

## Jaap Kunst and the German Missionaries in Nias

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Jaap Kunst's strong criticism of the behavior of German Protestant missionaries during his 1930 visit to Nias is legendary, reprinted many times, most prominently in the *Garland Library of Readings in Ethnomusicology*:

The entire population has been converted to the Christian religion and the missionaries of the [Rheinische Mission] had seen fit to make the exclusion of the Holy Communion the penalty for singing old songs and dancing the ancient dances. [He continues in a footnote:] It furthermore appeared that walking and bicycling on Sunday were forbidden and they were seriously considering the advantage of forbidding playing football on that day as well. . . . In turning against the old native art, the Rhineland Mission has strayed far indeed from the standpoint, once adopted by the missionary Fries and laid down in his treatise "Niassische Gesänge."<sup>1</sup>

There are a number of reasons why it makes sense to investigate whether Kunst's account of missionary activities is correct. First, he seems to believe that they started to introduce these rules only after one of their missionaries, Eduard Fries, whom he obviously admired, left the island in 1920.<sup>2</sup> Second, he never raised similar concerns about Rheinische missionaries in numerous other Indonesian Islands, for example in Mentawai and Sumatra. After all, these other missionaries came from the same background, had the same education, and were guided by the same mission directors. And third, there is a fascinating correspondence with one of the Nias missionaries, Friedrich Dörmann, whom he met in 1930, that shows clearly that they collaborated in ethnomusicological research and became friends.<sup>3</sup> In short, there is ample reason to look into the activities of the Nias missionaries. We want to know first, what kind of music they introduced into the service, and second, if they were interested in music that was not associated with the service and if they did indeed forbid the performance of other music.

Missionary activities in Nias began in 1865, and the first generation of missionaries were all under the influence of Gustav Warneck (1834–1910), who founded the field of missiology as well as the first missionary journal, *Allgemeine Missionszeitung*.<sup>4</sup> He served from 1871 to 1874 as a theology teacher at the Rheinische Mission. Under his guidance, the ideas of Johann Gottfried Herder became the most important guide for missionary activities. Missionaries were taught to preserve as much as possible of local traditions when converting the Indigenous population. But we should not for a moment assume that they would have preserved and transferred whatever they found when introducing Christianity. On the one hand, there is no doubt that missionaries did remarkable work with local languages and ethnography. The linguist Wilhelm von Humboldt, for example, was in close contact with missionaries from all over the world who made grammars for him; he would not have been able to do his linguistic studies without their help.<sup>5</sup> Generally, missionaries would first make a grammar, then translate the Bible and try to find local metaphors. Then they would record local myths and epics, describe rituals in fascinating detail; some would even try to transform them into Christian rituals. They would collect local art and make drawings. But on the other hand, when it came to music, it didn't even occur to them until the 1920s to adapt local music for the Christian service.<sup>6</sup> Even for the most progressive missionaries, the Christian service was invariably connected with Western hymns until at least the 1930s. But we have to remember that this does not necessarily mean that they would not try to describe local music, often with admiration.

When the first missionary Ernst Ludwig Denninger (1815–76) arrived in Nias in 1865, he had already worked several years earlier on the translation of the New Testament into the Nias language while living in Padang among more than three thousand people from Nias.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, Heinrich Lagemann (1851–1933) is responsible for the 1920 hymnbook and an important 1909 article titled “Ein Heldensang der Niasser. Gesang der Gäste beim Feste eines Häuptlings, als er sich den Titel, ‘Balugu’ beilegte” (A heroic song of the Niasser: Song of the guests at the feast of a chieftain, when he attached the title ‘Balugu’ to himself).<sup>8</sup> The article gives the original text with a German translation and explains in detail how it was recited. It is written with great respect for the local ritual.

These missionaries were followed by the much-admired Eduard Fries (1877–1923), who was without a doubt a special case.<sup>9</sup> His upbringing might provide a clue as to why he was so receptive to art and ethnography in Nias. He grew up in the August Hermann Francke Foundation in Halle, which housed the oldest ethnographic showcase in Germany, a place that Fries frequented during his youth. He did important linguistic studies, explored the entire island, and documented what he found with aquarelles and drawings. In particular, Fries provided fascinating accounts of the headhunting rituals.<sup>10</sup> Last but not least, he assembled a small ethnographic collection that he brought with him to Germany. The collection was the focus of an important recent exhibition in 2006 in the Dresden and Herrnhut

Museum of Anthropology in Germany.<sup>11</sup> Many of the items he brought back from Nias are extremely rare. More about this later.

As I mentioned earlier, it did not occur to any missionary to use local music in the service. They translated and adapted German, Dutch, and English hymns and folk songs into the local languages, trying hard to find images that the local population would understand. The first Nias hymnbook is from 1898, followed by others from 1905, 1920, 1923, and 1931.<sup>12</sup>

The translation of European hymns was to be expected in the early years. But things changed in the 1920s, and in my opinion here lies one possible reason for Kunst's criticism of the Nias missionaries. In 1926, the African comparative musicologist Nicholas Ballanta gave a talk in LeZoute at the International Missionary Conference, a meeting certainly attended by the Rheinische Mission directors, strongly advising missionaries to introduce local music into the service.<sup>13</sup> Two years later, Erich Moritz von Hornbostel published his important article on African music, encouraging missionaries to use local music in the service.<sup>14</sup> Both events cannot have passed unnoticed. And Kunst was certainly aware of Hornbostel's article and argued similarly in later publications.<sup>15</sup>

From the late 1920s on, several German mission societies tried to introduce local music into the service. Not so the leaders of the Rheinische Mission (and I think we have to distinguish them from the missionaries in Nias). Kunst came in 1930 to Nias, and his trip coincided with fundamental changes in the administration of the Rheinische Mission. When mission inspector Eberhard Delius (1903–45) joined the top administration of the Rheinische Mission in Wuppertal in 1930, local music was no longer admired. Delius was a well-educated theologian with a particular interest in music (he wrote his dissertation on the Psalms). He was hired as a teacher at the seminary of the Rheinische Mission from 1930 on and took over responsibility for all publications of the mission in 1935.<sup>16</sup> Remarkable is that Delius was never active as a missionary himself. On the one hand, he showed great courage in opposing the Nazi government and was a vocal member of the Confessing Church, the Lutheran Church group that did not support Hitler, this despite the fact that in the early 1930s, many at the Rheinische Mission were members of the Nazi paramilitary group *Sturmabteilung*. On the other hand, he wrote a number of articles in the late 1930s about local music in Nias, Sumatra, and Mentawai that show a complete lack of understanding for non-Western music. I believe that Kunst must have read these articles and that they greatly contributed to Kunst's statements about local missionaries in Nias.

In 1939, mission inspector Eberhard Delius wrote the following about church music in Sumatra to the Heidelberg theology professor Gerhard Rosenkranz: "In our hymnal there is not a single hymn composed by a Batak. . . . Our Batak Christians are not yet ready to compose useful songs. I have read many songs by natives. . . . They are still too crude. As a rule, they contain only general phrases with the thought process: God is great, may he bless us."<sup>17</sup> A survey of hymns sung

in the German Lutheran church leaves little doubt that Delius seems to have an exaggerated opinion of many texts, which also often simply praise the Lord.

In a 1939 article, he similarly writes, "Batak music is not useful for the native church. Artistically it has no or only moderate value, it is too monotonous. Our Batak also feel this, especially the educated ones."<sup>18</sup> He even goes so far as to say that the Rheinische missionaries taught the local population to learn how to sing. A service will easily include four hundred to six hundred singers. He asks why the Christians in these islands love to sing so much. His answer is obvious: because the Germans taught them so well, they have finally introduced them to proper music, and they turn out to be very musical. He concludes that he has never heard such pure singing as he heard here.

Delius's most important article on church music appeared in 1939 in the flagship journal of Rheinische Mission, *Berichte der Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft*. He repeatedly stresses that in all areas where the Rheinische Mission was active, that is, Indonesia, present-day Namibia, China, and Papua New Guinea, there is no music worth preserving. He writes about music in present-day Namibia, "In Southwest Africa it is said: 'One cannot really speak of a music of one's own among our people, if one does not want to call the monotonous hooting, with which certain deeds of their great ones are sung, singing or music. The Christians gladly accept the new ways of singing, whereby it is to be noted that the easily movable English melodies often find more approval than the carried German chorale melody.'<sup>19</sup> The next statement about Nias and Sumatra shows clearly how defensive he is toward scholars and missionaries who try to introduce local music in Indonesia:

From Nias and Sumatra it is similarly written: "Since there is no native church music on Nias yet, there is little sense and value in discussing the question of the usefulness of native music in the service of gospel preaching. That must be left to development." Our care belongs to the church music that is most popular among our people today, and that is European music. The people of Nias will never be grateful to us if we take away from them the treasures they have received through our German music. Therefore, there are no indigenous melodies in the hymnal at all.<sup>20</sup>

The hymns were obviously used as a missionary tool. Missionary Johannes Warneck wrote in an article titled "The Gift of German Christianity to All Nations" from 1936:

Alongside the oral invitation and instruction, everywhere in the mission comes the song, the sung word, which exults joy and thanksgiving for salvation, which sings the great deeds and gifts of God into the hearts, and brings the preached word close to the hearts. Paganism and Islam do not know singing in their services. They may have recited formulas that are recited in a monotonous manner by the priests. But this is not singing that lifts up the hearts. The celebrating crowd does not sing. The mission has a strong ally in the song. The song and its melody take hold of the listeners and imprint the heard word on the hearts. Of the power of song, mission history has much to say.<sup>21</sup>

The local population in Nias, Sumatra, and Mentawai took to German hymns with a vengeance. When a church in Dahana in Nias was consecrated on November 6, 1921, a missionary wrote:

All the nearby congregations were well represented. There was almost a small singing competition, since all the individual choirs had rehearsed several songs and now also tried to perform them as well as they could. The celebration itself lasted four hours, and if I had not shortened it by force, it would have been at least five. The people would have liked it if it had lasted through the evening. One is always amazed at the perseverance of the people, both in rehearsing and in performing the songs. They do not get tired. It is no longer true what used to be said that the Niassians could not sing and did not want to sing; today, at least, I would say the opposite. People like to sing, and many choirs can be heard. When a festival is coming up, their perseverance in rehearsing knows no bounds. Often they start right after church at noon and finish in the evening without a break.<sup>22</sup>

Most of these statements were published in journals that Kunst could have easily accessed before he wrote his book. It is no wonder that he might not have approved of them. But the singing of hymns is not enough to explain Kunst's criticism. Hymns were sung all over Indonesia, and he does not criticize missionary activities elsewhere.

This brings me to the second point, his claim that local music was prohibited by the missionaries. It is clear that nineteenth- and early twentieth-century missionaries were highly critical of wooden and stone figures because they were associated with ancestor worship. A missionary writes in 1901, "We started with chants, recitation of the Ten Commandments and prayers. With hatchets and knives, bigger and smaller idols were chopped off. Then I threw the first idol down the deep slope in front of the house with the words: 'The Lord is God and not the idols.' And then others followed, numberless, more than thousand pieces followed."<sup>23</sup>

Missionary Heinrich Sundermann would perform baptisms in front of wooden sculptures that would then be burned. Similarly, missionary Johannes Bieger personally felled a sacred tree in Central Nias associated with the origin of the Nias people in the early years of the twentieth century. He was convinced that this action would get rid of superstitions and fear of spirits.<sup>24</sup>

Eduard Fries, so much admired by Kunst, was both full of admiration for local art and music and of the belief, as a deeply religious person, that destruction or removal of wooden figures was necessary for Christianity to take over. But because he also understood their value and had a passionate interest in ethnography, he tried to take as many as possible with him to Germany. He left in 1920 to become director of Rheinische Mission only to die shortly thereafter from blood poisoning. He was much admired in Germany and Nias throughout the 1920s and 30s. As far as I can determine, the missionaries who followed him shared his views.

The question now is, What did these missionaries whom Kunst encountered in 1930 think of local music? I found a letter by missionary Friedrich Möller written

in the 1930s describing in enthusiastic prose the music in a wedding ceremony in Nias: he loves the big orchestra with the large drums and gongs that played throughout the night. According to Möller, some Westerners might think this is exhausting, but Möller writes that “these people have fortunately not been touched by civilization,” even though they are Christian.<sup>25</sup>

Some missionaries were cautiously trying to adapt earlier customs to Christian ones and admired local music. However, whenever this topic comes up, the missionaries refer to local evangelists called *panditas*, who would never allow any use of local music. Nias missionary Friedrich Dörmann (1901–83), a close friend and collaborator of Kunst’s, certainly did not object to local music. It is clear from their correspondence, which begins on February 14, 1930, that Kunst could not have done his research without Dörmann.<sup>26</sup> Dörmann translated all the texts, which Kunst then sent to Hornbostel.<sup>27</sup> He gave him information on the photographs. And Kunst constantly mentions the good times they had together. In fact, Dörmann tried to convince the mission administrators to buy a phonograph so that he could record their music. Kunst told him which one to buy and how much it would cost.<sup>28</sup> Then Kunst asked Dörmann to find *adzus*, also called *adu* (carved figures representing ancestors) for Kunst, which Dörmann did.<sup>29</sup> These *adzus* can vary in size; some are as small as twenty centimeters tall, and some as tall as two meters.<sup>30</sup> There is a collection of them in the Ethnographic Museum of Vereinigte Evangelische Mission in Wuppertal. During Kunst’s 1930 visit to Nias, Dörmann brought up in a conversation with the local church elders or evangelists the possibility of using gongs, which were associated with Indigenous musical traditions, to call the congregation to church. Again, we have here a missionary who tried to preserve a local instrument. The *panditas* did not approve:

We shall never give our consent to put the gongs in the place of our sounding-bell . . . . The sound of the gongs reminded them too much of the paganism; it revived in their hearts the fear of evil spirits, and perhaps in their secret souls they still felt the seductive charm of the, after all, very recent past; and so the idea of having this heathenish, though beautiful, music intruding in their Christian ceremonies, seemed intolerable to them.<sup>31</sup>

This is further evidence that not only did some of the missionaries try to preserve local music; they were also prevented not only by the mission administration in Germany but also by the newly converted *panditas*.

Read, for example, missionary Johannes Warneck, who explains in 1936 why it is impossible to transfer local music into the service:

The natives of Africa, Sumatra, and Nias do not want to hear even these old melodies in their worship. They say that their songs are far too immersed in the mood and nature of the old pagan cults to recommend them for the new world of thought. *It is with them as with many an old folk custom that the missionaries would like to see used in building up the life of the congregation; the young Christians, however, warn against*

*it, because it is connected with moods and mental processes that unintentionally put the young Christians back into the pagan bondage, thus achieving the opposite of what is intended* [emphasis added]. Again and again, missionaries have tried to have native Christians compose songs in their own way and to find a folkloric garment for them. They rarely succeeded.<sup>32</sup>

We can observe here what is common in all recently converted congregations, whether in Africa or Indonesia: the church elders are completely opposed to any performance of tribal music, whether in the service or in general. It reminds them too much of their previous beliefs. But in Nias, the situation was more extreme because of mass conversions. The missionaries referred to these events as *die grosse Reue* (the great penitence). The conversions began in Helefanikha village near Gunungsitoli and then quickly spread throughout the island. Two points are noteworthy about what happened in Nias. First, mass conversions are normally led by missionaries, but in Nias, these mass conversions, which began in 1916, when Fries was still in Nias, and continued through the 1930s, did not originate with the missionaries but with the local evangelists or panditas. And second, these conversions overtook the entire island. To give you an idea of the dimensions of these mass events, in 1916, there were some 18,000 Christians in Nias, and by 1924, there were 580,000, and only about 25,000 “heathens.”<sup>33</sup> Usually, the panditas would address crowds in a church built close to an ancestral place of worship and threaten those in attendance with hell and damnation. Then, hundreds would come forward and confess to “murders, whoring, thefts, in addition to idolatry” before they were baptized.<sup>34</sup> Then, the panditas would forbid things like the raising of megaliths and the carving of wooden statues. In addition, the ancestral figures would be destroyed by the newly converted Christians, often with the help of the missionaries. The missionaries faced a dilemma: on the one hand, they wanted the local population to become Christians, and they participated in the destruction of these objects also because they wanted to prove to the Nias people that no harm would come to them when they are burned; on the other hand, they had often learned to appreciate the art that was now being destroyed.<sup>35</sup> The missionaries fully realized the artistic and cultural value of these artifacts, so they encouraged collecting them and bringing them to Europe. In other words, even though the missionaries participated in the destruction of these artifacts, ironically, they are also the ones who conserved them—hence Fries’s ethnographic collection and Kunst asking Dörmann for an *adzu* (figure 10-1).<sup>36</sup> And this story also shows that the issue of looted art is quite complex. While conversion to Christianity by the missionaries resulted in the destruction of these artifacts, without these missionaries, there would be little left. It is noteworthy that when the missionaries describe these conversions in their letters, the majority voiced misgivings. And they were also very much aware that often the converts did not remain converted for long.<sup>37</sup>

Let me sum up. Kunst was certainly right in criticizing the Rheinische Mission for their prohibition of local music. But as usual, the picture is more complicated.





FIGURE 10-1. Adzus from Museum Rietberg. *Wikimedia Commons*, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Nias\\_Ahnenfiguren\\_Museum\\_Rietberg\\_RIN\\_403.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Nias_Ahnenfiguren_Museum_Rietberg_RIN_403.jpg).

In the first years, missionaries tried to document local ritual and culture, though there was no one with music training. But after the appointment of Eberhard Delius, things changed. He surely must go down in music history as one of the most Eurocentric mission administrators in existence, and this was at a time when much serious research was being undertaken by missionaries of other societies. The local missionaries present a more complex picture, with many showing cautious admiration and respect for local music and dance. And finally, let us not forget the converted local population, who rejected anything that reminded them of their religious past. As a result of the mass conversions, the panditas introduced many rigid rules and a strong hostility toward local music and art. While the missionaries certainly played along, they were not solely responsible for this attitude. It seems likely that they did not dare to contradict the panditas, who wanted to get rid of anything that reminded them of their old beliefs.

#### AUTHOR'S NOTE

For an overview of earlier discussions of music in Nias, see Thomas M. Manhart's PhD dissertation "A Song for Lowalangi: The Inculturation of Catholic Mission and Nias Traditional Arts with Special Respect to Music" (National University of Singapore, 2004). The dissertation also includes a detailed discussion of inculturation in the Catholic Church in Nias. See also the many important publications by the



Catholic missionary Johannes Hämmerle; a list can be found in Dominik Bonatz, “‘Nicht von Gestern’: Megalithismus auf Nias/Indonesien,” *Antike Welt* 1 (2002): 25–32. See also Johannes Hämmerle, *Nias—Eine eigene Welt. Sagen, Mythen, Überlieferungen*, vol. 43 of *Collectanea Instituti Anthropos* (St. Augustin: Anthropos Institut und Academia Verlag, 1999). For recordings, see Philip Yampolski, “Music of Nias and North Sumatra,” booklet accompanying *Music of Nias and North Sumatra*, Smithsonian Folkways Recordings, Music of Indonesia Series no. 4, SF40420, 1992. I am very grateful to Christian Froese and Julia Besten of the Archive of Vereinigte Evangelische Mission in Wuppertal for help and advice during my work at the archive.

## NOTES

1. Jaap Kunst, *Music in Nias*, trans. Mrs. Carrière-Lagay (Leiden: Brill, 1939), 2. See also Shelemay, *The Garland Library of Readings in Ethnomusicology: Ethnomusicological Theory and Method* (New York: Garland, 1990), 102.
2. Jaap Kunst, “Indigenous Music and the Christian Mission,” lecture presented to the missionary school in Oegstgeest, Netherlands, in 1946.
3. I would like to thank Dustin Wiebe for sharing with me copies of the Kunst-Dörmann correspondence. The correspondence is housed in the Jaap Kunst Collection, University of Amsterdam.
4. Hans Kasdorf, *Gustav Warnecks missiologisches Erbe: Eine biographische-historische Untersuchung* (Basel: Brunnen, 1990).
5. See Anna Maria Busse Berger, *The Search for Medieval Music in Africa and Germany, 1891–1961: Scholars, Singers, Missionaries* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020), 20–23.
6. Busse Berger, *The Search for Medieval Music in Africa and Germany*, part 3.
7. Gustav Menzel, *Die Rheinische Mission* (Wuppertal: Verlag der Vereinigten Evangelischen Mission, 1978), 83.
8. H. Lagemann, *Missionar auf Nias. Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, Teil 48 (Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1906), 341–407.
9. For a recent excellent evaluation of Fries, see Martin Humburg, Domonik Bonatz, and Claus Veltmann, *Im “Land der Menschen”: Der Missionar und Maler Eduard Fries und die Insel Nias* (Bielefeld: Regionalgeschichte Verlag, 2003).
10. On headhunting, see his “Das ‘Koppensnellen’ auf Nias,” *Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift* 35 (1908): 73–88. Fries’s papers at the archive of Vereinigte Evangelische Mission, Wuppertal, show a translation of a wedding ritual, a death song, and a parable, all very carefully annotated.
11. See the Herrnhut Ethnological Museum exhibit description at <https://voelkerkunde-herrnhut.skd.museum/en/ausstellungen/im-land-der-menschen-eduard-fries-missionar-auf-der-insel-nias/>.
12. The 1931 hymnbook was published by the distinguished German publishing house Bertelsmann in Gütersloh, a close supporter of the Rheinische Mission. It was published under the title *Niassa, Soera zinoenö ba Niha Niassisches Gesangbuch*; see also Gerhard Rosenkranz, *Das Lied der Kirche in der Welt* (Berlin: Verlag Haus und Schule, 1951), 49.
13. See my “Nicholas Ballanta,” in *The Search for Medieval Music in Africa*, 74–88.
14. Erich M. von Hornbostel, “African Negro Music,” *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 1 (1928): 30–62.
15. Kunst, “Indigenous Music and the Christian Mission”; see note 2.
16. Menzel, *Die Rheinische Mission*, 328–30.
17. Eberhard Delius, “Singende Kirche auf dem Missionsfeld,” *Berichte der Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft*, 96 (1939): 12. Rosenkranz surveyed all German mission societies to find out how much local music was sung in the mission stations as compared to German hymns.

18. Delius, "Die Batak Kirche in der Feuerprobe," Wuppertal, Ms. 1944, p. 2.
19. Delius, "Singende Kirche auf dem Missionsfeld," 13.
20. Delius, "Singende Kirche auf dem Missionsfeld," 13.
21. Johannes Warneck, "Eine Gabe der deutschen Christenheit an die Völker," *Berichte der Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft* 93 (1936): 215.
22. "Das Jahr 1921 in der Niasmission," *Berichte der Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft* 79 (1922): 110.
23. Excerpt is from the untitled contribution of O. Rudersdorf in *Berichte der Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft* 59, no. 5 (1902): 139–40.
24. Mai Lin Tjoa-Bonatz, "Idols and Art: Missionary Attitudes toward Indigenous Worship and Material Culture on Nias, Indonesia, 1904–1920," in *Casting Faiths: Imperialism and the Transformation of Religion in East and Southeast Asia*, ed. Thomas David Dubois (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 105–28, at 112–14.
25. Archive in Wuppertal, Möller, Ble 59, 1907–1982.
26. Thanks to Dustin Wiebe for sending me a copy of Dörmann's correspondence with Kunst. Jaap Kunst Collection, University of Amsterdam, 231. NR 2.
27. Jaap Kunst Collection, 231. NR 3.
28. Jaap Kunst Collection, NR 3.2.
29. Jaap Kunst Collection, NR 6.
30. See, for example, Florina H. Capistrano-Baker, ed., *Art of Island Southeast Asia: The Fred and Rita Richman Collection* (New York: Metropolitan Museum, 1994), 78.
31. Kunst, "Indigenous Music and the Christian Mission," 63.
32. Warneck, "Eine Gabe der deutschen Christenheit an die Völker," 216.
33. "Nachwirkungen der Erweckung in Nias," *Berichte der Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft* 8 (1924): 126.
34. Johannes Noll, "Die falsche Götzen machen zu Spott," *Berichte der Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft* 85 (1928): 98–99, at 99.
35. Tjoa-Bonatz, "Missionare und Kunst." The stone sculptures were not destroyed; missionaries would add religious symbols and use them as gravestones. Needless to say, the local population did not consider the *adzus* art. There is a vast literature on the subject. For a beginning, see Robert Layton, "Anthropology and Art," *Oxford Art Online*, [www.oxfordartonline.com/groveart/display/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.001.0001/oao-9781884446054-e-7000003169?rskey=n6755z&result=4](http://www.oxfordartonline.com/groveart/display/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.001.0001/oao-9781884446054-e-7000003169?rskey=n6755z&result=4).
36. The Wuppertal Museum auf der Hardt is owned jointly by the churches in Africa, Indonesia, and Germany, and the artifacts are shown in all three continents. [www.ve-mission.org/museum/archive](http://www.ve-mission.org/museum/archive). It is not clear how the missionaries acquired the artifacts. Most likely they were simply discarded by the local population.
37. See "Nachwirkungen der Erweckung in Nias," in *Berichte der Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft* 8 (1924): 126.