



Private Collectors in Taiwan:

Their Motivations for Collecting and Relations with Museums

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This article develops an anthropological approach to collecting as a cultural phenomenon. It considers extended case studies of both autochthonous and resident foreign collectors in Taiwan, who collect ancient maps, woodblock prints, joss money, and Aboriginal art. Private collectors' drives are analyzed in terms of the ongoing reconfiguration of psychological, sociological, economic, and educational motivations. A second focal point concerns the particular relations between collectors and museums. Narratives around precious finds not only illustrate a poetics of collecting, they also underscore how private collectors assign value to material culture.

Keywords: Collecting, collectors' motivations, material culture, museums, gift giving, Taiwan

In 2008, I was invited to a conference on cultural heritage and material culture in Taiwan. Part of the conference took place in the national archive cum museum Taiwan Historica.¹ In February 2010, some months after the publication of the conference volume, I visited Taiwan Historica a second time to discuss the theme of collecting with the Director of Collection Management, Huang Hung-sen. This curator, who had not participated in the conference, by and large endorsed my analysis of collectors' motivations (Van der Grijp 2006, 2009a), but he wished to add a fourfold categorization of collectors from a museum perspective. I was indeed quite interested in his perspective, and here I will present his ideas as faithfully as possible. At that point, a new research question urged itself upon me, one that I did not want to answer only from a museum perspective: What is the relationship between private collectors and museums? That will be the other focal point of this article.

Huang Hung-sen divides collectors into four categories (personal communication, Nantou, 2010). The first type not only collects, but also studies its collectibles and publishes about them. These collectors may engage in social relationships concerning their collecting theme, obtain a good reputation, and eventually earn money by selling (a part of) their collection. This tallies with the four collecting motivations I have identified: psychological, sociological, economic and educational (see below). The second category in Huang Hung-sen's typology collects and trades and, in so doing, satisfies psychological and economic motivations. The third collects, but does not trade its collectibles. The fourth and last category collects, but keeps quiet about this interest. Collectors of the last type do not want to be known as collectors, possibly out of fear that they will become targets for thieves. They, and perhaps some close friends, are the only ones to take pleasure from their collectibles. In Huang's eyes, the first category of collector is the most promising for participation in museum exhibitions, followed by the second and third categories. However, it seems almost impossible to persuade collectors of the fourth type to do so. These seem important considerations, but I do not want to limit my research to a museum's point of view. Below, I will briefly explain my perspective on the motivations of collectors, starting with my initial source of inspiration. In the conclusion I will return to this.

In his ethnography of the art market in metropolitan St. Louis, Missouri, Stuart Plattner (1996) distinguished three elements needed to understand collectors of high

1 The international conference "Objects, Memory and Cultural Identity in (Re)construction" was organized on June 27-29, 2008, by the French Centre of Studies on Contemporary China (CEFC) in cooperation with the Feng-chia University in Taichung and Taiwan Historica in Nantou.

art: psychological, sociological and economic or, more specifically, the motivations of ego-enlargement, augmentation of social status, and investment. In accordance with this model but taking the argument further, I have developed a configurational perspective on private collecting in general (Van der Grijp 2006, 2014b, 2015). Plattner's discussion is important for its suggestion that to understand collecting as a cultural phenomenon, one cannot reduce the motivations of collectors to any one domain. The various motivations form a structural set, a configuration in my terms, which must be understood as a process, an ongoing reconfiguration. For a full cultural understanding of collecting, I have found it necessary to add a fourth motivation, that of acquiring and transmitting knowledge about a certain category of objects, what I refer to as educational.

Here, I will present several case studies of private collectors (all men), both autochthonous collectors and Western ones who live, work, and collect in Taiwan—without differentiating them into distinct categories. My anthropological application of the extended case method also entails an elaboration of that what Susan Pearce calls “the poetics of collecting”: how individuals experience collecting as a creative process in their own lives, and how they report about this. I fully agree with her thesis (1995: 31-32) that the sum of these experiences intersects with the social practice of collecting, and that the symbolism of collecting can only be observed through individuals for whom things have a symbolic value, in other words, for those who live in a world rich in imagination, which is often centered on the backgrounds of their precious finds. The article also aims to document this dimension.²

Ego-Enlargement and Nostalgia

In my view, an anthropological analysis of collecting should include representative case studies, but not necessarily only the biggest collectors. My first two examples are map collectors who also trade and correspond with other collectors of Huang's second category.

Wei Te-wen is a publisher who owns a bookshop that specializes in the history of Taiwan on a small street parallel to Xinsheng-South Road, opposite the main entrance of Taiwan National University. In 1990 Wei started collecting antique maps thanks to a lucky strike in an antiquarian bookshop in Hong Kong (Teng 2006). The

2 The material in this article is based on fieldwork among collectors in Taiwan between 2008 and 2014, complemented by bibliographic information. Interviews were conducted in French, English, Dutch, and Chinese, in the latter case translated into French. This research is part of a larger research project on Artists, Collectors and Museums in Taiwan (see, for example, Van der Grijp 2015).

map he found reads “Tchou Tchan Che,” a transcription of the name of present-day Hsinchou. Wei was born in 1944 in the Hsinchou district, in a Hakka village called Kuanshi. Thus, the personal value of his find may well be based on nostalgia. In 1991 Wei published an historical study of Taiwan in cooperation with a Belgian publishing house that included eighty European maps from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century and commentary by the Taiwanese historians Wu Mi-cha and Hsu Hsueh-chi (Vertente et al. 1991). In 1996 Wei made another lucky find in an antiquarian bookshop in Japan: the Dutch *Atlas Sinensis* from 1671, which includes six copper engravings of the oldest known images of Taiwanese Aborigines. At present Wei is the proud owner of more than 1,000 antique maps, the oldest being a Portuguese map of East Asia from 1554.

The businessman Paul Overmaat, a friend of Wei's, also collects antique maps. He has donated or sold a number of these to museums. Overmaat, originally from the Netherlands, has been living in Asia for forty-one years. He worked for a Hong Kong-based multinational during the first thirteen years, and traveled widely in China and Taiwan. In 1979 he met his Taiwanese wife. He had been earning well in his Hong Kong multinational and, on the principle that “if you can be good for your boss you can also be good for yourself,” he decided to strike out as an independent entrepreneur (pers. com., Taipei, 2014). In 1987 he returned with his family to Taiwan and had a house built in Tamshui near the river and just ten minutes from a seventeenth-century Dutch fortress. Tamshui was quite different at that time. In the beginning, he remembered, they could look from their window down the river all the way to the sea. But huge risers have been erected and the sea is no longer visible. Overmaat wished to have an old map of Taiwan in his study. He discovered that a fair number of these from the Japanese colonial period (1895-1945) were available in Taiwanese antiquarian bookshops, but there was next to nothing from the period prior. A family member, the uncle of Overmaat's sister-in-law, had an antiquarian bookshop in Amsterdam and was able to dig up a map of Taiwan from the United Dutch East Indies period (the seventeenth century) on which only Taiwan's west coast is shown. Today, this map still decorates Overmaat's study. The process of locating the map spurred him to create a collection because, “When something appears difficult,” he stated, “I really want to put my shoulder to it” (*ibid.*). In this we can recognize an element of ego-enlargement. Once Overmaat had obtained that first map, he wanted to find a second one. With time he was able to create an important collection of ancient Western maps of Taiwan through a network of Netherlandish, British, French and American antiquarian bookshops. I see here two elements of nostalgia: Overmaat collects authentic material from a period in which his native country had been active in his present residence, and he lives close to that

old Dutch fortress.

Yang Yong-chih has an important collection of some 1,000 old books and about 4,000 other items printed with woodblocks (pers. com., Taipei, 2008). Yang has self-published several books on his collecting themes (Yang 2004, 2006), which makes him an example of Huang's first category of collectors. Already at primary school, Yang was looking for woodblock prints, which he then cut out. As a child he was inspired by a book (in Chinese) entitled *The Precious Box* about children who collect precious objects. In second-hand shops he looked for old books he could buy with his pocket money and about which he wrote in the school paper. Two teachers, who showed him prehistoric tools found in freshly plowed fields, taught him that he should share his passion with others. At the age of twenty he got interested in old architecture and decorations in houses that were being demolished in the then-quickly-accelerating urbanization process. He even marched in protest against such destruction. Although it had no effect on policy, these activities stimulated his passion for antique prints. Yang studied Chinese literature at a university in Taichung, interrupted by a lengthy military service of almost three years.³ He obtained an administrative job at university and gives lectures under contract on literary history and the history of engraving. He has a passion for these subjects and is not happy with his administrative job, but would like to write a Ph.D. thesis to qualify as a full-time lecturer. Many pieces in Yang's collection are old specimens of the joss money that is burned in temples (see also the account of Chang Yi-ming below) and door god prints.⁴

Nicolas Grevot was born in France but lived between his seventh and eleventh years in French Polynesia—his father worked as a pilot on regular service between Tahiti and New Caledonia at the time. Nicolas Grevot went to school with Polynesian and Chinese children, and they used to swim in the lagoon at the end of the day. The tropical light and ambiance never left his mind. When he had to return to the grey, and in his eyes conservative, Versailles (south of Paris), he longed for Polynesia. In France, Grevot studied at a business school, but never engaged in business because he did not like it, but rather was interested in art and culture. In 1993 he moved with his (Taiwanese) wife to Taiwan. There, he first taught English, but he did not

3 Two years and ten months, to be precise. This was linked to the military threat from the Chinese mainland.

4 I.e. god images printed on paper to be attached on the door in order to advance one's happiness and fortune. Taiwanese of Chinese descent also attach printed images of lions on their front door to protect their house against evil spirits (Van der Grijp 2010). In July, for example, Taoists believe that certain spirits are particularly active.

like that either. After one year, he found a job at a monthly magazine, where, as of 2008, he had been working as a journalist for fourteen years.⁵ After work he felt the need for a different occupation. Initially, Grevot collected twelfth-century Buddha sculptures, some pieces are worth a fortune today—but there were also many fakes. At a time when Taiwanese interest in national Aboriginal populations increased, he decided to shift his attention there. At the end of the last century, Grevot was among the first to purchase Taiwan indigenous art for a relatively modest price via the Internet. He built a collection of some 250 pieces. Meanwhile, the prices have gone up considerably.

Augmenting Social Status

The sociological motivation in my configurational approach mainly involves status augmentation. Wei Te-wen, my first example, had studied pharmacy at the Medical University of Taipei. During these studies, undertaken as evening education, he worked by day for the Association for Asian Studies, founded by the American sinologist John Fairbank. This was when Mainland China remained inaccessible to Western researchers (Hong and Murray 2005). Wei started reading classic texts on China and Taiwan. After his university education, he went to a foreign pharmaceutical factory where he worked for three years. But he was not happy there, and after his return in 1976, he founded the SMC Publishing Company to publish on China and Taiwan (SMC=Southern Materials Center). His first publication was a re-edition of a research report on Taiwanese Aborigines by the Governor's Office of the Japanese period. It would eventually become a series of thirty volumes. Among his other outstanding publications is a book by Saalih Lee (1998) on Aboriginal clothing.⁶ In 1999 Wei received first prize from the Association of Taiwanese Archives for his publication of the best documentary book, and in 2004 a Golden Tripod award (*Tripode d'or*) that recognized the contributions across his entire career. With this, his reputation (social status) in publishing, collecting, and museum circles was solidly established.⁷

5 This monthly magazine published by the government of Taiwan, *Taiwan Aujourd'hui*—the French equivalent of *Taiwan Review*—aims to inform (resident as well as visiting) French readers about Taiwanese society, with particular attention to cultural events and tourist attractions.

6 This book (Lee 1998), including 460 illustrations, deals with clothing traditions as well as their production and social significance. A year after its publication, the book received a threefold prize: for best book, for best artistic publication, and for the most recommended book.

7 Still, in Overmaat's eyes, Wei Te-wen's collection "is not that big" (pers. com., Taipei, 2014). The most

In 2000, Paul Overmaat, my second example, organized the exhibition “From Formosa to Holland” around his map collection in Fort San Domingo.⁸ He did so in cooperation with the Netherlands’ Representation in Taiwan. This exhibition was sponsored by a well-known multinational with a Netherlandish base and large Taiwanese firm that aimed to restore the fort, which was in a sorry state. The sponsoring partners were allowed to organize a party in the fort. The Netherlands’ Representation turned the party into a kind of “United Dutch East Indies Company celebration” that included gingerbread men and the like. During this party, Overmaat not only exhibited his collection but also celebrated his fiftieth birthday. Through his collection—the exhibition would last one year—Overmaat himself became widely known. Once the Preparatory Office of the National Museum of Taiwan History in Tainan became aware of the quality of his collection, it contracted with him to acquire 250 pieces through a combination of purchase and donation.

After having sold or donated his first collection—under the explicit condition that his name would be clearly visible during an eventual exhibition (status enlargement)—his house looked rather empty. His dealers continued to call him with messages such as: “Look, Paul, we finally found the map that you’ve been searching for years.” Overmaat recalls, “The temptation was back, and that’s how I started collecting again, though with more knowledge than before, and I could be more selective” (pers. com. Taipei, 2014). His second collection was of an even better quality than his first and it generated more interest in the Taiwanese museum world. In 2003 he participated in the exhibition “*Ilha Formosa: The Emergence of Taiwan on the World Scene in the 17th Century*” at the National Palace Museum. Twenty-five percent of that exhibition—43 pieces including 25 maps—came from Overmaat’s collection.⁹ Here again, his collection—and with that Overmaat himself—were in the

impressive collection would be one owned by Doctor Lin, a dentist from a rich family, who opened a private museum of the Japanese period close to the 1-0-1 Tower. It consists not only of maps but also of furniture, toys, etc. Hsu Ying-chou, also from a rich family, would be the biggest collector of Aboriginal art and historical artifacts (Hsu 1989). He owns some three to four adjacent houses full of all kinds of things concerning Aborigines, including several maps.

- 8 The Fort San Domingo (Hóngmáo Chéng) was originally built during the Spanish occupation of North Taiwan in 1626-1641. In 1642 the present fort was built by the Dutch who stayed there until 1683, when the fort was taken over by the Chinese.
- 9 For example a map of Fort Zeelandia (Anping Fort in Tainan) drawn by Jesuit missionaries in 1714 by order of the Chinese emperor; a detailed map of the Penghu Islands by Johannes van Keulen from 1753; and the Italian map *Il Regno della China* (The Kingdom of China) from 1682 on which Taiwan is visible too. Overmaat’s copy of the book *’t Verwaarloosde Formosa* (i.e. Neglected Formosa) of Frederik Coyett (1615-1687) was also exhibited. Coyett was the Dutch governor of Taiwan who was defeated in 1662 by the army of Koxinga. The Dutch United East Indies Company held Coyett

spotlight. Between 2003 and 2011, Overmaat sold and/or donated 89 more pieces to the National Museum of Taiwan History, including 42 paintings.¹⁰ The “Collection Overmaat” is now so big that the museum can only exhibit part of it at any one time.

In addition to woodblock prints Yang Yong-chih, my third example, also collects *ex libris* (book plates), about which he organized an exhibition together with some like-minded collectors. Yang makes his own *ex libris* by cutting figured wallpaper into pieces and printing his name on them with a seal in Chinese characters. He owns some 2,400 such items, thematically ordered in special stock books (pers. com., Taipei, 2008). His collection is relatively large in view of the fact that these labels are not often used in Taiwan, and usually books that contain them are more than fifty years old. Yang protects these with a transparent cover. *Ex libris* are the personal expression of people who love books. Yang says that having a special link with these people through his collection gives him a certain social identity and status.

When Nicolas Grevot, my fourth example, still lived in France, he dreamed of becoming an archaeologist or anthropologist, but fate did not work out that way. As a student he made a trip to Beijing, and in France he enjoyed the company of Chinese friends. When he was introduced to his future spouse, a Taiwanese journalist, he realized he was predisposed for “this kind of wife” rather than for an ordinary Frenchwoman. In 1993 when she was transferred to her native country, he went along.¹¹ Grevot as a collector specializes in artifacts of the mountain Aborigines who, in his view, have remained “pure” longest. Aborigines from the plains have historically mixed more with (other) Taiwanese.¹² His parents had been collecting tribal art at a certain level already, and Grevot says that he did not wish to continue

responsible for this defeat and imprisoned him for some time. Coyett wrote this book in an effort to clear his name. The exhibition also included drawings of Aborigines published by the United Dutch East Indies Company.

- 10 This also included the original, handwritten and hand-drawn manuscript of Eugène Garnot *L'expédition française de Formose 1884-1885* from 1894. Garnot participated as a captain of the French army in the occupation of Keelung and the Penghu Islands during the Sino-French Wars. On 29 October 2011, the National Museum of Taiwan History officially opened, and 339 out of the 50,000 artifacts in this museum, including 155 maps and 88 books, came from Overmaat (Crook 2012: 55).
- 11 Grevot: “If she had told me that she would remain in Paris, I would have stayed there too. But when she told me that she would go to Taiwan, I followed her. I never regretted that. She had already made a professional career as a reporter at the time. I had just obtained a degree, but in a discipline in which I didn't like to work” (pers. com., Taipei, 2008).
- 12 The Taiwanese population includes thirteen—at least officially recognized as such—Aboriginal (Austronesian speaking) tribes, which make up some two percent of the total population. They constitute the cradle of the Austronesian Diaspora from linguistic and archaeological perspectives.

at a low level himself (status competition).¹³ So he bought his pieces mainly in the United States, Europe, and Japan. The highlight of his experience was tracking down and acquiring two fine American collections. His accounts of these precious finds reveal the poetics of collecting.

Several years ago, Grevot made contact with the daughter of Gerald Warner, the American consul to Taiwan from 1936 to 1941. When the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, they quickly arrested Warner. Just before his arrest, his wife had shipped her collection of forty pieces of Atayal textiles to America. After sixty years, Grevot would bring this collection back to Taiwan. It includes a man's vest and a belt with shell beads that signal a chief's authority.¹⁴ The second collection Grevot would acquire in America consisted of Paiwanese woodcarvings and has the following backstory. Around 1965 a young American on a Fulbright scholarship to study Chinese art in Taiwan happened to meet Chen Chi-lu, *the* Taiwanese specialist on Austronesian material culture (see, for example, Chen 1968). They became friends and Chen invited him to accompany him on his fieldwork in southern Taiwan. The American became interested in Aboriginal art, Paiwanese wooden sculpture in particular, and Chen gave him expert advice. On his return to America, he took a small collection with him. At present, he is almost eighty years of age and his children are not interested in this kind of art, so because he needed money, he recently sold everything. Grevot purchased some forty pieces from him.

Almost one-third of Grevot's collection come from these two American

13 Grevot's parents collected African and Oceanic tribal art as well as contemporary paintings but were, as he states, "not as fanatic as me" (pers. com., Taipei, 2008). As an adolescent, he took over his grandfather's stamp collection, but his philatelic interest lost momentum after only one year. He thinks of himself as "originally not a collector" (*ibid.*).

14 The (Austronesian) Atayal tribe in north Taiwan is known for its decorated men's vests. These vests, worn by chiefs during ceremonies, are richly decorated with shell material that has been cut in small round pieces with a hole in the middle, transformed into beads that can be strung. It is a heavy garment with little bells that, when the wearer is walking, make noise to attract attention: the more beads one had, the richer one was. The role of the Atayal chief was not a permanent one. A council of elders appointed one or another for a specific, temporary task until another took over that role. The Atayal traded these shell beads with tribes from the plains and eventually used pieces of porcelain from China. Grevot showed me a vest that he counts a real treasure; one seldom sees examples with as many beads, even in museums. In 2011, however, I saw a number of these in the store rooms of the National Museum of Taiwan in Taipei and the National Prehistory Museum in Taitung. As a proof for his claim Grevot showed me a museum guide with the reproduction of a comparable Atayal vest on its cover, but it had fewer beads than his. But see also Lee et al. (2005: plate 1); Li (2009:48-49, 73); and Fong (2001:164-169, 182-183), which somewhat undermine Grevot's claim.

collections. Museums are particularly interested in them because they represent early collections and have an established provenance. However, his most remarkable item, taking up a large part of his living space, is an old Yami boat from Lanyu Island. As Grevot related the story, an American dealer in tribal art was driving around in the California mountains and happened to stop for a hamburger in a fast food restaurant. Improbably the boat was displayed in the middle of the restaurant. He had seen a similar Yami boat in the museum of the University College of Los Angeles and he recognized it immediately. When he asked the owner what kind of boat it was, the owner responded,

“A Venetian gondola.”

“And,” the dealer continued, “when did you acquire it?”

“Fifty years ago. When I bought this restaurant, the boat was already there.”

The dealer then purchased the boat and informed Grevot, who had it shipped to Taiwan. He needed a crane to hoist the four-meter-long object into his apartment in Taipei. Grevot estimates its age at 80 to 100 years, which is rare: “Even in a museum one cannot find such an old boat in an authentic state” (pers. com., Taipei, 2008).¹⁵ More recently, Grevot has also bought pieces in Europe, for example from a collector in Groningen (the Netherlands) named Ten Houten, who had been in Taiwan in the 1960s-1970s. His collection of tribal art also includes Taiwanese pieces that had been exhibited in the Groningen ethnographic museum. When the museum closed down, the Collection Ten Houten was dispersed among various tribal art galleries. Grevot’s most beautiful piece is a wooden panel of Paiwan ancestors in bas-relief.¹⁶ Grevot

15 Yami boats found in Taiwan at present are, according to Grevot, recently made; while they respect traditional maritime carpentry, the makers work with modern electric tools and caulking. Grevot’s boat is hand-made with stone or metal tools, the paint is natural, and the boat is caulked with vegetal fibers. The white paint is made from sea mussels melted into a mash. The black is soot scraped from kitchen ware. The red ochre comes from special soil in the mountains. The Yami are the only Aboriginal tribe with an Oceanic tradition. They originally came from Taiwan, but they could have arrived at the island of Lanyu via the northern Philippines. They are night fishers known for their silver helmets, made from flattened silver money representing their ancestors (Fong 2001:78). The Yami have been safeguarded against outside influences since the Japanese colonialists had declared their island to be a kind of human preserve. To the end of the Japanese colonial period in 1945, they would only have seen Japanese civil servants. Now, Grevot’s boat has made a Taiwan-America return trip.

16 Grevot explains that, usually, there was no deep historical knowledge of those ancestors; most ancestors of importance were a grandparent or great-grandparent. But simultaneously, there was the idea of a unique ancestor in the form of a snake that the Paiwan worshipped. On Grevot’s panel the represented persons communicate with the ancestors by drinking alcohol from double cups. In the south of Taiwan there still exists the tradition that, while drinking a glass of beer, one dips a finger in

says he has reached a level of collecting at which he wants to share his collection with a wider public than just friends and other intimates. The recognition that his pieces are of high quality gives him prestige (status enlargement), and opening his collection to the public, including competing collectors, would also confirm the authenticity of his pieces—and with that, the connoisseurship of their owner. Grevot observed, “It hurts when you’ve paid a lot of money for a piece and it turns out to be a fake” (*ibid.*).

Investment and The Idea of Profit

Economic motives consist of the idea that investment in a collection can eventually be monetized—preferably at a nice profit. Huang Hung-sen too recognizes this motivation. Collectors in his second category—those who trade—can also cooperate with institutions such as museums. Huang gives the example of a collector and professional dealer from whom the museum Taiwan Historica bought old documents and antique furniture for two million NTD in 2009, and another one million NTD in 2010 (pers. com. Huang, Nantou, 2013). This same dealer also lends old documents to scientific researchers who may study them for free, and he lends pieces to the museum for special exhibitions. I suppose that this generosity has an economic motivation, because his compliant relation with the museum facilitates his trading relationships. Wei Te-wen, for example, sold several old maps and picture postcards to the National Taiwan Museum.

In 1994 Paul Overmaat purchased for 3,000 USD an incomplete first edition of Jan Huygen van Linschoten’s *Itinerario* of 1595, a cultural-economic and geographic study that contained many land and sea maps by means of which the Portuguese monopoly in East Asia would be broken. Within a span of three years, Overmaat was able to gather the missing maps for another 35,000 USD (Crook 2012: 57). In 2011 a London antiquarian bookshop asked the equivalent of 275,000 USD for the first English translation of *Itinerario* from 1598, bound in calfskin (Crook 2012: 57). This was much more than the 38,000 USD Overmaat had paid fifteen years previously for the original edition plus the missing maps. After some years in Taipei, Overmaat and his wife began to live three months per year in Shanghai, where they have a second home. He started collecting maps of China by Chinese cartographers, with particular attention to the Shanghai region. Overmaat points at the fact that the (mainland) Chinese market is much more important than the Taiwanese: “I’m a businessman. If

the glass and drips some drops for the ancestors on the ground—comparable to the dripping of kava on the ground at informal Tongan kava parties (Van der Grijp 2014a).

I spend money, I want to spend it wisely” (in Crook 2012: 59). However, he did not entirely give up on his Taiwanese collecting and continued to purchase paintings, books, and maps of Taiwan.

Overmaat’s first two collections mainly concerned Western maps. His decision to focus on Chinese maps led to the sale of his second collection. Focusing on Chinese maps was “much more difficult,” because many had been lost, and there are many fakes.¹⁷ They are expensive, too.¹⁸ Overmaat thinks it curious that Chinese collectors are not yet very active in this market. He considers this an advantage for himself since he still collects actively. He remains a businessman who wants to get good value for his money and to remain alert for fakes. Still, he admits these are not always considered investments, that his purchases within the collecting realm remain impulsive. He thinks about them, but much less than when, for example, he buys shares:

You’ve got to take your chances and be careful that you don’t make it too costly. You also have to be able to say “no.” Then, you might miss the boat, but the same object may return to you for half the price through a different channel. That does sometimes happen, or, for example, once the owner of a certain map offered it to four different antiquarian bookshops. They all approached me with the offer but at different prices. This is how you get to know whom you’re dealing with. Taiwan collections are a small market and aren’t easy to monetize. You can count the serious collectors on two hands, and everyone wants to have one’s cake and eat it. But from a business point of view, I have already recovered my costs. That’s the art of doing business within the collecting realm: you still have something left that actually didn’t cost anything. It’s nice if you can achieve that in a hobby, and you end up with a much better collection. (Pers. com., Taipei, 2014).

At present, Overmaat has maps for sale through a dealer in London. He says he does not have the time or patience to put them on the Internet himself. Such a dealer may buy from him outright for a price that is negotiated, or he may take items on consignment and earn a percentage of the sale. The dealer has to do the work of publicizing the items.

17 Overmaat says, “The Chinese are masters at copying. They do that, for example, also with porcelain. Today, they can copy everything. Moreover, they may use old paper, old ink, and old seals for copies” (pers. com., Taipei, 2014).

18 A manuscript map of ancient Shanghai (now the oldest quarter) bought via Christie’s for example cost him more than 100,000 British pounds (pers. com., Taipei, 2014).

Old printed documents with door gods, one of the collecting interests of Yang Yong-chih, are now ten times as expensive as before, because of the many collectors and museums who compete in the same market.¹⁹ The prices of *ex libris* too are rising. Today, these are often faked in the form of photos.²⁰ The oldest paper turns yellow, but this effect may also be achieved by an application of tea. Some dealers turn their books yellow in this way, but they may also damage them irreversibly.²¹

Nicolas Grevot lived in Taiwan for fifteen years, but one month after our last meeting (in 2008), he moved to Shanghai, following his wife once more. She works for a cohort around the women's magazine *Marie-Claire*, and was transferred from Taiwan to the People's Republic of China. It gave Grevot the impetus to step up his activities:

[My wife] loves her job. There is nothing that has been constructed for me in the long run, except my collection. However, I leave that now behind, apart from the fact that I want to transform that passion into a profession in the form of a new career in mainland China. In so doing I again pick up the thread of business. For my wife that will be a different world too, although she'll continue to speak the same language there. (Pers. com. Grevot, Taipei, 2008).

The largest Taiwanese newspaper published a page-length article—in Chinese—on Grevot's collection. Typical for Taiwan, in his view, is that the newspaper did not include the article in the culture section, but in the economic section, with an emphasis on the collection's financial dimension.²² However, it brought Grevot in touch with several museums, including one that was ready to exhibit his pieces. Two private collectors let him know that they wanted to buy his collection if the price was right. In his move to mainland China he wanted to take some of the Buddha sculptures with him, but not all: "In China, individual rights aren't always respected, and I'll attract attention with a Buddha collection of this size, and may get into

19 In 2008, an image of a door god cost 1,000 NTD, and a pair 4,000 NTD (pers. com. Yang, Taipei, 2008).

20 Also, dealers selling engraved woodblocks used to make prints with them first, and also sell those. Real amateurs recognize the difference because old colored ink is vegetable, whilst chemical ink is used today. Sometimes, Yang recognizes faked pieces in a friend's collection, but he does not dare say anything.

21 This faking technique with tea is also used to make jade look older, and also ivory (Van der Grijp 2009b: Chapter 15).

22 Earlier newspaper articles on Grevot and his collection had been published in *China Post* (Di Genova 2007) and *Taiwan Journal* (Marchant 2008).

trouble” (*ibid.*). He would leave the rest with his wife’s family.

Grevot intended to continue in this field because he would be unemployed in China. He hoped to become a tribal art dealer there. He had long dreamt of making this change, and circumstances were now favorable. Austronesian art constitutes only a small market segment, but he also wanted to add African and Islamic art to his portfolio. He wished to open a shop and also work via the Internet.²³ Grevot had paid too much for certain pieces. He has, he says, “with some foolishness” spent up part of his family’s financial resources. He does not intend to sell those pieces as long as he does not have financial problems. And he is pleased that those pieces are now worth much more than when he bought them. He now has to pay more to obtain similar items. The fact that they would be exhibited in a museum (see below) will raise their value even higher. In the past, he did not have enough money to finance his collecting and felt obliged to always trade a little on the side. He used to sell “less beautiful” pieces to get money to buy better ones. In other words, he already has some experience with the business side of collecting.

Learning and Transmitting Knowledge

The educational motive involves both acquiring knowledge about one’s collectibles, and transmitting that knowledge to others. Wei Te-wen, for example, thinks that written history is “too abstract” and should be accompanied by images. As historians used to say: “Images left, history right” (cited in Teng 2006: 30). The European fascination with East and Southeast Asia would produce major works that exemplified this approach. As Wei explains it, the long history behind that development goes back to the Arabs trading Southeast Asian spices in Europe more than a thousand years ago. When peppercorns became worth their weight in gold, Europeans went off in search of the spice themselves. Marco Polo traveled to China via the Silk Road in the thirteenth century, and his travel account mentions the integration of gold in the decoration of Chinese imperial palaces. This indication of great wealth appealed to the European imagination. By the sixteenth century, the European maritime scope had extended considerably, with the Portuguese sailing to East Africa, India, the Moluccas, Macao, Taiwan, and Japan. They eternalized their discoveries in texts, maps, and (other) representations that are, according to Wei,

23 Grevot’s motivation is as follows: “I’ve already developed this so far that I say to myself: Why not? I go to a new environment and make a new start, like fifteen years ago when I arrived in Taiwan. I’m now almost 43 years of age, and that’s a good moment; not too late, not too early” (pers. com., Taipei, 2008).

much richer and more precise than those from the Ming dynasty (1368-1644). Over several centuries, the publication of maps was forbidden for security reasons. Wei's colleague, the map collector Paul Overmaat, confirms this thesis:

Maps were a military secret. Every time a ship returned from abroad to the United Dutch East Indies Company's home base at the time [in the seventeenth century], they had to immediately hand over their maps. The information in them was highly confidential. The Chinese acted likewise. By then, ...the few manuscripts were a kind of professional secret and state property. Many maps, for example, didn't survive the transition from the Ming to the Qing dynasty, because they were destroyed as state property. (Pers. com. Taipei, 2014).

In his youth, Overmaat collected postal stamps of the Netherlands and Overseas Territories, including Indonesia prior to its independence. However, his real interest at the time concerned the United Dutch East Indian Company, which he learned about in history classes at school. His discovery, at a much older age, of a book published by a Belgian father and son resident in Taiwan, in folio size with reproductions of antiquarian maps of Taiwan and manuscripts dated up to the nineteenth century (Vertente et al. 1991) got him really interested in collecting. He did not know much about what was available on the market, so he used that book as a sort of manual, his "collector's bible." With the exception of manuscripts in the historical archives at The Hague, he could gather almost everything that appeared in that book (pers. com., Taipei, 2014).

Coincidental circumstances play a role too. Overmaat happened to discover the Collingwood Collection in London. In the mid-nineteenth century, Collingwood had made a voyage through the Netherlands Indies (now Indonesia), Malaysia, Hong Kong, Fujian Province, Shanghai and Taiwan, and wrote a book about it. Everywhere he went, Collingwood made watercolors to remind him of what he had seen on his voyage. Overmaat purchased the book together with the fifty-five original watercolors. Next, he came across thirty-five watercolors by an American missionary: "You want to get more of them to make a story around it, and before you know it, you're up to your neck in it" (pers. com., Taipei, 2014). He owns, for example, an atlas of the Dutch East Indies with "fantastic maps" of the harbor area and old town of Batavia (now Jakarta), as large as a tabletop, under the pretext that it constituted the headquarters of the United Dutch East Indies Company and, he adds with a smile, "that's how you get lost" (*ibid.*).

Yang Yong-chih only collects printed matter but not the woodblocks (pers. com., Taipei, 2008). Often, the woodblocks no longer exist because they have been

damaged by insects, or because the printing houses where they were to be found have disappeared. Yang values text as much as illustrations and prefers the presence of both on the prints.²⁴ The tools for making woodblocks were often used by several generations of artisans.²⁵ Yang also posted on the Internet printed matter from a publishing house that stopped operations a century ago. A descendent of the printer, who is almost eighty years of age, recognized the name and the printed matter of his ancestors and got in touch with Yang. This kind of experience motivates Yang to further extend his collection and to publish about the old techniques and texts. *Ex libris*, a key part of Yang's collection, often feature engravings with folkloristic themes. He analyzes these items as expressions of popular culture in his university classes and publications (Yang 2004, 2006, 2009).

It struck Yang long ago that old printed matter from Shanghai and Beijing is more beautiful than that produced in Taiwan. When he went deeper into the topic of Taiwanese prints, he realized that most Taiwanese do not speak about "Taiwanese prints" but about "Chinese prints." Yang collects all sorts of hand-made Taiwanese prints irrespective of subject or period. Around 1945 hand-made prints were replaced by machine-produced ones. Many collectors deem the ordinary (hand-made) prints too "popular" and thus not interesting enough. This also holds true for many old books. Yang's turn to the authenticity of hand-made technology was driven by a considerable degree of nostalgia. He teaches knowledge of those techniques to his architecture and design students so they will be able to create new, original knowledge—a clear educational motive.

We saw that joss money is part of Yang's collection of texts and images printed by woodblocks. Only the first leaf is important here, since joss money is burned in packets whereby only the first page catches fires and smokes and the rest hardly burns, or not at all. The rest is thrown away.²⁶ Through the literature (Hwang 2006;

24 In China, the art of printing started with Buddhist texts, but the Japanese colonization of Taiwan at the end of the nineteenth century saw the introduction of modern printing techniques. This was the same time when Western artists such as Van Gogh and Gauguin developed a passion for Japanese woodblock prints, which were already considered obsolete in Japan itself (Van der Grijp 2009b: Chapter 7).

25 In the Ming period (1368-1644), for example, Chinese artisans were invited in Japanese temples to print Buddhist texts. After death their tools were conserved, without using them. The knowledge has been lost today, but through historical research, as Yang explains, some passionate collectors have been able to reconstruct that knowledge.

26 From a Buddhist perspective, the dead end up in paradise or in hell. In either case they need money to meet their needs. The surviving relatives help them by giving grave gifts of jade or gold or by ritually burning joss money. The latter option has been a popular alternative for the less wealthy

Kuo 2011) I was able to trace another collector of joss money, Chang Yi-ming, who also collects the woodblocks with which the money is printed. Here, I will briefly elaborate on Chang's practice to further illustrate the educational motivations behind collecting.

The old harbor of Zhunan in Miaoli County used to function as a transit place for joss money from (Mainland) China, until local entrepreneurs realized that they could produce it cheaper themselves.²⁷ Chang's collection contains more than 2,000 printing plates, the oldest of which dates from the Ming dynasty (1368-1644). Chang distinguishes three kinds of joss money: (1) "golden money" with a thin layer of gold foil for worshipping deities and bribing highly placed persons so that they can better promote the interests of the donor; (2) "silver money" with tin foil destined for the spirit of the dead and the ancestors in the underworld; (3) "plain paper money" without foil but with various designs used by Buddhist monks and Taoist priests. An example is the *ma-ci-san* (horse, flag and umbrella) that sends the local earth god on far-away missions to protect family members who are far away.

Prior to the spread of medical science, joss money was used to heal wounds and insect bites. The yellow color, for example, came from a curcuma dye that in fact diminishes inflammation. But the old printing presses and natural dyes have been replaced by modern machinery and chemical pigments. The once hand-stuck silver foil is now directly printed in aluminum on the paper.²⁸ The Japanese colonial authorities forbade the burning of joss money in the 1930s, nonetheless Zhunan had forty-seven factories in operation in 1938, and sixty in 1940 in spite of this

ever since Cai Lun (circa 63-121) invented paper. This custom was introduced in Taiwan with the first immigration wave four centuries ago. Taiwanese of Chinese descent also burn paper garments, shoes, cars, television sets, computers and even "paper personnel," to serve the dead in the hereafter. Printed on the money are mainly characters. This confirms the importance of writing in the culture.

27 Historical sources mention seven joss money factories in 1912. These had increased to 47 in 1931; 60 in 1940; and 385 in 1977 (Kuo 2011:32). The demand for this product is considerable. In 2005, for example, during the Ghost Festival, i.e. the fifteenth day of the seventh lunar month, NTD 4 billion in joss money was burned in Kaoshiung. The total yearly earnings for this product in Taiwan are estimated at NTD 80 billion (Hwang 2006:61).

28 Although this more industrial production, as Chang explains, has resulted in reducing production costs by some eighty percent, the burning of chemical dyes generates toxic smoke, with corresponding effects. There is continuity in the use of stylized symbols for fortune, wealth, and longevity, and new types of joss money are also developed, such as "lottery money" that looks like lottery tickets, and money to compensate for deceased politicians' broken promises made during their election campaigns. Replicas of foreign currencies, credit cards, and passports fulfill the role of what Chang calls "parallelism," in this case handy items for the voyages of life after death.

interdiction (Hwang 2006: 64).²⁹ During Chinese ceremonial festivities, one burns incense, offers ritual food, and burns joss money, for example Tai Sui money.³⁰ On the first and fifteenth day of every lunar month, *kaojun* sacrifices are made to roaming spirits, whilst on the second and sixteenth day, *zuoya* sacrifices are made to the earth god in hopes of gaining his blessing in business. Joss money is burned in both cases, but with different aims.

Chang, born in Zhunan in 1953, was not able to continue his studies because of his parents' insufficient financial means. When he turned seventeen, he started working as an apprentice in the bakery of an uncle and after his military service opened his own bakery. In 1978 he saw a Japanese man in an antiquarian shop offer five million NTD for fifteen old woodblocks for printing joss money. Chang succeeded in urging that dealer not to sell those pieces, and himself acquired them later for three million NTD (Kuo 2011: 30). This marked the beginning of his passion around printing and paper items, through which he would make up for missed educational opportunities in his youth. Chang has recently started teaching how to carve stone bricks and the decoration of paper lanterns. Here, we clearly see an educational motive.³¹

Initially, Nicolas Grevot was passionate about hunting out the "good object," negotiating for it, seeing his collection grow, organizing it, and making a web site.³² Although Grevot has been the main actor, he feels it is important to maintain a Taiwanese connection for his collection in the form of his wife's family name, Yang: Thus, it is publicized as the Yang-Grevot Collection. His wife also grew interested in

29 The producers printed false addresses on their money so as not to be traced and prosecuted, although their industry was probably largely ignored, according to Chang. In any case, the continuation of this practice is proof of the force of this cultural tradition.

30 This is named after a god with the same name, Tai Sui, who guards over the favorable progress of the current year. Previously, comparable printed matter with Taoist significance was hung in the central hall of the household. In the Ming period (1368-1644), Tai Sui was represented as an agent of the secret police, portrayed with the typical braids of imperial subjects from Manchuria under the Qing dynasty (1644-1911). During the Japanese period (1895-1945), he whistled his way through life as a Japanese soldier, cap and all, and under the name Tai Shuai.

31 Chang's most recent project (in 2011) was the creation of a "village of bamboo paper" in Zhunan.

32 Grevot had the choice between a printed catalogue and a website. A website, as he argues, is open to the entire world and can be updated at will, and thus is more vivid. He not only shows images on his website, but also describes the origin of his pieces. On a forum one may give one's own opinion. Grevot tries to interest as large a public for Austronesian art as possible through his site, to answer questions, and thus develop a market. In the beginning, this site may help him to show potential clients that he is no longer a dilettante.

the items as Grevot continued to collect.³³ Grevot feels that by choosing this name for his collection he indicates that it transcends a purely national or patriotic interest:

I never would have been able to do this without the support of my wife. I invested a lot of money in it indeed, and she accepted that. Sometimes it was difficult. I also do it for my children. I want to share this knowledge with others through my collection. (Pers. com., Taipei, 2008)

Grevot's children were in 2008 two, five, and eight years old. The oldest started to recognize things and thus become aware of the roots of her own culture: "It is important for her to know that she's French, but also that she's Taiwanese and what that means" (*ibid.*). Here again, we recognize the collector's educational motivation.³⁴

Relations with Museums

At the beginning of this article, I introduced the Director of Collection Management of Taiwan Historica, Huang Hung-sen, and his four kinds of collectors.³⁵ The budget of Taiwan Historica is insufficient, according to Huang, to organize large exhibitions without the help of collectors—including those of the third category who do not trade. Collectors get a form of psychological compensation in return: the satisfaction of their egos when they see their names posted in the museum (pers. com. Huang, Nantou, 2011). During our first meeting in his museum in 2010, Huang showed me several books on specialist themes by collectors competent within their field. Collectors who publish about their collections without outside help are scarce, Huang reported. They not only need to have an important collection and

33 She prefers the pieces of textile in the collection. Although they may be worn by men, they were usually made by women.

34 From the start, Grevot has known that Taiwan had an Austronesian dimension but, at first, in his daily life in Taipei he did not see this. Many Taiwanese, he says, do not want to make their Aboriginal origins known: "They call themselves Chinese or Taiwanese, but will not say that they also have Austronesian blood. Analyses have demonstrated [sic!] that eighty percent of the Taiwanese have Austronesian blood. The Chinese immigrants who arrived here were mainly men. Within a Confucian perspective the male line is respected, but the women also came from somewhere. They were mainly Austronesian women, often from matriarchal societies. When a Han man married an Austronesian woman, she brought the land rights in the marriage" (pers. com. Grevot, Taipei, 2008).

35 For other museum perspectives on private collectors, see Barnes (2014), Crane (2000), Denton (2014), Dudley (2010), Guo (2008), Lin (1995), Pearce (1992, 1995), and Vickers (2009, 2010).

accompanying knowledge, but also the competence to write about it in an academic or quasi-academic way. They need as well a certain level of wealth, since production of this kind of book, with its many pictures, is expensive and normally comes out in a limited edition.³⁶ With the exception of Yang Yong-chih, the collectors in my sample have not published books on their own collections. Wei Te-wen, however, founded his own publishing house and has released editions that overlap with his collecting interests. Moreover, almost all the collectors featured here have participated in museum exhibitions, and some have outright donated portions of their collections to a museum. They have collaborated with museums through gifts, loans, sales, or have even founded a (private) museum.

The prize Wei Te-wen received in 2004 for his publishing activities triggered a number of invitations to participate in exhibitions. In 2005 he lent more than one hundred maps to the exhibition entitled "*Taiwan in Maps*" in the National Taiwan Museum. This constituted more than a third of the exhibited items.³⁷ One year later, he published a book featuring 207 antique maps of Taiwan in the collection of the National Museum of Taiwan History (Lu and Wei 2006). This publication too is an example of collaboration with the museum world.

The sale of Paul Overmaat's first two collections to the same museum in Tainan actually was ninety percent sale and ten percent donation (pers. com. Overmaat, Taipei, 2014). But the museum did not make this public. In these kinds of cases museums prefer to inform the public that the acquisitions are "a gift." With this partial donation Overmaat demonstrated that he is not only concerned with the money, but also has a personal interest in his collection being part of the museum's holdings, and in this way he can return to the community part of the money he earned in Taiwan. Today, Overmaat increasingly wonders what he should do with his collection in the future, because his children, respectively 29 and 30 years of age in 2014, are not really interested in it. Still, he finds it difficult to part with. He did so the second time because he wanted his collecting to take a different turn, into Chinese maps of Shanghai and the rest of China. But the final fate of his present (third) collection, covering Mainland China, Hongkong, and Taiwan, is quite unclear.³⁸

Yang Yong-chih, the collector of woodblock prints, also wonders what to do with his collection in the future. He used to be annoyed by the fact that foreigners

36 Huang Hung-sen gives the example of a collector who published a book on Taiwanese ceramics on his own, which must have cost him about 500,000 NTD. See in this respect also Huang Y.-C. (1997).

37 Paul Overmaat was among the other participants.

38 In 2012, Overmaat's collection included 104 old maps, 45 books, 59 paintings, and 712 prints and photos (Crook 2012).

collect Taiwanese and Chinese things. If he would travel to Paris, London, or New York to visit a big exhibition of a well-known Chinese painter, he would be amazed at how all those artworks came to be outside China. On the other hand he realizes that those works are well conserved in Western museums. Even in the People's Republic of China, such "old things" may not be so well looked after. In Taiwan, Yang thinks, exhibitions are often boring because they are not designed to actively engage the public. Finally, he concludes:

If we don't conserve those things well here, it is good that we leave them to foreigners. Taiwanese, like Mainland Chinese, prefer new things to old ones. You can't make a profit with old things. Old things are only retained in the countryside and in poor urban quarters of Taiwan and China in case people may ever need them, but not in the rich quarters. Fortunately, those old things aren't thrown away everywhere. That's why we're still able to find them. (Pers. com. Yang, Taipei 2008).

Those "old things" can be found on a market, but if there is no demand for them, they would not circulate. It seems that the gift Yang has in mind regarding his collection of printed matter will in the end be one to the free market where both Taiwanese and foreign collectors can take advantage of it.

In 1989 Chang Yi-ming finally gave up his bakery to spend time at divination and at the promotion of joss money as a form of art. He opened a small museum in his former bakery location. In 1995 he organized the first cultural festival in Zhunan with a special exhibition of joss money. This resulted in invitations to curate exhibitions elsewhere in Taiwan, such as for the Ghost Festival in Keelung and a ritual for the god Wangye in Donggang. He also lent pieces to the Center for Traditional Arts in Yilan.

Previous to his emigration to Mainland China in 2008, Nicolas Grevot consigned his collection to the Shih-san-hang Museum of Archaeology in Bali District, New Taipei City. The curator told him that, thanks to his collection, she would have enough material for at least five years of exhibitions. One week after our last meeting, Grevot planned to sign a lending contract. At that point he still had two hundred pieces in his house and fifty already in the museum.

A Configuration of Motivations

The collectors' motivations I distinguish to analyze collecting as a cultural phenomenon come clearly together as a configuration in these case studies. The psychological motivation of ego-enlargement is manifest in Overmaat's seeing

collecting as a challenge, while Nicolas Grevot was clearly gratified to have been among the first collectors of Taiwanese Aboriginal art through the Internet. The complementary psychological motivation of nostalgia is evident in Wei Te-wen's thrill at discovering an old map of a town situated in his native district. The businessman Overmaat chose to live close to the old Dutch fort San Domingo and clearly experienced nostalgia through his finds of authentic material produced by fellow countrymen active in business in the same place several centuries ago. Yang Yong-chih was fascinated by the children's book *The Precious Box* and became an adult collector of woodblock prints that fill much more than a single box. Indeed, his collection refers to a lost time before mass-produced prints using chemical inks began to be cranked out by electric machinery. Nicolas Grevot's Taiwanese tribal art collection seems to be related to his partner choice, which in turn looks back to memories being a French child playing with Polynesian and Chinese children in a tropical lagoon.

The sociological motivation, the augmentation of social status, runs through all these stories. Wei Te-wen preferred not to remain a pharmacist in line with his academic studies, but became a publisher of materials closely related to his collection. He received several prestigious prizes, which enhanced and expanded his status to collecting and museum circles. Paul Overmaat was able to celebrate his fiftieth birthday in the historic Fort San Domingo thanks to the social network derived from his collecting success. He took center stage in Taiwan's museum and map collectors' circles through the special exhibition of his map collection. Yang Yong-chih, still at the beginning of his academic career, developed a special link with people who care for books through the *ex libris* part of his collection; this brought him enhanced social status. Nicolas Grevot seems to be in status competition with his tribal art collecting parents: his own collection had to be more important. The proofs of his success are narrated in vivid stories that illustrate the poetics of collecting.

Economic motivations are clearly illustrated in the accounts our collectors give of selling parts of their collections to Taiwanese museums or to other collectors. Paul Overmaat relates his strategy of partly selling and partly donating to cultivate good relations with museums and give back to the Taiwan community. He also cites his acquisition of a Dutch atlas that fifteen years later a British antiquarian bookshop offered at a considerably larger sum. This is economically keen (and perhaps lucky) collecting. Both Yang Yong-chih and Nicolas Grevot indicate the reasons (increasing interest by collectors and museums) their collectibles are now so much more valuable than before. Grevot had advanced to the point of making a profession of his hobby and becoming a tribal art dealer.

The educational motivations range from educating oneself about the collectibles to reaching the broadest possible public to teaching one's children. Wei Te-wen pursued his by becoming a publisher of historical books related to his collection. Paul Overmaat recounts learning about antique map collecting by taking one book as his model, with the idea to acquire as much of what it included as possible. Yang Yong-chih published several books on his woodblock print collection and integrates knowledge about his collecting themes in his university classes. Chang Yi-ming followed his educational urge by becoming a specialist in the collection of joss money, to the point of even opening a private museum. His knowledge—like that of the other collectors discussed here—comes to the fore in his detailed explanation of the cultural and historical backgrounds of his collectibles. He also gains satisfaction and reaches younger people in the carving and decoration courses he gives. Nicolas Grevot conceives of his collection as an educational instrument for his children so that they will be aware that they are not only French but also Taiwanese, and what it means to be Taiwanese.

Conclusion

According to Plattner (1996), ego-enlargement is a psychological motivation that is satisfied when one's collection is recognized as "good" and "important"—and it thus becomes an extension of the self. I for my part see another complementary psychological dimension in nostalgia—a kind of restoration of a lost world that is made manageable, habitable, and emotionally compelling within a sort of microcosm or time capsule. Often, psychologically or psychoanalytically inspired propositions such as those by Baudrillard (1968, 1994), Muensterberger (1994), and Stewart (1993), tend to reduce collecting to subjective values. They search for a mono-causal explanation and belittle collectors' motives by deeming collecting to be childish behavior.³⁹ Muensterberger dismisses collecting this way: "Collectors share a sense of specialness, of once not having received satisfying love or attention or having been hurt or unfairly treated in infancy, and through their objects they feel reassured, enriched, and notable" (1994: 44). Such negative hypotheses, which see the drive behind collecting as a lack, embody a determinism that is diametrically opposed to my configurational approach to collectors' motivations (Van der Grijp 2006: 14-21).

Sociological motivation may fairly be summarized as a desire to augment one's

39 Baudrillard's collector, in Naomi Schor's lucid evaluation, is "a neurotic unable to cope with the struggles of intersubjectivity" (1994: 257).

social status. Bourdieu demonstrated the direct link between the taste for aesthetics, art and “culture” and social-economic backgrounds (1984: 326), in keeping with Veblen’s analysis of the non-working or only symbolically working leisure class.⁴⁰ I argue that the creation of a serious collection equals—or at least represents—the production of culture. A collection is indeed a social identity marker that provides (in Bourdieu’s terms) cultural capital and augments the social status of the collector.

Collecting can also be, and often is, a form of economic investment. Collectors can sell some of their collectibles, generate a profit, and eventually reinvest this profit in their collection or in other undertakings. In so doing, they can accumulate a reserve of personal capital, and may even go on to become professional dealers (Van der Grijp 2012). The notion of profit is an economic metaphor that can be equally applied to the psychological and sociological drives: in which case, ego-enlargement and the augmentation of social status are also forms of profit, in an economy of passion.

The educational motive⁴¹ also has for many Taiwanese collectors a political dimension. Collecting can emphasize the Taiwanese-ness of material culture and thus confirm a Taiwanese as opposed to a Chinese identity—or may be invoked in contrast to a Japanese, Euro-American, or other ethnicity. Collectors may assume that an increase in knowledge goes hand in hand with the ownership of the objects. According to the collectors I interviewed for this article (and see also Van der Grijp 2006, 2009b, 2012), daily and physical contact with their collectibles is a precondition for gaining such knowledge. As collectors learn about their objects, many become specialists and are motivated to transmit their knowledge to others. Here too, there is a kind of profit: knowledge about one’s collectibles is another dimension of the economy of passion. The configurational approach proposed here implies that in order to describe, understand, and explain collecting as a cultural phenomenon from an anthropological perspective, we should not reduce collectors’ motivations to one, two or three motivations, but rather take all four into account. My four motivational elements (psychological, sociological, economic, and educational) are all processual and should be analyzed in both synchronic and diachronic perspectives—hence the complementary notions of configuration and reconfiguration.

Private collectors’ relations with museums may take the positive form of selling

40 For Veblen, “the occupations of the [leisure] class... have the common economic characteristic of being non-industrial” (1934: 21) and “leisure’... connotes... non-productive consumption of time” (ibid. 46).

41 Previously (Van der Grijp 2006: 13), I labeled this drive the “cognitive motive”. I now prefer the adjective “educational” in order to better distinguish it from the psychological motive.

and/or donating collectibles (Smith Theobald and McCarthy 2011), or participating with one's collection in special exhibitions, or even founding one's own museum (Higonnet 2009). However, it can also take a negative form, when collectors explicitly decline to cooperate with museums. In a recent article complementary to the present one (Van der Grijp 2015), I provide detailed information about (other) collectors' donations to four of Taiwan's major museums. Since the Taiwanese cultural renaissance movement of the 1980s, several Taiwanese collectors have opened private museums. In 2010 there were 646 museums in Taiwan, most of which were private (Fung 2010: 6).⁴² Collectors such as Chang, who open their own museums, demonstrate that Taiwanese culture exists, that it has its own particularity and values, and that it is crucial to show this to the public. Private collectors are not only motivated psychologically, sociologically, economically and educationally, they also have a wish for the immortality of their collections and, with that, of themselves. They are deeply concerned about the survival of particular aspects of Taiwanese material culture.

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42 We may compare this with Mainland China where, as of 2011, official statistics put the total number of museums at 2,571 (Varutti 2014: 1).

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臺灣的私人蒐藏家： 蒐藏動機以及與博物館的關係

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本文從人類學觀點探討蒐藏作為一種文化現象。分析私人蒐藏家的動力時，將之視為具有心理、社會、經濟和教育動機，為進行中的再構造，而非將動機簡化為僅只一種層面。不同的動機組合構成了一個結構上的組合，一種構造，需要理解為過程，一種進行中的再構造。本文第二個關注點是蒐藏家與博物館之間的特別關係。幾乎文中所有的蒐藏家都參與過博物館展示，有些還直接將其蒐藏的一部分捐給博物館。在所有的案例中，他們透過禮物、租借、販賣的方式與博物館合作，甚至成立自己的（私人）博物館。

魏德文有一家南天書局，專門出版他自己國家的歷史，他和生於荷蘭的商人歐福曼（Paul Overmaat）都蒐集臺灣古地圖，並把其中一些捐或賣給博物館。楊永智有古籍約超過一千本、紙錢和木刻版印門神四千件。出生於法國的葛浩博（Nicolas Grevot）蒐集臺灣原住民藝術。案例研究中清楚顯示這些蒐藏家的動機是一種構造（a configuration）。

自我的放大這種心理動機，在歐福曼的例子最清楚，他將蒐藏視為挑戰；葛浩博很高興能成為第一個透過網路的臺灣原住民藝術蒐藏家。另一種互補的心理動機——鄉愁，可見於魏德文發現一張故鄉小鎮老地圖時的激動。商人歐福曼選擇住在前荷蘭人以前居住的安平古堡附近，透過發掘幾世紀前他的國人在同一個地方進行商業活動留下的真實物件，感受鄉愁。楊永智受到一本童書「百寶箱」的吸引而成為一位成人蒐藏家，蒐集在大量製造出現前、已然不再的木板刻畫，塞滿超過一整箱。葛浩博的臺灣原民藝術蒐藏似乎與他的伴侶，以及他兒時與玻里尼西亞人和華人小孩在（大溪地）熱帶礁湖玩耍的記憶有關。

經濟動機也在蒐藏家解釋為何將一部分賣給臺灣的博物館或其他蒐藏家時可見。歐德曼敘述了他部分賣出部分捐贈的策略。楊永智和葛浩博都提及

他們的蒐藏現在比以前更昂貴。葛浩博快要變成部落藝術的經紀人了。

教育動機包括有關蒐藏品的自學，到延伸至更廣的大眾。魏德文成為了與其蒐藏相關的歷史書籍的出版者。歐德曼詳述當初他學習蒐集古地圖時有一本「蒐藏家的聖經」。張益銘藉由成為紙錢的蒐藏專家，甚至還開了間私人博物館，彌補其早年失學。葛浩博將他的蒐藏看成對自己小孩的教育工具，讓他們能知道自己不只是法國人，也是臺灣人，而當個臺灣人的意義為何。

私人蒐藏家不單有心理、社會、經濟和教育動機，他們也希望自己的蒐藏——由是，他們自己——能永垂不朽。他們深刻地關懷臺灣某些物質文化的存續。

關鍵詞：蒐藏，蒐藏家動機，物質文化，博物館，禮物餽贈，臺灣
