

Bulletin 375
Tropenmuseum

Physical anthropology reconsidered

Human remains at the Tropenmuseum

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Introduction

This volume of the Royal Tropical Institute's *Bulletin* series discusses the collection of human remains kept in the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam.* It is based around a full inventory of all human remains that were classified between 1915 and 1964 as belonging to the museum's physical anthropological collection, and refers to other objects that are made of or with human remains, to anthropological photographs, field notes and other archival sources in the institute. The aim of this publication is to contribute to the debate about the significance of the physical anthropological collections in museums around the world, taking the Tropenmuseum collection as an example. It is an ordinary collection: no item is specifically contested, nobody has claimed any items, no national juridical or ethical guidelines urge the museum to take action. And yet it is a special collection precisely because these are human remains. For an ethnographical museum they are of no apparent importance. Why were they collected, what was their significance and what is their significance today, who should be regarded as the owner, who have or should have authority to decide about the future, or the final destination of these collections? To the Tropenmuseum, these are questions of great relevance. They can only be answered in a dialogue with the various stakeholders. This *Bulletin* proposes to start that dialogue.

More than thirty years ago, in 1973, the physical anthropological collection of human remains, animal remains and plaster casts, was separated from the other ethnographic collections in the Tropenmuseum, and moved to the University of Amsterdam's Museum Vrolik. It was meant as a long-term loan, with no termination date, as a supplement to Vrolik's (medical) anatomical collections. The Tropenmuseum at the time was no longer involved in physical anthropological research. Most human remains were of no particular value to the museum staff. They were

* The Tropenmuseum is part of the Royal Tropical Institute (Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen or KIT). The abbreviation KIT refers to both museum and institute, the owner of the collections discussed here.



Decorations above the entrance of the Department
Cultural and Physical Anthropology in the Tropenmuseum,
by J.L. Vreugde (between 1916 and 1926)
Photographer: Irene de Groot

no longer considered part of the ethnographic collections in the museum's depot; the focus in the new exhibitions in the Tropenmuseum's semi-permanent galleries had shifted to daily life in contemporary society of what was then known as the Third World. Presentations about human evolution and ideas about race, representing cultures in the style of the former Colonial Museum, were being dismantled. Only the new 1979 semi-permanent display on 'Man and Nature' (replaced in 1995 by 'Man and Environment') was vaguely reminiscent of the physical anthropological discourse that had been part of the Colonial Museum's public programme. In 1973 the cultural anthropological discourse was in the ascendant. Items from the physical anthropological collection that were regarded as cultural artefacts were therefore withheld from the long-term loan to Museum Vrolik. They continued to have significance within the Tropenmuseum collection as a whole, as evidence of traditions relating to infant skull adornment, head hunting or ancestor worship, for example. Meanwhile, the unadorned human remains were removed from the store rooms, and eventually only the decoration of one of the entrances of the museum's monumental building leading to the department of cultural and physical anthropology remained to testify to the link between human remains and cultural artefacts as two sides of one (scientific) image of mankind.

By 2000, this long-term loan had been returned from the Museum Vrolik to the Tropenmuseum and the museum had resumed responsibility for this historical

collection of human remains. Times had changed, the institutional, ethical and legal context of the collection had become increasingly vibrant and challenging. Restitution claims from First Peoples and First Nations in North America, Aborigines in Australia or Maori in New Zealand, resonated in museums around the world. Anthropological exhibition practice concerning the representation of funeral ceremonies in museum displays came under scrutiny in explicit policy statements from indigenous peoples such as the Toraja in Indonesia who claimed that artefacts, and in their case more specifically the wooden statues relating to burial ceremonies, should no longer be on public display in museums in order to respect the cultural integrity of their rituals and prevent the art market playing a further pull-factor role in the theft of these open-air ethnographic sculptures. Reconstructions of unique collection histories connected with known individuals such as Saartjie Baartmans and El Negro, made a wide public in the northern and southern hemispheres aware of the colonial relationships involved in this tradition of displaying people (dead or alive). Trade channels specialising in human remains (an economic chain ranging from grave robbers to respected companies – as in the case of the South African Khoisan) were researched and published to reconstruct the history of human remains in museum collections. Many questions were raised concerning the nature of scientific research into human remains of indigenous peoples under colonial regimes (cf Legassick & Rassool 2000; Westerman 2004).

It is in this context that we are publishing our collection of human remains as a case study. At the current stage of research we are still unable to make judgements regarding the quality of the collection; whether it reflects the general academic practice of physical anthropology in the West, or whether it is of merely marginal importance. The emphasis in our collections lies on Malay and Papuan human remains from Indonesia. It remains to be seen whether other collections exist elsewhere in the world, in Indonesia or Britain in this field. It is also unclear whether there is a relationship between physical anthropology and specifically Dutch colonial practice, its interaction with ethnography and the diverse nature of Indonesian culture, or with Dutch folklore studies. In addition, the academic records of researchers who compiled and worked on the collection remain obscure. What this Tropenmuseum collection proves beyond doubt is that collecting human remains was not confined to the far distant past of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century colonial practice. On the contrary, it has a long history and, in the case of Dutch physical anthropology, continued around two decades after the Second World War. It is time to try and understand this history of our times.

As far as we know now, none of the human remains in the Tropenmuseum were ever personalised, let alone displayed as individuals like the contested Saartjie Baartmans in Paris, El Negro in Banyoles in Spain or the Inuit Man from Greenland in Hoorn, the Netherlands, or the uncontested skeleton of a king of Sidon from 500 BC in Istanbul, various Egyptian and Peruvian mummies around the world, or mummified archaeological finds such as the Danish Tollund Man or the Dutch Girl



Physical-anthropology display in the Colonial Museum in Amsterdam.

Photographer: unknown

Date: 1923

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from Yde. What we know about the provenance of the Tropenmuseum's physical anthropological collection, at best refers to a location and to the acquisition date. The photographs made in the context of physical anthropology are also not personalised. In the context of academic practice of physical anthropology, personal details about those involved were of no importance. The researchers, it seems, were looking for general rules, not specific anthro-biological profiles. Archaeological finds and more recent remains seem to have served that purpose in the same way. There is one exception. Among the collection of anonymous human remains are the remains of the so called 'Little Indian in Spirits', an early (?) nineteenth-century Native American foetus from Suriname clothed as a curiosity in a headdress, shoes and jewellery that once belonged to the collection of Amsterdam's Artis Zoo. It is an important and valuable collection item. However, in this *Bulletin* we have not elaborated on this particular case. The focus here is on the thousands of anonymous body parts, and the dozens of portraits of people taken with measuring apparatus, whose individual or collective social biography – to follow Appadurai and Kopytoff, although a rather strange word in this respect – we now try to reconstruct. With this reconstruction and the ensuing debate, we intend to create transparency and discuss

solutions on how the museum should care for this collection. Our inventory of the human remains collection started as a collection management issue. We knew that it would involve the establishment or renewal of ties with people and authorities in many places around the world connected with these collections. Interestingly, this has created a paradox. We are looking for a better home or final resting place for these human remains because they no longer have any significance for us as an ethnographic museum. Yet by attempting to define a policy in this respect, we give the human remains a new significance in our museum as remnants of past encounters we must revive in order to find adequate solutions for the items concerned, sometimes even beyond the field of human remains, and as material evidence in the exchange of ideas about the significance of the debate about race in society (cf. Gilroy 2004). We now understand that this project also opens new approaches to research into the ethnographic collections as a whole, and above all, it has made us aware of the complicated issue of authority and the sharing of knowledge about ethnographic collections that were collected in a colonial past.



The anthropology room in the Colonial Institute in Amsterdam.

Photographer: C.A. Schouten

Date: ca. 1925

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Chapter 1 reviews the history of physical anthropology as an academic discipline, and the role of photography. This is followed in Chapter 2 by a history of the Royal Tropical Institute as an institution. Between 1915 and 1964, Prof. J.P. Kleiweg de Zwaan, Prof. R.A.M. Bergman and Dr A.J. van Bork-Felkamp formed a semi-autonomous sub-department of physical anthropology, which was wound up after Bergman's retirement, probably not coincidentally, following the Dutch withdrawal from Dutch New Guinea. A description of the workings of the physical anthropology sub-department, its tools and approaches, is followed by a short review of the thirty years intermezzo before, a generation later, the issue reemerges.

Chapter 3 focuses on the physical anthropological collections as they exist today, with a description and a classification. The physical anthropological human remains are categorised in three classes. The first comprises human remains, subdivided in: contemporary collections (less than 200 years old); archaeological collections; objects made of or with human remains. The second consists of related sub-collections of photographs, plaster casts, academic sources and scientific instruments; the third contains animal remains. This chapter also presents the basic principles of our policies for these collections. Each item in these categories is to be assessed to determine an appropriate course of action: preservation or de-accession (meaning either repatriation, or destruction by cremation or burial, by donation for destructive academic use, or transfer of ownership to another museum collection to be kept for scientific purposes). Criteria are given for these different actions. The Epilogue discusses the current exhibition context of the physical anthropological legacy.

Finally, the Appendices contain a list of donors and short biographies of the principal donors, a concise inventory of the human remains, a report on the 2006 meeting of experts on human remains, and references to primary and secondary literature.

Thinking about human remains in museum collections requires a multi-disciplinary approach. It was an extraordinary experience to discover how difficult and time consuming, and yet how important it is to reconstruct an intellectual and institutional history of a museum, in order to understand it as a vital place in today's global world. This *Bulletin* is the result of the joint effort by the authors mentioned on the title page, with David van Duuren as the steady all-round expert in this field. Many other members of the museum staff (registrars, collection management staff, curators) also played an important role. In addition, we are grateful for the serious, supportive and critical thoughts and comments of Dutch and international colleagues in the drafting of this *Bulletin* and the many questions they raised. We thank them all, and invite readers to respond to this publication, and look forward to the next phase in this Tropenmuseum human remains project.¹

1 How human remains became collectable objects

Introduction

Erfgoed en Toekomst ('Heritage and the Future: A Working Document', 2003), the collection report which forms part of the Tropenmuseum's five-year policy plan, inventories, weighs up and evaluates the museum's major sub-collections. It sets out the frameworks within which the proposed activities concerning the collection up to 2007 are to be realised, referring particularly to acquisition, administration, accessibility, research, and the dissemination of knowledge and new research results by means of exhibitions, publications and an increasing supply of digital options.

The policy frameworks are governed by a combination of the museum's own tradition and collection profiles, the agreements and mutual arrangements between the Dutch museums which together administer what are known as the Netherlands Ethnological Collection, as well as by the international regulations or norms relating to museological politics and ethics. In inventorying the whole collection, the report employs three collection categories – A, B and C – which are of differing importance to the Tropenmuseum. Category A consists of the regional and thematic core collections which, for a number of reasons, are essential, indispensable and irreplaceable to the Tropenmuseum. Together they form the heart of the museum collection. Category B includes collections or parts of collections which are of importance because of their representative, aesthetic and documentary value, and which frequently underpin and frame the objects from the core collections. Category C contains regional and thematic collections which cannot be classed under the above two categories and which do not, or no longer, fit into the museum's current collection policy. But, as the report states, 'These collections, however, occupy an important place in the work of the museum because they qualify for exchange, long-term loan or disposal. This frequently involves intensive consultation and preliminary investigation' (Tropenmuseum 2003:19).

The collections of human remains are classified as Category C collections. This *Bulletin* discusses why and whether this is correct. As far as the ethnographic

collections are concerned, Category C collections comprise objects from cultural regions that have never formed part of the Tropenmuseum's collection policy or its central focus. This specifically concerns collections from all areas that do not form part of the tropics or the subtropics: Eastern Asia (China, Japan and Korea), Europe, North America and the Arctic. The physical anthropological collections in this Category C, however, were acquired neither by accident nor coincidence. Physical anthropology is a branch of science that has been practised for decades as an integral part of the scientific programme of the Colonial Museum, and its successor, the Tropenmuseum. Biological anthropology – long considered an essential and even conditional branch of the all-embracing study of man – could not function without its own tangible research material in the form of human remains which, particularly in the early years of the Colonial Institute, largely came from Dutch overseas territories. In order to understand this collection, we first need to briefly sketch its history in the context of the development of physical anthropology as an academic discipline. This is followed by a short introduction on one of the tools of physical anthropology: photography. Within a collection the distinction between human remains and cultural artefacts is not always easy to make, and this is even more the case where photographs are concerned.

Physical anthropology: A brief sketch

The term anthropology is a composite of the Greek words *anthropos*, man, and *logos*, science, which together mean science or knowledge of man. Virtually everything that concerns man or affects him can be classified under the general term of the study of man. This was the approach adopted from the Middle Ages onwards. Thus theology has its own anthropology which determines the position or relationship of man in terms of his Maker. Philosophical anthropology considers secular questions which arise from man as a specific form of existence (What is man?) and, much later, came scientific anthropology which turned its back on these metaphysical questions and explored man in himself in a comparative way man as a concrete biological and socio-cultural being. There was little interactive contact between the two schools of thought, although there were bridge builders. One of these was the French Jesuit and paleo-anthropologist Teilhard de Chardin who presented a highly personal synthesis of the Christian doctrine and the theory of evolution in his book *Le Phénomène Humain* (1955).

Before anthropology got its name – the scientific variant founded on observations and research – there had been a long ancestry of human-oriented speculations, observations and opinions that could be termed 'anthropological'. The Greek historian and traveller Herodotus is always held to be the founding father of anthropology because of his precise and systematic descriptions of the physical and cultural characteristics of other peoples, which reveal a genuine wonder and were prompted by a thirst for

knowledge and understanding. Herodotus was followed by a host of other travellers and practitioners of the sciences who recorded their findings of the various forms of the 'deviant other'. As well as observing, they also made wild speculations about the inhabitants of far-off, unknown, or simply imaginary places, which almost certainly bore no relation to what those people really were like. These exotic countries beyond the horizon were allegedly inhabited by antipodeans, cyclopes, one-legged people, giants, dwarfs, albinos, one-eyed headless monsters and other variants of normal humanity.

The overseas expansion of Europe that began at the end of the fifteenth century put an end to these wild fantasies. The seafarers discovered new continents and islands whose inhabitants appeared to have perfectly ordinary human bodies. Nonetheless the minor somatic differences from Europeans that stood out clearly – skin colour, hair form, shape of the skull and a variety of different kinds of physical build and ways of moving – were to become of decisive significance for a new classification of mankind.

However the roots of the later physical anthropology – some practitioners of which became intensively preoccupied with what they called primitive man – lay not in the encounter with foreign peoples and cultures, but in the anatomical dissecting rooms and later in the European sanatoriums where people with deviant behaviour and a sickly physical constitution were admitted. It was to be a long time before Freud came on the scene and made the connection between deviant behaviour and personal histories and traumas. Meanwhile people attempted in any way they could to connect man's physical constitution – nearly always considered as the root cause – with all sorts of other mental characteristics, such as ability, temperament and intelligence. This causal connection was applied at both the individual level and that of the group to which the individual belonged or was thought to belong. Attempts were made to arrive at a classification whereby clear subdivisions could be made which would provide a better understanding of the human variations. Scientific approaches, measurements and arguments were put forward which would today be regarded as peculiar. This is illustrated by physiognomy, an eighteenth-century study of facial features or expressions propounded by the Swiss Protestant pastor Lavater as a new science. The gist of Lavater's view is that the shape of someone's face, the combination of certain features, tells one something fundamental about the character of the owner of that face. Thus someone with a straight profile and a hooked nose was attributed with different mental traits than someone with a receding chin and a low hairline. Although the science of physiognomy had only a short life something of it remained: the notion of a strong-willed jaw or an intellectual high forehead presumably stem from that period.

Physiognomy was followed by phrenology, the science of the skull, propounded by the Austrian anatomist and physician Gall. The basic premise of his theory was that character traits had their fixed place in the brain and, consequently, if certain traits were more strongly developed then the corresponding part of the brain would also be more developed. Moreover this was reflected on the surface of the skull with swellings

and bumps. In this way phrenologists formulated a topography of the human skull and so of the composition of the character of the living, or indeed dead, owner of the skull. This science also vanished relatively quickly, but once again something of it has survived to this day: the so-called head for mathematics or languages sometimes attributed to people. Much more advanced, but now also superseded, was the approach of the nineteenth-century physician-criminologist Lombroso who, partly borrowing from Lavater and Gall's approach, defined the prototypical criminal's head, the Lombroso skull – an expression that lives on today.

All this is sufficient to point-up that people were fascinated by the human head or the human skull and that it formed the focus of research that sought to establish links between man's anatomical features and his nature and mental capacities. It is notable, however, that from all this pseudo or nonsense-science relating to the human head something always lingered on.

The theories of the later physical anthropologists do not stem directly from the findings of this primitive psychology, but show greater affinity with the entire way of thinking and spirit of the day. The tone was set and it was inevitable that the physical appearance of the inhabitants of newly discovered areas would, for whatever reason, become the subject of research. As the Europeans advanced, new worlds opened up and sciences such as geography and biology flourished. As objects of interest in themselves, human and animal skulls early on formed part of the so-called Wunderkammer and collections of curiosities crammed with exotica that sprang up all over Europe. The first Javanese skull arrived in the Netherlands as early as 1610, long before any notion of anthropology (Vanvugt 1998:35). And as new biological collections arrived, and new varieties were discovered, the greater the need for classification and taxonomy.

During the long period leading up to the nineteenth century, knowledge of the new human races was largely based on meetings *in situ*. And in their countless reports the early travellers blurred three separate categories, which today would be differentiated under the somatic, psychic and cultural characteristics of man, thereby creating a mishmash of amazement, bewilderment, incomprehension and, above all, value-judgements and prejudice. This led to doubts about racial equality being openly expressed, and blacks (known as the Ethiopian race) in particular were placed by some at a lower stage of human development. One thing was certain to the Europeans however: the 'other' was a backward or degenerate, wild or barbarian creature, stupid, childlike, dirty, pitiable, brutal and an idolater. All the conditions were present for people to set about elevating this backward section of humanity and place it under the care of the representatives of the white, Christian, civilised nations. We see this line of reasoning recurring trenchantly in the debates on the principles on which the slavery system was founded. Enlightenment scientists, such as J.F. Blumenbach in *De Generis Humani Varietate Nativa* (On the Native Variations of the Human Race) of 1786, proposed that there was only one single human type, which showed no differences in the physical stages of development and which could only be classified under a number of differing races. Some defenders of slavery, however, continued

into the nineteenth century to openly doubt that blacks were any less different from man than beasts.

The old all-embracing view of the 'other' led to the ultimate object of study and concomitant content of anthropology: primitive man and his special status as biological creature and purveyor of culture. Anthropology became an all-embracing study, as is borne out today by American reference books on the subject. Introductions with titles such as *The Study of Man* or *Man and his Works* invariably start with chapters on the evolution, descent and place of man in the animal kingdom, followed by race, archaeology, the origin and nature of language, the origin and definition of culture, economy and division of labour, political structures, mythology, religion, magic and ritual, types of society, art, music and so on. No sociologist would dream of starting a work of reference on Western societies with apes and prosimians and a description of early homo sapiens and stone implements.

The nineteenth century was the century of Darwin and his theory of evolution which in turn undermined the doctrine of monogenesis, the one-off genesis of man (Creation). The possibility of polygenesis – the emergence of man in several different places – was proposed, implying that primitive peoples could no longer be considered as the physically and culturally degenerate descendants of Adam and Eve. This century saw anthropology crystallise into a science that was studied not only at universities but at museums as well. Evolutionist anthropology, which classified cultures and separate objects in a fixed order from low to high and simple to complex, would have been impossible without sizeable museum collections. As proof of evolution, human and animal bones were needed alongside archaeological and ethnographical objects. So in the second half of the century, primitive man was studied not so much as an end in itself, but to gain a better insight into the outward appearance and lifestyle of animal-like prehistoric man, who exerted such a fascination and whose biological and cultural remains were being excavated everywhere at that time. By comparing bones and particularly skulls, archaeological tools and ethnographical objects, scholars filled in the unwritten history and diffusion of man on earth. Anthropology embraced virtually everything and primitive cultures – regarded as survivals, sort of living fossils – acted as a laboratory for a comparison with prehistoric times and for pseudo-historical constructions.

Physical anthropology developed rapidly in this period. In the second half of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries, vast quantities of human remains, both contemporary and archaeological, ended up in the reserves of European and American museums. These were studied (although some museums were only concerned with collecting) with specially developed measuring instruments and techniques – often radically different from those of ordinary medical anatomy – to establish and describe racial traits: inherited physical group characteristics. The primary research was descriptive and inventorying and, in a wider context, comparative, with the ultimate aim of filling in the world map with human races, the diffusion of races, and historical racial mixture. In fact the thrust of physical anthropology was the same

as ethnology, which filled in the world map with cultures, cultural migrations and the mixture of cultures. Physical anthropologists were racialists, which is not the same – and this should be emphasised – as scientific or ideological racists. They took as their basic premise that there was one single human species which is divided into different races. In seeking scientific explanations for the great diversity of cultures, physical anthropology was inclined to accord an excessive importance to human physical and psychological variations. In this respect they took a different viewpoint from their ideological opponents, the environmental determinists, who saw man's adaptation to the many different natural environments in which he lived as being entirely responsible for the emergence of different races and cultural levels.

From the end of the nineteenth century, the methodology of traditional physical anthropology was based on the premise that to measure is to know. This approach left us a vast array of anthropometric coefficients, numbers and tables obtained from international comparative research carried out on living subjects in the field and dead subjects in the laboratory. In fact the final result failed to produce any conclusive definition of race; according to some there were three human races, others maintained that there were dozens, and others still hundreds, complete with local micro-races which arose as a result of long-standing isolation (in the Netherlands, for instance, the former closed societies in the village of Staphorst and on the small former islands of Urk and Marken, were studied as local, uncontaminated peoples). No link was ever conclusively proven between race, cranium capacity and intelligence, neither did the international comparison of *sacra* lead to any conclusion, and no less the idea of variations in temperament. In the course of the twentieth century new developments in the science of man – genetics, blood group research and later the discovery of DNA – entirely brushed aside the preceding phase of biological anthropology. Postwar archaeological and linguistic research around the world frequently belied earlier theories on the age, diffusion and cultural diversity of ethnic groups.

Although the measuring methods of physical anthropologists were applied worldwide and therefore also to white Europeans – just as psychoanalysts analysed each other, anthropologists measured one another – from the current viewpoint these methods are considered unethical. They were founded on an assumed inequality between the researcher who functioned within a Western academic and political discourse and the researched who was merely the subject of that discourse, attempting to classify according to an implicit hierarchy or order of rank. Physical anthropology and the exhibition practices that followed the research, contributed profoundly to a them-and-us way of thinking. Furthermore it was a science that essentially flourished in the climate of colonial interaction. Easy access to almost every part of the world enabled researchers to proceed unhindered with measuring and taking anthropometric photographs of colonial subjects, and with collecting their physical remains. The cold reduction of people and their skeletons to research objects for the purpose of an inventorying racial description, a typology or a global map of the evolution and diffusion of human types, contributed to a negative image of the

'other' as lower, inferior or different. And it depended on the fashion of the time as to which of these three terms pertained. This is why we have dwelled on physiognomy and phrenology: however outmoded the line of research and its methods might be, something always remains. And this certainly applies to the conclusions of the old physical anthropology.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries physical anthropology did not function in isolation, but formed part of a larger intellectual and social exposition that was particularly led by social philosophers, sociologists and political idealists. Physical anthropologists studied migration, adaptations of the body and physical processes of people to changes in circumstances; they wanted not only to understand but also to predict, as in eugenics. Physical anthropology offered the basic ingredients of a right-wing ideological discussion that was succinctly summarised by the three terms: Race, Class and Nation. Indeed it was in the context of this whole period of social Darwinism, of the formation of reactionary European national identities, *Blut und Boden*, the study of local customs, folklore and popular instinct, and of the political and moral justification of Western hegemony over the rest of the world, that physical anthropology really came into its own. Most objectively presented anthropological findings about human variations were used for political interventions in the field of eugenics and scientific racism: political racial doctrine and racial hygiene with its insistence on purity of blood and its romantic-nationalist standardisation of race, people, history and culture, and the practice of 'Rassenkunde' or racial science in the German sense, which had its most notorious and extreme application in the Nazi genocide of the European Jews and Gypsies during the Second World War. In fact this belief was open to profound abuse in the colonial sphere too.

After the Second World War physical anthropology gradually lost credibility. Its core concept of race had become discredited, and it therefore came to be regarded as a bogus science. However, it has been given a second chance. Now known as anthropobiology, human biology or the biology of man, which is concerned with human evolution, variation and growth, it has changed its focus, as a relevant and authoritative science. Genetics, biochemistry, ecology and ethnology came into being and have changed physical anthropology's orientation and content into 'a complex of disciplines dealing with the origins of man and his physical and biosocial evolution; in other words, a synthetic approach to the study of man as a zoological species', in the words of a recent overview of the history of physical anthropology in the Netherlands (Roede 2002: 1037, quotation from 1975). The focus on primitive man has disappeared, racial purity and racial mixture are no longer a theme nor is the presumed causal connection between race and intelligence. Even the term race is avoided as far as possible and replaced by other terms, such as the designation genetic pool or genetic isolates. Static racial maps have given way to correlation maps which may for instance indicate the correlation between genetic factors, environment, living conditions and cultural customs on the one hand, and body build, growth curves and regional characteristics or illnesses on the other. Thus the global spread of breast

cancer or obesity is defined as an anthropobiological problem. And of course anthropobiology, in terms of the culture of man, has an incontrovertible axiom that more than justifies it as a field of research: the emergence and existence of culture is inextricably bound-up with the unique neurophysiological development and structure of the human body. There are no elephant or bat cultures! Which brings us, via numerous publications to the significance of the human remains collected in the context of the study of physical anthropology (Banton 1977, De Haan & Stockman 2001, and others).

Today, physical anthropology plays a role in a variety of academic disciplines, such as anthropology, anatomy, biology, archaeology, pathology, paleopathology and forensic research. The new parameters for scientific research do not imply that the historical collections of human remains collected in outmoded fieldwork settings, have lost their significance. For instance, the British *Guidance for the Care of Human Remains in Museums* (2005) mentions research into human remains and their context as an important source of direct evidence of the past in matters such as human evolution, adaptation and genetic relationships, past demography and health, history of disease and of medicine, burial practices, beliefs and attitudes and 'the diversity of cultural practices in which the body and its parts are used' (*Guidance* 2005:8). However, are we able to look for such evidence in the collections for which we have inherited responsibility? The old search for racial differences with all its connotations of rank and racial hierarchies, reflected in the collections of human remains, cannot be ignored. These ideas established themselves in social relationships, in cultural understanding and political practices. The human remains have become historical evidence of this discourse.

Finding new destinations for these historical collections requires societies to face the realities of contemporary racism. This is what is on the public agenda in restitution cases such as those initiated by Native Americans, Aborigines or Maoris. It also plays a role in the more or less well-intended restrictiveness of institutions with human remains to be open about what exactly is in the collections. However, new academic insights, institutional changes and political fortuity do not discharge the owners of the collections from knowing about their collection and its history and to be open and willing to inform those who want to know what they have. For instance, the opening of a new Musée du quai Branly in Paris in 2006 and the accompanying separation of the physical and cultural anthropological collections of the Musée de l'Homme added a new chapter to the social biography of both the objects that went to the quai Branly stores and those that stayed behind at the Trocadéro. This separation between ethnographic art history and physical anthropology has happened in and between many museums, including the Tropenmuseum. However, it does not discharge the keepers of these collections from maintaining the link between the physical and cultural anthropological collections and guiding those who need information about this connection.

Physical anthropology and photography

This division between physical and cultural anthropology is no less crucial in the collections of ethnographic photographs. In the nineteenth century, photography began to play an increasingly significant role in the development of physical anthropology as a scientific discipline. Indeed, without photography physical anthropology would have developed in an entirely different way. Photographs that physical anthropologists used in their research were taken on location in the field, on expeditions, in laboratories, in doctors' surgeries and researchers' studies, at archaeological sites, in countless villages and towns where anthropologists worked, in photograph studios, hospitals, police stations and barracks where new recruits were measured. They drew up categories based on a distinction between anthropological and ethnological photography which is relevant here. (Physical) anthropological photography includes anthropometric photography, photographs of types, photography as an aid to measuring physical proportions; ethnographic photography incorporates categories such as landscape photography (nature, landscape, habitat), external appearance (clothes, jewellery), posed photographs taken at photograph studios, posed photographs taken on location in the countries themselves, photographs of technology used by people, customs and traditions in private and public life of peoples, cultural changes and acculturation. It is not always possible to divide the two precisely: a picture may be a photograph of a type and it may also be a posed portrait. Defining the nature of a photograph may depend on its origins, purpose and the (apparent) intention of the photographer or researcher.

The potential significance of accurate visual material for physical anthropological research was immediately clear. 'Es wäre schön, wenn [...] dem Menschen von seinen Mitbrüdern auf der Erde eine Gallerie gezeichneter Formen und Gestalten geben könnte. Aber wie weit sind wir noch von der Erfüllung dieses anthropologischen Wunsches' sighed Johann Gottlieb Herder in 1785 in his *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (Theye 1989:60). A portrait gallery of all the world's types of people and races would have served the encyclopaedists of the eighteenth century well in their attempts to describe the whole world. However, it was not technically possible. This changed in 1839 with the invention of photography. It was not long after the announcement of Daguerre's invention to the French Academy of Arts and Sciences in Paris and of William Henry Talbot's improvements in England, that the medium spread around the world. Photography had significant advantages to other methods, such as drawings, prints and paintings, both with regard to how the image was recorded and its reproduction and distribution. Photography registered reality objectively. It was a simple medium to use and allowed even the uninitiated to achieve reasonable results. Above all, photographs were easy to reproduce, as prints and as illustrations in publications.

Naturally, there were disadvantages. The apparent objectivity remained relative. However methodical and objective the photographer, the picture would always remain

an interpretation. Moreover, the use of a camera involved a certain interaction between the photographer and the subject of the picture. Even the interpretation of the resulting photograph by an observer remained subjective and changed over the years. Artists often point out that photographs have the disadvantage as a documentary source of failing to focus on the kind of details that a drawing can easily highlight. Biologists, for example, prefer to use drawings, and find photographs considerably less suitable.

Photography soon became enormously popular among physical anthropologists, especially in the scientific community. During the nineteenth century standard photometric methods were developed. In response to Herder's call to establish a gallery of human races, Etienne-Renaud-Augustin Serres, president of the French Academy of Arts and Sciences appealed in 1845 for a Photographic Museum of Human Races. He hoped to bring people together and compare them through photographs of the various types and physical forms (Theye 1989:61). Many attempts were made to create portrait galleries. Collectors necessarily relied on heterogeneous collections of pictures taken by different photographers, travellers and expeditions, studio portraits whether for commercial or non-commercial use (postcards), type portraits, group photographs, *in situ* photographs at villages and towns. These photographs were often arranged geographically by country and continent. There was as yet no biological division into races and types.

At first, these photograph collections were sufficient to show the diversity of peoples around the world, yet they were a poor basis for scientific insight. This acquired new importance with the growing debate about evolution. Resistance to this theory, especially among observant Christians who maintained that the biblical story of Creation was the only correct version of events, stimulated scientists to find proof to demonstrate its veracity. The scientific foundation of the theory was mainly based on measurements and classifications, using photography, both so-called anthropological and ethnographical photography, as a support. Anthropologist Gustav Fritsch of Berlin first distinguished the two in 1872 in his *Rathschläge für anthropologische Untersuchungen auf Expeditionen der Marine*, describing this in greater detail three years later in 'Praktische Gesichtspunkte für die Verwendung zweier dem Reisenden wichtigen technischen Hilfsmittel: das Mikroskop und der photographische Apparat' in Georg Neumayer's *Anleitung zu Wissenschaftlichen Beobachtung Auf Reisen*. Fritsch differentiated between anthropological and ethnographical photography: 'Für die Herstellung zuverlässiger Abbildungen fremder Völkerstämme zu allgemeiner Vergleichung ist die Anwendung Photographie daher als unumgänglich nötig zu bezeichnen. Die Methode wird eine andere sein, wenn man die Gesichtsbildung und die Körperformen speziell in's Auge fasst (physiognomische Aufnahmen), oder wenn man den allgemeinen Eindruck der Personen fixieren, sie in ihrer Lebensweise und Beschäftigung darstellen, ihre Kleidung, Waffen und Geräte abbilden will (ethnographische Aufnahmen)' (Theye 1990:386).

It is worth noting that in this vision, anthropology was synonymous with what we would now call physical anthropology; for Fritsch, ethnographic photographs

provided a descriptive image of one or more persons in an everyday setting while anthropological photographs were supposed to show as exact an image as possible of the person (usually one person per photograph) to allow for anthropological measurements (anthropometry). Two methods emerged after 1869 for the collection of anthropometric photographic scientific material. These were named after their respective inventors: Thomas Henry Huxley and John Lamprey (Spencer 1992:99 ff). The Darwinian biologist Thomas Henry Huxley (at that time President of the Ethnological Society of London) developed guidelines for full-length photographs of naked subjects, both frontal and profile, beside a marked ruler and at a fixed distance from the camera. The frontal pose was with the heels touching, with the right arm stretched horizontally and the palm open towards the camera; the profile was with the left side facing the camera. The left arm was meant to be slightly bent to show the contours of the body. The contours of the breasts were also meant to be visible in photographs of women, as a racial characteristic. Finally, Huxley also recommended taking separate photographs of the head, both frontal and profile.

By disseminating his guidelines as widely as possible Huxley hoped to generate sufficient numbers of photographs adhering to his system to draw statistical conclusions for racial comparisons. However, the system proved far from perfect; it was evidently difficult to determine the subject's true height, since this meant getting the person to stand straight against the vertical background to which the ruler was attached. The positions of the arm and hand also cast doubt on whether the ruler was really vertical, while researchers criticised the position of the head and the arms. Since the thickness of the hair made height measurement difficult, scientists suggested shaving their subjects. However, this idea was abandoned as unworkable. As a result of the criticism Huxley's system found few adherents (see also Edwards 2001, chapter 6).

In 1869 John Lamprey suggested another system. This was based on a background grid with squares of 2 x 2 inches in a 3 x 7 foot frame. The subject would stand naked in front of the grid, and would be photographed from the front and side. Similar objections were raised to this system as before, especially regarding accuracy, although this was less critical, perhaps because the system appeared simple, easy to use and reasonably precise, and apparently allowed more opportunity for classical poses. Photograph collections reflect the influence of this system. It was used everywhere, with some minor adjustments, until well into the twentieth century. Both systems required optimum conditions for photography that could only be achieved in a studio. Considerable improvisation was needed to take anthropometric photographs in the field.

Later, methods were developed to measure skulls with photography. Objections were soon raised to this practice. As W.H. Wesley wrote in 1866: 'Many skull photographs are rendered almost useless in consequence of the operator being seldom an artist, and still more rarely a scientific man. The mistakes about position, elevation, etc (... though) common to many drawings, are even more frequent occurrence in photographs of the skull'. Here again the question at issue was the alleged objectivity

of photography. Apparently, the eye sees more than the camera registers. Scientists therefore continued to prefer drawings over photographs, as reflected in publications about anatomy and craniology. Although scientists continued to look for ways to use photography to achieve the most meticulous possible depictions of skulls, to allow measurements to be taken from photographs.

Academic staff and fieldwork



Dr. J.P. Kleiweg de Zwaan with medicine men from Taluk during the Central-Sumatra Expedition of Alfred Maass.

Photographer: unknown

Date: 1907-1908

0004 2118

Dr. J.P. Kleiweg de Zwaan while making physical-anthropological measurements in Tenganan, Bali.

Photographer: unknown

Date: 1939

1000 4939



The physical-anthropologist
Dr. R.A.M. Bergman in
his laboratory in Batavia.
Photographer: unknown
Date: 25 Mai 1930
1002 7170



Dr. J. van Baal, governor
of Dutch New Guinea.
Photographer: unknown
Date: 1954
1002 8270

2 Physical anthropology in Amsterdam

The Colonial Institute in Amsterdam was established in 1910 as a Dutch centre of expertise in a range of subjects relating to Dutch colonialism, including trade, ethnology and tropical hygiene. Presentations on trade and ethnology were displayed in a museum, the Colonial Museum, which was divided in two sections: a trade museum about tropical products, and an ethnographic museum about man and society, both emphasising the peoples of the Indonesian archipelago. This Colonial Museum was part of the institute's ethnology department. Its first director, J.C. van Eerde, was keen to develop a fully fledged department, building on the collections of the original Colonial Museum in Haarlem (founded in 1864), and the ethnographic museum of Amsterdam's Artis Zoo (founded in 1858). Although it was not until the 1920s that the Colonial Institute's offices were ready for use and the collections were moved into the new museum, physical anthropology occupied a prominent position in the scientific and public profile of the Colonial Institute from 1915 on. In the same year a department was organised to supervise acquisitions, management and distribution of photographs, slides and negatives. The collections of these two departments are discussed below; in this section the focus is on the institutional setting: staff, collection policies and research.

The academic staff of physical anthropology 1915-1967

From start to finish, from 1915 to 1967, physical anthropology at the Colonial Institute, later the Royal Tropical Institute, revolved around three leading figures: Dr J.P. Kleiweg de Zwaan, Dr A.J. van Bork-Feltkamp and Dr R.A.M. Bergman.

In 1915, Prof. J.C. Van Eerde, the first director of the Colonial Institute's ethnology department (Afdeling Volkenkunde, as it was called until 1949) persuaded his superiors to appoint an expert physical anthropologist, arguing that without such a specialist, anthropological science would not be fully represented at the future Colonial Museum. As a result, Dr J.P. Kleiweg de Zwaan was appointed. The new

member of staff was no lightweight. After studying medicine in Amsterdam, Leiden, Berlin and Paris, Kleiweg de Zwaan (1875-1971) had worked for a period as a ship's doctor and went on to be assistant to professors P.K. Pel and P. Ruitinga of internal medicine at the University of Amsterdam. His life and career had changed course, however, when in 1907 he served as a physical anthropologist on a German scientific expedition to Central Sumatra led by Alfred Maass. In 1908 he obtained his doctorate in Amsterdam with the thesis *Bijdrage tot de anthropologie der Menangkabau-Maleiers* (Contribution to the anthropology of the Menangkabau Malay) based on the research that he had carried out in the field during that Sumatra expedition.² Kleiweg de Zwaan had fallen in love with the Dutch East Indies. He travelled through Java, Bali and Lombok and in 1910 he undertook more extensive field research – partly funded by the Royal Dutch Geographical Society – to the island of Nias, off the west coast of Sumatra. His physical anthropological studies of its people, complete with plaster casts of their faces, were considered classics of contemporary Dutch anthropology. He continued to be fascinated by Nias and published regular studies about the island, both the inhabitants and their culture, into the 1950s.

Kleiweg de Zwaan was an external lecturer in medical cultural history at the University of Amsterdam when Van Eerde invited him to take up a post at the Colonial Institute in 1915. His formal affiliation with the Colonial Institute changed several times. In 1919 he became professor by special appointment of anthropology and prehistory for the Colonial Institute at the University of Amsterdam. This combination of physical anthropology and prehistory was to be a common feature of the development of the academic discipline in the Netherlands for the years to come. In 1924 the university established a special chair of anthropology and medicine of the native population of the Dutch colonies, which Kleiweg de Zwaan held as well, until 1939. From 1915 to 1927 he was a salaried staff member of the institute. In 1928 he formally retired and became a salaried professor at the University of Amsterdam. However, until 1948, Kleiweg de Zwaan kept his affiliation with the Colonial Institute as an 'honorary anthropologist' and as *de facto* head of the sub-department of physical anthropology. In 1939, pessimism regarding the world situation and fear of impending war had prompted him to withdraw from the university at the age of 64, and he gave up his professorships.³ In 1948, at the age of 73, he also gave up his honorary position at the institute, although he remained active for a few years more.

Together with the ethnologist Van Eerde, who also rose from associate professor to full professor by special appointment at the University of Amsterdam, Kleiweg de Zwaan formed a prestigious duo at the Colonial Institute. Van Eerde's handbook *Koloniale Volkenkunde* (Colonial Ethnology), was used in the training of successive generations of indologists and colonial administrators (first published 1914, reprinted many times, and published in French in 1926). Even more than his colleague Van Eerde, Kleiweg de Zwaan had an impressive series of authoritative publications to his name and he sat on the boards of many international societies and organisations.

For a time he was chairman of the board of the Royal Dutch Geographical Society (KNAG), in 1922 he was co-founder of the Netherlands National Bureau for Anthropology (the Dutch branch of the French Institut International d'Anthropologie, which he chaired until 1944) and in 1925 of the Amsterdam sociological-anthropological journal *Mensch en Maatschappij* (Man and Society). In 1927 he played a leading role in the organisation of the third international congress of the Institut International d'Anthropologie, held at the Colonial Institute in Amsterdam.⁴ As a result of his role in bringing together anthropology, prehistory, ethnology and later also folklore, and as instigator or participant of such large international congresses, he became a highly regarded figure both in the Netherlands and abroad and accumulated an impressive network of influential colleagues. His successor, Prof. R.A.M. Bergman praised his energy and academic output at his golden jubilee as a physical anthropologist in 1959 (NTVG vol. 103:4, 24 Jan. 1959).

It is quite remarkable that Kleiweg de Zwaan's memory has all but disappeared at the Royal Tropical Institute. Along with ethnomusicologist Jaap Kunst, he was the most renowned and influential figure in the history of the ethnology department of the Colonial Institute. It is difficult to build a picture of the man and his activities within the department, and of his relationship with the representatives of the department's principal direction, the traditional ethnology of Van Eerde and his successor B.O.J. Schrieke (1938-1939). Indeed, it is hard to imagine how Kleiweg de Zwaan and departmental assistant Dr A.J. van Bork-Feltkamp divided their tasks.

A.J. van Bork-Feltkamp (1893-1970) wrote various surveys of the history of physical anthropology in the Netherlands, but she did not record her own role in this field. In fact there are hardly any photographs of her.⁵ She started as a biologist and began her career as a research fellow at the Central Institute for Brain Research (founded in 1909 at the University of Amsterdam). She obtained her doctorate in 1930 with a thesis on the anatomy of sixty Chinese brains in the university collection of specimens. Her name appears for the first time in the Colonial Institute's annual report of 1931 as a user of the study room. Despite her central role in the development of physical anthropology at the institute, she never held a formal post; until 1949 she is mentioned as a volunteer, and later as an honorary prosector (purveyor of medical and anatomical specimens) and staff member. Mrs van Bork-Feltkamp seems to have fulfilled an indispensable role as a jack-of-all-trades of the physical anthropology sub-department (whereas she was also active in the other organisations mentioned here). She made up and looked after the specimens, documented collections and published, as well as the day-to-day administration. She also participated in congresses on behalf of the Colonial, later Royal Tropical Institute and lectured in courses on anthropology organised by the ethnology department. Her position appeared to be a combination of more or less well-known scientist and secretary to the direction.⁶

Van Bork-Feltkamp stayed when Kleiweg de Zwaan stepped down in 1948 and was succeeded by R.A.M. Bergman (1899-1967) as the new director of what from 1950 to 1962 was called the department of cultural and physical anthropology. Bergman was originally a doctor. After completing his medical studies in 1928, he had gone to the Dutch East Indies where he became a teacher at N.I.A.S. medical school in Surabaya, 1923-1942 and at the medical faculty in Batavia 1928-1938.⁷ His professional background is typical of the close connection between physical anthropology and the medical profession, which is also reflected in the list of principal donors of the collections discussed below. As Van Bork-Feltkamp stated in 1949: 'Anthropology is only rarely carried on in Holland and the Indies by special anthropologists, most of this work being done by medical men or anatomists who have anthropological interests' (Van Bork-Feltkamp in *Man* 1949 vol. 51).

For a brief period after the Second World War, Bergman was professor of anatomy and microscopic anatomy at the faculty of medicine of the University of Indonesia in Jakarta (1947-1949). On the recommendation of Prof. C.T. Bertling, then director of the ethnology department, Bergman joined the museum as physical anthropologist in 1949. In 1950 he became professor by special appointment of tropical anthropology at the University of Amsterdam for the Royal Tropical Institute, thereby continuing Kleiweg de Zwaan's chair. However, the subject material was clearly different. Prehistory, which from 1924 had formed part of the anthropology curriculum, had been dropped. In 1953 Bergman also succeeded Bertling a director of the anthropology department. He clearly emphasised different priorities. While Van Bork-Feltkamp kept the department going, it seems that physical anthropology was gradually disappearing. In 1962 Bergman gave up his post as the director of the department of cultural and physical anthropology and proposed Dr J. van Baal as his successor.

Van Baal, a former (and second last) governor of Dutch New Guinea, who after 1962 also became part-time professor of religious ethnology and anthropology of social change at Amsterdam and then at Utrecht, was known as an innovator. And indeed he made a clean sweep. He changed the name of the department to anthropology in 1963, and in 1969 to Social Science Research. When Bergman retired in 1964 at the age of 65 (he became an honorary member of staff and emeritus professor) Van Baal decided not to fill the vacant position. Three years later, in 1967, Bergman died. Van Baal honoured him in the first issue of the new *Tropical Man*, the yearbook of the anthropology department of the Royal Tropical Institute and simultaneously announced the end of physical anthropology at the Royal Tropical Institute: 'Until recently our department was also engaged in physical anthropology. However, upon the death of Professor R.A.M. Bergman, who from 1953-1962 was director of the department, it was decided that the activities in this field should be confined to the keeping of the collection of anthropological objects, a task to be filled by Dr. A.J. van Bork-Feltkamp, honorary fellow of the institute since 1931. In Professor Bergman the department has lost an eminent friend and a highly respected counsellor' (*Tropical Man* 1968 vol. 1:2).

The museum's tools and methods of physical anthropology

As is evident in Chapter 3, the objects Van Baal referred to were mainly human remains. When he began working at the Colonial Institute's ethnology department, Kleiweg de Zwaan had appealed in the magazine for colonial administrators in the Dutch East Indies *Tijdschrift voor het Binnenlandsch Bestuur* (1915, vol. 49, p. 411) for objects for the collection. He emphasised that he was particularly interested in acquiring skeletons, or at least the skulls with lower jaw and teeth of adult humans. He gave detailed instructions concerning packaging for transport and the additional information that he required. At the same time, he hoped to acquire objects relating to indigenous medicine. Here again he provided detailed descriptions of the objects he was looking for, divided into seven categories: surgery, obstetrics and gynaecology, sexuality, birth, medical superstition, protection against causes of illness, instruments used in indigenous medicine. It was to be the start of the collection now under

<p>GROEP Anthropologie</p> <p>SERIE 852 No. 1</p> <p>AFKOMSTIG:</p> <p>PARACAS Peru.</p> <p>XXXXXXXX AANKOOP: Dr.G.W.N.van der Sleen, Haarlem.</p> <p>DATUM december 1933.</p>	<p>COLLECTIE INDISCH INSTITUUT</p> <p>Een vervormde mensenschedel uit Peru met bijbehorende onder- kak: donkerbruin van kleur. Voorhoofd is afgeplat; op het achterhoofd staat vermeld: Paracas VIII 1931.</p> <p>Front: zeer smal en hoog, oplopend profiel, supr. orb. boog duidelijk, os front. dubbel gewelfd, oogkas- sen rond, neus smal en spits, sterk vooruütspringend, neusopening smal en hoog, jukbeenderen uitspringend, progn. gering aanwezig.</p> <p>Rechts: kort, zeer hoog, afwijkingen voornamelijk in de pariet. en in het front.</p> <p>Achter: hoog, van onder iets breder dan van boven, for. magn. vlak tegen de achterkant van het hoofd aan, geen worm.</p> <p>Links: als rechts, geen exost.</p> <p>Onder: pr. mast. goed ontwikkeld, smal en grof; prl cond. kort; pr. styl. afgebroken; palatum smal en hoog. Onderkaak matig ontw, kin uitstekend, tand- kassen allen aanwezig.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">- M2 M1 P2 P1 C I2 - - I2-P1 P2 M1 M2 M3</p> <p style="text-align: center;">M3 M2 - P2 P1 C I2 - - C - P2 M1 M2 M3</p> <p>Bij M3 links onder is de tandkas aan het resorberen.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Z.O.Z.</p> <p>Afmetingen: Lit. zie ook exemplaren serie 877 nrs.1 t/m 4.</p> <p>Literatuur: vergl.exempl.serie 167 no.1 een kunstmatig gedeformeer- de schedel van Punta Labos (Uruguay). Ueber das Abplatten des Schädels und der Brust G.W.W.C. Baron von Hoëvell in Intern.Archiv für Ethn.VI blz.190. Afbeeldingen 262 en 263 op blz.219 in "Die Sitten der Völkcr" door dr.Georg Burken I; Afb.van de schedel voor de hoofdvorming ned.indië Oud en Nieuw Z.O.Z.</p>
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Documentation card of the Collection Department of the Tropenmuseum.

Photographer: Irene de Groot

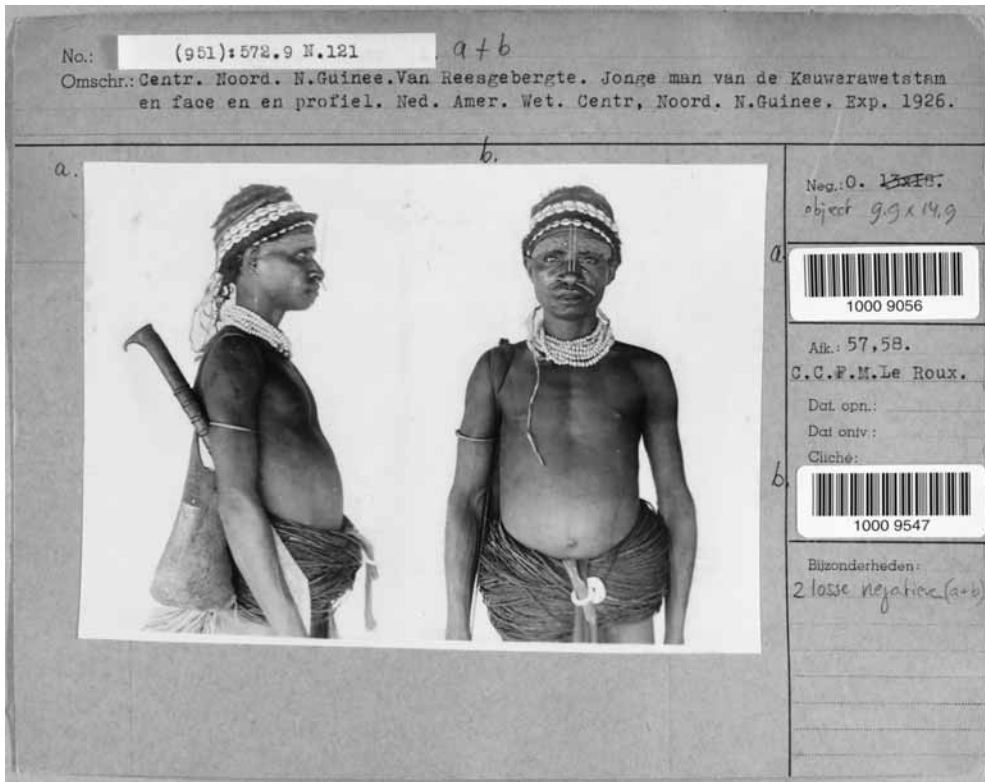
852-1

discussion. The many donors who responded to his appeal are listed in the Appendix 1.

Kleiweg de Zwaan's anthropology was founded on the paradigm of the day: that the all-embracing science of man should be interpreted from an evolutionist and diffusionist perspective, and that the biology of man and his cultural manifestations were inextricably interlinked. Both elements were capable of explaining each other. Therefore, knowledge of the origin, diffusion and classification of races and sub-races was vital. The variations – not of individuals but of groups – were important. Anthropological measurements, photographs and collections formed the basic material for group research. The primary work of museological physical anthropology was descriptive and taxonomic and, therefore, did not differ from the primary work of museological ethnology: the simple documentation of a dolichocephalic skull with protruding brows and a prognathous profile closely resembled the documentation of a diagonal alternate-weave cylindrical basket with a reinforced bottom and a bulging upper rim. As we can see from the documentation card (see illustration), the items were described according to certain formal categories (name, material, form, colour, manufacture, use, function and condition), a documentation system adopted from the German museum practice. Van Bork-Felkamp seems to have taken on the lion's share of the groundwork. A large section of the old handwritten documentation cards, signed with the initials 'vB', can be attributed to her.

In addition to these objects, the department gathered extensive documentation on research in physical anthropology. The 75 archival boxes kept in the central library of the Royal Tropical Institute provide powerful testimony that from 1915 until the 1950s physical anthropology at the Colonial Institute was a highly regarded discipline with an international reputation. This is reflected in the many books and overprints of articles written by scientists from all over the world. There was considerable exchange of material: most of the publications in the departmental archive contain a personal dedication to Kleiweg de Zwaan or, after the war, to Bergman, with thanks as professor, friend and colleague. The publications also contain references to work by close colleagues. Indeed, the archive offers an interesting source for historical research into physical anthropology.

Of great help in this respect are the records of this documentary archive. In the 1950s, the publications and overprints on physical anthropology were also catalogued on punch-cards. The introduction to the documentation system states: 'Inspired by the now somewhat obsolete categorisation by Martin (Martin, R., *Lehrbuch der Anthropologie in Systematischer Darstellung, Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der anthropologischen Methoden für Studierende, Ärzte und Forschungsreisende*, Jena 1928)'. This was a reference to the Swiss professor of physical anthropology at the University of Munich, Rudolf Martin (1864-1925), whose 1914 handbook had been reprinted in 1928 (and again, revised, in 1956). The punch-cards, which are still kept in the central library, provided efficient access to subjects such as: 0 literature, tools and methods, ancillary subjects; 1 morphology; 2 physiology; 3 heredity; 4 constitution;



Documentation card of the Photographic Department of the Tropenmuseum
 Photographer: Irene de Groot

5 races; 6 evolution; 7 prehistory and protohistory. The ethnology department of the Colonial Institute also kept a series of posters illustrating Martin's categorisation. Research in the museum collections therefore adhered to the German descriptive and encyclopaedic system of physical anthropology.

This same system was also used for the documentation of the photographs that had been collected since the start of the Colonial Institute. In 1915 Kleiweg de Zwaan added to his appeal for human remains and other objects that he also was interested in photographs. 'Photos of living persons are also very welcome. Preferably the individual should be photographed entirely naked and standing (so-called military position), from the front, back and side' (Kleiweg de Zwaan 1915:412). In addition, each department of the new institute also collected photographs. To link particular photographs to physical anthropology research it is necessary to know how this collection was made available to researchers.

In the 1930s a *Zettel* catalogue was compiled according to the Universal Decimal Classification system (UDC) then popular. This allowed various items of information

to be included using additional numerals and punctuation.⁸ Physical anthropology, more specifically ‘types of peoples’, was listed in category 5 ‘exact sciences and natural sciences’. The category starts with the Earth and its place in the Universe, Earth sciences subdivide into vulcanology, geology and minerals. Biology, in category 57, comprises the entire plant and animal kingdoms, from amoebae to mammals. The first category is man. From an evolutionist perspective this may seem odd; man might be expected at the end of the mammal section. That was indeed the case in the original UDC system (599.9) but the Colonial Institute decided otherwise. Category 572.9 comprises: ethnography, race and ethnology. The category is subdivided into ethnic groups listed in an accompanying table.

As described above in Chapter 1, physical anthropology is connected to other photograph genres, such as ethnographic photography and medical photography (tropical diseases). The Royal Tropical Institute acquired sizeable collections of both genres. Photographs relating to physical anthropology include photographs in all three connected genres: anthropometric photographs, types of peoples and photographs taken to show physical proportions. Most of the anthropometric photographs



Physical anthropological portrait of the Papuan woman Marra made during the Wichmann-Expedition in Tobadi, North New Guinea.

Photographer: unknown

Date: 1903

1000 9044



Physical anthropological portrait of a Papuan man made during the Wichmann-expedition in North New Guinea.

Photographer: unknown

Date: 1903

0001 1810

were taken on expeditions to New Guinea and Suriname. They are listed either under UDC number 572.9 or in expedition reports under UDC 656.9. Anthropometric photographs also appear in various expedition albums, although not always according to Huxley or Lamprey's anthropometric systems.⁹ Types of peoples is a more elusive genre. One album contains photographs of types that are supposed to be physical anthropological photographs, but in general it is unclear whether the photographs are physical anthropological pictures or ethnographic portraits. More research is required to find out whether any photographs exist in a third category of photographs for measuring physiological proportions, especially among photographs taken on expeditions. Finally, a useful category proved to be photographs taken of the research expeditions and excavations on which human remains were collected, and series of medical photographs that included anthropological photographs of patients. In many cases these mention the photographer or the donor of the human remains.

In the museum's encyclopaedic tradition the historical context of the photographs and their origin was often lost. They were classified by subject in the UDC system, while the objects were stored according to function, and the manuscripts vanished into the library by alphabet. Thus a photograph of an excavation of a Chilean burial site found its way into 'landscapes', the recovered skull was stored under 'physical anthropology', and the urn under 'Precolumbiana', while the accompanying excavation report disappeared into the library. No cross references under any one of these categories hinted at the existence of further material.

In addition to human remains and photographs, plaster casts of fossil skulls and Palaeolithic and Neolithic implements were acquired from Europe as well as from other parts of the world. The department also had plaster casts of prehistoric art including the famous Venus of Willendorff (still in the collection, no. 503-1). It reflected the educational tasks that the Colonial Institute had formulated. In addition to classes, lectures and courses, exhibitions served as a tool for anthropological research. From 1926, the year of the official opening of the Colonial Museum, every stage of the evolution of early man could be seen in a permanent exhibition on anthropology and prehistory in a room on the first floor of the corner tower, which today houses the cabinet containing a life-size model of Georg Rumphius. The models of fossils of human skulls and those of non-Western man were exhibited according to the latest scientific thinking in an anatomical and physiological evolutionary series; quite different from the charnel-house effect typical of anatomical museums of the day, although the exhibition did also include a number of contemporary and archaeological skulls that were deformed as a result of ligature and constriction. As part of the series of 'Guides to the Ethnological Museum', Kleiweg de Zwaan published *Anthropologie en Praehistorie* (Anthropology and Prehistory) in 1928.

Physical anthropological approaches

In common with his contemporary colleagues, Kleiweg de Zwaan was an evolutionist who took a broad view of his task: the scientific study of man, his origin, global diffusion, and physical and cultural development. At first, he worked in untroubled scientific waters. Speculative theorising about race and intelligence, skin colour, temperament and similar subjects, belonged to the nineteenth century. Physical anthropologists presented their research results objectively and devoid of value judgments, and when they touched on the burning issues of the nineteenth century they did so with great circumspection and remained non-committal.

From the sources and literature, Kleiweg de Zwaan emerges as a conservative scholar. As mentioned above, he closely followed the traditional, dominant, German descriptive and encyclopaedic physical anthropology, rather than the American approach which, since the early twentieth century and the school of Franz Boas, had cast serious doubt on the causal connection between race, intelligence and culture, and through different areas of research had shaken the dogmatic assertions of the nineteenth century. In addition to being a traditionalist Kleiweg de Zwaan was also an idealist who held the basic assumption that his science could be of great use to mankind. In 1939 he quoted with approval a publication of 1919 (!) by his American colleague Ales Hrdlicka: 'Finally, the ultimate aim of physical anthropology is that it may, on the basis of accumulated knowledge and together with other branches of research, show the tendencies of the actual and future evolution of man and aid in its possible regulation or improvement. The growing science of eugenics will essentially become applied anthropology.' And as a final comment Kleiweg de Zwaan added: 'So be it, by increasing our knowledge of man and his make up, by improving that which is human, anthropology may serve the welfare of mankind!' (Kleiweg de Zwaan 1939, p. 437).

The latter smacks of the dubious tendencies current at the time of his professorship. He was evidently sympathetic towards eugenics, seen as constructive knowledge for the formation of sustainable colonial society, as he was to the distinctly nationalist tone of Dutch ethnology of his day, which somewhat conveniently and deliberately confused national character and culture. Was Kleiweg de Zwaan naive and did he get caught up in the maelstrom of politically questionable ideas of the period? Exactly where he stood at that time with regard to his subject, and why he stepped down from his academic posts on the eve of the Second World War, is something for a future biographer to unravel. His sympathy for his colleagues at the Musée de l'Homme were to prompt the German Ahnenerbe to criticise the Colonial Institute for its pro-French attitudes during the war. Whatever the case, in his capacity as physical anthropologist at the Colonial Museum, Kleiweg de Zwaan carried out his descriptive work, measurements and classifications in what seemed to be perceived as a neutral spirit of scientific enquiry.

The German occupation completely changed the context of this research. In an overview written in French for a Polish journal, Bergman stated that suddenly, physical anthropology's study of race changed from an interesting but merely theoretical science into a science with a major practical significance. Subjects with no relation to every day life now became matters of life or death. Besides, he wrote, academic work was disrupted when professors were imprisoned, participated in the resistance movement, or faced persecution.¹⁰ In another publication he mentions the shock of the deadly practical impact of ideas about race during the Second World War both in the Netherlands and in Indonesia. He praises the Dutch anthropologists who, unlike many well-known German scientists, maintained their open attitude towards race problems (Bergman 1951 p. 1863). Both Bergman and Van Bork-Feltkamp refer in other publications to certain physical anthropologists who drafted numerous statements in which they provided proof that Jewish persons were Aryans. 'Their examination was most careful, but the record was not always strictly scientific.' (Van Bork-Feltkamp 1949).¹¹

Apparently there had been little reflection among physical anthropologists about the practical impact of physical anthropology's race discourse in the colonial context on race thinking and institutionalised racism before the Second World War. The war and decolonisation both played a part in deconstructing anthropology's conceptual categories and basic ideas. Even the Dutch term *volkenkunde* (ethnology), reminiscent of the discredited German *Völkerkunde*, gradually disappeared and was replaced by the American term cultural anthropology. This paradigm shift had an impact on ethnology as well. The American anthropologist Herskovits, for instance, who in his early research on Suriname had focused on physical anthropological data, switched to researching the African influence in Afro-Surinamese culture. And Van Bork-Feltkamp wrote of Bergman: 'The director of the anthropological department, Professor Bergman – whose contributions are concerned with physical anthropology – aims to coordinate the staff's activities on the problem of acculturation.' (Van Bork Feltkamp 1955 p. 541).

However, the number of publications in the Netherlands and abroad in the physical anthropology archive shows that physical anthropology, with its racial types, racial descriptions and anatomical specialisation, moved only gradually into new fields of enquiry. Surprisingly, the collecting of human skeletal material continued: the collection expanded considerably with new acquisitions, in particular from Dutch New Guinea (Papua). While Indonesia declared independence in 1945, Dutch New Guinea remained a Dutch colony until 1962. Among the human remains that were collected there were the remains of people who had died in Japanese uniforms. The fact that they were shipped to the Netherlands illustrates that classical physical anthropology was still practised and that the museum was still pursuing completeness. New Guinea was regarded as an especially interesting area for classical anthropology, as a quotation in the report of the last scientific expedition to the island, the KNAG expedition to the Star Mountains (Sterrengebergte) in 1959 testifies. 'A great many

measurements were taken of, for example, the physical height, length and width of the head, and length and width of the nose of each adult Papuan, male and female. In addition details of the colour of the skin, hair and eyes, and hair growth were recorded. All this data is important if one is to arrive at an accurate description of the race of the Sibilliers and to ascertain their relationship to others.' (Brongersma / Venema, 1960, pp. 88-89).

Nevertheless, Bergmans professorship saw the decline of the old form of physical anthropology and in the wake of new scientific questions and developments it became virtually divorced, in terms of content, from cultural anthropology, certainly in the way it was being practised at the Tropenmuseum. Bergman, for instance, no longer wrote about race or skulls, but about deficiency diseases in Japanese internment camps on Java and about world population issues. His *Inleiding tot de fysische anthropologie* (Introduction to Physical Anthropology, 1957) reads like a swan song in which he considers and tries to put the old and new research into perspective. In his conclusion he simply states that it is a fact that groups of people differ physically from one another as a result of genetic factors and adaptation to their environment. This was in line with Unesco's statements, made after 1950. On 18 July 1950 an expert group appointed by Unesco in Paris had issued a statement on the Race Question, which was apparently intended to provide a balanced summary of current scientific knowledge about mankind. The Dutch Anthropological Society had discussed this statement, and in 1951, Bergman was among the experts in Paris who drafted a thoroughly revised text. Together with Van Bork-Feltkamp, he also organised a feedback debate among Dutch anthropologists about this revised draft statement. Other documents in his files reflect his interest in the issue of scientific racism. One of these texts ends: 'In the course of last year I studied the problem of whether a specific racial pathology had been established in the medical literature that appeared in the former Dutch East Indies over the past hundred years, but I found none.'¹²

These conclusions accompanied a change in focus at the Royal Tropical Institute: in addition to a culturally oriented Tropenmuseum, the institute included a tropical hygiene department, a social medicine department on epidemiology, nutrition and primary health care, and the institute was increasingly involved in development cooperation, promoting rural development programmes around the world. The museum no longer played a colonial role overseas; its physical anthropological heritage was partly directed towards applied research on development cooperation in public health projects.

In 1967, in his *Mensen in verandering; ontstaan en groei van een nieuwe cultuur in ontwikkelingslanden* (People in transformation; origin and growth of a new culture in developing countries), Van Baal, who – according to a former member of staff and later professor of cultural anthropology Hetty Nooy-Palm – did not rate 'all that skull-business' very highly, finally laid the old debate about an alleged link between race and culture to rest. In the opening chapter which, given the subject of the book,

should not really have started with the concept race, he states 'that the fundamental similarities predominate to such an extent that an essential equality of intelligence among the different races forms a much sounder basic working hypothesis than speculations about indemonstrable differences. That means that the differences between people and groups of people should primarily be seen as differences in culture, in the acquired traits and skills of the groups of people in question.' (Van Baal 1967:17).

In fact it seems a distant echo of Van Eerde's advice when he instructed his students for the colonial civil service in the East: that a just colonial administration should not focus on (contested) differences in hereditary and mental characteristics of the various people in the Dutch East Indies, but start from their common civilisation, as expressed in language, religion, social relationships, common law (Van Eerde 1926:90). Clearly more research into the relationship between colonialism and the idea of race is needed.

On long-term loan and back: The human remains collections 1973-2005

This, briefly, is how the human remains collections of the Tropenmuseum became an orphaned collection. The human remains that entered the collection after 1967 were collected by amateurs, or arrived in the wake of cultural objects that had been removed from graves. Colonialism was history, the department of physical anthropology was closed; all coherence between collections and research or exhibition practice was lost. In 1973, the museum decided that the human remains which had been acquired between 1906 and 1969 should be deaccessioned indefinitely and deposited with an institute or museum where they could be used for contemporary research. The collection consisted of over 1,900 items of human and animal remains, plaster casts and instruments, some documented individually and some as groups under 1,055 collection numbers. Museum Vrolik which is part of the anatomy and embryology department of the medical faculty of the University of Amsterdam and named after the anatomists Gerardus Vrolik (1775-1859) and his son Willem Vrolik (1801-1863), agreed to accept the collection on long-term loan. In fact it was an extension of their own collection. The old Vrolik collection included a small physical anthropological collection in which, in the terminology of the time, it was intended to form a collection that showed 'the differences between the families and tribes of the human race' (Baljet/Oostra 1994: 10).

According to the 1973 agreement the long-term loan of the Tropenmuseum's physical anthropological collection was intended to enable the collection to be used 'in the service of scientific research and education so that this collection will form a functional part of Museum Vrolik'. Yet as it turned out, the collection was never to be displayed in the museum. It was never even taken out of the boxes. When in 1996 the Tropenmuseum made an offer to Museum Vrolik's curator to change the long-

term loan agreement into a gift, no reply was received. A few years later, in response to the increasingly intense debate for and against the museological status of human remains in public collections and the surrounding complex ethical issues, the Tropenmuseum decided to take matters into its own hands and find a considered and responsible destination for the collection. In 2002 the museum began the process of retrieving the loaned collection. Museum Vrolik acquiesced willingly in the return, not least due to its own lack of storage space, and set the necessary preparations in motion. According to the supervisor of the loaned collection it would have little or no scientific value within the Vrolik collection in the future. In 2003 the loan agreement was officially ended and the physical anthropological collection was returned to the Tropenmuseum, apart from a few items such as specimens in alcohol which the museum was unable to keep in an appropriate way, and plaster casts that were regarded as teaching materials and not unique objects.

It was not only the Tropenmuseum that changed between 1964 and 2003. The context in which the collection functions also changed dramatically. In the post-colonial years the acquisition of human remains for scientific research by Western ethnographic museums was no longer considered a legitimate area of activity. Among the peoples and ethnic groups from whom skeletal remains of deceased individuals had been obtained for Western museums a growing realisation emerged concerning their authority over what they consider to be their heritage and the restoration of a once repressed or lost cultural or group identity. This was accompanied by attempts by indigenous peoples to reclaim what they had lost, including the legal and physical possession of ancestral lands and tribal territories, the restoration of rights that had been denied them and the retrieval of cultural heritage and human remains that had been taken away.

The present discussion is confined to the way museums deal with human remains and their restitution. This issue has given rise to a global debate involving international organisations, national governments, museum associations, academic forums, committees and specially appointed bodies set up to support the requests and demands of indigenous peoples. International and national guidelines have been drawn up to advise museums how to deal with these sensitive collections, particularly with human remains (Aarts 2000). This encompasses more than just physical anthropological collections. As we also see in the description of the Tropenmuseum collections, human remains come in many shapes and varieties: skeletons and skeletal segments, specimens preserved in alcohol, samples of hair and skin, natural mummies, archaeological finds from tombs, and material employed within a particular cultural tradition, such as artificial mummies, relics, ancestral skulls, dried heads of decapitated captives, utensils and ceremonial objects made from human bones, preserved tattooed skin. The list is endless, as was also suggested by Kleiweg de Zwaan when in 1915 he added the seven other fields of interest to his request for human remains and physical anthropological photographs. Making an inventory of these collections in today's context actually meant a regrouping of the remains, as explained in Chapter 3.

Collectors



The officer of health Dr. H.J.T. Bijlmer, the physical anthropologist of the Central New Guinea Expedition.

Photographer: unknown

Date: 1920-1921

1000 9141



Papua man from the North River with human skulls for sale during the Second South New Guinea Expedition.

Photographer: J.W. van Nouhuys

Date: 1909-1910

0001 4964

Paul Wirz with Chimbu Papua men during the Chimbu-expedition in Papua New Guinea.

Photographer: unknown

Date: 1950

0004 5487





H. Feriz during archaeological excavations in Parita, Panama.
Photographer: unknown
Date: 1958

Excavations of human remains in Calama, North-Chili, during the journey of W.G.N. van der Sleen in 1933.
Photographer: probably W.G.N. van der Sleen
Date: 1933



3 The Tropenmuseum's collections

The return of the Tropenmuseum's physical anthropological collections to our own depot has spawned a research project to catalogue the precise contents of the collection. This includes an investigation of the provenance of each object, the use that may have been made of an item in scientific research, and the possibility that the acquisition context may have been photographed. Only on the basis of this kind of detailed data is it possible to distinguish through which relational network specific items were acquired, what relations may exist between the human remains and other objects in the reserves, and what contacts with national governments, communities or overseas museums need to be established when considering what should be done with particular human remains. Without the availability of modern collection management tools such as our computerised registration and documentation system, the Museum System (TMS), this research would have required a lot more time. Not that we rely exclusively on the computer: after all, the information that we feed into the database is full of the bias, mystification, confusion and error of the original descriptions; we use this data to reconstruct collection histories. The computer helps, but provides no evidence. It does not preclude the need for archival research.

To prepare for the project, an intern trainee was appointed in 2003 at Museum Vrolik as soon as agreement had been reached with the Tropenmuseum regarding the return of the collection with the task of comparing the current collections with the inventory accompanying the 1973 loan agreement. Because of the peculiar nature of the collection records (see below) this task proved far from simple, so that, although the objects had not been taken out of the removal boxes since 1973, many items could no longer be traced. All the objects found, and also those that were not found, were therefore listed under main points from a corrected inventory on the TMS digital collection database. The next stage involved the digital separation of the collections into easily identifiable thematic and geographical categories, or so-called TMS work sets (2004-2005). Each individual item could then be registered, validated and documented. The next stage of this phase, the physical sorting of the returned objects, was undertaken in February 2005 by two members of staff. This

was continually hampered by the failure in 1973 to group series together in the same removal box, so that a new manual inventory had to be made of all the numbered and unnumbered remains, ranging in size from a complete spine with pelvis and rib cage, to individual fragments of bone and teeth, contained in dozens of boxes and chests. Most of what had been recorded as missing was now found; adjustments to the collection register were subsequently made in the computer database in a second round. Sorted into series and packed in stacked boxes during the first weeks of January 2006, the physical anthropological collections were now ready for the next stage: research and interpretation.

Classification of the collections

The Tropenmuseum's physical anthropological collections formed an integral part of the museum's collection as a whole. As with the ethnological artefacts, new acquisitions were issued serial numbers as they were acquired. Inventory cards were kept in a general index with the other cards, distinguished only by the classification 'anthropology' or 'anthropologica'. It was estimated some years ago that this category must have contained around 1,250 objects with serial and item numbers. In fact the number of separate objects in the collection was far greater since similar human remains from a single series were often given only one number and documented on the same inventory card ('22 Javanese collarbones, male').

Nevertheless, compared to the enormous collection of artefacts, the anthropological collection was not especially large. This is astonishing, since almost fifty years were spent forming the collection. Were human remains more difficult to acquire than we imagine today? Did physical anthropologists work with greater circumspection and ethical principle than we currently assume? Surely physical anthropologists required a broad and varied reference collection on which to draw their conclusions, as with the sixty Chinese brains in Dr Bork-Felkamp's dissertation, and yet the collection at the Tropenmuseum was far from copious or complete. In the prewar years the most common category of human remains had a colonial provenance. It was only natural that most items were obtained in the Dutch colonies, principally the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia), and the former Dutch New Guinea (Papua). In addition, the composition of the collection appears out of balance, fragmentary and emphasises aspects in a way which is now difficult to explain. Thus the presence of numerous skulls in the collection seems natural, but why are there dozens of sacra (lower spine) and clavícula (collar bones) of men and women? And why so many separate pelvises, vertebrae and ribs, and no knee joints or tarsals? They may have functioned within an international comparative research agenda, but no traces of this remain on them. Since we have no collection policy defined on paper, or indeed any other archive source that explains the role the collection was supposed to play, no conclusions can be made so far regarding the specific composition of the collection. Presumably, no

formal collection policy was ever formulated and, apart from incidental purchases and commissions, the department gratefully accepted whatever it was offered over the years.

In the present inventory we have divided the collection into four categories: human remains form the first category, photographs, plaster casts, scientific instrument, and documentation, the second; animal remains the third. A separate category, not strictly part of physical anthropology, is that of objects made with human remains. They are mentioned in the Appendix 3.

1 Human remains

Foremost and largest of the sub-categories is the core of the physical anthropological collection: that of human remains. Technically, this collection is largely devoted to so-called dry specimens (bones) and only a comparatively small number of specimens preserved in alcohol. Substantively, the objects comprise both contemporary and, though far fewer, archaeological remains. The objects were mainly collected after the establishment of the Colonial Institute in 1915. Human remains are divided into contemporary human remains and much older, archaeological items.

With only the documentation cards as a guide, this collection poses problems for researchers. In the first place: a calculation of the number of items in the sub-collections of animal remains, plaster casts and instruments would leave around 1,000 objects in the human remains collection (assuming that the entire physical anthropological collection consists of around 1,250 items). As we have already seen, this is not the case. The number of bones and fragments of bone without an individual number or listed under a sub-number within a group brings the total number of objects to several times the 1,000 registered items. One extreme example illustrates the point. Collection number 2296-1, registered in TMS under object name 'bone', and under the title 'bone fragments', represents no less than 610 numbered bones and fragments of bone in addition to a couple of hundred now inexplicably unnumbered fragments, including 134 ribs, 144 vertebrae, 39 lower jaws and 24 skull fragments. Collection number 2296-570 represents 655 bones from the same series, amounting together with the previous collection number to over 1,200 numbered and unnumbered objects. In short: the number of human remains listed under these two collection objects equals the entire number of items in the whole anthropological collection. In fact these are the products of an excavation at a cemetery in Dutch New Guinea. And these are not the only items that make an exact calculation of the number of human remains difficult.

Another curious phenomenon is the variable quality of the earliest manuscript collection records. As already noted, the card index of the physical anthropology sub-department formed part of the general documentation system of the ethnological collection. In most cases it is no longer known who documented the objects, this

work was done anonymously. Occasionally an index card was initialled, but most were not. Clearly those who described some of the human remains were experts in the field, the anatomical jargon is hard to decipher for novices. Yet for other index cards of equally important objects a cursory description appears to have sufficed (e.g., 'skull, New Guinea') without any further explanation, technical data or details of provenance. Perhaps these summary records were made by assistants from the ethnology department, similar to today's TMS computer database assistants. This hampers research and the drawing of specific conclusions regarding a large number of items in the collection.

However, the greatest problem, along with the absence of documents outlining the collection policy of the physical anthropology sub-department, is the lack of information about what is referred to in the context of other museum objects as 'the biography' of the object, in other words, the entire entourage of reasons for collecting the object and what collecting activities were undertaken, which in current museum thinking represents an important aspect of the significance of each item. It no longer interests us whether a Papuan skull is dolichocephalic or brachycephalic; we want to know about its historical and cultural context in the collection: who collected it, where, why and how? More specifically: we now want to know what significance the skull had to the Papuan group from which it originated. Was it an ancestral skull or one taken from a captive? Was it a treasured relic, and if so why and under what circumstances did its owners part company with it? Were they put under pressure, or was some irresistible European object offered in exchange? And if it was the head of a captive, a status symbol among Papuans and imbued with powers, why would the owners have parted with it? Or was it perhaps confiscated by a visiting civil servant or military officer, because head hunting was after all illegal?

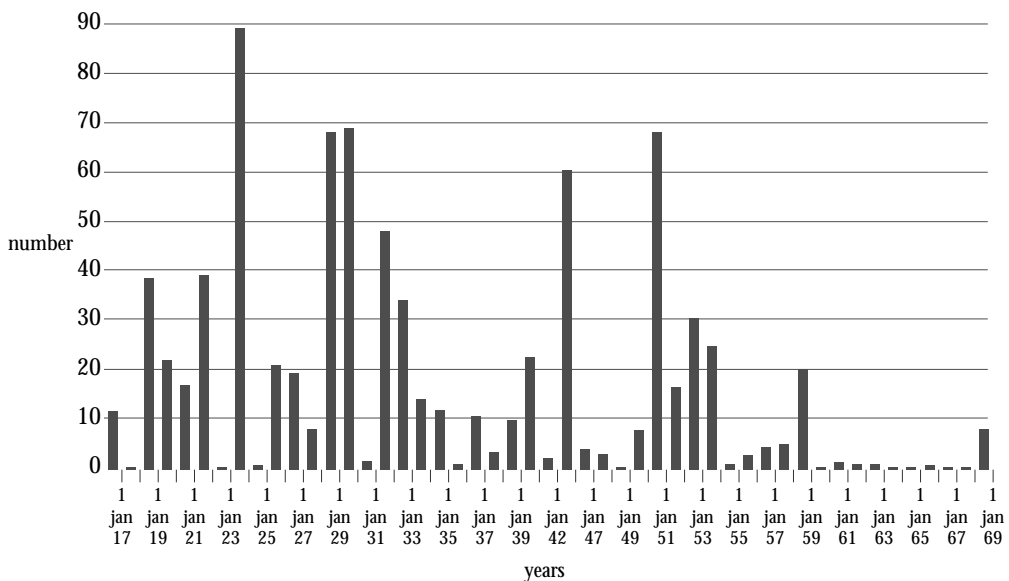
The other side of the equation also interests us. What was so important about the skull to the museum? Or did the museum want to accumulate as many skulls as possible for the collection and for future research? Was it acquired by accident or had the collector set out with a wish list? We hardly ever know the answers. Most of the objects in the human remains collection offer no clues to today's questions. Physical anthropologists rarely recorded how they acquired their material and the aspects that interest us now were of no concern to them. Skulls were in their view separate, anonymous objects, divorced from their cultural context and useful only for comparative study. This is the attitude which emerges from the records: at most, purely technical anatomical analyses of dehumanised objects. Only in a few cases do photographs or publications provide a clue for better understanding.

Thus the questions we are now able to address are largely limited to the composition and provenance of objects, the names of collectors, the date of acquisition and in some cases the history of what scientists did with the item after it was obtained. The reasons and the context are in almost every case a mystery. In fact we know little about what happened to the collection in all the years it was held. Some collections

were examined and published, but it seems that most were not. Whether objects were displayed in the museum or used in university education is not known.

On reflection, a number of points concerning the anthropological collection deserve comment. For example, its growth and composition seems to have been entirely random, although that may reflect the perspective of a non-expert. It also seems odd that almost all the human remains was donated, and none was specifically acquired for particular research purposes. A deluge of gifts makes for an unbalanced collection, which is precisely what we find here. In a number of cases the identity of

Acquisition of human remains 1915-1965



the donor is known, but often not. Some objects were also given by institutions (see Appendix 2).

Despite the lack of balance the emphasis in the early years was clearly on Dutch East Indies and throughout the period particularly on Dutch New Guinea. Although this followed naturally from the Dutch presence in the archipelago, it also reflected the department's own interests. As a physical anthropologist Kleiweg de Zwaan was principally interested in the Indies. Of course this would not have been surprising at the Colonial and later the East Indies Institute. This was the organisation's focus. The interest in and the presence of a comparatively large number of human remains from Dutch New Guinea reflects the many expeditions and the scientific excitement generated by the discovery of previously unknown peoples with unique physical traits. Nevertheless, we might have expected to find more human remains from the Antilles

and from Surinamese Native Americans or Maroons. Only a few items relating to these groups appear, including three Wayana skulls and some Native American material from postwar archaeological excavations in Suriname.

Another aspect is the unexpectedly small number of ethnological field workers. Much of the material came from the medical sector. And it seems likely that many of the donors whose biography we no longer know were involved in medicine. Who else had access to such an ample supply of bones?

Finally, it should be noted that the donated series consist almost exclusively of anthropological material; rarely was anthropologica combined with ethnologica, as might occur, for instance, when the human remains were found in a grave. This is often the case in archaeological acquisitions from South and Central America. In addition, physical and cultural anthropological objects were also acquired on explorative expeditions in New Guinea.

On the basis of this inventory of human remains in the Tropenmuseum collection it is clear that in the past the term anthropology was viewed in a broad, inclusive sense. Yet in retrospect the collection's contents form a disparate accumulation of objects whose only common factor is that the items are the remains of dead people. If we focus within the anthropology collection on physical anthropology, i.e., material for the purely scientific, anatomical human study of comparative anatomy or physiology, and specifically the definition of racial characteristics (crania, clavícula, tibia, sacra, brains, femurs, foetuses) this appears to form the smallest section of the anthropology collection. The majority of human remains have a cultural, historical and archaeological context and may therefore have been more appropriately catalogued under a different category. An ancient patinated head-hunter trophy from the Marind or Yei-anim of southern Dutch New Guinea, consisting of three lower jaws bound with reed in series 383, might have been better placed under the category 'War and Conflict' or some other term, given the links between head-hunting and religion and ritual. This applies equally to the ancestral skull, cherished and rubbed smooth by descendants, and kept in the men's house, in series 1398. Or the artificially deformed skull or mummified hand retrieved from an ancient Peruvian grave during an excavation. That these objects are grouped together under the term anthropology with an array of vertebrae from the Netherlands and Java, foetuses preserved in alcohol from Amsterdam and trepanned skulls of dead patients from colonial hospitals is an absurd anomaly and can only be explained as a consequence of the position of physical anthropology at the Colonial Museum and the department's claim on all human remains acquired by the museum, whatever the source and the cultural or historical context.

2 Photographs, plaster casts, scientific instruments and documentation

The second class of objects in the anthropological collection includes photographs, documents, plaster casts, scientific instruments and aids, as well as animal remains.

Photographs: It is unclear whether the physical anthropology department deposited all its photographs and negatives with the central photograph service. Only a limited number of gifts are mentioned in the photograph collection gift lists of 1915 to 1960 from staff members such as Kleiweg de Zwaan and Mrs Van Bork-Feltkamp; moreover, not all of these gifts were recorded in the UDC system. Perhaps other photographs will surface in future research. Until such time, the photograph collections comprise only a limited number of photographs that are easily and directly connected to the human remains collection, while in some of these rare cases we only know this from other archival sources. These connections are mentioned in the inventory, although many of the photographs have yet to be traced. Another area that requires research is the large collection of medical photographs relating primarily to tropical diseases. These photographs are closely connected to the physical anthropology department, especially the earlier tropical hygiene department's collection, those of various research institutes and photographs taken by doctors. Expertise in tropical diseases is required for these to be made accessible. It is not inconceivable that the physical anthropology department's collection is located among these photographs.

The second relevant photograph category concerns photographs donated or taken by people who also donated human remains. Generally, these photographs seem to be unconnected with the human remains themselves. However, a connection can be made regarding photographs linked to around ten collectors. For instance, donations from expeditions. In these cases human remains were donated by the medical doctor on the team, while photographs by other members of the team provide the setting of the acquisition.

In addition to these photographs related to human remains, the collection also includes physical anthropological photographs with no link to human remains. These were taken on scientific expeditions, mainly to New Guinea and Suriname, and depict people encountered on there. Not all the photograph collections relating to these expeditions have been examined; only some of the them will contain anthropological photographs. Appendix 3 provides a list of expeditions.

Plaster casts: The sub-collection of plaster casts of skulls, brains and bones of extinct proto-hominids and hominids, as well as examples of various non-European ethnic groups dates from the anthropology and prehistory period. It is characteristic of the time that as early as 1919, the first year of his professorship, Kleiweg de Zwaan purchased not just casts of a Neanderthal skeleton and a skeleton of *Pithecanthropus erectus*, but also skull casts of a Tasmanian, an Australian Aborigine, a Bushman and a Hottentot. These hunter-gatherers were considered to represent the world's most

primitive cultures (which would supposedly be discernable from their cranium). The casts, obtained from the specialist firm of N. Kranz of Bonn, were displayed from 1926 at the Colonial Museum's exhibition on the evolution of homo sapiens.

The plaster cast sub-collection contains 106 numbered objects, of which 22 were accepted as gifts shortly after the Second World War (in 1946, 1947, 1957 and 1959) by the Geographical Seminary of the University of Amsterdam and an otherwise unspecified 'Museum New York'. This was probably Brooklyn Museum. Two skull casts of African ancestors of homo sapiens were acquired in an exchange with Coryndon Museum in Nairobi.

Scientific instruments and aids: Physical anthropologists employed special instruments to take measurements of living people *in situ* and of remains in the laboratory. Both types of instruments, including spherical compasses, slide-rules and a skull fixer are contained in this sub-collection of 27 numbered objects. These also include two sample cards for determining the colour of a person's eyes and skin, used in field research. Sixteen instruments were acquired in 1916 in a bequest from Dr J. Sasse, a medical anthropologist who confined his research to the Netherlands; the other instruments were purchased by the museum in 1922 and the early 1930s from Herman formerly known as Meyer, and Rickenbach & Sohn, two specialist firms (or perhaps the same firm but under a new name) in Zürich. Various anthropological instruments are currently on display in the context of the early expeditions to New Guinea in the semi-permanent exhibition *Eastward Bound!*. Film fragments from the Stirling expedition (1926-27) show how the physical anthropologists subjected the people they encountered to measurement.

3 Animal remains

From the earliest years, various animal remains were acquired for anatomical comparison, eventually amounting to some 112 numbered items. Little is known regarding the guidelines for the composition of this sub-collection. The presence of 47 ape skulls – including orang utans, gorillas, chimpanzees, siamangs – might be expected, but far less the sixteen skulls of wild boar, three chamois, two hares, two hedgehogs, a Bengal tiger, a mole, a harrier, a leatherback turtle and much else besides. Entirely mystifying is the significance to the museum of a simple horse's tooth and a couple of shark's teeth. Most remarkable of all are the fourteen mummified Sumatran apes, a macaque and thirteen gibbons, which were donated in 1921 by Tassilo Adam (series 121). The documentation accompanying the series does not reveal whether these were artificially or naturally mummified. Kleiweg de Zwaan's name is linked to two acquisitions of 1932 and 1939, the first of sixteen animal remains: two skulls of wild pigs, including a babiroussa of Sulawesi, a young gorilla, a crocodile, a wild dog, a horse, a chamois (series 771) and the second of ten small ape skulls (series 1330).

Scientific documents



One of 89 human skulls from the neighbourhood of Humboldt Bay, north New Guinea. The skulls were collected before 1924 by the Swiss ethnologist Paul Wirz and his wife in a ravine where the bodies were deposited. The ravine was the spiritual home of a hill tribe. Donated in 1924 by the Committee for Scientific Research in the Netherlands Indies. As you can see the skull is covered with names, numbers and symbols. But the measurements are not to be found in the museum documentations.

Photographer: Irene de Groot
216-12-3

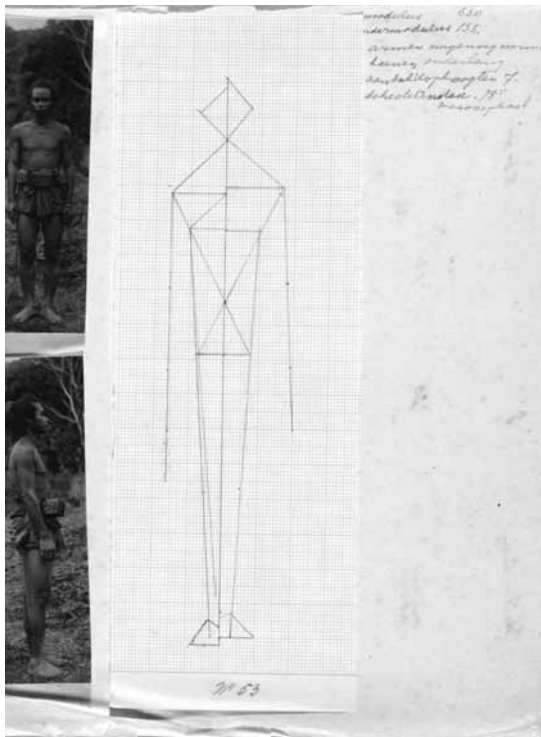
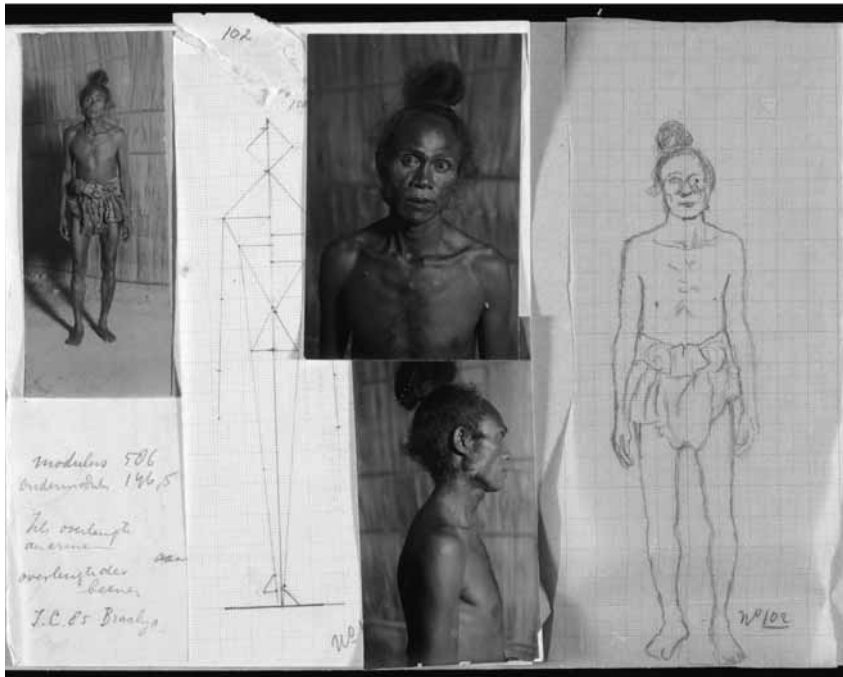


A Pre-Columbian skull from Peru; documented as 'a skull', nothing more. Probably from a grave exhumed by Dr. Hans Feriz. We know of no research on this skull, though certain parts of the fontanelles are coloured red. The skull is part of a series of more than 500 archaeological pieces, donated by Feriz to the museum in 1954.

Photographer: Irene de Groot
2344-325



Page from the PhD album of E.J. Bok with physical anthropological photographs.
Photographer: E.J. Bok
Date: 1930-1940
Album 1801



Page from the physical anthropological collection of J.W. Poser.
 Photographer: J.W. Poser
 Date: ca. 1915
 Dossier 51/102

Page from the physical anthropological collection of J.W. Poser.
 Photographer: J.W. Poser
 Date: ca. 1915
 Dossier 51/53

Most of the primate skulls in the collection were purchased from the French firm of N. Rouppert, who specialised in supplying animal skeletons and specimens for scientific and educational use. The sub-collection of animal remains contains no specimens preserved in alcohol. Most of the items are currently on display in the Tropenmuseum's semi-permanent *Eastward Bound!* exhibition.

Regrouping the remains

The Tropenmuseum today is the keeper of a historical collection of anthropological objects, a potpourri of rare ethnological, archaeological and recent human remains. However, we have become increasingly conscious that Vrolijk Museum's comment that the collection is of 'no scientific value', is perhaps disputable. That remark was made from the perspective of a museum concerned with the historical pathology of Western man. Viewed from a purely anatomical or physical anthropological perspective they may indeed be right, although this is contested as well. Seen from a broader perspective, taking into account the different layers of significance ascribed to, and sometimes even literally written on these human remains, the collection turns out to have a value after all.

The very fact that we are now studying and puzzling how to reconstruct this collection history shows the paradigm shift which has taken place in the ethnographic museum of the 1970s. The paradigm shift is almost tangible, for example in the artificial division in 1973 of objects from the same series, some going to the museum's ethnographical collection, while others were lent to another museum as anthropological material and are now earmarked for de-accession. This division was entirely arbitrary. Presumably a skull from Dutch New Guinea was deemed ethnographic and considered to be of cultural historical value if it was decorated with strips of palm leaf or showed signs of damage inflicted by a club at the temple, while it was anthropological if it was free of either blemish or ornament. This division took no account of the cultural historical context of how, why and where an object was collected. Thus the physical anthropological collection lent to Museum Vrolijk contained skulls – both ancestral skulls and those of murdered individuals – which were collected on classic expeditions into the virgin forests of Dutch New Guinea in the 1920s and '30s. Some even have the original labels stating the name of the expedition. Most famous and best documented of all these was the KNAG expedition to Central New Guinea in 1939 led by C.C.F.M. Le Roux, the man recently commemorated with a life-size image in the Tropenmuseum's *Eastward Bound!* exhibition. The skulls obtained on the expedition had been totally forgotten at the Tropenmuseum. Neither are they mentioned in the KNAG jubilee exhibition book published in 2003 (Wentholt 2003). In the context of the various expeditionary collections and publications they are of indisputable cultural historical value, and complement the cultural anthropological findings of these expeditions.



Physical Anthropological Masks of
Nias-men from the Kleiweg de
Zwaan Collections.
Photographer: unknown
Date: ca. 1925
Dossier 7/23

Based on the inventory (see also Appendix 3) we have divided the human remains into four new categories:

- 1 Physical anthropological remains in the strict sense of the term. Most of these items were donated by doctors, such as Dr Sitsen or Dr Vogelpoel, and medical institutions, such as the Military Medical Laboratory, Weltevreden, the Netherlands East Indies Medical School at Surabaya and the College of Midwifery in Amsterdam.
- 2 Ethnographical remains, collected in the field by individual researchers, expeditions or confiscated by the colonial authorities, such as the Population Office at Hollandia.
- 3 Archaeological remains, at least two hundred years old, donated or lent by those who excavated them, such as Dr H. Feriz and H. Geijskes.
- 4 Recent historical remains from the Second World War, found in Dutch New Guinea.

Based on this categorisation we discussed guidelines for each collection category at a meeting of experts, which took place on 23-24 February 2006. We asked them to examine the collection from a historical, ethical, legal and biomedical perspective. The deliberations of this meeting are summarised in Appendix 4. We had formulated two main courses of action: preservation or de-accession. Preservation in this context means storing (or keeping) in the Tropenmuseum depot; providing information upon qualified request; no proactive provision of information; display according to SVCN ethical norms. De-accession means (not necessarily in order of application):

destruction by cremation or burial; destruction by donation for academic use (dissection, DNA research and practice material); donation to a Dutch or other museum anxious to acquire remains for proper scientific purposes; repatriation.

We proposed to the experts that we destroy or dispose of the first category, physical anthropology. This includes specimens in preserved alcohol still at Museum Vrolik, and the dry specimens. The physical anthropological remains, we thought, (the skulls, parts of skulls and bones, often in series of particular types such as sacra, vertebrae, collar bones etc) are probably no longer of any scientific value. Moreover, many remains are in poor condition. They are broken, and discoloured through age. The remains are completely unprovenanced. Yet we were aware that our own lack of expertise in the matter required that we consult specialists. Cremation or burial at a graveyard might imply a ritual action raising ethical problems. We are not yet sure whether it is ethically acceptable to allow this material to be made available as practice material for academic medical research and training. And above all, we realise that maybe it is not up to us to decide about de-accession, but to qualified persons from source communities. Yet we have little idea how to identify such persons or authorities. The least problematic are the human remains from Wormerveer in the Netherlands, possibly dating from the Eighty Years War (1568-1648). After consultation with the provincial or local authorities of North Holland concerned with local heritage, they can either be destroyed or restored.

Many items in the second category of ethnographical remains require more research and re-evaluation. This means determining the object's relationship to other ethnographical remains which have always been considered part of the permanent ethnographic collection and are stored in the museum depot. This also concerns historical objects connected with significant moments in the history of Dutch ethnology, such as the twentieth-century Dutch New Guinea expeditions, or well-known individuals, such as the official doctor and anthropologist Dr H.J.T. Bijlmer. It is too early to decide what should be done with these documented items, many of which are themselves documents in a literal sense: skulls full of notes, remarks, signs that reflect an academic history. This category also includes remains which are in poor condition, and which were not acquired in any significant way, or perhaps it is no longer known how they were acquired. A reassessment of this material should focus on establishing the ethnographical and historical importance of each item and try to engage source communities in the historical reconstruction of the acquisition context. We are well aware of the different approaches that are possible in this respect, related to national, regional and local authorities. This re-evaluation also involves research into the literature on the subject, including ethnographical studies and expedition reports.

This need for re-evaluation applies equally to the third category, that of archaeological remains. With regard to the archaeological collection of human remains from Peru and other regions, donated by Dr H. Feriz, it would be strange to treat the human remains differently than the pottery, terra-cotta and cloth fragments obtained

from these burial sites. Moreover, a number of skulls have been reshaped in decorative forms, giving them an added cultural dimension. Here as well, source communities should be involved in the re-evaluation and the decision about a final destination.

Some archaeological series comprise objects obtained on loan many years ago by the Tropenmuseum, among these are boxes of excavated human remains of the Pre-Columbian Kwatta culture of Suriname (series 1728). These could be returned to the lenders, in the former case the Surinaams Museum in Paramaribo. Dr A. Verbeek, who spent many years involved in archaeological research in Suriname, and indeed continues to do so periodically in collaboration with the Surinaams Museum, examined the Kwatta remains at the Tropenmuseum in 2005, and recommends that they be housed in the Surinaams Museum, accompanied by the scarce but relevant archive documents in the KIT archives. In this restitution case the Surinamese archaeological objects which are owned by the Tropenmuseum might also be similarly transferred. However, before returning the collections, discussion is needed with all involved about their significance in the Surinamese context.

It was clear to us that all the skeletal remains in the fourth, recent historical, category should be repatriated. This involves the bones of Japanese soldiers (or soldiers fighting under Japanese colours, they may have been Korean, Taiwanese or Indonesian), who died in Dutch New Guinea during the Second World War. These remains were donated to the museum between 1951 and 1959. Only one item, a skull, was actually recorded, and nothing was done with this or any of the other remains. Of all the Japanese soldiers who died in the Pacific, the bodies of no more than around half have ever been found or identified. It has been suggested that the remains be subjected to DNA tests to determine how many individuals they represent (this is not clear from the documentation) and to allow possible descendants to compare DNA profiles for a period of time.

In short, the discussion of our categorisation at the meeting of experts and the examination from a historical, ethical, legal and biomedical perspective showed that the guidelines we proposed for each collection category cannot be regarded as measures to be implemented. They are processes that have to be initiated. Today's human remains, recent historical remains, archaeological remains and remains that were collected together with cultural artefacts on expeditions, require different approaches and have a different momentum. Besides, it is important to develop our understanding of the value of the collection as a whole, including the photographs, documents and plaster casts, and their position in the history of physical anthropology and of Western colonial practice. The insights gained in the preparation of this *Bulletin* will guide our work in the future.

This *Bulletin* is just a first step. It is intended to announce we have these collections in our museum, and to start a debate about the questions that arise as a consequence. The contacts established in the process of both data gathering and discussion about the next step, are valuable to us. They will be enormously helpful in the trajectory to come.

Epilogue

In September 2006 at the Tropenmuseum the exhibition on physical anthropological practice in Dutch New Guinea evoked a lively debate among a group of students at an international summer course by the department of women's studies at Utrecht University.¹³ The students, who had discussed subjects such as *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* by Anne MacClintock (2004), and Ann Stoler's *Race and the Education of Desire* (1995) or *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power* (2002) were working on a presentation of *A woman from your past, a "foremother" whose life is remembered in many different ways*. The biographical approach of the colonial past in one section of the Tropenmuseum's semi-permanent *Eastward Bound!* exhibition was chosen as a start for a discussion about the poetics and politics of museum display (Lidchi 1997).

The visit provoked a lively debate about ways of representing the colonial past. After seeing the museum with a guided tour, we (the authors of this *Bulletin*) explained why we believe that it was important to put colonialism on display as a vital contribution to understanding an ethnographic museum in Amsterdam, and that we hoped to raise awareness that colonialism is not just concerned with what happened elsewhere; it happened here as well. We expected that the students would have understood that colonialism is visualised in the Tropenmuseum in a double-layered approach: we display collections and collecting strategies (research, war, trade, living together, mixing). We use popular display devices such as models, miniatures and wax figures of ethnic types, and we problematise these forms of historical presentation through modern life casts that turn these ethnic types into historical archetypes. The whole exhibition has been conceptualised as just a stage in the mirror dance of meaning in which the museum has been involved from its inception – both reflecting and creating images of self and other that still work in today's society. In this context, a life cast figure representing anthropologist Le Roux taking a photograph of Papuans, beside to a print of the actual photograph taken in 1926, animates a display about cultural and physical anthropology as an aspect of colonialism. It plays with notions of salvage ethnography, and emphasises the many

kinds of encounters that are at the basis of our knowledge of non-Western societies (Pratt 1992; Edwards 2001). A short silent historical film clip documents how during the so-called Stirling expedition, the American-Dutch team and their carriers walked and worked in the Papuan rainforest, which included measuring Papuans.¹⁴ The text beside the exhibit explains the history of physical anthropology and the political ideas about race, and connects this history to today's interest in genetic research.

The debate started because the students had not understood the exhibition in this way at all, and some did not accept our explanation afterwards either. If the message is so subtle, and is presented so subtly, they said, visitors will not understand it. Some American and German participants were furious, accusing the Tropenmuseum of racism by plainly showing these expedition films and only explaining the colonialist view of indigenous cultural artefacts. Instead of the actual display of colonial knowledge gathering, we should have indicated and condemned the practice of cultural and physical anthropology in words. The historical film footage was regarded as particularly offensive to the Papuans, and to visitors to the museum who were members of ethnic minorities with a past rooted in former colonies. These students expected the museum to play the role of an authority, explaining to visitors what had gone wrong in the past.

The ensuing discussion focused on embarrassment and political correctness, whether we speak for ourselves or for others, the effect of images and the meaning of context. It left us somewhat bewildered, since we felt as if we had missed the point. Why should a feminist and a post-colonial discourse on race lead to such antagonistic views on display techniques? We were the first ethnographic museum to connect its own history to the colonial past and present this connection to visitors in order to create a platform for debate about that common past, including issues of race, sexuality and gender. Do we really have to explain what we do, as a visitor strategy? Historicizing the ethnographic present, in our view, is a precondition to fighting the essential images of self and other that our museums created in the past, and often still create. Is the Dutch context of this debate on colonialism's heritage so different from American or German discussions, that what to us is a critical approach of the colonial past, can be perceived as racism? We wondered whether it was the different experience of the effect of racism, that made a white American or German visitor more sensitive to a display of contested historical situations; or was this thought itself another projection of essential ideas about self and other?¹⁵ Should we be more authoritative and more careful about how visitors may interpret what we present?

Later that autumn, another project brought the discussion about physical anthropology's successors back in the museum in a different way. The museum was invited, through the initiative of our current Latin America Curator Prof. A. van Stipriaan (Erasmus University Rotterdam), to participate in a project called *Back to the roots*.¹⁶ In this project, Afro-Dutch youngsters and artists explore their roots as an identity issue, finding out what Africa means to them culturally as well as genetically. An aspect of the project involves DNA sampling. In 2008, a film visualisation of this



Expedition member Le Roux photographing a Papua-group in a *proa* with his Eastman-Kodak panorama camera at Albatros bivouac during the Dutch and American Central New Guinea Expedition. Photographer: W.M. Docters van Leeuwen
Date: 1926
1000 8109



Display in the Tropenmuseum of C.C.F.M. Le Roux making a panorama photograph of a Papua-group in a *proa* during the American and Dutch Central New Guinea expedition
Photographer: Irene de Groot

search is set to become part of an installation by the Surinamese artist Marcel Pinas called *Reconnecting Africa*. In this installation, inaugurated in November 2006 as part of the Tropenmuseum's semi-permanent exhibition on Latin America and the Caribbean, Pinas combines a large number of Afro-Caribbean – particularly Maroon – and African objects from the museum collections with objects he has designed himself. These are placed in a domestic and ritual setting, with a strong visual connection to the slave trade as an inherent part of Afro-Surinamese history. By adding the results of *Back to the roots* – including the DNA search – to this installation, the notion of roots and history will be investigated in direct interaction with visitors. Once again, race, group markers, gender and identity constructions will be presented, this time connected to personal choices which people make today. However, the question remains whether the thousands of DNA samples of Africans in the laboratory database with which this group's DNA samples will be matched, were collected with the conscious consent of all those concerned.

Ever since the Colonial Museum opened, exhibitions have presented the development of mankind in displays, combining evolutionary theories, ideas about progress, about ethnic markers of difference and identity issues. Various illustrations in this *Bulletin* bear witness to this practice. In addition, many members of staff have popularised their views on ethnic diversity and anthropobiology in booklets for students and a wider audience (Van Eerde 1914, Kleiweg de Zwaan 1927, Kunst 1946, Tichelman 1948, Bergman 1957). It is a deliberate choice that the Tropenmuseum keeps following this track, and tries to remain connected with the cultural significance people attribute to biomedical knowledge in today's society. The discourse in post-colonial society on roots and ancestors, on being heirs of a collective and individuated past, on race and sexuality, and the making of histories through an alternative reading of tangible and intangible sources, images, sound recordings, crafts and other records of indigenous knowledge systems, is relevant for our museum. The major change, compared to the days of Kleiweg de Zwaan, Van Bork-Feltkamp and Bergman is that the museum, although by its very nature still an institutional authority, does not aim primarily to take a position in this discourse. For example, using DNA techniques in a roots project raises numerous conceptual and ethical questions. It makes sense to investigate these with the people involved and with the help of displays that widen the platform for debate. As such this also is part of an inter-exhibitional development – a mutual influencing of different exhibition approaches which contributes to a visual domain for reflection on the significance of our colonial past in today's post-colonial society.¹⁷

An example of this inter-exhibitional setting is the aestheticising exhibition *d'Un regard l'autre* with which the new Musée du quai Branly in Paris opened its exhibition programme in September 2006. Here physical anthropological type casting was presented as a source of inspiration by artists such as Charles Cordier.¹⁸ As we have seen, Kleiweg de Zwaan found inspiration for the Colonial Museum in

the cultural and physical anthropological programme of the Musée de l'Homme in Paris. Today, the Musée du quai Branly again offers a counterpoint to the Tropenmuseum. The different collection and exhibition approaches of the two museums, whether from an anthropological or from an art-historical perspective, help the Tropenmuseum to challenge the boundaries between anthropology and art, both in retrospect and as a direction for our present research and exhibition programme. A crucial aspect is the notion of agency. And here art and anthropology meet directly when people choose to investigate the significance of their colonial past taking their own body as a starting point. Marcel Pinas becomes personally involved in his own work when he combines his art installation *Reconnecting Africa* with *Back to the roots*, using his own DNA profile. Another example of a display which showed a similar connection in 2006 is the work of the Indian visual artist Pushpamala N.¹⁹ She actually sat in *The ethnographic series from Native Women of South India: Manners and Customs* (2000-2004). Her poses are based on the ethnographic and anthropometric tradition, the latter replete with measuring instruments and background grid, as a commentary on the use of photography as an instrument for creating and confirming stereotypes.

Agency is important, and so is ownership and authority. What the Musée du quai Branly and Tropenmuseum have in common is that human remains are only rarely displayed. The Tropenmuseum would not follow the example of an exhibition like *Bodies The Exhibition* by Roy Glover, which opened elsewhere in Amsterdam in December 2006. It featured preserved body parts of Chinese people who had certainly not given permission for their remains to be put on display in a travelling show. Most countries have few or no compulsory guidelines regarding the treatment of human remains in museums. Some national and international laws and guidelines exist. In most cases, however, a non-binding code is all there is. Only in countries such as North America, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa where ethnic groups became minorities in their own country – Australia's Aborigines, New Zealand's Maori, America's First Nations – has legislation been passed on the subject in recent years.²⁰ Setting international standards that acknowledge the issue in historical, biomedical, ethical and legal respect requires an international approach based on actual cases ensuring that existing collections are inventoried, experiences shared and source communities involved. In this context the Tropenmuseum hopes to be able to play a role by turning this debate into an international exhibition.

The Tropenmuseum human remains project has sharpened our views about the history, significance and effect of our collection, research and display traditions, and the various forms of agency involved. Most important of all, it has shown how this warrants the development of a policy for ownership and authority. The meeting of experts in February 2006 showed that repatriation efforts should not focus primarily on remains, but should be based on the wider notion of repatriating authority. And this notion of authority need not be confined to human remains. Its relevance to

the physical anthropology heritage may easily be transmitted to the objects associated with cultural anthropological heritage. In that sense, each term in the inscription over the entrance to our institution – Department of Cultural and Physical Anthropology – retains its significance for the museum.

Notes

- 1 Our thanks to Indra Bergval, Koos van Brakel, Laura van Broekhoven, Wilma van Bruinswaardt, Wouter Bijdendijk, Andries van Dam, Martijn Eickhoff, Denise Frank, Katherine Goodnow, Anne Hardon, Dienke Hondius, Ton Hol, Einar Lund Jensen, Ad de Jong, Viktor Kasiëpo, Marischka de Louw, Katja Lubina, Sankot Marzuki, Norman Palmer, Laura Peers, Ciraj Rassool, Laurens de Rooy, Lejo Schenk, Alex van Stipriaan, Hedley Swain and Pim Westerkamp.
- 2 His dissertation was published again four years later, in the extensive two-volume printed account of the expedition (Kleiweg de Zwaan 1912).
- 3 In a letter from the Colonial Institute dated 26-4-1939, mention is made of a (pending?) study trip to the Netherlands East Indies.
- 4 Indo-Javanese art and contemporary dance were staged in an additional programme accompanying this congress. Indonesia's *Pithecanthropus erectus* was shown in Haarlem, folklore manifestations were organised in various places in the Netherlands, and the indigenous communities of Marken and Volendam that had played a role in Dutch physical anthropological discourse, were visited (De Wolf 1998:31, also KIT Archive Kleiweg de Zwaan, and De Wolf 1998 passim).
- 5 Van Bork-Feltkamp, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1949, 1955. Various titles published between 1832 and 1961 are found in the documentation archive, box VII signature VII-15 til 40.
- 6 It is striking that in her monograph on the four pre-1945 Dutch folklorists De Vries, Meertens, Van der Ven and De Haas, Barbara Henkes gave the academic portraits of her protagonists more relief with help of the supportive academic role played by their female colleagues (and/or wives). Van Bork-Feltkamp's position next to Kleiweg de Zwaan and Bergman seems to fit in the pattern Henkes describes (Henkes 2005).
- 7 N.I.A.S., Nederlands-Indische Artsen School (see Appendix 2).
- 8 UDC comprises the following principal categories: 0 general works; 1 philosophy; 2 religion, theology; 3 social sciences, sociology, law, public administration; 4 language, philology; 5 exact sciences, natural sciences; 6 applied sciences, medicine, technology; 7 recreation, applied arts, music, games, sport; 8 belles lettres, literature; 9 geography, biography, history. Symbols enable auxiliary tables to be used to denote language (=...), form ((0...)), location ((1...) (9...)), ethnic group ((=...)) and time ("...").
- 9 The documentation system of the physical anthropological department also has Rudolf Martin's guidelines for photography: *Zur wissenschaftlich-anthropologischen Photographie*, published in 1925 (Box XLI, signature XLI-16). Relevant in this context is also the anonymous publication

- Stereophotogrammetry as an anthropometric tool* (Box LXII, signature LXII-3).
- 10 'Du coup, l'anthropologie physique, qui envisage entr'autres aspects celui du problème racial, passa d'une science intéressante sans doute, mais de caractère tout à fait théorique, à une science de valeur éminent pratique. les questions qui autrefois n'avaient aucune importance pour la vie quotidienne devenaient sous l'occupation naziste des questions de vie ou de mort...' (manuscript, dossier B (Bergman) IV:34).
 - 11 These statements were delivered by Prof. C.U. Ariëns Kappers, the director of the Central Institute for Brain Research where Van Bork-Feltkamp had written her PhD, and by Dr. A. de Froe. A treatise was also written explaining that the Sephardim were not Jews according to anthropology (this treatise is kept in the Ets Haim library in Amsterdam). When Kleiweg de Zwaan resigned as chairman of the Netherlands National Bureau for Anthropology in 1944, he was succeeded by Ariëns Kappers. On Ariëns Kappers see also *Biografisch woordenboek van Nederland* vol 6. See also: De Wolf 1998:40 on Paul Julien and Van Bork-Feltkamp.
 - 12 Various documents on the Unesco statement on Race can be found in File B (Bergman), KIT Library.
 - 13 NOISE Summerschool – Transforming Gender and Power: Mediating Science/Fiction & History/Memory. One cluster was: 'Mediating Memories and Histories: Gendered European Identities focusing on history and memories as location for the search for women's changing and shifting identities.
 - 14 This expedition was the American-Dutch Central New Guinea Expedition. The picture of Le Roux taking a photograph was taken by Docters van Leeuwen; the film by Richard Peck. See also the website By Aeroplane to Pygmyland: Revisiting the 1926 Dutch and American Expedition to New Guinea, edited and annotated by Paul Michael Taylor of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington
 - www.sil.si.edu/expeditions/1926/JournalStirling.
 - 15 We could learn a lot from comparative literature, in this respect. See for instance the questions raised by Toni Morrison in *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*. New York 1993.
 - 16 This project is part of a broad research programme funded by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific research (NOW), called Transformations in Art and Culture (2005-2008).
 - 17 The term inter-exhibitional is borrowed from comparative literature and the meaning of intertextuality. See for instance the works by Pamela Pattynama in the Netherlands.
 - 18 See for instance the short treatise on Anthropométrie, in the catalogue Musée du quai Branly, 2006, pp. 223.
 - 19 Her work was shown in 2006 in the *Another Asia*, an international photographic exhibition by Noorderlicht in Leeuwarden, the Netherlands. The photographs in which she poses are by Claire Arni, UK – see Catalogue *Another Asia* 2006, no. 45-48.
 - 20 Discussing policies relating to collections of human remains leads to a further investigation of the workings of the UN Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (1993), the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (2000) or biomedical ethical codes as issued by WHO. Examples of guidelines and policy statements include the ICOM Code of Ethics (latest version of 2003), the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA 1990), the Human Tissue Act (2004) and the Guidance for the Care of Human Remains in Museums (2005) in England; or more specific local agreements, such as the South African Iziko (Museums of Cape Town) Policy on the Management of Human Remains in Iziko Collections (2005) and the SVCN guidelines drafted and accepted by associated Dutch ethnographic museums (2004).

Appendix 1

Complete list of donors of physical anthropological collections*

Names of donors and place of acquisition

- Adam, T.:** Sumatra
Baal, J. van: Irian Jaya
Beaufort, L.F. de: Irian Jaya
Berkhout, L.: Irian Jaya
Beukering, J.A. van: Sumatra
Bijlmer, H.J.T.: New Guinea
Boes, A.G.: New Guinea
Bok, E.J.: Java
Bos, J.L.M.: New Guinea
Bosma, H.: Suriname
Broek, A.J.P. van de: Europe (plaster casts)
Brongersma, L.D.: New Guinea/Japan
Clarkson-Roozen, H.: New Guinea
Dammerman, K.W.: Sumba
Droogleever Fortuijn, A.B.: Suriname
Engel, W.A.: Europe
Feuilletau de Bruyn, W.K.H.: New Guinea
Feriz, H.: Central and South America
Franken, S.: New Guinea
Gasteren, L. van: North Africa
Geijskes, D.G.: Suriname
Hansen, J.F.K.: Sumatra
Hardenberg-Meiners, D.H.: Europe
Heyting, H.J.: Java
Hoeven, J.A. van der: New Guinea
Hoogenbosch, L.C.: Libya
Jong, R.F. de: Borneo
Kalthofen, A.: New Guinea
Keers, W.C.: Sulawesi
Kemmerling, G.L.L.: Sulawesi
Kloosterman, G.J.: Europe
Koenigswald, G.H.R. von: Europe (plaster casts)
Krantz, F.: Oceania
Kruijt, A.C.: Sulawesi
Lebzelter, V.: Europe (plaster casts)
Loois, H.: Sulawesi
Lubberhuizen, H.W.: Java
Marcus, R.E.H.: New Guinea
Munniks de Jonge, H.: Sumatra
Oosterhout, P.J. van: New Guinea (amongst others)
Penning, H.: provenance unknown
Poser, J.W.: Timor
Rijssel, E.J. van: Europe
Rodenwaldt, E.R.K.: Sumba
Sasse, J.: Europe
Schuyt, P.: Sulawesi
Shellshear, J.: China, Europe
Sitsen, A.E.: Java
Sitsen-Burnbach, E.: Java
Sleen, W.G.N. van der: South and Central America
Sluiter, C.Ph.: Borneo
Vogelpoel, Th.G. van: Indonesia, Europe
Vogelpoel-Murray, E.W.P. van: Java, Europe
Vos, L.: Europe
Wirz, P.: New Guinea

* Information from collection documentation cards. Biographies of most important collectors in Appendix 2.

Institutions, museums and hospitals

**Comité voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek
in Nederlandsch-Indië**

**Geografisch Seminarium, Universiteit van
Amsterdam**

Kantoor Bevolkingszaken, Hollandia

Koninklijke Nederlands-Indische

Luchtvaartmaatschappij

**Koninklijk Nederlands Aardrijkskundig
Genootschap**

**Kwekschool voor Vroedvrouwen,
Amsterdam**

**Militair Geneeskundig Laboratorium,
Weltevreden**

Museum Coryndon, Kenya

**Museum of New York (most probably the
Brooklyn Museum)**

Ministerie voor Overzeese Rijksdelen

**Nederlandsch Indischen Artsenschool
(N.I.A.S) Surabaya**

Natura Artis Magistra

Naturhistorisches Staatsmuseum Wien

**Opsporingsdienst Hoofdkantoor van de
Mijnbouw Suriname**

Zoölogisch Museum Amsterdam

Companies

Ahrend & Zn. N.V., Amsterdam

Damon, R.F. & Co, London

**Herman (formerly known as Meyer),
Zürich**

N. Kranz, Bonn

Rickenbach & Sohn, Zürich

Rouppert, N., France

Appendix 2

Biographies of principal donors of physical anthropological collections and related institutions

By far the majority of those who donated human remains were doctors, physical anthropologists and biologists. Cultural anthropologists, archaeologists, civil servants, soldiers and travellers also contributed to the collection, though more modestly. This explains why such a small part of the collection of human remains was acquired along with ethnological artefacts. When this occurred it was usually during scientific expeditions.

This appendix lists the principal donors. We were not able to trace all the relevant facts and figures and would welcome any additional information to make the list more complete.

Adam, T. (1878-1955)

German tobacco planter at Deli, Sumatra (1899-1921). Was fascinated by Batak culture and assembled a large collection of objects and photographs during this period. The collection was purchased in 1921 by the Colonial Museum. Between 1921 and 1929 he lived on Java and in Europe. In 1929 he moved to America where he served as curator of Oriental art at Brooklyn Museum in New York until 1933.

Baal, J. van (1909-1992)

Indologist, cultural anthropologist. Assistant inspector at Merauke (1936-1938), subsequently head of the Kantoor Bevolkingszaken (Population Office) at Hollandia (1951-1952). Governor of Dutch New Guinea (1953-1958). From 1960, professor by special appointment in Amsterdam and foundation professor of religious ethnology in Utrecht. From 1969, professor in Utrecht. Director of the Cultural and Physical Anthropology department of the Royal Tropical Institute (1962-1969).

Beaufort, L.F. de (1879-1968)

Biologist. Participated in the North New Guinea Expedition of 1903. In the 1920s he was director of Amsterdam's Zoological Museum and professor at the University of Amsterdam (UvA).

Beukering, J.A. van (1910-...)

Started his medical career as doctor in the Dutch colonial army of the East Indies (KNIL), on the Mentawai islands and at Aceh, 1937-1942. Imprisoned in Japanese prison camp (1942-1945). Took his PhD in 1947 in Utrecht in the anthropology of the Mentawai islands. An expert on Indonesian blood groups. Member of a survey team and medical doctor in Ghana (1949-1959); held various medical posts for non-white people in South Africa (1961-1977).

Bijlmer, H.J.T. (1890-1959)

Doctor and physical anthropologist. Student of Kleiweg de Zwaan. For many years a government doctor in New Guinea. In 1920-1921 he took part in the Netherlands Scientific Central New Guinea Expedition to the central highlands. Leader of the Mimika expedition in 1935/1936 in South New Guinea. Was interested in the evolutionary position and culture of dwarf peoples. From 1933 a private teacher in physical anthropology and human genetics at the University of Amsterdam (UvA). Donated major collections to the museum, including many artefacts and photographs.

Bok, E.J.

Doctor in the Netherlands East Indies (1922-1928).

Brongersma, L.D. (1907-1994)

Biologist. Staff member at Artis Zoological Museum (1928-1934) and director of the Rijksmuseum of Natural History in Leiden (1958-1972). Visiting professor at Leiden (1964). Team leader of the Star Mountains expedition to the central highlands of Dutch New Guinea (1959).

Dammerman, K.W. (1888-1951)

Biologist. Director of the Zoological Museum and Laboratory (1919) and director of the National Botanical Gardens (1925-1938) at Buitenzorg (Bogor).

Donated East Indies skull fragment 270-2 a/f, not yet retrieved.

Droogleever Fortuijn, A.B. (1886-...)

Biologist and physical anthropologist. Visiting professor of anatomy at the Peking Union Medical School in the 1920s. Worked from 1943-1946 at the Medical School in Paramaribo.

Feriz, H. (1895-1970)

Austrian doctor. Worked originally as teacher of pathological anatomy at the University of Amsterdam (UvA); served later as ship's doctor and finally as general practitioner in Amsterdam. After the Second World War, became a leading amateur archaeologist focusing on the lost cultures of South and Central America, excavating in various areas. From 1955 he was honorary fellow of the Royal Tropical Institute, specialising in American archaeology. In 1969 he donated his entire collection of 1,400 artefacts, then already on loan, to the museum.

Feuilletau de Bruyn, W.K.H. (1886-...)

Civil servant in Dutch New Guinea.

Geijskes, D.C. (1907-...)

Dutch biologist and ethnologist, PhD University of Basel; 1936-1965 in Suriname; from 1954-1965 'government biologist' and director of the Suriname Museum. Collected ethnological and archaeological data. In 1967 curator National Museum of Natural History in Leiden.

Hansen, J.F.K.

Officer in the Dutch colonial army of the East Indies (KNIL) and amateur ethnologist. Led a KNIL unit to the Mentawai archipelago in 1910/1911.

Hoeven, J.A. van der

Doctor. Collaborated with the Germans during the Second World War, working for them in Russia as an army doctor. After the war, as the alternative to a prison sentence, he was sent to Dutch New Guinea where he worked as a government doctor during the 1950s and '60s. Author of the book *'Ratten aan het spit'* (Rats on the spit), popular in the '60s, describing his experiences in the central highlands.

Kalthofen, A.

Government doctor at Merauke, South New Guinea, in the 1920s. First medical officer at the Dutch internment camp for political convicts at Upper Digul, South New Guinea.

Kantoor Bevolkingszaken (Population Office).

Office for social and demographic affairs and problems, founded in 1951 in Hollandia, the capital of Netherlands New Guinea. It stimulated social scientific research, especially ethnological fieldwork by government officials with an academic background.

Kleiweg de Zwaan, J.P. (1875-1971)

Passim throughout this book.

Kloosterman, G.J. (1915-2004)

Gynaecologist. Professor of gynaecology at the University of Amsterdam (UvA) and director of Amsterdam's College of Midwifery.

Koenigswald, G.H.R. von (1902-1982)

German paleo-anthropologist with the Geological Service of the Netherlands East Indies. Famous for his excavations and research into *pithecanthropus erectus*. Later professor of paleontology and stratigraphy at the State University of Utrecht (1948-1968).

Donated plaster mask 1239-1, not found and not in inventory.

Lubberhuizen, H.W.

Doctor. Held several posts in the Netherlands including the Vaccination Office in Dordrecht. In 1934 established himself in the Netherlands East Indies where he worked as director of the Military Medical Laboratory, Weltevreden. In 1947 he published the book *Lichaamsbouw en karakter* (Physique and character.)

N.I.A.S (Nederlands-Indische Artsen School).

Netherlands East Indian School for Physicians in Surabaya. Was from 1913 on the sister institute of STOVIA in Batavia. It was closed in 1941 by the Japanese occupying force.

Poser, J.W.

Physical anthropologist. Military doctor on Timor after 1910.

Teacher STOVIA (School Tot Opleiding Van Indische Artsen, Training School for Doctors in the Netherlands East Indies, 1913-1915).

Rodenwaldt, E.R.K. (1878-1965)

German tropical doctor and epidemiologist. Between 1910-1919 he conducted research as a government official in German Togo and Turkey into the environmental factors relating to and influencing epidemic diseases in the Netherlands East Indies. Teacher at STOVIA (1925), where he researched the conditions that facilitated the spread of malaria and cholera. Member of The Society for Eugenics. Was interested in the fertility of white women in the tropics. Known in anthropological circles for his research into

mestizoes on the eastern East Indies island of Kisar. Professor of hygiene at the University of Kiel (1934-1935). Joined the German army during World War II and served as hygienist in North Africa, Greece and Italy. In British captivity until 1946. Due to the de-nazification and his publications on *Rassenhygiene* ('racial hygiene'), his professorate in Germany was not continued. Referred to by Penny and Bunzl as 'a prominent Nazi anthropologist' (p. 196).

Sasse, J. (1862-1916)

Doctor. Conducted physical anthropological research in the Netherlands, at Urk and Terschelling, in the early twentieth century. Helped found the Dutch Anthropological Society in 1898, becoming its secretary.

Schols, H.

Director of Geological Mining Department, Paramaribo.

Sitsen, A.E.

Doctor and physical anthropologist. Teacher at the STOVIA in Batavia (1909-1913). First director of the Netherlands East Indies Medical School (NIAS) at Surabaya (1913-1927). In the '30s he worked at the universities of Munich and Innsbruck.

Sitsen-Bürnbach, E.

Widow of A.E. Sitsen.

Sleen, W.G.N van der (1886-1967)

Chemist. Secondary school teacher and director of a chemistry laboratory in Haarlem. Relentless world traveller and sought-after speaker and lecturer on his travels at adult education centres and academic societies. Published an account of his various journeys, some of which took many months.

STOVIA – School tot Opleiding van Inlandsche Artsen (Training School for Doctors in the Netherlands East Indies) since 1899 in Weltevreden (Batavia). Successor of the 19th century Dokter Djawa School, where Indonesians had been trained in primary health care. This training curriculum gradually was extended after 1913 for men and women, related to both army and civil medical services in hospitals. In the 1920s a grade at Stovia provided access to some more years of additional medical training at a Dutch University. In 1927 STOVIA stopped, and the Medical Faculty of Batavia was opened.

Vogelpoel, Th.G. van

Doctor in the Netherlands East Indies from 1922 to 1938. Teacher at STOVIA, Batavia: 1902-1904, 1906-1921, 1922-1926, 1935. Director from 1915-1917. First secretary of the Netherlands' National Bureau for Anthropology (founded in 1922), a society devoted to promoting the study and teaching of anthropology in the Netherlands.

Wirz, P. (1892-1955)

Swiss ethnologist. Undertook regular, extensive fieldwork trips in New Guinea over a period of 40 years. An expert in the cultures of the southern coast around Merauke, the Sentani Lake region and the Sepik basin in Papua New Guinea. A prolific writer and tireless collector and photographer. Maintained special ties with the Tropenmuseum and bequeathed major, copious ethnographical collections to the museum, both during his lifetime and posthumously.

Appendix 3

Concise inventory of collections, photographs and documents

- 1 Contemporary collections of human remains:
The Netherlands East Indies / Dutch New Guinea (Papua) / Dutch New Guinea (Papua), Second World War / China / Africa / America / The Netherlands
- 2 Archaeological collections of human remains
- 3 Objects made from or with human remains
- 4 Photographs:
Photographs relating to objects of physical anthropology / Collectors as photographers / Other photographs and negatives
- 5 Physical anthropological publications / The Departmental Library

1 Contemporary collections of human remains

Not every skull or bone is listed here. Most of the small acquisitions, comprising only a few items, come from the East Indies and were donated by people now only remembered by name. The following list contains what we believe to be the largest and most important anthropological series. It is divided into contemporary and archaeological collections. The contemporary collections are subdivided into geographical regions, since a chronological system, based on the date of registration for example, would only be useful if it would shed light on recognisable developments in the physical anthropology department, such as a subsequent systematic acquisition of objects from areas other than the Dutch colonies. No such development appears to have taken place. Human remains were acquired over a period of 50 years entirely at random. Where relevant, information about photographs has been included, as well as relevant photographs that do not relate to other objects.

The Netherlands East Indies

H-3077. Haarlem collection, June 1919

West Sumatra: 'Skull of a Malay'.

The first skull from the Netherlands East Indies to be part of the collection. Donated by Dr. M.Th. Reiche in 1910 to Kleiweg de Zwaan. Dr. Reiche, a military surgeon, was head of the military medical service in the Netherlands East Indies (1870-1873), later director of the Dokter Djawa School in Batavia, which preceded STOVIA.

- Series 47. Given by J.F.K. Hansen, February 1917
Mentawai archipelago, Siberut Island: eight human skulls, one painted deer skull with antlers, two animal shoulder blades with magical drawings and a wooden warrior's shield.
This is one of the few acquisitions comprising anthropological and ethnological objects. The skulls appear to bear no relation to the artefacts.
Also: Kleiweg de Zwaan, J.P., 'Bijdrage tot de anthropologie der Mentaweiers'. In: *Tijdschrift Koninklijk Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, tweede serie, deel XXIV 1917, No. 6.
- Series 120. Given by Dr. J.W. Poser, February 1921
Timor: nine complete skulls and five skull fragments.
Summary record, no other information.
Photograph collection: collection of interesting photographs about measured people. Collected in a map but not yet available in the digitized photograph database.
- Series 269. Given by Prof. Dr. E.R.K. Rodenwaldt, September 1925
Sumba: 50 incomplete skulls, mostly crowns of skulls.
According to the record, 'excavated'. The skulls are in extremely poor condition. Most were originally fragments glued together, many with a kind of tape, on the inside. They also appear to have been coated with a thin layer of lacquer.
Also: Kleiweg de Zwaan, J.P., 'Oude urnschedels van Melolo (Oost-Soemba)'. In: *Vergaderingsverslag Ned. Nationaal Bureau voor Anthropologie, Mensch en Maatschappij* 14, 1938.
- Series 295. Given by Dr. E.J. Bok, Semarang, May 1926
Java: specimens of children and fetuses preserved in alcohol.
According to the record: 'Two large jars containing the bodies of two Javanese children preserved in alcohol, as well as those of the incomplete fetus of twins at six months and three fetuses, one of three months still in its membrane, one of four months with placenta and one of between three and four months, all from Java.'
Photograph collection: album 1801 with photographs concerning types of Australoids, Negroids, Weddoids, Mongoloids, Ariodists. Also with this album three books with negatives of the same photographs.
- Series 382 and 384. Given by Dr. E.J. Bok, Semarang, 1927
Java: 2 x 4 jars containing fully grown children.
No further details
- Series 511. Given by Military Medical Laboratory, Weltevreden, January, 1929
Netherlands East Indies: children, embryos and fetuses preserved in alcohol.
According to the record: 'Anthropological study material consisting of nine embryos, fetuses and neonates (newborn babies), contained in two Cologne jars with formalin.'
- Series 551. Given by Dr. H.W. Lubberhuizen, December 1929
Java: 42 pairs of collar-bones from Javanese men and 13 pairs from Javanese women.
No details given. These remains were grouped for an unknown reason with the above specimens in the same series.
- Series 652. Given by Zoological Museum of Amsterdam, 1930
Flores and Banda: Three skulls, bones and hair samples from children of Flores.
No details given in the record.
- Series 762. Exchange given by H.W. Lubberhuizen, July 1931
Java: Two complete skeletons of Javanese men.

No details. Exchanged for two plaster busts of a Javanese man and woman.

Series 793. Exchange given by H.W. Lubberhuizen, July 1932

Java: Two complete skeletons of Javanese women.

No details given.

Series 844. Given by Dr. Th.G. van Vogelpoel, November 1933

Java: 110 sacra (lower spine), 21 lumber vertebrae, 33 pelvises and pelvis segments, three foetuses in alcohol and a stillborn baby.

Mixed series, including sacra from the Netherlands. See below, series 844. No further details.

Series 1379. Given by Dr. J.A. van Beukering, Mentawai, July 1940

Mentawai archipelago, North Pagai Island: five skulls without lower jaw.

Brief description of poor condition, no further details.

Photograph collection: there is mention of an album about Mentawai donated to the photograph collection by Poser. Yet to be found.

Series 1723. Exchange given by E. Sitsen-Bürnbach, January 1946

Java, Surabaya: 57 complete skulls.

These skulls were collected by Dr. A.E. Sitsen, director from 1913 to 1927 of the Netherlands East Indies Medical School. All the skulls were anatomically examined in Surabaya, the crowns were sawn open with a circular incision and rejoined with glue, which has since turned yellow. The collection arrived with 15 boxes of x-ray photographs, autopsy reports and lists of measurements by Dr. Sitsen, catalogued as series 1781, which have yet to be located. The record of the skulls notes: 'one disadvantage is that this material comes from a harbour town (Surabaya) and is therefore presumably extremely mixed. The accompanying information about the skulls provides no anthropological clarification derived from the racial characteristics of the deceased or cadavers'.

Dutch New Guinea (Papua)

Papuan bodily remains are well represented. They comprise remains collected for anthropological purposes (although this is not always clear), much ethnographical (expeditionary) material (ancestral skulls and heads of captives), excavation finds and trophies confiscated by the Dutch authorities.

A-6493. Given by Artis

South New Guinea: one skull without lower jaw.

The first skull from Dutch New Guinea in the collection. Acquired by Artis Museum in December 1906.

Original collector no longer known.

Series 66. Given by W.K.H. Feuilleteau de Bruyn, February 1919

Schouten Islands and Biak, Geelvink Bay (Teluk Cenderawasih): 16 skulls.

The record gives only the normal measurements. No further details.

Photograph collection: a donation is mentioned in 1938 but the photographs were sent back to the donor, possibly because of their inferior quality.

Series 141. Given by Dr. H.J.T. Bijlmer, January 1922

Pioneer bivouac, Mamberamo river basin: 13 skulls.

A combined series of 22 skulls, 13 of which from Dutch New Guinea, seven from Lomblèn and one from Timor, both Lesser Sunda Islands (Nusa Tenggara). The record of the skulls lists the provenance as villages and river basins. The collection is of historical importance because it was obtained during the Dutch Scientific Central

New Guinea Expedition of 1920, in which Bijlmer took part. The anthropological research was published in Nova Guinea, Vol. VII: Ethnography, Livraison 4. The skulls are in random order: numbers 141-6 and 7 remained in the museum depot as ethnographica and were not part of the loan to Museum Vrolik.

Objects: series 253-1/10 were collected during this expedition.

Photograph collection: the expedition of 1921/22 is well-documented through photographs and negatives. Also: Bijlmer, H.J.T., 'Anthropological Results of the Dutch Scientific Central New-Guinea Expedition 1920, followed by an essay on the Anthropology of the Papuans'. In: *Nova Guinea*, Vol. VII, Ethnography, Livraison 4, 1922 (PhD thesis).

Series 163. Given by Dr. L.F. de Beaufort, October 1922

Northern coast of New Guinea: four cases containing hair samples for microscopic research.

According to the record the hair was collected during the Dutch North New Guinea expedition in 1903, led by Prof. Wichmann. The specimens were made up at Prof. R. Martin's laboratory in Zurich. Martin was considered one of the leading figures in his field.

Photograph collection: eight negatives of De Beaufort from Tanah Merah, received from Kalthofen (see series 383). Also: Sande, G.A.J. van der, *Ethnography and Anthropology: Nova Guinea* III, Leiden, 1906.

Series 216. Given by the Committee for Scientific Research in the Netherlands East Indies at Batavia, July 1924

Humboldt Bay: 89 skulls.

Collected by Paul Wirz during his fieldwork in North New Guinea. The record notes: '89 skulls of Papuans from North New Guinea (Humboldt Bay), taken from a ravine (spiritual home of a Papuan hill tribe) where the bodies were deposited. Collected there by Dr. P. Wirz and his wife'. No further details concerning the skulls. No measurements. Nothing is known regarding Paul Wirz's connection to the committee making the gift.

Series 383. Given by Dr. A. Kalthofen, July 1927

South coast, Merauke district: ten Marind skulls without lower jaw and three separate lower jaws bound together with reed fibres 'as a kind of trophy'. Ethnographical objects.

No further details and no measurements. Most probably Marind or Yei-anim.

Photograph collection: see De Beaufort (series 163).

Series 779. Given by Dr. H.J.T. Bijlmer, September 1932

South New Guinea: 21 skulls.

Expeditionary material. (Expedition to the Upper Digul). The record provides places of origin in greater detail, for example 'from the charnel house at Eramboe' or 'found murdered in 1931 in Tanah Merah', upper Digul river. The series, probably including many heads of captives, is more ethnological than anthropological. The skulls are scattered throughout the collection: numbers 779-1, 2, 3, 4, 7 and 9 remained in the museum depot and were not part of the loan to Museum Vrolik.

Photograph collection: no photographs of this expedition.

Series 1153. Given by Dr. H.J.T. Bijlmer, September 1937

South New Guinea, Etna Bay: eight skulls.

No further details, no measurements.

Objects: series 1024-1/89 were probably collected during the Mimika Expedition.

Photograph collection: A good collection of photographs from the Mimika Expedition.

Series 1398. Given by Royal Dutch Geographical Society (KNAG), July 1940

Central mountain range: one almost complete skeleton of a Dani and 18 skulls of mountain Papuans and inhabitants of the Mimika coast.

Important historical ethnological expeditionary material, attached to original labels of the Central New Guinea Expedition, KNAG 1939. With detailed information about where they were originally discovered. The Mimika skulls are ancestral skulls from men's houses.

Series 2132. Given by Dr. J. van Baal, Hollandia, February 1952

New Guinea general: 14 skulls.

The records mention only 'one skull', no further details. Ethnographical, not anthropological material. Probably heads of captives from the southern coast region, confiscated by officials of the Civil Affairs department, which Van Baal headed. Head-hunting was rife here until the 1950s. The skulls are in random order: numbers 2132-4 and 12 remained in the museum depot as ethnographica and were not part of the loan to Museum Vrolik.

Series 2296. Given by Dr. J.A. van der Hoeven, Biak, December 1953

North coast, Wari: 1,225 skulls, bones and bone fragments.

Excavated 'old Papuan cemetery', with various objects, such as pottery fragments, porcelain and an armband along with the human remains. The record offers a long list of the items, no further details. Some of the objects in this collection are numbered, others not.

Photograph collection: 15 photographs in the collection New Guinea + lists received in 1957.

Series 2468. Given by Ministry of Overseas Possessions, December 1955

New Guinea general: 44 skulls.

The records note that the remains come from the Population Office at Hollandia. These are presumably confiscated trophies, each labelled simply 'one skull'. Ethnographical, rather than anthropological material. The skulls are in random order. Numbers 2468-31, 32, 33, 35, 37 to 44 remained in the museum depot as ethnographica and were not part of the loan to Museum Vrolik.

Series 2600. Given by Ministry of Overseas Possessions, March 1957

New Guinea general: 58 skulls.

See series 2468, however here with occasional details about origins, e.g. Jamsap, Amjirer, Amsehberh. Probably all from the Asmat region. Some skulls were decorated with dried strips of palm leaf. Five of this series of skulls remained in the museum depot and were not part of the loan to Museum Vrolik.

Dutch New Guinea (Papua), Second World War

A report is preserved in the KIT archives of a conversation held in The Hague on 25 September 1950, between the President of the Board of KIT and the governor of Dutch New Guinea, S.L.J. van Waardenburg, which notes that the governor was asked during his previous visit to the Netherlands by Prof. Bergman to supply Japanese skulls (sic.): 'Meanwhile, skulls have been found at Manokwari of persons who died in Japanese uniform. Of course they may have been Korean, Formosan or Heiho. With this proviso the governor would be glad to have the skulls sent over. In the absence of Prof. Bergman, Mw. Van Bork responded that this would be greatly appreciated. It was arranged that Prof. Bergman would write to the governor on the matter this week'. The anthropological department received five packets of remains of soldiers who died in Japanese uniform.

Series 2077. Given by Dr. S. Franken, Kota Baru, New Guinea, May 1951.

Biak: skull of a Japanese

The record provides a technical anatomical description of the skull. It mentions the presence of two Japanese army shoes and an underwear button. The shoes have not yet been found, only the remains of leather leg guards.

Series 2122. Given by Dr. J.A. van der Hoeven, December 1951
North coast of New Guinea, Sarmi: almost complete Japanese skeleton, comprising 153 fragments.
Brief technical record. A piece of iron accompanies the skeleton.

Series 2213. Given by Dr. J.A. van der Hoeven, Biak, New Guinea, December 1952
New Guinea general: 244 skeletal remains, probably of Japanese soldiers.
The record offers brief technical summary of the skeletal segments, including skull fragments and lower jaws. The presence is noted of 'remains of three leather shoes still containing phalanx bones, entirely overgrown with plant roots. Also a mother-of-pearl button with four holes, a thin iron helmet, a flattened piece of metal and a metal splinter'. None of these have been found.

Series 2286. Given by Dr. L.D. Brongersma, November 1953
New Guinea general: four Japanese skulls and two bones, six Papuan skulls, two skull crowns and 14 other remains.
The records merely summarise the remains, no further details are given.

Series 2815. Given by P.J. van Oosterhout, doctor, Amsterdam, August 1959
New Guinea general: broken skull and parts of a Japanese skeleton.
The record offers only a summary of the fragments. It mentions the presence of 'one mother-of-pearl button with two holes, as used on the underwear worn by Japanese soldiers'.

China

Series 675. Given by Prof. Joseph Shellshear, Hongkong, March 1931
China: 30 preserved brains of Chinese persons of both genders and varying ages.
No further details. The record mentions three publications by Dr. Van Bork-Feltkamp: 'Considerations on Brain Mechanics. An Account of a Peculiar Asymmetry in Ten Human Brains'. In: Proceedings Kon. Akad. v. Wetenschappen, Vol. XXXV, no. 3. Amsterdam, 1932; 'Recherches sur 88 Cerveaux de Chinois'. In: l'Anthropologie, Tome XLIII, no. 5-6, 1933; 'Review of the Frontal Operculum and the Burial of (?) in Sula'. In: Psychiatrische en Neurologische Bladen 1934, no. 3 en 4.

Africa

The collection should contain three human remains from Africa, however, not all have been traced.
They are:

H-3078. Haarlem Collection, June 1919
Africa: 'skull of an African'.
Given by Dr. M.Th. Reiche in 1919 to Kleiweg de Zwaan.

Series 2215. Loaned by Mr. L. van Gasteren, December 1952
Sahara: an almost complete skeleton.
Dozens of bone fragments. Only the lower jaw of the skull remains. Surface find. Discovered and taken by Van Gasteren while working as a cineast on three films about the Sahara, on cacao and on the harbour of Accra, sponsored by Van Houten Chocolates.

Series 3028. Given by Dr. J.A. van Beukering, Bloemfontein, June 1961
Republic of South Africa: skull of a Bantu woman.

Technical description of the dolichocephalic skull of 'a somewhat elderly woman'. From a letter of thanks sent by Van Bork-Feltkamp to Van Beukering, kept in the KIT archives (no. 7485), the skull was acquired through the good offices of the Dutch embassy at Cape Town. What was special about the skull, which is referred to in the letter as an important gift and was apparently requested by the department, is now no longer known. Two strings of beads accompanied the skull. The skull is not yet traced in the collection, the beads are found.

Photograph collection: a small collection of photographs from South Africa, only pottery.

America

Series 1693. Given by Dr. A.B. Drooglever Fortuyn, September 1947

Suriname: Wayana Native Americans: an envelope containing 27 hair samples.

No further details. The record mentions the publication of these samples by the donor: Drooglever Fortuyn, A.B., Some Data on the Physical Anthropology of Oajana Indians (Koninklijke Vereeniging Indisch Instituut, Med. LXIX; Med. Afdeling Volkenkunde 22), Amsterdam, 1946.

Series 1809. Given by Dr. D.G. Geijskes, Paramaribo, 1948

Suriname, Wajana Native Americans: three skulls.

According to a note by the donor mentioned in the record, the skulls were collected from an old grave in a deserted village by Loë Creek (Litani), August 1939.

Photograph collection: 51 negatives from Suriname with a list received in 1956.

The Netherlands

Series 36a. Legacy of Dr. J. Sasse, 1916

The Netherlands: 12 Cologne pots and jars containing around 130 preserved brains.

Already designated for disposal.

Series 764. Given by W.A. Engel, January 1928

Wormerveer: seven skulls and 74 skeletal fragments.

According to the record: 'Found around 15 October 1928 at Wormerveer, within the dyke, opposite the Zaan bridge, along with Spanish coins and a dagger, the presence of which may indicate the age of the skeletal remains.'

Series 770. Given by Prof. Dr. Kleiweg de Zwaan, July 1932

Amsterdam: three bones, excavated in Amsterdam.

No details given.

Photograph collection: a reasonable collection of photographs from K. de Z. with skulls and types from Bali, Lombok, Nias (1916, 1918, 1939, 1940).

Series 844. Given by Dr. Th. G. van Vogelpoel, November 1933

The Netherlands: 91 sacra (lower spine) of men, women and children.

Mixed series, including sacra, other remains and specimens in alcohol from Java. See Netherlands East Indies, series 844.

Series 2636. Given by Prof. Dr. G.J. Kloosterman, College of Midwifery, Amsterdam, July 1957

Netherlands: five jars containing five fetuses.

No details mentioned.

2 Archaeological collections of human remains

Series 877. Purchased from Dr. W.G.N. van der Sleen, February 1934

Peru: four artificially deformed Pre-Columbian skulls.

The skulls are in random order. Numbers 877-3 and 4 remained in the museum depot and were not part of the loan to Museum Vrolik.

Photograph collection: collection of negatives of several of Van der Sleen's journeys: Indonesia (two journeys) and South America (two journeys). The second South American journey in particular has links with the Pre-Columbian skulls.

Series 961. Given by Dr. W.G.N. van der Sleen, April 1935

Peru: 13 Pre-Columbian skulls and skull fragments from Peru and Chile.

The skulls, including various deformed examples, are marked in ink with the period, e.g. Chiu-Chiu, Pachacamac, Calama, Tambo de More.

Series 1168. Given by Artis Zoological Museum, October 1937

Aruba: jar containing the remains of a newborn child.

According to the record, the remains were found in an urn dug up at Sabaneta.

Series 1728. Loan from Ir Schols and Dr. D.G. Geijskes, Paramaribo, 1947

Suriname: one skull and around ten skeletal fragments.

No details mentioned.

Photograph collection: see Geijskes, section 4 Photographs.

Series 1728. Loan from Dr. D.G. Geijskes, Paramaribo 1947

Suriname: 14 numbered boxes containing bones and bone fragments.

The individual remains are not numbered, many are small fragments. They come from the Pre-Columbian Kwatta Culture (c. 800-1400 BC). The material was collected by Geijskes, though not always excavated by him. Information from Ad Verbeek, February 2005

Photograph collection: see Geijskes, section 4 Photographs.

Series 2040. Given by Dr. H. Feriz, November 1950

Pre-Columbian America, Peru: seven skulls, skull fragments and a piece of wood.

One of the skulls remained in the museum depot and was not part of the loan to Museum Vrolik.

Photograph collection: there is a collection connected with Feriz. Not yet available.

Series 2114. Given by Dr. H. Feriz, November 1951

Pre-Columbian America: 64 skulls, skull fragments and mummified parts of bodies.

Objects numbered 2114-63 and 64 remained in the museum depot and were not part of the loan to Museum Vrolik.

Series 2214. Given by Dr. H. Feriz, December 1952

Northwest America: various archaeological (?) bones.

The record lists only 'human bones' without mentioning quantity or measurements

Series 2344. Given by Dr. H. Feriz, June 1954

Pre-Columbian America: 332 archaeological objects and burial finds, including 19 extended and trepanned skulls.

The skulls are in random order. Two remained in the museum depot and were not part of the loan to Museum Vrolik. The records of the skulls provide no details, stating simply 'skull'.

Series 2584. Given by Dr. D.G. Geijskens, Paramaribo, February 1957

Suriname: 112 skeletal fragments.

No details given.

Series 2727. Given by Dr. H. Feriz, September 1958

Pre-Columbian Panama and Bonaire: 308 archaeological objects, including bundles containing human bones.

Burial finds. small bone fragments numbered 2727-118, -121, -127 and 145, remained in the museum depot and were not part of the loan to Museum Vrolik.

Series 3842. Given by Dr. H. Feriz, September 1969

Pre-Columbian America, mainly from Peru: 1,433 archaeological objects, including eight human remains, such as bone fragments, teeth and a mummified hand.

Burial finds. Objects numbered 3842-722, an artificially deformed coronal bone of a child, and 3842-1366, a mummified hand, remained in the museum depot and were not part of the loan to Museum Vrolik.

3 Objects made from or with human remains

This list would not be complete without mentioning a small number of utensils and ritual objects made in most cases of human bone and currently in the museum's artefact collection. These items were not listed under anthropology since the human remains were considered by the museum to be merely the basic material from which the object was made, much as wood or cotton.

These objects include:

- Various daggers made of human bone, from the southern coast of Dutch New Guinea (Papua).
- Various ancestral figures with human skulls (Korwars) from northern Dutch New Guinea.
- Decorated individual ancestral skulls, some modelled with clay, from Dutch New Guinea, Papua New Guinea, and Borneo.
- Trophies of head-hunters from Dutch New Guinea, and South America: skulls and shrunken heads.
- Warrior shields from Kalimantan with tufts of human hair.
- A necklace with human teeth from Kalimantan.
- Ceremonial objects from Tibet, such as a flute made of a long bone, a crown of a skull as a drinking beaker and a priestly costume with an appliqué containing pieces of human bone.
- An antique specimen preserved in alcohol of a Native American foetus from Suriname, known as the 'Little Indian in spirits'. The foetus is clothed in a headdress, shoes and jewellery; it is an exhibit from the days of cabinets of curiosities.

4 Photographs

Photographs relating to objects of physical anthropology

Photographs, which form part of the physical anthropological collection, comprise around 150 posed portraits and full-length depictions of human types, technical records and depictions of researchers at work. Most of the photographs date from the first half of the twentieth century and come from the Netherlands East Indies and Dutch New Guinea.

It is not certain whether or not the Physical Anthropology (PA) department donated its photographs and negatives to the central photograph department. The PA department is not mentioned in the lists of donations from 1915 to 1960. There are however a few donations from staff members such as Kleiweg de Zwaan and Mw. Van Bork-Feltkamp. Most of Kleiweg de Zwaan's photographs can be viewed on the UDC archive cards. The negatives of the skulls and the different human types however can not. There is not even any reference to skulls in the UDC system. It would seem as though photographs of skulls and human remains were not considered appropriate for the UDC collection, to which the public had access.

J.P. Kleiweg de Zwaan

October 10 1918. Donated 42 negatives of skulls and human types.

January 13 1916 Loaned nine photographs of ethnographic artefacts (originals returned).

October 7 1939 Loaned 50 photographs of Bali and Lombok (originals returned).

February 21 1940 Loaned one photograph by Bijlmer of 'Tapiro-Pygmeë' from New Guinea (original returned).

Mw. A.J. Van Bork-Feltkamp

September 27 1934. Donated four negatives via the Ethnographical Department (not included as part of the collection).

1948 Mw. E. Sitsen-Burnbach, from Laren, donated 15 boxes of negatives with the serial numbers 1781-1 to 15. These photographs were of the collection of skulls etc. owned by Dr. A.E. Sitsen, director of the Nederlandsch Indische Artsenschool (N.I.A.S., the Netherlands East Indies Doctors School). Unfortunately these boxes have not yet been traced.

The lack of photographs and negatives of skulls and other human remains leads us to believe that the Physical Anthropology department maintained its own collection of photographs and negatives relating to material that was of specific relevance to them. If such a collection existed, it would have been transferred elsewhere after the closure of the department in 1964. It is not however in the Tropenmuseum's central photograph collection. Further investigation into the whereabouts of such a collection could lead to the discovery of important material.

Collectors as photographers

The names of the donors of human remains often reappear in the Tropenmuseum's photograph collection, either as photographers, or donors of photographs. Not all these photographs have been extensively studied. There are no human remains on most of the photographers' works. The collections of the following photographers could be worthy of further study:

J.W. Poser, H.J.T. Bijlmer, E.J. Bok, W.G.N. van der Sleen, H. Feriz, D.C. Geijskes, J.P. Kleiweg de Zwaan; possibly also A. Kalthofen, L.F. de Beaufort and E.R.L. Rodenwaldt.

Three of the above are the subjects of interim study for the inventory: H.J.T. Bijlmer, E.J. Bok and W.G.N. van der Sleen.

H.J.T. Bijlmer

Bijlmer took part in three expeditions:

1. The Central New Guinea Expedition (1920-21)
2. The Upper Digol Expedition (c. 1932)
3. The Mimika Expedition (1935/36) and a few preliminary journeys.

Of these, the first and last were well-documented photographically. The Central New Guinea Expedition is particularly well represented, with three photographs: Dr. H.J.T. Bijlmer (health officer and responsible for the physical anthropological investigation), Dr. H.J. Lam (botanist), J. Jongejans (civil servant and responsible for the ethnographic investigation).

A quick scan showed that the archive card of collection 141-15 in the series of human remains bore the following description: 'Skull found on top of the Doormantop (3,550 m) in an uninhabited area. It lay with other skeletal bones, extremely eroded by the weather, under a rock.' If we look to see if there is any trace of this find in the series of photographs of the expedition, we find that this is not the case, even though many photographs were made during the time spent on the Doormantop. However, these photographs were taken by the botanist on the expedition, H.J. Lam, who obviously displayed more interest for the plants that grew there than for any skeletal remains. It is clear that matching photographs should be sought for every archive card in collection 141 to verify and refine the details of where exactly the remains were found.

E.J. Bok

In October 1947, the Cultural Anthropology department at the Colonial Institute received two photograph albums and three books of negatives (donation 7/47). They were donated by E.J. Bok, from Barendrecht, who had worked as a doctor in the Netherlands East Indies from 1922 to 1928. The albums and books had apparently been kept in the attic, a fact that was listed alongside each donation number. One of the albums contains photographs of different racial types, mentioning Australoids, Negroids, Weddoids, Mongoloids, Ariodists, and inter-racial mixtures. The album also mentions that the three books of negatives are related to that album.

The second album states that it contains photographs of Mentawaians and that the collection came from J.A. Beukering, a doctor born in Renkum.

A few years ago, the photograph department received an album containing photographs of human types (album number 1801) from the central library of the Royal Tropical Institute (KIT), the ILS. It turned out to be the first of the albums mentioned above, linked to Bok's thesis written in 1940, entitled: *Bijdrage tot de kennis der raseigenschappen van het Javaansche volk* (Contribution to the knowledge of the racial qualities of the Javanese people). This thesis can be found in the library and included many of the photographs from the album.

This 'return donation' prompted a search through the non-documented collection of photographs, which indeed turned up the negatives of the human types photographs.

The question still remains as to the whereabouts of the second album, with photographs of the Mentawaians. So far, this still has to be located.

W.G.N. van der Sleen

In 1933 W.G.N. van der Sleen travelled to South America. The journey took him from Europe to the Caribbean and, via the Panama canal, along the coasts of Ecuador, Peru and Chile to Santiago de Chile and back overland to Ecuador, from where he took the return boat. As far as we know, the trip was not documented in writing, but the Tropenmuseum received a large collection of negatives in the '90s from the museum's neighbour, the anatomical laboratory of the University of Amsterdam (UvA), which turned to be of this expedition. The UvA had thought that the negatives were taken in India. Along with negatives from the 1933 trip were images from an earlier trip to South America and two journeys to Indonesia.

There are 833 negatives from the 1933 South America expedition, all of them contained in semi-transparent envelopes bearing a number and a brief description, often no more than one word to give an indication of the location. This sample survey tries to link Van der Sleen's 'human remains' collection to the collection of negatives from the South America expedition. The cards documenting Van der Sleen's 'human remains' collection (series 961-1 to 13) indicate that these are linked with Peru. However, one location is mentioned that is not in Peru, but in North Chile – the region of the Atacama desert. The places mentioned are San Pedro de Atacama, Chin Chin en Calama and these names also appear on the envelopes containing the negatives, in a part of the journey that took Van der Sleen through the desert region of North Chile (numbers 231 to 270). 'Chin Chin' should actually be 'Chiu Chiu' and was probably copied incorrectly. Some of the negatives depict the excavation of graves and the collection of skeletons. The series 231 to 234 show the excavation of a grave from the Inca era; the excavated human remains are clearly visible. Around Calama, an open field of graves is scattered with an assortment of bones and skeletons. This cemetery is clearly shown in series number 269. Series 270 depicts a collection of skulls stacked one on top of the other.

We cannot simply conclude that the skulls from these graves are the same as those in the collection 'human remains'. Further research, involving a close matching of Van der Sleen's documentation cards with the negatives, would be necessary to prove this conclusively. The skulls in the collection would also have to undergo physical anthropological examination to reveal if they could possibly be the same as those in the negatives.

Other photographs and negatives

The Tropenmuseum's photograph archive contains a considerable number of photographs and negatives that fall under the classification 'anthropological'. There are examples of all three types of anthropological photographs in the collection: anthropometric photographs, human types and photographs taken to determine physical proportions.

The anthropometric photographs were taken largely during expeditions to New Guinea and Suriname and can be found under the UDC number 572.9 – mentioned above – or under the expedition descriptions UDC 656.9. Anthropometric photographs can also be found in the diverse expedition albums.

The records of human types are more difficult to identify. One clear example is the following: Album 1801. Given by E.J. Bok. Physical anthropological photographs of human types, corresponding to thesis.

The third category, determining physical proportions, is not widely represented in the collection. One clear example is the photographs from J.W. Poser, which, as a rule, depict a portrait of a human body alongside a schematic representation of the body on squared paper.

And then there are those physical anthropological photographs that can not be linked to the 'human remains' collection. These represent a substantial proportion of the collection. The starting point for these are the many scientific expeditions undertaken, to New Guinea and Suriname especially, that may

have contained some sort of physical anthropological component, especially anthropometric photographs and records of human types. The list that follows is of the expeditions covered by the archive and could be used as a starting point.

Expeditions covered by the Tropenmuseum's photograph archive:

Suriname

Coppename Expedition	1901
Saramacca Expedition	1902
Gonini Expedition	1903-1904
Taponahoni Expedition	1904
Toemoekhoemak Expedition	1907
Suriname River Expedition	1908
Corantijn Expedition	1910-1911
First Border Expedition Suriname	1935-1936
Second Border Expedition Suriname	1936-1937
Third Border Expedition Suriname	1937-1938

New Guinea

Wichmann Expedition North New Guinea	1903
South West New Guinea Expedition	1904
First South New Guinea Expedition	1907
Second South New Guinea Expedition	1909-1910
Third South New Guinea Expedition	1912-1913
British Ornithologists Union Expedition	1909-1911
Military Exploration Dutch New Guinea	1907-1915
Central New Guinea Expedition	1920-1921
American/Dutch Central New Guinea Expedition	1926
Mimika Expedition	1935-1936
Colijn Expedition Highlands Central New Guinea	1936
Central Highlands Expedition (Wisselmeren)	1939
Sterrengebergte (Jayawaijaya Mountains) Expedition	1959

The Netherlands East Indies

Sumatra Expedition	1877-1879
Commission to Central Borneo	1898-1900
Siboga Expedition	1899-1900
Middle Celebes Expedition	1909-1910

The names of those people that can be linked to one or more of these expeditions and donated photographs are:

E.C. Abendanon; L.A. Bakhuis; A.H. Colijn; W. Docters van Leeuwen; A. Franssen Herderschee;

C.H. de Goeje; H.A. Lorentz; J.W. van Nouhuys; A. Pulle; C.C.F.M. Le Roux; G.M. Versteeg; D. Veth; Dr. A.G. de Wilde; A.F.R. Wollaston

Finally, further research needs to be carried out into the large collection of medical photographs, most of which relate to tropical diseases. These have a substantial physical anthropological element. The collection comprises earlier photograph collections from the department of Tropical Hygiene, as well as photographs gathered from research institutes and from doctors. To undertake this research effectively, professional knowledge of tropical diseases would be a must.

5 Physical anthropological publications / The Departmental Library

The Anthropological Department has acquired books since its inception in 1912. Donations were placed either in the General Library or the Departmental Library, according to the subject matter. The donors were listed in the Institute's annual report. A description of the library and its organization (since 1960) has even been retained in the card index of the Physical Anthropology department, which was kept in the attic of the Royal Tropical Institute. It states: 'Inspired by Martin's classification system, which is somewhat out-of-date these days (Martin, R. *Lehrbuch der Anthropologie in systematischer Darstellung*, ... Jena, 1928)". This indicates that the ideas around e.g. classification and subject matter had changed during the previous 30 years. It is probable, though not definite, that this detailed donkey work of making the index cards was carried out by Mw. A.J. Bork-Feltkamp.

The catalogue consists of drawers of punch cards, labelled: 'Anthropology, Royal Tropical Institute' and dates from after the separate library was set up, between 1963 en 1968, when the department was known as 'Anthropology'. There is an alphabetical catalogue, classified according to author, as well as a systematic division and a geographical classification. The different sections are categorised as follows:

- (0) Bibliographies – techniques and methods, plus auxiliary sciences
- (1) Morphology
- (2) Physiology
- (3) Heredity
- (4) Constitution
- (5) Races
- (6) Evolution
- (7) Prehistory en Protohistory

The drawers Key Words, Abbreviations Magazines and Standard Catalogue contain only filing cards.

During the preparation of this publication, a broad inventory was made (in Dutch) of the contents of this documentation. The publications are packed in 75 archive boxes, numbered I to LXXV; in each box, the Roman numeral on each item is followed by Arabic numerals in ascending order. There is a short description of the contents of each box. A limited analysis shows that at least the Physical Anthropological catalogue mentioned above agrees in broad lines with the contents of the archive boxes, bearing in mind that the punch cards indicate more publications (and duplicates) than the boxes themselves contain. Even allowing for the fact that some of the publications are missing from the boxes (as indicated by the interruptions in the numbering), there are still more punch cards than actual items in the boxes. It is possible that some of the missing items are still in the attic at KIT (the so-called Bergman collection) and/or have been wholly or partly absorbed into KIT's Central Library.

The drawer labelled 'Abbreviations Magazines' can help trace those publications that are missing from the boxes. Each punch card bears a similar text relating to a magazine; if it does not, then that could indicate that the text was never published, never passing the lay-out stage and remaining in the PA department or personal archive. If such a text was to be traced, it would surely be by coincidence. Further research is necessary to determine whether the card index could throw up any other usable information.

Before 1963 the material in the archive boxes was filed in ring-binders; a piece of brown paper with two perforations was stuck to the back of each item. Most publications are 'signed', in the form of a stamp or a signature, by either Kleiweg de Zwaan or Bergman; they also all bear a departmental stamp, 'Anthropology Department, Colonial Institute', and/or 'Cultural And Physical Anthropology Department, Royal Tropical Institute' (some of them refer to the East Indies Institute). Occasional items are marked with the 'signature' of other people or institutes.

The collection comprises mainly magazines, magazine articles and offprints. Books, it seems, remained in the departmental library. Aside from anthropology, the auxiliary sciences are also well represented in the collection and include various branches of medical science, zoology, archaeology, climatology, sociology, psychology, cultural anthropology and primitive art.

Many different ideas circulated about the evolution of human existence, humans' varied appearance and development. All these ideas, it seems, were taken up from around the world, unconditionally, and published in many different languages. It is notable that many authors are represented in different languages in this collection: English, French and German are by far the most prominent. The library clearly shows that virtually every European country was conducting physical anthropological research among its population during the first half of the 20th century – drawing from archaeological and more recent material as well as from living people. Scientists from those countries with colonial estates conducted active research amongst indigenous population groups and did not limit themselves to their own colonies, travelling also to other parts of the world. Even in countries without colonies, such as Switzerland, anthropologists, doctors and scientists from other disciplines extended their research abroad.

Outside Europe the picture was similar: in Australia, the United States and South Africa, both the indigenous population groups and later 'import' were the subject of study. In Asia, Chinese, Turkish and Thai scientists all published the results of their studies in their own countries. In India, the research was carried out by the English and other Westerners as well as by the Indians themselves. In South and Middle America, Europeans and North Americans, as well as the regions' own scientists, conducted studies. Here, the accent was on archaeological material. In Africa, all research was carried out almost exclusively by the 'colonisers' and other Westerners. The 75 archive boxes provide an efficient insight into the academic discipline which resulted into the present collection of human remains in the Tropenmuseum.

Appendix 4

Human remains in the KIT Tropenmuseum collection Summary of meeting of experts on 23-24 February 2006

by Katja Lubina

Introduction

The expert meeting organised by KIT on 23rd and 24th February 2006 marked the transition from a two-year period of internal, closed research within the KIT's archives to an open, public discussion. Experts from different academic, museological, and national backgrounds discussed the 'past, present and future' of several specific collections of human remains at KIT.¹ The discussion was based on a draft report that was the result of two years' internal research.² KIT's decision to analyse its own (collective) history and to commit itself to a new policy on the treatment and restitution of the remains was not triggered by a restitution claim: KIT has not (yet) been addressed with the request to return any human remains. It wanted to take a proactive stance with regard to the question of the human remains in its collection and to potential requests by source communities for their return.

During the expert meeting the following topics were taken as starting points for the discussion: the history of KIT'S Physical Anthropological Collection; the circumstances and conditions under which human remains are significant and the academic history of physical anthropology and its relationship with ethnographic collections. The collections were looked at from a historical, biomedical, and legal point of view. Also, ethical and political aspects were discussed. While the meeting did not end with a final cohesive policy advice, it did determine KIT's future strategy on approaching the subject of human remains in its collection. On a number of specific cases, detailed and specific answers and guidelines were provided. The following paragraphs contain a summary of the discussions held during the two-day expert meeting. As for the terminology, it was agreed to speak of 'source communities' when talking about the potential claimant (groups).

KIT's physical anthropological collection³

A presentation by curator David van Duuren on KIT's Physical Anthropological Collection was the starting point of the first round of discussion. The comments and reflections concentrated on three aspects: the definition of human remains, the initial distinction of human remains into four categories and the hierarchy to be maintained when deciding on the future of the remains. The expert group took the stand that before discussing the definition of human remains⁴, it is necessary to understand the history of physical anthropology as a science in the Netherlands in order to understand the current collection, not only of human remains but also the cultural artefacts in the KIT collection (especially of Indonesia). As a general starting point, it was pointed out that any scientific discipline could be abused

for political motives. While this might be especially true for physical anthropology it is not a unique characteristic. Also, the general benefit of science to mankind was acknowledged.⁵

Europe is currently at a particular time in history – the aftermath of the Second World War and Colonialism, a fact that cannot be disregarded when discussing collections of human remains from former colonies. Also, the process of scientification that took place in 19th-century Europe cannot be understood without reflecting on colonialism. This does not remove from the fact that studying these human remains can contribute to our current scientific knowledge.

Until the Second World War, physical and cultural anthropology went hand in hand. After the Second World War, physical anthropology was no longer practised as a scientific discipline in its own right for two reasons: in the first place, the idea of comparing different races was no longer perceived as sincere science. In the second place, scientists had realised that physical characteristics did not hold the key to understanding the origin of mankind. The birth of molecular anthropology re-directed questions and the methodology to search for answers. Also, white superiority was no longer upheld. It had become an accepted fact that all human beings originated in Africa some 100,000 years ago. Despite the decline after the Second World War, physical anthropology is still practised in some places as a genuine science and within other scientific disciplines (e.g. archaeology, forensic pathology, molecular biology). It was noted that there is trend (e.g. in Leyden University) for a revival of physical anthropology amongst students of cultural anthropology, as well as of archaeology. Interest in forensic pathology plays a role in this respect.

One central point in the discussion on physical anthropology was the '*particularity*' of physical anthropology as practised in the Netherlands. It was suggested that the practice of physical anthropology in the Netherlands differs from its practice in the US, UK, France, or Germany. But how? And does it matter? The following aspects were suggested as possible 'peculiarities' of Dutch physical anthropology:

- The link with folklore studies: to compare the Nias people to people living on Urk (island in the Zuiderzee). (Link Volkenkunde, Völkerkunde, Volkskunde.) Folklore studies however existed not only in the Netherlands, but in northern European culture as 'anthropology of the European' – collecting dances, songs etc.
- The search for isolated, insulated peoples – the unspoiled. However this was also a focus amongst German or Danish anthropologists for example. Dutch physical anthropologists seem to have been interested in the evolution and development of humankind, not in purity as an aim; hybridization was appreciated as adaptation to new circumstances. In South Africa and Australia on the other hand, artefacts and human remains of the Khoisan and Aboriginal people were collected as remains of 'dying races' – still living fossils.
- Special Dutch guilt? It was suggested that the question of the peculiarity of physical anthropology in the Netherlands should be accompanied by the question "What do you feel guilty about?" Different nations have their own guilt, which affects the way nations have dealt with things in the past and continue to do so (England – the Empire and Australians, Scotland – Anatomy Act, Germany – Second World War, US – Native Americans). The suggestion that guilt is an issue here, however, was not shared by Dutch representatives in the panel; rather it was suggested that the absence of reflection about the colonial past could be the peculiar issue at hand. Since the Second World War there has been a huge division between ethnography (the study of non-Western people) and ethnology or folklore studies (the study of the Dutch). These disciplines have led to a strict division in the Netherlands. From the Indonesian point of view, it was confirmed that thinking in terms of guilt, at least for young Indonesian researchers was not linked to reality at all.
- What *is* then the relationship of Dutch physical anthropology with the Dutch version of colonialism? How did Dutch colonialism differ from the UK Empire, or from French colonialism? What was the meaning, for physical anthropologists, of Indonesia, Dutch New Guinea and Suriname?

Assuming that a 'particularity' in the Dutch approach to physical anthropology exists, a subsequent question would be whether, and to what extent, this particularity is inscribed into the current

ethnographical, archaeological and art collections of the Tropenmuseum, not only into the collections of human remains. The language and terminology used by scientists from physical and cultural anthropology was identical. This question leads to the next: the understanding of human remains.

What are human remains?

A broad understanding of human remains was agreed upon. No clear-cut legal definition was drafted, but it became obvious that the category of human remains included worked human remains, associated funerary objects and casts. As far as casts are concerned, it was stressed that, as direct moulds of the human body, casts contain human material such as hair and particles of skin. Also, to source communities, casts are of the same emotional value as human remains in the strict meaning of the phrase. Associated objects were not at the centre of the discussion for the simple reason that the discussion was tailored to a given section of the KIT collection only. It was however stated that associated objects should be treated the same way as human remains. As far as photographs are concerned, it was agreed that these are of a different quality.⁶

The initial report prepared by KIT⁷ suggested splitting the remains into four different groups:

- A Physical anthropological remains in the strict sense of the term
- B Ethnographical remains
- C Archaeological remains, at least 200 years old, plus worked human remains
- D Recent historical remains from the Second World War, found in Dutch New Guinea

The Tropenmuseum intended these categories to guide the treatment of the remains: most of the physical anthropological remains were supposed to be 'destroyed', while the ethnographic remains should be re-evaluated. Recent human remains should be restituted, and as far as archaeological remains are concerned, these should either be preserved or restored.

As to the four categories proposed, the group agreed that no clear-cut distinction exists. The distinction between physical anthropological material and ethnographic material, as well as archaeological remains is not as self-evident as it appears in the first place. In principle, ethnographical remains are physical anthropological material that has a historic, local, and/or scientific context. Vice versa, ethnographical remains also qualify as physical remains. Neither does a clear-cut distinction with archaeological remains exist. On top of that, the distinction might be alien to source communities. A presentation by Katherine Goodnow on the topic, 'Why and when do Human Remains matter?' emphasised that no universal understanding of human remains exists. Illustrated by specific cases, Katherine Goodnow argued that all assumptions on the meaning of human remains must be questioned. In some cases the authority over human remains is more important than the fact that they are exhibited in museums; not all source communities actually want the remains back, or at least not immediately. Some bodies and body parts are of higher, symbolic significance than others. One must think of the remains of persons such as Saartjie Baartman or Truganini, the remains of children, as well as heads and skulls. Also, 'private' remains such as genitalia tend to be of higher significance. As a consequence, it is not only ethnographical remains that should be re-evaluated, but all human remains. The re-evaluation should cover the original meaning the remains once had for their source communities (e.g. to serve ancestral worshipping, to grant protection for the descendants, or to harness the spiritual powers of an enemy), and their current meaning within the KIT, as well as their current meaning outside KIT to source communities and other institutions (see under De-accession). After all, the physical anthropological collections kept in Amsterdam stem from parts of the world that are not (well) represented in collections of human remains in other places. In that sense the material is unique and

has potential to fill gaps in other collections. The need was also stressed to inventorize the human remains collections in Indonesia and their collectors.

Legal aspects⁸

Due to rule of 'lex rei sitae', the law of the situation of the object applies. Hence, the legal framework of the human remains in the KIT collection is determined by Dutch law (and not by the law of the countries where the human remains originated), as well as international law where the Netherlands applies. Unlike countries such as the United Kingdom⁹, the Netherlands does not have a specific act governing museums. In the absence of a specific act, it is the general law, especially the rights of ownership and the public laws that determine the legal framework for the museums in the Netherlands. Next to the general law, instruments of self-regulation exist, especially the 'Gedragslijn voor museale beroepsethiek' (further: the Gedragslijn). The Gedragslijn is based on the original ICOM Code of Professional Ethics for Museums (the ICOM Code) as introduced in 1987 by the International Council of Museums (ICOM). The Dutch museum association demands from its members that they abide by the Gedragslijn, but there is no effective enforcement mechanism. As far as human remains are concerned, the Gedragslijn contains one article dealing with human remains: Art. 6.7 Gedragslijn deals with human remains as objects of scientific research, and as exposition objects.¹⁰ The Gedragslijn does not give any guidance on de-accession of human remains. There are however several provisions on the accession and acquisition of museum objects in general (see below under 'De-accession').

The following international legal instruments are relevant for the restitution of human remains: The United Nations Draft declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, especially its Art. 13 stating that 'Indigenous peoples have the right to (...) repatriation of human remains'.¹¹ The declaration has not yet been adopted by the General Assembly, and even after adoption will only be of declaratory nature. The question is in how far it can be seen to reflect emerging customary norms.

The European Convention on Human rights (ECHR) is part of the Dutch legal system (an individual can rely on the rights granted in the ECHR, both in Dutch courts as well as in the ECHR). So far, the convention has not yet been brought forward in restitution cases, but in theory action could be taken under Article 3 ECHR (protection against inhuman or degrading treatment)¹²; or under Article 8 ECHR (respect for family and private life)¹³; or under Article 9 ECHR (right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion)¹⁴; or under Article 14 ECHR (prohibition of discrimination)¹⁵; or under Article 1 of Protocol 1 to the ECHR (protection of property)¹⁶.

The question was raised whether any overlap existed with intellectual property rights *stricto sensu*, which was denied.

Ownership¹⁷

In the Netherlands it is possible to own human remains. Scenarios elaborated on were the bodies donated to science in anatomical departments, as well as human remains. An example that shows that human remains are treated as objects capable of ownership is the recent return of a Toi Moko from the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden to the Te Papa Museum in New Zealand. The Toi Moko was 'transferred from Mrs. Medy C. van der Laan, Staatssecretaris van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschappen, representing the State of the Netherlands as *legal owner* of the collections kept at the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden'.¹⁸ As far as the KIT collection is concerned, KIT is the legal owner and keeping place of its collections.

The question of whether or not human remains can be subject to ownership rights, is a topic that has received little political or academic attention so far in the Netherlands, unlike in other countries where

the issue is far more contested, or even denied. There are two aspects of ownership that are relevant: the question of whether the museum owns the remains, but also the question of whether the descendants or next-in-kind have a right to ownership or to deliver the remains for burial. In the Netherlands, the relevant statute on the disposal of the dead is the *Wet op de Lijkbezorging* (Wlb). The Wlb regulates what can and must be done with a corpse, but it does not apply to human remains in museums. Once death has been determined, the corpse needs to be given a destination: the corpse must be buried, burned, or dissected. The last will of the deceased, if known, is crucial (Art. 18 Wlb). The person who asked for permission to bury or burn the corpse is responsible for the disposal of the dead (conform Art. 11 Wlb).

In the UK, case-law has established the so-called 'no-property rule' as a common law rule. There are exceptions to the no-property rule in the case of remains that have been improved by human agency: "(...) by the lawful exercise of work or skill so dealt with a human body or part of a human body in his lawful possession that it has acquired some attributes differentiating it from a mere corpse awaiting burial." Human remains that through "the application of skill, such as dissection or preservation techniques, for exhibition or teaching purposes" have acquired distinctive attributes can be property. Due to parliamentary intervention, Section 47 of the 'Human Tissue Act 2004' now allows nine national museums to de-accession human remains that are less than 1,000 years old.

France also adheres to the principle that the human body cannot be owned. The restitution of Saartjie Baartman was mandated by statute. When the statute was discussed in the final reading in the National Assembly, it was pointed out that, given article 16-1 of the Code Civil, the statute was redundant: since human remains cannot be subject to appropriation, they cannot be qualified as part of the national patrimony, nor do the regulations concerning the public domain apply. De-accession would have been possible without statute.

De-accession

The British Museum Act of 1963 legally prevents de-accession. As far as human remains are concerned, Section 47 of the Human Tissue Act is a relaxation of that ban on de-accession.

In the Netherlands, no comparable legal ban on de-accession exists. The non-binding code of conduct, the *Gedraglijn*, however deals with de-accession of museum objects in the Artt. 4.1. to 4.4. De-accession can take various (legal) forms: a gift, an exchange, sale, or even destruction of the object concerned. General point of departure is that museums must be reserved when it comes to de-accession, as preservation is one of the main tasks of a museum (Art. 4.1 a). Art. 4.2 elaborates on legal rules concerning de-accession: in some cases de-accession is not allowed, in other cases there is no (legal) hindrance to de-accession (e.g. if the object is from a state-owned collection, or the object was received as a gift or the acquisition was financially supported by third parties).

The legal discussion also revealed that ethical codes vary considerably in their guidelines concerning the treatment of human remains. Biomedical ethical codes are more stringent than e.g. the ICOM Code.

Biomedical aspects¹⁹

The discussion on relevant biomedical aspects focused on the relevance and (im-)possibilities of DNA analysis carried out on human remains. The significant progress made in the last ten to 20 years was stressed, and possible future developments were hinted at.

Currently, the problem of the contamination of body samples of any age is significant. DNA degrades (the DNA becomes shorter, and the quality diminishes). As a consequence, amplification, the first step of any DNA analysis, does not work well. Strategies to distinguish between contaminated and non-contaminated DNA do however exist. Currently, researchers are working with samples that are more

than 9,000 years old. (e.g. homo floresiensis, Leipzig). It is possible to derive information from even these ancient samples. Well-preserved mummies and dried, shrunken heads, hold a lot of information of the DNA of the person, or of ground bacteria. The KIT collection is 'only' 100 to 200 years old. It should therefore be possible to conduct a DNA analysis even in the presence of contamination. It was also pointed out that taking a DNA sample is non-destructive to the specimen, be it dry or preserved in alcohol.

DNA analysis does not allow for the determination of a country of origin. It is not, for example, possible to test the DNA of the collection of alleged Japanese human remains to see whether they are indeed Japanese. The only way to proceed would be to conduct DNA typing of the remains that could then be compared with DNA of families that are interested in claiming them. Insights that can be derived from DNA however are social aspects, e.g. as to the introduction of an irrigating system etc. It was suggested that head-hunter skulls could be interesting as a source for historical information, provided that there is enough documentation available as to their origins.

One aspect that was raised, and is often used by scientists opposing the return of human remains, is that one does not know what kind of research will become important in the future, especially given this unique and rare sample.

Another important point made was that irrespective of the scientific possibilities, one must not forget that the remains were acquired under colonial conditions. The value of scientific research is not necessarily shared by the source community. Experience has shown that again the process and dialogue with the (potential) source community is crucial – some source communities want scientific research, even to contribute to research, and participate; others do not only not want scientific research, but in fact object to it.

Difference with examples given where DNA research had been undertaken, is that in those cases there had actually been questions and claimants, while the KIT collections seem to have been completely 'at rest'. The fact that KIT does not have any questions does not however mean that it is not valuable to other persons who don't know about its existence, either for restitution or for scientific research.

Ethical and political matters²⁰

One important question is why KIT wants to send the remains back. Two reasons were given: in the first place, collection management conditions. In the second place it was expressed that KIT today, which no longer has a department of physical anthropology, has to be and act differently from the former colonial museum. It was held that initially the discussion was started by the first reason; an orphaned collection in very particular circumstances. The motivation however shifted, in that now the post-colonial identity issue is the most important reason. Repatriation must not be undertaken for the wrong reason i.e. to get rid of the material. Rather, the opportunity must be seized to engage with a 'new kind of research' that analyses oneself and one's own intellectual history, as well as with the new relationships with formerly colonized peoples.

The principle agreed upon was that repatriation efforts should not be about remains in the first place but should start from the broader notion of repatriating authority, which allows for a broader set of options. It was agreed that human remains are best taken care of in the Tropenmuseum itself. They do not need to be moved and stored in a different place.

A substantial part of the discussion on ethical and political matters centred on questions relating to making the information, textual records and photographs, available on the internet. The publication of the information is motivated to great extent by the wish to find a stakeholder. The general consent is that as much information as possible should be published on the Internet. It was considered advisable to do some research into the attitudes of source nations before the information is disclosed as some communities may object. One question that cannot be neglected however is what to do with the general public as a stakeholder.

Photographs²¹

The first question was whether (anthropometric) photographs taken during expeditions should be published on the Internet. The aim of the publication is to inform the source communities about the existence of the photographs in order to return them once the source community has identified itself. Photographs are extremely sensitive to context and once published on the Internet, the museum relinquishes control. This is extremely problematic with photographs of unclothed children and women, as well as of genitalia. Child pornography must be borne in mind. While the primary responsibility of the museum is to publish as much information as possible, a distinction must be made between images and records/textual information. As far as photographs are concerned, criteria must be developed to decide which photographs may be shown and which not. It is seen as the responsibility of a museum curator to analyse the power play in which the remains were collected and the one in which they exist today, and then to decide on how best to publish this information on the Internet. The group was left with a feeling of dissatisfaction as to how best to decide which photographs could be shown and which not. Also, it was pointed out that the photographs were also brought into the public domain in books.

Several examples were discussed in which the 'repatriation' of photographs to source communities proved to be enriching experiences both for the source community and the museum. The fact that many of the photographs were of anthropomorphic character did not mean that the source communities did not (want to) see beyond that meaning.

It was suggested that a separate meeting should deal with the question of photographs.

Loss of all documentation

It was also stipulated that not only human remains and photographs be returned, but all documentation relevant to the human remains. This could mean that museums will not be able to make copies for themselves, which poses a problem for the documentation of the museum collection.

Policy advice: General strategy and specific cases

General 4-Steps approach for all human remains:

It was agreed that the following approach should be taken for *all* human remains:

1. Emphasis on better research on provenance of the human remains concerned
2. Engage in dialogue with source community
3. In cases where repatriation is agreed: repatriation, if no claims, evaluating its scientific value
4. In case of no repatriation, de-accession, in various forms

First step: Better research

More provenance research of the human remains is required, not only within the archives of KIT, but also within the archives of collectors at the time that the objects were collected and brought to the then colonial museum, as well as to archives in other European countries. The wish for a European research project, bringing together documentation from centres such as Edinburgh, Vienna, Leiden, and Basel, was expressed, as well as the need for both European, and international cooperation. It was pointed out that some international multidisciplinary initiatives for publicly accessible databases on the Internet already exist. The problem is funding. As to better provenance research, the museum representatives pointed out that the chances of new insights into the physical anthropological remains were quite small. The internal research carried out in previous years revealed that documentation in the archives was very

meagre. On top of that, the publications by the former physical anthropologists from the then colonial museum do not refer to specific skulls. As far as documentation exists, it is therefore difficult, if not impossible to link the information to specific remains. More research will be done, but will not be easy.

The most important research question for KIT is therefore to identify the source communities. The same research will also shed light on the scientific value of the remains. This implies a potential conflict between restitution and scientific research, as only those remains with sufficient documentation can be restituted and are of scientific interest.

Second step: From monologue to dialogue²²

An important, probably the most important step is to seek dialogue with the source communities. Until now, the question of human remains in KIT had been dealt with only within the (KIT-)museum sphere. It was expressed that the KIT should now seek as much openness and transparency, (e.g. publishing on the remains in its museum publication 'Bulletin', as well making the information available on the website, to allow for dialogue with source communities. In more practical terms this means inviting scholars, researchers and students from those communities to come and study objects here. It was however also pointed out that once the dialogue has started, KIT loses control of developments. One problem resulting from the meagre documentation, especially as far as anthropological remains are concerned, is that source communities are unknown, and hence one does not know whom to invite for the dialogue. Dialogue can determine when and why human remains are significant in a specific case. They must be open-minded, and any set of assumptions must be questioned. Dialogues gain from reflecting on the worst-case scenario for both parties in order to gain a better understanding of the significance of the remains and restitution. Several worst-case scenarios encountered in practice were brought forward.

Regarding *museums*, restitution to a third group rather than the (descendants of a) source community can result in negative publicity and significant loss of professional status. Finding the right discussion partner however is not easy: especially not for the Netherlands – given the meagre documentation in the archive the restitution process will be a long one. However, the experience in other countries has shown that documentation can still appear. Neither must one forget that finding the right discussion partner does not necessarily mean that restitution will be possible. After all, discussion partners function in national contexts; to be more specific, they function in the legal and political realities of the nation state that will to a significant extent determine whether or not restitution is possible. This is especially true for Central South America, Asia and Africa. In this context, it was stipulated again that an international approach was desirable; as has been stipulated by the European Parliament for the restitution of cultural objects that had been looted during the Second World War. What both human remains and these cultural objects have in common is that their restitution depends on the legal framework of a nation state they have been taken to, in most cases against their will, or the will of their families and descendants, or owners.

As for *source communities*, retaining human remains can mean that the living can not live up to their duties towards the dead, a fact which some have expressed as a 'spiritual agony'. But it is not only retention that can fall under worst case scenario, the way the restitution is actually undertaken can also give rise to cultural agony, as the example of El Negro shows only too well. The restitution of the remains, stripped to the bones, in a little box, while El Negro had been exhibited as a stuffed person with skin and body parts was perceived as yet another demonstration of white supremacy. It was recognised that in the composition of the expert group, the discussion was still a rather one-sided one. This also explains the fact that the worst-case scenarios and problems faced by museums were more elaborated on than the ones of the source communities. As far as the context of the nation state is concerned however, both the museums and source communities seeking restitution share the same problems.

Third step: Restitution of authority

Restitution must not be understood as simply giving back material from one country to another. In the first place, it is important to understand that restitution is not about restitution of remains primarily, but about the restitution of authority over these remains. In this understanding, one of the scenarios of restitution can be that the remains actually stay in the museum while ownership or the management is transferred. Also, restitution can mean that remains are given a specific status within, or even outside the museum collection (e.g. from owner to custodian with limited rights). This could be referred to as restitution from museum context. This variant of restitution has implications for the role and understanding of museums as it will change the composition of their collections and the museums' relationships with their collections. Until today, museum activities primarily concerned the collection of objects, with very little relevance given to de-accession.²³

Another relevant question in this context is how 'pro-active' the approach of KIT should be: should it actively seek out potential claimants, or should it concentrate on its own research and the publication of all findings in order that the information is then found by potential claimants? It was stated that ECHR provides for a right / obligation to information.

A question of principle was in how far a (strict) legal solution (new legal framework, laws) etc. either within a national or a European context was a realistic option. As to the second point, it was noted that the current government tends towards liberalisation, and rather than enacting more new legal rules, tends to relax existing ones (e.g. relaxation limitations on burial rituals). It was generally agreed that new strict legal rules were not the best way to go. The option of an independent and impartial panel, inspired by and comparable to the English Holocaust spoliation panel or the Dutch Ethical Committee of the Ethnological Museums (SVCN) was discussed for two reasons. Firstly, the Holocaust is regarded as the closest comparison to the illegal taking of human remains, and secondly, the introduction of such a panel as a fruitful method of resolution. Legal action in court by claimants must be avoided as a very costly and frustrating process for all parties. An independent panel would allow taking the views and concepts of the source communities into consideration and not only Dutch concepts to what are kin, family, ancestry etc. After all, the human remains were taken from other jurisdictions, often without the source communities consent. Also, one has to bear in mind that the situation in the Netherlands, as in the UK, differs from the US where the indigenous population is represented in the law-making process. An important question is whether such a panel would be limited to KIT cases, or whether one should opt for a Dutch panel, comparable in competence to the Polak Restitutions Committee for the Restitution Applications for Items of Cultural Value and the Second World War, or even a European or international one, comparable to the suggestions made by the European Parliament in its resolution 'on a legal framework for free movement within the internal market of goods whose ownership is likely to be contested' (2002/2114 (INI)).

Fourth Step: Alternatives to repatriation – science and de-accession

Once repatriation, in a broad meaning of the term ranging from the actual returning of remains to a source community to the transfer of authority, proved to be impossible, the next step is to decide upon alternatives. Research is one of the alternatives, de-accession the other.

It has been pointed out above that there will be a significant overlap between the remains that actually can and will be returned and the remains that are interesting for scientific research. Hence, most of the remains that are not repatriated will be subject to de-accession. There is a wide range of options of de-accession or disposal: remains can be transferred to other national, European or international museums. They can also be transferred to other research or teaching institutions such as universities, research centres or schools. It was pointed out that UK presidency (and Austria's policy plans as 2006 president, and Finland as next president of EU council) will bring with it a new set of potential recipients. The EU will emphasize evolution and a common European cultural heritage (Art. 151 EC), including an obligation to circulate culture and to exchange cultural material with a view to a common cultural heritage.

The remains could also be buried, as had been done with the remains from the graveyard on which KIT is built. These had been kept for almost 100 years, and were recently re-buried. Or they could be taken for clinical destruction.

Specific cases

Long-term loans from Suriname

KIT has a collection of human remains on long-term loan from a museum in Suriname, the latter being the legal owner of the collection. The KIT posed the question as to whether it could send the collection back to the museum in Suriname, and if so, what the conditions would be.

From a strictly legal point of view, KIT could send the collection back to the museum in Suriname. It is felt however that KIT has a greater responsibility towards any collection in its possession than merely abiding to the legal rules. This responsibility can range from ensuring that the collection will be well received by the museum in Suriname to an even more active engagement as to what should happen with the collection of human remains. The latter would start with the question of whether there are any ethical issues bearing on the collection. Are these adequately taken care of when sending them back? If not, one must think about how to solve this issue, also bearing in mind the principle of proportionality. As far as the case at hand is concerned, it has been stated that the museum in Suriname has signalled that it would put the returned remains in storage together with other collections.

It was felt that such a restitution might be not only the responsibility of the museum(s) but also of the governments. As far as the remains from Peru are concerned, the situation proves to be far more complicated than in case of the Suriname museum, with disputes between the government and local groups, as to who 'owns' these archaeological remains.

Human remains from Indonesia and Papua-New Guinea

Regarding the question of how active KIT should be in approaching authorities or potential source communities in Papua and Indonesia in order to discuss the future of these human remains, the experts from this region held that KIT must not push the matter. The fact that KIT is currently dealing with the question does not mean that it is of the same relevance in Indonesia. The publication of the material on the Internet is considered a good starting point. Investigations on restitution should be on a low-level profile. Both experts offered to address the matter with contacts from the source communities, e.g. scientists. It was further stressed that more research is necessary and, eventually, dialogue. Hence the general 4-step procedure set out above certainly applies also to these collections.

Exhibition 'Good-bye to skull-measuring'

KIT's initial report already proposed an exhibition with, as a working title, 'Good-bye to Skull-Measuring'. The idea was much appreciated by the expert group and it was suggested that the exhibition should not only take place in Europe, but also in source communities.

As for the set up, or the way the exhibition would be represented, it was acknowledged that this would be a challenging task for the curator. Just as there was no clear-cut solution to repatriation questions, neither was there a single form of representation that could be agreed upon by all source communities. During the visit of the current Tropenmuseum exhibition 'Eastwards Bound', it was remarked that the representation of Indonesia was much appreciated. While most people in Indonesia would not mind at all, and appreciate the exhibition as 'a window in time', the fact that no explicit link to contemporary society is made would be a significant problem to source communities in South Africa and Australia where artefacts and human remains were collected as the remains of disappearing, dying cultures, of 'still living fossils'.

The pretext for exhibiting can be 'what people did with this material in those days and how times have changed'.

Concluding remarks

The two-day expert meeting not only marked the transition from internal research to public discussion and dialogue, it also marked the starting point of a process that might be longer than initially expected. The most significant insights are the following: You cannot right a wrong by giving back a collection of human remains. Human remains should not be returned for the wrong reasons; the motivation must not be to get rid of collections but to deal with one's own history and to do what is just and to keep abreast of legal requirements and public opinion. This also implies a shift from the initial emphasis on scientific relevance to the repatriation of authority. With the publication of this issue of the KIT Bulletin on Human Remains, the first recommendation of the expert group has been implemented: to publish the inventory of human remains held in the KIT's collection, as well as the discussions and findings of the expert meeting, to allow for greater participation in the discussion, thereby facilitating a proper dialogue rather than a monologue.

In order to allow for discussion with source communities the following step must be to publish on the collection of human remains and the efforts undertaken by KIT, e.g. the expert meeting. As for publication, the museum's 'Bulletin' will publish a rewritten version of the initial report in the light of suggestions made during the expert meeting. Many questions remain, especially how to implement the principles agreed upon, and the effect they will have on other museums in the Netherlands.

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Notes

1 Dr. Laura van Broekhoven – National Museum of Ethnology Leiden, Dr. Andries van Dam, Museum of Anatomy Leiden, Dr. Katherine Goodnow – University of Bergen, Prof. Dr. Ton Hol – Utrecht University, Drs. E. Einar Lund Jansen – National Museum of Denmark, Viktor Kasiëpo – Representative Papua community in the Netherlands, Mr. Drs. Katja Lubina – Art Loss Register / University Maastricht, Prof. Dr. Sankot Marzuki – Eijkman Institute for Molecular Biology Jakarta, Prof. Dr. Norman Palmer, Dr. Laura Peers – Pitt Rivers Museum, Dr. Ciraj Rassool, University of the Western Cape, Drs. Laurens de Rooy – Museum Vrolijk, Dr. Hedley Swain – Museum of London. From KIT: Drs. Indra Bergval, Drs.

Koos van Brakel, Drs. David van Duuren, Denise Frank, Prof. Dr. Susan Legêne, Lejo Schenk, Drs. Pim Westerkamp. The morning session was attended by Riet de Leeuw, Ministry of Education, Culture and Science.

2 Duuren, David van; Legêne, Susan, Pereira, Micaela, (2006). *Physical Anthropology and Human Remains at KIT Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam*. Draft text.

3 Discussion recorded under MZ000022.WAV

4 See next section: What are human remains.

5 Discussion recorded under MZ000026.WAV

6 See for the discussion on the photographs, especially as to the publication of them under 5. Ethical and Political Matters concerned.

7 Duuren, D. v., et al., *Physical Anthropology and Human Remains at the KIT*

Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam (Draft of this KIT Bulletin – discussed at the KIT Tropenmuseum expert meeting 23-24 February 2006).

- 8 Discussion recorded under MZ000028.WAV
- 9 British Museum Act 1963
- 10 Human remains and objects of religious significance
 - a. In case a museum possesses or collects human remains and religious objects, it has to provide for secure storage and meticulous maintenance for them as objects of scientific collections in research institutions. The objects have to be available for competent researchers and educators at all times, but not for people with a sick curiosity.
 - b. Research on these objects and their storage and maintenance must be carried out in a manner that is acceptable to colleagues, and to people from different religions, in particular those of the religious or ethnic group concerned. While it will occasionally be necessary to exhibit human remains and other sensitive material in explanatory exhibitions, this must be done with respect for feelings and the human dignity of all peoples.
- 11 Indigenous peoples have the right to manifest, practise, develop and teach their spiritual and religious traditions, customs and ceremonies; the right to maintain, protect, and have access in privacy to their religious and cultural sites; the right to the use and control of ceremonial objects; and the right to the repatriation of human remains. States shall take effective measures, in conjunction with the indigenous peoples concerned, to ensure that indigenous sacred places, including burial sites, be preserved, respected and protected.
- 12 Article 3 – Prohibition of torture: No one shall be subjected to torture or to inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.
- 13 Article 8 – Right to respect for private and family life: Everyone has the right to respect for his private and family life, his home and his correspondence: There shall be no interference by a public authority with the exercise of this right except such as is in accordance with the law and is necessary in a democratic society in the interests of national security, public safety or the economic well-being of the country, for the prevention of disorder or crime, for the protection of health or morals, or for the protection of the rights and freedoms of others.
- 14 Article 9 – Freedom of thought, conscience and religion: Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief, in worship, teaching, practice and observance. Freedom to manifest one's religion or beliefs shall be subject only to such limitations as are prescribed by law and are necessary in a democratic society in the interests of public safety, for the protection of public order, health or morals, or for the protection of the rights and freedoms of others.
- 15 Article 14 – Prohibition of discrimination: The enjoyment of the rights and freedoms set forth in this Convention shall be secured without discrimination on any ground such as sex, race, colour, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, association with a national minority, property, birth or other status.
- 16 Article 1 – Protection of property: Every natural or legal person is entitled to the peaceful enjoyment of his possessions. No one shall be deprived of his possessions except in the public interest and subject to the conditions provided for by law and by the general principles of international law. The preceding provisions shall not, however, in any way impair the right of a State to enforce such laws as it deems necessary to control the use of property in accordance with the general interest or to secure the payment of taxes or other contributions or penalties.
- 17 The discussion on the situation was informed by the legal situation in other countries that have engaged in a restitution

- process of human remains, especially the UK, where the question of ownership, and a legal ban on de-accession meant significant hurdles to the restitution process. As far as the UK is concerned it was stressed that the discussion on restitution of human remains took place in the ongoing conflict on the Parthenon Marbles.
- 18 Transfer of Kōiwi Tangata. Certificate signed at hand-over ceremony by the State Secretary of Education, Culture and Science of the Netherlands, and de Director Maori Strategy of the Te Papa, 9 November, 2005 (2005).
 - 19 Discussion recorded under MZ000027.WAV.
 - 20 Discussion recorded under MZ000017.WAV.
 - 21 Discussion recorded under MZ000017x.WAV.
 - 22 Discussion recorded under MZ000025.WAV.
 - 23 See, e.g. the definition as provided for in the ICOM Code that describes a museum as a non-profitmaking permanent institution in the service of society and of its development, open to the public, which *acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits*, for purposes of study, education and enjoyment, the tangible and *intangible* evidence of people and their environment.

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David van Duuren is Curator of Historical Collections and Oceania at the Tropenmuseum. Trained as an anthropologist, he began his career in 1970 as a collection documentalist, developing a broad knowledge of ethnographic collections, with a special interest in Indonesian weapons, Melanesian art and culture, and the (collection) history of the Tropenmuseum. Van Duuren is the chief author of this *Bulletin*. He led the collection documentation work on the human remains collections and the collectors, supplied all involved with up-to-date information, developed the documentation framework for the collections concerned and implemented the physical rearrangement of the human remains artefacts in the museum stores.

Mischa ten Kate worked from 1999 to 2006 in the Department of Information and Library Services at the Royal Tropical Institute (KIT) and now works as a freelance archivist and translator. Her involvement in the *Bulletin* included tracing part of the KIT archives and those documentation items that belonged to the physical anthropology department. In the summer of 2006 she compiled the first inventory of the department's content, thereby answering many questions concerning the careers of the staff members and donors involved, as well as the department's relationships to universities and international networks. She also provided additional data from the Internet and other sources.

Susan Legêne was trained as a historian and has been head of the Tropenmuseum's Curatorial Department since 1997. In 2004 she became Professor of the Cultural History of the Netherlands at the University of Amsterdam, by special appointment, for the Royal Antiquities Society. She acted as final editor for this *Bulletin*, collating the material from different sources and disciplines.

Katja Lubina studied law and cultural science studies and is currently writing a PhD on the return of human remains from public collections. To gain a broader perspective on the restitution of cultural objects she is also working as a researcher in historic claims at the Art Loss Register in London. She attended the expert meeting at the Tropenmuseum in February 2006 and her report on the insights gained at the meeting is included as Appendix 4 in the *Bulletin*.

Micaela Pereira is a museologist and joined the Tropenmuseum for eight months in 2004/5 to assist with the human remains project. She graduated from the University of Newcastle in England with an MA thesis on the repatriation of El Negro and now works at the Art Gallery of Western Australia. Pereira undertook the painstaking task of computerizing the database of human remains; assisted in the physical rearrangement of the human remains artefacts in the museum stores and she also provided the team with the latest information on the relevant political, ethical and legal issues.

Steven Vink is Senior Researcher Visual Collections, with a special focus on the photograph collections of the Tropenmuseum. Trained as a social geographer, he began his work in 1981 as a collection documentalist of the photograph collections. His focus is on scientific photography and exploration photography in particular. His broad knowledge of photographic techniques is invaluable in the classification and documentation of photographs. For this *Bulletin*, Vink assisted the research on human remains by investigating the photograph collections for connections between objects, facts and persons.

Colophon

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