



Source: © Übersee-Museum Bremen, photo: Matthias Haase.

Figure 1: Atrium of the Übersee-Museum Bremen during an event.

The Colonial Heritage: Objects from the Pacific in a German Museum

Stephanie Walda-Mandel¹

¹ Übersee-Museum Bremen, Stiftung öffentlichen Rechts, Sachgebietsleitung
Ozeanien und Amerika, Bahnhofplatz 13, 28195 Bremen, Germany

DOI: 10.23791/520412

Abstract: *Ethnological museums in Germany, with their entanglements of colonial history and the not always unproblematic emergence of their collections, have not only become the focus of the public since the media attention on the Humboldt Forum in Berlin: long before that they have been criticised for their neglect in addressing the colonial heritage of their collections and the lack of information on the origins of the objects. This background also applies to many of the estimated 250,000 Oceanic objects (Buschmann 2018: 198) that are stored in German museums today, which will be the focus of this article. Since the beginning of these discussions and in provenance research of ethnological museums it has mainly been the Africa collections that were at the center of attention; more and more the territories in the Pacific and the collections stemming from German colonial territories in the Pacific are now being explored.*

Keywords: Oceania, Pacific, museum, colonialism, provenance research, Ludwig Cohn, Übersee-Museum Bremen

[Submitted as Scientific Paper: 18 June 2019, acceptance of the revised manuscript: 16 August 2019]

The Übersee-Museum Bremen, located in the North of Germany, is among the significant museums holding large collections from different regions in the Pacific. It opened as "Städtisches Museum für Natur-, Völker- und Handelskunde" in 1896 based on the already existing collections of different institutions in Bremen. The motto for the museum by the founding director, Hugo Schauinsland, was "The whole world under one roof" ("Die ganze Welt unter einem Dach") (Rentrop 2001: 1). His goal was to present humans and animals in their natural environment and to inspire non-professionals as well as scientists with these exhibitions.

Following Schauinsland's interdisciplinary concept for the museum, the three departments – cultural anthropology, natural history, and commerce – continue to develop their permanent exhibitions in a collective effort. The museum holds interdisciplinary collections from the regions of the Pacific and Australia, Asia, the Americas as well as Africa. In sum, there are an estimated 1.2 million objects, of which not even three percent are on display. Most of these derive from colonial contexts and were collected during a rather limited period of time. 80,000 of these are objects from the cultural anthropology department, of which 16,000 are ceremonial and everyday objects from Melanesia, Polynesia and Micronesia, as well as from Australia (Figure 1).

The majority of the collections (around 11,000) come from Melanesia, around 2,000 stem from Polynesia. The rest is distributed among Micronesia and Australia. This distribution of the Oceanic collections in Bremen is in line with other German collections where about 70 % of all acquisitions derived from the colonial territory of former German New Guinea (Buschmann 2018: 197). The oldest entry for the Pacific in the books of arrivals at the Übersee-Museum refers to four wood carvings from the Easter Islands from 1879.

The majority of the objects in the collections were collected in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in German colonial times (1884-1919) and mainly in the former German colonial territories in the Pacific. Great contributions to the collections came from Bremen trade companies, the Bremen shipping company Norddeutscher Lloyd and the Norddeutsche Missionsgesellschaft (North German missionary society), which had branches in the Pacific. However, there were also individuals such as scientist Ludwig Cohn (Admiralty Islands, Northern Solomons, Northeast coast of New Guinea), cultural anthropologist Erhard Eylman (Australia), astrophysicist Otto Tetens (Samoa) or Carel Fabricius (Sepik, New Guinea) who were collecting objects in the Pacific and giving them to the Übersee-Museum. The collectors had different backgrounds and intentions: some were collecting objects on behalf of the museum, others happened to bring objects back from their trips to the Pacific and then later decided to donate them to the museum.

The collections are a testimony to an era in the South Pacific when the European impact on the territories

was witnessed strongly for the first time. They also mirror the attitudes and interests of the Europeans during the colonial expansion when they were confronted with indigenous people. Therefore, the objects don't only tell something about the so-called source communities, but they also tell a lot about the different collectors, the times they were living in and the Zeitgeist. Therefore, we can ask: "What was collected, where, why, how and by whom?" and "How do these aspects combine and interact?" According to Thomas and Kahanu (2018: 19), "(...) collections are made up of relations as much as they are made up of things." (Figure 2).

German ethnological museums and colonialism in the Pacific

In 1884, Germany became a colonial power. Otto von Bismarck was the first Reichskanzler of the German Reich from 1871 to 1890 and he established the so-called protected areas ("Schutzgebiete"). His main intention was to protect the trade interests of Germans in the Pacific against the interests of other colonial powers operating in the region. Initially, the German Reich was interested in African territories before expanding to the Pacific area. New Guinea was annexed by Germany in 1884 and in 1899 the majority of Spanish Micronesia was added to the territory. The colonies were remote from one another and one had to travel great distances to reach the Pacific territories which were: Bismarck Archipelago, Kaiser-Wilhelmsland, Palau, the Carolines, the Marshall Islands with Nauru and Samoa. Bremen's merchants sailed far and spent long periods of time in the colonies. They also established new

(and sometimes friendly) contacts with the local population and began to collect items while living there. When we look at these collections today we need to ask: "How exactly were they acquired (barter, purchase, gift or were they stolen)?" According to Thomas (1991: 126), we also need to think about why these objects were acquired and what their collectors thought they were doing. This means we need to take a very close look at our museum collections when it comes to how they found their way into the museum, how the hierarchy of powers worked and how equal the relationships between collectors and Pacific Islanders really were.



Figure 2: Two figures, Siar, Astrolabe Bay, Papua New Guinea, around 1900.

© Übersee-Museum Bremen, photo: Yoker Beinborn



Figure 3: Malanggan carving, New Ireland, Papua New Guinea, around 1900.

In the case of the Pacific collections of the Übersee-Museum Bremen, the method of acquisition is directly linked to the economic and colonial history of the city of Bremen as a trading town. At the end of the 19th century, Bremen's merchants were not only active in the German colonies but also in the global free trade. Many trading houses had branches overseas and benefited from the colonial administrative structures and the existing infrastructure. As such, they had networks and contacts to support collectors and scientists with collecting objects for museums. The ethnological collections from the former colonies in Samoa and German New Guinea include about 10,000 items of the traditional cultures, including full size outrigger boats, adorned tapa (bark cloth), ceremonial objects such as Malanggan carvings created for mortuary rites in New Ireland and Baining masks from New Britain, as well as everyday items (Figure 3).

Provenance research

The initial impetus to take on the topic of the provenance of the collections didn't simply arise with the current discussion around issues

of colonialism. Museum employees have long been working on the origins of the objects in their collections as well as inviting representatives from the source communities to give their interpretations, add their knowledge and take home the knowledge and awareness of the existence of the collections abroad.

Provenance research in Germany initially focused on identifying Nazi-looted objects. Now it also addresses ethnographic objects that communities or individual persons have lost by looting, wars, as a result of colonisation or by illicit trade. Unfortunately, provenance research in museums is very often only project-based, embedded in a new temporary exhibition or in the wake of a request for the return of an object made by members of a source community. Following such a request, extensive research needs to be done to return the requested objects accompanied by conclusive documentation. Such was the case in the recent restitution of Maori and Moriori human remains from the Übersee-Museum Bremen. Provenance research is often very complicated since objects can change

hands and therefore context more than once. Provenance can become blurrier with every step and raise new questions.

When it comes to the return of objects collected in colonial contexts to their original home the questions of ownership are often difficult to answer since Western individual understanding of property sometimes differs from ownership concepts in the source communities. It is necessary to find representatives of the state, clan or family that is authorized to sign the contracts. In many cases there is also no documented proof of acquisition. In all cases the museums need to find today's legitimate contact persons in the source communities since it is not only important to return an illicitly acquired object, it is equally important to return it to the entitled person, family, institution or nation. In addition, traditional knowledge is not set out in writing but in many cases passed down orally. The knowledge can be linked to gender, age or descent.

Moreover, culturally different forms of courtesies and forms of communications can lead to misunderstandings (Rein 2017: 27).



© Übersee-Museum Bremen, photo: Jörg Oberheide

Figure 4: Handover ceremony of human remains from Maori and Moriori at the Übersee-Museum Bremen.

However, requests for the return of objects are still very rare and are usually made for specific objects, especially when it comes to objects from the Pacific. At the Übersee-Museum Bremen, for example, currently there is only one restitution claim for human remains from Hawai'i. However, people from the source communities often enquire about what museums have in their collections. Unfortunately, most of the German ethnographic museums are still at the beginning in the digitizing process and, in many cases, they only have little information on the objects, and can't provide all the details they would like to give.

Collected things: Human remains and other sensitive objects

Human remains are one example at the Übersee-Museum Bremen for returning objects successfully. From the second half of the 19th century on, numerous human remains were collected against the will of the surviving dependents and were included in the European natural history and ethnological collections.

On May 18th, 2017 the Free Hanseatic City of Bremen and the Übersee-Museum Bremen returned human remains of 44 Maori and Moriori (from the Chadham Islands). The human remains had been held by the Übersee-Museum for 120 years until they were restituted to the Te Papa Tongarewa Museum of New Zealand in a solemn handover ceremony (Figure 4).

Prior to the return of the human remains there was a claim for restitution by the Te Papa museum, years of provenance research as well as a deaccessioning by the Senate of the Hanseatic City of Bremen.

In the case of the human remains of the Maori and Moriori it was not only according to our current moral standards, but even according to moral values at the time that it was unacceptable to take them. At the turn of the 20th century the founding director of the Übersee-Museum, Hugo Schauinsland, excavated them surreptitiously at the burial ground by the beach at night without even asking. He wanted to do a service to anthropological research and proudly presented them in an exhibition in Bremen, since for him scientific findings had higher priority

than morals and values.

In cases like these, museum representatives are seeking a solution in cooperation with the descendants. Restitution will be implemented when it is demanded and when ethics require it. However, restitution without a request from the source communities is seen by some source communities as paternalistic (Thode-Arora 2018: 103). In case of the Maori, they made clear that that is not wanted. According to exchanges with representatives from Maori and Samoan communities, they let museum employees at the Übersee-Museum know that they want to hold the reins and actively approach European museums. This way, they are not put into the role of victims again. This shows how complex the process of restitution can be.

However, it is not only human remains that we consider sensitive objects. There are also so-called secret/sacred objects, those that are only allowed to be seen by certain selected people, and need to be stored in a certain way, that are also considered sensitive objects. An example is the Tjurungas, from Australian Aborigines, which are secret/sacred objects and

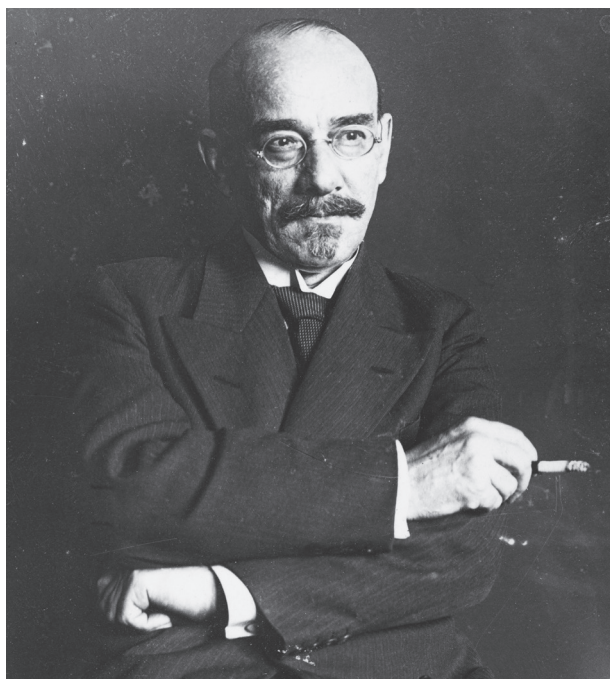


Figure 5: Dr. Ludwig Cohn (1873-1935).

generally withheld from women. In 2016, a delegation of Aborigine representatives traveled to Germany to see the Tjurungas in various German museum collections. Their visits took issue with some museums where women are responsible for the collections as curators and restorers. How do museums want to deal with these questions when envisaged gender equality in Europe clashes with the needs of the representatives of the source community?

The term “sensitive” does not only refer to the contextual significance of objects or the materials used to make them. It can also refer to the provenance or the distribution. In the Pacific, there had been punitive expeditions, and objects might have been acquired by collectors in this manner. Or the collectors exploited the circumstances, or objects were simply taken against the will of the local population. In all these contexts the people involved did not deal on equal terms. Today, ethnological museums would like to contribute to the discussion of how to handle collections from colonial times. In this process they have a strong responsibility both to the source communities and the collection history. This especially applies to handling human remains and secret/sacred objects.

Collecting actors: Ludwig Cohn in German New Guinea

The terms of trade of the acquisition

for many museum objects often are unknown to us. However, in the case of objects from the Pacific it is not reasonable to assume that they were all stolen or that the former owners have been deceived. The assumption that the “superior” European meets “inferior” people in the Pacific region who they can outsmart feeds the sweeping culprit-victim image. This mindset would continue the wrongs committed and a eurocentric neocolonial approach.

An illustrative example of collecting objects for the collections and the exhibitions of the Übersee-Museum is Dr. Ludwig Cohn (Figure 5).

Ludwig Cohn, born in 1873 in St. Petersburg, came to the Übersee-Museum in 1904 as a zoological assistant. For the purpose of collecting natural history specimens and ethnographic objects on behalf of the museum, he undertook two well-documented collecting and fieldwork trips to German New Guinea in 1908/09 and 1912/13, what was then a German colony.

The museum’s collecting trips were generously supported by the Bremen-based shipping company Norddeutscher Lloyd which guaranteed the museum “free travel and free carriage of goods on all the world’s oceans”. The company did not only help with donations; it also gave what was later to become the Übersee-Museum a competitive edge over other museums, as its collectors were able to ship large

objects, such as complete models of houses, to Bremen. It was even possible, for example, to ship objects for inspection and to have indigenous experts travel to Bremen to set up models of houses the way they were done in Papua New Guinea.

Sourcing of good suppliers for objects was especially attributable to the Norddeutscher Lloyd ship captain Karl Nauer (1874-1962). Nauer was captain of the coastal steamer Sumatra, running regular roundtrips between the main port cities of German New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago. He supported Cohn’s search for excellent objects with his great knowledge of people, geography and his language skills of that region (Rentrop 2003: 81). Nauer didn’t only have networks with the local population, but also with plantation owners, missionaries, and colonial officers (Müller 2003: 92). Therefore, ethnological museums in Bremen, Leipzig, Munich, and Obergünzburg, where Nauer comes from, benefited from Nauer’s collection trips (Buschmann 2000b: 94) (Figure 6).

As a natural scientist Cohn collected systematically and applied high scholarly standards. Among other items he collected, he wanted to study series of bed legs that he got from the inhabitants of different villages in the Admiralty Islands. In everyday life in the Admiralty Islands, cots not only serve as beds for sleeping, they are also used in ceremonies such as rituals held for the dead and – festively decorated – for carrying a bride to the house of her future husband. Such cots, or beds, consist of a wooden frame, a set-in board, four extensions of the frame, a neck support, as well as four inserted bed feet (Figure 7).

The shape of all four legs belonging to a cot, or bed, is usually identical. At least the two pairs on the narrow sides always feature the same motif: a figure standing on a base, with a tenon on its top to plug it into the frame. The bed legs are decorated with carved figural representations, often very stylised, of humans or animals, sometimes also of ancestors.

The collectors at the time often worked under great time pressure. Purchases were delegated to committed collectors who knew the place. Local contact persons also received instructions in the form of lists. Cohn followed the lists from the museum in Berlin and his aim was to find equivalent

or even better objects than the ones that were found in the collections in Berlin. Many of the objects from the Bismarck Archipelago were acquired by means of barter, which in some cases was carried out in a very professional and organized way. Here they also had so-called trade boxes. These included barter items that collectors used for the direct purchase of ethnographic objects, such as cotton fabric, knives, axes, white porcelain bangles, American tobacco and clay pipes (Welsch 2000: 172). These trade boxes could be bought at local stores in New Guinea as a packaged selection and were used by the collectors to receive everyday tools, local pottery, and wood carvings from the local population.

Another way of trading items happened when local men came with their outrigger canoes to the NDL coastal steamer *Sumatra* and offered everyday objects such as bags, obsidian weapons, spatulas and oil vessels made from coconut shells for barter. The *Sumatra* often landed only for a short period of time at the trading posts and therefore the disadvantage of this kind of acquisition, when the crew didn't leave the boat, was that only objects the locals brought along could become part of the barter (Müller 2003: 91) (Figure 8).

Collecting objects at the time was not only a race against other museums it was also a hasty race against the changing conditions in New Guinea, which was seen as a last refuge of the so-called endangered "Naturvölker". Houses with wood carvings, as well as other interesting objects made from stone, shell and wood diminished. The fear of the extinction of these objects, people and their distinct cultural heritage is a worldview that displays an evolutionist idea of cultures combined with a European sense of superiority.

The lists given out by Cohn to locals living in the region to support the museum collecting objects also posed problems since, as laypersons, they were not trained to do proper scientific documentations of the objects. In some cases, museum employees later tried to do some follow-up research by writing letters to find out more about provenance, use and function of specific objects. However, that kind of research was very laborious and often didn't lead to satisfying results.

It soon became clear that only scientists and not laypersons should



Figure 6: Figure from the Admiralty Islands, Papua New Guinea, Collection Karl Nauer, 1912.

be the ones collecting objects. Oskar Haesner, director of the Bremen Lloyd agency in Simpsonhafen (today called Rabaul) therefore wrote in a letter to Hugo Schauinsland, the founding director of the Übersee-Museum in 1907: "(...) hence, you need to hurry; if you don't, it will be too late to get hold of good things."

When Cohn traveled to the Northeast coast of New Guinea in 1912 the sellout was in full swing and, for Cohn and his contemporaries, the conditions under which objects were acquired were even more difficult than at his first trip to New Guinea in 1908/09 (Rentrop 2001: 21). Cohn wrote to Schauinsland: "At the rate the locals give up their culture, one can only find sad leftovers, particularly as all the valuable and beautiful old things had already been bought up by the local population." The then-governor of

New Guinea, Albert Hahl, summed it up in 1912: "The Admiralty Islands are already fully grazed."

Other obstacles during this research trip were insufficient equipment and supplies as well as distrust among the local population who had bad experiences with Europeans who came as constabularies, recruiters or German officials who forced the local population into some kind of *Frondienst* (compulsary labor for the German administration as an extra tax they were supposed to pay). At first glance the local population didn't see a big difference between these people and the European collectors. On this trip Cohn also didn't have as much time as on the one before and he also had less contacts with local people, which made finding good objects for his collections harder. That is why Cohn acquired objects through intermediaries.



Figure 7: Two bed legs, Lou Island, Admiralty Islands, Collection Ludwig Cohn, 1912.

However, the attributions then were often not verifiable and the details on the provenance of the objects sometimes were questionable. Sometimes vague terms for the regional origin of objects such as “Festland” or “Hinterland” were passed from the first collector to Cohn (Rentrop 2001: 70). Often they are not verifiable or do not exist at all. In some cases they were noted down by ear and are the source for a considerable number of errors. At the time, this type of field-note information was sufficient, while today there are much higher standards for object documentation. In addition to that, the regional trade relations were not being sufficiently reflected while collecting. According to Richard Neuhauss (1911: 467), a doctor and researcher in German New Guinea,

many items had not been produced where the local people were using them but had come through trade they had with distant regions. This way, they gave an incomplete impression of the material aspects of the culture of the people. Intensive follow-up research had not taken place later in the museum. However, in some cases, on the basis of stylistic criteria, researchers were able to identify the origin of certain objects that differed from the one initially assumed and they corrected the geographic origin in the database.

Another potential source of error was the specific production of objects for the collector or souvenir market by the local population. Some masks, sculptures and boat models were only produced for barter (Rein 2018: 15). Collectors and professional traders who

were travelling through were quickly seen by the locals as a good source for imported tools and consumer items and were provided with the desired commodities. They became aware of the European collecting trips and the increasing market potential of their products. In these circumstances, according to Buschmann (2000a: 5), many collectors for German museums became “suppliers of innovations” within Pacific arts. The rivalry of museums inspired indigenous locals to make new specimens of coveted objects and to offer them for sale claiming that they were “old”. These multilayered dynamics show the complexity of the motifs and the players on both sides: the collectors looking for objects and the local population aware of the market potential of their objects. We need to have a sophisticated look at these contexts when we are researching the provenance of objects from the Pacific.

Exhibition practise in museums characterized by colonialism

Museum employees were not only collecting objects and producing knowledge by doing research and writing for exhibitions and catalogues for example, they were also responsible for the transfer of this knowledge. Often the communities represented in the exhibitions were shown as inferior or primitive – intentional or not. This way, museum visitors were confirmed in their idea of cultural superiority (Grimme 2018: 97). Another practise was to idolize Pacific Island cultures influenced by ideas from philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau. According to these ideas, Pacific Islanders were pictured as “carefree, gentle people living close to nature, in a state of innocence, surrounded by an abundance of food, enjoying sexual freedom and obtaining cultural satisfaction from their exotic dances and art” (Kahn and Wilke 2007: 295).

Even today, in some cases, exhibition practise does not avoid exoticising when presenting cultures thereby reproducing European stereotypes on Pacific Islanders and (unintendedly) contributing to inequality.

Very often historical exhibitions, and how the people from the source communities were represented, were also moulded by colonialism. An example is the way the permanent

collection at the Übersee-Museum staged, until 2001, human figures and houses in the “Oceania exhibition”. From 1911 onward, at the Übersee-Museum Bremen, models of houses “inhabited” by human figures were a key feature of the presentation of the Pacific region. They were also popular eye-catchers in various stagings. When the permanent exhibition on the Pacific reopened in 2003 with a new concept, the houses with their ensembles of figures were no longer displayed. Inspired by ethnic shows, they had long served to illustrate the lives of foreign peoples. By the early 2000s, however, they had become anachronistic. The mock-up character as well as the scaled-down size of the houses gave a distorted impression of the real conditions. Together with the figures – many of them naked – representing indigenous people frozen in time in the style of colonial ethnic shows (“Völkerschauen”), the houses contributed to the consolidation of and created an exoticized, nostalgic, and idealised image of life of Pacific Islanders (figure 9).

In this context, postcolonial activist groups today are seeking answers to questions regarding the social conditions in which these objects were collected, brought to Europe and how they were and are displayed in exhibitions, such as with the example of the Humboldt-Forum in Berlin. By asking these questions, these groups are a catalyst for museums looking for new ways to redefine their identity as well as their role in our society. In this process an important step for museums is to include experts from the source communities of their collections in the conception of their new exhibitions. It is highly important to cooperate with people from the communities the objects stem from in regard to conceptualizing exhibitions and research collections.

Conclusion

Today, museum curators endeavour not only to discover unjust contexts, they also research biographies of the collectors and objects as well as the different strategies of collecting items based on inventory books, databases and material in the archives (correspondance, restoration files, acquisition documents). However, in many cases the provenance researchers struggle to investigate the object



Figure 8: Locals approaching the “Sumatra” with objects for barter.

biographies in their entirety. One reason is the missing or very vague indications of source or very unfavourable sources in general. Furthermore, the cultural meaning of an object can change over the course of time (Andratschke 2016: 307-308), so that one needs very comprehensive (insider) knowledge for interpretation.

The museum employees have realized that due to the colonialist entanglements of their collections they now need to become active, and that a new handling of collections from colonial times is necessary. Therefore, they are on the job to investigate the provenance of the often-enormous collections in cooperation with specialists from the Pacific without any fixed expectations regarding the results. They now actively seek solutions with representatives of the source communities when problematic conditions of acquisition come to light. We are required to find answers for the respective circumstances of acquisition and be transparent towards the source communities who cast a critical eye on the activities in European museums about the objects in the collections.

However, it is not always the case that people from the source communities want all their objects to be restituted. Especially considering that about 80 percent of the items in our collections are everyday objects from the source communities. The discussion of restitution deals more with the other 20 percent which are culturally sensitive objects.

Often the question of restitution is complicated and there are different opinions on these topics in the heterogeneous source communities. In my own fieldwork in Micronesia, where I did research on the people from Sonsorol, one of the Southwest Islands of the Palauan archipelago, (Waldamandel 2016) my interview partners told me that they are happy that their objects are shown at the other end of the world in German museums where they can tell their stories, their history and culture. Other Pacific Islanders such as representatives from Samoa let us curators in Bremen know that they would like us in Europe to use objects from their islands to raise awareness for topics such as climate change. Just sending objects back doesn't free us from our responsibility and doesn't help anybody understand how they got to Germany in the first place. This needs to be examined so that as museum representatives we have the chance to come to terms with our past and the past of our objects. Alternatives to restitutions are sometimes conceivable solutions for the source communities, such as permanent or long-term loans, shared property, joint research projects or exchange for other equivalent objects (Ahrndt 2013: 321). In many cases it is not about restitution of collections, but rather about the dialogue between museums in Europe and source communities and about availability of the cultural heritage by digitising collections, known as digital restitution. This way, not only people from the



Figure 9: Model of a pile house from Taboroi, Bougainville, in the permanent exhibition, before 1945.

source communities but people all over the world can work with these objects. For the purpose of the sustainability of the relationships and for the reciprocal knowledge transfer, it is possible to make different worldviews and knowledge systems transparent.

Today, museum curators aim to show contemporary topics such as the repercussions of former colonial structures, current and historic migration, climate change, social transformations and questions of cultural identity in the exhibitions – issues that also play an important role in European societies. Another important goal is to make the results from provenance research visible in the exhibitions, so that the objects are embedded in a wider context of their provenance. This way, the historic Oceanic collections are put in a new context and show their importance for present societies. To include the perspective from Pacific Islanders we need to have cooperation and invite specialists from the source communities to work with us on the collections and the exhibition concepts. These cooperations can mirror the views of Pacific communities on their society, their colonial history, their interpretation of colonial collections as well as the circumstances of their acquisition. At best a respectful dia-

logue will develop between German museum employees and members of Pacific communities, so that museum employees and visitors here can learn and reflect their standpoints, since no one knows the stories behind the objects better than the people and specialists in the Pacific from where they originate.

References

- Abbrdt, W. (2013). *Zum Umgang mit menschlichen Überresten in deutschen Museen und Sammlungen – Die Empfehlungen des Deutschen Museumsbundes*. In Stoecker, H., Schnalke, T. and Winkelmann A.: *Sammeln, Erforschen, Zurückgeben? Menschliche Gebeine aus der Kolonialzeit in akademischen und musealen Sammlungen*. Berlin: Ch. Links, 314-322.
- Andratschke, C. (2016). *Provenienzforschung in ethnographischen Sammlungen*. In Heikles Erbe: *Koloniale Spuren bis in die Gegenwart*. Dresden: Sandstein, 304-309.
- Buschmann, R. F. (2018). *Oceanic collections in German museums: collections, contexts, and exhibits*. In Carreau, Lucie, Clark, A., Jelinek, A., Lilje, E. and Thomas, N.: *Pacific Presences - Volume 1: Oceanic Art and European Museums*. Leiden: Sidestone, 197-227.
- Buschmann, R. F. (2000a). *Oceanic Art and Wilhelmine Germany*. *Journal of the Pacific Arts Association*, 21/22 (July 2000), 3-6.
- Buschmann, R. F. (2000b). *Karl Nauer and the Politics of Collecting Ethnographic Objects in German New Guinea*. *Pacific Arts*, 21/22 (July 2000), 93-102.
- Grimme, G. (2018). *Auseinandersetzung mit einem Schwierigen Erbe: Provenienzforschung zu Objekten aus kolonialen Kontexten im Linden-Museum Stuttgart*. *Tribus* 67, 94-129.
- Kahn, M. and Wilke, S. (2007). *Narrating Colonial*

Encounters: Germany in the Pacific Islands. *The Journal of Pacific History*, 42 (3), 293-297.

Müller, A. (2003). *Hanseatische Sammlungsstrategien in der Südsee: Kapitän Karl Nauer und sein Engagement für das Städtische Museum für Natur-, Völker- und Handelskunde*. In Deterts, D (Hg.): *Auf Spurensuche – Forschungsberichte aus und um Ozeanien zum 65. Geburtstag von Dieter Heintze*, *TenDenZen, Jahrbuch XI Übersee-Museum Bremen* (2003). Bremen 2004: 87 – 96.

Neuhaus, R. (1911). *Deutsch-Neuguinea*, Vol. 1, Berlin: Reimer.

Rein, A. (2018). *Respektvolle Beziehungen vor allem, aber auch Restitution*. *Museum aktuell* 253, 2018: 14-23.

Rein, A. (2017). *Wie muss heutige koloniale Provenienzforschung aussehen?* *Museum Aktuell* 241, 2017: 26-31.

Rentrop, G. (2003). *Ludwig Cohn – Zoologe und Forschungsreisender des Bremer Städtischen Museums 1904 – 1935. Tendenzen 2003, Jahrbuch XI, Auf Spurensuche: Forschungsberichte aus und um Ozeanien zum 65. Geburtstag von Dieter Heintze*: 79 -86.

Rentrop, G. (2001). *Ludwig Cohns Sammelreisen für das Städtische Museum in Bremen in Deutsch-Neuguinea 1908 – 1912, oder: Interkulturelle Erfahrung im Museum? Ethnographische Objekte als Quellen zur Erforschung einer eigenen Kulturgeschichte der Begegnung mit Fremden*. Unpublished Master's thesis. Universität Bremen.

Thode-Arora, H. (2018). *Alles nur geklaut? Provenienzforschung zu ethnographischen Objekten aus kolonialen Kontexten – einige Überlegungen zur aktuellen Diskussion am Beispiel von Sammlungen aus Ozeanien*. In Krüger, E., Kalka, C. and Frühsorge, L., *Searching the Key – Festschrift für Brigitte Templin*. Norderstedt: Books on Demand, 89-103.

Thomas, N. and Kahanu, N. M. K. Y. (2018). *Introduction: Presence and Absence*. In Carreau, L., Clark, A., Jelinek, A., Lilje, E. and Thomas, N., *Pacific Presences - Volume 1: Oceanic Art and European Museums*. Leiden: Sidestone, 13-35.

Thomas, N. (1991). *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, And Colonialism in the Pacific*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Walda-Mandel, S. (2016). *"There is no place like home" Migration and Cultural Identity of the Sonsorolese, Micronesia*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter.

Welsch, R. L. 2000. *One Time, one Place, Three Collections*. In O'Hanlon, M. and Welsch, R. L., *Hunting the Gatherers*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn: 155-179.

Archive material from the Übersee-Museum Bremen

- Cohn, Ludwig 1912. *Notebook*, No. 1.
- Haesner Oskar 1907. *Letter to Hugo Schauinsland*, 4 June 1907.
- Haesner, Oskar 1908. *Letter to Hugo Schauinsland*, 29 April 1908.
- Habl, Albert 1912. *Cited by Ludwig Cohn in a letter to Hugo Schauinsland*, 29 June 1912.

Corresponding Author: Dr. Stephanie Walda-Mandel [s.walda-mandel@uebersee-museum.de] studied ethnology in Heidelberg and cultural anthropology at the University of Western Australia in Perth. She was lecturer at the University of Heidelberg and did fieldwork in Micronesia and in the United States supported by a scholarship from the Volkswagen Foundation. After she received her doctorate in ethnology at the University in Heidelberg, she worked as a curatorial assistant at the Linden-Museum Stuttgart. Since 2017, she is the head of the Oceania and the America department at the Übersee-Museum Bremen.