Il faut que le masque ait dansé = The mask needs to have danced
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IL FAUT QUE LE MASQUE AIT DANSÉ
THE MASK NEEDS TO HAVE DANCED
Tony Jorissen began collecting African art in 1969. He acquired a number of pieces from missionaries returning from the Congo and some through galleries in Brussels and Paris. A large part of his collection is presented here and relates to the Congo (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo). It includes masks, sculptures and objects used in everyday life. The items come from different peoples, including the Kuba, Pende, Yaka, Suku, Holo, Salampasu, Tshokwe and Songye. They are normally displayed in two rooms of his home, one of them a beamed attic space, with the objects densely massed on the walls. Over the years, Jorissen has also acquired a collection of some 5000 books on African art, including important first editions.

This exhibition is divided into four sections: Ritual, Association, History and Looking. Each section is intended both to propose a context in which to view the objects and to address a methodological or historical problem. The sections can be viewed in any order and do not present any continuous narrative. The additional works by contemporary artists offer intellectual stepping-stones within the exhibition’s examination of the subject.
Photos of the interior of the house of the collector. Photography: Kristien Daem. Commissioned by Marres.
In this room, twenty-six masks are presented against the background of two vastly enlarged photographs of displays in the collector’s home. Smaller images showing similar objects being used in masquerades have been pasted onto the surface of one of these wall-size photographs. All the books from which these smaller images are taken are in the Jorissen collection, and the photographs show the way in which the collector uses the books as reference material – thus illustrating the idea of the ‘dancing mask’.

In their ethnographic study, *La Passion de l’art primitif – Enquête sur les collectionneurs* (Paris, 2008), Brigitte Derlon and Monique Jeudy-Ballini quote the sentence ‘il faut que le masque ait dansé’ as a constant motif in the discourse of collectors. They point out the apparent paradox that, for collectors, the purity of an object comes from its dirtiness: the authenticity comes from having been used and exhibiting a patina resulting from that use (p. 50). Their descriptions suggest an almost ritualistic approach on the part of collectors, with intuition and emotion predominating, alongside the belief that the objects somehow enable them to be in touch with time immemorial. On the basis of their observations, the authors find that this fascination with ‘timeless’ rituals is coupled to a distrust of ethnographic knowledge, both because it stresses the function rather than the beauty of the object and because collectors believe that too much knowledge dims the imagination (p. 92–97).

Sara van der Heide’s *24 European Ethnographic Museums* (2010) is presented in the winter garden. The work consists of a series of twenty-four drawings collecting the names of ethnographic institutions all over Europe. In bringing these names together, the artist invites us to consider what the ritual of naming involves and reflects: colonial legacy, scientific motives, and current politics.
A selection of smaller objects from the collection, along with a Yaka mask and a Lele drum, is presented in an early 1960s-style living room setting (including two Catenary armchairs designed by George Nelson in 1962). The practice of combining African objects with modern art and design dates back to the early 20th century and is related to the inspiration drawn by Western artists of that period from non-Western sources (commonly known as 'primitivism').

According to art historian Daniel Sherman, this way of combining objects and design takes on a new meaning in the period around 1960. In his book *French Primitivism and the Ends of Empire, 1945–1975* (Chicago, 2011), Sherman refers to articles published by designer Andrée Putman in an illustrated magazine called L'Œil, in 1960 and 1961 (two issues of which can be seen here in the room setting). In them, Putman encouraged readers to devise unusual associations of objects and gave examples of interiors combining international modernist furniture with objects from different cultures on the basis of formal correspondences. Sherman suggests that this 'aesthetic of association' was designed to break with the tradition of 'colonial style' interior decoration and grant aesthetic autonomy to non-Western objects at a time when their countries of origin were acquiring political independence (Congo in 1960, Algeria in 1962). Sherman mentions a later interview in which Andrée Putman explained that 'well before the end of the [Algerian] War in 1962, "colonial style" had clearly lost all credibility as a way of bringing the world into the French Home'. (p. 83) Sherman considers two pitfalls in this aesthetic of association. The first is that granting aesthetic autonomy to such objects and focusing primarily on their aesthetic properties tends to obliterate their history and original function. The second is that the promotion of this associative style in interior decoration magazines has fostered and sustained the development of a speculative market in them.
This room presents a case study concerning one particular Pende mask from the Jorissen collection. The aim is to compare and contrast two different ways of presenting the history of such an object.

One way is the ‘pedigree’, which highlights aspects of the object’s life in Europe. This Pende mask has a valuable Western genealogy because it belonged to the Dutch art dealer Carel van Lier (1897–1945) whose collection of African objects was exhibited in the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam in 1927. This information is valuable because it gives some indication both of the date at which the mask was made (prior to 1927) and of the kind of African art that visitors to the Stedelijk Museum were able to see in 1927. In some art museums and many sales catalogues, the only information provided about African art objects is their pedigree and Western history. Those with the most important pedigrees are then seen as forming a canon of African art in Europe. The problem, however, is that the pedigree occults other stories about the object: who made it, when, and why? Was it made for export, was it produced to be used in a masquerade, and how did it find its way from the Pende people to the Netherlands?

In Inventing Masks: Agency and History in the Art of the Central Pende (Chicago, 1998), anthropologist Zoe Strother makes a detailed study of the tradition of mask making among the Pende. She uncovers names of mask makers, identifies original uses of objects, describes dances and tells stories about particular masks, thus creating a multi-faceted history of each object.

Also shown in this room is Pauline M’Barek’s Object ID (2012), a video film presenting a succession of 55 questions used internationally in researching ethnographic objects. The specific orientation of each question makes viewers aware of the historical legacy of colonialism that underlies the supposed objectivity of scientific questions.
Les statues meurent aussi (Statues Also Die) (1953) by Alain Resnais and Chris Marker, is a film essay about African sculpture that was commissioned by Présence Africaine, a pan-African gallery and publishing house created in Paris in the 1930s. It critiques the appropriation of African art by Western museums and argues that sculptures lose their meaning and substance when they are removed from their original context to become museum exhibits.

The second half of the film was censored in France until the 1960s because of its outspoken criticism of colonialism. A great deal of the film focuses on the question of looking and looking back. One sequence shows a quick succession of sculptures and masks that seem to stare at the viewer; another brief scene shows a glass case in an ethnographic museum filled with ordinary Western office accessories labelled ‘origin unknown’. These two scenes suggest that the aim of the film is to question and attempt to reverse the gaze and to shake established Western views of African culture and art.

A selection of statuettes and masks from the Jorissen collection is displayed at eye level, face to face with a series of twenty-four photographs of statuettes in the Louvre taken by Jean-Luc Moulène. Moulène’s work Le Monde, Le Louvre (2005) also includes newspaper supplements reproducing the same series of photographs and a film showing the objects being passed from hand to hand. It was presented for the first time in November 2005 at the Louvre.

By bringing objects and photographs face to face, the present exhibition can be seen as extending Moulène’s series of photographs, which show objects from many different cultures around the world (including present-day Syria, Egypt, Greece and Turkey). However, it also invites visitors to consider the difference between looking at a photograph and looking at an object.
‘Collecting is fascinating, not only because of the way in which it speaks of an inner, psychological drive in so many people, but also because its study provides some insight into the interactions and transactions that shaped history and defined the relationship between the West and Africa, not only the colonial relationship but also the proto colonial relationship with all its intellectual baggage of imperialism and racism, and the post-colonial situation.’

Enid Schilkrout and Curtis Keim

In her book *Back to the Congo*, Lieve Joris recounts her experience of travelling in Mobutu’s Zaire in the mid 1980s. Her account begins with her attempt to retrace the steps of her great-uncle, who established a mission in a remote village of colonial Congo in the 1920s. It ends in a diplomatic imbroglio, during which she is briefly imprisoned. In the course of the book, Joris describes an epic boat journey up the Congo River from Kinshasa to Kisangani, endless walks through the forest, and visits to main towns scattered across the breadth of the country. A woman travelling alone, Joris is not an ethnographer or a businesswoman, neither a doctor nor a journalist. She has, in other words, nothing to give and nothing to take – a position that makes her presence puzzling to her interlocutors. She is continuously out of place and yet, while she acknowledges this, she relentlessly tries to carve out a place for herself through her writing. She describes places and individuals, repeats dialogues with strangers and people she befriends, and reports stories she is told. Gradually, through this multiplicity of voices, she conjures up an elusive portrait of the country.

As I read her book, the ending of Samuel Beckett’s *The Unnamable* kept buzzing about in my mind. The famous closing words of that book – ‘I can’t go on, I’ll go on’ – seem strangely appropriate as a way of describing the impossible position in which Joris finds herself: a Belgian acknowledging her colonial heritage but unburdened by it and driven by an unaffected interest in people. She has no place in Zaire, yet she goes on. Her discomfort stems, of course, not only from the complexity of the country’s political, social and economic situation, but from the intricacy of her own position and her – and our – knowledge that every gesture she makes and every word she speaks will immediately be interpreted in ideological terms as possibly reflecting nostalgia, neo-colonialism or a post-colonial position.

Working with a private collection of African art objects creates a somewhat similar sense of uneasiness.
The discomfort comes in part from the frequent dearth of information surrounding such objects – and the Jorissen collection now being presented at Marres is no exception to this rule. Specific dates and places of production are not always available, nor is information on the identity of makers. Equally difficult to reconstruct is the sequence leading from production to commercialization, from Africa to Europe. Yet the uneasiness springs less from the factual uncertainty than from the realization that the lack of information is not ‘natural’ or ‘accidental’, but is actually the result of old epistemological models and unspoken commercial rules. It is due, for instance, to the way early ethnography tended to give priority to the study of traditional societies rather than their contemporary equivalents. It may also be attributed – at least to some extent – to primitivism: the inspiration that modern Western artists have found in non-Western art. In the early 20th century, it was this that drove a more widespread appreciation of the ‘exotic’, ‘spiritual’ and formal characteristics of African art. It also contributed to the creation and maintenance of a market in which these formal criteria still take precedence over information and knowledge about objects – as ethnographic studies of collectors suggest: a mask that belonged to a canonical modern artist of the early 20th century is worth more than a similar object without such a ‘pedigree’.

While this tangle of art history, social practices and post-colonial critiques of ethnography provides good reasons to shy away from researching and presenting such objects, I sympathize with Lieve Joris’ quietly stubborn posture and her decision to embrace the discomfort and see where it may lead. This is the attitude that prompted the choice of title for the exhibition. The criterion ‘il faut que le masque ait dansé’ is quoted in Monique Jeudy-Balini and Brigitte Derlon’s incisive ethnographic study of European collectors of ‘primitive art’. There is more than a little irony in the choice of it as exhibition title, for the phrase is as absurd as it is laden with contradictions. It exemplifies the web of relations between the often antagonistic agendas of the mask bearer, the artist producing the objects, the ethnographer and the art-lover. Hence, irony can be productive and an incitement to go on.

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Sara van der Heide’s artwork 24 European Ethnographic Museums (2010) presents a list of names of ethnographic institutions, each traced on a single sheet of paper. The drawings are framed individually and organised alphabetically rather than by country. The aim of this is to reveal similarities of nomenclature across different languages. The artwork draws a portrait of Europe that owes much to its colonial history, because the existence of these museums is largely a result of the acceleration of colonial expansion in the years following the Berlin conference of 1885, when

3 Sally Price dissects these constructions brilliantly if confrontationally in her Primitive Art in Civilized Places. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1989.


5 Jeudy-Balini and Derlon, 47.
European powers divided Africa amongst themselves and launched extensive colonial and ethnographic expeditions. It is estimated that between 70,000 and 100,000 objects were brought to Europe from Africa between then and World War I, both as trophies of colonial conquest and as objects of ethnographic research.6

Van der Heide’s artwork emphasizes the subtexts that can be inferred from the ritual of naming ‘museums of others’, as anthropologist Benoît de L’Estoile calls them: the colonial legacy, scientific motives, and current politics.7 The intertwining of colonial and ethnographic pasts is revealed by the succession of similar names: Museu Nacional de Etnologia (Lisbon), Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden and Koninklijk Museum voor Midden-Afrika (Tervuren): the adjectives ‘national’, ‘municipal’ and ‘royal’ remind us that to name is also to own. Such names are a reminder of the importance of colonial possessions – along with their rich material cultures – in providing both political clout and the natural resources essential to fuel the industrial and economic growth of late 19th-century Europe. The names of other museums recall the role of particular individuals in the collecting process: patrons like Horniman (London) more often than scholars such as Luigi Pigorini (Rome). An overwhelming number of the museum names include the term ‘ethnography’ – a discipline born in the mid-19th century – although some, like the Musée de l’Homme in Paris, show a contrasting desire to break away from such direct scientific references. Others attempt to embrace cultural diversity: the World Museum in Liverpool, Wereldmuseum in Rotterdam, or Museum der Kulturen in Basle. An alternative is to opt for neutrality, as in the case of the Musée du quai Branly – a name adopted following widely-publicised, heated debates around the out-dated notion of ‘arts premiers’.8

In drawing attention to the issue of museum names (a hot topic, as witness the fact that several museums have changed names even since Van der Heide’s work was completed), 24 European Ethnographic Museums invites us to reverse the process by which early ethnographers and explorers named the places and populations they encountered in Africa, defining for instance, one formal style per tribe, following categorizations that have long proved incorrect.9 It gives visual expression to issues that ethnography dealt with during and after its ‘crisis of representation’ in the 1980s (issues such as the legacy of empire, the tendency to homogenise cultural manifestations, and the understanding of representation as domination) and offers us a way to reflect upon those issues.10 Like other works presented in the exhibition (those by Jean-Luc Moulène and the 1953 film-essay by Alain Resnais and Chris Marker), 24 European Ethnographic Museums acts as a theoretical trigger. It not only invites the viewer to

6 Schildkrout and Keim, 23
9 Schildkrout and Keim, 31.
consider some of the critical issues at stake in the way
the West has collected and classified non-Western art,
but also offers methodological and thematic tools with
which to investigate them. 11

This is equally true of Pauline M’Barek’s film Object ID
(2012), which deals with the current scientific
categorising of ethnographic objects. Within a time-span
of five minutes, 55 questions appear one after the
other printed in white on a black screen to the sound of
a typewriter. The questions are all based on international
conventions for inventorying and researching ethno-
graphic objects. Like Van der Heide’s 24 European Ethno-
graphic Museums, Object ID makes viewers aware
of the historical legacy of colonialism that underlies the
supposed objectivity of scientific questions. As the
list continues on the screen, it also becomes clear that the
questions are as much about the objects themselves as
they are about the modes of collecting, storing and
archiving developed by museums and scientific institutions.
They give the viewer a glimpse of those techniques, with
questions referring to inventory numbers and the ‘systematic
category’ to which an object may belong.

It is fascinating to compare what these questions reflect
about the world of museums and ethnography with
the information provided in commercial galleries or by
private collectors. The latter often prefer to present a fragmentary
story of the object’s career since its arrival
in Europe – a story that underscores its ‘pedigree’ (the fact
that it has passed through the hands of notable collectors
and dealers). By contrast, the questions listed in Object ID
are wider in scope. The question ‘What is the history of
the object?’ is followed immediately by ‘What legend?’ and
‘Which culture?’ while other questions, such as ‘Why was
the object made?’ and ‘Which person produced the object?’,
suggest possible insights into other histories of the
objects under consideration, turning the idea of a cultural
biography of the object into a complex and multi-faceted
web of stories that, however submerges the object with facts
rather than describing its properties. 12

* * *

The scrutiny of words, names, lists and categories can
reveal how our perception of African art objects is inevitably
mediated through an institutional gaze, scientific habits
and the colonial legacy. However, my research and prepara-
tion for this exhibition revealed the importance of another
complex filter: that of photography. A key moment in
this process was understanding how photography is used
for purposes of identification and research in private
collections. 13 In the case of Tony Jorissen, for instance,
the collection of objects is supplemented by an archive of
documents that includes extracts from auction house
and gallery catalogues. Carefully archived, these enable him

11 I paraphrase here Hubert Damisch’s luminous definition
of the artwork as a ‘theoretical object’ in Yve-Alain Bois,
Dennis Hollier, Rosalind Krauss and Hubert Damisch,
‘A Conversation with Hubert Damisch’, October, vol. 85,
summer 1998.

12 On the notion of the cultural biography of an object,
see Igor Kopytoff, ‘The Cultural Biography of Things’ in

13 Raymond Corbey, ‘Marc Felix and the Congo’
Tribal Art Traffic: A Chronicle of Taste, Trade and
Desire in Colonial and Post-colonial Times. Amsterdam,
Royal Tropical Institute, 2000. 167–82.
to trace objects as they pass through the hands of different owners and dealers. Next to this archive is an extensive collection of ethnographical books that he uses to understand the original context of the objects in his collection (or similar ones) in terms of their production and use. In both cases, photography appears to be regarded as unequivocal documentary evidence, and photographs are presented as two-dimensional equivalents of the objects in the collection.

As I browsed through his collection of books and as the collector showed me the source photographs of his masks ‘being danced’, what struck me most, however, was the profoundly equivocal quality of such images. No matter whether the photographer was capturing ritual scenes of dancing masks unbeknownst to the participants or whether individuals were consciously donning masks for the purpose of the photograph, each image opens up a network of relations between the photographer and the people represented and also reveals an observance or rejection of photographic conventions that is always significant. In many pictures, the conspicuous position of the photographer in relation to the scene depicted suggests that a dance may have been re-enacted for the benefit of the camera. Other photographs that show individual mask bearers eliminate the ‘dance’ and merely exhibit a pose adopted for the camera. That is the case in a famous photograph taken in 1909 during a trip by the early 20th century explorer Emil Torday, which shows two figures dressed in ill-fitting costumes, with masks placed (wrongly) over their faces rather than on their foreheads for the purposes of the photograph.

Taking its cue from this widespread yet problematic presence of photography in collecting practices, the exhibition underscores the ubiquity of the medium by itself presenting photographs in a variety of forms: as wallpaper, small prints, re-photographed images and artworks. Re-photographing the images of dances used as evidence by collectors is a way of revealing the appropriation of the object’s meaning by collectors – and by photography itself. Also, for the exhibition, a photographer (Kristien Daem) was commissioned to document the collection in situ. Daem’s photographs show how the collector lives with the objects that surround him. In the process, they switch the focus from one ethnographic field to another. Some of these photographs showing the display of masks in the home are printed as wallpaper and serve as background for the masks displayed in the exhibition space. A form of mise en abyme used, once again, to evoke appropriation.

Jean-Luc Moulène’s Le Monde, Le Louvre (2005), which includes 24 photographs of statuettes and objects from different departments of the Louvre, can be read in the context of the exhibition as a reflection on the other type of photography used by the collector: the images produced


for catalogue documentation and archives. In these pictures, masks and sculptures are often tightly framed, depicted sideways on strong monochrome backgrounds (often black) and carefully lit so as to make all their remarkable details available to the viewer. The photographs in Moulène’s *Le Monde, Le Louvre* depart from these conventions: the artist opts for natural light and neutral backgrounds. He presents the objects frontally and leaves a great deal of space around them, as if to let them breathe. Next to the individual images, and also presented in the exhibition, Moulène reprinted all 24 pictures in a supplement to the French centre-left newspaper *Le Monde* – a gesture that extends the inscription of the statuettes within a wider spatial context beyond the walls of the museum and, temporally, within a contemporary space. Indeed, by associating *Le Louvre* with *Le Monde*, the artist invites viewers to embark on a geopolitical tour of the world in 24 images that brings together different religions and civilisations, from France to Greece and from Egypt to Syria, juxtaposing contrasting perspectives on ancient history and current affairs.

What Moulène achieves here is not unlike what Johannes Fabian advocated in his landmark book *Time and the Other*: that an ethnography in deep crisis needed to re-invent itself by breaking with a long-ingrained tradition of considering the ethnographic ‘other’ as existing in another time. Using the term ‘coevalness’, he argued for an admission of contemporaneity that Benoît de L’Estoile has recently claimed is essential to turn ‘museums of others’ into ‘museums of relations’. This ‘coevalness’ is embodied in Moulène’s photographs in a direct and potent manner through his unusual choice of photographic angle. Unlike documentary images, which normally present objects slightly from below or from above in order to highlight their outlines, Moulène’s camera looks straight into the eyes of the sculpture he is photographing. Displayed at eye level in the exhibition space, the photographs invite viewers to consider the sculptures as subjects rather than objects, as artworks rather than cultural documents. At a glance, Moulène’s pictures turn from contemporary artworks to documents, although another glance can reverse the process: the sculptures become documents again and the photographs become art. The strength of this work is that it maintains the ambiguity between artwork and document through repeated viewings.

Throughout its presentation of the Jorissen collection, the exhibition seeks to maintain this oscillation between artwork and document in order to underline the complexity of the objects presented and their irreducibility to knowledge frames.


Sara van der Heide (1977, Busan, South Korea) lives and works in Amsterdam. She followed the post-graduate programme De Ateliers in Amsterdam (1999-2001) and was a fellow resident at ISCP New York in 2007. Recent projects include the performance series Abstract Background with One or Two Figures at the Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam (2012) and the durational work Hollands Kabinet (2010-2012), which was on view at De Appel arts centre, Amsterdam (2011) and at the Van Abbemuseum, Eindhoven (2012).

Pauline M’Barek (1979, Cologne) lives and works in Cologne and Brussels. She studied art at the University of Fine Arts (HFBK) in Hamburg, at the École Supérieure des Beaux-Arts (ESBAM) in Marseille and the Academy of Media Arts in Cologne. Her work has been presented in solo exhibitions such as Trophäen in Sfeir-Semler Gallery (2011) and Like but Unlike in Musée d’Ixelles in Brussels (2013).


Chris Marker (Christian-François Bouche Villeneuve, 1921-2012) was a French writer, photographer and film director. A witness to many important political and social events of his time, he is one of the inventors of the film essay, a genre that blends documentary with personal reflection. Amongst his best-known films are La Jetée (1962) a film made almost entirely of still images, Le fond de l’air est rouge (1977), and Sans Soleil (1983).

Alain Resnais (1922) is one of the most important filmmakers who emerged in France after the Second World War. He is the author of several important documentary films in the 1950s: most notably Nuit et Brouillard (Night and Fog) (1955). His feature films include Hiroshima mon amour (1959) after a script by Marguerite Duras, L’Année dernière à Marienbad (1961), Muriel (1963), Providence (1978) and more recently, Les Herbes Folles (2008).

Sophie Berrebi (1973, Paris) is a writer, art historian and critic. Her writing has appeared in frieze, Afterall, and Metropolis M, among other publications. She received her PhD from the Courtauld Institute of Art, London in 2003. She is based at the University of Amsterdam where she teaches the history and theory of photography and contemporary art and is a member of ASCA, the Amsterdam School for Cultural Analysis.
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COLOPHON

Il faut que le masque ait dansé
The mask needs to have danced

Exhibition from 16 June – 18 August 2013
Collector: Tony Jorissen
Artists: Sara van der Heide, Pauline M’Barek, Jean-Luc Moulène and Alain Resnais & Chris Marker
Curator: Sophie Berrebi
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