Images of the 'Exotic'? Gottfried Lindauer in the Context of European Portraiture[1]

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Abstract

In 1886, twelve of Gottfried Lindauer's portraits formed part of the presentation of the British colony New Zealand at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London. For the European public, in this context these portraits represented 'Otherness', for they were exhibited – and in this way 'naturalized' – together with cultural artefacts, members of the indigenous population performing handcrafts, and specimens of nature in greenhouses. The paintings were functionalized into ethnographic-documentary, 'authentic' representations of Māori culture. Within this exhibition glorifying colonial power, they were turned into objects displaying British scientific knowledge and prestige. This essay reads Lindauer's paintings in the context of nineteenth-century European portraiture, a genre where exotic colonial goods and plants were appropriated as luxury items. The resultant constellation marked by exoticizing self-representation in Europe and exoticizing representation of 'indigenous' Others reveals the uniqueness of Lindauer's work, which defies such a schematic classification of exoticization: the portraits were in part commissioned by Māori who wished a pictorial representation of themselves or their relatives. By presenting the Māori nobly as large-sized figures in the portrait genre, Lindauer's paintings simultaneously offer the scope for various readings.

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Introduction

[1] The 1886 *Colonial and Indian Exhibition* in London presented the flora of New Zealand in one of its greenhouses, and among it's 5.5 million visitors[2] was Gottfried Lindauer (1839–1926) himself (fig. 1).[3] An image from the *Illustrated London News* shows the visitors to the exhibition dressed in the London fashion of the time as they explore nature in the setting created. Twelve of Lindauer's portraits formed part of this presentation of the British colony. In what follows, I would like to examine various facets of such contextualising of Lindauer's painting in Europe: proceeding from the phenomenon of an exoticisation in European portraiture, I will go on to examine the exoticisation of Lindauer's portraits in Europe more closely.

1 *The Colonial and Indian Exhibition: The Fernery in the New Zealand Court*, in: *The Illustrated London News,* 26 June 1886 (reprod. from: Alexandra Karentzos, "Bilder des 'Exotischen'. Gottfried Lindauer im Kontext europäischer Portraitmalerei", in: *Gottfried Lindauer – Die Māori-Portraits*, eds. Udo Kittelmann and Britta Schmitz, Cologne 2014, 176-185: 176)

In the Palm House – Exoticism in Europe

[2] "[…] we associate with each vegetable form the wonders of a distant land; we hear the rustling of the fan-like leaves […]. So great is the charm which reality can give."[4] In his *Kosmos* (1845–1862), Alexander von Humboldt describes the

[2] In his speech in connection with a final meeting on the exhibition held by the Royal Commission in Marlborough House on 30 April 1887, the Prince of Wales specified a total of 5,550,745 visitors; "Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886", in: *Speeches and Addresses of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales*: 1863–1888, 303-310, 307; https://archive.org/details/speechesaddresse00edwaiala (accessed 21 May 2018).

[3] See Leonard Bell, *The Artist Gottfried Lindauer*, www.lindaueronline.co.nz/artist/the-artist-gottfried-lindauer (accessed 20 Apr 2014).

[4] Alexander von Humboldt, *Cosmos: Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe*, Translated under the Superintendence of Colonel Edward Sabine, London 1849, 94. See also Niels Werber, "Das Glashaus. Medien der Nähe im 19. Jahrhundert", in: *Medialität der Nähe. Situationen – Praktiken – Nähe*, eds. Pablo Abend, Tobias Haupts and Claudia Müller, Bielefeld 2012, 367-381.

perfect illusion of the tropics offered by a palm house where the artificial world becomes reality for visitors. The exotic hence becomes the familiar. In Édouard Manet's famous 1878/79 portrait of M. and Mme. Guillemet, *In the Conservatory*, which hangs in the Berlin Alte Nationalgalerie, the owners of a fashion house present themselves urbanely in a palm garden (fig. 2). The plant pots in the painting reveal the artificiality of the 'natural' interior. The deep green of the plants, with its copious shadings, forms the background to the picture, against which the figures stand out.

2 Édouard Manet, *In the Conservatory*, 1878/79, oil on canvas, 115 × 150 cm. Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (reprod. from: Karentzos, "Bilder des 'Exotischen'. Gottfried Lindauer im Kontext europäischer Portraitmalerei", 176)

[3] The greenhouse represents "a refuge for exotic musings"[5]. The Viennese poet Felix Dörmann describes a couple in the glasshouse's "moist air" yearning for distant climes[6] in his 1892 poem, "In the Palm House", which is reminiscent of Manet's Impressionist picture. In the painting, Madame Guillemet's face merges, as it were, with the exotic flowers, the delicate pink blossoms find themselves reflected in the similarly coloured cheeks and the mouth, the greenblue eyes correspond with the green and the blue of the plants, and the dress carefully fanned out on the bench relates to the fan palms in the background. Sigrid Weigel points out in general terms that the discourse about foreignness and that about femininity are both based on structurally analogous concepts.[7]

[4] In Manet's painting, nineteenth-century colonialism figures via the colonial produce on display: the plants as well as the cigar in the man's hand and the gold

[5] Dirk Niefanger*, Produktiver Historismus. Raum und Landschaft in der Wiener Moderne*, Tübingen 1993, 187.

[6] Felix Dörmann, "Im Palmenhaus", in: *Neurotica. Sensationen. Gedichte*, ed. Karl-Maria Guth, Berlin 2014, 65-66. See also Niefanger*, Produktiver Historismus*, 159.

[7] See Sigrid Weigel, "Die nahe Fremde – das Territorium des 'Weiblichen'. Zum Verhältnis von 'Wilden' und 'Frauen' im Diskurs der Aufklärung", in: *Die andere Welt. Studien zum Exotismus*, eds. Thomas Koebner and Gerhart Pickerodt, Frankfurt 1987, 171-199.

rings on the couple's fingers, together with the woman's gold bracelet, indicate the luxuries of the exotic. This picture thus belongs to the same nineteenth-century colonial context as the display of New Zealand's flora at the *Colonial and Indian Exhibition* in London. The German commentator, Julius Lessing, focused his attention above all on the luxury presented in this exhibition: “What moves us most remarkably in most colonies is the confrontation of primordial barbarity and a colossal excess of unprocessed raw materials with individual products from sophisticated luxury industries.”[8]

[5] In the nineteenth century, the predilection for everything exotic is also reflected in the furnishing of bourgeois apartments: “The winter garden, integrated into the architecture of a villa, became the high point of exotic interior decoration.”[9] A winter garden appears as a microcosm of the distant exotic in your own house. In the decoration of the studio of the Viennese painter Hans Makart, the theatricality of the exotic culminated in a historicist and eclectic collection of palms, ostrich eggs and feathers, into which the paintings with exoticising subjects fitted very well, such as the portraits of Charlotte Wolters as Cleopatra (fig. 3). “The palm, the most obvious symbol and cliché of exotic yearning, became a standard requisite in bourgeois apartments.”[10] Life in overseas colonies, above all those of the British Empire, provided material for exotic fantasies.[11] In his two paintings of the palm house on the Peacocks' Island (Pfaueninsel) near Potsdam, Karl Blechen boosts the exoticism of the space still further by including reclining *odalisques*, who lend an additional erotic charge to the natural interior (fig. 4).

3 *Hans Makarts Künstlerwerkstatt in Wien, Gußhausstraße 25*, 1870, wood engraving by Vinzenz Katzler after a photograph by Josef Löwy (© akg-images)

[8] Julius Lessing, “Die Kolonialausstellung in London”, in: *Zeitschrift des Badischen Kunstgewerbevereins zu Karlsruhe* 9 (1886), 188-192, here 188.

[9] Stefan Koppelkamm, *Gewächshäuser und Wintergärten im 19. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart 1984, 42.

[10] Koppelkamm, *Gewächshäuser und Wintergärten im 19. Jahrhundert*, 42.

[11] See Koppelkamm, *Gewächshäuser und Wintergärten im 19. Jahrhundert*, 42.

4 Karl Blechen*, The Interior of the Palm House*, 1832/33, oil on paper, mounted on canvas, 64 × 56 cm. Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (reprod. from: Karentzos, “Bilder des ‘Exotischen′. Gottfried Lindauer im Kontext europäischer Portraitmalerei”, 177)

[6] The palm house is seen as a domesticated jungle, as an artificial paradise, conserving under glass that paradise the colonies destroyed.[12] In this way, the nature on display is aestheticised like a work of art. Thus, at the same time, Lindauer's portraiture is naturalized in the Māori pavilion at the 1886 colonial exhibition.

Lindauer's Portraits in the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London

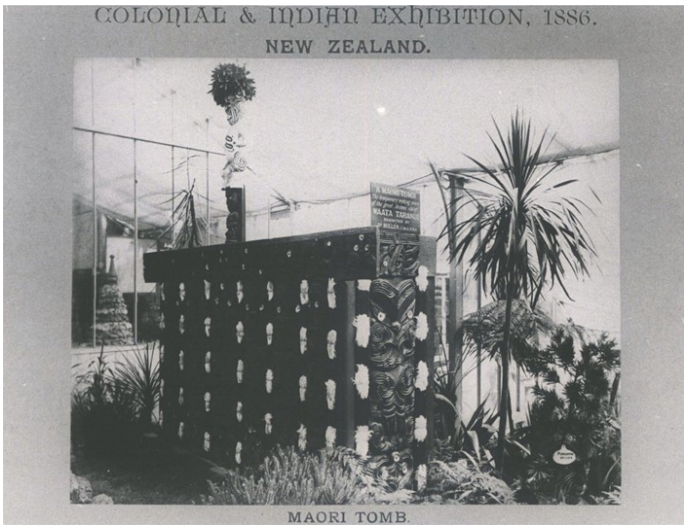
[7] *The most interesting portion of the New Zealand collection is, to most visitors, The Maori Court: The whole of the collections, which have been brought together for the purpose of illustrating fully history, arts, manners and customs of the Maori race, are exhibited by Dr. Walter L. Buller, one of the New Zealand Commissioners […]: They comprise a fine series of life-size portraits, in oils, by Herr G. Lindauer, of well-known chiefs and typical Maoris of both sexes, all in characteristic native costume; also a collection of Maori mats, shawls, and robes of every description.*[13]

In his commentary on the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, Frank Cundall, Chief Assistant Secretary to the Royal Commission, describes how Lindauer's portraits were presented in the context of objects from Māori art and everyday life (fig. 5, 6). The portrayals belong to an imposing self-celebration of the British Empire, in

[12] See Georg Kohlmeier and Barna von Sartory, *Das Glashaus – ein Bautypus des 19. Jahrhunderts*, München 1981, 8.

[13] Frank Cundall*, Reminiscences of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition*, illustrated by Thomas Riley, London 1886, 67.

which the wealth of the colonies from Cyprus via India as far as New Zealand was meant to be demonstrated, and an opportunity was to be created “not only of giving a stimulus to commercial interests and intercourse, but of strengthening that bond of union between Her Majesty's subjects in all parts of the Empire”, as the Prince of Wales put it in an anticipatory speech.[14] Thus the economic, political and ideological framework of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition is described, which is committed to the nineteenth-century faith in technological progress. The art on display is closely intertwined with the global interests of the industrial age.



5 “Colonial & Indian Exhibition, 1886. New Zealand. Maori Tomb”, in: *Reports on the Colonial Sections of the Exhibition*, issued under the supervision of the Council of the Society of Arts, and edited by H.T. Wood, London 1887 (reprod. from: University of Ontago Library, Hocken Collections: http://hockensnapshop.ac.nz/nodes/view/3213, last retrieved 7 Jun 2018)

6 “Colonial & Indian Exhibition, 1886. New Zealand. View of Court Looking S.E.”, in: *Reports on the Colonial Sections of the Exhibition*, issued under the supervision of the

[14] Speech given by the Prince of Wales on 30 March 1885: “Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886”, in: *Speeches and Addresses of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales*: 1863–1888, 304; https://archive.org/details/speechesaddresse00edwaiala (accessed 21 May 2018).

Council of the Society of Arts, and edited by H.T. Wood, London 1887 (reprod. from: University of Ontago Library, Hocken Collections: http://hockensnapshop.ac.nz/nodes/view/3210, last retrieved 7 Jun 2018)

[8] The exhibition attempts as comprehensive a presentation of New Zealand as possible: from collected natural items to the indigenous populace and its cultural objects. In thus reconstructing the apparently original and authentic context of the 'Other', the British Empire secures its own civilizational domain in history.[15] The objects from Māori culture and, with them, Lindauer's portraits become objects of British erudition and prestige. The paintings are made to function as documentary and authentic depictions of Māori culture.

[9] The historian James Clifford points out that European museal concepts traditionally follow the principle of "culture collecting" when presenting art from outside Europe.[16] According to him, they collect objects with the aim of encompassing a culture as fully as possible. In this process, these objects function as trophies of colonialism.

[10] First and foremost, though, Lindauer's paintings are read in the context of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition as ethnographic documents. They are meant to provide insight into the New Zealand ethnicities and cultures threatened with extinction, and to contribute to their reconstruction. That was precisely why Henry Partridge, a businessman and collector resident in New Zealand, commissioned them.[17] What is decisive from this perspective, is that in their reception they function as representations of 'reality'.

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[15] In the official catalogue to the colonial exhibition, New Zealand is accordingly described as uncivilised and 'savage': "Captain Cook, in 1769, was, for all practical purposes, the first European discoverer of New Zealand. The Maoris, its aboriginal inhabitants, were at that time cannibals, almost wholly ignorant of mechanical arts, practising a rude kind of agriculture, devoid of religious belief, except confused notions of good and evil demons, and addicted to savage inter-tribal warfare. Captain Cook planted in the country the first germ of colonisation." *Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886. Empire of India. Special Catalogue of Exhibits by the Government of India and Private Exhibitors*, London 1886, 265. Notions of cannibalism belonged to the most effective instruments of colonialism with which the inhumanity of other, so-called primitive cultures was asserted.

[16] See James Clifford, "On Collecting Art and Culture", in: *The Cultural Studies Reader*, ed. Simon During, London and New York 1993, 57-76.

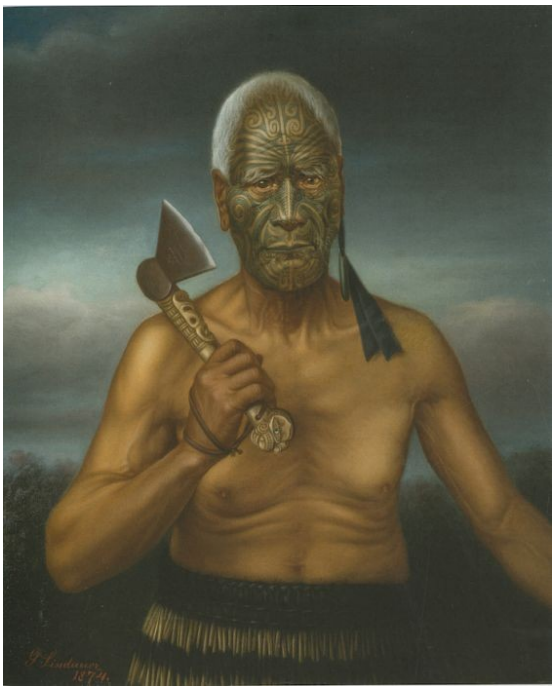
[17] See Bell, *The Artist Gottfried Lindauer*. In addition to that, Lindauer had, however, also produced portraits commissioned by high-ranking Māori, see "Māori Portraits" at www.lindaueronline.co.nz/maori-portraits (accessed 19 May 2014). That can be compared to the approach by the painter George Catlin for his portraits of "Native Americans", with which he wanted to document "a vanishing race" in 1830. See Michelle Facos, *An Introduction to Nineteenth-Century Art*, New York and London 2011, 152; see also Pamela Kort, "Die unbewältigte Vergangenheit des Mordes an den Indianern", in: *I Like America. Fiktionen des Wilden Westens*, eds. Pamela Kort and Max Hollein, exh. cat., Munich 2006, 45-67.

Documentary Representations?

[11] Ethnographic depictions claim documentary status. In the anthropological photography of those days, the claim to objectivity culminated in the pretension to depict nothing less than ‘reality’ itself. In the nineteenth century, Lindauer's paintings lent themselves to functioning as ethnographic portraits not only by referencing reality – he accordingly uses photographs as a basis for his paintings[18] – and by their richly detailed painting style, but also through his standardised mode of depiction: The majority of the paintings show bust-length portraits in three-quarter view; the background is often in dark brown shadow, in some of them a landscape with a low horizon forms the foil, so that the figure stands out against the dark, cloudy sky (fig. 7, 8).

7 Gottfried Lindauer, *Tawhiao Matutaera Potatau Te Wherowhero*, 1882, oil on canvas, 88 × 70 cm. Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, gift of H E Partridge, 1915, shown at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition 1886 in London (reprod. from: Karentzos, “Bilder des ‘Exotischen’. Gottfried Lindauer im Kontext europäischer Portraitmalerei”, 178)

[18] See Ron Brownson, “Photography and the Portraits of Gottfried Lindauer”, http://www.lindaueronline.co.nz/artist/photography-and-the-portraits-of-gottfried-lindauer (accessed 19 Mar 2014).



8 Gottfried Lindauer, *Taraia Ngakuti Te Tumuhia*, 1874, oil on canvas, 85 × 70 cm. Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, gift of H E Partridge, 1915 (reprod. from: Matiu Baker, “Gottfried Lindauer in Berlin – 49 Māori-Portraits und ihre Geschichten”, in: *Gottfried Lindauer – Die Māori-Portraits*, eds. Udo Kittelmann and Britta Schmitz, Cologne 2014, 66-165, here 83)

[12] Ethnographic representations are equally characterised by the plainness of their background and by standardisation. They aim at serialisation and thus claim comprehensive coverage. This machinery produced one new picture after another: in Allan Sekula's words what resulted was tantamount to “a voracious optical encylopedism”,[19] purporting to offer comprehensive, universal and systematically ordered knowledge.

[13] Elizabeth Edwards stresses how the production of ethnographic images is intended to “organise” the “Others”: photography is meant to furnish systematic anthropological data for taxonomic analyses.[20] Photography serves as the medium for objectification, although it always implies a chosen viewpoint, and does, therefore, from the outset construct the reality it seems to depict in a supposedly neutral manner. A photographic apparatus is a viewing device which determines the gaze. Such focusing of the gaze and of the process of visualization imply a form of control, a domestication of perception. In that process, photography adopts conventions of the centralised perspective.[21] As

[19] Allan Sekula, “Der Körper und das Archiv”, in: *Diskurse der Fotografie. Fotokritik am Ende des fotografischen Zeitalters*, ed. Herta Wolf, vol. 2, Frankfurt/M. 2003, 269-334, here 328.

[20] Elizabeth Edwards, “Andere ordnen. Fotografie, Anthropologien und Taxonomien”, in: *Diskurse der Fotografie. Fotokritik am Ende des fotografischen Zeitalters*, ed. Herta Wolf, vol. 2, Frankfurt/M. 2003, 335-355, here 339.

[21] See Edwards, “Andere ordnen”, 339, as well as Bernd Busch, Belichtete Welt. Eine Wahrnehmungsgeschichte der Photographie, Munich 1989, particularly the chapter

Bernd Busch explains, “seeing become photographic” is “dominance become objectified”.[22] Privileging seeing and visibility in scholarly investigation endows the optics of bodily images with the validity of visual evidence.

[14] This tendency towards objectivisation and dominance is already characteristic of photography in its early phase. It had been instituting visual codes for Otherness[23] since its inception in the nineteenth century. During that period, journeys of exploration to other countries and cultures had at their disposal new scientific instruments distinguished by their capacity to register images of the Other in extreme detail. What purports to be documentary and scientific registration of foreign cultures does, however, actually produce them in the first place. Photography is not without a spatial dimension, but creates a zone of Otherness, which it defines geopolitically, in effect demarcating it. In this sense, we could re-apply Christine Buci-Glucksmann's phrase of “the cartographic gaze of art”[24] to characterise photography.

[15] In the context of colonialism, Lindauer's portraits could be categorised under this ethnographical principle – not just by dint of their documentary character and their seriality, but also – and not least – through the depiction of everyday scenes, which show Māori engaged in crafts, at home or having a *moko* (tattoo) inscribed (fig. 9).

9 Gottfried Lindauer, *The Tohunga-ta-moko at Work*, oil on canvas, 188.6 x 233.7 cm. Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki, gift of H E Partridge, 1915 (reprod. from: *Gottfried Lindauer 1839-1926. Pilsen Painter of the New Zealand Māori*, eds. Aleš Filip and Roman Musil, exh. cat., Revnice 2015, 259)

“‘finestra aperta′ – die Grundlagen der Perspektivität”, 61-92.

[22] Busch, *Belichtete Welt*, 91.

[23] See Susanne Stemmler*, Topographien des Blicks. Eine Phänomenologie literarischer Orientalismen des 19. Jahrhunderts in Frankreich*, Bielefeld 2004, particularly 51.

[24] See Christine Buci-Glucksmann, *Der kartographische Blick in der Kunst*, Berlin 1997 (original title: *L'Oeil cartographique de l’art*, Paris 1996).

These genre scenes apparently offer something ‘typical’ and everyday and hence give the impression of being representative views of the Māori way of life. In addition, the Māori buildings exhibited at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition were ‘enlivened’ with costumed wax figures, “[to] give the visitor a very fair idea of the ‘Maori at home’”[25] (incidentally the title of one of Lindauer’s genre scenes, which was also exhibited in London; fig. 10).

10 Gottfried Lindauer, *The Maori at Home or Harawira Mahakai*, 1885, oil on canvas, 267 x 200 cm. Whanganui Regional Museum Collection, shown at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition 1886 in London (reprod. from: Rebecca Rice, “Lindauer’s Māori at Home and Abroad”, in: *Gottfried Lindauer – Die Māori-Portraits*, eds. Udo Kittelmann and Britta Schmitz, Cologne 2014, 186-192, here 188)

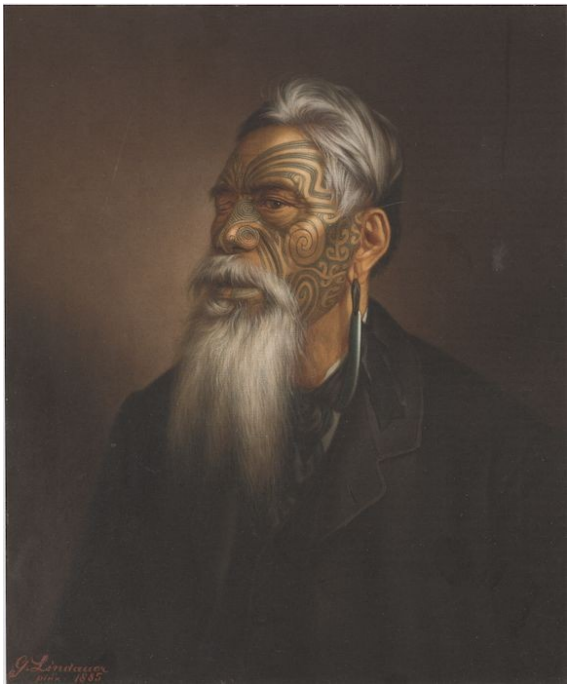
[16] It is significant that at this colonial exhibition the Prince of Wales was actually presented with a Lindauer painting, which depicts a smiling Māori woman dancing and is still in the royal collection today (fig. 11).[26] Women were symbols denoting the colonised, subjugated land.

[25] “The Colonial and Indian Exhibition: New Zealand”, in: *The Times*, 24 July 1886, 4; see also “The Indo-Colonial Exhibition”, in: *Star*, no. 5674, 19 July 1886, 3.

[26] See www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/406702/terewai-horomona-b-1866 (accessed 3 June 2014).

11 Gottfried Lindauer, *Terewai Horomona, the Maori Poi Dancer*, 1886, oil on canvas, 101.6 × 81.28 cm. London, Royal Collection, shown at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition 1886 in London (reprod. from: Karentzos, “Bilder des ‘Exotischen′. Gottfried Lindauer im Kontext europäischer Portraitmalerei”, 179)

[17] To this extent, Lindauer's paintings seem to fit in with colonialist image production. However, unlike ethnographic depictions, the persons in Lindauer's case are usually named; they are not anonymous representatives of their ethnic identity. In addition, the portraits' subjects come across as being very individually represented, as the *moko* are also rendered in great detail and are not mere ornaments (fig. 12). In this respect, they refute any typification and schematisation.



12 Gottfried Lindauer, *Renata Kawepo, Tama ki Hikurangi*, 1885, oil on canvas, 69 × 58 cm. Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, gift of H E Partridge, 1915, shown at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition 1886 in London (reprod. from: Karentzos, “Bilder des ‘Exotischen′. Gottfried Lindauer im Kontext europäischer Portraitmalerei”, 178)

[18] In her research on portraiture, Rebecca Parker Brienen, drawing on Richard Brilliant, has established the concept of the “ethnographic portrait”,[27] which aims at grasping the tense relationship between depictions of individuals and portraits as representatives of entire ethnic groups. However, this concept does not fit Lindauer, as it too narrowly reduces his images to the ethnographic.[28] Also Schmidt-Linsenhoff's concept of the “ethnographic typological portrait”, derived from Albert Eckhout's presentations of various population groups in Brazil in his ‘Copenhagen Cycle’, stressing their ideological import and schematization,[29] is not fully applicable to Lindauer’s portraits. In the context of the colonial exhibition, the pictures may have been perceived in this fashion, but they exceed

[27] See Rebecca Parker Brienen, *Visions of Savage Paradise. Albert Eckhout, Court Painter in Colonial Dutch Brazil*, Amsterdam 2006, 91; Richard Brilliant, *Portraiture. Essays in Art and Culture*, London 1991.

[28] In addition, Leonard Bell stresses that Lindauer did not necessarily allow himself to be governed by ethnological considerations, but, for instance, made the ornaments of the moko conform to a European understanding of ornamental aesthetics. Even when Lindauer shows Māori in everyday activities, his presentation of them in ceremonial clothing is unsuitable. See Leonard Bell, *Colonial Constructs. European Images of Maori 1840–1914*, Auckland 1992, 200.

[29] Viktoria Schmidt-Linsenhoff, “Rhetorik der Hautfarben. Albert Eckhouts Brasilien-Bilder”, in: *Berichten, Erzählen, Beherrschen. Wahrnehmung und Repräsentation in der frühen Kolonialgeschichte Europas*, eds. Susanne Burghartz, Maike Christadler and Dorothea Nolde, Frankfurt/M. 2003, 265-284. On this discussion, see also Denise Daum, *Albert Eckhouts ‘gemalte Kolonie′. Bild- und Wissensproduktion über Niederländisch-Brasilien um 1640*, Marburg 2009, 106-118.

it by dint of their strong individualisation and identification of their subjects. Focusing on the face in the bust portrait engenders a direct counterpart.

[19] In addition, Lindauer does not depict Māori exclusively in ostensibly traditional clothing, as the paintings chosen for the Colonial and Indian Exhibition suggest, but shows some of his subjects also in European dress (fig. 13, 14).[30] Māori adoption of British clothing styles shifts them – undesirably in the context of the colonial exhibition – closer to the colonists, something that would have caused irritation. The latter would have found such integrated counterparts, in the words of Homi K. Bhaba, the theoretician of postcolonialism, “unhomely”. By the concept of colonial mimicry Bhaba describes such forms of apprehension. Mimicry denotes the colonised becoming assimilated to the colonisers, something, however, that meets with restrictions in colonialism: the integrating colonial subject counts as “almost the same, but not quite” – “almost the same but not white”.[31] In this context, skin colour serves as the badge of the ‘Other’. Mimicry as partial similarity, however, renders the certainty of cultural dominance fragile and is, to that extent, ambivalent.[32]

[30] “Lindauer could depict the same person very differently from one portrait to another. For instance, the famous chief Renata Tama-ki-Hikurangi Kawepo of Ngāti Te Upokoiri/Ngāti Kahungunu (ca. 1805-1888) is portrayed both in Māori dress, holding a mere [weapon], and in European dress in 1885 pictures.” Bell, *The Artist Gottfried Lindauer*.

[31] Homi K. Bhabha, “Of Mimicry and Man. The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse”, in: *The Location of Culture*, ed. Homi K. Bhabha, London and New York 1994, 85-92, here 86.

[32] See Bhabha, “Of Mimicry and Man”, 86. See also Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffith and Helen Triffin, *Postcolonial Studies. The Key Concepts*, Oxon and New York 2013, 155; Cornelia Sieber, “Der ‘dritte Raum des Aussprechens′ – Hybridität – Minderheitendifferenz”, in: *Schlüsselwerke der Postcolonial Studies*, eds. Julia Reuter and Alexandra Karentzos, Wiesbaden 2012, 97-108, particularly 105-106, and Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*. In this context, there are interesting cases where Europeans adopted the clothing and the tattoos of the colonised, as, for instance, Barnet Burns (1805-1860), a resident of New Zealand, who had a moko inscribed adorning his whole face. See Nicholas Thomas, “Introduction”, in: *Tattoo. Bodies, Art, and Exchange in the Pacific and the West*, eds. Nicholas Thomas, Anna Cole und Bronwen Douglas, Durham 2005, 7-29, here 20.

13 Gottfried Lindauer, *Wi Parata Te Kakakura*, no date, oil on canvas, 52.2 x 45 cm. Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, gift of H E Partridge, 1915 (reprod. from: Baker, “Gottfried Lindauer in Berlin – 49 Māori-Portraits und ihre Geschichten”, 131)

14 Gottfried Lindauer, *Maori Girl*, ca. 1874, oil on canvas, 65.7 x 52.8 cm. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (reprod. from: Baker, “Gottfried Lindauer in Berlin – 49 Māori-Portraits und ihre Geschichten”, 77)

Lindauer's last-mentioned portrait figures perform this mimicry not only through their English clothing, but particularly through being portrayed in oils. To mitigate the disturbing similarity to the colonial power, the only portraits chosen for the

colonial exhibition in London were those of Māori whose distinct facial moko and traditional Māori apparel appear markedly ‘exotic’.

Mimetic Representations – Portrait Painting and Photography

[20] We have seen how the documentary effect of Lindauer's paintings goes beyond an ethnographic reading: a rendition true-to-nature is highly important for the portrait genre too. The very myth relating to the origin of portrait painting points to the mimetic function of pictures: in his *Natural History* (ca. 77 AD), Pliny the Elder describes how portraits originated in silhouettes. In the legend a young woman, Dibutade, fixes the image of her lover by setting a candle in front of him and tracing his shadow on the wall. The silhouette thus points to a referent and has what amounts to an indexical structure. It is a sort of proof that its subject exists. Wilhelm Eduard Daege's 1832 painting *The Invention of Painting*, held by the Alte Nationalgalerie in Berlin, illustrates this story (fig. 15). What is decisive is that a silhouette can count as a sort of copy of reality.

15 Wilhelm Eduard Daege, *The Invention of Painting*, 1832, oil on canvas, 176.5 × 135.5 cm. Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (reprod. from: Karentzos, “Bilder des ‘Exotischen′. Gottfried Lindauer im Kontext europäischer Portraitmalerei”, 180)

Significantly, this legend was recounted in a talk given by the artist Johann Heinrich Füssli (English: Henry Fuseli) before the members of the Royal Academy in London. Füssli wrote the text in 1801, in which he declares: if any legend deserved to be believed, then it was that love story of the young woman from Corinth, who fixed the silhouette of her lover so that it could serve as a true representation. From that Füssli develops some observations on the “first attempt

at painting".[33] According to this train of thought, the shadows and thus portraiture point to a reality-as-origin.

[21] In the second half of the nineteenth century, portrait painting was for numerous artists still linked to the claim to being a true-to-life depiction. It was not by chance that photography was, even though many distanced themselves from it,[34] an important aid for the portraiture of the day. In art criticism at the end of the nineteenth century, Gaston Tissandier, for instance, stressed this role performed by photography: "We shall, however, see that the photographic art is capable of rendering great service to painters of the greatest talent".[35] Franz von Lenbach[36], Gustave Courbet, Max Liebermann and Hans Makart[37] are examples of prominent artists who used photographs as a basis for their works. Such popular artists had numerous commissions, and it is precisely these which show that portrait painting in no way became redundant through competition with the medium of photography,[38] but occupied its own niche: a portrait in oils was regarded as prestigious, valuable and genteel.

[22] Lindauer's paintings were also linked to this sort of ennoblement. The genre of painting invested the Māori represented with special repute and simultaneously indicated a high social status in their society. Most of those painted were, in actual fact, tribal chiefs and well-known personalities who played a central role in the history of New Zealand.[39] How closely the medium of portraits was linked to privilege is shown by, for instance, Joshua Reynolds'

[33] Henry Fuseli, "First Lecture: Ancient Art", in: *Lectures on Painting, Delivered at the Royal Academy March 1801*, London 1801, 1-49, here 8-9: "If ever legend deserved our belief, the amorous tale of the Corinthian maid, who traced the shade of her departing lover by the secret lamp, appeals to our sympathy, to grant it; and leads us at the same time to some observations on the first mechanical essays of Painting, and that linear method which […] seems to have continued as the basis of execution, even when the instrument for which it was chiefly adapted had long been laid aside."

[34] See the example in Ronald Campbell, "Porträtfotografie. Ein Dialog im Studio eines Künstlers (1858)", in: *Theorie der Fotografie,* vol. 1: *1839-1912*, ed. Wolfgang Kemp, Munich 1980, 104-108.

[35] Gaston Tissandier, A History and Handbook of Photography, translated from the French and edited by J. Thomson, London 1876/ New York 1877, 143 (original title: *Les merveilles de la photographie*, Paris 1874), https://archive.org/details/historyhandbooko00tissuoft (accessed 19 May 2018). On this discussion, see Milena Greif, *Tini Rupprecht. Porträtmalerei nach Fotografien Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts in München*, Munich 2003, 23, https://edoc.ub.uni-muenchen.de/1629/1/Greif_Milena.pdf (accessed 19 May 2018).

[36] Alongside numerous other portraits by Lenbach, the Alte Nationalgalerie holds the painting of Otto von Bismarck (1884), which is based on photographs. See the catalogue entry on this in: Eve Förschl and Angelika Wesenberg, eds*., Nationalgalerie Berlin. Das XIX. Jahrhundert. Katalog der ausgestellten Werke*, Leipzig 2001, 229.

[37] See Uwe Schlögl, "Hans Makart und die Fotografie", in: *Makart. Maler der Sinne*, eds. Agnes Husslein-Arco and Alexander Klee, exh. cat., Munich 2011, 211–221, here 211.

[38] See Carola Muysers, *Das bürgerliche Portrait im Wandel. Bildnisfunktionen und -auffassungen in der deutschen Moderne 1860-1900*, Hildesheim and New York 2001.

[39] *Māori Portraits*, www.lindaueronline.co.nz/maori-portraits (accessed 19 May 2014).

picture of the Tahitian Omai (ca. 1776), who was perceived in England as an exotic prince, but back home belonged to the lower middle class (fig. 16).[40]

16 Joshua Reynolds, *Omai*, ca. 1776, oil on canvas, 236 × 146 cm. Private collection (reprod. from: Karentzos, "Bilder des 'Exotischen'. Gottfried Lindauer im Kontext europäischer Portraitmalerei", 181)

[23] The marked richness of detail and the precision in Lindauer's pictures do not derive only from photography, but reach back to the techniques of the Nazarenes group of artists, among them Friedrich Overbeck, Franz Pforr, Wilhelm Schadow and Peter von Cornelius. From 1855 to 1861, Lindauer studied at the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts under Leopold Kupelwieser and Joseph von Führich, who were both close to the Nazarenes;[41] von Führich, for example, had, together with Overbeck, worked on the artistic decor of the Villa Massimo in Rome.[42] This school focused above all on Christian motifs and was inspired by early Renaissance Italian art. The line was central to Nazarene painting, so that sharp contours delineated the figures.[43] The translucent application of colour additionally

[40] However, Schmidt-Linsenhoff indicates that it is not a question of social recognition of the model. See the full account in Viktoria Schmidt-Linsenhoff, *Ästhetik der Differenz. Postkoloniale Perspektiven vom 16. bis 17. Jahrhundert*, vol. 1, Marburg 2010, 272-275.

[41] See Sarah Hillary, *The Materials and Techniques of Gottfried Lindauer*, http://www.lindaueronline.co.nz/artist/the-materials-and-techniques-of-gottfried-lindauer (accessed 18 May 2018).

[42] See the entry on Führich in: Constant von Wurzbach, *Biografisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich*, vol. 5, Vienna 1859, 6.

[43] See Peter Märker and Margret Stuffmann, "Zu den Zeichnungen der Nazarener", in: *Die Nazarener*, ed. Klaus Gallwitz, exh. cat., Frankfurt/ M. 1977, 181-198.

emphasised the line drawing.[44] Accordingly, for the Nazarene Gustav Heinrich Naeke, for instance, the line represented “the last and most authentic bastion of truth and hence a scarcely surpassable means of expression for Nazarene thinking”.[45] In his memoirs, the artist Ludwig Richter, meanwhile having distanced himself, also emphasises the importance of the line for the Nazarene group of artists: pencils could not be sharp enough, and he and his compadres fell in love with every blade of grass.[46]

[24] Lindauer seems to have executed his compositions directly onto canvas, as very few preparatory studies and sketches by him have been preserved.[47] The underlying drawings are rendered in detail, as one restorer, Sarah Hillary, has demonstrated.[48] Lindauer literally underpinned some of his later paintings with photographs by painting over the latter. Hillary has discovered that two portraits use cut-outs from photographs.[49] Here an essential advantage of painting compared to photography becomes apparent: nineteenth-century photography's lack of colour sets limits to its mimesis and is overcome by painting (thus nineteenth-century photographs often had colour laboriously applied by a hand wielding a brush). In Lindauer's paintings of Māori with *moko*, the aesthetic dimension of colour shows to advantage particularly well: the ornaments of the *moko* stand out precisely by dint of their bluish or greenish hue, and in addition the fine black lineature is visible within the patterns. This makes the *moko* appear very sculptural, whilst in black and white photographs they tend to appear, by contrast, graphic and two-dimensional. The difference becomes obvious when we compare Lindauer's painting of Paora Tuhaere, for instance, with George Pulman's photograph of him (fig. 17, 18).

[44] See Hillary, *The Materials and Techniques of Gottfried Lindauer.*

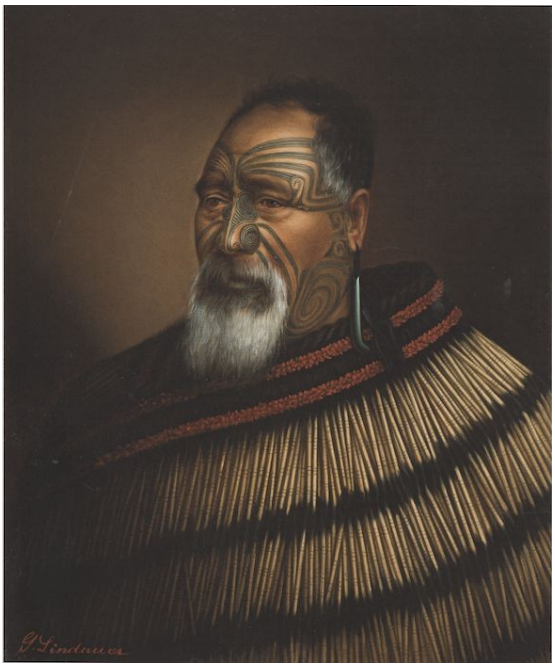
[45] Quoted from *Und was verschwand, wird mir zu Wirklichkeiten. Die Kunst der Nazarener in Zeichnung und Graphik*, ed. Kunsthandlung H. W. Fichter – Frankfurt/ M., exh. cat., 2005.

[46] See Ludwig Richter, *Lebenserinnerungen eines deutschen Malers (1885)*, ed. Lothar Dunsch, Dresden 2008, 89, as well as http://gutenberg.spiegel.de/buch/lebenserinnerungen-eines-deutschen-malers-5453/14 (accessed 15 May 2014).

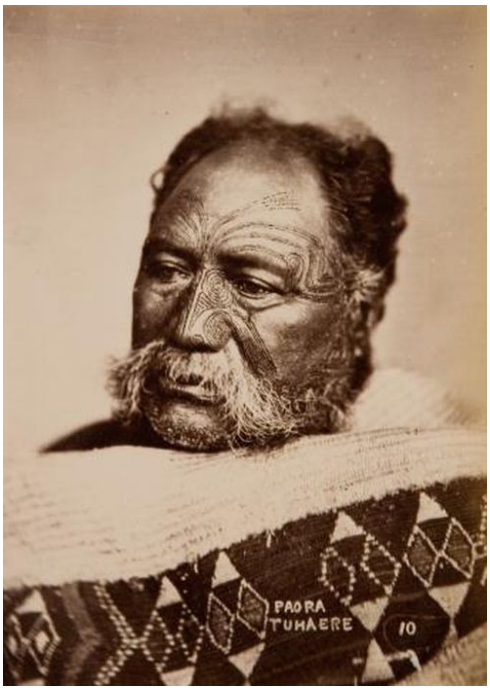
[47] See Sarah Hillary, “The Materials and Techniques of Gottfried Lindauer”, http://www.lindaueronline.co.nz/artist/the-materials-and-techniques-of-gottfried-lindauer (accessed 18 May 2018).

[48] See Sarah Hillary, “Merging Techniques – New Research into Lindauer's Use of Photographs”, http://www.lindaueronline.co.nz/artist/merging-techniques-%E2%80%93-new-research-into-lindauer%E2%80%99s-use-of-photographs (accessed 18 May 2018).

[49] See Hillary, “Merging Techniques”.



17 Gottfried Lindauer, *Paora Tuhaere*, 1895, oil on canvas, 67.7 × 56.3 cm. Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, gift of H E Partridge, 1915 (reprod. from: Karentzos, “Bilder des ‘Exotischen′. Gottfried Lindauer im Kontext europäischer Portraitmalerei”, 182)



18 George Pulman, *Paora Tuhaere*, ca. 1870, albumen photographic print, 14 × 10.2 cm (reprod. from: Karentzos, “Bilder des ‘Exotischen′. Gottfried Lindauer im Kontext europäischer Portraitmalerei”, 183)

Māori in Vienna

[25] The Māori's ornamental styling of their bodies makes them appear ‘savages’ in nineteenth-century reception. Alois Riegl, for example, talks about a “primitive form of décor” in his reflections on New Zealand ornamentation and uses it to

support his theory on the development of ornaments.[50] The collection of the Austrian ethnographer Andreas Reischek, who had explored New Zealand between 1877 and 1889, provided Riegl with practical examples.

[26] Reischek's interest in researching New Zealand was inspired by Ferdinand von Hochstetter, who had taken part as a travelling scientist in the first Austrian circumnavigation of the globe with the frigate *Novara*.[51] The *Novara* expedition served to present Austria-Hungary as a major power in generating knowledge rather than through territorial conquest: “We all share the same wish to show the earth's inhabitants that we belong to a people who can and will participate in the successes of science even on the wide oceans.”[52]

[27] Representing England, James Cook took some scientists as well as artists on board with him on his voyages, and for France, Napoleon likewise took a full entourage of artists and scientists with him on his Egyptian campaign. However, it was above all Alexander von Humboldt's research expeditions which became the model for the *Novara* expedition. This is the reason why Hochstetter called Humboldt the “master […] to whom we all bow in respect”.[53]

[28] It was not just objects that such expeditions brought back to the metropolitan centres of Europe, but also people: following Cook's Tahitian Omai, numerous ‘exotics’ caused sensations. When Lindauer was studying in Vienna, two Māori who accompanied the *Novara* expedition back from New Zealand, Wiremu Toetoe und Hemera Rerehau, became a particular attraction.[54] They were considered educated, speaking English and learning German, and reports indicate that they were learning the art of printing in the court and state printery.[55] They were invited to salons, caused a stir by taking part in the torchlight parade to mark the hundredth birthday of Friedrich Schiller and even had an audience with

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[50] Alois Riegl, “Neuseeländische Ornamentik”, in: *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 20 (1890), 84-87.

[51] See particulary Roger Paulin, “Die Erfahrung des Fremden. Andreas Reischeks *Sterbende Welt*”, in: *Schnittpunkt Romantik. Text- und Quellenstudien zur Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts. Festschrift für Sibylle von Steinsdorff*, eds. Wolfgang Bunzel, Konrad Feilchenfeldt and Walter Schmitz, Tübingen 1997, 337-350. See also Erich Kolig, “Der Österreicher Andreas Reischek in Neuseeland: Ehrenhäuptling oder Erzfeind der Maori?”, in: *Österreicher im Pazifik*, ed. Hermann Mückler, Vienna 1998 (= *Novara. Beiträge zur Pazifik-Forschung,* vol. 1), 41-56.

[52] Ferdinand von Hochstetter, *Gesammelte Reise-Berichte von der Erdumseglung der Fregatte ‘Novara’ 1857-1859*, Vienna 1885, 313.

[53] Hochstetter, *Gesammelte Reise-Berichte von der Erdumseglung der Fregatte ‘Novara’ 1857-1859,* 313.

[54] On the reception in the press, see Georg Sauer, “Zwei Maoris in Wien in den Jahren 1859-1860 im Spiegel zeitgenössischer Pressestimmen”, in: *Österreicher im Pazifik*, ed. Hermann Mückler, Vienna 1998 (= *Novara. Beiträge zur Pazifik-Forschung,* vol. 1), 57-70.

[55] Sauer, “Zwei Maoris in Wien in den Jahren 1859-1860 im Spiegel zeitgenössischer Pressestimmen”, 60-61.

the Emperor Franz Joseph and the Empress Elisabeth.[56] Toetoe and Rerehau were so popular in Vienna that Lindauer probably heard or read about their visit. The press reported on them extensively. Their reception can be compared with that of the Tahitian Omai in London, who was studied as the “embodiment of the figure of the ‘noble savage’ from current discourse” and caused a furore as a “natural gentleman”.[57] Along the same lines, Wiremu Toetoe was similarly described in the feuilletons as a “kanaka-gentleman”: he was “of elegant stature, with a pleasant demeanour”, had “deep, black glistening hair” and was dressed in European style. He would “not attract attention at all, were it not for the bronze colour of his skin and the green lines of fan-like tattooing on his forehead and the sides of his nose”.[58]

[29] Despite the partial similarity, which can be understood in terms of Bhaba’s concept of mimicry, stereotypical styles of reception surface in the descriptions of the two Māori in Vienna, reducing them to their originality, their naturalness, naivety and unspoiled dispositions. The topos of the ‘noble savage’,[59] popularised above all by Michel de Montaigne and Rousseauism, also has had a great influence on the reception of Lindauer's Māori portraits. Thus one reviewer describes Lindauer's paintings as depictions of “Old-Time Maori” and stressed “their picturesqueness and their noble and generous natures”.[60] However, Leonard Bell remarks that such exoticising romanticism surrounding the ‘noblest savage’ in the nineteenth century differs markedly from the understanding of the ‘noble savage’ in the eighteenth century, which advanced the unspoiled ‘savage life’ as something superior to the overly sophisticated civilisation of Europe.[61] The reception of Lindauer's Māori portraits should not, however, be simply reduced to this topos. We have demonstrated that it is precisely through individualising their subjects and implementing the tradition of portraiture as a genre that his representations offer considerable scope for acknowledgement of Māori and their cultural alterity.[62]

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[56] Sauer, “Zwei Maoris in Wien in den Jahren 1859-1860 im Spiegel zeitgenössischer Pressestimmen”, 61, 65.

[57] Schmidt-Linsenhoff, *Ästhetik der Differenz*, 273. See also on the discussion of this topic, Facos, *An Introduction to Nineteenth-Century Art*, 141-144.

[58] Report in *Der Wanderer*, 26 October 1859, quoted from Sauer, “Zwei Maoris in Wien in den Jahren 1859-1860 im Spiegel zeitgenössischer Pressestimmen”, 60.

[59] See on the topos of the ‘noble savage’, Ingrid Heermann, “Edle Wilde – Rohe Barbaren. Vorgeschichte eines Mythos”, in: *Mythos Tahiti. Südsee – Traum und Realität*, ed. Ingrid Heermann, exh. cat. Linden-Museum Stuttgart, Berlin 1987, 10-13.

[60] “Old-Time Maori. A Unique Portrait Gallery. The Partridge Collection Loaned to the City”, in: *Auckland Star*, vol. 43, no. 304 (20 December 1912), 2, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/AS19121220.2.1 (accessed 17 Mar 2014).

[61] Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, 206.

[62] See on a similar discussion using the example of Eckhout's ‘Copenhagen Cycle’: Daum, *Albert Eckhouts ‘gemalte Kolonie´*, 113.

Special Issue Guest Editors

Alexandra Karentzos, Miriam Oesterreich and Britta Schmitz, eds., Gottfried Lindauer – Painting New Zealand, in: RIHA Journal 0189-0197