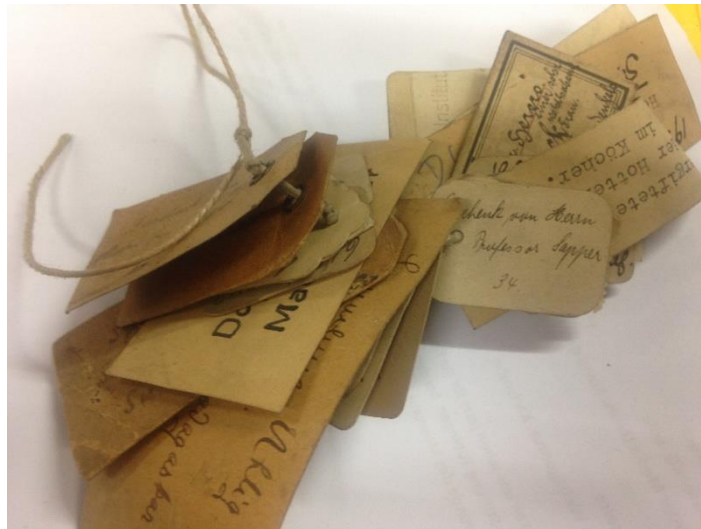


# Provenance Research in the Project

## “Discomforting Heritage: Dealing with Colonial-Era Objects in Ethnological Museums”

– Final Report –



Duration of project: Oct. 2016 – March 2018  
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LINDEN-MUSEUM STUTTGART  
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## The project “Discomforting Heritage”

As the ongoing discussion concerning the Humboldt Forum in Berlin demonstrates, there has been over the past several years not only an increase in criticism of German ethnological museums, based on post-colonial approaches, but also a growing interest in the debates on this topic within the media and among the public.<sup>1</sup> The criticism includes the failure to come to terms with the colonial origins of ethnological collections, the inadequate historical contextualization of the objects in museum holdings, and the mostly undetermined provenance of those objects; among other points of criticism are exhibition and representation practices that continue to stress, and at the same time, naturalize cultural differences (Laukötter 2013; Zimmerer 2015; Kazeem et al. 2009). The analysis of the problems pertaining to ethnological museums is taking place within the context of a growing national debate on German colonial history and its significance for the present. In this discussion, several issues – moral-ethical perspectives, social-political negotiation processes concerning participation in society, and the renegotiation of cultural and social identity – are interlinked with the question as to what role ethnological museums can and should play in a society characterized by increasing diversity.

The project “Discomforting Heritage: Dealing with Colonial-Era Objects in Ethnological Museums”, which was launched in March 2016, focused on these issues. With support from the Exploration Fund of Platform IV of the Excellence Initiative of the University of Tübingen, the Linden Museum, together with the Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology and the Institute of Historical and Cultural Anthropology at the University of Tübingen, examined the social developments that have contributed to making the *ethnological museum* into an object of increasing criticism, and have led to a discussion of the problems pertaining to its colonial heritage, which for a long time had received little attention. Of central importance in this process was the assumption that Germany’s process of development into a country shaped by immigration, where social diversity is on the increase, is reflected in these debates. The

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<sup>1</sup> The Centre for Anthropological Research on Museums and Heritage (CARMAH) has prepared a review of this debate, which can be found at: <http://www.carmah.berlin/media-review-on-museums/>.

changes in the understanding of, and the meaning of, cultural difference that are associated with this process necessitate a renegotiation of the culture and politics of memory, of cultural heritage, and last but not least, of the representation of *the other*. The goal of the collaboration between the museum and the university was ultimately to develop and submit a proposal for a long-term, inter-institutional interdisciplinary project.

(TRANSLATOR'S NOTE ON DATES LISTED IN THIS REPORT:

To avoid confusion between dates listed in the German original and those in the English translation of this report, the date format commonly used in Germany and Great Britain has been retained in the English translation: DD.MM.YYYY Thus, Sept. 10, 1900 would be written as 10.9.1900.)

## **Provenance research in the project “Discomforting Heritage”**

An integral component of this process was the development of a systematic approach to provenance research focusing on collections and objects acquired in colonial contexts. Thus, for 18 months the portion of the project conducted by the Linden Museum focused on the examination of selected object holdings from the former German colonial areas in Africa and Oceania.

The project proposal identified in particular three problems that hamper the development of a systematic approach to provenance research on objects acquired in colonial contexts. First of all it is noted, regarding the circumstances surrounding the acquisition of the objects, that the archival records are incomplete. The proposal states: “While the documentation concerning the incorporation of objects into museum collections is generally good, often very little is known about the specific situations pertaining to their acquisition in the societies

and/or places of origin of those objects.”<sup>2</sup> A second problem can be seen in the magnitude of the ethnological object holdings,<sup>3</sup> which does not permit a determination of individual provenance for every object. Above all, as a third point, questions emerge regarding the moral-ethical evaluation of the acquisition contexts that have been brought to light, and along with them, the question of legitimacy of ownership. All of these aspects had to be taken into account within the framework of the project “Discomforting Heritage,” in the search for an approach to systematic provenance research on objects acquired in colonial contexts that would be both practicable and in the same measure, scientific in nature.

## PROVENANCE RESEARCH AND OBJECTS ACQUIRED IN COLONIAL CONTEXTS

Provenance research is defined as the examination of the origins of objects in collections, and of the documentation on them. In this process, research is conducted on the circumstances surrounding acquisition, previous owners and collections in which an object may have been contained in the past. This field of research has received attention in particular in connection with so-called looted art from the National Socialist era. With the signing in 1998 of the “Washington Principles”<sup>4</sup> in which guidelines were laid out for dealing with cultural goods that were seized and stolen between 1933 and 1945, 44 countries – including the Federal Republic of Germany – agreed to search through the holdings of their cultural institutions for cultural goods that were seized in the course of National Socialist persecution, and find “fair

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2 Linden Museum Stuttgart, proposal “Schwieriges Erbe: Zum museologischen und wissenschaftlichen Umgang mit kolonialzeitlichen Objekten in ethnologischen Museen” (“Difficult Heritage: On the museological and scholarly approach to colonial-era objects in ethnological museums.”) October 2015, p. 5.

3 According to the museum database Imdas Pro, the Linden Museum’s collections include nearly 173,000 objects, of which about 91,000 were incorporated into its holdings before 1920 (Query to Imdas, 08 June 2018.)

4 For more on this, see: <https://www.kulturgutverluste.de/Webs/DE/Stiftung/Grundlagen/Washingtoner-Prinzipien/Index.html> (08 July 2018)

and just solutions”<sup>5</sup> with regard to restitution in these cases.<sup>6</sup> In January 2018, the president of the Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Hermann Parzinger, called for the establishment of similar international agreements for dealing with collections and objects associated with colonial contexts (Parzinger 2018).<sup>7</sup> This demand has emerged against the backdrop of the continuing debate concerning the Humboldt Forum and the colonial backgrounds of the collections that are to be presented to the public there.<sup>8</sup>

With regard to professional practice in connection with demands for the return of cultural goods, the first guidelines were issued as early as 2004, in the “Code of Ethics” of the International Council of Museums (ICOM), and in 2007, in the “UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples”. These guidelines were addressed not only to museums, but also to political decision-makers. The Declaration states:

States shall provide redress through effective mechanisms, which may include restitution, developed in conjunction with indigenous peoples, with respect to their cultural, intellectual, religious and spiritual property taken without their free, prior and informed consent or in violation of their laws, traditions and customs.<sup>9</sup>

In a similar manner, the “Code of Ethics” demands that museums take an active stance concerning the topic of restitution. They should “be prepared to enter into a dialogue concerning the return of cultural goods to their countries of origin ....” (ICOM Switzerland 2010: 22):

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5 See point 9 of the Washington Principles. (ibid).

6 Regarding the project “Erwerbungen des Linden-Museums 1933-1945” (Acquisitions of the Linden Museum 1933-1945), see Mohr 2017.

7 The importance that the return of objects is to be accorded in this process is qualified in the following sentence: “We must also make clear what we mean by shared heritage, and how we intend to jointly facilitate responsibility, participation and cooperation as equals.” (Parzinger 2018)

8 The attention to this debate increased following the publication in July 2017 of an interview with the art historian Bénédicte Savoy (Savoy 2017).

9 UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2007, Artikel 11 (2). Accessible at [http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii.documents/DRIPS\\_en.pdf](http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf) (08 July 2018)

When a country or people of origin seeks the restitution of an object or specimen that can be demonstrated to have been exported or otherwise transferred in violation of the principles of international and national conventions, and shown to be part of that country's or people's cultural or natural heritage, the museum concerned should, if legally free to do so, take prompt and responsible steps to cooperate in its return (I-COM 2017: 33).

In order to be able to enter into the active dialogue that is called for here, it is at first necessary to focus more keenly on the circumstances surrounding the arrival of the objects in the museums. Up until now it was most likely for this to happen in isolated cases, or in connection with a specific event. Only rarely was there an explicit focus on the structural linkages connecting the establishment of museums and collections with European colonial expansion. It is true that for several decades now German ethnological museums have also reflected upon approaches of the New Museology,<sup>10</sup> and have initiated discussions on the colonial backgrounds of their collections – for example, in the 1980s in publications such as “Nofretete will nach Hause” (“Nefertiti Wants to go Home”) (Ganslmayr and Pacyensky 1984), “Die Hamburger Südsee-Expedition: über Ethnographie und Kolonialismus” (“The Hamburg South-Seas Expedition: On Ethnography and Colonialism”) (Fischer 1981), and exhibitions such as “Andenken an den Kolonialismus” (“Souvenirs of Colonialism”), which was shown at the Ethnological Institute of the University of Tübingen (Harms 1984). However, there was no systematic examination of these issues at the museums. The museums' interest was primarily in the societies and communities that had created and used the objects, and in the communication of their assumed cultural characteristics in a way that would appeal to the public. Questions as to the social conditions under which the objects were brought to Europe and into ethnographic museums and collections, and questions regarding their significance in the expansion of European control around the world were practically irrelevant. Apparently, the growing public discussion of German colonial history that has emerged in recent years, not least due to the dedication of local history associations and postcolonial action groups, has fostered the willingness of museums to intensify their examination of the history of

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10 Critical museological approaches such as New Museology deal with the self-reflection of ethnological knowledge production, which was initiated by the Writing Culture debate. Questions here relate to the representation of the cultural other and the associated exercise of symbolic violence. Solutions suggest a close, participatory collaboration with the societies in which the objects were produced and used. (Karp and Lavine 1991, Karp et al 1992).

global interconnections that continue to have an impact today, and to which the objects in their collections give witness.<sup>11</sup>

Large parts of the extensive holdings of objects that are in ethnological museums in Germany today were acquired by those museums in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries – the peak phase of European expansion throughout the world. According to the explorer and ethnologist Leo Frobenius (1873-1938), the ethnological museums that were being established at that time became as swollen “as pregnant hippopotamuses” (Frobenius 1925:19). The creation of the extensive collections of objects was encouraged by the self-perception of the discipline of ethnology, which was evolving out of those very museums. In order to be able to make theoretical statements as to human nature and its development, first of all it was necessary to have a sufficient amount of empirical data – in this context, objects – according to early exponents of ethnology, such as Adolf Bastian. In connection with the idea that under the influence of European expansion, societies would lose their culture-specific characteristics, and especially those communities labeled as “primitive peoples” would gradually disappear, the museums took as their premise the accumulation of the material culture of these societies. In this process, evolutionistic concepts of development and culture were increasingly associated with the idea of the cultural superiority of Europe (Zimmerman 2001; Penny 2002). Concomitant with the European expansion and the successive colonial penetration of the regions outside of Europe, there were increasing opportunities for access to the material culture – now deemed to be ethnographic objects – of the people living there. In particular, the participants in the colonization process, whose numbers rose along with the establishment and expansion of colonial structures in the areas of transportation, administration, and business, and who could position themselves as collectors and donors, led to an increase in the number of suppliers for the museums (Zimmerman 2001:149-171). In addition, not least due to considerations having to do with the politics and economics of colonialism, there was a growing interest in scholarly exploration and analysis of the colonies and the colonial areas of interest, which also led to an increase in interest in the just-emerging discipline of ethnology (Buschmann 2008: 72-74). Its findings concerning the colonized regions and the societies living in them – their classification into “national” and linguistic groups, as well as “racial

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11 An overview of the action groups, associations and alliances on the national and regional levels in Germany that have examined the legacy of colonialism and its traces in various cities and regions – for instance, Berlin, Hamburg, Hessen and Freiburg – can be found here: <https://www.kolonialismus.uni-hamburg.de/2015/09/10/postkoloniale-initiativen-in-deutschland-2/>.



types”<sup>12</sup> and the inference of ostensible cultural characteristics – provided support for the implementation and consolidation of colonial rule, and served at the same time as a scholarly legitimization of European colonial expansion (Osterhammel and Jansen 2012: 117-120; Conrad 2016: 79-86).

As research and educational institutions, the museums were not only involved in the production of this knowledge, but also in its transmission. The societies presented in exhibitions and lectures were described as “primitive,” “backwards,” and/or “primordial,” and also in increasing measure as “racially inferior.” This process of differentiating oneself from and denigrating the *other*, presented in a vivid and tangible manner, allowed museum visitors to reaffirm their own alleged cultural superiority. Their self-image and their perception of the world were validated by the reduction of the colonial subject to the status of an inferior “other” (Laukötter 2013, 2007).<sup>13</sup> Thus, the impact of the colonial power structures was not limited only to the colonies and the colonized populations there, but rather, was also felt in the societies engaged in colonization (Zimmerer 2015).<sup>14</sup>

With all of that in view, provenance research concerning collections and objects acquired in colonial contexts entails not only the investigation as to whether illegal activities occurred at the time of acquisition, but also the examination of the spectrum of colonial violence with which the objects are tinged. This process must include both the material and the discursive interrelationships between the holdings of ethnological objects and the colonial power structures, in addition to their significance for past and present practices involved in the production of knowledge by museums. Provenance research in this sense traces the process by which things become objects that are found today in ethnological museums and collections, links this process to German colonial history and the context of European colonialism, and asks how and to what end objects that were – more or less – articles of daily use were turned

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12 Over the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the concept of “race” – the classification of human beings according to their physical appearance, and the belief in characteristics and abilities that could supposedly be inferred from it – took on increasing significance in the areas of research, politics and society. Within the just-emerging discipline of ethnology, too, there was a growing interest in questions concerning “race studies.” Within the context of colonial administration, this hierarchical categorization serves not least to justify and consolidate colonial power structures (Laukötter 2007: 85-99).

13 Regarding the development of the rhetoric of exhibitions in ethnological museums, see Penny 2002: 163-214.

14 For a comprehensive discussion of the dependent development of images of the self and the other in the context of European colonial power structures, see Hall 1994.

into scientific specimens (“Belegstücke”) and objects in museums. The goal is to achieve a *thick* contextualization of the objects in the collections, a contextualization that will include the integration of the objects within multilayered social and political negotiation processes in the past and at present.<sup>15</sup> The acquisition contexts of the objects should thereby be approached using several perspectives, which should take into account the divergent (post)colonial experiences of the societies involved, and call into question Eurocentric perspectives on colonial history and colonialism. Collaborations with institutions and representatives of those countries, regions, and societies from which objects were taken to Europe are of central importance in this process (Förster 2016a, 2016b).

## THE RESEARCH APPROACH

The primary goal of the provenance research in the project “Discomforting Heritage” was the development of an approach for the systematic analysis of collections of objects acquired in colonial contexts, which would extend beyond research on individual objects and collectors, and make it possible to survey large-scale object holdings. Up until now, the contextualization of objects with respect to colonial history was carried out first and foremost in connection with specific events, for instance, in the course of preparations for exhibitions, or research projects (for example, Stelzig 2006; Förster 2013). More rarely found are papers that provide a systematic overview of linkages between collections on a large scale. Examples for this kind of work include the survey of the holdings of objects from Africa in the Übersee-Museum Bremen (Briskorn 2000) and the Africa Collection in the Ethnological Museum of Berlin (Stelzig 2004). In a similar manner, within the framework of this project the creation of collection profiles was tested, as the first step toward a systematic analysis of the interrelationships between colonial history and ethnographic collections, and a contextualization thereof. To this end, I began with the work of compiling the most comprehensive record possible of background information on the donors who consigned objects to the museum for the regional holdings selected for the project, and began to store the information in an access database set up for this purpose. Through the collection profiles created with the help of the database, it is possible to illustrate and visualize the structures of the holdings that were surveyed. They acknowledge the time frames of the objects’ arrival at the museum, along with

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15 Reflecting Nicolas Thomas’s *entangled objects* and Arjun Appadurai’s *social life of things* (Thomas 1991; Appadurai 1988); for an example of dense contextualization, see also Donna Haraway’s work on the gorilla diorama at the American Museum of Natural History (Haraway 1984).

the places related to the biographies of the people who played a role in the creation of these holdings.

The focus of the approach to provenance research that was tested here lies thus not on individual collections and objects, but rather on the persons who consigned the objects to the museum. This actor-centered approach asks questions regarding the roles played by the donors of the objects in the colonization of the areas of origin of their collections – in the realization of the German claim to power through military subjugation, the establishment of administrative structures and economic penetration – and thus allows for an approximation of the contexts in which the collections were created, and their place in history. Questions as to whether the donors visited the regions of origin of their collections and how much of a part they had in the colonization thereof are of central importance here. Through the research into biographical information on donors for the holdings selected for analysis, it is possible to reveal connections between the holdings and German colonial history and the context of European colonialism.

The focus was not limited to those who donated objects, but rather it also included those in positions of authority at the museum, such as the man who was head of the museum's sponsoring association for many years, Count Karl von Linden (1838-1910).<sup>16</sup> With his far-reaching network of object donors, with whom he maintained regular contact, von Linden had a decisive impact on the development of the museum. In the process of taking into account all of the donors who played a part in the building up the regional holdings, their connections to other areas from which objects had been acquired for the museum's collections, and their interactions with those in positions of authority at the museum, the manner of functioning of von Linden's network was brought to light. At the same time, the question was posed as to how the museum actively made use of colonial structures to build up its collection.

With the use of this method, the intention is to comprehend both the interrelationships between colonial structures and the acquisition of ethnographic objects, and the entanglements of the museum in the mechanisms of colonial power. The examination of the object donors in connection with the creation of collection profiles makes it possible to enumerate,

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16 Karl von Linden was from 1889 until his death in 1910 the president of the association called the "Württemberg Association for the Geography of Trade and Support for German Interests Abroad," which had in 1884 begun to create a collection focusing on the geography of trade and regional studies. The building housing the museum at Hegelplatz has borne his name since its opening in 1911: Linden-Museum Stuttgart. Regarding the history of the museum and its collection, see Kußmaul 1975.

more concretely than in the past, the need for more research and work, which is of central importance for the development of a systematic, proactive way of dealing with object holdings associated with colonial contexts. At the same time, with a colonial-history contextualization, essential groundwork has been laid for the moral-ethical evaluation of the acquisition contexts.

## SELECTION OF THE REGIONS

During the 18 months over which the project was conducted, I tested the creation of collection profiles for the objects in the holdings from the former German colonies “German South-West Africa,” “Cameroon,” and “German New Guinea,” which altogether include some 25,300 object entries.<sup>17</sup> The selection of the various regions that were among the German colonial possessions between 1884 and 1920 was undertaken with the aim of bringing to light the commonalities and differences in the structures of the holdings with regard to the types of objects, the time frames of their arrival, and the circumstances surrounding their acquisition. Likewise, the intent was to trace the relationships between the composition of the holdings and the practices under German colonial rule. The point of departure in this process was the museum’s historical holdings. The working basis was the object entries found in the museum database Imdas – regardless of whether the objects themselves were still in the museum’s possession.<sup>18</sup>

The decision to focus on the objects in the holdings from Namibia, the former “German South-West Africa”, was made in particular with a view toward the war against the Herero

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17 All of the object entries for the partial holdings were examined, independent of their date of arrival. On the one hand, it is possible for collections and objects that were incorporated into the museum’s holdings after the end of the German colonial empire to have been acquired in a colonial context, for instance, in the case of items that were passed on as heirlooms to family members, or were purchased from art dealers. On the other hand, in order to determine the significance of the German colonial era for the development of the holdings, it seemed necessary to track the development of the holdings selected, up until the present day.

18 In particular, by the time the museum was reorganized in 1973 as an institution financed by the City of Stuttgart and the federal state of Baden-Württemberg, portions of the collections on Sub-Saharan Africa and Oceania were handed over to galleries, art dealers, museums, and collectors, through exchanges; this was done to facilitate a focus on the establishment of and expansion of the art-historical collections on East and Southeast Asia, along with the Orient – as this section of the museum is denoted. Although the holdings of the Linden Museum survived World War II comparably unscathed, it appears that a significant portion of the collections examined – in particular the Cameroon holdings – must be included among the losses from the war (regarding the relocation of the holdings from the collections beginning in 1942, see Mohr 2017: 196-198). Detailed information on this question, however, has not yet been found.

and Nama people, which lasted from 1904 to 1908. After the battle at the Waterberg in August 1904, the surviving members of the Herero people fled into the Omaheke Desert, where they were driven away by German military units from the few watering holes found there, and compelled to move farther on into the desert. Subsequent to these events, various Nama groups intervened in the conflict, which ended with the subjugation of the Nama after the death of their most important leaders in 1908. Herero and Nama people who had survived the military operations were interned in concentration camps, where more than half of them died (Zimmerer and Zeller 2003). In the context of these events, which today are viewed as genocide, the examination of the objects in the holdings appeared particularly urgent. For example, it was necessary to examine the question as to the relationships between the arrival of objects and the military operations. In addition, the significance of civilian acquisitions – for example, on the part of settlers and traders – for the creation of the holdings was to be investigated: “German South-West Africa,” whose primary purpose was to serve as a territory for settlement by German emigres, was the only settler colony in the German Empire (Conrad 2016: 29-30).

The selection of this area was contrasted by the inclusion of another colony in Africa whose primary value was perceived to consist in the extraction of natural resources. The object holdings from “Cameroon” were selected; with about 16,500 objects, these, moreover, comprise the largest collection from Sub-Saharan Africa in the Linden Museum. Von Linden went to great lengths to acquire objects from this part of the German colonial empire. In his letters to potential donors he time and again highlighted the extraordinary beauty of *his* holdings from Cameroon: “Cameroon has achieved the most magnificent level of development of all, and I do not believe it is too much to say that my exhibition in this case is much more beautiful than the one in Berlin.”<sup>19</sup> In addition, there is the no less violent history of the occupation of this colony, which in contrast to the colonial wars in “German East Africa” and “German South-West Africa” has received very little attention from the public. In the barely thirty years of German colonial rule, numerous military operations were successively carried out for the purpose of cementing the German claim to power and subjugating the population (Hoffmann 2007). From measures carried out between 1891 and 1909, a total of 101 qualified the participating soldiers for the „Kolonial-Denkmünze“, which was established in 1912 (Schulte-Varendorff 2007).

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19 Linden Museum Stuttgart, Correspondence folder Kuhn, Karibib, von Linden to Kuhn, 22.12.1905.

The present-day focus on German colonial history is centered primarily on the colonies of the German Empire in Africa. The former colonial territories in Asia and the Pacific Region have received much less attention. Thus, as a complement, one of the German colonies that has often been seen as a footnote in German colonial history was chosen<sup>20</sup>: the colony called “German New Guinea,” which included the northeast portion of the island of New Guinea, (“Kaiser-Wilhelmsland”), the Bismarck Archipelago, the northern Salomon Islands, the Caroline Islands, the Northern Marianas, Palau, Nauru, and as of 1906, also the Marshall Islands.<sup>21</sup> In contrast to the German colonies in Africa, no military units were stationed here permanently. When military operations were carried out with the aim of consolidating German rule, the colonial administration depended on the support of German naval vessels stationed in the area (Mückler 2012 180; Krug 2005). It is particularly interesting to consider at this point the question as to whether and to what extent this fact is reflected in the structure of the holdings. Due to the area’s dimensions, it was decided that only a portion of the colonial territory would be the focus of attention – the Bismarck Archipelago, which is located off the coast of New Guinea. Here, on the Gazelle Peninsula, – the northern tip of New Britain – is where not only the central headquarters of the colonial administration of the German Empire was located, but also the center of local German colonial society, which consisted of plantation owners, traders, and missionaries (Griffin et al. 1979:36-37; Mückler 2012: 184). The holdings from this part of the colony alone are described in about 6,600 object entries.

## THE CREATION OF THE COLLECTION PROFILES

The central element in the approach that was adopted within the framework of the project on provenance research was the researching of biographical information on the donors who played a role in building up the holdings. On top of the search for points of reference concerning the personal circumstances of the donors and their professional lives, the central working questions were addressed – whether they had spent time in the regions of origin of

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20 Thus, for example, in Conrad’s publication offering an overview of German colonial history, the Pacific colonies of the German Empire are presented together with German New Guinea and the German Samoa Islands on one page, with the development of New Guinea being summarized in two short sentences (Conrad 2016: 32-33).

21 Beginning in 1885, the colony was at first under the administration of the Neuguinea-Kompagnie, which concentrated in particular on the economic development of the region based on a plantation economy and trade. Since the company was not able to satisfactorily carry out its administrative functions, the territory was placed under the authority of the German imperial administration in 1899. The influence of the German administration at this point in time barely extended beyond the coastal areas of the Gazelle Peninsula (Griffen et al. 1979: 34-45; regarding the history of the German colonies in the Pacific area see Hiery 2001).

the objects that they collected, and what role they had played in the colonization of those areas. With this information it was possible to map out the structures and characteristics of the holdings that were examined, with a view toward acquisition time frames and the background of the donors involved.

Thus, this process that was conceived of as an *initial check* provides important points of reference for further examination of the colonial context of the institution studied, and affords the opportunity to put into concrete terms the need for further research on individual collections and the persons involved in the building up of those collections. Pivotal questions to be addressed in a more in-depth study could include, for example, the role that participants took on within the colonial structures, their proximity to certain events – research expeditions or military operations – and people, or their importance for the establishment of the Linden Museum's collection.

In order to create the collection profiles, first the people who were involved in the genesis of the holdings were identified, and a determination was reached as to the number of lots and objects through which they contributed to the growth of the respective holdings. Basic information in this regard was provided by entries in the Imdas database,<sup>22</sup> without which the processing and analysis of collection holdings including thousands of objects would be virtually impossible. The names that were found were then compared with the entries in the museum's books of entries<sup>23</sup> and collection lists. In this way it was possible, on the one hand, to check the spelling of the names, and on the other hand, it was possible to augment the initial information, since the books of entries in particular often contain detailed information on the donors, such as their full names or their whereabouts.

For further research – on addresses, dates of birth and death, whereabouts, and details on the lives of those studied – in addition to the information contained in the museum's documentation, in particular the correspondence with donors that has been preserved at the museum was of central importance. Over the course of his tenure, von Linden built up an extensive network of correspondence partners, in order to secure objects for his project – the establishment of an ethnographic museum of national importance in Stuttgart. As early as the

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22 The data sets in the databases pertaining to the individual objects are based on the museum's inventory books, whose individual entries were first transferred to a dBase database, and later exported to Imdas.

23 In contrast to the inventory books, which list the individual objects, the books of entries include overview information concerning the collections acquired. This includes, for instance, the date of arrival, the person making the delivery, and often information on his or her whereabouts and profession, in addition to the number and origin of the objects.

1890s, he had multiple copies of his letters prepared – at first by hand, and then written on a typewriter. The exchanges of letters from this time period, therefore, often contain the portion of the correspondence written by him. The volume of the correspondence thus varies from intensive, years-long exchanges of letters that filled multiple folders to short letters concerned only with the processing of the transfer of a collection. Von Linden knew well how to establish close ties with donors that were often characterized by personal or warm-hearted exchanges. Overall, he corresponded with 130 of the 204 individuals who played an active role as donors prior to 1920. In view of this abundance of material and the fact that information had to be gathered on 314 individuals, the focus in the review of exchanges of letters rested primarily on the determination of the essential facts mentioned above. Further archival holdings belonging to the museum – often relatively new material – can be found at the state archives in Ludwigsburg.<sup>24</sup> Since the focus of this project was on donors active during the German colonial era, the exchanges of letters found there were mostly not taken into consideration. For further analysis of individual donors, it is possible to consult the museum's colonial map collection. In particular the maps of the Imperial Colonial Office, which stand out for their high degree of detail, can facilitate the checking of whereabouts, itineraries, and expedition routes, and thus provide assistance in determining the precise location of an object's origins.

Additional information on the collections belonging to the donors of the objects can sometimes be found in the yearbooks of the association, which provide detailed information for the years up until 1910 on members of the association, the activities of the association, the growth of the library, and the collections received within the time period of the report. Here one can also find summaries of the lectures held within the framework of the association's program of events, which were also often given by donors. After von Linden's death, only three more volumes of the yearbooks were published at irregular intervals between 1911 and 1932. Publication of the yearbooks was interrupted after 1932, with no yearbooks at all published until the beginning of the 1950s. The first volume of the yearbook still in publication today, *Tribus*, was issued in 1951.

Subsequent to the first round of research based on materials belonging to the museum, the search for details on the lives of donors continued, with the help of secondary literature, ar-

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24 Portions of the archives of the Linden Museum were transferred to the State Archives Ludwigsburg in 1993, 2011, and 2012. Information on this can be found at <https://www2.landesarchiv-bw.de/of21/olf/einfueh.php?bestand=17914>.



chival holdings, newspapers and periodicals, in addition to publications by the donors themselves. In particular, city address directories, along with colonial handbooks and yearbooks, which provide information on people who worked in the colonies, were helpful for the determination of addresses and/or whereabouts, and professional activities. Contemporary publications such as the “Deutsche Kolonialblatt,” the “Deutsche Kolonialzeitung,” and the “Mittheilungen aus den Schutzgebieten,” provided important clues regarding the whereabouts of the donors in the colonies themselves, and on job promotions, retirements, and medals awarded. In addition, many of the donors – especially members of the administration and the “Schutztruppe” – published reports and opinion pieces in these periodicals on events and developments in the colonies, which make it possible to draw conclusions as to their role in the occupation of the latter.

On the basis of the results of this research, a categorization of the donors of the objects was undertaken, which could be helpful in revealing structures in the holdings with regard to the time periods in which participants donated their collections to the museum, and the professional and personal backgrounds of the donors. The time periods during which they participated in making donations to the museum were divided into five categories: “before 1900,” “1900-1920,” “1920-1950,” “1950-1990,” and “after 1990.”<sup>25</sup> The decisive factor in the classification process is the period in which most of the objects from a particular donor were received. Collections of objects whose date of receipt can no longer be determined can be classified as “undetermined.” The donors themselves can be classified at the present into 11 categories. The categories that were utilized most frequently are those that place donors within a field of activity. These include members of the military and its employees (“military”), colonial politicians and employees in the colonial administration, whether in the colonies or in the home country (“colonial administration and politics”), members and employees of the Christian missionary societies (“mission”), participants in research expeditions organized by individuals or institutions primarily for academic research purposes (“research expeditions”), as well as owners, shareholders and employees of companies that played a role in the colonial economies as producers or distributors, in processing or in services (“colonial economy”). The category “ethnographica trade and exchange” also refers to the participants’ field of activity. Besides the purchase and exchange of objects on the art market, it also includes the exchange of objects with other museums and cultural institutions. Donors of objects who in-

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25 For practical reasons the establishment of time periods in the framework of the project was for the most part set in 20- and 40-year increments. If the approach of the project is to be continued, this allocation should be reviewed and possibly adjusted or differentiated.

herited the collections that they donated, or managed them in the capacity of estate administrators, are categorized as “heirs.” In the case of individuals whose collections, on account of their size, regional composition or common theme appear to have been – more or less – systematically created, the classification “private collection” may be used. Smaller holdings of up to 15 objects and individual objects for which the donors cannot be placed into any other context are included in the category “individual objects/very small holdings.” Individuals such as Karl von Linden and Theodor Wanner, who had a special relationship with the museum, as well as employees of the museum, fall under the category “Linden Museum.” Lots that – mostly due to insufficient documentation – can no longer be associated with a particular donor fall under the category “assignment not possible.” This includes historic holdings, collective lists, and objects that do not appear on any list, which in many cases are holdings that have only been inventorised long after their receipt, in addition to cases in which research either could not be concluded, or could not be conclusively concluded.

## **Documentation and Analysis**

In order to document and analyze the information gathered in the context of the project, a user-friendly access database was set up. The intention is that it will facilitate the ability to access the data, and to integrate them easily into the regular work of the museum. The database makes it possible for users to get an overview of the individual object donors, which contains both information regarding biographical data and collection activities, and also suggestions for further reading and source material.

The database consists of five forms that are linked with each other: a main form, three forms with information on the regions where objects were collected, and a form for information on individuals. The main form offers the opportunity to record basic data for the respective donor that is relevant to the project. This includes among other things the full name, profession, whereabouts, and – insofar as it exists – the length of the time period for correspondence kept in the museum. Classification with regard to the time period of receipt and the categorization of the donor is carried out here through the use of two list fields. In a “further comments” field, this choice can be explained, and in another field, notes concerning processing status, further steps in the work to be done, or particular details can be recorded. By selecting the respective button for the various regional holdings – Cameroon, Namibia, or the Bismarck Archipelago – it is possible to access the forms containing the information on the collections. These include, among other things, information on the type of purchase, on possible intermediaries with the help of whom the collections arrived at the museum, on the size

of the holdings consigned (number of lots/number of objects), on the existence of original lists, and on the years of receipt of the individual lots. In addition, it is possible, in a “further comments” field, to make note of other details on the collections and their acquisition – for instance, regarding previous owners, particular objects, and the circumstances of the acquisition. From the main form it is also possible to access the form containing more detailed biographical information. The information found here includes the address of the donor of the object, the dates of birth and death – if possible, together with the places of birth and death, – in addition to information taken from the correspondence regarding the donor’s whereabouts and the years pertaining to them. In the field “connections,” one can find institutions and individuals that are mentioned in the correspondence. The field “biographical notes” is of central importance. Here it is possible to record information on, for example, education, professional advancement, family history, and whereabouts in the colonies, in addition to possible participation in research expeditions or military operations. In addition, it is possible to put on file references to other source material. Notes can be added on secondary literature that has been consulted, archival material, sources found on the Internet, and publications by the object donors themselves.

In addition to the standard search and filter functions, the database allows for the creation of queries – for example, regarding time frames for receipt of objects, the number of collections and objects, biographical background information, places of residence and whereabouts. They can be analyzed in the form of Pivot tables, and graphically converted into diagrams. One example of this process can be seen with the collection profiles that were created within the framework of this project.

The decision not to use the museum database Imdas was taken not only because of the short duration of the project, at 18 months; at the same time, the intention was to investigate the demands that are placed on database structures and data management by provenance research on objects acquired in colonial contexts, and to that end, it was necessary to have the greatest possible freedom and flexibility in the design of forms and fields.

## **Results and findings**

The visible result of the provenance research conducted for the project “Discomforting Heritage” is the database that was set up with the information obtained on the object donors who participated in the building up of the holdings, and with the information on their collections. It provides important starting points for the further study of the colonial background of the Linden Museum, and serves as a model for the documentation of research in that area.

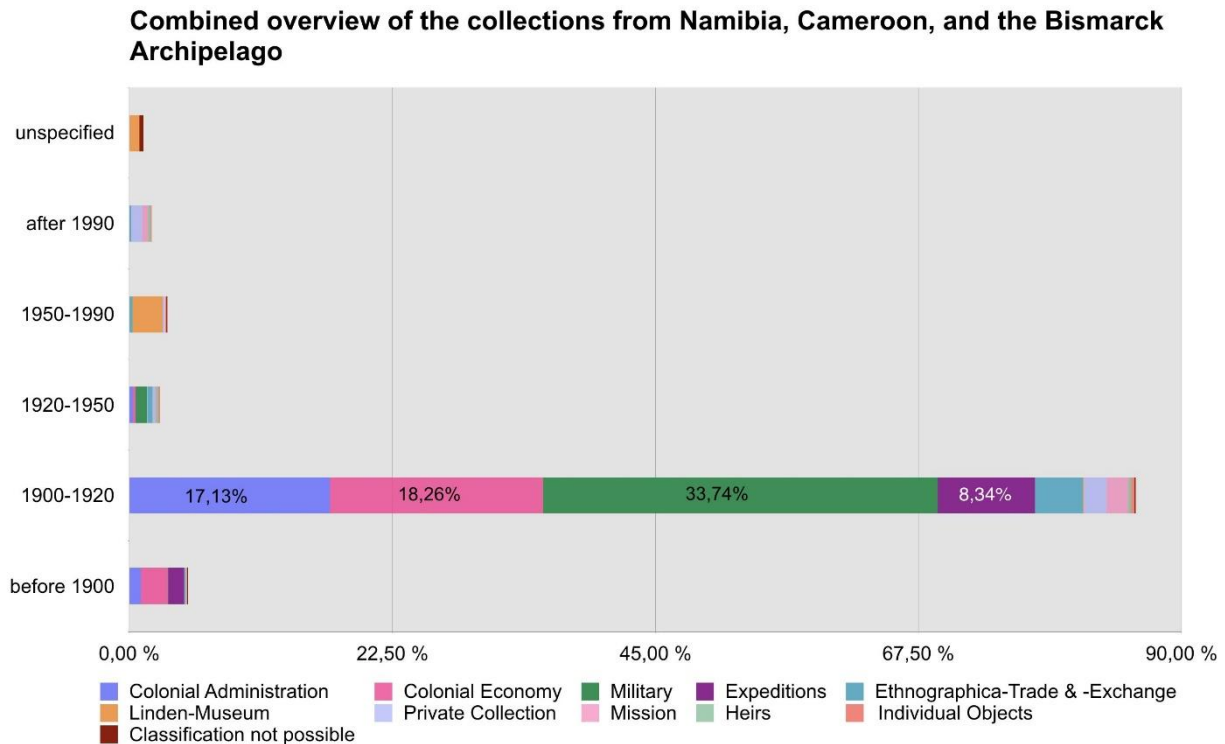
The following outline of the project's findings illustrates the usefulness of the approach that was chosen. Specific characteristics of the holdings that were studied will be presented as examples, the need for further research will be described, and reference will be made to the names of object donors whose collections are in need of further contextualization.

The three regional holdings of the Linden Museum that were surveyed encompass, collectively, about 25,300 inventory entries. Of these, about 16,500 pertain to objects from Cameroon, about 6,600 to the holdings from the Bismarck Archipelago, and about 2,200 to objects from the Namibia holdings. They are contained in about 640 individual lots of objects that were consigned to the museum by 310 individuals and institutions in the years following the establishment of the collection in 1884 by the "Württembergischen Verein für Handelsgeographie und Förderung deutscher Interessen im Ausland" ("Württemberg Association for the Geography of Trade and the Promotion of German Interests Abroad").<sup>26</sup>

The analysis of the holdings that was conducted within the framework of the project "Discomforting Heritage" provides evidence of the collection's interconnection with German colonial history and with European colonialism: Nearly 91 percent – about 23,200 – of the objects were incorporated into the collection of the association in the years between 1884 and 1920, while the German Empire was playing an active role as a colonial power in Africa, Asia, and Oceania. By the end of the German colonial era, 206 individuals and institutions had participated in the establishment and building up of the collection. The biographical backgrounds of the object donors furthermore provide an indication of the great importance of colonial structures: Thus, about 35 percent of the objects that were studied arrived at the museum through individuals who were either members of the military units stationed in the colonies – the "Schutztruppe" – or the navy. Nearly 21 percent were left to the museum by employees, owners and shareholders of companies that played a role in the colonial economies. The museum received another 18 percent through members of the colonial administration who were either actually stationed in the colonies, or performed their duties in the home country. There is evidence to show that 131 of the 206 object donors who played an active role up until 1920 had spent time in the colonies.

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26 The association provided businesses in the region with information on new fields of activity, markets, and possible locations for subsidiaries outside of Europe. In 1884 the association began setting up a museum focusing on trade-related geography, in which natural and cultural products from these regions were to be displayed. The collection was housed at first in the west wing of the municipal commercial hall, which was located across from Hegel Square on the corner of Holzgarten and Kriegsberg streets (Kußmaul 1975).



**Fig. 1)** Collection profile of the regional holdings of the Linden Museum that were studied within the framework of the project “Discomforting Heritage” (as of 30.03.2018). Graph: Gesa Grimme.

The purchase of objects from the holdings of the German Colonial Museum in Berlin in 1917 resulted in the arrival of collections in the category of “ethnographica trade and exchange” that were important for all three of the regional holdings surveyed. The Berlin museum had its origins in the “First German Colonial Exhibition” held in 1896, and its purpose was to promote the interest among the general population in the colonies. The museum, which was run from 1900 on by the German Colonial Society, had to close down in 1915 due to financial difficulties. Among the roughly 3,300 objects acquired overall in the purchase, about 480 exhibits pertained to the Cameroon holdings, about 80 to the Namibia holdings, and about 320 to the holdings from the Bismarck Archipelago. The correspondence and documentation pertaining to these collections that is still stored at the Linden Museum contains hardly any information on their origins, or on possible previous owners. The further study of these object holdings could be the subject of a stand-alone project that would have relevance for nearly all of the regions represented in the Linden Museum.

## Karl von Linden and his network

The driving force behind the creation of the collection of the “Württemberg Association for the Geography of Trade” – and with it, of the future Linden Museum – was Karl von Linden (1838-1910). An attorney and former head chamberlain at the Württemberg royal court, following his retirement, in 1889 he assumed the chairmanship of the association, which had been established in 1882. Under his leadership, the museum’s emphasis on the geography of trade, which initially informed the museum’s collection and exhibition activities, faded increasingly into the background. His efforts were directed towards the creation of an ethnographic museum in Stuttgart that would be at least on par with, if not superior to, institutions being established at the same time in other capital cities of the German Empire – Munich, Leipzig, Hamburg, and not least, Berlin. In this endeavor, von Linden’s regional patriotism and his enthusiasm for the colonial expansion of the German Empire were conjoined with his growing interest in the newly emerging discipline of ethnology. In keeping with the widely held view at the time that under the influence of European expansion, the special characteristics of cultures outside of Europe would gradually disappear, he, too, viewed the collection of the exemplars of their material culture and the preservation thereof for the future as the central purpose of ethnographic museums (Buschmann 53-57; see also Penny 1998).

During von Linden’s nearly 20-year tenure, the museum’s holdings of objects increased from about 300 objects in 1886 to about 63,000 objects (Kußmaul 1975: 21-24). As of the second half of the 1890s, in particular, the number of collections received rose sharply. Among the holdings surveyed within the framework of the project, 300 lots containing about 18,000 objects had been received already at the time of von Linden’s death in January 1910. The procurement of collections and objects was carried out by way of an extensive network of correspondents, which von Linden built up over the course of his tenure. The network included among others, colonial civil servants in the home country and abroad, members of the military units stationed in the colonies, managers and employees at companies involved in the colonial economies, in addition to missionaries and diplomats. The basis for the establishment of initial contact was often found in personal and family ties to Stuttgart and Württemberg, or through mutual acquaintances. Von Linden received tips on other potential object donors from the contacts in his network, who in turn recommended von Linden to their colleagues and friends as a person with an interest in ethnological objects. In this way, his network expanded continuously. This mode of operation is illustrated by, among other instances, the importance of the military for the development of the holdings from Cameroon (see below, “The Cameroon holdings: The importance of the military”). The correspondence

that is still stored at the Linden Museum shows that von Linden had established contact with about 130 of the 204 object donors who played a role up until 1920. For the acquisition of the holdings from Namibia, he corresponded with 23 individuals, for the holdings from Cameroon 72, and for the holdings from the Bismarck Archipelago, 50.

Von Linden's exchanges of letters are characterized by the personal and familiar tone with which he was able to gain the support of those with whom he corresponded, and which helped him in many cases to build up personal connections lasting a number of years, as is attested to by the often voluminous files of letters. He describes to the recipients of his letters in detail the motivation behind his efforts to build up an ethnographic museum and invites them to take part in experiencing the development of the museum: He reports with enthusiasm in 1909 to Wilhelm Wostrack, who was the station chief in "German New Guinea": "In the past few days, after making great efforts and engaging in difficult wrangling, I have succeeded in obtaining a magnificent – at least, for research purposes, very interesting – collection from the Sumatran interior, in addition to a gorgeously carved wooden wall from the residence or palace of a Javanese nobleman."<sup>27</sup> At the same time, von Linden makes reference to circumstances in the lives of the object donors, asks sympathetically about their family lives and work, and openly discusses with them both personal and political events and developments. Above all he values their expertise when it comes to questions in the areas of ethnology and colonial politics. In particular, he exchanges information with long-term residents of colonial areas on the origin, use and significance of objects. This respectful, warm-hearted approach also strengthened von Linden's position compared with that of the ethnological museum in Berlin, which, following a resolution of the Bundesrat in 1889, had enjoyed priority in the allocation of ethnographic collections from the colonies: Rather than the museum in Berlin, where those in positions of authority employed much less sensitivity in their dealings with object donors, many of the people who were working in the colonies and collecting ethnographica preferred the museum in Stuttgart, and the contact they had to von Linden (Buschmann 2008:53-57).<sup>28</sup>

The success with which von Linden's efforts were met was due not only to his skills as a net-worker. Object donors<sup>29</sup> who had made valuable contributions through collections that were

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27 Linden Museum, Stuttgart, correspondence file Wostrack, von Linden to Wostrack, 26.04.1909

28 Regarding the Bundesrat's resolution of 1889, and the allocation of ethnographic collections from the colonies, see Lustig 1988.

29 According to the most up-to-date information available, only men received medals for donating objects to the museum. In a number of cases, however, – Kuhn, Boluminski, Parkinson – the wives of the donors also played a role as collectors and played a role in building up the collections, as is indicated by the exchanges

distinguished by their size or significance received in return, through the intermediation of von Linden, a medal of commendation (Royal Württemberg Friedrich's medal), which for many of them was the critical incentive for sending their collections to Stuttgart. Such a medal increased the social status of the person receiving it, and improved his position both in the colonies and at home (ibid.: 55, 186, no. 18). Herrmann Bertram, whose collection is discussed below, makes reference already in his second letter to von Linden to his expectations in this regard: He writes that “up until now, rather the majority of the gentlemen [have], for the consignment of their collections to your museum,” received a medal of commendation, and that he would be grateful to von Linden, if he “would also make use of [his influence] for [him] in this regard”<sup>30</sup>. His collection arrives in Stuttgart in 1908, and he receives the medal for it that same year. Within the framework of the project, it was possible to ascertain that at least 42 of the object donors studied had been awarded a medal. Von Linden's favored approach, in which the collections were offered by donors as gifts to the king of Württemberg, allowed him to circumvent the stipulations of the Bundesrat resolution of 1889 – much to the anger of Felix von Luschan (1854-1924),<sup>31</sup> the assistant to the director, and later on, the director of the “Africa and Oceania Department” of the ethnological museum in Berlin. The disputes regarding the Bundesrat resolution and the allocation of ethnological collections from the colonies led to a rift between the two men, as the correspondence between them, which was initially conducted in an amicable manner, makes clear.<sup>32</sup> Angered, von Luschan had to concede: “I am well aware that you have outstripped us in terms of many private and official collectors, but there is nothing we can do about this. We will do what we can with our current budget. We too would like to make use of orders and titles, but we have to do without them.” (Cited from ibid.: 57; Buschmann's translation).

It was far much less common for objects to be purchased for the collection. In cases in which neither von Linden himself, his wife, Marie von Linden,<sup>33</sup> nor the treasurer of the association, Theodor Wanner,<sup>34</sup> took on the role of financier, von Linden made efforts to secure the support of wealthy members of the association. Among those individuals who served as patrons

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of letters stored in the museum today. Particularly in the years before 1950, women were more likely to play a role as donors of collections that had been the property of their deceased husbands or sons.

30 Linden Museum, Stuttgart, correspondence file Bertram, Bertram to von Linden, 01.03.1908.

31 After resigning as head of the Africa-Oceania Department in 1910, von Luschan concentrated on the anthropological collection, of which he was the administrator until his death (Laukötter 2007: 49).

32 Linden Museum, Stuttgart, correspondence file von Luschan, Vol. I & II.

33 Marie von Linden, whose maiden name was Beck (1848-1914), supported her husband in his role at the association and at the museum. She made available funds from her own fortune, and occasionally purchased objects for the collection.

34 Theodor Wanner (1875-1955) was as of 1902 the treasurer of the Württembergischen Verein für Handelsgeographie (Württemberg Association for the Geography of Trade) and worked closely together with



of the museum were, for example, the Stuttgart soap manufacturer Ernst Sieglin, who made possible the acquisition of the collection of the navy physician Johannes Müller, which is discussed further below.

## THE NAMIBIA HOLDINGS

The number of objects from the German colony of “German South-West Africa,” or the present-day country of Namibia, stands at about 2,220. In view of the size of the area, totaling more than 800,000 square kilometers, when one compares this number of objects to the holdings for Cameroon, which include about 16,000 objects, it appears surprisingly small. The holdings comprise 92 lots, distributed among 68 object donors. The most extensive collections are from District Chief Lieutenant Kuhn, Dr. Anton Lübbert, and Ferdinand Bang. According to the entries in the museum database, about 25 percent of the holdings are objects from the Herero people (about 560 objects), and about 22 percent are from the Ovambo people (about 495 objects). A further 20 percent – about 460 objects – are ascribed to various groups that were in the past collectively referred to using the term “San.” About 100 objects were categorized as objects from various Nama groups. As with the other two regional holdings that were surveyed, here, too, there is a substantial proportion of weapons used for hunting and in warfare: about 22.5 percent of the objects can be thus classified, whereby in particular arrows and arrowheads (about 430 objects) are represented.

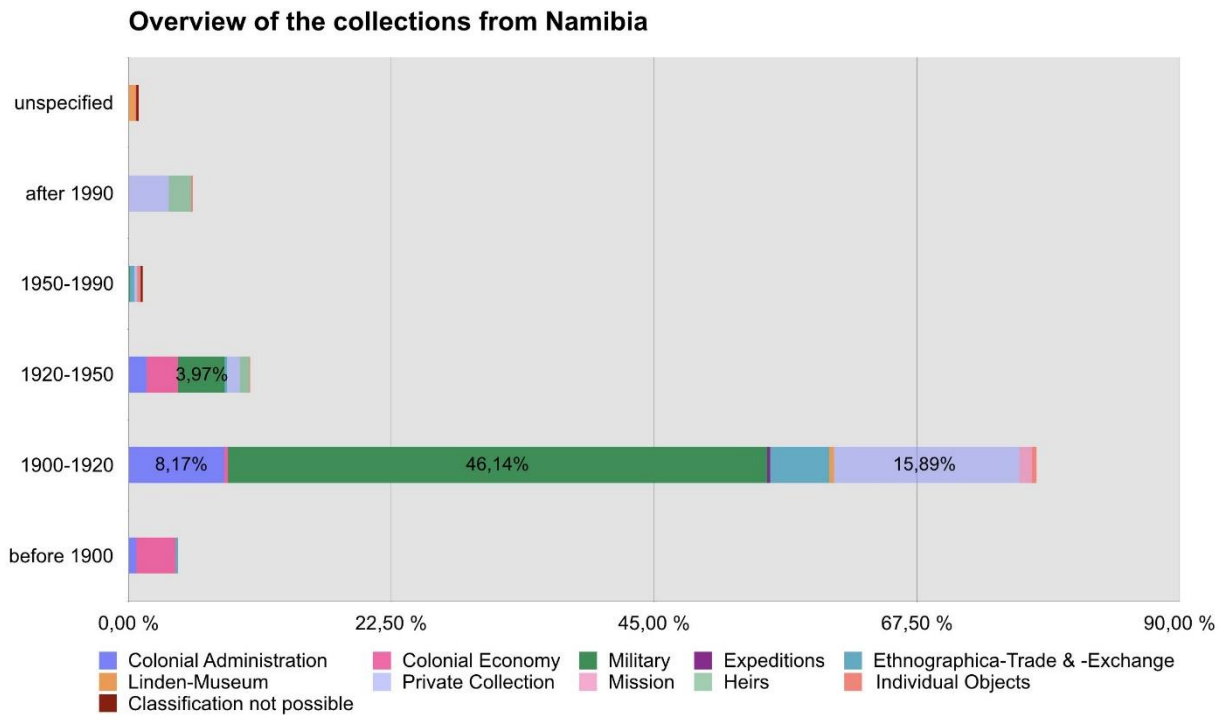
The earliest acquisition on record of objects from the region, registered in 1893, was the collection of Franz Josef von Bülow, a cousin of Karl von Linden. In their correspondence there is also a letter from Josaphat Kamatoto – a teacher who took part in the first German Colonial Exhibition in Berlin in 1896.

He traveled together with a group of members of the Herero and Nama to Berlin; in this group, among other individuals, was Friedrich Maharero, the son of the most important Herero leader, Samuel Maharero. For their presentations, the members of the group refused to appear in “traditional Herero dress,” but rather, preferred to wear suits in the European style.

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von Linden. After the death of the latter in 1910, he presided over the completion of the new museum building, and later he also became the head of the association. He had a significant impact on the development of the museum in the following decades, and was chairman of the board of the association until 1953. Wanner’s dedicated service was not limited solely to the Linden Museum. He was a founding member of the Deutsches Ausland-Institut, today known as the Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen (ifa, in English, the “Institute for Foreign Cultural Relations”), and of the Süddeutsche Rundfunk (“South German Radio”), the precursor to the current public broadcaster SWR (Mohr 2017: 211-213).

They took advantage of their stay to Germany to establish diplomatic relationships. In September 1896, for example, they met with Emperor Wilhelm II (Zeller 2002: 206-211).



**Fig. 2)** Collection profile “Holdings of objects from Namibia” in the Linden Museum (as of 30.03.2018). Graph: Gesa Grimme.

With a share of about four percent – about 90 objects – the number of objects that were acquired before 1900 is relatively small. It is not until 1900 that the number of collections being acquired begins to rise, and the holdings increase by about 1,015 objects by the beginning of the Colonial War of 1904. Altogether about 80 percent of the object holdings from Namibia were received by 1920. Alone among the three holdings surveyed, these holdings saw a continuous expansion between 1920 and 1950, with about 230 objects, or about 10 percent of the overall holdings, added in that time. For the following decades only a few acquisitions can be found in the records. After 1950, the holdings grew by only about 150 more objects, whereby the largest collection, containing 76 objects, arrived at the museum in 2010.

Contacts with members of the military were particularly important for the building up of the Namibia holdings: About 1,110 objects – about 50 percent – arrived at the museum through individuals who were classified under the category “military.” At the same time, this is the only one of the surveyed holdings of which a significant portion – about 460 objects, or 20

percent – appears to have come from private collections. The share of objects that the museum received from employees of the colonial administration and individuals who were active in the colonial economy was respectively, at about 10 percent and about 6.5 percent, in comparison to Cameroon and the Bismarck Archipelago, considerably smaller. Missionaries (23 objects) and members of research expeditions (six objects) played an insignificant role in the genesis of the Namibia holdings. About six percent of the holdings overall – 130 objects – arrived in Stuttgart as a result of purchases in the art trade, or exchanges with other museums and collectors. It is striking that in the case of these holdings, almost 60 percent were consigned to the museum by only six individuals.

### Von Linden's network and "German South-West Africa"

In order to acquire objects for the holdings from "German South-West Africa," Karl von Linden corresponded with at least 20 individuals. Among them were civil servants in the colonial administration, such as von Linden's cousin Franz Josef von Bülow (15 objects) and the finance director Gustav Pahl, who was from Aalen (152 objects), members of the "Schutztruppe für Deutsch-Südwestafrika," such as senior medical officer Anton Lübbert (269 objects), and Richard Volkmann and Philipp Kuhn,<sup>35</sup> who both worked as district chiefs in the colonial administration, as well as the two private collectors Albert Hoffa and Ferdinand Bang, who were residents of Berlin. Von Linden maintained particularly close contact with Pahl, Kuhn, and Lübbert, who – by their own accounts – all knew each other. All three of them put von Linden in touch with other object donors – not only for the Namibia collection, but also for collections in the museum pertaining to other areas. In this manner, Lieutenant Kuhn told von Linden about Paul Dorbritz, who consigned to the museum an extensive collection of objects from Cameroon, and Kuhn likewise told von Linden about Privy Councillor Wassmansdorf, who worked in Berlin.<sup>36</sup> The latter individual spent the years from 1895 to 1898 in "German South-West Africa" as "provisional director for the Protective Troops and head of financial administration."<sup>37</sup> His collection, which contained 44 objects, including two objects – a whip and a Bible – that had been the property of Hendrik Witbooi, one of the most

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35 The correspondence with Kuhn does not contain any references to his given name. The name was taken from the list of people who were awarded the Friedrich Order, which was found in the Württembergisches Hof- und Staatshandbuch (Württemberg Court and State Handbook) of 1907 (Königlich-Statistisches Landesamt 1907: 168). Furthermore, in the Federal Archive in the holdings "Behörden des Schutzgebietes Deutsch-Südwestafrika" ("Administrative Bodies of the Protectorate of German South-West Africa") there is a personnel file on "Kuhn, Philipp, District Chief," the timespan of which corresponds to Kuhn's time there (BArch Berlin R 1002/1069 & 1070).

36 Linden Museum, Stuttgart, correspondence file Kuhn, Karibib.

37 *Deutsches Kolonialblatt* 6 (1895): 649; *ibid.* 9 (1898): 296.

important leaders of the Nama groups during the German colonial era. The Bible came into the hands of members of the German military forces during a raid on Witbooi's headquarters in 1893, in which a great number of civilians were killed. It came into Wassmannsdorf's possession at a later point.<sup>38</sup>

In contrast to what one finds in the correspondence regarding the holdings from Cameroon and the Bismarck Archipelago, it appears that in the case of "German South-West Africa," von Linden had no connections at the highest levels of the colonial administration. Thus, the contact persons upon whom he relied to help him acquire collections for the Namibia holdings include district chiefs, first lieutenants and senior medical officers, but no military commanders or governors.

### The importance of the military

Overall, about 1,110 objects – about 50 percent of the entire Namibia holdings – reached the collection of the Linden Museum through individuals with a military background. Between 1900 and 1920, the museum received about 1020 objects from nine members of the military forces, and in the years from 1920 to 1950, it received another 88 objects that had belonged to Paul Hummel, a medical officer who had been a member of the "Schutztruppe für Deutsch-Südwestafrika" from 1897 to 1907, and had played an active role in the war against the Herero and Nama. Particularly large collections were received between 1900 and 1904, from First Lieutenant Philipp Kuhn (341 objects), First Lieutenant Richard Volkmann (192 objects), and senior medical officer Anton Lübbert (269 objects). Lübbert, who was the senior medical officer in the "Schutztruppe für Deutsch-Südwestafrika" was stationed there between 1897 and 1902.<sup>39</sup> Kuhn – as of 1899 a lieutenant in the "Protective Troops" – was as of 1900 at first the district chief in Otjimbingwe, and as of 1901, in Karibib.<sup>40</sup> Portions of the collections that were consigned by him to the museum as of 1903 were put together by his wife, Emmy Kuhn. Volkmann joined the "Schutztruppe" in 1894, and after his arrival in "German South-West Africa," he participated in the pursuit of Hendrik Witbooi. From 1899 to 1904 he was in charge of the District of Grootfontein (Schnee 1920: 633). Both Kuhn and Volkmann played an active role in the war against the Herero and the Nama. While it is true

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38 A description of the storming of Hornkranz can be found under Schwabe 1899: 31-35; Note on the history of the acquisition: Linden Museum Stuttgart, lot 0528, Imdas entry on object no. 023567: "Deutsches Kriegsbeute-Stücke anlässlich der Erstürmung von Hendrik Witboois Regierungssitz Hornkranz 1893."

39 Linden Museum, Stuttgart, correspondence file Lübbert.

40 Ibid., correspondence file Kuhn, Karibib.

that the collections of these two individuals had already been acquired for the most part before the beginning of the war, the years before that had also seen military operations undertaken to impose German rule, and violent confrontations with various population groups; for example, in 1901 in the southern part of the District of Grootfontein, there were confrontations with sub-groups of the population that refused to comply with the orders of the colonial administration.<sup>41</sup>

A collection including 17 objects that was given to the museum by First Lieutenant Buttlar-Brandenfels is explicitly linked to the war against the Herero. Upon the recommendation of Paul Lessner, who was a member of the “Schutztruppe für Kamerun” from 1900 to 1902, Baron von Buttlar-Brandenfels<sup>42</sup> approached von Linden and offered him a collection of objects from „German South-West Africa“. The circumstances in which this collection came into his possession are indicated in the letter he wrote: “During the campaign against the Herero, in which I had the opportunity to take part as adjutant to First Lieutenant von Estorff, I was able to collect, upon the occasion of the attack of the Herero dwellings, a great number of the basic artifacts of this people!”<sup>43</sup> The list of objects that he himself drew up contains details regarding the acquisition of his collection, which consists in particular of body ornaments and household goods; from these notes it is clear, down to the exact date, during which battles the objects were *collected*. Thus, for example, neck and leg ornaments that today bear the inventory numbers 054061 and 054065 “were taken from a woman who was killed by a grenade during the battle of Otjihinamaparero on 25 February 04.”<sup>44</sup> Another leg ornament (Inv.-No. 054066) came from a “woman who was captured and wounded”<sup>45</sup> in the same battle. Other objects were left behind by their previous owners as they fled, and were later “found,”<sup>46</sup> – in the words of von Buttlar-Brandenfels – by members of the German military forces. Among these, for example, were an *omeire*<sup>47</sup> pot, whose provenance he describes as

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41 *Deutsches Kolonialblatt* 12 (1901): 316.

42 It was not possible as of yet within the framework of the project to determine the first name here. It is clear from the correspondence that Buttlar-Brandenfels had already taken part in China in the war against the Boxer Movement, between 1900 and 1901 (Linden Museum, Stuttgart, correspondence file Buttlar-Brandenfels).

43 Linden Museum, Stuttgart, correspondence file Buttlar-Brandenfels, Buttlar-Brandenfels to von Linden, 05.09.1907.

44 Ibid., object list for lot 0822, entry 3.

45 Ibid., entry 8.

46 Ibid., entry 6.

47 A drink made from sour milk.

follows: “abandoned by the Hereros who were overrun on the evening of 19 March 04 at the Vley of Otjinoanana and were hastily fleeing; it was still full of fresh omeire.”<sup>48</sup>

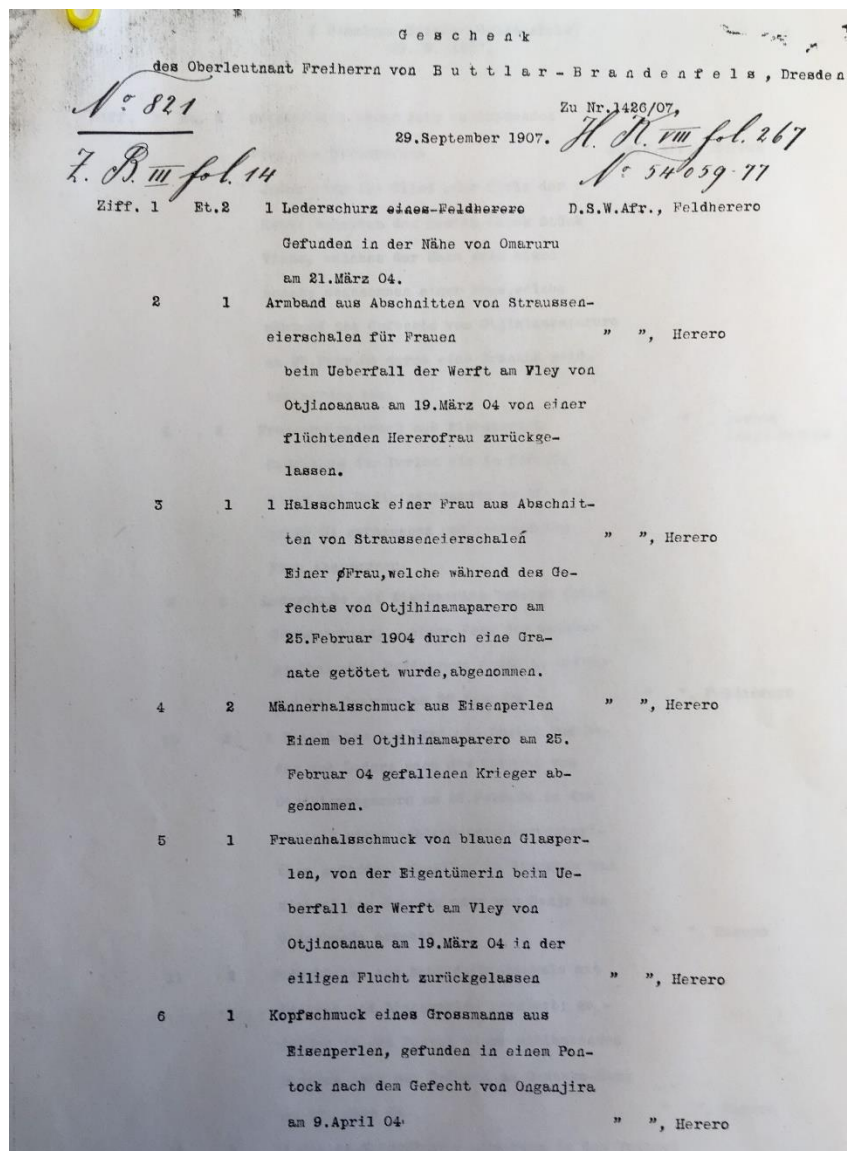


Fig. 3) Linden Museum, Stuttgart, correspondence file Buttlar-Brandenfels, object list for lot 0822, page 1. The number of the lot noted on the list does not correspond to the just-mentioned lot number. Photo: Gesa Grimme

In his letter, von Buttlar-Brandenfels extolled in particular the provenance of his collection: In it “[...] there are said to be – as certain people who know the country well have assured me – several very valuable and interesting pieces, thus, for example, individual objects that were found after the battle of Ongajira, in the [...] of the paramount chief Samuel Maharero and

48 Linden Museum Stuttgart, correspondence file Buttlar-Brandenfels, object list for lot 0822, entry 16.

the big man Kajata.”<sup>49</sup> The Herero leader Kajata was one of the close allies of Maharero, who had been since the middle of the 1890s the supreme leader of the Herero and had led them in war against the German colonial power (Gewald 1999). Von Buttlar-Brandenfels’s object list identifies these two men as the previous owners of several objects. Among these are, for example, an *omeire* ladle (inv. no. 054070), the description of which reads: “Found on 9. April 04 in the pontock of Samuel Maharero after the battle of Ongajira, and later recognized by a captured Herero man as having previously been the property of their supreme leader Samuel Maharero.”<sup>50</sup> Enamored of the small, but historically significant collection, as he told von Buttlar-Brandenfels, von Linden sought to have the Württemberg Friedrichs Order awarded to Buttlar-Brandenfels, who received it that same year.

### Private things

Among the regional holdings surveyed, only in the case of the Namibia holdings was a significant role played by substantial contributions of objects from individuals in whose biographies no traces can be found of a sojourn in the areas of origin of their collections. Albert Hoffa, a prominent orthopedist, and Ferdinand Bang, the administrative director of the Hoffa’schen Klinik in Berlin, together donated 573 objects to the museum, which for the most part came from southern Africa. Hoffa contributed to the building up of the Namibia holdings in 1904 with 116 objects, and Bang followed in 1907 with 227 objects. Contact had been established with them through Anton Lübbert, who knew them.<sup>51</sup> It has not yet been possible to find further information regarding the circumstances surrounding the acquisition of these objects, or regarding possible sojourns in the region by these object donors. In the case of Hoffa, who was born in South Africa, it is speculated that he acquired the objects for his collection with the help of family connections. Information on this point could possibly be gathered through further study of the Lübbert correspondence in the Linden Museum, and of the documents pertaining to him that are located in the Hamburg State Archives.

### Objects received after 1920

The Namibia holdings were the only one of the three sub-collections surveyed that also saw a comparatively continuous expansion in the years between 1920 and 1950 – an expansion that is probably linked to the character of “German South-West Africa” as a settler colony. By

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49 Linden Museum, Stuttgart, correspondence file Buttlar-Brandenfels, Buttlar-Brandenfels to von Linden, 05.09. 1907.

50 Ibid., object list for lot 0822, entry 12.

51 Ibid., correspondence file Lübbert and correspondence file Bang.

the beginning of the First World War, about 12,000 Germans had settled in the colony, of whom many stayed on after the end of the war (Conrad 2016: 29). Among the 13 object donors who transferred objects to the museum for the Namibia holdings between 1920 and 1950, there are at least six individuals for whom a stay in “German South-West Africa” can be verified, or is held to be probable. This group includes, for instance, two veterinarians who both had personal ties to Württemberg and who stayed on in the region after the end of German colonial rule. Otto Henning, who lived in southern Africa as of 1892, headed the Agricultural Office in “German South-West Africa” from 1907 on, and thereafter ran a farm in the vicinity of Grootfontein, had studied veterinary medicine in Stuttgart (Miescher 2013: 120.) He donated a total of 23 objects to the museum shortly before his death in 1933. Alfons Maag had likewise studied veterinary science and came from the Swabian Jura. After receiving his degree in 1910, he moved together with his wife to “German South-West Africa,” where they ran a farm near Gobabis (Maag and Kuntze 1986). Through him, in 1923 the museum received a collection containing 173 objects – 59 of these have been apportioned to the Namibia holdings – on loan. After his death in 1932, the objects passed into the museum’s possession.

The largest number of objects that were transferred to the museum between 1920 and 1950 came from the physician Paul Hummel: Between 1926 and 1938, four collections of his with a total of 86 objects were transferred to the museum in the form of a gift, in an exchange, and also via a purchase. Between 1898 and 1907, Hummel was a medical officer with the “Schutztruppe für Deutsch-Südwestafrika”: (Wätzold 1910: 353). He took part in the war against the Herero and the Nama, and probably in that context, in 1905 he received a Württemberg Medal of Commendation (Königlich-Statistisches Landesamt 1907: 112). It was not until nearly two decades after his return that he began to part with some of the objects he owned: in 1926 he transferred the first collection to the museum. As with the three following lots, the origin of most of the objects in this collection was declared in the museum database as “Ambo”, “San”, and “Klippkaffer”. None of the collections includes objects from the Herero or Nama. It can be assumed that he partly held onto the objects as personal souvenirs of his time in the “South-West”.<sup>52</sup> The circumstances surrounding three other collections that were received by the museum after 1920 were similar: The collection of Otto Berger, who was probably the head of a police station in “German South-West Africa”, was not transferred

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52 On “German South-West Africa” as a screen for the projection of colonial fantasies and as a (post) colonial place of remembrance, see Melber 2013.



to the museum until after his death; his wife effected the transfer.<sup>53</sup> Regarding the collections of Anita Hoeft and Ruth Ebeling, these contained heirlooms dating to the colonial era, and which had long been passed down in the family; they were given to the museum in the 1990s.<sup>54</sup>

In order to conduct further study on the aforementioned object donors, and on their collections in the Namibia holdings, it will first be necessary to check whether in addition to the fragments of correspondence<sup>55</sup> that may still be found in the museum, the archival holdings titled “Linden-Museum” in the State Archives Ludwigsburg may have more extensive documents on those donors and their collections.

## THE CAMEROON HOLDINGS

With about 16,500 object entries,<sup>56</sup> the Cameroon holdings are the largest of the regional collections surveyed within the framework of the project, and they comprise nearly a third of the overall holdings from Sub-Saharan Africa in the Linden Museum. The Cameroon holdings consist of 311 individual lots, which came into the museum’s possession from 169 object donors. Of particular note in this connection are the many large individual collections. Eighty individuals sent the museum collections containing more than 100 objects each. Four of the object donors – Adolf Diehl, Baron Fritz von Stein zu Lausnitz, Ernst von Carnap-Quernheimb, and Adolf Schipper – consigned to the museum collections that in each case, as a matter of fact, contained more than 1000 objects. As with the holdings from Namibia and the Bismarck Archipelago, here a large share consists of weapons for hunting and war: arrows, spears, daggers, knives and guns comprise about 40 percent of the objects. Due to the large number of objects and the abundance of information on origins and geographic and ethnic classifications that features different spellings, it was difficult to itemize the holdings according to regions and/or population groups.

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53 Linden Museum Stuttgart, collection list 2052; regarding Berger’s possible sojourn in “German South-West Africa,” it is necessary to review the personnel file “Berger, Otto, Polizeiwachtmeister” (1908-1914) in the Federal Archives in the holdings “Authorities of the Protectorate of German South-West Africa” (BArch Berlin R 1002/2838).

54 Forkl 2007: 55; Linden Museum Stuttgart, Imdas entry lot 4159.

55 With many of the collections received at a later date, one often finds with the collection lists shorter documents regard the transfer of the collection, billing documents, and the like.

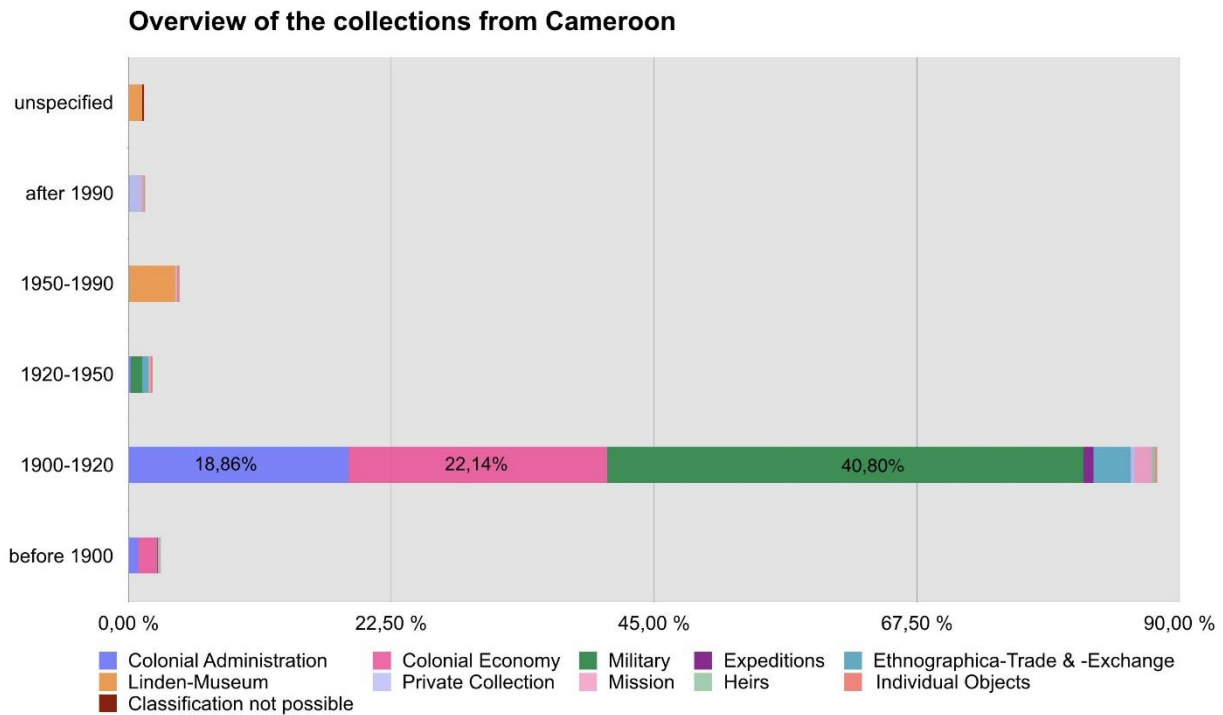
56 Only about 8,900 of the entries contain an indication as to the location of the object, and thus the objects pertaining to them can still be found in the museum. Whether this development is due to exchanges in the art trade or to losses during the Second World War remains to be determined.

The earliest objects recorded in the museum's documentation are two bales of cotton that were incorporated into the collection in 1885. They came from the businessman Friedrich Colin, who in about 1884 advocated for the creation of a German colony – Kapitai and Koba – in the area of the present-day Republic of Guinea.<sup>57</sup> The museum received its first larger collections from the region around 1900, from Gustav Pahl (a customs inspector in Cameroon, later a finance director in "German South-West Africa"), Ernst von Carnap-Quernheimb (in the beginning, a first lieutenant in the "Schutztruppe für Kamerun," and later the head of the exploration department for the Gesellschaft Südkamerun), and Hans Dominik (a captain in the "Schutztruppe für Kamerun").

Overall, nearly 91 percent of the entire Cameroon holdings – about 14,650 objects – came into the museum's possession by 1920. The bulk of these objects were received between the end of the 1890s and the end of the 1910s. Between 1920 and 1950 the holdings grew by about 340 objects – about two percent of the holdings overall. In the period between 1950 and 1990 there was a slight increase in the number of objects being received: about 720 objects – about four percent of the the holdings – were received. This increase came as a result of research that was carried out in the Cameroon grasslands in the 1970s and 1980s by Hans-Joachim Koloß, who was the Africa expert at the Linden Museum from 1973 to 1985. The share of the objects that was consigned to the museum after 1990, at about 230 objects, amounts to about 1.5 percent of the total. No time period could be assigned to about 220 objects, due to missing or insufficient documentation.

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57 *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* 2 (1885): 277-299



**Fig. 4)** Cameroon Collection Profile “Object holdings from Cameroon” in the Linden Museum, Stuttgart (as of 30.03.2018). Graph: Gesa Grimme.

Here, too, contact to members of the military forces was of central importance for the building up of the holdings: The museum received about 6,940 objects – about 41.5 percent of the holdings – from individuals who were classified under the category “military.” Individuals from the colonial administration and those active in politics there, as well as individuals who were stakeholders in the colonial economy also play a large role. The share of objects that were consigned by them to the museum for the holdings is much higher than in the case of the Namibia holdings, with about 20 percent – 3,300 objects – attributable to the first category, and about 23.5 percent – 3,940 objects – to the second. Among the object donors here one also finds 13 missionaries. The collections that they donated, however, with about 315 objects overall, make up only a share of about 1.90 percent of the total holdings. About four percent of the holdings – about 650 objects – arrived in Stuttgart through art dealers or through exchanges with other museums and with collectors. The largest set of object received that pertains to this category is attributable to – as in the case of the holdings from Namibia and the Bismarck Archipelago – the purchase of objects from the German Colonial Museum located in Berlin, in 1917. With a share of under one percent, the category “research expeditions” was not of significance for these holdings. The collections that originated with

Koloß's research in Cameroon were classified under the category "Linden Museum" on account of his role as the museum's Africa expert. Overall, objects originating in this context make up about four percent of the holdings.

### Cameroon and von Linden's network

Von Linden went to great lengths in particular in building up and expanding the Cameroon holdings, for which purpose he corresponded with 68 individuals. Within the context of the project, it was possible to locate in the museum's archives correspondence pertaining to a total of 85 of the 169 object donors. Von Linden's contact with Wilhelm Müller<sup>58</sup> was of particular importance. Müller was as of 1903 the commander of the German military forces in Cameroon, and he unfailingly supported von Linden in his efforts to establish contact with members of the "Protective Troops". In addition to corresponding with members of the military, von Linden also exchanged letters with colonial officials such as Paul Dorbritz (673 objects), who was district administrator in Kribi, and Friedrich Rigler (106 objects), station chief in Jabassi. Writing to von Linden, Dorbritz describes his activities as a collector as being "pretty much without a plan or a goal."<sup>59</sup> The purpose of his activities was to accumulate material with which to decorate his future residence."<sup>60</sup> Concerning Rigler's collection, von Linden wrote first to von Luschan in Berlin to ask for his opinion. Von Luschan told him: "R's entire collection lacks a research orientation, and is, rather, simply nothing more than a brutal assemblage of loot that has been thrown together."<sup>61</sup> In 1901, Rigler was removed from his post in Togo for destroying records and for committing violent acts against the local population. In 1903 he was nonetheless reinstated into the colonial civil service, and was appointed station chief in Jabassi (Zurstrassen 2006: 135).<sup>62</sup> The government physicians Franz Bludau<sup>63</sup> (33 objects) and Hans Ziemann (36 objects) also fall under the category of colonial administration; von Linden had written to Ziemann upon Bludau's recommendation. Contact with the two large colonial companies formed to drive the economic development of Cameroon – the Gesellschaft Nordwest-Kamerun and the Gesellschaft Südkamerun – was maintained through the following individuals: Ernst von Carnap-Quernheimb, a former member of the

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58 Linden Museum, Stuttgart, correspondence file Müller, W.; a short biography can be found in Hoffmann (2007b): on pages 143 and 144.

59 Linden Museum, Stuttgart, correspondence file Dorbritz, Dorbritz to von Linden, 14.11.1908.

60 Ibid., 25.10.1908.

61 Ibid., correspondence file Rigler, von Luschan to von Linden, 10.10.1901.

62 As a matter of fact, he was also accused of unsatisfactory discharge of his responsibilities in Jabassi. There is a file on this matter in the Federal Archives in Berlin (BArch Berlin R 175-I/133).

63 The correspondence with Bludau does not contain any references to his first name. It was taken from the list of recipients of the Friedrichs Order in the Württemberg Court and State Handbook of 1907 (Königlich-Statistisches Landesamt 1907: 160).

military forces (1,102 objects), Hans Ramsay (22 objects), and Ramsay's successor as chief representative of the GNK in Cameroon, Adolf Diehl, through whom the largest collection for the Cameroon holdings, with 2,268 objects, arrived in Stuttgart. In contrast, the communication with the group of missionaries was sparse. It appears that the correspondence with the Spellenberg<sup>64</sup> missionary family that is found in the museum was received by von Linden from a third party; it has not been possible as of yet to conclusively answer the question as to who that might have been. A minimum of 28 of the individuals who exchanged letters in connection with the Cameroon holdings were decorated for their consignment of ethnographic collections with the Württemberg Friedrichs Order.

The extent of von Linden's network is evidenced in particular by the efforts he made over a number of years to acquire one of the large Bamum drums, and the throne of Njoya (the King of Bamum); in seeking to acquire these objects, even though he ultimately failed in his quest, he corresponded with at least 20 individuals.<sup>65</sup>

### **The importance of the military forces**

Members of the military forces – the “Schutztruppe für Kamerun” – were also of central importance in the creation of the Linden Museum's Cameroon holdings. Through them the museum received about 6,940 of the 16,500 objects overall. Thus, about 41.5 percent of the holdings arrived in Stuttgart via 38 individuals who had a military background. Solely among the 34 object donors who consigned to the museum collections with more than 100 objects each, there are 14 members of the military. In addition, there are a number of collections from object donors who first served in Cameroon in the “Schutztruppe,” and then transitioned into jobs in the colonial economy. Examples of this phenomenon include Hans von Ramsay (22 objects) and Ernst von Carnap-Quernheimb (1,102 objects).

Most of these collections – about 6,500 objects – were incorporated into the museum's holdings between the end of the 1890s and the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. They were thereby acquired during a time in which, with a starting point in the coastal regions, the colonial penetration of Cameroon's interior was effected with the use of force by the German military (Hoffmann 2007a, 2007b). The expansion of the area of control was carried out through a network of successively established military posts and stations whose purpose was to secure

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64 Linden Museum, Stuttgart, correspondence file Spellenberg. The file contains letters from the brothers Gottlieb and Friedrich Spellenberg, who worked for the Basler Mission in Cameroon, and it also includes letters from their father.

65 See on this point Sprute 2018.

the interests of the trading companies operating there, in addition to integrating the population into the colonial administrative structure. Population groups that were not willing to cooperate with the German colonial power, and those that did not recognize its supremacy or resisted it were subjugated and compelled to provide goods and labor (ibid. 2007a: 366-370). The transformation of the district administrations into civil structures, which was planned for the long term, progressed slowly. Prior to the beginning of the First World War in 1914, nine of the 28 districts were still under military administration (ibid.: 15-16).

Among the largest acquisitions that arrived at the museum by consignment from members of the military are the collections from Ludwig von Stein zu Lausnitz (1,217 objects), Adolf Schipper (1,058 objects), Hans Dominik (777 objects), and Hans Glauning (696 objects). The information given by these individuals regarding the sources of the objects points to a connection between the locations where they were stationed and the genesis of their collections. Officer von Stein zu Lausnitz,<sup>66</sup> for example, arrived in Cameroon in 1895, and played an important role in the military enforcement of the German claim to power. In 1897, as district chief of Lolodorf, he led a military operation against the population groups in the region that were regarded by the administration as a hindrance and threat to the economic development of the region. In addition to various groups among the Bane, these included subgroups of the Ewondo, Bulu, and Ngumba societies. The military laid waste to their areas of settlement, and by December 1897 had destroyed more than 250 villages (Hoffmann: 132).<sup>67</sup> In the years after that – 1899 and 1900 – von Stein sent two collections with 219 objects to Stuttgart. For more than half of these objects, the information regarding provenance mentions the societies that were subjugated in the course of the aforementioned measures. For the collections that he consigned to the museum between 1904 and 1907, on the contrary, the provenance of the objects is listed in most of the cases as “Baia,” “Kunabembe,” and “Maka.” Von Stein also played a major role in the subjugation and integration of these societies living in the southeast of Cameroon into the colonial administrative structures: As administrative chief of the district of Sanga-Ngoko, in 1901 he presided over the conquest of the Bertua/Gamane region and the population living there, which at the time was called the “Baia”, and in 1903, he also led the military operation against the Kunabembe society. In 1905, in the region around Akonolinga and Abongmbang, he also played a leading role in suppressing the resistance of

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66 A short biography can be found in Hoffmann (2007b) on pages 180-183.

67 On this topic, see also Bundesarchiv Berlin, R 1001/3345, BI 143-144: von Stein an Kais. Gouvernement, 03.12.1897.

the Maka population, which was directed at the trading companies active in the region (Hoffmann 2007a: 158-161, 167-169).

Similar circumstances can be observed with regard to the collections of Hans Dominik, who consigned three collections to the museum between 1899 and 1905. While the provenance of the objects in the first collections is listed mainly as “Wute,” “Koko,” and “Bakoko,” who – with Dominik playing an important role (Hoffmann 2007a) – were for the most part subjugated by the German colonial power in the 1890s, most of the objects in the collection that was received in 1905 came from population groups living in the interior of the country. Dominik, who was for many years the station chief at Jaunde, was known for his acts of brutality. In his memoirs, he describes the situation in the village of Mpako, which he captured in 1894: “The burning houses made a crashing noise as they collapsed, the red flames whipped up toward the sky, women and children wandered about helplessly, letting out loud cries when they happened upon a person they knew who had been killed [...]” (Dominik 1901: 36). He had the soldiers under his command bring him the heads of enemies who had been killed,<sup>68</sup> and in the war against the Makaa and Omvang societies, he gave women from the enemy side as spoils of war to his allies. Following complaints from, among other sources, the British, concerning his treatment of the population in the north of Cameroon, he was indeed recalled to Berlin at the end of 1902, but was able to return to Cameroon as early as the following year, and was once again employed as a station chief (Hoffmann 2007b: 84; Weiss 2006: 31-33). Dominik’s case, including the accusation that he had had infants drowned in the “Nachtigall Falls” of the Sanaga (the largest river in Cameroon), was ultimately discussed several times in the years between 1905 and 1908 in the German Reichstag.<sup>69</sup> In view of the above, when it comes to further study in this area – as well as analysis concerning other object donors in the “military” category – the question should be posed as to how the violence perpetrated by the German military is remembered today in Cameroon.<sup>70</sup> Concerning the memory of Dominik there, the historians Joachim

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68 See also in his memoirs: “Kamerun. Sieben Kriegs- und Friedensjahre” (“Cameroon. Seven years of war and peace”), regarding 1901: “Together with his Hausa people, Andu indeed brought six heads [...]” Dominik 1901: 125).

69 For example, on 01 and 04 December 1906, on 03 and 04 May 1907, as well as on 01 March 1909 (Verhandlungen des Reichstags 218 (1905-1906): 4065-4072; 4139-4145; *ibid.* 228 (1907): 1379; 1414-1423; *ibid.* 235 (1909): 7242-7254).

70 In this regard, it would be desirable to develop a bilateral research project that would be carried out together with a Cameroonian university or other research institution.

Zeller and Stefanie Michels wrote in 2005: “Up until the present day, most Africans associate his brutal regime also with an epoch of a sheer reign of terror” (citation from Hoffmann 2007b: 85).

The manner in which members of the military made use of their position for the acquisition of objects is described by W. Schneider, who was active in the colonial economy, and who also had been contacted by von Linden in his quest to acquire the throne of King Njoya and one of the drums from Bamum: Schneider complains that the station chief of Bamenda, whom he calls a “plague bubo,” has “forbidden the chiefs in the grasslands to give curiosities to anyone else but himself [...]”.<sup>71</sup> The head of station was none other than Hans Glauning, who stayed in close contact with von Linden, and who consigned to the museum nearly 700 objects for the Cameroon holdings. His role in the Cameroon grasslands was also of tremendous importance to the development of the Cameroon collection in the Berlin museum: Through his intervention, the throne of King Njoya, the object of von Linden's desire, ultimately went to Berlin (Stelzig 2006; Sprute 2018).

The connection between military postings and the acquisition of objects becomes particularly clear with the collection of Hermann Bertram, who was a first lieutenant in the “Schutztruppe für Kamerun,” and who consigned 238 objects to the museum in 1908. He had taken part from 1905 to 1907 in the “Southern Expedition” of the “Schutztruppe,” and was in charge of them for a short time in July 1906, standing in for Scheunemann. The aim of the operation was to subjugate the population groups that had settled between the upper Njong and upper Dja, and thereby, to protect the interests of the trading companies that had been established in this region with its abundance of rubber trees at that time (Hoffmann 2007: 155-158; Scheunemann 1907: 347-352, 391-399). Regarding the genesis of his collection, Bertram tells von Linden that he has “put it together with great effort over the course of 2-1/2 years of action in the war,”<sup>72</sup> and he emphasizes the emotional significance it has for him: “[...]I myself part most unwillingly with the collection, whose individual objects often hold for me a host of fond memories.”<sup>73</sup> In keeping with the reported context of the genesis of the collection, the first section of the object overview that he submitted along with his letter bears the title “Spoils of war”.<sup>74</sup> Von Linden finds this set of circumstances to be problematic

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71 Linden Museum, Stuttgart, correspondence file Schneider, W., Schneider to von Linden, 04.10.1907.

72 Ibid., correspondence file Bertram, Bertram to von Linden, 07.02.1908.

73 Ibid., Bertram to von Linden, 01.03.1908.

74 Ibid., object list for lot 0846.



insofar as it could make it difficult to provide information on the places of origin of the individual objects. In his letter of response, he asks Bertram: “If possible, please include the classification of the place of origin; of course, this could possibly be difficult, because the items are spoils of war, and were seized here and there.”<sup>75</sup> The descriptions in the object lists that Bertram ultimately sent along with his collection then did, however, comply with von Linden’s request: They not only provide the names of the societies of origin, but also include the names of places, and often the names of the previous owners, as well as some cases references to the makers of the objects. All of the population groups and villages noted in these lists were in the target region for the Southern Expedition, and the names of the previous owners mentioned were those of the leaders of the population groups living there. It is possible to conclusively attribute 46 objects to these individuals by name. Among the objects are for example, a series of “chieftains’ sticks,” two “pearl bonnets” that had belonged to the local leaders Atiabo and Mabilia, a “dancing-drum of Moenza, the subchieftain of Njolo-Soemangos,” and several “spoons of the supreme chieftain Masella of the Ndokobu.”<sup>76</sup> Bertram describes in his object overview, in addition to the roughly 60 objects found in the collection, at least another 27 objects as “spoils of war.” Among these, for example, are a “war bell” from the hamlet of Maloegle, where the resistance against the German colonial power was concentrated in the spring of 1906. On 18 March 1906, the location was occupied by Bertram and his company, and the leader Taboa was arrested a short time later, since he was not fulfilling the terms of the peace that had been imposed on him (Scheunemann 1907: 395-396).

It appears, however, that Bertram purchased portions of his collection. He informed von Linden that the collecting and transportation of the objects resulted for him in “in part in rather substantial costs,”<sup>77</sup> and that “despite the offer of large rewards, it [was] not possible to get more out of the people.”<sup>78</sup> The correspondence does not, however, contain more detailed information on his methods, and it should be noted that the acquisition of the collection overall took place within a situation of military occupation.

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75 Ibid., von Linden to Bertram, 12.02.1908.

76 Ibid., object list for lot 0846.

77 Ibid., Bertram to von Linden, 01.03.1908.

78 Ibid., 24.03.1908.

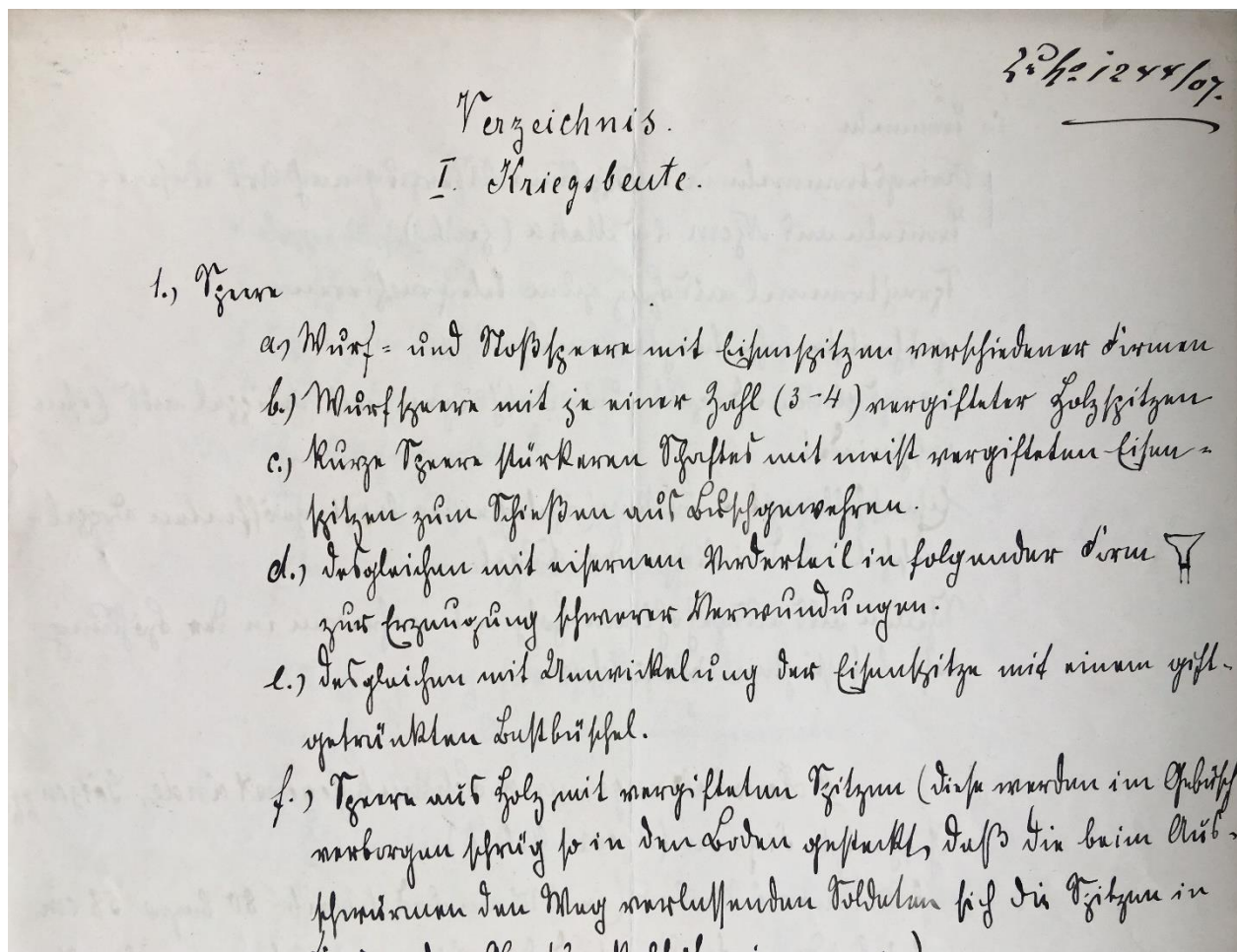


Fig. 5) Linden Museum Stuttgart, correspondence file Bertram, collection overview (excerpt). Photo: Gesa Grimme.

Other objects that stem from the “Southern Expedition” arrived in Stuttgart via Jesco von Puttkammer, a relative of the then-governor of Cameroon, Jesko von Puttkammer. The provenance of the 29 objects, which also include several “chieftain’s sticks,” was given in most cases as the society of the Njem – one of the population groups that were the main focus of the military operations. In an autobiographical text, Puttkammer described the military operation that lasted from 1905 to 1907 as one of the “most punishing campaigns, with the greatest losses,” that he had experienced in Cameroon (Puttkammer 2002: 56). His report, however, does not include any further details on this topic. It focuses instead on Puttkammer’s first combat mission in Cameroon in 1903. This campaign had as its target the population in the region of the Kongoa mountain range in northwest Cameroon, which allegedly supported other groups in their resistance against the German colonial power. The villages

through which the military train<sup>79</sup> passes during its advance are for the most part abandoned: “Finally after some hours, on a steep hill we came into a large village in which fires were burning everywhere in the huts” (ibid.: 51). The residents had retreated into the forest before the oncoming military forces. After battles that stretched for days, and the taking of the “chieftain’s village,” the population’s will to resist was broken: “They sent emissaries with ivory, and sued for peace” (ibid.: 56). Here, too, a direct connection can be made between Puttkammer’s mission and the objects that he consigned to the museum: Kongoa is listed as the region of provenance for seven objects in his collection that arrived in Stuttgart in 1905. Besides a “chieftain’s staff” and a “war bell,” there are five “cult figurines,” which Puttkammer states that he has “found”: The object descriptions say, for instance, “cult figurine from a village, found in front of a palaver house” (inv. no.: 039666), and “cult figurine, found in the chieftain’s house” (039653).<sup>80</sup> It can be assumed that the locations where the objects were found were identical with the abandoned villages that he passed through on his mission. In addition, he “found” several everyday objects for the museum: A number of fish traps that are part of the collection were “found” “in a small brook.”<sup>81</sup>

The same collection also contains a large slit drum, the transportation of which to the coast is described in detail by Puttkammer, writing to von Linden: “Due to its size and weight, the drum was carried to the coast by 120 porters, who were hired by me. Of these, 30 porters worked together at one time, and had to be relieved every half hour. I had long, hardy tree trunks attached along both sides, and at the same time 15 porters were carrying the ones on the right, and 15 the ones on the left.”<sup>82</sup> Since it was the rainy season, 30 rivers in all had to be crossed.<sup>83</sup> With his description, Puttkammer draws attention to a question that is addressed only rarely: how the collections reached the coastal cities that were often hundreds of kilometers distant, and from which they were shipped to Europe. In the case of the Linden Museum, there are about 14,500 objects that arrived before 1914, which had to be transported. The description clearly illustrates that not just the acquisition of the objects, but also their transportation is linked to the exercise of colonial power. In Cameroon, as in Togo and “German East-Africa,” porters played a key role in the movement of products and goods. In Cameroon it was not until 1908 that a regulation was adopted that limited the allowed

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79 It included in addition to Puttkammer and Lieutenant Rausch “two European noncommissioned officers [...] and 75 colored soldiers with the usual broads and boys and about 150 porters” (Puttkammer 2002: 51).

80 Linden Museum Stuttgart, correspondence file Puttkammer, object list for lot 0680.

81 Ibid.

82 Ibid., Puttkammer to von Linden, 17. January 1905.

83 Ibid.

weight of loads to 30 kilograms, and that restricted the recruitment pool to “people [who were] fully grown, able to work, [and] healthy.” The need for porters on the part of the military, the colonial administration, and the colonial economy grew along with the increasing colonial penetration of the region. The recruiting process, which often was carried out under duress, the inhumane working conditions, which resulted in the tremendous loss of human life, and the feeding and accommodation of the porters, who had to be taken care of by the people who lived along the caravan routes, all had severe impacts on the population (Mandeng 1973; Sprute 2018).

### **Business ventures in the colonial economy**

At the end of the 1890s, two large concession areas were created in Cameroon, and the economic exploitation and development of them was entrusted to the Gesellschaft Nordwest-Kamerun (Northwest Cameroon Company) and the Gesellschaft Süd-Kamerun (Southern Cameroon Company). The former operated in the Bamum/Bamileke Region in the northwest, and the latter in the southeastern part of the colony.<sup>84</sup> This breakdown is also clearly reflected in the mix of those participants who were allocated to the context labeled “colonial economy,” and in their collections. The category is defined by two employees of these companies: 62 percent of the objects that have been assigned to this category stem from Adolf Diehl, and 30 percent from Ernst von Carnap-Quernheimb. Diehl was the chief representative of the Gesellschaft Nordwest-Kamerun, which was established in 1899, and with his consignment of 2,268 objects to the museum between 1907 and 1912, he contributed in considerable measure to the growth of the holdings. He was engaged in the collection of ethnographica for the museum as of 1902. During this time period, the ethnographic museum in Leipzig received a first large collection. He presumably commissioned artists and artisans on a large scale with the creation of the objects, which would also match up with the composition of the collection in the Stuttgart museum (Geary 1983: 8): For example, nearly half of the objects – about 1,050 – were tobacco pipes and their constituent parts (pipe heads and stems). Ernst von Carnap-Quernheimb was the head of expeditions for the Gesellschaft Süd-Kamerun, and between 1898 and 1902 he consigned to the museum a total of 1,102 objects. These were mostly spears, arrows, and spoons (including about 210 of the latter). It is necessary to consider in greater detail whether the objects stem from the time period when he was an officer in the “Schutztruppe”. Between 1897 and 1898, his activities included leading an expedition in the southeast of the colonial area, the findings of which provided the basis for the

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84 On the Gesellschaft Nordwest-Kamerun and the Gesellschaft Süd-Kamerun, see Ballhaus 1968; on the links between the colonial economy and the colonial administration, see Hausen 1970.

concession of the Gesellschaft Süd-Kamerun. In 1900, he left the military and began to work for the company (Hofmann 2007b: 76-77).

The collections of the 10 other individuals who were assigned to the category “colonial economy” are considerably smaller, and not all of the individuals consigned their objects to the museum free of charge. The collection of W. Schneider, who was mentioned above, was bought by von Linden himself. This collection includes 13 objects, of which nine are from Cameroon. He told von Linden that in part, the objects had “cost [him] a lot of money” and that it had not been at all easy to acquire them: “It was also not easy to get the pipes from the chieftain; these people do not like to relinquish things such as these, which, so to speak, in their opinion are part and parcel of their grandeur.”<sup>85</sup> Schneider worked as of 1906 in Jabassi in Alfred Schmidt’s company,<sup>86</sup> which Schmidt ran together with his brother, Oscar Schmidt. The latter, who was an officer with the “Schutztruppe für Kamerun” until 1904, had already been in contact with von Linden in 1898, and had consigned to the museum a small number of objects. In 1905, von Linden contacted the brothers primarily regarding the throne of King Njoya and the Bamum drum.

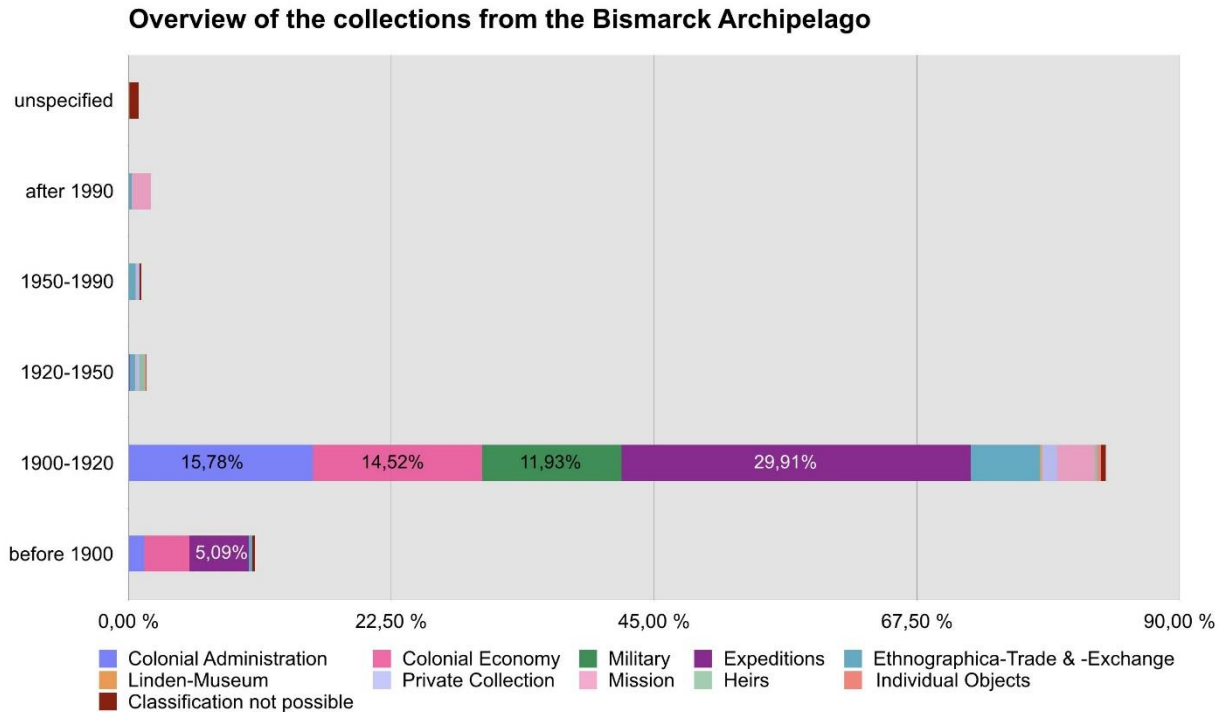
## THE BISMARCK ARCHIPELAGO HOLDINGS

Due to time constraints, the work on the Bismarck Archipelago holdings and the research on the object donors involved could not be brought to a final conclusion, in contrast to the examination of the Cameroon and Namibia holdings. In addition, the still-incomplete inventorying of the Oceania collection hampered the work on these holdings, since not all objects have been assigned incontrovertible geographical classifications, which hampered the identification of the objects belonging to the holdings.

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85 Linden Museum Stuttgart, correspondence file Schneider, W., Schneider to von Linden, 27.09.1907.

86 This was probably the Groß-Farm- und Factorei-Betrieb, Kamerun-Hochland GmbH (Hoffmann 2007b: 172).



**Fig. 6)** Collection profile “Bismarck Archipelago Object holdings” in the Linden Museum, Stuttgart (as of 30.03.2018). Graph: Gesa Grimme.

The holdings include about 6,600 inventory entries.<sup>87</sup> They comprise 246 lots that are distributed among 124 object donors. Nineteen of these individuals made a notable contribution to the growth of the holdings, with collections of more than 100 objects each. The largest collections came from Bruno Mencke (616 objects) and Augustin Krämer (475 objects). With regard to regional distribution, most of the holdings come from New Britain (about 1,850 objects), the Admiralty Islands (about 1,450 objects), and New Ireland, including Lavongai (about 1,240 objects). In a situation similar to that of the other holdings surveyed, the share of objects that are weapons for hunting and war – at about 2,265 objects – is about one third, whereby in this case, the number also includes objects that served a primarily representative purpose, and were used first and foremost in ritual contexts. In addition, there is a large share of jewelry and items of clothing, and objects used in the home (at least 1,500 objects). At least 900 objects can be classified as objects associated with a ritual context – masks, ances-

<sup>87</sup> The identification of the relevant objects was determined by means of the islands that are recorded in the museum database Imdas as the locations where objects were found, and which are geographically classified as belonging to the Bismarck Archipelago. These included, among others, New Britain, the Duke of York Islands, the Admiralty Islands, the Western Islands, New Ireland, Lavongai, and the Vitu Islands.

tor figures, and objects used in dances. About 140 objects – models of boats, boat ornaments, paddles and rudders – can be associated with a seafaring context. About 40 of the drums that were intently sought after by Karl von Linden are also represented in the holdings.

The earliest recorded arrival of objects from the region refers to objects that entered into the museum's possession in 1885: a collection including 13 objects that came from Theodor Hartenstein, a trader living in Sydney who ran a number of trading establishments in the region, as well as an object that was purchased through the Godeffroy Museum in Hamburg.

In contrast to the holdings from Namibia and Cameroon, by 1900 nearly 11 percent of the entire holdings – about 720 objects – had already been received by the museum. By 1920 it had received another 5,557 objects, so that by the end of the German colonial era, about 94.5 percent of the Bismarck Archipelago holdings were already in the museum's possession. Only about 4.6 percent of the objects were consigned to the museum in the decades after that (with 59 of the objects, no classification can be made). The majority – 129 objects – arrived at the museum after 1990. The largest collection that was incorporated into the museum's holdings after 1920, with 108 objects, was purchased in 2002 from a former missionary who had worked in New Guinea.

In comparison with the other holdings surveyed, marked differences can be discerned with regard to the professional and personal backgrounds of the object donors. The museum received 35 percent of the Bismarck Archipelago holdings – about 2,320 objects – from 14 people who were classified under the category “research expedition.” This category had no relevance at all for the genesis of the holdings from Namibia, nor for those from Cameroon. Another difference can be seen in the far lower share of objects that were consigned to the museum by members of the military forces. Only about 12 percent of the holdings arrived at the museum through object donors who were thus classified. With a share of nearly five percent, the number of objects that the museum received from members of the Christian missionary societies active in the Bismarck Archipelago was comparatively high. In contrast to the holdings from Namibia, large private collections did not play a role in the genesis of the holdings. With 125 objects in all, they make up a share of only 2 percent of the holdings overall.

Another 17 percent of the holdings – 1,140 objects – were consigned to the museum by individuals who played a role in “colonial administration and politics.” Among these 16 persons are found, in addition to several station chiefs, the two governors of German New Guinea, Rudolf Bennigsen (1899-1901), and Albert Hahl (1902-1914). Object donors who worked in the area of the colonial economy contributed to the growth of the holdings with about 1,220

objects – 18 percent of the holdings. Twenty-one individuals and institutions were classified under the category “ethnographica trade and exchange”. They contributed to the growth of the collections from the Bismarck Archipelago with about 500 objects – 7.5 percent of the holdings. The largest recorded entry in this connection comprised 328 objects from the holdings of the German Colonial Museum, which were purchased by the Linden Museum in 1917. Concerning the roughly 110 objects, the donors of which were classified under the category of heirs, it can be assumed that they had been acquired in the region already during the colonial era. Since it was not possible to bring all of the research to an end, five object donors could not be assigned a classification.

### **Von Linden’s network and the Bismarck Archipelago**

In order to establish and expand the Bismarck Archipelago collection, Karl von Linden corresponded with at least 50 people, among whom were a number of individuals who played an important role in the colonial occupation of the Bismarck Archipelago. With these individuals, besides discussing questions concerning the acquisition of the objects, the regions they were from, their use and what they were called, he also talked about the colonial administration's responsibilities and difficulties and the everyday life of the German colonialists, in addition to their views on the local population. The correspondence stored at the Linden Museum thus provides not only insights into the genesis of the collection, but also into the development of the colony called “German New Guinea”.

Von Linden’s network included high-ranking colonial civil servants, key representatives of the colonial economy, and missionaries and explorers, as well as members of the imperial navy. Among the members of the network were Rudolf von Bennigsen, who was the first governor of the colony, from 1899 to 1901; the chiefs of the administrative stations of Kavieng and Namatanai, Franz Boluminski and Wilhelm Wostrack; Max Thiel, the director for many years of Henssler & Co.; the lieutenant commander and future admiral Max von Grapow; the missionary Heinrich Fellmann, who worked from 1897 to 1912 in Raluana on the island of New Britain; and the directors of the ethnological museums in Frankfurt am Main and Hamburg, Bernhard Hagen and Georg Thilenius, who had both visited “German New Guinea”. Nearly without exception, the individuals just mentioned were all awarded one of the Württemberg medals on account of the collections they donated, and thanks to the good offices of von Linden.

Von Linden's exchanges with Albert Hahl, Augustin Krämer, and Richard Parkinson were particularly intensive in nature. Hahl, who was at first the chief justice in “German New Guinea,”



and in 1902 succeeded Bennigsen as governor, donated about 520 objects to the museum in 20 lots, between 1899 and 1909 – of those objects, about 290 came from the region of the Bismarck Archipelago. The future director of the Linden Museum, Krämer, who initially worked as a navy physician, and later led various research expeditions in the region, consigned to the museum 475 objects overall for the Bismarck Archipelago holdings. Parkinson, from whom the museum received 165 objects from this area, had come to the Bismarck Archipelago in 1882 as one of the first European settlers. He ran – at times together with his sister-in-law Emma Kolbe<sup>88</sup> – a number of plantations and took numerous trips in the region, especially also for the purpose of procuring workers.<sup>89</sup> As a former collector the Museum Godeffroy, he had a pronounced interest in ethnographic collections and issues. His reports and books on the various populations of the Bismarck Archipelago are still regarded today as important sources on the ethnography of the region (Mückler 2012: 182-183).

All three of these participants played the role of important multipliers in von Linden's network: They facilitated contacts to other potential object donors, told him about worthwhile collections, and helped him clear up questions regarding the origin, use, and significance of objects. In equal measure, von Linden used his acquaintance with these three individuals in particular to win over new correspondence partners, and persuade them to support his objectives.

### **Augustin Krämer – the future director of the museum**

Above all, the navy physician Augustin Krämer played a pivotal role in the development of the Linden Museum. In accordance with the wishes of Karl von Linden, who died in 1910, Krämer became the first director of the new Linden Museum, in 1911 (Mönter 2010). Krämer and von Linden had been in close contact since the end of the 1890s. The correspondence that is stored at the Linden Museum alone fills two correspondence files. As a person who donated objects of his own, in addition to being a financier and a procurer of collections from other

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88 Emma Kolbe, nee Coe (1850-1913), whose mother came from an influential family in Samoa, ran one of the most successful companies in the colonial economy of "German New Guinea." In the years before 1884 she had already acquired extensive tracts of land in the Bismarck Archipelago for the establishment of plantations. The Gunantambu estate of "Queen Emma," as she was called, was for a long time the economic center of the colony. Parkinson, who was married to her sister Phoebe, worked for her at times as a manager (Salesa 2014; Poser and Baumann 2016: 41).

89 In the entire South Pacific region, the recruitment of laborers to work on plantations mostly run by Europeans and Americans was crucial. The methods employed to this end ranged from work contracts voluntarily entered into, to those that came about under more or less dubious circumstances, all the way to kidnappings – so-called "blackbirding." The company of "Queen Emma," too, depended on workers from the islands in the surrounding region, the procurement of whom fell within Parkinson's area of responsibility (Salesa 2014: 154; regarding the *labor trade* in "German New Guinea," see Firth 1987).

object donors, Krämer consigned to the museum more than 2,000 objects, in particular, from Oceania.

Krämer, who was to become one of the most prominent ethnographers of Oceania of his era, had signed up in 1889 as a physician with the imperial navy, and in that capacity, in 1893 he traveled for the first time to the islands in the Pacific. After that, he visited the region a number of times for the purpose of conducting research, and as of 1906, he was accompanied on these visits by his wife, Elisabeth Krämer-Bannow. His travels included, for example, a trip to Samoa and Hawai'i, as well as the leadership of the German Navy Expedition as of 1908, and the Hamburg South Seas Expedition from 1909 to 1910. After his departure in 1914 from the Linden Museum in Stuttgart, which he left due to internal disputes, in 1919 he became a lecturer in the field of ethnology at the University of Tübingen, where he established the Völkerkundliche Institut (Ethnological Institute) (ibid.: 2). In order to further contextualize Krämer's collections from the Bismarck Archipelago, it will first be necessary to describe with greater precision the links between the objects and his various sojourns there.

Krämer played a very important role in von Linden's network for the Bismarck Archipelago. He facilitated von Linden's contacts to a number of his colleagues and acquaintances. It can be presumed that in particular the contacts with many of the medical officers and ship's doctors who consigned objects to von Linden were set up by Krämer. Among the object donors for the Bismarck Archipelago holdings are, for example, nine more physicians, who worked for the navy, for trading companies, shipping companies, and for the colonial administration.

At the same time, Krämer is a good example of the difficulties associated with the categorization of the object donors, which will have to be further adjusted if this research approach is to be carried forward. Thus, at present, it is not possible to adequately represent changes in a donor's career, as for example with the transition from the military to the private sector. At the same time, it is not possible to select more than one category, which is clearly illustrated by Krämer's biography, in which two contexts overlap: Krämer, who was assigned to the category "research expedition," was, to be sure, involved in many research expeditions, but at the same time, he was also until 1909 a member of the navy, which would have also made it plausible to classify him under the category "military".

### **Exploration and traveling**

With regard to the makeup of the Bismarck Archipelago holdings, it is striking that a large share of objects that arrived at the museum via individuals were recorded under the category

“research expeditions”: this includes about 2,320 objects, or about 35 percent of the holdings. In the case of the holdings from Namibia and Cameroon, this category, at less than one percent, is of no significance. At the same time, the number of objects from the Bismarck Archipelago that were consigned to the museum by members of the military is, with about 790 objects, much smaller than it is in the other holdings.

Two factors play a decisive role here: on the one hand, “German New Guinea”, with its pronounced cultural fragmentation, was the object of special attention within the field of ethnology at the time. The societies living there were considered in the theories of the time to be particularly “aboriginal”, free from civilizing developments, and thus providing a special opportunity to conduct research into the nature of humankind and its development (Buschmann 2008, 2016). On the other hand, the colony received much less official attention than the German colonial areas in Africa. Thus, there was, for example, no military presence comparable to the “Schutztruppe” that in the other colonies were often also assigned the role of exploring the region (ibid. 2008; Hoffmann 2007b: 50-52). For Albert Hahl, who was for many years the governor of the colony, the interest evinced by researchers meant that he had an opportunity to receive insights into the region he was in charge of, and into the people living there, and was able make use of that knowledge in controlling them (Buschmann 2003).

The undertakings of the 16 individuals who were assigned to this category can be characterized variously as: large-scale research projects that were organized by the museum, by foundations, and by government offices; expeditions of wealthy individuals the research value of which was dependent on the standards of their initiators; and research expeditions undertaken by individuals that were financed by the museum, and whose primary purpose was the acquisition of objects. The question arises here as to the extent to which those taking part in the expeditions depended for the successful realization of their plans on the goodwill of the colonial civil servants and business owners – such as the station chiefs Wostrack and Boluminski, or Thiel, the director at Hertsheim – who lived and worked in the area, and who, through their relationships and ties to the creators of the objects, could have an influence on the ability to acquire those objects (Buschmann 1995: 195-197). The explorer Bruno Mencke, for example, acquired his collections partly through Thiel<sup>90</sup> and Richard and Phoebe Parkinson<sup>91</sup>,

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90 Linden Museum, Stuttgart, Zuwachsbuch 1: 30.

91 Phoebe Parkinson (1864-1944), the sister of Emma Kolbe, came in 1882 with her husband, Richard Parkinson, to the Bismarck Archipelago. She assisted her husband, who was also an ethnographer but did not speak the languages of the various population groups, as an interpreter (a job that she also performed during court hearings in Herbertshöhe). Through her active role in managing the plantation, she lastly and

the married couple who as plantation owners were well connected; all of these individuals were involved in the collection and trade of ethnographica (Knowles and Gosden 2004: 66-68).

The largest holdings, with 616 objects, that come under this category come from an expedition by Mencke, who had inherited a fortune from his father, a factory owner. He planned a multi-year expedition to “German New Guinea,” which however was cut short on 1. April 1901, when Mencke and two other participants were fatally wounded on the main island of St. Matthias. The trigger for this event is said to have been the destruction of a coconut palm grove belonging to residents of the island by expedition members“ (Poser and Baumann 2016: 69).

The contact between Mencke and von Linden had been set up by Felix von Luschan, who was at that time the assistant to the director of the ethnographic museum in Berlin. Already in his first letter on this matter, he informed von Linden that Mencke’s motivation for the trip was above all to receive medals of commendation.<sup>92</sup> Following the arrival of the expedition in “German New Guinea,” several of von Linden’s correspondence partners informed him as to its unprofessional character – the participants were on the whole more interested in entertainment and dissipation than in research activities.<sup>93</sup> After the violent end of the expedition, which von Linden was likewise informed of by his correspondence partners, he lost no time in getting in touch with Mencke’s heirs, in order to secure for himself the collections that had been promised to him.<sup>94</sup> All told, the museum received about 1,200 objects through this expedition.

Other explorers who likewise financed their sojourns in the region themselves had higher standards for their undertakings with regard to research. Arthur Baessler, who came from a wealthy bourgeois family and was one of the most important patrons of the Berlin ethnographic museum, saw himself as a promoter of German-language ethnology, and he himself took a number of trips for the purposes of research and collection, traveling to Australia, Asia, and America, as well as to the islands in the Pacific. In the 1880s and 1890s he traveled

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most importantly made his research activities possible. At the same time, she took part in Parkinson’s collection activities and carried them forward after his death in 1909 (Knowles et al. 2001: 43-44; Salesa 2014).

92 Linden Museum, Stuttgart, correspondence file von Luschan Vol. 1.

93 Ibid., correspondence file Hering and correspondence file Parkinson; see also Knowles and Gosden 2004: 68.

94 Linden Museum, Stuttgart, correspondence file Mencke.

through, among other places, New Guinea, Australia, and New Zealand. His dedication to research assured him of medals of commendation and the accolades of an educated upper middle class that was interested in ethnology and anthropology. Besides the Berlin museum, he provided assistance in particular to the ethnographic museum in Dresden, but von Linden, too, and the museum in Stuttgart, received donations of objects from him (Schade 2007: 11-16). Through him, about 1,440 objects in all – mostly from the region of “German New Guinea” – arrived at the museum. Of these, thus far 228 can be assigned to the Bismarck Archipelago, on the basis of the provenance records in the museum’s database. Whether the collections that Baessler consigned to the museum in 1899 were linked to his stay in “German New Guinea” from 1887 to 1899, or whether he acquired them at a later point in time remains to be determined. Another independent scholar who traveled through the region from 1909 to 1910 was Hermann Schoede. Judging from the information on the provenance of his objects, it appears that Schoede’s activities as a collector were focused above all on “Kaiser-Wilhelms-Land” – the northeastern part of New Guinea that was controlled by the German colonial administration. There are only 42 objects from the region of the Bismarck Archipelago. Knowles and Gosden (2004: 69) describe his style of documentation as being unusually detailed for a private collector. Unfortunately, with respect to the objects in the Linden Museum, only rudimentary information has been passed on to the museum’s database and its inventory book.<sup>95</sup> A detailed original object list could not be located within the framework of the project, and the correspondence that has been preserved refers predominantly to later gifts of objects from East Asia.<sup>96</sup>

By virtue of his personal relationships, von Linden was also able to profit from large research projects, such as the Hamburger Südsee-Expedition (Hamburg South Sea Expedition). Ferdinand Hefe, the son of a close friend of von Linden's from his school days, accompanied this research expedition as an officer on the expedition ship *Peiho*. Von Linden managed to convince him to put together a collection of objects for the Stuttgart museum during the trip. As an incentive von Linden promised a medal of commendation.<sup>97</sup> The collection activities of the ship’s crew led, however, to conflicts with the academic employees on the expedition, who viewed the private acquisition of objects as a violation of the arrangements that had been made with the sponsor of the expedition – the Hamburgische Wissenschaftliche Stiftung –

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95 Ibid., Inventarbuch XII: 327-359 and Inventarbuch XXI: 076-079.

96 Ibid., correspondence file Schoede.

97 Ibid., correspondence file Hefe.

with respect to the acquisition of objects (Fischer 1981: 118-119). Otto Reche,<sup>98</sup> the physical anthropologist on the expedition, made notes on this point in his logbook on 04. September 1908: “[...] because for a long time now, like the other gentlemen, I have been getting angry that the men employed on the ship straight out buy things on their own for themselves, and they pay in part such horrendous prices that they are ruining the market for us [...]” (cited in *ibid.*: 119). After the first year of the trip, Hefele and the second officer, Rudolf Schirlitz had to thus withdraw from the expedition (*ibid.*: 49-50). Hefele managed to acquire about 350 objects for von Linden in the Bismarck Archipelago. His documentation on the objects is certainly not as detailed as that of the scholars traveling with him, but the inventory entries nevertheless do contain for the most part very precise location information. Hefele did not receive the medal promised to him until after 1910,<sup>99</sup> apparently due to disagreements between the king’s cabinet and von Linden,

### **Punitive expeditions**

Although there was no military presence in “German New Guinea” that was comparable to the “Schutztruppen” in Africa, here, too, demonstrations of military power served to reinforce the German claim to power, and to discipline the population, with entire villages often coming under fire. The military operations were carried out by ships from the imperial navy, which supported the colonial administration, and by the police force, which consisted of mercenaries recruited from the surrounding islands who worked under the leadership of German police officers. (Krug 2005; Morlang 2008: 97-113). A total of 27 military actions, which were carried out here between 1893 and 1913, made it possible for those participating to receive the “Kolonial-Denkmütze,” which had been established in 1912.<sup>100</sup> In the Linden Museum’s holdings from the Bismarck Archipelago, the collections of at least three object donors – Max von Grapow, Dr. Hans Podestà, and Dr. Johannes Müller, are linked to such military actions.

Müller’s collection arrived at the museum in 1903, through the good offices of August Krämer. It contains a total of 401 objects, of which nearly 200 come from the region of the

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98 Otto Reche (1879-1966) worked at first as a lecturer at the Hamburg colonial institute, and as of 1911 he was a head of department in the ethnological museum there. He concentrated increasingly on questions of “race science” and eugenics, and lent his support to the national socialist racial ideology as early as the 1920s. In 1927 he became the head of the Ethnologisch-Anthropologischen Institut (in the national socialist era, the “Institut für Rassen- und Völkerkunde”) of the University of Leipzig (Geisenhainer 2002).

99 Linden Museum, Stuttgart, correspondence file Hefele.

100 *Deutsches Kolonialblatt* 24 (1913): 354-355.

Bismarck Archipelago. The first entry in the relevant object list reads: “6 clay idols from a temple that we plundered at Nusah (New Mecklenburg), with whose inhabitants we are at war.”<sup>101</sup>

Information regarding the question as to which military action was being discussed here is provided by Müller’s resume: Following his training as a military physician, he was a member of the navy between 1880 and 1886, he transitioned to the army after that, and in 1894 he retired from the military services once and for all. During his years as a navy physician, a punitive action was carried out by the SMS Habicht “[...] against the Tubtub tribe (Nusa New Mecklenburg)” in July 1881 (Hünemörder 1903: 187). The ship was dispatched to investigate the murder of a trader employed by the company Hernsheim & Co.; in the course of the mission, the village that harbored the man accused of the murder was destroyed (Krug 2005: 33-35).

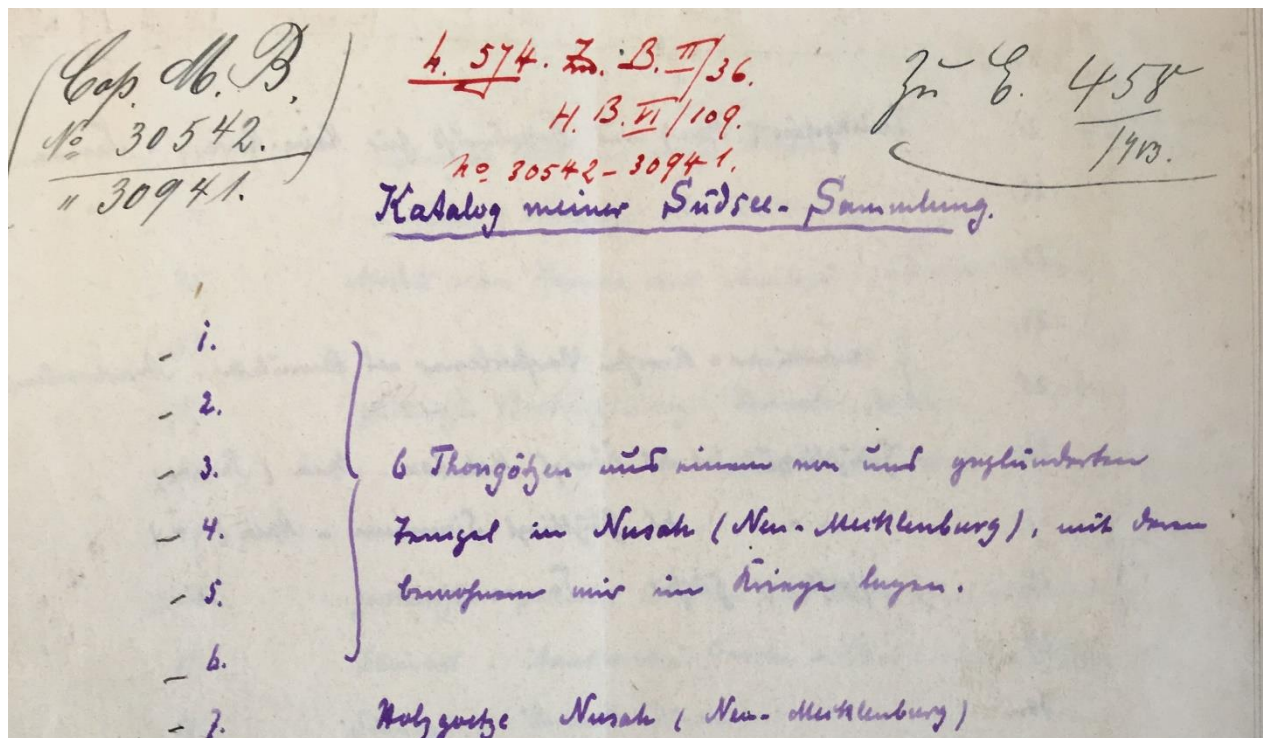


Fig. 7) Linden Museum, Stuttgart, correspondence file Krämer, object list for lot 0574, excerpt. Photograph: Gesa Grimme.

The collections of Podestà and von Grapow both contain objects that came into their respective possession in the course of the “operation against the St. Matthias Islands”<sup>102</sup> After the attack on the Mencke expedition, the SMS Cormoran, which was under the command of von

<sup>101</sup> Linden Museum, Stuttgart, object list for lot 0574 (entries 1-6), in correspondence file Krämer.

<sup>102</sup> *Deutsches Kolonialblatt* 12 (1901): 631.

Grapow, carried out a retaliatory operation together with the police force in the summer of 1901, during which, according to official records, 81 inhabitants of the islands lost their lives.<sup>103</sup> At this time, Podestà was a navy physician on the Cormoran. In his correspondence with von Linden, he describes his collection with its roughly 160 objects in all as having been in part purchased, and – with a reference to objects from St. Matthias – in part taken as spoils of war: "The fishing net no. 80 comes from the island of St. Matthias, and was taken as booty upon the occasion of our punitive expedition against the murderers of the (explorer) Mencke."<sup>104</sup> He also tells von Linden about Max von Grapow's collection, which likewise came into being in connection with this military operation.<sup>105</sup> In addition, it is clear from the correspondence that Podestà's collection included a number of skulls and bones, which von Linden sent along to the Königliche Naturalienkabinett (Royal Natural History Cabinet): "Subject to your approval, I have transferred the skull from the Herbertshöhe and the two from St. Matthias, to the latter of which the bones probably belong, to the Kgl. Naturalienkabinett, which has a marvellous collection of skulls."<sup>106</sup>

## Human remains

In the holdings from the Bismarck Archipelago, there are significantly more *human remains* than in the two other holdings surveyed within the framework of the project. The museum database lists on this point 105 entries on *human remains* and objects containing them. The objects thereby recorded include, according to the labels used by Imdas, are "skulls," "heads," „skull masks," and a "mummy of a woman."

Following an examination of the entries, it appears that the expression "head" refers in this case primarily to over-modeled skulls, of which there are 18 exemplars in the holdings. They were made on the island of New Ireland in the context of the funerary rites known as *malanggan*. With the conclusion of the ceremonies, their ritual significance likewise came to an end (Küchler 2002). In addition there are 14 objects labeled as "skull masks" in the holdings, which were likewise made for ritual purposes. The majority of these objects, which must be categorized as being of a sensitive nature, came into the possession of the museum in 1907 and 1908 through Max Thiel, the director of Hensheim & Co., and through Wilhelm Wostrack, the chief of the Namatanai administrative station on the island of New Ireland. The questions

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103 Ibid.

104 Linden Museum, Stuttgart, correspondence file Podesta, Podesta to von Linden,

105 Ibid.

106 Ibid., von Linden to Podesta on 25.01.1904.



regarding the effect that actions undertaken by the colonial administration had on the willingness of local players to sell ritual objects, and regarding the importance that the trade in these things had for them and for their increasing integration into the structures of the colonial economy will be important for follow-up projects. Buschmann refers, for example, to the unforeseen consequences of the trade in ethnographica on New Ireland – it made it possible for the population to pay the "poll tax" that was put into effect in 1907 without having to work on a plantation. The prices of the *malanggan* carvings rose by 1908 up to the range of 400 to 800 marks, whereas in 1900 the price range had been 50 to 100 marks (Buschmann 1995, 2008: 132-133).

In 1913 the museum received a collection containing 50 skulls from another station chief: Georg Zwanzger was as of 1911 the chief of the newly established administrative station on Manus, the main island of the Admiralty Islands, and he donated the skulls, which came with information on their location, and which, according to the museum database, did not exhibit any, or at most, minor modifications. In the enclosed object list, he indicates that these objects came from victims of cannibalism, and he substantiates this statement by referring to the openings at the temples, through which he said the brains had been removed.<sup>107</sup> It is not possible to determine from the object list, or from the correspondence that has been preserved, where that information came from. The navy physician Peter Besenbruch, whose tenure included, among other stations, a tour on the surveying ship SMS Planet, in 1912 likewise consigned to the museum a collection containing human remains. At least one of the eight skulls that came from the Admiralty Islands, the Kaniet Islands, and the Gazelle Peninsula was, according to this donor, removed from a gravesite. The relevant entry reads: "[...] Dug up in 1911 by the medical assistant in Rabaul."<sup>108</sup>

It appears that the interest in "human remains" did not begin to grow until after Augustin Krämer had been appointed scientific director. Of the 71 skulls overall, 65 of them were incorporated into the holdings after 1911. To what extent this holds true for other collection areas within the museum remains to be determined. While von Linden was alive, "human remains," such as skulls and bones, were transferred upon arrival to the Königliche Naturalienkabinett -- the precursor institution of the present-day State Museum of Natural History. For that reason, these objects were not recorded in the museum's own object documentation. Traces of the objects can be found, however, in von Linden's correspondence. Thus, for example, in

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107 Linden Museum, Stuttgart, correspondence file Zwanzger, object list for lot 1676.

108 Ibid., lot 1161, Imdas entry for object no. 079113.

1898 Richard Parkinson sent a collection containing about 50 skulls from the Gazelle Peninsula to Stuttgart, which von Linden sent on to the Naturalienkabinett.<sup>109</sup>

A mummy of a woman from the island of Lihir also came into the museum's possession in 1910, through Wilhelm Wostrack, who was mentioned above. In the letter accompanying the collection he describes how he heard about the mummy – according to his statement, the population on the island always took great care to hide the existence of the mummies from the colonial civil servants – and how the acquisition was effected. According to Wostrack's information, the mummy was delivered to him by a high-ranking member of the population, with whom he was acquainted. He had to promise this man that the *kânut* ... would receive its own „glass house“ in Stuttgart.<sup>110</sup> It could not be determined within the framework of the project whether the mummy is still being stored at the Linden Museum. Portions of the lot to which it belonged were passed on in the 1930s to the ethnographic museum in Berlin.<sup>111</sup>

In order to conduct a further analysis of the holdings of "human remains" described here, it will be necessary to first determine if they are still in the museum. Before the museum became an institution supported by the city and state governments in 1973, these holdings were in part, as was the case with many other objects from the Africa and Oceania Collection in the museum, traded on the art market. More rarely, they were also sent on to anthropological institutes, as for example with a skull (inv. no. 107955) from the Zwanzger collection, which was given between 1930 and 1932 to the Institute for Anthropology at the University of Tübingen.<sup>112</sup> In this regard, consideration should be given to the question as to how information on skulls and bones that have been transferred to other institutions or given away should be handled, and what ethical obligations arise thereby.

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109 Ibid., correspondence file Parkinson, Parkinson to von Linden, 02.07.1898 and 25.08.1898.

110 Ibid., correspondence file Wostrack, Wostrack to von Linden, 03.1910.

111 Ibid., Inventarbuch XI: 238.

112 Ibid., lot 1676, Imdas entry for object no. 107955.

## Notes on results and methodology

The approach to provenance research that was tested here serves as an *initial check*, through which it is possible to work out connections between the genesis of the collection and colonial structures. The acquisition contexts of the collections were approximated by way of the biographies of the object donors. Focusing on the question as to what role they played in the occupation and administration of the colonies made it possible to locate these individuals within the colonial situation, and to find initial information on encounters with the previous owners of the objects. The resulting structuring of the holdings, according to the time periods within which objects were received, and the fields of activities of the participants, at the same time allows for a new categorization of the objects from a colonial historical viewpoint. With a relatively minimal effort, thus, a first overview was gained with respect to the colonial backgrounds of the holdings surveyed, through which collections, groups of objects, participants and issues that urgently require further research can be identified.

In the process, the categorization of the object donors and their collections proved to be not always easy. This categorization was carried out primarily for the purpose of developing collection profiles, and it allowed for the informative visualization that they provide. At the same time, the categories had to reliably ensure clarity in the structuring process, and be suitable for use with different regional holdings. Changes in the personal and professional lives of donors, and categories that overlap each other -- as with the Augustin Krämer, an explorer and a member of the navy -- cannot be represented at the present time. Further research will require a needs-oriented differentiation of the categories that is adapted to the respective question being examined.

## DOCUMENTATION, SCOPE, AND EVALUATION – COMPLICATING FACTORS?

The proposal for the project „Discomforting Heritage“ identified three aspects that present a hindrance to systematic provenance research on objects with a colonial context: incomplete documentation on objects and collections in museums, the scale of holdings containing ethnographic collections, and – on a subordinate level -- questions regarding the moral-ethical evaluation of acquisition contexts.

Apprehensions concerning the preservation of source material proved to be justified only insofar as it was only rarely possible to establish the provenance of individual objects on the basis of the available material – the notes from Buttlar-Brandenfels with precise dates for the

seizure of the objects in his collection remain an exception. Extensive documentation for the purpose of a colonial-historical contextualization of the object donors and their collections was found in the museum's archives, in contemporary publications, and in the research literature. Although an in-depth study of the correspondence with object donors was not attempted, due to the size of the holdings to be surveyed, it was possible in an initial review of the exchanges of letters and collection lists to gather a number of biographical details concerning the location of the donors in a colonial-historical context, as well as initial information on the contexts surrounding the acquisition of objects. Even in cases in which there was no correspondence, but rather only rudimentary information, such as name, place of residence, and occupation, it was possible to locate further information. Thus in the case of Johannes Müller, a bibliographic reference led to an entry in the register of the Kaiser-Wilhelms-Akademie for the training of military physicians, which, through the biographical details listed, ultimately made it possible for the "plundering of the temple" mentioned by him to be linked to the attack by the SMS Habicht in 1881 against Nusa, on New Ireland. The fact that there is enough material for a multilayered contextualization of object donors and collections has been demonstrated by Buschmann in his study on ethnographic object holdings from "German New Guinea" (Buschmann 2008). With regard to the acquisition records available in museums, and the contemporary literature, he wrote in 2016: "To delineate and display the entangled histories of the many objects from the Pacific in German museums, one is best advised to mine the wealth of information available." (Buschmann 2016: 38)

In view of the scale of the ethnographic holdings in the museum, the actor-centered approach that was selected for the project proved its worth; using this approach, it was possible to survey even large-scale object contexts, as with the Cameroon holdings with their roughly 16,500 objects, in a relatively short time. Rather than focusing on a contextualization of individual objects, the survey concentrated on the 169 object donors involved, through which process in many cases it was possible to achieve an initial approximation of the acquisition situation. In fact, the magnitude of the holdings overall that were selected for study, with about 25,300 objects, 640 lots, and 314 object donors, proved to be an asset: It is indeed true that it was possible only on a limited basis to conduct in-depth research on individual aspects, given the short duration of the project at 18 months, and the goal of at first generating an

overview of the collection. However, the inclusion of holdings from different regions made it possible to discover personal ties and patterns of communication that in turn made it possible to reconstruct von Linden's network and its manner of functioning, and thus to point out other cross-cutting issues. In the end, despite the volume of work, a great deal of information on object donors emerged from the research that illustrates, using the example of the Linden Museum, the structural interconnection between the growth of ethnological museums and German colonial history.

In the search for an answer to the wider question regarding the evaluation of the acquisition circumstances of objects associated with a colonial context, research on the provenance of those objects provides an important foundation. It is thereby not just a matter of identifying explicit violent contexts, and surveying the collection holdings with a view toward the legality or illegality of their acquisition. Rather, the research reveals the spectrum of colonial violence with which the objects are tinged. Not only their acquisition, but also the transportation of the objects and their use later on in museums should be understood as an expression of colonial power relationships. In this context, provenance research can only provide for the "pacification of the holdings"<sup>113</sup> – as described in the project proposal – insofar as it makes explicit the interconnectedness of ethnographic collections and European colonialism, and thus facilitates an examination thereof.

By providing an initial colonial-historical overview of the collection holdings, and, in association with it, an ascertainment of the need for further research, the approach tested here makes it possible for museums to develop a systematic and proactive approach to objects and collections associated with a colonial context. This encompasses the designation of holdings that are to be studied jointly with partners from their regions of origin, and also the identification of holdings that appear to require an exploration of the possibilities for restitu-

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113 Linden Museum, Stuttgart, proposal "Schwieriges Erbe: Zum museologischen und wissenschaftlichen Umgang mit kolonialzeitlichen Objekten in ethnologischen Museen" ("Difficult Heritage: On the museological and scholarly approach to colonial-era objects in ethnological museums.") October 2015, p. 5.

tion – for example, by conducting research with regard to suitable contact persons and possible heirs. One example in this regard is the Buttler-Brandenfels collection in the Namibia holdings.

## Conclusion

Between October 2016 and March 2018, the history of the genesis of three regional holdings was examined, and the results of this analysis clearly demonstrate the need for the systematic continuation and expansion of provenance research on objects that are associated with a colonial context, and are held in ethnological museums. The collection profiles that were drawn up show that the development of the holdings was conditional upon the structures of German colonial rule in Africa and Oceania: About 92 percent of the roughly 25,300 objects surveyed were incorporated into the museum's holdings before the German colonies were surrendered in 1920. In addition, all three partial holdings substantiate the tremendously important role that the military, members of the colonial administration, and participants in the colonial economy had in their creation.

It became clear that the differences in the way the colonial occupation proceeded in the various areas could be retraced in the structures of the museum holdings that were surveyed: Thus the development of the Cameroon holdings reflects the expansion of the German area of influence through the successive military occupation of the Cameroonian interior. The comparatively large number of collections received for the Namibia holdings throughout the period from 1920 to 1950 points to the character of "German South-West Africa" as a settlement colony. At the same time, at least one collection from this area is directly linked to the colonial war against the Herero and Nama. The structure of the Bismarck Archipelago holdings demonstrates both the greater importance of research expeditions for the colonial occupation of this region, and also, the lack of a permanent military presence there.

For the person in charge – Karl von Linden – it would hardly have been possible, in the absence of the relevant conditions, to put together such extensive collection holdings within the space of two decades. If the German colonial empire had not been established at the end of the 19th century, and the construction and expansion of the colonial administrative and

economic structures had not taken place, if there had not been individuals on the ground to make those structures work, and in the absence of the social and political interest in ethnology in that era, it would not have been possible for von Linden to realize his vision. He actively made use of colonial structures and the interest in colonial expansion in order to establish an ethnographic museum in Stuttgart and build up the collection that belonged to it, from which in 1911 the Linden Museum that we know today emerged.

The work that was done in the course of the project "Discomforting Heritage" has provided a number of points of departure for further research activities on the colonial past of the Linden Museum, and its significance for the present day. Provenance research on objects and collections associated with a colonial context provides, in this connection, above all a reflection of the social conditions under which the things that are found in ethnological museums today arrived in Europe, and its purpose is not merely to clarify the circumstances of acquisition. Insofar as this research examines the linkages between colonized and colonizing societies, and between the colonial and the globalized present, it makes it possible to question past and present practices at museums, and the principles upon which these are based. Thus, museums have the opportunity to undertake a comprehensive critical evaluation of their own colonial entanglements and the continuing impact thereof -- for example in the continuing emphasis on the dichotomy of *familiar/foreign* -- and to address these in exhibitions and publications. In this way, (post)colonial provenance research of this kind can make an important contribution toward the reorientation of ethnological museums, and the renegotiation of their social significance.

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Zimmerman, Andrew: Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany. Chicago [et al.]: University of Chicago Press, 2001.

Zurstrassen, Bettina: Die Steuerung und Kontrolle der kolonialen Verwaltung und ihrer Beamten am Beispiel des „Schutzgebietes“ Togo (1884-1914). München: Universität der Bundeswehr München, 2005: <https://athene-forschung.rz.unibw-muenchen.de/doc/85365/85365.pdf> (15.07.2018).

## Addendum

The addendum contains, in addition to the complete collection profiles for the three partial holdings that were surveyed, biographical notes on the object donors mentioned, contemporary overview maps of the colonial areas that were dealt with, as well as lists of supplementary literature on the colonial history of the individual regions.

(**Translator's note:** Here, as in the rest of the report, in order to avoid confusion between dates in the German original and the English translation, dates appear in German/British style – DD.MM.YYYY. Thus, Sept. 10, 1900 would be written as 10.9.1900.)

## MATERIAL ON NAMIBIA

### Comprehensive collection profiles

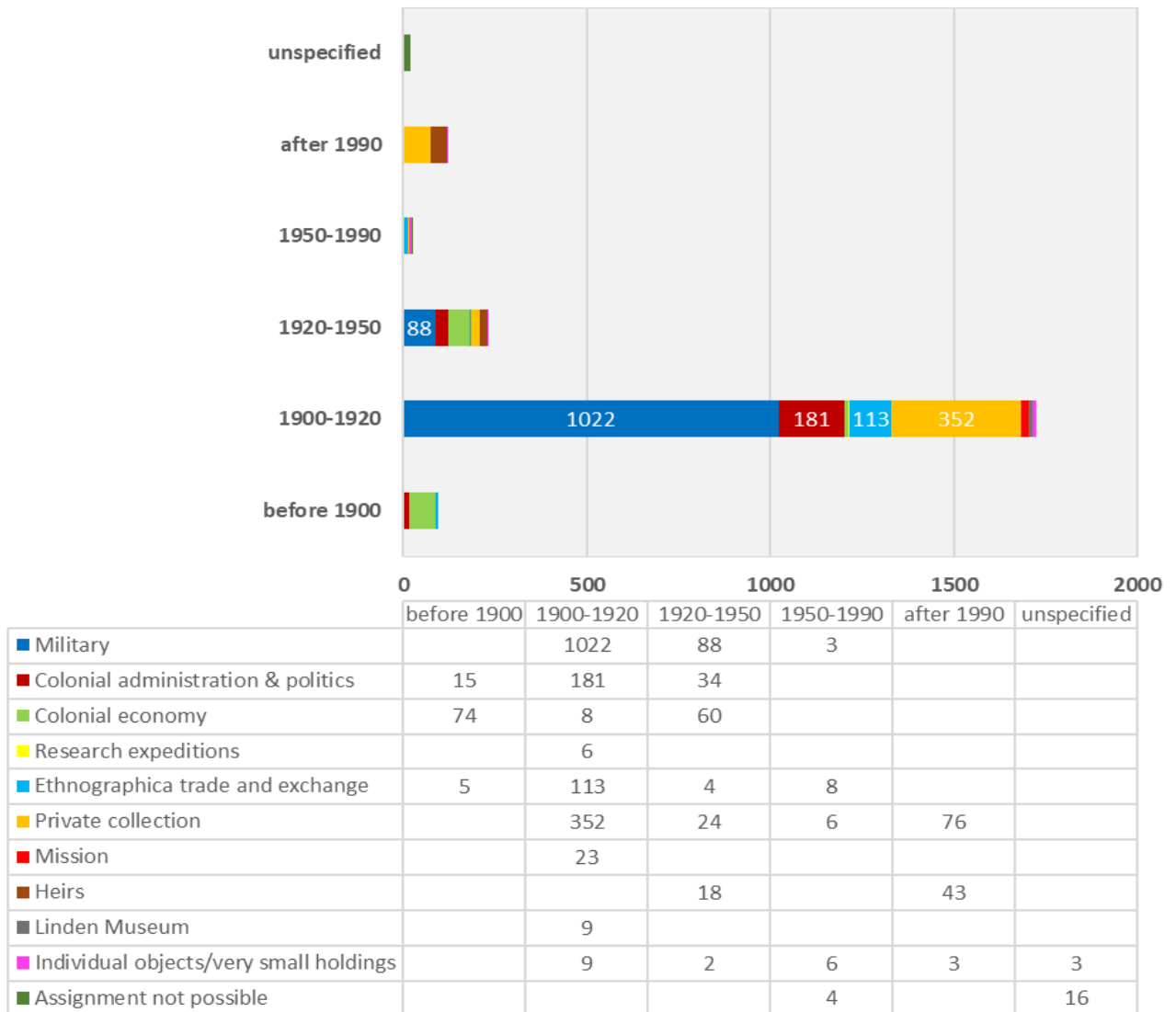
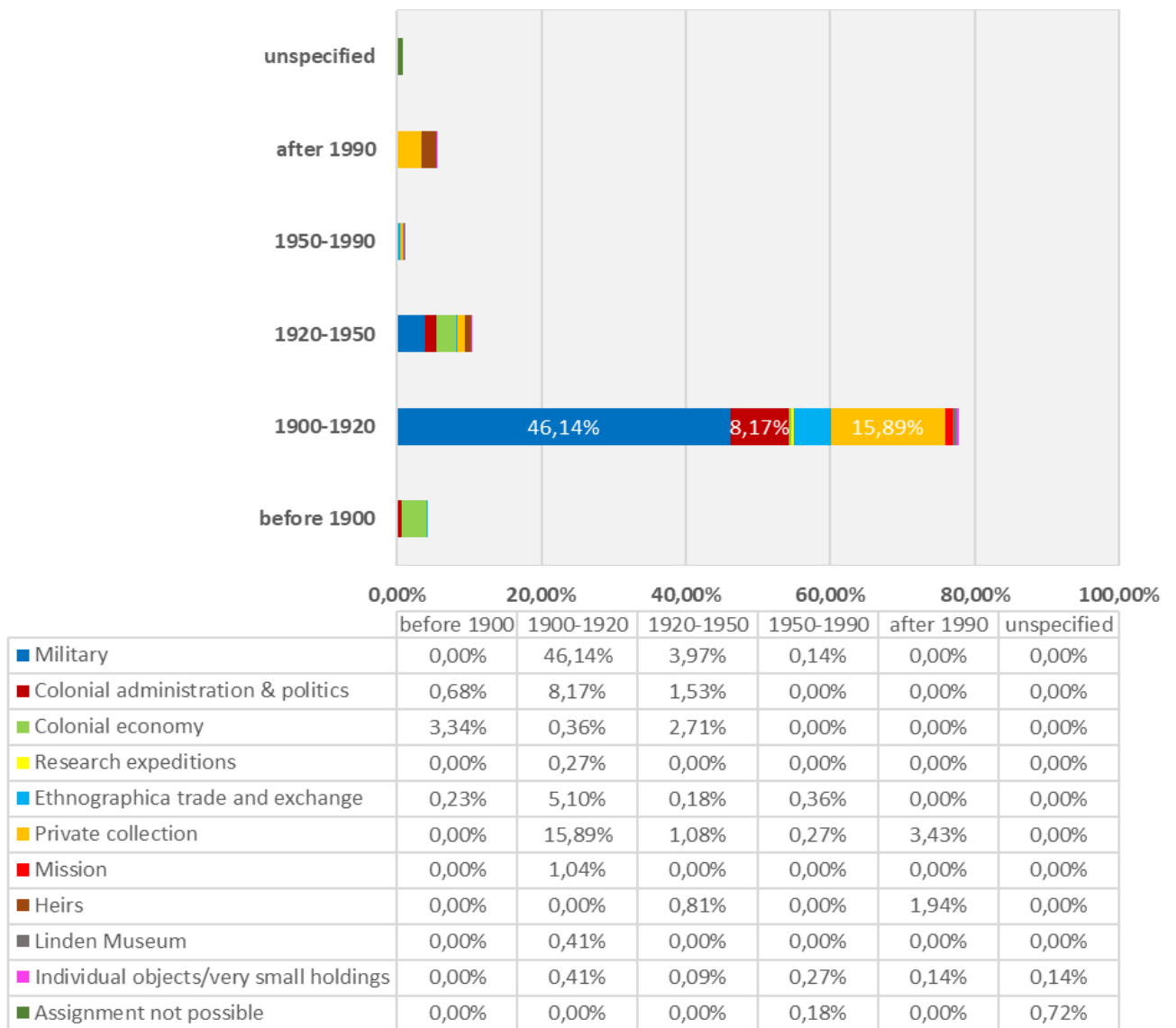


Fig. I. Comprehensive collection profile "Object holdings from Namibia" (in absolute terms) in the Linden Museum, Stuttgart (as of 30.03.18). Graph: Gesa Grimme.





**Fig. II.** Comprehensive collection profile "Object holdings from Namibia" (percentagewise) in the Linden Museum, Stuttgart, (as of 30.03.18). Graph: Gesa Grimme.

## Biographical information on object donors (selection)

### **Bang, Ferdinand** (Administrative Director of the Hoffa'schen Kliniken, Berlin)

Private collection

1900-1920

227 objects

unknown

Administrative Director of the Hoffa'schen Kliniken in Berlin; takes part in 1911 in the opening ceremonies for the Linden Museum.

No information

**Correspondence:** 1907-1908

### **Berger, Otto**

Colonial administration

1920-1950

19 objects

unknown

Possibly head of a police station in "German South-West Africa" (cf. "Berger, Otto, Polizeiwachtermeister" (1908-1914) in the German Federal Archives (BArch Berlin R 1002/2838); died about 1940.

No information

**Correspondence:** 1940-1942 (located with collection list)

**Bülow, Franz Josef, Baron von (Lieutenant)**

**Colonial administration**

**before 1900**

**15 objects**

b. 11.09.1861, Frankfurt am Main / d. 18.10.1915, Dresden

related to Karl von Linden through his mother, Paula; named a first lieutenant in 1890, discharge from the military and appointment to the diplomatic service also in 1890; departs for "German South-West Africa"; responsible for the development of the German colonial administration; close ties to the "Schutztruppe" and to the South West Africa Company; goes blind after a hunting accident in 1893 and consequently returns to Germany; marries Countess Konstanze Beust, née von Goldacker, in 1898; separation after one year; moves in 1900 to Venice, where homosexuality is legal (in contrast to the German Empire); after the beginning of the First World War returns to Germany; together with Magnus Hirschfeld and others he is a founder of the Wissenschaftlich-Humanitäre Komitee (the Scientific Humanitarian Committee, an organization advocating for the rights of homosexuals).

**References:**

- Hergemöller, Bernd-Ulrich: Mann für Mann: Biographisches Lexikon zur Geschichte von Freundschaft und mann-männlicher Sexualität im deutschen Sprachraum. Hamburg: MännerschwarmSkript-Verlag, 1998: 161–162.
- Herzer, Manfred: Magnus Hirschfeld und seine Zeit. Berlin [u. a.]: De Gruyter, 2017.
- Tabel, Werner: Erlebnisschilderungen von Soldaten und Siedlern aus der Kolonial- und Mandatszeit Südwestafrikas. In: Afrikanischer Heimatkalender 1976: 85–120.

**Correspondence:** 1891-1892.

**Buttlar-Brandenfels, Freiherr von (First name unknown) (First lieutenant)**

**Military**

**1900-1920**

**17 objects**

unknown

from 1900-1901 adjutant to the general staff of the "Ostasiatischen Expeditionscorps" (East Asian Expedition Corps); member of the "Marine-Expeditionscorps" (Navy Expedition Corps); as adjutant to Commander Ludwig von Erstorff, he takes part in the war against the Nama and Herero; later stationed in Dresden; in 1907 he receives a Württemberg Medal of Commendation.

#### References:

- Leutner, Mechthild und Klaus Mühlhahn (Hg.): „Musterkolonie Kiautschou": Die Expansion des Deutschen Reiches in China. Deutsch-chinesische Beziehungen 1897 bis 1914. Eine Quellensammlung. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1997.
- Preußen/Großer Generalstab: Die Kämpfe der deutschen Truppen in Südwestafrika. Auf Grund amtlichen Materials bearb. von der Kriegsgeschichtlichen Abteilung I des Großen Generalstabes. 2 Bände. Berlin: Mittler, 1906–1908.
- O. V.: Die Tätigkeit des Landungskorps S.M.S. „Habicht" während des Herero-Aufstandes in Süd-West-Afrika. Januar/Februar 1904. Berlin: Mittler, 1905.

**Correspondence:** 1907-1907.

#### Ebeling, Ruth

**Heirs**

**after 1900**

**22 objects**

unknown

Collection probably inherited; the collector was Fritz Katerbe of Erfurt, who was a tax administrator in "German South-West Africa" before the First World War.

no information

**Correspondence:** none found at LiMu

#### Henning, Dr. Otto (Veterinarian)

**Colonial administration**

**1920-1950**

**13 objects**

b. 21.11.1865 / d. 10.11.33, Grootfontein

studies veterinary medicine in Stuttgart; in 1892 he went to South Africa (Capetown) and in 1907 he became the head of the office of agriculture in "German South-West Africa"; after the First World War he worked as an official veterinarian; according to the Zuwachsbuch (book of entries) VI (p. 24), he was a veterinarian and farmer; probable sojourn in Stuttgart about 1932: address listing in Zuwachsbuch VI: "Gänseheidestr. 19, Stuttgart, [home of] Albert Mädler, manufacturer".

**References:**

- Miescher, Giorgio: Die rote Linie: Die Geschichte der Veterinär- und Siedlungsgrenze in Namibia (1890er- bis 1960er-Jahre). Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien, 2013.
- O. V.: Obituary: Otto Henning. In: Journal of the South African Veterinary Medical Association, 5 (1934): 69-71.

**Correspondence:** none found at LiMu

**Hoeft, Anita**

**Heirs**

**after 1920**

**20 objects**

Unknown

collection inherited from her grandfather, who was in "German South-West Africa" from 1904 to 1910.

**References:**

- Forkl, Hermann: Von Kapstadt bis Windhuk: „Hottentotten" oder Khoekhoen? Die Rehabilitierung einer Völkergruppe. Stuttgart: Linden-Museum, 2007: 55.

**Correspondence:** none found at LiMu

**Hoffa, Prof. Dr. Albert (Orthopedist)**

**Private collection**

**1900-1920**

**116 objects**

b. 31.03.1859, Richmond, South Africa / d. 31.12.1907, Cologne

medical studies in Marburg; receives his doctorate in 1883 in Freiburg, afterwards postdoctoral qualification and establishment of clinic in Würzburg; in 1902 non-tenured professor at the Friedrich-Wilhelms University in Berlin and director of the university's polyclinic for orthopedic surgery; the collection contains about 340 objects in all, in particular from southern Africa (including also four objects from Benin); he receives a Württemberg Medal of Commendation in 1905.

**References:**

- Michler, Markwart: Hoffa, Albert. In: Neue Deutsche Biographie (NDB). Band 9. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1972: 387–388.
- Paul, Uwehorst: 150 Jahre Berliner Orthopädie. Der Weg der Berliner Orthopädie und die gesellschaftliche Bedingtheit ihres Wandels. In: Uwehorst Paul: 150 Jahre Berliner Orthopädie. Berlin: Humboldt-Universität, 1985: 9–97.

**Correspondence:** 1904-1905 (in correspondence file Lübbert)

### Hummel, Dr. Paul (medical officer)

**Military**

**1920-1950**

**86 objects**

b. 01.12.1869, Warth ( Württemberg) / unknown

son of minister Gottfried Hummel; was a student from 1887 to 1892 at the Kaiser-Wilhelms Academy for the Training of Military Physicians in Berlin; doctorate received in 1892; joined the "Protective Troops for German South-West Africa" in 1898; in Keetmanshoop in 1904; participation in the war against the Nama and Herero (awarded two medals); as a military officer primarily stationed at military hospitals; discharge from the "Schutztruppe" in 1907; lived in Berlin about 1910; moved later to Württemberg or Stuttgart (address in 1934: Filderstr. 39, Stuttgart).

#### **References:**

- Wätzold, Paul: Stammliste der Kaiser Wilhelms-Akademie für das militärärztliche Bildungswesen. Berlin: Hirschwald, 1910: 353.

**Correspondence:** possibly in the file "smaller collections"

### Kuhn, Philipp (First lieutenant, district captain)

**Military**

**1900-1920**

**341 objects**

Unknown

district chief in Otjimbingwe in 1900; trip to Kuiseb in 1900; medal awarded in 1900 or 1901, as of 1901, district captain in Karibib; journey home to Germany in August/September 1901 (with a stay in Stuttgart); marries Emmy Kuhn in June 1903 in Sablon; birth of a son on 18. June 1904; second trip home to Germany in 1906 (lecture in Freiburg on 05.10.1906, and in Stuttgart on 24.10.1906); return to Namibia in December, 1906; wife and child remain at first in Sablon, near Metz; was von Linden's contact person for the collections of Wassmansdorf and Paul Dorbritz, among others.

## References:

- Gewalt, Jan-Bart: Herero Heroes: Socio-Political History Of Herero Of Namibia, 1890-1923. Oxford: James Currey, 1999.
- Kuhn, Philipp: Südwest, wie's lacht und weint : Eindrücke und Ausblicke. Berlin: Volkstümliche Bücherei, 1914.

**Correspondence:** 1899-1907.

**Lübbert, Dr. Friedrich Anton** (senior medical officer, government physician)

**Military**

**1900-1920**

**269 objects**

Unknown

Studies in Freiburg; doctorate received in 1883; member of the Colonial Service in "German South-West Africa" from 1897 to 1902 (information from [www.freiburg-postkolonial.de](http://www.freiburg-postkolonial.de)); head physician in Windhoek; receives a Württemberg Medal of Commendation in 1903; head of department at the Hygienischen Institut Hamburg as of about 1904; trip to the Amazon region in 1907.

no information

**Correspondence:** 1902-1907



**Maag, Alfons** (farmer, veterinarian)

Colonial economy

1920-1950

59 objects

b. 02.07.1866, Ebingen / d. 26.01.1933, Ebingen

studied veterinary medicine; after receiving his degree in 1910, married his wife, Anne; emigrated to "German South-West Africa" before World War I; employed at first as a veterinarian by the colonial administration; in addition, he ran a farm near Gobabis together with his wife; discharged in 1915 after the end of German colonial rule; as of 1922 he worked for the government again as a veterinarian; consigned a collection of beetles to the State Museum for Natural History in Stuttgart; was diagnosed with cancer in 1932 and died while in Germany for treatment; Anne Maag died one year later in Gobabis.

**References:**

- Maag, Anne und Lisa Kuntze: Die schönsten afrikanischen Tiergeschichten und Gedichte. Neubearbeitung und Biographie von Lisa Kuntze. Windhoek: Kuiseb-Verlag, 1986.
- Posthumus, P.J: Past Veterinarians in South Africa, Bd. 2. Südafrika: Directorate of Animal Health, 1990. ([https://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/21238/posthumus\\_pt2.pdf?sequence=2&isAllowed=y](https://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/21238/posthumus_pt2.pdf?sequence=2&isAllowed=y))

**Correspondence:** none found at LiMu

**Pahl, Gustav** (customs inspector; finance director)

Colonial administration

1900-1920

152 objects

unknown

born in Aalen; tax administrator in Cameroon from 1889-1893; he consigned to the museum 156 objects from Cameroon; following his activities in Cameroon, he was until 1908 a finance director in "German South-West Africa"; in 1891 he spent a long vacation in Germany, during

which he was accompanied by Rudolf Manga Bell and Tube Meetom – the two young men from Duala are to begin professional training in Aalen, Pahl's hometown; Bell later played an important role in the Duala's resistance against German colonial rule in Cameroon (in 1914 he was sentenced to death and executed for the alleged crime of high treason); Pahl died in 1934 in Berlin, and was buried in Aalen.

#### References:

- Eyoum, Jean-Pierre Félix, Stefanie Michels und Joachim Zeller: Bonamanga. Eine kosmopolitische Familiengeschichte. In: Mont Cameroun 2 (2005): 11–48.
- Stützel, Hermann: Damals in unserer kleinen Stadt. Alt-Aalener Spaziergänge. Aalen: Verlag Leben im Bild Dr. Konrad Theiss & Co., 1967: 27–29.

**Correspondence:** 1897-1909

#### Volkmann, Richard (first lieutenant)

**Military**

**1900-1920**

**192 objects**

b. 23.06.1870, Schulpforta / d. 19.02.1954 Sondershausen

in "German South-West Africa" as of 1894; takes part in the pursuit of Hendrik Witbooi, the storming of the Naukluft Mountains and subsequent battles; at the end of 1894 he was the district chief for Omaruru; in 1898 he was a first lieutenant and company commander in Keetmanshoop; from 1899 to 1904 district chief in Grootfontein. In November 1903 Volkmann leads a "punitive expedition"; beginning in 1904, he takes part in the war against the Herero and Nama, participates in the battle of the Wartberg and the expulsion of the Herero into the Omaheke Desert; in 1906 he captures Cornelius Frederik; as of 1907 director at the Lüderitzbucht-Gesellschaft in Berlin.

## References:

- Eckl, Andreas: Herrschaft, Macht und Einfluß. Koloniale Interaktionen am Kavango (Nord-Namibia) von 1891 bis 1921. Köln, Rüdiger Koppe Verlag, 2004.
- Gewalt, Jan-Bart: Herero Heroes: Socio-Political History Of Herero Of Namibia, 1890-1923. Oxford: James Currey, 1999.
- O. V.: Volkmann, Richard. In: Schnee, Heinrich (Hg.): Deutsches Kolonial-Lexikon Bd. III. Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1920: 633.
- Preußen/Großer Generalstab: Die Kämpfe der deutschen Truppen in Südwestafrika. Auf Grund amtlichen Materials bearb. von der Kriegsgeschichtlichen Abteilung I des Großen Generalstabes. 2 Bände. Berlin: Mittler, 1906–1908.

**Correspondence:** 1902-1907

## Wassmannsdorf, (first name unknown) (Foreign Service)

**Colonial administration                      1900-1920                      44 objects**

unknown

between 1895 and 1898 "provisional director of the Protective Troops and head of financial administration" in "German South-West Africa" ("Deutsches Kolonialblatt" 6 (1895): 649; ibid. 9 (1898): 296); later worked in the colonial office in Berlin; was an acquaintance of Philipp Kuhn.

no information

**Correspondence:** available (period of time unknown)

## Overview map

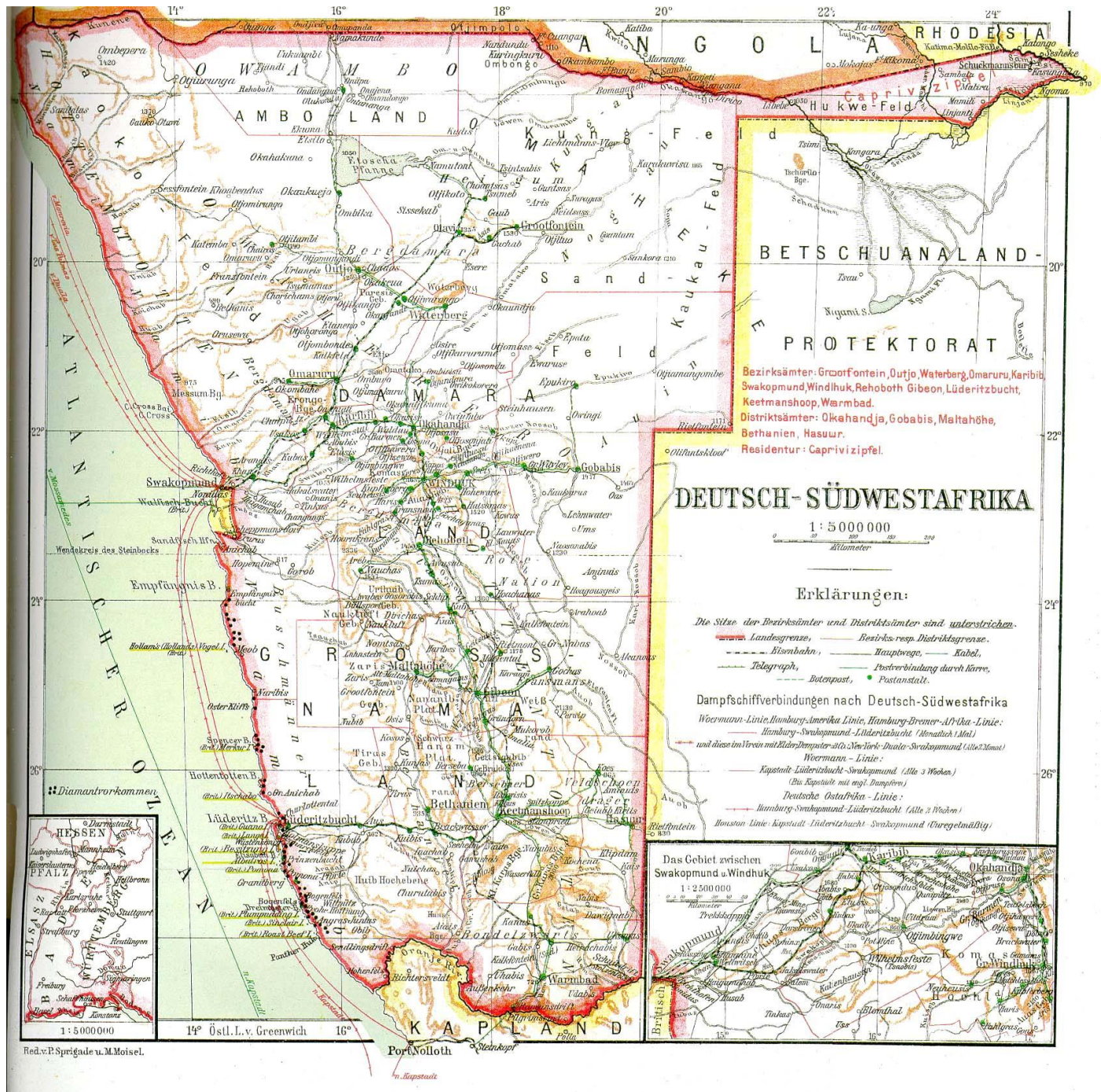


Fig. III. Overview map, "German South-West Africa", from Schnee, Heinrich (ed.): Deutsches Kolonial-Lexikon. Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1920: no page numbers.

## Supplementary Literature (Selection)

Bley, Helmut: Kolonialherrschaft und Sozialstruktur in Deutsch-Südwestafrika. 1894–1914. Hamburg: Leibniz-Verlag, 1968.

Förster, Larissa: Postkoloniale Erinnerungslandschaften - Wie Deutsche und Herero in Namibia des Kriegs von 1904 gedenken. Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2010.

Förster, Larissa, Dag Henrichsen und Michael Bollig (Hg.): Namibia - Deutschland, eine geteilte Geschichte. München: Edition Minerva, 2004. Melber, Henning und Reinhart Kößler: Völkermord - und was dann? Die Politik deutsch-namibischer Vergangenheitsbearbeitung. Frankfurt am Main: Brandes & Apsel, 2017.

Gordon, Robert: Gathering the Hunters. Buschmen in German (Colonial) Anthropology. In: Penny, H. Glenn und Matti Bunzl (Hg.): Worldly Provincialism: German Anthropology in the Age of Empire. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003.

Gordon, Robert: The Bushman Myth: the Making of a Namibian Underclass. Boulder, Colorado [u.a.]: Westview Press, 1992.

Krüger, Gesine: Kriegsbewältigung und Geschichtsbewußtsein. Realität, Deutung und Verarbeitung des deutschen Kolonialkriegs in Namibia 1904-1907, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999.

Silvester, Jeremy und Jan-Bart Gewald: Words cannot be found. German Colonial Rule in Namibia. An Annotated Reprint of the 1918 Blue Book. Boston, MA.: Brill, 2003.

Zimmerer, Jürgen (Hg.): Von Windhuk nach Auschwitz? Beiträge zum Verhältnis von Kolonialismus und Holocaust. Münster: LIT-Verlag, 2011.

Zimmerer, Jürgen: Deutsche Herrschaft über Afrikaner. Staatlicher Machtanspruch und Wirklichkeit im kolonialen Namibia. Münster: LIT-Verlag, 2001.

## MATERIAL ON CAMEROON

### Comprehensive collection profiles

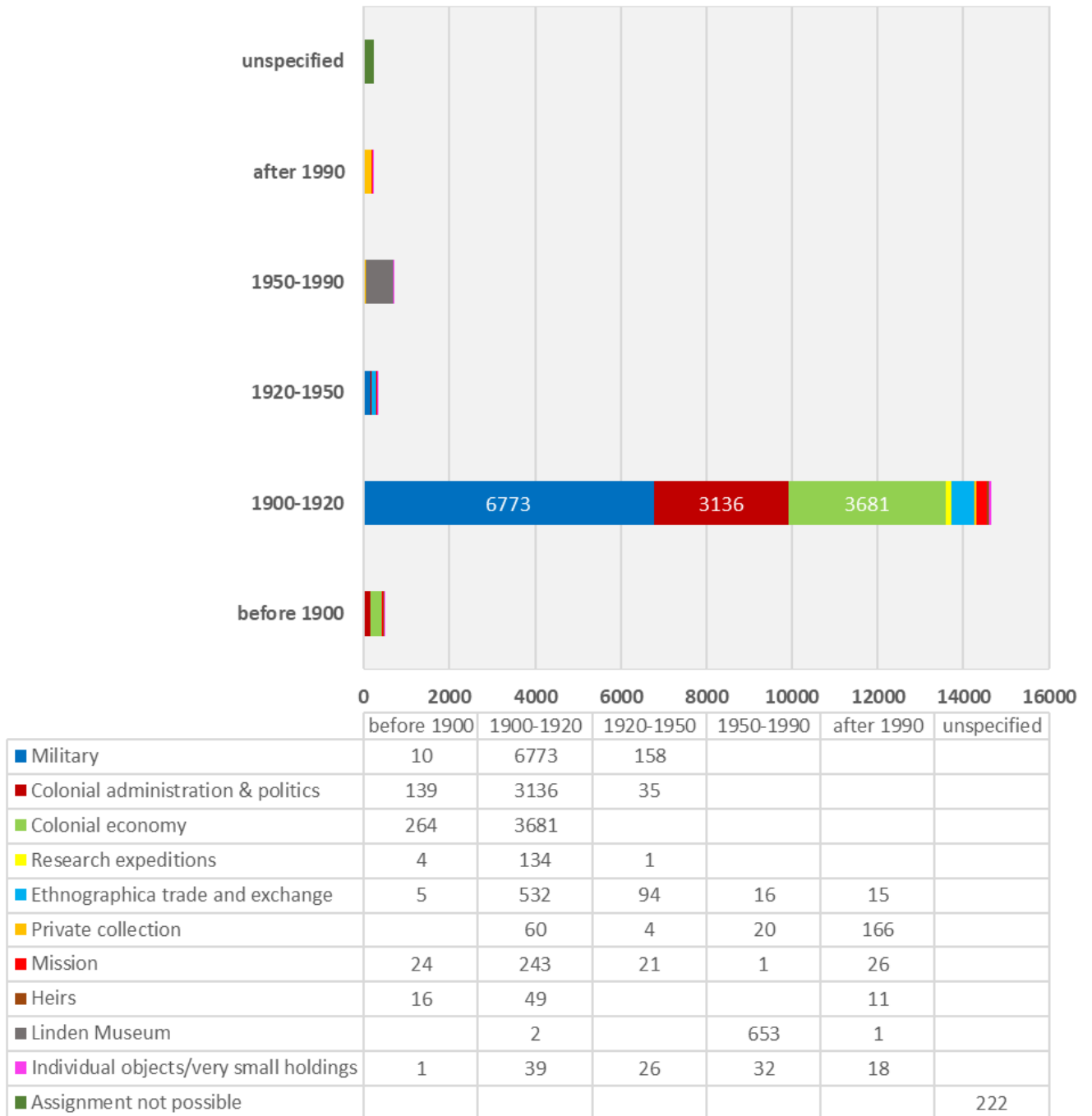
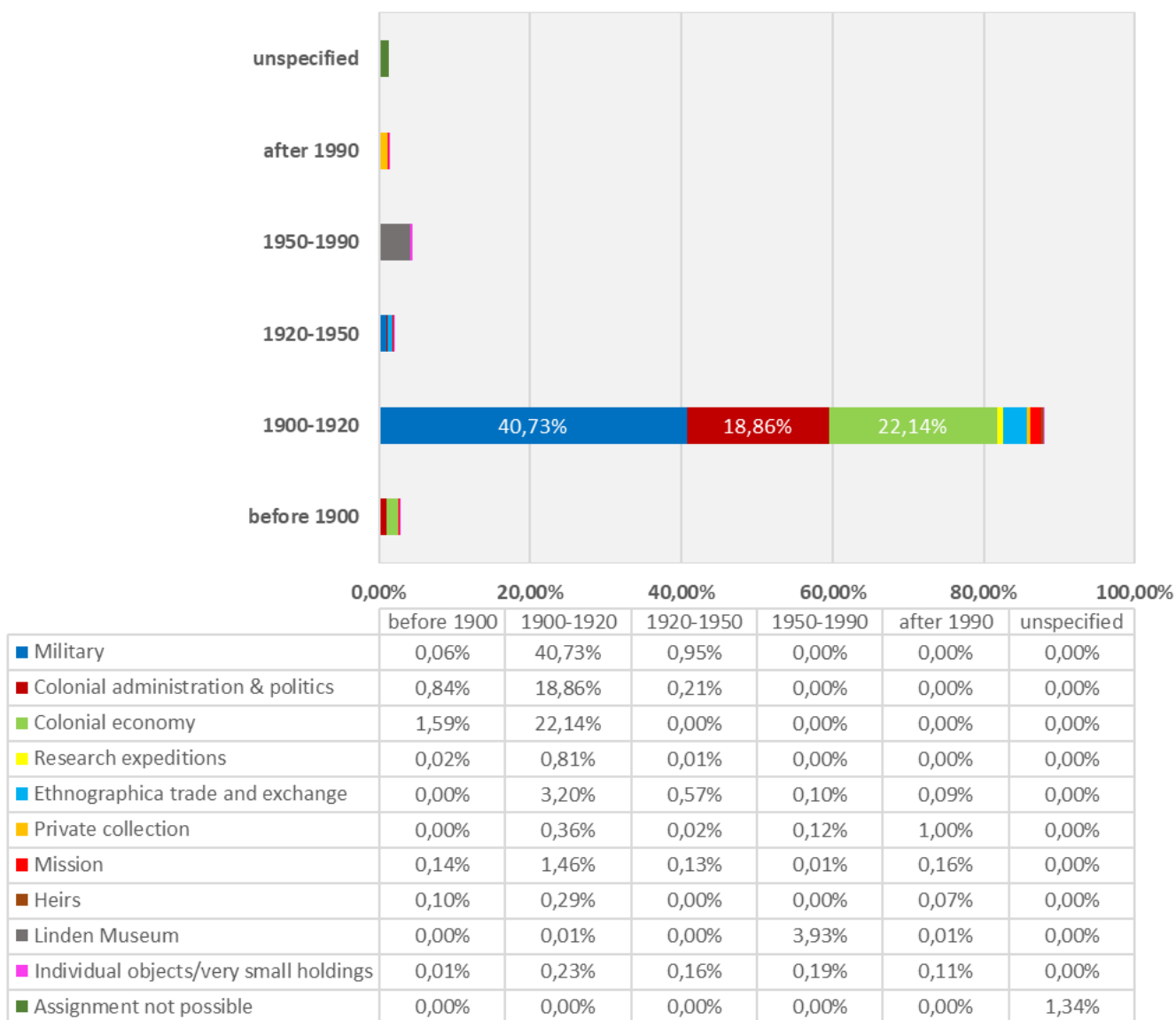


Fig. IV. Comprehensive collection profile "Object holdings from Cameroon" (in absolute terms) in the Linden Museum, Stuttgart (as of 30.03.2018). Graph: Gesa Grimme.





**Fig. V.** Comprehensive collection profile "Object holdings from Cameroon" (percentagewise) in the Linden Museum, Stuttgart (as of 30.03.2018). Graph: Gesa Grimme.

## Biographical information on object donors (selection)

### Carnap-Quernheimb, Ernst von (first lieutenant; Gesellschaft für Südkamerun)

Colonial economy                      1900-1920                      1,058 objects

b. 10.09.1863, Oppeln / d. 01.12.45, Hirschberg, Riesengebirge (Karkonosze Mountains)

trips in 1885 and 1888 along the coast of Somalia; in 1894-95 participation in the "Togo-Hinterlands-Expedition" of the "Deutsches Togo-Komitee"; participation in 1897 in an inspection tour of Jaunde by Governor von Puttkammer; station chief in Jaunde as of 31.01.1897; from 1897-98 participation in expedition to southern and eastern Cameroon; knowledge gained during these expeditions provided the basis for the granting of a concession to the Gesellschaft Südkamerun; later, commissioner for the recruitment of workers; lives after the end of the First World War in Hirschberg, Silesia, receives a Württemberg Medal of Commendation in 1902.

#### References:

- Hoffmann, Florian: Okkupation und Militärverwaltung in Kamerun. Etablierung und Institutionalisierung des kolonialen Gewaltmonopols 1891–1914. Teil II Göttingen: Cuvillier Verlag, 2007: 76–77.
- Jacob, Ernst Gerhard: Carnap-Quernheimb, Ernst. In: Neue Deutsche Biographie (NDB) Bd.3. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1957: 15.

Correspondence: 1898-1902.

### Colin, Friedrich (businessman)

Colonial economy                      before 1900                      1 object

b. 25.06.1844, Lamndau (Palatinate) / unknown



worked initially for a French company in West Africa; worked as a merchant at the beginning of the 1880s in Stuttgart; brother of the director of the Württembergische Vereinsbank, Ludwig Colin; in 1883, purchased areas in the region of the present-day Republic of Guinea (co-financed by, among others, Stuttgart resident Gustav Siegle); established the short-lived German colony of Kapitai and Koba; in December 1885 Kapitai and Koba was ceded to France in exchange for areas in Togo; Colin's business establishment continued in operation and his company existed until about 1908.

**Reference:** Deutsche Kolonialzeitung 2 (1885): 277-279.

**Correspondence:** none found at LiMu

**Diehl, Adolf** (chief representative of the Gesellschaft Nordwest-Kamerun)

<b>Colonial economy</b>	<b>1900-1920</b>	<b>2,268 objects</b>
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unknown

not identical to assessor Diehl, whose stations included among others, that of district administrator of Kribi (cf. "Beiträge zur Kolonialpolitik" 5 (1903/04): 232-236); begins donating objects to museums in 1902 (for example, to the Ethnographic Museum in Leipzig); as of about 1902, employed by the Gesellschaft Nordwest-Kamerun (GNWK) (primarily in the Cross-River region); on 05.03.1904, he gives a report to the board of management on disturbances in the Cross-River region; as of 1906, chief representative of the company in Cameroon; in 1943, "area chief of the Federal Area of Westmark of the German Federation of Pensioners" in Mainz.

**References:**

- Geary, Christraud: Things of the Palace: A Catalogue of the Bamum Palace Museum in Foumban (Cameroon). Wiesbaden: F. Steiner Verlag, 1983.

- Geary, Christraud: Images from Bamum: German Colonial Photography at the Court of King Njoya, Cameroon, West Africa, 1902–1915. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1985: 28.
- Hoffmann, Florian: Okkupation und Militärverwaltung in Kamerun. Etablierung und Institutionalisierung des kolonialen Gewaltmonopols 1891–1914. Teil I. Göttingen: Cuvillier Verlag, 2007: 183–191.
- Ballhaus, Jolanda: Die Landkonzessionsgesellschaften. In: Stoecker, Helmuth (Hg.): Kamerun unter deutscher Herrschaft. Band 2. Berlin: VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1968: 149-158.

**Correspondence:** 1906-1913

**Dorbritz, Paul** (senior civil servant, district administrator)

**Colonial administration                      1900-1920                      673 objects**

unknown

district administrator in Kribi ("Deutsches Kolonial-Handbuch," 1909: 78), retirement due to illness in 1911; according to his own statements, he spent nearly nine years in Africa as of the end of 1908 (letter of 25.10.1908); acquainted with Philipp and Emmy Kuhn; sends his first collection via his brother-in-law Withy (?), a pharmacist who lives near Metz.

**References:**

- Joeden-Forgey, Elisa von (Hg.): Mpundu Akwa: The Case of the Prince from Cameroon. The newly discovered Speech for the Defense by Dr. M. Levi. Münster: LIT Verlag, 2002: 105–132.

**Correspondence:** 1908-1911.

**Bertram, Hermann (first lieutenant)**

**Military**

**1900-1920**

**237 objects**

b. 25.06.1872, Krummennaab / d. 27.09.1914, Maricourt

entry into the „Schutztruppe für Kamerun" in 1905; from May 1905 to March 1907, as leader of the Ninth Company, takes part in the "Southern Expedition" under the leadership of Peter Scheunemann and Franz Schlosser; from the end of May through the end of July 1906 he himself is the head of the expedition; discharge from the „Schutztruppe" in 1908; military service thereafter in Bavaria; visits von Linden in the summer of 1908; in 1908 he receives a Württemberg Medal of Commendation.

**References:**

- Hoffmann, Florian: Okkupation und Militärverwaltung in Kamerun. Etablierung und Institutionalisierung des kolonialen Gewaltmonopols 1891–1914. Teil I. Göttingen: Cuvillier Verlag, 2007: 155–158.
- Hoffmann, Florian: Okkupation und Militärverwaltung in Kamerun. Etablierung und Institutionalisierung des kolonialen Gewaltmonopols 1891–1914. Teil II. Göttingen: Cuvillier Verlag, 2007: 129–130. 69.
- Scheunemann, Peter: Die Unruhen im Südbezirk von Kamerun 1904 bis 1906. In: Deutsches Kolonialblatt 18 (1907): 347-352, 391-399.

**Correspondence:** 1907-1908.

**Bludau, Dr. Franz (medical officer)**

**Military**

**1900-1920**

**33 objects**

unknown

deputy government physician in Duala as of about 1902; prior to that, sojourns in "German East Africa" and Togo; according to the "Deutschem Kolonial Handbuch" ("German Colonial

Handbook"), head of the Nachtigal hospital in Kleinpopo, Togo, in 1902; in 1902, he visits von Linden at Schloss Burgberg; in 1902 he receives a Württemberg Medal of Commendation; he suggests to von Linden that he establish contact with Hans Ziemann and Walter von Unruh.

no information

**Correspondence:** 1902-1904.

**Dominik, Hans** (first lieutenant; station chief)

<b>Military</b>	<b>1900-1920</b>	<b>777 objects</b>
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b. 07.05.1870, Kulm / d. 16.12.10 on the Eleonore Woermann

in Cameroon as of 1894; takes part in the conquest of the Abo and Kpe; from 1896 to 1898 chief of the military station at Jaunde (present-day Yaoundé); 1898/99 company commander in the "Wute Adamaua Campaign"; 1900/01 in Berlin; return to Cameroon in 1901 as special governmental representative to Adamawa, and became the supreme commander in the war against Emir Djubayru in 1901/02; in about 1902 receives a Württemberg Medal of Commendation; at the end of 1902 he is recalled from Cameroon due to accusations concerning violence associated with the discharge of his duties; at the end of 1903, he is again station chief in Jaunde; promotion to major in 1910; played a leading role in the war against Omvang and Makaa in 1910; dies while returning to Germany aboard the steamship "Eleonore Woermann" in December 1910.

**References:**

- Hoffmann, Florian: Okkupation und Militärverwaltung in Kamerun. Etablierung und Institutionalisierung des kolonialen Gewaltmonopols 1891–1914. Teil II. Göttingen: Cuvillier Verlag, 2007: 83-87.

- Midel, Monika: Fulbe und Deutsche in Adamaua (Nord-Kamerun) 1809–1916. Auswirkungen afrikanischer und kolonialer Eroberung. Frankfurt am Main [u. a.]: Lang, 1990.
- Weiss, Holger: The Race to Lake Chad or White Men's 'Sporting Tours' in West Africa, c1900-1902. In: Studia Orientalia 103 (2006): 27–38.

**Correspondence:** 1899-1905.

**Koloß, Dr. Hans-Joachim (ethnologist, Africa expert at the Linden Museum)**

**Linden Museum                      1950-1990                      653 objects**

b. 21.06.1938, Königsberg (now Kaliningrad) / d. 23.10.2013, Berlin

from 1973-1985 head of the Africa Department at the Linden Museum; beginning in the mid-1970s, a number of research expeditions to the Cameroon grasslands; from 1985 until 2001 head of the Africa Department at the Ethnological Museum in Berlin.

**References:**

- Koloß, Hans-Joachim: Interview 19.01.2009. Unter [www.germananthropology.de](http://www.germananthropology.de) (08.07.2018).

**Correspondence:** none found at LiMu

**Lessner, Paul Franz Adolf (first lieutenant)**

**Military                                      1900-1920                                      99 objects**

b. 14.08.1870, Schubin, Prussia / unknown

in Cameroon as of 1900; stationed in Nssapke; in 1901, led the Ngolo Expedition (objects are probably directly linked to it); is discharged from the "Schutztruppe" in 1902; delivers a lecture at the Württembergischer Verein für Handelsgeographie on 04.11.1903; later lived in Butzbach, and as of 1928 in Bad Nauheim.

#### References:

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- Hoffmann, Florian: Okkupation und Militärverwaltung in Kamerun. Etablierung und Institutionalisierung des kolonialen Gewaltmonopols 1891–1914. Teil II. Göttingen: Cuvillier Verlag, 2007: 129–130.

**Correspondence:** 1902-1903

#### Müller, Wilhelm (Commander of the Protective Troops for Cameroon)

<b>Military</b>	<b>1900-1920</b>	<b>16 objects</b>
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b. 07.09.1850, Friedrichsthal / d. 12.02.1921, Paderborn

in 1895 commander of the „Schutztruppe für Deutsch-Südwestafrika“; 1897/98 leads the operation against the Zwartbooi and the Topnaar-Nama; as of 1903, colonel; as of 6. April 1903 commander of the „Schutztruppe für Kamerun“; successor to Curt von Pavel; in 1904 leads the war against the Anyang; Manenguba Expedition in 1905 into the grasslands in western Cameroon; becomes acting governor in 1906 after governor Puttkammer is recalled; carries out a number of operations against the societies of the Southern District; is criticized due to his promotion of the Gesellschaft Südkamerun; in 1907, returns to Germany and retires.

## References:

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- Stoecker, Helmuth: Kamerun unter deutscher Kolonialherrschaft. 2 Bände. Berlin: Rütten & Loening [u. a.], 1960–1968.

**Correspondence:** 1904-1906.

## Puttkammer, Jesco von (first lieutenant)

**Military**                                      **1900-1920**                                      **87 objects**

b. 26.08.1876, Berlin / d. 25.03.1959, Wiesbaden

entry into the "Schutztruppe für Kamerun" in 1902; initially adjutant in the command of the "Schutztruppen"; receives transfer as a company officer to Bamenda in 1903; at the beginning of 1904, takes part in a military operation against the population in the Kongoa region, and in the war against the Anyang in the Ossidinge District; from 1905-1907, participates in the "Southern Expedition," which served as the means of conquest of the southeast of the colony; from 1908 to 1911, government adjutant in Buëa; in February 1913 assumes leadership of the Mbaiki station; chief of the newly formed district of Mittel-Sanga-Lobaje.

## References:

- Hoffmann, Florian: Okkupation und Militärverwaltung in Kamerun. Etablierung und Institutionalisierung des kolonialen Gewaltmonopols 1891–1914. Teil II. Göttingen: Cuvillier Verlag, 2007: 154–155.

- Puttkammer, Jesco von: Als Schutztruppenoffizier 12 Jahre in Kamerun. In: Mitteilungsblatt des Traditionsverbandes ehem. Schutz- und Überseetruppen 88 (2002): 44–58 (nach einem 1933 vor Soldaten der Wehrmacht gehaltenen Vortrag).

**Correspondence:** 1904-1909.

**Ramsay, Hans von** (captain; chief representative of the GNWK)

**Colonial economy                      1900-1920                      22 objects**

b. 18.05.1862, West Prussia / d. 14.01.1938, Tanga

at first in "German East Africa"; as of 1889 officer in the "Wissmanntruppe"; in 1890 station chief in Bagamoyo, as of April 1891 district administrator in Lindi; following his transfer to Cameroon in 1892, successor to Karl von Gravenreuth, head of the Cameroon Northern Expedition; as of 1893 again in eastern Africa; 1893 station chief in Kissaki, 1894 in Iringa and Ulanga, 1895 in Lindi and as of May 1896, chief of the station that he established at Ujiji, the first German base along the shore of Lake Tanganyika; in 1899 consigns to the museum objects from "German East Africa"; following his retirement in 1900 from active military duty, he works for the Gesellschaft Nordwest-Kamerun (GNWK); from 1901-1903 chief representative of the company; several expeditions for the purpose of exploring and mapping the area between Crossfluss and Adamawa; leaves the GNWK in 1902/03 due to conflicts (settlement of 28,000 marks); delivers a lecture on 02.03.1904 at the Württembergischer Verein für Handelsgeographie.

**References:**

- Geary, Christraud: Images from Bamun. German Colonial Photography at the Court of King Njoya, Cameroon, West Africa, 1902-1915. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1988.



- Hoffmann, Florian: Okkupation und Militärverwaltung in Kamerun. Etablierung und Institutionalisierung des kolonialen Gewaltmonopols 1891–1914. Teil II. Göttingen: Cuvillier Verlag, 2007: 159.
- Stoecker, Helmuth: Kamerun unter deutscher Kolonialherrschaft. 2 Bände. Berlin: Rütten & Loening [u. a.], 1960–1968.

**Correspondence:** 1902-1914.

### **Rigler, Dr. Friedrich (station chief)**

**Colonial administration      1900-1920      106 objects**

unknown

from 1898-1901 station chief in Mangu, Togo; about June, 1901 discharge from the Colonial Service in Togo due to accusations of "having destroyed files and having committed gross acts of violence against Africans" (Zurstrassen 135); due to intervention by influential relatives, there is no disciplinary hearing; as of about 1903 re-admitted into the Colonial Service, and sent to Cameroon; station chief in Jabassi (disciplinary transfers to Cameroon actually represented a promotion, due to the improved chances for advancement, see Zurstrassen); in Jabassi, too, he was accused of unsatisfactory conduct in the discharge of his duties; later, he probably lived in Hamburg: "Rigler, Dr. Friedr. Fabrikbes. Hochkamp, Bez Hambg., Friedensstr. 8. [To.]" (Entry, Koloniales Hand- und Adreßbuch 1926-1927); also consigned to the museum a collection from Togo.

### **References:**

- Zurstrassen, Bettina: Die Steuerung und Kontrolle der kolonialen Verwaltung und ihrer Beamten am Beispiel des „Schutzgebietes“ Togo (1884-1914). München: Universität Bundeswehr München, 2005: 135 & 277.

**Correspondence:** 1901-1908

### Schmidt, Oskar (first lieutenant; station chief)

**Military**                                      **1900-1920**                                      **9 objects**

b. 6.01.1872, Bruchsal / unknown

station assistant in Edea in 1896; in 1896 head of the provisional post at Mpim; returns the same year to Germany, for reasons of illness; entry into the "Protective Troops for Cameroon" in 1898 and travel again to Cameroon; in 1899 director of road-building between Victoria and Buëa; in 1901, chief of the station called Johann Albrechtshöhe; in 1903, district manager of Edea; according to correspondence, as of 1903, district manager in Anecho/Togo; in 1904, returns for good to Germany, for health reasons; subsequently tries to establish a colonial company called Großfarm- und Faktoreibetrieb Kamerun-Hochland GmbH, probably together with his brother, Alfred Schmidt; Alfred Schmidt is as of 1905 the head of a company with trading posts and plantations in the Cameroon grasslands; Schmidt planned to go back to Cameroon in March 1906 (cf. correspondence of Schmidt and W. Schneider ); he also received correspondence from von Linden regarding the Bamun throne and drum.

#### **References:**

- Hoffmann, Florian: Okkupation und Militärverwaltung in Kamerun. Etablierung und Institutionalisierung des kolonialen Gewaltmonopols 1891–1914. Teil II. Göttingen: Cuvillier Verlag, 2007: 172.

**Correspondence:** 1898-1905.

### Schneider, W. (employee of a trading company)

**Colonial economy**                                      **1900-1920**                                      **9 objects**

unknown

as of 1906, an employee of Alfred (and Oskar) Schmidt; among other activities, he runs a trading post in Jabassi, probably the Großfarm- und Faktoreibetrieb Kamerun-Hochland; works intermittently in Bahananje (?).

**References:**

- Hoffmann, Florian: Okkupation und Militärverwaltung in Kamerun. Etablierung und Institutionalisierung des kolonialen Gewaltmonopols 1891–1914. Teil II. Göttingen: Cuvillier Verlag, 2007: 172.

**Correspondence:** 1907-1907.

**Schipper, Adolf (first lieutenant)**

<b>Military</b>	<b>1900-1920</b>	<b>1,058 objects</b>
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b. 12.11.1873, Bremerhaven / d. 04.11.1915, Banyo

entry into the "Schutztruppe für Kamerun" in 1902; at first in northern Cameroon (Kusseri, and in 1905 chief of post in Binder); receives a Württemberg Medal of Commendation in 1905; later station chief of Dume, and plays an important role in the incorporation of the district into the colonial administration; due to "insolent and offensive criticism" of the captains who were his superiors, Dominik and Marschner in connection with the war against the Omvang and the northern Makaa, he was briefly suspended from duty; in 1912 he transferred to the civil administration; his last posting was as district chief for Ossidinge.

**References:**

- Hoffmann, Florian: Okkupation und Militärverwaltung in Kamerun. Etablierung und Institutionalisierung des kolonialen Gewaltmonopols 1891–1914. Teil II. Göttingen: Cuvillier Verlag, 2007: 169–170.

**Correspondence:** 1904-1912.

**Stein zu Lausnitz, Baron Ludwig von (first lieutenant; captain)**

**Military**                                      **1900-1920**                                      **1,217 objects**

b. 03.03.1868, Darmstadt / d. 07.10.1934, Hamburger

one of the first German officers in Cameroon; from 1895 to 1898 takes part in a number of military expeditions against the societies in the southwest of the colony (Bakoko, Bane, Bulu); in 1897/98 temporarily chief of the district of Lolodorf; as of September 1899 chief of the Sanga-Ngoko District in southeastern Cameroon; undertook many exploratory expeditions throughout the area of the district; in April 1901 establishes the post at Jukaduma (present-day Yokadouma); after the violent conquest of the Kunabembe people living there (1903), he returns to the coast, thereby opening up the land connection between the coast and the Sanga-Ngoko area; in May 1905 he participates in the repression of the Makaa, and establishes the post at Abongmbang in their area of settlement; in 1907 he receives a Württemberg Medal of Commendation; from 1907 to 1909, he worked in the region between Eda, Jaunde, and Jabassi; after being discharged from the military in 1910, he moves to his plantation at Atok; remains in Cameroon until February 1916.

**References:**

- Hoffmann, Florian: Okkupation und Militärverwaltung in Kamerun. Etablierung und Institutionalisierung des kolonialen Gewaltmonopols 1891–1914. Teil I. Göttingen: Cuvillier Verlag, 2007
- Hoffmann, Florian: Okkupation und Militärverwaltung in Kamerun. Etablierung und Institutionalisierung des kolonialen Gewaltmonopols 1891–1914. Teil II. Göttingen: Cuvillier Verlag, 2007: 180-182.
- Stoecker, Helmuth: Kamerun unter deutscher Kolonialherrschaft. 2 Bände. Berlin: Rütten & Loening [u. a.], 1960–1968.

**Correspondence:** 1899-1909

### Walther, Konrad (missionary)

b. 6.03.1865, Erbach, Odenwald / unknown

**Mission**                                      **1900-1920**                                      **13 objects**

Member of the Basler Mission as of 1887; as of 1891 spends 3-1/2 years in Cameroon; works for the Leipziger Missionswerk beginning in 1895; as of 1897 he is in "German East Africa"; due to conflicts, he leaves the Missionswerk in 1898.

#### **References:**

- O. V.: Biografie Walther, Konrad.  
Unter: <https://www.lmw-mission.de/missionar-284.html> (08.07.2018).

**Correspondence:** 1900-1900

### Ziemann, Dr. Hans (navy medical officer; government physician)

**Colonial administration**                      **1900-1920**                                      **26 objects**

b. 5.07.1865, Berlin / d. 03.12.39, Berlin

in 1897 navy medical officer; "Tropical doctor"; as an assistant physician on the SMS Hyäne; in 1899 deputy of Albert Plehn in Duala; becomes head of the medical service in the government of Cameroon; in 1903, medical expert for the colony; in 1905 he receives a Württemberg Medal of Commendation; in 1908 he transfers to the „Schutztruppe für Kamerun" as a senior medical officer, and becomes the head of civil and military medical service in Cameroon; argues for the dispossession and displacement of the Duala so as to create separate living areas for Europeans and Africans; wrote a detailed report on this subject in 1910.

#### **References:**

- Eckert, Andreas: Grundbesitz, Landkonflikte und kolonialer Wandel: Douala 1880 bis 1960. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1999.

- Hoffmann, Florian: Okkupation und Militärverwaltung in Kamerun. Etablierung und Institutionalisierung des kolonialen Gewaltmonopols 1891–1914. Teil II. Göttingen: Cuvillier Verlag, 2007: 248-250.
- O. V.: Ziemann, Hans. In: Schnee, Heinrich (Hg.): Deutsches Kolonial-Lexikon Bd. III. Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1920: 748.

**Correspondence:** 1903-1905.

## Overview map

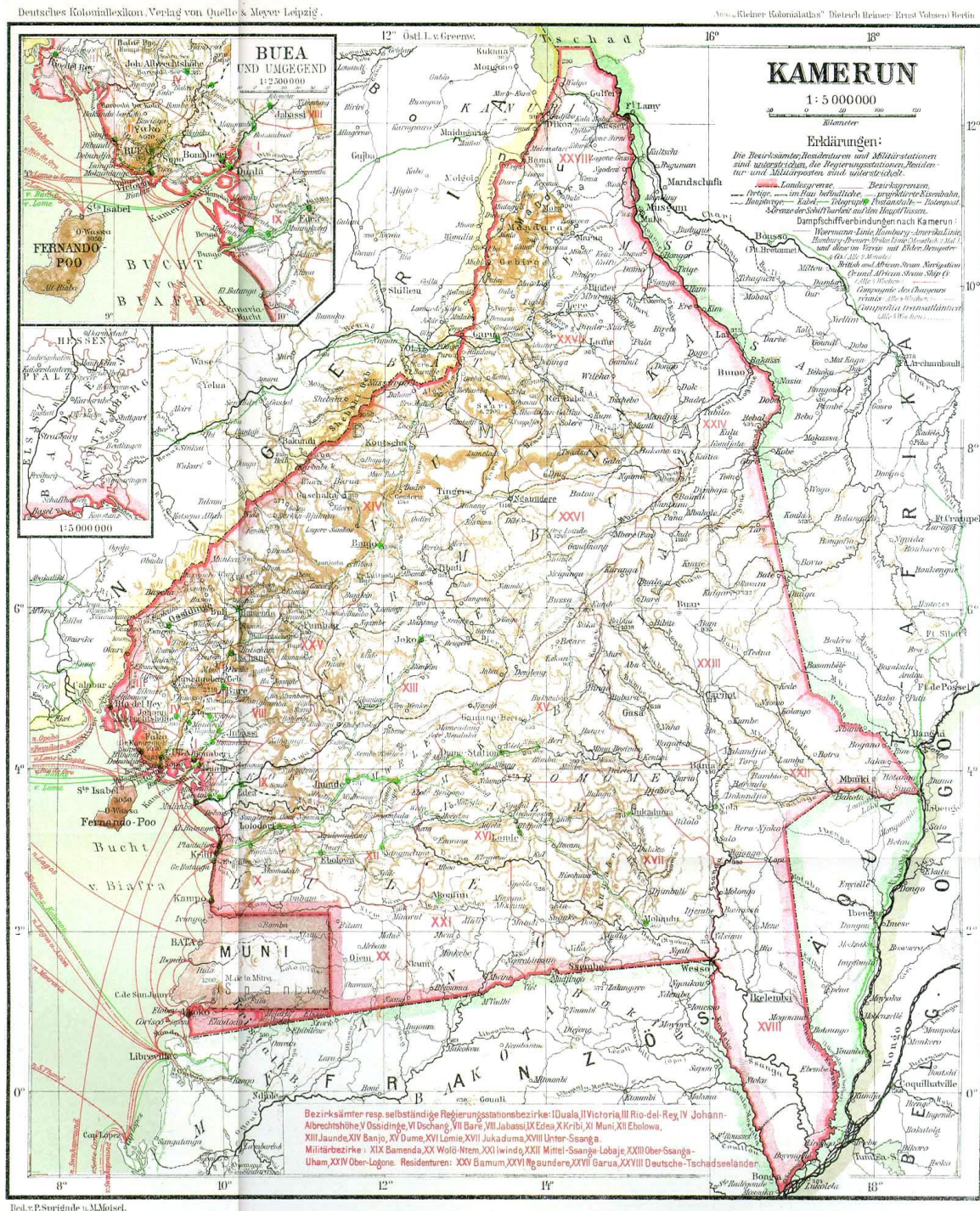


Fig. III. Overview map "Cameroon" from Schnee, Heinrich (ed.): Deutsches Kolonial-Lexikon. Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1920: no page numbers.



## Supplementary Literature (Selection)

Bauche, Manuela: Medizin und Herrschaft. Malariabekämpfung in Kamerun, Ostafrika und Ostfriesland 1890–1919. Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2017

Djomo, Esaïe: Vom Träger zum Getragenen: Das Trägerwesen im (vor-)kolonialen und postkolonialen Afrika am Beispiel Kamerun. In: Malzner, Sonja und Anne D. Peiter (Hg.): Der Träger. Zu einer »tragenden« Figur der Kolonialgeschichte. Bielefeld: transcript, 2018.

Geary, Christraud: Bamum. Milan: Five Continents Editions, 2011. Kum'a N'dumbe III., Alexandre: Das Deutsche Kaiserreich in Kamerun. Wie Deutschland in Kamerun seine Kolonialmacht aufbauen konnte, 1840–1910. Berlin: Exchange & Dialogue, 2008.

Michels, Stefanie: Imagined Power Contested: Germans and Africans in the Upper Cross River Area of Cameroon, 1887-1916. Münster: LIT-Verlag, 2004.

Michels, Stefanie und Albert-Pascal Temgoa: La politique de la mémoire coloniale en Allemagne et au Cameroun/The politics of colonial memory in Germany and Cameroon. Münster: LIT-Verlag, 2005

Rohde, Eckart: Grundbesitz und Landkonflikte in Kamerun : der Bedeutungswandel von Land in der Bamiléké-Region während der europäischen Kolonisation. Hamburg: LIT-Verlag, 1997.

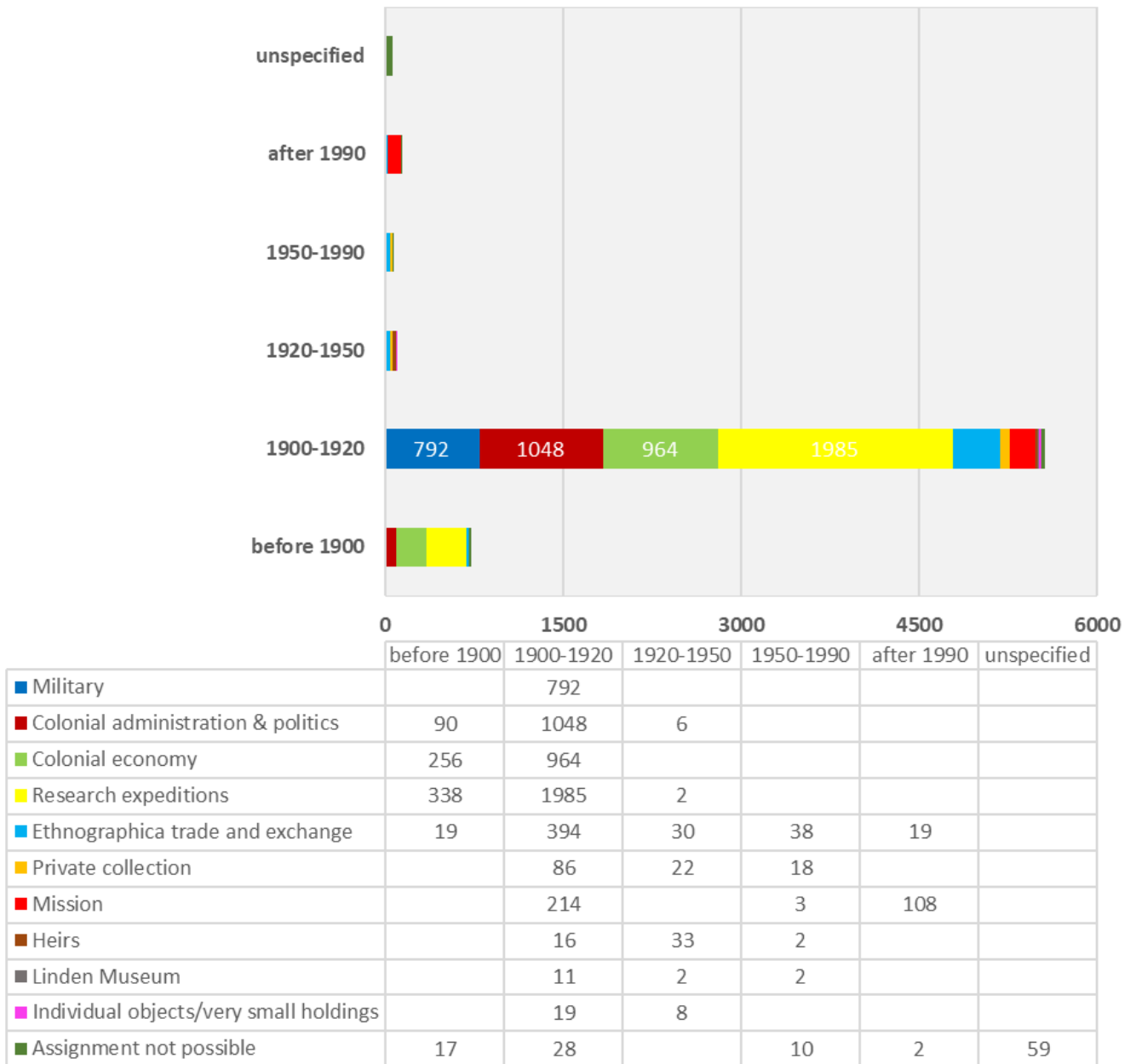
Schaper, Ulrike: Koloniale Verhandlungen. Gerichtsbarkeit, Verwaltung und Herrschaft in Kamerun 1884-1916. Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2012.

Splettstößer, Anne: Ein Kameruner Kulturerbe? 130 Jahre geteilte Agency: Das Netzwerk Tange/Schiffschnabel. In: Groth, Stefan; Regina Bendix und Achim Spiller, (Hg.): Kultur als Eigentum. Instrumente, Querschnitte und Fallstudien. Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen, 2015:199–223.



## MATERIAL ON THE BISMARCK ARCHIPELAGO

### Comprehensive collection profiles



**Fig. VII.** Comprehensive collection profile "Object holdings from the Bismarck Archipelago" (in absolute terms) in the Linden Museum, Stuttgart (as of 30.03.2018). Graph: Gesa Grimme.



**Fig. VIII.** Comprehensive collection profile "Object holdings from the Bismarck Archipelago" (percentagewise) in the Linden Museum, Stuttgart (as of 30.03.2018). Graph: Gesa Grimme.

## Biographical information on object donors (selection)

### Baessler, Dr. Arthur (patron, anthropologist, explorer)

Research expeditions                      1900-1920                      228 objects

b. 6.05.1857, Glauchau / d. 31.03.1907, Eberswalde

important patron of the Berlin Ethnographic Museum; studied natural sciences, geography and anthropology in Heidelberg; in 1887, two-year expedition through New Guinea; from 1891 to 1893 trip to Australia; from 1896-1898 a trip to New Zealand, Polynesia and Peru; the collections that came about thereby went to the ethnological museums in Berlin, Dresden, and Stuttgart; in 1903, establishment of the Arthur Baessler Stiftung (Foundation), which was to finance the collection expeditions of the Berlin Ethnographic Museum; the corresponding reports were published in the Baessler Archives for Ethnology.

#### References:

- Lenz, Barbara: Repräsentationen des Anderen: Das Konzept des Außereuropäers in den Sammlungen und Reisetexten Arthur Baesslers. In: Baessler-Archiv, 54 (2007): 29–50.
- Sauer, Bruno: Baeßler, Arthur. In: Neue Deutsche Biographie (NDB). Band 1, Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1953: 530.
- Schade, Anette: Zum Todestag von Arthur Baessler (1857–1907) In: Baessler-Archiv, 54 (2007): 13–16.

### Bennigsen, Rudolf von (1899-1901 governor of "German New Guinea")

Colonial administration                      1900-1920                      387 objects

b. 12.05.1859, Bennigsen Estate near Springe / d. 03.05.1912, Berlin

in 1893, finance director in "German East Africa" and deputy of the governor there; responsible for the introduction of the "hut tax" in 1897; as of 1. April 1899 the first governor of "German New Guinea"; moves the seat of the colonial administration from Friedrich-Wilhelm-Hafen on New Guinea to Herbertshöhe (present-day Kokopo) on New Britain; responsible for the carrying out of a great number of punitive expeditions, through which he tried to assert the colonial claim to power of the German Empire; he also joined the retaliatory mission of the SMS Cormoran in 1901 to St. Matthias, following the murder of Bruno Mencke; on 10. July 1901 he handed over his position as governor to Albert Hahl.

#### References:

- Hempenstall, Peter: Pacific Islanders under German Rule: a Study in the Meaning of Colonial Resistance. Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1978: 140–161.
- Lieske, Gerald: Rudolf von Bennigsen jr. Online-Projekt: Spuren des Kolonialismus in Hannover (<http://www.koloniale-spuren.de>) (08.07.2018).
- O. V.: Bennigsen, Rudolf von. In: Schnee, Heinrich (Hg.): Deutsches Kolonial-Lexikon Bd. I. Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1920: 163. • Poser, Alexis von und Bianca Baumann: Heikles Erbe: Koloniale Spuren bis in die Gegenwart. Dresden: Sandstein Verlag, 2016: 40.

**Correspondence:** 1899-1902 (not found)

#### Besenbruch, Dr. Peter (navy medical officer)

**Military**                                      **1900-1920**                                      **184 objects**

b. 30.03.1879, Elberfeld / unknown

university studies in Kiel, Berlin, and Munich; in 1900 entry into the navy; as of 1907, M.D.; as of 1911, navy medical officer on the SMS Planet (surveying vessel); in April 1912 on the SMS Planet (surveying ship) in Tsingtau; in 1913 home leave; in September 1913 visits Augustin

Krämer in Stuttgart; in 1914 on the SMS Württemberg in Flensburg; discharge from the navy in 1919.

#### References:

- Davies, Magrit: Public Health and Colonialism: The Case of German New Guinea 1884-1914. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009.
- Baumann, Karl, Dieter Klein; und Wolfgang Apitzsch: Biographisches Handbuch Deutsch-Neuguinea 1882-1922: Kurzlebensläufe ehemaliger Kolonisten, Forscher, Missionare und Reisender. Fassberg: Selbstverlag Baumann, 2002 (2. Auflage): 28.

Correspondence: 1912-1914

#### Boluminski, Franz (station chief of Kavieng, New Ireland)

Colonial administration      1900-1920      92 objects

b. 12.11.1863, Lessen/West Prussia / d. 28.04.13, Kavieng

initially a member of the "Schutztruppe für Deutsch-Ostafrika"; in 1892 participates in a "punitive expedition" to the Fead Islands (Nuguria); as of 1894 works for the *Neuguinea-Kompagnie* along the shore of the Astrolabe Bay (Erima Plantation), near Friedrich-Wilhelm-Hafen; participates in the pursuit of those responsible for the killing of Otto Ehlers in 1897; as of June 1900 chief of the new station in Kavieng on New Ireland; home leave in 1903/1904; intermittently joins the German Navy Expedition in 1908; second home leave in 1909; promoted in 1910 to district administrator of the Kavieng district office; responsible for the construction of the road connecting Kavieng to Bagail (today known as the Boluminski Highway); demands for the consignment of ethnographic collections medals from Prussia, Saxony, and Württemberg; receives medals in Württemberg in 1904 and 1911; without the prospect of receiving a medal from the state seeking their services, even explorers would not receive any support (cf. Buschmann 1995); portions of the collection were purchased by his wife.

## References:

- Baumann, Karl, Dieter Klein; und Wolfgang Apitzsch: Biographisches Handbuch Deutsch-Neuguinea 1882-1922: Kurzlebensläufe ehemaliger Kolonisten, Forscher, Missionare und Reisender. Fassberg: Selbstverlag Baumann, 2002 (2. Auflage): 42.
- Buschmann, Rainer: Franz Boluminski and the Wonderland of Carvings: Towards an Ethnography of Collection Activity. In: Baessler Archiv 44 (1996): 185–210.
- Buschmann, Rainer: Anthropology's Global Histories: The Ethnographic Frontier in German New Guinea, 1870-1935. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008.
- Hempenstall, Peter: Pacific Islanders under German Rule: a Study in the Meaning of Colonial Resistance. Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1978: 151–152.
- Johnson Clay, Brenda: Unstable Images: Colonial Discourse on New Ireland, Papua New Guinea, 1875-1935. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005: 86–88.

**Correspondence:** 1903-1909

## Fellmann, Heinrich (missionary)

**Mission**                                      **1900-1920**                                      **202 objects**

b. 25.12.1871, Atzhausen / d. 26.07.1946, Ludwigsburg

trained as a shoemaker; receives training in the Wesleyan Methodist Community to become a preacher; missionary in the Wesleyan Mission; marriage on 12.10.1896 to Johanna Class; arrival in Raluana in March 1897; successor to the missionaries Chambers and Dr. Brown; quickly becomes a member of the "colonial society" around Governor Hahl, Queen Emma, and Richard Parkinson; oversees tremendous progress of the mission from 1897 to 1912; translates parts of the Bible into the language of the Tolai; delivers a speech in Stuttgart in 1903 ( "Jahrbuch des Vereins für Handelsgeographie" 1903: 135); his wife, Johanna, returns to Germany at the end of 1907; assistant associate judge at the Imperial High Court in Rabaul; in 1912 also an unofficial member of the governor's advisory council; he leaves the Bismarck

Archipelago in 1912 to go to Sydney, and his wife follows him there in 1912; in 1920 he is expelled from Australia and returns to Germany.

#### References:

- Baumann, Karl, Dieter Klein; und Wolfgang Apitzsch: Biographisches Handbuch Deutsch-Neuguinea 1882-1922: Kurzlebensläufe ehemaliger Kolonisten, Forscher, Missionare und Reisender. Fassberg: Selbstverlag Baumann, 2002 (2. Auflage): 54.
- Fellmann, Ulrich (Hg): Von Schwaben in den Bismarckarchipel: Tagebücher der Missionarsfrau Johanna Fellmann aus Deutsch-Neuguinea 1896-1903. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009.
- Steenken, Helmuth: Fellmanns Kinder der Zukunft. In: Steenken, Helmuth (Hg.): Lebensläufe aus dem „Paradies der Wilden“. Oldenburg: Isensee Verlag, 1997:136-222.

Correspondence: 1903-1908

Grapow, Max von (commanding officer of the SMS *Cormoran*, later admiral)

<b>Military</b>	<b>1900-1920</b>	<b>167 objects</b>
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b. 18.04.1861, Danzig (Gdansk) / d. 04.03.1924, Rapallo

entry into the navy in 1877; becomes a lieutenant in 1891; commanding officer of the SMS Möwe from 1895 to 1896; the ship was deployed to survey "German New Guinea"; in 1898 becomes lieutenant commander; from 1897-1900 member of the Navy High Command; from 1900 to 1902, commanding officer of the SMS Cormoran; invitation from Governor Bennigsen in 1901; in February 1901 "punitive expedition" against inhabitants of the Witu Islands (with W. Stuckhardt); at the end of June, the "punitive expedition" of the Cormoran and the Möwe to St. Matthias on account of the murder of Bruno Mencke; in 1902 in Herbertshöhe; in October 1902 show of force in Paparatawa; in 1909 rear admiral; in 1911 vice admiral.

## References:

- Baumann, Karl, Dieter Klein; und Wolfgang Apitzsch: Biographisches Handbuch Deutsch-Neuguinea 1882-1922: Kurzlebensläufe ehemaliger Kolonisten, Forscher, Missionare und Reisender. Fassberg: Selbstverlag Baumann, 2002 (2. Auflage): 118.
- Fellmann, Ulrich (Hg): Von Schwaben in den Bismarckarchipel: Tagebücher der Missionarsfrau Johanna Fellmann aus Deutsch-Neuguinea 1896-1903. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009.

Correspondence: 1902-1917.

## Hagen, Dr. Bernhard (physician, anthropologist, and ethnologist)

Colonial economy                      1900-1920                      223 objects

b. 23.11.1853, Germersheim / d. 03.05.1919, Frankfurt/Main

as of 1878, studies medicine at the University of Munich; after a short residency at the university's anatomical institute, in 1879 he begins working as a plantation physician (Deli, Sumatra); conducts anthropological surveys of the population; in 1881 and 1883 participates in two expeditions to the island's highlands, which are financed by the Dutch government; in 1887 given responsibility for medical services for the whole east coast of Sumatra; several rehabilitative stays in Europe, due to illness; as of 1893, physician at the Astrolabe-Kompagnie; following a two-year stay, returns to Europe due to illness; in 1900, establishment of the Frankfurter Anthropologische Gesellschaft, out of which the city ethnographic museum (of which he is considered to be the founder) emerged in 1904; he ran the museum on a volunteer basis; in 1902 he delivers a speech in Stuttgart; receives a medal of commendation in 1903; indicates that his collections have been accumulated partly by himself, and partly "by acquaintances and in some instances, people whom I don't know at all" (Hagen to von Linden 24.07.1902); in 1914 becomes an honorary professor of anthropology at the University of Frankfurt.



## References:

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- Lange, Britta: Figur eines „Papua-Kriegers“. Abzurufen unter: [http://www.inst.uni-giessen.de/hessen-postkolonial/doku.php?id=de:institutionen:museen:figur\\_eines\\_papua-kriegers](http://www.inst.uni-giessen.de/hessen-postkolonial/doku.php?id=de:institutionen:museen:figur_eines_papua-kriegers) (08.07.2018).
- Sibeth, Achim: Bernhard Hagen: Vom Kolonialarzt zum Museumsgründer. In: Museum der Weltkulturen. Ansichtssachen. Ein Lesebuch zu Museum und Ethnologie in Frankfurt am Main. Frankfurt am Main: Societätsverlag, 2004: 62–77.

**Correspondence:** 1900-1913

**Hahl, Albert (1901-1914 governor of "German New Guinea")**

**Colonial administration      1900-1920      291 objects**

b. 10.09.1868, Gern / d. 25.12.1945, Gern

studied jurisprudence and economics in Würzburg as of 1887; worked initially in the Bavarian Ministry of the Interior, and as of 1895 in the colonial department of the Foreign Service; from January 1896 to December 1898 an imperial judge in the Bismarck Archipelago (Herbertshöhe) and administrative civil servant in Stephansort on New Guinea, at a time when the "protectorate" was still under the administration of the Neuguinea-Kompagnie; after the death of Curt von Hagen, he was from 15.08.1897 to 11.09.1897 the provisional managing state governor of the Neuguinea-Kompagnie; as of 1899, vice-governor of the Eastern Carolinas with the government seat at Ponape (administration of the island area "German Micronesia," including the Marshall Islands and Nauru, newly acquired through the German-Spanish Treaty of 1899); as of July 1901, provisional governor (after the resignation of Rudolf von Bennigsen); in 1902, returns to Germany, due to illness; as of 20. November 1902 officially governor of "German New Guinea" (until 13. April 1914); undertook several inspection trips and research expeditions (traverse of Bougainville in 1908); systematically promoted

ethnological interest in the colony; had a decisive role in shaping the development of the colonial administration, through the structure of the *Luluai* system, whereby members of the local populations were employed as local administrators for administrative purposes; following his retirement, in 1918 he became the director of the Neuguinea-Kompagnie; after the handover of the colonial areas, he became a determined proponent of colonial revisionism.

#### References:

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- Sack, Peter: Phantom History. The Rule of Law and the Colonial State: The Case of German New Guinea. Canberra: Australian National University, 2001.

**Correspondence:** 1899-1920

**Hefe, Ferdinand** (officer on the *Peiho*; employee of the Hamburg-Amerika-Linie)

**Research expeditions**

**1900-1920**

**333 objects**

unknown

father is a friend of Karl von Linden; during the first year of the Hamburg Südsee-Expedition, he is an officer on the expedition ship Peiho; later, he is employed by the Hamburg-Amerika-Linie; intermediary for other collections (Captain Berg and Schirlitz); asks for a medal of commendation, but does not receive one, since the king no longer wants to accept collections as gifts (letter of the cabinet chief of 17.05.1910); according to the list for A. Krämer and the Haug correspondence, however, he did later receive a medal; possibly employed by the City of Stuttgart after the First World War (?).

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**Correspondence:** 1908-1920

**Krämer, Prof. Dr. Augustin** (navy medical officer; scientific director of the Linden Museum)

**Research expeditions                      1900-1920                      475 objects**

b. 27.08.1865, Los Angeles, Chile / d. 11.11.1941, Stuttgart

studied medicine in Tübingen and elsewhere; received his doctorate in 1889; entered into the navy in 1889; from 1893-1895 ship's physician on the SMS Bussard, which was deployed in the South Pacific; on a second trip to the region from 1897 to 1899 he was on leave from his navy service; puts together ethnographic collections in South America, Hawai'i, Samoa, and the Marshall and Gilbert Islands, from 1899-1901 ship's physician on the SMS Stosch, which was deployed in the West Indies and on the Mediterranean Sea; 1906/07 participates

in a "Südsee Expedition" (South Seas Expedition) carried out by the surveying ship SMS Planet (as an anthropologist); subsequently he undertakes a research expedition together with his wife, Elisabeth Krämer-Bannow, to the Bismarck Archipelago and Palau. In 1908 he takes charge of the German Navy Expedition following the death of Emil Stephan; 1909/1910 leads the second year of the Hamburg Südsee Expedition; in so doing, places considerable emphasis on the use of participant observation as a research method; after his return to Germany, he first goes to Berlin, then Stuttgart; from 1911 to 1915 scientific director of the Linden Museum in Stuttgart; he leaves the museum after conflicts with the board of the association and with Theodor Wanner; in 1919 he becomes a lecturer at the University of Tübingen; he begins to set up an ethnological institute as a department of the Geographical Institute; he makes use of his collections in his teaching, and ultimately donates them to the university; from 1911 to 1921 President of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte (German Society for Anthropology, Ethnology and Prehistory); he becomes a professor emeritus in 1933; thereafter he withdraws largely into private life.

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**Correspondence:** 1899-1909

**Mencke, Bruno** (explorer; adventurer)

**Research expeditions**

**1900-1920**

**616 objects**

b. 06.06.1877, Hanover / d. 02.04.1901, St. Matthias

inherits a fortune from his father, and uses it to plan a research expedition to "German New Guinea"; for this purpose, he buys his own ship; he is accompanied by, among other individuals, a secretary, a ship's physician, a zoologist, and a taxidermist; at the end of 1900 he arrives in "Friedrich-Wilhems-Hafen"; subsequently he travels on to the Bismarck Archipelago; von Linden's correspondence partners characterize the undertaking as a pleasure trip (see, among others, the correspondence file Parkinson); he plans to visit the St. Matthias Islands, even though he is advised not to; at the end of March, he arrives in Mussau; after the members of the expedition damage a coconut plantation, an attack is carried out by inhabitants of the island, during which Mencke is badly injured; he dies of his injuries on 02.04.; in July 1901, the German Navy carries out a "punitive expedition" to the islands, in the course of which about 80 people are killed.

#### References:

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- Poser, Alexis von und Bianca Baumann: Heikles Erbe: Koloniale Spuren bis in die Gegenwart. Dresden: Sandstein Verlag, 2016: 69.

Correspondence: 1900-1902.

#### Müller, Dr. Johannes (medical officer)

Military	1900-1920	204 objects
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b. 17.04.1855, Spandau / d. 02.03.1903, Neumünster

studied medicine from 1876 to 1880; as of 1881 navy assistant physician, probably stationed on the SMS Habicht; transfers to the army in 1886; gets married the same year; in 1894 discharged from military service; subsequently becomes a general practitioner in Neumünster; member of the board of the local branch of the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft (German Colonial Society) (Deutsches Kolonial-Handbuch, 1901: 227).

#### References:

- Müller, Johannes: Gazelle-Halbinsel. In: Deutsche Kolonialzeitung 17 (1900): 40.
- Wätzold, Paul: Stammliste der Kaiser Wilhelms-Akademie für das militärärztliche Bildungswesen. Berlin: Hirschwald, 1910: 215.

**Correspondence:** none found at LiMu

#### Museum Godeffroy (museum of natural history and ethnology)

**Ethnographica trade                      before 1900                      1 object**

1861-1885

The Museum Godeffroy was a private museum of natural history and ethnology in Hamburg, which existed from 1861 to 1885; it was run by the Joh. Ces. Godeffroy & Sohn company; two floors with a zoological and an anthropological-ethnological collection from Oceania; Godeffroy hired explorers specifically to acquire the collections; these included Eduard Graeffe, Amalie Dietrich, Richard Parkinson, and Stanislaw Kubary; the ship captains, too, were required to bring back material from their trips to Australia and Oceania; Johannes Schmeltz is curator, as of 1863; later C.A. Pöhl joined the staff as his assistant; the museum sold a great number of "doublettes"; after Godeffroy & Sohn went bankrupt in December 1879, the museum initially continued operation; after protracted negotiations, most of the collection was, however, sold to museums in Leipzig; a small portion remained in Hamburg, in museums there.

## References:

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**Correspondence:** none found at LiMu

## Thiel, Max (director of Hensheim & Co.)

**Colonial economy                      1900-1920                      265 objects**

b. 12.01.1865 / d. 16.05.1939, Hamburg

nephew of Eduard Hensheim (founder of Hensheim & Co.); arrives in "German New Guinea" in 1885; head and co-owner of the Hensheim branch office in Matupi; as of 1888 an authorized signatory; after Eduard Hensheim suffers a stroke, becomes head of the company in 1892; as of 1896 resides in Raulai; important member of "colonial society" around Queen Emma; host of numerous parties and is called the "Sultan of Matupi"; as of about 1900, an increase in the number of purchases of ethnographica for resale; engaged Franz Hellwig to lead a collecting trip to Aua and Wuwulu; important source for objects from the Bismarck Archipelago for several German ethnographic museums; becomes a member of the governor's advisory council in 1909; receives a Württemberg Medal of Commendation in 1909; returns to Germany in 1910; his successor in Matupi is Emil Timm.

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**Correspondence: 1906-1913**

**Parkinson, Richard** (plantation owner and manager; ethnologist)

**Colonial economy                      1900-1920                      165 objects**

b. 13.11.1844, Augstenborg, Alsen / d. 24.07.1909, Kuradui

went to Samoa in 1875 as a representative of the Hamburg trading company Godeffroy & Sohn, and stayed there until 1882; also worked there as an ethnographica collector for the Museum Godeffroy; on 21.06.1879, marries Phoebe Coe, sister of Emma Coe, who later, as a plantation owner, was called "Queen Emma"; the couple settled in 1892 on the Gazelle Peninsula (the northern section of New Britannia); Parkinson works initially for his sister-in-law, and later for the Neuguinea-Kompagnie; he undertook larger and smaller trips through the area of "German New Guinea" (Bismarck Archipelago, Salomon Islands, and New Guinea); his magnum opus, "Dreißig Jahre in der Südsee" ("Thirty Years in the South Seas") is published by the Stuttgart publishing house Strecker & Schröder, and is dedicated to the king of Württemberg.

**References:**

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**Correspondence:** 1897-1909

**Podestà, Dr. Hans** (navy medical officer)

**Military**                                      **1900-1920**                                      **42 objects**

b. 30.06.1871, Barmen / d. 10.02.1953, Wiesbaden

from 1900 to 1902, ship's physician on the SMS Cormoran; participates in the navy's "punitive expedition" against the population of St. Matthias; as of 1904, spends two years at the University Eye Clinic in Berlin; marries Carla Hensen in 1907; in 1909, navy senior medical officer in the government military hospital in the "Pachtgebiet Kiautschou" ("Kiautschou Bay Leased Territory") ("Adressbuch für Deutsch-Neuguinea, Samoa, Kiautschou". 1909, 9. edition).

no information

**Correspondence:** 1903-1905

**Schoede, Hermann** (private scholar, ethnographica collector; explorer)

**Research expeditions**                                      **1900-1920**                                      **51 objects**

b. 14.10.1877 / d. 03.12.1945

wealthy, important patron of the Ethnographic Museum in Berlin; member of the Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte; undertook many self-financed

research expeditions; 1909-1910 collecting trip to "German New Guinea"; traveled with Captain Carlson and J.M. Rondahl on the schooners Hariet and Alice; traveled through the Admiralty Islands, the Eitape area, and the Huon Gulf; returns to Germany in May 1910; most of his collection is sent to the Berlin Ethnographic Museum.

**References:**

- Baumann, Karl, Dieter Klein; und Wolfgang Apitzsch: Biographisches Handbuch Deutsch-Neuguinea 1882-1922: Kurzlebensläufe ehemaliger Kolonisten, Forscher, Missionare und Reisender. Fassberg: Selbstverlag Baumann, 2002 (2. Auflage): 415.
- Knowles, Chantal und Chris Gosden: A Century of Collecting: Colonial Collectors in Southwest New Britain. In: Records of the Australian Museum 56 (2004): S. 69.

**Correspondence:** 1911-1913

**Thilenius, Dr. Georg** (anthropologist and ethnologist; director of the Museum for Ethnology in Hamburg)

**Research expeditions                      before 1900                      59 objects**

b. 4.10. 1868, Soden (Taunus) / d. 28.12.1937, Hamburg

studied medicine as of 1888 in Bonn and Berlin; received doctorate in anatomy 1896 at the University of Strasbourg; subsequently went on research expeditions to Tunesia and to the South Pacific (Hawai'i, Samoa, Tonga, New Zealand, the New Hebrides, the British and German Solomon Islands, New Britannia); associate professor for anthropology and ethnology in Breslau (present-day Wroclaw); beginning in 1904, first director of the Ethnographic Museum in Hamburg; in charge of construction of the museum building on Rothenbaumchaussee, which was finished in 1912; initiator of the Hamburg Südsee-Expedition of 1908-1910, which was funded by the Hamburgische Wissenschaftliche Stiftung (the Scientific

Foundation of Hamburg); played a key role in the founding of the Hamburger Kolonialinstitut, from which the University of Hamburg later emerged; rector of the university 1920/21; 1923 appointed professor of ethnology; in 1935, resigns from his position as director.

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- Schnee, Heinrich (Hg.): Deutsches Kolonial-Lexikon Bd. III. Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1920: 479.

Correspondence: 1898-1917

#### Wostrack, Wilhelm (station chief)

Colonial administration      1900-1920      151 objects

unknown / d. 04.03.1919, Leipziger

as of 1896 in Herbertshöhe (probably as an employee of the *Neuguinea-Kompagnie*); listed in the Kolonial-Handbuch of 1902 as an assistant in a military hospital (p. 139); with Hahl and Boluminski on the first voyage of the new government steamship SMS Seestern; as of 30.04.1904, station chief of Namatanai, New Ireland; participates in the suppression by the SMS Seestern of an uprising near Miliama Morkan in 1906; experiences financial difficulties about 1912; in 1912 temporary return to Germany; as of 1913, district administrator for Nauru; at the beginning of the First World War, he hands over the station to Australia, and at the

end of that year, he is deported to Australia; returns to Germany via the USA in 1915; his journal may have been preserved in archives in Australia (cf. Baumann 2002: 483-484).

#### **References:**

- Baumann, Karl, Dieter Klein; und Wolfgang Apitzsch: Biographisches Handbuch Deutsch-Neuguinea 1882-1922: Kurzlebensläufe ehemaliger Kolonisten, Forscher, Missionare und Reisender. Fassberg: Selbstverlag Baumann, 2002 (2. Auflage): 483-484.
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- Knowles, Chantal und Chris Gosden: A Century of Collecting: Colonial Collectors in Southwest New Britain. In: Records of the Australian Museum 56 (2004): 65-74.

#### **Correspondence: 1908-1911**

## Overview map

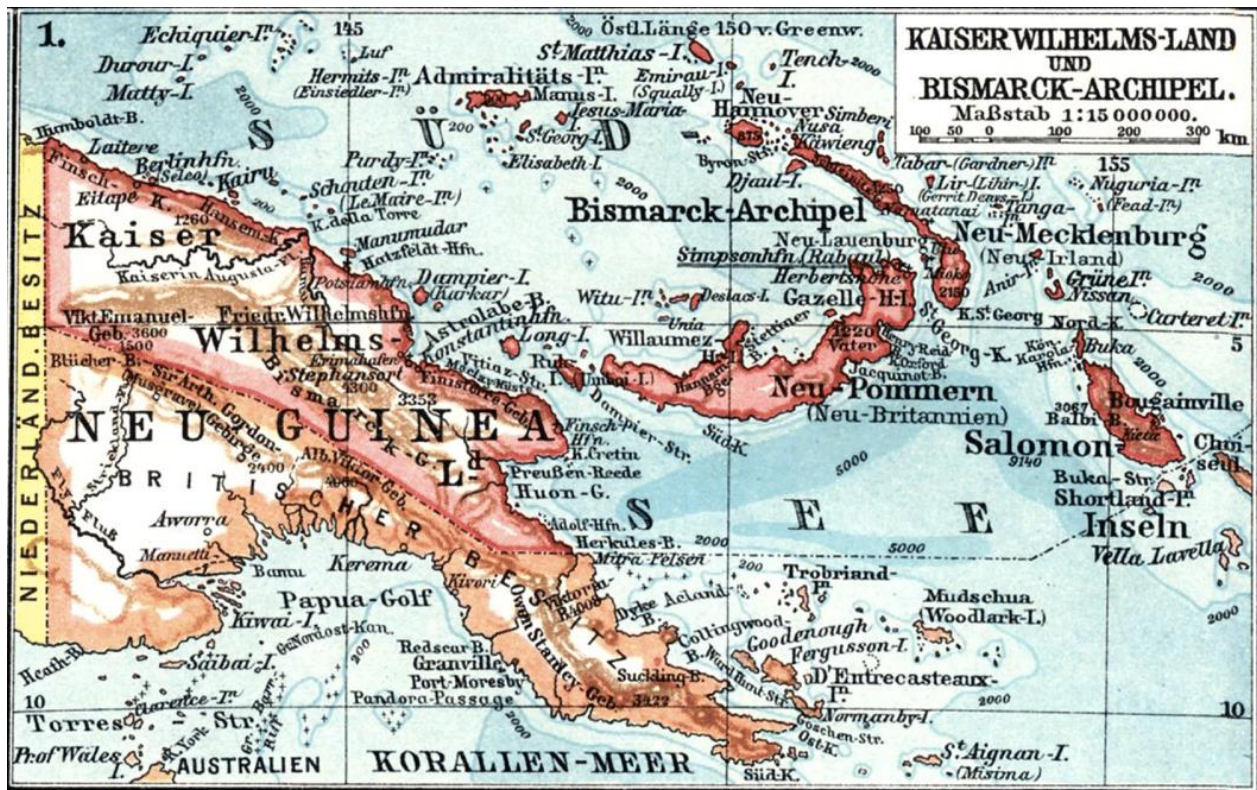


Fig. IX. Overview map "Kaiser-Wilhelms-Land und Bismarck-Archipel," from Schnee, Heinrich (Hg.): Deutsches Kolonial-Lexikon. Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1920: no page numbers.

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Schindlbeck, Markus (Hg.): Expeditionen in die Südsee: Begleitbuch zur Ausstellung und Geschichte der Südsee-Sammlung des Ethnologischen Museums. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 2007.