

The Journey of the Skulls

The Māori ancestral remains in the Schreiner Collection at the University of Oslo

Anette Nymann Lindhom

Master's Thesis in Museology and Cultural Heritage Studies
MUSKUL4590, Spring 2023, 30 credits

Department of Culture Studies and Oriental Languages
Faculty of Humanities



Copyright @ Anette Nymann Lindhom

2023

The Journey of the Skulls. The Māori ancestral remains in the Schreiner Collection at the University of Oslo.

Anette Nymann Lindhom

<http://www.duo.uio.no>

Trykk: Reprosentralen, Universitetet i Oslo

Sammendrag

I 2011 ble to Māori hodeskaller repatriert fra Universitetet i Oslo til nasjonalmuseet Te Papa Tongarewa i New Zealand. Kunnskapsavisen Khrono publiserte i 2021 en artikkel hvor de redegjorde for ytterligere 42 Māori hodeskaller ved Universitetet i Oslo. Disse var samlet inn av Ørjan Olsen i 1927 og befinner seg i dag i De Schreinerske Samlinger. Jeg ønsket å finne ut hvordan og hvorfor disse hodeskallene kom til Norge for nesten hundre år siden.

Gjennom arbeidet med denne oppgaven har jeg funnet et bredt arkivmateriale etter Ørjan Olsen. Jeg har analysert deler av hans dagbok fra ekspedisjonen til Polynesia, årene 1926-1928, samt hans korrespondanse og avisartikler skrevet om og av han fra denne tidsperioden. Gjennom dette arbeidet har jeg fått et innblikk i historien, i stor grad sett gjennom Olsens observasjoner og refleksjoner. Han gjengir detaljert hvordan han lette etter, fant, tok med seg og sendte hodeskallene hjem til Norge.

Ved å analysere Olsens arkivmateriale har jeg undersøkt hodeskallenes proveniens og diskutert betydningen av proveniensforskning og rematriering i dagens postkoloniale samfunn. Jeg har også belyst og diskutert forskjellene mellom vestlige og māoriske perspektiver. Begrepsbruken og hvordan levninger etter døde omtales, tydeliggjør en grunnleggende forskjell mellom perspektivene i deres syn på de døde. Mens man i vesten gjerne bruker begrepet “menneskelige levninger” (human remains) fokuserer det māoriske perspektivet på forfedrene, *Tūpuna*, og “levninger etter forfedre” (ancestral remains).

Abstract

In 2011, two Māori ancestral remains were repatriated from the University of Oslo to the national museum of New Zealand, Te Papa Tongarewa. In 2021, Khrono published an article announcing that there are 42 Māori remains, collected by Ørjan Olsen in 1927, located in the Schreiner Collection at the University of Oslo. I wanted to examine how they arrived there and why they are there in the first place.

Through my research I was able to locate a vast archive material left by Ørjan Olsen. By analyzing his diary from his expedition to Polynesia, 1927-1928, as well as his personal correspondence and newspaper articles from the period, I have gained an insight into the historic events, mostly seen through Olsen's observations and reflections. He gives a detailed account of his actions in searching for, locating, taking and exporting the Māori ancestral remains to Norway.

On the basis of my findings, I was able to research the Māori ancestor's provenance and discuss the importance of provenance research and repatriation in contemporary society as well as the difference between Western and Māori perspectives. This contrast is well illustrated through the different terminology used when describing skeletal remains. When the Western perspective uses "human remains", the Māori perspective uses "ancestral remains", showing the direct connection between the skeletal remains and the ancestors.

Acknowledgements

The past two years, working on my master's degree in Museology and Cultural Heritage studies at the University of Oslo, have been most rewarding. I am very grateful that I have been able to attend this program, which has given me so many new perspectives and experiences. First and foremost, I must thank my supervisors, Anders Bettum and Arne Perminow for their guidance and help in this process, as well as their patience and support during my periods of great frustration. Thank you to Julia Kotthaus, collection manager at the Schreiner Collection, for her help with locating archival material and introducing me to the collection and its history. I will also extend a special thank you to my professor Torild Gjesvik, for always being there for her students, being an inspiration and a role model.

I am very grateful to the repatriation team at Te Papa; Te Herekiele Herewini (manager of repatriation), Te Arikirangi Mamaku-Ironside (acting-head of repatriation), and Susan Thorpe (repatriation researcher). They have been most welcoming, inspiring, supportive, and offered me great help during this process.

Working with this topic has been both inspiring and overwhelming. To be able to peek into history, seen through the observations and reflections of Ørjan Olsen has been an amazing opportunity. The rights to Olsen's written material are held by his family, who were kind enough to let me use it. I am very grateful to them for sharing their stories and for their positive attitude towards my research.

A sincere thanks to good friends, family and colleagues who have been supportive, kept my mood up, made me smile and enjoy this process. Ola Rønne, thank you for your support, our coffee breaks and for listening to my endless talk about this topic. A special thanks to Edith and David Bain for proofreading my final text. Last, but not least, thank you so much Stian for your support and for giving me the time I have needed to be able to do this.

Tilde, Martin and Sonja, thank you for your patience, your love, your hugs and kisses.

Table of contents

Chapter 1. Introduction	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Structure	2
1.3 The limitation of the material	3
1.4 The Schreiner Collection	4
1.5 The repatriation of Māori ancestral remains in 2011.....	8
1.6 Thesis questions	9
Chapter 2. Theory and methodology.....	10
2.1 Theory.....	10
2.1.1 Postcolonial Theory and “The Other.”	11
2.1.2 The Māori Perspective.....	12
2.1.3 Postcolonialism in Norway and the Nordic Exceptionalism.....	14
2.1.4 Legal framework	16
2.2 Methodology.....	18
2.2.1 The Ancestral Remains.....	18
2.2.2 Archive material	19
2.2.3 Communication with Te Papa.....	20
2.2.4 Ethical considerations	20
Chapter 3. Ørjan Olsen in New Zealand	22
3.1 The background and financial plan for the expedition.....	23
3.1.1 Schreiner and the assignment of collecting crania.	25
3.2 Olsen’s network in New Zealand	27
3.2.1 Mr. Fraser	29
3.3 Tokanui and the 41 Ancestral remains	32
3.3.1 The permission to export the ancestral remains out of New Zealand.....	34
Chapter 4. Men of their time	38
4.1 The stolen Māori ancestral remains	38
4.2 The reasons for wanting Māori ancestral remains.....	41
4.3 The Māori ancestors in the Schreiner Collection today	44
Chapter 5. Rematriation, provenance, and the Māori perspective.	47
5.1 Ancestral remains.	50

5.2 Tapu vs. taboo	51
5.3 Provenance	53
5.4.1 Provenance found through the archive material.....	55
Chapter 6. Conclusion.....	58
Bibliography	65
Appendix.....	71
Quotes in Norwegian.....	71
Attachments	78

List of tables

Table 1 - Foreign ancestral remains in the Schreiner collection.....	7
--	---

List of figures

Figure 1. The Schreiner Collection, University of Oslo	7
Figure 2. Letter from Ørjan Olsen.	20
Figure 3. PM. Coats and Mr. Messenger	28
Figure 4. Mr. Fraser and the Māori chief Porowini	31
Figure 5. Aftenposten January 13 th 1928	37
Figure 6. Storage box with label	46
Figure 7. Estimated distance between Whangarei and Maungatpere.....	55
Figure 8. Location of Whangarei.	55
Figure 9. Index card in the Schreiner Collection archive.....	57

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The focus of this thesis is the collecting history of an assemblage of Māori ancestral remains collected by the Norwegian scientist Ørjan Olsen. The ancestral remains were removed from Whangarei, New Zealand, and sent to Norway, and have since been under the stewardship of the University of Oslo, specifically stored at the Schreiner Collection. I will focus on Olsen's research activities during the years 1926 – 1928. In today's postcolonial climate, provenance research and knowledge of each collections' content are increasingly important and relevant for future repatriation processes. Through my thesis, I will critically examine historical practices and paradigms concerning different cultural perspectives through the lens of Olsen's first-hand accounts of his expedition to Polynesia, personal correspondences, contemporary sources, and present-day discourse on repatriation and decolonization.

The Schreiner Collection is located at the Institute of Basic Medical Sciences at the University of Oslo and is regarded as one of Europe's largest collections of archaeological and anatomical osteological remains. Through modern methods, such skeletal collections can facilitate insight and research opportunities of past generations. It is also important in medical research and as reference material for forensic examination.¹ Despite its scientific and educational value, such 'bone rooms' have increasingly come under scrutiny regarding the ethical aspects of past collecting practices, the provenance of remains, curatorial standards, etc. A central part of recurrent criticism concerns the presence of indigenous, ancestral remains, usually removed unlawfully/without consent to be traded/sold/gifted, as was common practice during the 19th and early 20th century. Over the past two decades, indigenous groups and ethnic minorities are increasingly demanding the relocation, restitution, repatriation, return, and reburial of their ancestral remains.

In 2000, a working committee authored a report entitled "Vurdering av den vitenskaplige verdi av De Schreinerske Samlinger" (Evaluation of the scientific value of the Schreiner Collection). In this report, we can find information on the ethnographic material typically acquired through

¹ Fossum, Holck and Benestad *Historien om Anatomisk Institutt* (Oslo: Pax, 2023), 230

purchases, donations or collected by Norwegian scientists and their agents while traveling abroad, including in New Zealand. There are also several statements on the use of unethical collecting methods.² In addition, the report states that the Schreiner Collection requires revision and digitalization. This is especially important when it concerns provenance research, information flow, and the future handling of foreign and indigenous material.³

Through cooperation with The Schreiner Collection's collection manager, Julia Kotthaus, I have been introduced to the collection and gained a better understanding of the significant amount of work that a revision of this type entails. Researching the material provenance could be very challenging. In the evaluation from 2000, it says that "We have to be aware that for part of the material, there does not exist documentation of provenance. This will have direct consequences for possible measures."⁴ This, however, is not the situation regarding the Māori ancestral remains.

Against this backdrop, I have worked to establish the provenance of the Māori ancestral remains in the Schreiner collection. I located both Olsen's diary and his correspondence with Schreiner in 1927, and through this, I have been able to gain insight into Olsen's actions and reflections made almost a hundred years ago. Olsen was a scientist and doctor in zoology and geography, but he was also an adventurer. Throughout his career, he traveled to almost every continent and collected ethnographic, anthropological, and zoological material. On his research trip to Polynesia in 1926-28, Olsen collected ancestral remains from New Zealand, Tahiti, and Mangaia in the Cook Islands, which Olsen then sent to Kristian Emil Schreiner at the Anatomical Institute, University of Oslo.

1.2 Structure

In this chapter, I will describe the limitations of my research and the choices I have had to make. I will be introducing the Schreiner Collection, the repatriation of Māori ancestral remains in 2011 and finally, my thesis questions.

² Nicolaysen, et al. "Vurdering av den vitenskapelige verdi av De Schreinerske Samlinger", 50

³ Ibid. 32

⁴ Ibid. 35

In Chapter 2, I will introduce my theoretical framework. I base my research on Post Colonial Theory, focusing on Postcolonialism in Norway and “Nordic Exceptionalism.” I also use the Māori perspective presented by Dr. Amber Aranui. Lastly, I will introduce my source material and methodology.

The archival analysis of Olsen’s written material will be presented in Chapter 3. In Chapter 4, I will discuss how the Māori ancestral remains ended up in Norway and why they are here.

In Chapter 5, I will present the Māori perspective and discuss the repatriation of ancestral remains, their provenance, and the importance of provenance research today. Finally, in Chapter 6, I will include my conclusion and a look toward the future.

1.3 The limitation of the material

I will limit this project to the Māori ancestral remains collected by Ørjan Olsen in Whangarei, New Zealand. One could argue that it would produce a broader and better basis for comparison if I also included the ancestral remains, he collected in Mangaia, The Cook Islands, and Tahiti. The methods used throughout his expedition and the extensive diary material, essential in provenance research, are very similar regarding all of Olsen’s findings. This substantiates the argument for including all three locations and the total collected ancestral remains from Olsen’s trip to Polynesia in my research. I choose however, not to do this because it is a sensitive research topic, potentially involving many different groups of indigenous communities with different views and perspectives.

Based on the former repatriation process between Norway and New Zealand, the articles in Khrono.no, and my research on this topic, there is now an established contact between the national museum of New Zealand, Te Papa Tongarewa and the Museum of Cultural History in Oslo/ University of Oslo in Norway. At the moment, there is no similar communication established between Norway and Tahiti nor Mangaia, Cook Islands.

Repatriation and reburial of ancestral remains have increasingly come to the fore in recent decades and is “a growing legal issue that natural history museums cannot afford to ignore.”⁵

⁵ International Council of Museums “International repatriation of human remains of indigenous peoples”

Indigenous groups and other ethnic minorities⁶ are criticizing past research/collecting standards and demanding the relocation and return of their ancestral remains.⁷ Repatriation is a complex topic, occupying a central position at the intersection of racially motivated research according to extinct and outdated research paradigms, international trade (illicit or technically legal at the time), donation, barter, inter-institutional exchanges, etc., while at the same time being a very emotional, distressing and culturally sensitive topic.

Repatriation is managed differently by different indigenous groups, and reflects different administrative, bureaucratic, and diplomatic approaches.⁸ The example I will focus on, is the well-established and renowned repatriation program at Te Papa. Practices differ widely, even across politically connected states and protectorates/overseas territories.⁹ For instance, the Cook Islands are not formally part of the New Zealand repatriation program. Across Polynesia, there are no formal repatriation programs or formalized structures to request repatriation or initiate dialog. Establishing such contact would fall outside my mandate and the scope of this project, and without it, I find it problematic to include the material.

When relevant, I will use some of Olsen's diary entries from these expeditions to show cohesion in his actions and moral discussions.

1.4 The Schreiner Collection

The Schreiner collection at the Institute of Basic Medical Science, University of Oslo, is a collection of archaeological and anatomical skeletal – or osteological – human remains. It is one of the largest human osteological collections in Europe. It comprises approximately 8500 catalog entries dating from the Stone Age to the 19th century. While the most significant part of the

⁶ The United Nations “The Report on the World Social Situation 2018” definition of indigenous peoples or ethnic minorities: “the term refers to a group of people in a nation State that meets one or more of the following criteria: it is numerically smaller than the rest of the population; it is not in a dominant position; it has a culture, language, religion or race that is distinct from that of the majority; and its members have a will to preserve those characteristics (Foa, 2015). (United Nations. “The Report on the World Social Situation 2018”, 97)

⁷ Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa “Watch: Return of looted ancestors from Vienna to Aotearoa New Zealand” and McKinney “Ancestral remains from Oceania”, 34

⁸ Clegg, *Human Remains* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 109

⁹ McKinney “Ancestral remains from Oceania”, 34

collection is derived from excavations of medieval sites in Norway, the Schreiner collection is also comprised of approximately 500 ancestral remains from outside Norway.¹⁰

The use of human remains for scientific purposes goes back in history to the ancient Greeks and Egyptians. Still, with the Enlightenment of the 17th and 18th centuries, it became more widespread, and many current collections date back to this period.¹¹ During the late 1800s, Anthropology as a field of research expanded, and institutions such as museums and universities worked to increase their collections of human remains.

This also occurred in Norway, and with the reconstruction of the Anatomical Institute at the University of Oslo in 1915, a significant amount of 300 square meters was provided for the field of physical anthropology.¹² The director of the Anatomical Institute, Gustav Adolf Guldberg, initiated the anthropological collection of human crania displaying the world's different human races.¹³ Many of these crania were either donated by, or purchased from, sailors, missionaries, explorers, and collectors, like Leopold Eger in Vienna or the Norwegian collector Knut Dahl. Many other human remains were traded between European museums and universities.¹⁴

Today the collection is named after Kristian Emil Schreiner, a professor in anatomy. In 1908 he was appointed the new director of the Anatomical Institute,¹⁵ and during his administration and work within physical anthropology, the Schreiner Collection grew noticeably. A central theme within his research “was the division of humanity into different races based on physical characteristics such as hair and eye color and the shape of the cranium.”¹⁶ During his management, Schreiner mapped the Norwegian population's physical-anthropological

¹⁰ Institute of Basic Medical Sciences “About the collection”

¹¹ Clegg, *Human Remains* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 28

¹² Kyllingstad, *Rase* (Oslo: Cappelen Damm. 2023), 112 - My translation

¹³ Ibid. 116

¹⁴ Ibid. 114-116 and Vaalund, "Skaller og kadaverheis – en ekspansjonshistorie fra Anatomisk institutt" Museum for universitets- og vitenskapshistorie [Skaller og kadaverheis – en ekspansjonshistorie fra Anatomisk institutt - Museum for universitets- og vitenskapshistorie \(uio.no\)](#)

¹⁵ Vaalund, "Skaller og kadaverheis – en ekspansjonshistorie fra Anatomisk institutt" Museum for universitets- og vitenskapshistorie [Skaller og kadaverheis – en ekspansjonshistorie fra Anatomisk institutt - Museum for universitets- og vitenskapshistorie \(uio.no\)](#)

¹⁶ Store Norske Leksikon «Kristian Schreiner» Jan Brøgger. 25.03.2023 [Kristian Schreiner – Norsk biografisk leksikon \(snl.no\)](#)

characteristics. Schreiner was particularly interested in the Sami people and organized the collection of a significant amount of Sami ancestral remains, many of which were exhumed.¹⁷

Kristian Emil Schreiner was a positivist evolutionist who based his research on classifying external characteristics of the human body.¹⁸ Through his research, he tried to answer the questions of when and where the Sami ancestors came from and if all Sami communities belonged to the same race.¹⁹ Historian Jon Røyne Kyllingstad writes in his book “Rase, en vitenskapshistorie” (Race, a history of science) that “nothing suggests that they intended to prove that the Sami population belonged to a primitive race - but everything suggests that such a notion helped form a premise for their research. This affected both the analysis of the collected data and their behavior towards the Sami who were the subject of their research.”²⁰

Today the science of physical anthropology is discredited. A central aspect of this historical heritage is the ancestral remains of indigenous populations who today are a part of numerous anatomical collections throughout Europe and the West.²¹ The Schreiner Collection consists of approximately 1000 Sami ancestral remains and about 500 catalog entries collected outside of Norway. On the Schreiner Collection’s homepage, we can read:

“Some remains from Norwegian and foreign minority groups were acquired using methods that we strongly disapprove of today, but which were in keeping with the legal and ethical guidelines of times past. Ethical norms change with the times and in pace with societal developments and must be continually reappraised and reconsidered (...) “Our responsibility is to manage these remains in accordance with the highest ethical and professional standards.”²²

¹⁷ Holck, *Den fysiske antropologi i Norge* (Oslo: Anatomisk institutt, UiO, 1990) 64-66 and Store Norske Leksikon «Kristian Schreiner» Jan Brøgger. 25.03.2023 [Kristian Schreiner – Norsk biografisk leksikon \(snl.no\)](https://snl.no/kristian-schreiner) and Store Norske Leksikon «Rasisme» Torgeir Skorgen, Ingunn Ikdahl og Mikkel Berg-Nordlie. 03.03.2023. [rasisme – Store norske leksikon \(snl.no\)](https://snl.no/rasisme)

¹⁸ Gladhaug and Engebretsen «Unyansert oppgjør med fortiden»

¹⁹ Holck. *Den fysiske antropologi i Norge* (Oslo: Anatomisk institutt, UiO 1990), 66-69

²⁰ Kyllingstad, *Rase* (Oslo: Cappelen Damm. 2023), 210 - My translation

²¹ Vaalund, "Skaller og kadaverheis – en ekspansjonshistorie fra Anatomisk institutt" Museum for universitets- og vitenskapshistorie [Skaller og kadaverheis – en ekspansjonshistorie fra Anatomisk institutt - Museum for universitets- og vitenskapshistorie \(uio.no\)](https://uio.no/skaller-og-kadaverheis)

²² Institute of Basic Medical Sciences “Ethical considerations”

Table 1 - Foreign ancestral remains in the Schreiner collection	
Countries of origin	Number of ancestral remains
Greenland	125 ancestral remains
Nordic countries	50 (47 of these are Sami ancestral remains)
Other European countries	60 ancestral remains
Countries in Asia	30 ancestral remains
Countries in Africa	50 ancestral remains
Countries in Australasia	100 ancestral remains
Countries in North and South America	70 ancestral remains

An overview of some of the foreign remains in the Schreiner Collection, based on a revision of the collection, done in 1985 and referred to in the evaluation report from 2000.²³



Figure 1. The Schreiner Collection, University of Oslo²⁴

²³ Nicolaysen. et al. “Vurdering av den vitenskapelige verdi av De Schreinerske Samlinger”, 20

²⁴ Photograph: IMB, UiO [De Schreinerske samlinger - Institutt for medisinske basalfag \(uio.no\)](http://uio.no)

1.5 The repatriation of Māori ancestral remains in 2011.

In 2003, the New Zealand cabinet decided that the national museum of New Zealand, Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa) would act on the government's behalf to repatriate Māori and Morori ancestral remains.²⁵ The repatriation team, headed by Te Herekiele Herewini is actively seeking their ancestors. In 2009 and 2010 they reached out to 61 different institutions in Norway, requesting information about Māori or Morori ancestral remains. The answer rate was 42%, and only two institutions answered affirmative, both within the University of Oslo.²⁶ This request resulted in the 2011 repatriation of two Māori ancestors, one was from the Museum of Cultural History, the other was from the Institute of Basic Medical Science, the same institute which houses the Schreiner Collection.

In 2021 the Norwegian magazine *Khrono*,²⁷ which focuses on the higher-education sector, published a series of articles with a critical emphasis on the Schreiner Collection.²⁸ Espen Løkeland-Stai and Tove Lie disclosed the fact that 42 additional Māori ancestral remains were residing in The Schreiner Collection. As stated in the article, the New Zealand authorities, here represented by Te Herewini, were unaware of these additional remains at the University of Oslo.

When *Khrono* asked the University and the Museum of Cultural History why the University did not repatriate the 42 remains in 2011, the reply was, “UiO is now involved in the extensive work of going through the Schreiner Collection to get an overview of remains and provenance connected to the individual remains. When we finish this work, a new assessment of the future handling of the material will be done.”²⁹ That the University is now doing this work is very positive. Still, based on the evaluation of 2000, it is noteworthy that the University was not aware of the considerable amount of 42 catalog entries of Māori ancestral remains in their collection.

²⁵ Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa “Karanga Aotearoa repatriation programme, Background document”, 3

²⁶ Løkeland-Stai and Lie “Her ligger hodeskallene Universitetet i Oslo aldri fortalte maoriene om.”

²⁷ Kunnskapsavisen *Khrono* is an independent newspaper for higher education and research.

²⁸ Løkeland-Stai and Lie “Her ligger hodeskallene Universitetet i Oslo aldri fortalte maoriene om.”

²⁹ Ibid. My translation

1.6 Thesis questions

I will research how the Māori ancestral remains were acquired and shipped to Norway and use this as a basis for discovering why they ended up in the Schreiner Collection at the University of Oslo.

Based on my findings, I aim to both pinpoint their provenance and to discuss the importance of provenance research in contemporary society as well as the difference between Western and Māori perspectives.

Chapter 2. Theory and methodology

In this chapter, I will present my theoretical framework and the methodology used. In my research and analysis, I will use the framework of Postcolonialism, which includes both Postcolonial literature and Postcolonial theory. I will focus on both the Western and the Māori perspective. My primary method of discovery methodology is based on the archival research of Ørjan Olsen's written material.

2.1 Theory

The history of racial research is closely connected to the history of colonialism and may be illuminated by postcolonial literature. Racial research was established as a science in Europe in the 17th century, and its scientific development must be seen in relation to European imperialism and colonialism.³⁰ With the Eurocentric mindset and the European expansion, colonization, and the establishment of American slave colonies, a human hierarchy developed. On the one hand, the creation of the colonial social structures provided an expanding platform for developing racial scientific research.³¹ On the other hand, racial research would gradually legitimize the human hierarchy and European colonization.³² The science of racial research also created a need for scientific specimens, and the collecting of human remains was essential to the ongoing research.³³ Olsen and his work of collecting Māori remains is one of many examples of scientists and collectors who gathered specimens for their analysis or on behalf of universities and institutions. Kyllingstad's book "Rase, en vitenskapshistorie" ends by problematizing the legacy that the science, and scientists, of racial research has left behind.³⁴

The term Postcolonial does not define a specific time period after the colonization but has a broader meaning and is a critique of the impact and aftermath of Western colonization.

³⁰ Kyllingstad, *Rase* (Oslo: Cappelen Damm. 2023), 26

³¹ Vaalund, "Skaller og kadaverheis – en ekspansjonshistorie fra Anatomisk institutt" Museum for universitets- og vitenskapshistorie Skaller og kadaverheis – en ekspansjonshistorie fra Anatomisk institutt - Museum for universitets- og vitenskapshistorie (uio.no)

³² Kyllingstad, *Rase* (Oslo: Cappelen Damm. 2023), 26

³³ Store Norske Leksikon «Rasisme» Torgeir Skorgen, Ingunn Ikdahl og Mikkel Berg-Nordlie. 03.03.2023. rasisme – Store norske leksikon (snl.no)

³⁴ Kyllingstad, *Rase* (Oslo: Cappelen Damm. 2023), 353

Postcolonial theory is a wide field, but the essence lies in “that the world we inhabit is impossible to understand except in relationship to the history of imperialism and colonial rule.”³⁵ I will work with the Māori postcolonial perspective, postcolonialism in Norway, and Nordic Exceptionalism. The legal framework and the ethical guidelines for handling human remains will also be essential to my work.

2.1.1 Postcolonial Theory and “The Other.”

Postcolonial theory is often linked to Edward Said’s book *Orientalism* from 1978. His critique was based on how Western academic literature stereotyped the Orient in terms of radically different “others”. By constructing Orientalism in terms of radical difference, the Western academic world looked at the Orient from the outside, basing their descriptions and analysis on the existing prejudices of “the Other”³⁶ and thus contributed to reproducing them. By dealing with Orientalism, making statements about it, authorizing views on it, describing it, teaching it, colonizing it, and ruling over it, Orientalism is a Western way of dominating, reconstructing, and subordinating the Orient.³⁷ The critique reflects that Western academia is upholding the postcolonial power imbalance by using and reusing academic literature, as described by Said. Orientalism can also be applied to former colonies in general and indigenous communities.³⁸

Amber Aranui works in close cooperation with the repatriation team at Te Papa. She works as a Curator, Repatriation Researcher, and project leader for the National Repatriation Project, which supports New Zealand museums and *iwis* (tribes) in returning ancestral remains.³⁹ Aranui raises a strong Māori voice within postcolonial literature. One of her vital points is “to deconstruct the thinking of the nineteenth-century scientists and provide perspectives on how this affected Māori in the past, as well as how this manifests in the current issues surrounding repatriation today.”⁴⁰ Like Said, Aranui also points to “the Other” and the imbalance between the representatives of research and the societies and individuals who were studied. She describes how this imbalance

³⁵ Oxford Bibliographies “Postcolonial Theory” Daniel J. Elam. 23.02.2023 [Postcolonial Theory - Literary and Critical Theory - Oxford Bibliographies](#)

³⁶ Said, *Orientalism* (Oslo: Cappelen. 1994), 12

³⁷ Ibid, 13

³⁸ Aranui, *Te Hokinga Mai O Ngā Tūpuna*, 24-25

³⁹ Te Papa Academia “Amber Aranui”

⁴⁰ Aranui, *Te Hokinga Mai O Ngā Tūpuna*, 30

“has been used to describe not only the cultures of the Orient but also colonized cultures and peoples such as Māori and Moriori in New Zealand.”⁴¹ The Kaupapa Māori (being Māori) theory presents an altering in focus, “from the interests of the colonizer to the interests of Māori being in the center of academic and political discourse.”⁴² Through the active use of the Kaupapa Māori the Māori perspective will be able to influence the “body of knowledge that has been dominated by Western-based academia and science since the arrival of Cook in 1769.”⁴³

The notion of “the Other” is also present through the use of the English word taboo as a translation of the Māori word *tapu*. The Cambridge Dictionary defines taboo as “a subject, word or action that is avoided for religious or social reasons.”⁴⁴ The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines it as “a prohibition imposed by social custom or as a protective measure (and) a prohibition against touching, saying, or doing something for fear of immediate harm from a supernatural force”⁴⁵. *Tapu* is by the Intellectual Property Office of New Zealand defined as “the strongest force in Māori life.”⁴⁶ This involves many areas of interpretation, and “Tapu can be interpreted as ‘sacred’ or defined as ‘spiritual restriction,’ containing a strong imposition of rules and prohibitions.”⁴⁷ Taboo is not equal to *tapu*, and by upholding these terms as equals, the Western academia underpins cultural misunderstandings and sustains a colonial imbalance. In Chapter 3 we are exposed to Olsen’s own descriptions of the Māori *tapu* and how he views this term, as well as how he perceives Māori as “the Other”. This will further be discussed in section (4.2) and section (5.2).

2.1.2 The Māori Perspective

In *Te Hokinga Mai O Ngā Tūpuna: Māori Perspectives of Repatriation and Scientific Research of Ancestral Remains*, Aranui addresses an important gap in the scholarship on repatriation.

Through her research, she shares knowledge on the Māori perspective. She enlightens how the communities have been affected, both by the historical events concerning colonialism, the theft

⁴¹ Aranui, *Te Hokinga Mai O Ngā Tūpuna*, 13

⁴² Ibid, 27

⁴³ Ibid, 27

⁴⁴ Cambridge Dictionary “Taboo” 4.04.2023. <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/taboo>

⁴⁵ Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary, “Taboo.” 3.04.2023. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/taboo>

⁴⁶ New Zealand Intellectual Property Office “Concepts to understand”

⁴⁷ Ibid

of Māori ancestral remains and the ongoing captivity of these ancestors in museums and institutions today. Aranui also shares knowledge on the repatriation processes and how these processes affect communities differently. “These perspectives have not been studied in detail before (...) especially considering the ethical issues associated with the treatment of the dead.”⁴⁸ She argues that institutions that hold Māori Ancestral remains, and remains of indigenous peoples in general, may not understand the impact this has on the indigenous societies.⁴⁹

By seeing repatriation processes from a Māori perspective, it might be more fruitful to talk about rematriation. In 1995 Steven Newcomb wrote, “By “rematriation” I mean “to restore a living culture to its rightful place on Mother Earth,” or “to restore a people to a spiritual way of life, in sacred relationship with their ancestral lands, without external interference.””⁵⁰ While repatriation mainly addresses the return of objects and human remains to the homeland, rematriation is a broader term seeking to restore “the balance of relations within our worlds.”⁵¹ When acknowledging the vast differences in the meaning between “Human remains” and “Ancestral remains,” it is not difficult to see the distinction between repatriation and rematriation. Newcomb wrote, “As a concept, rematriation acknowledges that our ancestors lived in spiritual relationship with our lands for thousands of years, and that we have a sacred duty to maintain that relationship for the benefit of our future generations.”⁵² Understanding each other and reaching compromises will be easier by gaining knowledge of the different perspectives.

The rematriation process should be seen in connection with James Clifford’s theory of contact zones. James Clifford is Emeritus Professor in the History of Consciousness Department, University of California.⁵³ Clifford defines museums as contact zones where “a collection becomes an ongoing historical, political, moral relationship - a power-charged set of exchanges, of push and pull.”⁵⁴ The process leading up to a repatriation can have the function of a contact zone, revealing and working through conflicts of past injustices with the aim of restoring balance

⁴⁸ Victoria University of Wellington “Amber Aranui”

⁴⁹ Aranui, *Te Hokinga Mai O Ngā Tūpuna*, 12

⁵⁰ Newcomb, “PERSPECTIVES: Healing, Restoration, and Rematriation.”, 3

⁵¹ Finbog, *It speaks to you*, 101

⁵² Newcomb, “PERSPECTIVES: Healing, Restoration, and Rematriation.”, 3

⁵³ People.ucsc.edu “Career Narrative”

⁵⁴ Clifford, *Routes* (London: Harvard University Press, 1997), 192

through a rematriation process, eventually leading to a new understanding and renewed relationships. This I will explore further in Chapter 5.

2.1.3 Postcolonialism in Norway and the Nordic Exceptionalism

Kristín Loftsdóttir and Lars Jensen discuss the topic of Nordic Exceptionalism in their book “Whiteness and Postcolonialism in the Nordic Region.” Norway and the Nordic countries are often considered different from the rest of Europe. In this context, the idea of Nordic Exceptionalism focuses on the “Nordic countries’ peripheral status to the broader European colonialism and to the more contemporary processes of globalization.”⁵⁵ That the Nordic countries hold a different status today based on their peripheral role during colonization. This is reflected through political statements, like the one made by the former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Jonas Gahr Støre, addressing Norway’s conflict resolution efforts in 2010; “there is our perceived impartiality and low degree of self-interest. This is because we do not have a past as a colonial power or political and economic interests that could cast doubts on our political engagement.”⁵⁶ By claiming that Norway does not have a past as a colonial power, which confirms a position of impartiality, he distances Norway from the other European countries that have been colonial powers and strengthens the idea of Norwegian Exceptionalism.

History plays a vital role in creating a national identity. Anne Eriksen, professor in cultural history and museology at the University of Oslo discuss the role of history as science in her book “Historie, minne og myte” (History, memory and myth). Contrary to a person’s memory, which is subjective, history, which is based on its theoretical methods, is supposed to be accurate and scientific. It lives on through books and archival sources.⁵⁷ For history to be accurate, it must be the subject of continuous studying, not treated as static. There is so much archival material that has never been studied, many stories and angles that have not been told. Our history may continue to develop with new research, stories, and angles. By under-communicating our

⁵⁵ Loftsdottir and Jensen (eds.) *Whiteness and Postcolonialism in the Nordic Region*. (New York: Routledge, 2016), 2

⁵⁶ Støre, Jonas Gahr “Norway’s conflict resolution efforts – are they of any avail?” (Oslo: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 11.06.2010)

⁵⁷ Eriksen, *Historie, minne og myte* (Oslo: Pax forlag AS, 1999), 86

involvement in parts of history that we may not easily relate to, our history perception will be clouded.

Sahra Torjussen has studied the representation of Norwegian colonization in six different history books used in grades 8-10 in Norwegian schools. She concludes that even though the history books give much attention to colonization, the Norwegian colonial role is only presented at a minimum. By leaving out these parts of Norwegian colonial history, the history books portray a selective understanding of our history.⁵⁸ By belittling our involvement in colonial history in educational material or political discourse, the idea of Norwegian exceptionalism remains unchallenged.

Through case studies, Loftsdóttir and Jensen present different aspects of Nordic colonialism and challenge Nordic Exceptionalism. Erlend Eidsvik discusses the Norwegian act of colonialism through a case study with Norwegian immigrants in the Cape Colony in the second half of the nineteenth century. He exemplifies their situation as being neither the colonizer nor the colonized but in the ambivalent place in between.⁵⁹ Norwegian immigrants and sailors in colonized areas were numerous, and in the Belgian Congo, “Norwegian seamen were instrumental in maintaining the Belgian colonial apparatus.”⁶⁰ Eidsvik demonstrates “that Norwegians took part in the construction of colonial discourse; not in colonization or in an imperial project per se, but in maintaining and constructing colonial discourse.”⁶¹

Norway, as a part of the kingdom Denmark-Norway, partook in colonialism in West Africa, India, Caribbean and Greenland until 1814 and the Danish secession of Norway.⁶² Even though Norway did not hold colonies for itself, the Norwegian state actively participated in the internal colonization of the Sami People and upheld and expanded the colonial discourse relating to indigenous communities. The Anthropological mindset of studying “the Others” and collecting what is theirs, from cultural artifacts to ancestral remains, are examples of colonialism. Racial research and structuring of a racial hierarchy enhanced European imperialism and colonialism.⁶³

⁵⁸ Torjussen «Fremstillingen av kolonialisme i norske lærebøker», 42

⁵⁹ Eidsvik, “Colonial Discourse and Ambivalence” 21

⁶⁰ Ibid. 19

⁶¹ Ibid. 14

⁶² Brimnes, “The colonialism of Denmark-Norway and its legacies”, Nordics Info Aarhus University, 23.05.23 [The colonialism of Denmark-Norway and its legacies \(nordics.info\)](https://nordics.info/)

⁶³ Kyllingstad, *Rase* (Oslo: Cappelen Damm. 2023), 354

Through their creation of the colonial discourse, Norwegian scientists, race researchers, and collectors of anthropological material can represent a part of the Norwegian colonial power. I will readdress these topics and discuss them further in Chapters 4 and 6.

2.1.4 Legal framework

In 1901 New Zealand ratified *The Māori Antiquities Act*, becoming one of the first countries to implement legislation concerning cultural artifacts.⁶⁴ The law was amended in 1904 and replaced in 1908. *The Māori Antiquities Act 1908* was effective until 1962 when it was replaced by the Historic Articles Act.⁶⁵ This law prohibited the export of Māori antiquities, but the Minister of Internal Affairs was authorized to approve such requests by issuing a “Warrant to export”.⁶⁶ The definition of Māori antiquities from 1904 was transferred to the new law in 1908:

““Māori antiquities” includes Māori relics, articles manufactured with ancient Māori tools and according to Māori methods, and all other articles or things of historical or scientific value or interest and relating to New Zealand but does not include any botanical or mineral collections or specimens.”⁶⁷

This definition of Māori antiquities was upheld until the current legislation, the *Protected Objects Act 1975*, was passed in 2006, introducing the term “Taonga Tūturu” (an object that relates to Māori culture, history or society that was, or appears to have been, manufactured or modified in New Zealand by Māori; or brought into New Zealand by Māori; or used by Māori; and is more than 50 years old.)⁶⁸

The legal framework concerning the repatriation of human remains may be challenging to navigate based on the many laws and guidelines differing between nations. However, the International Council of Museums (ICOM) states that given “recent legal and cultural developments, the repatriation of indigenous humans will most likely be considered a question of

⁶⁴ Paterson, “Māori Preserved Heads: A Legal History” 6

⁶⁵ White, “The trouble about your combs arose this way...” 1

⁶⁶ Ibid. 2

⁶⁷ The Māori Antiquities Act 1908 No. 110 §2 [1908C110.pdf \(auckland.ac.nz\)](#)

⁶⁸ White, “The trouble about your combs arose this way...” 1,10 and Protected Objects Act, 1975, s. 1A, s. 2(1)

legal, human rights. The ethical obligations of museums, along with their own developing guidelines, mirror this development.”⁶⁹

Through the Protected Objects Act of 1975, New Zealand is actively working for the return of human remains taken during the country’s colonial period.⁷⁰ The UN adopted the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) in 2007.⁷¹

Article 12 in UNDIRP specifies:

“12.1 Indigenous people have the right to manifest, practice, develop and teach their spiritual and religious traditions, customs and ceremonies; (...) and the right to the repatriation of their human remains.

12.2 States shall seek to enable the access and/or repatriation of ceremonial objects and human remains in their possession through fair, transparent and effective mechanisms developed in conjunction with indigenous peoples concerned.”⁷²

In the Norwegian parliamentary white paper «Musea i samfunnet. Tillit, ting og tid», repatriation to indigenous communities is a central topic. The focus is mainly on the Sami population, but the content is transferable to all indigenous communities.⁷³ This also counts for the 2020 Norwegian report on repatriation of ceremonial objects and human remains under the UNDRIP which states that “Norway welcomes the initiative of the UN expert mechanism for the Rights of Indigenous People (EMRIP) to collect information on national activities pertaining to the repatriation of ceremonial objects and human remains.”⁷⁴ In this report we can also read that Norway “(Ministry of Culture) would like to extend an open invitation to governments with Sámi items in their museums' collections to enter in dialogue with a view to possible cooperation relating to the dispersion of knowledge of Sámi culture, their traditional ways of life and religious practices.”⁷⁵ Here we can see some resemblance to New Zealand’s international request for cooperation regarding Māori repatriation. This is also reflected in Aranui’s statement that the UNDRIP “has

⁶⁹ International Council Of Museums “International repatriation of human remains of indigenous peoples”

⁷⁰ International Council Of Museums “International repatriation of human remains of indigenous peoples”

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² United Nations “United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP)”

⁷³ Meld.St. nr. 23 (2020 – 2021)

⁷⁴ United Nations “Norway's report on repatriation of ceremonial objects and human remains under the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP)”, 1

⁷⁵ Ibid. 5

been used by Māori in conjunction with other laws, policies and treaties (...) to highlight not only the injustices of the past which are continuing into the present but also the fact that these circumstances is not unique to Aotearoa⁷⁶ New Zealand, as similar issues exist throughout the world for many other indigenous peoples.”⁷⁷

An important aspect of the repatriation processes is to have an open and respectful dialogue seeking mutual understanding of the differences in perspectives. Ethics and morality hold a high standing in these discussions. Paul Tapsell, former Director of Māori at the Auckland War Memorial Museum, reflects this in his statement; “Redressing the morality of holding another culture’s ancestors captive is, in fact, a cornerstone of today’s shift in Aotearoa New Zealand’s museum practice”⁷⁸

2.2 Methodology

2.2.1 The Ancestral Remains

The Māori ancestral remains are stored at the Schreiner Collection at the University of Oslo, and there are strict guidelines to access the site. Permission to enter the repository space is managed by the Institute for basic medical Sciences.⁷⁹ Furthermore, archival material forms an equally integral part of the Schreiner Collection, and these records are currently available only to view in person and upon request.

Before starting my research, I contacted the National Committee for Research Ethics on Human Remains asking for guidance on my future process. Since my research into the ancestral remains is non-invasive and does not concern the physical remains but rather the supplementary information, no further ethical approval was needed. I was recommended to contact the origin countries of the material I would be researching. I sent a request to The Schreiner Collection, and after getting a confirmation of the material, I contacted Te Herewini at Te Papa.

⁷⁶ Aotearoa is the modern Māori name for New Zealand

⁷⁷ Aranui, *Te Hokinga Mai O Ngā Tūpuna*, 203

⁷⁸ Aranui, *Te Hokinga Mai O Ngā Tūpuna*, 192

⁷⁹ Institute of Basic Medical Sciences "Guidelines for the use and management of the Schreiner Collections §6 Access to the collection."

2.2.2 Archive material

Through my research, I found both Olsen's correspondence to Schreiner and Olsen's diary from his expedition to Polynesia. The letters were in the Schreiner Collection while the diary was in the Private Archive in the National Library. His typewritten and detailed material give excellent insight into Olsen's expedition to Polynesia.

The fact that three of my primary sources (published books, private letters, and diary) are all written by the same author provides advantages and disadvantages. By using the method of ethnographic document analysis, looking at the process as fieldwork, I can observe and analyze the different aspects of the documents.⁸⁰ Reading the same stories written by the same author but to three different audiences provides different nuances and aspects that are helpful for interpretation and comparative analysis. The published books are more neutral in their descriptions than the diary and the letters. It is, for example, clearly an active choice not to describe any of the episodes concerning the collecting of human remains in the published books. The topic is discussed, but not Olsen's involvement or any material collected. These topics are however, discussed in detail in both the letters and the diary. The diary goes into more detail than the letters concerning the circumstances and locations. It can be considered both personal and public. It was not written for publication, but as documentation of his expedition. Olsen did inform Schreiner about the diary and that he would share the information with him upon his return to Norway. It is possible that it was shared with others within the academic world as well. The letters can be seen as more personal as they are typed to Schreiner, probably intended for him only. The tone is formal but friendly, revealing both a professional relationship between the two as well as Olsen's personal engagement in their research.

It can also be a disadvantage to see the events mainly through the eyes of Olsen, as he owns the storylines and decides what he wants to share and how he intends to present the information. To locate other perspectives of the expedition and the public's view of Olsen, I researched the Norwegian newspapers from 1926-1928. I searched for the names "Ørjan Olsen," "Polynesien," "New Zealand" and "Ny Zeland" in the digitalized newspaper available in the National Library. My total findings were "Ørjan Olsen" (338), "Polynesien" (64), "New Zealand" (2291) and "Ny Zeland" (42).

⁸⁰ Asdal and Reinertsen, *Hvordan gjøre dokumentanalyse*, (Oslo: Cappelen Damm AS, 2021) 169

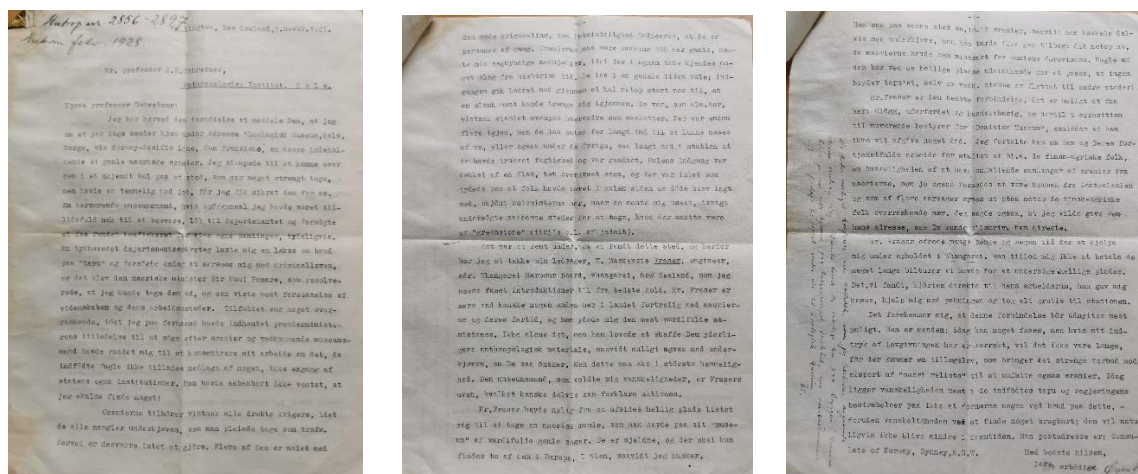


Figure 2. Letter from Ørjan Olsen.⁸¹

2.2.3 Communication with Te Papa

Through close cooperation and communication with the repatriation team at Te Papa, I have gained valuable information about the repatriation process and the Māori perspective. In addition, I have contacted researchers involved in other repatriation processes in Polynesia and followed the International Repatriation Summit Year 1, 16.10.2022 online⁸². On November 18th, 2022, I attended an informal meeting with Te Herekiele Herewini (manager of repatriation), Te Arikirangi Mamaku-Ironside (acting-head of repatriation) from Te Papa, and officials at the University of Oslo and the Museum of Cultural History.

2.2.4 Ethical considerations

I am very much aware of my role as a representative of the white western majority culture and that my assumptions and worldview are not rooted in the same historical perception and cultural heritage as the indigenous communities whose ancestral remains are in Norway.

However, it is important for me to try to present and discuss the Māori perspective, the Māori connection to their ancestors, and how the removal of them affected and still affects the Māori

⁸¹ Original letter from Olsen to Schreiner, 5.11.1927, in the Schreiner Collection archive, private photograph, taken and reproduced with permission.

⁸² Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, *The International Repatriation Summit Year 1*, 16.10.2022 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kk3y4U4htAE>

communities today. Through my work on this thesis, I have gained an insight and an understanding of the Māori perspective which has enriched my own history and world view. This is a good example of the basic rule within hermeneutic theory, that scientists always will interact with a text and new information with already imbodyed preconceptions on the topic. Through the hermeneutic circle the scientist is affected by the newly acquired information and insight, which again creates new preconceptions on the topic.⁸³

When looking back and analyzing the past it is important to do so with scientific humility. With a great distance in time to the topics that are researched both ethnocentrism and chronocentrism may affect the process and the results.⁸⁴ Mainly judging the past by the ethical standards of the present, without seeing the contextual nuances is neither fair nor scientific. The physical anthropology was an accepted science which now is discredited. It is important to be aware that what may be a scientific truth today may be altered in the future, and when looking back at the past, not doing so through the eyes of the superior present.⁸⁵

Ørjan Olsen was a renowned scientist, author, and explorer who, throughout his life, took part in the social debate through newspaper articles and writing books and lectures about his experiences.⁸⁶ Through dialogue with his family, I have also been introduced to him as their trusted brother and a fun and exciting uncle. I have no intention of generally criticizing Ørjan Olsen, and the research material I am using portrays only a part of his life, the years 1926-1928.

⁸³ Asdal and Reinertsen, *Hvordan gjøre dokumentanalyse*, (Oslo: Cappelen Damm AS, 2021) 246-247

⁸⁴ Kalleberg, «Om vitenskapelig ydmykhet» 29

⁸⁵ Kaijser and Öhlander (eds.) *Etnologisk fältarbete*, (Lund: Studentlitteratur AB. 2014), 256

⁸⁶ Store Norske Leksikon «Ørjan Olsen» Steinar Wikan. 25.03.2023 https://nbl.snl.no/%C3%98rjan_Olsen

Chapter 3. Ørjan Olsen in New Zealand

I started my research by reading Olsen's two published books, "Eventyrlandet – Fra en reise i New Zealand" and "I Sydhavsparadiset" as well as Konrad Wagner⁸⁷'s "The Craniology of the Oceanic Races". In "Eventyrlandet", Olsen's trip to New Zealand is well documented. He writes about burial caves and discusses the different perspectives on ancestral remains, represented by science, the Western, and the Māori perspectives. He does not mention collecting ancestral remains. However, based on the ancestral remains in the Schreiner Collection with the corresponding index cards, there can be no doubt that he has collected and delivered them to Schreiner. Furthermore, I know these ancestral remains were used in the Ph.D. research of the Norwegian anatomist Konrad Wagner. In the introduction, Wagner refers to a letter Olsen had written to Schreiner on November 5th 1927, describing how he located and collected the ancestral remains.⁸⁸

In the Schreiner Collection's archive, I found the letter referred to by Wagner and two other letters Olsen wrote during the same expedition. These three letters gave useful insight into the communication between Olsen and Schreiner and Olsen's account of events connected to the search and finding of the ancestral remains. Unfortunately, I could not locate Schreiner's reply to any of the letters, which could have given more details and nuances concerning their communication and the background of the expedition. However, through newspaper articles from the time, I have gained a broader picture of the events and the opinions and perspectives.

In one of the letters, Olsen refers to a diary he was writing where the locations and circumstances are described in more detail. Olsen wrote several diaries from his different expeditions. One is located at the Schreiner Collection, another at the Museum of Cultural History in Oslo, but I could not find the diary from his trip to Polynesia. Based on the information in his letter and that he sent the remains to the Zoological Museum in Oslo, where Schreiner would have to claim them, I thought the diary might be in the museum's archive. Unfortunately, the museum's

⁸⁷ Konrad Wagner was a part of several conflicts with Schreiner and other colleagues, much because Wagner supported Germany up to, and during the war. (Holck, *Den fysiske antropologi i Norge* (Oslo: Anatomisk institutt, UiO 1990), 73 and Fossum, Holck and Benestad *Historien om Anatomisk institutt*, (Oslo: Pax. 2023) 87-89)

⁸⁸ Wagner, *The Craniology of the Oceanic Races*, 7

archive was under reconstruction, and I did not gain access. The archive staff did help me look for the diary, without any success. After some broader research, I was fortunate to locate this diary at the Private Archive in the National Library.

3.1 The background and financial plan for the expedition

In the Norwegian newspaper “Nordlansk folkeblad” an article was published on June 30th, 1926, titled; “Dr. Ørjan Olsen til Polynesien” This article refers to an interview with Ørjan Olsen in Paris, while he was preparing for his upcoming expedition.

“It is written from Paris to «Aftenposten». The Norwegian scientist Dr. Ørjan Olsen, known from his many expeditions to distant countries, has for some time now been in residence here while planning a new expedition, this time to the islands of Polynesia. - What is it that interest you down there? – There is a distinct flora and fauna on these islands, which unfortunately are disappearing. (...) - Who will benefit from what you collect? – The Zoological Museum in Oslo, under the University. It is the Norwegian state which finances my expedition. All European and American museums of any importance are now ensuring a collection from down there, Oslo should not be falling behind.”⁸⁹

As we see from the excerpt, this article was first published in Aftenposten⁹⁰, and it is likely that similar re-publications like the one in “Nordlansk Folkeblad” also was used in other local newspapers throughout the country. Similar articles about Olsen’s expedition were published in national and semi-international newspapers. In the United States of America, pieces were printed in “Nordiske Tidende” and “Minneapolis Tidende,” both newspapers written in Norwegian for Norwegian immigrants. I have not been able to locate articles from American newspapers written in English, but that does not mean there were no articles written. On November 11th, 1926, the Norwegian-American communities could read in “Nordisk Tidende” that;

“The well-known Norwegian nature scientist Dr. Ørjan Olsen arrived New York Friday morning onboard “Bergensfjord.” (...) Dr. Ørjan Olsen must be our times most well-traveled Norwegian. He has lived among Sibirin Sojotes and with the Navahoindians in the Arionian mountains. In

⁸⁹ Nordlansk folkeblad 30.06.1926: “Dr. Ørjan Olsen til Polynesien” (A. In the appendix) - My translation.

⁹⁰ Aftenposten 23.06.1926: “Dr. Ørjan Olsen til Polynesien” (N. In the appendix)

Jerico, Hawaii, Troja, Pieter-Maritzburg, Kairo and Fez is he just as familiar as he is with the birdlife of northern Norway.”⁹¹

Olsen was an experienced scientist and explorer, and this trip was not his first. In 1912-13 he was on an expedition to South Africa doing zoological (mainly whales and birds) and geological studies. A few years later, he went on two expeditions (1914, 1916-17) to Siberia, where he studied the Todjin Soyots, an until then unknown indigenous group within the Tuvins.⁹² The primary purpose for Olsen’s expedition to Polynesia was mainly to collect zoological and anthropological material and to send these back to the university museums. As we can read from the article, collecting this type of material was very popular, and all the “important” museums were building similar collections.

The finances for the Polynesia Expedition came from the remaining monies from the Siberian Expedition and a series of new donations. The expedition's financial plan was published in *Morgenbladet* on October 30th 1926;

“With the state approval, the remaining funds from Ørjan Olsen’s Sibiria Expedition, counting approximately 9400 kroner, is transferred to the Polynesia expedition. Contributors are; The Norwegian State kr. 10 000, Collected at the Science Society in Trondheim kr. 2100, Nansenfondet kr. 1000, The Prime Minister Carl Løvenskiold kr. 1000, Grocer Sven Gerard, Christianssand kr. 1000 (...), Hofjægermester Thomas Faernley kr. 500, Miss Harriet Wedel Jarlsberg kr. 500, Anatomic Institute kr. 500, shipowner Thor Dahl kr.500, Banker John G. Heftey kr. 500, Skogselskabet kr. 250, Feddersen & Nissen, Hammerfest kr. 250, Selskabet for Norges Vel kr. 250, disponent Oscar Hytten, Tønsberg kr. 100. Steen & Strøm has donated to the expedition a marvelous tent and Christiania Glassmagasin has donated Bergans’ backpacks and smart cooking and cutlery equipment in aluminum. As we remember, both of these businesses contributed similarly to the Siberian expedition.”⁹³

Based on Olsen’s interview, we know that both the University of Oslo and the Norwegian state financed his expedition. Through this article in *Morgenbladet*, we see that the main financial contributor was the Norwegian state, confirming Olsen’s statement. Private investments were made by people with a high standing in society, such as Prime Minister Løvenskiold and Miss

⁹¹ Nordisk Tidende 30.11.1926 “Paa Reise til Selskabsøene” (B. In the appendix) - My translation.

⁹² Store Norske Leksikon «Ørjan Olsen» Steinar Wikan. 25.03.2023 https://nbl.snl.no/%C3%98rjan_Olsen

⁹³ *Morgenbladet* 30.10.1926 «Bidrag til Ørjan Olsens Polynesia-ekspedition» (C. In the appendix) - My translation.

Wedel Jarlsberg. Also, the two largest department stores, Steen & Strøm and Christiania Glassmagasin, contributed by donating equipment for his upcoming expedition.

3.1.1 Schreiner and the assignment of collecting crania.

As we know, the primary purpose of the expedition was to collect zoological and anthropological material. Schreiner had made a less well-known request to collect Māori crania for his anatomical collection and ongoing research on the connection between the Tuvins and the Sami people.⁹⁴ On May 24th, 1927, while Ørjan Olsen was still resident in Tahiti, he wrote a letter to Schreiner. An excerpt from this letter reads:

“As you may remember, I was somehow reluctant when you asked me to collect crania in Polynesia. I knew that this was a difficult matter and was afraid to give any promises. I have kept you in my thoughts and tried my best to accommodate your wishes. I am happy to inform you that I have succeeded in getting a hold of 8 crania and some bone fragments from true Tahitians.”⁹⁵

As Olsen mentions in his letter to Schreiner, he knew that finding Māori remains would be difficult. Throughout his book *Eventyrlandet* he describes burial caves on several occasions and shows great interest in the Māori burial traditions. He explains this in more detail and through recapitulating events in his diary. During his travels in the area of Rotorua in New Zealand, his driver points to a cave in the mountainside above them.

“We see a hole in the mountainside not far above us. «This is the entrance to a cave, where there are stored Māori skeletal and crania» the driver says. - I would like to see those. «It is very tapu, to go there will be very dangerous, you will risk being shot by the Māori if they see you there. »”⁹⁶

Through these diary notes, we learn that Olsen is told explicitly that it is both very “*tapu*” and “dangerous” to enter the Māori burial grounds. By “dangerous,” the driver may refer to the Māori who guarded the burial caves and that they would protect them through violence if necessary, or to the *tapu* itself and what it may mean to break it. When Olsen refers to finding

⁹⁴ Letter written by Ørjan Olsen to Schreiner 05.11.1927 p.3 (3. In the appendix)

⁹⁵ Letter written by Ørjan Olsen to Schreiner 24.05.1927 p.1 (2. In the appendix) - My translation.

⁹⁶ Diary by Ørjan Olsen p. 418 – diary entry 14.10.1927 (20. In the appendix) - My translation

Māori remains as “a difficult matter,” this might be partly what he meant. He knew that most burial caves were guarded and that one would have to be careful when accessing them.

The following excerpt is from the last letter from Olsen, written in November and sent from New Zealand. In this letter, Olsen informs Schreiner about the findings of 41 crania.⁹⁷ He writes about the place and circumstances and about Mr. Fraser, harbour master of Whangarei on the North Island, who was of great help to Olsen. In this excerpt, Olsen describes a conversation with Mr. Fraser, explaining why Schreiner wanted the Māori ancestral remains.

“I told him [Mr. Fraser] about you and your remarkable work on studying the Tadjin Soyots people, and about your wish to have a great collection of Māori crania, who also might come from Central Asia, and who by different account seems to be surprisingly closely linked to the Tadjin Soyots.”⁹⁸

What Schreiner and Olsen wanted to do with the crania was a continuation of the previous study of similar collected material from Siberia. This same explanation is given by Olsen in several accounts to different people and is documented in his diary. For example, in one of his diary entries from November 4th, he describes this through his conversations with Mr. J. Hislop and Sir. Maoui Pōmare, officials within the government. Olsen tried to explain the importance of sending the remains out of New Zealand and to Schreiner in Norway.

“If it had only been two or three crania, Hislop said, but the total of 41! Two or three crania would not be of interest to us, I explained. We would happily take with us two or three hundred, it is the larger amount we need. The material is without commercial value, and has no value as museum material either, in which case 2-3 would be needed. It has no value for N.Z as a state, when you lack the great series of related races, which makes it possible to work with the material. It is only of interest for the very few scientists, who owns the material which can be used in a comparison, and who work with this topic. This research might have just as great value for N.Z. as for Norway, it is of international interest, and you should be grateful that foreign countries took care of this.”⁹⁹

⁹⁷ The exact number of one catalogue entry can either refer to a single specimen or a far greater number of skeletal remains from different individuals. There are 42 catalogue entries from Whangarei N.Z. in the Schreiner Collection: 41 of which are skulls, and 1 entry encompasses 7 mandibles.

⁹⁸ Letter written by Ørjan Olsen to Schreiner 05.11.1927 p.3 (3. In the appendix) - My translation.

⁹⁹ Diary by Ørjan Olsen p. 450 – diary entry 04.11.1927 (4. In the appendix) - My translation.

Through this excerpt, we are again introduced to the background of Schreiner's research and that it is the comparison of the material that is important. It is also interesting to notice the colonial aspect of his mindset when he refers to New Zealand as a state that should be grateful for Norway's research. He presents it as if they were doing them a favor and doing the research on their behalf.

3.2 Olsen's network in New Zealand

On September 1st, 1927, Olsen wrote in his diary about his arrival in Wellington, New Zealand (Monday, August 29th) and his first days there. Upon arrival, he contacted the consulate and was met by a representative, Mr. Lindeberg, who presented Olsen to the secretary of internal affairs, Mr. Hislop. "He was very welcoming but prepared me for the difficulties with getting permission to shoot protected birds when the protection was so rigorous."¹⁰⁰ Hislop vouched for Olsen and got his luggage and guns declared through customs. The next day Olsen had lunch with the Consul at the Rotary International club, a prestigious men's club where he was introduced to several high-standing people in the society, church minister Mr. Watson and press representative Mr. Wheeler being some of the notables.¹⁰¹ After lunch, the consul and Mr. Hislop took Olsen to the Dominion Museum and introduced him to Mr. Oliver, who Olsen thought at the time to be the museum director. Through Mr. Wheeler, Olsen was introduced to several members of parliament, including Prime Minister J. G. Coats. He assured Olsen that his secretary would be at his disposal and assured him that "all the permits that could be given to me would be given."¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Diary by Ørjan Olsen p. 354 – diary entry 01.09.1927 - My translation

¹⁰¹ Diary by Ørjan Olsen p. 355 – diary entry 30.08.1927 - My translation

¹⁰² Diary by Ørjan Olsen p. 356 – diary entry 2.09.1927 - My translation

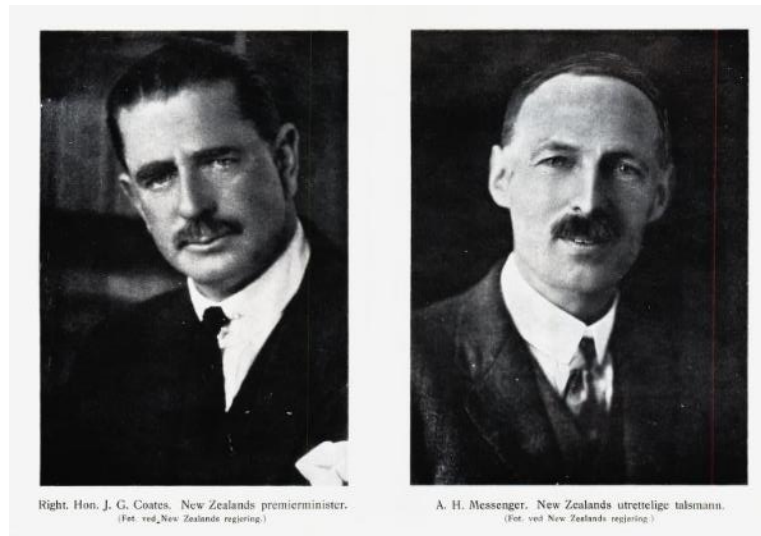


Figure 3. PM. Coats and Mr. Messenger¹⁰³

Olsen was also introduced to Sir Māui Pōmare K.B.E, the Minister of Internal Affairs and in charge of the Department of Cook Islands.

“He was round and jovial, I found him sitting in a buffalo chesterfield sofa (...) he received me halfway lying down. He had curly grey hair, no distinctly Māori features. He said that I could not have living rare birds, that was definite, but I would be given a collection of duplicates from the museum. (...) I would be given all permissions and be introduced to the chief of the Publicity department Mr. Messenger.”¹⁰⁴

Based on these diary notes, we learn that Olsen was introduced to and accepted by the political and social elite in New Zealand. Through his diary entries and the recapitulations of his conversations, we learn that he was not permitted to shoot rare birds but would be granted all permits possible. At this point in his journal, he does not write about what type of permits Prime Minister Coats and Minister Pōmare are referring to. It is, however, safe to say that he gained a promising base for his expedition. The acceptance of his expedition by the ministers confirms Olsen’s standing in society as a respected scientist and explorer. Because of the Norwegian state’s financing of the expedition and his tasks of making collections for the benefits of the

¹⁰³ Prime Minister J. G. Coates and the chief of the Publicity Department Mr. Messenger Photo: Olsen, *Eventyrlandet* (Oslo: Aschehoug. 1931), 8

¹⁰⁴ Diary by Ørjan Olsen p. 358 – diary entry 2.09.1927 (1. In the appendix) - My translation

university, it must be concluded that Olsen was not perceived by those who assisted him as a private explorer but as a representative of the University of Oslo.

3.2.1 Mr. Fraser

Throughout the diary, Olsen introduces and describes several people he cooperated with. He also informs Schreiner of how they could further assist him if he so desired. Both his letters and his diary make it clear that Mr. Fraser helped Olsen locate burial caves as well as to exhume ancestral remains in New Zealand. Mr. Oliver was the one who suggested to Olsen that he should contact Mr. Fraser; this is referred to in his diary entry of September 15th, 1927;

“He said, I would get to exchange all the birds they could relinquish. Offered me also molluscs and low-ranking animals, and suggested I should concentrate my work towards collecting crania. Named a man, who could be helpful, and gave me the right places, a Mr. Frazer, Whangarei Harbour Board, a railway station north of Auckland. (But he should not be told the full story at once. O. did not want to write to him or Chatham Isl., so there would not be any discussion of the topic in advance.)”¹⁰⁵

This is the first diary entry after arriving in New Zealand, where Olsen refers to his assignment of collecting human remains. Even though Olsen is thorough and detailed in his records, many things are left out by coincidence or purpose. The following day Olsen refers to a similar conversation with the zoologist Prof. Kirk. Olsen had asked Kirk about caves and the possibility of finding crania in them. Kirk responded:

“About 30 years ago the State Forrest Department had a “Nursery”, in Whangarei, North Auckland District. “Just over the hill from this nursery was a burial cave. It has probably been raided repeatedly by now. Mr. Frazer will know. He may know of other caves”.”¹⁰⁶

Based on Oliver’s suggestion and Kirk’s references, Olsen has likely discussed this part of his expedition with other scientists and officials. Oliver’s comment may be interpreted as a statement saying it would be easier to focus on the work of collecting crania than rare birds, which were highly protected. Oliver shows some hesitation towards the topic as he does not want

¹⁰⁵ Diary by Ørjan Olsen p. 380 – diary entry 15.09.1927 (5. In the appendix) - My translation

¹⁰⁶ Diary by Ørjan Olsen p. 381 – diary entry 16.09.1927 (6. In the appendix) - My translation

to write to Frazer about it. On the other hand, Kirk seems reassured that Fraser will help Olsen in his search for crania.

I have chosen four excerpts from the diary, a letter, and the published book *Eventyrlandet* which describe Fraser as a person, his relationship with the Māori, and his contribution to Olsen and Schreiner. The first excerpt is a recommendation to contact Mr. Fraser, made by Mr. Gilbert Archey, secretary and curator at Auckland Institute and Museum.

“He did not know of any caves that were not already robbed. Frazer would be the best man to know them; but he did not know if he would help, he was a good friend to the natives.”¹⁰⁷

In *Eventyrlandet*, Olsen describes Fraser as an expert on Māori culture and a good friend of the Māori tribes in Whangarei.

“Fraser had specialized in studying the Māori people. He was on very friendly terms with the natives and had therefore been able to gather a material, which would have been impossible for most white.”¹⁰⁸

In both his diary and his letter to Schreiner, Olsen describes Fraser as a great man with similar attitudes towards science as themselves. In the following excerpts, Olsen describes how Fraser obtained a Māori mummy, which he had in his private collection.

“He showed me a private museum of beautiful and valuable objects which he had collected himself. Among them was a newly collected Māori mummy of distinct age and well-preserved. It was brought down from the mountains a few miles outside of Whangarei. F. had with great struggle brought it down by himself.”¹⁰⁹

“He saw in the same place about 10-12 crania, to his memory they were partially mandibles, but he did not dare to return right now since the Māori suspected him of the mummy’s disappearance. Some of them live by the holy ground just to make sure no one breaks the tapu, even though the tribe has moved away.”¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ Diary by Ørjan Olsen p. 438 – diary entry 24.10.1927 (7. In the appendix) - My translation

¹⁰⁸ Olsen, *Eventyrlandet* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1931) 438 (8. In the appendix) - My translation

¹⁰⁹ Diary by Ørjan Olsen p. 441 – diary entry 24.10.1927 (9. In the appendix) - My translation

¹¹⁰ Letter by Ørjan Olsen to Schreiner. Sent from Wellington 5.11.1927 p.3 (10. In the appendix) - My translation

Through these four different excerpts, Fraser is portrayed both as a friend of the native Māori tribes and also as a man who does not find it morally wrong to steal from their holy burial grounds to collect relics and remains for his private collection.



Figure 4. Mr. Fraser and the Māori chief Porowini¹¹¹

In Olsen's diary, he is referring to the event with the mummy and a discussion he had with Fraser:

“Then the Māori had noticed that it was gone, and several of them had contacted the native man who had assisted Mr. Fraser and demanded an explanation. Either the mummy had to be returned, or there had to be paid a fine of 10L. Fraser read me the letter; the Boy sounded desperate. He had said that he did not know of any of it. I announced that the N.Z. Prime Minister had told me that he did not know of any law that forbade collecting of the dead from pagan times, and I added that I did not understand that the Māori in this case could claim ownership over an ancient mummy, which they did not know of. F. agreed with me and did not take this too seriously, but he would talk to these Māori and explain why he had taken this mummy, he thought they would understand and give up”¹¹²

This excerpt is an excellent example of the difference between the Western and Māori perspectives. While Olsen and Fraser mainly look at the mummy as an object and one of many marvelous Māori relics to keep in a collection or on display in a museum, the Māori perspective

¹¹¹ Photo: Olsen, *Eventyrlandet* (Oslo: Aschehoug. 1931) 209

¹¹² Diary by Ørjan Olsen p. 442 – diary entry 24.10.1927 (11. In the appendix) - My translation

sees the mummy as an ancestor and an essential connection between the living, the dead and the land, connected to this specific *iwi* (tribe).¹¹³

We also see the colonial aspect in the difference in the power balance between Mr. Fraser and the Māori man assisting him. Mr. Fraser does not seem worried, assured by his societal position, while the assistant is portrayed as desperate. The colonial aspect is also present in collecting and exporting ancestral remains from indigenous societies. One of the things Olsen is informing Schreiner of, and discussing in his diary, is the importance of rapidly collecting and shipping out human remains as the laws might change, and this process might be even more difficult in the future. This is well described in his letter to Schreiner, where Olsen urges Schreiner to contact Mr. Fraser.

“I think that this connection should be used as much as possible. He is the man; today there are still possibilities to collect, but if my interpretation of the law is correct, this will soon change, there will come an addition to the law, that will include crania into the strict prohibition of exporting “Māori relics” that already exist. Today the difficult part is connected to the native’s tapu and the governments wishes not to offend anyone by braking this, - and of course the difficulties with finding something useful, that will of course not be easier with time.”¹¹⁴

In this excerpt, Olsen has no moral conflict regarding collecting and exporting human remains. He is aware of the Māori resentment against collecting and exporting their ancestral remains, but this is not something he considers. His colonial mindset is also evident in how he elevates himself above this community and refers to its laws and restrictions.

3.3 Tokanui and the 41 Ancestral remains

On October 29th Olsen and Fraser went on two trips together, one before and one after lunch. The first trip was made to the area where Fraser grew up, and they were looking for crania in caves Fraser had played in as a child. During this trip, they found five ancestral remains which they brought back to Whangarei. The information about this first trip was unexpected and will be discussed in more detail in section 5.3.

¹¹³ Aranui, *Te Hokinga Mai O Ngā Tūpuna*, 12

¹¹⁴ Letter by Ørjan Olsen to Schreiner. Sent from Wellington 5.11.1927 p.3 (12. In the appendix) - My translation

The second trip of the day went to the holy burial ground, Tokanui. They took a taxi and brought with them two ladies Fraser knew. When they found the burial cave Fraser was the one to enter, and based on Olsen's notes, this was because of the size difference between the men, and that Olsen would not have been able to fit into the opening.

The place, we were going to visit, was the holy burial place Tokanui, a place Frazer was certain had not been visited from Whanganui and probably not from other places either, since it was always watched over by the Māori.¹¹⁵

“After some time, he came up with half a dozen, put them in a pile next to the opening, climbed higher and handed them over to me one by one. Do you still want more he asked me. I want all we are able to take with us, I replied. F. went down again and came up with another batch, repeated this several times. (...) Then we had to take them back with us. By my suggestion we did this in two journeys, brought the two full bags with us to the open fields, left the content, our jackets and the rest of our things with the ladies, who had been waiting by the stream, they now had to watch over the content while we went back for the remaining objects. It was just barely possible to get it all with us. (...) We returned with the last batch, placed it behind a big tree trunk by the road, went back for the rest. Some Māori worked the fields 7-800 meters away and we were somewhat worried of getting noticed (this burial place is highly taboo). When we returned with the last batch, we made the ladies go beforehand, it was planned that they would signal to us if they saw the Māori approach. This did not happen, but they stopped at the top of the hill and waited for us. The Māori probably thought we were just out on a picnic with the ladies, and as many silly Europeans brought with us to much stuff. We returned at 5 and the car was returning almost precisely to pick us up. Almost at the same time as Fraser crossed the hill to get the car, he was approached by the Māori who was watching out for this burial ground; he was on his way home. He stopped and wanted to talk, here F. was very smart and said he wanted to greet his woman in the wagon further ahead and managed to keep him moving away from us. This went well. The back of the car was filled with our backpacks and the crania were almost hidden underneath the paper, and then we drove off. We left the ladies by their home at the town border and drove directly to an outhouse at the Whangarei Harbour Board, where the whole collection was loaded off unseen. Went then to get a drink, which was just about time, it had been a warm job.”¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ Diary by Ørjan Olsen p. 444 – diary entry 29.10.1927 (18. In the appendix) - My translation.

¹¹⁶ Diary by Ørjan Olsen p. 444 – diary entry 29.10.1927 (19. In the appendix) - My translation.

These diary notes show us that Olsen and Fraser were highly aware of the moral implications of what they were doing. They acted as a team, hiding, and avoiding getting caught by pretending to be on a picnic, using the two ladies as their alibi. The location was also chosen because they knew this was a sacred burial ground for the Māori. Olsen is pointing out that because it is always “watched over by the Māori,” it was likely that they would be able to find the skulls they were seeking. This is another example of Olsen’s knowledge and disregard of the importance of ancestral remains to the Māori. The way Olsen describes his actions is not unique to this finding. Throughout his diary, he describes similar activities in Mangaia, Cook Islands, and Tahiti.

3.3.1 The permission to export the ancestral remains out of New Zealand

Upon Olsen’s arrival to New Zealand, Mr. Oliver helped him collect zoological material, donating parts of the Dominion Museum’s collection and introducing him to Mr. Fraser. However, when Mr. Oliver learned about Olsen’s findings, he tried to prevent Olsen from sending the Māori ancestral remains out of the country. He did this by involving Mr. Hislop, the undersecretary of Internal affairs.

The following two excerpts are from Olsen’s diary and the conversation Olsen had with Hislop, and Sir. Pōmare, trying to convince them to let him send the remains out of New Zealand.

“I explained in both offices, that everywhere in Polynesia where I had exported this type of material, I had done it under the label “Scientific specimens” or equal, and that you of course could not state the factual content on the Bill of Lading, when people often would not handle or house this type of material. Both Hislop and Pōmare understood this very well. They also understood that to not damage my own popularity I could not openly display and discuss this type of collection and its methods. I said, “This type of topics can only be discussed with intelligent people, to a few high ranked, not to the “man in the street.” The undersecretary said something about digging up one’s beloved from cemeteries, which is highly taboo. I replied that all burial grounds are taboo, and that if this should be the guidelines, then science would not get anything. “Can you understand that the natives may be upset when they hear about this type of action?” he said. “Yes of course” I replied, “Therefore, they should not hear about it when these things are done.” He looked a little shocked.”¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷ Diary by Ørjan Olsen p. 450 – diary entry 4.11.1927 (13. In the appendix) - My translation

“After a little conversation, Hislop took me to Pōmare, who wished to talk with me. Pōmare greeted me friendly and with a smile, almost curious, and wanted to hear more about my findings. I explained to him almost the same as I had done in the other office. He listened to me positively and mindfully. He then asked about existing similarities between Asian people and the Māori. He asked to receive whatever we might write about this matter or what we already had. He did not think that the Māori was of Mongoloid race, but that they came from somewhere northwest of India. He told me several things of interest, among others, that the burial method of leaving the dead sitting upright was specific for the Moriori, but not Māori, at least not from around here. He also said that his grandfather extinguished the Moriori at the Chathams. He continued by explaining that he was the president of the Polynesian society and the anthropological society here. He was very polite and concluded by signing the document and saying, “You can take them with you, I will take the responsibility by my people if they ever are aware of it.” The Māori’s attitude towards fair play and his intelligence greatly contrasted Mr. Oliver and the undersecretary.”¹¹⁸

It is interesting to read that the Māori minister, Sir. Pōmare granted permission to send the ancestral remains out of the country to participate in this research. In cooperation with Susan Thorpe, repatriation researcher at Te Papa, she has sent me several archival materials from Te Papa and the museum in Whangarei. We have searched for the document Sir. Pōmare signed on November 4th but have been unable to find it.

If Mr. Oliver had not contacted the Department of internal affairs, Olsen might not have officially told anyone of his findings or declared it. Still, as we can read in the recapitulation of his dialogue with the undersecretary, he already got permission from the Prime Minister when he entered the country.

“I answered that it was not quite clear what the difficult situation was: I had asked the Prime Minister if there was any law against collecting this type of material and made my intentions clear. (...) Hislop looked understanding and almost friendly, but the thickheaded undersecretary looked very serious and asked in a grave voice if I did not know it was forbidden to export “Māori relics”? If I could not understand what the relatives to these people might think and feel, how upset they must be when they see their beloved shipped off? (...) I answered that by “Māori relicts,” no one would mean old bones, it was of course, objects of ethnographic interest that was

¹¹⁸ Diary by Ørjan Olsen p. 450 – diary entry 4.11.1927 (14. In the appendix) - My translation

meant by this, that old bones had not been protected in other countries where I had worked, that these crania were of warriors without mandibles and partly painted, that no one knew them or the place they were found.”¹¹⁹

Through these discussions, we are introduced to the ethical implications and the differences in opinion among government officials. By today’s moral standard, this process, both the taking and exporting of the ancestral remains, are subject to criticism. It is shameful and should not have happened. Interestingly, this view is also shown through these archival sources. Mr. Oliver and the Undersecretary represent different points of view to Olsen and his companions. Through the various excerpts, Mr. Oliver does not show resentment against taking Māori ancestral remains, but objects to exporting them out of New Zealand. In his letter to Schreiner, Olsen speculates over Mr. Oliver’s motives and stresses that Mr. Fraser did not favor Mr. Oliver. He writes that Fraser is “in opposition to the manager of the “Dominion Museum” so he would not donate any of his findings to him”¹²⁰ and that Mr. Oliver “ran to the department to try to get the findings confiscated for his collection, apparently.”¹²¹ On the other hand, the undersecretary questioned Olsen’s actions and referred to the Māori’s connection with their ancestors. He sympathized with their reactions and focused on the immoral aspect of “digging up one’s beloved from cemeteries”.¹²² Olsen expressed that he understood this, but that science had to be prioritized. This is again an excellent example of the difference in worldview and perspective.

Throughout his diary, Olsen writes several times about the “*tapu*” and how the Māori look after their dead and burial caves. In his book *Eventyrlandet*, he writes;

"We've heard about the progressive Europeanisation of Māori. But the old notions are still alive, especially in the most remote areas, where the culture has struggled to penetrate. (...) The old chiefs sit in the burial caves and brood over their fallen warriors. With accidental-proon death-laughter, they meet the stranger who dares to defy the curse of “the tapu” to explore their secrets. The spirits roam the night, meet each other, they are believed to be paying close attention to the development, but they do not like it. And least of all, those strangers intruding on their land. The relatives have to ensure that this does not happen. But science wants material. One will study the

¹¹⁹ Diary by Ørjan Olsen p. 449 – diary entry 4.11.1927 (15. In the appendix) - My translation

¹²⁰ Letter by Ørjan Olsen to Schreiner. Sent from Wellington 5.11.1927 p.3 - My translation

¹²¹ Letter by Ørjan Olsen to Schreiner. Sent from Wellington 5.11.1927 p.1 - My translation

¹²² Diary by Ørjan Olsen p. 450 – diary entry 4.11.1927 (13. In the appendix) - My translation

beautiful and, in many respects, exceedingly interesting Māori people's history, which is closely linked to the discovery and colonization of all of Polynesia. (...) The answer must be sought in the burial caves. (...) Here are conflicting interests. The sympathetic Māori “tapu” connected to the burial caves stands in contrast to the needs of science. (...) When the old ones have passed away, we hope to get hold of this material, (...) the young are more enlightened and not so fanatical”.¹²³

He is aware that the skeletal remains are essential to the Māori and their culture, but if he truly understands the reason behind it, is more questionable. The way he refers to their view as “sympathetic” and “fanatic” is patronizing and an example of his Western colonial mindset. Based on this, he likely dismisses the Māori perspective because he does not take it seriously and interprets it through the eyes of Western superiority. Because he lacks an understanding of the Māori perspective, he justifies his actions and ethics through science and the belief that his actions do not cause harm.



Figure 5. Aftenposten January 13th 1928¹²⁴

¹²³ Olsen, *Eventyrlandet* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1931) 149-151 (16. In the appendix) - My translation

¹²⁴ Photo: Aftenposten January 13th, 1928. “Ørjan Olsen’ expedition to Polynesia. -Valuable shipments for Zoological Museum.” in “En del uttalelser om dr. Ørjan Olsen som forfatter, foredragsholder og forskningsreisende.” Ørjan Olsen, Private Archive, The National Library.

Chapter 4. Men of their time

In personal conversations connected to my thesis topic, I have frequently been told that Olsen was “a man of his time” and that his actions should be understood based on this perspective. The term “Man of his time” refers to the understanding that individuals are shaped and affected by their time's beliefs and opinions. This is a well-known Western term with equivalents like “barn av sin tid” (children of their time) in Norwegian and “les enfants de leur temps” (children of their time) in French. The term “Man of his time” can be used as a modifier and excuse individuals' unethical actions in the past, promoting an understanding of their actions through the context of the societies they were a part of. When looking back at and analyzing the past, we must consider the context and historical landscape of which the characters were a part of. When discussing Olsen's acts of collecting ancestral remains, we must consider his reasons for doing this and the historical context. He was “a man of his time,” as we all are, and when we look back at history, we are doing it through the eyes of the present. Public opinions and ethical standards are not static but are changing and evolving with each new generation. To mainly condemn historic events and choices made by individuals in the past, based on the ethical standards of the present, may not be fruitful. Researching the background and the context in which choices were made and actions carried out may give us a broader understanding of previous societies and how historic actions still affect and shape us today.

4.1 The stolen Māori ancestral remains.

Through Olsen's detailed archival material, we are presented with several aspects of his expedition to Polynesia, one of these is the removal of the Māori ancestral remains from their burial ground in Whangarei and the export to the Schreiner Collection in Oslo. Based on his presentation of the events, we know that Olsen went to New Zealand and that while he was there, he was looking for Māori ancestral remains to send home to Norway.

Throughout his stay in New Zealand, Olsen made essential connections within the government, the museums, and the local officials. During his first days, Olsen was introduced to the secretary of internal affairs, Mr. Hislop, the press representative Mr. Wheeler, Mr. Oliver, the Minister of

internal affairs Sir. Maoui Pōmare and the Prime Minister J. G. Coats. He was assured that “all the permits that could be given to me would be given.”¹²⁵ Olsen’s high-ranking connections and established scientific position were probably essential in completing his mission. He might have been able to find and collect ancestral remains if he had worked independently, but his connections made his work easier. Mr. Fraser was the one who ultimately helped him locate and take the ancestral remains from Whangarei. Even though Olsen talked openly about his mission to collect Māori ancestral remains, we know that he was selective with who he entrusted the information.

At the time Olsen visited New Zealand it was the *The Māori Antiquities Act 1908* and its definition of Māori Antiquities¹²⁶ which was applicable. This law prohibited the export of Māori Antiquities, without a signed release form from the Minister of Internal Affairs. In his diary, Olsen described his actions, conversations, and the permissions he was granted. Upon arrival, he was open and honest and brought positive recommendations from European governments. He even asked the Prime Minister if there were any laws forbidding the collecting of Māori ancestral remains. That Māori ancestral remains were not understood as “Māori relics (...) or things of historical or scientific value or interest and relating to New Zealand”¹²⁷ is puzzling. Through Olsen’s diary notes and his letters to Schreiner, we learn that Olsen believed that the law might be altered to include human remains, and he argued with this as a reason for Schreiner to act quickly.¹²⁸

Mr. Fraser assisted Olsen with preparing the shipment and provided a crate for exporting the ancestral remains to Norway.¹²⁹ In his letter to Schreiner, Olsen informed him that the shipment was addressed to “Zoologisk Museum, Oslo, Norge” and was sent with “Norway-Pacific Line, San Francisco.”¹³⁰ When Olsen exported the ancestral remains, he got a signed release form, but it was the reporting by Mr. Oliver which put him in that situation. Otherwise, he would have sent it as scientific specimens. In his conversation with Pōmare he explained this with “that you of

¹²⁵ Diary by Ørjan Olsen p. 356 – diary entry 2.09.1927 - My translation

¹²⁶ See definition in section 2.1.4

¹²⁷ The Māori Antiquities Act 1908 No. 110 §2 [1908C110.pdf \(auckland.ac.nz\)](https://www.auckland.ac.nz/_media/1908C110.pdf)

¹²⁸ Letter written by Ørjan Olsen to Schreiner 05.11.1927 p.3 (12 in the appendix)

¹²⁹ Diary by Ørjan Olsen p. 446 – diary entry 30.10.1927

¹³⁰ Letter written by Ørjan Olsen to Schreiner 24.05.1927 p.3

course could not state the factual content on the Bill of Lading, when people often would not handle or house this type of material.”¹³¹

Even though the general Māori perception was to guard their ancestors against graverobbers, some Māori individuals shared or wanted to comply with, the Western colonial perspective. An example is when Sir Māui Pōmare allowed the export of the ancestors that Olsen had taken. Pōmare was a medical doctor and a politician.¹³² He was popular, but not without controversy, both in life and after death. His choice to be cremated instead of buried, according to traditional Māori custom, caused much discussion.¹³³ Pōmare was a member of the Young Māori Party who had formed a new generation of Māori leaders. They all had Western education, lived in two worlds, and worked towards Māori progress and promoted the Western way of living.¹³⁴ “Pōmare dedicated himself to equipping his people to adapt and survive in the Pākehā world”¹³⁵ which can explain his conversation with Olsen and the acceptance of exporting the ancestral remains out of the country. Nonetheless, the repatriation team at Te Papa found it surprising that he had signed the document.¹³⁶

Like Olsen, the Austrian taxidermist and collector Andreas Reischek left detailed archival material with notes, letters, and a published book, “Yesterdays in Maoriland” from his travels in New Zealand. His notes became publicly known in New Zealand between 1926 and 1930. In 1945 an article in the Auckland Star stated, “By his own writings Reischek stood condemned as a betrayer of trusted friendship extended him by the Māoris. (...) the New Zealand Government should demand restitution on behalf of the Māoris and the Dominion as a whole.”¹³⁷ In October 2022, the repatriation of approximately 64 ancestors ended 77 years of negotiation for their return from Austria. On Te Papa’s homepage, we can read comments like “49 of these ancestors were collected by Austrian taxidermist and notorious grave-robber Andreas Reischek.” and “This historic repatriation helps to reconcile the colonial past and opens a new chapter in relationships

¹³¹ Diary by Ørjan Olsen p. 450 – diary entry 4.11.1927 (13. In the appendix) - My translation

¹³² Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. “Pōmare, Māui Wiremu Piti Naera” Graham Butterworth. 16.04.2023. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3p30/pomare-maui-wiremu-piti-naera>

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Aranui, *Te Hokinga Mai O Ngā Tūpuna*, 152

¹³⁵ Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. “Pōmare, Māui Wiremu Piti Naera” Graham Butterworth. 16.04.2023. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3p30/pomare-maui-wiremu-piti-naera>

¹³⁶ Personal communication with Te Herekiele Herewini (manager of repatriation) and Te Arikirangi Mamaku-Ironside (acting-head of repatriation) November 18th, 2022.

¹³⁷ Aranui, *Te Hokinga Mai O Ngā Tūpuna*, 46

between Māori, Moriori, and the New Zealand and Austrian Governments,”¹³⁸ These comments portray the Māori attitude towards collectors like Reischek, and his actions, both in the present and the past. The ongoing work with repatriation process and the evolution of Te Papa’s repatriation program underpins the importance in the Māori communities to locate and bring their ancestors home.

“The National research-ethical committee for medicine (NEM 17. August 1998) states that even though parts of the Schreiner Collection cannot be judged on legal matters, it is, especially the Sami part, collected in a way which is not acceptable today or in the time it happened.”¹³⁹ I believe this statement is just as applicable to the 41 ancestral remains from Whangarei as to the Sami ancestors. Olsen operated with his permits and did not break any laws in Norway or New Zealand when taking or exporting the Māori ancestral remains. His notes show different views on that matter at the time. Even though Olsen operated within New Zealand law, he did not do so within the ethical standards. Suppose we state that Olsen was within the ethical standards of the time. In that case, we dismiss the ethical standards of most of the Māori people and those non-Māori who supported their perspective. Olsen operated only within the ethical standards of the Western colonial and scientific perspective. We can state that he stole the ancestral remains from the Māori community but exported them legally out of New Zealand to Norway. We should not condone his actions by saying he was “a man of his time” or state that the methods were “in keeping with the legal and ethical standards of the past.”¹⁴⁰ At the same time, to destroy an individual’s legacy, mainly by judging their actions through the ethical values of the present without understanding the context, is not helpful and will not create new knowledge. It does not change the activities of the past, and it does not heal the wounded relationships between societies.

4.2 The reasons for wanting Māori ancestral remains.

In the letter Olsen sent Schreiner from Tahiti in May 1927, he reflects on a conversation the two of them must have had before Olsen left for Polynesia. A conversation where Schreiner must

¹³⁸ Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa “Austria returns ancestral remains stolen by notorious grave-robber”

¹³⁹ Nicolaysen et al. Internasjonal komite “Vurdering av den vitenskapelige verdi av De Schreinerske Samlinger” 50

¹⁴⁰ Institute of Basic Medical Sciences “Ethical considerations”

have asked Olsen to collect Māori ancestral remains on his behalf. At the end of Olsen's expedition, he had sent Schreiner a total of 58 crania.

During Olsen's expeditions to Siberia (1914, 1916-17), where he studied the Todjin Soyots,¹⁴¹ he also brought back human remains which were given to Schreiner and kept in the Schreiner Collection. The theory that the Sami people were originally descendants of an Asian/Mongolian race was of international interest.¹⁴² Schreiner's research on the Sami people, their migration history, and their connection to the Todjin Soyots was the background for his request and interest in Māori human remains. This is confirmed through the content of the letters and diary excerpts. We can see that the research Schreiner and Olsen wanted to do with the collected Māori crania is a continuation of the previous study of similar collected material from Siberia and that it is the comparison of the material that is important. This same explanation is given by Olsen in several accounts to different people and is written down in different diary entries.

Based on the expedition's financial plan and the explicit request from Schreiner, the director of the Anatomical Institute at the university, Olsen left for his expedition to Polynesia to represent the University of Oslo. His assignment was to collect zoological, anthropological, and osteological material and return it to the university and the museums.

When I asked Te Herewini about the term "Man of his time," he answered that;

"For me the expression is an excuse for the illegal collecting practices of looters, collectors and traders of the time. This included directors and staff at newly established colonial museums in Aotearoa New Zealand from the 1860s right up to the 1980s. So for me, it's not an individual person that decided to loot and collect indigenous ancestral remains it was a deep rooted European and Western philosophy that permitted the theft of our ancestors. It was an extension of slavery, where indigenous remains became the property of those individual collectors and institutions that received them."¹⁴³

Through his answer, we can see the distinction between the individuality, which lies in the individuals in the past and their actions, and the European/Western philosophy which permitted ancestral theft. Individuals like Olsen, who took Māori ancestors with them back to Western

¹⁴¹ Store Norske Leksikon «Ørjan Olsen» Steinar Wikan. 25.03.2023 https://nbl.snl.no/%C3%98rjan_Olsen

¹⁴² Kyllingstad, *Rase* (Oslo: Cappelen Damm. 2023) 207-208

¹⁴³ Personal communication in an e-mail from Te Herekiele Herewini 10.03.2023

countries, did not act independently, and blaming them individually is not fruitful or fair. Even though they must be accountable for their actions, they should not carry full responsibility. That responsibility rests with the colonial philosophy, which Western states, institutions, and individuals upheld. The foreign ancestral remains in the Schreiner Collection are part of that colonial legacy and the legacy of physical anthropology and racial research.

Historically, Norway has had a significant and influential educated elite. Because of the lack of Norwegian nobility, the academic elite played an important part in structuring the upper social class of Norwegian society.¹⁴⁴ Scientists like Schreiner and Olsen were a part of the elite who shaped the social and political discourse and legitimized their actions in their own time.¹⁴⁵

Through newspaper articles and reviews of his books and lectures, we see that Olsen was a famous man, public speaker, scientist, author, journalist, and explorer.¹⁴⁶ He was a man in a distinct social position, a prominent figure within academia, and popular with the general public. With this comes the power to influence and shape the discourse.

In Olsen's lectures upon returning to Norway, he showed pride when discussing his findings and the research Schreiner would do with them.¹⁴⁷ It seems likely that he genuinely saw this as scientific progress, and because of this, he ignored the Māori perspective. Instead, Olsen looked at the crania he took through science's objectified eyes. Because of the age of the remains Olsen did not understand the deep connection between the crania and the Māori communities. He does acknowledge the Māori *tapu* but looks at this as a "sympathetic" notion.¹⁴⁸ Even though he often praises the Māori people and their culture in his articles, his colonial mindset colors him. He sees the Māori tradition and culture as "the Other", something strange, old-fashioned, and different. Something not to be taken too seriously, and that will change as they modernize through Western influence.

Norway was not a significant colonial power, but Norway did contribute to the colonial philosophy which permitted colonial assaults, like the act of taking ancestral remains out of New Zealand. Through racial research and physical anthropology, executed by Norwegian scientists

¹⁴⁴ Myhre, "Bærerene av akademisk kunnskap – og samfunnet"

¹⁴⁵ Kyllingstad, *Rase* (Oslo: Cappelen Damm. 2023) 351

¹⁴⁶ Attachments in the appendix Figure A-N

¹⁴⁷ Olsen, «Foredrag om New Zealand» 17

¹⁴⁸ Olsen, *Eventyrlandet* (Oslo: Aschehoug. 1931), 149-151 (16. In the appendix) - My translation

like Schreiner and Olsen, Norway was partaking in creating the discourse crediting racial hierarchy and European imperialism.¹⁴⁹ As discussed in section 2.1.3, Norway's colonial position may be in the ambivalent place in between "maintaining and constructing colonial discourse."¹⁵⁰ This discourse permitted and legitimized the colonial theft of Māori ancestors in the name of science and at the request of the University of Oslo.

4.3 The Māori ancestors in the Schreiner Collection today.

From the Māori perspective, their ancestors are resting restlessly in the basement of the University of Oslo.¹⁵¹ Through Olsen's gathering of these ancestors, Norway and New Zealand share a specific history portraying colonial power imbalance, the Norwegian ignorance of the Māori perspective (and indigenous perspective in general) in the past, and the continuing difference between the Norwegian Western perspective and the Māori perspective.

The Māori ancestral remains were brought to Schreiner and the University of Oslo to be used in Schreiner's research on the Sami people, their migration history, and their connection to the Todjin Soyots. There is no record of the study Schreiner, and Olsen planned to do on the Māori ancestral remains. The only known study these ancestral remains were a part of was the one done by Konrad Wagner. It is questionable if the foreign remains have a scientific value as a part of the Schreiner Collection. Per Holck, the previous manager of the Schreiner Collection, told Khrono in an interview that repatriation of the foreign remains in the Schreiner Collection would be unproblematic for the collection as a whole.¹⁵² At the same time, his most recent publication "Historien om Anatomisk Institutt" says that "the collection is threatened. For years there have been demands for repatriation of material to the county museums (...) Especially sensitive is the collection of the Sami material."¹⁵³ Based on this, the repatriation of the Sami material might be problematic for the collection, but as he said to Khrono, not the foreign part of the collection. The authors write that "the racial theories have been thoroughly refuted. However, the Sami population have grown up in a different environment, with a different diet and way of life than

¹⁴⁹ Kyllingstad *Rase* (Oslo: Cappelen Damm. 2023), 354

¹⁵⁰ Loftsdottir and Jensen (ed.) *Whiteness and Postcolonialism in the Nordic Region* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 21

¹⁵¹ Aranui, *Te Hokinga Mai O Ngā Tūpuna*, 21

¹⁵² Løkeland-Stai and Lie «Likene i Universitetslasten»

¹⁵³ Fossum, Holck and Benestad. *Historien om Anatomisk Institutt* (Oslo: Pax. 2023), 205 - My translation

the rest of the Norwegian population. This triggers anthropological interest in effects on body health/disease panorama and life expectancy.”¹⁵⁴ Based on this we can understand that the Norwegian skeletal material has a scientific value in the Schreiner Collection, and that it is in connection to this, that the authors consider the collection as threatened by domestic repatriation, not international ones. Regarding international material in the Schreiner Collection, Holck comments to Khrono that there have been few foreign requests for repatriation. This might be because foreign nations do not know the nationalities represented in the collection.¹⁵⁵

The Evaluation of the scientific value of the Schreiner Collection from 2000 reads:

“The collection was established through collection methods which today are evaluated as insufficient. This involves problems related to information on the provenience of the material, its context and similar archeological and cultural historical data. The collection methods represent an unacceptable ignorance towards the local communities, maybe particularly the Sami communities, reactions to the excavations and removal of skeletons. The collection history and composition, a large number of crania, reflects the rejected physical anthropology and race research of the past.”¹⁵⁶

In the report, it was advised that the collection go through a total revision with the establishment of a digitalized database consisting of archeological and cultural historical data. A complete revision of the collection (6000-7000 catalog entries) was estimated to take approximately 3200 hours, almost two years of work.¹⁵⁷ Because of the extensive work a complete revision would take, a revision overview was suggested. The committee especially focused on the need to revise the material collected with unethical collection methods.¹⁵⁸ It recommended the building of a database containing all available information concerning provenience and the context connected to this material. It was also suggested that the university host a symposium where the history of the collections, material, and documentation could be presented to scientists and indigenous communities. This could lead to more open communication, possible future repatriations,

¹⁵⁴ Ibid. 257 - My translation

¹⁵⁵ Løkeland-Stai and Lie «Likene i Universitetslasten»

¹⁵⁶ Nicolaysen, et al. «Vurdering av den vitenskapelige verdi av De Schreinerske Samlinger», 32 - My translation

¹⁵⁷ Ibid. 34 - My translation

¹⁵⁸ Ibid. 34 - My translation

reburials, or decisions to keep the material in the Schreiner Collection.¹⁵⁹ To my knowledge, these recommendations have not been acted upon.

Based on this, one of the reasons the Māori ancestral remains are still a part of the Schreiner Collection, is not because of their scientific value to Norwegian science, but because Te Papa has not been aware of their existence. They would likely have been repatriated in 2011, together with the two other ancestors, if Te Papa had been informed about their whereabouts.



Figure 6. Storage box with label¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁹ Ibid. 34 - My translation

¹⁶⁰ The Māori ancestral remains in the Schreiner Collection are stored in individual boxes, labeled with their individual numbers and country of origin. Located in the Schreiner Collection archive, private photograph, taken and reproduced with permission.

Chapter 5. Repatriation, provenance, and the Māori perspective.

Through Aranui's research *Māori perspective on repatriation and scientific research*, she explores the Māori perspectives and how communities have been affected, both by historical events related to colonialism and theft of Māori ancestral remains, the ongoing "captivity" of these ancestors in museums and institutions today, as well as the repatriation processes. Aranui argues that institutions that hold Māori Ancestral remains, and remains of indigenous peoples in general, may not understand the impact this has on the indigenous societies.¹⁶¹ In this chapter, I will present and discuss the Māori perspective on ancestral remains and repatriation, the terms *tapu*/taboo and the importance of provenance research in this context.

In the article "A partnership approach to repatriation: building the bridge from both sides," Te Herewini,- and June Jones, head of religious and cultural beliefs at the University of Birmingham, discussed the process which led to the repatriation of five Māori ancestors to Te Papa in October 2013. The quote below presents the different aspects involved in cooperation and repatriation.

"The process of offering whakaaro pai (dignity, respect, and goodwill) is not to forget how the tūpuna arrived overseas, because that is an important element of the story. For the Te Papa repatriation team, the elements tonono (request), whakawhitiwhiti kōrero (negotiation), and tuku tūpuna (releasing the ancestors) and hiki tūpuna (uplifting the ancestors) are equally important, as they allow both institutions involved to achieve tatau pounamu (enduring peace) and to make the exchange with whakaaro rangatira (honour). The process also allows both groups to walk away as rangatira, with dignity, respect, power and prestige."¹⁶²

As we can see from this quote, several vital elements are connected to a repatriation process, from the first request to the final homecoming of the ancestor as well as the shifting and equalizing of the power balance between the two nations. Dan Hicks, Curator at the Pitt Rivers Museum and Professor of Contemporary Archaeology at the University of Oxford, promotes the

¹⁶¹ Aranui, *Te Hokinga Mai O Ngā Tūpuna*, 12

¹⁶² Herewini and Jones "A partnership approach to repatriation: building the bridge from both sides", 8

idea of “the museum as process, not an end-point”¹⁶³, that they should work as “a site of conscience, of transitional and restorative justice, and of cultural memory.”¹⁶⁴ Te Papa fulfils this idea by being a contact zone between nations, and communities, *iwis* and *hapus*. James Clifford defines museums as contact zones where “a collection becomes an ongoing historical, political, moral relationship-a power-charged set of exchanges, of push and pull.”¹⁶⁵ Te Papa creates these contact zones which eventually can lead to a new understanding and renewed relations. The focus on “dignity, respect, power and prestige”¹⁶⁶, invites both parties to a dialogue where the goal is not to accuse or divide blame, but restoring equality and making amends. The aspect of conflict is evidently present through the historical colonial background and that the request for repatriation is based on the desire to release and return the ancestors who were once taken.

The Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Program in New Zealand resulted from the Māori Renaissance (1970-2003). The changes that were made during these years were part of a long-term reconciliation of cultures.¹⁶⁷ Through this renaissance, Māori “become highly visible in all aspects of New Zealand life, and open about, and proud of, their cultural identity.”¹⁶⁸ Aranui points to the vital aspect that the repatriation movement was both started and developed by Māori, with the support and assistance of non-Māori and the government and is now led by Māori through the Karanga Aotearoa repatriation program.¹⁶⁹

The Repatriation Program represents the continuing decolonization processes of New Zealand and Māori communities by museums and scientific institutions, nationally and internationally.¹⁷⁰ The ancestors are returned to Te Papa during the international repatriation processes, but only temporarily. The goal is to return the ancestors to their original *Iwi* (tribe) and *Hapu*

¹⁶³ Hicks, *The Brutish Museum* (London: Pluto Press, 2020), 240

¹⁶⁴ Hicks, *The Brutish Museum* (London: Pluto Press, 2020), 240

¹⁶⁵ Clifford, *Routes* (London: Harvard University Press, 1997), 192

¹⁶⁶ Herewini and Jones “A partnership approach to repatriation: building the bridge from both sides”, 8

¹⁶⁷ Hole, “Playthings for the Foe”, 24

¹⁶⁸ Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. “Māori–Pākehā relations” Mark Derby. 20.01.2023.

<https://teara.govt.nz/en/maori-pakeha-relations/page-6>

¹⁶⁹ Aranui, *Te Hokinga Mai O Ngā Tūpuna*, 169

¹⁷⁰ Aranui, “Restitution or a loss to science?”, 22

(subtribe).¹⁷¹ Te Papa “contains an ‘ancestral remains vault,’ or *wahi tapu*, which is the only place in New Zealand specifically designed to hold unprovenanced Māori ancestral remains.”¹⁷²

Between 1985 and 2022, more than 600 ancestors were returned to Te Papa and New Zealand through the international repatriation process.¹⁷³ Among the many different Māori *Iwis* and *Hapus*, there is a range of opinions concerning repatriation, including requesting, handling, and seeking provenance of the ancestral remains.¹⁷⁴ Communication and respect are critical elements in these processes.

Through the Māori perspective, “the restoring of mana [power] to those removed from their burial place or traded by their enemy is one of the most important aspect of repatriation (...) Enabling the wairua or spirit of the person, the tūpuna [ancestor], to finally rest upon their return home to the whenua [land], renews the connections between the dead and the land, and strengthens the connection with the living.”¹⁷⁵ Newcomb’s term, rematriation, refers to more than just the return of the ancestral remains; it is the return of dignity and the restoration of the balance that shifted when the ancestors were taken.¹⁷⁶ Just as important is the acknowledgment of the spiritual relationship which exists between the ancestors and their land.¹⁷⁷ Reestablishing balance between the nations may be difficult if past wrongdoings are not fully acknowledged or apologized for.

Repatriation processes can be complicated and time-consuming. Many aspects must be considered, and good intentions are not enough. The Norwegian example with the reburial in Neiden demonstrates some of these problems. In 2011, 94 Sami ancestral remains were reburied in Neiden, almost a hundred years after Dr. Johan Brun had exhumed them on behalf of Schreiner and his research in 1915.¹⁷⁸ The debate leading up to the reburial concerned the possibilities of continuing research on the ancestral remains and the wish for repatriation and reburial by parts of the Sami community. Due to the discussions concerning the Neiden reburial,

¹⁷¹ Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa “The Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Programme”

¹⁷² Hole, “Playthings for the Foe”, 18

¹⁷³ Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa “International repatriation”

¹⁷⁴ Hole, “Playthings for the Foe”, 23

¹⁷⁵ Aranui, *Te Hokinga Mai O Ngā Tūpuna*, 156

¹⁷⁶ Finbog, *It speaks to you*, 101

¹⁷⁷ Newcomb, “PERSPECTIVES: Healing, Restoration, and Rematriation.”, 3

¹⁷⁸ Svest, “What Happened in Neiden?”, 194

the National Commission for Research Ethics on Human Remains was established.¹⁷⁹ Today, some critique of the Neiden reburial concerns the rapid decision of reburial, that not all parts of the Sami communities were heard, and that the lack of precise provenance may have had problematic ethical results with regard to reburial site.¹⁸⁰ With this example it is debatable whether the Neiden reburial should be described as repatriation in the sense presented above or mainly repatriation of the ancestral remains. This is an example of the kind of difficulties a repatriation process may encounter. It underpins the importance of communication and understanding each other's perspectives, which is so central to Te Papa's perspective and procedures of bringing Māori ancestors back home.

5.1 Ancestral remains.

The vital role ancestors play in the connections between the living, the dead, and the land is essential to the Māori perspective and a cornerstone of the repatriation process.¹⁸¹ Aranui explains that repatriation is not a new political agenda for the Māori, but a long-standing tradition rooted in their culture and history. Māori ancestral remains are “people with modern descendants, restless souls on strange lands, and that regardless of their identity or the timing and circumstances of their death, they deserve to be laid to rest at home”.¹⁸² The difference in the perspective on the dead is essential to understand the repatriation debate in today's society, as well as the impact the historical events and actions of collectors and scientists of the past have had and continue to have on the Māori communities today.

“Those who have passed on are often regarded as continuing to be a part of human endeavors and might be referred to as still alive.”¹⁸³ The connection between the ancestors and the current generation is so close and intertwined that it is said that “the current generation is owned by their ancestors”¹⁸⁴. Consequently, the current generation is obliged to watch over them. Where the Western perspective will use the term human remains, the term ancestral remains, used by Māori, stresses this distinction. With the ancestral remains, there is a direct reference to both

¹⁷⁹ Kvittingen, «Det er lett å trå feil når du forsker på gamle skjeletter»

¹⁸⁰ Kjølberg, «Etikk, forskning og forvaltning av menneskelige levninger fra urfolk», 67-68

¹⁸¹ Aranui, *Te Hokinga Mai O Ngā Tūpuna*, 12

¹⁸² Aranui, *Te Hokinga Mai O Ngā Tūpuna*, 21

¹⁸³ Aranui, “Restitution or a loss to Science”, 20

¹⁸⁴ Hole, “Playthings for the Foe”, 21

genealogy and personal connections. The remains belong to someone; they are someone's ancestors. Using the terms human remains or material, the remains are objectified and detached from emotions. Western scientific archeology is based on a dominant epistemological perspective, and the objectification of human remains¹⁸⁵ as specimens and material for scientific purposes is generally accepted.¹⁸⁶ Olsen repeatedly refers to the crania as ancient and mainly looks at them as objects that can be important for his research. When he refers to the taken crania as ancient and “from pagan times,” he separates the dead from emotions and family ties. This does not mean that the Western perspective does not respect the dead or that human remains are not treated with respect and dignity.

On the contrary, several guidelines state the respectful handling of human remains should characterize research and museum practices.¹⁸⁷ “In Norway, human remains are not objects,” commented Nils Anfinset, leader of the National Commission for Research Ethics on Human Remains, in an article from 2018 about researching human remains.¹⁸⁸ Still, there is a distinct difference between the Western and Māori perspectives regarding human and ancestral remains. The Māori perspective does not distinguish between emotional ties connected to the ancestral remains and the time that has passed since they deceased.¹⁸⁹ To Olsen, the passing of time changes the remains from ancestral, with emotional and ethical ties, into objects, without any claims of ownership. The differences between these perspectives were just as vital when the ancestral remains were taken, in the name of Western science, as it is today.

5.2 *Tapu* vs. taboo

The term and concept of taboo was introduced through the writings of the explorer Captain James Cook and was one of the first Polynesian words to be included in the English language.¹⁹⁰ The extensive use and variations of the word *tapu* must have been difficult to interpret for the

¹⁸⁵ Svest, “What Happened in Neiden?”, 214

¹⁸⁶ Gilmore et al. “Tapu and the invention of the “death taboo””, 344

¹⁸⁷ “Manskliga kvarlevor vid offentliga museer en kunnskapsoversikt”, “Good collections management Guidance for handling human remains in museum collections”, “Forskningsetisk veileder for forskning på menneskelige levninger”, “Guidance for the Care of Human Remains in Museums” (DCMS) and “ICOM Ethical Guidelines”.

¹⁸⁸ Kvittingen «Det er lett å trå feil når du forsker på gamle skjeletter» - My translation

¹⁸⁹ Aranui, *Te Hokinga Mai O Ngā Tūpuna*, 171

¹⁹⁰ Gilmore et al. “Tapu and the invention of the “death taboo””, 335

first Europeans who were introduced to Māori culture. James Cook did, however, understand that it was connected to something forbidden. The English word “taboo” became an exotic reference to different social prohibitions “and proscriptions associated with the extremes of morality, manners, and duty that characterized this era.”¹⁹¹ The continuing use of this translation today can be seen in relation to Said’s theory on Orientalism. If Western academia continues to use vocabulary which is a misinterpretation of the original meaning and is based on the colonial mindset of “the Other,” it will continue to uphold the postcolonial power imbalance. Using taboo as an equal to *tapu* may also cause unnecessary misunderstandings and can affect the different cultures’ handling of death and human remains.¹⁹²

Throughout Olsen’s notes and published material, the Māori word *tapu* and the Norwegian word *tabu* (translation of the English word taboo) are frequently referred to. In most cases, it involves the dead or the burial grounds. Olsen’s interpretation seems close to sacred, holy, and forbidden but is also linked to spirituality and superstition. In his diary and the book “Eventyrlandet”, he uses the word *tapu*, while in published articles and in his lecture, he uses the phrase *tabu*. Through his use, his interpretation seems closer to the English word taboo than the Māori interpretation of *tapu*.

Tapu is a broad term with several interpretations, two being sacred and forbidden. When *tapu* is connected to a person (the person being either living or dead) the *tapu* is also connected to his ancestors, the source of his existence.¹⁹³ “For Māori, death and the dead are not “taboo” in the English sense. Nevertheless, the dead are *tapu*.”¹⁹⁴ Māori skeletal remains are *tapu*, and because of this, ancestral remains should be respected as such. Māori burial grounds are not to be maintained in the same fashion as what is considered respectful from a Western perspective. For example, Norwegian cemeteries are open public spaces where relatives of the buried can visit the grave. Graves are usually decorated with flowers, and it is not uncommon for the graves to be maintained by the ministry or the county.¹⁹⁵ The Māori perspective involves “respect for the dead and the associated *tapu* is expressed through avoidance. (...) there is an element of protection and that of respect in not frequenting these places, many of which in the case of burial

¹⁹¹ Gilmore et al. “Tapu and the invention of the “death taboo””, 337

¹⁹² Ibid. 345

¹⁹³ Aranui, *Te Hokinga Mai O Ngā Tūpuna*, 143

¹⁹⁴ Gilmore et al. “Tapu and the invention of the “death taboo””, 342

¹⁹⁵ Oslo Kommune, “Priser for stell av grav og steinarbeid”

caves are located in hard to reach, hidden, or remote locations.”¹⁹⁶ These differences in perspective and handling of the burial grounds were also present in the colonial age. In one of Olsen’s diary entries, he refers to his choice not to collect two of five ancestral remains.

“It turned out that these dead were still remembered since their coffins contained new fabric, two withering flower decorations and a small bottle of perfume, (...) I could not bring myself to collect the crania, which still have relatives who visit them. I took instead three others who seemed to be forgotten.”¹⁹⁷

This excerpt shows that Olsen’s ethics are connected to his belief that the ancestral remains, which are not honored with flowers and attention, have less or no importance to the Māori and, therefore, can be used for scientific purposes. We see the connection between time and emotions and how these alter Olsen’s view of the skeletal remains. He acts according to his moral code through this distinction and reflection on which cranium to collect. Finally, he makes what he believes is a respectful choice concerning the native community from which he takes these crania. The lack of knowledge and understanding of the Māori perspective and traditions may have provided Europeans with misassumptions that the dead were not cared for or forgotten and, therefore, did not have any living relatives who had a connection to them.¹⁹⁸

5.3 Provenance

Upon returning ancestral remains to Te Papa, the Karanga Aotearoa staff¹⁹⁹ engage in provenance research using various archival sources, such as diaries, historical documents and records, and oral histories. “These records are merged in a process of research triangulation in an attempt to identify common strands and connecting points.”²⁰⁰ Sometimes this information is easily acquired, while at other times it might be more complicated. For example, in cases where colonial collectors stole ancestral remains, records of the origin of those they stole are usually

¹⁹⁶ Aranui, *Te Hokinga Mai O Ngā Tūpuna*, 144-145

¹⁹⁷ Diary by Ørjan Olsen p. 153 – diary entry 23.04.1927 (17. In the appendix) - My translation

¹⁹⁸ Aranui, *Te Hokinga Mai O Ngā Tūpuna*, 144-145

¹⁹⁹ The repatriation team at Te Papa.

²⁰⁰ Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa “Karanga Aotearoa repatriation programme, Background document”, 4

not kept, and the provenance may never be known.²⁰¹ At this point, Te Papa does not conduct DNA testing on Māori ancestral remains, but it might be a possibility in the future.²⁰²

Wairua, “the spiritual essence of all living things,”²⁰³ is an essential aspect of the Māori perspective. When the ancestral remains are disturbed or removed, the individual’s *wairua* is afflicted, resulting in restlessness. Based on this, we can understand that the *hapu* (subtribe/clan) and *iwi* (tribe/people) will be affected when their ancestors are not only disturbed, but actually stolen. Aranui writes that “in relation to our connection with the dead, regardless of whether or not their names are known, the location in which they are buried indicates in most cases that there is a genealogical connection.”²⁰⁴ This quote shows how important it is to know of or work to discover the provenance of ancestral remains to be repatriated. If the 41 Māori ancestral remains at the Schreiner Collection return home to New Zealand, this journey may not end at Te Papa. Hopefully, it will continue home to their ancestral *iwi* (tribe/people) and *hapu* (subtribe/clan).

The two Māori ancestors who were repatriated from the University of Oslo to Te Papa in 2011, may end up in different locations, based on their provenance information. One was a part of the Museum of Cultural History collection, acquired from the German collector Johs Flemming’s shop in Hamburg in 1930. It was a part of a large craniotypological series which had been acquired by a surgeon at Eppendorf Hospital in Hamburg, and sold to Johs Flemming who traded in exotic objects and specimens.²⁰⁵ The other was from the collection at the medical faculty and collected by the Swedish zoologist Conrad Fristedt in 1890.²⁰⁶ The ancestor collected by Fristedt is provenanced to Whangaroa in New Zealand²⁰⁷, while the museum did not have any additional provenance information about the ancestor bought in Flemming’s store. If the provenance

²⁰¹ Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, “Austria returns ancestral remains stolen by notorious grave-robber”.

²⁰² Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, “The repatriation of Māori and Moriori remains”

²⁰³ Aranui, “Restitution or a loss to science?” 20

²⁰⁴ Aranui, “Restitution or a loss to science?” 20

²⁰⁵ An entry in the original Acquisition Catalogue of the Ethnographic Museum, University of Oslo provided by Arne A. Perminow, keeper of the museum's Oceania Collection reading: "EM 36097-126 were bought in September 1930 from Johs, Flemming, Hamburg, see also journal no. 163/1930, 168/1930, 107/1930."

²⁰⁶ Løkeland-Stai and Lie. “Her ligger hodeskallene Universitetet i Oslo aldri fortalte maoriene om.”

²⁰⁷ Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, “Māori ancestral remains repatriated to New Zealand”.

research at Te Papa cannot locate the origin, their final resting place will be at the *Wahi Tapu* (sacred space).

5.4.1 Provenance found through the archive material.

In the diary entries from October 29th, we can read that Olsen, Frazer, and two ladies drove out of Whangarei to a well-known and holy burial ground named Tokanui. In his notes, he describes their route and how they walked from the car towards a cliff, where they found a “cave/hole in the ground, covered by a big rock.”

“a cemetery, 4,5 miles from town, (...) We were going to visit the holy burial place Tokanui, (...) We walked off the road down to a stream in a valley surrounded with cliffs. To the north of the valley there was a high cliff where Fraser was told that the dead had been placed.”²⁰⁸

If we look at a map of New Zealand, we can see the city of Whangarei. Unfortunately, I have not been able to locate Tokanui, but knowing the distance of about 4,5 miles, it should be possible to narrow the search within this radius.

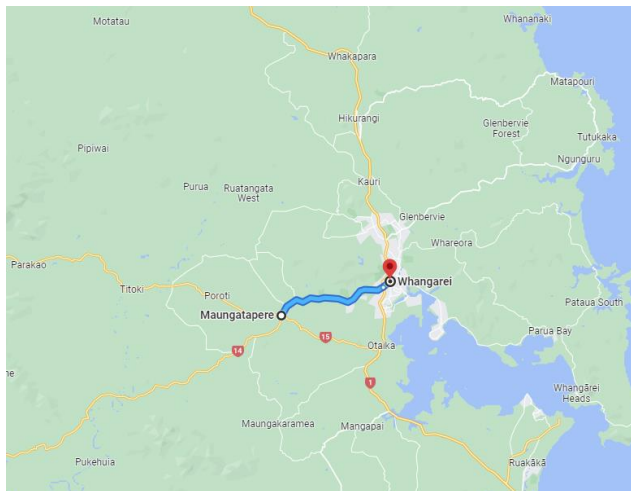


Figure 7. Estimated distance between Whangarei and Maungatpere²⁰⁹

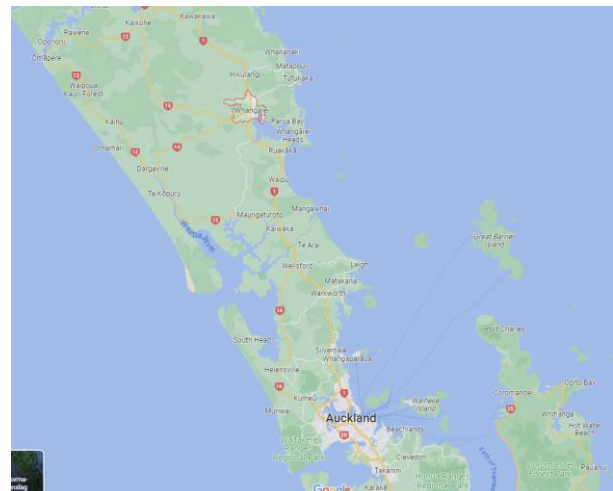


Figure 8. Location of Whangarei.²¹⁰

²⁰⁸ Diary by Ørjan Olsen p. 444 – diary entry 29.10.1927 (18. In the appendix) - My translation.

²⁰⁹ Photo: Googlemaps.com Estimated distance between Whangarei and Maungatpere to be 11.5km

²¹⁰ Photo: Googlemaps.com Whangarei is located on the Northern Island, north of Auckland.

In the previous diary entry, Olsen describes the first trip of the day to the area around Maungatapere, where Fraser grew up and played as a child. In this entry, Olsen explains that the journey was around 2 miles. Measured on Google maps, it is closer to 1 mile, so even though Olsen gives good accounts of details in his diary, we cannot blindly trust his accuracy. There could, of course, also be different roads and routes they were using than those shown on maps today, as well as the distance on maps is usually shorter than in the actual terrain. Nevertheless, this trip is the same as he describes in his published book *Eventyrlandet*. In this quote, Fraser is speaking about Tokanui and pointing towards the cliffs in the east.

“We stopped for a moment and Fraser pointed towards a big tree next to a small black house, a few hundred meters south of the road. “This tree is sacred” he said, and few things in New Zealand are so strictly taboo [tapu] as this. There used to live a very famous and important women here whose name was Hinehau. She was buried close to the cliffs you see over there in the east, at Tokanui, one of the most sacred burial places in New Zealand. Many important and high-ranked people have been buried in those caves. Still, some Māori live there just to guard the place.”²¹¹

This excerpt also reveals information about an important Māori woman, Hinehau, who supposedly used to live in the area. There is also a reference to a very holy tree. This information can be useful for Te Papa in their provenance research through communication and cooperation between them and with the local *iwis* and *hapus*.

Olsen continues to recapture this trip in his diary:

“Finally we came to a path, narrow but sufficient, went down to the river again and followed it a little way up. Then we began to study holes right down by the river in fairly damp terrain. I saw some bones, and we found 1 cranium there. In another hole a few meters away, 4 were found, so that the total findings were five pieces. They were all in poor condition, partly broken, and all without mandibles; a couple, I think, with the characteristic triangle in the skull, which is often carved on defeated enemies.”²¹²

When I read this diary entry, I was very surprised. In his letter to Schreiner, Olsen had not mentioned anything about two trips or two locations. In the Schreiner Collection’s archive, all

²¹¹ Olsen, *Eventyrlandet* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1931), 154 (21. in the appendix) - My translation

²¹² Diary by Ørjan Olsen p. 443 – diary entry 29.10.1927 (22. In the appendix) - My translation.

the ancestral remains from Whangarei are labeled the same and described as “found in a cave.” Olsen explains that the 5 crania were left at the Whangarei Harbour Board when they returned. This first trip is mentioned in the book “Eventyrlandet,” but without any references to taking the ancestral remains.

The total number of Māori ancestral remains taken this day, from two different locations, maybe around 4-6 miles apart, was 41. Since they are all described as collected from a cave in Whangarei in the Schreiner Collection’s archive, this information would have been lost if Olsen had not written such detailed diary notes. Still, it is problematic that the 41 ancestral remains were taken from two locations. This might make finding the exact provenance of the individual's remains more challenging. Olsen describes the 5 ancestral remains found in the same area as “in poor condition, partly broken, and all without mandibles; a couple, I think, with the characteristic triangle in the skull.”²¹³ Without having physically examined the ancestral remains, I cannot confirm or discard the validation of this information. Still, I will assume that the information will be important to the repatriation team at Te Papa when they start their provenance research, aiming to pinpoint as precisely as possible the origin of each returning ancestor.

After conversations with Te Herewini in November 2022, it seems likely that the detailed information about the area will eventually make it possible to return the remains to the correct *iwi*. Of course, this is not something we can be sure of, but I am hopeful.

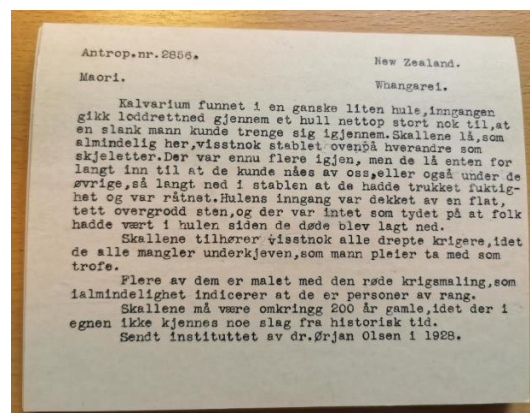


Figure 9. Index card in the Schreiner Collection archive

The index card is describing the cave where Olsen found most of the ancestral remains. There is no mention of two separate locations or where in Whangarei this cave was located.²¹⁴

²¹³ Diary by Ørjan Olsen p. 443 – diary entry 29.10.1927 (22. In the appendix) - My translation

²¹⁴ Private photograph, taken and reproduced with permission.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

Through this thesis, I have tried to determine how 41 Māori ancestors arrived in Norway and why they are a part of the Schreiner Collection. I have also discussed their provenance, the importance of provenance research and the difference between Western and Māori perspectives. Based on the archival material left by Olsen, and published articles from the period, I have been better able to understand Olsen's expedition, background, research, legal aspects, cooperative network, and the act of taking ancestral remains from New Zealand. Olsen does reflect on the Māori perspective and how the Māori society views his actions. That he truly understands the Māori perspective is more questionable. Olsen justifies his actions with his Western colonial perspective, acting on behalf of science.

The background for Olsen's expedition to Polynesia was mainly to collect zoological and ethnographical material on behalf of the University of Oslo. Upon Schreiner's request, he also took Māori ancestral remains and sent them home to Schreiner for future research. The remains were to be used in Schreiner's study on the Sami people, their migration history, and their connection to the Todjin Soyots. There is no record of the research Schreiner and Olsen planned to do on the Māori ancestral remains.

Looking back at this story, we are faced with two different perspectives. Olsen's Western perspective states that he collected Māori remains in the name of science, and the Māori perspective is that he stole their ancestors. The evaluation of the Schreiner Collection in 2000 stated that "the unethical methods used in acquiring the collection material may not be neutralized by repatriation or reburial."²¹⁵ This statement reflects on the grave injustice the unethical methods used by collectors and scientists in the name of science have done to indigenous people. The Māori perspective portrays the general perception in Māori communities that the actions of collecting ancestral remains violated "the Māori concept of *tapu* and, therefore, what was considered acceptable by scientific standards was in direct contradiction to Māori values."²¹⁶ This is clearly shown through Olsen's notes when he refers to Māori communities guarding their burial caves, moving ancestors to new shelters, and that collectors,

²¹⁵ Nicolaysen et al. "Vurdering av den vitenskapelige verdi av De Schreinerske Samlinger", 34 - My translation

²¹⁶ Aranui, *Te Hokinga Mai O Ngā Tūpuna*, 172

like Olsen, were hiding their agenda and ensuring they were not caught in the act of stealing ancestors. This perspective was also shared by non-Māori in New Zealand, exemplified by the undersecretary's reaction to Olsen's actions and opinions, which will be discussed below. Olsen did get a signed acceptance to export the Māori ancestors from Sir. Pōmare, Minister of Internal Affairs, and acted within the law, *The Māori Antiquities Act 1908*. However, Olsen's unethical approach when taking the ancestral remains underscores the fact that the Māori ancestral remains were legally exported from New Zealand, but Olsen and Fraser stole them from the Māori community.

Olsen did not hide his intention of collecting ancestral remains from his newspaper audience in Norway. He wrote about this in his articles in *Morgenbladet* and disclosed it in his lectures.²¹⁷ However, in his article, he does not describe the actual event when he took the ancestral remains but writes about the methods that could be used, almost like general guidelines.

“You have to be careful if you want to collect anthropological material. (...) It is important to find the correct man and not be too direct about the matter. (...) You have to make good time and gain their trust (...) when the time comes you say you want to see or photograph the places you are told about. If this work, you should not at your first visit show greater interest for the dead than for the surrounding caves. (...) Later you can quietly and under the disguise of going hunting return and do what you find necessary in the name of science.”²¹⁸

This excerpt makes it apparent that he knew that the Māori communities did not accept this kind of action and that it had to be done without them knowing. His account gives us reason to believe that he is not ashamed of his actions and does not fear judgment by the Norwegian society. In his lecture, he is reading the same passage he wrote in his diary and in “*Eventyrlandet*”, which starts with the sentence; “The old chiefs sit in the burial caves and brood over their fallen warriors.”²¹⁹ His focus is on the scientific value of the material, and he says:

“I was lucky and brought home a collection that many foreign institutions will envy us. This kind of work has to be done in silence and is not fun, it is dangerous work.”²²⁰

²¹⁷ Olsen, «Foredrag om New Zealand»

²¹⁸ *Morgenbladet* 19.11.1927 (J. In the appendix) - My translation.

²¹⁹ Olsen, *Eventyrlandet* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1931), 149-151 (16. In the appendix) - My translation in section 3.3.1

²²⁰ Olsen, «Foredrag om New Zealand» 17

This section takes up a tiny portion of the lecture, and he does not go into detail about any of his acts of collecting. It is with a scientific focus and angle. In his published books, he does not mention the collected Māori remains. This is the best example of self-censorship on this topic. His lectures and published material are all a part of his work of self-exposure and publicity. How he collected the Māori ancestral remains in Whangarei could have been elaborated into an engaging story, but he chose not to pursue this. His choice not to do so might reflect his ethical conviction that he has done this for science, and as he says, this work is “no fun.” It might also be that his audience would not appreciate this type of detailed description. In his lectures, he does show a picture of the mummy Fraser took, but he does not refer to the circumstances.²²¹

Upon arrival in New Zealand, Olsen did not hide that he intended to search for Māori crania, and he made many high-ranking contacts and connections who helped him in his search. He was careful with whom he disclosed his mission to and only confided in people he regarded as his equal in their view on science. When discussing exporting the ancestral remains, the undersecretary sympathized with the Māori perspective and dismissed Olsen’s moral standings. Even though he was the only one with this point of view, he represented these views in general society and that they were upheld by others along with Māori communities. Olsen’s statements support this; that he can “not openly display and discuss this type of collection and its methods” and that “This type of topics can only be discussed with intelligent people, to a few high ranked, not to the “man in the street””²²². With this, he distinguishes between the people he considers “intelligent” and the “man in the street”. The “intelligent” probably refers to the upper social classes, in this case, represented by scientists and other highly educated people. The “man in the street” probably refers to the working class, who Olsen believes do not understand and appreciate the work and means of science. The Māori people are set apart from both classifications and are mainly looked at as their own group, the natives, “the Other”, who are expected to oppose this. At the same time, it is the Māori minister, Sir. Pōmare, who is the one who gives the final approval and signs the document. In this setting, you would imagine that he instead would have shared the sympathies of the undersecretary and not permitted the exporting of the ancestral remains. Olsen shows his surprise towards Pōmare’s decision by saying, “The Māori’s attitude towards fair play and his intelligence was in great contrast to Mr. Oliver and the

²²¹ Olsen, «Foredrag om New Zealand» 17

²²² Diary by Ørjan Olsen p. 450 – diary entry 4.11.1927 - My translation

undersecretary.”²²³ Olsen’s racially prejudiced mindset is portrayed through his reference to Sir. Pōmare mainly as the Māori, not by his name or title. He compares his “attitude towards fair play” and “intelligence” to Mr. Oliver and the undersecretary. The comment about “fair play” is probably meant for Mr. Oliver and the fact that Olsen believed he tried to keep the crania for himself, while the comment on “intelligence” is towards the undersecretary who did not share Olsen’s view or ethics. This example shows the diversity of opinions and actions within society.

I have found several articles from this period (1926-1928) praising Olsen’s expeditions, lectures, and books, but not one article criticizing him or Schreiner for either collecting or researching the ancestral remains. This does not mean there were none, but it can’t have been a broad discussion, at least not publicly in the newspapers. Olsen does not specify if his comments on only discussing his actions of collecting ancestral remains with like-minded people, was a reference mainly to the society in New Zealand or more in general. Still, he would probably have met more resistance in New Zealand, especially within the Māori communities and those who shared their perspective. We know that opinions differed when he discussed the export of the remains. Likely, the similar nuances which are proven to exist in New Zealand were also present in Norwegian society, maybe more so when it came to the methods of collecting rather than the research on it. It is also likely that Olsen was more careful discussing this matter openly in New Zealand than in Norway because it could have made his work more difficult.

Olsen and Schreiner were men of their time, as we all are. To excuse actions in the past with the notion that “back then,” it was generally accepted in society to do, say, or believe something, is a generalization that undermines the diversity in past communities. As in the present, there were also different social spheres in the past, and within these, other dominating beliefs, attitudes, and discourses.²²⁴ Physical anthropology and race research coincided with the age of European colonization, and the colonial power imbalance affected academic and public discourse.²²⁵ Considering my archival studies, it is probable that it was a dominating acceptance in Norwegian society for collecting and researching indigenous ancestral remains. If we ignore the other aspects and perspectives of that time, condoning what should be condemned, we are maintaining the uneven power balance of the past into the present. Still, it is not fruitful to focus on specific

²²³ Diary by Ørjan Olsen p. 450 – diary entry 4.11.1927 - My translation

²²⁴ Kyllingstad, *Rase* (Oslo: Cappelen Damm. 2023), 351

²²⁵ Ibid. 351

topics mainly because they fit in a new academic discourse. We need to broaden our historical perspective and knowledge by addressing the parts of history that are overlooked, uncomfortable, or distant to us. Ivar Prydz Gladhaug, Dean of the faculty of Medicine at the University of Oslo, said in the article *Unyansert oppgjør med fortiden*, “To learn from the past, we have to see it in all its nuances.”²²⁶ This article was a response to a documentary criticizing Schreiner and his wife, their anthropological work, and their racist mindset. The article promoted a more nuanced look at the past when criticizing individuals, but the statement is transferable to both sides of this argument. We must see all the nuances of history to see the whole picture. Academia, politics, and education actively create social discourses, deciding how and what we choose to address. If we uphold the notion of Norwegian exceptionalism²²⁷ and continue to distance ourselves from colonialism, we ignore parts of our legacy, making our history perception non-nuanced and static.²²⁸ Accepting these stories as a part of our dark heritage, sharing them in all their nuances, understanding what they meant and still mean to the Māori society, and apologizing, is a step towards restitution between cultures, and is essential in the process of rematriation.

The difference in perspectives between nations and communities, and the lack of understanding these, have caused much harm throughout history. The Māori relationship with the dead can be understood through the term “ancestral remains,” referring to the ancestors, not just the physical human remains. After death, the ancestors can still be viewed as a part of the physical realm, and the ancestral remains are considered highly *tapu*, sacred and forbidden. In opposition to the Western perspective on handling the dead, respect for the dead through the Māori perspective is shown by upholding the *tapu* and letting the ancestors rest in peace. Olsen’s comments on the “The sympathetic Māori *tapu*”²²⁹ are excellent examples of how his Eurocentric mindset viewed the Māori customs and traditions as exotic and a representation of “the Other.” He found the *tapu* connected to burial grounds a part of the “old notions,” which he believed would fade away through Europeanisation and new generations. The use of the terms *tapu* and taboo as equivalents underpins the continuing misunderstandings and imbalance between the Western and Māori perspectives.

²²⁶ Gladhaug and Engebretsen. «Unyansert oppgjør med fortiden» - My translation

²²⁷ Støre, “Norway’s conflict resolution efforts – are they of any avail?”

²²⁸ Torjussen, “Fremstillingen av kolonialisme i norske lærebøker”, 42, and Eriksen, *Historie, minne og myte* (Oslo: Pax forlag AS, 1999), 86

²²⁹ Olsen, *Eventyrlandet* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1931) 149-151 (16. In the appendix) - My translation

Rematriation represents more than just the return of the ancestors; it is the return of dignity and the restoration of the balance which shifted when the ancestors were taken.²³⁰ Key elements of the process are; respecting the ancestors, maintaining the connection with the past, the land, and identity, and the descendants' responsibility to ensure that the stolen ancestors are returned home.²³¹ An essential aspect of the Māori perspective is their relationship with the dead and the connection between genealogy and the land. To return the ancestors to their origin, their *iwi* (tribe) or *hapu* (subtribe) is one of the goals of repatriation. DNA testing is not conducted in provenance research, but other methods, such as archival analysis of documents, records, and oral stories, are crucial in this process. With close communication with the local communities, Te Papa's research team thoroughly tries to establish provenance. If provenance is not found, the Māori ancestors will have their final resting place in the *Wahi Tapu* (Sacred Space) at Te Papa. Unfortunately, for many of the ancestors who were taken during the colonial period, no such records can be found. Luckily, Olsen was thorough when documenting his expeditions, and the vast archival material he has left behind will clearly be useful in Te Papa's own provenance research.

Explorers like Olsen were representatives of the university and, with that, representatives of the Norwegian state. His legacy and history are a part of the University of Oslo's and Norway's legacy and history. Because of this, we are responsible for acknowledging and dealing with it. Based on the estimated time it would take to revise the Schreiner Collection completely, it is understandable that this would not be easily done. One might have expected the revision to have been completed 22 years after this recommendation was made. That this work has at last started, as stated by Gladhaug and Glørstad to Khrono in 2021, is encouraging.²³² By taking responsibility for finding out what the Schreiner Collection consists of, the University of Oslo can act as what Clifford has called a contact zone, reconciling and helping restore the balance they once played a part in shifting. Accepting our role in history means actively making amends. Since the institution created this collection through unethical means, it should acknowledge its responsibility and know what they have in its collection. In such a perspective, I would argue for the importance that the university's current revision should prioritize the 500 foreign remains,

²³⁰ Finbog, *It speaks to you*, 101

²³¹ Aranui, *Te Hokinga Mai O Ngā Tūpuna*, 185

²³² Løkeland-Stai and Lie. «Her ligger hodeskallene Universitetet i Oslo aldri fortalte maoriene om» - My translation

and the university should be proactive and transparent, making their information available to the descendants of foreign ancestors. If no one knows what is in the Schreiner Collection, the chances of communities contacting the University of Oslo to repatriate their ancestors are slim.

I hope the Māori ancestors from Whangarei will be repatriated to Te Papa within the next few years. Due to Olsen's archival material, the provenience research will hopefully allow them to return to their homeland, *iwi* and *hapu*. This also gives me hope for the many other ancestors, collected by Ørjan Olsen and collectors like him, who are still waiting to return home.

Bibliography

- Aranui, Amber. *Te Hokinga Mai O Ngā Tūpuna: Māori Perspectives of Repatriation and Scientific Research of Ancestral Remains*. Ph.D. thesis. Victoria University of Wellington. 2018.
- Aranui, Amber. “Restitution or a loss to science? Understanding the Importance of Returning Māori Ancestral Remains” *Museum and Society*; Vol 18, no. 1 (March 2020)
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.29311/mas.v18i1.3245>
- Asdal, Kristin and Hilde Reinertsen. *Hvordan gjøre dokumentanalyse En praksisorientert metode*. Oslo: Cappelen Damm AS, 2021
- Brimnes, Niels. “The colonialism of Denmark-Norway and its legacies”, Nordics Info Aarhus University, 23.05.23 [The colonialism of Denmark-Norway and its legacies \(nordics.info\)](https://nordics.info)
- Cambridge Dictionary “Taboo” Accessed 4.04.2023.
<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/taboo>
- Clegg, Margaret. *Human Remains Curation, Reburial and Repatriation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020
- Clifford, James. *Routes. Travel and Translation in the late Twentieth Century*. London: Harvard University Press, 1997.
- Department for Culture, Media and Sport. “Guidance for the Care of Human Remains in Museums” London: Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2005
- Drenzel, Leena, Lotten Gustafsson Reinius, Katherine Hauptman, Lena Hejll and Fredrik Svanberg *Manskliga kvarlevor vid offentliga museer en kunnskapsoversikt* Stockholm: Statens Historiske Museer 2016
- Eidsvik, Erlend. “Colonial Discourse and Ambivalence: Norwegian Participants on the Colonial Arena in South Africa” in *Whiteness and Postcolonialism in the Nordic Region*. Loftsdottir and Jensen (eds.) 13-29 New York: Routledge, 2016
- Eriksen, Anne. *Historie, minne og myte* Oslo: Pax forlag AS, 1999
- Finbog, Liisa-Ravna. *It speaks to you* Ph.D. thesis. University of Oslo. 2020
- Fossum, Sigbjørn, Per Holck and Haakon Breien Beenestad. *Historien om Anatomisk Institutt*. Oslo: Pax. 2023.

- Gilmore, H., Schafer, C., and Halcrow, S. "Tapu and the invention of the "death taboo": An analysis of the transformation of a Polynesian cultural concept." *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 13 no. 3. (2013): 331–349. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1469605313503229>
- Gladhaug, Ivar Prydz and Eivind Engebretsen. "Unyansert oppgjør med fortiden" *Morgenbladet*. 20.07.2020. <https://www.morgenbladet.no/ideer/kronikk/2020/07/20/unyansert-oppgjor-med-fortiden/>
- Herewini, Te Herekiele and June Jones. "A partnership approach to repatriation: building the bridge from both sides" *Tuhinga* n.27 (June 2016) Access 20.04.2023. <https://www.tepapa.govt.nz/sites/default/files/herewini-pl-9-tuhinga-27-2016-lowerres.pdf>
- Hicks, Dan. *The Brutish Museum*. London: Pluto Press, 2020
- Hole, Brian. "Playthings for the Foe: The Repatriation of Human Remains in New Zealand" *Public archaeology*, vol. 6, No. 1, (2007): 5-27. [Playthings for the Foe: The Repatriation of Human Remains in New Zealand \(researchgate.net\)](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/312111111_Playthings_for_the_Foe:_The_Repatriation_of_Human_Remains_in_New_Zealand)
- Holck, Per. *Den fysiske antropologi i Norge*. Oslo: Anatomisk institutt, UiO, 1990.
- Institute of Basic Medical Sciences. "About the collection" Accessed 25.05.2023. [About the collection - Institute of Basic Medical Sciences \(uio.no\)](https://www.uio.no/basmed/eng/about-the-collection)
- Institute of Basic Medical Sciences. "Ethical considerations" Accessed 25.05.2023 [Ethical considerations - Institute of Basic Medical Sciences \(uio.no\)](https://www.uio.no/basmed/eng/ethical-considerations)
- Institute of Basic Medical Sciences. "Guidelines for the use and management of the Schreiner Collections §6 Access to the collection." Accessed 15.03.2023. [Guidelines for the Schreiner Collections - Institute of Basic Medical Sciences \(uio.no\)](https://www.uio.no/basmed/eng/guidelines-for-the-schreiner-collections)
- International Council Of Museums. "International repatriation of human remains of indigenous peoples" Accessed 24.05.2023. <https://icom.museum/en/news/international-repatriation-of-human-remains-of-indigenous-peoples/>
- Kajser, Lars and Magnus Öhlander (eds.) *Etnologisk fältarbete*. Lund: Studentlitteratur AB. 2014
- Kalleberg, Ragnvald. "Om vitenskapelig ydmykhet." In *Samisk forskning og forskningsetikk / Den nasjonale forskningsetiske komité for samfunnsvitenskap og humaniora (NESH)*. Oslo: De nasjonale forskningsetiske komiteer, 2002 Hovedfagsoppgaver i digitalt bibliotek (uio.no) [Hovedfagsoppgaver i digitalt bibliotek \(uio.no\)](https://www.uio.no/basmed/eng/hovedfagsoppgaver-i-digitalt-bibliotek)
- Kjølberg, Merethe. «Etikk, forskning og forvaltning av menneskelige levninger fra urfolk» Unpublished Master thesis. University of Oslo. 2014 [Kjolberg-Master.pdf \(uio.no\)](https://www.uio.no/basmed/eng/kjolberg-master)

Kulturhistorisk museum, Universitetet i Oslo, Acquisition Catalogue of the Ethnographic Museum, provided by Arne A. Perminow, keeper of the museum's Oceania Collection, EM 36097-126 (September 1930), see also journal no. 163/1930, 168/1930, 107/1930

Kvittingen, Ida. “Det er lett å trå feil når du forsker på gamle skjeletter” Forskning.no (May 2018): <https://forskning.no/ny-arkeologi-etnisitet/det-er-lett-a-tra-feil-nar-du-forsker-pa-gamle-skjeletter/269416>

Kyllingstad, John Røyne. *Rase En vitenskapshistorie* Oslo: Cappelen Damm. 2023

Loftsdóttir, Kristín and Lars Jensen (ed.) *Whiteness and Postcolonialism in the Nordic Region*. New York: Routledge, 2016

Løkeland-Stai, Espen and Tove Lie. “Her ligger hodeskallene Universitetet i Oslo aldri fortalte maoriene om.” Kunnskapsavisen Khrono (December 2021) [Her ligger hodeskallene Universitetet i Oslo aldri fortalte maoriene om \(khrono.no\)](https://khrono.no/her-ligger-hodeskallene-universitetet-i-oslo-aldri-fortalte-maoriene-om)

Løkeland-Stai, Espen and Tove Lie. “Likene i universitetslasten” Kunnskapsavisen Khrono (December 2021) <https://khrono.no/likene-i-universitetslasten/629262>

McKinney, Natasha. “Ancestral remains from Oceania” in *Regarding the Dead: Human Remains in the British Museum* Ed. Alexandra Fletcher, Daniel Antoine and JD Hill, 34-43. London: British Museum, 2014. [Regarding-the-Dead_02102015.pdf \(britishmuseum.org\)](https://www.britishmuseum.org/Regarding-the-Dead_02102015.pdf)

Meld.St. nr. 23 (2020 – 2021) Melding til Stortinget Musea i samfunnet Tillit, ting og tid <https://www.regjeringen.no/contentassets/573ad8ffd103469087db8ee693de5060/nn-no/pdfs/stm202020210023000dddpdfs.pdf>

Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary, “Taboo.” Accessed 3. 04. 2023. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/taboo>

Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. “Austria returns ancestral remains stolen by notorious grave-robber” 27.09.2022. <https://www.tepapa.govt.nz/about/press-and-media/press-releases/2022-media-releases/austria-returns-ancestral-remains-stolen>

Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. “International repatriation” Accessed 20.02.2023. <https://www.tepapa.govt.nz/international-repatriation>

Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. “Karanga Aotearoa repatriation programme, Background document” (August 2011) Accessed 03.03.2023. [TEPAPA n470632 v1 online version.pdf](https://www.tepapa.govt.nz/about/press-and-media/press-releases/2022-media-releases/austria-returns-ancestral-remains-stolen)

Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. *The International Repatriation Summit Year 1*, 16.10.2022 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kk3y4U4htAE>

Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. “The Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Programme” Accessed 15.02.2023 [The Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Programme | Te Papa](https://www.tepapa.govt.nz/about/press-and-media/press-releases/2022-media-releases/austria-returns-ancestral-remains-stolen)

- Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. "Māori ancestral remains repatriated to New Zealand" Accessed 14.04.2023. <https://www.tepapa.govt.nz/about/news/maori-ancestral-remains-repatriated-new-zealand>
- Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. "The repatriation of Māori and Moriori remains" Accessed 13.03.2023 [The repatriation of Māori and Moriori remains | Te Papa](#)
- Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. "Watch: Return of looted ancestors from Vienna to Aotearoa New Zealand" Accessed 20.05.2023. [Watch: Return of looted ancestors from Vienna to Aotearoa New Zealand | Te Papa](#)
- Myhre, Jan Eivind. "Bærerene av akademisk kunnskap – og samfunnet" Apollon (2011) <https://www.apollon.uio.no/artikler/2011/2-akademisk-kunnskap.html>
- Nasjonalt utvalg for vurdering av forskning på menneskelige levninger. "Forskningsetisk veileder for forskning på menneskelige levninger", Oslo: De nasjonale forskningsetiske komiteene, 2018
- Newcomb, Steven. "PERSPECTIVES: Healing, Restoration, and Rematriation." Indigenous Law Institute *News & Notes*. (Spring/Summer 1995)
- New Zealand Intellectual Property Office. "Concepts to understand" Accessed 22.04.2023. [Concepts to understand | Intellectual Property Office of New Zealand \(iponz.govt.nz\)](#)
- Nicolaysen, Gunnar. et al. Internasjonal komite "Vurdering av den vitenskapelige verdi av De Schreinerske Samlinger" Universitetet i Oslo. 2000
- Olsen, Ørjan. *Eventyrlandet: Fra en reise i New Zealand* Oslo: Aschehoug. 1931
- Oslo Kommune. "Priser for stell av grav og steinarbeid" Accessed 13.02.2023. [Priser for stell av grav - Priser og avgifter - Oslo kommune](#)
- Oxford Bibliographies. "Postcolonial Theory" Daniel J. Elam. Accessed 23.02.2023 [Postcolonial Theory - Literary and Critical Theory - Oxford Bibliographies](#)
- Paterson, Robert. "Maori Preserved Heads: A Legal History" in Peter Mosimann & Beat Schönenberger, (eds) *Kunst & Recht 2017/ Art & Law 2017* (Bern: Stampfli Verlag, 2017) 71.) [Maori Preserved Heads: A Legal History \(ubc.ca\)](#)
- People.ucsc.edu "Career Narrative" Accessed 12.05.2023 [James Clifford \(ucsc.edu\)](#)
- Protected Objects Act 1975. 19.09.1975 Nr. 41. [Protected Objects Act 1975 No 41 \(as at 28 October 2021\), Public Act – New Zealand Legislation](#)
- Riksantikvarieämbetet. *Good collections management Guidance for handling human remains in museum collections*, Riksantikvarieämbetet 2020

- Said, Edward. *Orientalisme: vestlige oppfatninger av Orienten*. Translated by Anne Aabakken Oslo: Cappelen. 1994.
- Store Norske Leksikon «Kristian Schreiner» Jan Brøgger. Accessed 25.03.2023 [Kristian Schreiner – Norsk biografisk leksikon \(snl.no\)](#)
- Store Norske Leksikon «Rasisme» Torgeir Skorgen, Ingunn Ikdahl og Mikkel Berg-Nordlie. Accessed 03.03.2023. [rasisme – Store norske leksikon \(snl.no\)](#)
- Store Norske Leksikon «Ørjan Olsen» Steinar Wikan. Accessed 25.03.2023 https://nbl.snl.no/%C3%98rjan_Olsen
- Støre, Jonas Gahr “Norway’s conflict resolution efforts – are they of any avail?” (Oslo: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 11.06.2010). *Government.no, Historical archive*. Accessed 20.05.2023. [Norway’s conflict resolution efforts – are they of any avail? - regjeringen.no](#)
- Svest, Asgeir. "What Happened in Neiden? On the Quest ion of Reburial Ethics" Norwegian Archaeological Review, 46. No. 2 (2013): 194-222, DOI: 10.1080/ 00293652.2013.839575
- Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. “Māori–Pākehā relations” Mark Derby. Accessed 20.01.2023. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/maori-pakeha-relations/page-6>
- Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. “Pōmare, Māui Wiremu Piti Naera” Graham Butterworth. Accessed 16.04.2023. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3p30/Pōmare-Māui-wiremu-piti-naera>
- Te Papa Academia “Amber Aranui” Accessed 28.03.2023. [\(85\) Amber Aranui | Te Papa Museum - Academia.edu](#)
- The Māori Antiquities Act 1908 No. 110 §2 10.05.2023 [1908C110.pdf \(auckland.ac.nz\)](#)
- Torjussen, Sahra "Fremstillingen av kolonialisme i norske lærebøker." Unpublished Master thesis. University of Oslo. 2018 <http://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-68107>
- United Nations “Norway's report on repatriation of ceremonial objects and human remains under the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP)” Accessed 20.02.2023. [Norway.pdf \(ohchr.org\)](#)
- United Nations “The Report on the World Social Situation 2018 *Indigenous peoples and ethnic minorities: Marginalization is the norm*” (September 2018) Accessed 22.05.2023 DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18356/14642ccc-en>
- United Nations “United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP)” accessed 27.04.2023. https://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf

Vaalund, Anne. "Skaller og kadaverheis – en ekspansjonshistorie fra Anatomisk institutt" Museum for universitets- og vitenskapshistorie. Accessed 20.02.2023, [Skaller og kadaverheis – en ekspansjonshistorie fra Anatomisk institutt - Museum for universitets- og vitenskapshistorie \(uio.no\)](#)

Victoria University of Wellington "Amber Aranui" Accessed 18.03.2023. [Amber Aranui | Te Kawa a Māui – School of Māori Studies | Victoria University of Wellington \(wgt.ac.nz\)](#)

Wagner, Konrad. *The Craniology of the Oceanic Races*, Ph.D. thesis. Det Norske Vitenskaps Akademi Oslo: 1937

White, Moira. "The trouble about your combs arose this way...Changing interpretations of the Maori Antiquities Act 1908" *Tuhinga* 18: 1–10 Te Papa Museum of New Zealand (2007) Accessed 20.05.2023. [Tuhinga18Final \(tepapa.govt.nz\)](#)

Sources

Nasjonal biblioteket Privat Arkiv, Ørjan Olsen, En del uttalelser om dr. Ørjan Olsen som forfatter, foredragsholder og forskningsreisende.

Nasjonal biblioteket Privat Arkiv, Ørjan Olsen, Dagbok over reisen til Polynesien, 1926-1928.

Nasjonal biblioteket Privat Arkiv, Ørjan Olsen, Foredrag om New Zealand, 1928.

The Schreiner Collection Archive, Ørjan Olsen, 3 Letters to K. E. Schreiner, 1927.

The Schreiner Collection Archive, Ørjan Olsen, Index cards, Māori ancestral remains.

Nasjonal biblioteket Digitalt Arkiv, Avisartikler 1926-1927, "Ørjan Olsen", "Polynesien", "New Zealand" and "Ny Zeland".

Appendix

Quotes in Norwegian

1. Diary by Ørjan Olsen p. 358 – diary entry 2.09.1927

“Han var tyk og jovial, fandt ham siddende I en böffel chesterfield sofa med tykke sorte ladder paa benene, halvveis liggende i sofaen modtog han mig, han havde kruset graat haar, ikke særlig udprægede maoriske træk. Han sa, at levende sjeldne fugle kunde jeg ikke faa tage, det var definitivt, men man ville give mig en samling dubletter af museets. Hvad man forstod ved «give» er mig endnu ikke ganske klart. Forøverigt vilde jeg faa alle lettelser og introd. Til chefen for Publicity department, mr. Messenger.”

2. Letter written by Ørjan Olsen to K.E. Schreiner 24.05.1927 p. 1

“Som de vil erindre, var jeg noget forbeholden, da De anmodede mig om at samle cranier i Polynesien. Jeg vidste at dette var en vanskelig sag, og turde derfor intet love. Imidlertid har jeg havt Dem i tankerne og ikke sparet på nogen möie for at kunne imødekomme Deres ønske. Det er mig en glæde nu at kunne meddele, at det har lykkedes mig at faa fat paa 8 cranier foruden en del fragmenter og ben af ægte tahitiere,”

3. Letter written by Ørjan Olsen to K.E. Schreiner 05.11.1927 p. 3

“Jeg fortalte ham (Mr. Fraser) om Dem og Deres fortjenestefulde arbeide for studiet af bl.a. De finsk-urgiske folk, om ønskeligheden af at have omfattende samlinger cranier fra Māorierne, som jo ogsaa formodes at være kommen fra Centralasien og som af flere aarsager synes at staa netop de finsk-urgiske folk overraskende nær.”

4. Diary by Ørjan Olsen p. 450 – diary entry 04.11.1927

“ Havde det enda været to eller tre cranier, mente Hislop, men hele 41! To eller tre cranier vilde være uten interesse for oss, forklarede jeg. Vi tar med glæde to eller tre hundrede, det er de store serier, vi trønger. Materialet er uden kommerciel værdi, har heller ingen betydning som museumsudstillingsmateriale, 2-3 er hvad man trønger dertil. Det har heller ikke megen interesse for N.Z. som stat, da man her mangler de store serier af beslektede racer, som muliggjør bearbejdelsen af materialet. Det har kun interesse for de meget faa forskere, som besidder sammenligningsmateriale og

tilfældigvis arbejder paa den linje. Dette studium har kanskje vel saa stor interesse for N.Z som for Norge, det er av ren international interesse, og man skulde snarere takke til, at fremmede lande tog sig af det.”

5. Diary by Ørjan Olsen p. 380 – diary entry 15.09.1927

“Han sa, jeg vilde faa tilbytte mig alle de fugle, man kunde afse. Tilbød ogsaa mullusker og lavere dyr, og foreslog at jeg skulde koncentrere mit arbeide om indsamling af kranier. Opgav en mand, der kunne være mig til nytte og opgive de rette steder en mr. Frazer, Whangarei Harbour Board, en jernbanest. Nord for Auckland. (Men han bör ikke oplyses fuldt med engang, O. vilde ikke skrive til ham eller til Chatham Isl., for at der ikke skulde bli tale om sagen paa forhaand).”

6. Diary by Ørjan Olsen p. 381 – diary entry 16.09.1927

“Omkring 30 aar siden havde the State Forrest Dept. “a Nursery”, i Whangarei, North Auckland District. “Just over the hill from this nursery was a burial cave. It has probably been raided repeatedly by now. Mr. Frazer will know. He may know of other caves”.”

7. Diary by Ørjan Olsen p. 438 – diary entry 24.10.1927

“M.h.t grottene kjendte han ingen som ikke allerede var ribbet. Frazer skulde være den bedste til at kjende dem; men han var ikke sikker at han vilde assistere, da han var vel tilvens med de indfødte.”

8. Olsen, Ørjan “Eventyrlandet” p. 438

“Fraser havde gjort studiet av Māorierne til en specialitet. Han stod på meget vennskapelig fot med de innfødte i omegen og hadde derfor vært i stand til å samle et materiale, som vilde ha vært uopnåelig for de fleste hvite”

9. Diary by Ørjan Olsen p. 441 – diary entry 28.10.1927

“Efter middag gik jeg over og hilste paa hr. Fraser, blev meget vel moodtaget. Han viste mig et helt privat museum af skjønne og værdifulde ting, han selv hadde samlet. Blandt dem var en netop erholdt Māorisk mumie af betydelig alder, ganske velkonserveret. Den var hentet ned fra et fjeld et par-tre mile udenfor Whangarei, F. hadde selv under stort besvær heist den ned.”

10. Letter written by Ørjan Olsen to K.E. Schriener 05.11.1927 p. 3

“Han saa paa samme sted ca. 10-12 cranier, savidt han huskede delvis med underkæve, men han turde ikke gaa tilbage dit netop nu, da Māorierne havde ham mistænkt for mumuiens forsvinden. Nogle af dem bor ved de hellige pladse udelukkende for at passe, at ingen bryder tapu’et selv om vedk. Stamme er flyttet til andre steder.”

11. Diary by Ørjan Olsen p. 441 – diary entry 28.10.1927

“Men saa hadde Maorierne opdaget, at den var borte, og flere af dem hadde indfundet sig hos den indfødte mand, som hadde assisteret hr. Fraser, og hadde anmodet ham om en forklaring. Enten maatte mumien bringes paa plads igjen, eller ogsaa maatte der betales en mulkt af 10L. Fraser leste op brevet for mig; boy’en hørtes noksaa fortvilet du. Han hadde sagt at han intet kjente til det hele. Jeg fortalte F. at N.Z.s Prime minister hadde sagt mig, at han ikke kjendte nogen lov som forbød samling af døde fra hedensk tid, og tilføide, at jeg ikke forstod, maorierne her mere enn andre kunde hævde eiendomsret til en forhistorisk mumie, de intet kjendte til. F. var af samme mening og vilde ikke ta dette for alvorligt, men han vilde fortælle alt til vedk. maorier og forklare, hvorfor mumierne var taget, han trodde de vilde forstaa det og give sig.”

12. Letter written by Ørjan Olsen to K.E. Schreiner 05.11.1927 p. 3

“Det forekommer mig at denne forbindelse bör udnyttes mest muligt. Han er manden; idag kan noget faaes, men hvis mit indtryk af lovgivningen her er korrekt, vil det ikke vare længe, för der kommer en tillægslov, som bringer det strenge forbud mod eksport af “Māori relicts” til at omfatte ogsaa cranier. Idag ligger vanskeligheden mest i de indfødtes tapu og regjeringens bestræbelser paa ikke at fornærme nogen ved brud paa dette, - foruden vanskeligheden med å finde noget brugbart; den vil naturligvis ikke blive mindre i fremtiden.”

13. Diary by Ørjan Olsen p. 450 – diary entry 4.11.1927

“Jeg forklarede paa begge kontorer, at jeg overalt i Polynesien hadde sendt denslags materiale under opgift “Scientific specimens” eller lignende, og at man selvfølgelig ikke kunde opgive det rette indhold paa Bill of Lading, da folk ellers ofte ikke vilde haandtere det eller ha det i sine huse. Baade Hislop og Pōmare forstod dette fuldt vel. De forstod ogsaa, at jeg af hensyn til egen popularitet ikke kunde fortæle aabenlyst om saadan indsamling. Jeg sa: “Den slags kan kun fortælles til intelligente mennesker, til nogle faa styrende, ikke til the “man in the street”. Undersekretæren talte noget om at gaa og grave op kjære afdøde fra kirkegaarde, som er særlig strengt tabu. Jeg svarede hertil at alle

begravelsespladse var tabu, skulde dette være bindende, fik videnskaben intet. “Kan De ikke tænke dem, at De indfødte bliver opbragt, naar de faar høre om noget saadant”, sa han. “Jo selvfølgelig”, svarede jeg, “derfor skal de intet høre, naar denslags foretages.” Han saa lidt maabende ud.”

14. Diary by Ørjan Olsen p. 450 – diary entry 4.11.1927

“Efter nogen parleren ble det til, at Hislop fulgte mig til Pōmare , som hadde udtalt ønske om at tale med mig. Pōmare modtog mig venligt smilende, nærmest nysgjerrig, vilde høre lidt nærmere om mit fund. Jeg forklarede ham omtrent det samme som tidligere sagt i det andet kontor. Han hørte velvilligt, takkefuld paa. Begynte saa at spørge om tilstedeværende ligheder med asiatiske folk og Māorienenes oprindelse. Bad om at faa, hvad vi maatte skrive herom, eller hvad der forelaa nu. Mente selv at Māorierne ikke var af mongoloid type, men kommen fra et sted nordvest for Indien. Fortalte mig diverse ting af interesse, bl.a. at begravelsesmaaden at lade dem sidde var specific for mororierne, men ikke netop Māorisk, ikke her ialfald. Fortalte at det var hans bedstefar som utryddede moriorierne paa Chathams. Videre at han selv var præsident for det polynesiske selskab og ligeledes for det antropologiske selskab her. Han var hele tiden meget höflig og konkluderede med at paategne det medbragte dokument og sige: “De kan ta dem ud, jeg tar ansvaret lige overfor mine folk, om de da idethele faar vide om det.” Māoriens sans for fair play og intellegens stod her i sterk kontrast til f.eks mr. Olivers.”

15. Diary by Ørjan Olsen p. 449 – diary entry 4.11.1927

“Jeg svarede at det var mig ikke ganske klart, hvori den vanskelige situation bestod: Jeg havde spurgt førsteministeren om der var nogen lov som forbød saadan indsamling og lagt min hensigt helt klar. (...) Hislop saa forstaaende, og nærmest velvilligt du, men den tykhodede undersekretær satte opp ett gravalvorligt ansigt og slog an en dyster tone. Om jeg ikke vidste, at «maori relicts» var forbudt udført? Om jeg ikke kunne forstaa, hvad disse folks slegtninge maatte tenke og føle, hvor opbragt med rette de maatte blive, naar de saa sine kjære saadan sendt afsted. (...) Jeg svarede hertil, at med «maori relicts» vilde neppe nogen mene gamle ben, der sigtedes selvfølgelig til sager af ethnologisk interesse, at gamle ben ikke havde været fredet i andre land, hvor jeg havde arbeidet, at de tagne cranier var af krigere, uden underkjaeve og delvis malede, at bestemt ingen kjendte dem eller endog det sted, hvor de var fundne.”

16. Olsen, Ørjan Eventyrlandet p. 149-151

“Vi har hørt litt om maorienenes fremadskridende europeisering. Men de gamle forestillinger lever enda, særlig i de mest avsides strøk, hvor kulturen har hatt vanskelig for å trenge inn. (...) De gamle høvdinger sitter i gravgrottene og ruger over sine falne krigere. Med ulykkesvanger dødningslatter møter de den fremmede som våger å trosse tabuets forbannelse for å utforske deres hemmeligheter. Åndene farter rundt om natten, de møter hverandre, de antas å følge vel med i utviklingen, men de liker den ikke. Og minst av alt synes de om at fremmede trenger inn på deres egne enemerker. Det er efterslektens plikt å påse at så ikke skjer. Men videnskapen vil ha materiale. Man vil studere det skjønne og i mange henseender overmåte interessante maoriske folks historie, som er på det nøieset sammenknyttet med oppdagelsen og kolonisasjonen av hele Polynesien. (...) Svaret må i stor utstrekning søkes i gravgrottene. (...) Her er stridende interesser. Maorienenes i og for seg sympatiske tabu over gravene står i mot videnskapens behov. (...) Når de gamle har gått bort håper vi å få fatt på dette materiale, (...) de unge er mere oplyste og ikke så fanatiske”.

17. Diary by Ørjan Olsen p. 153 – diary entry 23.04.1927

“Det viste sig, at disse døde fremdeles erindres, idet der i kisterne laa tõi af mere ny fabrikation, og i en af dem fandtes to visnede blomsterkroner og en liten flaske parfyme af den slags, som tilberedes her i landet. Dette siges at være en bror af en gammel mand i Hitiaa, 75 aar gl. Og fremdeles levende. Skeletterne maa ha en alder af mindst 100 aar, idet saadan begravelsesmaade ikke har været i brug siden folket antog kristendommen. Jeg fant ikke at kunne medta nogen af de cranier, som fremdeles har paarørende, der imellem besøger dem, men tog tre andre som saa du til aa være helt forglemt og hvorav to laa udenfor kisterne med hensmuldrede ben omkring.”

18. Diary by Ørjan Olsen p. 444 – diary entry 29.10.1927

“Vi tog nu en taxi, som skulde kjøre os ud til en kirkegaard, 4,5 miles fra byen, og henet oss der igjen kl. 5 em. Det sted, vi skulde besøge, var den hellige gravplads Tokanui, et sted Frazer var sikker paa ikke hadde været besøgt fra Whanganui og neppe fra andre steder heller, da den var alltid saa nøie paapasset av Māoriene. (...) Vi tog fra veien ned i en bækkedal med opstaaende klipper her og der. Paa nordsiden af dalen var en høiere klippenut, hvori man hadde sagt Fraser, at døde skulde være hensat.”

19. Diary by Ørjan Olsen p. 444 – diary entry 29.10.1927

“Han kom efter nogen tid op med et halvt dusin, lagde dem i en haug nærmere aabningen, krøb høiere op og langede dem over til mig, et for et. Vil De endnu ha flere, spurgte han. Jeg vil ha alle, vi paa nogen mulig maade kan faa med os. Sa jeg. F. krøb ned igjen og kom op med en ny ladning, gjentog

dette flere gange.(...) saa gjaldt det at faa dem med os. Efter mit forslag gik vi i to turer, bragte förat de fylgte sække frem af ulændet til den aabne bakke, lagde saa indholdet, jakker og andet overflödigt igjen, og fikk damerne, som hadde ventet ved bækken, til at passe sagerne, medens vi hentede sidste rest. Det var saavidt vi kunde faa dem med os. Hadde tat en stor slump papir med, og det gik alt med. Vi gik helt op med sidste ladning, anbragte den bag en stor stamme lige i veikanten, gik ned og hentede resten. Nogle Māorier arbeidede paa markerne en 7-800 meter borte, og vi var noget ængstelige for at bli opdaget (denne gravplads er særlig strengt tabu). Da vi gik op med sidste ladning, lod vi damerne gaa foran, og det var aftalt, at de skulde signalisere fra bakken ned til os, om de saa Māorierne komme. Det skeede imidlertid ikke, men de stansede på bakkekammen og ventede, medens vi kom op. Formodentlig trodde Māorierne at vi kun var ude på picnic med damerne, og som mange dumme europæere kun drog med os overflödigt meget pikpak. Vi kom op kl.5 og bilen indfandt sig næsten præcis i samme öieblik for at hente os. Just i samme moment som Fraser gik over bakkekammen for at hente bilen frem, mödte han den Māori, som har opsynet med gravpladsen, han var paa vei hjem. Han stoppede og vilde slaa af en passiar, hvorpaa F. meget velbetænkt sa, at han vilde hilse paa hans kvinde i vognen længer frem, og saaledes fikk ham med passiarende bortover veien. Det löb vel af. Den bagre del af bilen blev halvfylgt af sækkene og cranier mere eller mindre skjult i papir, og saa bar det iveri. Vi satte av damerne ved deres hjem i bygrænsen og kjörte direkte til et udhus paa Whangarei Harbour Board, hvor hele samlingen useet lastedes af. Gik saa og fik os en drink, hvilket nu kunne være på sin plads, det hadde været en varm job.”

20. Diary by Ørjan Olsen p. 418 – diary entry 14.10.1927

“Vi ser et hul i berget ikke langt ovenfor. «Dette er indgangen til en hule, hvor der findes en slump maoriske skeletter og skulls» oplyser föreren. Dem kunde jeg ha lyst til at se paa, mente jeg. «Det er strengt tabu, og at gaa dit vil være meget farligt, De risikerer let at skydes af maorierne, om de ser Dem der.»”

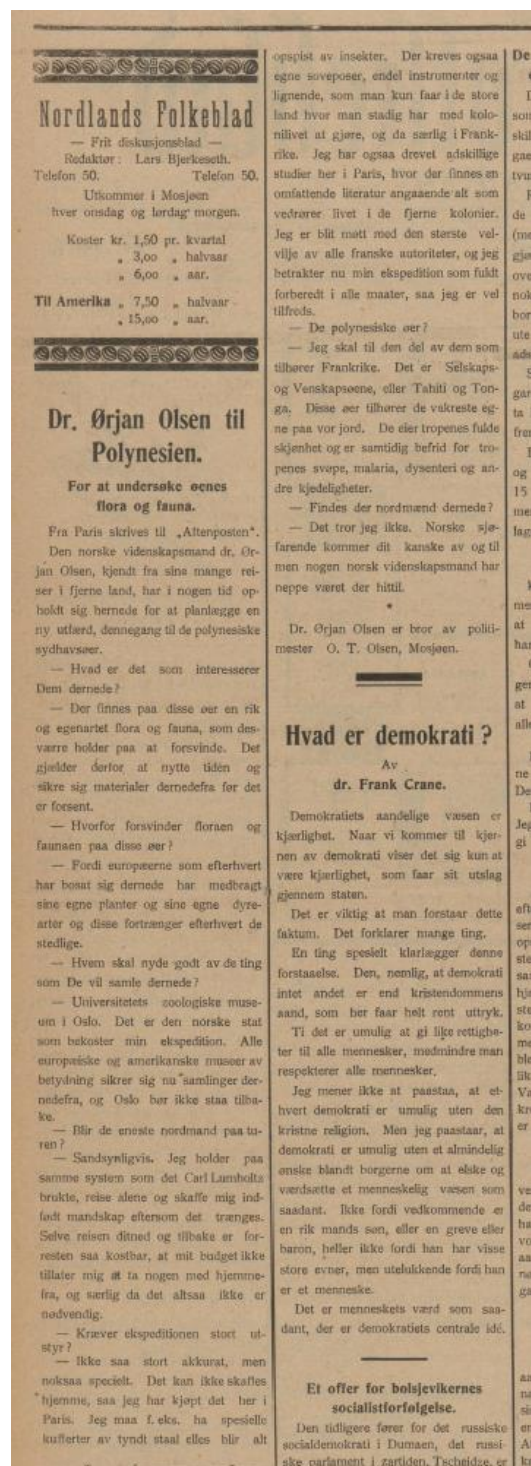
21. Ølsen, Ørjan «Eventyrlandet» p. 154

“Et sted stanset vi et öieblikk, og Fraser pekte på et stort tre som stod ved et lavt, sort hus noen hundre meter syd for landeveien. «Dette tre er hellig,» sa han og få saker på New Zealand er så strengt tabu som det. På stedet levde engang en meget berömt og höiættet kvinne som hette Hinehau. Hun blev begravd i nærheten av de klipper som De ser der lenger øst, på Tokanui, en av de helligste begravelsesplasser på New Zealand, hvor mange storfolk blev hensatt i berghulene. Der bor enda noen maorier i nærheten bare for å vokte stedet.”

22. Diary by Ørjan Olsen p. 443 – diary entry 29.10.1927

“Tilslut kom vi paa en sti, svag men tilstrækkelig, kom atter ned til elven og fulgte denne et stykke opover. Saa begyndte man at studere huller lige nede ved elven i ganske fugtigt terræn. Jeg fik öie paa nogle ben, og vi fandt 1 cranium der. I et andet hul faa meter derfra fantes 4, saaledes at det samlede udbytte blev fem stykr. Men de var alle i slet forfatning, delvis i stykker, og alle uten underkæve; et par tror jeg med den karakteristiske trekant i hjerneskallen, som man ofte hug du paa beseirede fiender.”

Attachments



Figur A. "Dr. Ørjan Olsen til Polynesian" Nordlansk folkeblad 30.06.1926 Nasjonalbiblioteket



Figur B. "Paa Reise til Selskapsøene" Nordisk tidende 11.11.1926 USA: New York. Nasjonalbiblioteket

Norges Kristelige Ungdomsforbund.

Styret for Norges kristelige Ungdomsforbund og repræsentanter for 19 av forbundets kredse i et antal av tilsammen 32 har holdt raadsmøte i Molde 20de—21de oktober under ledelse av formanden garnisonsprest Kjeld Stub.

Generalsekretær Piene gav en oversigt over forbundets virksomhet siden landsmøtet i 1925 og fremhævet særlig den glædelige fremgang i arbeidet blandt de yngre og yngste. Derimot hadde man paa grund av den vanskelige økonomiske stilling maattet gaa til endel innskæringer av lønnet virksomhet. I forbindelse med sin oversigt indledet generalsekretæren samtale om forbundets finanser og fremholdt herunder, hvordan man skulde komme over den øieblikkelige vanskelighet og desuten hvordan man for fremtiden skulde kunne trygge forbundets økonomi. Efter en længere diskussion blev men enig om fremgangslinjene i denne sak.

Av hensyn til den økonomiske situation, fandt man at maatte utsætte sekretærskolens næste kursus indtil videre. Av de saker som forøvrig blev behandlet var spørsmålet om der fra forbundets side kan gjøres noget for at motarbeide den store arbeidsløshet blandt ungdommen. Det besluttedes at rette en henstilling til storting og regjering om at nedsætte en kommission til behandling av spørsmålet.

Videre drøftet man betydningen av at de kvindelige medlemmer av kreds- og foreningsstyrer føler sit ansvar for arbeidet blandt de unge piker og tar aktivt fat i ledelsen av dette.

Landsmøtet i 1928 er besluttet henlagt til Horten.

Bidrag til Ørjan Olsens

Polynesia-ekspedition.

Med tilslutning av staten, universitetet og de private bidragsydere til Ørjan Olsens Sibirie-ekspedition er de fra denne ekspedition resterende pengemidler, tilsammen ca. 9400 kroner overført til Polynesia-ekspeditionen. Bidragsyderne er: Staten kr. 10,000, indsamlet ved videnskapsselskapet i Trondhjem kr. 2100, Nansenfondet kr. 1000, statsminister Carl Løvenskiold

kr. 1000, grosserer Sven Gerrard, Christianssand kr. 1000, (Gerrards bidrag er fra 1920 og i sin helhet til disposition for Polynesia-ekspeditionen), hofjærgermester Thomas Fearnley kr. 500, frøken Harriet Wedel Jarlsberg kr. 500, Amatomisk institut kr. 500, skibsreder Thor Dahl kr. 500, bankier Joh. G. Heftye kr. 500, Skogselskapet kr. 250, Feddersen & Nissen, Hammerfest kr. 250, Selskapet for Norges Vel kr. 250, disponent Oscar Hytten, Tønsberg kr. 100.

Steen & Strøm har skjænket ekspeditionen et prægtig dobbelttelt og Christiania Glasmagasin har git Bergans rygsækker og et hensigtsmæssig kjøkken og spiseutstyr i aluminium. Som det vil erindres, bidrog begge disse firmaer paa lignende maate til Sibirie-ekspeditionen.

Ørjan Olsen ber herved at faa bringe ovennævnte bidragsydere og andre, som paa forskjellig vis har støttet hans foretagende, sin bedste tak.

Den lykkelige Carl Milles.

To monumenter avsløret i en uke.

At en billedhugger med bare to dages mellemrum faar være med paa at avsløre to av sine monumentalverker i samme by, hører til sjeldenheterne. Men netop dette har den berømte svenske billedhugger Carl Milles oplevet i disse dage i Stockholm. Tirsdag indviedes hans mægtige «industrimonument» foran Tekniska högskolan ved Valhallavägen og torsdag avsløredes «Solsångaren» i Strömparterren. Den sidste er et Tegnérmonument, skjønt digteren har maattet nøie sig med en medaljon paa postamentet. Det egentlige monument bestaar av en nøken unggutfigur, som strækker armene mot solen og aapner løberne til sang. Denne statue er tænkt som et symbol paa Tegnérns digtning og nærmest i forbindelse med hans «Sång till solen». Det var Svenska akademien som i 1890-aarene gjorde tiltak til dette monument, og private givere har senere skaffet pengene. Naar man f. eks. fra Norrbro ser bronsegutten staa paa sin sokkel og andægtig løfte armene mot himlen faar man et storeslaaet indtryk av monumentets kunstneriske virkning.

Fängelser och brott okänt ont.

Dr Örjan Olsen om Söderhavets paradiset.

St.-T. anordnar intressant föredrag om onsdag.

På delar av vår jord utöva en sådan lockelse på oss nordbor som Söderhavets paradiset. Om dem sjunga vi, om dem tala vi med längtan i rösten, till dem förflytta vi oss i våra vildaste drömmar. På dessa lyckliga är behövet man varken hus, kläder eller bränsle, maten kommer av sig själv och livet leker under strålende söderhavssol eller tropikernas nattliga stjärnhimmel.

Från dessa trakter berättar dr Örjan Olsen om onsdag sina erfarenheter av en tvåårig vistelse bland lyckliga Söderhavsbör. Hans föredrag, som äger rum på Musikaliska akademien kl. 8 e. m. och illustreras av praktfulla skioptikonbilder, har arrangerats av Stockholms-Tidningen och Konserthuset i samverkan.

Dr Örjan Olsen är en av Norges populäraste storessejörer och som få författare har ett berättande om vad han sett och upplevt. I de trakter av värld som komma paradiset närmast, har han levat infödingarnas lyckliga liv och det är därför som en initierad ciceron han ledsagar oss genom ett underland, där träden i skogen digna under apelsiner och andra härliga frukter, där man kan njuta av Söders glädjemen utan frukten för tropikfeber, giftiga ormar eller andra farliga djur, där ingen svälter eller lider nöd, där skatter, brott och fängelser äro okända och där vackra, hjärtgoda och charmfulla människobarn le i kapp med solen, älska och leka och anstränga sig för att göra livet angenämt för varandra.

En värld av skönhet... Dr Örjan Olsens författarskap kommer också att presenteras svensk publik inom kort. Bokförlaget Natur och Kultur startar i dagarna en subscriptionsserie på nio häften av hans verk "I Söderhavets paradiset". Boken är slutsåld i Norge.

Stockholms-Tidningen 22/9 - 1931

I MORGON Musik. Akad. Kl. 8

På inbjudan av Stockholms-Tidningen

BERÄTTAR

Dr. ÖRJAN OLSEN

OM

SÖDERHAVS-PARADISET

"där hus, kläder och bränsle äro överflödiga, där maten växer på träden, där flickorna fria själva, där alla barn äro lika äkta och äktenskapet icke ger bekymmer."

Biljetter: St.-Tidn., Elkan & Schildknecht, Nord. Musikförl., Dag. Nyh. o. Sv. Dagbl.

KONSERTBOLAGET

SÖDERHAVET

skildrar dr Örjan Olsen i morgon kväll i Musikakademien. Se artikel på sidan 5!

Stockholms-Tidningen 22/9 - 31. juli 1931

Dr Olsen berättar om Söderhavet.

Intressant föredrag i Musikakademien i morgon kväll.

Det första i Stockholms-Tidningens serie.

Stockholms-Tidningen, som under hösten kommer att bjuda Stockholmspubliken på en serie föredrag av synnerligen intressant beskaffenhet, inleder på onsdag denna serie med ett föredrag av dr Örjan Olsen om Söderhavsparadiset. Dr Olsen, som är en av Norges mest kända författare och upptäcktsresande, har under tjugoåren varit färdig runt jorden och hans erfarenhet borgar för att han kommer att berätta fängslande saker för sitt auditorium. Föredraget skildrar dr Olsens upplevelser på Söderhavets öarna, där han vistats två år. Han berättar om Söderhavsparadiset sådant det verkligen är. Hans berättartalang är synnerligen stor — det bevisar den utomordentliga framgång, han haft som föreläsare i sitt hemland. Sitt föredrag om Söderhavet har han upprepade gånger hållit i Oslo för fullsatt hus i de största lokaler som kunnat åstadkommas. Och hans föredragsturné i norska landsorten samlade överallt fulla hus.

Det föredrag, som dr Olsen i morgon kväll håller i Stockholm, äger rum i Musikaliska akademien kl. 8 e. m. Biljetter säljas i Stockholms-Tidningen, D. N. o. och Sv. D:s andelningskontor, hos Elkan & Schildknecht och Nordiska Musikförlaget. Biljetterna kosta kr. 2.50, 2.— och 1.50.

Dr Olsens föredrag illustreras av ett stort antal praktfulla skioptikonbilder. Som författare är dr Olsen synnerligen uppskattad i sitt hemland. Hans bok "Sydhavsparadiset" är slutsåld. Den utkommer inom kort som subscriptionsverk i Sverige på Natur och Kulturs förlag.

(pag. 5)

Stockholms-Tidningen 22. sept. 1931.

Söderhavet i bild och ord i kväll.

Dr Örjan Olsen i Musikakademien.

Första föredraget i St.-T:s serie.



Dr Olsen i Söderhavskostym.

Om Söderhavets paradiset berättar i kväll kl. 8 på Musikaliska akademien dr Örjan Olsen, en av Norges mest uppskattade upptäcktsresande och författare. Dr Olsen har i två år levat bland infödingarna i Polynesien och såväl ämnet som hans berättartalang har i Norge lockat många fullsatta hus i Oslo och i landsorten.

Dr Olsen håller sitt föredrag i Stockholm på inbjudan av Stockholms-Tidningen. Samtidigt visar han ett stort antal skioptikonbilder från de trakter, han skildrar.

Hans bok Sydhavsparadiset, som i Norge släppts från förlaget, utges i svensk översättning på Natur och Kultur.

(Forts. på trettonde sidan.)

Söderhavet i ord och bild

(Forts. från första sidan.)

turs förlag. Det är ett subscriptionsverk på nio häften och det första häftet har redan häften och det första häftet har redan utkommit. Hans levande och intresseväckande skildringskonst kommer här fullt till sin rätt och ger en borgen för att hans föredrag i kväll kommer att fänga publikens intresse från början till slut.

Se mest påg.
(föreläsare under ake)

Figur D. Om föredragene til Olsen I Svenske aviser, Nasjonal biblioteket Privat Arkiv, Örjan Olsen, «En del uttalelser om dr. Örjan Olsen som forfatter, foredragsholder og forskningsreisende.»

Det norske Geografiske Selskap 40 år.

Dr. Ørjan Olsen: "Gjennem New-Zealands eventyrland".



Fra New Zealand.

Ved åpningen av Geografiske selskaps vinterseong igårftes minnet formannen, rektor dr. Skattum, om at selskapet i år var 40 år gammelt, idet det blev stiftet i 1889. Selskapet virket for utbredelse av geografisk kunnskap ved foredrag og ved støtte til forekere samt inatt 1922 også ved utendelse av en årbok. Det år måtte man imidlertid stanse med utgivelsen av økonomiske grunner. Istedet startet i 1926 et norsk geografisk tidsskrift, som nu utdeles til medlemmene uten ekstrakontingent. I begynnelsen hadde selskapet 499 medlemmer, dette tall steg i 1910 til 1542, men er attter dalt noget, idet antalet nu er 1375. Dette er dog mer enn de tilsvarende danske og svenske selskaper. Selskaps formenn har været: professor Mohn, oberst Haffner, doktor Reuech, professor dr. Nansen, professor dr. Yngvar Nielsen, rektor Steen, oberst Nissen og er nu rektor dr. Skattum.

Derefter holdt dr. Ørjan Olsen sitt foredrag, idet han begynte med å fortælle, at han blev hjertelig mottatt av New Zealands guvernør, Sir Robert Stout, som var stolt av ein norske avstampning, den han kunde føre tilbake til Sigurd Jarl.

New Zealand var før dekket av en uizjennemtregelig urskog, som man nu evvide av når landet skulde dyrkes op. Til dette arbeide hadde man anvendt skandinaver, fordi de var de mest utholdende. I 1872 seilet der fra Norge en bark «Hovding» av Tønsberg med 475 nordmenn, hvorav han traff på en gjenlevende, pioneren Eriksen. Efter et uhyre slit lyktes det disse norske å arbeide op en koloni, som allerede i 1888 kunde fremvise en statelig landeby på 40 bus. Efterkommerne efter disse pionerer nyder nu fruktene av deres arbeide.

I et malende og livlig foredrag fortalte doktoren derpå om de mange merkelige ting han hadde sett på New Zealand. Om de varme kilder, som plutselig sprang frem av jorden, en ganz endog i kirken under selve gudstjenesten; om gløderormer som fanget insekter ved å henlege ut lysende kuler i fangetræder, om maorilandebyer ved kokende sjøer, hvor landsbyens fiender før blev anbragt, om elver hvor man kunde fiske ørret på den ene side av elven og koke den i elvavannet ved den annen bredd og uhyre meget annet. Foredraget blev mottatt med sterk applause.

»Aftenposten», 26/9 - 29. ju.

Geografisk Selskap 40 år.

Dr. Ørjan Olsens foredrag om Ny Seland.

Det norske geografiske selskap holdt igår sitt første møte i dette semester. Formannen dr. Skattum åpnet møtet med å minne om at selskapet i år gikk til sitt firtiende virkeår.

Foranledningen til at selskapet blev stiftet var Nansens ferd over Grønland i 1889. Efter hans hjemkomst blev det holdt et møte hvor professor Yngvar Nielsen fremla en innbydelse til dannelse av selskapet. Senere har selskapet vært i stadig vekst med en rekke av vårt lands mest fremtredende menn i spissen. Gjennem tidens har man følge selskapets statutter ved foredrag og utgivelse av et årshefte arbeidet for å øke kjennskapen til geografien og om mulig ved økonomisk støtte å hjelpe geografiske ekspedisjoner. Han sluttet med å uttale håpet om at selskapet vilde fortsette sin fremgang og at de vanskelige kår som det dessverre nu arbeidet under må bedres.

Han gav derefter ordet til aftenens foredragsholder, dr. Ørjan Olsen, som holdt foredrag med mange vakre lysbilleder om Ny Selandis vidunderland. Meget interessant hadde den utmerkede foreker å fortælle fra sin ferd, også om nordmenn og norsk arbeidskraft. Fra møtet med landets ukro-nede konge The r.h. sir Robert Stout som stammer fra en av de store norske farler på Orkeneyene og ennu regner sig som i slekt med oss, til de første norske kolonister i landet i de lille by North Wood.

Den ny-selandske regjering hadde hat vanskeligheter med å skaffe kolonister som kunde greie de store urskoger. En evenke satte dam på at de skulde forsøke skandinaver for var det noen som kunde greie det måtte det være dem. Det blev også gjort og i 1872 kom skuten «Hovding» av Tønsberg til North Wood med 475 norske emigranter. Det er nu bare en igjen av dem, det er Ole Eriksen. Han forteller at da de kom iland for første gang stod urskogen tett ned til strandbredden og kvinnene gråt da de for første gang så sitt fremtidige hjem. Og et slit var det sier han å få det hele istand men nu er det bare velstand og våre barn kan leve godt av vårt arbeid.

Videre fortalte dr. Olsen om landets herlige natur, om enefjell, vulkaner og geisere blandet med tropesko-ger.

Tilslutt nevnte han den store velstand og de gode arbeidsforhold som hereket. Ny Seland var et ønskeland med et godt klima og gavmild natur. Et gjestfritt land hvor folket levet under lykkeligere forhold enn kanskje noe annet land i verden.

Morgenposten 26/9 29

Figur E. Omtale om foredrag i Aftenposten og Morgenposten. Nasjonal biblioteket Privat Arkiv, Ørjan Olsen, «En del uttalelser om dr. Ørjan Olsen som forfatter, foredragsholder og forskningsreisende.»

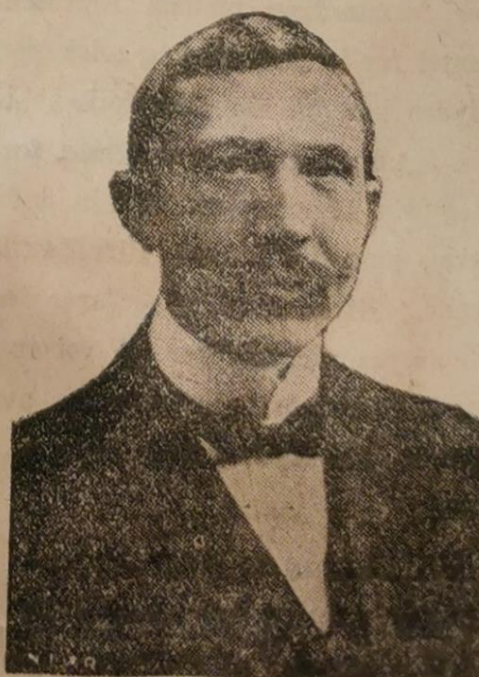
„Aftenposten“ 1/6 - 28. jan.

Ørjan Olsens Polynesia- ekspedisjon.

13/1-28. aft.

Værdifulle sendinger til Zoologisk museum.

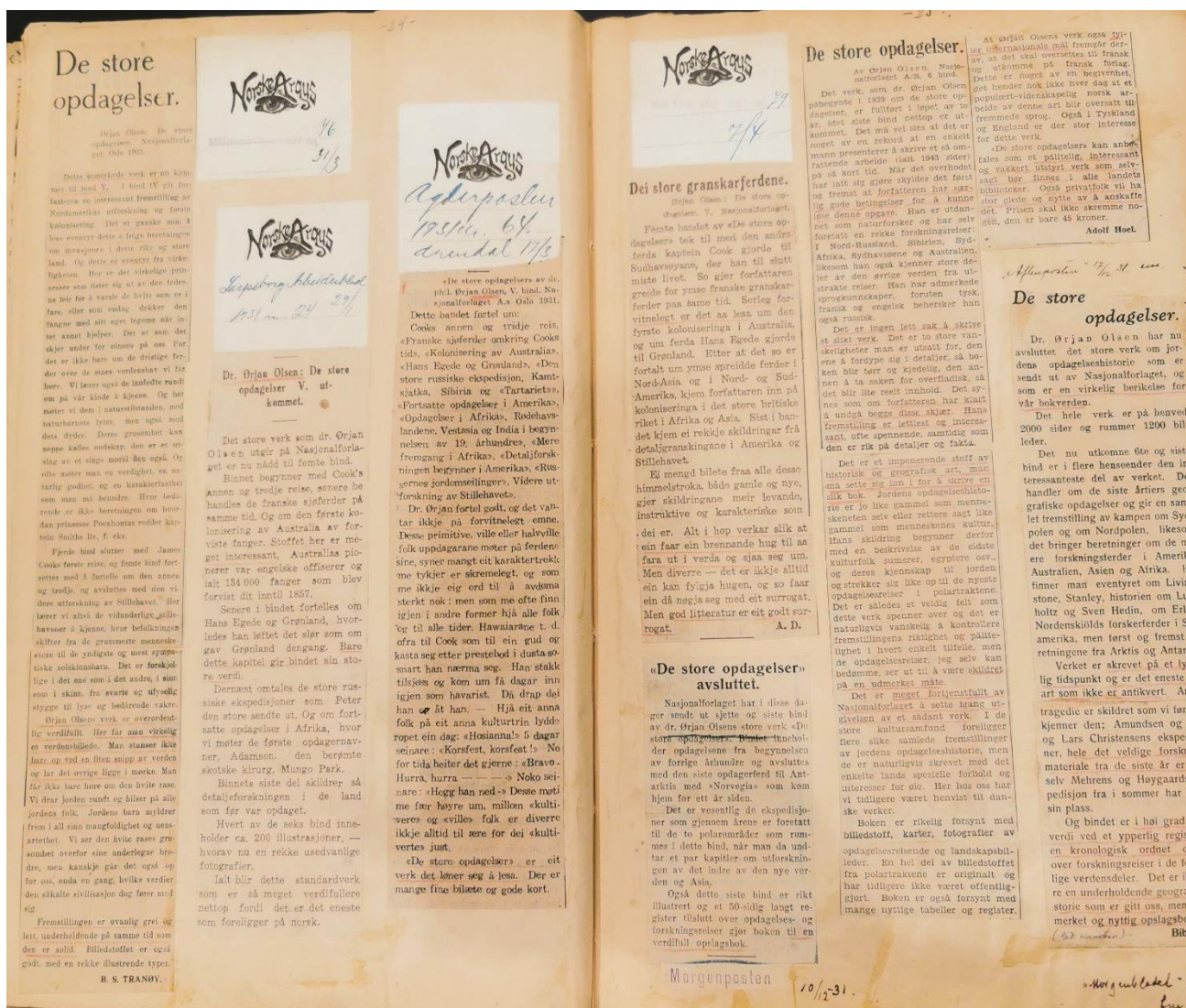
Ørjan Olsen reiste som bekjent ifjor vår til Polynesia for å samle inn materiale til Zoologisk museum. Han har nu avsluttet sitt arbeide der og opholder sig for øieblikket i Australien på hjemvei. Til Zoologisk museum er der allerede kommet fire meget verdifulle og interessante sendinger fra ham. De omfatter vesentlig lavere dyrearter, men Ørjan Olsen har også sendt endel kranier av innfødte til professor Schreiner. Når Ørjan Olsen kommer hjem igjen vil den videnskabelige undersøkelse av det rike materiale begynne.



Ørjan Olsen.

Aftenposten 13/1-28

Figur F. Aftenposten 13.01.1928. Nasjonal biblioteket Privat Arkiv, Ørjan Olsen, «En del uttalelser om dr. Ørjan Olsen som forfatter, foredragsholder og forskningsreisende.»



Figur G. Anmeldelser av "De store oppdagelser" Nasjonal biblioteket Privat Arkiv, Ørjan Olsen, «En del uttalelser om dr. Ørjan Olsen som forfatter, foredragsholder og forskningsreisende.»

Dr. Örjan Olsen, printed works:

- "Om Arrhenoidie og Thelyidie hos Tetraonider". Det Norske Videnskabs-selskabs Forhandlinger, 1913.
- "Nordlige Trækfugle i Sydafrika". Det Norske Videnskabs-selskabs Forhandlinger, 1913.
- "On the characters and biology of Balaenoptera Brydei, a new porqual from the coast of South Africa". Proceedings of the Royal Zoological Society of London, 1913.
- "Hvaler og hvalfangst i Sydafrika", 1913.
- "Et primitivt folk". De mongolske rensdyrnomader. J.W.Cappelen, Oslo, 1915. (A monography on the Todschin-soyots, a tribe of Mongolian reindeer-nomads, which was until 1913 almost entirely unknown to science, and which is apparently very closely related to the lappons of Scandinavia).
- "Til Jeniseis Kilder", J.W.Cappelen, Oslo, 1915. 300 pages with numerous illustrations. (To the headwaters of the Yenisei River, a book of travel, an account of Örjan Olsen's expedition to the Uriankhai Country).
- "R.Collett: Norges Fugle, ved Örjan Olsen". Three volumes, about 1850 pages with numerous illustrations. H.Aschehoug & Co., Oslo, 1922. (A book in 3 vols. on the birds of Norway, mainly based upon materials which during more than 50 years were collected by a famous Norwegian ornitologist, the late university professor Robert Collett).
- "Ornitologisk materiale, indsamlet under den norske Sibirie-ekspedition". (A work on the Siberian birds, which were collected during Örjans Olsen's expedition in 1914).
- "De store opdagelser", Nasjonalforlaget, Oslo, 1928-30. 6 volumes with altogether about 2000 pages and nearly 1200 illustrations. A history of the geographical discovery of our globe (of the great explorers), from the earliest historic time until our days. Popularly written and sold in great numbers. Also in French edition. Several foreign editions were cancelled by the war.
- "I Sydøys-Paradis", H.Aschehoug & Co., Oslo, 1930. With numerous splendid illustrations. (In the paradise of the South Sea, a book of travel, from Örjan Olsen's expedition to Polynesia. Popularly written and similar to "De store opdagelser" very favorably received). *Also in Swedish edition.*
- Eventyrlandet (The Fairyland), H.Aschehoug & Co., 1931. (Under ~~printing now~~. With numerous splendid illustrations. From Örjan Olsen's latest expedition. "Through the fairy-land of New Zealand", about 280 pages, the illustrations not included. This book is written in the same way and the same size as the foregoing one, ~~and will be~~ printed in the same size and with the same outfit.
- Örjan Olsen has also cooperated in the edition of "Illustreret Norsk Konversationsleksikon", H.Aschehoug & Co., Oslo, and has published a large number of minor works and newspaper-articles. He was during his journey regularly connected with some prominent newspapers, and has done a lot of other journalistic work.

Figur H. Olsen's printed works. Nasjonal biblioteket Privat Arkiv, Örjan Olsen, «En del uttalelser om dr. Örjan Olsen som forfatter, foredragsholder og forskningsreisende.»

Dr. Ørjan Olsen's journeys in various years:

- Up to 1905: Mostly minor eksursions in Norway and Sweden.
- 1906: In the arctic border-lands between Norway, Finland and Russia.
- 1907-09. In various parts of Norway, mostly in the North, collecting for the Zoological Museum of the University.
- 1910: Tana River and northwestern Finland.
- 1912-13: South Africa from East to West Coast over Transvaal, Oranje River Colony &c., studying migratory birds and whales, the latter from Norwegian whaling-stations in Natal and Saldanha Bay.
- Later in 1913: Northern Norway, Northern Russia (Kola, the Biological Station in Aleksandrowsk &c.).
- The winter 1914: Working at the Imperial Academy of Science, St. Petersburg, Russia.
- May-Oct. 1914: Southern Siberia, Uriankhai Country. His expedition numbered several Norwegian scientists and one Russian archeologist. The work, backed by the Government and Parliament of Norway, was intended to go on for years, but was interrupted by the war.
- 1915: From Southern Norway up to the border-lands of Finland and Russia, mostly along the coast.
- 1916 & 1917: Siberia. Later one separate visit to St. Petersburg.
- 1918; 1919: Norway and Denmark.
- 1920: Around the world (Algier, Egypt, Ceylan, Singapore, China, various places in Japan. Return via Hawaii and U.S. (Grand Canyon &c.)).
- 1921: Germany, Austria, Italy.
- 1922: Germany, Austria. Work at Innsbruck University. Later on journey in Hungary, Serbia, Bulgaria, Turkey (including a short visit to Asia Minor), Greece.
- 1923: Italy, Egypt, Palestine. Two visits to the Balkan countries.
- 1924: Germany, France, Monaco &c.
- 1925: Various places in Norway.
- 1926: Paris, Polynesia via U.S.A.
- 1927, 1928: Tahiti, Moorea, Rarotonga, Mangaia, New Zealand, Australia, Samoa, Hawaii, back to U.S. Through California, Oregon, Washington, and the Eastern States in automobile.
- 1928-31: Several trips between Norway and the Mediterranean in automobile visiting various European countries.
- 1932-33 France, Spain, Portugal - &c.
Marocco &c.

Figur I. Olsens oppdagelsesreiser. Nasjonal biblioteket Privat Arkiv, Ørjan Olsen, «En del uttalelser om dr. Ørjan Olsen som forfatter, foredragsholder og forskningsreisende.»

Til „Tupapa“s rike.

Den mystiske grotte Piri Te Ume - Ume.

— Bren til „Morgenbladet“ —

Fra
dr. Ørjan Olsen.

Vi har alle hørt om Peaske-
pena vidunder, de nægtige sten-
statuer og andre fortidsminder.
Men det er i mindre udgaver
over størsteparten av Polynesian
og har gitt videnskaben saa me-
get at tænke paa.

Færre kjender kanske til de
forskede der har været gjort paa at
forklare disse monumenter, hypot-
tesen om en sort urbefolkning og
de spredte fund av papuanske kra-
nier i maoriske gravsteder.

I de gamle polynesiske grave
findes kanske det materiale, som
skal kaste lys over disse interes-
sante spørmaal. Men det er
ikke let at faa fat paa. Det er
hundrede aar, siden Sidschwin-
solanerne begyndte at blande sig
med fremmede, og i tropernes
drivhuusluft dekomponeres selv
skeletter ganske hurtigt.

Desuden er de gamle grav-
pladser overalt strengt tabu, og
at bryde dette tabu kan være far-
lig. Polynesianerne, som i almin-
delighed er saa elskværdig og
omgjengelig, taper al ræson og
kan handle som i gamle dage,
naar han kommer i affekt.

snake om at se eller fotografere
steder, man har hørt om. Lyk-
kes dette, bør man under første
besøg ikke vise større interesse
for de døde end for omgivende
grotter, klipperægge etc., hvor-
fra stenprover eller lignende kan
medtages. Senere kan man i
stillehet og under foregivende av
nødvendigt.

at gaa paa jagt i omgreden kom-
me tilbage og fortælle det, man av
hensyn til videnskaben finder
nødvendigt.

Deslægs steder besøkes næ-
sten aldrig, det aanderne for-
ment at husere der; de ligger
som oftest avskides og utilgæn-
gelig, omgitt av tæt krat. Man
maa saaledes ikke være angste-
lig for besvær.

Før min areise fra Norge la
professor Schreiner mig ind-
trængende paa minde ikke at la
nogen leilighed nyttigt til at red-
de for videnskaben, hvad der mi-
ligens endnu maatte findes av
antropologisk interesse. Jeg tur-
de — vel paa det rene med van-
dselighederne — intet stille i ut-
sigt, men lovede at gjøre mit
bedste.

Paa Tahiti var jeg heldig og
fandt den rette mand. I Raroto-
ga var utsigten smaa, da man
der pleiet at begrave sine døde
i jord, hvorved alle spor hurtig
forvandt.

Jeg fik oppaagt en mand,
som skulde ha særlig kjendskap
til levninger fra fortiden. Det

var en irønder av blaast blod,
livet hadde ført ham ut i den
vide verden, og han var for 7
aar siden havnet paa Rarotonga,
hvor en brin høvdingsdatter
hadde fanget ham ind. Hun
holdt ham fremdeles fast, uten
andre baand end kjærlighetsens.
De bodde i et hus av den gamle
maoriske type, stilfuldt, men
luftig, for sig selv indle i træ-
forhold til stammen og hadde
dens tillid. En ældgammel stor-
præst hadde adoptert ham som
sin søn.

Med denne mand kom jeg paa
gød fot, og en dag sa han:
— De samler stof om maori-
ernes fortid. Dette kan kun væ-
re i de indfødtes interesse. Jeg
vil nu fortælle Dem noget, som
ingen hvt mand har hørt før!

Paa den Mangaia øksterør
en hellig, hommelig grotte, som
indeholder skeletter, avander og
forskjellig andet fra fortiden.
Den er beagtt med strengeste
tabu og vogtes av en bestemt
familie; kun 3 eller 4 personer
maa den er istand til at paaavise
dens beilgenhet. Dette er en
familiehemmelighet og ikke
stammens affære. Et medlem
av familien tok mig for 7 aar si-
den under taushetsløfte med i
grotten. Han er nu død og kan
ikke længere skades ved, at jeg
fortæller dette.

Indgangen til grotten er fra

— Gaa op trappen ved lan-
ingspladsen og ret frem indover
saa, til De kommer til et langt
schoetshouse. De tar her av til-
venstre og vil saa finde en klip-
pe, hvorfra en list benyttet trap
fører ned til indlandet. Om ste-
det fortæller en legende, at en
høvding forfulgte en anden høv-
ding derop og dræpte ham der-
med. Omkring 600 meter længere frem
findes en mængde opstaaende
klippespidser. Flaaget paa ind-
siden av Makatea er her meget
steilt og paa kanten av det staa
en stor pandanuspalme. Mellem
denne og en klippereg ca. 100
meter indenfor skal man søke
indgangen til grotten.

Denne historie gav mig ikke
fred, og da senere en frørdam-
per anløp Rarotonga paa vei til
Mangaia, blev jeg med.

Efter nogen dages orientering
paa den henrivende ø opsøkte jeg
Alteina og gav ham mit brev.
Det var en ældre, graahaaret
mand. Han modtok mig med
polynesiske venlighet og erklærte
sig villig til at vise mig grotten,
— mistenkelig villig. Han vilde
gaa straks. Men ti minutter se-
nere, da jeg hadde faat paa an-
dre sko, sa han mig, at det var
for sent idag; grotten laa saa
langt væk. Dette passet ikke
med mine oplysninger, og jeg
fandt da ogsaa snart ut, at han
hadde til hensigt at vise mig en
bort anden grotte.

Figur J. Til "Tupapa"s rike. Morgenbladet 19.11.1927. Nsjonalbiblioteket

C u r r i c u l u m V i t a e o f

Ørjan Olsen, Cand. real., Ph. D. in zoology (and geography), Norwegian explorer and publicist, for several years lecturer in zoology at the University of Norway, Oslo.

Ørjan Olsen is born in Hatfjelddalen, Northern Norway, on Sept. 5, 1885, of Norwegian parents.

He has the highest regular education on his line, which means in Norway about 13 years continual work from the upper classes of the ordinary public school ("Middle-school" 4 years, Gymnasium 3 years, University about 6 years).

He frequented the line of gymnasium for history and languages, including latin.

In 1911 he finished the "Matematisk-naturvidenskapelig embedseksamen" (the highest university examen) with very good characters, having previously passed the tests in higher mathematics and philosophy. His main line was zoology (especially vertebrates). The other sciences were botany, chemistry, mineralogy-geology and geography-astronomy.

During several years at the university he studied systematically Russian language under the famous slavonian linguist professor Olaf Broch.

In 1922 he obtained the title of Ph.D. with distinguishment at the well-renowned old university of Innsbruck, Austria.

He speaks English, German, French, Russian and the Scandinavian languages, and also understands latin.

When studying at the university he acted some time as an assistant at the Paleontological museum, and also at the Zoological laboratory.

During 6 years he was "adjunktstipendiat" (teacher) in zoology (vertebrates) at the University of Norway. This would correspond to a docent for a certain period, which in Norway by law is limited to 5 years.

In 1923 king Fuad of Egypt applied to the Government of Norway for a man, who could arrange and lead Egypt's part of the international investigation of the Mediterranean, and also explore the Red Sea. Ørjan Olsen was sent down and passed a year with preparatory works. The Egyptian Government, however, dropped the matter, finding it too expensive.

Beside that, Ørjan Olsen has passed most of his time travelling and exploring in foreign countries, without a fixed office, more or less backed by the Government and University of Norway. He recently returned from a scientific expedition to the South Seas, in mission of the Norwegian Government, bringing with him large and valuable collections. His lectures on Polynesia gathered nearly 40,000 people. His book and newspaper-articles on the subject were also very much appreciated.

On return he was asked by a new company of editors, "Nasjonalforlaget", to write a history of the geographical discovery of the Globe (on the great explorers of all times). This book, "De store opdagelser", 6 volumes with 2000 pages and some 1200 illustrations, is also unanimously favorably received and has been sold in great numbers.

Among Ørjan Olsen's earlier works may perhaps be mentioned his discovery of a new whalebone whale (*Balaenoptera brydei*, n.sp.), being about 45 feet long, in South Africa 1911, and also his monography on the Todschin-soyots (Mongolian reindeer-nomads), a tribe which was until 1913 almost entirely unknown.

Further information about Ørjan Olsen is found in "Illustreret Norsk Konversationsleksikon", "Norsk Biografisk Leksikon", and Nanna Withs "Biografisk Leksikon". His journeys and printed works are mentioned on separate lists: -

Figur K. Curriculum Vitae Ørjan Olsen. Nasjonal biblioteket Privat Arkiv, Ørjan Olsen, «En del uttalelser om dr. Ørjan Olsen som forfatter, foredragsholder og forskningsreisende.»



Figur L. Oppslag om foredrag. Nasjonal biblioteket Privat Arkiv, Ørjan Olsen, «En del uttalelser om dr. Ørjan Olsen som forfatter, foredragsholder og forskningsreisende.»

Copy of a recommendation from the President of the Geographical Society
of Norway (in Norwegian):

Det Norske Geografiske Selskab.

Oslo 22.oktbr.1926.

Hr. universitetsstipendiat Ørjan Olsen har anmodet mig om en uttalelse i anledning av sin forestående forskningsferd til Tahiti. Det skulde jo være unødvendig å anbefale ham og hans foretagende. Hr. Ørjan Olsen har nemlig en så fortjenstfull fortid både som zoolog og som etnografisk og geografisk forsker, at enhver som har kjennskap til resultatene av hans videnskabelige arbeide og kjenner hans utrettelige energi og utholdenhet, ikke vil være i tvil om, at Ørjan Olsen nettop er mannen for en sådan forskningsferd. Dertil kommer i betraktning som en meget viktig betingelse for et heldig resultat hans mangeårige erfaring fra forskningsferder i forskjellige deler av jorden.

Norsk geografisk og etnografisk forskning har hittil nesten udelukkende vært begrenset til polaregnene. Således er f.eks. Carl Lumholtz den eneste normann som i tropene har gjort forskningsferder av betydning for den etnografiske og geografiske videnskap. Også av denne grunn må det hilses med glede, at en norsk videnskapsmann som Ørjan Olsen nu drar ut på en forskningsferd til tropiske land.

Dr. O.J.Skattum,

rektor,

formann i "Det Norske Geografiske
Selskab".

Figur M. Recommendation from the president of the geographical society in Norway. Nasjonal biblioteket Privat Arkiv, Ørjan Olsen, «En del uttalelser om dr. Ørjan Olsen som forfatter, foredragsholder og forskningsreisende.»

Dr. Ørjan Olsen til Polynesien.

For at undersøke øenes flora og fauna.

Fra Paris skrives til «Aftenposten».

Den norske videnskapsmand dr. Ørjan Olsen, kjendt fra sine mange reiser i fjerne land, har i nogen tid opholdt sig herude for at planlægge en ny udfærd, denne gang til de polynesiske sydhavseer.

— Hvad er det som interesserer Dem derved?

— Der findes paa disse øer en rik og egenartet flora og fauna, som desværre holder paa at forsvinde. Det gjælder derfor at nytte tiden og sikre sig materialer derved for det er forsent.

— Hvorfor forsvinder floraen og faunaen paa disse øer?

— Ferdi europæerne som efterhvert har bosat sig derved har medbragt sine egne planter og sine egne dyrarter, og disse fortrænger efterhvert de stedlige.

— Hvem skal nyde godt af de ting som De vil samle derved?

— Universitetets zoologiske museum i Oslo. Det er den norske stat som bekoster min ekspedition. Alle europæiske og amerikanske museer af betydning sikrer sig nu samlinger derved, og Oslo bør ikke staa tilbage.

— Blir De eneste nordmand paa øen?

— Sandsynligvis. Jeg holder paa samme system som det Carl Lumholtz brukte, reise alene og skaffe mig julefæd mandkap eftersom det trænes. Selve reisen ditned og tilbage er forresten saa kostbar, at mit

budget ikke tillater mig at ta nogen med hjemmefra, og særlig da det altsaa ikke er nødvendig.

— Kræver ekspeditionen stort utstyr?

— Ikke saa stort akkurat, men noksaa specielt. Det kan ikke skaffes hjemme, saa jeg har kjøpt det her i Paris. Jeg maa f. eks. ha specielle kufferter av tyndt staal, ellers blir alt opspist av insekter. Der kræves ogsaa egne soveposer, en del instrumenter og lignende, som man kun faar i de store land hvorefter man stadig har med kolonilivet at gjøre, og da særlig i Frankrike. Jeg har ogsaa drevet adskillige studier her i Paris, hvor der findes en omfattende literatur angaaende alt som vedrører livet i de fjerne kolonier. Jeg er blitt møtt med den største velvilje av alle franske autoriteter, og jeg betrakter nu min ekspedition som godt forberedt i alle maater, saa jeg er vel tilfreds.

— De polynesiske øer?

— Jeg skal til den del av dem som tilhører Frankrike. Det er Selskaps- og Venskapsøene, eller Tahiti og Tonga. Disse øer tilhører de vakreste egne paa vor jord. De er tropenes fulde skjønhed og er samtidig befrid for tropenes svøpe, malaria, dysenteri og andre kjedeligheter.

— Findes der nordmænd derved?

— Det tror jeg ikke. Norske sjøfarende kommer dit kanskje av og til, men nogen norsk videnskapsmand har neppe været der hittil.

«Aftenposten» 23/6 - 26. juni.



A DISTINGUISHED VISITOR.—
Dr. O. Olsen, of Norway, who is visiting Wellington to secure specimens for the National Museum at Oslo.

*New Zealand Free Lance,
Wellington 21/9-27*

INTERESTING VISITOR FROM NORWAY

COLLECTOR FOR NATIONAL
MUSEUM

On a mission of collecting specimens for the Norwegian national museum, Dr. Olsen, of Oslo, is now in Wellington. Dr. Olsen, who has during 25 years, travelled every part of the globe save South America, comes to the Dominion from the Society Islands and Cook Islands, which, he says, are not very well known as to their natural history, and where he has collected many specimens. In New Zealand he hoped to obtain some of the Dominion's rare birds, but that he finds is not possible. However, he hopes to arrange for specimens from the Dominion Museum. Meantime he is collecting material for publications since coming to Wellington, but has found himself possessed of so much information that he may publish a work on the Dominion.

"I have been delighted at my treatment here," he said yesterday. "Nowhere in the world have I found information more easily obtained than in New Zealand. Your Government Publicity Office is extremely good. I am told that it has not been going very long, but if it continues work on its present lines New Zealand will not be so little known very much longer. It seems to have used its opportunity of learning all that is best in other countries and combined all of it. The Dominion is little known on the Continent, but when you have an ex-Secretary of the British Colonial Office saying that Queensland is in New Zealand it is not wonderful that the Continent is in ignorance. The Government has given me every assistance, and the friendliness of your people is extremely great. They seem to me much like our own people, and I felt quite at home here from the first. Recalling your history, you will realise that the English and Scotch more nearly resemble the Norwegians than any other race outside Scandinavia, and it is an index of their friendliness that when the British Government severed relations with Russia it asked the Norwegian Government to represent its interests in the Soviet Republics."

"The Dominion," Wellington 18/9-27

DAIRY PRODUCE.

COMPETITION FROM SIBERIA.

WELLINGTON, Sept. 18.

New Zealand's most serious competitor in the market for dairy produce is destined to be Siberia, declares Dr. O. Olsen, lecturer in geology for the University of Sweden, who is now in the Dominion on a special mission for the Swedish national museum.

Three times the size of Europe, extremely rich in soil of the famous Russian black variety, immense in potentialities, Siberia has been retarded by bad government, by lack of transport and the ignorance of the language on the part of Europeans. When these difficulties are surmounted she will be able to supply the entire demands of Europe for dairy produce. The Russians have kept the country back by making it a prison colony which retarded settlement there, says Dr. Olsen. Otherwise Siberia would now hold much more than the 9,000,000 people which she possesses. As it is the population is concentrated in a few spots and the vast forests to the north are uninhabited.

Siberia's presence on the dairy produce market at all is due to the fact that the Danes were induced to go out and start dairy farming. The development of this work was checked by the war and farming on Danish lines has been restricted to Western Siberia, but it is now going on. Branch railways have been built from the trans-Continental line and one railway is being pushed into Turkestan, a great fruit-growing country. It seems probable that Siberia will have to depend upon this means of transport, for her ports are ice-bound and communication by them is very irregular.

The Dominion, Wellington 18/9-27

Figur N. Dr. Ørjan Olsen Til Polynesien, Aftenposten. Nasjonal biblioteket Privat Arkiv, Ørjan Olsen, «En del uttalelser om dr. Ørjan Olsen som forfatter, foredragsholder og forskningsreisende.»

MUSEUM OF NEW ZEALAND
TE PAPA TONGAREWA

Cable St
PO Box 467
Wellington
New Zealand

Telephone
64-4-381 7000
Facsimile
64-4-381 7070

Ms Anette Nymann Lindhom
Masters Student
Museology and Cultural Heritage Studies (Museologi og kulturarv)
University of Oslo
Oslo
NORWAY



13 April 2023

Tēnā koe (Greetings) Anette,

Letter of Support re: Provenance Research on Māori Ancestral remains

Tukuna mai ki ahau he kapunga oneone.

Provide me with a handful of soil from my homeland

So, I may feel the spirit of my ancestors and weep.

I am writing to confirm the Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Programme, based at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa) supports the provenance research you are undertaking on the Māori ancestral remains housed in the Schreiner Collections at the University of Oslo.

When we met at the Medical School in Oslo on Friday 18 November 2022, you shared a presentation about the provenance research you were conducting, and the details of your master's studies at the University of Oslo.

MUSEUM OF NEW ZEALAND
TE PAPA TONGAREWA

Cable St
PO Box 467
Wellington
New Zealand

Telephone
64-4-381 7000
Facsimile
64-4-381 7070

Since that time, you have been in contact with repatriation team, including Susan Thorpe the programmes' repatriation researcher at Te Papa. We are happy to work in cooperation as you progress the provenance research on these tūpuna (ancestors).



Please do not hesitate to contact the repatriation team at Te Papa, if you have any questions, as we are happy to answer any queries you may have.

In addition, please feel free to provide this letter to your supervisors and support team at the University of Oslo for their information.

Ngā mihi (Kind regards),



Te Herekiele Herewini

Pou Whakahaere Kaupapa Pūtere Kōiwi - Head of Repatriation
Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Programme

MUSEUM OF NEW ZEALAND TE PAPA TONGAREWA