

Connected fragments: an early Hong Kong archaeological collection

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During a refurbishment project at the University Museum and Art Gallery of the University of Hong Kong in 2018, a large collection of uncatalogued artefacts was discovered. Between February and September 2021 an internal project team conducted a preliminary review of this material, identifying it as an orphaned collection of bulk archaeological finds, largely from Hong Kong, collected in various excavations from the 1920s to 1967. This article offers an account of this reviewing exercise and provides insights into the histories of the formation and deposition of the collection. By identifying key individuals and the excavations involved, we situate the artefacts within the broader study of the development of archaeology in Hong Kong, and show that they constitute one of the earliest composite archaeological legacy collections in the city.

THE University Museum and Art Gallery of the University of Hong Kong (hereafter UMAG and HKU respectively) was founded in 1953. Originally aligned with the Institute of Oriental Studies, it was at one point called the Fung Ping Shan Museum, and occupied the second floor of the Fung Ping Shan Building.¹ The museum expanded to occupy the whole building in 1961, and separated from the Institute of Oriental Studies in 1979.² In 1994 it was renamed the University Museum and Art Gallery and its premises later expanded to include the neighbouring T. T. Tsui Building. UMAG remains in operation and is thus the oldest, continuously existing public museum in Hong Kong.³ Serving both the university and the wider public, the museum boasts a collection of Chinese material culture with strengths in ceramics and bronzes, as well as both traditional and modern paintings.⁴

This article takes account of a large collection of archaeological finds in the holdings of UMAG, and seeks both to reconcile it with core historical context and to open it up to future research. Hidden in a crawl-space in the Fung Ping Shan Building, the collection was discovered during a refurbishment project in 2018 (Fig. 1). At the time, because its ownership was unclear, it was absent from the museum's inventory and the current staff knew nothing about it, the objects qualified as an orphaned collection. Although in this

case the collection was set apart by its unorthodox location, the 'orphaning' of archaeological collections is a common occurrence across institutions. Some factors of orphaning, as listed by Barbara Voss, include 'museum closure or cutbacks . . . the retirement of faculty, agency staff or independent researchers; abandonment by private collectors'.⁵ Orphaned collections are also often examined as a symptom of a wider 'curation crisis', where new archaeological collections generated from continuous excavations outpace the capacities and resource capabilities of repository facilities to care for them, at least in a manner that sustainably preserves them for the future.⁶ Under a broader advocacy for collections-based research, some existing methodologies utilize extant museum documentation to re-establish the ownerships (that is, the legacies), historiographies and research potential of such collections.⁷ However, 'loss of field records and other contextual documentation' have also been noted as a feature that they commonly share.⁸ The authors of this article therefore join the call for collections-based research into under-reported or unreported archaeological collections. We do so with an additional demonstration of potential by reattributing legacies to the UMAG collection – thereby mitigating its orphaned status – despite scant support from associated documentation.



Fig. 1. The UMAG Archaeological Collection at the time of discovery in 2018. With permission from the University Museum and Art Gallery, University of Hong Kong.

Collection review and approaches

An internal project team was formed in 2021 to conduct a preliminary collection review. The team consisted of the authors of the present article, who were at the time a Project Associate, a volunteer, and an Assistant Curator at UMAG. The review took advantage of staff expertise available at the time and was launched under the auspices of the museum, which was then undergoing further refurbishment, including the planning of a potential display on archaeology. The review aimed to gain an overall understanding of the extensive collection and to restore its research potential.⁹ Since Hong Kong has no regionally specific guidance concerning the care of information and collections within extra-governmental museums, we referred to the Spectrum 5.0 Standard set out by the Collections Trust (UK) to guide our collection review. This standard is defined as the ‘managing and documenting’ of ‘any formal assessment of collections that [follows] a stated methodology’.¹⁰ *Standards and Guidance in the Care of Archaeological Collections* also served as a procedural foundation for our review.¹¹

At the start of the collection review, we were unable to identify any associated archive or inventory on the museum premises that might aid in identifying the vast collection before we physically assessed it. There was thus also no understanding of its structure, contents, or overall state of preservation. For these reasons, we developed a review methodology predicated on treating the collection as, until proven otherwise, a single, orphaned archaeological collection, which we named the UMAG

Archaeological Collection. The review aimed to survey the entirety of the collection, whose unique and undocumented state necessitated our taking reference from other primary procedures in the Spectrum 5.0 Standard, such as Inventory and Cataloguing, to design a temporary documentation standard that would retroactively function as a ‘field specimen catalogue’.¹² The flexibility of the temporary documentation standard enabled us to explore the collection in its entirety and to conduct research into its historic structures in relation to the museum’s development. The intention was that these measures would then allow us formally to organize and catalogue the collection in a manner that would inform and aid future efforts in curation and preservation.

The entire collection was reviewed between February and September 2021. Each container was assigned a temporary running number (PBO1–PB31). Each was opened and its contents examined visually by the project team. Objects were photographed and observations recorded in a preliminary field specimen catalogue. Individually wrapped objects and bags holding groups of objects were further assigned a suffix (for example, PBO1.1). Where such bags were further unpacked and their contents reviewed, a third suffix was added to denote these objects as being part of the bag (PBO1.1a). This third suffix was also added to individual objects made up of multiple parts. These temporary unique identification numbers were recorded within the field specimen catalogue, and physically attached to the objects. Depending on the condition of the objects reviewed, they were then repacked and returned to their respective containers.

Subjective decisions were made by the project team in order to complete the sheer scale of work the review required. We reflect here on our reasoning and decisions, which may have been biased towards certain aspects of the UMAG Archaeological Collection.

Firstly, the very fact of writing this article fundamentally frames the collection review as a standalone task, but it was not. The review was originally conceived to serve as a preliminary but crucial foundation to numerous projects that would have increased both understanding and utilization of the collection. These plans were significantly impacted by personnel changes: at the time of the writing of this article, all authors have sought further study or opportunities elsewhere.¹³ This leaves the preliminary review as – currently – the only known recent research exercise carried out on this collection.

Although the entire collection was examined visually, factors such as time constraints and the other issues outlined above also indisputably affected what we were able to reflect in our field specimen catalogue. We found that we tended to catalogue larger, standalone objects that were individually packed, as they were more likely to be suitable for future display. More attention was inevitably paid to objects that we perceived to be unique or that displayed unusual features. Particular attention was paid to objects with markings applied post-excavation.¹⁴ This also applied to what scant textual evidence attached to the collection – largely envelopes that had been historically repurposed into packing materials.¹⁵ As the collection includes multiple containers filled entirely with unsorted bulk finds, we made a preliminary review of these with reference to the bulk accessioning procedures as set out by the Society for Museum Archaeology; they will require further detailed examinations in the future.¹⁶ While we cast a critical eye upon our methodological approach, we nonetheless hold fast to our view that the review was a crucial process, which was highly effective in building a broad understanding of the collection's history, significance and research potential, some of which we detail below.

Overview of the UMAG Archaeological Collection

Through the collection review, 447 unique inventory records (including individual items and groups of objects) were assigned within the collection, encompassing an estimated total of 20,000 objects stored in thirty-one containers. The collection boasts a wide variety of archaeological object types that are typically treated as bulk finds, such as pottery sherds and stones, both worked and unworked (Fig. 2). There are also photographs, lantern slides, a small number of bronzes and personal ornaments. Interspersed between the objects are envelopes and ephemera, which were used historically as packing materials. What the collection appears to lack are complete pottery or metal vessels. The physical condition of the collection showed a particular prevalence of historic breakages and repairs. The deposition of the collection behind a false wall, its preservation and storage conditions, and the lack of *in situ* associated archives support our initial identification of the UMAG Archaeological

Collection as an orphaned collection which has 'lost curatorial support'.¹⁷

Inalienable to archaeological finds are the contexts in which they were originally found. We therefore prioritized 'rediscovering' the history of the collection over the typological and chronological identification of the artefacts themselves, as reconciling the former would aid in informing the latter. In analysing the outcomes of the review, this article aims to fulfil this priority by explicating the contents of the collection, its structure, and its formation and subsequent deposition behind the false wall. Without adequate documentation to aid us in fully identifying the collection, we adopt an object-driven approach, using the features and characteristics of the artefacts within the collection to understand its histories. We begin with a feature ubiquitous across all object types within the collection: object markings.

Directly marked with ink or pencil, object markings provide an immediate source of information in understanding the contents and structure of the collection. The huge variety employed also suggests the historical use of several unique and mostly obsolete object classification systems (see Fig. 2). A minority of these markings are detailed descriptions of the objects themselves, written directly on the item that is being described.

The majority of markings appear to refer to archaeological sites or contexts, which we will call 'site codes'



Fig. 2. Bulk finds consisting mainly of pottery sherds and stones form large parts of the UMAG Archaeological Collection. Note the object markings on the sherd at the centre of the image, possibly denoting '123, 123'. Photo by the authors, used with permission from the University Museum and Art Gallery, University of Hong Kong.

and ‘context codes’ respectively. These bear the most direct implication of provenance – that is, the specific find-spot of an object. In the very rare cases that we found object descriptions or provenance information written on historical packaging, such details were often separated from the object itself, meaning that it was typically impossible definitively to reconcile the information with the object it once described. Despite the absence of extant legends, we are still able to suggest possible field collection locations by cross-referencing the site and context codes with primary and secondary literature on archaeology in Hong Kong. Figure 3 provides examples of site codes seen in the collection, which largely correspond to locations in Hong Kong currently noted by the governmental Antiquities and Monuments Office (AMO) as Sites of Archaeological Interest.¹⁸

These handwritten markings realistically manifest in inconsistent formats. Location names (in full or as an abbreviated site code) are often written on the objects as a prefix. A prefix is occasionally followed by an alphanumeric code, which we suggest might have indicated a trench or context code. For example, ‘赤BB東’ could be interpreted as ‘Stanley Batting Beach, East’, in southern Hong Kong. A further suffix is sporadically added that might elaborate on a specific location, which we interpret as the object’s specific provenience.

Site/Context Code	Locale	Context
CASTLE PEAK A	Castle Peak, New Territories	Castle Peak Road
30.1	Man Kok Tsui, Lantau Island	‘Hill to the South’
30.2	Man Kok Tsui, Lantau Island	‘Main valley’
30.3	Man Kok Tsui, Lantau Island	‘Hill to the East’
SHA PO	Sha Po, New Territories	
TW	Tai Wan, Lamma Island	
CHEUNG CHAU	Cheung Chau	
HSY	Hung Shing Ye, Lamma Island	
LAMMA B	Lamma Island	‘B’
PUI O	Pui O, Lantau Island	
SIU A CHAU	Siu A Chau, Soko Islands	
YSW	Yung Shu Wan, Lamma Island	
SP	Shek Pik, Lantau Island	
SP Tr. B Sq A 2.2	Shek Pik, Lantau Island	Trench B, Square 2, level 2.2
SKF	So Kwun Fat, New Territories	
GDB	Gin Drinkers Bay, New Territories	
榕	Yung Shu Wan, Lamma Island	
赤BB東	Batting Beach, Stanley	‘East’
深	Sham Wan, Lamma Island	
宋 <i>vallum</i>	Song Wong Toi, Kowloon Peninsula	<i>Vallum</i>

Fig. 3. Table of identifiable object markings frequently represented in the UMAG Archaeological Collection.

An example in the collection is ‘*vallum*’ to denote that the object was found in the vicinity of ‘a defensive wall’, though the term is borrowed from a Roman context. This information is typically conveyed either in English or in Chinese, rarely bilingually. An example is the site of Yung Shu Wan 榕樹灣 on Lamma Island 南丫島, southern Hong Kong, which is represented by the site code ‘YSW’ or ‘榕’. Some English site codes were the abbreviated romanization of the Cantonese location name, such as ‘SKF’ to denote the site ‘So Kwun Fat’ 掃管笏. A very small number of objects, mostly pottery sherds, provide more information on provenance. One example is a light grey, unglazed, earthenware sherd fragment of a rim and shoulder, decorated with a beaten net pattern and stamped ‘double-F’ pattern (Fig. 4). The undecorated reverse features white paint, on which the object number x.c.49.57 was marked and the following information written in ink, ‘Dr S. G. Davis, Shek Pik, Lantau, 1954’. This indicates field collection by Dr S. G. Davis at the site of Shek Pik on Lantau Island in 1954, though the exact context is not recorded on the object. Davis’s involvement is discussed later in this article.

A crucial piece of information that is often missing is the year (or season) during which the objects were excavated. The sporadic nature of the inclusion of context codes also impedes our understanding of an artefact’s provenance, as we have only the site codes to work with, which generally denote broad geographical locations. An example is the site code ‘Castle Peak’, referring to

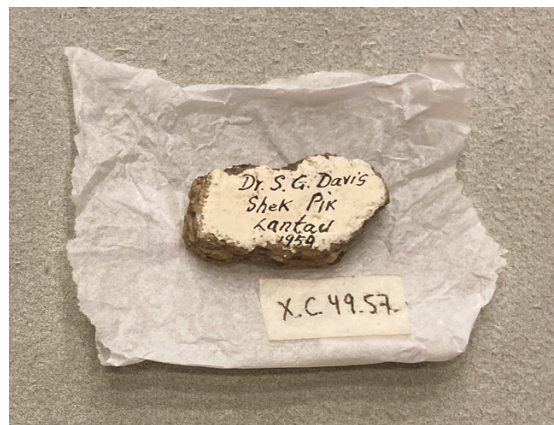


Fig. 4. Sherd (x.c.49.57) collected by S. G. Davis at Shek Pik, Lantau Island, Hong Kong, in 1954. Photo by the authors, used with permission from the University Museum and Art Gallery, University of Hong Kong.

a 583-metre peak in western New Territories, Hong Kong. This alone does not identify a past archaeological excavation and context, as the site may well have been re-excavated or backfilled in the meantime. In gaining an appreciation of the contents of the collection through these markings, we also begin to understand its historical and present structures. While its unsorted state forces us pragmatically to treat it as a single collection, it contains, in fact, a number of bulk, mixed-find assemblages from a variety of excavations, which largely took place on sites of archaeological interest in Hong Kong. We refer to these hereafter as ‘constituent assemblages’. As the object markings suggest classification, it is possible that initially the objects were stored systematically but had fallen out of order by the time the collection was rediscovered in 2018.

Archaeology in Hong Kong as seen through the UMAG Archaeological Collection

The significance of the collection is hinted at by the association of the object markings with many sites that were crucial to the development of the archaeological discipline in Hong Kong. In identifying the constituent assemblages represented in the collection, we can also begin to understand when and how each of them came to be deposited as a single composite collection. We need not recount the entire history of archaeology in Hong Kong – a task already undertaken by many others.¹⁹ Instead, we aim to follow chronologically the key stages of development of archaeology in Hong Kong as set out by Z. T. Shang and W. H. Ng.²⁰ The following subsections are thus divided into three chronological periods: the 1920s–30s, the 1940s–60s and 1967 onwards, corresponding to the active periods of different archaeologists in the city. In identifying within the collection events and individuals that span all stages of Shang and Ng’s framework, we suggest that the UMAG Archaeological Collection contains constituent assemblages excavated or collected between the 1920s and 1967, making it one of the earliest collections of its kind in Hong Kong.

1920s–1930s

Some of the earliest archaeological work in Hong Kong was conducted by amateur archaeologists and

missionaries. One of these early individuals who can be identified within the collection is Fr Daniel J. Finn, SJ 范達賢神父 (1886–1936), a Jesuit missionary from County Cork in Ireland. He arrived in Hong Kong in 1927, and taught in the departments of Education and Geography at HKU as the first permanent lecturer in geography.²¹ He resided in Ricci Hall in the university.²² His archaeological investigations succeeded those of Charles Montague Heanley 韓義理 (1877–1970) and Joseph Lexden Shellshear 肖思雅 (1855–1958). Heanley oversaw the Vaccine and Bacteriological Department of the government, and had devoted most of his spare time to investigating Hong Kong’s geology. He was among the earliest scholars to recognize the importance of studying the prehistoric artefacts he found in Hong Kong.²³ Shellshear was a professor in the Department of Anatomy at HKU, who later joined Heanley’s research.²⁴ Both Heanley and Shellshear were contemporaneous with Chinese academics who also investigated the archaeology of Hong Kong. These included the geologist Yuan Fuli 袁復禮 (1893–1987), who published his ‘Review on the Hong Kong Neolithic collection’ in the *Bulletin of the Geological Society of China* in 1928, the same year that Heanley published his paper, ‘Hong Kong Celts’ in that journal.²⁵ They are widely considered to be among the first to investigate the archaeology of Hong Kong, and provided an inspiration to successors such as Finn. That being said, Heanley and Shellshear are not strongly identified within the UMAG Archaeological Collection, and Yuan was not based in Hong Kong.

Finn’s own archaeological investigations are represented in the collection in the form of envelopes that were often historically repurposed into packing materials. This link is strengthened by a large portion of objects and photographs within the collection. The objects include sherds, near-complete vessels and worked stones which had been repaired or prepared for photography. An example is an unglazed stoneware sherd (PB.30.08g) with a stamped ‘double-F’ and net pattern; the ‘double-F’ pattern had been washed in white pigment to enhance the contrast for monochrome photography.²⁶ Finn is visually identifiable in some of the photographs in the collection (Fig. 5). Both objects and photographs can be matched with plates in *Archaeological Finds on Lamma Island Near Hong Kong* (published posthumously in 1958), the composite volume of Finn’s thirteen essays originally

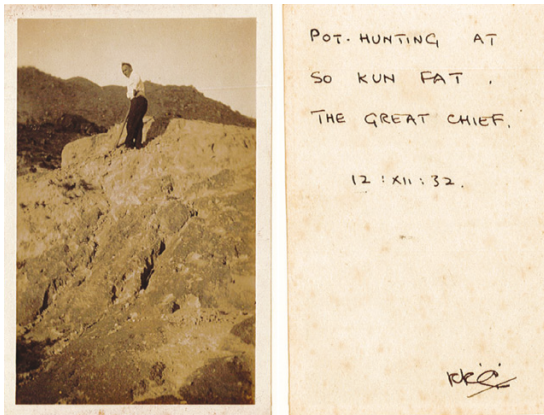


Fig. 5. Obverse and reverse of a photograph in the UMAG Archaeological Collection (P.B.19.10f), depicting Fr Finn with a mattock atop a sandbank. Reproduced with permission from the University Museum and Art Gallery, University of Hong Kong.

published serially in the *Hong Kong Naturalist* (see [online Appendix 1](#)). We therefore know that most of these objects were excavated on Lamma Island between 1927 and 1936.²⁷ These identifications allow us to link parts of the UMAG Archaeological Collection with other portions and archives of Finn's collection within the holdings of the AMO and Ricci Hall of HKU respectively. Together, these portions formed one of the earliest archaeological collections in Hong Kong amassed by a European missionary, alongside contemporaries such as Fr Raphael Maglioni 麥兆良神父 (1851–1953). An Italian priest active in Haifeng county 海豐 (Shanwei 汕尾, southern Guangdong province, China), Maglioni conducted extensive surveys there between 1934 and 1939, and lived in Hong Kong from 1946 until his death in 1953. Unlike Finn, Maglioni is not currently identified in the UMAG collection.²⁸ The review has noted within the collection a number of unnamed parties who were associated with Finn, but we have yet to find evidence to allow us to identify them. They included both local labourers and seminarians, who were photographed preparing trenches for Finn on Lamma Island (Fig. 6).²⁹

Immediately after Finn's time, Walter Schofield 施戈斐侶 (1888–1968) served as a government officer, and became passionately interested in the geology and archaeology of Hong Kong. Preserved in the collection is a parcel Schofield sent to UMAG in 1963 from England, where he returned on his retirement. It contains sherds marked '宋 *vallum*' (Song [dynasty]

vallum) or 'SWT' (Sung Wong Toi), presumably annotated by Schofield himself. An attached note indicates that they were 'taken from the rampart of Sung Wong Toi' 宋皇臺 in the southern Kowloon Peninsula, Hong Kong.

1940s–1960s

The locations identified in Fig. 3 are strongly associated with archaeological investigations conducted by different parties between the 1940s and 1960s. These coincided with a time of burgeoning development for the discipline of archaeology in Hong Kong, with HKU and UMAG (then the Fung Ping Shan Museum) at its centre. We therefore suggest that as well as containing part of Fr Finn's collection, the UMAG Archaeological Collection also consists of multiple constituent assemblages collected by the individuals discussed below, who were active in Hong Kong between 1947 and 1967.

Professor S. G. Davis (active 1950s–1970s), Walter Weinberger (1901–1971) and Paul Daiko (active 1940s) regularly visited Lamma Island from 1947 onwards to conduct field-walking surveys.³⁰ Davis was the inaugural professor in the Department of Geography and Geology in HKU, formerly the Department of Geography, where Fr Finn taught from 1931 to 1936. Walter Weinberger worked for the antiquities wholesaler S. M. Franck.³¹ The Geographical, Geological and Archaeological Society (GGAS), established in 1953 as part of the Department of Geography and Geology, also (independently) conducted field-walking and field collecting sessions.³²

To work alongside the GGAS and systematically to document the sites visited by the society, the University of Hong Kong archaeology team was established under the Institute of Oriental Studies in 1956. The Institute was led by Professor Frederick Segquier Drake 林仰山 (1892–1974),³³ who was also the head of the Chinese Department at HKU.³⁴ Capped at twenty-five members, the private team included Professor Davis, Dr T. Tregear, Mr L. Berry, Miss M. Tregear, Dr S. M. Bard and Mr Michael Lau.³⁵ Mary Tregear 陶美 (1924–2010) was formerly a curator at the Fung Ping Shan Museum, who afterwards took up the post of assistant keeper, and later keeper, of Eastern Art at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.³⁶ As a collective, the archaeology team is firstly represented by an intact painted glass sign reading 'University of Hong Kong



Fig. 6. Unnamed seminarians and Fr Finn excavating on Lamma Island, Hong Kong, 24 June 1932. Photograph by Thomas Cooney, SJ. Reproduced with permission from the University Museum and Art Gallery, University of Hong Kong.

Archaeology Team' (Fig. 7):³⁷ presumably it once hung outside what was referred to as the team's 'Working Centre', located in the Fung Ping Shan Museum. It is direct proof of both the existence and the legacy of the archaeology team, who were operating out of a 'well-equipped laboratory and storeroom in the Fung Ping Shan Museum on Bonham Road' at the time (now UMAG).³⁸

Of the listed members, Dr Bard and Professor Davis are particularly strongly represented in the UMAG Archaeological Collection. Solomon Matthew Bard (1916–2014) was appointed the inaugural university health officer to HKU in 1956, and was responsible for founding the University Health Service.³⁹ Bard's initial involvement in archaeology in Hong Kong stemmed from weekends spent participating in geological surveys conducted by experts in Hong Kong in the 1950s.⁴⁰ As Bard joined HKU in 1956, he also involved himself in the development of archaeology at the university, becoming a founding member of the archaeology team. Bard and Davis are represented, notably, by a unique style of object marking, in which provenance and field collection information are recorded in detail on the undecorated reverse of pottery sherds that are entirely painted in white (as discussed above) (see Fig. 4). It is entirely possible that

the duo marked objects in other manners, as this style of marking was seen only on sherds collected in 1954 from Shek Pik, Lantau Island, southern Hong Kong.

Many objects in the collection, typically sherds and stones once again, bear codes consistent with archaeological sites in Hong Kong which the archaeology team had visited (see Fig. 3). Between 1949 and 1969, the following sites in Hong Kong were visited: 'Tai Wan, Hung Shing Ye, Yung Shu Wan, Aberdeen, Tai Po, Castle Peak, San Hui, So Kon Wat, Tsun Wan, Shatin, Shataukok, Man Kok Tsui, Ha Tsuen, Sheung Shui, Shek Pik, Sai Kung, Lai Chi Chung, Sok Ku Wan, Fanling and Kau Sai Chau'.⁴¹ A field log written by Bard in the HKU Archives denotes other sites the team visited between 1956 and 1961, some of which are reflected within the collection (see [online Appendix 2](#)).⁴² While the site codes can be identified, the mixed state of the collection prevents us from definitively associating constituent assemblages with specific individuals or dates of collection.

The Man Kok Tsui 萬角咀 assemblage excavated by the HKU archaeology team can nonetheless be identified within the collection. Both a cape and a village on eastern Lantau Island, Hong Kong, the Man Kok Tsui site was first identified by Heanley, Shellshear and Schofield in the 1940s. They had assigned it the



Fig. 7. Painted glass sign of the 'University of Hong Kong Archaeology Team'. Photo by the authors, used with permission from the University Museum and Art Gallery, University of Hong Kong.

numeric site code '30' in their survey of archaeological sites in Hong Kong.⁴³ Man Kok Tsui was again reported by Bard in 1958. By autumn of the same year, the Hong Kong government had provided a fund of HK\$3,000 towards excavations carried out by the HKU archaeology team.⁴⁴ Site '30' was further subdivided into areas 30.1, 30.2 and 30.3 during the excavations in 1958 (see Fig. 3). These codes are used throughout the excavation report of Man Kok Tsui, published by the archaeology team in 1960. The numbers 30.1, 30.2 and 30.3 are frequently found marked on objects in the UMAG Archaeological Collection, ranging from pottery sherds to worked stone. Our hypothesis that these markings denoted finds from different contexts in the Man Kok Tsui dig is strengthened by visual matches between finds illustrated in the 1960 excavation report of Man Kok Tsui with extant objects in the collection, including a ferrous fishhook (X.B.17.57).⁴⁵ Also related to this constituent assemblage are soil samples (PB.22.03) addressed to Mary Tregear with appended notes stating, 'SMB's . . . From inside . . . 30.3'. This would indicate that these soil samples were taken from context 30.3 at the Man Kok Tsui site by Bard. Select finds from Man Kok Tsui, mainly complete vessels, were also later displayed in the Fung Ping Shan Museum in 1958 in an exhibition entitled Stone Age Man on Lantau.⁴⁶ While groups discussed here, such as the archaeology team, consisted of many members beyond the founding cohort, there is scant explicit representation in the collection of local individuals in any capacity, including students or staff members.

Finally, Professor Drake is also represented within the UMAG collection, chiefly through historically repurposed packing material.⁴⁷ Examples include a letter addressed to him from his son, Bernard Drake, originally enclosed with eleven sherds acquired by Bernard from Manila for the Fung Ping Shan Museum.⁴⁸ Since he is known to have led field-walking surveys with his students, it is also possible that some finds are associated with Drake, though they remain to be identified.

1967 onwards

No definitive association can be currently established between the UMAG Archaeological Collection and archaeological investigations undertaken in the 1970s. Our difficulty in confidently identifying objects excavated from this period echoes the dormant state into which the archaeology team declined. With several core members ending their time in Hong Kong in the early 1960s, the remaining members formed the public Hong Kong Archaeological Society (HKAS) out of the original archaeology team in 1967. The HKAS was largely associated with the Chinese University of Hong Kong and had its own repository at the City Hall.⁴⁹

Formation and 'deposition' of the UMAG Archaeological Collection

The individuals, collectives and excavations identified above were active between the 1920s and 1967, spanning the formative stages of archaeology in Hong Kong. In this process, we have also identified a preferential representation in the collection, in which object markings and historical packing materials show a bias towards non-Chinese scholars in leadership positions. This is not an accurate depiction of the formative developments of archaeology in Hong Kong, as crucial roles were also played by Chinese individuals, some of whom we have mentioned briefly above. The collecting and curation strategies in these four decades have also impacted our reconstructed understanding of the collection today, in ways both known and unknown to us. Nonetheless, we are now able to begin to understand how the UMAG Archaeological Collection – with its many constituent assemblages, some still to be identified – came to be brought together as one composite collection.

A significant portion of the collection stems from Finn's collection of finds, collected between 1927 and 1936. Finn's collection was originally split between HKU and the Regional Seminary in Aberdeen, Hong Kong. The former had held 'valuable or specially representative' objects, while the latter stored a 'mass of unsorted material'.⁵⁰ In preparation for the posthumous publication of Finn's essays in 1958, Thomas F. Ryan, SJ, reviewed both portions of the collection, enlisting the help of seminarians at the Regional Seminary in arranging the 'mass of unsorted material' there (Fig. 8). This is attested to by extant photographs in the UMAG Archaeological Collection depicting the young seminarians sorting artefacts ('Fr Finn Collection, Photographs. (Sorting potsherds at the Seminary + celadon vase)') (Fig. 9). Some of these pieces match extant objects in the collection. This both confirms the existence of Finn's collection as a constituent assemblage within the UMAG collection and proves that at one time, Finn's collection had been systematically processed. At some time after the Second World War, the Fr Finn collection was split in two and donated to the City Hall collection and UMAG respectively – the findings of the collection review corroborate literature on the topic.⁵¹ Ricci Hall continues to care for significant archives relating to Finn, which form a core component of his now dispersed archaeological collection.⁵²

While Finn's collection was being sorted, split up and donated in the 1950s, the HKU archaeology team was also forming its own constituent assemblages through excavations and field-walking surveys across Hong Kong. It is also possible that other offshoot constituent assemblages were being amassed through private field-walking excursions by Bard, Davis, Drake, and the GGAS. All together, this suggests a period of active collection by these parties spanning 1947–67. As the archaeology team operated out of the Fung Ping Shan Building, it would have been logical that this also formed a repository for archaeological finds, both historical and contemporary. Although, as yet, we do not know how the objects were stored, we understand that they were cared for, repaired and displayed.⁵³ Based on the weak representation in the collection of artefacts from 1967 onwards, we assume that the collection entered a dormant state reflective of the decline in the archaeology team's activities.

At the founding of the HKAS in 1967, the original repository at the Fung Ping Shan Museum was

transferred to the City Hall. The City Hall repository eventually fell under the remit of the AMO. We suggest that the present-day UMAG Archaeological Collection, consisting largely of fragmentary and bulk finds, was left in the Fung Ping Shan Museum during this transfer process to the City Hall. Our hypothesis is strengthened by comparison with the finds from the Man Kok Tsui excavations in 1958, which are currently in the AMO's repository, inventoried online in the Hong Kong Archaeological Archive System. Firstly, many of them share object markings, such as 'HKU 30' and '30.2', with counterparts in the collection. Secondly, many of these Man Kok Tsui finds in the AMO repository are also complete artefacts that visually match objects depicted in the excavation report published by the HKU Archaeology Team in 1960 – a match we have been able to repeat with other extant, fragmentary objects in the UMAG Archaeological Collection in earlier sections of this article. An example includes a 'hard pottery pot with lattice pattern' (AMO no. 1958.01.00001, original object number C.30.33),⁵⁴ which was illustrated in plate XI in the report.⁵⁵ Allowing that the original repository might have been formidable in size, it is possible that certain objects (such as complete vessels or examples illustrated in earlier publications) were prioritized in the process of transferring repositories to the City Hall, leaving behind bulk finds in the Fung Ping Shan Museum which form the UMAG Archaeological Collection as we know it today. This hypothesis would certainly explain the highly fragmentary nature of the collection's constituent assemblages, including the near-total absence of complete vessels, as noted in the collection review.

We suggest that the UMAG Archaeological Collection remained in the Fung Ping Shan Museum from 1967 onwards. Two pieces of historically repurposed packing materials found in the collection – a poster (PB.22.08) and a newspaper clipping (PB.22.04) – are dated to 1982 and 1983 respectively. The latter provides a *terminus post quem* for the deposition of the collection behind the false wall in the Fung Ping Shan Building. This deposition would have disrupted any classified order the collection might once have had. The collection remained largely undisturbed behind the false wall until its rediscovery in 2018, its salvaging signifying another disruption event.

Based on current information, we therefore suggest that the collection once formed part of an organized



Fig. 8. (Left) Artefacts sorted by seminarians at the Regional Seminary in Hong Kong in the 1950s. (Right, top to bottom) Extant artefacts in the UMAG Archaeological Collection depicted in the photograph: envelope bearing illustrations of characters in the style of oracle bone script (PB.18.05); typewriter ribbon tin, containing metallic objects (PB.14.100h); fragment of a bronze vessel (no number assigned). Reproduced with permission from the University Museum and Art Gallery, University of Hong Kong.



Fig. 9. Seminarians sorting the Fr Finn collection at the Regional Seminary, in preparation for the posthumous publication of Finn's essays originally in the *Hong Kong Naturalist*, 1950s (PB.19.10d). The individual in the foreground (right) holds the envelope with characters in the style of oracle bone script (PB.18.05) shown in Figure 8. Reproduced with permission from the University Museum and Art Gallery, University of Hong Kong.

repository of historic and ongoing excavations in Hong Kong by the parties described in this article, between the 1920s and 1967. It was probably brought

together as a result of the 1967 transfer of repositories from the Fung Ping Shan Museum to the City Hall, and was deposited behind the false wall in the Fung

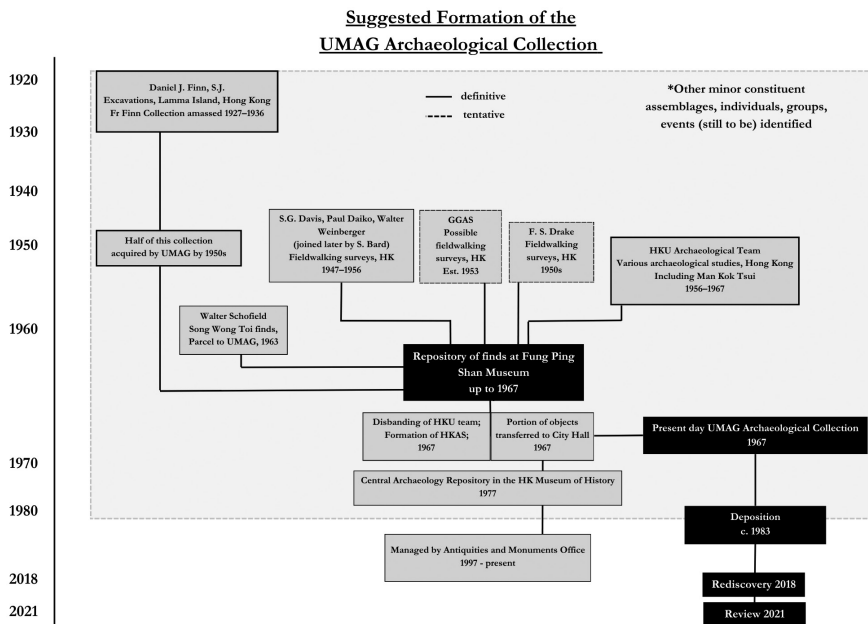


Fig. 10. Suggested chronology and formation process of the UMAG Archaeological Collection.

Ping Shan Building no earlier than 1983 (Fig. 10). The reasons for its deposition remain unknown.

Global networks of objects, people and knowledge

As a former British colony, Hong Kong has welcomed European travellers and settlers, acting as a confluence of knowledge, culture and ideas. This transnational quality is inextricable from the early development of archaeological knowledge in Hong Kong, represented by missionaries, colonial agents and sojourners who all had their own international networks. These individuals also undertook fieldwork beyond Hong Kong and sought to situate the city's archaeology within broader regional frameworks, such as Maglioni in Guangdong, and Finn, who had conducted fieldwork in Shantou, China and Singapore.⁵⁶ The development of archaeology in Hong Kong has therefore never been insular. The contents and absences identified within the UMAG Archaeological Collection similarly exemplify these global exchange networks of objects, people and knowledge in the twentieth century.

The objects in question were gathered through numerous excavations and field-walking surveys which contributed to the formation of archaeological knowledge in Hong Kong between the 1920s and 1960s.

The early formation of this knowledge was strengthened by frequent international correspondence with experts. Original packing materials in the collection, including repurposed envelopes addressed to or from Finn, show that opinions were sought from experts as far afield as America, and that often artefacts were enclosed with the correspondence. Meeting minutes from 1961 indicate that the later HKU archaeology team carried on these practices, sending archaeological finds to institutions such as the Peabody Essex Museum and the Smithsonian Institution (USA), the National Museum of Denmark, and the Academia Sinica (Taiwan).⁵⁷ These exchanges were reciprocal: also within the collection are extant envelopes sent from Taiwan, Malaysia, the Philippines, France, Ireland and elsewhere. They often indicate that artefacts were once enclosed, though these are sparsely represented within the collection today.

These exchanges are some examples of the dispersal of Hong Kong's archaeological record in international institutions. Many of the individuals discussed in this article were also sojourners in Hong Kong who ultimately left the city, often taking with them the fruits of their archaeological investigations. While Heanley had left his collection to Shellshear upon leaving Hong Kong, Shellshear would later donate some 118 objects from Hong Kong to the British

Museum.⁵⁸ Potential overlaps with circles of private collecting and of the art market can also be considered in the case of individuals such as Walter Weinberger, a member of Davis's field-walking sessions in Hong Kong, and an employee of the London-based antiquities wholesaler S. M. Franck.⁵⁹ On his return to London, Weinberger gave a paper to the Oriental Ceramic Society (London) on the finds he had collected from Yung Shu Wan, Lamma Island.⁶⁰ He later donated to the British Museum eighty-six archaeological finds identified as being from Hong Kong.⁶¹

Although beyond the scope of this article, we also understand that as part of this knowledge network, both Professor Charles Seligman (1873–1940) and Brenda Seligman (1883–1965) collected archaeological finds while visiting Hong Kong, and donated them to the British Museum.⁶² Most of the pottery vessels they donated share typological similarities and markings with comparable objects in the UMAG Archaeological Collection. Examples include a cup dated to the Han dynasty (British Museum, London, inv. no. 1940,1214.231), which shares similarities of form and decoration with several cups in the UMAG collection (including a pair assigned PB.14.79). Another sherd of a vessel (British Museum, 1940,1214.9993.a), donated by Mrs Seligman, features a marking with the number '59' on a strip of white paint. In style and numbering, this matches object markings seen in the UMAG collection, one example being a round stone implement (PB.17.02) which bears '59' marked on a strip of white paint. These transnational exchanges therefore exemplify both the interconnectedness and fragmentary nature of the archaeological record in Hong Kong.

Interconnectedness and fragmentation

No site exemplifies this limbo between transnational interconnectedness and local fragmentation better than Shek Pik 石壁 on Lantau Island, the richness of which made it 'one of the most important archaeological sites in Hong Kong'.⁶³ It was first excavated by Schofield in 1937, yielding material culture and burials that suggested an occupation period between the Late Neolithic period and the Bronze Age. While the excavation report from the 1937 season was published, the human remains and finds from that excavation are thought to have been lost during the Second World War.⁶⁴

This collection review reveals for the first time, the fortuitous circumstances that led to the preservation of sixty-three objects from the 1937 Shek Pik excavation in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities (Östasiatiska Museet) in Stockholm. As the 'amateur archaeologist . . . alone responsible for archaeological research . . . since the death of Father Finn', Schofield had hosted the Swedish archaeologist J. G. Andersson (1874–1960) when he visited Hong Kong in 1937.⁶⁵ On this trip, Andersson visited the dig site at Shek Pik twice, introducing systematic excavation procedures (Fig. 11). In return, Schofield was encouraged to present 'a duplicate set out of his rich materials' to the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities.⁶⁶ Arriving at the museum in March 1937, the package consisted of sherds and stones, including sixty-three artefacts from the 1937 season of Shek Pik (see [online Appendix 3](#)).⁶⁷ These remain in Stockholm today, and are part of the accession number range between K-12221-001 and K-12221-127. This is verified by two pieces of evidence: a packing list signed by Walter Schofield in 1937 enclosed with the package preserved in the Stockholm museum, and a letter of 1956 from Schofield preserved in the HKU Archives.⁶⁸ The letter confirms that, while most of the finds from the 1937 excavation of Shek Pik were stored in a 'Public Works store' in Hong Kong – which was probably looted or burnt during the Japanese Occupation – a small portion had been sent to Stockholm, and Schofield had returned to England with 'some of the best material'.⁶⁹ The signed 1937 packing list also verifies that the site code for Shek Pik was 'S.P.', which is seen frequently in the UMAG Archaeological Collection. We do not suggest that the objects marked 'S.P.' in the collection were excavated by Schofield in 1937, but rather that the site code was reused, a pattern we have seen with other sites identified in the collection.

After Schofield, Chen Kung-che 陳公哲 (1890–1961) reinvestigated the area of Shek Pik in 1939. Known also as Chen Gungzhe or Chen Kung-chieh, the Chinese archaeologist first became interested in Hong Kong through Finn's essays in the *Hong Kong Naturalist*. Paying his own way, he investigated major coastal sites such as Yung Shu Wan, Hong Shing Ye on Lamma Island, and Shek Pik on Lantau Island between 1938 and 1939.⁷⁰ Between 1954 and 1987 Shek Pik was further investigated by Bard, Davis, the HKAS and the Chinese University of Hong Kong. It is therefore more likely that the 'S.P.' objects were collected after Schofield's 1937 excavation.



Fig. 11. Excavations at Shek Pik, Lantau Island, Hong Kong, 1937. Seated in the trench on the far left is Walter Schofield. Photograph by J. G. Andersson, 'Shek Pek. Excavation of the untouched part of the find site, Hong Kong Colony, January 1937', National Museums of World Culture – Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm, image no. L.6.9 (CC BY-NC-ND license).

Hong Kong and the development of Chinese archaeology

The biographies and values of objects change with shifting historical contexts, and our collection review has offered another perspective on the finds of Shek Pik.⁷¹ Beyond the significance of Shek Pik to the archaeological record of Hong Kong, and the development of the archaeological discipline locally, these finds also contributed to the development of Chinese archaeology in a global arena. Involved in major discoveries like the Yangshao Culture, Andersson by 1937 was an established authority on the emerging field of Chinese archaeology. The founder of the Swedish China Research Committee, he placed particular emphasis on collecting the material evidence of different Neolithic cultures in China, sending his substantial collections back to Stockholm, where the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities was established to support his ongoing research.⁷² As Valerie Jurgens demonstrated in *The Karlbeck Syndicate, 1930–1934: Collecting and scholarship on Chinese art*, the amassing of archaeological finds – particularly those of Neolithic cultures – in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities was a concerted effort to shape Stockholm into a locus of emerging Chinese archaeological research.⁷³ By 1937 the Swedish China Research Committee had scaled up collecting practices by engaging the services of Orvar Karlbeck and forming the Karlbeck Syndicate, which sought to collect Chinese archaeological material with

the financial support of a consortium of international scholars, private collectors and museums. The amassing of such objects, particularly represented through the collecting activities of both Andersson and the syndicate, had a significant influence on the institutionalization and development of Chinese archaeology in Sweden and Britain.⁷⁴ Archaeological finds from Hong Kong, including those excavated from Shek Pik in 1937, played a part in this process.

There are many cross-disciplinary avenues to be taken as we link the UMAG Archaeological Collection with these interconnected networks. We can consider the Seligmans who, as celebrated private collectors of Chinese art, were also members of the Oriental Ceramic Society and the Karlbeck Syndicate. The latter was in part organized by Andersson who had paid those fateful visits to Schofield at Shek Pik on Lantau Island in 1937. The objects within the collection therefore also represent the inevitable, transnational, and complex overlaps between the circles of Chinese archaeology, art, ethnography, anthropology and private collecting.

These global exchanges were built upon robust local networks of scholarship and labour, consisting of known individuals such as Yuan Fuli and Chen Kung-che, and individuals as yet unnamed, such as the labourers and seminarians who assisted Finn's investigations.⁷⁵ However, their contributions are not adequately reflected in the UMAG Archaeological

Collection, which is instead typically biased towards non-Chinese scholars in leadership positions. The scholarship championed by the parties discussed in this article was built on and alongside individuals committed to investigating their locales. They are sporadically credited in archival evidence, such as a payroll that granted both credit and compensation to labourers who supported a 1966 excavation at Shek Pik run by the HKU Archaeology Team (see [online Appendix 4](#)), but their significant contributions remain to be fully explored and acknowledged within the collection. Future research in this direction can begin to rectify these representational imbalances.

Conclusion

Impeded by difficulties such as dissociations from archaeological contexts, archives and historical systematic storage, the 2021 collection review set out to understand the UMAG Archaeological Collection, which was previously orphaned. Collections-based research undertaken in this process identified numerous constituent assemblages, gleaned from excavations, surveys, or other archaeological studies between the 1920s and 1967, spanning the formative developmental stages of archaeology in Hong Kong. Particularly well represented in the collection is a portion of the Fr Finn collection, consisting of finds collected from Lamma Island between 1927 and 1936, as well as finds collected by the HKU Archaeology Team between 1947 and 1967. We have also determined that these constituent assemblages were brought together in the Fung Ping Shan Building, where the team was based between 1956 and 1967. The team also oversaw a repository, providing curatorial services for burgeoning archaeological investigations. This included object numbering, repairs, stabilization, storage and, in some cases, display. The collection further reflects the dormant nature of the archaeology team in the mid-1960s before it was ultimately disbanded in 1967, to be succeeded by the Hong Kong Archaeological Society. When the repositories were transferred from the Fung Ping Shan Museum to the City Hall in 1967, fragmented objects were probably left behind in the Fung Ping Shan Museum, thus forming the UMAG Archaeological Collection. This collection remained in the Museum until it was deposited behind a false wall there no earlier than 1983, before it was rediscovered in 2018. Having re-established the legacies

represented in this collection, which was previously thought to be orphaned, we therefore suggest that the UMAG Archaeological Collection is one of the earliest, composite, legacy collections of Hong Kong archaeology in the city.

Identifying the provenances of constituent assemblages within the collection has also led to the making of links with other collections and documentary sources now scattered beyond UMAG, some of which have been noted in this article. Within HKU, this has included the significant archival holdings of Ricci Hall, the HKU Archaeology Team archive in the HKU Archives, and photographs taken by Walter Schofield preserved in the HKU Library.⁷⁶ Beyond the university, we have established connections with collections in the possession of the Hong Kong Special Administration Region government, the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities in Sweden, and numerous other institutions internationally. These links situate the UMAG collection and the development of archaeology in Hong Kong on a transnational stage. Beyond contributing to the understanding of the development of archaeology in Hong Kong, we have also evidenced the collection's potential contribution to an understanding of the histories of museums in the city. As parts of many archaeological sites across the city, the finds within the collection might also contribute to a fuller understanding of Hong Kong's archaeological record, perhaps if studied in conjunction with other repositories such as that in the AMO. We have brought to the fore some of the research potential originally thought to be stripped from the archaeological collection upon its deposition behind a false wall forty years ago.

This review has opened 'unique windows into past excavation strategies . . . [and] outdated curation standards'.⁷⁷ We have begun to account for the collection's disrupted structure and absence of documentation, and the idiosyncrasies in its numbering systems, while demonstrating the fruitful results that can still be gleaned despite a perceived lack of associated documentation. However, the object-driven research process also triggered broader reflections. The habits of re-excavation, re-using of site codes, inter-institutional splits in assemblages such as the finds from Shek Pik, and sojourning experts – aspects that both define the collection and have frustrated our research into it – are also microcosms of the wider development of archaeology in Hong Kong, which is simultaneously

interconnected and fragmented. North American proponents of curating orphaned, unreported or legacy archaeological collections often demonstrate the value of this process against the backdrop of a ‘curation crisis’ defined at the start of this article.⁷⁸ Hong Kong is perhaps less prone to this crisis, since archaeological investigations often take the form of environmental impact assessments or commercial salvage in a densely populated city perpetually racing for urban development. The days in which Daniel J. Finn, Chen Kung-che, Mary Tregear and others freely explored the sandbanks and valleys of Hong Kong have passed. To access the archaeological records (however fragmentary) of sites often inaccessible or non-existent today, we must instead turn to resources such as the UMAG Archaeological Collection. ‘Collections-based research is a form of archaeological excavation in its own right’ – perhaps especially so in Hong Kong.⁷⁹ Where ‘interpretation at the trowel’s edge’ is often not an option, legacy archaeological collections such as these have the potential to become sources of new archaeological enquiries into the archaeological record of Hong Kong.⁸⁰ While much work remains to be done in reconciling the collection with its myriad provenances, it is certain that its many connected fragments form important pieces of a far larger puzzle.

Supplementary material

Online appendices at <https://academic.oup.com/jhc> list: examples of extant objects that match illustrations in the 1958 collection of essays by Fr Finn, *Archaeological Finds on Lamma Island near Hong Kong* (Appendix 1); The HKU Archaeology Team Field Activities (1956–1967) (Appendix 2); Finds from the 1937 excavation at Shek Pik, Lantau Island sent to the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm (Appendix 3); and Expenditure from Shek Pik Archaeological Vote, University of Hong Kong, 1967 (Appendix 4).

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Notes and references

- 1 Many locations referred to in this article have different names, depending on the source consulted. To maintain consistency and aid comprehension, this article uses contemporary and conventional names by their Cantonese romanization, as recognized in Hong Kong. Example: 榕樹灣; Pinyin: Róng Shù Wān; English (HK): Yung Shu Wan, Yung Shue Wan.
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- 5 Defined in P. S. Cato, J. Golden, and S. B. McLaren, *MuseumWise: Workplace words defined* (Washington, DC, 2003), as cited in B. L. Voss, ‘Curation as research: a case study in orphaned and underreported archaeological collections’, *Archaeological Dialogues* 19 no. 2 (2012), pp. 145–69, at p. 147.
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- 9 ‘Collections review’, Collections Trust, at <https://collectionstrust.org.uk/spectrum/procedures/collections-review-spectrum-5-0/> (accessed 2 August 2023); see Voss, op. cit. (note 5).
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- 12 Collections Trust, op. cit. (note 9); Knoll and Huckell, op. cit. (note 11), p. 3.

- 13 See the authors' addresses for correspondence for current affiliations.
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- 16 Boyle and Rawden, op. cit. (note 11), p. 43.
- 17 Voss, op. cit. (note 5), p. 147.
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- 24 Meacham, op. cit. (note 19), p. 11.
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- 26 This process was undertaken before 1936 and is known to us through Finn, op. cit. (note 21), p. viii.
- 27 Some objects illustrated in *ibid.*, which are also extant in the UMAG Archaeological Collection, were sourced from excavations mostly on Lamma Island by Heanley and Shellshear.
- 28 After Maglioni's death, his collection of archaeological finds from over twenty sites in Haifeng was entrusted to the Hong Kong government, which transferred the collection to HKU for safekeeping. There, it was sorted and catalogued by the Institute of Oriental Studies, and briefly displayed in the Fung Ping Shan Building. The Maglioni collection was ultimately transferred to the Hong Kong Museum of History. This may account for the weak representation of Maglioni's collection in the UMAG Archaeological Collection. F. S. Drake, 'The Maglioni collection', undated, University of Hong Kong Archaeology Team Papers (2012), University of Hong Kong Archives (hereafter HKU Archives), Box 04154; see Meacham, op. cit. (note 19), p. 26.
- 29 This photograph is undated and uncaptioned in the UMAG Archaeological Collection. The information given here was gleaned from a reproduction of the same photograph in the Irish Jesuit Archives, Dublin, where it is also provided with an additional caption by Fr Thomas Cooney, SJ: 'Finds (pottery, bronze and stone weapons are at various depths from 1½–4 ft); Fr Thomas Cooney, SJ, photograph, 'Lamma Island. Excavations in Progress', 24 June 1932, Irish Jesuit Archives, Dublin; online at <https://doi.org/10.7486/DRI.sj13pr98s> (accessed 20 September 2023).
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- 42 See [online Appendix 2](#); S. M. Bard, 'The University Archaeology Team field activities (1956–1967)', University of Hong Kong Archaeology Team Papers (2012), HKU Archives, Box 04154.
- 43 Davis and Tregear, op. cit. (note 18), p. 183.
- 44 Shang and Ng, op. cit. (note 20), p. 46.
- 45 The matching illustration is pl. xv b in Davis and Tregear, op. cit. (note 18).
- 46 Meacham, op. cit. (note 19), p. 192; HKU Archaeology Team, 'Photos of MKT Exhibition', undated, University of Hong Kong Archaeology Team Papers (2012), HKU Archives, Box 04154.
- 47 Drake also frequently led students on field-walking trips in Yung Shue Wan, Tai Wan and Hung Shing Ye Wan on Lamma Island, Hong Kong. As their corresponding site codes manifest strongly in the collection, it is possible that some of these objects were collected by Drake; Shang and Ng, op. cit. (note 20), p. 44.
- 48 Bernard Drake, letter to his parents, 22 June 1964, PB.14.09, UMAG Archaeological Collection, UMAG, HKU.
- 49 Meacham, op. cit. (note 19), p. 33.

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- 52 Ricci Hall of the University of Hong Kong set up the Ricci Hall Archives Conservation and Acquisition Project in 2019; Meacham, op. cit. (note 19), p. 31.
- 53 Extant pottery vessels and sherds show historic repairs with plastic and adhesive. These treatments fit the instructions listed in HKU Archaeology Team, ‘Restoration of ceramics’, undated, University of Hong Kong Archaeology Team Papers (2012), HKU Archives, Box 04154.
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- 56 Schofield, op. cit. (note 19), p. 11.
- 57 HKU Archaeology Team, Meeting minutes, 29 June 1961, University of Hong Kong Archaeology Team Papers (2012), HKU Archives, Box 04154.
- 58 Shellshear donated 118 objects which were excavated or found in Hong Kong. ‘Search the collection’, British Museum, at <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/search?agent=Prof%20J%20L%20Shellshear> (accessed 24 October, 2023).
- 59 ‘Walter Weinberger’, op. cit. (note 31).
- 60 W. Weinberger, ‘Some notes on early pottery and stone artefacts excavated on Lamma Island’, *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* 24 (1948–9), pp. 31–7.
- 61 Weinberger donated 178 objects in total, eighty-six of which are clearly identified in the British Museum’s collections database as being found or acquired in Hong Kong, and more specifically on Lamma Island. ‘Search the collection’, British Museum, at <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/search?keyword=walter&keyword=weinberger> (accessed 24 October 2023).
- 62 C. G. Seligman, letter to Finn, 18 September 1934, Seligman6/1/3, Seligman Papers, as cited in V. Jurgens, *The Karbeck Syndicate, 1930–1934: Collecting and scholarship on Chinese art* (London, 2012); ‘Search the collection’, British Museum, at <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/search?agent=Prof%20Charles%20Gabriel%20Seligman> (accessed 27 October, 2023); ‘Search the collection’, British Museum, at <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/search?agent=Brenda%20Zara%20Seligman> (accessed 27 October 2023).
- 63 Meacham, op. cit. (note 19), p. 21.
- 64 Ibid.; Shang and Ng, op. cit. (note 20), p. 34.
- 65 Andersson and Dorf, op. cit. (note 50), EIA-15_0021.
- 66 Ibid., 0023.
- 67 The sixty-three finds from the 1937 Shek Pik excavations are part of a collection of 127 objects donated by Walter Schofield. A handwritten illustrated catalogue for all 127 finds is preserved in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm: pages from the K-catalogue of Ös objects, Main inventories, 1-19, DIAA_15_12221 series, OSARKIV.
- 68 Walter Schofield, packing list of contents of a box to the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 4 March 1937, EIA-17_0396-0398, Correspondence, 17, OSARKIV, Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm; Walter Schofield, letter to Mr Berry, 9 July 1956, University of Hong Kong Archaeology Team Papers (2012), HKU Archives, Box 04154.
- 69 The authors await replies from relevant museums in the UK regarding possible gifts or bequests from Walter Schofield; Schofield to Mr Berry, op. cit. (note 68).
- 70 Shang and Ng, op. cit. (note 20), pp. 38–9.
- 71 Foong Ping, ‘Materiality as objecthood in a Buddhist clay tablet: from calligraphic style to an imaginary encounter with Dunhuang’, in *The Social Lives of Chinese Objects*, eds. A. Bianchi and L. Jankowski (Leiden, 2023), pp. 133–76.
- 72 Jurgens, op. cit. (note 62), p. 141.
- 73 Jurgens, op. cit. (note 62).
- 74 Ibid.
- 75 An example is D. Jellinek, ‘The China letters: correspondence between the Bluett brothers and their agents in China, 1921–1936’, conference presentation, Oriental Ceramic Society Centenary Study Day, 13 November 2021, at <https://www.orientalceramicsociety.org.uk/ocs-centenary/centenary-study-day> (accessed 1 April 2024).
- 76 Leung, op. cit. (note 22); University of Hong Kong Archaeology Team Papers (2012), HKU Archives, Box 04154; ‘Walter Schofield Field Trip Photos’, Digital Repository of HKU Library, at <https://digitalrepository.lib.hku.hk/collection/vq280c482> (accessed 28 September 2023).
- 77 MacFarland and Vokes, op. cit. (note 6), p. 164.
- 78 Voss, op. cit. (note 5), p. 146; MacFarland and Vokes, op. cit. (note 6), p. 161.
- 79 J. King, ‘Comparative colonialism and collections-based archaeological research: dig less, catalogue more’, *Museum Worlds* 4 no. 1 (2016), pp. 4–17.
- 80 I. Hodder, ‘Archaeological reflexivity and the “local” voice’, *Anthropological Quarterly* 76 (2006), p. 55–69, as cited in Voss, op. cit. (note 5), p. 146.