

# Defining art in instructions for travellers: the agency of the *Questionnaire de Sociologie et d'Ethnographie* drafted by the Paris Anthropological Society in 1883

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In 1911, a posthumous appraisal of Ernst-Théodore Hamy, the first director of the *Musée d'Ethnographie* in Paris, referred to the *Questionnaire de Sociologie et d'Ethnographie*,<sup>1</sup> of which Hamy was one of the co-authors. We read in the posthumous appraisal that the *Questionnaire* was '( ... ) rightly considered a *vade mecum*, which must be known and which no serious traveller should forget to stow in his luggage'.<sup>2</sup> The *Questionnaire* can be considered characteristic of instructions for travellers dating back to the sixteenth century. They were widely applied in many European countries as well as in North America, changing during the eighteenth century with the advent of an increasingly academic approach.<sup>3</sup> Director

1 First draft: Charles Letourneau, *Questionnaire de Sociologie et d'Ethnographie*, Paris: typographie A. Hennuyer, (1882). First edition of the final version: *Questionnaire de Sociologie et d'Ethnographie. Extrait des Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie, séance du 21 juin 1883*, Paris: imprimerie de A. Hennuyer, 1883. Second edition of the final version: *Questionnaire de Sociologie et d'Ethnographie. Extrait des Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie*, Deuxième édition. Paris: typographie de A. Hennuyer, 1889. The quotations are extracted from the edition dated 1883 of the *Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*. In it the authors Ernest Hamy, Abel Hovelacque, Julien Vinson and Charles Letourneau are mentioned.

2 Théodore Reinach, 'Notice sur la vie et les travaux de M. le Dr. Hamy, par M. Théodore Reinach, membre de l'Académie, lue dans la séance du 9 décembre 1910', *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, no. 1, 1911, 80: '( ... ) à juste titre classique, c'est un *vade-mecum* qui devra être tenu au courant et que nul voyageur sérieux ne devrait négliger d'emporter dans sa valise.'

3 For the current thematic approach to this genre, see Arndt Brendecke, 'Die Fragebögen des spanischen Ideenrates. Ein Beschreibungsstandard in der kolonialen Praxis', in Gert Melville and Karl-Siegbert Rehberg, eds, *Dimensionen institutioneller Macht. Fallstudien von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, Köln: Böhlau, 2012, 155–76. As to instructions for travellers in general, see: Silvia Collini and Antonella Vannoni, 'I testi di istruzioni scientifiche per i viaggiatori. Aspetti di un genere dal Seicento al Novecento', in Maurizio Bossi and Claudio Greppi, eds, *Viaggi e scienza: le istruzioni scientifiche per i viaggiatori nei secoli XVII–XIX*, Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2005. XXI–LIV. See also Claude Blanckaert, *Le terrain des sciences humaines. Instructions et Enquêtes. (XVIII–XX<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, Paris and Montreal: L'Harmattan 1996 and Don D. Fowler, 'Notes on Inquiries in Anthropology: A Bibliographic Essay', in Timothy T.

Hamy was by no means solely responsible for the above questionnaire. From 1876 on, however, he was given a special assignment. It comprised instructing and preparing at the *Muséum d'histoire naturelle* '(...) geographers or natural scientists, medical scientists, merchants, perhaps even artists (...)',<sup>4</sup> who the French Ministry of Public Education sent on scientific missions abroad.

The *Questionnaire de Sociologie et d'Ethnographie* served as the model for Belgian questionnaires. In 1903, a Spanish translation of this questionnaire was printed in an edition of more than 1,000 copies.<sup>5</sup> The original version had been initiated by Charles Letourneau (1831–1902),<sup>6</sup> a key figure of the *Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, in 1882. Paul Broca, a qualified medical doctor and member of the state *Académie* had founded this scholarly society in 1859.

During the 1860s Broca drafted instructions for travellers, intended to cover the field of physical anthropology.<sup>7</sup> In the course of that same decade, further region-specific instructions were published, again emphasizing the aspect of physical anthropology.<sup>8</sup> In France however in contrast to its neighbours Great Britain and Italy, a methodological instrument with which to embrace examples of ethnographical research was absent. The *Questionnaire de Sociologie et d'Ethnographie* was to close this gap. Its thematic orientation places it at the turning point of

Thoresen ed., *Toward a Science of Man: Essays in the History of Anthropology*, The Hague: Mouton, 1975, 15–32. The *Questionnaire* came to my attention whilst working on my dissertation published as *Die Museen des Trocadéro. Viollet-le-Duc und der Kanondiskurs im Paris des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin: Reimer, 2012.

4 Anonymous: 'Discussion sur l'ethnographie', *Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, vol. 5, 1882, 577: '(...) des géographes ou des naturalistes, des médecins, des négociants, des artistes peut-être (...)'

5 See esp. Anonymous, *Questionnaire ethnographique et sociologique. État Indépendant du Congo*, Bruxelles: Hayez, 1898 and Joseph Halkin, *Questionnaire ethnographique et sociologique*, Bruxelles: Polleunis et Ceuterick, 1905. I would like to thank Maarten Couttenier for informing me of the Belgian questionnaire. See Maarten Couttenier, *Congo tentoongesteld: Een geschiedenis van de Belgische antropologie en het Museum van Tervuren (1882–1925)*. Leuven: Acco, 2005, 81–9. The *Questionnaire* was translated into Spanish to the benefit of a French expedition to South America undertaken by Georges de Créqui Montfort and E. Sénechal de la Grange. The Spanish title first appears on the second page. See *Questionnaire de sociologie et d'ethnographie. Extrait des Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie. Séance du 21 Juin 1883*, Paris: Imprimerie E. Malbet, 1903.

6 See on Letourneau especially: Michael Hammond, 'Anthropology as a weapon of social combat in late nineteenth-century France', *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, vol. 16, 1980, 118–32, esp. 123–5; Heinz Maus, 'Letourneau, Charles', in Wilhelm Bernsdorf and Horst Knospe eds, *Internationales Soziologenlexikon, vol. 1: Beiträge über bis Ende 1969 verstorbene Soziologen*, second revised edition, Stuttgart: Enke, 1984, 245.

7 Paul Broca, *Instructions générales pour les recherches anthropologiques (anatomie et physiologie)*, Paris: Victor Masson, 1865.

8 See Nélia Dias, *Le Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro (1878-1908). Anthropologie et Muséologie en France*, Paris: CNRS, 1991, 76, note 33.

physical anthropological research comprising, too, the first sociological approaches within the French academic discourse.<sup>9</sup>

- H. Arts graphiques et plastiques. — 1. Y a-t-il des arts graphiques et plastiques, rudimentaires ou non? Quels sont-ils?**  
**2. Les objets sculptés sont-ils en bois, en pierre, etc. ?**  
**3. Dessine-t-on au trait? Quels sont les sujets des dessins?**  
**4. Sait-on rendre les ombres ?**  
**5. Y a-t-il une peinture? Si oui, sait-on rendre le modelé?**  
**Connait-on plus ou moins la perspective ?**  
**6. Quels sont les sujets habituels des sculptures et des peintures ?**  
**7. Quel sexe s'occupe de préférence des beaux-arts ?**

Figure 1. Section of the *Questionnaire de Sociologie et d'Ethnographie*, *Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, 3<sup>e</sup> Série, vol. 6, 1883, 584.

One section of the *Questionnaire* bears the title 'Aesthetics, Body decoration, Fine Arts'. The final paragraph of this section is dedicated to the '*Arts graphiques et plastiques*' (Figure 1).<sup>10</sup> My analysis focusses mainly on this paragraph. In it I discuss the significance of the fine arts within the scientific discourse in France, at the very moment the view on other parts of the world shifts from primarily considering the physiological phenomena towards an observation of the social and cultural expressions.<sup>11</sup> In particular, I deal with how, based on this questionnaire, scholars in

9 Letourneau's professorship was initially titled 'Histoire des civilisations', but subsequently referred to as 'Sociologie', implying an innovative scientific discipline. See Joy Harvey, 'L'évolution transformée: Positivistes et matérialistes dans la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris du Second Empire à la III<sup>e</sup> République', in Britta Rupp-Eisenreich ed., *Histoires de l'anthropologie. (XVI<sup>e</sup>-XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles)*. Colloque la Pratique de l'Anthropologie d'aujourd'hui, Sèvres, Paris: Klincksieck, 1984, 387-410, 403; Martin S. Staum, *Nature and Nurture in French Social Sciences, 1859–1914 and Beyond*, [= McGill-Queen's studies in the history of ideas; 53], Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011, 27: 'Meanwhile, anthropologists such as Armand de Quatrefages had never surrendered the cultural domain, while anthropologists Charles Letourneau and Léonce Manouvrier were emphasizing the importance of sociology to the field of anthropology.'

10 Due to an explicit terminology, the translation hereof is withheld here.

11 The text genre of the *Questionnaire* has practically never been examined from an art historian's point of view. An exception to this comprises a subchapter in Gabriele Genge's Habilitation thesis entitled *Artefakt, Fetisch, Skulptur. Aristide Maillol und die Beschreibung des Fremden in der Moderne*, Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2009, 54–5. However, Nélia Dias and

Paris (and explorers in various parts of the world), negotiated whether, and in what form, art existed in the parts of the world being investigated. Finally, a selection of answers to the *Questionnaire* published in the journal of the *Société d'Anthropologie de Paris* will be placed within the context of this questionnaire's requirements.

### **The authors and the scientific approach of the *Questionnaire***

Charles Letourneau, who was solely responsible for the first draft of the *Questionnaire de Sociologie et d'Ethnographie*, belonged to the group of scientific materialists within the *Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*.<sup>12</sup> His decision to study medicine in Paris, and thus choose the natural sciences, was a conscious step to distance himself from the religious system of thought experienced in the course of his childhood and upbringing. His discussion on, and examination into, various theories of evolution also linked him to the group of scientific materialists within the *Société d'Anthropologie*.<sup>13</sup> He not only dealt with the approach to 'transformism' in the tradition of Lamarck but also to Darwinism with its British markedness. Along with other scientific materialists (e.g., the researcher of prehistory Gabriel de Mortillet), Letourneau demonstrated a decidedly republican position and supported the Paris Commune. Whereas Paul Broca argued that science and politics are separate areas, the scientific materialists perceived their research as an integral part of their political understanding through which an interest in social and cultural phenomena developed.

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Claude Blanckaert have studied the integration of the *Questionnaire de Sociologie et d'Ethnographie* in the anthropological research of the time of origin. See Nélia Dias, 'L'exploration des sens dans le Questionnaire de sociologie et d'ethnographie', in Nélia Dias, *La mesure des sens. Les anthropologues et le corps humain au XIXe siècle*. [=Collection historique], Paris: Aubier, 2004, 197–203; Claude Blanckaert, 'Le premesse dell'antropologia "culturale" in Francia, Il dibattito sul "Questionnaire de Sociologie et d'Ethnographie" di Charles Letourneau (1882–1883)', *La Ricerca Folklorica*. no. 32, Alle origini della ricerca sul campo. Questionari, guide e istruzioni di viaggio dal XVIII al XX secolo (Oct., 1995), 51–70; Claude Blanckaert, 'Les prémices de l'anthropologie culturelle', in Claude Blanckaert, *De la race à l'évolution. Paul Broca et l'anthropologie française, (1850–1900)*, Paris: L'Harmattan, 2009, 461–97.

12 As to the scientific materialism of French anthropology during the 19th century, see Jean-Claude Wartelle, 'La Société d'Anthropologie de Paris de 1859 à 1920', *Revue d'histoire des sciences humaines*, 2004/1. no. 10, 140–7; Jennifer Michael Hecht, *The End of the Soul. Scientific Modernity, Atheism, and Anthropology in France*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2003, esp. 91–134; Blanckaert, 'Le premesse dell'antropologia "culturale"', 53–8. See also Alice L. Conklin, *In the Museum of Man. Race, Anthropology, and Empire in France, 1850–1950*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013, esp. 44–57.

13 Letourneau also translated several of Ludwig Büchner's texts into French. Büchner, along with Karl Vogt, was a leading figure in the field of scientific materialism in Germany. See Harvey, 'L'évolution transformée', 390.

Letourneau, having left France after the Paris Commune to travel to Florence, also worked on the Italian *Istruzioni per lo studio della psicologia comparata*.<sup>14</sup> On his return to Paris, he wrote a study entitled *La Sociologie d'après l'Ethnographie*,<sup>15</sup> which from 1880 on was published repeatedly in France, Great Britain and Russia, and can be referred to as the conclusion of his hypotheses.<sup>16</sup> In it the evolutionary approach is combined with the idea of progress. *La Sociologie d'après l'Ethnographie* served as a source not only for the title but also for the basic structure of the *Questionnaire*.

The authors of the final version of the *Questionnaire de Sociologie et d'Ethnographie* as distributed to travellers included several other members of the *Société d'Anthropologie*, among them the above-mentioned Ernest-Théodore Hamy and the lawyer Abel Hovelacque, a professor of linguistics and lecturer at the *École d'Anthropologie* in Paris.<sup>17</sup> His colleague Julien Vinson, a professor at the *École nationale des Langues orientales*, completed the editorial team. Whereas Hamy assumed a moderate position,<sup>18</sup> Abel Hovelacque and Julien Vinson were staunch scientific materialists.<sup>19</sup> None had acquired any specialized knowledge concerning the fine arts. Hamy's education was based on his study of medicine. The same goes for Letourneau. However, it could be demonstrated that as a youth (1839), Hamy took drawing classes with an award winner of the Paris Salon, and was thereby became familiar with the dominating aesthetics of the time.<sup>20</sup> In 1868 Charles Letourneau had already dealt with the *beau artistique* in his monograph *La physiologie des passions* which for example Émile Zola reviewed.<sup>21</sup>

14 Paolo Mantegazza, Enrico Giglioli and Charles Letourneau, 'Istruzioni per lo studio della psicologia comparata', *Archivio per l'Antropologia e Etnologia*. 3. 1873. 322–35.

15 Charles Letourneau, *La Sociologie d'après l'Ethnographie*, [= Bibliothèque des sciences contemporaines; VI], Paris: Reinwald, 1880.

16 See Blanckaert, 'Le premesse dell' antropologia 'culturale'', 56.

17 See Hecht, *The End of the Soul*, 84–5.

18 See Blanckaert, 'Le premesse dell' antropologia 'culturale'', 53.

19 For Hovelacque and Vinson, see Wartelle, 'La Société d'Anthropologie de Paris', 141–2, 145–6.

20 See Ernest-Théodore Hamy, 'Sur les lignes faciales de Dürer', *Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, 2<sup>e</sup> Série, vol. 11, 1876, 562.

21 See Charles Letourneau, *Physiologie des Passions*, [=Bibliothèque de philosophie contemporaine], Paris: G. Baillièrre, 1868, 93 and 156. Zola's review was printed in the *Globe*. See Hecht, *The End of the Soul*, 95–7. Zola expressed his appreciation of the *Physiologie des Passions* making it clear that a materialistic approach lies at the core of the text. Sabine Küster, *Medizin im Roman. Untersuchungen zu 'Les Rougon-Macquart' von Émile Zola*, Göttingen: Cuvillier, 2008, 18 has pointed out that already in the *Grand Larousse*, a text by another author also titled *Physiologie des Passions*, was criticized because it dealt with passions merely from a philosophical point of view neglecting the significance of the nervous system and instincts.

## The 'Arts graphiques et plastiques' within the structure of the *Questionnaire*

The questionnaire which appeared in the *Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris* consisted of only twenty pages. This small number of pages was intentional. It thus differs, on the one hand, from Paul Broca's 1865 *Instructions générales* and, on the other hand, from the *Notes and queries* published in London in 1874.<sup>22</sup> Whereas, in the English example, each section of questions is accompanied by a short passage with explanations often aimed at forming the reader's opinion, the *Questionnaire* is composed solely of solid questions and an introduction. It is divided into five chapters beginning with the 'nutritive life', followed by the 'sensitive life', the 'affective life',<sup>23</sup> the 'social life', and concluding with the 'intellectual life'.

This model was based on the concept of the continual growth of human needs (*besoins*). Letourneau had already written about this central idea, defining it in his *Physiologie des Passions* as follows: 'It is a *sensed organic tendency*, which in humans through natural physical and cerebral impulses expressed in the form of *wishes*, therein result in the impression of pleasure [*plaisir*] or pain depending on whether the necessary organic evolution of life is made easier or more difficult.'<sup>24</sup> The term 'Impression' appeared in art theoretical lexica during the eighteenth century and, until the beginning of the nineteenth century, it referred to a state of the soul. With Letourneau this term takes on a completely organic meaning. In 1808 the archaeologist-cum-art historian Aubin-Louis Millin defines the term 'Impression'

22 Notes and queries on anthropology, for the use of travellers and residents in uncivilized lands. [Drawn up by a committee appointed by the British Association for the Advancement of Science.], London: Edward Stanford, 1874. In the Notes and Queries from 1874, several authors were responsible for various sections. The segment entitled 'Drawing ( ... ) Including sculpture, modelling, and representative art of all kinds ( ... )' was written by 'Col. A. Lane Fox', who in fact was Pitt Rivers, founder of the eponymous museum. For more information on the British example see James Urry, 'Notes and Queries on Anthropology' and the Development of Field Methods in British anthropology, 1870–1920', *Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1972, 45–57.

23 The subtitles: 'Sensitive life. General and special sensibility' and 'Affective life. Moral sensibility, affective feelings' define the dissimilarity between the 'sensitive life' and the 'affective life' The 'sensitive life' lies close to the senses, whereas the 'affective live' lies close to feelings.

24 Quotations are extracted from the second edition, as this edition was published at the same time the *Questionnaire* began: Charles Letourneau, *Physiologie des Passions*, second edition, revised and enriched, Paris: Reinwald, 1878, 7: 'C'est une *tendance organique sentie*, qui, psychiquement, cérébralement, chez l'homme, se formule en d'inéluctables impulsions, en *désirs*, dont la conséquence est une impression de plaisir ou une impression de douleur, suivant que l'évolution organique nécessaire à la vie est facilitée ou entravée.'

as follows: 'IMPRESSION. This word serves to describe a sensation created by a work of art in the soul of the spectator.'<sup>25</sup>

The alignment of the distinct above aspects of life, from nutritive to intellectual, corresponded with the concept of a continuous, progressive level of development of human communities.<sup>26</sup> Within this system, the '*Arts graphiques et plastiques*' comprise a subunit of 'Aesthetics, Body decoration, Fine Arts', assigned under the rubric 'sensitive life'. This signifies foremost that the authors, given the low value of the second level, attributed a larger part of humanity to the ability to create aesthetic objects and to exercise '*Arts graphiques et plastiques*'. The *Questionnaire* differs strongly from its Italian predecessor as to the position of the fine arts in comparison to language and literature. In the *Istruzioni per lo studio della psicologia comparata*, under the heading 'Languages – Calculating – Literature etc.'<sup>27</sup>, sequentially numbered and without a heading, we come across a chapter beginning with the question: 'Do they have true and real art, or is art merely ornamental?'<sup>28</sup> This segment directly precedes 'Material products of intelligence.'<sup>29</sup> This is in contrast to the *Questionnaire* in which '*Arts graphiques et plastiques*', is placed far before 'Language'. The heading 'Language' appears together with 'Numbering' as an integral part of 'Special use of intelligence.'<sup>30</sup> In *Physiologie des Passions* we read: 'Merely the unlocated, intellectual sense, hearing and sight; give us the impression of beauty. Finally, even higher, we find spiritual beauty which relates more to the realm of poets than to artists (...)'<sup>31</sup> Accordingly Letourneau attributed a higher value to language and poetry than to the visual arts.

By no means did the *Société d'Anthropologie de Paris* unanimously welcome the attribution of '*Arts graphiques et plastiques*' to 'sensitive life'. Because of this Eugène Dally, a member of the first commission working on the *Questionnaire*, sharply criticised the edition in 1882. He considered a classification of the '*Arts*

25 A[ubin] L[ouis] Millin ed, *Dictionnaire des Beaux-Arts*, 3 vols, Paris: Desray, 1806, vol. 2, 178: 'IMPRESSION. Ce mot sert à désigner la sensation qu'excitent les ouvrages de l'art dans l'ame des spectateurs.'

26 See Blanckaert, 'Le premesse dell'antropologia "culturale"', 56.

27 *Istruzioni per lo studio*, 328: 'Lingue – Calcolo – Letteratura etc.'

28 *Istruzioni per lo studio*, 329: 'Hanno essi vere e proprie arti, o l'arte è puramente ornamentale?' As to the meaning of the term 'ornamental' in the discourse on extra-European art, see the contributions by Frances Connely, Rudolf Effert, Spyros Papapetros and Marjan Groot included in the present volume.

29 *Istruzioni per lo studio*, 329: 'Prodotti materiali dell'intelligenza.'

30 *Questionnaire*, 596 'Applications spéciales de l'intelligence.'

31 Letourneau, *Physiologie des Passions*, 151: 'Seuls, les sens intellectuels, non localisateurs, l'ouïe et la vue, nous donnent des impressions de beauté. Enfin, plus haut encore, nous trouvons un beau moral, qui est plus du domaine du poëte (sic) que du domaine de l'artiste, et un beau purement intellectuel, scientifique ou philosophique; mais ce dernier échappe complètement à l'artiste: il plane plus haut que l'art.'

*graphiques et plastiques*' within the intellectual expressions of life to be more viable.<sup>32</sup> However, in accordance with the considerations in Letourneau's *La Sociologie d'après l'ethnographie*, this objection was ignored. In 1880 the latter states: 'The perfecting and refinement of the senses plays a main part in the artistic capabilities, (...)'.<sup>33</sup> This refers to a concept of the fine arts which faithfully follows Letourneau's materialistic approach based on a biological principle. According to Letourneau, impressions as well as feelings initiate the perception of nature within the human nervous system, and thus not only arouse the impulse to reproduce but also shape the starting point of art.<sup>34</sup> In the footnotes of the chapter 'Art in general' Letourneau repeatedly mentions *Histoire des Beaux-Arts* (1875) by René-Joseph Ménéard (1827–1887) and *L'Esthétique* by Eugène Véron (1825–1889).<sup>35</sup> From 1878 on, the latter text was published in several editions in, for example, Great Britain, the USA and Japan, where it prompted the coining of the term 'Bigaku', meaning the 'science of beauty'.<sup>36</sup> Ménéard, a student of Théodore Rousseau and Constant Troyon, whose work forms the open end of his narrative in the *Histoire des Beaux-Arts*,<sup>37</sup> lectured at the *École des arts décoratifs* from 1880 on.<sup>38</sup>

Ménéard transferred the concept of needs onto his expounding model for the beginning of art: 'Art is an expression of a need and not a caprice (...) The savage builds a hut with tree branches: in doing so he obeys a material need to house himself. At the same time he attempts to construct it according to *his taste*, ergo as *beautiful* as he can; (...) This is a spiritual need, which is the quest for beauty.'<sup>39</sup>

32 See superordinate to Dally's different approach: Blanckaert, 'Les prémices de l'anthropologie culturelle', 464–94.

33 Letourneau, *Sociologie*, 116: 'La perfection et la délicatesse des sens jouent un rôle capital dans les aptitudes artistiques, (...)'

34 Letourneau, *Sociologie*, 86–7. For the current discussion in France on the significance of sensory perception in the nineteenth-century French art theory, and the connections between the science of art and natural sciences, see Jacqueline Lichtenstein, Carole Maigné and Arnauld Pierre, eds, *Vers la science de l'art. L'esthétique scientifique en France, 1857–1937*, Paris: Presses de l'université Paris-Sorbonne, 2013.

35 See René Ménéard, *Histoire des beaux-arts. Illustrée de 414 gravures représentant les chefs-d'oeuvre de l'art à toutes les époques*, Paris: Libr. de l'Imprimerie générale, 1875; Eugène Véron, *L'Esthétique*. [= Bibliothèque des sciences contemporaines; IV], Paris: Reinwald, 1878.

36 See Ken-ichi Sasaki, 'Beautifying Beauty', *International Yearbook of Aesthetics*, vol. 5, 2001, 27–39; Jacqueline Lichtenstein, 'Préface', in Eugène Véron, *L'Esthétique*, [= Essais d'art et de philosophie]. Paris: VRIN, 2007, 7.

37 Ménéard, *Histoire des beaux-arts*, 512.

38 See e.g., Simona Talenti, *L'histoire de l'architecture en France. Émergence d'une discipline. (1863-1914)*. [= Librairie de l'architecture et de la ville], [Paris]: Picard, 2000, 281.

39 Ménéard, *Histoire des beaux-arts*, 1: 'L'art est l'expression d'un besoin et non d'un caprice (... ) Le sauvage élève une cahute avec des branches d'arbres: en cela il obéit à un besoin matériel, celui de s'abriter. Mais en même temps, il cherche à la construire à son goût, c'est-à-dire aussi *belle* qu'il le peut; (... ) Ceci est un besoin moral qui est l'aspiration vers le beau.' See also as to the common belief that the primitive hut was the beginning of architecture:

Ménard did not intend to reduce art to a mere sensitive capability. Eugène Véron, his partner for a publication project in 1880,<sup>40</sup> was editor of the journal *L'Art* at the same time. *Revue hebdomadaire*. Véron's *L'Esthétique* as well as Letourneau's *Sociologie* were printed by the same publisher. Véron – contrary to Ménard – placed emotions at the centre of his concept of art, rebuking definitions of art based in particular on rationality and intellect.<sup>41</sup> Like Letourneau, Véron was a member of the *Société d'Anthropologie de Paris* and an adept of the scientific materialism.<sup>42</sup> In *L'Esthétique*, Véron builds his theory on a physically rooted art term and, as does Letourneau, emphasises the significance of sensory stimulus:

Art is nothing other than a natural outcome of the human organism which is of such a nature that it derives particular pleasure from certain combinations of forms, lines, colours, movements, tones, rhythms, pictures (...) The fine arts, which aim at our eyes, show these impressions through the direct and more or less adequate representation of objects, forms, behaviour, real or imagined scenes, which create these impressions.<sup>43</sup>

Letourneau, who we may reasonably assume was acquainted with Véron, orientated himself on an author who decidedly opposed the aesthetics of art education in France's leading institution, the *Académie des Beaux-Arts*. In the introduction to *L'Esthétique* phrases such as for instance 'tyranny of academic doctrinarism'<sup>44</sup> are found. Véron compares his approach to the one Théophile Thoré expressed in his Salon report of 1847.<sup>45</sup> The art critic Théophile Thoré (alias William Bürger) was an enthusiastic supporter of *en plein air* landscape painting and the representatives of the School of Barbizon.<sup>46</sup> This leads to a connection between the aesthetic appreciation of Véron and Ménard, who was schooled by the painters Théodore Rousseau and Constant Troyon.

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Joseph Rykwert, *Adams Haus im Paradies. Die Urhütte von der Antike bis Le Corbusier*, Aus dem Englischen von Jonas Beyer, Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 2005.

40 See René Ménard, *La mythologie dans l'art ancien et moderne. Suivie d'un appendice sur les origines de la mythologie par Eugène Véron*, Paris: Ch. Delagrave, 1880.

41 Véron, *Esthétique*, V. A distinction in the writings of Véron between 'sensibility' and 'emotions' is not always present.

42 Wartelle, 'La Société d'Anthropologie de Paris', 141.

43 Véron, *Esthétique*, V: 'L'art n'est autre chose qu'une résultante naturelle de l'organisme humain, qui est ainsi constitué qu'il trouve une jouissance particulière dans certaines combinaisons de formes, de lignes, de couleurs, de mouvements, de sons, de rythmes, d'images. (...) Les arts plastiques, qui s'adressent aux yeux, manifestent ces impressions par la représentation directe et plus ou moins adéquate des objets, des formes, des attitudes, des scènes réelles ou imaginaires qui les ont fait naître.'

44 Véron, *Esthétique*, XI: 'tyrannie du doctrinarisme académique'.

45 Véron, *Esthétique*, 106, note (1).

46 See Bernd Müllerschön and Thomas Maier, *Die Maler der Schule von Barbizon. Wegbereiter des Impressionismus*, Stuttgart: Thome, 2002, 402.

### The section '*Arts graphiques et plastiques*'

Unlike the handwritten classification system Ernest-Théodore Hamy provides for the *Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro*, the Fine Arts section in the *Questionnaire* is not labeled as '*Arts du dessin*'.<sup>47</sup>

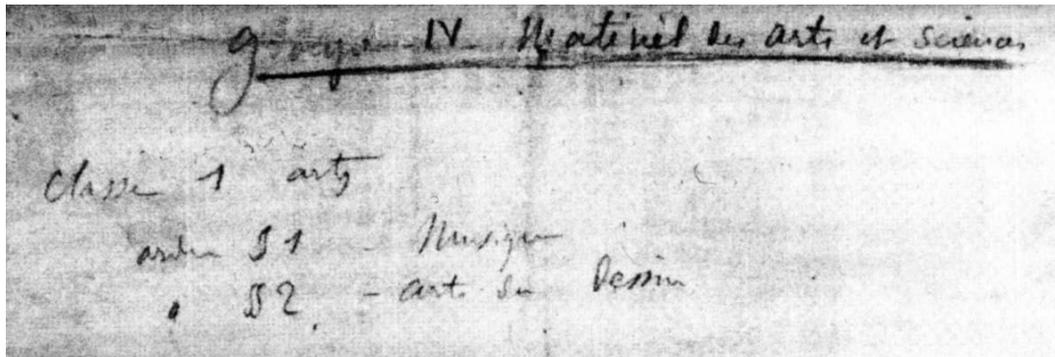


Figure 2. Ernest-Théodore Hamy: Projet de classification des collections ethnographiques. Archives du Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro. 2 AM I G 1 b. Musée du Quai Branly.

In favour of '*Arts graphiques et plastiques*', this terminology was omitted. The '*Arts du dessin*' ascribes the fine arts to a common basic principle, namely drawing, as an integral part of academic art theory as reflected, for example, in the title of the book *Considérations sur les arts du dessin en France* by the theorist Quatremère de Quincy.<sup>48</sup>

Leading the fine arts, painting, sculpture, architecture back to drawing – in accordance with the art theory of the Renaissance and Giorgio Vasari – is not inherent to the *Questionnaire*.<sup>49</sup> The wording therefore differs from the intellectual principle of art as a concept based on the idea. This was, according to Claire Barbillon, the basis for the differentiation between high and low in the French art establishment.<sup>50</sup> In *La Sociologie d'après l'ethnographie*, Letourneau adopted the attribute '*plastiques*' for sculptural creations,<sup>51</sup> whilst applying '*graphiques*' to characterize two-dimensional art. As a specific criterion of painting, he emphasizes

47 See Dias, *Musée d'Ethnographie*, 161.

48 See Antoine Chrysostôme Quatremère de Quincy, *Considérations sur les arts du dessin en France*, Paris: Desenne, 1791.

49 See e.g., Bernd Roggenkamp, *Die Töchter des «Disegno»: zur Kanonisierung der drei bildenden Künste durch Giorgio Vasari*, Münster: Lit, 1996.

50 See Claire Barbillon, '*L'esthétique pratique de Charles Blanc*', in Charles Blanc, *Grammaire des arts du dessin*, Paris: ENSBA, 2000, 15.

51 Letourneau, *Sociologie*, 111.

that they are 'flat'.<sup>52</sup> Eugène Véron also mentioned 'arts plastiques' in the introduction to *Esthétique*,<sup>53</sup> and covers the subject of drawing in the same chapter.

The final version of the rubric '*Arts graphiques et plastiques*' consists of seven subpoints with uncommented questions (Figure 1). A deliberate intention to concentrate on the main aspects is apparent, thereby underlining that no essential question was omitted.<sup>54</sup> Contrary to the first draft of the *Questionnaire* in which the first question directly addresses the subject of sculpture, a general question concerning the existence of '*Arts graphiques et plastiques*' is placed at the beginning of the final version.<sup>55</sup> This question is extended further by means of the suggestion: one should be on the lookout for the first hints of artistic manifestations. An absolute lack of '*Arts graphiques et plastiques*' is also included as an answer choice. However, the subsequent demand for a description 'Which are these?' influences the explorers' awareness as to leaning towards the existence of artistic objects at the places of investigation.<sup>56</sup>

In the following five sub points, '*Arts graphiques et plastiques*' is dedicated to the arts of sculpture, drawing and painting. In this connection sculpture is labelled 'objets sculptés,' a term which reaches beyond any classical generic designation (such as 'statue' or 'bust'). Taking into account *La Sociologie d'après l'ethnographie*, it can be concluded that the sequence of the genres of art is meant to correspond with the lines of development, the apex of which constitutes painting.<sup>57</sup> Whereas the existence of relevant examples of sculpture and drawing is not queried, the fifth sub point begins as follows: 'Is there painting?' This question reveals the prevailing presumption that, within the ranking scale culminating in painting, painting is not achieved by all, or correspondingly, not carried out. A limited existence or rather a low conservation of paintings in various parts of the world may have been a finding

52 Letourneau, *Sociologie*, 109.

53 Véron, *Esthétique*, V.

54 *Questionnaire de Sociologie et d'Ethnographie*, 578.

55 Letourneau, *Questionnaire de Sociologie et d'Ethnographie*, 4. Letourneau also published in the *Dictionnaire des Sciences anthropologiques*, which appeared between 1881 and 1889. In it, in an article entitled 'Sculpture', he states that sculpture was one of the first forms of art. See *Dictionnaire des sciences anthropologiques*, publié sous la direction d'Ad. Bertillon, Coudereau, A. Hovelacque, Issaurat, A. Lefevre, C. Letourneau, G. de Mortillet, Thulié and E. Véron, Paris: Doin, Marpon and Flammarion [1881–1889], 982–3. Independent entries on painting and architecture do not occur in the above-mentioned dictionary.

56 However, e.g., in the preceding section entitled '*Musique*', between the questions 'Y a-t-il des Instruments de musique?' and '( ... ), sont-ils à percussion ( ... )?' a, 'Si oui, ( ... )' is inserted. This seemingly has the intention to cause the reader to pause for a moment, thus rendering a negative answer more probable. See *Questionnaire de Sociologie et d'Ethnographie*, 583.

57 Letourneau, *Sociologie*, 109.

of earlier expeditions.<sup>58</sup> The high esteem awarded to painting corresponds with the conditions in the contemporary French art scene. Painting was the main focus of attention in the tradition of the Paris Salon.<sup>59</sup> Accordingly, painting precedes sculpture as well as drawing on the curriculum of the *École des Beaux-Arts*.<sup>60</sup>

No reference is made to colour being a characteristic of painting in the '*Arts graphiques et plastiques*'. Nevertheless, this is of interest to the authors. The section entitled '*Visual sense*' includes the question: 'Which colours are preferred?'<sup>61</sup> This is almost certainly related to the reception of Hermann von Helmholtz's writings by Véron, an aspect perceived by Jean Colrat.<sup>62</sup> Contrary to Véron's aesthetic conception, the *Questionnaire* does not list colouring as a separate accomplishment of painting. Véron especially supported artists who viewed colouring as an important part of their artistic expression. Besides the School of Barbizon, Eugène Delacroix and Gustave Courbet must be mentioned.<sup>63</sup> As the expressive arrangement by means of colour is omitted in the questions referring to the fine arts, the *Questionnaire* relates to the neo-classical tradition. In 1863 Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, the temporary director at the *Académie de France à Rome*, opposed the demand at the *École des Beaux-Arts* for courses to extend beyond the elements of drawing: 'On this occasion I quote what Poussin said: "This singular eagerness, he said, to study colouring is only an obstacle which prevents achievement of the real ambition of painting"'.<sup>64</sup> The *Questionnaire's* concentration on the technical aspects

58 Letourneau, *Sociologie*, 108. E.g., ephemeral sandpainting from Australia. See Ingrid Heermann, Ulrich Menter and P. Hans Hoch eds, *Gemaltes Land. Kunst der Aborigines aus Arnheimland, Australien*. Berlin: Reimer, 1994, 6.

59 See e.g., Andrée Sfeir-Semler's conclusive dissertation, *Die Maler am Pariser Salon. 1791–1880*, Frankfurt, New York and Paris: Campus, 1992; Guillaume Peigné, 'L'impératif des récompenses: le cas spécifique de la sculpture, (1864–1880)' in James Kearns and Pierre Vaisse eds, *«Ce Salon à quoi tout se ramène». Le Salon de peinture et de sculpture, 1791–1890*, Oxford: Lang, 2010, 83–100 here 83.

60 See the decrees printed by Jeanne Laurent, *A propos de l'École des Beaux-Arts*, Paris: ENSBA, 1987, 160–70.

61 *Questionnaire de Sociologie et d'Ethnographie*, 581.

62 See also Véron's dealings with the American colour scientist Ogden N. Rood: Jean Colrat, 'Eugène Véron: contribution à une histoire de l'esthétique au temps de Spencer et Monet (1860–1890)', *Revue d'Histoire des Sciences Humaines*, 2008/1, no. 18, 203–228, here 217–9; Jacqueline Lichtenstein, *La tache aveugle. Essai sur les relations de la peinture et de la sculpture à l'âge moderne*. Paris: Gallimard, 2003, esp. 199.

63 In *L'Esthétique*, Véron already refers to Delacroix. With the impetus of academic criticism, Véron comments on Courbet stating that his significance is as incontestable as that of Raphael. See Véron, *Esthétique*, VIII. During the 1880s Véron dedicated a monograph to Delacroix: Eugène Véron, *Eugène Delacroix*. [= Les artistes célèbres]. Paris: Librairie de l'Art J. Rouam, [1887].

64 Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres, *Réponse au Rapport sur l'École impériale des Beaux-Arts adressé au Maréchal Vaillant*. Paris: Librairie académique, 1863, 9: 'Je citerai, à cette occasion, ce que disait le Poussin: «Cette application singulière, dit-il, à étudier le coloris n'est qu'un obstacle qui empêche de parvenir au véritable but de la peinture, ( ... ).'

of drawing and painting (i.e., outline drawing, reproduction of shade, modelling) displays knowledge of an academic vocabulary. Ingres also states: '( ... ) through the study of drawing, by the lines, one learns proportions, the character, the knowledge of all human natures, every stage of life, their type, their form and modelling, which complete the beauty of the work.'<sup>65</sup>

One of the chairs at the *École des Beaux-Arts* was dedicated to the education of perspectival depiction.<sup>66</sup> This institution, which dominated the art scene, cultivated linear perspective, linking it to the ideal of the Italian Renaissance. The *Questionnaire* queries the knowledge of perspective as a conclusive skill. Letourneau's comment in *La Sociologie d'après l'ethnographie*: 'Without a doubt they [the Italians - S.M.] had already found the fundamental principles of perspective'<sup>67</sup> indicates that the expectations concerning the assiduousness of art as projected onto the selected regions conformed to linear perspective as a part of a European set of values, which served as a standard of classification in order to evaluate the historical development of other cultures.

The issue of knowledge and skills is concluded with this aspect in the section '*Arts graphiques et plastiques*'. It is now obvious that '*Arts graphiques*' not only implies the graphic elements of drawing, but also those of painting. The following point links 'Fine Arts' to '*Arts graphiques et plastiques*'. It becomes apparent that the appellation 'Fine Arts' in the super ordinate unit 'Aesthetics, Body decoration, Fine Arts', refers solely to '*Arts graphiques et plastiques*'. Everything beyond this, including architecture, is not assigned to 'Fine Arts'. This is discussed in various sections of the *Questionnaire*.<sup>68</sup> Under the heading '*Religion*' and part of the section entitled 'affective life', the following question is inserted: 'Is there worship, are there temples?'<sup>69</sup> 'Habitations' is given its own section within the topic 'intellectual life'. It reads: 'Is the construction of dwellings known?' and, 'Are the arch and the vault known?'<sup>70</sup> A reason for the categorization of architecture as 'intellectual life', contrary to painting and sculpture, lies in the propinquity of the scientific materialists to the architecture theory of Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, who had

65 Ingres, *Réponse*, 8: '( ... ) par l'étude du dessin, par les lignes, on apprend la proportion, le caractère, la connaissance de toutes les natures humaines, de tous les âges, leurs types, leurs formes et le modelé qui achève la beauté de l'oeuvre.'

66 Ingres, *Réponse*, 9; Laurent, *A propos de l'École*, 161.

67 Letourneau, *Sociologie*, 115: 'Sans doute, ils [les artistes italiens - S.M.] avaient déjà trouvé les lois principales de la perspective; ( ... )' For Véron's criticism of the impressionists based on noncompliance with the rules of perspectives, see: Colrat, 'Eugène Véron', 219. As to the significance of linear perspective in the discourse from a comparative view, see Hans Belting, *Florenz und Bagdad. Eine westöstliche Geschichte des Blicks*. Third edition, München: Beck, 2009.

68 See Véron, *Esthétique*, 103: 'L'architecture est devenue un art, mais elle a commencé par être autre chose.'

69 *Questionnaire*, 587.

70 *Questionnaire*, 592 and 593: 'Sait-on construire des habitations?' and 'Connait-on le plein cintre et la voûte?'

joined the *Société d'Anthropologie* in 1877. One year later Vèron wrote the following about him: 'The relevance of a logical relationship is especially evident in architecture. This point is completely verified by M. Viollet-le-Duc entirely in his *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture*, (...).'71

The explicit question: 'Which gender concerns itself mainly with fine arts?'72 seems unusual in view of the French contemporary art scene during the nineteenth century and is found in a modified form in almost every part of the *Questionnaire*. However, this does not infer that this enquiry stems from an emancipatory train of thought, but rather from a biologicistic practice. The observation of humans preceded the examination of plants and animals. Thus, in his instructions as to physical anthropology, Broca draws the comparison: 'Indeed the human is not more difficult to observe than a plant or an insect (...).'73 Contrary to the expectations arising from the allocation within the subsection of 'mental abilities', this issue does not particularly require any distinctive skills in the fine arts.74 As already explained, the threshold concerning mental prerequisites for the creation of art by means of the allocation to 'sensitive life' is quite low. The inherent idea in the *Questionnaire* of a non-intellectual practice of art conforms to a long-standing stereotyping in art historical writings, repeatedly expressed by male authors with reference to female creativity.75 At the time the *Questionnaire* came into being, women were not granted access to any academic education at the *École des Beaux-Arts*.76 Although women could take lessons in applied arts, the main emphasis was placed solely on their copying skills. They were not really considered capable of producing their own conceptual designs.77

71 Vèron, *Esthétique*, 80: 'Cette importance du rapport logique est surtout sensible dans l'architecture. Ce point a été mis en pleine lumière par M. Viollet-le-Duc dans son *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture*, (...)'.

72 *Questionnaire*, 584: 'Quel sexe s'occupe de préférence des beaux-arts?'

73 Broca, *Instructions générales*, 2: 'L'homme, cependant, n'est plus difficile à observer qu'une plante ou un insecte (...)' See also Dias, *Musée d'Ethnographie*, 76. Dias, 'Exploration des sens', 199 refers to the connecting lines between animal and man-made in the *Questionnaire*.

Measurements taken of men's and women's brains in order to confirm an alleged difference in intelligence, conformed to the times. However, Letourneau distanced himself from this. See Charles Sowerwine, 'Woman's brain, man's brain: feminism and anthropology in late nineteenth-century France', *Women's History Review*, vol. 12, 2003, no. 2, 289–308, esp. 296.

74 See the dissimilar introduction of this aspect under 'Mémoire'. In it the prerequisites are specifically questioned: 'Variétés de la mémoire suivant le sexe et l'âge.'

75 See for more details e.g., Maike Christadler, 'Kreativität und Genie: Legenden der Kunstgeschichte', in Anja Zimmermann ed, *Kunstgeschichte und Gender. Eine Einführung*, Berlin: Reimer, 2006, 253–72.

76 Women were excluded until 1896. See Marina Sauer, *L'entrée des femmes à l'École des Beaux-Arts. 1880–1923*, Paris: Énsb-a, 1990, 28.

77 See Stéphane Laurent, 'Teaching the Applied Arts to Women at the École Duperré in Paris, 1864–1940', *Studies in the Decorative Arts*, vol. 4, no. 1, Fall-Winter 1996–1997, 60–84 here 61.

Letourneau's approach in *La Sociologie d'après l'ethnographie*, is reflected in the *Questionnaire*. One should note that its primary objective was merely to classify the cultural artifacts in the regions observed within the hierarchy of developmental stages set by the authors, rather than to become more familiar with the cultural peculiarities. Letourneau, as noted, also contributed to the Italian *Istruzioni per lo studio della psicologia comparata* in 1873. The following question hailing from this Italian predecessor remains unknown to the *Questionnaire*: 'Are the people who dedicate themselves to art acknowledged?'<sup>78</sup> The significance of art or the position of the artists in the society of the visited parts of the world was of no further interest within the context of this questionnaire.

### Application of, and answers to, the *Questionnaire*

In the introductory paragraphs, the objective of the *Questionnaire* is formulated in order to be universally applicable. Accordingly, it must also be taken into account regarding the observation of French and other European cultures: 'We indeed wanted to draw up a sociological code of practice, applicable to all ethnic groups, large or small, uncivilized or civilized, to Fuegians as well as to inhabitants of most highly civilised capitals.'<sup>79</sup> Here the *Questionnaire* differs from the British *Notes and Queries* where the subtitle already specifies, working with the same vocabulary, that they only apply to 'residents in uncivilized lands'.<sup>80</sup> Claude Blanckaert demonstrated that Letourneau, as well as the other authors of the *Questionnaire*, credited each human with development potential.<sup>81</sup> There was a general consensus that high cultural accomplishment fundamentally evolves from a lower, preliminary stage. Thus, in *La Sociologie d'après l'ethnographie*, Letourneau criticizes the viewpoint of Greek Classical antiquity as an isolated phenomena which developed independently from historical background processes.<sup>82</sup> This point of view prevailed

<sup>78</sup> *Istruzioni per lo studio*, 329: 'Sono stimati gli uomini dediti all'arte?'

<sup>79</sup> *Questionnaire de Sociologie et d'Ethnographie*, 578: 'Nous voulions en effet rédiger un memento sociologique, indifféremment applicable à tous les groupes ethniques, petits ou grands, sauvages ou cultivés, aussi bien au Fuégiens qu'aux habitants des capitales les plus civilisées.' The authors of the *Questionnaire* insinuated that the Fuegians were cannibals. In 1887, Paul Hydes, who travelled in Tierra del Fuego, answered the *Questionnaire* making it clear that cannibalism was merely a legend. Letourneau did not want to believe this. See Blanckaert, 'Le premesse dell'antropologia "culturale"', 66; Blanckaert, 'Les prémices de l'anthropologie culturelle', 495.

<sup>80</sup> See *Notes and Queries*. In the second edition which appeared in 1892, almost ten years after the *Questionnaire*, and the third edition of 1899, the subtitle was omitted. See Alison Petch, 'Notes and Queries and the Pitt Rivers Museum', *Museum Anthropology*, 30: 1, 2007, 21–39, here 23.

<sup>81</sup> See Blanckaert, 'Le premesse dell'antropologia "culturale"', 60.

<sup>82</sup> Letourneau, *Sociologie*, esp. 104–6.

at the *École des Beaux-Arts* (for example concerning the collection of casts), and reflects a focus on the so-called *chefs-d'oeuvre*.<sup>83</sup>

The term 'chef-d'oeuvre' is found in *La Sociologie d'après l'ethnographie*, imbedded in sections on European art.<sup>84</sup> We encounter no further reference to it within other cultural contexts. Letourneau belonged to the polygenetics as did the vast majority of the members of the *Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*.<sup>85</sup> They opined that – a distinctly racist attitude considering today's point of view – an innate disparity between humans resulted in divergent mental aptitudes. This misconception, coupled with linguistic misunderstandings, misled Letourneau to presume as stated in *La Sociologie d'après l'ethnographie*: 'Sculpture, as also painting, has only been completely developed by the *Aryan* named race, (...)'<sup>86</sup> Not every author of the *Questionnaire* shared Letourneau's polygenetic stance. Hamy was a representative of monogenism.<sup>87</sup> He hence assumed that, in general, all humans possessed equal aptitudes. But he also held the view that the further development of art in various parts of the world would depend on the influence of missionaries from Europe.<sup>88</sup>

Examples of answers resulting from the *Questionnaire* being applied in Europe could not be found. However, in the report on Georges de Créqui Montfort and E. Sénéchal de la Grange's *Scientific Mission* in 1903 to Bolivia, Argentina, Chile and Peru we read: '( ... ), and E. Sénéchal de la Grange has already received a satisfactory amount of replies.'<sup>89</sup> The exact handling of this questionnaire is also recorded: 'E. Sénéchal de la Grange thought about asking the Indians from the highlands, either directly himself, or through an interpreter, but in order to fill the gaps which could be caused by the Quichuas and Aymaras instinctive anxiety and apprehensive mistrust in general of the Whites, especially foreigners, he also decided to distribute the above-mentioned enquiries to the civilised inhabitants who spoke Spanish, (...)'<sup>90</sup>

83 See e.g., Nadeije Laneyrie-Dagen, 'Louis Peisse et le «Musées des modèles» à l'École des Beaux-Arts', *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français*, 1985, 217–29 here 225.

84 See e.g., Letourneau, *Sociologie*, 105.

85 See Blanckaert, 'Le premesse dell'antropologia "culturale"', 92; Dias, *Musée d'Ethnographie*, 58.

86 Letourneau, *Sociologie*, 113: 'Comme la sculpture, la peinture ne s'est complètement développée que chez les races dites *Aryennes*, (...)' For more information on this subject see Léon Poliakov, *Der arische Mythos. Zu den Quellen von Rassismus und Nationalismus*, Hamburg: Junius Verlag, 1993.

87 See Dias, *Musée d'Ethnographie*, 209.

88 See for further details, Mersmann, *Die Musées du Trocadéro*, 255–62.

89 Georges de Créqui Montfort and E. Sénéchal de la Grange, *Rapport sur une mission scientifique en Amérique du Sud (Bolivie, République Argentine, Chili, Pérou. (Extrait des Nouvelles Archives des Missions scientifiques, t. XII)*, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1904, 85: '( ... ), et E. Sénéchal de la Grange a déjà reçu un nombre satisfaisant de réponses.'

90 Montfort and Sénéchal, *Rapport*, 84: 'E. Sénéchal de la Grange a bien songé à questionner les indigènes des Hauts-Plateaux soit directement, soit même à l'aide d'un interprète, mais

Published answers are to be found in the journal of the *Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*.<sup>91</sup> Thus information was obtained on cultural contexts in South America, including the afore-mentioned Tierra del Fuego,<sup>92</sup> Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Guinea and Madagascar,<sup>93</sup> likewise, in present-day Pakistan and Afghanistan,<sup>94</sup> Australia and New Guinea, as well as New Caledonia. Blanckaert points out that the answers stem from regions which, from a French perspective, were little known.<sup>95</sup>

The natural scientist Guillaume Capus, who attained his doctorate at the Sorbonne and was employed by the *Musée d'histoire naturelle*,<sup>96</sup> replied in 1890: 'The Kafir [i.e., people from the province of Nuristan (Afghanistan) - S.M.] has a feeling for drawing, for the image. They recognize themselves in a portrait made in watercolour or pencil. – The ornamentations of their fabrics, and that of their weapons, show a fairly high artistic sense, especially for symmetry.'<sup>97</sup>

This reflects Letourneau's vocabulary and perspective presented in *Physiologie des Passions*, as he applied the term 'artistic feeling'.<sup>98</sup> The Dutch protestant missionary Gerardus Lodewijk Bink (1844-1899) observed during a journey in Dutch New Guinea: 'One has a certain talent for drawing, and sometimes the lines are relatively graceful and pure.'<sup>99</sup> A subjective opinion is applied to gauge, yet at the same time Bink notes: '( ... ) one understands nothing about

afin de combler les lacunes que pouvait créer la défiance inquiète et ombrageuse éprouvé instinctivement par les Quichuas et les Aymaras pour les blancs en général et pour les étrangers en particulier, il a également décidé de répandre chez les habitants cultivés et parlant la langue espagnole les Questionnaires dont il est ci-dessus parlé, ( ... )'.

91 *Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris* (henceforth abbreviated: *BSAP*), 1860-1899; *Bulletins et Mémoires de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris* (henceforth abbreviated: *BMSAP*), 1900.

92 Joseph de Brettes, 'Les Indiens Arhouagues-Kaggabas. Réponses au questionnaire de Sociologie et d'Ethnographie de la Société d'Anthropologie', *BMSAP*, séries 5, vol. 4, séance du 16 avril 1903, 318–57; [Paul-Jules] Hyades, 'Réponses au questionnaire de Sociologie et d'Ethnographie, en ce que concerne les Fuégiens de l'archipel du Cap Horn', *BSAP*, séries 3, vol. 10, 1887, 327–40.

93 [Lucien] Bertholon, 'Ethnologie des habitants de la Khoumirie', *BSAP*, séries 4, vol. 2, 1891, 459–99; Godel, 'Réponses au questionnaire de Sociologie et d'Ethnographie. Côte occidentale d'Afrique', *BSAP*, séries 4, vol. 3, 1892, 157–85; Sadoul, 'Madagascar. Réponse au questionnaire de sociologie et d'ethnographie', *BSAP*, séries 4, vol. 7, 1896, 582–97.

94 Cf. Guillaume Capus, 'Kâfirs-Siahpouches. Réponses au Questionnaire de Sociologie et d'Ethnographie de la Société', *BSAP*, séries 4, vol. 1, 1890, 250–73.

95 In accordance with Blanckaert, 'Le premesse dell'antropologia "culturale"', 66.

96 See Auguste Chevalier, 'Guillaume Capus', *Annales de Géographie*, 1931, vol. 40, no. 226, 438–9.

97 Capus, 'Kâfirs-Siahpouches', 256–7: 'Le Kâfir a le sentiment du dessin, de l'image. Il se reconnaît dans un portrait à l'aquarelle ou au crayon. – Les ornements de leurs tissus et ceux de leurs armes prouvent un sens artistique assez élevé, notamment de la symétrie.'

98 Letourneau, *Physiologie des Passions*, 27: 'sentiment artistique'.

99 Gerardus Lodewijk Bink, 'Réponses', 390: 'On a un certain talent pour le dessin, et les lignes sont quelques fois relativement gracieuses et pures.'

perspectives.<sup>100</sup> A response to the final demand in the *Questionnaire* about 'Gathering as much as possible, products of industry, of art, of spirit' is found in Bink's remark: 'I have done it: the museums of Batavia and Utrecht contain quite a complete, albeit not large, collection.'<sup>101</sup> It may be added here that the Museum of the Royal Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences (now: the Museum Nasional, Jakarta, Indonesia) and the Museum of the Utrecht Missionary Society (the Netherlands) are referred to in the above quote.<sup>102</sup>

## Conclusion

The objective of the present article was to illustrate discourses on art from a viewpoint far removed from the traditional protagonists of art history. A central point was to indicate who was responsible for encouraging travelers' attention to art. They determined the choice of objects to be transported to Europe, many of which are currently part of museum collections. The travel instructions represent a special medium connecting authors (often scholars residing in European capitals) with respondents (often nonprofessionals) by means of a dialogue. In the present article one important French example is discussed. It evolved in relationship with an Italian instruction applied in various European countries to travelers all over the world. Whereas previously the travel instructions had focused on physical anthropology, the *Questionnaire de Sociologie et d'Ethnographie* established a starting point of an incoming awareness regarding cultural phenomena and art.

As with the anthropological background of the authors, the arising of art was linked to physical phenomena and specifically to theories of perception. In contrast to dominant art discourses, art was qualified as an almost sensitive and non-intellectual ability. This approach resembles the concept of art adhered to by the art critique Eugène Véron, the Director of the journal *L'Art. Revue hebdomadaire*. Véron was a person of reference to Charles Letourneau, the main author of the *Questionnaire*. The former was a member of the *Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, as was the group of authors of the *Questionnaire*. Even if we encounter a tendency towards a non-academic art approach in this questionnaire (which is also significant with Delacroix and the artists of the School of Barbizon), who were appreciated within the context of this questionnaire, certain characteristic viewpoints of academic art remain, especially the importance given to linear perspective, as an argument utilized when evaluating objects from abroad.

100 Bink, 'Réponses', 390: '( ... ) on ne comprend rien à la perspective.'

101 Bink, 'Réponses', 406: 'Je l'ai fait: les musées de Batavia et d'Utrecht contiennent une collection assez complète, quoique pas très grande.'

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