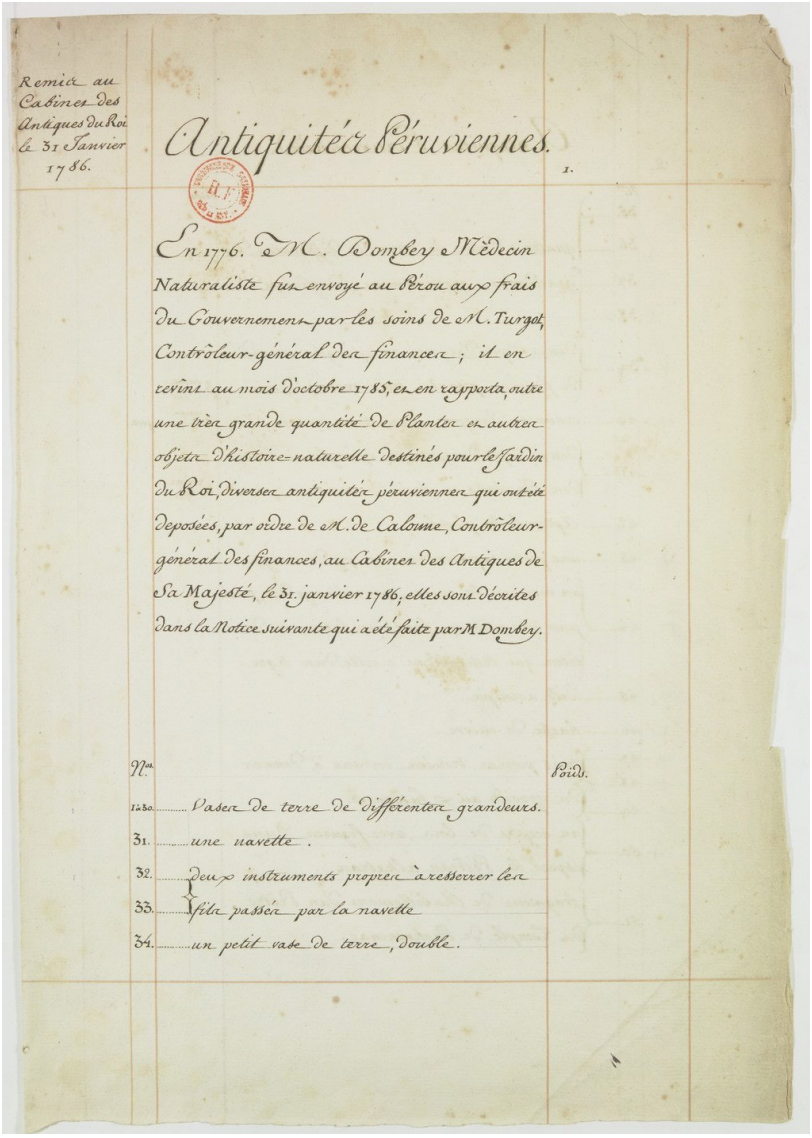
Antiques", located in the Cabinet des Médailles et Antiques of the Bibliothèque Nationale (rue Vivienne).[13] Albeit short-lived, this new *museum* was born from the state of disrepair in which numerous collections confiscated during the Revolution and the Napoleonic wars in Europe had been left in. Contemporary sources paint an image of accumulation and clutter: "[on the upper floor] there is a vast attic filled with small idols, vases, busts, lamps and many other interesting fragments of antiquities [...] another larger and more voluminous group is simply left on the floor, in a small, humid room on the ground-floor", writes Villar de la Mayenne, reporting in 1794.[14]

This situation was unbearable in a context where museums had become an integral part of the revolutionary project seeking the regeneration and edification of the new *citoyen* through education and instruction. Thus, Villar de la Mayenne despairs: "this collection is lost for the benefit of instruction and curiosity. How can the public be made to go into such an indecent place, where no object is safe from the perils of clumsiness and infidelity?" He calls for something to be done in the interest of science and in the name of the Republic: "for a long time and especially since the Revolution, for the sake of science and of the arts, this *dépôt* needs to find an appropriate destination (...) a *Muséum des Antiquités* (...) [bringing together] the considerable collections that now belong to the *Republic*". He calls for a project to: "gather here all the monuments of antiquity declared national property".[15]

It is in this context of effusive national reorganisation of collections that the Amerindian and Pre-Columbian collections from the *Ancien Régime* and the *saisies révolutionnaires* came to be part of the Museum des Antiques. Barthélemy de Courçay and Aubin-Louis Millin intended to "revitalize the study of antiquity" by bringing together Greece and Rome and all other "monuments (...) useful to understanding the customs and traditions of various peoples (...) separated by time and space."[16] Taking a comparative perspective, they sought to present "classical" and non-European antiquities together with "exotic" objects in a cabinet of encyclopaedic ambitions. While it is impossible to re-


Remis au Cabinet des Antiques du Roi le 31 Janvier 1786.

Antiquités Péruviennes. 1.

En 1776. M. Dombey Médecin Naturaliste fut envoyé au Pérou aux frais du Gouvernement par les soins de M. Turgot, Contrôleur-général des finances ; il en revint au mois d'octobre 1785, et en rapporta, entre une très grande quantité de Plantes et autres objets d'histoire-naturelle destinés pour le Jardin du Roi, diverses antiquités péruviennes qui ont été déposées, par ordre de M. de Calonne, Contrôleur-général des finances, au Cabinet des Antiques de Sa Majesté, le 31. janvier 1786, elles sont décrites dans la Notice suivante qui a été faite par M. Dombey.

N.os		Poids.
1 à 30.	Vases de terre de différentes grandeurs.	
31.	une navette.	
32.	Deux instruments propres à resserrer les fils passés par la navette	
33.		
34.	un petit vase de terre, double.	

Fig. 01:
Joseph Dombey's catalogue of Peruvian collections, deposited at the Cabinet des Antiques du Roi in 1786. BnF département Monnaies, médailles et antiques, 2011/091/ACM04-04.03.

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constitute the exact contents of the Museum des Antiques, André-Louis Cointreau notes that the "Egyptian, Etruscan, Greek, Roman and Peruvian" antiquities numbered more than six thousand.[17]

One of the most "remarkable" collections[18] came from the "Cabinet du Roi" and was formed by the archaeological artefacts brought to France by Joseph Dombey (1742-1794) in the late 1780s. A doctor and naturalist, Dombey had accompanied the Spanish expedition led by Hipólito Ruiz López (1754–1840) and Jóse Antonio Pavón (1754–1814) that travelled through Perou, Chili and Brazil between 1778 and 1785.[19] The abbé Barthélémy himself had written *instructions* for Dombey, summarising the current knowledge on pre-hispanic Peruvian monuments and history and suggesting the kinds of studies Dombey could carry out in his terrain – drawings of monuments, information on indigenous vocabulary, for instance.[20] Upon returning to France, Dombey deposited the collection at the "Jardin du Roi." It included ceramic and metal vases, gold and silver jewellery, intricately decorated woodwork, a pre-Hispanic mummified body with its garments, statuettes and more modest assorted utensils such as loom-weights (fig. 1).[21]

Dombey's collection was of special value because of the age and the quality of its contents. It was one of the first collections of "true" Pre-Columbian antiquities from the Spanish territories to arrive in France, which until then possessed mostly "ethnographical" objects from North America, Canada and Guyana, even if some of these dated back to the 17th century. Hamy furthermore valued Dombey's collection amongst others at the Museum des Antiques because they had been "excavated by [Dombey] with method".[22] For Hamy, Dombey's collections, arriving on the eve of the Revolution, were the linchpin between pre-modern and modern ethnography, and between *Ancien Régime* and *National* museal collections.[23]

Apart from Dombey's collection, the Museum des Antiques contained other objects from the Americas, both archaeological and ethnographical. Most were assembled between 1795 and 1799, coming from *saisies* in France and in Europe. Amongst the collections of the Cabinet of the Stadtholder of Holland were treasures from the "American savages" as well as pre-Hispanic Mexican ceramics.[24] From the aristocratic collections sent to the Hôtel de Nesle were "ancient Peruvian vases" (some anthropomorphic and zoomorphic) from the collections of the Comte d'Angiviller (1730–1809), as well as textiles, jewellery, weapons and adornments.[25] Barthélemy de Courçay and Millin also requested objects from the newly nationalised Museum d'Histoire Naturelle – mostly from Canada, North America and the Guyana - and some which had been sent to the Musée Central des Arts (the Louvre).[26] If we add the gifts and donations they received,[27] there were at least between one and two hundred objects from the Americas in the Museum des Antiques at the turn of the century.

Thus, for the first time, artefacts from the Americas – both Amerindian and Pre-Columbian – found themselves part of a new national museological project through which

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the newly formed Republic was reclaiming collections, until then neglected and sequestered in aristocratic and royal hands, to ensure their preservation and make them useful to the comparative study of Antiquity. This new museum was intended to serve as a counterpart to the Musée Central des Arts, which was still mostly a collection of artistic works.[28] At the same time, the Museum des Antiques also became the first chapter of Hamy's genealogy of French ethnography. By bringing together archaeological and ethnographical collections to offer a comparative and historical overview of the products of the arts and industry of humanity, Barthélemy de Courçay's project was the "begging of the museum of ethnography" (as a new category – "le musée d'ethnographie naissant"), "later imitated by almost everyone in France and (…) by most of the great ethnographical museums [which still] follow the [geographical principle] established in 1799 at the small Cabinet in rue de la Loi".[29]

However, and despite its ambitions, the Museum des Antiques was short-lived and did not survive long after the death of Barthélemy de Courçay in 1799.[30] As for the American collections, at least some remained at the Cabinet des Médailles throughout the following decades, as attested by drawings from the 1830s and 1840s by the artist Jean-Baptiste Muret (1795–1866) (fig. 2).[31] Part of the collections were later transferred to the newly created Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro in the 1880s.

2. "Repairing" French Americanism. The Musée Américain du Louvre and the hope of a "Deuxième Egypte"

A brief lull follows this first efflorescence of museal activity as far as objects from the Americas, both old and new, are concerned. The Latin-American independences of the beginning of the 19th century precipitated a first qualitative and quantitative change in the types

Fig. 02: Ancient Peruvian figurines at the Cabinet des Médailles, ca. 1830-1840, by Jean-Baptiste Muret. In *Recueil. Monuments antiques (1830-1866)*, vol. 1 folio 131. BnF département Monnaies, médailles et antiques, RES-MS-70100-MUR-GF- (1).

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of Pre-Columbian and Amerindian artefacts available to collectors in France. With the opening of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies to travellers, scholars, businessmen and diplomats, new collections began arriving in Europe and found both popular and institutional interest, a memorable example being William Bullock's 1824 London exhibition, evocatively titled "Ancient and Modern Mexico". In Paris, collections of Mexican, Mesoamerican and Peruvian antiquities belonging to collectors such as Latour Allard (1799-?),[32] Maximilan Franck (ca. 1780 – ca. 1832)[33] and Léonce Angrand (1808-1886)[34] were offered to the French state, which struggled to find a place to exhibit them.

The old rooms of the Museum des Antiques had become too small and crowded. At the same time, a new institutional repartition of national collections was underway. Indeed, at the Bibliothèque Nationale – once again "Royale" under the *Monarchie de Juillet* – the ethnographer and antiquarian Edmé-François Jomard (1777-1862) was lobbying for the creation of a "Dépôt géographique" where ethnographical non-European artefacts would be reunited with drawings, plans, manuscripts and maps.[35] Jomard was however overruled in favour of the Louvre, which was no longer primarily a museum for artists and connoisseurs to admire the masters and complete their education, but was rapidly becoming the great repository of France's treasures.

Three projects for the growing non-European collections were proposed. One by the Comte de Chabrol (1773-1843), who wished to install a collection "of monuments related to the history and customs of the peoples inhabiting the Great Ocean"[36] and were disappearing under the progress of industry and colonialism. And a second project, championed by the Baron de Férussac (1786-1836), whose project more broadly included "the monuments of art", antiquity and industry. If Chabrol and de Férussac disagreed in the nature and precise organisation of these collections,[37] both agreed that the Louvre should be their home. "Our aim is to give France an institution that will be the envy of all European intelligentsia," writes de Férussac.[38] He is against leaving the American collections acquired over the last years with Jomard and Raoul Rochette (1790-1854), newly appointed curator of the Cabinet des Médailles: "their true placement should be at the Louvre since [the Louvre] has become the repository of our rich collections of antiquities".[39]

In this, de Férussac was supported by eminent personalities such as Alexandre Lenoir (1761-1839)[40] and the Comte de Clarac.[41] He imagined the American collections – at least the archaeological ones – as a continuation of the Egyptian and Greco-Roman series and would serve to write the "history of different peoples through the monuments of art".[42] This comparative project, however, never came to be. The Pre-Columbian and Amerindian collections acquired or gifted to the Louvre since 1825 were installed at the Musée Naval or Musée de la Marine. Inaugurated in 1827 in the Louvre, it presented ancient and contemporary models of ships, scientific instruments of navigation, and artworks of historical significance for France's naval forces.[43]

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The ethnographic artefacts and curious souvenirs obtained through exploratory missions and colonial expeditions were added to the Musée Naval, in a space consecrated both to technical *savoirs* and to curiosity.

The Amerindian and Pre-Columbian collections – now several hundreds of objects[44] – stayed at the Musée Naval until 1850, when Adrien de Longpérier (1816-1882) requisitioned them to create a new "Musée des Antiquités Américaines" at the Louvre. The origins and evolutions of this Musée Américain are now well studied[45] and we will only comment on a few elements of this temporary "divorce" of the archaeological and ethnographic series in the Musée Américain. The creation of a Musée Américain can be understood in the context of the developments of the Louvre in the middle of the century, with the multiplication of new "museums" dedicated each to a new *Antiquity* beyond that of the Greco-Roman world. These included a "Musée assyrien," a "Musée algérien," a new museum for the collection of casts of Egyptian monuments, and a "Musée d'antiquités chrétiennes".[46] The Louvre had become the domain of Antiquity, where each ancient civilisation had its own set of rooms visitors could admire, but where the comparative framework between the old and the new, the local and the exotic, between the *antique* and the *primitif* of the Museum des Antiques was no longer the structuring principle.

Secondly, the critical reception of the Musée Américain was ambivalent, hesitating between praise for the novelty and ambition of the project, and the confusion of visitors unfamiliar with the aesthetics and iconography of Pre-Columbian arts. However, scholars were mostly enthusiast, especially in Americanist circles, who were keenly aware that their field of study still lacked an established museal collection.[47] Brasseur de Bourbourg (1814-1874) for example congratulated France for "repairing" this omission and being "the first [in Europe] to open its palaces" to American antiquities.[48] There was also hope that the Louvre would keep growing its American collections and that the Americas would become a "second Egypt" for France. This idea would know special favour in the 1860s with the Second French Intervention in Mexico (1861-1867).

In 1861, emperor Napoléon III (1808-1873) launched an invasion of Mexico, which, in the image of Napoléon Bonaparte's Egyptian campaign, was accompanied by a scientific expedition.[49] Scholars and field-agents joined the troops, tasked with undertaking a scientific survey of the country.[50] New collections of Mexican antiquities made their way to France in the following years. And although the military campaign ended with the defeat of the French troops in 1867, the work of the "Commission Scientifique du Mexique" illustrates how a scholarly discipline was (re)framed as a national and imperial project. Both in political discourse and amongst erudite circles, the moment had come for France to have its "deuxième Egypte" thanks to the discovery and collecting of the Mexican past and its monuments. Victor Duruy (1811-1894), minister of l'Instruction Publique celebrates in his speeches how "[the Emperor] has the noble ambition to conquer this great country [Mexico] through science"[51] and

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"Your Majesty's desire is: that which was accomplished by the Nile by Napoléon Ier should be accomplished in Mexico under Napoléon III".[52]

For French Americanists, the hope was that the Mexican campaign would "repair" both the lack of a great national collection of American antiquities - on par with the Egyptian, Greek, Romand and Near Eastern collections - as well as "repair" and bring together the scattered groups of French Americanists and create a national discipline. Drawing once again from Brasseur de Bourbourg, who was one of the explorers sent by the Commission to Mexico: "everyone [is interested in the Mexican past] but France will be the first to raise its flag [in its conquest]" and "[as we have done for] Egypt, Persia, Syria and other nations (...) so shall we rescue Mexico's past from oblivion."[53] Similarly, another agent named *voyageur pour l'archéologie*, Léon Méhédin (1828-1905) argues to Mexican authorities that by letting the Commission take antiquities and archaeological collections to Belgium, Austria and especially France, Mexico's monuments would finally be raised, in the eyes of the worked, to the "level of those from Egypt, Greece and Italy."[54]

In the end, the Mexican war was a disaster. The French defeat in 1867 was considered a personal embarrassment for Napoléon III, and the political crisis precipitated soon after by the end of the Second French Empire put on hold any projects of new acquisitions for the Louvre. Nevertheless, the idea of Americanism as a fundamentally French discipline endured and would again play a significant role in the creation of the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro in the last third of the century.[55] As for the Musée Américain at the Louvre, despite its initial success and considerable developments throughout the 1850s, the collections suffered over the following

Fig. 03 : Ethnographic curiosities, naval models and paraphernalia in the "ethnographical section" of the Musée Naval at the Louvre in the 1870s. In Adolphe Joanne, *Paris illustré en 1879 et 1876. Guide de l'étranger et du Parisien*, Paris: Hachette, 1876, p. 703. BnF département Philosophie, histoire, sciences de l'homme, 8-Z LE SENNE-4595.

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decades. Longpérier was preoccupied with other projects and lacked the time and the resources to maintain it. Beginning in 1859, the museum was relocated several times before a part was unceremoniously installed in a corridor adjacent to the "Section Ethnographique" of the Musée Naval (fig. 3). The rest was either moved back into the curators' office or put in storage.[56]

Both scholars and the general public made calls to "repair" the state in which the Musée Américain had been left in. Collector and critic Eugène Piot (1812-1890) complains that already in 1862 access to the American collections was difficult.[57] In 1877, Léonce Angrand, who had gifted part of his extensive collections of Peruvian and Bolivian antiquities to the Louvre over the previous decades, was appalled to see the conditions in which they were kept and, fearing further damage, threatened to bequeath his remaining pieces to the British Museum instead.[58] In 1876, Orientalist scholar and archaeologist Emile Burnouf (1821-1907) called for the American collections to be moved to a new museum rather than having them suffer in defective conditions at the Louvre.[59] Caix de Saint-Aymour (1843-1921) in turn proposed the American collections be integrated into a new museum reuniting ethnographical, archaeological and prehistoric artefacts.[60]

3. "Repairing" French Ethnography. Ernest-Théodore Hamy and the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro

At the same time, critics were also concerned with the state of the "Ethnographical section" of the Musée Naval and the lack of a distinct ethnographical museum in France – a category now present in most European capitals -. The Musée Naval, with its mismatched collection of naval models, exotic curiosities and souvenirs brought back from Asia and Oceania was, in the eyes of contemporary scholars - for whom ethnography was no longer the domain of curiosity but a historical science, - terribly outdated if picturesque. Furthermore, the question of whether the Louvre should be strictly a museum of *beaux-arts* and of Classical civilisations was once again raised. A report from 1871 notes that "many of the ethnographical objects (…) are mere curiosities and thus of little interest to an institution dedicated to the highest works of art".[61]

Amid this debate of weather – or rather *where* and *how* – a new ethnography museum should be built, the American collections would play an unsuspecting role, both in the discourse justifying the creation of the museum, and in its material realisation. This is where we once more find Ernest Théodore-Hamy and his museal genealogy of French ethnography.

As stated before, for Hamy the creation of the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro in 1878 was the culmination of France's long tradition of ethnographical inquiry throughout the Modern Age. The museum was the "heir by right of birth" of the Museum des Antiques de Barthélemy de Courçay and of the Ethnographical section of the Musée Naval organised by Morel-Fatio (1810-1871) at the Louvre. For Hamy, the development of ethnography, constituted as a *savoir*, would always have an

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anchoring point in a museal institution. The reader of his history will therefore note that Jomard's "Dépôt de Géographie" is only included because it was a failure – reflecting Hamy's diverging opinions on ethnography and his unabashed dislike for Jomard.[62] Similarly, the Louvre chapter focuses on the Musée Naval, since Longpérier's museum was concerned with antiquities and not with ethnography. The Musée Américain is only mentioned to point out its state of disrepair and disorder.

In this section I want to explore two things. First, how thanks to a fortunate convergence of circumstances – namely the ongoing debate regarding the Musée Américain and the ethnographic collections on the one hand, and the arrival in Paris of Charles Wiener and his extensive collection of South American collections on the other – precipitated the long-awaited creation of a national ethnography museum. And secondly, how Hamy's history of the museum, which draws extensively from France's early colonial relations with the New World, contributes to the idea, already formulated in the 1850s and1860s, that Americanism was fundamentally a product of French science and French erudition. And that by incorporating the history of French collecting *of* and *in* the New World to France's Modern History, these objects become part of France's national *patrimoine* by essence and by virtue of their history, and not because of their physical placement in a French museum.

Regarding the first question, that of the role played by American collections in the founding of the Musée du Trocadéro. The decision to create the museum was made following the success of the *Exposition spéciale des missions scientifiques* (Special Exhibition of Scientific Missions) of 1878. Organized under the auspices of Oscar de Watteville (1824-1901), the director of the *Service des missions de la Division des Sciences et Lettres*, this special exhibition aimed to display ethnographic and archaeological collections obtained through missions sponsored by the Service or donated to the French state.[63] It also sought to gauge public opinion on creating a permanent ethnographic museum. Initially organised at the Palais de l'Industrie, the exhibition was subsequently relocated to the Champ-de-Mars for the 1878 World's Fair.

This exhibition is particularly noteworthy for the prominent role given to American archaeological and ethnographic collections, as well as for its scientific and museographical choices, which were later incorporated into the museography of the Musée du Trocadéro and especially in the Galerie Américaine. At first, the exhibition was intended to feature the archaeological collections from Perou and Bolivia brought back by Charles Wiener (1851-1913).[64] The explorer, together with artist Emile Soldi (1846-1906),[65] designed an exhibition space with life-size reproductions of some of the most famous monuments of pre-Columbian Perou and Bolivia, such as the gates of Huánuco Viejo and the Gate of the Sun in Tiahuanaco. The facsimiles of archaeological monuments were accompanied by mannequins representing the most "characteristic" physiognomies of South America Amerindians (Hamy 1890, p. 57) and the background featured large-scale paintings of monuments and landscapes by artists Alexandre

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de Cetner and Paul-Louis-Joseph Roux. This was the backdrop to the hundreds of vases, ceramics, wooden sculptures, gold figurines and adornments, ancient textiles, weapons and even a pre-Hispanic mummy brough back by Wiener (Riviale 2001, p. 287).

The show was a success, and it was quickly decided to incorporate it to World's Fair and install it on the left wing of the newly built Palais du Trocadéro in the Champ-de-Mars. Hamy was entrusted with coordinating the project. New American collections were added first, followed by more modest contributions from Oceania, Africa and even prehistoric Europe.[66] The colossal "Gate of the Sun" dominated the rear wall, complemented with the reproduction of a "Peruvian hut." The walls were lined with antiquities hanging from panels or stacked in shelves. As they progressed through the hall, visitors could see the Mexican and South American collections of other explorers of the *Service des missions*, such as Alphonse Pinart (1852-1911) and Léon de Cessac (1841-1891) (fig. 4). A series of lectures delivered by the explorers was also organised. The museography of this new installation pushed the immersive effect and picturesque "dépaysement" of the first installation even further, aiming to create a didactic experience without sacrificing aesthetics and atmosphere.[67]

This second iteration of the exhibition decided in no small part the creation of a permanent and national "ethnographic museum". Installed later that year in the same Palais du Trocadéro, Hamy was named its first director. If the 1878 exhibit was important for the role the American collections played in promoting the museal project, it also reflects Hamy's vision of ethnography as a modern scientific discipline and its museographical realisation in the new museum. First, Ethnography was conceived fundamentally as a historical science and thus encompassed the study of all material products of human activity, both past and present. It is what Hamy defines as an *alliance intime* (intimate alliance) of archaeology and ethnography and why, for him, Barthélemy de Courçay's project was superior to Jomard's.[68] Similarly, Oscar de Watteville clearly states that "the ethnography museum shall be a history museum".[69]

This definition of ethnography as encompassing both the products of the past (including antiquities) and present justifies the transfer of the Louvre's collections to the new Musée d'Ethnographie in the 1880s, despite opposition from Longpérier's successor, Ravaisson-Mollien (1813-1900). For Ravaisson-Mollien "the Louvre should encompass the artistic products of all peoples up to our contemporary era. [...] The Ethnographic Museum would logically commence when the former concludes; in other words, while the Louvre collects all elements that contribute to a comprehensive and comparative overview of past civilizations, the Ethnographic Museum would provide a similar overview of present-day civilizations."[70] Jules Ferry (1832-1893), minister of l'Instruction publique et des Beaux-Arts, responds that it was not a question of chronology but of disciplinary boundaries: "The philosophy behind the Ethnographic Museum is not to provide a synthesis of contemporary peoples (...) but to

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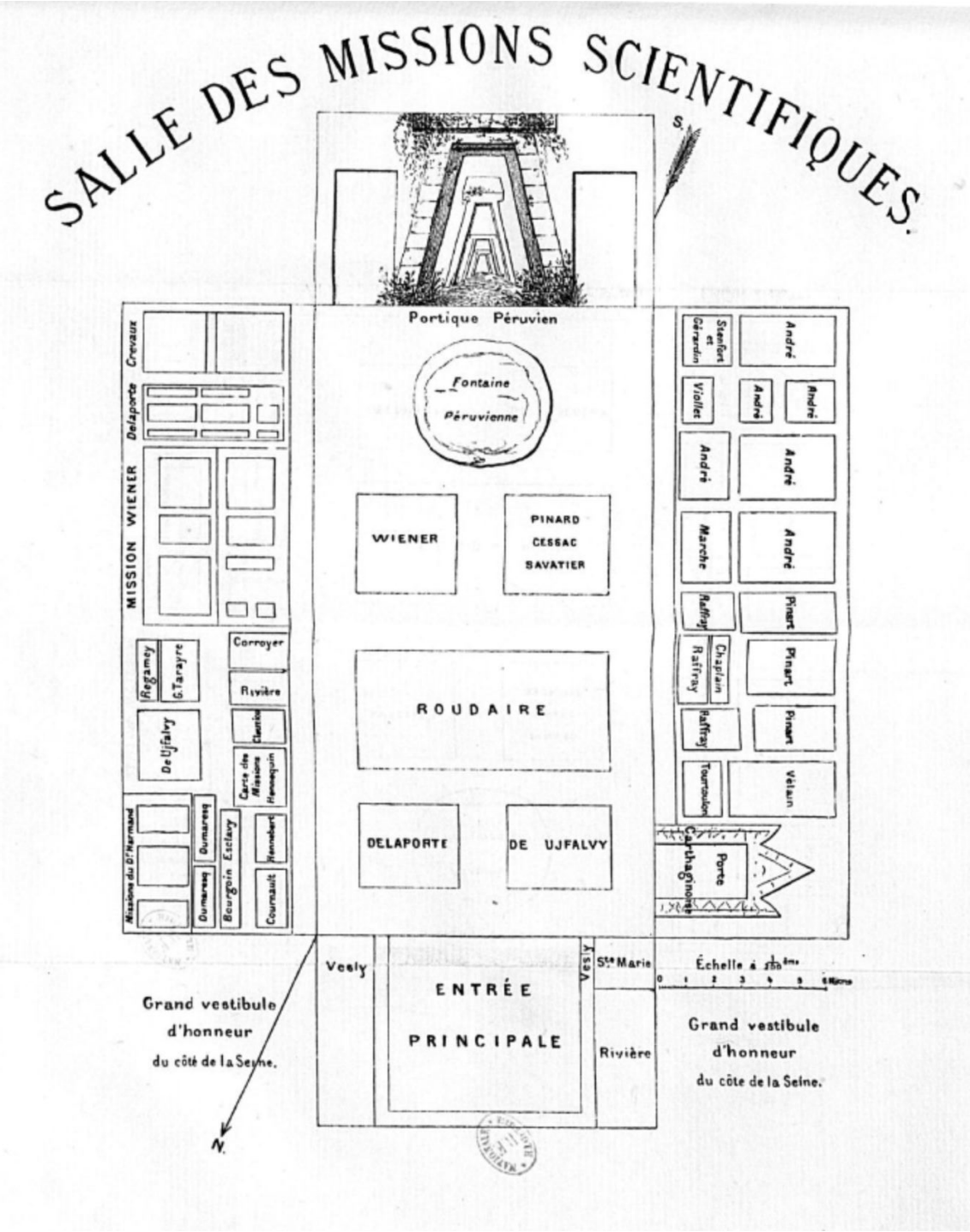

04

Fig. 04: Layout of the exhibit "Missions ethnographiques" with labelled sections and contributors, designed by Wiener, Soldi and Hamy installed at the Palais du Trocadéro in 1878. In *Exposition universelle de 1878. Catalogue du Ministère de l'Instruction publique, des cultes et des beaux-arts*, tome 2/2 (Missions et voyages scientifiques), Paris: imp. de la Société de publications périodiques, 1878, n.p. Bnf , département Philosophie, histoire, sciences de l'homme, 8-R-1429 (2,2).

present the history of customs and practices of all peoples across all ages, just as the Louvre does in relation to their works of arts".[71]

Furthermore, ethnography as a science was intimately linked to the promotion of national and patriotic sentiments. As Oscar de Watteville explains in his inaugural speech of the Muséum ethnographique des Missions Scientifiques, "it is the love of Science and the love of France" which inspires French explorers and scholars, and the Service des Missions scientifiques who makes their work possible.[72] Thus, the Musée d'Ethnographie was destined to play an active role in promoting

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France and its global interests. Consequently, it was deemed essential that the museum serve the public: beyond its scientific and pedagogical mission, it was necessary to present ethnography in an attractive manner. De Watteville asserts then that "[the collections] are put to the eyes of the public first, and of scholars second".[73]

In the end, it was a combination of ideological *parti-pris*, shifts within disciplines, and practical reasons that determined the transfer of the Pre-Columbian collections from the Louvre to the Trocadéro. Antoine Héron de Villefosse (1845-1919), curator of Roman and Greek antiquities, finally agreed that it was preferable to lose the collections rather than keep them in their current state of neglect and entrusted them to Hamy in 1887.[74]

At the new Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro, this alliance between archaeology, ethnography, and a science fuelled by national-patriotic sentiments is reflected in the museography of the Galerie Américaine. When the museum opened in 1882 it was the largest section, measuring fifty meters in length and twelve and a half meters in width. The gallery proposed a geographical journey through the Americas from Brazil to British Columbia, even if the "classical" civilisations of Mexico, Central and South America were the largest (fig. 5). The American collections were overall the most extensive the time of the inauguration: around 10,000 objects, which did not include part of the Wiener, Pinart, Crevaux and Charnay collections which had not been installed in time for the opening in 1882.[75] The collections kept growing and expanding through donations and archaeological and ethnographical fieldwork sponsored by the French state.[76]

Thus, "ethnographical" artefacts and "antiquities" came together in the Galerie Américaine to offer a historical and synthetical overview of the material productions and cultural practices of the Americas (fig. 6). The museography was completed, like in the temporary exhibition, by large panels adorning the walls depicting landscapes and ancient American monuments from "Bolivia to Ohio".[77] The Galerie Américaine also reflected France's political and historical interests in the New World. The "colonial cause" was, to Hamy, "the perfect expression of the alliance between scientific knowledge and national interests".[78] The case of the American collections is particular in the sense that, at the time of the inauguration of the Trocadéro, France no longer had colonies in the New World, except for territories in the Caribbean and South America.[79] With the exception of the Second French Intervention in Mexico, French ethnography and archaeology in the Americas is more aligned with practices of informal imperialism than direct colonisation.[80]

This does not mean that the New World was free from colonial rhetoric and indeed the ambitions of French science were linked with economic and industrial interests in Central and Latin America. As discussed earlier, the 1860s and Napoléon's III incursion in Mexico was essential to the efforts of finally crystallising Americanist studies in France. This idea was further developed in the last third of the cen-

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Fig. 05: Peruvian and Mexican antiquities at the Galerie Américaine of the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro. In *La Nature. Revue des sciences et de leurs applications aux arts et à l'industrie* n. 471 (10 juin 1882, p. 25) and n°483 (2 septembre 1882 p. 213), BnF : Gallica.

tury, with commentators opining that the Americas were "the most fruitful terrain for the deployment of French science"[81] and that "(Mexico) has, from an early stage and to a considerable extent, been the domain of French scholars".[82] The Galerie Américaine paid homage to the greatest of French heroes – explorers, scholars and collectors – whom, since the 16th century, had explored the New World – with their names inscribed in gold letters in the archways of the gallery.[83]

Before looking at the last case-study, lets return briefly to Hamy's *Origines du Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro* and why it is that in this genealogy many of the earliest episodes of ethnographical enquiries he recounts relate to the Americas. If Charlemagne's court had received curious gifts from faraway lands of the "Orient", the first true "modern" cabinet – associated with a particular kind of expansive and erudite curiosity – is that of François Ier (1494-1547), often considered France's first Renaissance (or modern) king and under whom the first French explorations of the New World took place. François Ier "never stopped sending travellers far and wide to bring him back *news* of faraway lands", notably the explorations of the coast of the United States by Jacques Cartier and of Brazil by Bizeret.[84] Similarly, Hamy compiles every French contribution to the "discovery" and exploration of Mexico dating back to the early 16th century, "correcting" the impression of a Spanish and Portuguese monopoly before its independence.[85]

Hamy then presents a summary of the explorations undertaken under each French monarch. He condemns Louis XIV's disinterest in the New World, despite the potential for French expansion in the recently discovered expanses of Canada and the Mississippi basin. Hamy's

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critique of Louis XIV's "obsession" with Classical Antiquity should then be understood as a condemnation of his abandonment of "ethnographic" exploration and collecting, only supporting missions to the Levant to enrich his collections of medals, engraved stones and manuscripts.[86]

This interest in showing the close parallels between the history of French ethnography and the exploration of the Americas is in part explained by Hamy's own preferences as an Americanist. However, it is not surprising either that French collections from the Americas reappear as a guiding thread in a work that intimately associates "history of (French) ethnography" (and its museal realisations) with the "history of (Modern) France", seeing as the "discovery" of the New World became one of the hallmarks of the conceptualisation of the Modern Age in Western thought. Others shared Hamy's interpretation: thus Léon Lejeal (1867-1907) alludes to the same idea in his inaugural lesson at the Collège de France when he remarks that the sailors from de Gonneville's exploration to Brazil around 1500 were "Americanists, even if they did not know it".[87]

Finally, by retracing the history of "French ethnography" to François Ier, Hamy is "repairing," or reconciliating, the collections from the *Ancien Régime* with Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary French heritage (in the sense of *patrimoine*), now redefined as "national". Thus, it is significative that if Barthélemy de Courçay's project at the Cabinet des Médailles is the first "revolutionary" project of nationalisation of (ethnographic) collections, Hamy is insistent that "long before Barthelemy (…) other efforts had been made" and that "one has to delve deeply into the history of the monarchy to unveil the first of these royal collections (…) which represent the first stage of the history of our national museums, and of the Musée d'Ethnographie in particular".[88]

4. "Repairing" a National Omission: Eugène Goupil's gift to the Bibliothèque Nationale de France

Finally, I want to shift the perspective from institutional museal histories and present one last case where a private collector come to "repair" a glaring omission in French Amerindian and Pre-Columbian collections: that of a documental collection, and more precisely of Mesoamerican

Fig. 06: An exemple of the mannequins conceived by Hamy for the Galerie Américaine. "Costume de fête d'un chef coréguaje du Rio Ica" in E.-T. Hamy *Choix de pièces archéologiques et ethnographiques décrites et publées. Galerie Américaine du Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro*, Paris: E. Léroux, 1897, LIX. BnF: Gallica.

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and Mexican codices. If in the last third of the 19th century the archaeological and ethnographical series in the Musée du Trocadéro continued growing, the collections of codices were much more modest, despite a now century-long interest in deciphering and translating the writing systems of Pre-Columbian Americas. Until 1896, the Bibliothèque National had only sixteen manuscripts from the Americas.[89] The situation changed drastically with the bequest of Eugène Goupil's (1831-1896) *Bibliothèque américaine*. Goupil's gift contained over three hundred documents, endowing France with a unique collection in the world. This gift was celebrated as a gesture of patriotic devotion. I want to briefly go over this episode and discuss the implications of this legacy in both France and Mexico – where most of the collections originated from – in terms of narratives of heritage, national identity and national collections.

A prominent industrialist, Eugène Goupil amassed one of the largest collections of Pre-Columbian antiquities in Paris in the latter part of the 19th century. He closely collaborated with art and antiquities dealer Eugène Boban Duvergé (1834-1908), who served as Goupil's personal supplier and undertook a significant part of the practical management of the collection.[90] Goupil was born into a French-Mexican family, of Aztec lineage in his mother's side. This Aztec heritage was of great significance to Eugène and his brother Louis – also a well-known collector – and it was the personal connection to the objects and the history they invoked which, according to Goupil, fuelled his passion for collecting and his predilection for Mexican antiquities.

Eugène Goupil returned to France in the early 1860s and started a factory of glass beads and pearls which gave him the financial means to pursue his passion for collecting. Other than antiquities and curiosities, Goupil amassed a vast *bibliothèque* of literature pertaining to the Americas: history books, travel accounts, natural history treatises, novels, books on linguistics and dictionaries of modern and historical Amerindian languages… As well as a number of important manuscripts and codices from the early Colonial period or from Pre-conquest times, such as the *Mapa Tlotzin*, the *Codex Xolotl*, the *Codex Azcatitlan* and the *Relaciones de Chimalpáhin*.[91] His great-nephew, the muralist artist Jean Charlot (1898-1979), remembers visiting the family house where one could not escape "his idols, his books, his facsimiles and his codices, and his *catalogues raisonnés*".[92] Upon his death, Goupil bequeathed his *bibliothèque* to the French state, a gift that brought the "fonds américains" from 17 to over 400 items in 1898.

It is on the public discourse about the bequest that I want to focus on. In the preface of his *Catalogue raisonné*, Goupil insists that he was merely the "dépositaire" of this unique collection and that he intended to make it accessible to scholars and "useful to science and history".[93] But how are we to understand Goupil's choice of leaving his collection to France and not to Mexico? Despite Goupil's pride in his Aztec heritage, his relationship with his Mexican identity was complex and full of contradictions. He justifies his choice by arguing for

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the superiority of French scholarship and an easier access, for both the scientific community and the public, to the collections in France, rather than Mexico. He hesitates in his private notes: "I am French, but my hearts is French and Mexican".[94] The final version in *Documents pour servir (...)* however, reads: "I believe I am rendering Mexico a greater service (...) Mexico is very far away (...) Paris is the centre of the intellectual world, the unavoidable stop for all scientific travellers (...) may Mexico appreciate my efforts in contributing to a better understanding of my homeland".[95]

The situation is further complicated if we consider the dubious history of how these documents were taken out of Mexico and came to be in Goupil's possession. Indeed, most of the treasures in Goupil's collection had belonged to Joseph Marius Alexis Aubin (1802-1891). Aubin's library was well known for being the largest of its kind, containing part of the collection from 18th century scholar the Chevalier Boturini Benaduci (1702-1753).[96] Aubin had obtained his collection in Mexico in the 1830s and illegally took them back to France, where he only rarely admitted visitors.[97] In the late 1880s, Aubin's was plagued by debts and his mental and physical health were much diminished.

The conditions under which Goupil and Boban acquired the collection from Aubin are also suspicious. Upon learning that Antonio Peñafiel (1839-1922)[98] had approached Aubin to buy the collection and repatriate it, Goupil and Boban pressured Aubin to sell to them instead. If, years later, they presented this acquisition as a "rescue mission" to ensure the collections would remain in France for the sake of Americanist scholarship, Goupil's private correspondence shows he and Boban went to questionable lengths to ensure their victory over Peñafiel and did not hesitate to exploit Aubin's diminished state in their favour.[99] They went so far as changing the locks of Aubin's study and calling for a police escort to be present to avoid any "trouble" while the sale contract was being signed.[100]

Throughout, Peñafiel is painted as a scheming individual driven only by personal ambition, whilst Goupil's efforts and onerous financial sacrifice are framed as being in the interest of France and Americanists studies. "These documents must remain in France whatever the cost," writes Goupil. And Boban, despite recognizing that Peñafiel was acting out of duty to his country, accuses the Mexican archaeologist of hubris: "he dreamed only of return the Boturini collection to Mexico when he had only just arrived in Paris and was unknown to European scholars. He believed he could immediately distinguish himself [by buying the collection] and announce to Mexico, as if he were Julius Cesar, *veni, vidi, vici*".[101] In private letters to his friends, Goupil boasted of having "outmanoeuvred" that "dog" Peñafiel: "We have just saved the Aubin collection,"[102] he writes, recounting a conversation with explorer Désiré Charnay (1828-1915). In another letter, Goupil excuses himself for not having included Hamy in their scheme, as a "delay of even twenty-four hours would have led to an irreparable loss," adding as a peace offering that "it is very probable that my entire collection will (eventually) come to the Tro-

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cadéro."[103]

There is no doubt that the acquisition of the Aubin collection by Goupil represented a significant loss for Mexico. It is interesting how in public Goupil always justified his actions as being of "national interest" and as a patriotic sacrifice towards France and French Americanist studies. This celebratory discourse was perpetuated after Goupil's death, when his bequeath to the Bibliothèque Nationale was confirmed.[104] Albert Réville (1826-1906), a close friend of Boban and Goupil, drafted an article titled "Les Aventures d'une collection" which perfectly embodies the celebratory narrative adopted by posteriority. Here Réville tells the "rather curious story" in which the valiant intervention of French patriots ensured that these treasures were rescued from "oblivion" and from the greed of those who would "steal them from science for their own gain" (an obvious reference to Peñafiel). "Mr. Goupil… did not hesitate to make the necessary sacrifice to ensure that this scientific treasure remained in France." Thanks to Goupil and Boban, France had been bestowed the most "authentic and instructive" of collections of Amerindian and Pre-Columbian documents and manuscripts, the only type still severely underrepresented in French national collections. "From this point onward, it will be in France [and] under the auspices of French scholarship" that the history of ancient Mexico and of the Americas would be "brought back to life," concludes Réville.[105]

In this text, we attempted to bring together several episodes in which French Amerindian and Pre-Columbian collections were mobilised in the context of creating or reforming national museal institutions. In every case, these projects were associated to the need to "repair" physical spaces - and ensure the preservation of material objects – but also to "repair" or renew intellectual thought. The American collections are particularly interesting for the development, throughout the 19th century, of Americanist studies in France and the parallel calls for "repairing" museums/collections and "repairing" Americanism. These calls to "repair" are characterised by moments of high enthusiasm and activity followed by periods of "stasis" or neglect, often due to economic difficulties and/or concrete shifts in scholarly interest.

These examples traversed the 19th century, but, as we have seen, the same collections were mobilised in the early 20th century as Rivet and Rivière attempted to repair the "old Troca" – both the physical museum and its disciplinary and ideological foundations.[106] Similarly, if we were to extend Hamy's genealogy of a French National Museum and the evolving definitions of ethnography into the 20th century, we could continue by exploring the Musée de l'Homme – which replaced the old Trocadéro in 1937 – and, more recently, the Musée du Quai Branly – Jacques Chirac. The creation of the Quai Branly was marked by its own set of controversies.[107] But, almost twenty years later, the question of whether a museography openly embracing the aesthetic of the

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"arts premiers" would imperil the documental value of its collections and perpetuate "othering" images of the cultures it represented seems to have been mostly settled by assuming the inevitability of the current museal state of affairs. That is, the new constellation of collections and disciplines shared between the Quai-Branly, the renewed Musée de l'Homme, and the MUCEM in Marseille.

In the last two decades, the field has been marked by reflexions on the need to decolonise collections and deconstruct national narratives. The potential of museums to be reparative of the social tissue needs to contend - especially in the case of museums of the "Other" – with a myriad of political and legal hurdles as well as complex colonial and imperial legacies. Recently, at the Musée du Quai Branly - Jacques Chirac, discussions concerning the provenance and the decolonisation of the museum have been anchored by an explicit desire to "historicize" its collections,[108] ideally a first step towards accomplishing a "reparative" function. It is, perhaps, within this context that we might see what the next call to "repair" American French collections could resemble.

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Endnotes

1 S. 1930, p. 9

2 Rivet, Rivière 1931. All translations into English are by the author, unless otherwise stated.

3 One of the texts Rivière consecrated to the question was suggestively titled *Défense et illustration du Musée d'Ethnographie* (roughly, "Defense and Exemplification of the Museé d'Ethnographie"), which can be read as referring to the "Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro" but also to the very idea of ethnography museums, in Rivière 1931.

4 D'Espezel, Hilaire 1931, p. 5.

5 Mauss 1913; Laurière 2003; Grognet 2013.

6 Rivet, Rivière 1931.

7 Faucourt 2013; Peltier-Caroff, De Sevilla 2016

8 Expilly 1768, p. 464.

9 On the natural history and exotic collections of the Museum d'Histoire Naturelle at the turn of the 19th century: Daugeron 2009a.

10 Understood as the scholarly discipline concerned with the study of the Americas, including both continents and all periods, and drawing mostly from anthropology, archaeology, and linguistics.

11 Hamy 1890. Despite his careful research, Hamy's writings are now over a hundred years old, and much work has been done since trying to better understand the history of the museum's collections. However, I am interested in what Hamy considered to be the defining moments of the history of French ethnography and its collections, which he used to structure his history. I will therefore, after this word of caution, work from the information given by Hamy and considered, at the time, to be factually correct.

12 Hamy 1890, p. 5.

13 See also on the *Museum des Antiques*: Daugeron 2009b.-

14 Report from Villar de la Mayenne to the Comité d'Instruction publique, 10 frimaire an III, or Novembre 30 1794. The report seems to have been since lost according to Daugeron, but it was partially transcribed by Hamy in his *Histoire* (p. 21). Ernest Babelon and J.-Adren Blanchet however cite the same report but dating it to the 3 frimaire an III, Babelon, Blanchet 1895, p. XXXIV.

15 Hamy 1890, pp. 22-23.

16 De Courçay B., Millin A.-L., *Les conservateurs du Muséum des Antiques aux représentants du peuple composant le Comité d'Instruction publique*, document reproduced in Hamy 1890 "Pièce IV".

17 Cointreau 1800, p. 31.

18 Cointreau 1800, p. 16.

19 Bleichmar 2012; Cabello Carro 2013.

20 Riviale 2022, paragr. 3-6.

21 "Antiquités péruviennes remises au Cabinet des antiques du roi le 31 janvier 1786", Paris BnF, Archives du Cabinet des médailles (1664-1886), 2011/091/ACM04-04; Archives du Musée du quai Branly-Jacques Chirac, Paris, "71.1878.5 Dombey. Ancienne collection du Cabinet des Antiquités du Roy"; "Notice des Antiquités de la Bibliothèque Nationale," hand-written catalogue by Cointreau, BnF, Département des Monnaies, médailles et antiques, Registres produits pour la gestion des collections, Ms. 285, 1796.

22 Hamy 1890, p. 18.

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23 Hamy adds that Dombey's collection had inspired a new classification and organisation of the collections at the Museum des Antiques but regretfully does not elaborate or provide any archival references to this supposed project. See Hamy 1890, p. 19.

24 Hamy 1890, p. 25.

25 Inventory by Millin *État des objets d'Antiquités conservés au dépôt de la rue de Beaune, qui d'après arrêt du comité d'Instruction publique de l'an 3° de la République, ont été transportés au Muséum des antiques*, BnF, 5AMC 13; *Etat des objets enlevés au dépôt de la maison de Nesle pour le Muséum des antiques, le 5 thermidor an cinq de la République française (23 juillet 1796),* BnF 5AMC 71. Hamy further mentions other collections from the Duc de Noailles and the "Cabinet Bertin" which can be found in *Catalogue des objets chinois provenant du cabinet du citoyen Bertin, enlevé à la maison de Nesle le 17 fructidor an 5 de la République (3 sept 1796) pour le Museum des Antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale,* BnF AMC 74.

26 Daugeron 2009a.

27 Notably a gift from M Gauthier in 1796 with more than a hundred objects from the French Guyana that Barthélemy de Courçay arranged to hang above the entrance (Cointreau 1800, p. 35).

28 Despite several attempts, until 1803, of incorporating the Museum des Antiques into the Louvre: Daugeron 2009, pp. 171-174. See also Bresc-Bautier, Fonkenell, Madrus 2016, pp. 581-640.

29 Hamy 1890, p. 35.

30 Whether the museum was truly open to the public is difficult to ascertain. Daugeron cites the official decrees of opening and closure (2nd June 1795 and 7 October 1795 respectively). However, the collections were in part accessible in the Cabinet des Médailles et Antiques at the Bibliothèque nationale, overseen by Aubin-Louis Millin de Grandmaison after Barthélémy's death. See Daugeron 2009b, p. 143. On the history of the Cabinet des Médailles et Antiques, see Bodenstein 2015.

31 See the project digitalizing Muret's work: https://digitalmuret.inha.fr/.

32 Offered several times to the Louvre during the 1830s and 1840s, it was finally acquired in January 1850 for 8.000 fr. See Fauvet-Berthelot, López Luján, Guimarães 2007.

33 Acquired in 1832 for 8.000 fr. The collection contained approximately 542 objects, mostly from Mexico. What survives is at the Musée du Quai Branly-Jacques Chirac (coll. 71.1887.159).

34 Two large donations in 1839 (201 pieces from Perou) and 1850 (140 pieces from Perou and Mexico); and two smaller donations in 1851 (2 pieces) and 1855 (4 pieces). Today at the Musée du Quai Branly – Jacques Chirac (coll. 71.1887.115).

35 The "Dépôt" was created in 1828. One of the main figures in the development of French ethnography in the first half of the 19th century, Jomard proposed a classification system based on provenance, epoch and usage, rather than a primarily geographical order. He also more strictly distinguished "ethnographic" collections from "natural history collections" (vs. objects altered for economic or domestic use), "collections of antiquities" (vs. objects of contemporary production and use belonging to the "époques modernes") and "fine-arts collections" (vs. objects of "industrial arts"). This was a significantly different definition of ethnography to Hamy's, which in part explains the latter's rejection of Jomard's project and its exclusion from his "genealogy" of French Modern Ethnography. See for a detailed analysis of Jomard's system, Dias 1991, chap. 4.

36 Guimarães 1994, p. 9.

37 Bresc-Bautier 1999.

38 De Férussac 1831, p. 393.

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39 De Férussac 1831, p. 396.

40 Lenoir 1832.

41 Guimarães 1994, p. 10.

42 De Férussac 1831, pp. 393-394.

43 Dion-Tenebaum 2016; Barron 2017.

44 Guimarães 1994, tab. IX.

45 Duclot 1993; Guimarães 1994.

46 André-Salvini 2016; Bresc-Bautier 2016.

47 On the difficulties of creating a perennial Société Américaniste throughout the second half of the 19th century, including an attempt to fund a new "Musée Américain" in Nancy: Riviale 1995, pp. 207-229 and Logie, Riviale 2009, pp. 151-171.

48 Brasseur de Bourbourg 1852, p. 419.

49 The Second French Intervention in Mexico began as a joint military effort of the United Kingdom and Spain to ensure debt repayments from Mexico (Convention of London of 1861). France also aimed to install a regime in Mexico that would be more favourable to its economic interests and counterbalance the growing influence of the United States in Latin America.

50 Riviale 1999.

51 Letter from Victor Duruy to José Urbano Fonseca, director of the Mexican Institute of Geography and Statistics, from the 8th of February 1864, announcing the creation of the Commission Scientifique du Mexique, *Archives de la Commission scientifique du Mexique, publiées sous les auspices du Ministère de l'Instruction Publique*, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale,1865, vol. 1, pp. 14-15.

52 Victor Duruy, "Rapport à l'Empereur" on the 27th of February1864, *Archives de la Commission (...)*, 1865, vol. I, pp. 6, 8.

53 Charles Etienne Brasseur de Bourbourg, "Esquisses d'Histoire, d'archéologie, d'ethnogrphie et de linguistique pouvant servir d'instructions générales. Première partie: Histoire ancienne," *Archives de la Commission (...)*, 1865, vol. 1, p. 92.

54 Letter from Méhédin to the Minister Victor Duruy, 28th of March 1865, Paris, Archives Nationales, F17 Commission de l'exploration scientifique du Mexique, 2913.

55 We do an in-depth analysis of the Mexican war and the emergence of French Americanism in Stüssi Garcia 2023, pp. 121-139.

56 Guimarães 1994, p. 21, 35-38.

57 Piot 1863, pp. 347-348.

58 Guimarães 1994, p. 37. Angrand did not change his mind and although he lent Hamy his collections in 1878 for a special exhibit, he refused to leave the rest to the Musée du Trocadéro and donated them to the Comte de Paris and the city of Genève instead: Hamy 1890, p. 61.

59 Dias 1991, p. 175.

60 Guimarães 1994, p. 37.

61 Jacquemin 1990, p. 51.

62 "[Jomard] did not seek to create a new institution to conveniently represent the science he so cherished, but rather the establishment, under his direct authority, of a cabinet – where access would be limited and controlled [by him]– and where he could rule according to his whims", Hamy 1890, p. 39.

63 A service of the Ministère de l'Instruction publique, the *Service des Missions* financed and encouraged scientific missions abroad. See on the missions sponsored in the

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Americas: Riviale 2000, pp. 53-78, 79-139.

64 Riviale 2001.

65 Soldi was classically trained as a sculptor and was keenly interested in ethnography, archaeology and the history of artistic techniques. He established himself as a specialist of ethnographic sculpture and wrote extensively on sculpting and decorative techniques in non-European artistic traditions. See Stüssi Garcia 2020; Jarrassé 2009.

66 See the catalogue: *Notice sur le Muséum…* 1878.

67 De Watteville 1886, pp. 25-26.

68 Hamy 1890, p. 24.

69 De Watteville 1877, p. 5.

70 AN Paris F21-4489, Letter from Ravaisson-Mollien to the Ministre de l'Instruction publique of the19th of November 1880.

71 AN Paris F21-4489, Letter from the Sous-Secrétaire d'Etat aux Beaux-Arts to Monsieur le Président du Conseil, 28th of May 1881.

72 *Procès-verbal…* 1878.

73 De Watteville 1877, p. 4.

74 Guimarães 1994, p. 41.

75 Drapeyron 1882; *Le Musée d'Ethnographie…* 1882; *Nouvelles. Musée d'Ethnographie de Paris* 1882; Dias 1991, p. 175.

76 Nevertheless, the museum was chronically underfunded and suffered in its ability to acquire new collections, relaying mostly on donations and gifts to grow its collections in later years.

77 Hamy 1885a.

78 Dias 1991, p. 233.

79 The territories that today still form the "DROM-COM" and known as the "France d'outre-mer".

80 Shawcross 2018.

81 *Le Musée d'Ethnographie…* 1882.

82 Hamy 1885b, p. 498.

83 Hamy 1880,

84 Hamy 1890, pp. 2, 6-7.

85 Hamy 1885b.

86 Hamy 1890, p. 14-15.

87 Lejeal 1903, p. 226.

88 Hamy 1890, pp. 2, 5.

89 The *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* was gifted by Monseigneur Charles Maurice LeTellier, archbishop of Reims, in 1700. The remaining documents came from 19th century acquisitions (Baradère in 1829 and Pinart in 1884) and gifts (Charencey, several donations between 1893 and 1919). See De Durand, Swanton 1998.

90 Stüssi Garcia 2023, p. 247-422.

91 Charlot 1963, p. 178. Paris, BnF, Département des Manuscrits: Mexicain 355, 1-10, 46-58, 59-64 and 74.

92 With Boban's assistance, Goupil published an extensive – and expensive – *catalogue raisonné* which included eighty coloured reproductions of some of the rarest

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and oldest documents in his collection. Considered by both Boban and Goupil as the crowning achievement of their careers, the *Documents pour Servir à l'Histoire du Mexique* was published by Ernest Leroux in 1891.

93 Boban 1891, p. vii.

94 Notes by Goupil for the introduction of *Documents pour server (…),* Paris, BnF, "Correspondance de l'Américaniste Eugène Boban-Duvergé (1869-1899) NAF 21476-21481, NAF 21480 December 1888-January 1889.

95 Boban 1891, p. viii.

96 Cañizares-Esguerra 2004, p. 135-160; Keen 1990, p. 227-238.

97 Aubin was not the only one to more or less illegally return to Europe with Mexican archaeological or historical artefacts. See for example Achim 2013.

98 A respected Mexican archaeologist and official representative of the Mexican state to the World Fair of 1889.

99 Stüssi Garcia 2023, pp. 378-392, 415-419.

100 Paris, BnF, NAF 21480, Letter from Goupil of April 9 1889.

101 Boban 1891, p. 11-13.

102 Paris, BnF, NAF 21480 Letter from the 18th of May 1889.

103 Paris, BnF, NAF 21480 Letter from the 18th of May, with a transcription of the letter from Goupil to Hamy on the question of the Aubin collection.

104 Paris, BnF, NAF 21477 Letters of Augustine Goupil to Boban on the bequest, January the 26th and 4th of February 1898. Léopold Delilse, administrator of the National Library, officially accepted the bequest on the 24th of June 1898.

105 Réville 1898.

106 Paris, Archives du musée du quai Branly, Série G, Exposition universelle de 1878 et création du Musée d'Ethnographie jusqu'en 1937, "Plan du département d'archéologie américaine", DA000288.

107 Dupaigne 2006; Clifford 2007; Price 2007.

108 Rolland 2023.

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