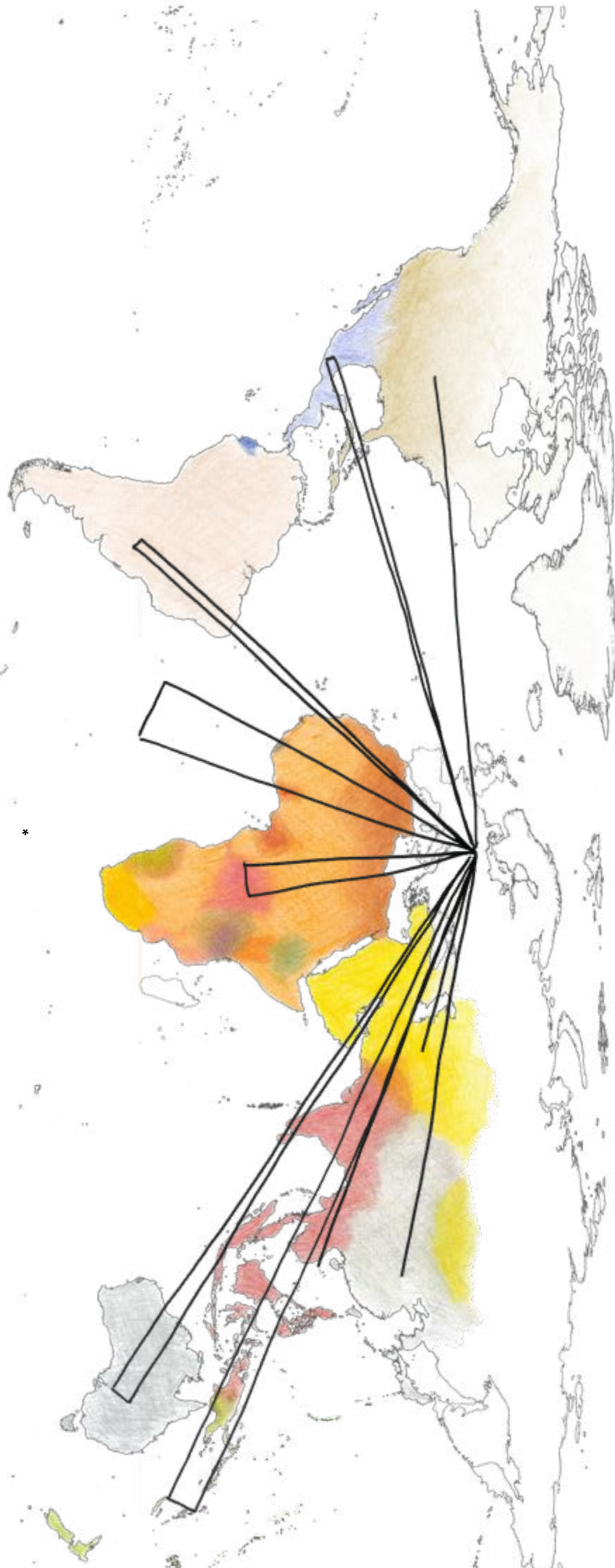


We want them back

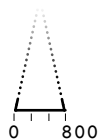
Scientific report on the
presence of human
remains from colonial
contexts in Berlin



Cover

The diagrammatic representation of the cover locates the wholeall listed in the report of human remains in the inventories of Berlin.

* human remains with unkown origin



-  South Africa
-  West and Central Asia
-  South America
-  Africa
-  »German South West Africa«
-  South & South East asia
-  Palau
-  North America
-  South Seas and Australia
-  North & East Asia
-  »German East Africa«
-  Unknown
-  Unclear
-  Rwanda
-  North Africa
-  Cameroon
-  Togo
-  Kenya
-  Mozambique
-  New Guinea
-  Nauru
-  Tanzania
-  Samoa
-  Congo
-  Liberia
-  Ecuador
-  Mesoamerica
-  USA-Mariana Islands
-  Ethiopia
-  Micronesia
-  Namibia
-  Papua New Guinea
-  Oceania

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www.decolonize-berlin.de
info@decolonize-berlin.de

Edited By:

the Coordination Office of
Decolonize Berlin e.V.
(Adel Oworu, Merel Fuchs, Anab Awale)

With original contributions:

Isabelle Reimann, Jephtha U.
Nguherimo,
Mnyaka Sururu Mboro, Adetoun und
Michael Küppers-Adebisi, Christian
Kopp, Santi Hitorangi, Evelin Huki,
Edward Halealoha Ayau

Proof-reading and translation:

Jeannine Kantara

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anna diagne)

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Decolonize Berlin

In 2019, Decolonize Berlin transitioned
from a civil society network of Black,
diasporic, post-colonial and
development policy groups in Berlin to
a formally registered association.
Decolonize Berlin e.V. advocates for a
critical examination of German
colonialism and its continuities, such
as racism within contemporary German
society, a recognition and critical
reappraisal of colonial injustices, and
decolonization of German society
as a whole.

Since January 2020, the association
has been the responsible body for the
*Coordination Office for a city-wide
concept addressing Berlin's colonial
past.*

We want them back

Scientific report on the presence of
human remains from colonial contexts
in Berlin

With original contributions from:

Isabelle Reimann,
Jephtha U. Nguherimo,
Mnyaka Sururu Mboro,
Adetoun und Michael Küppers-Adebisi,
Christian Kopp,
Santi Hitorangi,
Evelin Huki,
Edward Halealoha Ayau

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We remember and say thank you!

Cheikh Anta Diop once said,

»The denial of the history and intellectual achievements of the Black African people is the cultural and spiritual homicide that preceded and made possible the genocide in this world.«

With this publication we would like to commemorate the affected people who lost their lives in the anti-colonial struggle.

We would like to say thank you to all those affected by racism and discrimination, activists and civil society alliances who continue the anti-colonial struggle and have been demanding for decades the return of the stolen ancestors. The last few years have shown the importance of loud resistance to racist colonialism in order to change or initiate new social debates.

Our special thanks go to Mnyaka Sururu Mboro. For years, he has been fighting for the repatriation of human remains, which are illegally in the possession of German institutions. From the beginning, he assisted the *Koordinierungsstelle* in this undertaking and gave significant professional support to scientist Isabelle Reimann. *Haika Mmeku!*

We would like to thank Isabelle Reimann in particular for accepting the challenge and for creating this report with such passion, sensitivity and appreciation.

And, of course, our thanks also go to all the people, scientists and institutions who contributed to the preparation of the report. In particular, we would like to mention the critical guidance of Edward Halealoha Ayau, Santi Hitorangi, Evelin Huki, Christian Kopp and Paul Turnbull, some of whose comments and annotations are published. *Mahalo! Maururu & Thank you!*

Last but not least: Many thanks, Jeannine Kantara, for editing and translating the documents.

Why is the return of ancestral human remains so essential?

Isabelle Reimann

studied anthropology, psychology and sociology in Heidelberg and Leipzig. She is currently doing her doctorate at *Humboldt-Universität Berlin* and the Museum of Natural History Berlin. She is a white political educator and a mother.

»Because through this living relationships of care are given more priority than property and power relations, without which the debris of history continues to grow into infinity.«

Mnyaka Sururu Mboro

was born in Moshi at the foot of Mount Kilimanjaro in the then Mandate Territory of Tanganyika (now the United Republic of Tanzania). He has worked as a teacher in Tanzania as well as in Germany and has been advocating for the repatriation and burial of East African ancestors for decades. Mboro is co-founder and board member of *Berlin Postkolonial* and leads postcolonial walking tours.

»Currently, most live in trauma — because they have not yet buried their ancestors and believe that this results in climate disasters and diseases.«

Adetoun Küppers-Adebisi

is an author, publicist, curator, university lecturer and initiator of the *Black Berlin Biennale for Contemporary Art and Decolonial Discourses*. As president of *AFROTAK TV cyberNomads*- the Black German Culture, Education and Media Archive, she has received multiple national and international awards as a media and cultural activist for her contributions to a decolonial memory culture.

Michael Küppers-Adebisi

is a writer, visual artist and cultural activist. He works as a consultant for diversity and community building at the Berlin development policy center *Berlin Global Village*. He is on the board of *Decolonize Berlin* and is committed to the

realization of the Berlin matrix of decolonial approaches and concepts of memory politics. For his work on Black emancipation he received several awards.

»In the spirit of a renewed humanity, individual museums, state archives and private collections must reevaluate, at the latest now, in the 21st century, that Human Remains in their collections represent a morally and ethically questionable state of affairs if they originate from factual contexts of crimes against humanity murder, ethnic killings, enslavements, deportations and racist, political and religious persecutions. And whether they want to maintain the collective, colonial asymmetries of power as a neocolonial present. We owe this moral reevaluation to the cultures of origin and the diasporas living in Germany.«

Jeannine Kantara

grew up in East and West Germany as well as the Ivory Coast. She studied Social Sciences at the Open University in England, where she earned her BSc and Diploma in Gender Studies. She is co-founder of the *Initiative Black People in Germany e.V. (ISD)* and the magazine *afro look*. Jeannine Kantara works for the weekly newspaper *Die Zeit*, but also writes for other publications.

»The repatriation of human remains from people who were murdered and abducted during Germany's colonial period cannot undo the crimes committed. However, they are an important step towards the historical reappraisal, acceptance of responsibility and reparations by today's Federal Republic of Germany.«

Christian Kopp

was born in Neuruppin and studied history in Berlin and London. He has been a board member of *Berlin Postkolonial e.V.* since 2007. He works as a city guide and exhibition curator. Since 2020, he is sub-divisional project director in the collaborative project *Dekoloniale Memory Culture in the City*.

»To me, the presence of the ancestors abducted to Berlin during colonialism, is the most unbearable part of this city's colonial racist heritage. The handling of the ancestors will be the real, definitive assessment of Berlin's willingness to deal with its colonial past.«

Prof. Paul Turnbull

is professor emeritus of history at the *University of Tasmania*. Paul is internationally known for his research and writings over the past thirty years on colonial era theft and medico-scientific uses of the Ancestral Remains of Aboriginal Australian and Torres Strait Islander peoples. He assists Indigenous representative organizations, museums, and the Australian government in their efforts to repatriate ancestral remains. Paul was involved in the preparation of the report as a supervisor.

»It is essential to return ancestral remains if we have true reconciliation with the colonial past. The way we live and share the earth with those who came before us is the essence of humanity.«

Santi Hitorangi

Honui o te Mata Hitorangi a Huariki o te Pito o te Henua.

(Regent for Mata Hitorangi a Huariki o Te Pito o te Henua Regency Council)

Māori Kohau Rongorongo.

(Rongorongo Language Scholar.)

Hatu Ivi Tupuna i te Kainga nei mo hoki.

(Rightholder and claimant to Human Remains in Deutschland pending repatriation.)

Evelin Huki

Honui o te Mata Huki a Tangaroa o te Pito o te Henua.

(Regent for Mata Huki a Tangaroa o Te Pito o te Henua Regency Council)

Ivi Atua Kohau Rongorongo.

(Rongorongo Language Regent and Scholar)

Hatu Ivi Tupuna i te Kainga nei mo hoki.

(Rightholder and claimant to Human Remains in Deutschland pending repatriation.)

»Muraki at place of origin with dignity*.« (Muraki: process by which the bones of a deceased ancestor are laid to rest in its bone chamber at its place of origin with dignity).

Edward Halealoha Ayau

is the former Executive Director of *Hui Mālama I Nā Kūpuna O Hawai'i Nei*, a group that has repatriated and reinterred thousands of ancestral Native Hawaiian remains and funerary objects from the collections of museums and institutions worldwide.

1 Quote from a speech held by Edward Halealoha Ayau during a repatriation ceremony in Bremen on 08 February 2022.

»The valuable lessons learnt over the past three decades by the impacts of repatriation is that it has allowed Hawaiians to restore our dignity, to restore our Hawaiian humanity.«¹

Jephta U. Nguherimo

was born in the village of Okanjokomukona, Namibia, in 1963. He is a labor negotiator, author, activist and co-founder of the *OvaHerero, Ovambanderu and Nama Genocide Institute*. He resides in Kensington, Maryland, USA.

»It is imperative that the Europeans repatriate our ancestral remains in order for us to give them a dignified cultural and spiritual burial ceremonies. «

From the poetry collection »unBuried-unMarked: The Untold Namibian Story of the Victims of German Genocide between 1904–1908«

NO Shame

by Jephtha U. Nguherimo

my story is not old
it is being told

oh, the arrogance of victors
to set the timeline
the arrogance of the killers
to set guidelines

my story is not history
it is about the burden of memory
it is about speaking up
i can't keep my mouth shut

my story is about my identity
it is about my misery
it is about dispossession
it is about liberation

my story is righteous
it is timeless
it is extraordinary
it is revolutionary

my story is not old
oh, it is being told now
it is timeless
i can't remain silent

§ 168 »German Criminal Code Section«

»Whoever, without being authorised to do so, takes the body or parts of the body of a deceased person, of a dead foetus or parts thereof, or the ashes of a deceased person from the custody of the person entitled thereto, or whoever commits defamatory mischief on them incurs a penalty of imprisonment for a term not exceeding three years or a fine.«

In many parts of the world, respect for human dignity beyond death is of central importance. Here in Germany, too, we say goodbye to deceased people with a wide variety of rituals. We mourn, we remember, we commemorate. And we created the legal framework that governs the integrity of the body after death. And yet these framework conditions do not apply to all people, not all dead people in Germany have the same rights, especially those who died under colonialism.

The crimes of the colonial era and their consequences are visible everywhere in Europe, the Federal Republic and Berlin - especially in public institutions such as museums and universities. There are deceased people: without a grave, without commemoration. As relatives and ancestors, they have often been stolen from their descendants. They were already trapped in a dehumanizing context during their lifetime and remain so today, well over 100 years after their death.

The number of those whose human dignity was deliberately violated and whose peace in death was disturbed is alarmingly high, often not really known. When they were kidnapped by the colonial powers, they were degraded to »collectibles« and »human remains«. Keeping the human remains in today's successor states of the former colonial powers is an expression of a continued brutal coloniality. It is proof of a dehumanizing colonial system logic and racist research that took place at the time, but also that racism as a power system is shaping our society, (global) relationships and (dead) people to this day. And it explains the different ways in which the deceased are treated: while people who were murdered under colonial rule were not granted the right to rest after death, nor were their relatives and descendants given the opportunity to commemorate them, the grave of colonial criminal Curt von Francois was restored by the family at the Berlin Invalidenfriedhof in 2018 in order to »re-establishing peace of the dead«.

Anti-colonial resistance has been stirring since the beginning of the violent robbery of the deceased. Communities of origin and descendants of the stolen people try to bring their dead back home and give them a dignified burial and final resting place.

But to this day, many former colonial powers refuse to take responsibility for their crimes. The Federal Republic of Germany,

too, does not adequately comply with the repatriation of the dead to their countries of origin. Descendants, activists and repatriation practitioners often fail to obtain information about the deceased in Germany (see article by Mnyaka Sururu Mboro and Christian Kopp). German institutions regard themselves as »owners of human remains« and not as custodians of unjustly acquired deceased ancestors, which is why they block access to information about the circumstances of their acquisition. Repatriation is understood here as an intergovernmental act and thus proceeded as a continuation of the dehumanizing and colonial system logic.

As coordination office, we have had many discussions and initiated an exchange on the question of: »How can an appropriate language be found in a dehumanizing colonial system that is still having an impact today?«. With this publication, we would like to show a way of talking about the dead with dignity, as an alternative to the formal language of administration and the objectifying rhetoric of scientific and cultural institutions. These bones are deceased people and that is how they should be treated and discussed!

Isabelle Reimann's report is a first step in disclosing information about human remains from colonial contexts in the state of Berlin in order to enable those concerned to search for their ancestors in a targeted manner. Repatriation practitioners from the global South accompanied the preparation of Isabelle Reimann's report. Some of the comments, for example by Edward Halealoha Ayau, as well as by Santi Hitorangi and Evelin Huki, are published here. They show the importance of rehumanization and provide insight into the perspective of those affected.

Some institutions either did not respond to the inquiries or responded negatively - others regarded them as an opportunity to take a fresh look at their own collection. But is nowhere near enough! Much more needs to happen socially and politically in order to restore human dignity and the peace in death of those people who became victims of the racist research and collection mania during German colonial rule. Descendants and communities have the right to bury and mourn their ancestors.

The authors recommend the creation of an advisory board of repatriation practitioners. This can be one way in which the successor states of the former colonial powers, together with those concerned, ensure that the dead are quickly returned to their countries of origin: with the descendants and ancestors at the centre of the process.

1 Webseite of Kontaktstelle für Sammlungsgut aus kolonialen Kontexten in Deutschland, www.cp3c.de/; Markus Hilgert, Generalsekretärs der Kulturstiftung der Länder: Reply email to Mnyaka Sururu Mboro, November 14, 2021

2 Markus Hilgert, Secretary General of the Kulturstiftung der Länder: Reply email to Mnyaka Sururu Mboro, January 12, 2022

Abducted: the dead, their identification and their repatriation

*Mnyaka Sururu Mboro & Christian Kopp,
Berlin Postkolonial*

On November 14, 2021, the co-author of these lines, Mnyaka Sururu Mboro, submitted an official request to the federal *Kontaktstelle für Sammlungsgut aus kolonialen Kontexten* in Deutschland (Contact Point for Collections from Colonial Contexts in Germany). In preparation for a trip to Tanzania planned for spring 2022, Mboro delivered ten questions about members of his ancestral community, the East African Chagga, whose human remains were kidnapped in the course of colonization for racist research in German collections.

By its own account, the primary task of the *Kontaktstelle*, which was established at the *Kulturstiftung der Länder* in August 2020, is to give »information and advice« to inquirers from the ancestral communities, »forward requests in individual cases« and support the »networking of people and institutions«. However, the management immediately replied that, unfortunately, there was no nationwide overview of the Chagga and

»so far they did not have the capacity to carry out a corresponding survey«. Although »first concrete planning steps« for a »broad-based query« about all ancestral remains from colonial contexts in German collections had been taken, this could only be regarded as »the start of this process, the implementation of which would also take a certain amount of time«.¹

It was only after Mnyaka Sururu Mboro had expressed in a second letter his astonishment about this partly dismissive, partly stalling response from the *Kontaktstelle* and demanded that his questions at least be forwarded to all German collection institutions, the *Kulturstiftung der Länder* gave in. They offered to send out their own nationwide inquiry about the Chagga ancestors in German collections. Once again, the *Kontaktstelle* dampened hopes of prompt processing and emphasized their expectation that *»the results of the query would not be available for several months«*.²

3 See: Martin Baer und Olaf Schröter: Eine Kopffjagd. Deutsche in Ostafrika, Berlin 2001; Martin Baer und Olaf Schröter: »Schädelsammler«, In: Joachim Zeller und Ulrich van der Heyden (Hrsg.) Kolonialmetropole Berlin. Eine Spurensuche, Berlin 2002, S. 287-292; Heike Kleffner: »Spuren der Sammelwut«, 13.11.2004, taz.de/Spuren-der-Sammelwut/!675230/; D.F.Kisalya: Gedenkrede anlässlich der Gedenkveranstaltung zum 100. Jahrestag des Maji-Maji-Krieges am 13. November 2005 in der Werkstatt der Kulturen, Berlin, in: Tanzania-Network.de (Hg.): Habari, Heft 4, 2005, S.15ff, tanzania-network.de/sites/default/files/Habari_Heft/HABARI_2005_4.pdf; Heiko Wegmann: Die Ecker-Sammlung und der Rückgabeprozess nach Namibia, In: Holger Stoecker, Thomas Schnalke, Andreas Winkelmann (Hg.): Sammeln, Erforschen, Zurückgeben? Menschliche Gebeine aus der Kolonialzeit in akademischen und musealen Sammlungen, Berlin 2013, S. 404; Interview mit Markus Frenzel: »FAKT-Recherche führte zur Rückgabe von Herero-Schädeln nach Namibia«, MDR aktuell, 28.05.2021, www.mdr.de/nachrichten/deutschland/politik/koloniales-erbe-namibia-markus-frenzel-100.html

It remains to be seen what urgency the *Kontaktstelle für Sammlungsgut aus kolonialen Kontexten* on the one hand and the various German collections on the other hand will attach to the inquiry about the Chagga ancestors. However, the initial reaction to this specific request from a member of an ancestral community, the knee-jerk refusal and the reassurance that a large-scale research project was still in the planning stage, is keeping hopes for an energetic support from the *Kulturstiftung der Länder* limited.

It is all the more gratifying that the anthropologist Isabelle Reimann can already present a Scientific Report on the Existence of Human Remains from Colonial Contexts in Berlin on behalf of the civil society-based and Berlin Senate-funded *Koordinierungsstelle für die Erstellung eines gesamtstädtischen Konzepts zur Aufarbeitung Berlins kolonialer Vergangenheit* (Coordination Office for the creation of a city-wide concept for coming to terms with Berlin's colonial past). We have supported this important project from the start, recommended her as an expert and exchanged views with her on a regular basis.

Her carefully and expertly written investigation now offers much more than the inventory of ancestral remains from colonial contexts in Berlin that we had hoped for. The study provides a vivid introduction to the background of the transnational debates about treating the abducted ancestors with respect. Isabelle Reimann not only points out scientific gaps and ethical problem areas. From this, she develops well-founded recommendations for political action that must finally grant the descendants of the abductees the rights to their ancestors.

We want to highlight and comment on three of the many insights that can be gained from her impressive report:

1) Over the years, the Berlin *Charité* has developed a way of handling ancestral remains from colonial contexts that is exemplary in Germany. However, we should not forget that it took considerable time and pressure from critical civil and ancestral communities for the *Charité* to enter this path.

As the long-standing administrator of the largest collections of ancestral remains from colonial contexts in Berlin, the *Charité* already came under criticism from civil society actors in the early 2000s. In particular, Joachim Zeller, Martin Baer and Israel Kaunatjike published the first information about the origin, the sometimes shocking "acquisition circumstances" and the unbelievably large number of ancestors in Berlin collections. As early as 2004/05, civil society alliances with the significant participation

⁴ According to its own statements, the *Charité* Human Remains Project was designed to be »open-ended« with regard to a possible legal or injustice context. See: Holger Stoecker and Barbara Teßmann: »Namibische Gebeine in Berlin – Methoden und Recherchewege der Provenienzforschung«, in: Holger Stoecker, Thomas Schnalke, Andreas Winkelmann (Hg.): *Sammeln, Erforschen, Zurückgeben? Menschliche Gebeine in aus der Kolonialzeit in akademischen und musealen Sammlungen*, pp. 199 and 220 and: portal.wissenschaftliche-sammlungen.de/CollectionActivity/301

⁵ For the *Charité* see in particular Chapter 3.3.3. of this report (S. 64–68)

⁶ Herrmann Parzinger: Answer to Tanzania-Network.de e.V., March 5, 2014, www.no-humboldt21.de/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/Brief-SPK.pdf

of Afrodiasporic activists began demanding their repatriation. However, it was not until 2008 that the *Charité* felt compelled to act. An immediate trigger was Markus Frenzel's investigative television programme *FAKT*, where the remains of victims of the OvaHerero and Nama genocide could be seen in the collections of Berlin and Freiburg.³

However, only the subsequent official requests for information and return from the Namibian and Australian embassies were the deciding factor for the *Charité*'s to become active. It is significant to note that it was the initial task of the *Charité* Human Remains Project (2010–2013), which started afterwards, in addition to the provenance of the ancestral remains, to clarify the legal or illegal context of their »acquisition« or appropriation. By contrast, for the Namibian embassy its illegality was never up for discussion.⁴

The research of the *Charité* project became the cornerstone for several follow-up projects of a similar nature. Since 2011, the *Charité* has repatriated 227 individuals from Namibia, Australia, New Zealand/Aotearoa and Paraguay in nine transfers and acknowledged its historical responsibility. It is now proactively researching the provenance and returning the ancestral remains from colonial contexts in its care.⁵

2) As a federal foundation, the *Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz (SPK)* for years has been hiding an anthropological collection of ancestral remains from colonial contexts in its *Ethnologisches Museum (EM)*. Despite the pressure from a critical public, no results of provenance research have been published since the takeover of its second anthropological collection, which was transferred from the *Charité* to the *Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte (MVF)* in 2011. So far, not a single repatriation of ancestral remains from the *MFV* collection has taken place.

In retrospect, one of the most astonishing findings of Isabelle Reimann's report is the now officially confirmed fact that, in addition to numerous ancestral remains from colonial contexts that are processed or integrated into cultural objects, the *SPK* at the *EM* also has its own anthropological collection, which includes i. a. 38 human skulls - as for years, the President of the *SPK* Hermann Parzinger had repeatedly assured that »the *Ethnologisches Museum (EM)* [...] has no anthropological collection and does not keep any anthropological materials«.⁶ The Foreign Office also officially announced in 2014: »None of the institutions of the *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin* is in possession of an anthropological collection«.⁷

7 For SPK, see in particular Chapter 3.3.1. (p.42-45), for the EM see chapter 3.3.1.2. (pp.52-57) of this report; Herrmann Parzinger: Letter to Tanzania-Network.de e.V., March 5, 2014, www.no-humboldt21.de/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/Brief-SPK.pdf; MdB Michael Roth, Minister of State for Europe: Answer to »Written Parliamentary Inquiry for the Month of February 2014, Question No. 2-284« by MdB Niema Movassat, p.2, www.no-humboldt21.de/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/SF-Nr.-2-284-MdB-Movassat.pdf

8 For MVF, see in particular Chapter 3.3.1.1. (p.46-51); Minister of State for Europe: Answer to »Written Parliamentary Inquiry for the Month of February 2014, Question No. 2-284 by MdB Niema Movassat«, p.2 www.no-humboldt21.de/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/SF-Nr.-2-284-MdB-Movassat.pdf

The Federal Government and the *SPK* were hardly more transparent with regard to the anthropological collections transferred to the *MVF* in 2011. For years, they denied any historical or political responsibility for them. As recently as March 2014, the German government responded to a written inquiry by a member of the German parliament about ancestral remains from Tanzania: *»Since the holdings, as explained, are only temporarily in the museum's care, the MVF did not carry out any research into their origin«.*⁸

Although we, together with allied non-governmental organizations, protested against the planned »deportation« of the collection to an anthropological institution and as early as December 2014 publicly presented concrete evidence of numerous ancestral remains from all former German colonies in Africa that had been deported to Berlin, it took another *FAKT* broadcast (November 2016) for the *SPK* to finally start researching the provenance of the East African ancestors at the end of 2017 and of those from West Africa in 2021. To date, the research results have only been handed over to the Embassy of Rwanda and - under our pressure - to the Embassy of Tanzania. A publication on the project is still pending. For more than a decade, Germany's largest collection of ancestral remains from colonial contexts has been in the care of the federal *SPK*. So far, not a single victim of colonial-racist research has been returned to their relatives.⁹

3) The *Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte (Berlin Society for Anthropology, Ethnology and Prehistory - BGAEU)* refuses to provide politicians, scientists and civil society with information about the extensive »Rudolf Virchow Collection« in its possession. The collection contains numerous human remains from colonial contexts of injustice. Nevertheless, the *BGAEU* still offers the collection for ethically highly problematic research.

It is a most unbearable idea that thousands of ancestral remains from colonial contexts of injustice are still in the »property« of a scientific Berlin society that seems completely unmoved by the worldwide critical discussions on the repatriation of ancestors. For example, for years, the *BGAEU* has been offering »its« human remains on the Internet and invites scientists from all over the world to research them. By contrast, in October 2015 the Society tried to prevent OvaHerero and Nama activists who came to Berlin from visiting their ancestors. In his cynical justification the then President Wolfram Schier of the *BGAEU* stated that he *»could not see any scientific purpose in*

9 Central Council of the African Community in Germany, Initiative of Black People in Germany-ISD, and the alliances »No Humboldt 21!« as well as »No Humboldt 21!«: Press release from December 17, 2014, www.no-humboldt21.de/deutschland-muss-humane-gebeine-und-kriegsbeute-aus-kamerun-togo-tanzania-und-ruanda-return/, Berlin Postkolonial: Results of online research on human bones from colonial contexts of violence in the SPK, 2014, www.africavenir.org/fileadmin/downloads/press/Dossier_Kriegsbeute_Anthropologica_SPK.pdf Peter Hille: »Kolonialerbe: Leichen im Keller«, DW, 23.11.2016, www.dw.com/de/kolonialerbe-leichen-im-keller/a-36491003

10 For the BGAEU, see above all section 3.3.2. of this report (p.59-63); Anke Schwarzer: »Völkermord, na und?«, Jungle World, October 29, 2015, www.jungle.world/artikel/2015/44/voelkermord-na-und

11 See also the recommendations for action in this report in section 4.5, p. 107/08

viewing or examining the human remains«.¹⁰

The BGAEU now even entirely refuses to comply with a scientific inventory mandated by the state of Berlin and does not provide any further information on the colonial contexts of "its" collection which underlines the need for institutional pressure, legal challenges and legislative action. As the owner of the offices and collection rooms of the society, the SPK should influence the BGAEU in such a way that it no longer refuses to treat human remains from colonial contexts with respect. From a legal point of view, the BGAEU could be required to provide transparency of the collection holdings as well as calling into question its »private ownership« of the kidnapped dead. Finally, politicians should also agree on a ban on any research on abducted ancestors from colonial contexts that does not serve the purpose of repatriating them.¹¹

**Scientific report on the presence
of *human remains* from
colonial contexts in Berlin**

By Isabelle Reimann

(Translated by Jeannine Kantara)



»The soul within«, 2019, © Michael Jalaru Torres

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¹ see i.e. Turnbull 2002; Förster i.e. 2018

² see Förster a. o. 2018, 47, Ultimately, however, Belck cheated on the daughter by not giving her her father's skull, but a different one.

³ see Lange 2011, 15f; Zimmerman 2001, 116f

⁴ see Baer/Schröter 2001

1. Introduction

1.1. Ontological challenges

»The soul within«

The skeletal remains, hair and even soft tissue structures of people from all over the world are stored in German scientific collections, institutes and museums. For the descendants of these people, the continued preservation of the remains of their ancestors as scientific specimens without the consent of the deceased or their descendants, past and present, is a major ethical problem. Many people in affected communities regarded themselves as having a deep responsibility to provide their ancestors with a respectful and dignified burial. This responsibility is not only felt by those with a genealogical connection to the dead, but also those who have cultural and spiritual affiliations and ties currently unrecognized in German law. In many instances, the importance of dignified treatment of the dead also needs to be seen in the context of violent colonial histories. The dead in Western scientific institutions are seen by Indigenous peoples across the globe as attesting to the colonial era's causation of immense losses of relatives, land, resources and sovereignty.

The resistance of communities to the theft of the remains of their ancestors has been well documented since the beginning of this outrage.¹ In the case of German colonialism, there were not only demands for the return of remains, but also actual returns even during the period of German colonialism when this was deemed politically expedient. For example, in what was then the colony of German South-West Africa, the grave robber Karl Eugen Waldemar Belck had to return the skull of one Jacobus Hendrick's skull to his daughter.² It was also political pressure that forced the return of the bones of people from Samoa, which had been added to the Felix von Luschan's collection in Berlin.³

Von Luschan was the holder of the chair for anthropology and ethnography at the Berlin University and head of the Africa and Oceania department of the *Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde*. The demand for the return of the head of Mkwawa from today's Tanzania was deemed so important a political means of Britain securing their own colonial rule at the end of World War One that its return was demanded under the Versailles Peace Treaty.⁴

For descendant communities, the remains of their ancestors are not objects, but spiritually living entities,

⁵ Website of the artist: www.jalaru.com/collect/

⁶ Ayau u. a. 2018, 90

⁷ see Stoecker 2016, 473

1 often possessing agency (see chapter 2.2.2). In this respect, the
. title picture »The soul within« by the Djungan und Yawuru artist
. Michael Jalaru Torres from his 2019 »collect« series, which was
. created as part of the return of human remains to the Yawuru and
5 Karajarri of Broome (Western Australia) from the *Staatliche*
. *Kunstsammlungen Dresden*⁵, is symbolic. As an opening statement,
. this picture illustrates vividly that human remains are
. ancestors of very real people and the obligation to recognize
. their dignity as human beings – regardless of one's own view of
10 the collections.

. Taking seriously the existences of different ontological
. and epistemic traditions in respect of the dead opens up the
. possibility of recognizing and countering power imbalances and
. domination born of past colonial practices of appropriation
15 and exclusion that persist even today. In a joint assessment of
. the guidelines on the treatment of human remains by the
. *Deutschen Museumsbundes* (German Museum Association) published
. in 2013, Honor Keeler (Cherokee national and long-standing
. involved in NAGPRA and international repatriation of Indigenous
20 ancestors – together with the respected long-time repatriation
. practitioner Edward Halealoha Ayau from Hawai'i – observed, »They
. [our Ancestral Relatives] are treated as property and reside in
. a perpetual state of posthumous slavery.«⁶

. Keeler's point is that to this day, the formal and legal
25 status of historical human remains in museum and scientific
. collections in Germany is that of »cultural property«. As
. such, the legal protection and the social acceptance of
. private or state property prevents the fulfilment of responsibilities
. that result from obligations of customary law and cultural
30 traditions in respect of the Ancestral dead.

. Assigning universal values to the European sciences,
. prioritizing their interests and separating them from the
. mostly unethical appropriation practices in this case leads to
. their mystification. Regarding of the skulls, for example, as a
35 »scientific resource« and the interest in using scientific
. methods to generate knowledge about the history of mankind,
. about eating habits and diseases from human remains, is also to
. be seen as a specific and historically and culturally situated
. perspective. While collectors and researchers use the bones for
40 publications and to further their careers, a number of
. examples show that their results were used against the relatives
. concerned⁷. As will become clear below, anthropological
. scientific collection and research were inseparable from
. colonial expansion and development – and structures of colonial
45 exploitation (see section 2.4.2).

⁸ See, i. a, Mboro/Kopp 2018, 44

⁹ Deutscher Museumsbund e. V. , 2021b,7

1 Through provenance research illuminating the circumstances
 . in which the remains of individuals were acquired, the
 . entanglement of the scientific collecting and uses of human remains
 . in colonial ambitions becomes visible. The second side of
 5 the story so far has been excluded from the colonial archive. In
 . cooperative provenance research and collaboration with
 . descendants on repatriation, it can now be included. This makes
 . the further and current meaning of the abstract category of
 . »colonial contexts« understandable in individual cases.
 10 (see section 2.4.4).

. Consequently, this report aims to go beyond presenting a
 . factual inventory. It aims to contribute to the ontological
 . and epistemic rethinking in respect of museum and other scientific
 . collections triggered by repatriation movements.
 15

1.2. The aim of the inventory

20 For years, post-colonial, black and migrant civil society
 . initiatives have been demanding that museums and universities
 . produce detailed, publicly accessible inventories of their
 . holdings of human remains from colonial contexts, not only
 . to inform the countries of origin, but also the often well-known
 25 ancestral communities.⁸

. However, it was not until 2019, that federal state
 . ministers as well as the culture ministers of the federal states
 . and municipal umbrella organizations adopted the »Erste
 . Eckpunkte zum Umgang mit Sammlungsgut aus kolonialen Kontexten«
 30 (First key points for dealing with collections from colonial
 . contexts). This initiative expressed the political intention to
 . prioritize research on the provenance of human remains
 . from colonial contexts and to implement processes for their
 . repatriation.

35 In order to implement this announcement as well as the
 . own recommendations of the newly published »Leitfaden des
 . Museumsbundes zum Umgang mit menschlichen Überresten«
 . (Guidelines of the museum association for dealing with human
 . remains) »a Germany-wide overview of corresponding collections
 40 from colonial contexts would be [helpful]. It would form an
 . important basis for the appropriate handling of this collection,
 . enable the urgently needed networking and coordination
 . between the houses and, above all, promote transparency towards
 . the ancestral communities.«⁹

45 Inventory details and the clearest possible information

⁴⁰ this can also be researched online at:

www.smb.museum/forschung/forschungsprojekte/provenienz-und-persistence/

⁴¹ for example, see the warning at the Return Reconcile Renew website:

www.returnreconcilerenew.info/resources/content-warning.html

⁴² see www.theongi.org/?page_id=644

1 on the circumstances in which remains were originally acquired
 . is an essential prerequisite for relatives or descendant
 . communities to make informed decisions about the processes involved
 . in repatriation. An overview of the cross-institute holdings,
 5 remains and their documentation is also the basis for the
 . reconstruction of the identity or origin of human remains or the
 . background to their acquisition, i.e. cooperative and
 . interdisciplinary provenance research. The publication of the
 . acquisition books of the Berlin State Museums in August
 10 2021 is an important first step.⁴⁰ So far there is no publicly
 . accessible consolidated national inventory.

. The present report is therefore expression of the long-
 . articulated political will and ongoing work of migrant,
 . diasporic, post-colonial civil society initiatives to promote
 15 understanding and redress of the colonial past. This is evident
 . in the order placed by the Berlin Senate's coordination office,
 . located at the *Decolonize Berlin* organization, for a
 . city-wide concept for coming to terms with Berlin's colonial past.

. The homemade problem of the lack of consent from
 20 relatives from all over the world when creating the collections
 . leads to major challenges to this day. Recognizing the authority
 . of relatives and ancestral communities in deciding how to deal
 . with the remains of their ancestors also requires access to and
 . use of information regarding the remains and publication of
 25 information that informs the narrative of ancestral memory.
 . However, there is no general guideline for handling specific
 . information. For example, photographs of Aboriginal Australian
 . Ancestral Remains are considered highly sensitive and are
 . protected from publication with access restrictions.⁴¹ While in
 30 other cases, transparency is of great importance as a
 . prerequisite for processing and recognizing colonial history.
 . This led to the publication of the *Case Reports* on human remains
 . of the Nam a and OvaHerero on the website of the OvaHerero/
 . Mbanderu and Nama *Genocides Institute (ONGI)* which is committed
 35 to the appropriate remembrance of the victims of the genocide by
 . the Germans.⁴²

. This report has been written mindful of these and other
 . related ethical considerations in respect of who should have
 . access to information about human remains acquired in colonial
 40 contexts, and the need to be aware of the sensitivities involved
 . in conveying such information.

. Subject to these considerations, it aims – as far as has
 . been possible – to provide a structured, comprehensive source
 . of information about colonial era collections of human remains in
 45 Berlin on the basis of which political options for action and

framework conditions can be identified. The objective is therefore:

- Classification of the subject matter of the collections in the historical and current contexts and contexts of meaning
- Processing of information about human remains from colonial contexts in Berlin
- Creation of an overview for the evaluation and recommendation of the next steps and measures

It presents an overview of these collections as a first step towards the creation of a cross-institutional inventory. The »Leitfaden« (guideline) of the *Deutscher Museumsbund* (German Museum Federation) was used as the basis for the definition of »human remains« (see section 2.1.1). The assignment to the colonial context is also based on a guideline of the *Museumsbund* (see chapter 2.4.1). The report focuses exclusively on institutions. No research was undertaken to identify human remains from colonial contexts in the private possession of individuals. And as previously mentioned, the focus on Berlin reflects the desire of the Berlin Senate to develop a city-wide concept for dealing with the city's colonial past and its remembrance. The presence of human remains in the geographical area of Berlin was investigated, but not the administrative ties between the institutions and the city of Berlin.

The *Bund-Länder-AG* is planning a nationwide survey in 2022, for which the *Kontaktstelle für Sammlungsgut aus kolonialen Kontexten* (Contact point for collections from colonial contexts), and the *Deutsches Zentrum Kulturgutverluste* (German Center for the Loss of Cultural Property) have been commissioned.

1.3. Short Summary of the results and recommendations

Order situation:

The present report was commissioned by the *Koordinierungsstelle für ein gesamtstädtisches Konzept zur Aufarbeitung Berlins kolonialer Vergangenheit*. The establishment of the »coordination office« was decided by the *Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin* (Berlin House of Representatives) in August 2019 and is part of the organization *Decolonize Berlin*, a network of various civil

⁴³ see information online at: www.decolonize-berlin.de/de/koordinierungsstelle

⁴⁴ This number only contains the more concrete suspected cases from the Zoologische Lehrsammlungen and not the human remains from the kunsthochschule weißensee. The human remains from today's Ecuador in the Natural History Museum are not included here either, as the exact number of bones has not been specified and the assignment to the colonial context remains open.

1 society actors who have been campaigning for years to come to
 . terms with German and European colonialism. The goal is to work
 . with representatives from politics, administration and civil
 . society to develop measures that initiate decolonization
 5 processes and stimulate a social discussion on how to deal with
 . German colonialism and its aftermath. ⁴³

Overview:

. The report is divided into four sections. After the
 10 introduction, the second chapter forms the historical and
 . ethical framework in which the collections of human remains from
 . colonial contexts are embedded. This is followed by the results
 . of the inventory in the state of Berlin. The fourth part
 . discusses the results and recommendations in more detail, which
 15 are summarized-in short-as follows:

Inventory:

. The survey of the museum and scientific institutions in
 . the geographic area of Berlin showed that the collections of 12
 20 institutions contain at least **5,958** ⁴⁴ remains of people whose
 . appropriation is assumed to be in a colonial context. A tabular
 . overview can be found under **3.2**.

. The information on the holdings of the *Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte (MVF)*, the *Ethnologisches Museum (EM)* and
 25 the *Charité* are given separately in the appendix. While the *EM*
 . considered all human remains relevant for the expert opinion
 . based on the history of the collection, the *MVF* only provided
 . the numbers of human remains from the context of German
 . colonialism. The *Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte (BGAEU)* did not provide any
 30 information.

. Hence there are around 13,500 human remains if all human
 . remains from the »racial anthropological« Luschan and Rudolf
 . Virchow collections (see section **3.1**) are included and those
 35 remains in other collections for which a colonial context cannot
 . be excluded. Adding the 16,000 bone fragments from human bones
 . of at least 54, possibly more than 100 people of various ages,
 . which were recovered from the excavations on the site of the
 . *Kaiser Wilhelm-Institut für Anthropologie, menschliche Erblehre*
 40 *und Eugenik (KWI-A)* and for which a colonial context cannot be
 . ruled out either.

Research status:

. Human remains, for which a colonial context cannot be
 45 excluded, are used in Berlin for research, exhibitions and teaching

1 purposes. Individual institutions have switched to authorizing
. use only for provenance research and after consultation
. with the societies of origin.

. So far, none of the institutions have exhausted all
5 possibilities in order to process the origins or even the
. identity of the people whose body parts were made into scientific
. preparations in their collections. Provenance research
. is still pending for the majority of human remains from colonial
. contexts.

10 There are no examples yet of equal, cooperative
. provenance research with direct relatives and members of the
. indigenous peoples concerned, or formerly colonized population
. groups whose ancestors (or body parts of ancestors) are
. in the collection facilities in the Berlin area. Exchange and
15 cooperation with international scientists, government
. authorities and institutions such as the *Te papa Museum* in New
. Zealand/Aotearoa with official repatriation programs are taking
. place.

. Furthermore, the desire as well as the need for cross-
20 institute cooperation was mentioned by a large number of the
. contact persons from the facilities. There is also a need for
. exchange regarding the handling of human remains, the origin of
. which is unclear and probably cannot be further clarified.
.

25 **Recommendation Advisory Board:**

. The establishment of an Advisory Board or a commission is
. recommended to accompany the further provenance research and
. repatriation work, including the handling of the inventory
. information. The *Advisory Board* or commission should be made up
30 of experienced repatriation practitioners as well as
. representatives of communities and indigenous organizations
. whose ancestors are likely to be in the collections.

. This recommendation is based on the findings that the
. definitions, access and type of information in the context of an
35 »inventory of human remains from colonial contexts« cannot be
. separated from provenance research that has already been
. initiated and already presuppose fundamental decisions
. that-based on the principle of *Free Prior and Informed Consent*
. (*FPIC*)-should be made in consultation with indigenous peoples
40 (UN declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples, cf. in
. particular Articles 11 and 12).
.

. **Recommendation for cross-institutional processing project(s):**

45 One or more cross-institutional, interdisciplinary and
. transnationally oriented research projects/repatriation
. projects with the participation of the advisory board are
. recommended for inventory determination, clarification of the
. origin and reconstruction of the appropriation contexts
50 of the human remains from colonial contexts stored in the state
. of Berlin.

. The recommendation is based on the one hand on the lack
. of information and data in the institutions themselves and
. on the other hand an immense research desideratum with regard to
55 provenance research of the human remains located in Berlin.
. Information that is as complete and reliable as possible

1 is needed so that members and representatives of indigenous
. organizations can make informed decisions about how to deal
. with the remains of their ancestors. This requires cooperation
. between institutions in order to bring together different
5 information and sources, for example on human remains from the
. same appropriation contexts that are stored in different
. institutions and archives, or on the same consignors. The need
. for cross-institute collaboration was often expressed by
. almost all those responsible for the collections and was seen as
10 a necessity for reappraisal, particularly in smaller and
. non-specialist institutions. The dialogical exchange with the
. advisory boards during the inventory phase leads to mutual
. information, the possibility of finding individual solutions and
. the determination of needs for an interdisciplinary and
15 transnational research project.

. In addition to the desideratum of provenance research on
. individual holdings, there is also a lack of projects to process
. the colonial history of collections in relation to human
. remains from the various institutions as a basis for systematic
20 provenance research. This was recognized in particular by
. the *Museum für Naturkunde* as a necessary next step and also
. considered urgent in view of the interdependence of museums and
. university collections in Berlin and throughout Germany.

. The prioritization to clarify the background of human
25 remains from colonial contexts as announced in the above-
. mentioned »Eckpunktepapier« (key points paper) of 2019 should
. be expressed through innovative and appropriate research
. structures, especially with regard to collaborative provenance
. research with communities of origin and relatives.

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**Recommendation: Incorporation into the concept of
historical reappraisal and remembrance of Berlin's
colonial past:**

35 Dealing with the collections of human remains, their
. appropriation from colonial contexts, the role of anthropological
. research and their social reception and significance is an
. immanent part of coming to terms with Berlin's colonial past.
. The incorporation of the topic into Berlin's city-wide
40 processing and remembrance concept under the leadership of Black,
. migrant and diasporic organizations and individuals should also
. be understood by politicians and the institutions preserving
. the collection as a necessary part of the processing in order to
. ensure sensitive and racism-critical handling and overall
45 social coping including the perspective of those negatively
. affected by racism.

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Recommendations to politics:
The German state should create the constitutional conditions
to recognize the dignity of human beings also in relation to
their mortal remains and to enable relatives to care for their
ancestors and deceased members of the ancestral communities
in an appropriate manner and to be able to fulfill their family
and cultural responsibilities. The recognition and observance
of indigenous rights must be guaranteed when dealing with human
remains from colonial contexts.

¹⁵ see i.e. Fuchs i.e. 2020, 9

¹⁶ The definition is specified in the following: »This includes in particular bones, mummies, bog corpses, soft tissues, organs, tissue sections, embryos, foetuses, skin, hair, fingernails, toenails, teeth (the last five also if they come from living people) and corpse burns.« (Deutscher Museumsbund 2021b: 14)

¹⁷ Deutscher Museumsbund e.V. (ed.) 2021b, 15

2. Definitions and Background

2.1. Background: human remains in collection institutions

2.1.1. About the term »human remains«

Human remains are given different names according to different perspectives. In the critical debates of the past 10 years, the term »material« or »object« was also increasingly discussed in scientific circles and has been partially replaced by the term »human remains«.¹⁵ Following the demand of relatives for the repatriation of their ancestors and to stop the practice of dehumanization (see chapter 2.2.2), the German word »Über-Reste« (»leftovers«) does not seem dignified and therefore does not serve the purpose of rehumanization.

In the absence of a better term and due to its establishment in topic-related guidelines and key issue papers, the term »*menschliche Überreste*« is nevertheless used in the German version of the present report. The English term »Human Remains« is also used. The term »Ancestral Remains«, i.e. »remains of ancestors« or »ancestors«, which in itself underlines the concern of rehumanization, is used in the present report whenever these are addressed as ancestors by certain people or groups of people.

The definition of »human remains« in the *Leitfaden zum Umgang mit menschlichen Überresten in Museen und Sammlungen des Deutschen Museumsbundes* (2021) also serves as a basis for this report: The term includes all unprocessed, processed or preserved forms of preservation of human bodies as well as parts thereof¹⁶, also those consciously incorporated into (ritual) objects. It should be noted that this definition and the present inventory do not include impressions, image and audio material and funeral objects, even if they are also culturally sensitive items in the collection: »It can have the same meaning in the societies of origin and for descendants as human remains«.¹⁷ The distinction between human remains, natural history and cultural objects goes hand in hand with the continuation of Eurocentric and colonial systems of classification and relationships, which is why further differentiations and re-evaluations must be kept open, at least in specific cases.

⁴⁸ Fründt/Schiffels/Winkelmann 2021, 83

⁴⁹ see Fründt/Schiffels/Winkelmann 2021, 83

²⁰ see Winkelmann/Teßmann 2013, 196

²¹ see Heeb 2021, 70

²² see i.e.. Winkelmann 2020

²³ see Thielecke/Geißdorf 2021, 107f

2.1.2. Human remains in German research and educational institutions

Human remains served, and are still serving, as »working material« for various branches of research:

»For medicine (with anatomy, pathology and forensic medicine), biological anthropology or biology in general, as well as the various archaeological and prehistoric disciplines, working with human remains is a central aspect of their everyday occupation and their professional self-image. Without the examination of the living or dead human body, these disciplines are hardly conceivable.« ⁴⁸

Some of the research questions have changed and further options for analysis such as new imaging methods (CT, MRI) and biochemical analyzes (isotopes, DNA) have been added.⁴⁹ In addition, work is being carried out on future ways of gaining knowledge. Human remains are also used in scientific teaching and training of the above-mentioned disciplines.

Until the middle of the 20th century, European or Western ethics had no major reservations about objectification in a scientific context.²⁰ Historical collections of human remains, including those in depots of the state offices for archeology, which were mainly excavated in German territory and are at least 100 years old, continue to be used by scientists as research material for human life in the past without major ethical concerns.²¹

The use of body parts of people who have recently died is now subject to modern bioethical principles of informed consent, as is the case with body donations for teaching and research purposes, which include the wishes of the deceased and respect for them.²² Today the use and display of human remains for artistic or commercial purposes are only legally permissible in Germany if the scientific-didactic purposes prevail.²³

As a rule, scientific institutions only use Human Remains with the consent and after provenance checks. For example, when asked about the existence of human remains for the present report, the Berlin Rathgen Forschungslabor stated that, since February 2005, prior to accepting a research assignment, information on the provenance and legal export of the »objects«

²⁴ see i.e. Ayau

²⁵ Kakaliouras 2021, 282

²⁶ see Hoßfeld 2016, 96

²⁷ see i.e. Duuren 2007 ; Winkelmann 2020, 45

²⁸ This fact means that the determination of a community, society or country of origin can be problematic when their identification is made without consultation with probable descendants with relevant linguistic, cultural and historical expertise. Regional or local expertise is particularly important for these questions (see Nankela Silvester 2021: 144).

²⁹ Rassool 2015, 669

1 from the country of origin are requested, documented and, if
 . necessary, the assignment will be rejected.

. Indigenous interests and scientific research are not per
 . se exclusive, as indigenous representatives emphasize again
 5 and again.²⁴ With the recognition of historical injustice and
 . the guarantee of "Free Prior and Informed Consent", fruitful
 . research partnerships for mutual benefit have even emerged.
 . Exemplary initiatives and related research-ethical questions
 . are discussed in the volume *Working with and for Ancestors*.
 10 Collaboration in the *Care and Study of Ancestral Remains*.²⁵
 . However, the process of coming to terms with colonial injustice
 . in Germany is still in its infancy. Also, the recognition of
 . indigenous rights and thus principles such as »Free Prior and
 . Informed Consent« have only been binding since Germany signed
 15 the *ILO Convention* in 2021. Therefore, the priority should
 . initially be on the processing and responsible handling of the
 . collections and thus the prerequisite for cooperative
 . collaboration.

20

2.1.3. Objects of racial anthropological research

. The emergence of physical anthropology since the late
 . 18th century forms the background against which larger
 25 systematic collections, especially of skulls, but also other
 . human remains from all over the world, were created in Germany.
 . From the second half of the 19th century, there was an
 . institutional consolidation of physical or biological
 . anthropology in Germany as an independent specialist discipline,
 30 in connection with which the *Göttinger Anthropologentreffen*
 . of 1861 is considered a decisive event.²⁶

. Characteristic for the description and documentation of
 . human remains in »race research« is the assignment
 . to a »race«/»culture«/»ethnicity« as a central feature-
 35 in addition to location, age and gender.²⁷ These assignments
 . contain foreign names as well as Eurocentric generalizations and
 . do not reflect the differentiated, often permeable, ethnic,
 . social and political identity and group assignments of the time.²⁸
 . The human remains were supposed to represent a type of person
 40 and the documentation contained hardly any information on
 . individual identity or biographical data. In the administrative
 . and classificatory systems of museums and research institutions,
 . the bodies of indigenous people in particular have become
 . scientific objects, »objects of race«.²⁹ With the division
 45 of mankind into different varieties or »races« Questions

³⁰ Fründt 2011, 15

³¹ see i. a.. Hall 2004, 204 ; Kilomba 2010, 75

³² Hanke 2007, 31

³³ see i.e. Quijano / Ennis 2000, 541

³⁴ see i.e.. Turnbull 2018, 103

³⁵ see Legassick / Rassool 2015, 659

³⁶ see Turnbull 2017, 275

1 about the origin and development of mankind were at the center
 . of the debates.

. The long-term effectiveness of the »race« construct
 . lies in the interweaving and juxtaposition of popular
 5 scientific, sociological and biological narratives. The legacy
 . of »scientific racism«, is grounded in the »idea that races
 . could actually be properly distinguished based on quantitative
 . morphological investigations« ³⁰ suggested by »race
 . research«, but also the links between sociocultural and
 10 biological ones Characteristics in »chains of equivalence« (such
 . as white = civilized, Black = primitive).³¹

. According to the media scientist Christine Hanke, the
 . natural scientific style and the use of metric-statistical
 . procedures, the results of which were then compared and arranged
 15 with lists, tables, diagrams and statistical calculations, went
 . and still go hand in hand with an enormous amount of evidence:
 . »The effectiveness of the physical anthropology consists
 . in producing the evidence and self-evidence of 'racist' and
 . 'sexual' differences«. ³²

20 Beyond the acceptance and construction of human »races«,
 . their temporal arrangement in a linear line of civilization
 . was fundamental. Colonized populations with their respective
 . histories, cultures and political, economic and social forms
 . of organization and culture were discursively relocated to the
 25 past of a European stage of development.³³ The exclusion
 . of contemporaries from the temporal and geographical space of
 . civilization and modernity was elementary for the ideological
 . legitimation of colonial violence and destruction, as well as
 . for the creation of scientific and museum collections.

30 The ideas even went so far that scientists denied that their
 . contemporaries, such as the Australian Aboriginal people ³⁴ or
 . indigenous people in today's South Africa and Namibia ³⁵ had any
 . means of development opportunities at all. They were portrayed
 . as a kind of relic of the Stone Age, »living fossils« or as
 35 »primitive peoples« without culture or history, who were
 . ultimately doomed to extinction. German anthropologists such
 . as Hermann Klaatsch were also quoted in the Australian
 . press with his »research results«, i.e. statements about
 . the alleged intermediate stage of the Aboriginal Australian
 40 People between apes and modern humans.³⁶ According to Britta
 . Lange, the large collections of human remains in scientific
 . institutions in Europe go back to the most comprehensive
 . possible documentation of so-called »primitive peoples«:
 . »In the context of so-called "salvage anthropology", scientists
 45 carried out anatomical, anthropological, ethnographic and

³⁷ Lange 2011, 21

³⁸ see Förster / Stoecker 2016, 20

³⁹ see ibid, 19

⁴⁰ see Vázquez 2015

⁴¹ see Förster i. a. 2018, 55

⁴² see i.e. Blakey 2021; Goodman 2017; Das/Lowe 2018

⁴³ see Baer / Schröter 2001

1 *linguistic studies on members of 'dying peoples'. (...) In addition,*
 . *they generated measurement data, body descriptions, photographs,*
 . *plaster casts as well as film and sound recordings of living*
 . *people.» ³⁷*

5 While people were anonymized and their body parts turned
 . into scientific preparations, researchers and collectors were
 . honored as historical personalities, some of them even until
 . today. ³⁸ According to Larissa Förster and Holger Stoecker, the
 . anonymity and the lack of documentation of the origin is
 10 »a thoroughly wanted product of colonial knowledge systems and
 . collecting practices and in this sense is constitutive of
 . colonial scientific practice«. ³⁹ The practice of »Entinnerung«
 . (de-membrance), of forgetting or ignoring, is a fundamental part
 . of material appropriation itself. ⁴⁰ Even today, ignoring
 15 the circumstances of acquisition and the context of origin seems
 . to be a prerequisite for the further use of human remains as an
 . anthropological research resource. ⁴¹

 Against the background of the topicality and effective-
 . ness of racism today, there is a demand for the discipline of
 20 biological anthropology, but also for scientific research itself,
 . to assume responsibility and also to convey the historical
 . contribution of Western science to colonial endeavors and their
 . ideological legitimacy to participate. ⁴²

25

2.2. Background:

Repatriation Movement

2.2.1. Case study: The search for the head of Mangi Meli

 However, the looting of graves and the stealing of some
 . corpses and skulls in the ancestral communities are not
 35 forgotten and the task of repatriating Ancestral Remains is
 . passed on from generation to generation. In those cases where
 . the murder of people and the subsequent robbery of their body
 . parts took place in a publicly visible manner and was used
 . as a political instrument by the colonial powers to break local
 40 resistance, the lack of willingness to provide information and
 . the ignorance of politicians and institutions in the
 . succession of colonial rulers is a continuation of the colonial
 . inequality. This applies, for example, to the stealing of the
 . heads of hanged leaders during the colonial wars in German East
 45 Africa, including that of Chagga Mangi Meli. ⁴³

⁴⁴ see Mboro/Kopp 2018; Another example is the lengthy and exhausting return process of the Iwi Kūpuna (Ancestral Remains) from Hawai'i, who were repatriated from the Völkerkundemuseum Dresden in 2017 after 26 years of correspondence (see. Ayau 2018)

⁴⁵ The letter from the Tanzanian community in Berlin in 2013 to the SPK can be viewed online here: www.no-humboldt21.de/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/AnfrageTansaniaSPK.pdf

⁴⁶ The long history of how civil society actors dealt with the collection facilities and the public discussion of them is partly documented online.
see e.g.: www.glokal.org/tausende-von-toten-in-berlin-pm-von-no-humboldt-21-moratorium-fur-das-humboldt-forum-im-berliner-schloss/; www.no-humboldt21.de/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/Brief-SPK.pdf; www.no-humboldt21.de/pm-statement-on-the-identification-and-return-of-8000-human-bones-from-the-colonial-time/

1 Mnyaka Sururu Mboro, himself Chagga from the Kilimanjaro
 . region, already learned at the age of four that the-in his
 . words- »head of the Wachagga prince Mangi Meli« had been sent to
 . Germany. Mangi Meli was hanged by the German occupiers in
 5 March 1900 with 18 other important local personalities after
 . suffering hours of agony in a show trial. With this and
 . other punitive measures, the German Gouvernement wanted to
 . break the resistance to colonization. Mboro received the order
 . from his grandmother to bring the head of Mangi Meli home.
 10 Mboro has been on the lookout since he came to Germany in the 1980s.
 . In doing so, he continued the search of Mangi Meli's grandson,
 . Isaria Anael Meli from Tanzania, which began 50 years ago, in
 . Germany as well. Now very old himself, Isaria Meli still hopes
 . to be able to properly bury his grandfather's head.

15 For a long time, however, Isaria Anael Meli and Mboro in
 . Tanzania and Germany lacked opportunities and contact persons
 . to get information and to assert their claims for return. Mboro
 . and his comrades were repeatedly turned away. Access to museum
 . depots and archives is denied to non-scientists. The experience
 20 of Mboro and many other initiatives from societies of origin
 . show that for a long time, the museums did not take inquiries
 . from relatives about the bones and their storage locations for
 . granted and were accordingly uncooperative.⁴⁴ On December 4,
 . 2013, Mnyaka Sururu Mboro, together with *Tanzania-Network.de e.V.*
 25 and the *Association of Tanzanians in Berlin and Brandenburg*
 . *UWARAB eV*, submitted a request to the *Stiftung Preußischer*
 . *Kulturbesitz* and specifically the *Ethnologisches Museum Berlin*
 . and the *Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte*, whose answer was
 . disappointing for them, in view of the facts that became public
 30 in the following years.⁴⁵

. The lack of knowledge and recognition of German colonial
 . history was obvious to Mnyaka Sururu Mboro from the beginning
 . of his search and so, as a founding member of *Berlin Postkolonial e.V.*,
 . he began to address and mediate it. At the same time,
 35 the many inquiries, open letters, petitions, etc. from *Berlin*
 . *Postcolonial* and other civil society, migrant, diasporic and
 . black initiatives have led to the anthropological collections
 . being dealt with.⁴⁶ This commitment is also decisive for this
 . report, after Mnyaka Sururu Mboro and Christian Kopp, together
 40 with other initiatives and fellow campaigners, have been
 . calling for years for a transparent handling of human remains.
 . The main requirement is:
 .

. »The museums and universities not only have to
 45 inform the countries of origin, but also the

⁴⁷ Mboro/Kopp 2018, 44

⁴⁸ Rassool 2015, 665

1 *often known ancestral communities about their*
 . *holdings. We need a central and publicly*
 . *accessible online register of all colonial human*
 . *remains in Germany, so that the descendants*
 5 *can also inform themselves. (...) And last but not*
 . *least, we need sufficient financial resources for*
 . *the work of a »transnational task force« so*
 . *that the rehumanization of the ancestors in the*
 . *depots of German collections does not take*
 10 *another 100 years.»* ⁴⁷

.
 . The knowledge about the shipment of body parts of certain
 . people to Germany and the information about the colonial
 . contexts in which the appropriation was made possible, for
 15 example the robbery or the desecration of the grave, which were
 . not punished, is lost, according to the perspective of those
 . affected, on the path of the Ancestral Remains to Germany.
 . Not knowing where the remains ended up makes the search difficult
 . and repatriation an impossible endeavor.

20 The connection between the knowledge of relatives and
 . today's collection facilities is often the key to repatriations,
 . as is the experience of the repatriation of human remains from
 . Austria to South Africa due to the research and the commitment
 . of inter alia. Ciraj Rassool:

25 *»What was needed was a more comprehensive*
 . *engagement between the South African archive of*
 . *removal and the Austrian archive of reception,*
 . *perhaps as part of the production of a mutually*
 30 *agreed inventory, to enable the possibility*
 . *of matching and identification.»* ⁴⁸

2.2.2. Dehumanization practice

35 The search for the head of Mangi Meli for his burial is
 . not an isolated case. Taking and storing human remains in boxes,
 . sometimes even in former food packaging, on shelves and depots,
 . has caused and continues to cause incomprehension and profound
 40 psychological and spiritual injuries among relatives and people
 . worldwide who reject the use of their ancestors as research
 . material. Wolithiga Elder Henry Atkinson from Australia, a
 . representative of the *International Center for Cultural*
 . *and Heritage Studies* at Newcastle University, describes the
 45 scientific collection practice as dehumanizing:

⁴⁹ Atkinson 2010, 2

⁵⁰ Förster 2013, 435

⁵¹ Rassool 2015, 667

1 *»For those scientists who wanted to obtain whole*
 . *bodies, these were put into barrels of spirits*
 . *to preserve them on the long journey overseas,*
 . *while others were reduced to skeletons. My people*
 5 *were wrapped in brown paper or put in a rough*
 . *Hessian bag and shipped overseas. There was no*
 . *thought of this being a person, a living human.*
 . *How can the spirits of one's ancestors rest*
 . *when they have been subject to this type of*
 10 *inhumane treatment? How can they rest when, even*
 . *to this day, they are still subject to the*
 . *prying eyes and the jabbing tools of a so-called*
 . *civilized society?»* ⁴⁹

15 For people from formerly colonized and indigenous peoples
 . in particular, it is painful to know that their dead are in
 . the institutions of the colonial powers. In some cases, they can
 . still be used as »scientific resources«. All over the
 . world, different groups-direct descendants, representatives of
 20 indigenous organizations and state institutions-are
 . making demands for restitution based on diverse cultural and
 . historical contexts.

 In view of the dehumanizing treatment of their ancestral
 . remains, the repatriating groups and institutions repeatedly
 25 call for rehumanization or re-subjectification, which is
 . one of the central dynamics and goals of repatriations.⁵⁰ The
 . interpretation and practice is different depending on
 . the historical context and interests involved actors, framing
 . power relations and last but not least the decolonization
 30 strategies and representation structures of ethnic groups and
 . indigenous minorities in post-colonial multi-ethnic nation
 . states. Therefore, there is no uniform protocol for repatriations.

 In the German-speaking context, it was in connection
 . with the repatriation, among other things, of the San couple
 35 Klaas and Trooi Pienaar from the *Naturkundemuseum Wien* to South
 . Africa in 2012, when Austrian and South African institutions
 . explicitly formulated the goal of rehumanization for the
 . first time. The historian Ciraj Rassool, whose provenance
 . research and commitment resulted in the repatriation to South
 40 Africa, explains the importance of rehumanization as follows:
 . *»Above all, when we return human remains and restore*
 . *their humanity, we remake ourselves as people, outside the terms*
 . *and categories given to us by the empire of the museum»* ⁵¹

 In this specific context, part of the process of
 45 rehumanization was that the couple, who at that time were

⁵² Ayau 2020, 65

⁵³ Ayau 2017

⁵⁴ Ibid.

1 particularly exposed to colonial violence, expropriation and
 . displacement as members of the »San« or »Bushman«, were
 . subsequently granted South African citizenship.

. Edward Halealoha Ayau and the organization *Hui Mālama I*
 5 *Nā Kūpuna 'O Hawai'i Ne* searched for and returned the human
 . remains of the ancestors of indigenous Hawai'ians, called *Iwi*
 . *Kūpuna*, under the NAGPRA (»Native American Graves Protection
 . and Repatriation Act«) in museums worldwide for 30 years.
 . According to him, the practice of repatriations is based on
 10 »[an] effective expression of our humanity.« ⁵² This is based,
 . among other things, on the Hawaiian concept of humanity, which
 . looks at care relationships and family ties, including the
 . interdependent spiritual relationship between the living and
 . their ancestors:

15 . *»Hawaiians express who we are as human beings in*
 . *essential ways, including the relationships among*
 . *the living and deceased and the resulting*
 . *kuleana (duty, responsibility, privilege) to*
 20 *provide care for the ancestors in their physical*
 . *and spiritual forms.«* ⁵³

. Refusing people to take responsibility for the Ancestral
 . Remains and thus the possibility of concrete care for their
 25 ancestors means withholding an expression of their humanity from
 . them. Ayau describes this refusal by using arguments of
 . property and the claim to expand the knowledge of mankind as an
 . »expression of intellectual savagery, defined as using one's
 . intellect to deny people their humanity.« ⁵⁴

30 The appropriation of the bones disturbs the reciprocal
 . relationship of the ancestors with the living and this
 . disturbance is continued by keeping the *Iwi Kūpuna* in anthropo-
 . logical collections. The disturbance can be countered
 . by appropriate rituals within repatriation work. From this
 35 perspective, not the human remains have to be rehumanized, which
 . according to *Hui Mālama* were ancestors before, during
 . and after the repatriation, but the handling of them and their
 . descendants by the German institutions.

. Australian Ngarrindjeri Elder Tom Trevorrow explains the
 40 importance of the repatriation of ancestors from the
 . anatomical department of Edinburgh University as follows:

. *»Our belief is that when our people's remains are*
 . *not with their people and in our country, then*
 45 *their spirit is wandering ... Unless they go back*

⁵⁵ Tom Trevororrow quoted after Scobie 2009 in Turnbull 2017, 354

⁵⁶ Tom Trevororrow quoted after Hemming/Wilson 2010 in Turnbull 2017, 5

⁵⁷ Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, Art. 12 No. 2

1 *home, the spirit never rests. These are people*
 . *that we know are uneasy.»* ⁵⁵

.
 . This restlessness of the spiritual entity has a disruptive
 5 *effect not only on the descendants, but also on the country*
 . *and the non-human world, which are connected to one another:*

.
 . *»We know that their spirit has been at unrest. We*
 . *believe that the things that happen around us-our*
 10 *lands and waters-is all connected. It's part of*
 . *it, and what's happening here [in the*
 . *repatriation process] is part of the healing*
 . *process, when we bring our Old People home.»* ⁵⁶

.
 15 In Australia, repatriations are described as processes
 . *of healing and reconciliation, even within official political*
 . *statements.*

20 **2.2.3. The concept of repatriation**

.
 . The issue of repatriation is closely related to the
 . *demand for recognition of colonial rule of injustice and*
 . *indigenous values, territories, authority and rights. In the*
 25 *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*
 . *Act, the »right to the repatriation of their remains« is*
 . *explicitly mentioned. By signing it, the Federal Republic of*
 . *Germany declared that it »shall seek to enable the access*
 . *and/or repatriation of ceremonial objects and human remains in*
 30 *their possession through fair, transparent and effective*
 . *mechanisms developed in conjunction with indigenous peoples*
 . *concerned.»* ⁵⁷

. The term »repatriation«, the retrieval and return of
 . *prisoners of war or civilian prisoners, has also established*
 35 *itself internationally in the museum context. In the educational*
 . *materials developed in Canada, the concept of repatriation is*
 . *summarized as follows:*

.
 . *»Repatriation is the return of cultural property*
 40 *to the originating country, community, family, or*
 . *individual. Some cultural property may have been*
 . *taken from its original owners through illegal*
 . *or unethical ways. Repatriation of cultural*
 . *property is an important part of acknowledging*
 45 *and reconciling the unjust ways that many First*

⁵⁸ Baird, Solanki, und Askren (hrsg.) 2008, 3

⁵⁹ Pickering 2020, 14

⁶⁰ In Germany, the reference to »patria«, that is to say »fatherland«, is sometimes viewed as problematic, among other things. since patriotism is historically linked to the outbreak of two world wars. (See Winkelmann, »Repatriations of human remains from Germany - 1911 to 2019«, 40.)

1 *Nations people were treated in the past. The*
 . *repatriation of cultural property is an*
 . *emotional topic for First Nations people in Canada*
 . *and for Indigenous peoples around the*
 5 *world. Repatriation also has political and legal*
 . *importance and must be understood as part*
 . *of Indigenous peoples 'historical and current*
 . *encounters with colonization and its*
 . *consequences«* ⁵⁸

10 In Australia, the term »unconditional repatriation« is
 . used to make it clear that the descendants or probable
 . ancestral community of the deceased have the power to define how
 . to deal with the remains. Mike Pickering, long time director
 15 of the repatriation program at the National Museum of Australia,
 . writes: »Repatriation is not simply the return of Ancestral
 . Remains. It is also the return of authority over those
 . Ancestral Remains and responsibility for what happens to them in
 . the future. True repatriation must be unconditional.« ⁵⁹

20 The term »repatriation« is also used in the German context ⁶⁰
 . for the repatriation of human remains. However, repatriation is
 . only one possibility in which consensual agreements can be made
 . with relatives about how to deal with the human remains of
 . their ancestors or human remains assigned to them. The better
 25 the documentation or the results of the provenance research
 . and the more precise the identity and thus, for example, the
 . religious affiliation or the details of the appropriation
 . of human remains are known, the easier it is for the relatives
 . to formulate appropriate conditions. Repatriation is not
 30 to be equated with (re-) burial. For example, in the Australian
 . context, where Aboriginal Ancestral Remains are first moved to a
 . national repository in the National Museum, it often takes many
 . more years before reburials can be carried out. The process of
 . finding culturally authorized persons and corresponding
 35 cultural protocols for (re-)burials on the basis of the
 . information available from provenance and repatriation research
 . and oral history can sometimes take a long time. In some cases,
 . authorizations and initiations must first be carried out in the
 . relevant communities.

40 In almost all repatriations, purification and mourning
 . ceremonies or special handover rituals took place, during
 . which addressing the ancestors and rehumanization play a central
 . role. Repatriations are not least of all memory and historical-
 . political processes, as the ethnologist Larissa Förster
 45 states, for example: »It includes national and transnational,

⁶¹ Förster 2013, 444

⁶² Nankela / Silvester 2021, 147

⁶³ Baird, Solanki, und Askren (hrsg.) 2008, 21

1 *cultural, scientific, identity and representation-political*
 . *negotiations.»* ⁶¹

. In response to the current guidelines for dealing with
 . human remains of the *Museumsbund*, the Namibian historian
 5 and museum director, Jeremy Silvester has observed that »*The*
 . *repatriation of human remains is not only important for Namibia,*
 . *but also for Germany. Dealing with the past through 'restorative*
 . *justice' is a central concept of the national revision of*
 . *history, which is shaping current positions on the concept of*
 10 *race and international relations in Germany.»* ⁶²

. Repatriations open a space in the areas of culture and
 . sciences that are often marked as non-political, thus making
 . it clear that these are highly political and interwoven in
 . economic exploitation logics and that they were from the start
 15 (see section 2.3.2).

. Unfortunately, this most important part of the repatriation
 . work, the collection of the ancestors by delegations of
 . relatives and representative representatives, as well as the
 . integration of culturally authorized spiritual experts and
 20 the execution of burials of their ancestral remains, is often
 . poorly supported financially and in terms of infrastructure. The
 . respective museums or appropriation states only rarely bear
 . the costs and it is therefore often a question of economic and
 . social resources whether and when repatriations are
 25 possible. An example is the repatriation of 34 Ancestral Remains
 . of the Haida People from Canada for the repatriation from the
 . *American Museum of Natural History* in 2002: »*The remains*
 . *had been taken from graves in Haida Gwaii between 1897 and 1901*
 . *by anthropologist Charles F. Newcombe. It took the Haida two*
 30 *years to negotiate and fundraise approximately \$50,000 to cover*
 . *the costs of repatriating their ancestors.»* ⁶³

. In the context of repatriations from Germany, corresponding
 . communities also had to raise immense sums in order to be
 . able to carry out the repatriation adequately without the
 35 corresponding institutions or state structures in Germany would
 . have assumed responsibility for this aspect of repatriations.
 . Successful repatriations must also be measured by the extent to
 . which they succeed in supporting the relatives' repatriation
 . work appropriately financially and in terms of infrastructure,
 40 even beyond the official return act.

⁶⁴ see i. e. Okada 2021, 33f

2.2.4. The role of provenance research

One of the ambivalences in repatriation work is the role of scientific research in it, which on the one hand is the cause of and on the other hand, part of the solution to the problem at hand. The large collections of human remains acquired from all over the world against the will of the relatives of the dead and their ancestral communities were created as a result of the development anthropology and ethnology as scientific disciplines (see section 2.3.1 below). Hence repatriation movements are implicitly concerned to stop present-day exploitation of indigenous people as research subjects.⁶⁴

Due to the poor documentation relating to many anthropological collections, provenance research is an essential prerequisite for repatriations. Edward Halealoha Ayau's experience with the organization Hui Mālama I Nā Kūpuna 'O Hawai'i Ne in locating the human remains of the ancestors of indigenous Hawaiians, Iwi Kūpuna, shows the burden and additional effort involved when repatriation research and the search for relatives are not sufficiently supported by the institutions concerned:

»In this regard, one lesson I've learned is whenever you make a repatriation request to a museum, you ask them: What do you have from Hawai'i? And whatever answer they give you, you ask them again: Are you sure that's all you have? Can you look back in your records and your archives and determine whether or not you used to have remains of Hawai'i and you sent is somewhere else? Or professor somebody came to your institution and stayed and took them. You've got to ask the whole range of possible scenarios because a lot of them, if we don't ask them that question, they're not going to answer them even though they might know that's the case. Because we've had repatriation cases with institutions in the US where we've repatriated four times from them because they thought they found them all the first time, the same thing after the second time, third time, fourth time, and in some cases, they found the rest of the remains of someone who we had already reburied. There were situations where it just got worse, worse and worse, but our protocols are designed to acknowledge to our ancestors that we're burdened by what's going on

⁶⁵ From an interview of the author with Edward Halealoha Ayau, 24.02.2020

⁶⁶ For a background understanding of this concept, see for the German-speaking discussion, i.e. Brunner 2020

⁶⁷ Winkelmann 2020, 47

⁶⁸ see Aranui 2018, 39

⁶⁹ see Pickering 2020

1 *and that we need their help, we need their support,*
 . *and in some situations we need their forgiveness*
 . *because we weren't astute enough to know that*
 . *when we did the initial repatriation that some of*
 5 *them were left behind. So it hasn't been easy.»* ⁶⁵

.
 . In the German context, provenance research is increasingly
 . seen as an important aspect of museum work and in the sense
 . of a new, innovative scientific sub-discipline, independent of
 10 specific requests for restitution. In particular when dealing
 . with colonial history, it needs to be borne in mind that it is
 . always a divided history that is incomplete and distorted
 . due to a one-sided perspective and reliance solely on the
 . colonial archive of written and pictorial sources. Especially
 15 against the background of the long history of foreign
 . representation of colonized populations by European science,
 . which in many cases can be described as epistemic violence ⁶⁶,
 . and the continuity of colonial ways of thinking, control
 . and authority over research and the narrative by previously
 20 colonized people is of great importance. Ideally, both
 . repatriation and provenance research should take place in a
 . German context in close exchange with societies of origin
 . or institutions that work together with relatives. Andreas
 . Winkelmann, for example, concludes from the analysis of
 25 previous repatriations from Germany that interdisciplinary
 . and collaborative provenance research is particularly central:

.
 . *»It is important research into the history of*
 . *colonialism. (...) More than guidelines and*
 30 *standardized policies, they may contribute to*
 . *a lived reality of exchange between communities*
 . *independent of, and in addition to, governmental*
 . *efforts—an exchange that may better serve*
 . *one of the central aims of repatriations, that*
 35 *is, reconciliation.»* ⁶⁷

.
 . In the repatriation research for the Karanga Aotearoa
 . Repatriation Program at the New Zealand Museum Te Papa
 . Tongarewa, working together and building relationships with
 40 ancestral communities is an integral part of the museum's
 . philosophy. ⁶⁸

. In the Australian context, repatriation work, for
 . example that of the National Museum of Australia, is described
 . as a service for and with the indigenous population. ⁶⁹
 45 The repatriation of human remains also includes the return of

⁷⁰ see Turnbull 2018a

⁷¹ Turnbull 2018a, 104

⁷² At this point, reference is made to the German-language summaries, including Fründt 2011, 22f; Wesche 2013, 339f; as well as the English-language anthology Meloche, Spake, and Nichols (ed.) 2021

⁷³ Legal text, see online: www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/STATUTE-104/pdf/STATUTE-104-Pg3048.pdf

1 authority over research and the handling of information. To
 . allow indigenous authorities to access and control information
 . and data with a high level of cultural sensitivity, the web
 . resource »Return, Reconcile, Renew« went online in March 2017.
 5 With this platform, new protocols and ethical principles
 . in dealing with digital data archiving were discussed and
 . developed. ⁷⁰

10 2.2.5. Successes of the international repatriation . movements

15 Notably in former European settler colonies, in which
 . national collections and institutions stored the remains
 . of indigenous groups whose members now lived as a minority
 . population in the same country, returns and burials began in the
 . mid-1970s. For the Australian context, Paul Turnbull's
 . quotation makes it clear that the hegemonic becoming visible of
 . this movement was preceded by decades of work and commitment:

20 *»By the mid-1970s, Indigenous Australians had
 . secured sufficient political agency and resources
 . to begin seeking the return of the remains
 . of their Old People from museums and other medico-
 25 scientific collections in an organized fashion.
 . By the early 1990s, community leaders had convinced
 . Australian politicians and policy makers,
 . museum personnel and university-based researchers
 . with interests in human remains to recognize
 30 their right to unconditional repatriation of
 . their ancestors' remains.« ⁷¹*

35 The individual repatriations triggered a rethink in
 . institutions, which led to the development of structures
 . and mechanisms that in turn facilitated further returns such as
 . guidelines, handouts and legal regulations. From country
 . to country very different developments took place, which are
 . described in detail in the specialist literature. ⁷² At this
 . point, only important examples are mentioned. The US »Native
 40 American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act« (⁷³ NAGPRA)
 . of November 16, 1990 was the first law that not only recognized
 . the return of human remains but made it legally binding.
 . The law required publicly funded collections to proactively
 . approach Native American and Native Hawaiian organizations within
 45 a few years to display human remains, funeral objects and/or

⁷⁴ Deutscher Museumsbund (hrsg.) 2018, 65

⁷⁵ see Black/MyCavitt 2021

⁷⁶ see Amber / Mamaku 2021, 95f

⁷⁷ see Pickering 2020, 8f

⁷⁸ Deutscher Museumsbund e.V. 2013, 4.

⁷⁹ The document can be read online at: www.melissaindenile.files.wordpress.com/2020/09/dcms-guidance-for-the-care-of-human-remains-in-museum.pdf

ceremonial objects in their possession. Under the NAGPRA, thousands of human remains, funeral and ceremonial objects have already been returned, but agreements have also been made to keep these in the possession of museums. ⁷⁴

In addition, in the absence of national guidelines, many museums and collections around the world have committed themselves to dealing with human remains in the form of requirements and guidelines. An example is the »Guideline On The Management Of Human Remains in Iziko Collections« (2005) from the *Iziko Museum of Capetown*, South Africa. In the South African context, the concept of the unethical collection practice »unethical collecting« is particularly relevant, which includes the collection of human remains solely for the purpose of race research or without the corresponding consent of known relatives or communities. ⁷⁵

In New Zealand/Aotearoa, the *Te Papa Museum* has participated in the repatriation of Kōiwi tangata (Māori Ancestral Remains) since the 1980s. In 2003, the government of New Zealand/Aotearoa published a cabinet paper officially mandating the museum to take over the repatriation of Kōiwi tangata from international institutions and return them to their communities. In the 2005 directive, the *Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Program*, six principles were agreed upon. Among other things, that the government does not claim ownership of the Kōiwi tangata and its role is one of facilitation, relief, of repatriations, which must take place with the participation of Māori and Moriori. ⁷⁶

In Australia, the repatriation of the Ancestral Remains of Aboriginal People and Torres-Strait-Islander at home and abroad has been an important task for Australian indigenous communities and institutions in the museum sector and cultural policy since the 1980s. National political support followed the philosophy and practice developed from repatriation work. ⁷⁷

Government-sponsored research in Australia and the Australian government's commitment to assist in the repatriation of the ancestors of the indigenous peoples have driven developments in Europe. In a joint declaration of Great Britain and Australia in 2000, the legality of some indigenous claims was recognized. ⁷⁸ As a result, an inventory and hearings took place, which resulted in general standards and guidelines for the handling of human remains in museums and collections in the »Guidance for the Care of Human Remains resulted in the Museum of the Department for Culture, Media and Sport«. ⁷⁹

In Germany, too, the work of the Australian embassy supported the development of how to deal with human remains from colonial

⁸⁰ see Howes 2020, 86

⁸¹ see Winkelmann 2020

⁸² Stoecker, Schnalke, und Winkelmann (ed.) 2013

⁸³ see isd-admin 2014

1 contexts. In 2003, for example, collection institutions in Germany
 . were contacted for information, and the agreement on the
 . repatriation of the human remains of the Aboriginal people and
 . the Torres Strait Islander to Australia in November 2008
 5 between the chairman of the *Charité* board and the then Australian
 . ambassador preceded the *Charité*'s pioneering research and
 . repatriation project. ⁸⁰

10 2.3. Background: Developments . in Germany . 2.3.1. Repatriations from Germany

15 . The slow processing of its own colonial history is the
 . main reason why Germany started comparatively late to deal
 . with the repatriation of human remains of indigenous groups. In
 . addition to repatriation requests from outside Germany, it
 20 took decades of immigrant, diasporic, Black and post-colonial
 . civil society interventions to create understanding, public
 . opinion, and political pressure before those responsible for the
 . collection and political decision-makers turned to the topic
 . (see section 2.2.1).

25 . Despite the immense number of human remains from colonial
 . contexts in Germany, there have so far only been a few
 . repatriations. Human remains were returned to Tanzania by the
 . *Überseemuseum Bremen* in 1954 and to New Zealand/Aotearoa in
 . 2006 and 2017. However, it was the repatriations of the *Charité*
 30 project to Namibia (2011 and 2014), Paraguay (2012) and
 . Australia (2013 and 2014) ⁸¹ that raised the issue of scientific,
 . state and public awareness. The conference and the anthology
 . »Sammeln, Erforschen, Zurückgeben?« ⁸² served as a stimulus for an
 . intensified discussion in museum and scientific circles.

35 . The returns to Namibia in particular sparked outrage about
 . the way German institutions dealt with the sensitive issue
 . of the repatriation of human remains. Namibians and a
 . critical German and international public were angry and
 . disappointed about the lack of adequate state participation with
 40 the recognition of the genocide. The fact that the respective
 . descendants and the Nama and OvaHerero organizations
 . representing them were not invited, especially during the second
 . repatriation, even though the bones were shipped to Germany
 . immediately after the genocide of the Nama and OvaHerero by the
 45 Germans, met with particular criticism. ⁸³ The example of Namibia

84 Howes 2020, 93f

1 shows that repatriations are not only a matter for the
 . respective institutions, as has often been argued in the German
 . context, but also require a fundamental political positioning.
 . The historian Hilary Howes notes that between 2011
 5 and 2015 there was a clear change of awareness. During this
 . time, Howes worked as assistant to the Australian Ambassador in
 . Berlin and, among other things, responsible for a preliminary
 . provenance research to find ancestors of the Australian
 . Aboriginal people in German institutions. After considering the
 10 developments in Germany over the past few years, Hilary Howes
 . comes to the following conclusion:

. »Germany is beginning to engage in a sustained
 . and serious way with questions of repatriation as
 15 it relates to the country's colonial past.
 . Although more recent aspects of Germany's history
 . continue to dominate political and public
 . discourse, awareness of repatriation is growing
 . amongst representatives of German collecting
 20 institutions. This growing awareness, combined
 . with increasing pressure from foreign government
 . representatives and civil society initiatives,
 . has led such institutions to develop relevant
 . policies and guidelines, undertake provenance
 25 research, and, in a few cases, repatriate human
 . remains to their communities of origin.« 84

30 2.3.2. Case study: Rehumanization for repatriation in Saxony

. Requests for the return of Ancestral Remains question
 . confront difficulties in implementation, including historical
 . continuities in ontological, epistemic, administrative, legal,
 35 domestic and foreign policy-making that have yet to be wholly
 . decolonized. In the conclusion of an anthology on repatriation
 . processes and anthropological research in recognition of the
 . authority of the descendants worldwide, Ann Kakaliouras writes:

40 »Lastly, we all know that repatriation is a
 . complex and difficult process, as every
 . single contribution to this volume shows. (...)
 . Worse, the intellectual and actual frameworks
 . that support colonial projects around the world
 45 are frequently still in place, so that decolonizing

⁸⁵ Kakaliouras 2021, 292

⁸⁶ see Förster 2020, 118

⁸⁷ see Ayau 2020, 76

⁸⁸ see Ayau / Keeler 2017

1 *work, whether it be repatriation or other forms*
 . *of restitution, must run up against the*
 . *very structures that enabled the original*
 . *dispossession and appropriation.» ⁸⁵*

5
 . The first repatriation of human remains from colonial
 . contexts from Saxony in 2017, and the first that was explicitly
 . carried out in Germany under the concept of »rehumanization«,
 . is an example of the difficulty and complexity in the German
 10 context. ⁸⁶ The following are findings of the author from the
 . analysis of the process the rehumanization, which was
 . obtained through expert interviews in 2020 with key actors.

 Last but not least, addressing publicly the frustrating and
 . protracted work of the *Hawaiian organization Hui Mālama*
 15 *I Nā Kūpuna 'O Hawai'i Ne* was important. For 26 years, the
 . organization kept writing letters to the *Dresden Völkerkunde-*
 . *museum*, ⁸⁷ which either went unanswered, or met with rejection
 . and refusal to discuss the issue further, citing the museum's
 . legal obligation to preserve and administer the property
 20 of the Free State of Saxony. ⁸⁸

 The concept of rehumanization created a way within the
 . rule of law to be able to apply ethical and moral principles
 . in relation to the *Iwi Kūpuna* (name of the Ancestral Remains from
 . Hawai'i), who had been in storage for over 100 years. This
 25 made it possible for the actors to apply human rights in the basic
 . law and to detach the ancestral remains from the state
 . property of the Free State of Saxony and thus from the status of
 . the cultural asset.

 To initiate the process of return, and thus also of
 30 rehumanization, an ontological rethinking on the part of
 . the museum management and the relevant curator Birgit Scheps-
 . Bretschneider was required. The well-documented background
 . of the deliberate stealing of the skulls of revered and
 . significant personalities from a grave cave against the will of
 35 the islanders could be demonstrated by the collaborative
 . provenance research that was initiated. With this, the reclaim
 . for decision-makers was recognized as scientifically justified.
 . Since the Free State of Saxony was seen as the legal »owner«
 . of the »cultural assets«, the matter was brought to
 40 the responsible minister. Furthermore, a legal basis for the
 . repatriation was necessary. As a result the museum was asked to
 . assign a monetary value to the human remains as »property«,
 . which of course undermined their right to human dignity.
 . The scientific value of the remains also had to be assessed,
 45 which required confirmation from a leading researcher at a

⁸⁹ Rassool, 2017, 65

1 research institute of evolutionary anthropology that the bones
. would no longer be used for scientific and ethical reasons.
. Furthermore, it is questionable whether the repatriation
. would have taken place without the consent of the National
5 Foreign Office and the cooperation with the national government
. of the country of origin. In the case of Hawaii, the *Native
American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA)*, drawn
. up in the 1990s, clarified the great potential for conflict
. regarding the question of the authorized contact person in the
10 tension between the country of origin and the community of
. origin. Through many other smaller and larger bureaucratic
. obstacles, such as matters of insurance, customs and images in
. databases, the *Iwi Kūpuna* were repeatedly addressed as
. objects and thus the principle of rehumanization was undermined.
15 With the appropriation of the bones, the reciprocal
. relationship of the ancestors with the living was disturbed,
. which, as mentioned above, represent a central reason for the
. repatriation efforts in Hawaii (see section 2.2.2). In this sense,
. the return is not a reparation or a progressive moment, but
20 initially only the end of the coloniality of active retention.
. The process of rehumanization in Saxony is to be seen as
. a transformation process in the context of dealing with the
. »colonial legacy«, the continuity of the structures that i.e.
. declare ancestral remains as possession and thereby negate
25 and exclude other forms of attachment. Ultimately, however, the
. Saxon process remained within the framework of post- and
. non-decolonial institutional, nation-state and public-law
. structures. This shows that repatriations have a decolonizing
. as well as (re-) colonizing potential and that not only
30 the return itself is decisive, but also the way in which it is
. implemented.
. In analyzing the debates in Germany, the South African
. historian Ciraj Rassool draws critical attention to the
. fact that in Germany colonialism is often still understood as a
35 purely historically datable event: »There needs to be a deeper
. appreciation of how categories, institutions and disciplinary
. formations may be marked by coloniality, even long after
. colonialism's end.« ⁸⁹ In this sense, the active insistence on
. the many smaller and larger aspects in the process of
40 »rehumanization« in this case enabled colonial continuities to
. be made visible and negotiable and an ontological rethinking to
. become the core of the process for the German side. The then
. Saxon Minister for Science and Art Eva-Maria Stange said in her
. speech on October 22, 2017:

⁹⁰ Here taken from the film by Clara Wieck »Wir reden hier über Menschen« (2018), seen at the exhibition Prolog of the Grassi Museum Leipzig, 2020

⁹¹ see Kenzler 2017

⁹² see Deutscher Museumsbund e.V. (hrsg.) 2021, 19

1 *»Human bones from all continents (...) acquired*
 . *in the 19th and 20th centuries, mostly through*
 . *robbery, grave plundering or in the course of*
 . *colonial acts of war, became scientific objects*
 5 *here. Today, after more than 100 years, we look at*
 . *these collections from a different perspective.*
 . *They are, we can finally say, 'rehumanized'. For us*
 . *it is no longer about objects. They are human*
 . *remains.«* ⁹⁰

10 For the descendants, the Iwi Kūpuna were never objects
 . and accordingly did not have to be »rehumanized«. Rather, the
 . »rehumanization« concerned the ways of thinking and structures
 . within the Saxon and Federal German institutions, which
 15 continued the objectification of human bones even during the
 . process of repatriation. In the process of rehumanization
 . in Saxony, all decision-makers involved in the interviews
 . accordingly spoke of a significant learning process, emotional
 . participation and an intensive experience of »rethinking«.
 20 The commitment paved the way for further repatriations of human
 . remains from colonial contexts from Saxony, to Australia in
 . 2019 and presumably to New Zealand/Aotearoa in 2022– with the
 . participation of relatives. Moreover, the experiences from this
 . first repatriation from Saxony flowed into the Conference
 25 of Ministers of Education, from which the key issues paper on
 . handling collection items from colonial contexts emerged
 . and, for the first time, the general political will to repatriate
 . human remains from colonial contexts was declared.

30 **2.3.3. Key points, guidelines and research . funding in Germany**

35 What is specific about the handling of returns and
 . colonial or post-colonial provenance research in the German-
 . speaking context is that it developed along the lines
 . of developments and sensitivities surrounding the handling of
 . looted art in the context of National Socialism, which
 . accompanied the expropriation and destruction of Jewish life. ⁹¹
 40 In this context the great role of the ethical and moral
 . category of the »context of injustice« is to be understood in
 . the German-speaking context, from which returns are also
 . legitimized from colonial contexts. ⁹²

45 International developments also influenced the basic
 . orientation of the handling of human remains from colonial contexts

⁹³ see Deutscher Museumsbund e.V. (hrsg.) 2013, 4f

⁹⁴ see Turnbull 2018b, 185

⁹⁵ Förster und Fründt (ed.) 2017

⁹⁶ see i.a. Turnbull und Pickering (ed.) 2010; Fforde i.e. 2020; Pickering 2020

⁹⁷ i.e. Aranui 2018 ; Aranui 2020

⁹⁸ see i.e. Legassick/Rassool 2015; Rassool 2015; Black/MyCavitt 2021

⁹⁹ Deutscher Museumsbund e.V. 2021b, 23

1 in Germany. The recommendations for dealing with human remains
 . in museums and collections (2013) were initially based on the
 . British Guidance for the Care of Human Remains in Museums of
 . 2005, according to which every institution should develop
 5 a way of dealing with it on its own responsibility. ⁹³

. Furthermore, the long-standing collaboration between
 . German and Australian museum experts and researchers on dealing
 . with the ancestral remains of Aboriginal people had a major
 . influence on the debate. ⁹⁴ Shortly after the recommendations of
 10 the *Museumsbund* were published, the fact that the
 . recommendations do not question Eurocentric assumptions and do
 . not point beyond internationally established agreements was
 . criticized in an international workshop organized by Larissa
 . Förster and Sarah Fründt. ⁹⁵ Germany can draw on the knowledge,
 15 experience and networks of over 30 years of repatriation
 . efforts in other countries, e.g. from Australia ⁹⁶, New Zealand/
 . Aotearoa ⁹⁷ and South Africa. ⁹⁸

. In 2019, the federal state ministers as well as the
 . culture ministers of the federal states and municipal umbrella
 20 organizations adopted the »Ersten Eckpunkte zum Umgang mit
 . *Sammlungsgut aus kolonialen Kontexten*« (First key points for
 . dealing with collections from colonial contexts). Thereby,
 . the political will was declared to prioritize the processing of
 . human remains from colonial contexts and to create the
 25 conditions for repatriation. A corresponding legal basis was
 . and is not yet available or announced. The revision of the
 . recommendations of the *Deutscher Museumsbund* (DMB) on how to
 . deal with human remains in 2021 does not endorse unconditional
 . returns but recommends possible returns on the basis of
 30 fully established provenance in individual cases and verifiable
 . evidence of remains being acquired in contexts of injustice.
 . However, the existence of injustice in acquisition is not
 . considered a mandatory prerequisite for repatriation. As the
 . guidelines note: »... a return can also be considered at the
 35 same time without ascertaining an injustice context, for example
 . in order to recognize that the human remains or the objects
 . containing them are for those who wish to be returned by are of
 . particular importance.« ⁹⁹

. Based on the Kultusministerkonferenz (Standing Conference
 40 of Ministers of Culture and Education) in 2018, the publication
 . of the key points paper was prepared and a *Bund-Länder-AG*
 . (federal-state working group) »Dealing with Collection Items
 . from Colonial Contexts« was set up, in which several
 . central associations, the Foreign Office and the federal states'
 45 ministers of culture are organized. These are the central

¹⁰⁰ see Website der Kontaktstelle: www.cp3c.de

¹⁰¹ see Bund-Länder AG 2019, 2

¹⁰² www.kulturstiftung.de/aufakt-zur-umfassenden-digitalen-veroeffentlichung-von-sammlungsgut-aus-kolonialen-kontexten-in-deutschland/

¹⁰³ see Bund-Länder-AG 2020, 2; however, information on human remains was already published in November 2021, after criticism of the presentation (e.g. without disclaimer and using uncommented colonial-racist terms) removed again after a few days. See e.g. the statement of the Colonial Contexts Network: www.evifa.de/de/ueber-uns/fd-projects/network-colonial-contexts

¹⁰⁴ see Deutscher Bundestag 2019, 6

¹⁰⁵ In my opinion, the considerable differences between West and East Germany when it comes to addressing colonialism are less important in the case of a self-reflective discussion of the topic, since the GDR explicitly saw itself as anti-imperialist and therefore dealing with its own colonial history was not so central.

1 control and supervisory body for the contact point for collections
 . from colonial contexts in Germany, which was set up on October 16,
 . 2019. ¹⁰⁰ It should be the point of contact for communities and
 . countries of origin and also receive inquiries about human
 5 remains. It is obliged to provide information to the *Bund-Länder AG*
 . and the responsible authorities in the federal, state, and local
 . governments are to be involved in requests for return. ¹⁰¹ In
 . addition, it is commissioned to implement the so-called »3-way
 . strategy«, with the goal of setting up a central register for
 10 collected items from colonial contexts in German institutions.
 . On November, 30th, 2021, selected data sets on colonial
 . collections from 25 institutions were published, in the *Deutsche*
 . *Digitale Bibliothek* (German Digital Library). ¹⁰² In the
 . next step, the form of digital recording of human remains from
 15 colonial contexts is to be examined and developed in
 . cooperation with the countries and societies of origin. ¹⁰³
 . The institutionalization of colonial provenance research
 . was able to connect to the institutions and networks of
 . Nazi provenance research. To support these research projects,
 20 the *Deutsches Zentrum Kulturgutverluste DZK*) has set up
 . a research and funding area in 2018, and from 2019 a department
 . for cultural and collection items from colonial contexts
 . with four positions and additional funds of 2 million euros. ¹⁰⁴
 . Provenance research on human remains from colonial
 25 contexts is given particular urgency in funding decisions.

2.4. Background: Colonial Contexts

2.4.1. On the term and focus on »colonial contexts«

35 It is characteristic of the long-neglected confrontation
 . with colonial history in Germany that an understanding of
 . the historical context and recognition of the topicality of the
 . topic in the hegemonic discourse of recent years has emerged,
 . not least in the debates about the specific restitution of
 40 cultural goods and repatriation of human remains. It was only in
 . these discourses that long ignored and rejected perspectives
 . from those affected and scientists from the former colonies were
 . increasingly heard, also in the German context. ¹⁰⁵ Concrete
 . provenance research on collection items from colonial contexts
 45 was given the task of fundamentally addressing colonial history

¹⁰⁶ Osterhammel 2012, p. 33

¹⁰⁷ Deutscher Museumsbund (ed.) 2021, 27

¹⁰⁸ ibid. 2021, 25

1 and providing information on the more general understanding of
. »colonial contexts«.

. In order to understand why the term colonial context
. encompasses far more than the direct acts of official colonial
5 administration, it must first be considered that the more than
. 500-year colonial history is characterized by »the spatial
. diversity, the extraordinary diversity of colonized cultures,
. the plurality of colonial powers like the forms of rule and
. colony, the distances and shifts between cores and margins« ¹⁰⁶.

10 Scientific development, missionary work and economic
. influence are aspects that established and accompanied formal
. colonial rule.

. The German museums were often caught unprepared by the
. demands made towards Germany to face up to their colonial
15 past, which is why the *Deutscher Museumsbund* in 2018 wrote a
. »Guide on how to deal with collections from colonial contexts«.
. The definition of the term »colonial context« in this
. guide, which was revised in 2021, is also a point of reference
. for this report:

20 . »Colonial contexts in the sense of this guideline
. are initially understood to mean circumstances
. and processes that have their roots either
. in formal colonial rule or in colonial structures
25 outside of formal colonial rule. In such times,
. structures with a large imbalance in power
. politics can arise both between and within states
. or other political units, from which networks and
. practices have emerged that have also supported
30 collecting and procurement practices for European
. museums (see p 107).« ¹⁰⁷ Colonialism also
. had a massive impact on colonizing societies,
. which is why the term »colonial contexts« should
. be understood further: »Under 'colonial' is
35 to be understood the real practice of domination,
. but also ideologies, discourses (including
. racial discourses), systems of knowledge,
. aesthetics and perspectives [are understood] that
. preceded formal and real domination, supported
40 it and secured it, and were able to have an impact
. beyond it.« ¹⁰⁸

. The definition of colonial contexts, the assignment in
. individual cases and the evaluation of certain contexts as
45 contexts of injustice is an ongoing and ongoing discussion. For

¹⁰⁹ Deutscher Museumsbund e.V. (ed.) 2021, 72

¹¹⁰ Schaaffhausen 1877

1 the question of the classification of human remains in the
. category »from colonial contexts« there is so far no guideline.
. The guide to human remains, also published by the *Deutscher*
. *Museumsbund* is mainly geared towards the concept of the »context
5 of injustice«. The exchange on the coloniality of Latin
. American, Egyptian and Near Eastern collections of human remains,
. which are addressed in the specialist discipline as
. archaeological collections, is still at the beginning of an
. action-guiding understanding:

10
. *»Due to the distant temporal reference of*
. *archaeological human remains to people living*
. *today, an ethical and moral discussion*
. *about handling and presentation in Europe, but*
15 *also in some non-European countries, has*
. *hardly been conducted so far.»* ¹⁰⁹

. In the context of the present report, for reasons of
. capacity, this vacancy is not addressed with a further
20 discussion and positioning, although the assignment of these
. collections to the category »colonial contexts« would
. significantly influence the result of the inventory. The same
. applies to collections of human remains from Eastern Europe.

. The focus of the inventory on human remains from colonial
25 contexts and non-human remains per se results solely from the
. demands for restitution, with which previously colonized groups
. of people and countries forced today's descendants and
. successors in institutions of the former colonial powers to
. grapple with their own collection history.

30 For former colonizers, this dispute is a long overdue
. addition to a Eurocentric and colonial tradition of their
. own history. In addition, it opens up access to further aspects
. and gaps in the social and scientific public with regard
. to the history and significance of the collections.

35 The limitation to human remains from colonial contexts is
. not congruent with injustice contexts and therefore does not
. convey the complex and intersectional relationships of power and
. inequality that also pervade the European metropolises.
. So far there does not seem to have been a larger public who
40 takes offense at the collections of human remains of European
. origin and demands a processing of the collection history
. of human remains from the end of the 19th century, which often
. came from hospitals and penal institutions and were labeled
. »Swiss woman«, »Swede« or with »mentally ill«, »robber«, »child
45 murderer« were inventoried. ¹¹⁰

¹¹¹ see Stoecker/Schnalke/Winkelmann 2013, 9

¹¹² see Scheps-Bretschneider 2018, 53

¹¹³ see ie. Benninghoff-Lühl/Joch 2004, 280

¹¹⁴ Sarr und Savoy, Zurückgeben, 27.

¹¹⁵ see Förster i. a. 2018

2.4.2. Appropriations in colonial contexts

A more intensive examination of the anthropological history of the collection, in particular against the colonial-historical background of this time, was only initiated in Germany by indigenous and political representatives' demands for the return of mortal remains. ¹¹¹

The body parts of non-European people were appropriated under different conditions, but the majority in German collections were acquired in circumstances where colonial influence has already intervened in the sovereignty, control and self-determination of the autochthonous peoples. There was a downright trade with human remains. ¹¹² Almost all German travelers, missionaries, soldiers and merchants were advised to »collect« for scientific purposes. In 1872, for example, the *BGAEU* suggested how and what should be »collected across the globe«. For example, all marines under Admiral von Stosch, the head of the Imperial Navy, received instructions that also included the »collecting« of human remains. ¹¹³ In the majority of cases, the »collection« of human remains from colonial contexts involved robbery and plundering of graves.

The practice of »collecting«, of appropriation, was an integral part of many research expeditions, military campaigns of conquest and so-called punitive expeditions by all European colonial powers during the 19th century. We find that the appropriation of cultural objects and human remains was expressed in advance through »wish lists« of objects and the accompaniment of the armies by experts »was more like a deliberate theft than a military looting in the narrower sense«. ¹¹⁴

From the beginning of German colonization, appropriation and robbery were part of the colonial exploitation and the system of domination. In training centers such as the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen* in Berlin, and the *Kolonialschule Witzenhausen*, young travelers were taught how to increase the collections in Germany. Publications such as the »*Deutsches Kolonialblatt*« or the »*Deutsch-Ostafrika-Zeitung*« published news about collection successes and shipments to Germany.

By the second half of the 19th century the flow of raw materials from colonial possessions included anthropometric data and actual skeletal material where it could be acquired. ¹¹⁵ Paul Turnbull states for the German context that

»...between 1860 and 1914, a disturbing symbiotic relationship existed between German scientific and colonial ambitions, which saw the collecting of

⁴⁴⁶ Turnbull 2018b, 160

⁴⁴⁷ see Sächsisches Staatsarchiv; Akte 11125 No 10273_6

⁴⁴⁸ Kaiser 2018, 27

⁴⁴⁹ see ibid.

⁴²⁰ see ibid, 17

1 *the bodily remains of local subject peoples by*
 . *plundering their burial places, by the dissection*
 . *of corpses in colonial prisons and hospitals,*
 . *and, in a number of recorded instances, by*
 5 *dismembering the bodies of men and women killed by*
 . *colonial military forces.»* ⁴⁴⁶

2.4.3. Collecting as a national project

10 With the Federal Council resolution of February 21, 1889,
 . there was regulation of the »treatment and distribution of
 . scientific and ethnographic collections from the colonies, such
 . as those from expeditions equipped by the Reich or from officers
 15 and officials from the Schutzgebiete (protected areas)«. ⁴⁴⁷

 The bundles which arrived in Berlin from expeditions or
 . sent by colonial officials from 1891 onwards – in some instances
 . openly labeled as spoils of war—were sent for evaluation and
 . preservation by the city's three leading scientific institutions:
 20 the *Botanisches Museum*, the *Naturkundemuseum* and the *Museum*
 . *für Völkerkunde*.

 The historian Katja Kaiser observes of historical sources
 . detailing discussions between the Colonial Department of the
 . Foreign Office, the Prussian Cultural Ministry, and these Berlin
 25 museums, that scientific research, economic and strategic
 . political interests were inextricably linked. The museums were
 . seen as playing a vital part in educating the German public
 . in knowledge of the Reich's colonial possessions and their
 . contribution to national advancement. Kaiser writes that »*The*
 30 *three Berlin museums established themselves as colonial*
 . *archives as well as places of production and imparting knowledge*
 . *about the colonies, as a repository of materials and as*
 . *knowledge stores.*« ⁴⁴⁸

 In addition, minerals were given to the geologische
 35 Landesanstalt in Berlin and fossils also came to the Berliner
 . Paläontologisches Institut. ⁴⁴⁹

 Berlin institutions were responsible for distributing
 . the duplicates (objects or bones of which there were already
 . copies in the Berlin museums) to other institutions in other
 40 federal states and were supposed to compile registers. ⁴²⁰ The
 . criticism about the »favoring« of the Berlin museums at
 . that time from »circles of the scientific and ethnographic museum
 . administrations of the German federal states as well as those
 . of the heads of the German university collections« was dealt with
 45 at the level of the colonial administration and the *Königliche*

¹²¹ see Sächsisches Staatsarchiv; Akte 11125 No 10273_6

¹²² see *ibid.*

1 *Ministerien des Innern und Äußern der Bundesländer*
 . (Royal Ministries of the Interior and Exterior of the federal
 . states). ¹²¹ Ultimately, the privilege of collecting institutions
 . in the capital was formally replaced through a share in the
 5 »yield« proportionately of the share in the financial resources
 . of the expeditions. In the discussions,
 . it was often emphasized that above all, it was important not to
 . slow down the collecting zeal of German officials and
 . travelers. ¹²²

10 The decision of the *Bundesrat* makes it clear that the
 . collections were the expression of a national project that
 . was to establish Berlin as the capital and Germany within the
 . European colonial powers. Against this background, the
 . collection histories of the Berlin museums and archives are to
 15 be viewed as simultaneous, interrelated developments. The fact
 . of international and interdisciplinary collection practice
 . must also be reflected in a transnational and interdisciplinary
 . approach if the potential contained therein for additions,
 . access to sources and synergies is to be used.

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2.4.4. Understanding and conveying »colonial contexts«

25 A sensitive and racism-critical approach is necessary,
 . which addresses the violent history of the colonial practice
 . of appropriating human remains for the purpose of anthropological
 . or race research on the one hand and the associated and
 . interwoven broader colonial backgrounds and developments on the
 30 other hand, so that people will not be re-traumatized, and
 . racism is not reproduced. A focus on psychological and emotional
 . coping should be planned as part of the work-through from the
 . start.

. It is crucial that the relevant collection institutions
 35 are sensitized to colonial history when dealing with reclaimed
 . human remains and undertake a self-critical positioning
 . in post-colonial power relations in order to cease the colonial
 . practice. To this day, relatives or supporting persons
 . and institutions first have to do basic awareness-raising and
 40 mediation work in order to be able to persuade those responsible
 . to cooperate appropriately. The experience in the decades
 . of repatriation work of the Haida, from that of the Haida Gwaii
 . archipelago off the coast of the Canadian state of British
 . Columbia, is an example of the great amount of educational work
 45 to enable the repatriation of their ancestors from various

¹²³ Read up on the website of the Skidegate Repatriation& Cultural Committee :
www.repatriation.ca/Pages/Our%20Learning.html

1 museums in different countries:

.
. *»One of our bigger challenges has been gaining the*
. *trust and participation of a museum in the*
5 *early stages of the repatriation process. By being*
. *diplomatic, patient and persistent, we have*
. *found that our efforts to explain our culture and*
. *our history have been successful. (...) We include*
. *museum staff in our work and ceremonies*
10 *where appropriate and together we build and foster*
. *relationships. By the end of each repatriation,*
. *the employees of the museum are always so thrilled*
. *to have been a part of the process and you can*
. *see they understand and are involved from their*
15 *hearts.»* ¹²³

.
. This additional work of the repatriation practitioners
. and their supporters is often taken for granted, underestimated,
. in some cases appropriated and – if at all – paid less than
20 the repatriation work of local provenance researchers and museum
. employees.

. Rather, indigenous communities often still must finance
. necessary aspects of repatriation. Delegations for collection in
. Germany do not receive any money after repatriation from German
25 cultural or political institutions to carry out the (re) burial.
. The society of origin must be able to afford repatriations if they
. want to carry them out adequately.

. This situation neglects that fact that former colonial
. powers are dependent on cooperation with relatives or communities
30 wanting to rebury their dead if they want to understand
. and address responsibly the legacies of their past ambitions.
. Moreover, it needs to be recognized that indigenous groups
. or identified communities of origin may not want to enter into
. cooperation, or are not interested in making a decision on
35 how to decide the fate of remains without the consent of their
. descendants. Intra-familial or communal internal negotiations
. and authorization processes may be complex and lengthy,
. and this must be accepted.

. In addition to the challenges that repatriation entails,
40 it also offers the opportunity to advance educational initiatives
. that generate a critical understanding of the complexity of
. colonial history and counteracting its possible continuities,
. while also commemorating those whose remains were denied their
. right to burial in accordance with their cultural traditions.
45 The support and financing of processing and coping processes and

⁴²⁴ see Kunze et al 2019

⁴²⁵ Taylor 2020

⁴²⁶ see i.e. Yu 2019

1 commemoration in artistic and mediating formats should
. ideally be planned from the beginning as part of the processing.
. Two examples are given here that show how the information
. from provenance research or repatriation research (archival
5 evidence, anthropological results and oral historiography) can
. be used to commemorate well-known personalities and unknown
. people, whose bones were shipped to Germany in order to be used
. for racial research. The first is the exhibition by Konradin
. Kunze and Sarita Mamseri, which complements the German colonial
10 history, which has so far been little communicated in Germany,
. with local resistance history in today's Tanzania. From
. the provenance research by supporters of Isaria Meli's return
. application for the remains of his grandfather Mangi Meli
. (see section 2.2.1), both written and oral evidence were
15 processed in an exhibition that is being held in Berlin, Dar es
. Salaam and now as a permanent exhibition in Moshi can be
. seen at the location where the assassination and subsequent
. appropriation of the skull took place. ⁴²⁴ Precisely because the
. head of Mangi Meli has still not been returned, the organizers
20 of the exhibition wanted to at least return information on the
. divided history from German archives. ⁴²⁵
. As a second example for using information from
. provenance research to create a public place for learning and
. remembrance, the *Nyamba Buru Yawuru* (NBY) organization in
25 Australia is working with the Gwarinman Memorial Area project
. to set up a memorial for the abducted ancestors. ⁴²⁶ The
. project is named after the warrior Gwarinman, whose skull will
. be repatriated from the *Natural History Museum* in London
. after intensive repatriation work. The Broome Cemetery will be
30 a place for the burial of the ancestors of the Yawuru and
. Karajarri who were repatriated to Australia or whose remains are
. still stored in scientific facilities. There will also be
. an exhibition that tells of the fate of the people and uses their
. experiences as a lens through which to understand the
35 colonial history of Broome and its place in colonial economic and
. scientific history.
. The 14 Yawuru and Karajarri men, women and children who
. have already been repatriated from Dresden in 2019, are also
. to be buried here and their life stories remembered. The handover
40 of the relevant documents of provenance research by the
. Saxon institution was part of the repatriation, which is also
. described by the term: »Restitution of knowledge«. In the joint
. processing of this information with Yawuru Elders about the
. deceased, whose traumatic experiences of violence were visible
45 on the bones, several strands of the history of colonial

¹²⁷ see ibid

¹²⁸ Yu 2019, 4

¹²⁹ see website of the artist www.jalaru.com/collect/

1 encounters could be shed light on.¹²⁷ The events were classified
 . within the regional colonial history dating back to the first
 . violent clashes, which the Yawuru and their Karajarri neighbors
 . remember in oral tradition. This also shed new light on the
 5 marginalized and dark side of pearl fishing, which was hidden
 . both in Germany and Australia and which led to the enslavement
 . of the Aboriginal people. Sarah Yu writes: *»There were no
 . documentary accounts of so many young Aboriginal men and women
 . being killed and then buried but their remains tell this part
 10 of the story that has been left out of the archives.«* Ancestors
 . from Dresden and other museums has the goal: *»sharing of their
 . stories so that the traumatic truth of the colonial encounter is
 . (re) told from a Yawuru perspective.«*¹²⁸

. The picture *»the soul within«* by the Djugan und Yawaru
 15 artist Michael Jalaru Torres (see chapter 1.1) was created in
 . the context of the return from Dresden. Reference should be made
 . at this point to a second image from the *»Collect«* series.
 . This is titled *»Black Pearl«* and shows the face of a black woman
 . painted in black from the side. She closed her eyes and mouth.
 20 In the background, a black veil flows around her shoulders
 . and around a red headscarf. The woman's earrings with a small
 . and a large white pearl fall over this ornamented fabric.
 . *»The white pearl has evolved over time of its value and
 . importance but only today has the black pearl been valued«,* so
 25 the subtitle.¹²⁹

. Just as invisible as the people whose body parts have
 . been turned into scientific preparations are the traumatizing and
 . violent living and working conditions of those who were
 . forced to exploit their own land for the profit of international
 30 companies behind the pearl, as a status symbol and commercial
 . object. The connection through colonial history between
 . Yawuru and people in Germany such as the Saxons, to whose state
 . ownership the bones belonged for a long time, goes beyond
 . the processing of anthropological research and also includes the
 35 international production and trade relations of colonial goods.

. The planned exhibition of the Gwarinman memorial area
 . in the land where the taking of remains occurred, in this case
 . Saxony, can stimulate an interest in the region's history and
 . an understanding of colonial contexts. Museums and universities
 40 possessing collections of remains likewise have an educational
 . mandate. In the coalition agreement of 2018, the colonial
 . era was named for the first time as one of the central themes of
 . the culture of remembrance in Germany.

. Beyond provenance research, there has so far been limited
 45 reappraisal and remembrance of Berlin-based racial research of

¹³⁰ see Deutscher Bundestag 2019, 8

¹³¹ From the announcement of June 11, 2021 on the BMBF website: www.bmbf.de/bmbf/shareddocs/bekanntmachungen/de/2021/06/3675_bekanntmachung

¹³² Kilomba 2010, 26

1 the 19th and early 20th centuries which highlights and
 . acknowledges its connections with past colonial ambitions. Two
 . years ago, the federal government stated that it was neither
 . aware of nor had initiated research and educational projects
 5 dealing with »racial anthropological research«. ¹³⁰ In the summer
 . of 2021, as a result of social pressure and in response to the
 . racist-motivated attacks in Hanau and Halle, the Federal
 . Ministry of Education and Research issued a funding guideline
 . on current and historical dynamics of right-wing extremism and
 10 racism. In the announcement, the Ministry states that »research
 . on racism has so far been selective and scattered. (...) However,
 . historical research into right-wing extremism and racism in
 . Germany and Europe is of great importance in order to be able to
 . critically question current social power relations, cultures
 15 of remembrance and knowledge production.« ¹³¹ Research on racism
 . and thus also addressing the history of scientific racism
 . is a general task for society as a whole to combat it of current
 . forms of racism.

For this reason alone it is appropriate for people and
 20 institutions in Germany to support the sustainable financing
 . of projects to deal with, cope with and remember the colonial
 . legacy with a view to the future, such as the examples mentioned
 . above. Financial and infrastructural support for those
 . affected and public support for repatriations alone are no
 25 guarantee of progress in decolonization and, from a decolonial
 . perspective, are not sufficient. Leaving representatives of
 . communities of origin to deal with the emotional, mediating and
 . caring work alone would correspond to the continuation
 . of a patriarchal and racist separation in the discussion of
 30 colonialism and racism (see section 2.1.3) within dominant white
 . spaces and discourses. ¹³²

A discussion of race research is required, which
 . deconstructs racism and classifies it in broader colonial contexts,
 . structures and networks of relationships. Different formats
 35 and approaches are possible here to make a broad reflection
 . of the personal integration into the »colonial legacy«
 . tangible and thus also the emotional, personal, physical
 . aspects of the impact of racism and coloniality on whites and
 . descendants/successors of the former colonizers. How could
 40 the confrontation with the dehumanizing scientific and
 . exploitative practice look like, which addresses people in their
 . complicity in the institutional entanglements and continuities
 . of colonial violence? How can the history of violence and
 . its continuity be seen and recognized from a white perspective,
 45 which gives negatively affected actors the opportunity to be

¹³³ Stoecker / Winkelmann 2018, 7f

¹³⁴ see Stoecker / Winkelmann 2018, 11

1 heard and to take space? How can the reflections on thought
 . and theory traditions, in which the appropriation of bodies for
 . »learning« about the »others« was abused, and those where
 . relatives as non-scientists were denied access to depots and
 5 letters remained unanswered, can be used to establish a culture
 . of dialogue and consensual agreements? Only then the process of
 . learning from one another can begin. And there is a lot to
 . learn from each other, from an open exchange about the meaning
 . of repatriations and the philosophical, moral and political
 10 questions that affect them and which arise from dealing with the
 . remains of people in post-colonial circumstances, to addressing
 . current appropriation processes that cause destruction and
 . negate intersubjective relationships, to effective strategies
 . against an environmental degradation that is threatening all
 15 life on earth.

. As is emphasized again and again, it is a common
 . experience that repatriation does not come the end, but rather
 . at the beginning of cooperation.

20

3. Inventory

3.1. Institutional Entanglements

25

. Anthropological collections were created at various
 . locations in Berlin in the 19th and 20th centuries, and
 . are closely linked to one another in terms of the history of
 . their collections. As Holger Stoecker and Andreas Winkelmann
 30 emphasize, the *Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie*,
 . *Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* BGAEU played a central role: In this
 . »metropolitan network [...] of collections, curators, local
 . collectors, scientists, museums, journals, the university and
 . Charité, the *Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie*, *Ethnologie*
 35 *und Urgeschichte*« ¹³³ stood out prominently. As part of the *Human*
 . *Remains Project* at the Charité, Stoecker and Winkelmann
 . obtained an overview of the collections and estimate that around
 . 15,000 people were kept in the anthropological collections in
 . Berlin around the time before the First World War. ¹³⁴ Felix
 40 von Luschan campaigned for an *Institut für Anthropologie* at the
 . *Berliner Universität* that should unite all collections of
 . the *Museum für Völkerkunde*, the BGAEU and his private »teaching
 . material collection« under his directorate and with it
 . »Berlin could boast about the possession of by far the largest
 45 anthropological collection in the whole world, since it would

¹³⁵ Luschan to the General Director of the Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin 1919 cited according to Kunst/Creutz 2013, 93

¹³⁶ see Kowalak 2018, 112

¹³⁷ see Kunst/Creutz 2013, 98

¹³⁸ see Creutz 2006

1 then far surpass London, Washington and Paris« ¹³⁵. This did not
 . happen, however, and the largest Berlin collection of 5,600
 . bones, the private teaching material collection (L-Collection)
 . of Felix von Luschan, was sold to the American Museum of
 5 Natural History in New York after his death in 1924. The
 . approximately 11,500 human skulls and skeletal parts have been
 . stored since 2011 and skeletal parts of the largest anthropological
 . collection in the *Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte*, of
 . the *Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz (SPK)*. ¹³⁶ The largest
 10 collections therein are the so-called »Rudolf Virchow
 . Collection« (»RV-Collection«), which the *BGAEU* regards and
 . curates as its property as well as the »S collection«, which was
 . mainly compiled by Felix von Luschan. The latter was handed
 . over in 2011 by the *Charité* to the *SPK* together with the so-called
 15 »*Rasseschädelsammlung*« (a collection of racially categorized
 . skulls), part of the anatomical collection of the *Centrum
 . für Anatomie* of the *Charité*. Since then, the two collections,
 . together with other remains that could not be assigned to any
 . collection, have formed the so-called »Felix von Luschan
 20 Collection« at the *Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* of the
 . *SPK*.

 The reconstructions of the history of the collection
 . that are possible today, especially in their scientific and
 . colonial-historical context, are largely thanks to provenance
 25 research projects that have already been carried out.
 . Particularly noteworthy here is the anthology published as part
 . of the *Charité* Human Remains Project (2010–2013), from whose
 . contributions many of the explanations on the history of the Berlin
 . collections emerge. As it turned out, there are still wide
 30 research gaps in large parts of the history of the collection.
 . For instance, it has not yet been clarified where the wooden
 . boxes with the remains of the RV-collection were moved to
 . in 1943. ¹³⁷ Likewise, the *Naturkundemuseum Berlin* has so far not
 . been able to reconstruct the exact holdings and the time
 35 phase of the anthropological collections that were in the meantime
 . under its responsibility.

3.1.1. The »Rudolf Virchow Collection« (RV-Collection)

40 The highest registered inventory number of human remains
 . in the RV-collection is R.V. 4094. In the 1990 inventory,
 . which the database is based on, 3365 individuals are listed. ¹³⁸
 . During the last move up to 2013, Horst Junker, the Archive
 45 Manager at the *Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* and archivist

⁴³⁹ see Kunst/Creutz 2013, 104

⁴⁴⁰ see Kowalak 2018, 112f

⁴⁴¹ see Kunst/Creutz 2013, 88

⁴⁴² The »Virchow Foundation« was established on the occasion of Rudolf Virchow's 60th birthday to support his anthropological, ethnological and prehistoric works and collections.

⁴⁴³ see Kunst/Creutz 2013, 88

⁴⁴⁴ see Kunst/Creutz 2013, 98

⁴⁴⁵ see Creutz 2006

1 of the *BGAEU*, added a realignment.⁴³⁹ According to the
 . current information on the *BGAEU* website, the RV-collection now
 . comprises 4,500 objects. In addition to the vast majority of
 . human skulls from all over the world, skeletons and bones, the
 5 collection also includes individual animal bones, as well
 . as wax and plaster casts, etc.

. The collection received its name from the pathologist and
 . anthropologist Rudolf Virchow, who, as a researcher personality
 . and central key figure of the *BGAEU*, built up the collection with
 10 a large network of co-workers.

. In 1902, Curt Strauch was given the task of inventorying
 . the collection, which at that time was housed in the old
 . Pathological Institute of the *Charité*. Due to unfavorable storage
 . conditions, a large part of the collection was moved to the
 15 *Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde* in Berlin, where it remained
 . until 1943.⁴⁴⁰ Following Virchow's death, the allocation
 . from his records and his publication of the new entries were
 . reconstructed in the so-called »Strauch directory« and published
 . in the »*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*«. Felix von Luschan, who
 20 continued to look after the collection from 1905, introduced the
 . labeling of the skulls with the inscription »RV« and the
 . respective number directly on the head.⁴⁴¹ Since he took office in
 . 1886 as Assistant Director at the *Königliches Museum*
 . *für Völkerkunde* in Berlin, von Luschan had been collecting human
 25 remains and was now in charge of the RV-collection in addition
 . to the museum's own S-collection-where the »S« stands
 . for »skull«-and his private collection of teaching materials
 . (L-Collection). Around 1910 a three-volume directory of
 . the RV-collection and inventory maps with detailed entries were
 30 created.

. The anthropological collection of the *BGAEU*, the human
 . remains that Virchow's wife bequeathed to the *BGAEU* as heiress
 . of his estate, purchases made with funds from the Rudolf
 . Virchow Foundation⁴⁴², as well as the donations made by Virchow
 35 himself and after his death to the *Institute for Pathology*
 . at the *Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität*, are summarized under the
 . name »RV- collection«. ⁴⁴³ Until 1943, the RV-collection was
 . housed in the building complex of the *Museum für Völkerkunde* and
 . after the end of the Second World War was moved to the Marstall
 40 Building, Breite Str. 30/31, together with the S collection, where
 . it is kept to this day and recorded in a database.⁴⁴⁴ In 1990,
 . a complete register of the existing skulls of 3365 individuals
 . was created for the first time, with the highest RV number (RV
 . 4094) indicating loss due to theft or decay.⁴⁴⁵

¹⁴⁶ see Kunst/Creutz 2013, 91

¹⁴⁷ see Kunst/Creutz 2013, 91

¹⁴⁸ see Stoecker 2016, 478f

¹⁴⁹ see Schmuhl 2005, 62f

¹⁵⁰ see *ibid.*

¹⁵¹ see Stoecker/Winkelmann 2018, 10

3.1.2. »S-collection« or »Luschan-collection«

The highest registered inventory number in the S-collection is »S 6064«. The collection still contains human remains from around 5,300 individuals.¹⁴⁶ The term

»S-collection« goes back to Felix von Luschan, who marked the human skulls with an S + number + origin and collector data.¹⁴⁷

While studying medicine in Vienna, von Luschan became interested in anthropological research and was involved in the Vienna Anthropological Society. From 1885, he worked initially as directorial assistant at the *Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde* in Berlin, later as director of the Africa and Oceania departments. From 1900 he taught anthropology at the *Berliner Universität*. In his function as a full professor, he had complete responsibility for the museum's anthropological collection from 1909 onwards. Without large financial resources, this was mainly composed of mailings of human bones and soft tissues from all over the world, which responded to the constantly formulated requests for mailings from a large network—for instance military officials and travelers—that were given to the museum free of charge. More systematically and with personal financial means, von Luschan bought human skulls for his private collection of teaching materials.¹⁴⁸

The S-collection was documented using index cards, of which only 309 could be saved, in catalogs and an inventory. In 1928, four years after von Luschan's death, the collection was given to the *Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institut für Anthropologie (KWI-A)* and looked after by Eugen Fischer, Luschan's successor to the professorship for anthropology. Fischer himself had brought bones of the Nama from Namibia to Germany. Nevertheless, he wanted to get away from anthropometry and only reluctantly took the Luschan collection, which would otherwise have been bequeathed by Luschan's widow to the *Anthropologisches Institut in Vienna* under Otto Reche, so that it would no longer eke out a »shadowy existence« in the basement of the Berlin pathology department.¹⁴⁹ The collection was probably expanded, i.e. with the »Schädel-Ankaufsfond« (Skull Purchase Fund) of 2,000 Reichsmarks from the Berlin University until it was outsourced during the war in 1943.¹⁵⁰

The RV and S-collections were stored together for a long time, curated and used for medical-anthropological research.¹⁵¹ After the Second World War, during which the collection documentation was almost completely lost, and the unexplained war-related relocation, a large part of the S-collection was merged with that of the RV-collection in the storage rooms of the

¹⁵² see Kunst/Creutz 2013, 98

¹⁵³ see Stoecker 2016, 476

¹⁵⁴ see Stoecker/Winkelmann 2018

1 *Museum für Naturkunde (MfN)* as an institution of the *Humboldt*
 . *Universität* in 1948. ¹⁵² With the newly founded *Institut für*
 . *Anthropologie* under the direction of Hans Grimm, the management
 . of the collection fell to this institution in 1955. At the
5 Institute for Anthropology, a new inventory of the S-collection
 . began in 1964, together with the RV-collection. ¹⁵³ Until
 . 1976 Ingrid Wustmann used i.e. index cards for restoration and
 . identification work, while Ulrich Creutz later continued this
 . work using the dBaselV programs and, from 1994, Excel. The human
10 remains of more than 5,300 individuals in the S-collection
 . were identified, which were mainly collected worldwide between
 . 1890 and 1923. ¹⁵⁴

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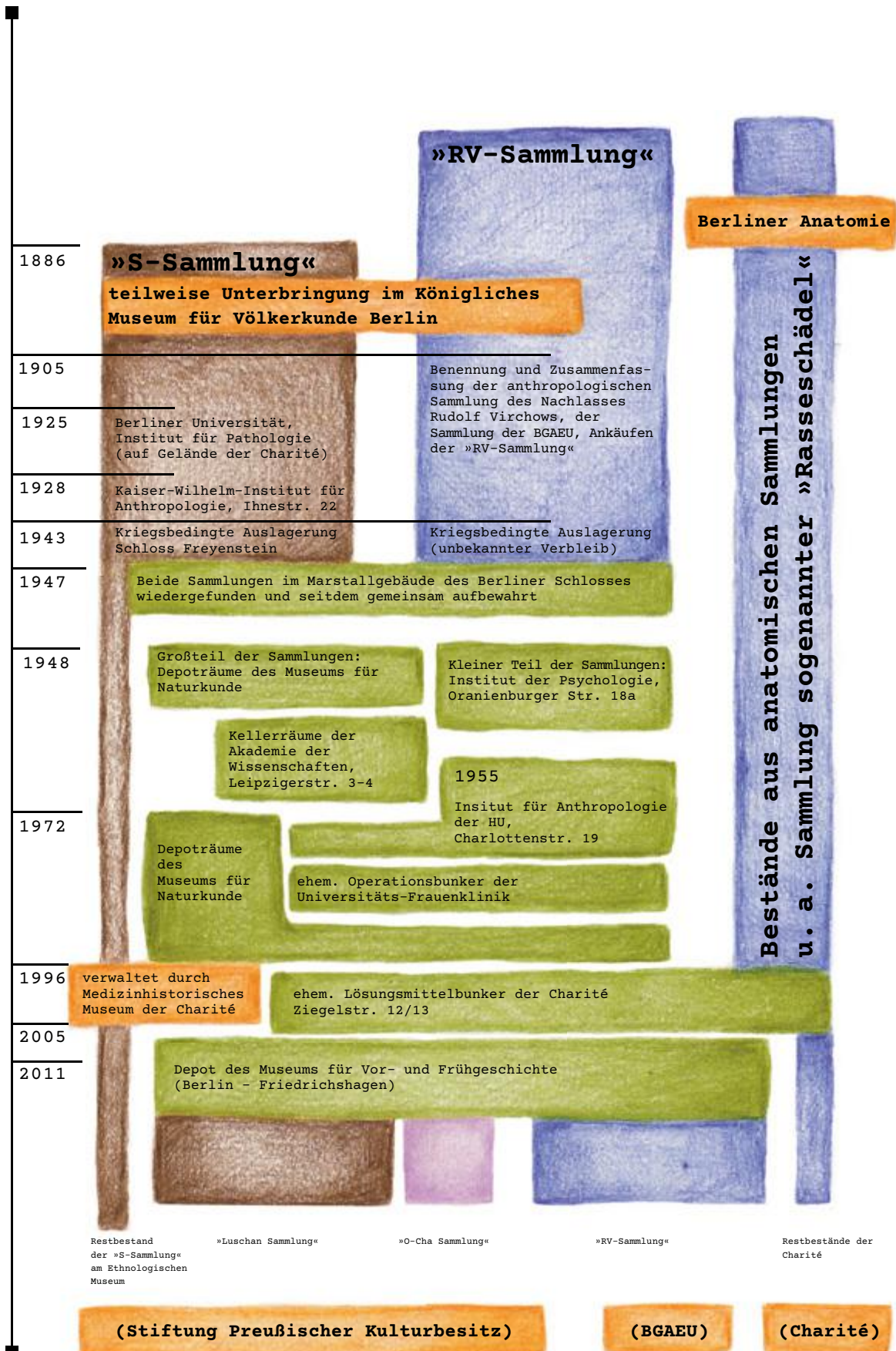
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Diagram of the storage locations of the »racial anthropological« collections in Berlin

Das Schaubild basiert v.A. auf Angaben aus: Kunst und Creutz (2013) »Geschichte der Berliner anthropologischen Sammlungen von Rudolf Virchow und Felix von Luschan«. In Stoecker et al.: Sammeln, Erforschen, Zurückgeben?. Berlin: Ch. Links Verlag, S. 84-105.



Inventory of human remains from a colonial context in Berlin (as of 08/2021)	Inventory* *According to the institution, more details in the appendix	Inventory overview	Provenance research	Stand repatriations / burials
3.3.1 Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz (SPK) (umbrella organization) Von-der-Heydt-Str.16-18, 10785 Berlin	See subordinate institutions	No cross-institutional inventory within the SPK	See subordinate institutions	•New Zealand / Aotearoa 2020: 2 Ancestral Remains •Repatriation to Australia decided, still pending: 3 Ancestral Remains
3.3.1.1 SPK – Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte (MVF) Bodestraße1-3, 10178 Berlin	About 3800 (of about 7700 skulls and bones in the »Luschansammlung«): (Tanzania: 213; Rwanda: 907 (6 unclear; Kenya: 22; unknown but from the former colony of German East Africa: 1; Cameroon: approx. 300; Togo: approx. 50; unclear but from the former colony »German West Africa«: 100; Micronesia: 20; Nauru: 10; Palau: 10; Papua New Guinea: 2000; USA-Mariana Islands: 20; unclear but former colonial area of New Guinea: 40; Samoa: 2)	Complete inventory in a joint database with the »RV Collection« (BGAEU); approx. 1500 skulls and bones with no evidence of origin	Provenance research, project-related and v. a. externally funded: 2016–2019 : Provenance research on approx. 120 human remains from New Zealand/ Aotearoa in the S collection and the anatomical collection of the Charité by Winkelmann, Fründt and Stoecker 2017–19 : Gerda Henkel Foundation funded research on 1153 human remains from East Africa 2018–2019 : provenance research project from SPK's own funds on 36 ancestral remains from Hawaii (MVF and BGAEU) 2021–2024 : provenance research on holdings from German West Africa; Longer project on the Pacific region planned from 2024 onwards	Repatriations from the collection of the MVF have not yet taken place.
3.3.1.2 SPK – Ethnologisches Museum (EM) Takustraße 40, 14195 Berlin	2089 Inventory numbers of human remains/objects with processed human remains that came into the collection in the context of a racist science and collection practice (North and East Asia: 33; North Africa, West and Central Asia: 5; South and Southeast Asia: 30; Africa: 166; North America: 31; Mesoamerica: 96; South America: 699; South Seas and Australia: 1026) Of these, from former German colonies, in the areas of the following present-day countries: (Tanzania: 21; Kenya: 1; Cameroon: 67; Togo: 16; Samoa: 17)	Entry in the overall museum database, inventory not yet fully completed and information partly unchecked	2020–2022 : Inventory and provenance research by provenance research located at the central archive from 2022 : further provenance research projects planned	See parent institution, repatriated remains come from the holdings at the EM
3.3.1.3 SPK – Staatsbibliothek Potsdamer Str. 33, 10785 Berlin	1 Tuft of hair	Otherwise no stock of human remains	The State Library is awaiting research on the skulls from the same Luschan's estate	The library is ready to repatriate the hair
3.3.2 Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte (BGAEU) Geschwister-Scholl-Str. 6, 10117 Berlin	No information given; the entire inventory of the »RV collection« amounts to the body parts, mainly the skulls of approx. 3500 individuals who came into the collection in the context of a racist scientific and collecting practice	Complete inventory in a joint database with the »Luschan Collection« in the MVF	2011–2016 : Free research by Förster, Stoecker, Henrichsen and Axasi+Eichab on Ancestral Remains by Jacobus Hendrick and Oantab from today's Namibia 2011–2013 : »Biohistorical research« on a skull of an Aleut from Alaska by Glaubrecht, Seethaler, Teßmann and Koel-Abt 2016 : Howes researched 19 Aboriginal Ancestral Remains funded by the Australian-German Association Inc. 2017 : Unfulfilled cooperation agreement between ONGI (OvaHerero, Mbanderu and Nama Genocides Institute) and the BGAEU 2017–2019 : Provenance research project of the MVF on human remains from East Africa, with approx. 40 – 50 skulls from the BGAEU's holdings 2018–2019 : Provenance research project from SPK's own funds on 36 Ancestral Remains from Hawai'i (in the MVF and BGAEU holdings)	Repatriation to Australia in 2017: a mummy Repatriation to Japan 2017: 1 skull

Inventory of human remains from a colonial context in Berlin (as of 08/2021)	Inventory*	Inventory overview	Provenance research	Stand repatriations / burials
3.3.3 Charité – anatomical collection (at the Institut für Anatomie) und Berliner Medizinhistorisches Museum (BMM) Charitéplatz 1, 10117 Berlin	A total of 58 (Tanzania (Wahehe, Wapangwa, Wambugu, Maasai, Iraq): 17; Ethiopia: 1; Mozambique (Mang'anja / Nyanja, Mnyalo): 2; Rwanda (Mtutsi, Rwanda): 2; South Africa («Kaffer», Xhosa, Zulu, Mfengu, San, »Gaika Kaffer«): 8; Namibia (Damara, Ovambo): 3; Togo (Ntcham): Cameroon (Ba-ndeng): 2; Liberia? (Kru): 2; Congo: 1; Oceania (French Island, Solomons Islands, Mangaia, Tahiti, Admiralty Islands, Jap. Caroline Island): 10; unclear origin: 8)	Completely recorded, most of the provenance researched	2010–2013: Charité Human Remains Project 2014: Report on Aboriginal Ancestral Remains et al. at the Charité in Cawthorn, commissioned by the Australian government 2016–2019: Provenance research on approx. 120 human remains from New Zealand / Aotearoa in the S-collection and the anatomical collection of the Charité by Winkelmann, Fründt and Stoecker 2018–2019: Fritz Thyssen Foundation funded research by Stoecker & Fründt on human remains of African origin	9 repatriations to (year: repatriated human remains): • Namibia (2011: 20; 2014: 21; 2018: 17) • Paraguay (2012: 1) • Australia (2013: 33; 2014: 14 + 1 (to Tasmania); 2017: 1) • New Zealand / Aotearoa (2019: 109)
3.3.4 Site of the former Kaiser-Wilhelm-Instituts für Anthropologie, menschliche Erblehre und Eugenik (KWI-E) Innstraße 22, 14195 Berlin	Following the excavation of at least 15 bone fragments which were cremated in 2014, another 16,000 bone fragments (of at least 54, possibly more than 100 of different ages) were recovered in 2015 and 2016, which is why a colonial context cannot be ruled out.	Further bone finds are suspected if the excavations are continued.	2015–2020 scientific supervision of the excavations and non-invasive osteological analyzes by a research group led by the archaeologist Susan Pollock; So far no dedicated provenance research	• Human bones of at least 15 individuals found in 2014 were cremated without further examination. • A burial of the human remains from the subsequent excavations is being prepared.
3.3.5 Museum für Naturkunde Berlin (MfN) Invalidenstraße 43, 10115 Berlin	Human remains, whose assignment to a colonial context should be examined further: a skull from New Guinea from the collection of Heinrich Christian Umlauf; Bones and bone fragments from Ecuador between 1868 and 1876	• An internal inventory of the human remains was started in 2021 on the occasion of the present report • It has not yet been possible to list or document the human remains that were in the Berlin Naturkundemuseum in the past.	A research project is being prepared	None so far
3.3.6 Zoologische Lehrsammlung, Humboldt-Universität Philippstr. 13, 10115 Berlin	Colonial context is unlikely with 8 specimens, but cannot be ruled out. There is also a known microscopic specimen from 1901 with the inscription »N* haut«, the provenance of which is unclear.	• Most of the teaching collection can be researched in the database »Kabinette des Wissens« • The inventory of bony human remains was recorded for the first time in 2021 on the occasion of the present report	• Documentation inspection carried out by Ines Drescher and Gerhard Scholtz based on provenance information • Willingness for provenance research is available and recommended by the expert	The burial is prepared for three skeletons for which Gerhard Scholtz's examination did not reveal any evidence of their origin
3.3.7 Zoologische Lehrsammlung, Freie Universität Berlin Königin-Luise-Str. 1–3, 14195 Berlin	With 14 skulls, three skeletons and several bones and specimens, a colonial context is unlikely, but cannot be ruled out	• no complete inventory • The inventory of human remains was started in 2021 for the present report by Lieven, Mboro and Reimann	Willingness for provenance research existing and recommended by the expert	None so far
3.3.8 weißensee kunsthochschule berlin (khhb) Bühningstraße 20, 13086 Berlin	With the 4 human skeletons or partial skeletons and 95 loose bones, a colonial context is unlikely, but cannot be ruled out	inventory viewed in 2021, not yet inventoried	Provenance research desired, support requested	None so far
3.3.9 deutsches Historisches Museum (DHM) Unter den Linden 2, 10117 Berlin 14195 Berlin	2 braids of hair from a colonial background; 1 shrunken head of unknown origin	complete inventory	In-house historical provenance research carried out, non-invasive anthropological analysis of the shrunken head pending	None so far
3.3.10 Lautarchiv der Humboldt-Universität Am Kupfergraben 5, 10117 Berlin	2 human larynx preparations, suspicion of colonial context neither confirmed nor eliminated	complete inventory	2020: Provenance research by Holger Stoecker	None so far

⁴⁵⁶ SPK: Trägerschaft und Finanzierung. Online: www.preussischer-kulturbesitz.de/ueber-uns/profil-der-spk/traegerschaft-und-finanzierung.html (accessed 15.07.2021).

⁴⁵⁷ SPK: Gesamtstaatliche Aufgaben. Online: www.preussischer-kulturbesitz.de/ueber-uns-gesamtstaatliche-aufgaben.html (accessed 15.07.2021).

3.3. More detailed information on the holdings of the individual institutions

3.3.1. Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz (SPK) (Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation) Von-der-Heydt-Str. 16-18; 10785 Berlin

History of the institute:

The *Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz (SPK)* (Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation) was founded in 1957. With the *Errichtungsgesetz* (Establishment Act), the newly founded Federal Republic of Germany handed over the collections and archives of the Prussian state as property. This also included the former royal collections that became state museums during the Weimar Republic. The stated aim of the foundation was to preserve, maintain and supplement the Prussian cultural assets transferred to it (this also includes human remains) up to a new regulation. The *SPK* has been financed by the federal government and all federal states since 1975. With the *Einigungsvertrag* (Unification Agreement) of 1990, holdings from GDR institutions were also transferred to the foundation, the financing of which is subsequently also borne by the new federal states.

As an umbrella organization, the *SPK* comprises the facilities of the *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (SMB)*, the *Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (SBB)*, the *Geheime Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz (GStA PK)*, the *Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut (IAI)* and the *Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung (SIM)*. The foundation employs around 2,000 people. The federal government assumes 75 percent of the publicly funded part of the operating budget of 120 million euros and the additional annual financial requirements, the federal states are covering the remaining 25 percent. ⁴⁵⁶ The central body is the *Stiftungsrat* (Board of Trustees). Since 2008, the prehistorian Prof. Dr. Hermann Parzinger is the acting president, with extensive responsibility for all current affairs of the foundation. The Advisory Board has a purely advisory role. The foundation claims for itself »a central role in cultural tasks of national interest«. ⁴⁵⁷

Developments in dealing with human remains from colonial contexts:

After the anthropological collection was taken over by

¹⁵⁸ Deutscher Bundestag 2013, 3

¹⁵⁹ Zentralrat der Afrikanischen Gemeinde, Initiative Schwarze Menschen in Deutschland, »No Humboldt 21!«, »Völkermord verjährt nicht!« 2014

¹⁶⁰ see Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin 2013

¹⁶¹ Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz 2015, 1

¹⁶² ibid., 2

1 the SPK under the management of the *Museum für Vor- und*
 . *Frühgeschichte (MVF)* from the *Medizinhistorisches Museum of the*
 . *Charité* in 2011, the collection became a political issue
 . that the foundation had not foreseen. The public debates were,
 5 for instance, triggered by the events surrounding the repatriations
 . to Namibia in the same year. In the answer of the federal
 . government to the parliamentary inquiry of the member of the
 . Bundestag Niema Movassat (Die LINKE) at the end of 2013, it was
 . said that there were no reliable indications »that there were
 10 any parts in the collection of human remains from former German
 . colonies or from overseas that in connection with the creation
 . of the collection were subject to an ethically problematic
 . context«. ¹⁵⁸

Nevertheless, the search for a new repository took place
 15 without a broader or public discussion, which was criticized
 . by civil society institutions. ¹⁵⁹

According to the SPK, the first inquiries from a society
 . of origin came from Australia around 10 years ago. According to
 . provenance research in the *Ethnologisches Museum*, the engagement
 20 of the Australian embassy led to negotiations on the still
 . outstanding return of human remains to Australia before the
 . summer of 2013. ¹⁶⁰

In the 2013, recommendations for dealing with human
 . remains (»ancestral remains«) by the *Deutscher Museumsbund*, the
 25 institutions were advised to draw up their own guidelines.
 . The SPK followed these recommendations with the publication of
 . the »Basic Positions of the Prussian Cultural Heritage
 . Foundation on the Handling of Human Remains in the Collections
 . of the National Museums in Berlin« on March 26, 2015. The
 30 guideline for action should apply to the handling of the
 . S-collection as well as all other human remains in the holdings
 . of the museums of the SPK. For the first time, this also
 . included ethnological objects made of hair or skin, which were
 . previously assigned to the cultural-historical collection.
 35 According to the basic positions, the »remains of human beings« ¹⁶¹
 . should be treated with the greatest sensitivity and the greatest
 . respect and at the same time be accessible to the museums'
 . own research and to the »scientific public of all disciplines«. ¹⁶²
 . In recognition of the different values in the different
 40 cultures, the following principle applies in order to find
 . solutions that do justice to the individual case: »If
 . human remains can be assigned to a particular society of origin,
 . the values of this society in particular are included in
 . all considerations. As far as possible, contact is made with
 45 representatives of this society of origin in order to involve

¹⁶³ *ibid.*, 3

¹⁶⁴ *ibid.*, 2

¹⁶⁵ *ibid.*, 1

¹⁶⁶ Stoecker 2016, 488

¹⁶⁷ Toi moko are preserved heads of the Māori from what is now New Zealand, often decorated with tattoos. www.neu.isdonline.de/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/ka17-12360-humboldt-forum.pdf (accessed 01.08.2021).

¹⁶⁸ Stiftungsrat 2020, cited from the reply of the SPK dated 19.08.2021

¹⁶⁹ Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin 2018, 3

1 *them in considerations on how to deal with the remains*«. ¹⁶³
 . Priority is given to provenance research with the aim of
 . *»successively clarifying the origin of all human remains in the*
 . *collections*«. ¹⁶⁴ *»The documentation must be as good as possible*
 5 *and handled transparently.*« ¹⁶⁵ With the fundamental
 . willingness to return bones» the Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz
 . carried out a fundamental change in collection and museum policy
 . on the question of the restitution of human remains from its
 . collections«. ¹⁶⁶

10 The version of the basic positions from 2015 has remained
 . unchanged to this day and is therefore still valid, even
 . if an adjustment to current developments and practice has been
 . pending for years.

 So far, two Toi moko have been repatriated to New Zealand/
 15 Aotearoa from the SPK in 2020 ¹⁶⁷, the repatriation of three
 . individuals from Australia has been decided, but is still pending.
 . In its statement of June 2020, the foundation board for the
 . repatriations to Australia and New Zealand/Aotearoa states that
 . *»the foundation fundamentally [advocates] returning the remains*
 20 *of people it has in its care, even if German law currently does*
 . *not know any legal entitlement for such returns. The prerequisite*
 . *for this, however, is that it has been clarified in the context*
 . *of provenance research that these remains actually come from*
 . *colonial contexts, that it is known what the countries of origin*
 25 *and societies in question are and that they are also desired to*
 . *be repatriated.*« ¹⁶⁸

 In principle, the SPK pursues the strategy of creating a
 . research basis through in-house provenance research, if
 . possible in collaboration with scientists from the countries of
 30 origin. Since 2017 there has been a provenance research project
 . on human remains from the former »Deutsch-Ost-Afrika« in the
 . Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte. The results were first made
 . available to the embassies of the countries of origin before
 . they are to be published at the end of 2021. In 2020, a two-year
 35 provenance project on human remains began at the Ethnologisches
 . Museum and another MVF project for West Africa has been
 . running since mid-2021. For a parliamentary inquiry to the Berlin
 . Senate, the SPK stated that *»the following states have*
 . *information on existing human remains from the Stiftung Preußischer*
 40 *Kulturbesitz: Australia, Chile, Hawai'i, Japan, Rwanda and*
 . *Tanzania.*« ¹⁶⁹

 Here the priority of information sharing at the state
 . level becomes evident. So far, there has been little, not
 . to mention prioritized contact or information transfer to the
 45 ancestral communities and indigenous population groups.

170 see reply of the SPK dated 19.08.2021

1 A von Luschan Advisory Board, chaired by Prof. Dr. Albert Zink
 . from Bozen (biologist), has been convened, but there have
 . been no public announcements so far. The board has so far
 . convened in with a changing group of people. So far, at least
 5 one representative from the EM and the BGAEU, as well as
 . colleagues from other German/German-speaking institutions,
 . members from France and non-European countries (Ciraj Rassool)
 . have been present.

. Until the request for the present report in the summer of
 10 2021, there was neither a cross-institutional inventory nor an
 . internal survey of all institutions within the SPK. In addition,
 . the foundation reserves the right to examine and define
 . the colonial context itself. The SPK refers to its own research
 . work, which is necessary for verifying and providing information.
 15 For example, the human remains of the *Vorderasiatisches Museum*
 . and the *Ägyptisches Museum* were classified as irrelevant for
 . the present report and therefore no information was given about
 . these holdings. 170

. It is all the more likely that the list of institutions
 20 of the SPK with holdings of human remains from colonial
 . contexts will expand. The following is a summary of the SPK's
 . holdings and the status of their research under the respective
 . supervising and managing institution.

25 Sources used:

. Written correspondence with Carola Thielecke, head of
 . the SPK's legal department and the contact person authorized by
 . Mr. Parzinger for the present report; Conversation with Carola
 . Thielecke and Bernhard Heeb (MVF) on June 10th, 2021; Facility's
 30 website

. **Berlin House of Representatives:** Printed matter
 . 17/12360. Small question from MEP Clara Herrmann (GREEN) and
 . answer from June 28, 2013. (Postcolonial) discussion of the
 . Humboldt Forum. On-line: [www.neu.isdonline.de/wp-content/
 35 uploads/2013/08/ka17-12360-humboldt-forum.pdf](http://www.neu.isdonline.de/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/ka17-12360-humboldt-forum.pdf) (accessed on
 . Berlin House of Representatives: Printed matter 17/12360. Small
 . question from MEP Clara Herrmann (GREEN) and answer from June
 . 28, 2013. (Postcolonial) discussion of the Humboldt Forum. On-
 . line: [www.neu.isdonline.de/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/ka17-
 40 12360-humboldt-forum.pdf](http://www.neu.isdonline.de/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/ka17-12360-humboldt-forum.pdf) (accessed on August 1, 2021).

. **German Bundestag:** Printed matter 18/37. Answer of the
 . Federal Government of November 8, 2013 to the minor question
 . from MPs Niema Movassat, Christine Buchholz, Sevim Dağdelen,
 . other MPs and the DIE LINKE parliamentary group. Further
 45 handling of human remains from former German colonies and other

1 overseas territories. Online: [www.dserver.bundestag.de/](http://www.dserver.bundestag.de/btd/18/000/1800037.pdf)
2 [btd/18/000/1800037.pdf](http://www.dserver.bundestag.de/btd/18/000/1800037.pdf) (accessed on August 1, 2021).
3
4 **Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Press Release. SPK**
5 investigates the origin of human remains from East Africa-Gerda
6 Henkel Foundation grants funds for the project. Online:
7 [www.preussischer-kulturbesitz.de/fileadmin/user_upload_SPK/](http://www.preussischer-kulturbesitz.de/fileadmin/user_upload_SPK/documents/presse/pressemitteilungen/2017/170802_Human-Remains_Projekt_MVF_EN.pdf)
8 [documents/presse/pressemitteilungen/2017/170802_Human-Remains_](http://www.preussischer-kulturbesitz.de/fileadmin/user_upload_SPK/documents/presse/pressemitteilungen/2017/170802_Human-Remains_Projekt_MVF_EN.pdf)
9 [Projekt_MVF_EN.pdf](http://www.preussischer-kulturbesitz.de/fileadmin/user_upload_SPK/documents/presse/pressemitteilungen/2017/170802_Human-Remains_Projekt_MVF_EN.pdf) (accessed September 14, 2021).
10
11 **Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz:** Basic positions of
12 the Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz on dealing with human
13 remains in the collections of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin,
14 2015. Online: [www.preussischer-kulturbesitz.de/fileadmin/user_](http://www.preussischer-kulturbesitz.de/fileadmin/user_upload_SPK/documents/mediathek/schwerpunkte/provenienz_eigenschaft/rp/150326_Grundhaltung_Human-Remains_dt.pdf)
15 [upload_SPK/documents/mediathek/schwerpunkte/provenienz_](http://www.preussischer-kulturbesitz.de/fileadmin/user_upload_SPK/documents/mediathek/schwerpunkte/provenienz_eigenschaft/rp/150326_Grundhaltung_Human-Remains_dt.pdf)
16 [eigenschaft/rp/150326_Grundhaltung_Human-Remains_dt.pdf](http://www.preussischer-kulturbesitz.de/fileadmin/user_upload_SPK/documents/mediathek/schwerpunkte/provenienz_eigenschaft/rp/150326_Grundhaltung_Human-Remains_dt.pdf) (accessed
17 on September 18, 2021).
18
19 **Central Council of the African Community, Initiative**
20 **Black People in Germany, »No Humboldt 21!«, »Genocide does not**
21 **expire!«** Press release: Federal government plans to deport
22 human remains from the colonial era. 2014. Online:
23 [www.preussischer-kulturbesitz.de/fileadmin/user_upload_SPK/](http://www.preussischer-kulturbesitz.de/fileadmin/user_upload_SPK/documents/mediathek/schwerpunkte/provenienz_eigenschaft/rp/150326_Grundhaltung_Human-Remains_dt.pdf)
24 [documents/mediathek/schwerpunkte/provenienz_eigenschaft/](http://www.preussischer-kulturbesitz.de/fileadmin/user_upload_SPK/documents/mediathek/schwerpunkte/provenienz_eigenschaft/rp/150326_Grundhaltung_Human-Remains_dt.pdf)
25 [rp/150326_Grundhaltung_Human-Remains_dt.pdf](http://www.preussischer-kulturbesitz.de/fileadmin/user_upload_SPK/documents/mediathek/schwerpunkte/provenienz_eigenschaft/rp/150326_Grundhaltung_Human-Remains_dt.pdf) (accessed July 5,
26 2021).
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3.3.1.1. Museum für Vor – und Frühgeschichte (MVF)/SPK (Museum of Prehistory and Early History) Bodestraße 1-3, 10178 Berlin

Brief history of the institute

The former artillery officer Freiherr Leopold von Ledebur is considered the first director in the tradition of the *Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte*. From 1829, he was responsible for the »*Abtheilung für vaterländische Alterthümer*« and the Königliche Kunstkammer which was opened to the general public in 1830. In 1849, the collections moved to the Neues Museum at the museum island under the name »*Sammlung nordischer Altertümer*«. In 1873, Adolf Bastian took over the management from Ledebur's assistant and co-founder of the *BGAEU*.

Under the leadership of the director's assistant and doctor Albert Voss, the »*Sammlung nordischer Altertümer*« moved into the newly built *Museum für Völkerkunde* at today's Stresemannstrasse in 1886 as an independent department. In 1922, the *Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* in the Martin-Gropius Bau emerged. During the Nazi era, the museum was attached to the »*Ahnenerbe*« of the SS under director Wilhelm Unverzag and a large part of the collection was moved to the Soviet Union at the end of the war. Since 1958, the *MVF* has been part of the *Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz* and has thus been released from the sole responsibility of the State of Berlin.

Since 2011, the Felix von Luschan's S-Collection, which the *Charité* handed over to the *SPK* together with the »Racial Skull Collection« (see Chapter 3.3.3), has been looked after in the depots of the *Berlin Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte*.

Developments in dealing with human remains from colonial contexts:

With the takeover in 2011, the »Luschan Collection« was re-established at the *MVF*, which combines the S-collection, the »Racial Skull Collection« and the »*Osteology Charité Collection*« (*O-Cha-collection* for short). The *O-Cha collection* is a new name for human remains that could not be assigned to any of the other collections or smaller collections from the *Charité* holdings without their own number sequence at the time of the inventory. Among them are probably some skulls that actually belong to the »S-collection«, but can no longer be recognized as such.

With the takeover of the collection of around 8,000 skulls and bones from the *Charité*, a cleaning process (decontamination) began in the *Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* in order to free the body parts of many thousands of people from all over the world from dust, dirt and mold. With the repatriation of Ancestral Remains of the Nama and OvaHerero to Namibia by the *Charité* in 2011, the holdings from the German colonial era became a political issue. The processing started against the background of requests for information and the first research results about the head of Mangi Meli, which Mnyaka Sururu Mboro, Christian Kopp, Konradin Kunze and other colleagues brought to the *MVF*, as well as a television report. A first research project on human remains from the former German East Africa has been applied for. The results were given to the Rwandan and Tanzanian

¹⁷¹ according to Bernhard Heeb 22.06.2021

¹⁷² *ibid.*

¹⁷³ with this information I refer to the number from the last press release of the SPK from 14.09.2021, see: www.staging.preussischer-kulturbesitz.de/pressemitteilung/artikel/2021/09/14/herkunftsforchung-an-historischer-collection-of-human-remains-from-west-africa-at-spk-started.html

¹⁷⁴ see Howes 2013

1 embassies. They are to be published in early 2022.

2 There is no fixed definition of »colonial contexts«
3 at the MVF. A distinction is made between first and second
4 priority for processing. The primary focus is on the origin of
5 the bones that come from the former German colonies. For
6 this purpose, the inventory has already been viewed and the
7 information from the database has been summarized for the
8 present report (see attachment 2). What counts as a second-tier
9 colonial context is examined in practice from individual
10 case to individual case when the processing of the primary
11 colonial context has been completed.¹⁷¹ Ultimately, the aim is
12 to research all the provenances of the Luschan collection in
13 colonial contexts that are not categorized as »archaeological«
14 (e.g. from Egypt, Central and South America) or »historical-
15 European«. ¹⁷²

Human remains from colonial contexts:

16 The Luschan collection consists of around 7,700 skulls
17 and bones.¹⁷³ The *Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* states
18 that there are around 3,800 human remains from the context of
19 German colonialism alone. While little is known about the people
20 whose body parts ended up in the collection, the MVF transmitted
21 the names of the »collectors«, which allows further conclusions
22 to be drawn about the identity or origin of the respective
23 people.
24 For the former colony of *Deutsch-Ostafrika* (today's

25 Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi), the SPK/MVF states the recently
26 researched stock of 1153 individuals, 992 of which were
27 collected by Jan Czekanowski, and the others, i.e. by scientific
28 and military members of the colonial government such as Franz
29 Stuhlmann or Moritz Merker.

30 About 300 bones from today's Cameroon area and about 50
31 from today's Togo are in the MVF inventory. Here, too, it was
32 often the military and colonial officials such as Adametz and
33 Döring/Doering or Alfred Mansfeld, Friedrich Schäfer and Gaston
34 Thierry who passed on human remains to the museums.

35 Approx. 2,050–2,090 human remains are counted from the
36 former German colonial area in New Guinea. Research travelers,
37 zoologists, ethnologists and anthropologists, such as Otto
38 Finsch, Georg Friederici and Richard Neuhauss, who were more or
39 less involved in the colonial-administrative and politico-military
40 colonial expansion, are responsible for the appropriation
41 of the bones. In particular, Otto Finsch helped enforcing the
42 colonization, i.e. as an agent of the New Guinea company.¹⁷⁴
43 Adolf Roesicke and Richard Thurwald also brought human bones to
44

475 Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin 2015, 1

476 The basic information is: status; ID; labeling; comment; city; island; province; region; canton; country; continent part; continent; former colony; former country attribution; ethnicity; collector; date; skeletal element

1 the museum. Both were participants in the so-called Kaiserin
 . Augusta River Expedition of 1912/13, an expedition by
 . the *Reichskolonialamt*, the *Königliche Museen* and the *Deutsche*
 . *Kolonialgesellschaft* to what was then known as the »Kaiser-
 5 *Wilhelms-Land*«. Two human remains come from Samoa at the time of
 . German colonialism, here the name Schultz is mentioned
 . as a »collector«, the former German governor of the colony

Care of the collection:

10 Dr. Bernhard Heeb heads the third-party funded provenance
 . research team.

Inventory overview:

. From 2015, the *MVF* began to take an inventory and compile
 15 the information available about the collections taken over from
 . the *Charité*. The collection consists of around 8,000 skulls and
 . bones. 475 There are still over 1,000 skulls for which it has
 . not yet been possible to assign them. The holdings that could no
 . longer be assigned, double inventories and various small
 20 collections were grouped under the name »Osteology *Charité*
 . Collections« and inventoried with new numbers.

. The collections are recorded in a separate database,
 . which also includes the RV-collections of the *BGAEU*. In addition
 . to the basic information 476, sources are also stored here.
 25 A running text is used for the provenance information. So far
 . there is no separate module for provenance research in which z.
 . B. Provenance chains can be recorded in a structured manner,
 . but certain modules could be adapted for this purpose. So
 . far there is no external interface, access is only internal. All
 30 skulls were photographed.

Completed, ongoing or planned provenance research:

. 2016–2019: Provenance research on approx. 120 human
 . remains from New Zealand/Aotearoa in the S-collection
 35 and the anatomical collection of the *Charité* by Andreas
 . Winkelmann, Sarah Fründt and Holger Stoecker

. 2017–2019: Provenance research project funded by the
 . Gerda Henkel Foundation on 1153 human remains from
 . the former »Deutsch-Ost-Afrika«, today's Tanzania, Burundi,
 40 Rwanda. There was a cooperation with scientists from
 . Rwanda:

. »In Rwanda, in cooperation with the German
 . embassy, the German Academic Foreign Service?,
 45 the Goethe-Institut, the University of Rwanda,

¹⁷⁷ see Kowalak 2018, 116

¹⁷⁸ see *ibid.*, 117

¹⁷⁹ Deutscher Bundestag 2019, 2f

1 *the National Museums of Rwanda, the National*
 . *Archives of Rwanda and the Ministry of Sport and*
 . *Culture, a team of four scientists was able*
 . *to work be put together. It consists of Charles*
 5 *Kabwete and Jean de la Croix Nkurayuja from the*
 . *University of Rwanda and Maurice Mugabowagahunde*
 . *and Jerome Karangwa from the National Museum*
 . *Rwanda.* « ¹⁷⁷

10 Field research was incorporated into the provenance
 . research, served to inform and question the communities
 . concerned and was initially intended to clarify the question of
 . whether the implementation of DNA analyzes of all skulls,
 . desired by the Rwandan government and later rejected, would be
 15 accepted. ¹⁷⁸ A workshop with the presentation of the preliminary
 . results took place in Kigali at the end of November 2019.
 . So far, no details, results or assessments of the cooperation
 . have been introduced or made known to the German specialist
 . debate or the public. A publication is expected at the beginning
 20 of 2022.

 In the response of the Federal Government of July 2019 to
 . the parliamentary inquiry i.e. of the Green MPs Dr. Kirsten
 . Kappert-Gonther announced to the SPK the name Akida Barugo/
 . Baruku of a resident from Moshi as determined in the project as
 25 well as the affiliations to the following ethnic groups:
 . Wabondei, Wachagga, Wadigo, Wahehe, Wamassai, Wamwera,
 . Wandonde, Wangindo, Wapare, Wasandawe, Wasambaa, Waswahili,
 . Wanjaturu, Watutsi, Watwa, Wagogo und Wakinga. ¹⁷⁹

 July 2018–February 2019 Provenance research project on
 30 36 skulls from Hawaii, financed with approx. 20,000 euros
 . from the SPK's own funds: Gesa Grimme examined 15 skulls from
 . the Rudolf Virchow collection that were added to the collection
 . by E. Arning; the origins of the skulls brought by Finsch
 . and Neuhauss were examined historically by Heidrun Voigt and
 35 anthropologically by Ms. Storch.

 2021–2024: Funding of provenance research made possible
 . at short notice by the BKM from the federal culture budget
 . with around 715,000 euros on 477 human skulls that were brought
 . to Germany from West Africa during the colonial period. This is
 40 about research on the origin of the human remains from the
 . areas of today's Togo and Cameroon, possibly also Ghana and the
 . Republic of the Congo. The team led by Mr. Heeb consists of
 . Ms. Teßmann, Mr. Kowalak and Ms. Rexin. The plan is to work with
 . scientists, including anthropologists from the respective
 45 countries of origin. A longer project on the Pacific region is

180 all information of the section according to information from Bernhard Heeb on June 22nd, 2021

1 planned from 2024, provided that this is made possible by third-
2 party funding. This concerns 2,800 skulls in the SPK collection
3 at the *MVF*, which come from different islands and contexts.

4
5 **Methods of provenance research:**

6 Inscriptions on the skulls provide the first clues for
7 provenance research, but these do not always stand up to the
8 examination with lists and archival material, as the inscription
9 sometimes took place much later (see chapter 3.1.2). Historical
10 research is central (access files, but also travel reports,
11 reports from the Federal Archives, etc.). Non-invasive
12 anthropological methods are used to reconstruct information
13 about the age, gender and cause of death of people. Invasive
14 methods only after consultation and in a few individual cases.
15 In Rwanda, tissue samples were taken from a site in order
16 to be able to determine the time of death with the help of carbon
17 dating. DNA analyzes were only carried out in one case, at
18 the request of Isari Meli from the Kilimanjaro region, who is
19 looking for the head of his grandfather, Prince Mangi Meli,
20 who was murdered by the Germans. The samples were then
21 destroyed. In individual cases, e.g. in bones with pathological
22 features or visible trauma, 3D scans were made with a CT scanner.
23 It is still unclear what will happen to this data, which
24 initially serve as background information, if they are returned.
25 The historical research is supplemented by scientists
26 in Rwanda who are also examining the oral tradition. The three
27 methods are intended to complement each other and are used to
28 check the results. 180

29
30 **Status of repatriations:**

31 Repatriations from the collection of the *MVF* have not yet
32 taken place.

33
34 **Exhibition, research and teaching:**

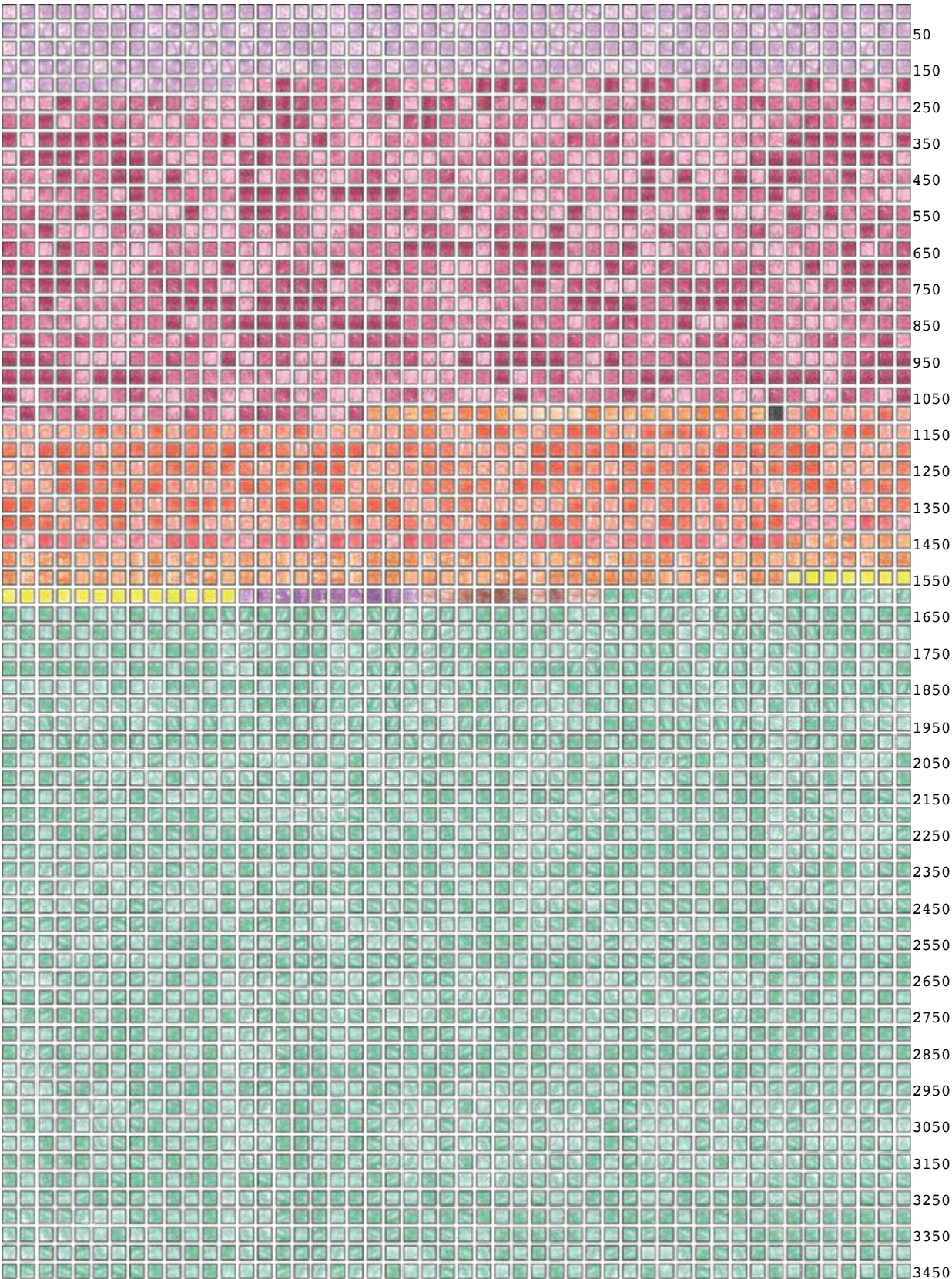
35 According to the basic positions of the SPK from 2015
36 (see above) and also according to Mr. Heeb's statement,
37 human remains are accessible for scientific research if they are
38 not assigned to a »colonial background«, such as those classified
39 as »archaeological« and »European- historical« are classified. In
40 the case of a colonial background, research interests are
41 discussed with the societies of origin. Provenance research is
42 carried out internally.

43
44 **Sources:**

45 Written correspondence with Carola Thielecke, head of the

- 1 SPK's legal department and the contact person authorized by Mr.
2 Parzinger for the present report; Conversation with Carola
3 Thielecke and Bernhard Heeb (MVF) on June 10th, 2021;
4 Conversation with Bernhard Heeb, Marius Kowalak, Ms. Rexin on
5 June 22nd, 2021; Website of the institution;
6
7 **Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin:** Printed matter 17/16583.
8 Written inquiry by MEP Clara Herrmann (GREEN) and answer from
9 July 22nd, 2015. Postcolonialism in Berlin Museums I:
10 Provenance Research. Online: [www.no-humboldt21.de/wp-content/
11 uploads/2015/08/Antwort_Senat_S17-16583.pdf](http://www.no-humboldt21.de/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/Antwort_Senat_S17-16583.pdf) (accessed August 1,
12 2021).
13
14 **Deutscher Bundestag:** Printed matter 19/11949. Reply of
15 the Federal Government of July 25, 2019 to the Parliamentary
16 inquiry of the deputies Dr. Kirsten Kappert-Gonther, Erhard
17 Grundl, Kai Gehring, other MPs and the parliamentary group
18 BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNEN. Dealing with and returning human remains
19 from colonial contexts. Online: [www.dserver.bundestag.de/
20 btd/19/119/1911949.pdf](http://www.dserver.bundestag.de/btd/19/119/1911949.pdf) (accessed on August 1, 2021).
21
22 **Kowalak, Marius:** Preliminary results of
23 interdisciplinary provenance research on Tanzanian human
24 remains on the island of Musila In: Immediate handling of human
25 remains in museums and university collections. Voices and case
26 studies, edited by Sandra Mühlenberend, Jakob Fuchs, and Vera
27 Marušić, Dresden, 2018, pp. 111-122.
28
29 **Menghil, Wilfried:** On the history of the Museum für Vor-
30 und Frühgeschichte. Ceremonial lecture by the director of the
31 Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Wilfried Menghin, in: Acta
32 Praehistorica et Archaeologica 38 (2006), pp. 13-20.
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Visualised Inventory of Museum für Vor – und
Frühgeschichte (MVF) / SPK (Museum of Prehistory and
Early History)





- Tanzania: 213
- Rwanda: 907 (6 unclear)
- Kenya: 22;
- unknown, but from former colony of »German Eastafrika«: 1;
- Cameroon: ca. 300
- Togo: ca. 50
- unclear, but from former colony of »German SouthWestafrika«: 100;
- Micronesia: 20
- Nauru:10
- Palau: 10
- Papua-Neuguinea:2000
- USA-Marianen: 20
- unclear, but from former colony of »German Neuguinea«: 40
- Samoa: 2

Ca. 3,800 (about 7,700 skulls and bones in the »Luschan-collection«)

Inventory overview

Complete inventory in a joint database with the »RV-Collection« (BGAEU); approx. 1500 skulls and bones with no evidence of origin

Provenance research

Provenance research, project-related and v. a. externally funded:

- .2016–2019: Provenance research on approx. 120 human remains from New Zealand/Aotearoa in the »S-collection« and the anatomical collection of the Charité by Winkelmann, Fründt and Stoecker
- .2017–19 Gerda Henkel Foundation funded research on 1,153 human remains from East Africa
- .2018–2019 provenance research project from SPK's own funds on 36 ancestral remains from Hawaii (MVF and BGAEU)
- .2021–2024 provenance research on holdings from »German SouthWestafrika«
- .Longer project on the Pacific region planned from 2024 onwards

Stand repatriations/burials

Repatriations from the collection of the MVF have not yet taken place.

181 see Howes 2020, 91

3.3.1.2. Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (EM)/SPK (Ethnological Museum) Lansstrasse 8; 14195 Berlin Dahlem

Brief history of the institute:

The forerunners of the *Ethnologisches Museum (EM)* lie in the Brandenburg-Preußische Kunstkammern of the 17th and 18th centuries, from which ethnological collections emerged in the 19th century. The establishment of an independent ethnological and anthropological museum in Berlin was decided by Kaiser Wilhelm I at the request of the *BGAEU*. The *Ethnologisches Museum* was established in 1873 as an independent institution under the direction of Adolf Bastian, co-founder of the *BGAEU*. The museum was intended to serve as a documentary repository for objects from non-European cultures. In 1886 the *Ethnologisches Museum* opened as the »Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde« in what is now Stresemannstrasse. The *BGAEU* also had rooms here for its anthropological collection, in addition to the »S-collection« of the *Museum für Völkerkunde* itself created by Luschan (see section 3.1.2). The collection grew immensely, especially during the period of German colonialism.

After the end of the Second World War, the collections were confiscated by the victorious powers and returned to the city of Berlin by the western victorious powers in the 1950s. The objects were brought out of the country as spoils of war by the Soviet Union and, in large parts, returned to the *Museum für Völkerkunde* in Leipzig for storage in the 1970s and returned to Berlin from 1990 onwards. The European collection of the Berlin *Museum für Völkerkunde* was given to the *Museum Europäischer Kulturen* in 1999.

Under the new sponsorship of the *SPK*, the collection was transferred to the museum complex in Berlin-Dahlem in 1964. In 2000 the name was changed to »*Ethnologisches Museum*«. Since 2017, preparations have been made to move the exhibition rooms to the Humboldt Forum in the newly built Berliner Schloss for 2021. The ethnomusicologist Lars-Christian Koch was appointed joint director of the *Ethnologisches* as well as the *Asiatisches Museum* in order to present both collections under the umbrella of the *Humboldt Forum* from 2021. The administration of the museum as well as the library and collections are still located in Berlin-Dahlem.

Developments in dealing with human remains from colonial contexts:

Against the background of national and international

¹⁸² see Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin 2013

¹⁸³ Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz 2015

¹⁸⁴ Gabler/Kepplinger 2017, 36

¹⁸⁵ Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin 2018, 1

1 debates about the repatriation of body parts of indigenous people
 . to their descendants, the human remains in the museum have also
 . become more of a concern among employees since 2012. In response
 . to criticism, two *Toi moko* were removed from the public display
 5 that year and the *Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa* was
 . informed.¹⁸¹ At the engagement of the Australian embassy,
 . negotiations were held as early as 2013 on the return of human
 . remains in the *Ethnologisches Museum* to Australia.¹⁸²
 . The »basic positions of the SPK on the handling of human remains
 10 in the *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin*«¹⁸³ from 2015 are also
 . an expression of the reaction to both external and internal
 . discussions. In particular, the volunteer Katharina Kepplinger
 . and the restorer Diana Gabler criticized the display of
 . human remains, for example heads from the South Seas until 2016,
 15 and their appropriation as collections »instead of a matter of
 . future repatriation efforts questioning their ownership«. ¹⁸⁴

They recommended that initially, a complete inventory
 . be made of all human remains at the museum, including those that
 . are incorporated into objects. In addition, the careful
 20 documentation should be put up for discussion even during the
 . consultations with indigenous representatives. Under the
 . influence of Gabler and Kepplinger, the separate collection of
 . human remains began. As recently as 2018, the Berlin Senate's
 . answer to Daniel Wesener's parliamentary inquiry was that:
 25 »the ethnological collections only contain human remains in
 . processed form, which means that it is not possible to count by
 . individuals.«¹⁸⁵

Even in specialist circles it had not been made known
 . until then that there are still bones with S numbers. In 2020,
 30 the Board of Trustees of the SPK decided to repatriate human
 . bones in a bark coffin and two child mummies, which was postponed
 . due to Corona and is still pending.

Ilja Labinschinski's provenance research project, which
 . runs from 2020–2022, records all remains of human individuals
 35 at the *Ethnologisches Museum*, as these ended up in the
 . collections of ethnological museums due to a racist scientific
 . and collecting practice. According to the provenance
 . researcher, informal, colonial structures must also be assumed
 . for human remains from Latin America. Since the summer of 2021,
 40 the *Ethnologisches Museum* has published a position paper
 . entitled »The colonial debate(s) and the museum's self-image«
 . on its website. This is based on the definition of »colonial
 . contexts« in the guidelines of the *Deutscher Museumsbund*.
 . In the paper, the claim for dealing with the colonial
 45 background of the museum's collection is formulated as follows:

¹⁸⁶ Online: www.smb.museum/museen-einrichtungen/ethnologisches-museum/sammeln-forschen/colonialismus/ (accessed 18.09.2021)

¹⁸⁷ From the reply from Ilja Labinschinski at the Central Archives of the State Museums in Berlin, received on July 13, 2021

¹⁸⁸ see *ibid.*

¹⁸⁹ see *ibid.*

¹⁹⁰ From the attachment to Ms. Thielecke's reply from August 19, 2021

1 *»The employees of the Ethnologisches Museum of*
 . *the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin actively*
 . *strive for such a self-reflective, self-critical*
 . *and power-critical practice, including decolonial*
 5 *approaches. (...) The processing of the colonial*
 . *contexts of the collections changes the*
 . *work and the self-image of the museum.«* ¹⁸⁶

10 According to the museum, an open-ended dialogue about the
 . future of human remains is to be initiated with various
 . interest groups and with the involvement of actors from ancestral
 . communities. ¹⁸⁷

Human remains from colonial contexts:

15 A complete overview has not been possible so far for
 . various reasons, i.e. because the inventory of all stocks
 . has not yet been completed. These include skulls from anthropological
 . collections, bones from archaeological excavations and human
 . remains that have been processed into cultural objects. ¹⁸⁸
 20 Basically, a colonial or injustice context is initially assumed
 . for all human remains based on the background of the collection
 . and the suspicion is checked using provenance research. The
 . number of around 2,089 human remains from colonial contexts (as
 . of July 2021) results from the information from the regional
 25 specialist areas recorded in the databases. The quantitative
 . information relates to inventory numbers. Some of the remains of
 . a person are recorded in several numbers. On the other hand,
 . it cannot always be ruled out that the remains of several people
 . are combined under one number or that the remains of several
 30 people were processed in one object. From the information in the
 . database, the following numbers were found: North and East
 . Asia (33); North Africa, West and Central Asia (5); South and
 . Southeast Asia (30); Africa (166); North America (31);
 . Mesoamerica (96); South America (699); South Seas and Australia
 35 (1026) and in ethnomusicology (3). ¹⁸⁹ After submission
 . by the MVF, the *Ethnologisches Museum* also compiled the human
 . remains from the geographical and temporal areas of official
 . German colonial rule with information on the »significant
 . collectors« for the present report. ¹⁹⁰

40 According to this, the remains of 22 individuals from
 . today's Tanzania and one person from today's Kenya date back to
 . the German colonial era. With regard to the collection
 . of the MVF, here too, among other things, Franz Stuhlmann was
 . responsible for the transfer of human remains to the museum,
 45 as well as Bernhard Perrot and Karl Weule, who after his time at

1 the *Völkerkundemuseum* Berlin became director of the GRASSI
. Museum in Leipzig. The body parts of around 83 people come from
. the context of German colonial rule in West Africa, 67 from
. today's Cameroon and 16 from today's Togo. Here, too, the names
5 Oscar Foerster (commissioner of the South Cameroon expedition),
. the ethnologist Alfred Mansfeld and the botanist Georg Zenker
. stand for the simultaneity of the scientific, military and
. administrative development of the colonies. There are no figures
. for the German colonies in New Guinea, but the same collectors as
10 those of the *MVF* are named (see appendix 2).

. 17 human remains come from the German colonial era in
. Samoa. Here, too, they seem to have the same context of
. origin as that of the two ancestors from Samoa from the Luschan
. collection in the *MVF*, since these also came to Germany through
15 the German governor of the Schultz colony.

Care of the collection:

. The human remains are looked after by the museum's
. custodians in the respective regional specialist areas. The
20 provenance research is carried out by Ilja Labinschinski,
. linked to the *Zentralarchiv* der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin.

Inventory overview:

. The overview of human remains at the *Ethnologisches*
25 *Museum* is based on the entries in the database of the Staatliche
. Museen in Berlin, *Museum Plus*. So far, not all of the museum's
. collections have been recorded in the database (e.g. the
. Oceania collection). Accordingly, the inventory information is
. dependent on the status of the inventory in the regional subject
30 areas. Not all human remains are visible as such in the database
. entries. Others were recorded in the database, but no longer
. exist or can be found. The tailoring of the database to objects
. poses an as yet unsolved problem with the entry of human remains
. (e.g. category of »previous owner«). Furthermore, the
35 traditional classification of human remains, for example into
. ethnologica and archaeologica, must be questioned and the
. information about animal and human materials checked in each
. individual case. The museum employees of all Berlin state
. museums can access the entries on human remains in the database,
40 including photographs. However, if human remains appear on the
. online database *smb digital*, no images should be visible there.

Completed, ongoing or planned provenance research:

. Ilja Labinschinski's provenance research project, which
45 runs from 2020 to 2022, is funded by the *Stiftung Preußischer*
. *Kulturbesitz* and is located at the *Zentralarchiv* of the
. *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin*. The project is intended as a prelude
. to the implementation of further in-depth and cooperative
. research projects. The provenance research on human remains is
50 seen as a permanent task and a continuous process, which should
. continue to be pursued by the provenance research at the
. *Zentralarchiv* together with employees of the EM. At the moment,
. there are various projects at the *Ethnologisches Museum* where
. provenance research is also being carried out-sometimes also on
55 objects where human remains have been incorporated-but no other
. specific projects on human remains.

1 **Methods of provenance research;**

. The core task of the provenance research project is
. initially to complete the inventory of human remains at the *EM*,
. which is still in progress. These were divided into three
5 categories (unprocessed, processed and processed in objects) in
. order to set priorities for further research into the history of
. acquisition and appropriation. Research into the circumstances
. under which the skulls in the anthropological collections
. in the *EM* were appropriated has priority, as is the case with
10 remains with little or no information on their origin, such
. as numberless skulls and bones. For reasons of capacity, only
. random samples of as wide a range as possible (regional,
. temporal, known/unknown provenance) are subjected to further
. in-depth provenance research. It should then generate methods
15 and findings for further research.

. The current provenance research works mainly
. historically and is based on the museum's own sources
. (historical file archive, library, unpublished documentation).
. In certain cases, the anthropologist Ms. Teßmann provides
20 administrative assistance to the *BGAEU*. Invasive anthropological
. methods are not used.

. Research is about to be completed for a part of the
. anthropological collection that is still at the *EM* (38 skulls
. from the so-called S-collection).

25 In addition to the research itself, the provenance
. research project has the task of conducting an internal dialogue
. in the state museums on how to deal with human remains and to
. develop an attitude towards dealing with human remains in the
. collections of the *Ethnologisches Museum*.

30

. **Repatriations:**

. In 2020, two *Toi moko* were repatriated to New Zealand/
. Aotearoa (see chapter 3.3.1). The return of human bones in a bark
. coffin and two child mummies to Australia (see above), which was
35 decided in 2020, will probably be carried out in 2022.

.

. **Exhibition, research and teaching:**

. The *Humboldt Forum* is currently exhibiting individual
. human remains, i.e. a mummy from Peru, as well as objects
40 that may contain human teeth and hair, such as hair strings in
. the Oceania department. According to the knowledge of the
. provenance researcher (November 2021), 24 objects in the Oceania
. area will be exhibited at the *Humboldt Forum* in which the
. remains of human individuals have been processed or human
45 remains that have been processed into objects (e.g. an earlobe
. piercer made from human bones). The magazine *Africa* shows six
. objects in which human remains were processed (3 from Angola, 2
. from Congo and 1 from Cameroon). An object in which human remains
. were processed is also exhibited in the Cameroon module. See
50 the list of a total of 31 processed human remains and incorporated
. into objects in Appendix 5.

. In the exhibition areas of the *Museum für Asian Art* on
. Tibet and in the America exhibitions of the *EM*, which will all
. open in 2022, the exhibition of further human remains are
55 planned. There is also a »Totenbündel« and a wig made from human
. hair from Peru. They are not used for anthropological teaching.

1 There are scientific inquiries about research, especially of human
. remains from archaeological finds, whereby the decision then
. rests with the respective custodian. Further research beyond
. this will only take place within the framework of provenance
5 research, without invasive investigations, i.e. those where the
. body's own material is destroyed.
.

. **Sources used:**

. Written correspondence with Carola Thielecke, head of
10 the legal department of the SPK and the contact person
. authorized by Mr. Parzinger for the present report;
. Conversation with Carola Thielecke and Bernhard Heeb (MVF) on
. June 10th, 2021; Conversation with Ilja Labinschinski on June
. 25, 2021; website of the institution;

15 **Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin:** Printed matter 17/12360.
. Parliamentary question from MEP Clara Herrmann (GRÜNE) and
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. *Humboldt Forum*. Online: [www.neu.isdonline.de/wp-content/
uploads/2013/08/ka17-12360-humboldt-forum.pdf](http://www.neu.isdonline.de/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/ka17-12360-humboldt-forum.pdf) (accessed on
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. contexts?, available online at: [www.pardok.parlament-berlin.de/
25 starweb/adis/citat/VT/18/SchrAnfr/S18-15896.pdf](http://www.pardok.parlament-berlin.de/starweb/adis/citat/VT/18/SchrAnfr/S18-15896.pdf) (accessed on
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. **Gabler, Diana/Kepplinger, Katharina:** Practical Aspects
. of the Care of Human Remains in Ethnographic Collections.
. Using the »Recommendations,« in: Human Remains in Museums and
30 Collections. A Critical Engagement with the »Recommendations
. for the Care of Humans Remains in Museums and Collections« of
. the German Museums Association, edited by Larissa Förster and
. Sarah Fründt, 2017, pp. 35-51.
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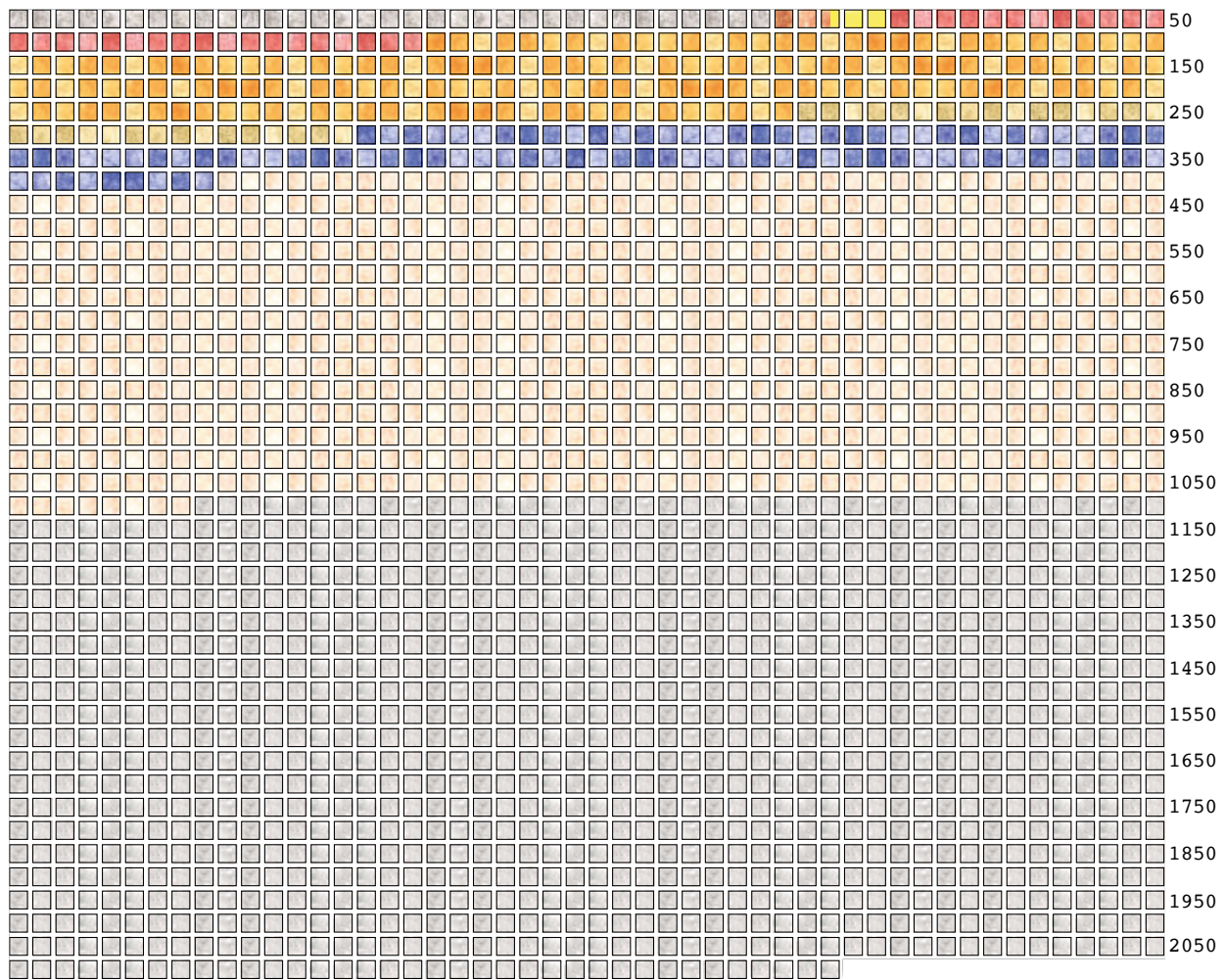
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Visualised Inventory of Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (*EM*) / *SPK* (Ethnological Museum)



- North and East Asia: 33
- North Africa, West and Central Asia: 5
- South and Southeast Asia: 30
- Africa: 166
- North America: 31
- Mesoamerica: 96
- South America: 699
- South Seas and Australia: 1026
- Of these, from former German colonies, in the areas of the following present-day countries: (Tanzania: 21; Kenya: 1; Cameroon: 67; Togo: 16; Samoa: 17)

2,089 Inventory numbers of human remains/objects with processed human remains that came into the collection in the context of a racist science and collection practice

Inventory overview

Entry in the overall museum database, inventory not yet fully completed and information partly unchecked

Provenance research

.2020–2022: Inventory and provenance research by provenance research located at the central archive

.from 2022: further provenance research projects planned

Stand repatriations / burials

See parent institution, repatriated remains come from the holdings at the *EM*

3.3.1.3. Staatsbibliothek Berlin/SPK (Berlin State Library) Unter den Linden 8, 10117 Berlin

History of the institute:

Today's *Staatsbibliothek* goes back to the Court library of a House of Lords in the 17th century, which was then further developed according to the interests and benevolence of the respective ruler. From 1810, it was part of the Prussian state administration, which from 1918 ran it as a public library under the name *Preußische Staatsbibliothek*. With the division of Germany that began after 1945, two independent successor institutions emerged, which were reunited in 1992 under the umbrella of the SPK.

Inventory of human remains from colonial contexts:

On December 1, 2017, a library user discovered a tuft of hair in the manuscript department from the estate of Felix v. Luschan and reported this. This find was not known to the library until then and, according to them, probably comes from the same estate as hundreds of skulls from Africa that went to the *Völkerkundemuseum* Berlin during the colonial period.

The user was Konradin Kunze, who had been involved in the search for the head of Mangi Meli (see Chapter 2.2.1) for years and who processed both written and oral testimonies in an exhibition that can now be seen in Moshi, Tanzania. Since the tufts of hair lay between the completed forms of mostly imprisoned people, which von Luschan had anthropologically measured during his trip to South Africa in 1905, Kunze concluded that the hair samples were remnants for the purpose of »racial« research and were acquired under duress.

Provenance research:

The *Staatsbibliothek* itself did not conduct any provenance research and is waiting for the skulls from the same Luschan's estate to be examined.

Repatriations:

According to its own information, the library is happy to return the hair from the same collection in the event that the skulls are repatriated.

Exhibition, research and teaching:

After a written consultation with the SPK lawyer, the materials were blocked for any further use.

Sources used:

Written correspondence with the *Staatsbibliothek* Berlin; written correspondence with Konradin Kunze; website of the institution

Visualised Inventory of the Staatsbibliothek Berlin / SPK



1 Tuft of hair

Inventory overview

Otherwise no stock of human remains

Provenance research

The State Library is awaiting research on the skulls from
the same Luschan's estate

Stand repatriations/burials

The library is ready to repatriate the hair

3.3.2. Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte/(BGAEU) (Berlin Society for Anthropology, Ethnology and Prehistory)

BGAEU office, Ewa Dutkiewicz,
Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte,
Geschwister-Scholl-Strasse 6, 10117 Berlin

History of the institute:

The *Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte (BGAEU)* emerged from the »*Berliner Anthropologische Gesellschaft*«. It was founded in 1869 by the doctor and anthropologist Rudolf Virchow together with other scientists from various fields such as Adolf Bastian. From the very beginning, the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie (ZfE)* was the official publication organ of the *Berliner Gesellschaft* and is still published today. The monthly meetings of the society served to present the results of field research, travel and collecting activities. The foundation supported excavations and excursions with its own funds and thus contributed to the collections of various institutions. A large network was activated of international collectors, all men with links to politics and business. Between 1869 and 1945, the BGAEU had a total of 3.565 ordinary, corresponding, permanent and honorary members. With one exception, women were excluded for a long time. The BGAEU supported the establishment of the *Museum für Ethnologie* and used its own premises. However, it was important for it to build up a purely scientific collection, which should not be open to the public, but should only be available to the Gesellschaft itself.

Regular general meetings are still held today. The *Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* is a non-profit organization. Prof. Dr. Elke Kaiser has been the chairperson since 2020. Since summer 2010, the BGAEU has curated the anthropological Rudolf Virchow collection, claiming ownership thereof on its website. It also maintains an archive.

Developments in dealing with human remains from colonial contexts:

Since the BGAEU's reply itself contained little information, the assessment of the critical public and specialist literature is given below. After the takeover of the RV collection, Black and post-colonial civil society associations criticized the BGAEU's lack of transparency and reluctance to cooperate. Representatives of the ancestral communities, for instance, were denied access to the collection or excluded from discussions, while at the same time, the BGAEU is offering to scientists on the internet »the (chargeable) research on the Rudolf Virchow Collection, which was assembled under inhumane circumstances«. ⁴³¹

The BGAEU rejected research projects to clarify the origin of the mortal remains even if they can be clearly assigned to a colonial context, such as human remains from the

¹⁹¹ Central Council of the African Community, Initiative of Black People in Germany, »No Humboldt 21!«, »Genocide does not expire!« 2014

¹⁹² see Stoecker/Winkelmann 2018, 10

¹⁹³ see Howes 2020, 91

¹⁹⁴ see Howes 2020, 92

¹⁹⁵ Förster u. a. 2018, 55

1 time of the genocide of the Nama and OvaHerero from Namibia.
 . Contrary to previous agreements, the BGAEU was not prepared, for
 . example, to research the exact origin of the remains of an
 . estimated eleven people from the area of what is now Namibia in
 5 the RV-collection via the research program of the Charité Human
 . Remains Project.¹⁹² As part of her employment from 2011 to 2015
 . at the Australian Embassy in Berlin, the science historian
 . Hilary Howes also carried out preliminary provenance research
 . in the BGAEU's holdings in order to find ancestors of the
 10 Australian Aboriginal people in German institutions. The
 . Australian government is committed to providing assistance in
 . repatriating these people. Howes argues that the long-
 . criticized refusal of the BGAEU to cooperate on questions of
 . repatriation and provenance research is due to the attitude of
 15 the previous chairman Markus Schindlbeck.¹⁹³ Under his successor
 . Wolfram Schier, the BGAEU has taken a new path and worked on a
 . position paper on the handling of human remains in the
 . collections of the State Museums, which, according to Hilary
 . Howes, should also affect the Rudolf Virchow Collection.¹⁹⁴
 20 Nevertheless, in an article published in 2018, the
 . provenance researchers Larissa Förster, Dag Henrichsen, Holger
 . Stoecker and Hans Axasi Eichab found that there is still
 . resistance at the BGAEU to clarify the origin of the skulls and
 . bones and formulate the following thesis:

25 . *»One would think that increased knowledge about
 . the history of the collection would be welcomed
 . as a positive gain. However, it seems that
 . there is a certain vested interest in the de-
 30 historicizing of the skeletons. The fading-out
 . of the circumstances of acquisition and the
 . contexts of origin, which are increasingly seen
 . as politically damaging and ethically
 . problematic, obviously seems to be a precondition
 35 for continued use of the bones as anthropological
 . research resources.«¹⁹⁵*

40 . The response to the request for information for the
 . present report did not reveal any indications of a change in the
 . institution's attitude and information policy presented here.
 . In a brief statement, the BGAEU characterized itself as a
 . private institution based on voluntary work. Information is
 . only given on inquiries whose scientific interest is justified in
 . writing. The present report apparently does not meet these
 45 criteria. Inquiries about ethical science are investigated

- ¹⁹⁶ see reply from the 1st chairwoman, Elke Kaiser, on behalf of the BGAEU on May 18, 2021
¹⁹⁷ see *ibid.*
¹⁹⁸ see Förster u. a. 2018, 53
¹⁹⁹ see Creutz 2006
²⁰⁰ Kunst/Creutz 2013, 104
²⁰¹ Viewing an example table during the conversation between the author and MVF staff on June 22nd, 2021

1 after receipt of specific information that proves a context of
. injustice. ¹⁹⁶

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Human remains from colonial contexts:

5 The BGAEU does not provide any information on the
. existence of human remains, as there are no explicit country
. lists or lists about »colonial contexts«. ¹⁹⁷ The database
. is identical to that of the S-collection. The MVF's offer to
. publish the information on human remains that probably came to
10 the collections of both institutions from the context of German
. colonialism was not accepted by the BGAEU. A reconstruction of
. the holdings from the primary and secondary literature cannot be
. provided within the scope of the present report. In the absence
. of information from the institution itself or a publicly or
15 scientifically accessible inventory list, the approximately
. 3,500 human remains in the RV collection can either not be
. included in the inventory or can be included in their entirety.
. Similar to the collection of the EM, the RV collection was also
. created in the context of racist scientific and collection practice.
20 As long as no evidence is presented for an individual, ethically
. justifiable context of appropriation of the individual remains,
. the assignment to the category »colonial contexts« as whole
. would result in a less distorted inventory than its omission.

.
25

Care of the collection:

. As a member of the BGAEU, the prehistorian and
. anthropologist Barbara Teßmann looks after the anthropological
. Rudolf Virchow collection on a voluntary basis.

.
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Inventory overview:

. A three-volume directory of the RV-collection was created
. around 1910, as were inventory maps with detailed entries.
. Only a few of the inventory maps, which contain more detailed
. and therefore important information for provenance research,
35 have survived. ¹⁹⁸ In the 1990 inventory, 3.365 individuals
. are listed. ¹⁹⁹ In connection with the move into the MVF, the
. current database, in which the RV-collection together the
. S-collection is shown, was compared up to 2013 ²⁰⁰ and contains
. only a few metadata: status; ID; labeling; comment; city;
40 island; province; region; canton; country; continent
. region; continent; former colony; former country attribution;
. ethnicity; collector; date; skeletal element. ²⁰¹

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Completed, ongoing or planned provenance research:

2011–2016 provenance research on the ancestral

²⁰² see Thaler 2014

²⁰³ Howes 2016

²⁰⁴ see ONGI 2017

²⁰⁵ According to Bernhard Heeb on 22nd June 2021

²⁰⁶ see Grill/Bruser 2020

²⁰⁷ see Oda 2017

1 remains by Jacobus Hendrick and Oantab from today's
 . Namibia in the *BGAEU*'s holdings by Larissa Förster,
 . Holger Stoecker, Dag Henrichsen and Hans Axasi Eichab; free
 . research
 5 2011–2013: Matthias Glaubrecht, Nils Seethaler,
 . Barbara Teßmann and Katrin Koel-Abt carry out anthropological
 . research and historical research on a skull of an Aleut from
 . Alaska, which was brought to Berlin by Adelbert von Chamisso and
 . which they call »biohistorical research« describe.²⁰²
 10 April – August 2016: Provenance research by Hilary Howes
 . on 19 skulls in the RV collection that were assigned to
 . people from Australia. The research of the Australian German
 . Association Inc. was funded by its AGA-Goethe Fellowship
 . Program.²⁰³
 15 2017: Signing of a cooperation agreement between ONGI
 . (OvaHerero, Mbanderu and Nama Genocides Institute) and the
 . *BGAEU* to conduct provenance research on human remains from
 . Namibia so that they can be repatriated.²⁰⁴ Due to a lack of
 . funding, among other things, the continuation of this
 20 cooperation project is still pending.
 . 2017–2019 in the provenance research project of the *MVF*
 . on human remains from the German colonial areas in East Africa,
 . 40–50 skulls from the *BGAEU*'s holdings were also included.²⁰⁵
 . July 2018 – February 2019 Provenance research project on
 25 36 skulls from Hawaii, financed from the *SPK*'s own funds with
 . approx. 20,000 euros: Gesa Grimme examined 15 skulls from
 . the Rudolf Virchow collection that were added to the collection
 . by E. Arning; the origin of the skulls brought by Finsch
 . and Neuhauss were examined historically by Heidrun Voigt and
 30 anthropologically by Ms. Storch.
 . 2020: Investigative journalism leads to the discovery of
 . four skulls of the indigenous population of Canada, which
 . were given to Virchow by William Osler in 1884. Long-time
 . repatriation practitioner Rick Hill used the information for
 35 the chiefs of the Six Nations to write an application for the
 . return of the skulls.²⁰⁶
 .
 . **Repatriations:**
 . In 2017, the *BGAEU* returned a mummy from Queensland,
 40 Australia, which Hermann Klaatsch had sent to Germany in
 . 1905, to the relatives. In the same year, an Ainu skull was
 . returned to Japan. The grave robbery of said skull was presented
 . and documented at a meeting of the *BGAEU* in 1880. However,
 . there are still five Ainu skulls in the Rudolf Virchow Collection
 45 and another ten in the *SPK* holdings.²⁰⁷ The repatriation

²⁰⁸ see Stoecker/Winkelmann 2018, 10

²⁰⁹ see Förster a. o. 2018, 54

1 talks about the human remains with what is now Namibia²⁰⁸, which
 . began in 2011, have not yet led to any return by the BGAEU.

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 .

Exhibition, research and teaching:

5 The human remains of the people in the RV-collection are
 . »available to scientists from all over the world for study
 . and analysis,« according to the company on its website. Research
 . projects with »irreversible interventions in the substance of
 . the objects« or that require transport may have to be advised by
 10 the board of directors. A processing fee is payable. Since the RV
 . collection is primarily a research collection, it is not accessible
 . to the public outside of scientific inquiries. Individual skulls
 . were only used for exhibition purposes in exceptional cases, e.g.
 . on the occasion of Rudolf Virchow's 150th birthday in 1971.²⁰⁹

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Sources used:

. Written correspondence with Elke Kaiser, 1st chairwoman
 . of the BGAEU; Conversation with employees of the MVF (Bernhard
 . Heeb, Marius Kowalak, Ms. Rexin) on June 22nd, 2021; website of
 20 the institution;

. **Benninghoff-Lühl, Sibylle/Joch, Markus:** Leben für die
 . Sammlung. 13. Oktober 1902: Gedenkfeier zum Tode Rudolf
 . Virchows, in: Mit Deutschland um die Welt: Eine Kulturgeschichte
 . des Fremden in der Kolonialzeit, herausgegeben von Alexander
 25 Honold und Klaus R. Scherpe, Stuttgart, 2004, S. 279-287.

. **Förster, Larissa u. a.:** Re-individualizing Human Remains
 . from Namibia. Colonialism, grave robbery and intellectual
 . history, in: Human Remains and Violence: An Interdisciplinary
 . Journal 4 (2018), S. 45-66.

30 **Howes, Hilary:** Provenance Report Berlin Society for
 . Anthropology, Ethnology and Prehistory (BSAEP), Berlin, Germany,
 . April-August 2016. Online: [www. aga.org.au/wp-content/
 . uploads/2016/12/161125_HilaryHowes_BSAEP- ProvenanceReport.pdf](http://www.aga.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/161125_HilaryHowes_BSAEP-ProvenanceReport.pdf)
 . (accessed 12.03.2021).

35 **Howes, Hilary:** Germany's engagement with the
 . repatriation issue, in: The Routledge companion to Indigenous
 . repatriation: return, reconcile, renew, herausgegeben von
 . Cressida Fforde, C. Timothy McKeown, und Honor Keeler, Abingdon,
 . Oxon, 2020, S. 83-100.

40 **Oda, Hiroshi:** Odyssey of an Ainu-skull: From Bone to
 . Human Being. 2015. Online: [www.skyandocean.sakura.ne.jp/Berlin
 . conference_15.10.2017.pdf](http://www.skyandocean.sakura.ne.jp/Berlin_conference_15.10.2017.pdf) (accessed 12.03.2021).

. **ONGI (OvaHerero, Mbanderu and Nama Genocides Institute):**
 . Reclaiming the Remains: ONGI Working to Repatriate 11 Namibian
 45 Remains, 2017. Online: www.theongi.org/?p=1152 (accessed 15.11.2021).

1 **Stoecker, Holger:** Human Remains als historische Quellen
2 zur namibisch-deutschen Geschichte. Ergebnisse und Erfahrungen
3 aus einem interdisziplinären Forschungsprojekt. In: Sources and
4 methods for African history and culture: essays in honor of Adam
5 Jones, herausgegeben von Geert Castryck u.a., Leipzig, 2016, S.
6 469-491.

7 **Glaubrecht, Matthias u. a.:** The potential of biohistory:
8 Re-discovering Adelbert von Chamisso's skull of an Aleut
9 collected during the 'Rurik' Expedition 1815-1818 in Alaska.
10 In: Zoosystematics and Evolution 89 (2013), S. 317-336.

11 **Grill, Markus/Bruser, David:** Verschollene Fundstücke:
12 Auf der Spur der indigenen Schädel. 2020. Online:
13 www.tagesschau.de/investigativ/ndr-wdr/schaedel-kolonialzeit-101.html
14 (accessed 22.10.2021).

15 **Stoecker, Holger/Winkelmann, Andreas:** Skulls and
16 skeletons from Namibia in Berlin: Results of the Charité Human
17 Remains Project, in: Human Remains and Violence: An
18 Interdisciplinary Journal 4, 2018, S. 5-26.

19 **Zentralrat der Afrikanischen Gemeinde, Initiative**
20 **Schwarze Menschen in Deutschland, »No Humboldt 21!«,**
21 **»Völkermord verjährt nicht!«:** Presseerklärung: Bundesregierung
22 plant Abschiebung menschlicher Gebeine aus der Kolonialzeit.
23 2014. Online: [www.isdonline.de/bundesregierung-plant-](http://www.isdonline.de/bundesregierung-plant-abschiebung-menschlicher-gebeine-aus-der-kolonialzeit/)
24 [abschiebung-menschlicher-gebeine-aus-der- kolonialzeit/](http://www.isdonline.de/bundesregierung-plant-abschiebung-menschlicher-gebeine-aus-der-kolonialzeit/)
25 (accessed 05.07.2021).

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Visualised Inventory of the Berliner Gesellschaft
für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte
(BGAEU)



No information given; the entire inventory of the »RV-collection« amounts to the body parts, mainly the skulls of approx. 3,500 individuals who came into the collection in the context of a racist scientific and collecting practice

Inventory overview

Complete inventory in a joint database with the »Luschan Collection« in the *MVF*

Provenance research

- .2011–2016: Free research by Förster, Stoecker, Henrichsen and Axasi-Eichab on Ancestral Remains by Jacobus Hendrick and Oantab from today's Namibia
- .2011–2013: »Biohistorical research« on a skull of an Aleut from Alaska by Glaubrecht, Seethaler, Teßmann and Koel-Abt
- .2016: Howes researched 19 Aboriginal Ancestral Remains funded by the Australian-German Association Inc.
- .2017: Unfulfilled cooperation agreement between *ONGI* (OvaHerero, Mbanderu and Nama Genocides Institute) and the *BGAEU*
- .2017–2019: Provenance research project of the *MVF* on human remains from East Africa, with approx. 40–50 skulls from the *BGAEU*'s holdings
- .2018–2019: Provenance research project from SPK's own funds on 36 Ancestral Remains from Hawai'i (in the *MVF* and *BGAEU* holdings)

Stand repatriations/burials

- .Repatriation to Australia in 2017: a mummy
- .Repatriation to Japan 2017: 1 skull

240 Winkelmann 2013, 72

3.3.3. Charité – Anatomische Sammlung (im Waldeyer Haus) und Medizinhistorische Sammlung (BMM) (Anatomical Collection (in the Waldeyer House) and Berlin Medical History Collection) Berlin Medical History Museum, Charitéplatz 1, 10117 Berlin

History of the institute:

In 2003, the medical and university institutions of Berlin merged under the umbrella of the »Charité-Universitätsmedizin Berlin«. Various institutes came together here that shaped the discipline of anatomy in Berlin. From the very beginning, human remains were kept as specimens in collections at the anatomical facilities where they were used for research and teaching and at times also exhibited for a specialist audience or the general public.

The history of Berlin's anatomy starts in 1713 with the first professorship for anatomy and the anatomical theater in the halls of the *Societät der Wissenschaften im Königlichen Marstall* at *Charlottenstraße* (today the grounds of the *Staatsbibliothek »Unter den Linden«*). The anatomical collection of around 3,000 specimens put together by Professor Johann Gottfried Walters was purchased by the Prussian king in 1803 and expanded until 1833 into an »Anatomisch Zootomisches Museum«. Karl Asmund Rudolphi, the first university professor, was in charge of expanding the collection for exhibition, teaching and research purposes. In the period that followed, the collection grew rapidly. When they moved out of the main university building in 1884, their 26,358 specimens were divided among several facilities. In addition to a skull collection (with so-called »racial skulls«), around 1,000 specimens found their way into the new building of the Institute for Anatomy²⁴⁰, which was then headed by Karl Reichert and, from 1883, by Wilhelm Waldeyer. The remaining holdings were »given to zoology and pathology, among other things.«

During the second half of the 19th century, the researching pathologist Rudolf Virchow also collected human specimens from the dissection operations of his institute at the Charité. Due to his central position in the *BGAEU* and his well-known research interest, he was also sent non-European human remains. For anthropological research and the question of colonial contexts, the aforementioned »Racial Skull Collection«,

²⁴⁴ see Stoecker/Winkelmann 2018, 8

²⁴² Fuhr/Seewald 2015

1 whose origins date back to the beginning of the 18th century, is
 . of particular importance. It contains more than 800 skulls that
 . came into the collection from overseas.²⁴⁴ The majority of this
 . collection, as well as the S- and RV-collections that the
 5 *Charité* has in the meantime stored in trust was transferred to a
 . depot of the *Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz* at the end of
 . 2011. The reason was termination of the storage facility rented
 . by the *Charité*, where the collection had previously been kept in
 . an »almost unworthy condition«. ²⁴²

10

**Developments in dealing with human remains
 from colonial contexts:**

. As early as 2004, inquiries from political
 . representatives and indigenous groups from various countries
 15 such as New Zealand/Aotearoa, Australia and Namibia reached the
 . *Charité*. These intensified from 2008 and also included specific
 . demands for repatriation. On November 12th, 2008 the chairman
 . of the board of the *Charité-Universitätsmedizin Berlin Karl Max*
 . *Einhäupl* and the then Australian ambassador Ian Kemish signed
 20 an agreement (memorandum of understanding), thereby agreeing on
 . the repatriation of the human remains of the Aboriginal people
 . and the Torres Strait Islander to Australia.

. The *Charité* Human Remains Project was created in
 . response to inquiries to which the *Charité* initially had no
 25 answers. This research project comprised extensive individual
 . case studies with historical-ethnological and medical-
 . anatomical research, coupled with a biological-anthropological
 . assessment, on all human remains from the requested regions of
 . origin in the anthropological *Charité* collections from
 30 colonial contexts. In the sense of re-individualization or
 . re-humanization, information should, as far as possible, be
 . gathered to shed light on the individual backgrounds of those
 . people whose bodies or body parts ended up in the collections.
 . For contextualization, the research ultimately also aimed
 35 at the specific history of the collection with its involvement in
 . colonial contexts.

. According to Thomas Schnalke, director of the *Berlin*
 . *Medizinhistorisches Museum* at the *Charité*, the official
 . declaration by the *Charité* management in 2011 was also decisive
 40 for the work. In it, the *Charité* undertakes to repatriate all
 . human remains from its anthropological collections from the
 . colonial era. The *Charité* Human Remains Project has so far
 . led to nine handover ceremonies with 227 individuals to Namibia,
 . Australia (including Tasmania), Paraguay and New Zealand/
 45 Aotearoa. Based on the experiences of past repatriations,

1 provenance research has now also been initiated and carried out
. proactively in order to explicitly address the respective
. countries and ancestral communities with the research results.
. When contacting the indigenous communities and their local
5 and national representatives, the *Charité* is concerned with
. discussing the further handling and whereabouts of the remains.
. During the research for the present report, those responsible
. for the *Charité* project refused to provide further information
. on the grounds that this would not serve the objectives of
10 the project. The priority lies in forwarding the sensitive
. information gathered in the Case reports, initially exclusively
. to the ancestral communities, in order to coordinate an adequate
. handling of the »human remains«. In this communicative process,
. the voices of the communities have absolute priority with regard
15 to determining how, besides the "human remains" themselves,
. the information provided is to be dealt with. In addition, there
. is interest to present such information in the form of
. publications so that it can be differentiated, contextualized
. and integrated and conveyed in the sense of rehumanization.
20 Accordingly, a long list of publications (see Appendix 3) was
. part of the information passed on for the present report.
. .

Human remains from colonial contexts:

. The current collection of human remains from colonial
25 appropriation in the *Charité* is very special, as it is part of
. the *Charité*- and S-collections that were stored together before
. 2011. When the large collections were handed over to the *SPK*
. and *BGAEU* in 2011, the *Charité* kept just under 300 remains from
. colonial contexts. These were above all those for which
30 repatriation requests had already been received at that time.
. According to the institution, these are remains-mainly from the
. African continent-of a total of 58 people: from today's
. Tanzania (17), South Africa (8), Namibia (3), Mozambique (2),
. Rwanda (2), Cameroon (2), Togo (1), Ethiopia (1) and Congo (1).
35 The inventory also includes 10 human remains, which are assigned
. to various islands and areas in Oceania, and eight more with
. unclear origins from different contexts.
. .

Care of the human remains:

40 Responsible for handling human remains from colonial
. contexts at the *Charité* are: Prof. Dr. Thomas Schnalke, Director
. of the *Berlin Medizinhistorisches Museum (BMM)* at the *Charité*
. and Dr. Judith Hahn, historian at the *BMM*, in collaboration with
. Dr. Holger Stoecker, historian and provenance researcher
45

Inventory overview:

. Since only a certain part of the collection remained in
. the *Charité*, the inventory is complete here. For the most part
. of the human remains, extensive case reports have already been
50 drawn up in the course of provenance research.
. .

Completed, ongoing or planned provenance research:

. 2010–2013: Funding of the *Charité* Human Remain Project
. for three years in the amount of € 300,000 by the *Deutsche*
55 *Forschungsgesellschaft (DFG)*. The project management was carried
. out by Thomas Schnalke and Andreas Winkelmann.

²⁴³ Stoecker 2016, 471

²⁴⁴ see Winkelmann 2020

1 2014: Report commissioned by the Australian government
 . on Aboriginal ancestral remains in the *Charité*, the Martin
 . Luther University in Halle and the Senckenberg Nature Museum in
 . Frankfurt, carried out by Michael Cawthorn

5 2016–2019: Provenance research on approx. 120 human
 . remains from New Zealand/Aotearoa in the S collection and the
 . anatomical collection of the *Charité* by Andreas Winkelmann,
 . Sarah Fründt and Holger Stoecker

10 November 2018 – October 2019: Based on a research
 . funding by the Fritz Thyssen Foundation, Holger Stoecker and
 . Sarah Fründt carried out the proactive investigation of 37
 . remains from colonial contexts of the 19th and early 20th of
 . people of presumably African origin.

15 **Methods of provenance research:**

16 Since the *Charité* Human Remains Project is considered to
 . be pioneering in the German context and decisive in terms of
 . methods, the interdisciplinary orientation and the practice-
 . relevant objectives of the research should be emphasized at this
 20 point. The historian Holger Stoecker points out that the
 . provenance research was an interdisciplinary, but not an
 . academic or collection-internal initiative: »Rather, it [*the*
 . *Charité* Human Remains Project] should create a reliable
 . knowledge base with the help of historical-ethnological,
 25 *medical-anatomical and biological-anthropological expertise in*
 . *a worsening political situation-with a considerable potential*
 . *burden for the foreign policy relations between Germany and*
 . *Namibia-in order to find a political solution to this problem,*
 . *which has been partly thoughtless and partly unknown for*
 30 *decades.*« ²⁴³

31 The working methods and experiences of the *Charité* Human
 . Remains Project was groundbreaking for further provenance
 . research projects. The methodological and technical knowledge
 . is conveyed in a practical working tool for interdisciplinary
 35 provenance research on human remains from colonial contexts.

36 Collaborative provenance research with scientists and
 . ancestral communities only took place in individual cases as
 . part of the provenance research of the human remains in the care
 . of the *Charité*. ²⁴⁴ Invasive methods were not used.

40 **Repatriations:**

41 2011: 20 Nama and OvaHerero individuals, most of whom
 . perished in the concentration camp on Shark Island, to
 . Namibia
 45 2012: 1 individual (Aché) to Paraguay
 2013: 22 individuals from Aboriginal people to Australia

215 see Schnalke 2018

1 2014: 21 individuals to Namibia, including the skeletons
 . of two Damara women, mother and daughter, who were
 . murdered by their employer, as well as relatives of the
 . Nama and OvaHerero
 5 2014: 14 Aboriginal People and Torre Strait Islander
 . individuals to Australia and in another repatriation,
 . the remains of an approx. 15-year-old Tasmanian girl
 . 2017: 1 individual to Australia
 . 2018: 17 individuals of the OvaHerero, Nama, Ovambo
 10 and San to Namibia
 . 2019: 109 Māori and Moriori individuals to New Zealand/
 . Aotearoa (including 1 Toi Moko, who was found in a
 . dental collection)
 .

15 **Exhibition, research and teaching:**

. The human remains of the anthropological collections that
 . remained in the *Charité* are generally not used for research,
 . teaching or exhibition purposes today. As part of the provenance
 . research projects that have been carried out and may still
 20 be implemented in the future, historical archive research and a
 . biological-anthropological assessment of general physical
 . parameters (age, gender, signs of illness) are carried
 . out-based on the specific individual case. In the course of the
 . discussions about human remains from colonial contexts, the
 25 practice of exhibiting human remains at the *Medizinhistorisches*
 . *Museum* was fundamentally reconsidered. 215
 .

. **Sources used:**

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 30 Stoecker; Conversation with Thomas Schnalke and Holger
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Visualised Inventory of Charité – Anatomische Sammlung (im Waldeyer Haus) und Medizinhistorische Sammlung (BMM) (Anatomical Collection (in the Waldeyer House) and Berlin Medical History Collection)



■	Tanzania (Wahehe, Wapangwa, Wambugu, Maasai, Iraq): 17
■	Ethiopia: 1
■	Mozambique (Mang'anja/Nyanja, Monyallo): 2
■	Rwanda (Mtutsi, Rwanda): 2
■	South Africa («Kaffer», Xhosa, Zulu, Mfengu, San, »Gaika Kaffer«): 8
■	Namibia (Damara, Ovambo): 3
■	Togo (Ntcham): Cameroon (Ba-ndeng): 2
■	Liberia? (Kru): 2
■	Congo: 1
■	Oceania (French Island, Solomons Islands, Mangaia, Tahiti, Admiralty Islands, Jap.Caroline Island): 10
■	unclear origin: 8

A total of 58 human remains

Inventory overview

Completely recorded, most of the provenance researched

Provenance research

.2010–2013: Charité Human Remain Project
 .2014: Report on Aboriginal Ancestral Remains et al. at the Charité in Cawthorn, commissioned by the Australian government
 .2016–2019: Provenance research on approx. 120 human remains from New Zealand/Aotearoa in the »S-collection« and the anatomical collection of the Charité by Winkelmann, Fründt and Stoecker
 .2018–19: Fritz Thyssen Foundation funded research by Stoecker & Fründt on human remains of African origin

Stand repatriations / burials

9 repatriations to (year: repatriated human remains):
 .Namibia (2011: 20; 2014: 21; 2018: 17)
 .Paraguay (2012: 1)
 .Australia (2013: 33; 2014: 14 + 1 (to Tasmania); 2017: 1)
 .New Zealand/Aotearoa (2019: 109)

²¹⁶ see Pollock 2016, 733

3.3.4. Site of the former Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institut für Anthropologie, menschliche Erblehre und Eugenik (KWI-A), today's Otto-Suhr-Institut of the Freien Universität Berlin (Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Anthropology, Human Heredity and Eugenics (KWI-A) Ihnestraße 22, 14195 Berlin

History of the institute:

There was a large number of Kaiser Wilhelm Institutes in the Empire, which were supported by the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaften e.V. founded in 1911. These were supposed to serve the basic research by a scientific elite. The *Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institut für Anthropologie, menschliche Erblehre und Eugenik (KWI-A)*, which was inaugurated in 1927 under founding director Eugen Fischer in Berlin-Dahlem, existed until 1945. Individual departments continued to work in other locations. At the *KWI-A* research was carried out on questions that we consider today as human genetics as well as on the conception and as support of measures of so-called »eugenics« or »racial hygiene«. Since the Weimar Republic, institute employees legitimized the forced sterilization of people and supported the National Socialist »racial policy«. In the institute building at Ihnestr. 22 scientists also carried out research on the bodies of people who were murdered in Nazi concentration camps and killing centers. In addition to other collections, the anthropological S-collection compiled by Felix von Luschan was kept by his successor to the Chair of Anthropology at the *Friedrich-Wilhelms-University* in Berlin Eugen Fischer in the attic of the building at Ihnestrasse 22. The role of the S-collections within the institute has so far been little researched.

Developments in dealing with human remains from colonial contexts:

In 2014, during construction work without accompanying archaeological expertise on the FU site around the former *KWI-A*, heavily fragmented human bones from at least 15 individuals ²¹⁶ were found. Although the site of the discovery suggested the context of »racial research« at the *KWI-A*, the bones were cremated after a brief examination by the forensic medicine without further examinations or consultations with representatives of groups of victims of National Socialism. This procedure was heavily criticized nationally and internationally and further investigations were called for. As a result, all

1 soil interventions caused by repairs, gardening or
 . construction work were accompanied by archaeologists (construction
 . supervision). In 2015, the then President of the *Freie*
 . *Universität Berlin* Peter-André Alt set up a working group where
 5 members of the *Freie Universität*, the Max Planck Society (as a
 . successor to the *Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft*) and the
 . Landesdenkmalamt Berlin are represented.

. In addition to four construction supervisions, two
 . targeted excavations were carried out under the direction of the
 10 archaeologist Prof. Dr. Susan Pollock. Human bone fragments
 . were found in three of these six procedures: in November 2015,
 . February 2016 and July-August 2016. A total of 16,000 more
 . or less fragmented human bones (pieces) were found, as well as
 . parts of human plaster casts, bones (fragments) of various
 15 animals (rabbits, rats, pigs, sheep, etc.) and objects (e.g.
 . plastic tags). After the investigations were completed last
 . year, the results were presented in the presence of the chairmen
 . of the Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland and the Zentralrat
 . Deutscher Sinti und Roma. Although the findings showed that human
 20 bones came from different contexts of origin and it could
 . not be ruled out that the period during which the collection was
 . created predates the time of National Socialism, representatives
 . of self-organizations with regard to colonial backgrounds were
 . not included. It was only after a public hearing to present the
 25 study results in February 2021, at which the audience critically
 . commented on the omission, that non-public talks did take
 . place with a smaller number of self-organizations such as the
 . *Afrikarat Berlin-Brandenburg e. V.*, the *Initiative Schwarze*
 . *Menschen in Deutschland (ISD e.V.)* and *korientation e.V.*
 30 Moreover, there are demands from the public for a continuation
 . of the excavations on the site and for clarification. In January
 . 2019, the project »History of *Ihnestraße 22*« started under the
 . direction of the historian Dr. Manuela Bauche. The aim is to
 . process and to make the history of the *KWI-A* visible. A racism-
 35 critical approach is pursued, which traces, for example,
 . the lives of those affected. In addition to a scientific Advisory
 . Board, an Advisory Board made up of representatives from self-
 . organizations has been convened to vote on the project of
 . an information and remembrance site. The Advisory Board, which
 40 meets twice a year, has been steadily expanded to accommodate
 . the variety of groups historically affected by racist and
 . ableist research and policies. There are also organizations on
 . the Advisory Board that represent disabled people or that strive
 . for an appropriate reminder of those who have been sterilized.

45

Human remains from colonial contexts:

. The 16,000 bones come from various collections,
 . including those that can be dated back to before the Nazi era. A
 . colonial context cannot therefore be ruled out. The analysis
 50 by anthropologists Emmanuel Petiti and Julia Gresky revealed
 . that the bones belong to at least 54 and possibly more than 100
 . people of various ages.

.

Care of the collection:

55 The working group set up in 2015 and chaired by the
 . President of the *Freie University* (see above) is responsible for

217 Pollock/Bernbeck 2021

1 further handling of the recovered human remains. Since July
 . 2018, Günter M. Ziegler is President of the *FU*. In addition to
 . members of the *Freie Universität*, the *Max Planck Gesellschaft*
 . and the Landesdenkmalamt Berlin are represented in the working
 5 group, and the statements of the self-organizations and
 . victims' associations are included in the consultations.
 .

Inventory overview:

. In addition to the 16,000 bones recovered so far, it is
 10 very likely that there are other pits with buried human remains
 . on the site around the former *KWI-A*. Moreover, it can also
 . be assumed that there were other remains on the site that were
 . lost during the construction of the university library
 . without appropriate supervision of the building process. So far,
 15 little is known about the history of the various sub-collections
 . of the *KWI-A*.
 .

Completed, ongoing or planned provenance research:

. Dr. Susan Pollock, from the Institut für Vorderasiatische
 20 Archäologie at the *Freie Universität* Berlin, led the
 . archaeological excavations. The osteological analysis of the
 . human bones was carried out by the anthropologists Emmanuele
 . Petiti and Julia Gresky from the Deutsches Archäologisches
 . Institut. The opinions of representatives of the self-
 25 organizations were consulted on the questions of need and the
 . implementation of further methods and analyzes to clarify the
 . provenance. Susan Pollock and Reinhard Bernbeck wrote about this
 . in August 2021: »Since the Zentralräte der Juden, der Sinti
 . and Roma as well as self-organizations of descendants of
 30 formerly colonized people do not want any further research on
 . these remains, any additional analysis is prohibited.« 217
 . Moreover, the authors are of the opinion that the decision to
 . carry out further excavations should not be left with the
 . specialists from history and archeology or institutions, but the
 35 civil society organizations mentioned.
 .

Methods of provenance research:

. The human remains from the test excavations of 2015 and
 . 2016 were examined using non-invasive osteological analyzes by a
 40 research group led by archaeologist Prof. Dr. Susan Pollock from
 . the *Freie Universität* Berlin for age, gender, skeletal part
 . (localization of the bone part in the human body), pathological
 . and taphonomic features and traces of processing and impact. In
 . a non-public round of talks, the chairmen of the Zentralrat der
 45 Juden in and the Zentralrat Deutscher Sinti und Roma spoke out

1 against invasive methods for further research into the victims
 . of racist research.

. **Exhibition, research and teaching:**

5 The human remains are expected to be buried in a cemetery
 . and will not be released for exhibitions, research and teaching.

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 . [herkunft-der-knochenfunde-an-der-fu-berlin/27289342.html](http://www.tagesspiegel.de/wissen/moegliche-verbindungen-zur-kolonialzeit-und-auschwitz-die-schwierige-herkunft-der-knochenfunde-an-der-fu-berlin/27289342.html)

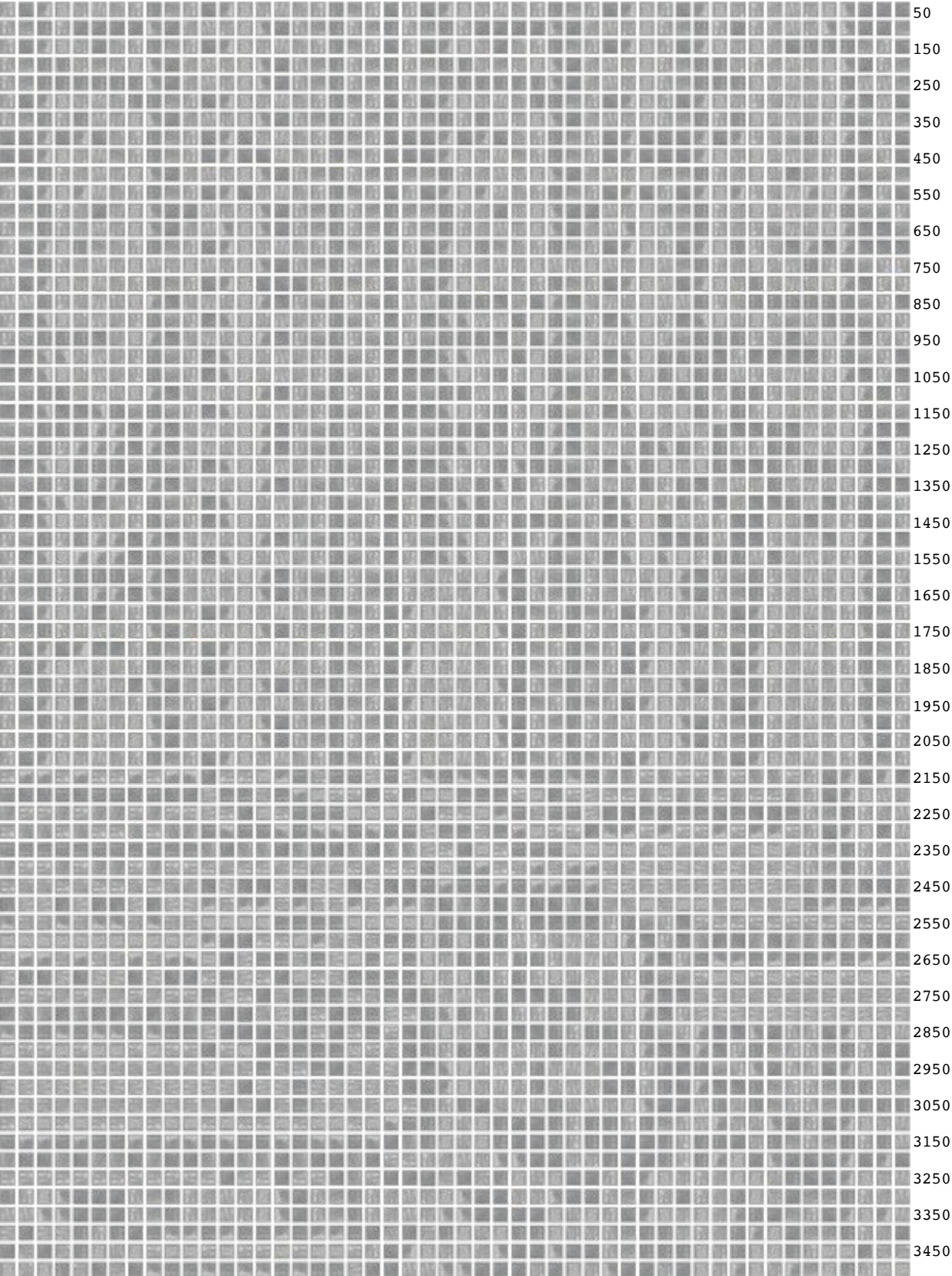
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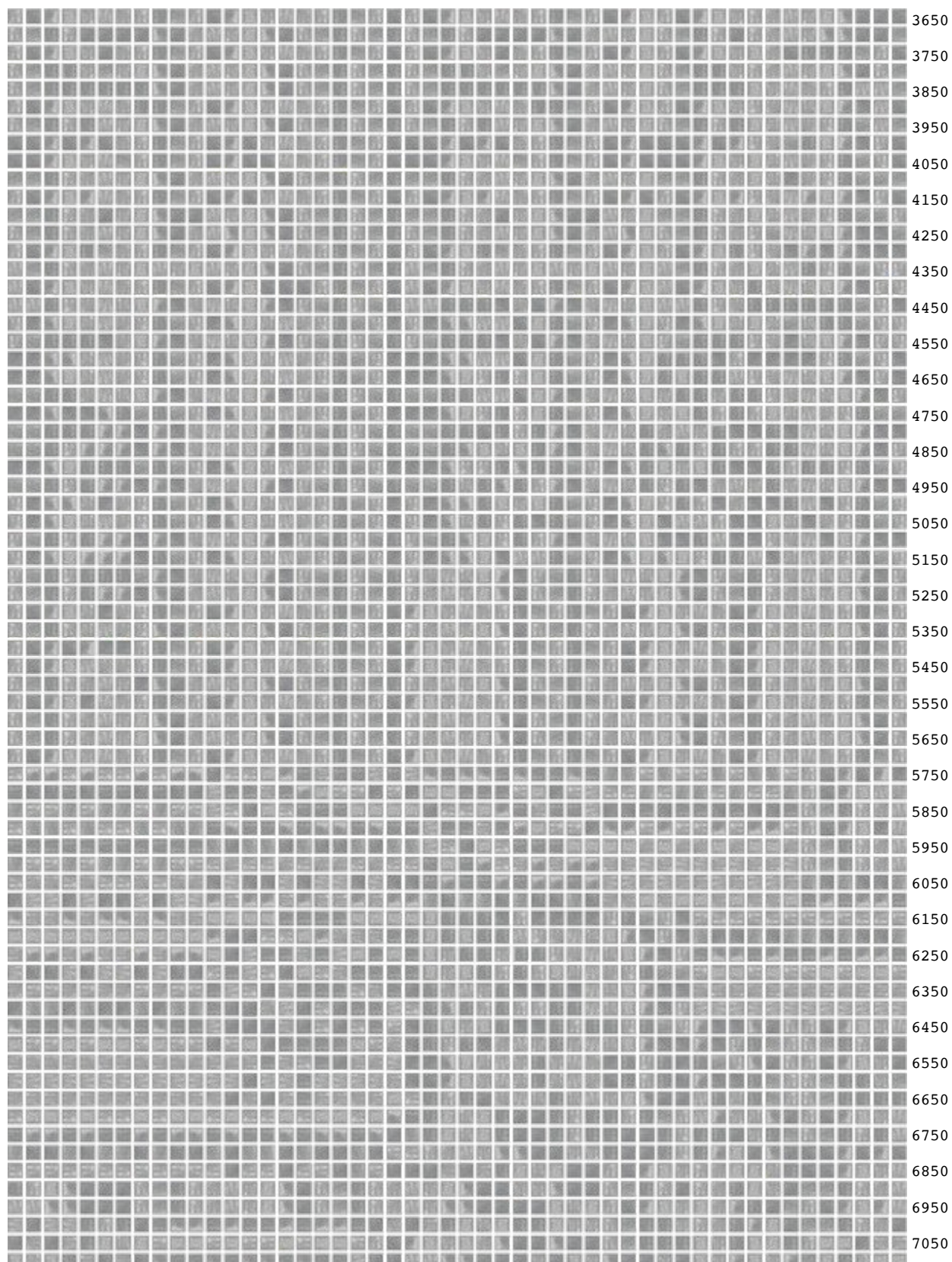
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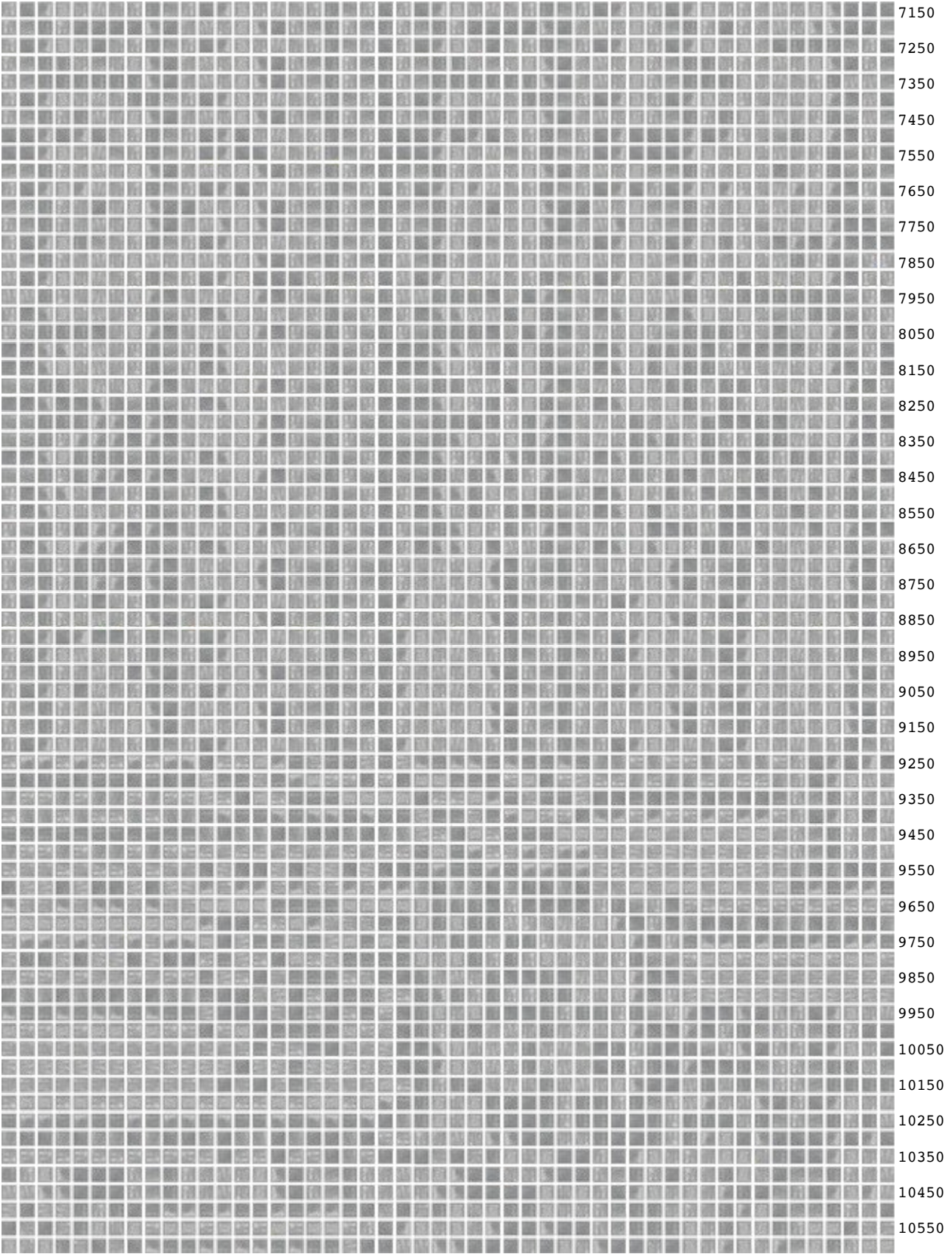
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Visualised Inventory of bone fragments on the Site of the former
Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institut für Anthropologie, menschliche
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the Freien Universität Berlin (Kaiser Wilhelm Institute
for Anthropology, Human Heredity and Eugenics (KWI-A)

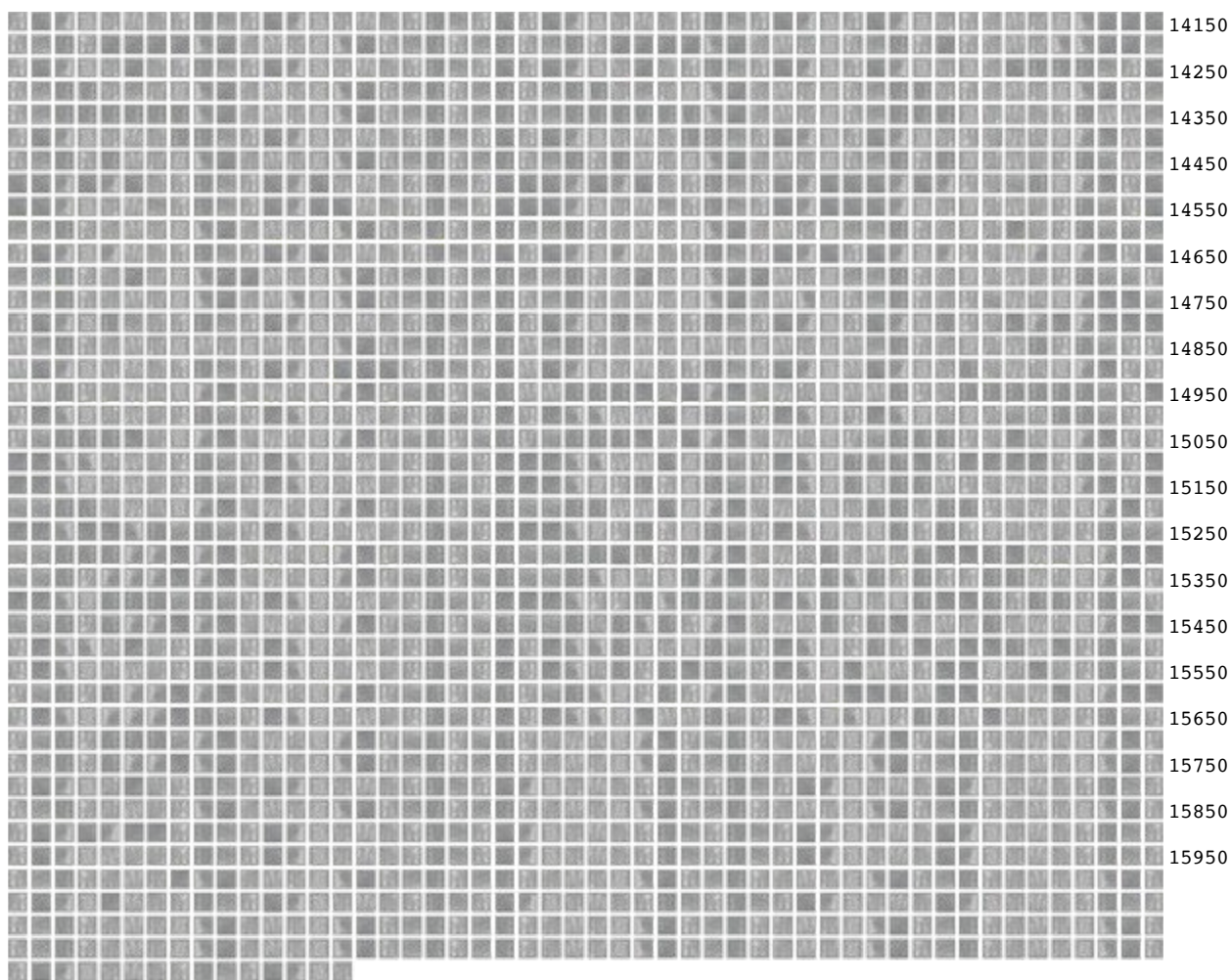


This graph presents the number of bone fragments found during excavations on the KWI-A site. No conclusions can be drawn about the actual number of individuals, whose remains were found.





[illegible]



Following the excavation of at least 15 bone fragments which were cremated in 2014, another 16,000 bone fragments (of at least 54, possibly more than 100 of different ages) were recovered in 2015 and 2016, which is why a colonial context cannot be ruled out.

Inventory overview

Further bone finds are suspected if the excavations are continued.

Provenance research

2015–2020 scientific supervision of the excavations and non-invasive osteological analyzes by a research group led by the archaeologist Susan Pollock; So far no dedicated provenance research

Stand repatriations/burials

Human bones of at least 15 individuals found in 2014 were cremated without further examination. A burial of the human remains from the subsequent excavations is being prepared.

²¹⁸ see www.museumfuernaturkunde.berlin/de/ueber/neuigkeiten/berliner-senat-stimmt-fuer-sonderfinanzierung (accessed 23rd July.2021)

3.3.5. Museum für Naturkunde Berlin (MfN) (Museum of Natural History Berlin) Invalidenstr. 43, 10115 Berlin

History of the institution:

The opening of the *Berliner Universität* in 1810 was the starting point for the development of scientific collections, including in the *Anatomisch-Zootomisches, Zoologisches Museum* as well as from 1814, the *Mineralogisches Museum*. Today's *Museum für Naturkunde (MfN)* was founded in 1889 to centralize the three collections in a new building on Invalidenstraße. As a university facility, it was intended be a center for scientific research as well as a museum. To this day, the *MfN* is a globally networked research museum.

After the opening by Kaiser Wilhelm II and a resolution by the Bundesrat of the same year, the *Museum für Naturkunde* was awarded all natural history objects from all expeditions equipped at imperial costs as well as the materials from the colonial areas collected by colonial officials. The collection grew rapidly during the period of German colonialism. During the Second World War, part of the collection and the building were destroyed, rebuilt in the post-war period and continued to operate in divided east of Berlin.

The museum has been a foundation under public law since 2009 and has been affiliated to the Leibniz-Gemeinschaft as an *Institut für Evolutions-und Biodiversitätsforschung*. From 2018 to 2027 it will be funded with 660 million euros, equally funded by the federal government and the state of Berlin.²¹⁸ With over 30 million objects, the *MfN* collection is the largest natural history collection in Germany.

Developments in dealing with human remains from colonial contexts:

Up until the request for this report, there was no explicit concern with human remains from colonial contexts in the *MfN*. In its written reply (see Appendix 4), the museum describes the collection history of the *Museum für Naturkunde* in the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century with regard to human remains as a research gap. For the first time, an institute-wide internal survey was carried out, human remains were recorded separately and the classification and research on provenance began. The history of the human remains in the S- and RV-collections, which were housed in the *MfN* for a period of time, has also not been fully reconstructed. Parts of the

²¹⁹ see Kunst/Creutz 2013, 98

²²⁰ Reply Museum für Naturkunde, dated 21st July 2021

²²¹ see Heumann a. o. 2018

²²² see www.museumfuernaturkunde.berlin/de/ueber-uns/das-museum/koloniale-kontexte (accessed 11th October 2021)

²²³ *ibid.*

1 S-collection and RV-collection were moved to the storage rooms
 . of the *Museum für Naturkunde* after the war-related relocation
 . in 1948.²¹⁹ In the course of the university reform in 1970, the
 . anthropological collections (or parts of them) went to the
 5 *Museum für Naturkunde*: »The anthropology collections were
 . formally part of the *Museum für Naturkunde* until mid-1986. T. in
 . trust management. At that time, anthropology left the museum and
 . was incorporated into the Charité. However, the collection
 . rooms were only vacated 10 years later. Initially, the
 10 workplaces of the anthropology staff were also in the museum for
 . years.«²²⁰

. Since the reconstruction of the history with regard to
 . the appropriation of dinosaur bones as part of the Tendaguru
 . expedition in today's Tanzania, the subject of the collection
 15 items from colonial contexts in general and the colonial history
 . of the museum have been further investigated.²²¹ At the moment,
 . Ina Heumann and Katja Kaiser are creating guidelines on
 . how to use them with natural history collections from colonial
 . contexts. In its assessments of the colonial provenance of
 20 human remains and since summer 2021 also on its website, the
 . *Museum für Naturkunde* refers to the definition of »colonial
 . contexts« from the guidelines of the *Deutscher Museumsbund*.²²²
 . The website states that a critical examination of the history of
 . its colonial institutions and collections was started at the *MfN*
 25 under the following premises:

. »When researching the history of collections, we
 . prioritize collections from areas that belonged
 . to the German colonial empire. In addition, the
 30 projects look at earlier colonial and racist
 . structures that went beyond the colonial era. In
 . addition to the history of the institution and
 . its collection, it is also a matter of examining
 . our current scientific practices, our use of
 35 language and our values.«²²³

Human remains from colonial contexts:

. According to the current status, there are no human
 . remains in the *MfN* that can be assigned to colonial contexts with
 40 certainty. As this is an ongoing process of research into
 . the circumstances of the acquisition, the results are therefore
 . preliminary. In the Paleontology department, there is a skull
 . with a lower jaw from New Guinea from the collection of Heinrich
 . Christian Umlauff, which is likely to be assigned to a colonial
 45 context.

²²⁴ Reply *Museum für Naturkunde*, dated 21st July 2021

²²⁵ Reply *Museum für Naturkunde*, dated 21st July 2021

²²⁶ see *ibid.*

²²⁷ see *ibid.*

1 In addition, human bones and bone fragments come from Ecuador,
2 which were collected by the chemists and mineralogists Wilhelm
3 Reiss and Alphons Stübel between 1868 and 1876. In its reply,
4 the museum assumes a context of »continuing colonial structures
5 that determined the circumstances in which Europeans acquired
6 the remains of the indigenous population.«²²⁴ Based on the
7 provenance research that has begun, the review of primary and
8 secondary literature that describes the circumstances under
9 which the bones were collected, the *MfN* is putting the following
10 initial assessment up for discussion:

11
12 »The employment context was therefore neither
13 characterized by violence nor by looting of graves
14 or other conditions that would suggest an
15 injustice context. Reiß und Stübel bought
16 collections of bones from the local population
17 for which they paid. Reiß und Stübel was
18 interested in fossil mammalian bones, the human
19 remains were mixed with the fossil bones and were
20 evidently not purposely acquired.«²²⁵

21
22 **Care of the collection:**

23 The human remains are looked after by the custodians of
24 paleontology. The contact person for human remains from
25 colonial contexts and provenance research is the historian Dr.
26 Katja Kaiser.

27
28 **Inventory status and transparency:**

29 For the present report, an internal inventory of human
30 remains was started. A list or documentation of the
31 human remains that were previously in the possession of the
32 Naturkundemuseum Berlin has not yet been found or
33 reconstructed.²²⁶

34
35 **Completed, ongoing or planned provenance research:**

36 Provenance research began at the same time as the internal
37 survey on human remains in early summer 2021. An evaluation of
38 the archive holdings is pending and, according to the historian
39 Holger Stoecker, would also be relevant for cross-institutional
40 Germany-wide provenance research.²²⁷ A research project on
41 the history of the institute, including as a basis for systematic
42 provenance research is planned:

43
44 »Nonetheless, the *Museum für Naturkunde* aims to
45 research its collection history in relation to

228 ibid.

1 human remains and in the context of Berlin's
 . institutions. In our opinion, this research gap
 . must urgently be addressed not only with a view
 . to the Museum für Naturkunde, but also to the
 5 interdependence of the museums and university
 . collections in Berlin and throughout Germany. We
 . are currently looking for financial support for
 . this comprehensive research project.»²²⁸

10 **Methods of provenance research:**

. So far, an internal museum survey has been carried out
 . and historical provenance research was started.

. **Repatriations:**

15 So far none.

. **Exhibition, research and teaching:**

. It is very likely that the human remains relevant for the
 . report have not yet been used for research. It is also not known
 20 that they were on display. The skull from New Guinea may have
 . been used for teaching purposes in the past, or at least this is
 . suggested by the storage context in a cabinet on the »History of
 . Human Development«, which contains further parts of teaching
 . collections. The skull could also be found for many years on the
 25 MfN's website for the paleontological collection. In recent
 . years the objects have not been used for exhibition, research or
 . teaching purposes.

. **Sources used:**

30 Written correspondence; Website of the institution;
 . Heumann, Ina i.a.: Dinosaurfragmente: zur Geschichte der
 . Tendaguru-Expedition und ihrer Objekte, 1906-2018. Wallstein,
 . Göttingen 2018.

. **Kowalak, Marius:** *Vorläufige Ergebnisse interdisziplinärer*
 35 *Provenienzforschung an tansanischen Human Remains der Insel*
 . *Musila*. In: *Unmittelbarer Umgang mit menschlichen Überresten in*
 . *Museen und Universitätssammlungen. Stimmen und Fallbeispiele*,
 . edited by Sandra Mühlenberend, Jakob Fuchs, and Vera Marušić,
 . 2018, pp. 111-122.

40 **Kunst, Beate/Creutz, Ulrich:** *Geschichte der Berliner*
 . *anthropologischen Sammlungen von Rudolf Virchow und Felix von*
 . *Luschan*. In: *Sammeln, Erforschen, Zurückgeben? Menschliche*
 . *Gebeine aus der Kolonialzeit in akademischen und musealen*
 . *Sammlungen*, herausgegeben von Holger Stoecker, Thomas Schnalke,
 45 und Andreas Winkelmann, Berlin 2013, pp 84-105.

1 **Stoecker, Holger:** *Human Remains als historische Quellen*
2 *zur namibisch-deutschen Geschichte. Ergebnisse und Erfahrungen*
3 *aus einem interdisziplinären Forschungsprojekt. In: Sources*
4 *and methods for African history and culture: essays in honour of*
5 *Adam Jones, herausgegeben von Geert Castryck u. a. Leipziger*
6 *Universitätsverlag, Leipzig 2016, pp 469-491.*
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Visual Inventory of the Museum für Naturkunde (MfN) (Museum of Natural History Berlin)



Inventory

Human remains, whose assignment to a colonial context should be examined further: a skull from New Guinea from the collection of Heinrich Christian Umlauff; Bones and bone fragments from Ecuador between 1868 and 1876.

Inventory overview

.An internal inventory of the human remains was started in 2021 on the occasion of the present report

.It has not yet been possible to list or document the human remains that were in the Berlin Naturkundemuseum in the past.

Provenance research

A research project is being prepared

Stand repatriations/burials

Human bones of at least 15 individuals found in 2014 were cremated without further examination. A burial of the human remains from the subsequent excavations is being prepared.

²²⁹ www.museumfuernaturkunde.berlin/de/ueber-uns/das-museum/geschichte-des-museums

1 **3.3.6. Zoologische Lehrsammlung des Instituts für**
 . **Biologie der Humboldt-Universität Berlin/**
 . **Zoological teaching collection of the Institute for**
 . **Biology at HU Berlin**
5 **Philippstrasse 13, 10115 Berlin**
 .
 .

 . **History of the institute:**
 .

 . After the establishment of the *Zoologisches Institut* in
10 1884, the first director Franz Eilhard Schulze created the
 . teaching collection from holdings of anatomical-zoological
 . collections. In 1888, the company moved to Invalidenstrasse. 43,
 . the newly created scientific and technical institute and museum
 . center, where the *Museum für Naturkunde* was opened in 1889.²²⁹
15 The collection was expanded accordingly through donations from
 . the *Museum für Naturkunde* as well as anatomical specimens mostly
 . made in the institute itself, part of which was lost due to
 . war damage. In 1968, the *Zoologisches Institut* was merged with
 . the *Zoologisches Institut mit dem Institut für Zoologie der*
20 *Landwirtschaftlich-Gärtnerischen Fakultät*, with human remains
 . in both institutes. In 1970, under the management of Hans Georg
 . Herbst, a decision was made to reduce the size of the
 . collection. In 1995, Dr. Gerhard Scholtz (* 1954), Professor of
 . Comparative Zoology, took over the management of the
25 *Lehrsammlung* at the 1989 renamed *Institut für Verhaltensbiologie*
 . und Zoologie which was merged with the *Institut für Biologie* in
 . 1994. The *Lehrsammlung* now contains over 30,000 objects, around
 . 27,500 of which are microscopic specimens. The majority of
 . the *Lehrsammlung* can be researched in the database »Kabinette
30 des Wissens«.

 . **Human remains from colonial contexts:**
 .

 . In order to answer to the present report, Ms. Drescher
 . carried out an initial inventory of the bony human remains.
35 Ms. Drescher has been a technical assistant in Comparative
 . Zoology since 1998 and is the supervisor of the *Zoologische*
 . *Lehrsammlung*. For the inventory, all bony and larger human
 . remains at the institute were tabulated. A colonial context can
 . be ruled out for half of the 16 specimens, including skeletons
40 and wet specimens for teaching purposes. These come, for
 . example, from the Berlin anatomy. For the other half, a colonial
 . context cannot be ruled out, even if it is rather unlikely.
 . The 27,500 microscopic slides were not included in the
 . inventory. What is known, however, is a microscopic preparation
45 dating back to 1901 with an inscription, that contains a

²³⁰ The abbreviation of the derogatory collective term Black people in German, the use of which is rejected by those affected as a reproduction of racism, was made by the author of the report.

1 derogatory term for Black people, "N* skin".²³⁰ A comparable
. preparation is also mentioned in the 1915 catalog under no. 395:
. »Homo [N*], skin, incision, canada balsam, bought from H.
. Böcker/Wetzlar«. Statements about the origin cannot be made at
5 the moment.

.
. **Care of the collection:**

. As head of the working group »Comparative Zoology« at
. the HU's Institut für Biologie, Mr. Nyakatura is also head
10 of the HU Zoological Teaching Collection. Ms. Drescher has been
. a technical assistant and supervisor of the *Lehrsammlung* since
. 1998.

. **Inventory status and transparency:**

. The majority of the *Lehrsammlung* can be researched in
15 the database »Kabinette des Wissens«; At the initiative of the
. expert opinion, the bony human remains were recorded for the
. first time in tabular form by Ms. Drescher in 2021, examined for
. provenance features and combined with the information in
. catalogs and index cards.

20
. **Completed, ongoing or planned provenance research:**

. Ms. Drescher has already started to research the state
. of knowledge about the origin of the human remains.
. Further provenance research was recommended by the author of
25 this report. There is no capacity at the institute itself,
. but in principle, there is a willingness to support provenance
. research. After carefully examining three skeletons,
. Mr. Gerhard Scholtz, former head of the teaching collection,
. declared the search for provenance features to be over. Since
30 there is no hope of further determining the origin, the burial
. of the skeletons is being prepared.

. **Research, teaching and exhibition:**

. Basically, the aim of the *Lehrsammlung* is to bring
35 zoological teaching closer. The proportion of human remains
. is no longer used in teaching due to the disciplinary
. orientation of the institute. In addition, there is no actual
. scientific interest in the human remains at the institute.

40 **Sources used:**

. Written correspondence with John Nyakatura; Conversation
. with the manager of the collection, John Nyakatura, and
. the supervisor Ines Drescher on June 18, 2021; Conversation with
. Gerhard Scholtz, former head of the teaching material
45 collection, on July 27th, 21st; Facility's website.

Visualised Inventory of Zoologische Lehrsammlung des Instituts für Biologie der Humboldt-Universität Berlin/Zoological teaching collection of the Institute for Biology at HU Berlin



Colonial context is unlikely with 8 specimens, but cannot be ruled out
There is also a known microscopic specimen from 1901 with the inscription
»N * haut«, the provenance of which is unclear.

Inventory overview

.Most of the teaching collection can be researched in the database
»Kabinette des Wissens«
.The inventory of bony human remains was recorded for the first time in 2021
on the occasion of the present report
Provenance research
.Documentation inspection carried out by Ines Drescher and Gerhard Scholtz
based on provenance information
.Willingness for provenance research is available and recommended by the
expert

Stand repatriations/burials

The burial is prepared for three skeletons for which Gerhard Scholtz'
examination did not reveal any evidence of their origin

3.3.7. Zoologische Lehrsammlung im Institut für Biologie/Zoologie der Freien Universität Berlin/ Zoological teaching collection in the Institute for Biology/Zoology at the Free University of Berlin Königin-Luise-Str. 1-3, 14195 Berlin

History of the institute:

The construction of the exhibition or *Lehrsammlung* began in 1949 and accompanied the establishment of the *Zoologisches Institut* of the *Freie Universität* Berlin in Dahlem from the beginning. The collection grew quickly. The personal contacts of the institute director Prof. Dr. W. Ulrich relevant to the bourgeois circles of collectors and dealers of the Weimar period. The taxidermist Steinmetzler and students made new preparations. For this purpose, dead pets and increasingly also deceased animals from the Berlin Zoologischer Garten were used.

In 1969, a position for a scientific Collection Manager was created for the first time and held by Mr. Jung held. After the construction of the Berlin Wall, he was intensively involved in setting up a Naturkundemuseum in the western part of the city. In 1989, the Naturwissenschaftliche Sammlung was officially opened at *Schloßstraße 69a* in Berlin Charlottenburg. This resulted in an exchange of objects. When the location at *Schloßstraße* was closed in 2011, part of the collection was also transferred to the *Zoologische Lehrsammlung*. During the renovation of the building on *Königin-Luise-Straße*, Alexander Lieven took over the preservation and reorganization of the collection, for which he is still the contact person today. The *Lehrsammlung* can be used for teaching in an "open system".

Overview of human remains from colonial contexts:

When human remains were included, 14 skulls, three entire skeletons, several bones and specimens were found in the *Lehrsammlung*. The *Lehrsammlung* has existed since 1949 and therefore, according to Lieven, had no separate, relevant racial ideological or colonial collection mandate. The provenance of all human preparations is so far unclear, a colonial background initially unlikely. Human remains could have come to the collection in cooperation with the Human Anatomy Sections of the FU. Provenance research is recommended.

A colonial context is to be examined further, especially for parts of the pelvis with the designation »Pygmäe« (casts and an unnumbered, original tailbone, which is listed according to the inventory numbers of the pelvic casts) from Niemitz's list. The objects themselves cannot be found at the moment. Rumors that the long bones in the *Lehrsammlung* originate from Rudolf Virchow's collection must be investigated. There is at least one skull with heavily worn teeth, where an assessment by an anthropologist using non-invasive methods is recommended.

Care of the collection:

Dr. Alexander Fürst von Lieven is the supervisor and contact person and takes care of the usability as a *Lehrsammlung*. However, he is neither a director nor a custodian in the strict sense of the word. There is currently no

1 collection manager or agency for inventory, maintenance and
. expansion of the collection.
. .

. **Inventory overview:**

5 There is no complete inventory. A slip box and catalogs
. are available. A digital acquisition was started a few years ago
. but not completed. There are no real-time plans to continue
. inventorying or digitizing. The recording of the human remains
. was started on June 21, 2021 by Mr. Lieven, Mr. Mboro and Ms.
10 Reimann.

. A comparison with the takeover list of the collection of
. human biological preparations, impressions and models from the
. human biological institute of Prof. Dr. Carsten Niemitz in the
. Zoologische *Lehrsammlung* was started in winter 2010 and 2011.
15 In the documents, the origin is indicated with »Human Biology«
. or »Human Biology/TU Collection«. There is no further
. indication of provenance.
. .

. **Completed, ongoing or planned provenance research:**

20 The origin of the preparations has not yet been specifically
. investigated, even if Mr. Lieven considers this question to
. be appropriate-not only for human remains, but also for some of
. the exotic animal preparations. Provenance research on the
. collection was recommended by the author of the report. It is
25 not planned, but in principle it is welcome. After the
. conversation with Mnyaka Sururu Mboro and his presentation of
. his own search for the head of Mangi Meli, Mr. Lieven reflects on
. the problem of disposing of human remains without examination.
. If the human remains and their whereabouts are viewed not only
30 as a problem for the institute, but also as that of the
. searching relatives who need to conclude the story, then the
. space must be created to preserve them, says Lieven.
. .

. **Research, teaching and exhibition:**

35 No anthropological research was and is not carried out
. on the remains. It is true that professors at the institute had
. a private interest in such research and examined, among other
. things, in working groups, skeletons from excavations. However,
. the bones in the collection were all used exclusively as
40 teaching material. According to Lieven, there is no separate
. research collection. The collection, including the human
. anatomical specimens, was and is used today in a toxicologically
. safe manner (covering with Plexiglas, etc.) in teaching.
. In teaching, for example, skulls are used to explain topics of
45 evolutionary history and skulls are used depending on the needs
. of the teacher, e.g. in comparison with monkey skulls or with
. .
. casts of skulls like those of *Homo neanderthalensis*, to illustrate
. characteristics relevant to the family tree.

50 The assessment by Mnyaka Sururu Mboro and Isabelle
. Reimann was passed on that as long as a colonial context or
. an injustice context cannot be ruled out and/or the consent of
. those affected and relatives is not available, the use of
. the bones and skulls in research and teaching remains a research
55 ethical political issue.
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1 **Sources used:**
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5 Written correspondence; Inventory and interview with Dr.
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10 Alexander Fürst von Lieven, research assistant at the Institut
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15 für Biologie at the Freie Universität Berlin, and Mnyaka Sururu
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20 Mboro on June 21, 2021; Historical sources and documentation in
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Visualised Inventory of Zoologische Lehrsammlung
im Institut für Biologie/Zoologie der Freien
Universität Berlin/ Zoological teaching collection
in the Institute for Biology/Zoology at the Free
University of Berlin



With 14 skulls, three skeletons and several bones and specimens, a colonial context is unlikely, but cannot be ruled out

Inventory overview

.no complete inventory

.The inventory of human remains was started in 2021 for the present report by Lieven, Mboro and Reimann

Provenance research

Willingness for provenance research existing and recommended by the expert

Stand repatriations/burials

None so far

3.3.8. weißensee kunsthochschule berlin (khhb) (Weißensee Academy of Art Berlin) Bühningstraße 20, 13086 Berlin

History of the institute:

The *weißensee kunsthochschule* berlin was founded in 1946 in the former Trumpf chocolate factory by artists who were close to the Bauhaus. In the 1950s, the head of the college's architecture department, Professor Selman Selmanagic, had the art college expanded into the East-Berlin. After reunification, the university was expanded to include further buildings and departments which continues to this day.

Developments in dealing with human remains from colonial contexts:

The new director Dr. Angelika Richter (since June 2021) declared her specific interest in a proactive handling of the human remains in the house. Together Tyyne Claudia Pollmann, Professor of Anatomy and Morphology, she has obtained an initial overview and is planning further steps towards processing.

Human remains from colonial contexts:

The *weißensee kunsthochschule* berlin has four human skeletons or partial skeletons and 95 loose bones or bones that can be assigned to at least five other individuals. The ligamentous skeleton of a child and the plaster cast by Vargas (1940) were transferred to the anatomical collection of the Hochschule für Bildende Künste Dresden on permanent loan. Since no investigations have taken place so far, a colonial context cannot be ruled out. According to the current state of knowledge, there are no remains of people whose origins are more likely to be assigned to a colonial context.

Care of the collection:

There is currently no supervision of the collection.

Inventory overview:

To the best of Professor Pollmann's knowledge, the human remains have not yet been inventoried. In addition, no documentation of the bones is known at the art college, so that the arrival of the bones at the khb and thus their immediate origin are also unknown.

Completed, ongoing or planned provenance research:

So far, no provenance research has been carried out. The rector Dr. Angelika Richter expressed great interest, but needs professional support, as she emphasized in the conversation and the correspondence on the present report:

»I would like to emphasize once again that the kunsthochschule considers an inter-institutional research project in Berlin to be extremely valuable and welcome. Participation would be extremely helpful: otherwise appropriate research and appropriate handling would only be possible

231 from the email from Ms. Richter dated August 27, 2021

1 *by requesting separate funds and with*
 . *considerable effort. That is unlikely to be*
 . *feasible for us.» 231*
 .

5 **Exhibition, research and teaching:**

 . The collection is not used for teaching and is not
 . accessible to the public.
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 . **Sources used:**

10 E-mail correspondent; interview with the director
 . Dr. Angelika Richter on August 17, 2021; website of the
 . institution;
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Visualised Inventory of kunsthochschule weissensee (*khl*)



With the 4 human skeletons or partial skeletons and 95 loose bones, a colonial context is unlikely, but cannot be ruled out.

Inventory overview

inventory viewed in 2021, not yet inventoried

Provenance research

Provenance research desired, support requested

Stand repatriations/burials

none so far

3.3.9. Deutsches Historisches Museum (*DHM*) (German Historical Museum) Unter den Linden 2, 10117 Berlin

History of the institute:

The *Deutsches Historisches Museum* was founded in 1987 on the occasion of the 750-year anniversary of Berlin and merged with the Geschichtsmuseum of the GDR after reunification. The museum has the status of a foundation under public law based in Berlin. The museum's collection comprises more than 1,000,000 objects, which have now been entered into an online database for research and the interested public.

On the occasion of the special event »125 years of the Berlin Africa Conference: Remembering, processing, making amends« 2009/10, which took place on the initiative of black and postcolonial associations and lasted several months, five historians started independent public tours of the history of German colonialism through the *DHM* and developed an audio walk. It became apparent that the colonial history, which so far had only been mentioned in a single showcase in the museum, should not be thematized and presented separately from other historical events. In a special exhibition from October 2016 to mid-May 2017 under the title: »German Colonialism. Fragments of its past and present«, the *DHM* devoted itself to the topic more comprehensively for the first time.

Developments in dealing with human remains from colonial contexts:

There are permanent positions for provenance research at the *Deutsches Historisches Museum* which are headed by Dr. Brigitte Reineke. After the museum drew a lot of criticism by hiding the colonial history and showing it in the special exhibition, awareness of colonial provenance research took place. The provenance researchers carried out research on human remains from colonial contexts at the *DHM*.

Existence of human remains from colonial contexts:

The collection of the *DHM* contains a pigtail of hair and a cap with a pigtail attached, both of which come from the context of the so-called Boxer Rebellion in China.

A shrunken head is also indicated.

Care of the collection:

The human remains are looked after by the responsible managers of the *Alltagskultur* collection or, the general collections department.

Provenance research on the human remains is headed by Dr. Brigitte Reineke.

Completed, ongoing or planned provenance research:

The research takes place in the context of provenance research at the *DHM*, which mainly deals with cases in the NS and GDR context. The research on the two braids dragged on for several years, with new traces being followed over and over again, but which did not lead to any further results. An

1 anthropological analysis of the shrunken head is intended, but
2 has not yet been carried out. The reasons given for this are the
3 low capacities and resources in-house and the low availability
4 of specialists.

5

6 **Methods of provenance research:**

7 So far only historical methods of provenance research
8 have been used, an anthropological analysis of the head is
9 planned.

10

11 **Repatriations:**

12 None so far.

13

14 **Exhibition, research and teaching:**

15 According to Ms. Reineke, the human remains have so far
16 not been used for exhibition, research or teaching purposes
17 because the circumstances of their creation, use or access to
18 the collections have not been clarified.

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21 **Sources used:**

22 E-mail correspondence and information from Ms. Reinecke;
23 website of the institution.

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Visualised Inventory of the German Historical Museum/ Deutschen Historischen Museums (*DHM*)



2 braids of hair from a colonial background; 1 shrunken head of unknown origin

Inventory overview

Complete inventory

Provenance research

In-house historical provenance research carried out, non-invasive anthropological analysis of the shrunken head pending

Stand repatriations / burials

None so far

²³² see Lange 2011, 99

²³³ see Lange 2011, 98

3.3.10. Lautarchiv der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin am Hermann von Helmholtz-Zentrum (Sounds Archive of the Humboldt University at the Hermann von Helmholtz Center) Am Kupfergraben 5, 10117 Berlin

History of the institute:

The *Lautarchiv* was set up as a separate department at the Preußische Staatsbibliothek in 1920. Recordings date back to 1909, when the language teacher Wilhelm Doegen began making records for school lessons.

The basis of the *Lautarchiv* was also formed by the gramophone recordings (1650 sound records) from a prisoner-of-war camp during the First World War.²³² Scientific access, especially to colonial soldiers from all over the world, was subsidized by the state. While i.e. Felix von Luschan and Otto Reche carried out body measurements, the Preußische Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung appointed a Königlich Preußische Phonographische Kommission to record the internees.²³³ For this purpose, the *Lautarchiv* cooperated with the Phonogrammarchiv of the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin in the production of over 1031 wax rollers and the already mentioned 1650 sound plates by the end of the war.

The acoustic collection today consists of around 7,500 recording formats such as shellac records, wax cylinders or tapes, which have been digitized since 1999 and entered into the »Kabinette des Wissens« (cabinets of knowledge) database for online research. The *Lautarchiv* is integrated into teaching and was and is used and critically questioned in a series of academic qualification projects, which are documented on the *Lautarchiv* website. In 2020, the *Lautarchiv* was the only collection at the Humboldt University to move completely into the *Humboldt Forum*.

Developments in dealing with human remains from colonial contexts:

In 2010, two human larynx were rediscovered in the *Lautarchiv*. At that time, Anette Hoffmann and Britta Lange were doing research in the archive on the DFG-funded project »Captive Voices. 'Foreign peoples' in historical sound recordings using the example of the German-Austrian prisoner-of-war projects, 1915–1918«. In this context, the *Lautarchiv* was also examined as a colonial archive and thought was given to dealing with »sensitive collections«.

1 Nevertheless, it took almost ten years before the human
. remains became an issue again, namely when the curator of
. the Humboldt Laboratory's opening exhibition »*Nach der Natur*«
. (After Nature) for the newly built *Humboldt Forum* visited the
5 *Lautarchiv*. This time, a provenance research was commissioned
. to determine where and from whom the larynx came from.

. However, even after the provenance research by Holger
. Stoecker, a dignified handling of the human remains in the
. *Lautarchiv* was not implemented. Christopher Li, the new head of
10 the *Lautarchiv* since December 2020, found the larynx by
. chance during the inventory in an old corrugated cardboard box,
. along with various other items. His essay is to appear in 2022
. where he will discuss the handling of the larynx preparations in
. the *Lautarchiv* from a philosophical-ethical point of view.

15 In the context of the provenance investigation of the
. dry preparations of the larynx by Holger Stoecker with Johanna
. Stapelfeldt (*Humboldt Lab*), the handout »What to do if human
. remains are found in university collections?« was created for
. employees of university collections at the *Humboldt-Universität*
20 (see Appendix 6). It is also worth mentioning that in the
. meantime, there has been a discussion about the extent to which
. voices in the *Lautarchiv* are to be understood as human remains,
. although ultimately no assignment to this category was made
. here.

25

Human remains from colonial contexts:

. The holdings of the *Lautarchiv* contain two human larynxes,
. which were probably processed into preparations between
. 1900–1930. The provenance research did not provide any concrete
30 evidence of the origin, but based on the facts, it seemed
. realistic to assume a colonial context, as the currently
. unpublished provenance report by Holger Stoecker concluded:

. »Institutional structures, research approaches
35 and personal networks may give plausible
. cause for their origin from the German colonial
. war against Herero and Nama 1904–1908, their
. entry into the Berlin anatomy and their use there
. for research on racial anthropology, but still
40 remain hypothetical.«

Care of the collection:

. Dr. Christopher Li is the head of the collection of the
. *Lautarchiv*.

45

Inventory overview:

. From 1998–2014 the development and digitization of the
. sound recordings took place. A general inventory of the holdings
. has been carried out since January 2021, during which no further
50 human remains were found in the *Lautarchiv*.

Completed, ongoing or planned provenance research:

. January to June 2020: Provenance investigation of the
. two human dry larynx preparations (carried out by Holger
55 Stoecker) funded by the Deutsche Zentrum Kulturgutverluste. A
. handout on how to deal with human remains in university

1 collections was developed in the context of this research in
 . collaboration between Holger Stöcker and Johanna Stapelfeldt
 . (Humboldt Lab).
 .
 5 **Methods of provenance research:**
 . The project included historical provenance research.
 .
 . **Exhibition, research and teaching:**
 . The larynx is currently not used in exhibitions, research
 10 or teaching.
 .
 . **Sources used:**
 . Written correspondence and conversation with Dr.
 . Christopher Li; Website of the institution;
 15 **Lange, Britta:** »Think about this thing for yourself...«
 . Sound recordings in German prison camps during the First World
 . War, in: *Sensible Collections*, edited by Margit Berner, Anette
 . Hoffmann, and Britta Lange, Philo Fine Arts: Hamburg, 2011, p
 . 89-128.

Visualised Inventory of the Lautarchiv der Humboldt-Universität (Sounds Archive of the Humboldt University at the Hermann von Helmholtz Center)



2 braids of hair from a colonial background; 1 shrunken head of unknown origin

Inventory overview
Complete inventory

Provenance research
In-house historical provenance research carried out, non-invasive anthropological analysis of the shrunken head pending

Stand repatriations / burials
None so far

²³⁴ This important research source can be viewed at: www.smb.museum/museen-einrichtungen/ethnologisches-museum/sammeln-forschen/erwerbungsbaeueher/

²³⁵ The inclusion of the inventory number was the most controversial category in the discussions. On the one hand, it stands for the integration of human body parts into an administrative system and thus, both practically and symbolically, for their dehumanization. On the other hand, it is the only constant when the other information changes in the course of provenance research. It is also the key to associating historical source material with actual human bones. The assessment was that the disclosure of inventory numbers is therefore helpful for descendants and provenance researchers in order to be able to enter into an informed and transparent exchange with the institutions.

3.4. Classification of the results in relation to the methodological approach

The result of the present inventory is largely determined by the decision to exclusively determine the existing holdings, and thus depends on the cooperation and willingness of the collection institutions themselves to provide information. The reconstruction of the collections from historical sources, such as the *MfV's* ²³⁴ acquisition books digitally published in 2021 or the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* was not intended.

In discussions with experts, a list of places and institutions was drawn up where human remains from colonial contexts are known or suspected. This list formed the basis of the individual written or digital inquiries. A request for information was also sent via the Berlin email distribution list of the coordination office for academic university collections in Germany. Human remains in collections from private individuals were not included.

Based on the methodological approach of other projects on supra-institutional, topic-related inventories, the request initially contained a request for insight into the processing and the status of the documentation. Based on the actually available data, the information/categories relevant to the report and appropriate for publication from a moral and ethical point of view should be discussed with those responsible for collections and repatriation practitioners. In the case of some of the requested institutions, it was not possible to develop modalities for an insight into the status of the recording and documentation and the cooperation for the use of the existing data for this report.

In a second step, the project outline in the appendix was therefore developed as a basis for a more specific survey of the institutions (see Appendix 1). The requested information listed here was the result of an exchange and reflection process. The selection should also serve the criterion of being helpful or even necessary for the search for ancestral remains of relatives, their supporters and free and/or international provenance researchers and at the same time not too problematic or sensitive for publication. ²³⁵

The return of information in the second phase of inquiry forms the basis for the present inventory. The results are based on the information selected and therefore also censored by the institutions. The information that was made available to the

²³⁶ For the status of the discussion in the specialist discipline and the public in Germany, see for example, the panel "Ancestors, national heroes, world heritage - the meaning of human remains in repatriation politics" (chair: Sarah Fründt) of November 19, 2021 at the Conference »The Long History of Claims for the Return of Cultural Heritage from Colonial Contexts« organized i.e. by the *Deutsches Zentrum Kulturgutverluste* and documented on their website.

1 expert was already what the institutions wanted to make
2 available to the public at their own discretion. The selection
3 of information is therefore subject to various influencing
4 factors: the institute's internal definition of »human remains
5 from colonial contexts«, the inter-institutional decision-
6 making structures, information policy, the existing knowledge
7 and data infrastructure in the institutions, personnel
8 capacities and political, ethical and moral positions in
9 relation to the holdings. In addition, the official, but also the
10 personal, and in some cases still processing, positioning of
11 the respective collection managers, the custodians and
12 collection supervisors with regard to certain questions play an
13 important role.

14 A third round of inquiries and responses to supplement
15 the inventory information was only carried out in very small
16 parts and, on the whole, there was no push for further
17 disclosure of information. From a supra-institutional
18 perspective, it is less the result of a systematic inventory,
19 but rather an evaluation of a limited survey process. In many
20 institutions, the inventory information is also to be viewed as
21 a provisional result of a further inventory and provenance
22 research process. The author is already aware of other holdings
23 in the institutions listed that have not yet been officially
24 specified, but for which a colonial context cannot be ruled out
25 without further research.

26 The present report also reflects a snapshot of the ongoing
27 discussion on the scientific, political, ethical and moral
28 debates about the preservation and repatriation of human remains
29 in public and private collections. This leads to the
30 exclusion of holdings whose discussed relevance for the category
31 »colonial contexts« has not yet been dealt with at
32 the time of this report. Particularly noteworthy here is the
33 inclusion of the remains of people within the prehistoric,
34 archaeological and paleontological collections who have so far
35 received little attention in the current debates in Germany due
36 to the length of their past death.²³⁶ For example, at the
37 time of the survey, it was still possible to justify the refusal
38 to provide information or to talk to the curators about
39 the holdings of human remains from the non-European area of the
40 *Vorderasiatisches Museum* and the *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin* by
41 stating that the collections contained only human remains that
42 were several thousand years old and therefore neither came
43 from colonized people nor from their immediate ancestors. An
44 inclusion of the prehistoric, archaeological and paleontological
45 collections of human remains, the appropriation of which cannot

1 be ruled out in a colonial context, would affect both the list
 . of institutions and the inventory of individual institutions.
 . In individual cases, these have already been included in this
 . inventory, for example in the information provided by the
 5 *Ethnologisches Museum* Berlin.

. Conclusions about omissions and the proportion of the
 . specified "holdings from colonial contexts" in the total
 . holdings could not be systematically included in the report,
 . among other things. since the majority of the institutions did
 10 not provide any information at all on the total number of human
 . remains, or in some cases even explicitly refused to answer
 . them.

15 3.5. Negative responses to requests . for information

20 In addition to the institutions mentioned under 3.3.1 to
 . 3.3.10, the following institutions have announced that they have
 . no human remains from colonial contexts or no human remains at
 . all:

- . ■ *Robert Koch Institut*
- 25 . ■ *Berliner Missionswerk*
- . ■ *Institut für Sozial- and Kulturanthropologie FU*
- . ■ *Kunstabibliothek der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin -*
 . *Preußischer Kulturbesitz (SPK)*
- . ■ *Rathgen Forschungslabor (SPK)*
- 30 . ■ *Museum of Asiatische Kunst (SPK)*
- . ■ *Vorderasiatisches Museum (SPK)*
- . ■ *Ägyptisches Museum (SPK)*
- . ■ *Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung (SPK)*
- . ■ *Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut (SPK)*
- 35 . ■ *Geheimes Staatsarchiv (SPK)*

. The following institutions proactively responded to the
 . request for information via the distribution list of the
 . scientific university collections with a negative result:

- 40 . ■ Collections at the *Botanischer Garten* and
 . *Botanisches Museum*
- . ■ *Vilém Flusser Archiv (Universität der Künste Berlin)*
- . ■ *Julius Kühn Institut (JKI) - Bundesforschungsinstitut*
 45 . *für Kulturpflanzen*
- . ■ *University archive of the Universität der Künste Berlin*
- . ■ *Subject area of paleontology of the Freien Universität*
 . *Berlin*

. It should be explicitly mentioned here that in
 50 individual correspondence despite the negative information,
 . great interest in the processing of other colonial holdings was
 . communicated.

²³⁷ This figure only contains the more concrete suspected cases from the *Zoologische Lehrsammlungen* and not the human remains from the *kunstschule weißensee*. The human remains from today's Ecuador in the *Naturkundemuseum* are not included here either, as the exact number of bones has not been specified and the assignment to the colonial context remains open.

4. Conclusions and recommendations

4.1. Inventory

The number of actually existing human remains from colonial contexts in Berlin could not be fully determined within the scope of the report.

The present report is limited to inquiries about human remains according to the definition of the Leitfaden zum Umgang mit menschlichen Überresten in Museen und Sammlungen (Guideline for dealing with human remains in museums and collections) of the *Deutscher Museumsbund* of 2021. The requests for information therefore contained neither funeral objects nor body casts, measurement data, photographs, sound recordings etc. made without the consent of the persons, not even those that are directly related to racial anthropological research. The present report was also based on the definition of »colonial contexts« from the guidelines for dealing with collections from colonial contexts of the *Deutscher Museumsbund* of 2020.

The feedback from the institutions showed that there are at least 5,958 ²³⁷ remains of people in museum and scientific collections in the geographic area of Berlin, whose appropriation is situated in a colonial context. If you add the entire Rudolf Virchow collection (approx. 3,500 individuals) due to the lack of information from the *BGAEU*, there are 9,458 human remains.

The number of human remains for which a colonial context cannot be ruled out and which includes all human remains from the racial anthropological Luschan and Rudolf Virchow collection is approximately 13,500. In addition, there are 16,000 bone fragments from the human bones of at least 54, possibly more than 100 people of various ages, which were recovered from the excavations on the site of the former Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Anthropologie, menschliche Erblehre und Eugenik (*KWI-A*) and for which a colonial context cannot be ruled out either.

The reasons for the incompleteness and the difficulty in determining the inventory and the arguments against the disclosure of data from the correspondence with the institutionally authorized contact persons of the various institutions are as follows:

4.1.1. Information and data situation

Inquiries within the framework of this survey led to the first separate inventory of human remains in three scientific institutions, which have been completed. It can be assumed that inter-institutional surveys, including those of retired employees in other institutions, will reveal further human remains.

The large »racial anthropological« collection institutions (*MVF*, *EM*, *BGAEU*) have inventories transferred to databases that are also still being worked on. The inventory in the *Ethnologisches Museum* has not yet been completed, which is why the information is only provisional so far. According to the *SPK*, the inventory list of the Luschan collection is partially flawed and in large parts unchecked, which is why its publication is considered problematic. According to the *BGAEU*, there are no country lists or lists relating to the colonial context of the Rudolf Virchow Collection. They were also not prepared to accept the support offered by the *MVF* to provide information on the holdings from the former German colonies for the present report.

All institutions stated that they only had limited capacities for the processing and preparation of the available information and provenance research, as well as for the inventory and basic processing of the holdings. In some institutions, support and processing with regard to the problem of the expert opinion is carried out on a voluntary basis (e.g. *Zoologische Lehrsammlungen HU* and *FU*, *BGAEU*).

4.1.2. Access to information:

There is no supra-institutional, ethical and political consensus on who is granted access to the inventory and documentation information. Institutions (with large collections) do not see the release of information as independent of repatriation processes. This shows that there is no basic ethical consensus on the question of whether repatriations and their underlying provenance research as well as the exchange of information between institutions and so-called »communities of origin« should be treated as a state, binational matter and to what extent the public is involved.

The disclosure of information was also restricted in individual cases for the following reasons:

- Inventory information is only issued for scientific purposes; the institution wanted to examine suspected cases of scientific ethics itself as individual cases

- Internal decision-making hierarchies slow down communication and access to information; independent questioning of the subordinate institutions by the author of this review herself was not desired in some cases and was therefore refrained from.

- Inventory information was withheld for ethical reasons. Based on various experiences in the context of repatriations and on the basis of a debate that has lasted for decades, there are

1 different views of what is considered to be »sensitive
 . information«. As was mentioned, the priority access to information
 . and the decision about publications should, at best, be reserved
 . for the societies of origin and the countries of origin.

5 The order situation of the present report played a role
 . due to the following aspects:

- . ■ Federal institutions do not consider themselves to be
 . obliged to provide information with regard to an inquiry
 10 at state level
- . ■ Private institutions do not consider themselves to be
 . obliged to provide information with regard to an inquiry
 . at state level
- . ■ Due to the civil society and activist orientation of
 15 the commissioner of this report, the Coordination office
 . for a city-wide concept for coming to terms with Berlin's
 . colonial past of the Decolonize Berlin network, there was
 . a certain reluctance in the institutions to provide
 . information. Information was withheld due to a lack of
 20 control over the use of this information.

4.1.3. Definition »colonial contexts«:

25 The restriction to the »stock of human remains from
 . colonial contexts« has highlighted two fundamental problems:

- . ■ There is no cross-institutional understanding or
 . definition of what constitutes a »colonial context«. Even
 30 within the institutions of the *Stiftung Preußischer*
 . *Kulturbesitz* there are contradicting interpretations on
 . how, for instance human remains from Latin America,
 . often referred to as »Archäologica«, are to be classified
 . (see Chapters 3.3.1.1. and 3.3.1.2.)

35 The definition according to the Leitlinien des
 . Museumsbundes is a point of reference for some institutions
 . (e.g. *EM*, *MfN*), for others the human remains from the former
 . areas and times of German foreign rule have priority, while
 . others are to be regarded as individual cases (*MfV*).

- . ■ An overview of human remains from colonial contexts is
 . not yet available in any institution. An exception are the
 . holdings of the *Ethnologisches Museum* for which a colonial
 . background is generally assumed for all human remains, since
 45 these »ended up in the collections of ethnological museums due
 . to a racist scientific and collecting practice«. ²³⁸

. The release or compilation of information under the
 . premise of wanting to make their own assignment is already based
 . on the results of provenance research or the preliminary
 50 work on provenance research, which should be presented in a
 . contextualized and differentiated manner. Several institutions
 . want to carry out the research on and examination of suspected
 . cases themselves. Following the last aspect, there is great
 . uncertainty/reluctance to release information that has not been
 55 checked through extensive provenance research itself. Here, for
 . example, the concern was expressed that uncertain information

²³⁸ Reply from Ilja Labinschinski at the Central Archives of the State Museums in Berlin, received on July 13, 2021

²³⁹ see the legal text online: www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/STATUTE-104/pdf/STATUTE-104-Pg3048.pdf

1 would be interpreted as fixed results, which could then no longer
. be »captured« or would result in requests for return that were
. based on an incorrect premise.
. .

5

.

4.1.4. Summary

. The number of existing human remains from colonial
. contexts in Berlin, based on the definitions of the *Deutscher*
10 *Museumsbund* could not be fully determined within the scope of
. the report. In summary, the reasons for this are:
. .

. . The lack of information and data at the facilities
. themselves

15 . Limitations in the access to information that are
. politically, collection-preserving and ethically/morally
. justified in varying degrees. Internal hierarchies and the
. specific assignment situation of the present report also led to
. restrictions

20 . The limitation of the query exclusively to human
. remains from a »colonial context« - whose assignment is
. already a partial result of provenance research - that individual
. institutions consider to be under their control. Provenance
. research has so far only been completed or only just begun for a
25 limited number of collection holdings.
. .

. Nonetheless, the query was a trigger for some
. institutions to determine their inventory on human remains for
. the first time and to start looking through documentation and
30 source material for provenance research.

. The obligation of the institutions to draw up an
. inventory could speed up the process, which has hitherto been
. purely voluntary. The legal obligation in the USA since 1990 is
. exemplary. Under NAGPRA §3003²³⁹, the facilities with
35 collections of human remains and related funeral objects by
. Native American people are obliged to take inventories within
. five years in consultation with the representatives of the
. indigenous self-governments and organizations, and to make them
. available to an examination board. In addition, at the
40 request of indigenous organizations and authorities, American
. institutions are required to provide all additionally available
. documents for the purpose of determining geographical
. origin, cultural affiliation and the basic facts relating to the
. acquisition and reception of human remains of the Native
45 American people and the associated funeral objects.

4.1.5. Recommendation: Advisory Board with a say or commission

Based on the outcome that the definitions, access and type of information in the context of an »inventory of human remains from colonial contexts« cannot be separated from provenance research that has already been initiated and require fundamental decisions, which-based on the principle of *Free Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC)*-should be made in consultation with indigenous peoples: an Advisory Board or a commission is recommended to accompany the further provenance research and repatriation work, including the handling of the inventory information.

The Advisory Board or commission should include experienced repatriation practitioners as well as representatives of communities and indigenous organizations whose ancestors are likely to be in the collections. Accordingly, the Advisory Board should be able to be expanded independently and on the basis of new research results.

The advisory board must be given a say in all questions relating to the storage, treatment, handling, control and return of human remains, for which a colonial context cannot be ruled out or for which the persons or their relatives have not given their consent for storage and use or can be voted on. The Board or the Commission should be given the opportunity to veto important decisions. The authority of the body should be made publicly transparent and, i.e. extend to the following aspects:

- Questions about the inventory to be determined (definitions and delimitation of »colonial context«, »human remains«, inclusion of funeral objects, death masks, etc.)
- Questions about the access and organization of information
- Questions about the methodology of provenance research
- Dealing with unassociated human remains
- Dealing with historical impressions, photographs and measurement data
- Handling of new research data

4.2. Use of human remains from colonial contexts in research, exhibitions and teaching

Human remains, for whom a colonial context cannot be excluded, are used in Berlin for research, exhibitions and teaching. The *BGAEU* releases the human remains for research without any indication that there may be restrictions due to ethical aspects (see Chapter 3.3.2). Human remains from the collection of the *Ethnologisches Museum* are exhibited at the *Humboldt Forum*. In the context of the provenance research project all of these remains are initially assessed worthy of scrutiny due to the museum's racist science and collection

240 Förster i.a. 2018

241 Deutscher Bundestag 2019, 4

1 practice (see Chapter 3.3.1.2). The human remains from the
. Zoologische *Lehrsammlungen* can in principle be used in
. teaching, even though they are rarely utilized (see Chapter
. 3.3.7). Accordingly, there is no consensus among institutions not
5 to use human remains for research, exhibitions and teaching
. where a colonial context cannot be ruled out. Research,
. exhibition and teaching of human remains, whose provenance has
. not been sufficiently clarified and which have been checked for a
10 colonial or injustice context, is increasingly only authorized
after consultation with ancestral communities.

. The *Charité* and the *SPK*, for instance, have also adopted
. international ethical codes in their »racial anthropological«
. collections, which prioritize provenance research and do not
. use human remains from colonial contexts for more extensive or
15 invasive research without consulting the societies of origin.
. The *Deutsches Historisches Museum* also justified the blocking of
. the human remains by arguing that the circumstances of their
. creation, use or access to the collections had not yet been
. clarified. The *FU Berlin* consulted with self-organizations about
20 their wish for further provenance research on the bones
. recovered during excavations on the site of the former *KWI-As*
. and is preparing the burial.

. The responses indicate the tendency of institutions that
. conduct provenance research to rather not subject the human
25 remains to any further research. In particular, institutions
. that explicitly release the bones for research are not
. very interested in researching the origin of the human remains.
. This supports the thesis of the provenance researchers
. Förster, Henrichsen, Stoecker and Axasi-Eichab that hiding the
30 circumstances of the acquisition and provenance is a
. prerequisite for the further use of human remains as an
. anthropological research resource. 240

. The use of human remains continue to represent a
. political issue in terms of research ethics where a colonial
35 context cannot be excluded and/or there is no informed consent
. of the person or relatives. In the response of the Federal
. Government of July 2019 to the parliamentary inquiry, i.e. of
. the Green MP Dr. Kirsten Kappert-Gonther is presented with the
. following position: »The Federal Government is of the opinion
40 that human remains from colonial contexts should not be used for
. scientific research purposes.« 241

. A more binding regulation is pending. Until then, the
. recommended action of the above-mentioned Advisory Board or
. Commission should be taken into account in the decision-making
45 process.

4.3. Status of the processing of the provenances and collection histories

4.3.1. Provenance research processing status

No institution has completely processed the origins or even the identity of the people in their collection whose body parts were made into scientific preparations.

The results of the inventory with regard to the status of provenance research indicate that the clarification across institutions is still at the beginning. Depending on provenance research that has already been carried out, the completeness or quality of which has not been checked for the present report, the research desiderata in the facilities are as follows:

- The remainder of the racial anthropological collections of 58 human remains at the *Charité*, who apparently came from violent or colonial contexts or for whom repatriation requests had already been received, has been processed the furthest. According to the institution, provenance research has already been completed for the most part. Research is pending for 10 individuals from Oceania, two human remains labeled »Kru«, presumably from Liberia, and one labeled »Congo«, as well as 8 human remains of unclear origins.

- There are no in-house offices or a fixed budget for provenance research for the large holdings of the Luschan collection of around 7,700 human remains at the *Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte*. The research on 1153 individuals from East Africa was financed from 2017–2019 through project funds, the results of which are to be published in early 2022. After the application by another foundation for the funding of research into the origin of human remains from West Africa was rejected, the *State Ministry of Culture and Media* stepped in so as not to delay the research. This illustrates the precarious state of funding for provenance research. According to Mr. Heeb, project manager for provenance research at the *MVF*, one desideratum lies in the not only short-term and project-related but permanent funding of provenance research.

Only after the provenance research on West Africa has been completed, probably in 2024, another more complex and multi-year project on Oceania will be carried out. Further collections will follow thereafter. With project-related and purely internal research, the processing of the origins of the human remains in the »Luschan Collection« at the *MVF* will take many years to complete

- 1 ■ Provenance research at the *Ethnological Museum*
 . is carried out by a permanent employee who fills
 . one of the four provenance research positions
 .
5 located at the central archive of the *Staatliche*
 . *Museen zu Berlin*. Ilja Labinschinski's provenance
 . research project is scheduled for 2020-2022. For
 . reasons of capacity, only a few of the 2,000
 . human remains will be subjected to in-depth
10 provenance research during this time, and methods
 . and findings for further research will be
 . generated and evaluated. The provenance research
 . on the more than 2,000 human remains at the EM is
 . therefore still at the very beginning.
- 15 ■ The *BGAEU*'s reply does not indicate a turn to
 . proactive and systematic provenance research.
 . In addition, all tasks are based on voluntary
 . work, which greatly limits the possibilities
20 of internal research into the appropriation
 . backgrounds of thousands of human remains, mostly
 . skulls.
 .
 .
25 ■ Provenance research on the human bones from the
 . excavations on the site of the former *KWI-A* and
 . excavations to recover the other human bones on
 . the site will be decided in consultation with
 . self-organizations.
 .
30 ■ In the case of the three natural history
 . collections that have identified their human
 . remains for the first time for the present report
 . (*MfN*, *Zoologische Lehrsammlungen* of the *FU* and
 . *HU*), a research desideratum was determined with
35 regard to the origin of the holdings. The Museum
 . for Natural History and the Institute of Biology
 . at the *HU* have viewed the documentation as part
 . of the first survey of the collections of human
 . remains. In the case of the Museum of Natural
40 History the existing project to develop
 . guidelines for provenance research by Ina Heumann
 . and Katja Kaiser proved to be helpful so that an
 . internal survey and first expert research could be
 . carried out in this context. The other
45 institutions stated that they neither have the
 . capacities nor technical expertise to carry out
 . or initiate extensive provenance research of
 . their own, which is why the need for prompt
 . implementation of a supra-institutional research
50 project is formally imposed.
 .
 .
 .
55 ■ The *weißensee kunsthochschule berlin (khh)*
 . currently has no capacities or specialist
 . expertise in dealing with human remains, which is
 . why the director, Dr. Angelika Richter wrote:
 . »I would like to underline once again that the

²⁴² E-Mail from Ms. Richter, 27.08.2021

²⁴³ Deutscher Museumsbund e.V. (ed.) 2013, 49 i.a.

²⁴⁴ See Deutsches Zentrum Kulturgutverluste 2021, 3

²⁴⁵ ibd. 4

1 art college considers an inter-institutional
 . research project in Berlin to be extremely
 . valuable and welcome. Participation would be
 . extremely helpful: otherwise appropriate research
 5 and appropriate handling would only be possible
 . by requesting separate funds and with
 . considerable effort. That is unlikely to be
 . feasible for us.« ²⁴²

10 ■ The *Deutsches Historisches Museum* has carried
 . out provenance research and will continue if
 . and when there is new information is available.
 . An anthropological analysis of the shrunken
 . head has so far not been carried out citing
 15 limited in-house capacities and resources as well
 . as inaccessible specialists.
 . ■ The extensive historical provenance research of
 . the dry larynx preparations at the *Lautarchiv*
 . of the *Humboldt-Universität* has not come to any
 20 reliable result. It is unclear whether a
 . further research project can provide new insights.

3) Provenance research has so far been carried out purely
 . on a voluntary basis if the institutions themselves recognize
 25 the legitimacy of requests for information and repatriation
 . requests, or due to moral and political pressure from outside.
 . In the German context, there is no research obligation
 . resulting from inquiries from representatives of indigenous
 . peoples or descendants. At least since the 2013 recommendation
 30 »Empfehlungen zum Umgang mit menschlichen Überresten in Museen
 . und Sammlungen« of the *Deutscher Museumsbund*, it is suggested to
 . the relevant collecting institutions to give high priority
 . to prompt post-processing in the event of incomplete or unclear
 . provenance.²⁴³ With the expansion of the funding line of
 35 the *Deutsches Zentrum Kulturverluste (DZK)* as of January 1, 2019
 . in order to include provenance research from colonial contexts,
 . funding for provenance research on human remains was given
 . particular relevance and urgency if a colonial context
 . cannot be ruled out.²⁴⁴ It is the department's recommendation to
 40 build joint projects. Moreover, cooperation with relatives and/
 . or scientists in the countries of origin should be pursued
 . and checked as a prerequisite for funding: »The involvement of
 . institutions, communities and experts as natural or legal
 . persons from countries and societies of origin is to be checked
 45 in the planning and implementation of the project.« ²⁴⁵ The

246 see ibd. 3

capacity limits have not yet been reached. Funding from the DZK is not a substitute for the intra-institutional prioritization of provenance research as an independent core task, as it does not provide any institutional or permanent funding.246

4.3.2. Collaborative research with relatives and scientists from countries of origin and ancestral communities

A cooperative provenance research involving direct relatives and members of the indigenous peoples concerned/ formerly colonized population groups whose ancestral or body parts of ancestors are in the collection facilities in the Berlin area, where the framework conditions for the research were jointly developed, could not be determined during the research for this report. The signing of a cooperation agreement between the *Berliner Gesellschaft für Archäologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* (BGAEU) and the *OvaHerero/Mbanderu and Nama Genocides Institute* (ONGI) for the provenance research of human remains of the Nama and OvaHerero is the only event known to the reviewer and pointing in this direction. (see chapter 3.3.2).

Exchanges and individual cooperation with international scientists, state authorities and institutions such as the *Te papa Museum* with official repatriation programs are taking place. For the *Charité* research projects, for instance, international scientists were consulted on individual human remains and detailed questions, such as Ciraj Rassool in South Africa or Amber Aranui, project manager of the national repatriation program at the *Te Papa Tongarewa Museum* in New Zealand/Aotearoa with a Māori background.

For the 2017–2019 research project of the *Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* on human remains from Tanzania and Rwanda, four scientists from the University of Rwanda and the National Museum of Rwanda participated. So far, however, voices and results of such cooperation have not been visible or audible, neither in the German public nor in specialist circles. Therefore, the quality of the cooperation has not yet been evident.

The »collaboration with societies of origin« which is often mentioned in specialist circles and described as necessary – theoretically and practically – is hardly established in the Berlin area with regard to provenance research on human remains from colonial contexts.

1 Despite the great importance of the Free Prior and
 . Informed Consent (*FPIC*) in the recognition of indigenous rights
 . over their concerns, including their ancestral remains, there
 . are hardly any protocols so far about consultation processes or
 5 structures and formalities for the institutions to (self-)
 . oblige or clarify the cooperation in a binding manner. In particular,
 . following the late ratification of Convention No. 169 of the
 . International Labor Organization (*ILO*) on the protection of
 . the rights of indigenous peoples by Germany in April 2021, these
 10 must also be developed for other issues such as land and
 . resource use in indigenous territories.

15 No basic ethical or political consensus could be
 . established among the institutions and the experts questioned
 . for the present report as to who counts as »entitled to
 . information« and on what basis the determination of »cooperation
 . partners« is made. The decision and control with whom to
 .
 . collaborate and who has access to the research results or
 20 inventory information should not lie with the collection-
 . preserving institutions or political representatives of
 . the previous colonial power. Only the access to information for
 . relatives, affected persons, but also their (political)
 . representatives provides the basis for the process of finding and
 25 preparing culturally authorized persons to carry out the task
 . of repatriation work, a process that in some cases could take
 . years. Collaborations should be made on a voluntary basis and
 . not forced by access restrictions to information and ancestors.
 . As long as there is no non-binding access to information
 30 for affected communities and descendants, the recommendation is
 . to either give such access to existing information and research
 . status to the Advisory Board or the commission mentioned
 . above, or even now, to cooperate with the already established
 . repatriation and research programs and their data repositories
 35 in Australia and New Zealand/Aotearoa. These can also be contact
 . points for indigenous groups and relatives from other countries
 . searching for their ancestral remains in German institutions,
 . and can provide an important advisory function based on many
 . years of experience from the perspective of those affected.
 40 Their advice can be helpful even before the initial contact with
 . German institutions. On the African continent, too, access
 . to information, documentation and research on the human remains
 . should be established and a means for advice and support
 . from the perspective of those affected should be set up and
 45 given a mediating position.

4.3.3. Supra-institutional provenance research and exchange between the institutions

50 Against the background of the colonial collection
 . histories (see Chapter 2.4.2) and the national interest, as they
 . i.e. became effective in the Federal Council resolution
 . (»Bundesratsbeschluß«) of 1889 (see Chapter 2.4.3), there are
 55 human remains from the same contexts or from the same consignors
 . in different institutions. An interdisciplinary practice

1 of appropriation, which divides bundles and thus also the
 . documentation into different institutions in the country of
 . appropriation, makes supra-institutional research or intensive
 . collaboration in provenance research projects obvious. As an
 5 example, the *Ethnologisches Museum* and the *Museum für Vor- und
 . Frühgeschichte* list several identical names under the
 . category of »significant collectors«. The processing of the
 . holdings in the capital is closely linked to collections of
 . other »object groups« and those in other federal states.

10 This finding is contrasted by the collaboration between
 . the institutions, which has so far only taken place in
 . individual provenance research projects. For example, during
 . research on East Africa at the *MVF*, skulls from the *BGAEU*'s
 . holdings were also researched for their origin. In the
 15 conversations with institutions, everyone mentioned a lack of
 . exchange and cooperation. Even among institutions that are
 . organized under the umbrella of the *SPK* and in the association
 . with the *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin*, there is little exchange
 . and the cooperation is described as expandable. Contradicting
 20 information from various institutions, for example about
 . the remains with S-numbers at the *Ethnologisches Museum* or the
 . bony remains belonging to the tufts of hair at the
 . *Staatsbibliothek* (see Chapter 3.3.1.3) underline the finding of a
 . lack of agreement between the institutions.

25

.
 .
 .
 .

4.3.4. Dealing with human remains, whose origin cannot be further elucidated

30 Those responsible for the collection have described the
 . handling of human remains, the origin of which is unlikely
 . to be further clarified, as an open question, among them
 . the director of the Berlin Medical History Museum (*BMM*) of the
 . *Charité* Thomas Schnalke at the interdisciplinary workshop
 35 "Colonial collections in Berlin Universities" of the Berlin
 . University Alliance on April 27, 2021. This is also a topic for
 . the *Zoologische Lehrsammlungen* and the *weißensee kunsthochschule
 . berlin*. Appropriate handling of the skeletons from the
 . *Zoologische Lehrsammlung* at the *HU* with no references to their
 40 origin is being planned. A supra-institutional exchange under
 . the influence of the Advisory Board/the commission is also
 . recommended on this topic.

.
 .

45

4.3.5. Processing of the history of institutions and collections – especially with regard to the “racial anthropological” collections

50 1) The historical processing of the »racial
 . anthropological« research of the 19th and early 20th centuries
 . and the corresponding collection has begun and continues in the
 . provenance research projects described above. In connection
 . with the *Charité* Human Remains Project the anthology »Sammeln,
 55 *Forschen Zurückgeben?*« (Collecting, Exploring, Returning?)²⁴⁷
 . also provides an editing and publication of the collection

²⁴⁷ Stoecker, Schnalke, und Winkelmann (ed.) 2013

²⁴⁸ Reply of the Museum für Naturkunde dated 21.07.2021

stories. Particularly noteworthy is the reconstruction of the whereabouts of the S- and RV- collections by the long-time supervisor of the Ulrich Creutz collection. At the same time, there are further ambiguities and research gaps, for example about the role of the S-collection in the KWI-A or the war-related relocation. The *Museum für Naturkunde* Berlin was unable to provide any information about when and exactly which human remains from the anthropological collections were located at Invalidenstraße.

2) In addition to the provenance research projects mentioned above, a single planned research project was explicitly mentioned on the history of the collection (in addition to the ongoing project to process the history of the institute at KWI-A, in which the S-collection will also be included in the future). In recognition of the research desideratum with regard to its collection history regarding human remains, the *Museum für Naturkunde* Berlin states that it will draw conclusions from this and is planning a third-party funded project:

»Nonetheless, the Museum für Naturkunde aims to research its collection history in relation to human remains and in the context of Berlin's institutions. In our opinion, this research gap needs to be addressed not only with a view to the Museum für Naturkunde, but also to the interdependence of the museums and university collections in Berlin and throughout Germany. We are currently looking for financial support for this comprehensive research project.« ²⁴⁸

3) The support of this research project is i.e. highly recommended for the following reasons:

a) The processing of the institutional history is a basis for systematic provenance research.

b) sifting through and indexing of sources associated with the processing is essential for international provenance and repatriation research. In its reply, the *Museum für Naturkunde* gives the following assessment of its archive holdings: *»The historian Holger Stoecker, who has dealt extensively with human remains in Berlin*

249 Reply of the Museum für Naturkunde dated 21.07.2021

250 According to Gerhard Scholtz, expert interview from 27.07.21

1 *institutions, suspects that the files on*
 . *collectors working in the German colonies in the*
 . *historical office of the Museum für Naturkunde*
 . *Berlin contain references to human remains that*
5 *are now kept in museums throughout Germany.* « 249

 . c) A supra-institutional review offers the
 . possibility of looking at facilities and holdings
 . that are no longer in existence today. Timely
10 processing can include the knowledge of former
 . employees and students as contemporary witnesses,
 . who, for example, no longer work in the
 . institutions, since they are retired or are about

15 to retire. As part of such a research project,
 . the information must be investigated according to
 . which parts of the Rudolf Virchow collection were
 . stored in the mid-late 1970s at the Institute for
 . Human Biology at the *Freie Universität Berlin*,
20 which is no longer existence. There were also two
 . heads soaked in ethanol. From the memory of
 . former students, it was the head of a condemned
 . leader of the Boxer Rebellion and a head from
 . Papua New Guinea, whose whereabouts have not yet
25 been clarified. 250

 . 4) In order to support the smaller or non-specialist
 . institutions in Berlin which are in possession of Human Remains,
 . the author of this report recommends examining the
30 implementation of the cross-institutional research project on
 . the history of collections of Human Remains of the *MfN Berlin* as
 . a joint project.

4.3.6. Summary

35 1) No institution has fully processed the origins or
 . even the identity of the people in their collections whose
 . body parts were made into specimens.

 . 2) Provenance research is still pending for the majority
40 of human remains from colonial contexts. With regard to the
 . started and planned provenance research projects, their
 . completion or even the start of provenance research on some
 . individual human bones is not expected in the next 15 years.

 . 3) So far, provenance research has hardly been financed
45 and carried out by the institutions' own funds or permanent

²⁵¹ Winkelmann 2020, 47

²⁵² Mboro/Kopp 2018, 44

²⁵³ Wegmann 2013, 401

positions, which is also a condition for the stated sustainable cooperation with societies of origin. The provenance research department, which is firmly established at the *Deutsches Historisches Museum* has been an exception so far, although the lack of funds and technical expertise for provenance research on human remains was also mentioned here. The provenance research department located at the central archive of the *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin* should also be mentioned here. However, it only employs one employee for the holdings of human remains at the *EM* and is therefore completely understaffed.

4) The cooperative provenance research, which, according to Andreas Winkelmann, represents the prerequisite and an essential function of repatriation work-more than guidelines and standardized measures-is often mentioned theoretically but only partially included in practice. ²⁵¹

5) The need for supra-institutional research projects or for collaboration between the collections to research the origin of human remains has been recognized. Almost all of the contact persons agreed that such research can and should be expanded.

6) The need for exchange and the desire for ethical guidelines, among other things, on how to deal with human remains, the origin of which cannot be further elucidated, was expressed in the context of the inventory.

7) The processing of institutional and collection histories with regard to human remains, especially from racial anthropological research of the 19th and early 20th centuries, is a research desideratum. The *Museum für Naturkunde* is planning a research project, the implementation of which is also strongly recommended as a basis for more systematic provenance research. The expansion into a supra-institutional and/or joint project was recommended by the reviewer.

4.3.7. Recommendation: A supra-institutional reappraisal project

In recent years, civil society initiatives, individual politicians and scientists have repeatedly submitted recommendations for supra-institutional provenance research to politicians, whether as a »transnational task force« ²⁵² or a body set up by the federal and state governments. ²⁵³ Against the background of the research desideratum that has only become visible for Berlin, the position of the federal government from 2011 should once again be reconsidered, which at that time still saw »no need for a research program in

25 Website des Künstlers: <http://jalaru.com/collect/>

25 Dr. Manuela Bauche at the interdisciplinary workshop »Colonial collections in Berlin Universities« of the Berlin University Alliance on April 27, 2021

1 this regard set up by the state«. A meaningful and complete
 . overview of human remains from colonial contexts, as announced
 . in the context of the 3-way strategy, can only be achieved
 . through a large effort in recording and collaborative
 5 provenance research. The announced prioritization to clarify
 . the background of human remains from colonial contexts in the
 . key points paper should be expressed in the implementation
 . through innovative and appropriate research structures, which
 . also have the potential to lead to research on less prioritized
 10 aspects.

. In addition to the projects that have already been carried
 . out and started to deal with the individual colonial
 . backgrounds and biographies of the people whose bodies were made
 . into preparations for the »racial anthropological« collection,
 15 further measures are necessary for a timely processing. This
 . also applies to the background to the human remains, for which
 . a colonial context is unlikely but cannot be ruled out, as well
 . as to the processing of the relevant institutional and
 . collection histories. The recommendation is: one or more cross-
 20 institutional, interdisciplinary and transnationally-oriented
 . research projects/repatriation projects-under the control and
 . decision-making influence of the Advisory Board outlined above
 . or the commission of repatriation practitioners.

. As a basis for systematic provenance research, the
 25 research project planned by the *Museum für Naturkunde* to
 . investigate its collection history in relation to human remains
 . in the context of the Berlin institutions must be supported and
 . its funding secured. It should also be advised whether and to
 . what extent this project can be expanded into a joint project.
 30

. **Supra-institutional:**

. In the inventory of the state of research, it became
 . already apparent that a supra-institutional exchange on the
 . handling of and provenance research on the holdings with human
 35 remains, for which a colonial context of appropriation cannot be
 . ruled out, is imminent. In order to address the needs of smaller
 . institutions, ways should be explored in which larger
 . institutions or university bodies could assume responsibility.
 .

40 **Interdisciplinary:**

. Interdisciplinarity should not only be the guiding
 . principle for provenance research that requires historical and
 . anthropological research. It should also critically question the
 . disciplinary separation at the time the collections were
 45 created in the context of the development and valorization of

1 the colonies for its domination and exploitation. This includes
 . separating bundles from the same appropriation context according
 . to the disciplines, materials and techniques (natural history,
 . ethnological, anthropological objects, documentation, photos,
 5 measurements, sound recordings and human remains of a person in
 . different locations and archives).
 .

Transnationally oriented:

. The desideratum of collaborative provenance research
 10 with ancestral communities and relatives became evident. With
 . regard to this aspect in particular, innovative and progressive
 . research structures should be established. The decision
 . and control with whom to collaborate and who has access to the
 . research results or inventory information should not lie with
 15 the collection-preserving institutions or representatives of
 . the previous colonial power (see above). Ideally, the research
 . should be carried out right from the start in close consultation
 . of and control by descendants and societies of origin, or should
 . be carried out by them themselves, whereby the local museums
 20 should continue to provide, the necessary infrastructure and
 . preparatory. Accordingly, the question of international research
 . should not only be limited to the participation of individual
 . scientists as experts and informants, but rather structures
 . should be created that enable participation and help proactively
 25 reduce existing power inequalities. Here, for example,
 . decentralized research hubs in the countries of origin could be
 . supported. These could be documentation and research centers
 . where research on the diverse collections of different museums
 . and sectors from the same region of origin could be bundled and
 30 systematically coordinated, while local expertise could flow more
 . easily and more sustainable contacts with ancestral communities
 . could be established than in the European institutions
 . themselves. This would also ensure the often sluggish transfer
 . of knowledge and accessibility that would be less dependent on
 35 visa requirements and reimbursement of travel expenses. For the
 . German institutions, an international orientation would mean
 . handing over sole control over the human remains and all
 . provenance research thereto, but not the responsibility for the
 . appropriate processing of their history and their dignified
 40 treatment.

. A first step is convening a round table to come back to
 . the recommendations made by Thomas Schnalke, the director of the
 . *Medizinhistorisches Museum of the Charité*. It must be ensured
 . that representatives of self-organizations, repatriation
 45 practitioners and actors from critical civil society are
 . informed and involved. Recommended is also the advisory
 . participation of the *Deutsches Zentrum Kulturgutverluste* whose
 . funding line covers provenance research on human remains.
 .

50

4.4. Processing of Berlin's colonial past

. The processing of the holdings and institutional histories
 55 of the former race research is of particular importance, which
 . results from the connection described in section 2.1.3 with

1 the still powerful ideologies of racism and Eurocentrism. This
. reappraisal is therefore essential for the mediation and
. integration into the city-wide concept of remembrance of
. Berlin's colonial past and takes place on two levels. On the one
5 hand, the appropriation of human remains for the purpose of
. anthropological or race research must be seen against the
. broader colonial backgrounds and developments of the past. And
. on the other hand, this colonial practice is in part still
. actively maintained today, for example in the recognition of
10 ownership of human remains without the consent of relatives,
. which represents a colonial continuity in the present.

. In addition to addressing the colonial past, civil
. society pressure and a racism-critical and decolonial debate
. outside and within the relevant institutions are needed to end
15 colonial structures of thought and appropriation for the time
. being. The fact that critical civil society processing and
. constant initiatives are necessary is shown not least by the
. placing of the order for this report, which prompted individual
. institutions to take stock for the first time. But even in
20 the case of a publication of the holdings and an active
. repatriation policy of the institutions, accompanying coping
. and awareness-raising work remains necessary. A sensitive and
. racism-critical approach to history and a focus on coping
. with it should be part of the process from the beginning.

25 In addition to ending dehumanizing practice, the
. reconstruction of the biographies and living conditions of the
. respective people, in the best case even testimonials from
. the people themselves, is of great relevance for a culture of
. mediation, awareness and remembrance in the Berlin context. In
30 relation to the creation of a place of learning and remembrance
. at and around the premises of the former KWI-A, where the
. »S-Sammlung« (see section 3.1.2) was once kept, the Black
. historian Manuela Bauche explained that it relies on
. rehumanizing provenance research to tell the history of the
35 institute in a way that is critical of racism.²⁵⁴ As a
. further central starting point for dealing with history from the
. perspective of the previously colonized and dehumanized
. people, opportunities should be created for the sympathy with and
. support of relatives in repatriation work and in their
40 memory and appreciation of deceased people.

. The collection-preserving institutions and
. representatives of the appropriation communities can already
. contribute to counteracting racist and colonial thought
. patterns by recognizing the decades of awareness-raising and
45 mediation work of repatriation practitioners, but also of
. migrant, diasporic, post-colonial civil society activists
. and organizations and included those who for years have pushed
. the education on and processing of the colonial past and its
. continuity. Naming this important work and making it visible,
50 appreciating and actively supporting and defending it against
. racist hostility already contributes to the mediation and
. creation of a culture of remembrance which also uncovers the
. resistance that accompanied colonial rule and appropriations
. from the very start. Both the concrete remembrance of the people
55 whose body parts were stolen and are kept in anthropological
. collections to this day, and the processing and communication

of the historical colonial contexts in which the appropriations took place, as well as the history of resistance that led to an active handling of the collections should find their way into a city-wide concept of mediation and remembrance of Berlin's colonial past. This concept is not limited to urban areas, but also applies to school and extracurricular educational work.

4.5. Policy Recommendations:

In order for the further processing of the colonial legacy and the political will to repatriate not to remain lip service, fair, transparent and effective mechanisms in the implementation of indigenous rights should be created with the descendants and indigenous peoples concerned, as well as formerly colonized population groups, to ensure access and fully informed consent for the dignified handling of the remains of their ancestors. The state should create constitutional conditions that recognize human remains as the ancestors of real people and also guarantee the dignity of human beings in relation to their mortal remains. The recognition of indigenous rights should guide the handling of human remains from colonial contexts. In individual cases, descendants should be asked if they need support so that they can appropriately care for their ancestors and deceased members of the ancestral communities to be able to fulfill their family and cultural responsibilities and such support must be given accordingly.

Appropriate measures are recommended:

- Rescinding of property rights to human remains from colonial contexts in the sense of a temporary trusteeship
- Obligation of institutions with human remains from colonial contexts to provide members and representatives of ancestral communities with comprehensive information on and direct access to the remains of their ancestors and the associated data
- Obligation to obtain Free, Prior, and Informed Consent from members of the relevant indigenous peoples and groups before researching, exhibiting, or using human remains from colonial contexts for teaching purposes and to authorize the handling of the data and materials already available

In addition, politicians must ensure the basic conditions and comprehensive equipment to implement the recommendations for dealing with the holdings of human remains from colonial contexts:

- Establishment of an Advisory Board/commission with repatriation practitioners and descendants to continue the inventory and discuss further steps
- Provenance research and processing of the collection and institute histories through one or more cross-institutional, interdisciplinary and transnationally-oriented research project(s)

- Incorporation of the topic into Berlin's overall historical re-evaluation concept

The inadequate documentation and the maintenance of intolerable and unworthy conditions for the ancestors, some of whom are seen as active entities, must not be made a problem for the descendants. The enormous effort and resources that provenance research, repatriation and (re)burial still require on the part of the societies of origin if they want to end colonial practice on their ancestors, must be recognized and reflected on because of the act of appropriation itself. A comprehensive assumption of responsibility on the appropriation side is necessary, which at the same time includes the willingness to give up authority over the conditions and basic orientation of the processing of the divided colonial history and its continuities. The culture and research funding, currently aimed at supporting German institutions, would have to be expanded accordingly. Support for provenance research and repatriation work by indigenous communities and descendants themselves, the establishment of documentation and research structures in the countries of origin must be considered.

5. Acknowledgements

I would like to express my appreciation and recognition for the work of repatriation practitioners, some of which has been going on for decades, and their tireless and resistance-defying educational and awareness-raising activities. The encounters and discussions with Mnyaka Sururu Mboro, Edward Halealoha Ayau, Evelyn Huki and Santi Hitorangi were fundamental for the present report. Thank you very much for sharing your experiences, analysis and knowledge about the importance and major challenges of repatriation work, as well as your willingness to review this report and giving valuable feedback!

In addition, I would like to express my gratitude to the many other participants in this report:

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Note: I provide these comments and responses to Isabelle Reimann's chapter in the context of Hawaiian repatriation practices and cultural values collectively referred to as 'Hawaiian humanity'. I do not speak for non-Hawaiian Indigenous cultures and barely speak for my own, sharing instead 32 years of experience in the field, in prayer, in practice and on flights to places all around the world to return the iwi kūpuna (ancestral bones) home and help restore the ancestral Hawaiian foundation.

Comments and Responses to the draft of the 'Scientific report on the existence of human remains from colonial contexts in Berlin' by Isabelle Reimann

*By Edward Halealoha Ayau, 'Ōiwi (Native
Hawaiian) (December 2021)*



The continued storage of human remains in
collection institutions without consent of the
deceased of their family is a major problem.

Halealoha: The importance and consequences of this 'major problem' are immense over a time continuum whereby the ancestors whose *iwi* have been displaced experience posthumous anguish laced with anger, confusion and shame from being mistreated through exposure and the prevention of their return to *Pō* – to the Hawaiian depths of darkness, to that place for the dead. This condition in turn results in the creation of *kaumaha* (spiritual, emotional, physical anguish) experienced by living descendants, especially those aware of all of these harmful conditions. This *kaumaha* dynamic contributes to undermining the ability to make good decisions and to live free including negatively impacting the foundations of clear understanding and safety protections to effectively care for the unborn generations.

The layers of harm caused by this 'major problem' are distinct and powerful making it extremely difficult to sustain the ability to overcome other challenges, all the while knowing that the ancestral foundation has and continues to be under attack and requires keen attention, courage, focus and energy to restore. And if things weren't bad enough, and to make matters worse---coming under attack from your own people when they lash out with their *kaumaha* at those trying to rescue and care for the ancestors. Hawaiian leadership practically demands your blood be spilled in order to understand and appreciate what is required to overcome this *kaumaha*.

If colonial military force served to physically exert control over Indigenous Hawaiian populations, removal and collection practices served to spiritually exert colonial control over the same people by withholding the *iwi* (bones) from ultimately disintegrating in to the *‘āina* (land) thereby temporarily suspending their journey to complete the transition to *Pō*. By doing so, a powerful crippling effect is created that starts with the ancestors and ripples through to the unborn causing harm and destruction of Hawaiian humanity in its wake. To describe colonial collection of ancestral remains as a ‘major problem’ is an understatement. But it is a challenge that has and will continue to be addressed and overcome, as a sacred duty to restore the ancestral foundation and free the ancestors to transition safely – and for the living to get on with challenges of living.

The responsibility towards the ancestors does not only exist for those in the direct lineal succession, but also for the other cultural and spiritual affiliations and ties that have not yet been recognized by German legal definitions. The importance of self-determination, of dignified recognition and respect for the dead as well as today’s relatives can often be seen against the background of a violent colonial history.

Halealoha: This is a significant revelation in that the responsibility or kuleana to support the return of the ancestors is shared by all living descendants committed to standing in the space of courage and aloha to do so. It is ironic (and frankly laughable) when a museum imposes the requirement that claimants to human remains in their collections must prove direct lineal descent when the museum staff who houses the remains themselves are incapable of meeting the same standard of proof. This colonial approach reeks of intellectual savagery by conveying the message that while the museum failed to acquire requisite consent to collect the remains and would fail to establish lineal connection to continue to house them if they ever bothered to try, should an indigenous claimant dare to request restitution, they must first prove lineal descent from them, which requires identification of the individuals skeletal remains by name. Further exacerbating the situation is that the museum is ill qualified to assess any lineal descendant claims for its lack of knowledge of Hawaiian genealogies. It makes one wonder whether the rule was ever intended to be implemented or rather just form a formidable deterrent to restitution claims.

Instead, the standard of repatriation should consist of evidence of cultural affiliation established by the circumstances surrounding collection, provenance to *Hawai‘i* or the Sandwich Isles, and proof of *kaumaha* (spiritual, emotional, physical anguish) caused by the awareness of the condition the ancestral remains are housed in a foreign institution and subject to exposure. It is important when Hawaiians conduct repatriation that we ensure that the ancestral remains that are the target of repatriation claims, are in fact Hawaiian and from the Hawaiian islands which historically for a time were referred to as the Sandwich Isles. Part of our cultural process involves ceremonial prayers and chants that serve

to connect us to the ancestors to attempt to engage them in their own rescue and seek guidance on their preferences for the return especially where they want to be reinterred. In an *NAGPRA* Review Committee appeal involving the refusal of the Phoebe Apperson Hearst Museum to repatriate two ancestral remains to our organization *Hui Mālama I Nā Kūpuna O Hawai‘i Nei* in 1993, we asserted the results of our ceremonial process as proof to establish that the two skulls are those of ancestral Hawaiians. When their findings and recommendations were reported, the *NAGPRA* Review Committee referred to our testimony as »spiritual evidence,« and gave it due weight with additional historic documentation of provenance in its finding that that one of the two skulls was Hawaiian. However, the Committee did not have the courage to allow the evidence to stand alone, finding that the second skull should be subject to physical examination to clarify cultural affiliation. That examination established the second skull was also Hawaiian. We were incensed by the second recommendation because our indigenous Hawaiian way of knowing was only respected in addition to existing documentation but not allowed to stand on its own. Nonetheless, it was a powerful start in the right direction.

In addition, the reference to colonial »violence« in this passage is perpetrated upon the Hawaiian soul whereby some reach deep despair in the realization of how the hell will we ever be able to protect the unborn generations, when we were and continue to be powerless to prevent desecration and disturbance of the *iwi kūpuna* (ancestral bones)? This conundrum fails to give the unborn much faith in us, the living. But since we are all they have, it is imperative upon us to *kūlia i ka nu‘u* (strive to reach the summit), do our very best and more. It is our sacred duty to do so. Failure is not an option.

For some people, the remains of their ancestors in the collecting institutions are not objects, but spiritually living entities...to see human remains as the ancestors of very real people and to recognize the dignity of human beings also in relation to their mortal remains... On the other hand, colonial relationships persist.

Halealoha: This passage is especially true for Hawaiians, as our ancestors live on through us and through our ancestral memories of their names, words, and deeds. We recall them in mele mo‘okū‘auhau (genealogical chants) that celebrate their accomplishments and relationships. Déjà vu realizations are inherited ancestral memories and affirmations of connection. Our ancestors yearn in death to remain a part of the *‘ohana* (family), to be helpful and relevant to their living descendants and family members. Examples include the fashioning of fishhooks from their bones, providing inspiration and courage when requested, and helping guide when required. Their role in our lives is essential for the magic to happen. The concept of everlasting life is not new to Hawaiians, we practice it in our daily *‘ohana* (family) ways but have stopped for generations largely as a result to our commitment to the foreign practices of Christianity, since ancestral connection it is not a primary focus of its teachings. Similarly, to be forgotten

by your descendants and others is to achieve true death. The ancestors who are disturbed, whose *iwi* are acquired and removed, are especially vulnerable to being spiritually trapped. They require our attention to return their bones home, to replant them and to support their ability to transition. This interdependence is critical to understanding the respective roles of the deceased, the living and the unborn.

On the other hand, an example of the persistence of the colonial relationships as shared in this passage is exemplified by the attitudes of Dr Alexander Pashos of the *Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie Ethnologie und Urgeschichte (BGAEU)*, who maintained the view that all burials are 'available' unless explicitly restricted and therefore the burden of proof is not on the collector, but the claimant to demonstrate collection occurred in a narrowly-defined 'context of injustice.' Pashos rejected our position that all collections of Hawaiian skeletal remains are an injustice because it violated our Hawaiian family values of aloha and mālama, in other words, violations of the very core of our Hawaiian humanity. Unfortunately, Dr Pashos only deemed murder or military executions as a »context of injustice«, and everything else in his mind was fair game for scientific collection. He is an example of an intellectual savage, one who uses his intellect to deny another their humanity. The days of his Nazi-era thinking are numbered, as humanity forges forward to overcome the shackles of colonialism.

»They [our Ancestral Relatives] are treated as property and reside in a perpetual state of posthumous slavery.«

Halealoha: First of all, this quote is more properly attributed to my co-author Honor Keeler. My own comment to Honor's statement here cites the soon to be published writing, *Emotion and the Return of Ancestors: repatriation as affective practice* Cressida Fforde, Jilda Andrews, Edward Halealoha Ayau, Laurajane Smith, Paul Turnbull:

One pronounced argument that effectively captures the diametric opposition of our respective worldviews is when museum officials frame their scientific approach as objective and in the pursuit of pure knowledge and our Hawaiian cultural approach as subjective and prone to emotion. Moreover, that we Hawaiians have a duty to the rest of the world to contribute to the body of knowledge by allowing physical examination and testing of Ancestral Remains. There is an inherent discrimination in this view whereby it prioritises science over culture and incorrectly assumes that culture is devoid of science. Most importantly, it weaponises science to overcome our humanity, our family values and beliefs with respect to the treatment of the dead. As if our family values are no longer important, effectively outweighed by objective science. This view incorrectly presumes that our ancestors mated for the purpose

of creating osteological material rather than to raise a loving family. — Edward Halealoha Ayau.

This passage conveys the view that science when applied to ancestral skeletal remains, have co-opted our family values, and replaced the intent of our ancestral parents to create loving families. This therefore represents the true heinous nature of colonial efforts to remove ancestral remains in that it represents a highly offensive intrusion into the family, by non-family members.

The legal protection and the social acceptance of private or state property supports their reification and prevents the pursuit of responsibilities that result from other ties and relationships with the Ancestral Remains.

Halealoha: This is one of the most important points of this chapter, the need to improve the context in which *iwi kūpuna* (ancestral bones) are to be viewed to provide a more humane and accurate perspective — as it is not a competition of views, but instead the completion of the actual picture. The objectifying of human remains is a colonial harm that paves the way for additional harms including physical examination, photography and destructive analysis. This process serves to dehumanize the ancestors to justify the illicit collection and in doing so dehumanizes the living descendants. This is a very dangerous practice — the art of dehumanizing — because it both harms the target Indigenous population while simultaneously providing the colonizer with a false sense of their importance, effectively distancing themselves from the human family. It supports the misguided assertions of social, intellectual, and physical superiority and as a consequent is completely devoid of aloha. One shining example of how this objectification/dehumanization was overcome involved the Museum of Ethnology in Dresden, Germany whom in 2017, after 26 years of advocacy efforts by this author and others, the museum and high-level German officials addressed this monster head on and slayed it in a powerfully humanitarian fashion. First, Nanette Snoep, Director of the Museum of Ethnology, Dresden stated,

»Today is for the first time that we restitute ancestral remains from Hawai'i back to their homeland. Back to their earth, sand where they come from. Back to the people who has waited for more than 100 years for the return of their ancestors.«

Second, Dr Marion Ackerman Director-General of the Dresden State Art Collections said,

»The restitution of human remains has of great importance; it is an act of humanity... That is an important part in the process of healing of historical injustice and for a better understanding and a common future in a global world. The ancestral remains from Hawai'i will find now their way back home. I want to make clear that we feel

deeply sorry for the long-lasting way of the return, and we apologize for that from all of our heart.«

Next, Dr Eva-Maria Stange, State Minister of Science and Arts of Free State of Saxony eloquently stated,

»Human remains ... acquired in the 19th and ... 20th century through theft, grave robbery or in the course of colonial wars, also reached the collections of Saxony's institutions in diverse ways. In this case, they became 'scientific objects.' Today... we are looking at these collections from a different angle. They are being rehumanized... these are no longer objects – they are the mortal remains of human beings. With their return, we are giving back their value to the deceased persons and their families. Their life stories made them victims in the name of science and colonialism.«

Finally, in reflecting on what the Dresden repatriation effort involved and what it meant in the larger scheme of things, Native Hawaiian Noelle Kahanu, who participated in the ceremonies at Dresden summarized as follows,

»Someone asked recently, what is the future direction of repatriation? I responded that we should look to those examples rising from an international context. These returns happened, not because a federal law mandated it, but because of individual and institutional relationships that have developed over time, because doors were opened by those who understood the humanity in returning iwi kūpuna to their homelands... It is a network of people working together, inside, and outside of museums, redefining ethics, and reasserting notions of human dignity, that will bring the last of our iwi kūpuna home. In doing so, we will be liberating museum relations into the future.«

On 23 October 2017, the world took a step forward in terms of its collective humanity thanks to these courageous women who sought to undo the powerfully harmful effects of colonialism on the Native Hawaiians people.

Assigning universal values to the European sciences, prioritizing their interests and separating them from the mostly unethical appropriate practices in this case leads to their mystification.

Halealoha: The use of scientific methods to justify collection of ancestral remains is the epitome of colonization's negative impacts upon Indigenous populations. It's use to justify social policies of controlling populations considered savage and lesser in status is clear. However, our experience in 2013 with the

repatriation of 144 *iwi kūpuna* from the Natural History Museum in London, England and the years that followed taught us about the scientific practice of craniometrics, or which I refer to as 'scientific sleight of hand' and 'scientific voo-doo', in that what we were led to believe was well-accepted, proven scientific methodology utilized by the NHM London to deny the return of 8 ancestral remains whose provenance was *Hawai'i* based upon historic documentation. Years later, we learn from physical anthropology experts and anthropological experts that the practice of craniometrics is highly suspect and deemed incapable of use to deny a repatriation claim in the light of provenance documentation.

In the soon to be published, *Craniometry and Indigenous Repatriation*, it states,

»Craniometry plays a vexed role in the analysis of human remains. Proponents of cranial studies continue to study and develop programs and techniques to hopefully discriminate populations to assist in ancestry determination. This occurs despite persistent criticism from experts in the same disciplines that the accuracy of these methodologies is limited at best and should not be relied upon as evidence.«

We have learned over the past 32 years not to assign 'universal values to the European sciences', not to prioritize their interests and separate them from the mostly unethical appropriate practices. We learned to learn about them to demystify them and better understand their uses and misuses.

...anthropological scientific collection and research were inseparable from colonial expansion and development---and structures of exploitation are anchored... The present report aims to be beyond the factual inventory to contribute to the ontological and epistemic rethinking triggered by the repatriation movements, among other things, to be anchored to a certain extent in museums and scientific institutions.

Halealoha: Let the 'repatriation movement' be an indictment of the inescapable failures of the human condition. Colonizing deceased Indigenous ancestors, some of whom died at the hands of colonization, eerily epitomizes the dead heart of western civilization in their unending lust for 'progress' fueled by greed and privilege. This disgraceful phenomenon was also powered by Christianity, as poeticized in this mele (song) by the American music band called the Eagles:

*You can leave it all behind and sail to Lahaina
Just like the missionaries did so many years ago
They even brought a neon sign »Jesus is coming«
Brought the white man's burden down
Brought the white man's reign
Who will provide the grand design?
What is yours and what is mine?*

*'Cause there is no more new frontier
We have got to make it here
We satisfy our endless needs
And justify our bloody deeds
In the name of destiny
And in the name of God*

— From, *The Last Resort*, Hotel California (1979).

Here the writer speaks of manifest destiny and to organized Christian religion as major factors in the taking of Native Americans and Native Hawaiians lands and resources by Whites. I suggest that these factors should also be considered in the overall impacts of colonization.

Note: DRAFT REPORT RE: The Scientific report by Isabelle Reimann on the existence of human remains from colonial contexts in Berlin.

Documents Submitted for Recommendation: Original version »Wissenschaftliches Gutachten Zum Bestand menschlicher berreste/ Human Remains aus kolonialen Kontexten in Berlin.« Including a Draft Report version in English of the above mention document.

Repat. a Take Team *by Huki /\ Hitorangi*

Comment: After reading the document it became clear to us that the German State, as a constitutional practitioner, and human rights guarantor must take the lead in resolving long-standing claims by descendants and right holders to “ Human Remains obtained in the Colonial Context”. The colonial legacy of Germany (the German state) is in resistance to the inconvenient truth and to the recognition of it, as deeds, done bei dem Deutschen Volk.

This resistance in part, is the overwhelming lack of political will in Berlin’s Bundestag despite having resources and the ability to set State Mandated clear Singular Guideline for Restitution that empowers both the custodians and descendants of the Human Remains in question. Having as a result a conclusion for the custodian and finality to the descendants. To envision this process in practice, new and simple norms must be contemplated and enacted to which museums institutions, and private collections must adhere to for a period of ten years. Therefore, resources will be allocated to expedite the restitution to claims of descendants and rightholders pursuant to the State Mandate, Singular Guideline for Restitution. Recognizing Human Remains as diseased relative or ancestor, as well as mandating that all human remains currently in Germany obtained in the colonial context must be declared in to a data bank where information can be relied upon for further analysis. This will revert centuries of warped colonial education to the extreme contrary. Ending on going post mortem bondage of ancestors from all over the world.

New Vision: A new plan must be presented to the current elected political decision makers in Berlin. That clearly underlines tangible solutions in accordance to the German Constitution to address the question »Restitution of Human Remains in the colonial context« in Germany. Offering the Legislative Power, the *Bundestag* the most relevant and up to date information on the subject matter. Giving them the unique opportunity to take action to enact a singular guideline in the form of a State Mandate. Enabling with resources at ministerial level agencies at the national and state level governments to work expeditiously with Museums in possession of Human Remains from the colonial

context. This will be undertaken by, and in coordination with the descendants and rightholders of every claim, in order to implement the proposed new measure the State Mandate; Singular Guideline for Restitution applicable to, and for all Human Remains in Germany »obtained in the colonial context« as part of Germany's colonial legacy.

Custodian-Descendants Process: After the Museum completes its internal review regarding provenance followed by a restitution plan made in collaboration with descendant and rightholders. And, once provenance has been verified; rightholders activates their own sanctioned burial protocols for their citizens in custody at the location of their Remains. Immediately after, a simple, one page application to the State activates the full rigor of the New State Mandate, the Singular Guideline for Restitution. At this moment the State acts as chief enabler by providing the means and legal authority to complete in dignity the satisfactory restitution of all Human Remains in State Museums institutions, private collections, and in civil society institutions »obtained in the colonial context« as part of Deutschland living colonial legacy. Giving closure and finality to the descendants of both Rightholders and Custodians.

Discarding the Linguistic Ballast of the Imagi.Nation_(s)

Decolonial AfroFuturism by **Adetoun and Michael Küppers-Adebisi**

From the annals of the Encyclopedia Africana Germanica by AFROTAK TV cyberNomads.



Is poetry possible after genocide?
 the language
 & its books
 of past
 of libraries
 of stuffing fabric
 of world-destroying knowledge
 are throwing
 off the tribes
 of the new being

samuel thomas soemmerring describes in 1784

his observations while dissecting
 dieing of diseases caused by climatic circumstances
 or becoming mentally ill
 killing the selve
 formerly by white supremacy
 enslaved people of african descent

.
 sag ihren namen (say their Names)
 sag ihren namen (say their Names)
 irgendwie siehst du aus wie'ne gestalt aus dem zwielicht
 (your looking kind of shady)

the language

GLOSSARY

dissecting without consent - desecration of the dead | | **M-word** - Moors | | **E-word** - Europeans | | **R.- word** - races | | **M-word heads** - Moors heads | | **head_money_hunters** - degenerated western people hunting people in colonies | | **protectorates** - colonies | | **German cultural circles** - spheres of influence of white supremacy | | **human experiments protectorate** - crimes against humanity | | **colonial concentration camps** - labor and extermination camps | | **forced sterilization** - inducing procreative incapacity in people without consent

ihrer buecher
& its books
of past
of libraries
of stuffing fabric
of world-destroying knowledge

in der aus *weißer* rassistischer Ideologie geborenen
Publikation:
On the physical difference of the **M(-word)** from the **E(-word)**

1786 johann friedrich blumenbach receives
from johann wolfgang von goethe
the head of a human

being cast off
from the selve

Until 1798 johann friedrich blumenbach
dissects 82 **heads**

sag ihren namen (say their Names)
sag ihren namen (say their Names)
irgendwie siehst du aus wie'ne gestalt aus dem zwielicht
(your looking kind of shady)

he
invents a fith category
R.-word
for people of human descent

the tribes
of new beings

he
is considered
the founder of the **caucasian** category
and of scientific anti-racism

the language

& its books
 of past
 of libraries
 of stuffing fabric
 of world-destroying knowledge
 are throwing off
 the tribes
 of the new being

1892

In Leipzig for the first time formatted
 as M-word **heads** (Tête de Nègre)
 body parts of People of of African Descent
 as a sweet dish are being offered for consumption

1898

the resistance fighter
 Chief Mkwavinyika Munyigumba Mwamuyinga
 lets himself be killed
 not to be touched by the hands
 of the prosecutors of white German Descent

The

head_money_hunter

Johann Merkl, Sergeant at arms
 and later member of parliament of the Bavarian People's Party
 in Tanzania cuts off the dead Mkwawa
 his
head
 off

sag ihren namen (say their Names)
 sag ihren namen (say their Names)
 irgendwie siehst du aus wie'ne gestalt aus dem zwielicht
 (your looking kind of shady)

with the blood money
 he
 buys a farm near the Kilimanjaro
 the
 head
 is probably
 kidnapped by lieutenant tom von prince
 to germany

Is poetry possible after genocide?

Language commandment

thou shalt not recognize
 & does thou recognize yet
 so believe not what saw thee

In 1906 in the German **protectorate**
today's Namibia experiments are carried out on 778 **heads**

the increase of the inhumanity
of the German **cultural circles:**
war prisoner OvaHerero women
are forced
to boil
the
heads
of their victims
and to scrape off the flesh
with broken glass

they are not considered
the founders of the Caucasian anti-colonial resistance
and scientific anti-racism

sag ihren namen (say their Names)
sag ihren namen (say their Names)
irgendwie siehst du aus wie'ne gestalt aus dem zwielicht
(your looking kind of shady)
The scraped
heads
are being packed in boxes and deported to Germany

sag ihren namen (say their Names)
sag ihren namen (say their Names)
irgendwie siehst du aus wie'ne gestalt aus dem zwielicht
(your looking kind of shady)

1905 to 1906 robert koch conducts
systematic **experiments** on 1000 **humans** of African Descent
in colonial **concentration camps** in Namibia

sag ihren namen (say their Names)

1907 guerrilla warrior Cornelius Fredericks dies
in the colonial **concentration camp** shark island
his **head** also — by white supremacy
is being deported to Germany
and examined by scholars

eugen fischer
dissects the **dead bodies**
and **heads**
of 17 Afro-German Nama killed in the course of the genocide in Namibia

sag ihren namen (say their Names)

1359 gestorbene Menschen
sind in den Aufzeichnungen der Betreiber*innen
des deutschen Kolonial-KZ's Haifischbucht verzeichnet

1359 dead people
are listed in the records of the operators
of the German colonial **concentration camp** Haifischbucht

They must be recognized as Germans!

sag ihren namen (say their Names)
 sag ihren namen (say their Names)
 irgendwie siehst du aus wie'ne gestalt aus dem zwielicht
 (your looking kind of shady)

Is poetry possible after genocide?

the language
 & its books
 of past
 of libraries
 of stuffing fabric
 of world-destroying knowledge

are throwing off
 the tribes
 of the new being

In 1919 Germany
 by article 246 of the treaty of Versailles
 is being obliged

to return
 the head
 of Mkwavinyika Munyigumba Mwamuyinga
 to Tanzania

sag ihren namen (say their Names)
 sag ihren namen (say their Names)
 irgendwie siehst du aus wie'ne gestalt aus dem zwielicht
 (your looking kind of shady)

1933 Eugen Fischer
 as rector of the University of Berlin dismisses Jewish scientists
 and supports

burning of their books
 pasts
 libraries
 of parallel universities of knowledge

1937 setzte eugen fischer die **Zwangssterilisierung**
 Afro-Deutscher Kinder im Rheinland durch

1937 eugen fischer enforces the **forced sterilization**
 of Afro-German children in the rhineland

sag ihren namen (say their Names)
 sag ihren namen (say their Names)
 irgendwie siehst du aus wie'ne gestalt aus dem zwielicht
 (your looking kind of shady)

1944 eugen fischer receives
the highest possible award for science in the german Reich

Language commandment

thou shalt not
cause change
for the sake
of power
the balance
must be

the British governor
in Tanzania
in 1954 returns
from the Overseas
Museum in Bremen
a *head*
as the *head*
of
Mkwavinyika Munyigumba Mwamuyinga
back to Tanzania

Communication commandment

thou shalt not
write

this too
is senseless
aberration of ghosts
turned into ego-obscured expressions
measured by the price

art destroys
artificial structures
of marionettes
with feather core

the toll to pay
1/2 extasy alcohol ganja
or white angel dust

prevent communication
& intensify

the lonely feeling
the body lost
the languages
of nightmare_dream_free
detox_nation_(s)

in zones
of re_spiritualized skulls
(heads)
and corpses
(bodies of dead people)
of serial exclusiveness

the **head**
of Cornelius Fredericks
was presumably amongst
at least 19 other **heads**
in the Charité in Berlin
and was possibly in 2011
in a grey cardboard box
brought back to Namibia

say their Names
say their Names

Language commandment

thou shalt not lose
the shame

this
is
the
hope in the age

of our generation

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Anhang 1: Projektskizze für das unabhängige wissenschaftliche Gutachten zum Bestand menschlicher Überreste aus kolonialen Kontexten in Berlin

Appendix 1: Project outline for the independent scientific report on the presence of human remains from colonial contexts in Berlin

Stand 17. Mai

Zielsetzung

Beauftragt von der Koordinierungsstelle für ein gesamtstädtisches Konzept zur Aufarbeitung Berlins kolonialer Vergangenheit dient das Gutachten als Grundlage für den Maßnahmenkatalog, den sie dem Berliner Senat Ende 2021 vorlegt (www.decolonize-berlin.de/de/koordinierungsstelle). Als solche soll es enthalten:

- Aufbereitung von Informationen über menschliche Überreste in Berlin
- Übersichtserstellung zur Evaluierung und Empfehlung nächster Schritte und Maßnahmen, beispielsweise im Bereich der kooperativen Provenienzforschung
- Das Gutachten soll einen Beitrag leisten zur transparenten Dokumentation von Sammlungsgut aus kolonialen Kontexten im Sinne des Eckpunktepapiers zum Umgang mit Sammlungsgut aus kolonialen Kontexten (2018).

Inhalt des Gutachtens

- Hintergrund Sammlungsgeschichten
- Hintergrund Repatriierungsbewegung
- internationale Entwicklungen, rechtliche Aspekte und Dateninfrastruktur
- Rückforderungen und Auskunftsgesuche an Berliner Einrichtungen
- Entwicklungen in Deutschland: Handreichung, Eckpunkte, Provenienzforschung
- Problematiken (Zusammenarbeit, allgemeine Regelungen, Provenienzforschung, Information und Öffentlichkeit)
- Definitionen menschliche Überreste und kolonialer Kontext
- Methodisches Vorgehen
- Ergebnisse der Bestandsaufnahme in tabellarischer Form
- Zusammenfassung
- Ausblick Stand 17. Mai

Inhalt der tabellarischen Aufstellung

▪ Übersicht über verschiedene Orte und Institutionen inklusive Negativantworten (jeweils Stand der Inventarisierung; abgeschlossene, laufende oder geplante Provenienzforschungen; Methoden der Provenienzforschung; Zusammenarbeit mit Herkunftsgesellschaften/ Angehörigen; Stand Repatriierungen; Betreuung der Sammlung, interne Berichte und Veröffentlichungen)

▪ Übersicht menschlicher Überreste aus kolonialen Kontexten gemäß untenstehender Definitionen:

Institution

Hinweise zur Identität / Biographie des Individuums

(falls vorhanden)

Herkunft laut Institution (geografisch)

Herkunft laut Institution (ethnisch)

Zuordnung heutiger Staat

Inventarnummer

Zugangsdatum

Einliefernde Personen oder Körperschaften

*Sammler*in laut Institution*

Sammlungsdatum / -zeitraum

Stand der Provenienzforschung

Sonstige Anmerkungen

Definitionen

»Menschliche Überreste«

Definition aus Empfehlungen zum Umgang mit menschlichen Überresten in Museen und Sammlungen des Deutschen Museumsbundes (2013); Menschliche Überreste sind laut diesen Empfehlungen alle körperlichen Überreste, die der biologischen Art *Homo sapiens* zuzurechnen sind. Dazu zählen:

▪ alle unbearbeiteten, bearbeiteten oder konservierten Erhaltungsformen menschlicher Körper sowie Teile davon. Darunter fallen insbesondere Knochen, Mumien, Moorleichen, Weichteile, Organe, Gewebeschnitte, Embryonen, Föten, Haut, Haare, Fingernägel und Fußnägel (die vier letztgenannten auch, wenn sie von Lebenden stammen) sowie Leichenbrand

▪ alle (Ritual-)Gegenstände, in die menschliche Überreste nach der oben genannten Definition bewusst eingearbeitet wurden

»Kolonialer Kontext«

Definition aus Leitfaden zum Umgang mit Sammlungsgut aus kolonialen Kontexten des Deutschen Museumsbund (2018)

Kategorie 1: Objekte aus formalen Kolonialherrschaften

Kategorie 2: Objekte aus kolonialen Kontexten außerhalb formaler Kolonialherrschaften

Kategorie 3: Rezeptionsobjekte aus kolonialen Kontexten

Anhang 2: Vollständige tabellarische Bestandsangaben der Institutionen mit größeren »rassenanthropologischen« und ethnographischen Beständen

1 Vgl. W Branco (= Wilhelm von Branca), über eine fossile Säugethier-Fauna von Punin bei Riobamba in Ecuador, nach den Sammlungen von W. Reiss und A. Stübel, mit einer geologischen Einleitung von W. Reiss, in: Palaeontologische Abhandlungen, Bd. 1, H. 2 (165 Seiten mit Karten und Abb.)

2 Vgl. die Angaben bei Wikipedia und www.web.archive.org/web/20100529032620/www.mannheim.de/io2/browse/webseiten/stadtgeschichte/mannheim momente/september2008_de.xdoc / [www.saebi.isgv.de/biografie/Alphons_St%C3%BCbel_\(1835-1904\)](http://www.saebi.isgv.de/biografie/Alphons_St%C3%BCbel_(1835-1904)) 3 Uhle (1889–1890).

Institution	Auskunft der Institutionen mit größeren »rassenanthropologischen« und ethnographischen Beständen menschlicher Überreste hinsichtlich der kolonialen Kontexte in ihren Beständen Stand November 2021 Information by institutions with larger "racial anthropological" and ethnographic inventories of human remains with regard to the colonial contexts in their holdings. The following information has been provided by the institutions in this form and often includes historical designations and therefore also attributions and racist language. Status: November 2021				
SPK - Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte	Die numerischen Angaben in der folgenden Tabelle beziehen sich in der Regel auf die Anzahl einzelner Schädel. In sehr wenigen Fällen verbergen sich hinter einer Nummer auch mehrere Teile eines menschlichen Skeletts, die aber in der Regel zusammengehörig sind: The numerical data in the following table usually refer to the number of individual skulls. In very few cases, a number also conceals several parts of a human skeleton, but they usually belong together:				
		wahrscheinlich presumably	unklar unclear	insgesamt total	signifikante Sammler / significant collector (mehr als 10 HR) (more than 10 Human Remains)
	alle Objekte aus dt. Kolonien all human remains from former German colonies			ca. 3800	
	»Dt. Ostafrika« »German East Africa«	1146	7	1153	
	Tansania/Tanzania	213			
	Rwanda/Ruanda	907	6		
	Kenia/Kenya	22			
	unbekannt/unknown		1		
	»Dt. Westafrika« CIRCA »German West Africa« CIRCA	350	100	450	Adametz, Döring (Doering), Eckhard, Esch, Kersting, Mansfeld, Marwitz, Schäfer, Simon, Thierry
	Kamerun/Cameroon	300			
	Togo	50			
	»Dt. Neuguinea« CIRCA »German New Guinea« CIRCA	2050	40	2090	Finsch, Friederici, Fritz, Neuhauss, Parkinson, Roesicke (Rösicke), Schlaginhaufen, Schoede (Schöde), Thurnwald, Walden
	Mikronesien/Micronesia	20			
	Nauru	10			
	Palau				
	Papua-Neuguinea/ Papua- New Guinea	10			
	USA (Marianen)/ USA Mariana Islands				
	»Dt. Samoa«/ »German Samoa«	2		2	

Institution	<p>Auskunft der Institutionen mit größeren »rasseanthropologischen« und ethnographischen Beständen menschlicher Überreste hinsichtlich der kolonialen Kontexte in ihren Beständen Stand November 2021</p> <p>Information by institutions with larger "racial anthropological" and ethnographic inventories of human remains with regard to the colonial contexts in their holdings. The following information has been provided by the institutions in this form and often includes historical designations and therefore also attributions and racist language. Status: November 2021</p>		
SPK - Ethnologisches Museum	<p>Für die Provenienzforschung am Ethnologischen Museum wird grundsätzlich von einem kolonialen Kontext ausgegangen: »So handelt es sich dabei um die Überreste menschlicher Individuen, die auch aufgrund einer rassistischen Wissenschafts- und Sammlungspraxis in die Sammlungen ethnologischer Museen gelangten.« (Antwortschreiben EM) In den Sammlungen des Ethnologischen Museums befinden sich zirka 2.000 menschliche Überresten. Die quantitativen Angaben beziehen sich auf Inventarnummern. Dabei sind teilweise Überreste einer Person in mehreren Nummern erfasst. Andererseits lässt sich nicht immer ausschließen, dass unter einer Nummer die sterblichen Überreste mehrerer Personen zusammengefasst sind bzw. die Überreste mehrerer Personen in einem Objekt verarbeitet wurden.</p> <p>For provenance research at the Ethnological Museum, a colonial context is generally assumed: »Thus, we are dealing with the remains of human individuals that are now part of the collections of ethnological museums due to racist scientific research and collecting practices«. (Response letter EM) There are approximately 2,000 human remains in the collections of the Ethnological Museum. The quantitative information refers to inventory numbers. In some cases, the remains of one person are recorded under several numbers. On the other hand, it cannot always be ruled out that the mortal remains of several persons are grouped under one number or that the remains of several persons were processed in one object.</p> <p>Nach regionalen Fachreferaten lässt sich die Anzahl folgendermaßen aufteilen: According to regional units:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Nord- und Ostasien/North- and East Asia: 33 •Nordafrika, West- und Zentralasien/North Africa, West and Central Asia: 5 •Süd- und Südostasien/South and Southeast Asia: 30 •Afrika/Africa: 166 •Nordamerika/North America: 31 •Mesoamerika/Mesoamerica 96 •Südamerika/South America: 699 •Südsee und Australien/South Seas and Australia: 1026 •Musikethnologie/Music ethnology: 3 (insgesamt 2089) 		
		insgesamt/total	signifikante Sammler/significant collectors
	alle »Objekte« aus dt. Kolonien/ all human remains from German colonies		
	»Dt. Ostafrika«/»German East Africa«	22	Franz Stuhlmann, Bernhard Perrot, Karl Weule
	Tansania/Tanzania	21	
	Rwanda/Ruanda	0	
	Kenia/Kenya	1	
	»Dt. Westafrika« CIRCA/ »German West Africa« CIRCA	83	Alfred Mansler, Hans Glauning, Oscar Foerster, Georg Zenker
	Kamerun/Cameroon	67	
	Togo	16	
	»Dt. Neuguinea« CIRCA/ »German New Guinea« CIRCA		Finsch, Friederici, Fritz, Neuhaus, Parkinson, Roesicke (Rösicke), Schlaginhausen, Schoede (Schöde), Thurnwald, Walden
	Mikronesien/Micronesia		
	Nauru		
	Palau		
	Papua-Neuguinea/ Papua New Guinea		
	USA (Marianen)/ USA Mariana Islands		
	»Dt. Samoa«/ »German Samoa«	17	Schultz
Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Frühgeschichte (BGAEU)	keine Auskunft erteilt; der Gesamtbestand der »RV-Sammlung« beläuft sich auf die Körperteile, hauptsächlich der Schädel von ca. 3500 Individuen		

Charité - Anatomische Sammlung (im Institut für Anatomie) und Berliner Medizinhistorisches Museum (BMM)	Menschliche Überreste aus kolonialen Kontexten in der Charité: Anatomie & BMM Insgesamt gab die Charité an die Überreste von 58 Individuen zu bewahren (Der zusätzlich unter Ozeanien aufgelistete Toimoko wurde bereits 2019 nach Neuseeland repatriert) Human Remains from colonial contexts in the Charité: anatomical collection and BMM In total, the Charité stated that it preserved the remains of 58 individuals (The additional Toimoko listed under Oceania have already repatriated to New Zealand in 2019)	
	Herkunft/Origin	Stand/Status
Tansania/Tanzania 17		
	Hehe	Provenienz erforscht offizielle Information an TZ Botschaft
	Hehe	
	Hehe	Provenance researched Official information was given to Tanzanian embassy
	Hehe	
	Hehe	
	Hehe	
	Hehe	
	Hehe	
	Hehe	
	Hehe	
	Hehe	
	Hehe	
	Hehe	
	Hehe	
	Hehe	
	Wapangwa	
	Wambugu	
	Maasai	
	unbekannt/unkown	
	Iraqw (Wambulu)	
Äthiopien/Ethopia 1		
		Provenienz erforscht/Provenance researched
Mosambik/Mozambique 2		
	Mang'anja / Mangania / Marari / Nyanja	Provenienz erforscht/Provenance researched
	Monyalo	
Ruanda/Rwanda 2		
	Mtutsi	Provenienz erforscht/Provenance researched
	Ruanda/Rwanda	
Südafrika/South Africa 8		
	unbekannt/unkown »Kaffer«	
	Xhosa, historisch/historically »Kaffer«	
	Zulu	
	Mfengu	
	San	
	»Gaika Kaffer«	
	San?	
	San	
Namibia 3		
	Damara	
	Ovambo	

4 W. Reiss/A. Stübel, (1890); W. Reiss/A. Stübel, (1896-1902); Belowsky (1892). 5 W. Reiss und A. Stübel, Das Totenfeld von Ancon in Peru, 3 Bde., (1880-1886). www.digital.iai.spk-berlin.de/viewer/resolver?identifer=IAI00006B2A00000000&field=MD_IAIPURL 6 Vgl. Anm. 1. 7 Reiss, (1883), S. 10. 8 Erstmals wohl beschrieben in Crónica de los fenómenos volcánicos y terremotos en el Ecuador etc. por T. Wolf, in: Neues Jahrbuch für Mineralogie etc. 1875. 9 Reiss, (1883), S. 9.

Charité - Anatomische Sammlung (im Institut für Anatomie) und Berliner Medizinhistorisches Museum (BMM)	Menschliche Überreste aus kolonialen Kontexten in der Charité: Anatomie & BMM Human Remains from colonial contexts in the Charité: anatomical collection and BMM Insgesamt gab die Charité an die Überreste von 58 Individuen zu bewahren (Der zusätzlich unter Ozeanien aufgelistete Toi moko wurde bereits 2019 nach Neuseeland repatriert)/ In total, the Charité stated that it preserved the remains of 58 individuals (The additional Toi moko listed under Oceania have already repatriated to New Zealand in 2019)	
	Ovambo	informiert/informed
Togo 1		
	Ntcham (Bassari)	Provenienz erforscht/Provenance researched
Kamerun/Cameroon 2		
	Ba-ndeng	Provenienz erforscht/Provenance researched
	Ba-ndeng	
	Liberia ? 2	
	Kru	
	Kru	
	Kongo/Congo 1	
	»Kongo«	
Ozeanien/Oceania 11		
	French Island	
	Solomons Inseln/Solomons Islands	
	Mangaia	
	Mangaia	
	Mangaia	
	Raiatea	
	Tahiti	
	Admiralitätsinseln/Manus Islands	
	Admiralitätsinseln/Manus Islands	
	Admiralitätsinseln/Manus Islands	
	Jap. Karolinen-Insel/Caroline Islands (former japanese colony)	
	Neuseeland/New Zealand, Toi Moko	Provenienz erforscht/Provenance researched
Unklar/unclear 8		
	Zungen-Präparat: Zunge eines »Buschmanns« Feuchtpräparat Tongue-preparation: tongue of a »bushman«, wet preparation	
	»N*schädel«, Walter'sche Sammlung »N*skull«, Walter'sche collection	
	»Beide Ohrmuscheln einer »N*« Feuchtpräparat Both auricles of a »N*«, wet preparation	
	menschlicher Schädel mit eckigem Etikett: »Eingeborener aus China« Human skull with square label: »Native from China«	
	menschlicher Schädel mit eckigem Etikett: »Mongole a. d. Manschurei« Human skull with square label: »Mongolian from Manchuria«	
	Schädel mit Aufkleber: »Schädel eines Mongolen« Human skull with sticker »skull from a Mongolian«	
	Brustbein »Australier« Sternum »Australian«	
	Schulterblatt »N* 1918« Shoulder blade »N*1918«	
* Die Abkürzung der abwertenden Sammelbezeichnung Schwarzer Menschen im Deutschen, deren Verwendung von Betroffenen als Reproduktion von Rassismus abgelehnt wird, wurde durch die Autorin des Gutachtens vorgenommen. * The abbreviation of the German racial slur referring to Black people was made by the author, as the word is rejected by Black People as a reproduction of racism.		

Anhang 3: Literaturliste, die der Antwort der Charité beigelegt wurde

Appendix 3: Literature list attached to the Charité's reply

Publikationen

*hervorgegangen aus den Provenienzforschungsprojekten
über menschliche Überreste aus kolonialen Kontexten an der
Charité Universitätsmedizin Berlin*

Winkelmann, Andreas: Zeugen zweier Geschichten - Die Charité gab Schädel aus der Kolonialzeit nach Namibia zurück, in: Deutsches Ärzteblatt 109(15), 2012, S. A754-A755, www.aerzteblatt.de/archiv/124896.

Stoecker, Holger: Post vom Feldlazarett. Namibische Schädel in Berliner anthropologischen Sammlungen, in: iz3w / Informationszentrum 3. Welt 331, 2012, S. 32-33.

Stoecker, Holger/Thomas Schnalke/ Andreas Winkelmann (Hg.): Sammeln, Erforschen, Zurückgeben? Menschliche Gebeine aus der Kolonialzeit in akademischen und musealen Sammlungen. Berlin: Ch. Links, 2013. Inhaltsverzeichnis

Stoecker, Holger: Knochen im Depot. Namibische Schädel in anthropologischen Sammlungen aus der Kolonialzeit, in: Jürgen Zimmerer (Hrsg.): Kein Platz an der Sonne. Erinnerungsorte der deutschen Kolonialgeschichte, Frankfurt a. M. 2013, S. 443-458.

Stoecker, Holger: Die Schädel der »Wilden«. Friedrich Sellow und das anthropologische Sammeln, in: Hanns Zischer/ Sabine Hackethal/Carsten Eckert (Hg.): Die Erkundung Brasiliens. Friedrich Sellows unvollendete Reise, Berlin 2013, S. 202-211.

Glaubrecht, Matthias/Nils Seethaler/Barbara Teßmann/ Katrin Koel-Abt: The potential of biohistory: Re-discovering Adelbert von Chamisso's skull of an Aleut collected during the »Rurik« Expedition 1815-1818 in Alaska, in: Zoosystematics and Evolution 89/2, 2013, S. 317-336.

Koel-Abt, Katrin/Winkelmann: The identification and restitution of human remains from an Aché girl named »Damiana«: an interdisciplinary approach, in: Annales of Anatomy 195, 2013, S. 393-400.

Winkelmann, Andreas/ Holger Stoecker: Rückgabe von Schädeln und Skeletten an Namibia: Überreste einer fragwürdigen »Rasseforschung«, in: Deutsches Ärzteblatt 111(18), 2014, S. A792-A793, www.aerzteblatt.de/archiv/159510.

Stoecker, Holger: Human Remains als historische Quellen zur namibischdeutschen Geschichte: Ergebnisse und Erfahrungen aus einem interdisziplinären Forschungsprojekt, in: Geert Castryck/Silke Strickrodt/Katja Werthmann (Hg.): Sources and methods for African history and culture: Essays in honour of Adam Jones, Leipzig: Universitäts-Verlag 2016, S. 469-491.

Förster, Larissa/Dag Henrichsen/Holger Stoecker: Tracing the descendants of Kuiseb's 1884 grave robbery, in: *The Namibian*, 6.5.2016.

Förster, Larissa/Dag Henrichsen/Holger Stoecker: Grafrowery in die Kuiseb – help om nasate op te spoor, in: *Republikein (Namibia)*, 11.8.2016.

Förster, Larissa/ Sarah Fründt/Dirk Preuß/Katharina Schramm/Holger Stoecker/ Andreas Winkelmann: A Good Starting Point? Critical Perspectives from Various Disciplines, in: *Forum: Human Remains in Museums and Collections. A Critical Engagement with the »Recommendations« of the German Museums Association (2013)*, in: *HSoz- Kult*, 3.2.2017, www.hsozkult.de/debate/id/diskussionen-3955.

Winkelmann, Andreas/Barbara Teßmann: Identification and return of a skull from Tasmania in the Berlin anatomical collection, in: *Anthropologischer Anzeiger – Journal of Biological and Clinical Anthropology* 75(1), 2018, S. 39–47.

Winkelmann, Andreas: Die Schwierigkeiten der Provenienzforschung [Exkurs], in: Helmut Rücker/Gerhard Ziegenfuß: *Ein Schädel aus Namibia. Erhobenen Hauptes zurück nach Afrika*, Ahlen 2018, S. 116–120.

Stoecker, Holger/ Andreas Winkelmann: Skulls and skeletons from Namibia in Berlin. Results of the Charité Human Remains Project, in: *Human Remains & Violence* 4(2), 2018, S. 5–26.

Förster, Larissa/Dag Henrichsen/Holger Stoecker/ Hans Axasi+Eichab: Reindividualising human remains from Namibia: colonialism, grave robbery and intellectual history (with), in: *Human Remains and Violence: An interdisciplinary Journal* 4/2, 2018, S. 45–66.

Pape, Elise/Holger Stoecker (Eds.): Human remains from Namibia in German collections, Special issue: Human Remains and Violence: An interdisciplinary Journal 4/2, 2018, www.manchesteropenhive.com/abstract/journals/hrv/4/2/hrv.4.issue-2.xml.

Stoecker, Holger/ Andreas Winkelmann: Skulls and skeletons from Namibia in Berlin: Results of the Charité Human Remains Project, in: Wolfram Hartmann (ed.): *Nuanced Considerations. Recent Voices in Namibian- German Colonial History*, Windhoek 2019, S.215–236.

Winkelmann, Andreas: Repatriations from Germany 1911–2019, in: *Museum & Society* 18(1), 2020, S. 40–51.

Winkelmann, Andreas: Wilhelm Krause's collections: journeys between Australia and Germany, in: Cressida Fforde/ Honor Keeler/ C. Tim McKeown (eds.): *The Routledge Companion to Indigenous Repatriation: Return, Reconcile, Renew*, Abingdon 2020, S. 469–483.

Brockmeyer, Bettina/ Frank Edward/ Holger Stoecker: *The Mkwawa complex: A Tanzanian-European history about provenance, restitution, and politics*, in: *Journal of Modern European History* 18(2), 2020, S. 117–139, www.doi.org/10.1177/1611894420909033; www.journals.sagepub.com/eprint/FPJEQHTR3NXMYDIHI6A5/full.

Axasi+Eichab, Hans/ Dag Henrichsen, Larissa Förster/ Holger Stoecker: Colonial Grave Robbery, 1884, in: *The Namibian*, 26.2.2021, p.6, www.ereader.namibian.com.na/html5/reader/production/default.aspx?pubname=&pubid=1c99b818-f596-4c6f-a2e7-2b5220d54d5b.

Winkelmann, Andreas/ Holger Stoecker/ Sarah Fründt/ Larissa Förster: Interdisziplinäre Provenienzforschung zu menschlichen Überresten aus kolonialen Kontexten. Eine methodische Arbeitshilfe

des Deutschen Zentrums Kulturgutverluste, des Berliner Medizinhistorischen Museums der Charité und von ICOM Deutschland, Berlin 2021 (Sommer 2021).

Stoecker, Holger: En face und en profil. Fotografische Porträts toter Afrikaner für die Berliner Academia, in: Fotogeschichte, Heft 161, 2021 (Nov./Dez. 2021)

Anhang 4: Antwortschreiben Museum für Naturkunde Berlin; Eingegangen 23.07.2021

Appendix 4: Reply of the Museum für Naturkunde Berlin, received on 23.07.2021

Sehr geehrte Frau Reimann,

vielen Dank für Ihre Anfrage vom 26.4.2021 und Ihre Erläuterungen zu dem von der »Kordinierungsstelle für ein gesamtstädtisches Konzept zur Aufarbeitung Berlins kolonialer Vergangenheit« beauftragten Gutachten zum Bestand von menschlichen Überresten aus kolonialen Kontexten in Berlin.

Das Museum für Naturkunde widmet sich im Rahmen des **Zukunftsplans** intensiv der **Sammlungserschließung und -entwicklung**.
www.museumfuernaturkunde.berlin/de/zukunft/zukunftsplan

Sammlungsgut aus kolonialen Kontexten sowie die Auseinandersetzung mit den kolonialen Verflechtungen der Institutionen- und Sammlungsgeschichte ist uns dabei ein besonders Anliegen. www.museumfuernaturkunde.berlin/de/ueber-uns/das-museum/koloniale-kontexte

Sie hatten zwei Fragen an uns formuliert, zu den wir Ihnen heute gern die Ergebnisse erster Recherchen mitteilen möchten.

1) Gibt es am Museum für Naturkunde Berlin momentan Sammlungsobjekte oder Forschungsmaterial aus oder mit menschlichen Gebeinen, Weichteilen, Haaren oder anderen menschlichen Überresten?

2) Können Sie mir eine Auflistung oder Dokumentation der menschlichen Überreste zukommen lassen, die sich in der Vergangenheit im Naturkundemuseum Berlin befunden haben?

Zusammenfassend sind als die **drei wichtigsten Punkte** voranzustellen:

▪ Am Museum für Naturkunde finden sich **keine Human Remains**, die mit Sicherheit **kolonialen Kontexten** zugeordnet werden können. Gleichwohl sind wir im Zuge der Sammlungserschließung auf Human Remains gestoßen, die im Rahmen Ihrer Umfrage von Interesse sein könnten.

▪ Eine **Auflistung oder Dokumentation** der menschlichen Überreste, die sich in der Vergangenheit im Naturkundemuseum Berlin befunden haben, können wir Ihnen leider nicht zukommen lassen, da uns eine solche Übersicht bislang **nicht vorliegt**.

▪ Das Museum für Naturkunde strebt eine **Erforschung** seiner Sammlungsgeschichte in Bezug auf human remains und im Kontext der Berliner Institutionen an. Für dieses umfassende Forschungsvorhaben suchen wir momentan noch **finanzielle Unterstützung**.

1 Vgl. W Branco (= Wilhelm von Branca), Über eine fossile Säugethier-Fauna von Punin bei Riobamba in Ecuador, nach den Sammlungen von W. Reiss und A. Stübel, mit einer geologischen Einleitung von W. Reiss, in: Palaeontologische Abhandlungen, Bd. 1, H. 2 (165 Seiten mit Karten und Abb.)

2 Vgl. die Angaben bei Wikipedia und www.web.archive.org/web/20100529032620/www.mannheim.de/io2/browse/webseiten/stadtgeschichte/mannheim_momente/september2008_de.xdoc
[www.saebi.isgv.de/biografie/Alphons_St%C3%BCbel_\(1835-1904\)](http://www.saebi.isgv.de/biografie/Alphons_St%C3%BCbel_(1835-1904))

3 Uhle (1889-1890).

4 W. Reiss/A. Stübel, (1890); W. Reiss/A. Stübel, (1896-1902); Belowsky (1892).

Über die Möglichkeit, die Finanzierung dieses Forschungsvorhaben mit der Koordinierungsstelle zu besprechen, würden wir uns sehr freuen.

Zu Ihren Fragen:

Zu 1.)

Am Museum für Naturkunde finden sich **keine Human Remains**, die mit Sicherheit **kolonialen Kontexten** zugeordnet werden können. Gleichwohl sind wir im Zuge der Sammlungserschließung auf Human Remains gestoßen, die im Rahmen Ihrer Umfrage von Interesse sein könnten. Wir erforschen zu diesen Human Remains derzeit noch die **genaueren Erwerbsumstände**. Bitte betrachten Sie unsere Informationen hierzu dementsprechend noch als **vorläufige Ergebnisse**.

In der Paläontologie findet sich **ein Schädel mit Unterkiefer aus Neuguinea** mit ritueller Gravierung und Färbung auf dem Os frontale und einigen durch Holzstifte ersetzten Zähnen (MB.Ho. 169). Dieser stammt ursprünglich aus der Sammlung von **Heinrich Christian Umlauff** in Hamburg, der sich auf den ethnographischen Teil der Firma Umlauff spezialisiert hatte sowie »Völkerschauen« und Ausstellungen organisierte. Dieser Schädel könnte **möglicherweise aus einem kolonialen Kontext** stammen. Die Erwerbsumstände sind Gegenstand weiterer Untersuchungen.

Ferner befinden sich in der Paläontologie **Knochen und Knochenfragmente** mit zum Teil anatomischen Beschriftungen auf dem Periost, die **aus Ecuador** stammen und zwischen 1868 und 1876 gesammelt wurden. Im Sammlungskatalog und auf den Etiketten finden sich folgende Einträge: »Rec. Indianerknochen der Coll. Reiss & Stübel cf. Branco Pal. Abh. 1. Punin, Ecuador« (Sammlungsnummern MB.Ho. 508-532).¹ Der Definition und Übersicht im Leitfaden des Deutschen Museumsbundes zu Sammlungsgut aus kolonialen Kontexten folgend, gilt Ecuador nach 1821 **nicht mehr als kolonialer Kontext**. Wir gehen allerdings von einem kritischen Zeitpunkt unter dem Eindruck **fortwirkender kolonialer Strukturen** aus, die die Erwerbsumstände von sterblichen Überresten der indigenen Bevölkerung durch Europäer bestimmten.

Wilhelm Reiß (1838-1908) und **Alphons Stübel** (1835-1904) reisten zwischen 1868 und 1876 durch Südamerika, um Vulkane zu erforschen. Sie waren studierte Chemiker und Mineralogen, sammelten und forschten jedoch disziplinenübergreifend.² Für die Publikation ihrer **ethnologischen**³ und **naturkundlichen**⁴ Sammlungen gewannen sie Fachleute. Insbesondere ihre ethnologischen Sammlungen fanden großes Interesse. Sie befinden sich heute in den ethnologischen Museen in Berlin, Leipzig und Dresden. Dem Grberfeld von Ancon in Peru, auf dem sie zahlreiche Objekte,

5 W. Reiss und A. Stübel, Das Totenfeld von Ancon in Peru, 3 Bde., (1880-1886). https://digital.iai.spk-berlin.de/viewer/resolver?identifer=IAI00006B2A00000000&field=MD_IAIPURL

6 Vgl. Anm. 1.

7 Reiss, (1883), S. 10.

Erstmals wohl beschrieben in Crónica de los fenómenos volcánicos y terremotos en el Ecuador etc. por T. Wolf, in: Neues Jahrbuch für Mineralogie etc. 1875.

8 Erstmals wohl beschrieben in Crónica de los fenómenos volcánicos y terremotos en el Ecuador etc. por T. Wolf, in: Neues Jahrbuch für Mineralogie etc. 1875.

9 Reiss, (1883), S. 9.

darunter Mumienbündel, ausgruben, widmeten sie eine umfassende Publikation.⁵

Nachforschungen zum Erwerbskontext der durch Reiß und Stübel gesammelten sterblichen Überreste der indigenen Bevölkerung Ecuadors am Museum für Naturkunde haben folgendes Ergebnis gebracht:

Die im Sammlungskatalog und auf den Etiketten genannte Abhandlung⁶ enthält im Vorwort folgende Bemerkungen des Sammlers Wilhelm Reiss: »Ich möchte noch bemerken, dass in den **von den Indianern der Umgegend erworbenen Sammlungen Knochen von lebenden Hausthieren und auch von Menschen vermischt mit den fossilen Resten** erhalten wurden. Ebenso wie die aus den Tuffen ausgewaschenen fossilen Knochen müssen auch die Skeletttheile der gegenwärtig auf den Weiden und Wegen gefallenen Thiere, sowie auch die Reste aus den in den Quebradas (Bergschluchten KK) angelegten Indianergräbern schliesslich in dem Bachbette zusammengeschwemmt werden. Für den Indianer sind alle Knochen gleich werthlos, da aber **der Fremde die Knochen bezahlt**, so bringt er ihm Alles, was er finden kann.«⁷

Weitere Ausführungen zum Erwerbskontext schildern die Situation in der »Knochenschlucht« von Punin⁸ folgendermaßen: Viele fossile Säugetierknochen lagen herum, es wäre ansonsten auch schwer gewesen, sie aus dem Tuffstein zu lösen: »Man ist darauf angewiesen, die durch die Regenwasser ausgewaschenen fossilen Reste zu sammeln, oder muss sich wenigstens auf die Loslösung solcher Stücke beschränken, bei welchem die Atmosphärrilien schon vorgearbeitet haben. Und daran ist hier kein Mangel. Im Bachbett und an den Seiten sind Schädel entblösst, an den Schluchtwänden ragen die grossen Röhrenknochen Röhrenknochen wie mächtige Kleiderhaken hervor, und viele finden sich lose zwischen den grossen Blöcken im Grund der Schlucht.«⁹

Über Ihre Einschätzung, wie dieser Erwerbskontext zu bewerten ist, und möglicherweise Hinweise zu ähnlichen Fällen würden wir uns sehr freuen.

Zu 2.)

Eine Auflistung oder Dokumentation der menschlichen Überreste, die sich in der Vergangenheit im Naturkundemuseum Berlin befunden haben, können wir Ihnen leider nicht zu-kommen lassen, da uns eine solche Übersicht nicht vorliegt. Dies lässt sich mit der wechselvollen Institutionen- und Sammlungsgeschichte erklären:

In Berlin existierten im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert mehrere anthropologische Sammlungen. Auch wenn es Wechsel in Hinblick auf die institutionelle Zugehörigkeit dieser Sammlungen gab, sind sie aus historischer und sammlungsgeschichtlicher

10 Stoecker (2016), S. 474

11 Ein Schädel konnte am Anatomischen Institut der Charité ausgemacht werden. Glaubrecht et. al. (2013).

12 Lichtenstein (1842), S.10. Zur Geschichte der Dublettenverk ufer vgl. das Themenheft: The issue of duplicates, BJHS, under review, ed. Ina Heumann, Anne Greenwood MacKinney, Rainer Buschmann.

13 Zum Bundesratsbeschluss vgl. Kaiser (2018) sowie Kaiser (2021).

Perspektive miteinander verflochten. Es ist von einem gemeinsamen historischen Zusammenhang auszugehen, der die überinstitutionelle Untersuchung der Provenienzen unabdingbar macht.¹⁰

Da Sammler*innen von botanischen und zoologischen Objekten oftmals auch menschliche Überreste in ihren Besitz nahmen, gelangten diese im Zuge einer solchen transdisziplinären Sammelpraxis wohl teilweise an das Museum für Naturkunde oder sie wurden an andere Institutionen weitergegeben. So brachte Adelbert von Chamisso von seiner Weltreise (1815–1818) drei aus Gräbern der Aleuten geraubte Schädel nach Berlin mit. Während er seine auf der Reise gesammelten Tiere dem Museum für Naturkunde vermachte und die Pflanzen dem Berliner Botanischen Museum, gingen die Schädel an das Anatomische Museum in Berlin.¹¹ In diesem Fall ist demnach eine Aufteilung der Sammlung und eine Verteilung an spezielle Institute zu beobachten. Ein 1842 erschienener Auktionskatalog hingegen mit dem Titel »Verzeichniß einer Sammlung von Säugetieren und Vögeln aus dem Kaffernlande, nebst einer Käfer-Sammlung, welche am 14ten März 1842 durch den Königl. gerichtlichen Auktions-Commissarius Rauch öffentlich meistbietend verkauft werden sollen«,¹² listet 10 Schädel neben 50 Säugetieren, 257 Vögeln und unzähligen Käfern auf. Dies legt nahe, dass sich alle diese zum Verkauf angebotenen Bestände am Museum für Naturkunde befanden.

Auch in der Zeit der Kolonialexpansion des Deutschen Kaiserreichs wurde in den deutschen Kolonien transdisziplinär gesammelt. Einem Bundesratsbeschluss von 1889 folgend, sind menschlichen Überreste aus den deutschen Kolonien mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit direkt an das Ethnologische Museum Berlin gegangen und wurden von dort möglicherweise an andere Institutionen in Deutschland weiterverteilt.¹³ Der Historiker Holger Stoecker, der sich eingehend mit menschlichen Überresten in Berliner Institutionen beschäftigt hat, vermutet in den Akten zu in den deutschen Kolonien tätigen Sammlern in der Historischen Arbeitsstelle der Museums für Naturkunde Berlin Hinweise zu human remains, die heute in Museen deutschlandweit aufbewahrt werden.

Die Sammlungsgeschichte des Museums für Naturkunde im 19. Jahrhundert und zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts in Bezug auf Human Remains ist eine Forschungslücke, die nicht nur in Hinblick auf die Verflechtungen der Museen und Universitätssammlungen in Berlin und deutschlandweit bearbeitet werden muss. Die Aneignung von Human Remains ist zudem als Teil der Disziplinengeschichte der Naturkunde wie auch als Ausdruck einer transdisziplinären Sammelpraxis zu untersuchen, speziell vor dem Hintergrund einer erstarkenden transdisziplinären Provenienzforschung.

Neben der ältesten anthropologischen Sammlung, der Anatomischen Sammlung der Charité, entstand eine weitere Sammlung

14 Stoecker (2016), S. 476

15 Kunst/Creutz (2006).

16 Auskunft Holger Stoecker.

17 Auskünfte MfN Mitarbeiter*innen, 1996 zogen die letzten Personen und mit ihnen auch die letzten anthropologischen Sammlungen aus (?)

18 Stoecker (2016), S. 476.

19 Kowalak (2018), S. 114.

(»S-Sammlung« am Museum für Völkerkunde) unter Felix von Luschan.

Nach Luschans Tod 1924 wurde sie an die Berliner Universität abgegeben, befand sich unter Eugen Fischer am Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institut für Anthropologie und kam nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg an die Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Die Sammlungs-doku-mentation ging im Krieg nahezu vollständig verloren. Am Institut für Anthropologie unter Hans Grimm (seit 1955) begann 1964 eine Neuinventarisierung.¹⁴ Dabei wurden Gebeine von mehr als 5.300 Individuen ermittelt, die weltweit hauptsächlich zwischen 1890 und 1923 gesammelt worden waren.¹⁵

Diese Bestände kamen im Zuge der Hochschulreform 1970 an das Museum für Naturkunde.¹⁶ Die Sammlungen des Bereiches Anthropologie gehörten formell bis Mitte 1986 zum Museum für Naturkunde, wenn auch z. T. in Treuhandverwaltung. Damals verließ die Anth-ropologie das Museum und wurde in die Charité eingegliedert. Allerdings wurden die Sammlungsräume erst 10 Jahre später verlassen. Zunächst waren über Jahre auch die Ar-beitsplätze der Mitarbeiter*innen der Anthropologie im Museum.¹⁷

Ende 2011 wurde die »S-Sammlung« an das Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte der Staat-lichen Museen zu Berlin – Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz abgegeben. Sie wird dort unter der Bezeichnung »Luschan-Sammlung« geführt.¹⁸

Der Historiker Marius Kowalak fasst dies folgendermaßen zusammen: »Aufgrund besserer Raumbedingungen fand 1928 ein erneuter Umzug [der S-Sammlung] in das bis 1945 beste-hende Kai-ser-Wilhelm-Institut für Anthropologie, menschliche Erblehre und Eugenik nach Berlin-Dahlem statt. Hier blieben sie bis zur kriegsbedingten Auslagerung 1943, bevor sie zusammen mit der RV-Sammlung wahrscheinlich im Marstallgebäude des Berliner Schlos-ses 1948 wiedergefunden und größtenteils in die Depot-räume des Museums für Naturkunde gebracht wurden. Nach weiteren Umzügen von Teilbeständen verblieben die beiden Samm-lungen letztlich in diesen Räumlichkeiten bis sie 1996 in den ehemaligen Lösungsmittelbun-ker der Charité und von dort 2011 in das Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte verbracht wurden.«¹⁹

Bislang konnten keine „Übergabelisten“ oder vergleichbare Dokumente, welche die vom Anthropologischen Institut an die Charité abgegebenen Bestände dokumentieren, ausfindig gemacht werden. Eine Auflistung oder Dokumentation der menschlichen Überreste, die sich in der Vergangenheit im Naturkundemuseum Berlin befunden haben, können wir Ihnen da-her zu diesem Zeit-punkt nicht übermitteln.

Gleichwohl strebt das Museum für Naturkunde eine Erforschung seiner Sammlungsge-schichte in Bezug auf human remains und im Kontext der Berliner Institutionen an. Diese Forschungslücke

muss unserer Einschätzung nach nicht nur mit Blick auf das Museum für Naturkunde, sondern auf die Verflechtungen der Museen und Universitätssammlungen in Berlin und deutschlandweit dringen bearbeitet werden. Für dieses umfassende Forschungsvorhaben suchen wir momentan noch finanzielle Unterstützung.

Vor dem Hintergrund einer erstarkenden transdisziplinären Provenienzforschung und der auf S. 3 zitierten Einschätzung der Notwendigkeit einer überinstitutionellen Untersuchung der Provenienzen von human remains in Berliner Institutionen sind eine Koordinierung und enge Abstimmung der Forschung wünschenswert. Sofern eine überinstitutionelle Forschung im Anschluss an Ihre Analyse geplant ist, beteiligt sich das Museum für Naturkunde sehr gern daran. Sollten Sie auf der Grundlage Ihrer Recherchen für das Gutachten zu human remains aus kolonialen Kontexten an Berliner Institutionen zudem Informationen haben, die für unsere Forschungen relevant sind, würden wir uns sehr über Hinweise freuen.

Mit freundlichen Grüßen

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Anhang 5: Bearbeitete und in Objekten verarbeitete menschliche berreste, die im Humboldt Forum ausgestellt sind. Liste bereitgestellt durch die SPK (Ilja Labischinski) 2021.

Appendix 5: List of human remains which are crafted and worked into objects on display at the Humboldt Forum, provided by SPK (Ilja Labischinski) in 2021.

	Identnr.	Sachbegriff	GeoBezug	Material/Tech.	Pers./Inst.	Ausstellung
1	VI 42453	Nackenstütze	Melanesien Nordost-Neuguinea Mittel-Sepik	Holz, geschnitzt, rot, weiß und schwarz bemalt, Beine und Bindungen aus Rotan, menschliches Haar, Kaurischnecken- gehäuse	Anna Merk- Ikier, Sammmler	Modul 15/Sepik
2	VI 48022	Trage für Tonkrug	Melanesien Nordost-Neuguinea Mittel-Sepik Dorf III unterhalb Tschesbandai	geflochtene Pflanzen- fasern, Rattan, zum Teil mit Erde beschichtet und rot bemalt; Haar	Sepik- Expedition (Kaiserin- Augusta- Fluss Expedition), Expedition	Modul 15/Sepik
3	VI 42508	Rednerpult	Melanesien Nordost-Neuguinea Mittel-Sepik Kaulagu	Holz, geschnitzt, rot, weiß und schwarz bemalt; Kaurischnecken- gehäuse, menschliches Haar, Pflanzenfaser	Sepik- Expedition (Kaiserin- Augusta- Fluss Expedition), Sammmler	Modul 15/Sepik
4	VI 42363	Aufhängehaken	Melanesien Nordost-Neuguinea Unter-Sepik Kap de la Torre	Holz, geschnitzt, schwarz, rot und weiß bemalt; menschliches Haar; Rattan	Anna Merk- Ikier, Sammmler	Modul 15/Sepik
5	VI 5060	Brustpanzer	Mikronesien Gilbert-Inseln	Kokosfaser, menschliches Haar, geknüpft	P. Otto Zembsch, Sammmler	Modul 15/ Schaumagazin Ozeanien
6	VI 5801	Panzer	Mikronesien Nauru	Kokosfaser, menschliches Haar, geknüpft	Otto Finsch, Sammmler	Modul 15/ Schaumagazin Ozeanien
7	VI 47349	Gürtel	Mikronesien Gilbert-Inseln Tabiteuea Aiwa	Haar (menschlich), geflochten	Gerd Koch, Sammmler; Gilbert-Inseln- Expedition, Expedition	Modul 15/Schaumagazin Ozeanien
8	VI 57998	Fächer	Polynesien Niue	Kokosfiederblatt- streifen, Pandanusblatt- streifen, Kioto-Holz, Menschenhaar-schnur	Hilke Thode- Arora, Sammmler; Verein der Freunde des Ethnologischen Museums e.V., Veräußerer	Modul 15/Schaumagazin Ozeanien
9	VI 14598	Pinself	Mikronesien Nauru	Kokosfaser, Pandanusfaser, Menschenhaar, Muschelstücke	Georg Irmer, Sammmler	Modul 15/Schaumagazin Ozeanien
10	VI 15720	Kopfschmuck	Polynesien Marquesas (Inselgruppe) Nuku Hiva Hatiheu	menschliche Barthaare (?), Kokosfaser	Karl von den Steinen, Sammmler	Modul 15/Schaumagazin Ozeanien
11	VI 15645	Ohr läppchen Durchstecher	Polynesien	Knochen (menschlich), geschnitzt	Karl von den Steinen, Sammmler	Modul 15/Schaumagazin
12	VI 15924 a	Teiles eines Tatauerkammes	Polynesien Marquesas Fatuhiva Hanavave	Knochen (menschlich)	Karl von den Steinen, Sammmler	Modul 15/Schaumagazin Ozeanien
13	VI 15924 b	Teiles eines Tatauerkammes	Polynesien Marquesas Fatuhiva Hanavave	Knochen (menschlich)	Karl von den Steinen, Sammmler	Modul 15/Schaumagazin Ozeanien

	Identnr.	Sachbegriff	GeoBezug		Pers./Inst.	Ausstellung
14	VI 15924 c	Teiles eines Tatauerkammes	Polynesien Marquesas Fatuhiva Hanavave	Federn, Perlmutter, menschliches Haar, Hundezähne, Samenkapseln	James Cook, Sammler; Martin Heinrich Karl Lichtenstein, Vorbesitzer; Königliche Preussische Kunstkammer, Ethnografische Abteilung, Vorbesitzer	Modul 16/ Ozeanien
15	VI 253	Federkopf	Polynesien Hawaii	Holz, geschnitzt, Einlegearbeit aus Muschelschale, menschliche Zähne	Eduard von Arning, Sammler	Modul 16/ Ozeanien
14	VI 15924 c	Teiles eines Tatauerkammes	Polynesien Marquesas Fatuhiva Hanavave	Federn, Perlmutter, menschliches Haar, Hundezähne, Samenkapseln	James Cook, Sammler; Martin Heinrich Karl Lichtenstein, Vorbesitzer; Königliche Preussische Kunstkammer, Ethnografische Abteilung, Vorbesitzer	Modul 16/ Ozeanien
15	VI 253	Federkopf	Polynesien Hawaii	Holz, geschnitzt, Einlegearbeit aus Muschelschale, menschliche Zähne	Eduard von Arning, Sammler	Modul 16/ Ozeanien
17	VI 24966	Häuptlingsstab	Polynesien Marquesas	Holz, geschnitzt; Pflanzenfaser-schnur, menschliches Haar	C.A. Pöhl, Veräußerer, Zuordnung unsicher	Modul 16/ Ozeanien
18	VI 4734	Schnecken- trompe	Polynesien Marquesas	Schneckengehäuse, Kokosfaser-schnur, geflochten; menschliches Haar, Haar, Knochen, geschnitzt	Johann Carl Pflüger, Sammler	Modul 16/ Ozeanien
19	Halsschmuck	Polynesien Hawaii (Inselgruppe)	Johann Carl Pflüger, Sammler	geflochtene Schnüre aus menschlichem Haar und Pflanzenfaser, Anhänger aus Walzahn geschnitzt und durchbohrt	Johann Carl Pflüger, Sammler	Modul 16/ Ozeanien
20	VI 7345 a	Knochenperle	Polynesien Marquesas	Menschlicher Knochen	Karl von den Steinen, Sammler	Modul 16/ Ozeanien
21	VI 15641 a	Ohr läppchen Durchstecher	Polynesien Marquesas Ua Pou Hakahau	Knochen, geschnitzt	Karl von den Steinen, Sammler	Modul 16/ Ozeanien
22	VI 15643	Ohr läppchen Durchstecher	Polynesien	Knochen, geschnitzt	Karl von den Steinen, Sammler	Modul 16/ Ozeanien
23	VI 15649	Ohr läppchen Durchstecher	Polynesien Marquesas	Knochen, geschnitzt	Arthur Max Heinrich Speyer, Vorbesitzer	Modul 16/ Ozeanien
24	VI 41905 b	Haarschmuck	Polynesien Samoa	gebleichtes menschliches Haar, Pflanzenfaser-schnur, Pflanzenfaser	Arthur Max Heinrich Speyer, Vorbesitzer	Modul 16/ Ozeanien
25	III C 975	Weibliche Figur mit Schnupftabakdose	Chokwe Angola	Holz; Pflanzenfaser; Glasperlen; Menschenhaar; Textil; Tierhaut (nicht zerstörungsfrei bestimmbar); Kalebasse	Paul Pogge, Sammler	Modul 36-2/ Schaumagazin Afrika

	Identnr.	Sachbegriff	GeoBezug		Pers./Inst.	Ausstellung
26	III C 1255	Skulptur König und Kulturheros Chibinda Ilunga		Holz; menschliches Haar	Gustav Nachtigal, Sammler	Modul 36-2/ Schaumagazin Afrika
27	III C 2969	Skulptur	Angola Chokwe	Eisen, Holz, Kupfer, Horn, Zahn (menschlich ?)	Ludwig Wolf, Sammler	Modul 36-2/ Schaumagazin Afrika
28	III C 3543	Schwert	Kongo (Demokratische Republik) Sankuru Songye	Eisen, Holz, Kupfer, Horn, Zahn (menschlich ?)	Ludwig Wolf, Sammler	Modul 36-2/ Schaumagazin Afrika
29	III C 16997	Kopfaufsatzmaske	Kamerun Bangwa Keaka	Holz, Leder, menschliches Haar, Eisen, Bast, Knochen	August Hoffmann, Veräußerer	Modul 36-2/ Schaumagazin Afrika
30	III C 10754	Männliche Zauberfigur	Kongo (Demokratische Republik) Loango	Holz, Pflanzenmaterial, Zahn (menschlich ?)	Robert Visser, Sammler	Modul 36-2/ Schaumagazin Afrika
31	III C 20648	Maske	Kamerun Bekom	Holz, Haar (Mensch), Harz (?), Erde (?)	Hans Caspar Gans Edler Herr zu Putlitz, Sammler	Modul 37/ Kamerun
26	III C 1255	Skulptur König und Kulturheros Chibinda Ilunga		Holz; menschliches Haar	Gustav Nachtigal, Sammler	Modul 36-2/ Schaumagazin Afrika
27	III C 2969	Skulptur	Angola Chokwe	Eisen, Holz, Kupfer, Horn, Zahn (menschlich ?)	Ludwig Wolf, Sammler	Modul 36-2/ Schaumagazin Afrika
28	III C 3543	Schwert	Kongo (Demokratische Republik) Sankuru Songye	Eisen, Holz, Kupfer, Horn, Zahn (menschlich ?)	Ludwig Wolf, Sammler	Modul 36-2/ Schaumagazin Afrika
29	III C 16997	Kopfaufsatzmaske	Kamerun Bangwa Keaka	Holz, Leder, menschliches Haar, Eisen, Bast, Knochen	August Hoffmann, Veräußerer	Modul 36-2/ Schaumagazin Afrika
30	III C 10754	Männliche Zauberfigur	Kongo (Demokratische Republik) Loango	Holz, Pflanzenmaterial, Zahn (menschlich ?)	Robert Visser, Sammler	Modul 36-2/ Schaumagazin Afrika
31	III C 20648	Maske	Kamerun Bekom	Holz, Haar (Mensch), Harz (?), Erde (?)	Hans Caspar Gans Edler Herr zu Putlitz, Sammler	Modul 37/ Kamerun



WEITERFÜHRENDE LEITFÄDEN UND EMPFEHLUNGEN

Deutscher Museumsbund: Leitfaden zum Umgang mit Sammlungsgut aus kolonialen Kontexten, 1. Fassung (2021)
<https://www.museumsbund.de/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/leitfaden-umgang-menschliche-uberreste-20210623.pdf>

Jakob Fuchs, Diana Gabley, Christoph Haem, Michael Markert, Sandra Mühlhölzer: Menschliche Überreste im Depot. Empfehlungen für Betreuung und Nutzung (2020)
https://wissenschaftliche-sammlungen.de/files/151/7987/348/Menschliche_uberreste_im_Depot.pdf

International Council of Museums (ICOM): Ethische Richtlinien für Museen (2010)
https://icom-deutschland.de/images/Publikationen_Buch/Publikation_3_Ethische_Richtlinien_ik_2010_komplett.pdf

Andreas Winkelmann, Holger Stoecker, Sarah Fründt, Larissa Förster: Interdisziplinäre Provenienzforschung zu menschlichen Überresten aus kolonialen Kontexten. Eine methodische Arbeitshilfe (2021)
<https://books.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/arthistoricum/catalog/series/museumologie>

Diese Handreichung ist entstanden im Kontext einer durch das Deutsche Zentrum Kulturgutverluste geförderten Provenienzforschung von zwei menschlichen Leihkopf-Trockenpräparaten im Lautarchiv der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, durchgeführt von Holger Stoecker im Rahmen der Auftaktveranstaltung „Nach der Natur“ des Humboldt Labors im Humboldt Forum.

Deutsches Zentrum
Kulturgutverluste

KONTAKT

Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin
 Hermann von Helmholtz-Zentrum für
 Kulturtechnik (HZK)
 Unter den Linden 6, D-10099 Berlin

E-Mail: sammlungen@hu-berlin.de

kulturtechnik.hu-berlin.de
 lautarchiv.hu-berlin.de
 humboldt-labor.de

Berlin, 2021

Fotos: Heike Zappo



2021



WAS TUN BEIM AUFFINDEN VON MENSCHLICHEN ÜBERRESTEN IN UNIVERSITÄREN SAMMLUNGEN?

HANDREICHUNG FÜR MITARBEITER UND MITARBEITERINNEN DER HUMBOLDT-UNIVERSITÄT ZU BERLIN

WAS SIND MENSCHLICHE ÜBERRESTE?

Als menschliche Überreste werden in dieser Handreichung (meist präparierte) Teile des Körpers von verstorbenen Menschen verstanden.

WARUM SENSIBEL?

Der Umgang mit menschlichen Überresten erfordert eine besondere Sensibilität. Erstens handelt es sich um sterbliche Überreste von individuellen Menschen. Vor allem, wenn die Personen, von denen die Überreste stammen, in einer heute noch erinnerten Vergangenheit gelebt haben, ist zu bedenken, dass die Personen Angehörige und Nachfahren hatten und haben, welche potenziell eine Erinnerung an diese Personen pflegen. In manchen Kulturen gelten menschliche Überreste darüber hinaus nicht als Objekte, sondern als Subjekte.

Zweitens muss bei menschlichen Überresten vor allem aus außereuropäischen Regionen davon ausgegangen werden, dass ihre Erwerbsumstände heute als problematisch zu bewerten sind.

Drittens – und das gilt vor allem für Forschungseinrichtungen wie Universitäten, Museen, etc. – wurden menschliche Körperteile für fragwürdige, oft rassenanthropologische Forschungen angeschafft und benutzt und damit die Würde dieser Menschen und ihrer Gemeinschaften verletzt.

WAS TUN?

Erste Maßnahmen beim Auffinden von menschlichen Überresten

1. Auffinde-Situation (fotografisch) **DOKUMENTIEREN**
 - Ort in der Sammlung
 - Benachbart aufbewahrte Objekte
 - Beiliegendes Schriftgut

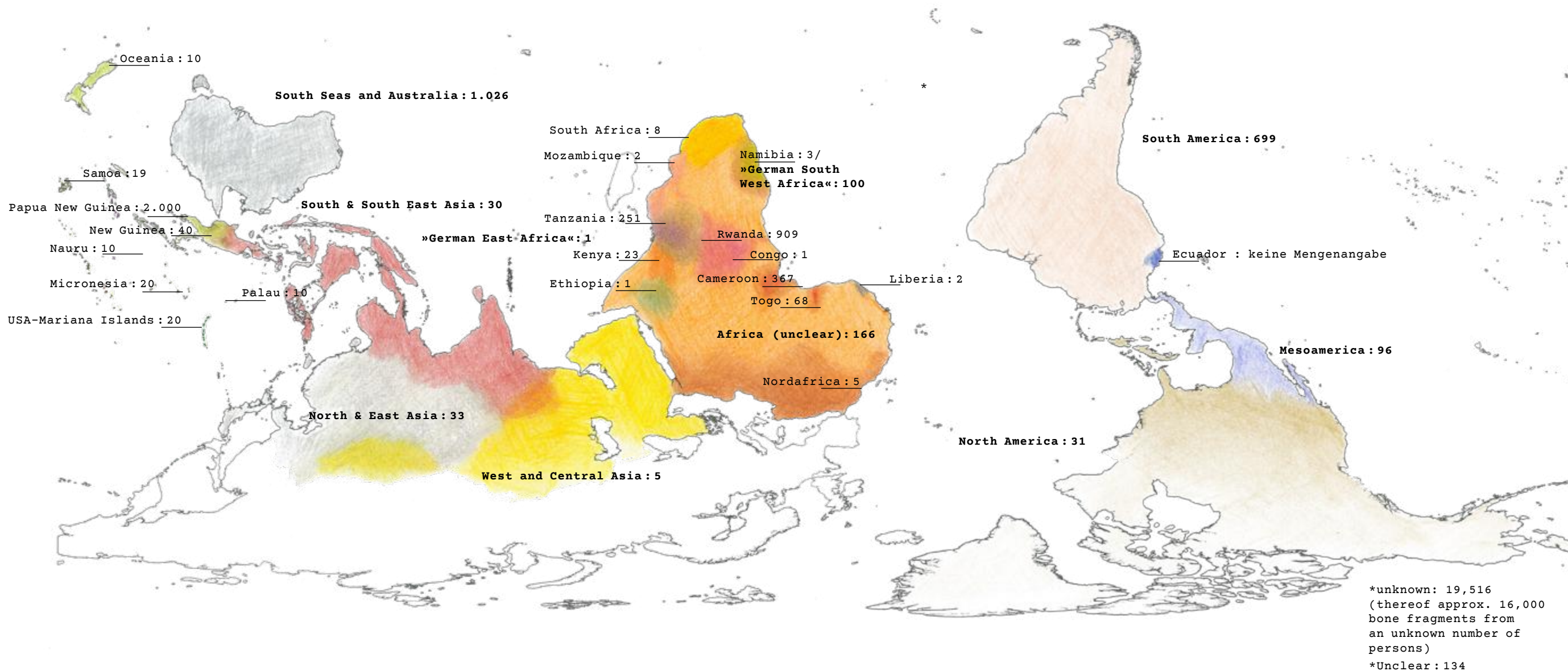
Der Sammlungszusammenhang ist wichtig für eine eventuelle spätere Provenienzforschung.
2. Über den Fund **INFORMIEREN**
 - Mitarbeiter und Mitarbeiterinnen
 - Sammlungsleitung
 - Evtl. Vorgesetzte
 - Sammlungskoordination HZK (s. Kontakt)
3. Den Fund **SICHERN**
 - Aus dem Alltagsgeschäft (Forschung, Benutzung) der Sammlung herausnehmen
 - Gewährleisten, dass er für Sammlungsfremde nicht zugänglich ist
 - Würdige und konservatorisch angemessene Aufbewahrung organisieren: in Seidenpapier einschlagen, in Museumbox mit äußerer Beschriftung, verschlossen (im Schrank) deponieren
 - Falls Mitarbeiter und Mitarbeiterinnen sensibel auf das Vorhandensein in den Sammlungsräumen reagieren, eine Aufbewahrung außerhalb der Arbeitsräume finden



Langfristiger Umgang

4. Bei Verdacht auf bzw. Anzeichen für einen kolonialen (oder anderen problematischen) Herkunftskontext **PROVENIENZFORSCHUNG ANGEHEN**
 Diese besteht in der Regel aus einer historischen Recherche über die Erwerbungskontexte und die Sammlungsgeschichte sowie aus einer biologisch-archeologischen Befragung des Objekts. Je nach Ergebnis ergeben sich folgende Möglichkeiten des langfristigen Umgangs:
 - A. Bei einem erwiesenen kolonialen Kontext proaktiv den Nachfahren und/oder der Herkunftsgesellschaft eine **BESTITUTION ANBIETEN**
 - B. In eine andere Sammlung **UMLAGERN**, die über geeignete Aufbewahrungsmöglichkeiten und/oder fachliche Expertise verfügt
 - C. Bleibt die Herkunft trotz Provenienzforschung unklar und lässt sich keine angemessene Aufbewahrungsmöglichkeit finden, kann unter Umständen in Betracht gezogen werden, die menschlichen Überreste würdig zu **BESTATTEN**





The consciously southed map presented above, locates the amount of all human remains listed in this report (february 2022).

The representation of artificially drawn country borders was deliberately avoided, but the rough hatching with crayons allows a broad orientation of the origins of the here listed human remains.