

REFOCUS: INDOCHINA AND THE PHILIPPINES

NOVEMBER 1938–AUGUST 1940

After a sixteen-day journey in first class on the exclusive Japanese ocean liner *Asama Maru*, Olov and Ronny arrived in Kobe. After a one-week stopover in Japan, where they travelled to Yokohama and Tokyo to meet the Swedish envoyé Widar Bagge and visit museums, they returned to Kobe, embarked on the SS *Maréchal Joffre* on 17 December and arrived in Saigon ten days later. Unlike their other journeys across the ocean, this passage has left no trace in their archives or publications.

They stayed in Saigon a couple of weeks before they continued to Hanoi, where they arrived on 13 January 1939. Immediately upon arrival, Olov wrote a letter to Elisséeff expressing some concerns. While he was very pleased to report that he had met with Coëdès, who had given “his entire approval of the plans”, and was soon leaving for the Thanh Hoa province to resume work at the Tam-thô kilns, he was worried about the finances:

As I very soon will have to face difficult expenses for the excavations I should be very thankful, if you kindly would send me as soon as possible [...] the funds, which are to be devoted for the excavations of this season.

In a short time, I will send you a longer letter and give you more detailed informations concerning our work.⁶²⁵

625. Letter from O. Janse to S. Elisséeff, 13 January 1939. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940.

A couple of weeks later, Elisséeff responded:

I am looking forward to receiving the long letter you mentioned you were to send me; and I should also like a precise report on your plans for the coming archaeological season to present to the Trustees of the Institute at their meeting on April 10, 1939.⁶²⁶

This is the beginning of an intense correspondence between Janse and Elisséeff where, typically, Janse reports briefly on his doings and asks for transfers of the funding he had been promised, and Elisséeff questions Janse's spending and demands more detailed reports of the work done. On 9 February, Janse wrote:

Dear Professor Elisséeff,

Since more than two weeks, we are now working in the province of Thanh-hoa (Northern Annam), where we already have found interesting things.

The first time, I had to pay visits to the local authorities at the different places, where we have planned to carry out our excavations. As I know many of these authorities, since several years, and always have been in good terms with them, I obtained early their full consentement [sic] to excavate the monuments of which I have spoken to you.

To begin with I decided to continue the explorations of the "Han-kilns at Tam-thô" (ref the Ill. London News, issue of the 12th Nov. 1938). As you know, they are the only kilns of the Han-period, which have ever been methodologically excavated. We have found great many rare specimens. If you desire, I can send you already by mail a collection of samples. There are numerous "doubles", which I think could be used for exchange with different museums.

Furthermore, we have started excavations of Han-tombs, situated in the circonscriptions (phu) of Dong-sôn and Tho-xuân. There are especially two interesting regions, indicated as no XII and XIII on the hereby enclosed map [not kept in the archive, our remark].

626. Letter from S. Elisséeff to O. Janse, 31 January 1939 Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940.

All excavations in these regions have been reserved by the French School for us. I have started the work here near the village of Man-thôn (see map), where there is a large mound containing no less than three important funeral tile-constructions (Han). I have never before observed three such constructions beneath the same mound. We have just cleared (*dégagé*), designed [sic] and measured one of the constructions. Of course we have still to remove a quantity of earth before we can discover the funeral deposits.

We have a third “chantier” in the town of Tanh-hoa [sic], where there are too some very large Han-tombs.

Soon I am going to undertake some preliminary investigations of a locality situated about 10 miles from Thanh-hoa (ville) and where I expect to find kilns from the Song-time, containing specimens of the so-called Thanh-hoa ware.

As the season for excavations is very good now, I would like to enlarge our activities as much as possible and hope soon to receive the funds I need, as I exposed [sic] in my last letter.

I am very busy from early in the morning unto [sic] the sunset, by the organization and the supervision of our works in the fields, but I hope rather soon to able [sic] to send you more detailed reports.⁶²⁷

Janse is clearly trying to please Elisséeff, and abide by his wishes to be informed in detail about their work. But he is not used to such a level of control, and before long he begins to feel mistrusted and diminished. Elisséeff, for his part, is clearly not content with Janse's behaviour, and seems burdened by his responsibility vis-à-vis the Institute's trustees. On 13 March he responds:

In your letter [...] you promised sending some samples of the objects which you have found. I should very much like to have some of them to show our Trustees at their November meeting. I shall also be very glad to have some photographs of the objects

627. Letter from O. Janse to S. Elisséeff, 9 February 1939. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940.

which you consider are the most important and which it will be possible to send here.⁶²⁸

For both Janse and Elisséeff, the expedition was a matter of resources and prestige. For Janse, the number one priority at this point was to have enough financial resources to pursue his work efficiently and in style, so he could make a triumphant homecoming bringing scientific results and collections that would give him prestige and contribute to a safe position in the United States. From what we can read from his letters, Janse seems to have had as a mental template his first successful expedition, when his French patrons and funding institutions trusted him with a big lump of money, he was left alone to make decisions on travelling and work methods, pursued his expedition more or less without metropolitan control, and upon his return rewarded his investors with extraordinary collections and exciting scientific results. For Elisséeff, this was the first major expedition he had backed as Director of the Harvard-Yenching Institute, and he was keen to make it a success. To that end he seems to have been anxious not to be accused of overspending, and was interested in concrete measures of success that could easily be presented to the trustees, such as the value of acquired collections.

In Thanh Hoa Janse and his team wasted no time. For unclear reasons Nguyen Xuan Dong had now left the team as EFEO representative, and a Mr Yen had taken his place as official secretary and draughtsman.⁶²⁹ Over the past two expeditions, Janse had worked closely with Nguyen Xuan Dong, and seems not to have established the same connection with Yen. But Janse maintained the connection with his work team, led by the foreman Soang from Dong Son, whom he had met through Louis Pajot already at the beginning of the first season. When he wrote in his report that Soang was still on the team in the third expedition, Janse referred to him as “my loyal and skillful *cai*”,⁶³⁰ which is short Vietnamese for foreman. This, in combination with Soang’s willingness to be employed as foreman for a third time, signals a strong and trustful relationship

628. Letter from S. Elisséeff to O. Janse, 13 March 1939 Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940.

629. We have not been able to find the full name of Mr Yen. We believe, however, that he is seen to the far left in the photograph of Janse 1941: plate 1; Janse 1947: plate 114. Nguyen Xuan Dong worked later (in 1958) as curator at the Cham Museum in Nhatrang. NAA: Janse 2001-29.

630. Janse 1951:217.

between them. With Mr Yen as secretary and an experienced excavation team led by Soang, they resumed their work at the Tam-thô kilns in the end of January, and almost immediately extended the excavations to a number of Han tomb sites; some in the district of Dong Son,⁶³¹ one at the *Marché aux bestiaux* in Thanh Hoa Town,⁶³² and three more near the village of Man-thôn in the Tho-xuân district. They also did some supplementary investigations at the Dong Son settlement site.⁶³³ As in the previous expedition they worked on several sites simultaneously. And while his team shifted earth to uncover the brick tombs, Janse was constantly on the move searching for more sites to excavate.

Man-thôn

At Man-thôn, located 25 kilometres northwest of Thanh Hoa Town, farmers had encountered a brick construction when planting banana trees on a small mound in their rice field. They reported the find to the local authorities, and when the news reached George Coëdès at EFEO, he reserved the site for Janse to excavate. Janse and his team arrived at Man-thôn on 28 January 1939, and three days later they had done the necessary negotiations and ceremonies with the local community and could start the work.⁶³⁴

Already in his letter to Elisséeff from 9 February, Janse mentioned that they had located and started to excavate a mound covering three brick tombs. But the villagers were not quite at ease with the excavation, and despite negotiations, payments to the landowner, and food offerings to the local shrine, they continued to put pressure on Janse's team to stop the work. "Our work here", writes Janse in his report, "was constantly accompanied by the doleful sound of the temple drums."⁶³⁵ But he per-

631. It is unclear exactly where in the Dong Son district he excavated this time. Reference to this work is found only in a letter to Serge Elisséeff, 9 February 1939. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940. On the map in fig. 128 (Janse 1951:216) there are 9 tombs marked in the Dong Son district, some 5–10 kilometres west of Thanh Hoa Town, which could represent the location of the excavations in January–February 1939.

632. The site at the *Marché aux bestiaux* is referred to as "Tomb of Phú-Co'c" in the report, Janse 1947: plate 67; Janse 1951:154.

633. Janse 1941:8–9; Janse 1958:14.

634. Janse 1951:215.

635. Janse 1951:217.

sisted, employed nightwatchmen, and urged his team to continue with the excavations. It was not long before he had to stop working because he was “gravely stricken by an attack of malaria”.⁶³⁶ One can only guess what the reluctant villagers thought of that coincidence (spiritual vengeance for the disturbance caused by the dig ought to have been what they feared the most), but Janse let Soang and Yen carry on with the work as usual while he remained in bed for a couple of days recovering. The patience and effort he invested in his relations with local communities during his first expedition (remember Long, the dragon at Hoà-chung),⁶³⁷ had now given way to a more restless hunt for untouched sites offering precious objects for retrieval.

The mound at Man-thôn (fig. 54) was unusual in that it contained three brick tombs (normally one mound covered one or two tombs).⁶³⁸ In a letter to Elisséeff written on 17 February, Janse writes enthusiastically that the first tomb is “utmost interesting”:

[T]he funerary deposit is quite untouched and all the objects we have discovered until now are obviously in the same position in which they were placed about two thousand years ago. As you know, the untouched Han-tombs are utmost rare and this find is in many respects quite unic [sic]. Every day we have hundreds of visitors, following our work with much interest.⁶³⁹

Janse’s reports contain beautiful drawings and photographs of the three tombs (Man-thôn 1A–C) in the process of excavation,⁶⁴⁰ along with detailed descriptions and photographs of the finds.⁶⁴¹ The largest of the



Fig. 54. Photo of the mound at Man-thôn before excavation. Written in Olov Janse’s hand on the back: “Print showing the shape of the Han-mounds in the region of Man-thôn (see map). Photo O. Janse, january [sic] 1939.”

⁶³⁶ Janse 1951:217.

⁶³⁷ Janse 1959: chapter 17.

⁶³⁸ Janse 1947: plate 169.

⁶³⁹ Letter from O. Janse to S. Elisséeff, 17 February 1939. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940.

⁶⁴⁰ Janse 1947: plate 114–116; plate 168–169.

⁶⁴¹ Janse 1947: plate 117–123; Janse 1951:215–230.

three vaults was six metres long and over two metres in height. Based on the rather exceptional objects they found inside, which consisted of ceramic and bronze bowls, weapons and tools of bronze and iron, a bronze mirror, a sledge-shaped sword scabbard with jade appliqué, beads, coins, and more, Janse described the grave as belonging to “a military mandarin”.⁶⁴² In the two smaller tombs, 1B which was adjacent to 1A and partly disturbed, and 1C which was located some ten metres from the other two and had been opened before their arrival by Louis Pajot, the finds consisted apart from the usual ceramics and bronze vessels – mostly of coins, beads, and jewellery. A find of split jade rings in Tomb 1C was somewhat remarkable, since such rings were mostly found in the “Indonesian” tombs of Dong Son, and only very rarely in the brick tombs.⁶⁴³ In a later letter to Elisséeff Janse writes that he believes at least one of these tombs was “erected over the remnants of a woman”.⁶⁴⁴ But apart from these remarks, Janse makes no further analysis or interpretation of the tombs at Man-thôn. In his letter to Elisséeff he concludes:

The objects we have found are almost all in good state and some of the bronzes have a smooth, green patina. When we have finished this tomb, I intend to excavate other-ones in the neighbourhood and hope that we there too may find interesting things.⁶⁴⁵

Elisséeff responded, in a letter of 13 March:

I was very much pleased to learn from your letter of February 17th about the Mandarin tomb, and I am waiting with great interest for the photograph of the tomb sword about which you wrote. I hope that it is not an object which will not be permitted to leave Indo-China.⁶⁴⁶

642. Janse 1951:219. See also Letter from O. Janse to S. Elisséeff, 17 February 1939. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940.

643. Janse 1951:228.

644. Letter from O. Janse to S. Elisséeff, 3 March 1939. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940.

645. Letter from O. Janse to S. Elisséeff, 17 February 1939. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940.

646. Letter from S. Elisséeff to O. Janse, 13 March 1939. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940.

Having finished the excavations of the three tombs in Man-thôn, Janse and his team located several more tombs nearby, and excavated one of them. In his report he mentions several more mounds, for instance two near the village of Dan-nê that were referred to as “the eyes of the dragon”, and were so strongly protected by local taboo that he had to give up on excavating them.⁶⁴⁷

Bim Son

At the end of March, when they had finished the work in Man-thôn, in Thanh Hoa Town and at the Tam-thô kiln sites,⁶⁴⁸ they moved the main excavation team north to the district of Hà-Trung near the border to Tonkin, and the site Bim Son. Janse had excavated two brick tombs (1A and 1B) at Bim Son in the second expedition (in the presence of Governor General Jules Brévié, in April 1937), and had reported on the rich and unique finds in an article in *Illustrated London News*.⁶⁴⁹ Now he brought his team back to excavate fourteen more tombs, and apart from a drawing that was left unpublished (fig. 55) the findings were described in great detail in the reports.⁶⁵⁰

But despite all the apparent success with his excavations, Olov Janse was a troubled man. Not only were he and the members of his team struck by malaria, which haunted the area around Bim Son.⁶⁵¹ The Sino-Japanese War came closer to Indochina, with the Japanese invasion of Hainan on 9 February. And the heat was building up with the annual monsoon rains just around the corner. On 3 April he ended his usual report to Elisséeff: “As you see we are still working hard. I am now rather tired.”⁶⁵²

647. There are at least four more sites marked within the area of Man-thôn on the map in Janse 1951:216, and they are likely the ones mentioned in the report as Vuc-Trung and Dan-nê (Janse 1951:229–230).

648. Janse 1947:60–62, plates 138–160; Janse 1951:231–246. It is not quite clear in which of the two expeditions (II and III) the different kiln sites were excavated, but in his preliminary report Janse indicates that they worked on all kiln sites over the course of the second and third expeditions (Janse 1941:254).

649. Janse 1937.

650. Janse 1947: plate 92–113; 1951:187–215.

651. Janse 1951:188; Letter from O. Janse to S. Elisséeff, 27 March 1939. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940.

652. Letter from O. Janse to Elisséeff, 4 March 1939. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940.

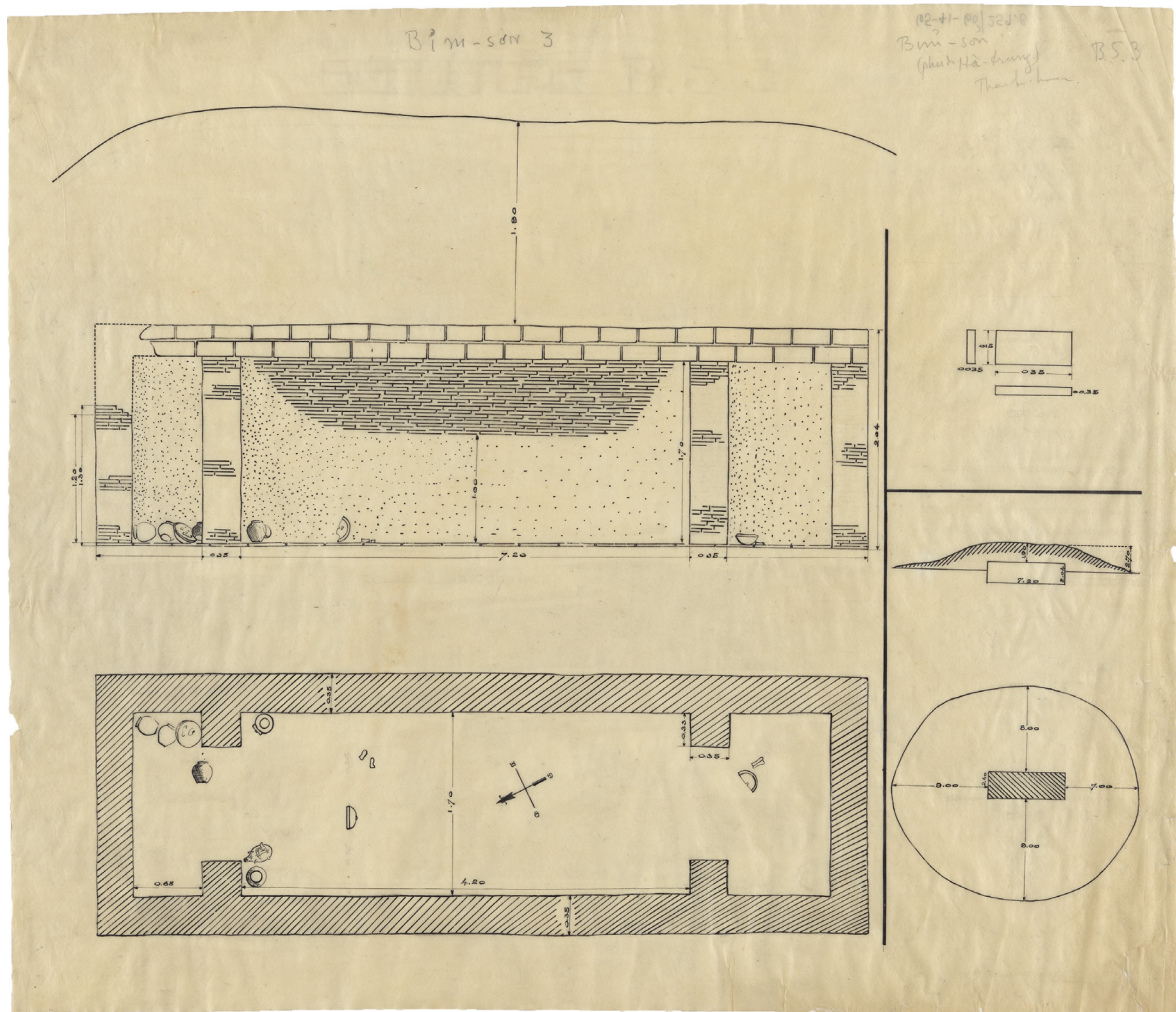
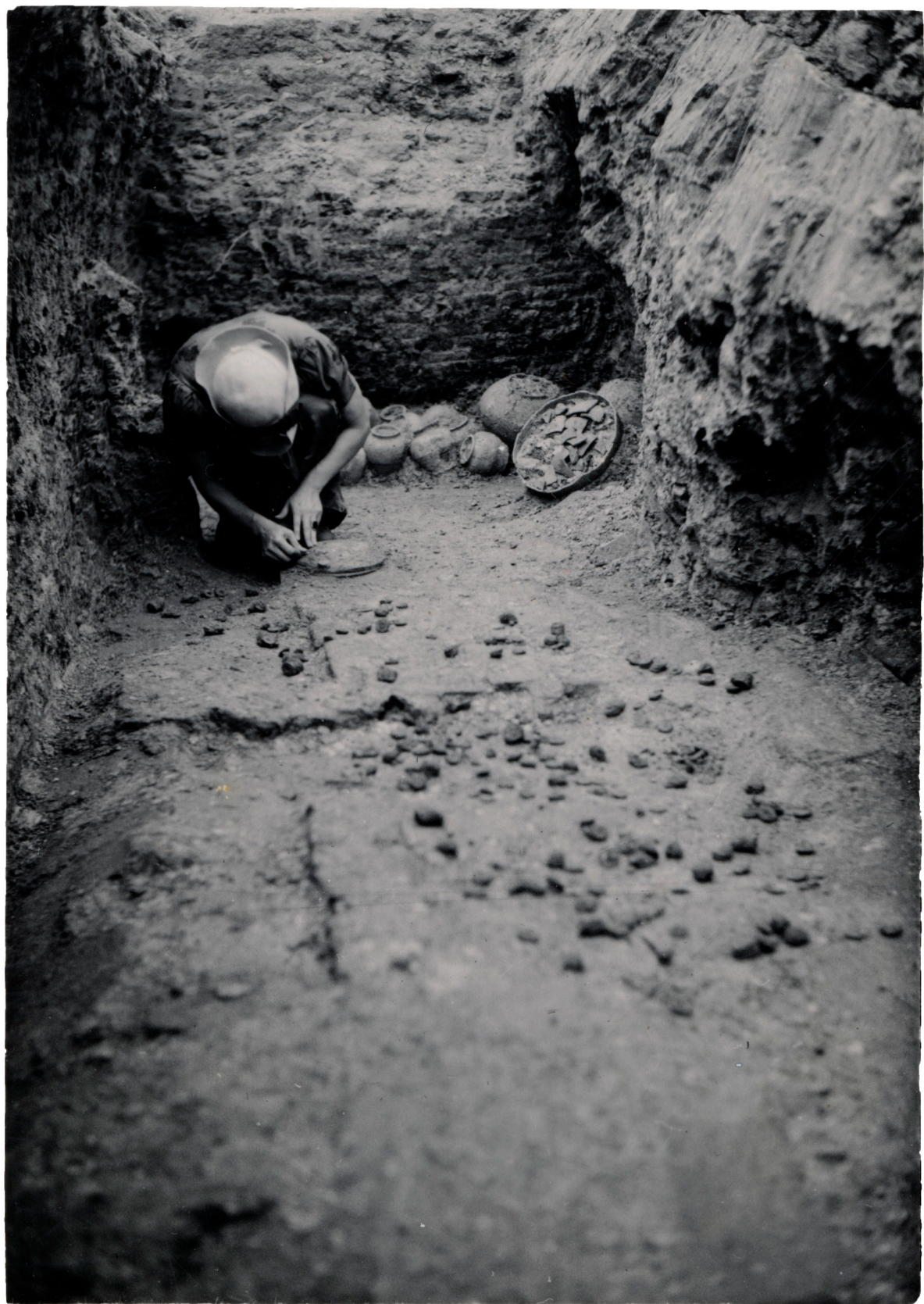


Fig. 55. Cross-section and plan drawing of Bim Son 3, excavated in March 1939.

Fig. 56. Ronny excavating Tomb 7 at Bim Son. In Olov Janse's hand with pencil on the back: "Mme Janse dégageant trois plateau (br.) superposés. Photo O Janse, Mars 1939".



In parallel with the excavations, Janse was also writing lengthy reports on his doings and findings back to Elisséeff, and was asked to account for the funds he had spent. In a letter dated 22 February, he wrote:

It is now about four months since I left U.S. for Indo-China and you may understand that during this time I have had considerable expenses for traveling, fieldwork, salaries etc. As you ask me I give you here a short approximate account as to their expenditure:

Traveling Buffalo-Hanoi for me and my wife (who is acting as secretary and attaché as on earlier expeditions) 1200 \$

An automobile Peugeot 300 \$

Cameras and films 200 \$

Different expenses (gasoline, medicine for the coolies, implements etc) 50 \$

Salaries for my collaborators 150 \$

Salary for O Janse (400 \$ a month from 15 of Nov – 15 of March 1600 \$

Total: 3500 \$

As you already have seen from my last letter, we have found many interesting things and I am sure that this expedition will be of the same success as the earlier ones. [...] P.S: Excuse me not to have type-written this letter but I send you these lines from a place where there is no type-writer.⁶⁵³

A conflict then builds up in their correspondence over the following months. Elisséeff questions, with reference to the Institute trustees, Janse's "excessive travel expenses", and wants to have listed the names of his "collaborators".⁶⁵⁴ The main reason for controversy, however, was the bank account. They had initially agreed that an account should be opened at Banque de l'Indochine in the name of the expedition, and all funding should be transferred to that account. But Janse went ahead and opened an account in his own name instead. For the Harvard-Yenching Institute it was a matter of principle that the account should be registered in the

653. Letter from O. Janse to S. Elisséeff, 17 February 1939. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940.

654. Letter from S. Elisséeff to O. Janse, 13 March 1939. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940.

name of the expedition and not in Janse's own name. But for Janse, who was better acquainted with the administrative system in Indochina, and whose only interest was to have access to the necessary funds to proceed with his work, as swiftly as possible, this caused a lot of trouble. In a letter dated 3 April, he responds to a series of sour-toned letters from Elisséeff concerning the account:

As I mentioned already it is almost impossible to get the Expedition legally registered here. Such a decree i.g. have to be signed by the President of the Republic! When I asked the Bank to establish an account in the name of our Expedition I thought it was a mere formality. But even if the Expedition had been registered legally I could not have touched the money, as I have no legal certificate, stating that I am legally appointed Director of the Expedition and allowed to dispose the money of the account.⁶⁵⁵

The explanation appears to have had effect, and from this point on the funds were transferred directly in Janse's own name. And for the time being, the controversy over his spending had calmed down.

While the team was still at work at Bim Son, Janse himself was on the move, scouring the Thanh Hoa province for more sites to excavate. In a letter to Elisséeff on 26 April, he writes that he has visited "an important Indonesian dwelling-place from the Han time" at the Cau-công site in the Vinh-lôc district,⁶⁵⁶ and made some preliminary investigations of a site from the Song period (960–1279 AD) at Van-trai in the district of Tinh-gia, 40 kilometres south of Thanh Hoa, where he located three tombs from the Song period and one from Tang (618–907 AD).⁶⁵⁷ In the letter he writes that he found and brought with him some ceramics of very good quality, among which was a jar with a floral design, of a kind he had not seen in any American museum.⁶⁵⁸ Like the excursions he undertook in the previous expeditions to kitchen-midden sites from earlier periods, the excavations at Van-trai are difficult to fit into the official

655. Letter from O. Janse to S. Elisséeff, 3 April 1939. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940.

656. Janse 1958:88; Letter from O. Janse to S. Elisséeff, 26 April 1939. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940.

657. Janse 1941:4; Janse 1951:231–233.

658. Letter from O. Janse to S. Elisséeff, 26 April 1939. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940.

overall aim of his research, which was focused on the Han period (206 BC–220 AD). They can rather be seen as attempts to please his patrons and mentors, by showing that he had listened to their advice, and as in this case, by bringing rare and beautiful ceramics home to the collections of the funding institute.

In early May the rains hit Thanh Hoa, and Olov and Ronny returned to Hanoi with Yen. They immediately set about cleaning and restoring their finds at the Musée Louis Finot under the supervision of the museum's technical advisor René Mercier (who can be seen to the upper left in the group photo of the EFEO in fig. 30). Yen was busy completing the excavation drawings, to accompany the objects when they were transported to the United States. Janse writes excitedly to Elisséeff: "work is humming!"⁶⁵⁹ A letter written a little later in the summer demonstrates that the future exhibitions were already on his mind. Somewhat surprisingly, he was keen to emphasize the scientific value of the findings:

I would appreciate very much if the exhibit organized by Harvard-Yenching could get a more scientific character [sic] and that the finds could be displayed together with graphic documents as plans photographs etc., showing the methods of our excavations, tomb constructions, objects in situ, etc.⁶⁶⁰

And he spared no effort to extend the collections. While rainstorms made it difficult to pursue the work in Thanh Hoa, and Mercier continued to work on the cleaning of the finds and Yen on the drawings at the museum, Olov and Ronny left Hanoi in late May for the southern coast of Annam. Janse wrote later in a letter to Elisséeff that they had an incident with the car some 500 miles from Thanh Hoa, which forced them to stay ten days in a seaside location (they presumably made the stop, whether because of car trouble or just a need for a short vacation by the sea, which seems just as likely).⁶⁶¹ After the ten days by the sea they continued to Sa Huynh, which Janse describes in his memoirs as "a beautifully located village

659. Letter from O. Janse to S. Elisséeff, 11 May 1939. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940.

660. Letter from O. Janse to S. Elisséeff, 23 July 1939. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940.

661. Letter from O. Janse to S. Elisséeff, 30 June 1939. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940.

some 250 km north of Nha-trang”.⁶⁶² Among the sand dunes along the coast near the Sa Huynh, there were three sites (Sa Huynh, Phu-khuong, and Trang-long, which are often lumped together and known as “the Sa Huynh pottery complex”) with interesting archaeological finds that were well known and previously excavated by French residents and members of the EFEO.⁶⁶³ Janse wanted to try his luck there as well, and met with the local French and native authorities in Sa Huynh to get their permission to excavate. On the way they had received a message from George Coédès about finds similar to those at Sa Huynh at the coastal site of Chau-rê near Phan-rang, 340 kilometres further south.⁶⁶⁴ And since the weather did not allow them to start the excavations at Sa Huynh straight away, they proceeded south to survey at Chau-rê. But before they reached Chau-rê they were compelled to stop and make a detour to Dalat, in the cooler mountains west of Phan-rang. In a letter some weeks later, Janse writes to Elisséeff:

Just before we came to Phan-rang I had several accesses of high fever and felt very tired, overworked as I was. (Since our arrival to Thanh Hoa I have been working all days even Sundays and holydays [sic], often under very rough conditions). On the advise [sic] of a doctor, we went from Phan-rang to the high mountains in the Langbian plateau near Phan-rang in order to change the climate, which is much more healthier here than on the plain. I am now rapidly recovering and hope to be able to send you soon – according to your wish – a short report for your review.⁶⁶⁵

Dalat was a town built by the colonial administration in the early 1900s, to serve as a mountain sanatorium for the French settlers and functionaries.⁶⁶⁶ The climate on the mountainous Lang Bian plateau was more similar to Europe than the plains and coastal areas of Indochina, and the idea was to save the costs of repatriation for medical reasons by creating a healthy environment for rest and recreation. Hotels and European-style villas were constructed around a lake and a golf course, and there were

⁶⁶². Janse 1959:180.

⁶⁶³. Solheim 1959.

⁶⁶⁴. Letter from O. Janse to S. Elisséeff, 30 June 1939.

⁶⁶⁵. Ibid.

⁶⁶⁶. Jennings 2011:14.

ample opportunities for riding and other sports activities. There were schools and a market where the local mountain tribes gathered, and a new railway station opened in 1938, only a year before Olov and Ronny Janse arrived. Interestingly, the creation of Dalat in the early twentieth century both concurred with and reinforced a French colonial discourse where Indochina was associated with various threats, illness and death, as opposed to the health and longevity represented by the European culture and climate. The historian Eric Jennings writes that the campaigns preceding Dalat's establishment "adroitly channeled a web of fears – of the climate, of mysterious fevers and emaciating digestive disorders, and even of indigenous peoples themselves – to justify a seemingly utopian project: the creation *ex nihilo* of a European health center, or even a French city, high atop the 'uncharted' mountains of Annam".⁶⁶⁷ When Olov and Ronny Janse decided, following the doctor's recommendation, to spend the summer months in Dalat, they acted within this colonial discourse of fear, of the threats and negative impacts that Indochina had on their health. It is not difficult to see how the French image of Dalat as something essentially different from the rest of Indochina was part of the same colonial discourse as Janse's archaeological-cum-ethnographic narratives, maintaining a polarized absolute distance between the modern French and the archaic native cultures (particularly the *moi* – literally "savage" – which was a common designation for the mountain tribes). To be in Indochina was, according to the logic of this discourse, to spend time in primitive prehistory, and this was considered detrimental to the modern European body. Hence Dalat was portrayed as a paradise in the midst of an inferno: a modern haven where everything from the air and temperature, to the schools, villas, and sports activities were "European".⁶⁶⁸

As expected, Olov felt the effect of the cool and healthy mountain air almost immediately on arrival in Dalat, and wrote to Elisséeff that he was rapidly recovering. When he eventually left to proceed with the excavations at Chau-rê, Ronny stayed in Dalat awaiting his return. In a newspaper interview a couple of years later, she said that along with Paris, Dalat was her favourite place on earth: "[it] is the coolest, freshest, and most beautiful spot she has ever seen".⁶⁶⁹

667. Jennings 2011:20.

668. Jennings 2011.

669. Article in *Boston Traveler*, 25 January 1941: (Natalie Gordon), "Our Gracious Ladies".



Fig. 57. Dalat villa, in a photo in Janse's archive.

Fig. 58. Ronny at "Villa Sabine" in Dalat.

Fig. 59. Olov Janse in Dalat, June 1939.





Fig. 60. Photo in the Harvard-Yenching Archives. Written in pencil on the back: “Our first visite [sic] to Châu R’ê near Phan-rang (Annam). From left to right: le Résident de France à Phan-rang, my interpreter, a native chief. Photo O. Janse august 1939.”

After nearly two months on the cool mountain plateau, Olov left Dalat in early August. He travelled the short distance down to the coast and arrived at the site of Chau-rê near Phan-rang on 9 August.⁶⁷⁰ In his memoirs he writes about it under the heading “THE CHAU-RÉ INFERNAL”, and in a letter to Elisséeff he writes:

Never in my life, I have suffered so much from the heat as at Châu R’ê. It is one of the hottest places here in Indo-China. There is no shadow and the [sunlight] “réverbération” is terrible. It is possible to work on the plain only early in the morning and in the afternoon. At the middle of the day there is about 55°C!!⁶⁷¹

670. A chapter of Janse’s memoirs has been devoted to Sa Huynh and Chau-rê (Janse 1959:180–186), but the descriptions there concerning the work procedure do not quite match the detailed information in letters to Elisséeff, and the history of Sa Huynh presented in Solheim 1959.

671. Letter from O. Janse to S. Elisséeff, 14 August 1939. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940.

The site where fragments of Chinese ceramics had been found was located on a sand plain six kilometres from the nearest town, Phan-rang. Janse was accompanied by the French Resident of Phan-rang, an official representing the local Annamite community, and an interpreter (see fig. 60). There is no extensive report on their work at Chau-rê, but it is mentioned briefly in a couple of publications,⁶⁷² and in letters to Elisséeff.⁶⁷³ It appears to have been a very quick operation, just a few days, and they could work only in the earliest hours of the morning and in the evening because of the scorching sun. On the ground they encountered fragments of ceramics and human bone. They opened several trenches in different parts of the plain, where finds had been reported by the local community. In the trenches (two by one metres, and one and a half metres deep), they found ceramics and potsherds of Tang (7th–10th century AD), Song (10th–13th century AD), Ming (14th–17th century AD), and local Cham ware, along with an iron arrowhead and a shouldered stone axe with a zigzag-shaped edge.⁶⁷⁴ In some places they encountered hard blackish soil, which Janse thought were the floors of huts or simple houses. The local community told stories of an ancient temple at the site, but Janse thought that it had rather been a port for trading of Chinese ceramics, established in the Tang period and destroyed by war or natural disaster around AD 1500.⁶⁷⁵ He himself could simply not bear the heat on the sand plain. In his memoirs he concludes:

It was as if the sand was on fire under my feet, and my face was almost burning. I had now had enough of heat and sunlight, and signalled for breakup. Lighthearted, I returned to Phan-rang and proceeded, as soon as I could, to the cool pine forests of Dalat, the wonderfully beautiful, modern summer resort in the mountains, where [Ronny] had retreated during my expeditions [...].⁶⁷⁶

⁶⁷². EFEO 1939:332–333; Janse 1941:255–256, plates 19 (2,3) and 21 (1); Janse 1959:183–186.

⁶⁷³. Letters from O. Janse to S. Elisséeff, 14 August and 17 October 1939. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940.

⁶⁷⁴. Janse 1941: plate 19(3).

⁶⁷⁵. EFEO 1939:332–333; Janse 1941:255–256; Janse 1959:183–186.

⁶⁷⁶. Janse 1959:186. In the Swedish original: “Sanden började liksom glöda under skosulorna och det nästan sved i ansiktet. Jag hade nu fått nog av värme och solljus och gav tecken till uppbrott. Med lätt hjärta återvände jag till Phan-rang och begav mig sedan, så

Having spent another couple of weeks in Dalat, they returned together to Hanoi in early September to monitor the cleaning, documentation, and packing of the finds. Already in July, while they were still in Dalat, Janse had discussed the *partage* of the finds with George Coédès. Coédès was now willing to let all the finds be transported to the United States “in order to show the American public the results of our work”, and Janse suggested to Elisséeff that they should aim for an agreement to have the unique pieces returned to Hanoi and the EFEO after two years. He writes further:

It is my aim to procure for your institute a typical collection as complete as possible of antiquities (Han-Sung), illustrating the old southern Chinese culture, which as you know is not yet represented in the American Museums.⁶⁷⁷

On 6 September Janse wrote to Elisséeff from Hanoi: “If I can finish the packing this month, I expect to start the new excavations in Thanh Hoa already in october [sic].”⁶⁷⁸ Judging from this letter, Olov and Ronny Janse sat comfortably in Hanoi where they supervised the work at the museum and waited for better weather to proceed with their work in Thanh Hoa. The letters to Elisséeff also give the impression that they were planning even further ahead, with excavations of sites related to the Dong Son settlement site at Cau-công in Tonkin, and near Luang Prabang in Laos.⁶⁷⁹

Now, there is a letter in Birger Nerman’s archive in Stockholm, which offers a radically different view of the situation. Dated 17 September 1939 (thus coinciding with the Soviet Red Army’s invasion of East Poland) the letter, which is written in French (probably to avoid being caught by censor on the way), says that they plan to leave Indochina soon to go to the United States, and from there if possible travel to Sweden. The plan was to stop for some time in Hawaii, and Olov asks Birger to repay him

fort sig göra lät, till de svala tallskogarna i Dalat, den underbart vackra, moderna sommarstaden bland bergen, dit [Ronny] hade dragit sig tillbaka under mina expeditioner [...]”.

677. Letter from O. Janse to S. Elisséeff, 23 July 1939. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940.

678. Letter from O. Janse to S. Elisséeff, 6 September 1939. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940.

679. E.g. letters 3 March, 23 July, 27 September 1939. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940.

a previous loan by making a transfer of 150 Swedish crowns to a bank in Honolulu.⁶⁸⁰ The letter ends “À la hâte !” – in haste – and reeks of stress and anxiety. It is likely that Germany’s invasion of Poland on 1 September, which officially marks the beginning of the Second World War in Europe, was affecting them. And a letter sent several months later to Elisséeff explains the situation in Indochina more candidly:

As you remember, we had planned to excavate this winter principally some Han tombs in Tonkin (near the border of Kwangsi), a dwellingsite at Can Công in the Thanh Hoa. However it was not possible for me to excavate this places [sic] by following reasons.

The borderregion of Tonkin is a military zone for the time being and exposed to air-raids. Befor [sic] I left Indo-China not less than about 100 Indo-Chinese peoples had already been killed or injured by Japanese airraids due to “mistakes”. Furthermore the railway region has been already several times attacked from the air and there are many civilians killed and injured. War state, and consequently force majeure. [...]

1. For every voyage from one place to another and for a stay of 24 hours there had to be granted a visa by the local authorities (The very coast is considered a military zone).

2. Restrictions of gasoline and order to civilians to avoid traveling as much as possible.

3. At a moment money could not be transferred from one place to another and finally when permission for transfer was given, the max amount which could be drawn from a bank by one person was only 500 p. monthly (about 120 US Dollars)

4. Telephonic and telegraphic communication were allowed only after special permission.

5. All foreigners who had stayed in Indo-China 6 months or more were to be considered as résidents and submitted to certain regulations.

6. A decree was suddenly issued restricting permits to take photographs and it was also prohibited to export graphic documents as prints, plans, etc, notes, manuscripts. Concerning this

680. Letter from O. Janse to B. Nerman, 17 September 1939. The accuracy of the date is confirmed by a later letter mentioning the first one, dated 2 December 1939. Riksarkivet. Kartong 3. Korrespondens Brev III 1935–1941.

matter, may I mention that e.g. when I made a request to the Gov. Gen. to be granted permission to take with me our prints, plans, notes etc, I did not even receive an answer. It was only after personal “demarches” and thanks to my diplomatic passport that finally I was granted the permission requested.

There were also other circumstances due to the state of war (which I not can mention without indiscretion), which made it practically impossible for me to carry out successfully the investigations I had planned. [...]

The conditions during a state of war changes everything from one day to another and you can not foresee [sic] what is going to happen. [...]⁶⁸¹

Although the Japanese forces did not officially invade Indochina until the end of September 1940, it is clear that the Second Sino-Japanese War (where the Republic of China supported by Germany, the United States, and the Soviet Union, fought with the Japanese Empire from 1937 to 1945, and which after the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941 merged into the Second World War), had serious effects on the lands and people of Indochina already in the autumn of 1939 – so much so, that Olov and Ronny Janse made secret plans for an escape and return to the United States already in September 1939, while at the same time keeping a façade of tranquillity and control in the letters to Elisséeff and the Harvard-Yenching Institute. Nowhere in the published records of the third expedition (the reports, memoirs, or newspaper articles) are the effects of the war on their work and lives mentioned as a major factor in their decision to eventually leave Indochina. Instead there are frequent references to their health (malaria, liver conditions and fevers), and to natural disasters (tropical storms and typhoons which caused serious flooding of the sites they intended to excavate).

However, they did not leave Indochina yet for a while. When storms and flooding (and possibly obstacles owing to the war) prevented them from taking up work at the sites in Thanh Hoa and further north, Olov and Ronny left Hanoi in late September – never to return again – and travelled south along the coast to Sa Huynh, where he had arranged all the necessary permits on his last visit, but had not yet started to excavate.

681. Letter from O. Janse to S. Elisséeff, 12 February 1940. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940.

In his memoirs, Janse writes that the archaeological site at Sa Huynh had been discovered in the 1920s, and had previously been excavated by Henri Parmentier⁶⁸² – Parmentier whom he had met at the visit to Angkor on his first expedition, and who had been quite sceptical to his excavation plans. But the history of Sa Huynh was in fact much more complex. The site, which is located among sand dunes by the coast in central Annam, was found and reported to the EFEO in 1909 by a French official posted in the area. Fourteen years later, the site, where the French official had found large jars containing beads and pottery, was discussed at a meeting at the EFEO, and Monsieur Labarre, a French customs officer at Sa Huynh, was asked to investigate what its current state was. His wife, Madame Labarre, took a vivid interest in the site and began to excavate there with the help of a French physician posted nearby, all under the auspices of the EFEO in Hanoi. Having finished her excavations, and having identified the site at Phu-khuong five kilometres from Sa Huynh through her own surveys, Mme Labarre sent her notes along with the finds to the EFEO in Hanoi, where Henri Parmentier compiled the information in an article that he published in his own name in the *Bulletin of the EFEO* 1924.⁶⁸³ After that, the sites at Sa Huynh were again left without further archaeological investigation for ten years. Meanwhile the local communities took an interest in them, not least because of the many stray finds of beads, which were reportedly sold to Chinese merchants. In 1934, EFEO once again renewed the interest in Sa Huynh and George Cœdès sent Madeleine Colani, a skilled and respected prehistorian, to do further excavations. In her brief account of the excavations published in the *Cahiers of the EFEO*, Colani describes the location of the Sa Huynh site in a passage which qualifies as one of the most poetic and beautiful descriptions of an archaeological site ever written (readers literate in French are advised to read the footnote):

At Sa-huynh in the province of Quang Ngai, the sand dunes reach up to 19 meters in height. The site is situated between a bay and the sea. To the south, there is a small mountain. To the west, the tranquil water of the bay, backdropped by the dark Annamite mountain range. To the east the luminous sea, sometimes pretty, glittering; sometimes tragically dark, upset, menacing. Under our

682. Janse 1959:180.

683. Parmentier 1924; Solheim 1959.

Fig. 61. The Sa Huynh site, with the locations of finds of potsherds and a stone axe marked by arrows in pencil. Photo by Olov Janse 1939.



feet the sand, consisting largely of quartz grains, sparkles by the soft caress of the sun rays.⁶⁸⁴

Knowing the art of amplifying his own contributions, Janse leads the readers of his memoirs and articles to believe that he did the most important excavations of the Sa Huynh site.⁶⁸⁵ But that is far from the truth. Madame Labarre excavated 120 jars in the 1920s and Madeleine Colani 55 jars in 1934, at the Sa Huynh site alone. In addition to that, Madeleine Colani excavated 187 jars at the Phu-khuong site, and some at Trang-long. These extensive excavations can be compared to the 30 or so jars that Janse excavated at Sa Huynh in 1939.⁶⁸⁶ A full report from Janse's excavations was supposed to be published in a fourth report volume of *Archaeological Research in Indo-China*, which was never completed.⁶⁸⁷ In

684. Madeleine Colani 1937, quoted in Solheim 1959:100. In the French original: "Dans la province de Quảng-ngãi, à Sa-huỳnh, la bordure de dunes atteint jusqu'à 19 metres de hauteur. Elle est située entre une baie et la mer. Au Sud, une petit massif rocheux, côte 93. A l'ouest, en bas l'eau tranquille du golfe; au fond, la sombre chaîne annamitique. A l'est la mer lumineuse, tantôt jolie, scintillante, tantôt foncée tragique, courroucée, menaçante. Sous nos pieds, le sable, composé en majeure partie de grains de quartz, brille sous la douce caresse des rayons du soleil."

685. Janse 1941:256–257; Janse 1959:180–183; Janse 1959b.

686. Solheim 1959:100–101.

687. Solheim 1959:100.

a couple of shorter texts,⁶⁸⁸ he describes the essence of his findings and presents photographs of the objects *in situ* during the excavation.⁶⁸⁹ Janse and his team, consisting of local fishermen, excavated six groups of jars, each containing between three and seven jars. The tall earthenware jars, measuring up to 130 centimetres in height, contained traces of bone along with smaller pots and bowls, bronze bells, iron tools, and various kinds of beads. The bases of the large jars had been perforated – like flower pots – and some had flat-based red-slipped earthenware vases – resembling hats – placed on top as lids. Janse thought that the large jars, which were found together in linear groups, had been burial jars from the same period as the Han brick tombs, which had been deposited together in boats placed perpendicular to the shoreline.⁶⁹⁰

All Janse's finds from Sa Huynh were transported to Saigon and Musée Blanchard de la Brosse to be cleaned and repacked for shipment to the United States. In a letter to Elisséeff dated 7 October, he writes that they had already gathered ten cases of finds from Sa Huynh. He writes also that he is very tired because of the heat and humidity, and that he recently suffered another attack of malaria, which he had not quite recovered from. He complains that the funding he has received is not enough to cover an extended period of fieldwork, and says that he has no objection to return earlier to the United States with the fine collections they had gathered, and that, "as a matter of fact, I am very anxious to start the publishing of all the materials we have accumulated".⁶⁹¹ Still there is no mention of the pressure of war, or the fact that they were planning to leave Indochina in the very near future.

A couple of days later they departed from Sa Huynh and travelled south along the coast, via Chau-rê where Janse took the opportunity to gather some more ceramics, to Saigon and Musée Blanchard de la Brosse (now Vietnam History Museum in Ho Chi Minh City), where they set about organizing and packing their finds from the southern provinces. In a letter to Elisséeff, Janse mentions that he has arranged for prints and documents to be sent from Hanoi directly to Harvard. He writes that he is trying to locate all documentation from his previous expeditions

688. Janse 1941:256–257; Janse 1959b

689. Janse 1941: plates 14(1), 15(2).

690. Janse 1941:256–257; Janse 1959b.

691. Letter from O. Janse to S. Elisséeff, 7 October 1939. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940.

in Paris and Stockholm and have them too sent to Harvard, and asks Elisséeff to receive them when they arrive. He ends the letter:

I am sorry, I can not now excavate the site of C  u-Cong, but the country is still flooded and will certainly be so for at least a month or two.

Hastly [sic] and Sincerely yours,
Olov Janse.⁶⁹²

A week later, on 24 October, Olov and Ronny Janse embarked on a French freight ship in Saigon and left Indochina.⁶⁹³ It would take nearly twenty years until Olov returned – then to South Vietnam – and Ronny would never come back again.

The Philippines

After a short stop in Singapore where they stayed in “an excellent hotel” and studied the collections of the Raffles Museum, and a visit to a find place for ceramics in Kota Tinggi (Johore) where they also acquired a reference collection of potsherds which was later given to the Peabody Museum,⁶⁹⁴ they embarked on the Italian liner SS *Conte Verde*⁶⁹⁵ bound for Manila. After a four-day journey across the South China Sea, they arrived in the Philippines on 10 November 1939.

The Philippines is an archipelago of seven thousand islands located some 1,500 kilometres west of Vietnam. Olov and Ronny arrived in the capital city Manila, located on *Luzon* – the largest island, which is also furthest to the north. With the exception of a month-long excursion to

692. Letter from O. Janse to S. Elisséeff, 17 October 1940. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940.

693. Janse 1959:223.

694. Janse 1959:225. See also letter from O. Janse to S. Elisséeff, 39 November 1939. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940.

695. The Italian ocean liner *Conte Verde* had a remarkable history. In September 1937 she collided with the Japanese ocean liner *Asama Maru* in a typhoon near Hong Kong. After months of repairs to both vessels, Olov and Ronny travelled to Kobe on the *Asama Maru* in November 1938. The *Conte Verde* was instead engaged in transportation of Jewish refugees from Germany and Austria to Shanghai. These transports continued through the time when Olov and Ronny travelled with her to Manila, but stopped soon thereafter, in June 1940, when Italy joined the war.

the second largest island, *Mindanao*, and the small volcanic island of *Jolo* in the southern part of the archipelago, they spent the rest of the nine months and did all of their work on Luzon, not far from Manila.

The archipelago was colonized and largely catholicized by Spain from 1521 and was named *Las Islas Filipinas* as a tribute to the Spanish king Philip II. After that it had a complicated colonial history. There were numerous native rebellions and quests for independence, and the Spanish colonizers were also attacked by Dutch, Chinese, Japanese, and British forces during their 333 years of rule.⁶⁹⁶ After the Spanish-American War in 1898, and the Philippine-American War in 1899, the United States pursued a quasi-colonial policy in the Philippines until its formal independence in 1946.⁶⁹⁷ Hence it was almost at the end of the period of US intervention, that Olov and Ronny Janse arrived. Manuel L. Quezon had been President since 1935, and there was a transitional government known as the *Commonwealth of the Philippines*, with the mission to prepare the country for full independence. But the influence and military presence of the United States was considerable.

After their arrival, Olov and Ronny stayed six weeks in and around Manila. They immediately got in touch with the American collector, anthropologist, and autodidact archaeologist Henry Otley Beyer (1883–1966). Beyer had first arrived in the Philippines in 1905 as a twenty-two-year-old chemistry and geology graduate on a mission to do an ethnological survey in the Ifugao province. After a brief sojourn back in the United States with one year of graduate education in anthropology, he returned to the Philippines where he married a fifteen-year-old native girl from Ifugao and settled in Manila for good. In a personal and beautifully written obituary of Beyer, his younger colleague Bill Solheim describes a rather eccentric man and devoted collector of Philippiniana. In 1926 Beyer began to collect tektites (molten debris from meteorites resembling black glass) and archaeological artefacts.⁶⁹⁸ He built relations with communities all over the archipelago and paid them to collect artefacts for him. Over the decades he formed an outstanding private collection, along with an extensive library containing important literature on the Philippines. Reportedly, his collection of tektites was the largest in the world. Scholars and students came on pilgrimage to his Museum and Institute

696. E.g. Francia 2010.

697. Wolff 1961.

698. Byrne 2004:21, see also chapter 7.

of Archaeology and Ethnology in Manila to study books and artefacts, and “when distinguished or renowned guests of the Philippines had some leisure time, the governor general would turn them over to Beyer for some education on the Philippines”.⁶⁹⁹ But Beyer was also a controlling character, and did not like competition. According to Solheim, he had more or less monopoly on Philippine archaeology up until 1950.⁷⁰⁰ He would never let anyone study his collections in his absence, and he published very little. Anyone interested in his knowledge and collections had to come to him and listen, on his terms.⁷⁰¹

The first sign that Olov Janse had taken any interest in the Philippines is a letter that he sent to Otley Beyer from Hawaii in February 1938, on their way to the United States after the second expedition. That letter has been lost, but Beyer’s response is kept in Janse’s archive.⁷⁰² From the response we can tell that Janse wrote to Beyer to ask about finds of Bronze Age type, similar to the artefacts he had found at Dong Son. Beyer had published an article in a weekly magazine about some bronze objects found in the Philippines, which Janse had seen.⁷⁰³ Beyer responded, thoroughly and amicably, that the bronze he had found in the Philippines was more similar to bronzes found in Hong Kong. But he had heard much about Janse’s work from Madeleine Colani, Paul Lévy, and the other colleagues at the EFEO, and he was very interested in his finds of ceramic kilns in Thanh Hoa, with a ware resembling some of the ceramics he had collected in the Philippines.⁷⁰⁴ That ended the letter, and there is no sign of any continued correspondence until Janse decided to go to the Philippines in 1939. In a letter to Elisséeff while he was still excavating at Sa Huynh, Janse writes that he has “seen from the Philippine Magazine some similar objects have been found recently in the Ph. I.”, and that he “would like very much when I return to U.S., to go by the way of the Ph. I. and study – from comparative point of view – the collections made there and even visite [sic] if possible, the places where the finds have been made”.⁷⁰⁵ But apart from those few notes, there is nothing suggesting that

699. Solheim 1969:3.

700. Solheim 1969:1, see also Hutterer 1987:238–239.

701. Solheim 1969:3.

702. Letter from H. Otley Beyer to Olov Janse, 26 July 1938, NAA: Janse 2001-29.

703. *Philippine Magazine* 1935, vol. 33, pp. 482ff., mentioned in Janse 1941:257; Janse 1959:223.

704. Letter from Beyer to Janse, 26 July 1938; *ibid.*

705. Letter from O. Janse to S. Elisséeff, 10 October 1939. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940.

Janse's sudden interest in the Philippines was based primarily on scholarly interest. Rather, it seems like a decision largely based on political circumstances, with the war getting closer in Indochina, and the Philippines being under US army protection.⁷⁰⁶

Twelve days after their arrival, the *Manila Bulletin* newspaper published an article with the title "Antiquity of Philippine Civilization Is Surprise to Visiting Archeologist". It says that Olov and Ronny planned to stay two weeks in the Philippines, for comparative studies to complement their investigations in Indochina. Olov is quoted:

Before I leave for the United States I will devote most of my time here to a study of the antiquities found in the Philippines which are of very great interest to me, especially from a comparative point of view. I am grateful to Prof. Otley Beyer for his kindness in showing me his important collections. May I add that this collection was for me a real revelation, as it shows obviously that the Philippines was once in the remotest times a cross road of different cultural currents [...]. When the scientific collecting activities started here some decades ago, our knowledge about the pre-history of the Philippines could be contained in a few pages. Today, thanks specially to the skillful work of Prof. Otley Beyer, there could be written passionate chapters and even whole volumes on the marvelous past of this country.⁷⁰⁷

With the courtesy and a sense of grandeur which can be recognized from his earlier encounters with the press, Janse gives praise to Otley Beyer, his "important" collections, and the "marvelous past" of the Philippines. But in reality, his relation to Beyer was far from frictionless. In his memoirs Janse describes how Beyer – whom he there refers to as a mere "collector of antiquities" – initially was very reluctant to let him see the bronze objects – particularly some axes – that he had come to study.⁷⁰⁸ After a couple of futile attempts in Beyer's Museum and Institute in Manila, Janse asked him to come on a weekend visit to the Batangas province on Luzon, south of Manila, and see the sites where the bronze axes were said

⁷⁰⁶. Which is also indicated by a reference to the war situation in Janse's memoirs (1959:222).

⁷⁰⁷. Article in *Manila Bulletin*, 22 November 1939: "Antiquity of Philippine Civilization Is Surprise to Visiting Archeologist".

⁷⁰⁸. Janse 1959:225.

Fig. 62. Lunch at a fish restaurant on the Taal lake, southern Luzon. From left to right: "Pap", Otley Beyer (in black tie), Everett D. Hester, and Ronny Janse.



Fig. 63. Otley Beyer and Ronny Janse (both smoking cigars), with a man who may be Beyer's informant Esteban to the left, on the weekend study trip in Batangas, southern Luzon, November 1939.



to have been found. Beyer agreed, and brought his friend E. D. Hester along with him on the trip.⁷⁰⁹

Evelt Dorell Hester was in the Philippines as an economic adviser to the US High Commissioner between 1930 and 1945. During this time, he collected ceramics on Luzon together with Otley Beyer, and built up a considerable collection in his own name.⁷¹⁰ Janse refers to Hester as an “eager amateur archaeologist” and “Beyer’s special friend”.⁷¹¹

In Batangas, near the village of Mulasvin, Beyer and his local informant Esteban indicated some sites where the bronze axes were supposed to have been found. Janse, who could not see any cultural layers or other indications of archaeological sites, was not convinced. Upon their return to Manila, Beyer eventually made the bronze axes available for Janse to study. In his report and memoirs he writes that they looked just like the bronze artefacts they had found at Dong Son.⁷¹² But Beyer avoided Janse’s questions about the circumstances in which they had been found. When Janse insisted (backed up by President Quezon himself, as we shall soon learn more about), Beyer gave him instructions to go look for the sites himself, with the help of local authorities and informants. But the instructions led Janse round in circles, and it soon dawned on him that Beyer was in conspiracy with the local informants to keep secret the places where they had made the finds.⁷¹³ Janse was not happy about this, of course, and wrote in his preliminary report that the objects were “said to have been found in the province of Batangas” and were “purchased by Dr. Beyer”.⁷¹⁴ In another article written for the Smithsonian Institution, he wrote: “no records have been kept concerning the circumstances under which the objects were found, their documentary value is considerably weakened and they are partly to be regarded as curiosities”,⁷¹⁵ implying that he himself worked with proper scientific methods while Beyer lacked scientific rigour and only purchased objects – curiosities – for his own collections. This is not an entirely fair description; even if Beyer never published a detailed site report and appears to have been uninterested in stratigraphy, find contexts, and other rudimentary archaeological excavation

709. Janse 1959:229.

710. Evangelista 1969:101–102; Dutton 1999:233.

711. Janse 1959:229.

712. Janse 1941:257–258; Janse 1959:230–232.

713. Janse 1959:230–232.

714. Janse 1941:257–258.

715. Janse 1946:345.

methods,⁷¹⁶ Janse could in all honesty not be described as representing the opposite end of the spectrum. Even though he was trained in archaeological excavation methodology and produced detailed drawings of some of the sites he excavated, Janse was, just like Beyer, primarily interested in typological, distributional, and comparative studies of artefacts. And for both of them, the ethnographic study and knowledge of living “primitive” tribes was part of the same conceptual package as the study of prehistoric movements and contacts between people. However, Janse’s insinuation did not amuse Beyer, who wrote an equally sour remark in a publication some years later.⁷¹⁷ Bill Solheim brings up their controversy as an example in his obituary of Beyer, where he writes:

Beyer had many a good chuckle in telling us about [his local foreman] Esteban and in surmising the “wild goose chases” that he must have taken Janse on in concealing from the archaeologist the true localities of the various finds that had been made. [...] Beyer had the information, in many cases, but didn’t want anyone else bothering “his” sites.⁷¹⁸

Solheim, who knew Beyer well, and later became a good friend of Janse’s, writes further on in his obituary that he considers “Beyer’s secretive disposition an undesirable personality trait, the trait of a fanatic collector, who did not wish to share his collection”.⁷¹⁹ Indeed, it is not a very likeable character that stands out from these letters and publications. But from an altogether different angle, and with the benefit of hindsight, we can also see that Beyer’s “fanatic” control saved many archaeological artefacts and ethnographic objects from being divided up between the United States and other museum superpowers of the early twentieth century, so that they now remain in the Philippines.⁷²⁰ And one should perhaps not be so sure that he acted purely out of personal greed or fanaticism. It may

716. Solheim 1969; Hutterer 1987:239.

717. Beyer 1949:13–14.

718. Solheim 1969:5.

719. Solheim 1969:8.

720. Although, says the processually oriented anthropologist and archaeologist Karl Hutterer in an overview of Philippine archaeology, most of the collection was reportedly destroyed in the war, or dispersed after Beyer’s death, and most of the remaining parts lacked scientific value because there was no documentation of their provenance (Hutterer 1987:239).

very well have been a way to protect the land he loved and had devoted his life to.⁷²¹

Another interesting fact revealed in the Beyer–Janse controversy, is the lack of a national institution or system for the control of antiquities and heritage sites in the Philippines. It is noteworthy that one individual was allowed, as late as 1950, with the government’s consent, to control sites and artefacts in an entire country.⁷²² And the control was not only for himself, but he also had the right – on a whim and according to personal taste – to decide on which other individuals were allowed or not allowed to collect artefacts (the eager amateur Hester – yes; the trained archaeologist Janse – no). In an article he wrote for the Smithsonian Institution on the work he did in the Philippines, Janse also refers to the lack of institutionalized control as a problem, and presented the EFEO as an excellent model worth taking after. As a final punch at Beyer (whose first name he, coincidentally or not, consistently misspelled as Othley or Ottley in all his publications), Janse writes:

[O]ne of the most effective means of furthering archaeological research in the Philippines would certainly be the creation of a national board of archaeological survey [...] directing and sponsoring scientifically conducted excavations and research, and [...] recommending appropriate legislation prohibiting uncontrolled digging in ancient graves and dwelling sites, which generally are of little if any, benefit to archaeological science. May it also be suggested that adequate reports on excavations already carried out should be published, as well as descriptions of existing public and private collections of antiquities found in Philippine soil.⁷²³

Knowing what we now know about Janse’s own excavations in Indochina – rushed and museum-piece-focused, not rarely without proper documentation of stratigraphy or find contexts – one can ask if he was really in a position to deliver such blows, which everyone with the slightest

721. See Byrne 2014: chapter 7 for a beautiful account of the complicated entangled ethics of archaeology, looting and collecting, centering on Otley Beyer and the Philippines.

722. See a more detailed account of the history of archaeology in the Philippines in Evangelista 1969; Hutterer 1987; Byrne 2014: chapter 7.

723. Janse 1946:345, 355.

knowledge of Philippine archaeology would know were aimed straight at Beyer. But that was the position he took vis-à-vis Beyer.

Back in Manila he had been cunning enough not to put all his eggs in Beyer's basket. As soon as he and Ronny arrived in early November, he telephoned the French Consul Gaston Willoquet. Willoquet did not only serve as French Ambassador to the Philippines between 1946 and 1949, he was also a keen amateur historian and later authored a book on Philippine history.⁷²⁴ He offered to contact president Manuel Quezon and demand an audience on Janse's behalf. On Willoquet's recommendation they also moved from the "gloomy Spanish hotel" where they had stayed the first nights, to the "happy 'Restaurant de Paris'", where they got "two excellent, comfortable rooms with a beautiful view over the Manila Bay".⁷²⁵ The Restaurant de Paris was located on the seafront avenue in the elegant Eremita district and owned by the American Gladys Savary and her French husband André. It was quite a party place, had its own French chef, and was advertised as "Manila's smartest restaurant".⁷²⁶ In a book featuring Gladys Savary and three other American women in the Philippines during the Second World War, Theresa Kaminski describes the interior of the restaurant:

The cocktail lounge was decorated in red, with the dining area made into a "tropical copy" of a Paris restaurant the Savarys particularly admired. Menus from different French restaurants, along with French prints, adorned the walls, banquettes provided comfortable seating, and a large Provençal-style sideboard displayed an eclectic collection of carvings and porcelains. The terrace, with its spectacular view of Manila Bay and Dewey Boulevard, offered open-air dining.⁷²⁷

Janse writes that the Restaurant de Paris was a meeting place for the French community, and that they soon formed "a cosy coterie".⁷²⁸

724. Willoquet 1961.

725. Janse 1959:227. In the Swedish original: "det dystra, spanska hotellet till det glada 'Restaurant de Paris', där vi fick två utmärkta, bekväma rum med vacker utsikt över Manilabukten".

726. Kaminski 2016.

727. Kaminski 2016:28.

728. Janse 1959:227. In the Swedish original: "Ett gemytligt koteri".

Once settled at the Restaurant de Paris, Willoquet had arranged for them to meet the chairman of the chamber of commerce, Maxime Lévy Hermanos. In his memoirs Janse writes that it turned out they had already met him back in Paris, so it was a joyous reunion. Lévy Hermanos in turn introduced Janse to his friend Don Jacobo Zobel, owner of the large Hacienda Calatagan in Batangas, who had encountered several ancient burial sites on the grounds of his estate.⁷²⁹

This demonstrates some of Janse's strength – unusual perhaps for an academic, but a key asset for an archaeologist moving so boldly between national contexts in the 1930s. Only days after their arrival in Manila, he had already established connections with important actors in the highest strata of society, connections which were reinforced by his previous networks of cosmopolitan highfliers, and were facilitated by his and Ronny's eagerness to socialize and take part in cosy coteries. Ronny played a key role in this part of their work. She maintained connections with the wives, the female parts of these networks which were of great importance, but often invisible in official reports.⁷³⁰ Ronny Janse was not only beautiful and impeccably dressed, as was expected of her as a wife. She was also bright and interesting, knew several languages, and had many stories of her own to tell. Together they made a perfect team in this socializing and networking part of their enterprise. By quickly forming networks when they arrived in a new place, their work was also less vulnerable to setbacks with single individuals, such as the frustrated relation with Otleý Beyer.

When Lévy Hermanos introduced Janse to Jacobo Zobel, who happened to be in Manila at the time, he was very positive to the idea of an excavation, and invited Olov and Ronny to the Hacienda Calatagan for a quick survey over the weekend. Jacobo Zobel, whose full name was Jacobo Santiago Zóbel de Ayala y Róxas (1902–1971) was born in the sixth generation of the wealthy and influential Roxas-de Ayala-Zobel clan. Together with his brother and sister he had inherited the 10,000-hectare Hacienda Calatagan from their grandmother in 1930.⁷³¹

729. Janse 1959:226–228.

730. An exception in Manila is Maxime Lévy Hermanos's mother Berthe Lévy Hermanos, who is mentioned in the acknowledgements in Janse 1944:38.

731. The Hacienda (now Hacienda Bigaa) has been kept in the Zobel family until this day. Historical information about Jacobo Zobel is taken from the blogs *Remembrance of Things Awry*: <https://remembranceofthingsawry.wordpress.com/2010/12/05/mythic-creatures-mercedes-zobel-roxas-de-mcmicking/> and *Architecture Manila* <http://arquitectura-manila.blogspot.se/p/am-shorts.html>

When the weekend came, they travelled together with Don Jacobo the 100 kilometres south to Calatagan in the Batangas province. Upon arrival, Ronny and Olov were installed in one of the comfortable guest rooms on the second floor of the estate's "clubhouse", and on the next day they were taken out to one of the sites by Don Jacobo and the estate manager Antonio Pertierra. The site, which Janse calls *Penagpatayan*⁷³² or *Pinagpatayan*⁷³³ – literally "the massacre field" – was located a couple of kilometres west of the clubhouse, on a large and flat hill with gently sloping sides overlooking a distant mountain range. They had found pottery in the process of constructing an airfield there in 1934, and the finds had been given to the National Museum in Manila.⁷³⁴ In a quick test excavation Janse immediately found ceramics from the early Ming period (14th–15th century AD), which was exactly what he had hoped for.

Ceramics of the early Ming period were particularly interesting, simply because they were so rare. During the early Ming, the emperor Hung-wu had banned the use of ceramics in funerary deposits all over the Chinese Empire. And since archaeologists mostly encountered ceramics, particularly whole and fine pieces, in graves, this was a part of the Chinese ceramic tradition they knew little about and had very few collections from. Now, the Philippines had been involved in trade with the Chinese empire during the early Ming, but did not abide by its laws. Hence in the Philippines there were graves containing early Ming ceramics, and it was these that they had now found at Calatagan. In an article Janse writes:

Even though the wares exported were not always of the highest quality, they nevertheless are of great documentary value. With the aim of filling some gaps in our knowledge of early Ming ceramics and their use for funerary purposes in the Philippines, the writer during several months in 1940 made systematic excavations in various parts of the Philippines.⁷³⁵

Well, in fact, they did almost all of the excavations at the estate of Hacienda Calatagan. At the first weekend survey in December 1939 they

732. Janse 1946:348; Janse 1959:227.

733. Janse 1941:258; Janse 1944:37.

734. Letter from O. Janse to S. Elisséeff, 21 May 1940. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940.

735. Janse 1946:348.

identified two more possible burial sites of interest; *Pulong Bacao*⁷³⁶ and *Kay* (or *Panday*) *Tomas*, and some caves which they never excavated. And before they left Hacienda Calatagan at the end of the successful weekend, they had made plans with Don Jacobo to return later for more extensive excavations.⁷³⁷

Back in Manila, two messages waited for Janse at the Restaurant de Paris. One was from Sweden with the news that Olov's father Thure Janse had died in his home in Norrköping. He was 75 years old and had been weak for many years. The outbreak of the Second World War with Germany's invasion of Poland in September meant the last straw. Olle wrote later in a letter to Ture and Nora Nerman: "Dad enjoyed life in his healthy days, but the world's destruction, hatred and lies weighed his spirit down, and his strength failed him."⁷³⁸ The news about his father's death obviously affected Olov, who took some days off from work. In a letter to Birger Nerman six months later, he writes that it "has been bitter days for us here, especially since we at a time like this were so far from the old home".⁷³⁹ But there was not much they could do. They were stuck in the Philippines with no tickets to get them to the United States, let alone to Europe where there was full-blown war.

The other message was all the more positive. Gaston Willoquet, the French Consul, had managed to arrange for an audience not only with President Quezon, but also with the US High Commissioner Francis Bowes Sayre. The High Commissioner, who was President Roosevelt's personal representative to the Commonwealth (and also happened to be professor at Harvard Law School, and his daughter Eleanor was an art historian involved in the Fogg Museum),⁷⁴⁰ received Janse accompanied

736. Janse 1944:38; Janse 1946:349; Also referred to as *Pulo Bacao* (Janse 1941:258) and *Poulong Bacao* (Janse 1959:237).

737. Janse 1959:228.

738. In the Swedish original: "I sina friska dagar gladde sig Pappa åt livet men världens förstörelse, hat och lögn nedstämde så hans sinne att krafterna ej längre stod bi." Letter from O. Janse to T. and N. Nerman, 27 June 1940.

739. Letter from Olov Janse to Birger Nerman, 2 December 1939. Riksarkivet. Kartong 3. Korrespondens Brev III 1935–1941. In the Swedish original: "Som Ni väl förstå har det varit bittra dagar här för oss allra hälst vi vid ett dyl. tillfälle befann oss så långt borta från det gamla hemmet."

740. Letter from O. Janse to S. Elisséeff, 30 November 1939. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940. See also Oral history interview with Eleanor Sayre, 19 April 1993–10 January 1997, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian

by Willoquet, listened to his plans, and promised to do what he could to facilitate the expedition.⁷⁴¹

The meeting with President Quezon is described in some detail in Janse's memoirs. The President received Janse and Willoquet in the "gloomy" Malacañang Palace, which was originally built as a Spanish country house in 1750, and had been the President's official residence since the beginning of the Commonwealth period in 1935. As the first president of the Commonwealth, Manuel L. Quezon was the first Filipino resident of the palace, where he welcomed Janse and Willoquet, with a smile, in December 1939. Describing his plans for the President, Janse also seized the opportunity to "make some hints at certain difficulties in organizing systematic archaeological excavations, when the Philippines lacked an office to authorize, survey, and promote heritage management".⁷⁴² Quezon sat back in his armchair, and seemed to reflect for a moment on what he had just heard. After a short while he turned to Janse with a number of questions suggesting that this was something he had already considered, and asked Janse if he could not, while he was in the Philippines, write a proposal for the creation of a new national institute similar to the EFEO in Hanoi.⁷⁴³ Quezon promised to provide the necessary means to pursue this work, and moreover promised to support Janse's excavation plans in Batangas with the necessary permits and a travel grant.⁷⁴⁴

It was now clear that they would stay in the Philippines much longer than the two weeks they had first planned. They had initially had plans to return to Indochina,⁷⁴⁵ but the war situation was getting worse there. The prolonged stay was also partly owing to the opportunity to excavate

Institution, at <https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/interviews/oral-history-interview-eleanor-sayre-13089>, accessed 16 May 2018.

741. Janse 1959:228.

742. Janse 1959:228. In the Swedish original: "gjort en del anspelningar på vissa svårigheter att organisera systematiska arkeologiska utgrävningar, då Filippinerna saknade ett ämbete med befogenhet att övervaka och befrämja fornminnesvården."

743. According to Janse's memoirs, he submitted a draft proposal to President Quezon along with a report of their excavations before his departure in August 1940 (Janse 1959:241), but there is no copy or record of this proposal in any of the archives we have researched.

744. Janse 1959:228–229; Letter from O. Janse to S. Elisséeff, 20 December 1939. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940.

745. E.g. letter from O. Janse to S. Elisséeff, 1 May 1940. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940.

the early Ming graves at Hacienda Calatagan, and President Quezon's invitation to formulate plans for a new Philippine institute. But it was further owing to the fact that they could not get any boat tickets. The war with Japan was literally around the corner, and there were many people looking to escape the Philippines. Passenger ships bound for the United States were fully booked months in advance, and they had to wait around and hope for a gap to appear.⁷⁴⁶

As part of the task of formulating plans for a new institute, Olov did a month-long tour with the small passenger ship SS *Elcano* to the large Mindanao island and the smaller Basilan and Jolo islands in the Sulu archipelago in the southern part of the country. Ronny stayed in Manila, and along with him came instead the French businessman Cason-Bonardel, who had a personal interest in archaeology, and had accompanied Janse also on the futile excursion to find Beyer's sites in Batangas. They departed from Manila around 8 January and travelled south from Luzon. In the town of Zamboanga on the southernmost tip of Mindanao they met the resident American businessman Frederick Leas Worcester (1898–1954), son of the more well-known scientist, author, and businessman Dean Conant Worcester (1866–1924). Worcester was a keen collector of ceramics and was well acquainted with the Basilan island which was visible from Zamboanga. Worcester indicated places where ceramics had been found, and advised them to be careful with the superstitious natives and seek alliance and support from the chiefs, called *datos*, before they started any investigations. While they were in Zamboanga they also visited the Mayor to have his authorization to conduct investigations at Basilan. He was initially quite reluctant, but when Janse reminded him that they were there on a mission from President Quezon, he gave in and contacted his delegate at Basilan to announce Janse's arrival.⁷⁴⁷ Once on the island, they set off to investigate a site called Bohelebung near the small fishing village of Lamitan, after having visited and negotiated with the *datos*. When his team of local workmen started to dig test pits "here and there", they first encountered Ming ceramics, which encouraged Janse to dig further, and then remains of human bone. As soon as the bone saw the light, the men dropped their tools and stopped digging. The unfortunate man who had dug the pit with the bone in it left the site and sat down at a distance, shaking with fear. Janse, who was himself made rather uncomfortable by

746. Janse 1959:245.

747. Janse 1959:233.

the hostile atmosphere that had suddenly appeared (probably enhanced by what he had heard about the natives' primitivity and unreliability), decided to immediately leave the site and the island of Basilan.⁷⁴⁸

Janse's descriptions in memoirs of the visit to Basilan and later to some tribes near the US military base Fort Stotsenburg⁷⁴⁹ on Luzon north of Manila, repeat the narrative format that we have seen in many of his writings. In his memoirs (published in Swedish in 1959) he polarizes in temporal terms the primitive natives with his and his American companion's modern physique, psyche, and material culture. The tribes of "Negrito pygmies" near Fort Stotsenburg are described in more demeaning terms than any other people featured in his travel writings. They were, in his view, the most primitive of all:

[T]hese shy, extremely primitive creatures that have not yet left the Stone Age stage. [...] Only a few, miserable and ugly creatures of these tribes have defied modern culture. It will probably not be long before these remnants have disappeared too, [and they are nowadays considered] an ethnographic curiosity. Culturally they stand so low and are so cruel that they hardly even deserve to be counted as *homo sapiens*.⁷⁵⁰

In a photo taken at the same visit to the tribes near Fort Stotsenburg we see Janse, looking like a dim ghost with a blank face, posing with three fit and smart-looking men, a well-dressed woman and a child, in front of a large building and a fence.

The contrast between text and photograph is quite extraordinary, and would be laughable if the matter were not so serious. It is difficult to understand how Janse could defend and maintain such ruthless and obviously false descriptions. Moreover, the juxtaposition of Janse's text and photograph demonstrates the extraordinary resilience of nineteenth-

748. Janse 1959:234–237.

749. Later renamed to Clark Air Base, and wrongly referred to by Janse as Fort Statsenburg (Janse 1959:241–243).

750. Janse 1959:243. In the Swedish original: "[D]essa skygga, ytterst primitiva varelser, som ännu knappast kommit över stenåldersstadiet. [...] Endast få, ömkliga och fula varelser av dessa stammar har trotsat den moderna kulturen. Troligen kommer det inte att dröja länge förrän även dessa spillror helt har försvunnit, [och de betraktas] numera som en etnografisk kuriositet. De står kulturellt så lågt och är så grymma, att de knappast ens förtjänar att räknas till *homo sapiens*."



Fig. 64. Olov Janse with members of a community which Janse refers to as "Negrito pygmies" near Fort Stotsenburg, June 1940. Photo by Lieut. R. Barker.

century scientific and popular teleological arrangements of humans on a scale from primitive to modern, and the continued marketability of this narrative format for travel writing in Sweden, as late as 1959.

*

When he returned to Manila on 11 February after his tour to the southern islands, a letter from a furious Elisséeff awaited him at the Restaurant de Paris.

I was much astonished to receive three letters from you from the Philippine Islands [...].

The first information I had that you were no longer in Indochina came from the Treasurer of the Institute, who informed me that you had cashed some money under your letter of credit in Manila. I was unpleasantly surprised that you did not inform me of your plans to leave Indochina and to make excavations in the Philippine Islands, because you put me in an unhappy situation before our Trustees. [...]

I never had any information from you about the influence of the war on your work in Indochina. It is still not clear to me why

you left Indochina and went to the Philippine Islands. Also, what is the meaning of your sentence, "If, however, the war will soon be stopped – according to the latest news there may be hope for it – we certainly could continue our field work in Indochina." As far as I know, there is no war in Indochina. [...]

The money is not my own and I therefore have the responsibility of reporting to the Trustees in regard to its expenditure. I feel that it is doubly unpleasant for me because I recommended you for this expedition and backed your program, to which you have not held.⁷⁵¹

Upset and disappointed, Elisséeff goes on to say that he has not received any reports from the work at Sa Huynh or Kota Tinggi, nor the notice for his journal which Janse had promised to send. Already in November, when he thought Janse was still in Indochina, Elisséeff had written another irritated letter complaining that he had not received any report on their work, nor any detailed financial report on their expenditure during the first year.⁷⁵² And in a letter dated 8 February he continues to complain over Janse's spending, and that he was still lacking a detailed financial report. He complains that Janse after a spontaneous raise now has allocated US\$ 450 for his own salary: "a very high salary even for American standards which not even all professors receive at Harvard, where the salaries are regarded as the highest in American universities". And this, says Elisséeff, despite the fact that living costs in Asia must certainly be much lower than in the United States. Moreover, he complains about Ronny's salary of US\$ 150 per month: "How can you hope to continue to work with an American institution after [the Trustees] learn from me that you are taking 90% of the allocation for yourself and your wife?"⁷⁵³

It is clear, and somewhat surprising, that Elisséeff as the director of an institute for Asian studies at one of the most prestigious universities in the United States, was poorly informed about the actual war situation in Indochina and the Philippines. But it is also clear that Olov and Ronny Janse's lifestyle in the highest exclusive strata of society (which, as we have seen, was a key to their success) took considerable resources to

751. Letter from O. Janse to S. Elisséeff, 1 October 1940. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940.

752. Letter from S. Elisséeff to O. Janse, 18 November 1939. Ibid.

753. Letter from S. Elisséeff to O. Janse, 8 February 1940. Ibid.

maintain, and this had never been clarified in the communication with Elisséeff. Their differences were clarified even further in Janse's responses to Elisséeff's complaints, which he sent in two long letters. In the first one, written immediately after he had received Elisséeff's letter upon his return from his tour around the southern islands, he explains at length the actual situation of war in Indochina (quoted earlier, see pp. 267–268) and continues:

In these circumstances, I understood that if I wanted to carry out meanwhile some investigations and fieldwork with some of success [sic], I had to turn my regards to the Ph. I., which offer so many similarities to Indo-China from archaeological point of view and where there are no restrictions and no feeling of war and where much useful work could be done. I explained all this in a letter to you before I proceeded to the Ph. I., but as I understand the letter has been stoped [sic] by the censorship. I had not the slightest idea that my trip to the Ph. I. could rise [sic] any objection from your side and as I could not wait several months for an answer, I did not ask for a permission, but – as it is customary in similar situations – for an agreement. I have acted in the best of intentions and did not expect to be blamed for this. In similar circumstances, I am sure, you would have acted, too, as I did. The conditions during a state of war changes everything from one day to another and you can not foresee [sic] what is going to happen.

[...]

Terminating this letter, may I point out once again that in abnormal times as ours, you will sometimes find yourself in a situation, where you have to take a rapid decision, as it was my case. I believe that nobody would blame me for this or that my explanations didn't reach you. Now, thanks our [sic] trip to the Ph. I. I have been able to gather interesting materials (of which I will speak in another letter) which will enable me to add several chapters to the volume we are preparing. Or, would you rather have preferred me to stay idle in Indo-China, waiting several months for an authorization? To judge from the other archaeological expeditions I know of, it is customary that the leader is entitled of, at least in certain serious conditions, to some kind of initiative of his own. I can not help that I am somewhat concerned that you feel so

worried about a step taken only in order to favour the results of our expedition.⁷⁵⁴

When Elisséeff was not entirely content with this response and continued to complain about the reports and Janse's spending, Janse responded in another letter from Hacienda Calatagan on 15 April, now rather irritated:

[As] the success of the expedition is a "point d'honneur" for me, I will continue at the rate of 8000 \$ a year even though this means that I have to spend – as I already have done – a large part of my own salary for the expenses of the expedition.

According to your proposal I agree to reduce my salary from 450 to 400 \$, if necessary. In fact, I have never touched even 400 \$ and wish I could retain at least this sum. May I add, meanwhile, that the living expenses here in the F.E. are on many places, at present, higher than in the U.S. and the prices go up constantly. [...] However, it is not only the level of the living expenses, which has to be taken into consideration for establishing a salary, but, above all, the health conditions and the trying climat [sic]. This is the principal reason why Gouvernement employés [sic] are entitled to an augmentation of 100%, in private undertakings even more.

Concerning my wife may I mention that she always has assisted me on my expeditions. I need a technical assistant and she is quite accustomed to our fieldwork and the methods we use in handling our findings. I hardly believe that any American, having her experience, would accept to do the same work under such hard conditions as those of the F.E. for a salary of 150 \$. May I also add that this sum includes all expenses needed for cleaning, repairing, classification etc.

As regards to her traveling expenses, I only want to mention that during my earlier expeditions they were always paid 1st class. Now we travelled in tourist class.

I would have appreciated very much to have been advised before I started the expedition that I had to keep a detailed account besides my scientific work. As a matter of fact, it never

754. Letter from O. Janse to S. Elisséeff, 12 February 1940. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940.

before happened to me that I was requested to keep and present vouchers of the expenses. [...]

As I already have mentioned, I organized this expedition in the same way as those sponsored previously by French and Swedish institutions. I then received the necessary funds in advance and at the termination of the expedition, I brought the findings to the different institutions and presented a preliminary report on the scientific results of our work. There was never any question about “detailed reports concerning the accounts”, vouches [sic] etc. As you certainly know yourself, the results of all my previous expeditions have been considered quite satisfactory to every body concerned.⁷⁵⁵

We see here a clash between two different eras and two different cultures of administration – French pre-war cosmopolitanism and post-war American institutionalism – literally on the verge of the Second World War. Both Elisséeff and Janse took the rules and procedures of their own side for granted, assumed that they spoke the same language, and did not realize the crucial differences between the two systems until it was too late and the conflict was a fact. The conflict was of course worsened by communication problems owing to the war, when letters disappeared or were held up for months by censorship. After Janse’s explanations Elisséeff seems to have calmed down, although he continued to send remarks about reports and financial statements.⁷⁵⁶

After his month-long tour to the southern Mindanao and Jolo islands, Janse stopped only a couple of days in Manila before he and Ronny left for Hacienda Calatagan to resume the excavations.⁷⁵⁷ They spent three months at the Calatagan estate, from mid February to mid May 1940, as guests of Don Jacobo and his wife Doña Angela Olgado Calvo de Zobel,

755. Letter from O. Janse to S. Elisséeff, 15 April 1940. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940.

756. Letter from S. Elisséeff to O. Janse, 27 April 1940. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940. See also a response from Janse, 28 July 1940. Ibid.

757. In a brief report written in a letter to Elisséeff (21 May 1940. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940), Janse mentions that they had applied for permission to excavate at Calatagan, and had it granted in early February. It does not, however, say who granted the permit.

who was known first and foremost for her exceptional beauty.⁷⁵⁸ In the excavations they were assisted, as before, by the estate manager Antonio Pertierra, and he also helped to recruit a local workforce to do the digging. The estate also provided “an excellent drawer”, and a physician – Dr Gerardo Manas – to examine the skeletal material.⁷⁵⁹ They walked to the excavation site in the mornings and worked long days, from sunrise to sunset, with twelve men in the workforce to finish before the agricultural season began.⁷⁶⁰ Details of the excavations are described in Janse’s memoirs, and have been reported in three different articles.⁷⁶¹

As in Janse’s reports from Indochina, there are no site maps that give away the precise location of the sites, or in which exact parts of the sites they excavated. But from letters⁷⁶² and the reports it is possible to discern that the three sites – *Penagpatayan*, *Pulong Bacao*, and *Kay Tomas* – were located close to each other, near the coast, a couple of kilometres west of the estate’s clubhouse. At *Penagpatayan*, the “massacre field”, they excavated 29 graves.⁷⁶³ Almost all graves contained one skeleton buried in supine position with the head to the north, mostly well preserved by the calciferous soil. The skeleton was surrounded by grave goods, mostly ceramics (of the desirable early Ming ware, but also of Sawankhalok and other import and native wares). They also found spindle whorls, bracelets, beads, an iron dagger, and some other things. The finds suggested that the graves were from the early Ming period (14th–15th century AD).

Even closer to the sea was the second site, *Pulong Bacao*, which Janse describes as located on a small promontory where a native had found potsherds some years earlier. At *Pulong Bacao*, Janse’s team excavated six

758. E.g. the blog Architecture Manila (<http://arquitecturamanila.blogspot.se/p/am-shorts.html>, accessed 17 May 2018). Angela Olgado’s beauty is also mentioned by Janse (1959:227), although he got her name wrong (Angelica Gelli).

759. Janse 1959:237–241.

760. Letters from O. Janse to S. Elisséeff, 16 February 1940. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940.

761. Janse 1959:237–241; Janse 1941; Janse 1944; Janse 1946. Particularly Janse 1944 has a detailed description of the graves at *Penagpatayan*, and is richly illustrated.

762. E.g. letter from O. Janse to S. Elisséeff, 21 May 1940. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940.

763. The number of excavated graves at *Penagpatayan* is a little confusing. A preliminary report (letter to Elisséeff, 21 May 1940) says 31, while the text in one of the published articles says 27 graves (Janse 1944:39) and the schematic site drawing in the same article says 29 (Janse 1944: plate 17).

graves with skeletons and Ming ceramics. Along the shore they also picked up stray finds of potsherds, spindle whorls, net sinkers, grindstones and some more, which Janse saw as an indication of a former village site.⁷⁶⁴

The third site, Kay Tomas, was also close to the sea, on a promontory similar to Pulong Bacao. Passing by, Janse had noticed potsherds of Song and Ming type scattered on the ground, and started excavations on the site. Here they unearthed 32 skeletons buried in supine position, but oriented in various directions. In the graves they found ceramics, beads, arm rings, and spindle whorls, along with considerable amounts of stone artefacts, which Janse suggested had been found in a nearby Stone Age dwelling site and reused by the more “advanced” people that were buried in these graves (according to the same logic as his interpretations of the Dong Son material which also confused his ideal boundary between “primitive” and “civilized”).⁷⁶⁵ Around the graves they found some ceramics and other objects buried in pits without skeletons. The ceramics found in the graves at Pulong Bacao and Kay Tomas were from the middle and late Ming period, suggesting that they had been in use one or two centuries after Penagpatayan.

From an archaeological point of view, one of the most interesting aspects of these sites was the treatment and manipulation of the bodies and the placing of the ceramics in the graves. Several of the skeletons had been decapitated, some had their hands cut off, and one had the skull replaced by a ceramic bowl. Several skeletons had manipulated teeth, and one had two extra skulls placed between its feet.⁷⁶⁶

Olov and Ronny did in many ways thrive at Hacienda Calatagan. Compared with the unbearable heat in Indochina the climate was quite pleasant, and they enjoyed the company of their hosts and other guests who arrived from Manila at the weekends. But the war was there, like a black cloud on the horizon. On 9 April they heard on Antonio Pertierra’s shortwave radio that Germany had invaded Denmark and Norway.⁷⁶⁷

Having closed the investigations they returned to Manila in mid May, and were keen to leave the Philippines as soon as possible. But when they checked with the travel agent whether there had been any cancellations

764. Letter from O. Janse to S. Elisséeff, 21 May 1940. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940.

765. Janse 1959:107.

766. For details, see Janse 1944.

767. Janse 1959:241.

on the boats, they got the disappointing news that there were still no tickets available for at least a month. While waiting, Olov wrote and submitted the report on the establishment of a new institute, which he had promised President Quezon.⁷⁶⁸

He and Ronny also worked together to prepare their finds from Calatagan for shipment to the United States. But they only picked the things that they considered of interest for the Harvard-Yenching Institute, which were mostly the Chinese import ceramics. Hence the material from Calatagan was divided up among several collections: the skeletal material and ceramics of native origin were deposited at St Thomas University (now University of Santo Tomas) in Manila, and some duplicates of the imported ceramics were incorporated in the Zobel collection (with the Zobel family's previous finds from Calatagan in 1934) at the National Museum of Manila.⁷⁶⁹ The finds that they had picked out for shipment to the United States, which (according to a tentative handwritten list kept in Janse's archive) consisted of 102 whole ceramic pieces, one iron dagger, and a number of glass bracelets, beads, spindle whorls, and potsherds,⁷⁷⁰ were handed over to a forwarding agent, to arrange with all the formalities of the shipment.⁷⁷¹

Since they had left Indochina in a rush, their excavated collections had been cleaned, packed, and shipped from the Musée Louis Finot in Hanoi and the Musée Blanchard de la Brosse in Saigon. Four cases containing two and a half cubic metres of finds weighing 497 kilos had been shipped from Saigon on 28 February 1940 and arrived in Harvard around mid May. Another eight cases containing six cubic metres weighing 600 kilos had been shipped from Hanoi on 29 March, and arrived in New York in late May. From the latter collection, George Coédès had kept eight pieces for the Hanoi museum, according to their previous agreement about unique finds. The rest of the collection was insured for US\$ 3,000, and the eight cases contained, according to the freight and insurance documents:

768. We have not found the actual report during our researches, but it ought to have been submitted in June 1940 and is mentioned in Janse 1946:346 and Janse 1959:241.

769. Janse 1944:38.

770. NAA: Janse 2001-29.

771. Janse 1959:242.

- 1–3: 1169+823+1113 potsherds and ceramic fragments.
- 4: 106 potsherds, bowls, vases and house models.
- 5: 359 potsherds, bricks, and vases.
- 6: 82 vases, lamps, cups, plates, lids, and stone discs.
- 7: Ceramics, vases and bronzes.
- 8: Plates, bowls, vases, documents and paper.⁷⁷²

In the Philippines, their collections were held up by the customs for a while with reference to a legal paragraph forbidding export of artefacts unless a permit had been given by the Ministry of Agriculture. Janse, who saw himself and the Harvard-Yenching Institute as the rightful owners of the collection, writes in his memoirs with an ill-concealed reference to Beyer: “maybe some amateur archaeologist had given the customs a hint, because he thought I had intruded on his hunting grounds.”⁷⁷³ But Janse pulled some strings in his high-level network, which included the US High Commissioner Sayres, and soon he had the necessary permit to proceed with the shipment. The collections, packed in four cases, were eventually shipped on 24 July 1940.⁷⁷⁴ He writes, triumphantly: “My treasures were thus saved from the claws of the multi-headed dragon of bureaucracy.”⁷⁷⁵

They were now desperate to leave the Philippines, and the summer heat started to affect Olov’s health. The letters reveal that he was suffering from sunstroke and repeated stomach problems.⁷⁷⁶ To escape the heat in Manila, and to keep them occupied while waiting for a boat ticket, Olov and Ronny left for the town of Baguio in the mountains of northern Luzon, where the American government had built a mountain resort similar to that at Dalat in Indochina. The climate was cooler than Manila, and Olov and Ronny spent some time visiting sites and doing trial excavations where finds of early Ming ceramics had been reported.

⁷⁷². See documents and letters in Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940.

⁷⁷³. Janse 1959:245.

⁷⁷⁴. Letter from O. Janse to S. Elisséeff, 28 July 1940. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940.

⁷⁷⁵. Janse 1959:245. In the Swedish original: “Så var då mina skatter räddade ur den månghövdade byråkratiska drakens klor.”

⁷⁷⁶. Letter from O. Janse to T. Nerman, 27 June 1940. Arbetarrörelsens arkiv och bibliotek. Ture Nerman 3.1.24.

On one occasion Olov was accompanied by the young Lieutenant Joseph Barker stationed at Fort Stotsenburg,⁷⁷⁷ who was interested in the history and culture of the Philippines, and had built relationships with some of the local communities. Together with Barker, Janse visited the village of “Negrito Pygmies” that he described in such demeaning terms. The trial excavations, of which the locations are unknown, were not particularly successful and have not been reported anywhere.

When they returned to Manila in July, they were told that there were no boat tickets available until October. And while they were in the mountains they had heard on the radio that German forces had occupied Paris on 14 June.⁷⁷⁸ The war was not only getting closer to them where they were now, under the threat of attacks from Japan, but it was now taking over their beloved Paris where many of their friends lived. Moreover, the financial situation was desperate. Janse wrote to Elisséeff, begging him to persuade the Trustees to release the last portion of their funding:

At present we have thousands of refugees from Hong-Kong. The living expenses are becoming sky-rocking [sic] high. – In this situation what do you expect us to do without funds – and what would you suggest? [...] Under those circumstances, I hope sincerely, the Board of Trustees would agree to release the funds, I need so badly.

I am sure that you now will agree with me, that it was a good idea to devote a period of our work for excavations in the Ph. I. As you certainly have seen from the news-papers, Indochina is now closed like an oyster in its shells. Even if we had continued our fieldwork there, I am afraid we would not have had the possibility any more to export the products of the excavations. Now you may see, your-self, that I acted entirely in the interest of our expedition, when I proceeded to the Ph. I. and not for any personal reasons.⁷⁷⁹

777. Barker (referred to as Baker, but a handwritten text on the back of the original photo in Janse’s archive (NAA: Janse 2001-29) says Barker) can be seen on a photograph in Janse’s memoirs (Janse 1959:240).

778. Janse 1959:245.

779. Letter from O. Janse to S. Elisséeff, 23 September 1940. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940.

Now, with the situation getting quite severe, Olov and Ronny Janse were once again saved by their cosmopolitan networks. The Austrian-American autodidact botanist, linguist, and ethnographer Joseph Rock, who has been described as “a larger than life character, embodying many of the myths and stereotypes about the arrogant but knowledgeable Euro-American explorer during the first half of the twentieth century”,⁷⁸⁰ had been working in South China in the late 1930s but was evacuated to Indochina from China because of the Sino-Japanese war in 1938. He spent the years 1939–1940 in Dalat, where we may expect that he met and socialized with Olov and Ronny. During that time he was also connected with both the EFEO, of which he was a corresponding member just like Janse, and the Harvard-Yenching Institute.⁷⁸¹ After he too had chosen to leave Dalat and go to Manila, Joseph Rock wrote to Serge Elisséeff on 7 July that he had to leave Indochina because of the threat of the war, and was planning to proceed as soon as possible to Hawaii. He wrote further: “Have seen Dr. Janse here who is trying to leave for the States but all boats are booked full up to September.”⁷⁸² But already at the end of July, thanks to an intervention by Rock’s personal friend Mr MacCarthy, who was chief passenger agent for the President Lines, Olov and Ronny got tickets on a ship departing only a couple of days later, on 1 August 1940.⁷⁸³ And on the same day, as a small stroke of luck, their last portion of funding – US\$ 2000 – was released from the Harvard-Yenching Institute, even before Elisséeff had received Janse’s last letter of 23 July. Maybe it was the letter from Joseph Rock a couple of weeks earlier that convinced Elisséeff that Janse was not telling tales about the situation in Indochina and the Philippines. Tired and relieved, after a quickly assembled farewell dinner with old and new friends in Manila, Olov and Ronny Janse embarked on the SS *Pres. Cleveland* bound for Kobe.

780. Yoshinaga et al. 2012:116.

781. Yoshinaga et al. 2012:121, 146–147.

782. Letter from J. F. Rock to S. Elisséeff, 7 July 1940, published in Walravens 2002:193–194.

783. Letter from O. Janse to S. Elisséeff, 28 July 1940. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass. Correspondence, 1938–1940.