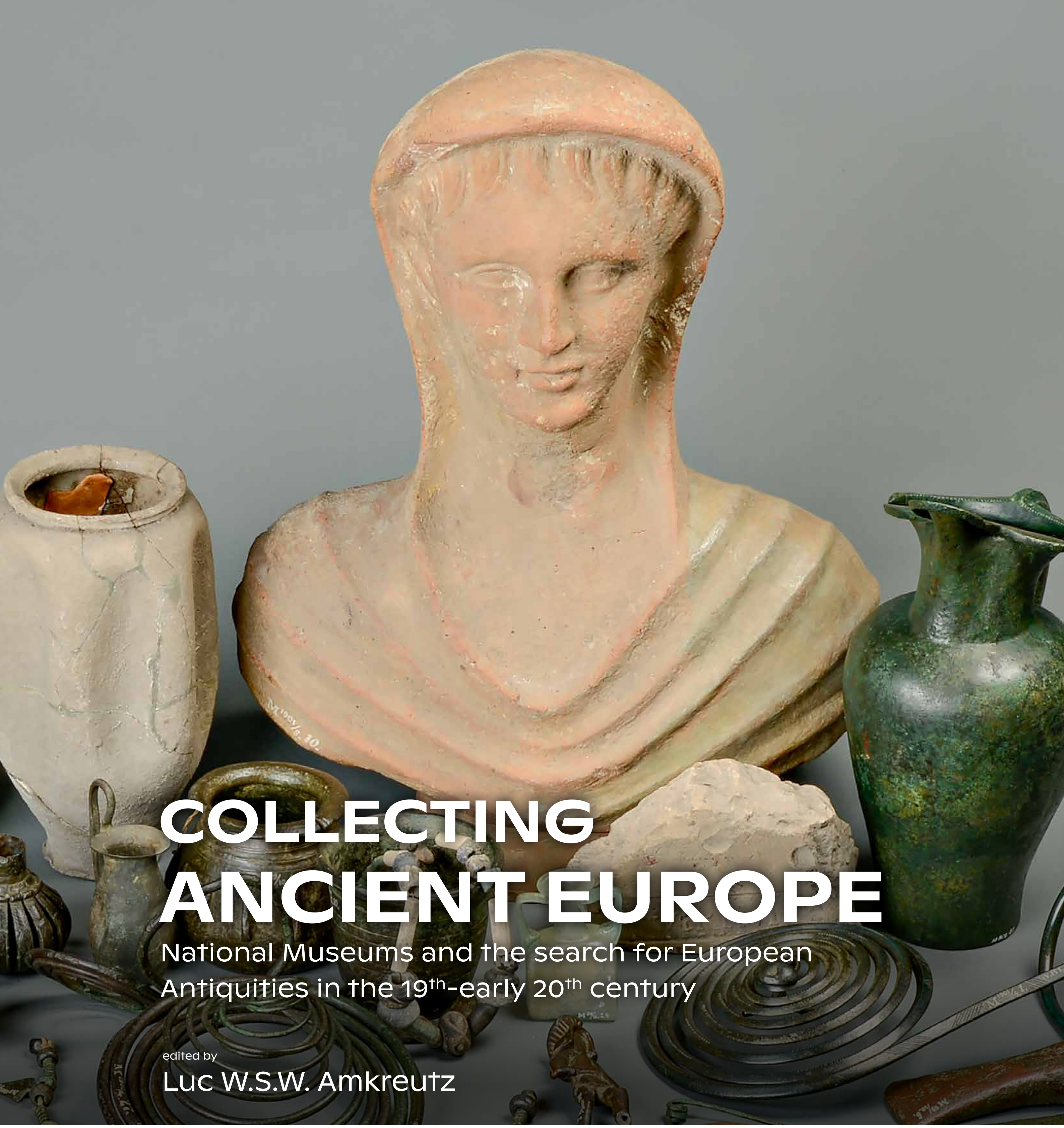

COLLECTING ANCIENT EUROPE

National Museums and the search for European Antiquities in the 19th-early 20th century

edited by
Luc W.S.W. Amkreutz

PALMA 23
PAPERS ON ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE
LEIDEN MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES

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Introduction

Luc Amkreutz

Coming to terms with the past

In order to understand our past, we need to understand ourselves as archaeologists and our discipline. The study of the archaeological paradigmatic and practical discourse of the past two centuries is therefore of importance, as are the sequence of key discoveries that shaped our field.

In the past decades more or less theory-heavy reflective and popular studies, such as Bibby 1979, Díaz-Andreu 2007 and Trigger 1989, have served to elucidate the developments in our field. In particular for European archaeology and Prehistory where many fundamental steps were taken, following the developments in related fields such as such as biology and geology. The multitude of theoretical developments in the later 20th century is often emphasized, and the period up to the 1950s has been characterized as "*complacent culture-historical orthodoxy*" (Trigger 1989, 1). The time of 'antiquarianism' that went before generally receives less attention.

Basic studies such as the one mentioned by Trigger (1989) and Díaz-Andreu (2007), however, have pointed out the highly diverse national and historical backgrounds that shaped our field and the very versatile influences that certain discoveries, institutes and individuals made. One only has to think of Christian Jürgensen Thomsen and his Three-Age system to understand the serendipitous interaction between individuals, archaeological discoveries and institutes as crucially shaping archaeological science.

It is against this background of a dynamically developing field that European archaeology came to terms with itself and began to understand the manifold relations, similarities and differences between material culture from the past uncovered in neighbouring regions. In this time period—which roughly spans most of the 19th and the early part of the 20th century—an important role was played by national institutes, often museums, in the dissemination of knowledge. This of course involved 'paper' interactions by scholars, curators and directors, through the exchange of letters, papers and books, but more importantly also a very material interaction in which actual archaeological objects, as well as facsimiles and replicas travelled across Europe.

The reasons for this were on the one hand pragmatic. Before the widespread distribution of colour images and photography, understanding of the past was shaped through being able to touch, handle and study objects. The ulterior motives, however, were not only scientific but also political in the sense that national museums collected 'the world' in order to demonstrate the glory of the nation. This also functioned on the level of the individual scholar, curator or archaeologist. As argued by Díaz-Andreu (2007, 399):

> *"Before institutionalization—and after it had started—there were individuals whose concern for antiquities was driven by the belief that their research assisted the advancement of their nation. In contrast to today's practice, for most nineteenth-century archaeologists the association between their nationalist feelings and their interest in the past were unproblematic. Archaeologists were moved, among other motives, by patriotic zeal and by a sense of pride in their nation* […] *Archaeology thus grew out of a political context in which the nation was the major element which provided legitimacy to the state."*

Next to this patriotic stimulus, there was also the scientific aspect. The strong basis of comparative cultural historical archaeology formed a strong framework for the developing discipline in many countries. Schnapp (1996, 241; see also Bennett 2004, 42-43) has referred to this as the "*ancestor of all archaeological reasoning*". The Netherlands were no different in this respect and the National Museum in its early days collected far and wide, including objects from South America and Indonesia.

Universal history was an important incentive in almost all National Museums (*e.g.* Hoijtink 2012, 67). When the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden was founded in 1818, its first director Caspar Reuvens (1793-1835) also already focused on comparative purposes. As noted by Hoijtink (2012, 72):

> *"Unlike the museum arrangement seen before this, Reuvens envisaged primarily a geographical arrangement: an Egyptian, Indian, Greek, Roman and Nordic department. He had also made a further sub-division of archaeological materials, for the purposes of comparative studies."*

Apart from the collection of Egyptian, Classical and other archaeological objects, bringing together finds and objects from Europe for the Nordic department (as the European department was known as the time) was at the time a scientifically and politically very natural thing to do.

Ancient Europe in the *Rijksmuseum van Oudheden* and beyond

The collection Ancient Europe in the *Rijksmuseum van Oudheden* (RMO; National Museum of Antiquities) in Leiden therefore formed a regular and important focal area for the museum. Starting in 1824 (see Amkreutz, this volume) and over the course of a century and a half, this European collection swelled to 7500 objects from Britain, Denmark, France, Germany, Hungary, Russia and more (see Fig. 1). The collection harbours numerous superb pieces that would not look out of place in the national museums of their origin countries, but also includes many 'normal'

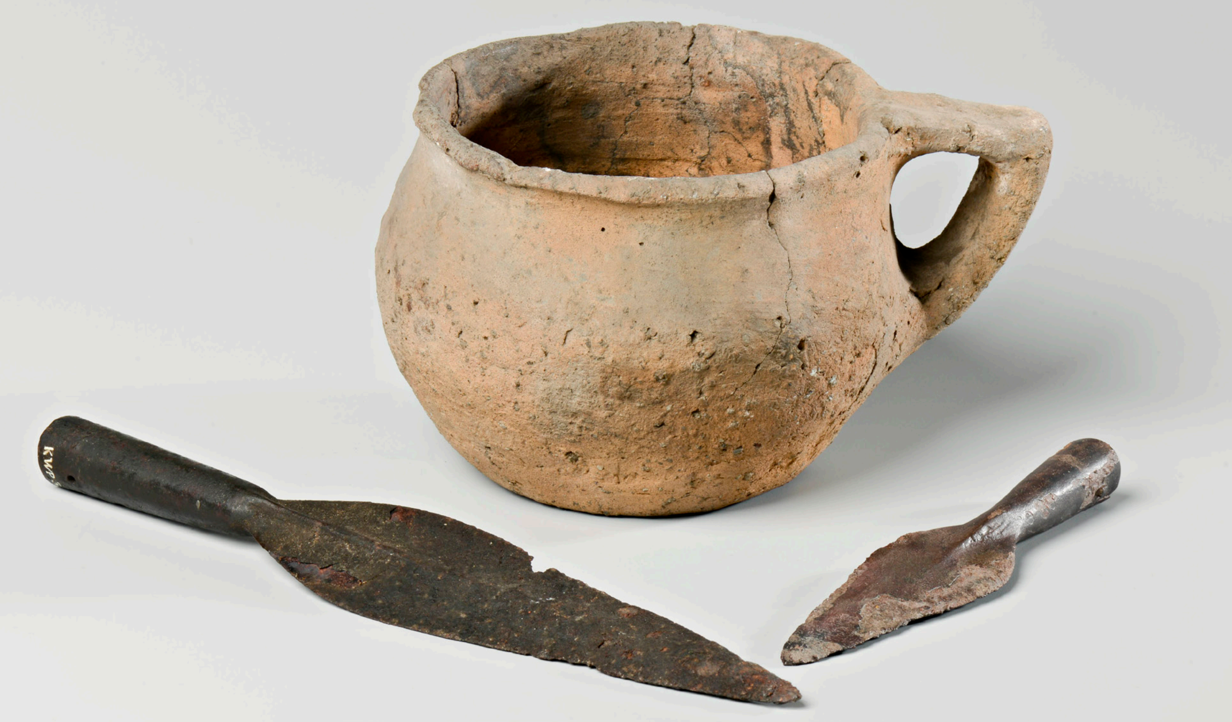
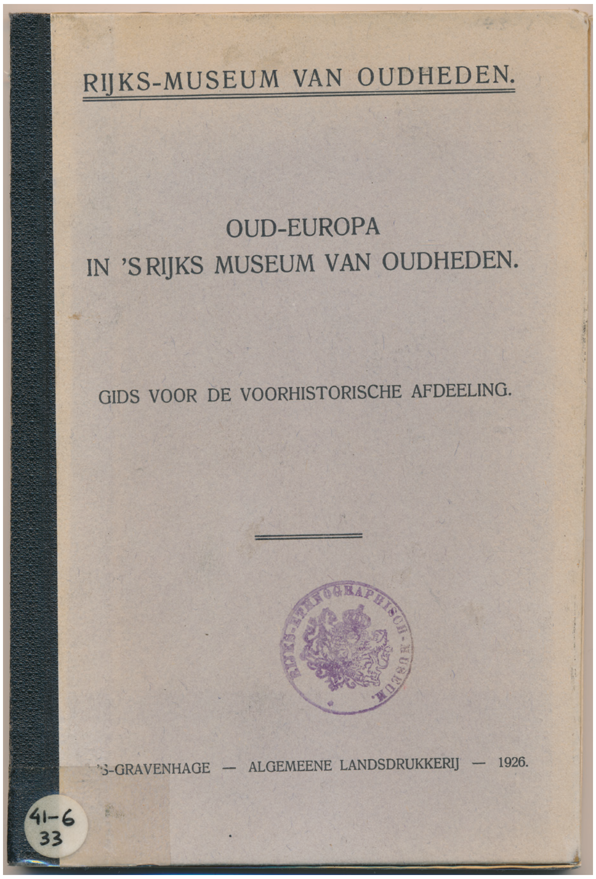


Fig. 1 Some of the first items acquired by the RMO for the Ancient Europe collection in 1839. Bronze spearheads and a 'Germanic' indigenous urn from the Dutch royal estates of Debowie near Widzim, in the Grand Duchy of Posen (c. 800-400 BC). The objects were a gift from King William II (King William Frederik, Earl of Nassau).



RIJKS-MUSEUM VAN OUDHEDEN.

OUD-EUROPA
IN 'S RIJKS MUSEUM VAN OUDHEDEN.

GIDS VOOR DE VOORHISTORISCHE AFDEELING.

'S-GRAVENHAGE — ALGEMEENE LANDSDRUKKERIJ — 1926.

41-6
33

Fig. 2 The Museum guide published to accompany the permanent exhibition Ancient Europe, which opened in 1926.

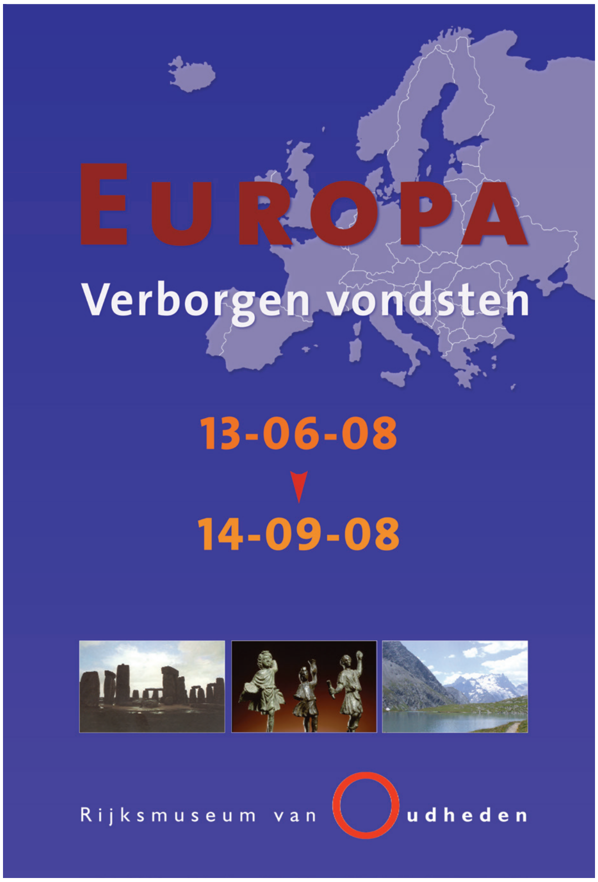


Fig. 3 The poster announcing the 2008 RMO exhibition on Ancient Europe.

objects as well as replicas and copies. These were acquired through scholarly contacts, influential individuals, but also through antiquity dealers.

Over the years the reasons for collecting changed from relatively straightforward 'gathering' for purposes of display, completeness and comparison to a collecting area that became the 'pet-project' of director Jan Hendrik Holwerda in the early 20th century. He envisaged and established a separate museum department where European archaeology, outside of the Classical world, was used to contextualize Dutch prehistoric, Roman and Early Medieval archaeology (Fig. 2; Holwerda 1926; see also Amkreutz, this volume).

The RMO was not alone in this. All over Europe national and sometimes provincial museums acquired collections of European antiquities through similar networks involving diplomats, the aristocracy, politicians, clergymen, military officials, scholars and eventually even private dealers. Simultaneously new discoveries, such as the Alpine Lake Settlements, the Iron Age settlement at La Tène and the French Palaeolithic caves as well as burgeoning theories such as Thomsen's Three-Age system (see Trigger 1989, ch. 3) prompted the scholars involved to disseminate their knowledge and vision also through the distribution of artefacts. Sometimes, such as in the case of the Lake villages (see Arnold 2012) or the Merovingian settlements (see Willemsen, this volume), exceptional sites also fell prey to unscrupulous art dealers.

The fabrication of copies, most notably at the *Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum* Mainz (RGZM; Roman-Germanic Central Museum; Frey *et al.* 2009) was common practice at most museums and bolstered the availability of a very broad array of European archaeological objects. As such, one may argue that the development of the field of European archaeology and Prehistory in particular was shaped in no small part not only by the dissemination of knowledge on paper, but also by the networks through which objects and sometimes entire collections travelled. It should be noted that many museums, from Copenhagen to Madrid and from London to Berlin, obtained similar collections through similar networks, roughly at the same time. As such, one could argue that European archaeological knowledge was based on largely comparable collections.

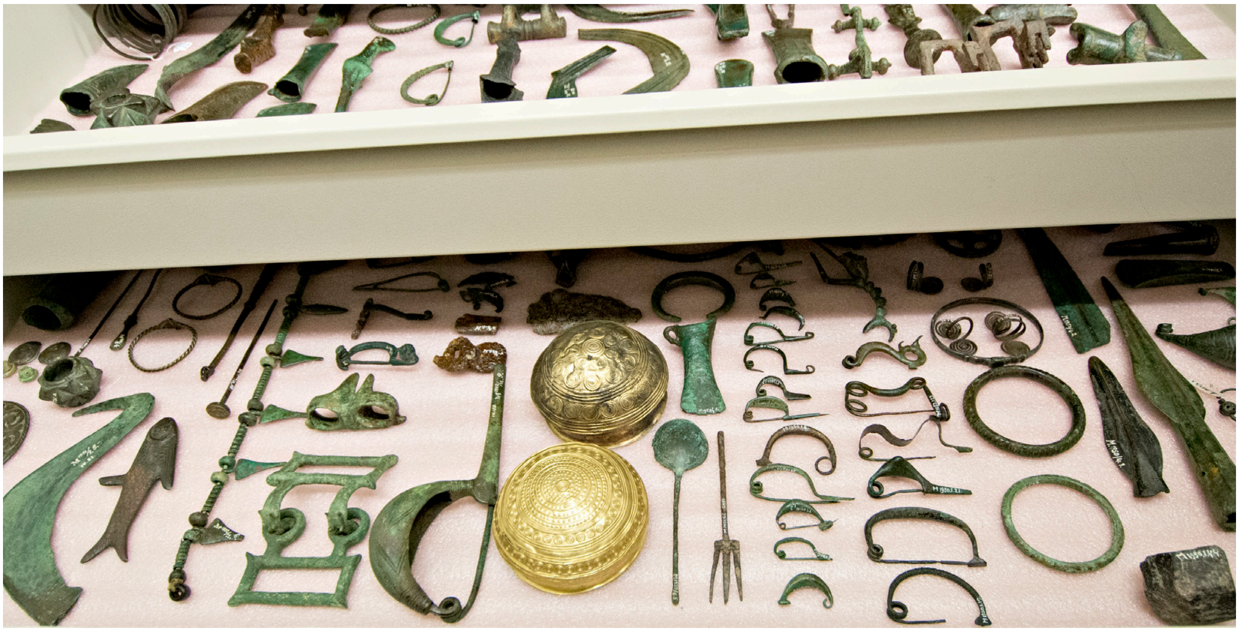


Fig. 4 A view into one of the cabinet drawers with metal finds from the Ancient Europe collection.

From the second part of the 20th century, however, these collections largely disappeared. In the 1950s the *Oud Europa* (Ancient Europe) galleries of the RMO were dismantled and never returned. Although the reasons for this remain unclear, it was likely part of a wider trend of presenting National Archaeology (next to Classical archaeology and archaeology from beyond Europe). Meanwhile one could argue that the contextual necessity for displaying comparative objects had become obsolete as modern museum design and modern academic and popular dissemination widely used alternative media to compensate for this. Also, it appears that post-Second World War approaches in museums focused much more on the individual country or region rather than interconnection. As a result, many of these collections which once formed an important building block of our archaeological knowledge have slipped into oblivion. In the RMO, the collection Ancient Europe was 'forgotten' for decades.

Resurfacing an old collection

For many years knowledge of the RMO Ancient Europe collection lay dormant. Only a small exhibition in 2008 *Europa: Verborgen vondsten* (Verhart 2008) briefly reminded staff and visitors there was more in store (Fig. 3). This started to change in 2016 when the project *Collecting Europe. In search of European antiquities for the national archaeological collection (1824-1970)*[1] received funding from the newly established National Science Foundation (NWO) Museum Grants programme. With the recent interest in the reception of the past and collecting in general, the collection formed an ideal topic for learning more about an important episode in RMO history, while enabling a reflection of its position within the developing field of archaeology in Europe. The author researched and inventoried the collection at object level as well as the archives. The project entailed a number of objectives:

- Additional documentation of the collection and restoration of selected objects (see Fig. 4 and 5).
- The qualitative re-evaluation of chronological and typological aspects of the collection in combination with archival information and correspondence.
- Investigating how the collection was initiated, developed and to what extent the motives for bringing together these objects changed over time.
- Establishing an interactive platform where interested lay people (part of the Museum audience) could digitally participate in researching the collection (mainly though the transcription of letters, the determination of finds and the investigation of individuals involved. This was established through a crowdsourcing project on Facebook *In the curator's chair* (see Van Bodegom, this volume).
- A small-scale exhibition (which ran from June 2018 until November 2020) (Fig. 6).
- Researching the nature of the professional networks in Europe in relation to comparable collections.

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[1] https://www.nwo.nl/en/research-and-results/research-projects/i/60/26360.html

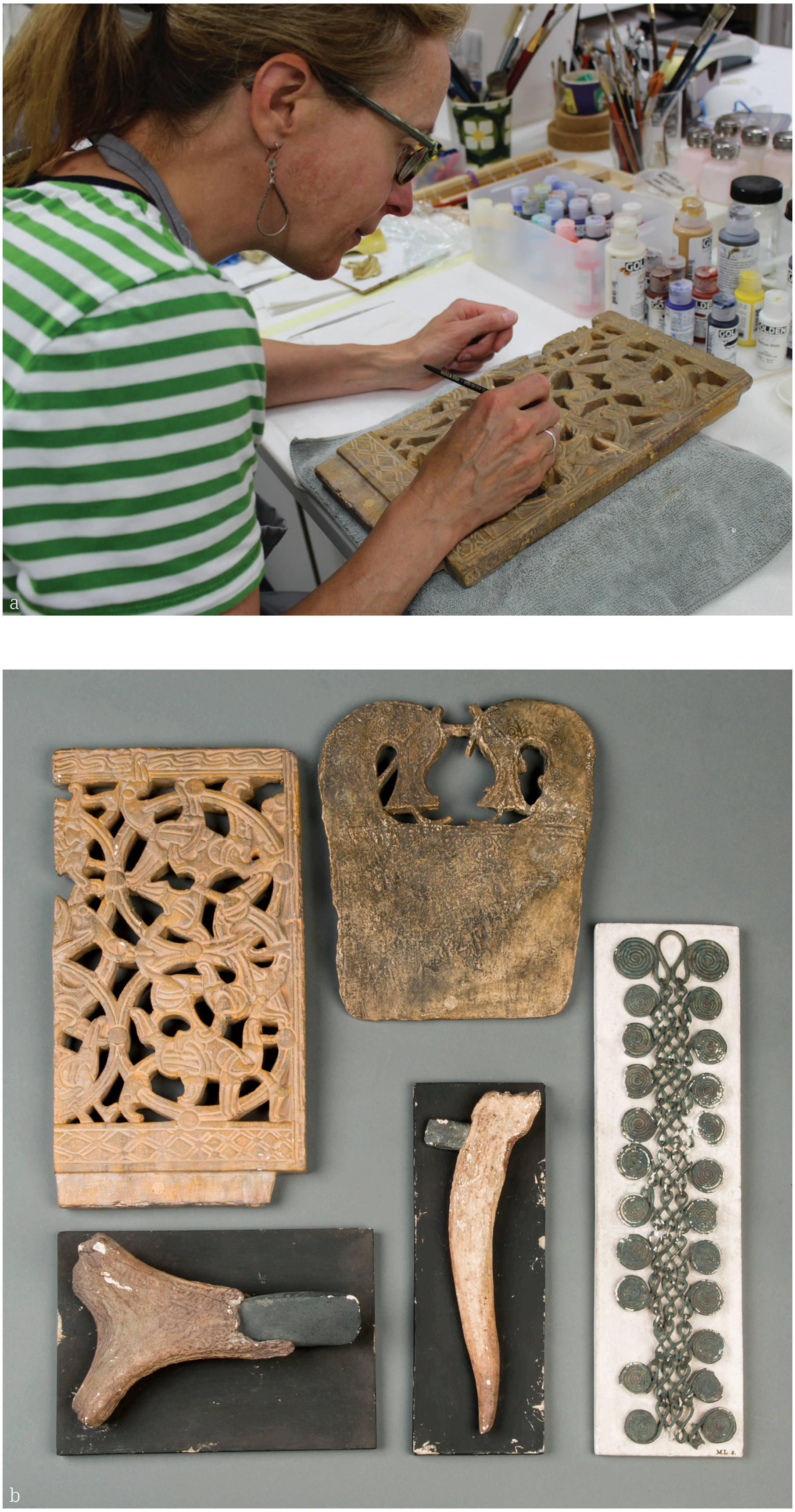


Fig. 5 (a) One of the RMO restorers working on a plaster cast of the Oseberg bed frame. (b) A selection of restored plaster casts, including some casts of some combined lithic and antler tools.

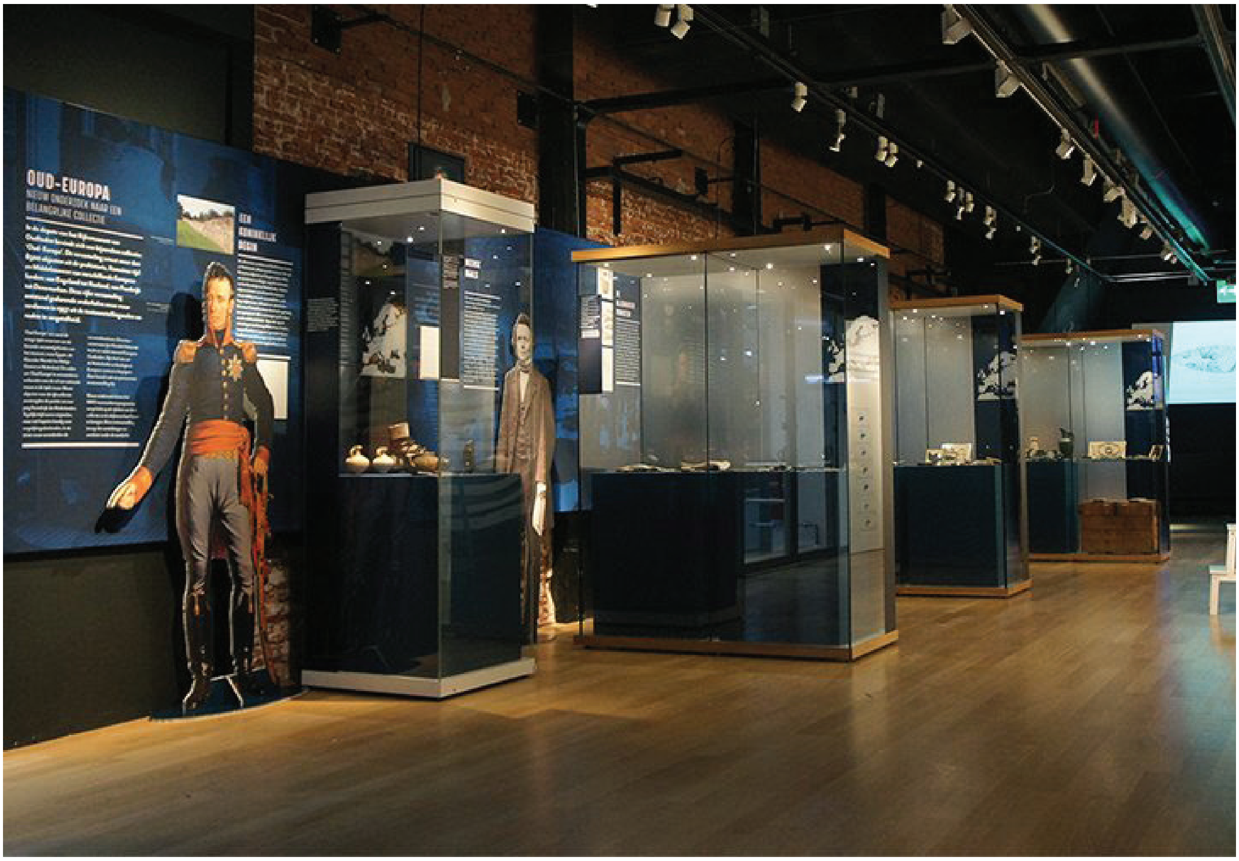


Fig. 6 A view into the new exhibition *Oud-Europa. Nieuw onderzoek naar een belangrijke collectie.*

From the workshop to this book

It was also of interest to the project to further research comparative 'Ancient Europe collections', as well as institutes and museums with similar collecting histories. However, as an elaborate study of this was not possible within the project, it was decided to achieve this by organizing an international workshop and inviting colleagues from various European museums to contribute from their perspective, background and collection. On the 13th and 14th of September 2018, 15 colleagues from Belgium, Britain, France, Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland participated in this workshop. Together they contributed to an interesting and diverse programme.

The current volume forms a reflection of that workshop. The different papers in many ways form a testimony both to the diversity of the museums represented and the similarities in developments and collections that arose. The contributions by Amkreutz, Bertram, Lorre and Sheridan largely document the development of roughly contemporaneous contextual European departments and collections in comparative museums in Europe (see Fig. 8). They demonstrate how the developments of these collections largely depended on the networks of the institutes and individuals involved, the nodes of which are often the same. Similarly, the contributions of Maraszek, Pernet, Verhart and Wilkin add a dimension to this because they focus on the role of specific key individuals, be they museum directors, curators or collectors in these networks. Others chose the approach of individual sites and collections, often related to key figures, and reflected on the distribution of European antiquities from this perspective. This is most notably present in the papers by Servais, Warmenbol and Willemsen.

Taken together these contributions clearly demonstrate how intertwined the academic and museum landscape of the late 19th and early 20th century was and that the same topic may be approached from different angles, be they institutional, personal, or even from the perspective of the objects, collections and discoveries involved. It is this interconnectedness that in fact makes the diverse collections of 'Ancient Europe' worth studying as a whole and as a novel and productive approach for the study of the history of the archaeological discipline in Europe.

The paper by Van Bodegom takes a different route and demonstrates how citizien research can be used to explore and examine 'Ancient Europe collections' which, like ours, may not have been documented according to our modern standards.

Future prospects: Towards past networks

Although this volume can only be seen as a starting point, it is hoped that it will inspire further work on re-establishing the connections that shaped 'Ancient Europe' and our understanding of it. A first chronological comparison of some of the individuals, institutes and discoveries featuring in this book already shows the degree to which developments in different countries are connected. How museums started and operated at the same time, how scholars communicated and how important sites changed the course of the wider discipline (Fig. 8). While establishing connections and contemporaneity is one thing, more insight only comes from understanding how different aspects and elements shaped and influenced each other. One such approach may be through network analysis (*e.g.* Latour 2005). As this would equally focus on individuals, objects, places, and even discoveries and ideas this could highlight which nodes in the network shaped the outcome. Crucial in this respect is also to draw in the national, political, scientific and global contexts against which these developments took place. The developing nation states of the early 19th century, the acceptance of the antiquity of mankind and evolution, the First World War and the effective system of mail and railroads and the development of photography among many other factors influenced and steered our field, as well as changing ideas on European identity, progress and colonialism (*e.g.* Bennett 2004, ch. 2, 4 and 6; Díaz-Andreu 2007, ch. 10, 11 and 13; Trigger 1989, ch. 1-5).

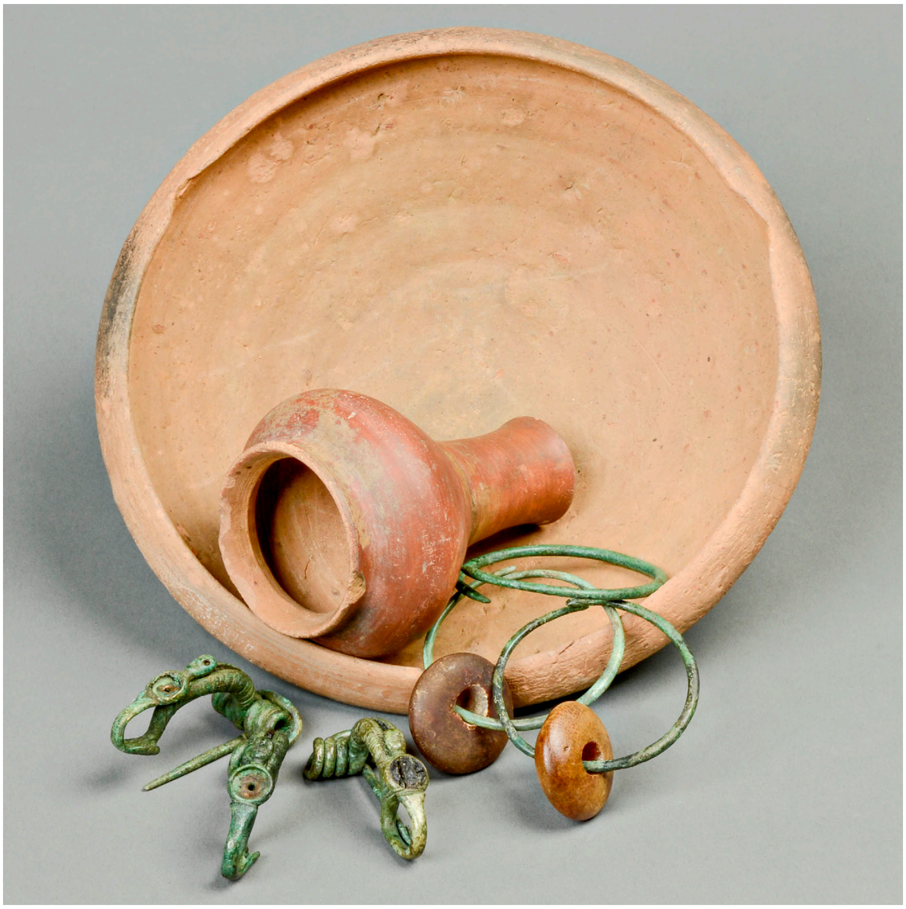
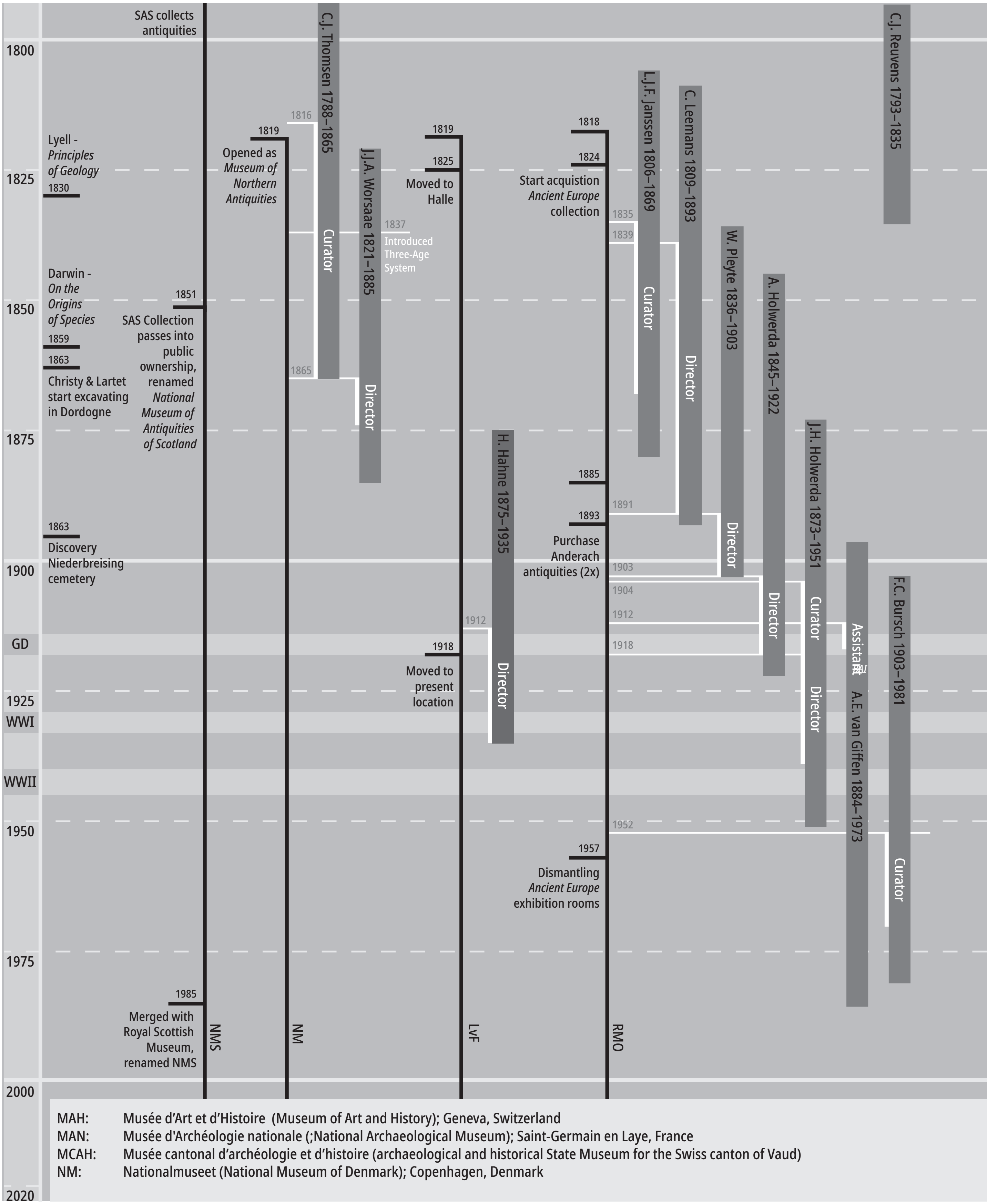
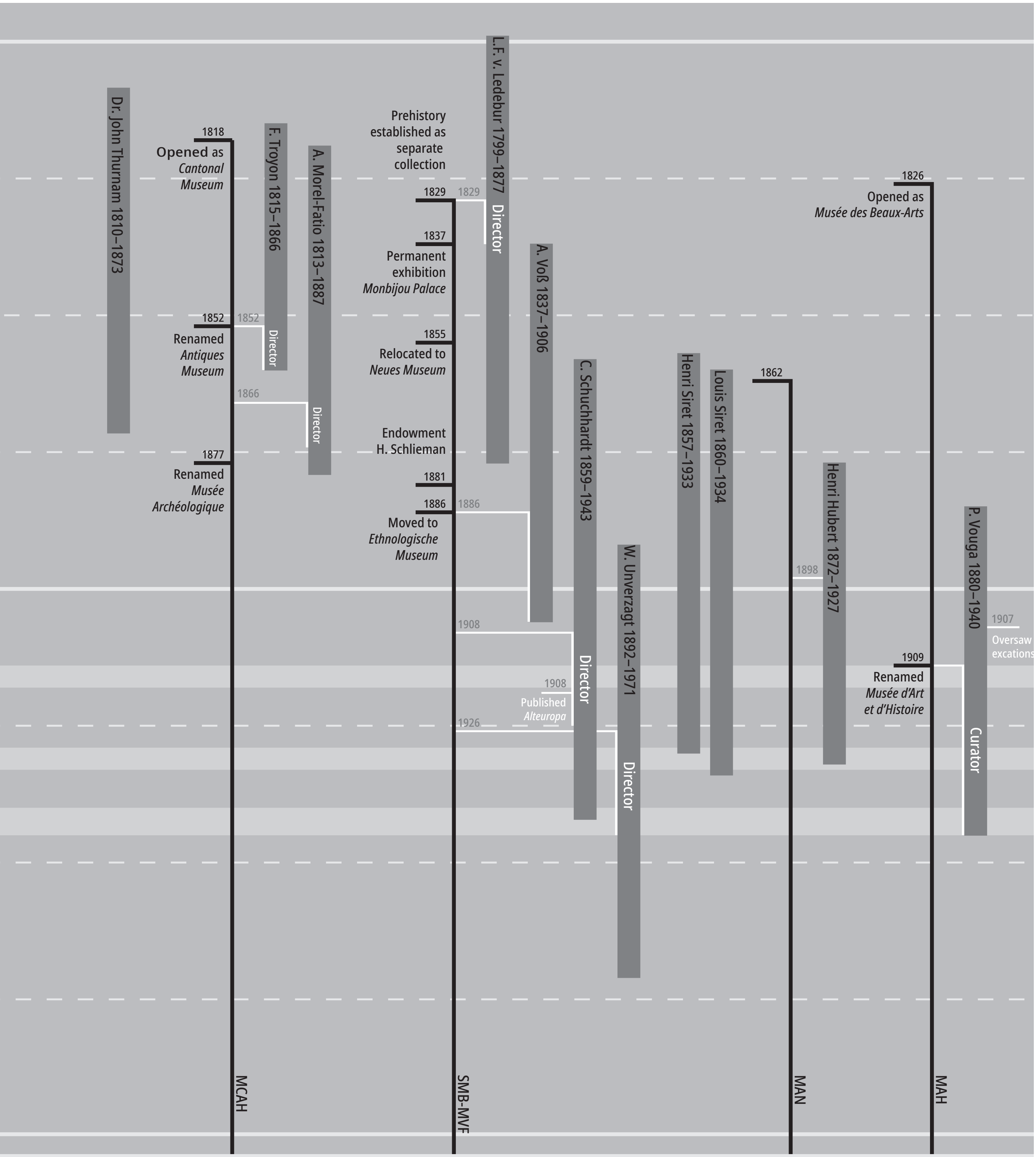


Fig. 7 Finds from a burial at the La Tène cemetery of Giubiasco, Belinzona in Switzerland, including bronze bracelets, bronze fibulas inlaid with coral and decorated with a stylized head, a dish and a beaker (c. 500-300 BC). Acquired by the RMO in 1928 from the *Schweizerische Landesmuseum* in Zürich.



MAH: Musée d’Art et d’Histoire (Museum of Art and History); Geneva, Switzerland
MAN: Musée d'Archéologie nationale (;National Archaeological Museum); Saint-Germain en Laye, France
MCAH: Musée cantonal d’archéologie et d’histoire (archaeological and historical State Museum for the Swiss canton of Vaud)
NM: Nationalmuseet (National Museum of Denmark); Copenhagen, Denmark

Fig. 8 Comparative chronological overview of some of the institutions, directors, curators and events that form the background for the creation of collections of Ancient Europe) (design S. van der Vaart-Verschoof).



NMS: National Museum Scotland; Edinburgh, Scotland
LvF: Landesmuseum für Vorgeschichte (State Museum of Prehistory); Halle, Germany
RMO: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (Dutch National Museum of Antiquities); Leiden, the Netherlands
SMB-MVF: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte

The relevance of a study such as this is that it informs us on the nature of our field and its coming of age. In these times there is much debate in Europe on the status of identity be it local, or national in an increasing globalized world. Often it is the European aspect which is lost in translation. The essence of what is European and how the different communities living here shaped and were shaped by their neighbours within and also outside this continent lies importantly within the scope of archaeology and archaeologists. While modern research such as aDNA and isotope analysis strongly shape and influence this field, it is also the re-establishment of what binds and connects us within Europe from the perspective of objects, collections and museums that may form and important ingredient in creating a more veritable idea of European identity in the current day and age.

These 'Ancient Europe' collections therefore form important building blocks. They hold a key that both demonstrates we are and have been curious to learn more about ourselves and also that from perceiving differences and similarities in material culture we both learn more about ourselves and establish our identity as well as respect that of the other. This is something innate to our profession as archaeologists and curators, researchers of material culture. Comparison and searching for similarities and differences lies at the basis of what we do. As such, these collections, as they have done until the not so distant past help us to communicate this and the wider issues of identity that relate to it to our audiences. They form a crucial aspect of museum and collecting history and a promising base for researching both the past itself and how we dealt with it professionally. I hope the current volume may provide an incentive and inspiration for future work on these important collections.

Acknowledgements

This volume is the end-product of a two-year research project into the RMO Ancient Europe collection. In order to complete its manifold aspect, I am grateful to a number of people who assisted in various stages of the projects, or who contributed to its outcome and success. I want to thank the Dutch National Science Foundation NWO, whose new Museum Grant scheme allowed me to find the time and resources to research this interesting collection by providing me with a grant (no. 333-54-012). I also want to thank the RMO for encouraging me to apply for the grant and Prof. Dr. Pieter ter Keurs (the then head of research and collections) and director drs. Wim Weijland for being the co-applicants on the application. Pieter I also thank for his contributions to the research and for helping facilitate it and Wim for his idea to also turn it into a small exhibition. My thanks also go out to Joris Brattinga who became my assistant curator through this grant between 2016 and 2018 and who enthusiastically and skilfully kept things running so that I could do research. Dieuwertje Roelse I thank for being an intern on this project and doing all the hard work in the metal storage rooms documenting and photographing the remaining objects. In the RMO many colleagues assisted or showed interest, but a number also importantly contributed whom I want to mention here: Renske Dooijes, Robert-Jan Looman, Selkit Verberk, Leo Verhart and Gabriëlle van der Voort for inspiring me or facilitating parts of this research and its output, including Martijn Eickhoff and Derk-Jan Venema for a short pilot study into the collection several years ago. Heikki Pauts I would like to thank in particular who as a registrar on numerous occasions provided the logical answer to my many questions or pointed me in the right direction. I also in particular would like to thank Rosanne van Bodegom for her enthusiastic work in managing the crowdsourcing aspect of the project through the Facebook website *Op de stoel van de conservator* and all the volunteers who contributed to the project. I would also like to thank my new assistant curator Sasja van der Vaart-Verschoof for assisting me with the editorial work on this book, making it in fact appear when it should. The current head of research Lucas Petit I thank for facilitating the appearance of this edited volume in the PALMA series of the RMO and Sidestone for publishing it. I also want to thank the

colleagues at the Musée d'Archéologie nationale Saint-Germain-en-Laye for inviting us to present at their conference in 2017: *Archaeology in Museums and national Identities in Europe (1848-1914). A Legacy in search of new Challenges for the 21st century*, and the colleagues at the National Museum in Copenhagen for facilitating our research questions. Finally, I also want to thank all the colleagues that contributed to the workshop and the book. I hope they to remain inspired to further research these interesting collections and elucidate the networks through which they developed.

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PART 1

Museums & Institutes

The archaeology of Ancient Europe in the Berlin Museum of Pre- and Early History

Acquisition policy and collection concepts from 1829 to this day

Marion Bertram

Introduction

In the middle of the 19th century, the Prehistoric Collection in Berlin looked more like a cluttered antiques shop than a proper museum. Its objects, which had originally formed a part of the Art Cabinet of the Prussian kings, were established as a separate collection in 1829, to be supervised by Leopold Freiherr von Ledebur until 1873 (Bertram 2004/05a). A permanent exhibition was set up in Monbijou Palace in 1837. It was grouped according to the simple principle of analogy: similar objects were arranged in groups, regardless of their geographical, chronological or cultural context. The 3540 entries of the original inventory were sorted into two sections: the first group was made up of nearly 1500 ceramic vessels, while the second consisted of more than 2000 objects made of stone, metal or glass.

A guide to the collection was first published in 1838 (Von Ledebur 1838). It included six tables of engravings and 226 pages of information (Fig. 1). Diverging from the concept of the exhibition, the descriptions of the collection items were arranged according to their find context, and sorted according to the provinces of the Prussian monarchy. The majority of these objects had been acquired for the Royal Art Cabinet before 1829 (Krauss 2004/05).

The material with which the Prehistoric Collection had been set up, had come almost exclusively from the different provinces controlled by the Prussian crown. This changed from 1846 on as the collection was increased through the acquisition or donation of finds from other German states and, to a lesser extent, from foreign countries. The first proper excavation to be conducted by the Museum was recorded in 1837 when Ledebur examined an urnfield from the Hallstatt period at Klein-Rössen in southern Brandenburg (Von Ledebur 1838, 149-152).

Expanding the collection

With the Instruction of the Royal Museums of Berlin (*Instruktion für die beim Chausseebau beschäftigten Beamten, in Beziehung auf die in der Erde sich findenden Alterthümer heidnischer Vorzeit*), issued in 1835, authorities throughout Prussia

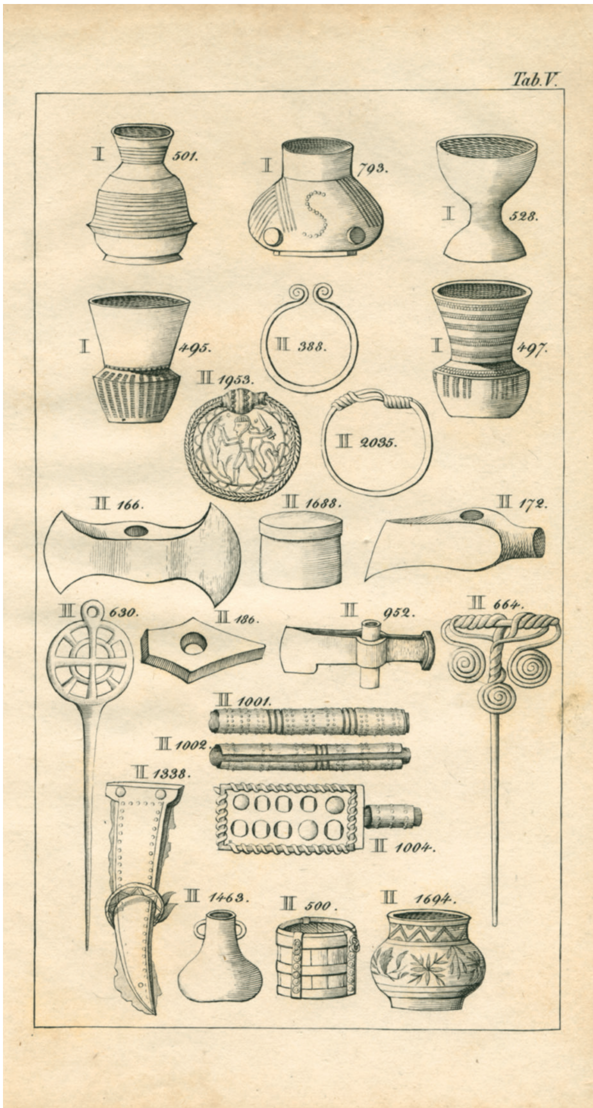

Tab. V.
I 501.
I 793.
I 528.
I 495.
II 388.
I 497.
II 1953.
II 2035.
II 166.
II 1688.
II 172.
II 630.
II 186.
II 952.
II 664.
II 1001.
II 1002.
II 1338.
II 1004.
II 1463.
II 500.
II 1694.

Fig. 1 First guide to the collection (Von Ledebur 1838, tab. V; © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte).

were directed to forward all archaeological finds made on public lands to Berlin. As a result, the acquisition files began to record a rising number of reports and consignments sent by the military, by civil administrations, or by railway, road, canal and bridge authorities (Bertram 2004/05a, 54-56; 2004/05c, 359-360).

The number of annual acquisitions could vary widely, however. While a mere twelve objects were recorded for 1855, the year 1860 saw 829 entries. Overall, the collection had expanded from 3540 inventory entries recorded in 1836, to nearly 11,000 entries when Ledebur retired at the end of 1873. Leaving aside the c. 3000 collection objects which Ledebur had initially received from the Royal Art Cabinet, the acquisitions made during his time in office amounted to roughly 8000 inventory entries.

At this point, the geographical area which the collection covered was still largely restricted to the Prussian territories. The bulk of acquisitions consisted of private collections of varying sizes, but an increasing number of finds from ongoing excavations also found their way into the collection.

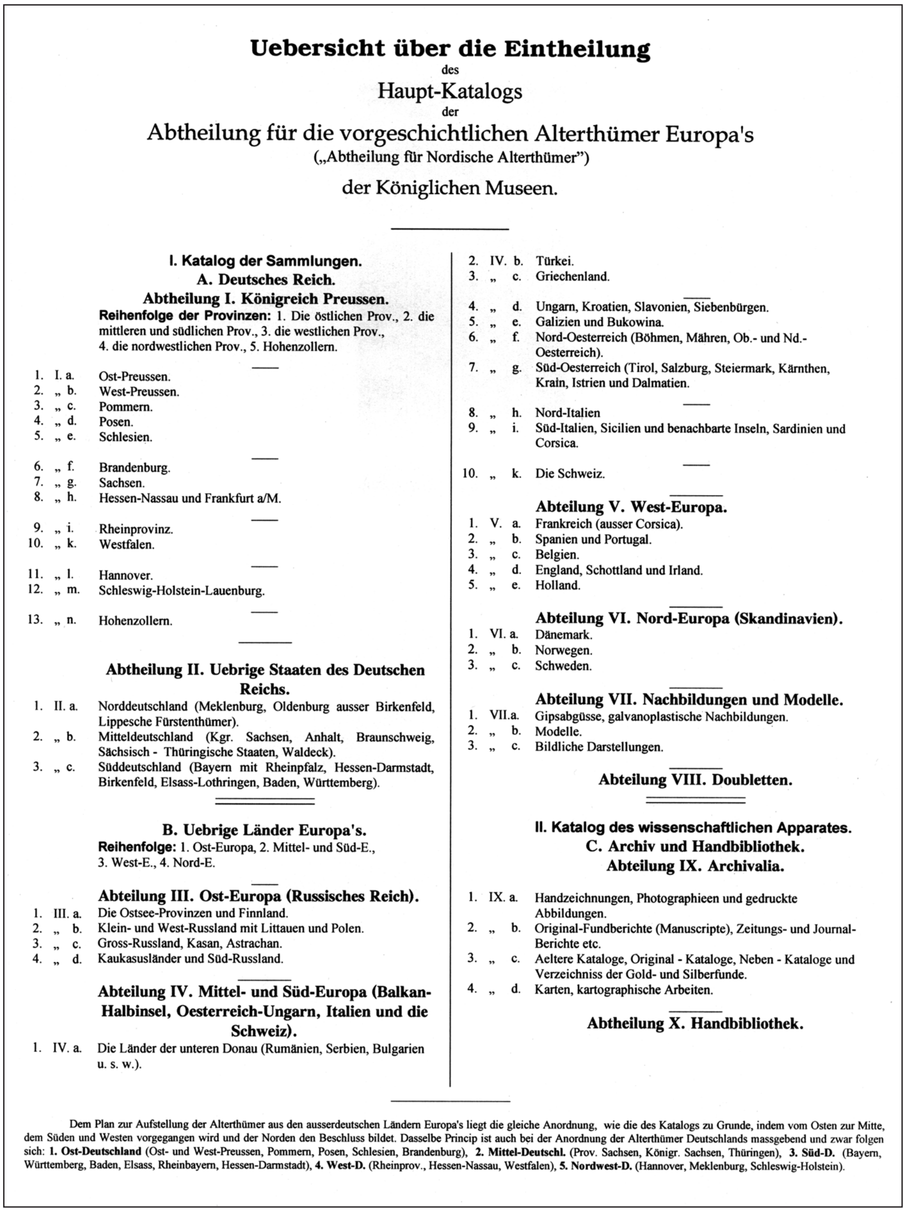
The scientific concepts which Ledebur drafted in the 1830s envisaged a presentation of the collection which would provide an overview of cultural history (Bertram 2004/05a, 35-37, 63-68). Surprisingly, this programmatic approach was not reflected in everyday practice and collection policies. Even after its relocation to the premises of the *Neues Museum* (New Museum) the presentation still followed the outdated principle of analogy which had been established in 1837 (Bertram 2004/05a, 52-54; 2011a).

The next generation: natural science and evolution

A new generation of scientists finally arrived on the scene in 1874, but now the Museum embarked on a completely different course which was largely orientated towards the natural sciences and the concept of evolution. In a close collaboration with other scientific disciplines, emphasis was now placed on the study of mankind in its entirety, set within an enlarged geographical perspective. When Albert Voß (1837-1906), who originally came from the medical profession, was placed in charge of the Prehistoric Collection, decades of unprecedented dynamic growth and development followed (Gärtner 2004/05).

When this era came to a close in 1906, the collection inventory had grown to more than 100,000 objects which included finds from all over Germany, Europe and neighbouring regions (Gärtner 2004/05, 87-102). A new system of geographical classification was introduced in 1880 (Fig. 2). This inevitably led to a change in collection policies. In 1886, eight spacious exhibition halls were provided for the Prehistoric antiquities in the newly built premises of the Ethnological Museum. The first four rooms were reserved for the find material from the various provinces of Prussia. These were followed by the finds from the other German states, and finally by the exhibits from other European countries and neighbouring regions (Gärtner 2004/05, 83-85; Schmidt 1913).

In 1874, Albert Voß had inherited an inventory from his predecessor which encompassed some 11,000 entries. By 1880, this collection had grown to around 18,000 objects (Voß 1880). And by the time Voß retired in 1906, a further 84,000 entries had been added to the inventory. When Heinrich Schliemann decided to endow the Berlin



Uebersicht über die Eintheilung
des
Haupt-Katalogs
der
Abtheilung für die vorgeschichtlichen Alterthümer Europa's
(„Abtheilung für Nordische Alterthümer")
der Königlichen Museen.

I. Katalog der Sammlungen.
A. Deutsches Reich.
Abtheilung I. Königreich Preussen.

Reihenfolge der Provinzen: 1. Die östlichen Prov., 2. die mittleren und südlichen Prov., 3. die westlichen Prov., 4. die nordwestlichen Prov., 5. Hohenzollern.

1. I. a. Ost-Preussen.
2. „ b. West-Preussen.
3. „ c. Pommern.
4. „ d. Posen.
5. „ e. Schlesien.

6. „ f. Brandenburg.
7. „ g. Sachsen.
8. „ h. Hessen-Nassau und Frankfurt a/M.

9. „ i. Rheinprovinz.
10. „ k. Westfalen.

11. „ l. Hannover.
12. „ m. Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenburg.

13. „ n. Hohenzollern.

Abtheilung II. Uebrige Staaten des Deutschen Reichs.

1. II. a. Norddeutschland (Meklenburg, Oldenburg ausser Birkenfeld, Lippesche Fürstenthümer).
2. „ b. Mitteldeutschland (Kgr. Sachsen, Anhalt, Braunschweig, Sächsisch - Thüringische Staaten, Waldeck).
3. „ c. Süddeutschland (Bayern mit Rheinpfalz, Hessen-Darmstadt, Birkenfeld, Elsass-Lothringen, Baden, Württemberg).

B. Uebrige Länder Europa's.

Reihenfolge: 1. Ost-Europa, 2. Mittel- und Süd-E., 3. West-E., 4. Nord-E.

Abteilung III. Ost-Europa (Russisches Reich).

1. III. a. Die Ostsee-Provinzen und Finnland.
2. „ b. Klein- und West-Russland mit Littauen und Polen.
3. „ c. Gross-Russland, Kasan, Astrachan.
4. „ d. Kaukasusländer und Süd-Russland.

Abteilung IV. Mittel- und Süd-Europa (Balkan-Halbinsel, Oesterreich-Ungarn, Italien und die Schweiz).

1. IV. a. Die Länder der unteren Donau (Rumänien, Serbien, Bulgarien u. s. w.).
2. IV. b. Türkei.
3. „ c. Griechenland.

4. „ d. Ungarn, Kroatien, Slavonien, Siebenbürgen.
5. „ e. Galizien und Bukowina.
6. „ f. Nord-Oesterreich (Böhmen, Mähren, Ob.- und Nd.-Oesterreich).
7. „ g. Süd-Oesterreich (Tirol, Salzburg, Steiermark, Kärnthen, Krain, Istrien und Dalmatien.

8. „ h. Nord-Italien
9. „ i. Süd-Italien, Sicilien und benachbarte Inseln, Sardinien und Corsica.

10. „ k. Die Schweiz.

Abteilung V. West-Europa.

1. V. a. Frankreich (ausser Corsica).
2. „ b. Spanien und Portugal.
3. „ c. Belgien.
4. „ d. England, Schottland und Irland.
5. „ e. Holland.

Abteilung VI. Nord-Europa (Skandinavien).

1. VI. a. Dänemark.
2. „ b. Norwegen.
3. „ c. Schweden.

Abteilung VII. Nachbildungen und Modelle.

1. VII.a. Gipsabgüsse, galvanoplastische Nachbildungen.
2. „ b. Modelle.
3. „ c. Bildliche Darstellungen.

Abteilung VIII. Doubletten.

II. Katalog des wissenschaftlichen Apparates.
C. Archiv und Handbibliothek.
Abteilung IX. Archivalia.

1. IX. a. Handzeichnungen, Photographieen und gedruckte Abbildungen.
2. „ b. Original-Fundberichte (Manuscripte), Zeitungs- und Journal-Berichte etc.
3. „ c. Aeltere Kataloge, Original - Kataloge, Neben - Kataloge und Verzeichniss der Gold- und Silberfunde.
4. „ d. Karten, kartographische Arbeiten.

Abtheilung X. Handbibliothek.

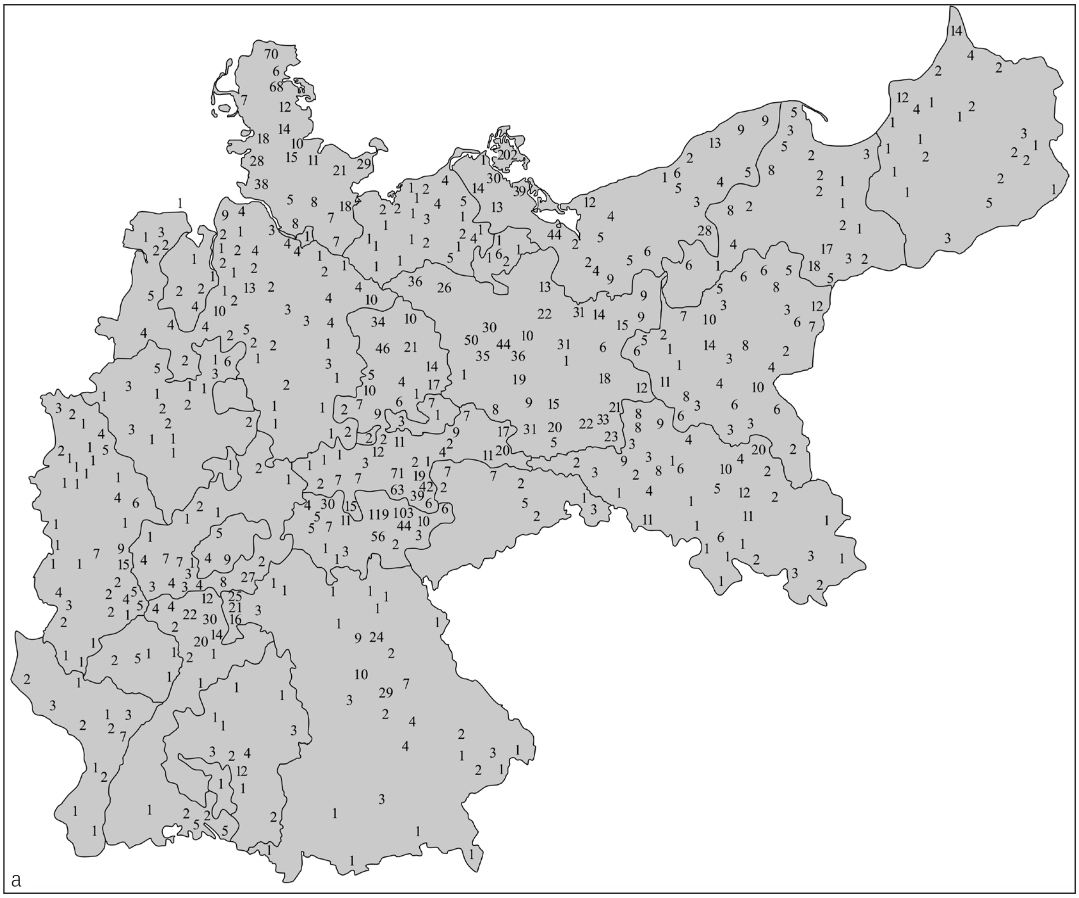
Dem Plan zur Aufstellung der Alterthümer aus den ausserdeutschen Ländern Europa's liegt die gleiche Anordnung, wie die des Katalogs zu Grunde, indem vom Osten zur Mitte, dem Süden und Westen vorgegangen wird und der Norden den Beschluss bildet. Dasselbe Princip ist auch bei der Anordnung der Alterthümer Deutschlands massgebend und zwar folgen sich: **1. Ost-Deutschland** (Ost- und West-Preussen, Pommern, Posen, Schlesien, Brandenburg), **2. Mittel-Deutschl.** (Prov. Sachsen, Königr. Sachsen, Thüringen), **3. Süd-D.** (Bayern, Württemberg, Baden, Elsass, Rheinbayern, Hessen-Darmstadt), **4. West-D.** (Rheinprov., Hessen-Nassau, Westfalen), **5. Nordwest-D.** (Hannover, Meklenburg, Schleswig-Holstein).

Fig. 2 The new system of geographical classification of the Berlin collection (1880) (© Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte).

collection with substantial donations in 1881, these finds from his excavations in Troy and other sites in the Mediterranean region were registered in a separate catalogue which eventually included nearly 12,000 entries.

The acquisition policy of the Prehistoric Department was controlled by a commission of experts headed by the director of the collection. The commission also included external representatives from other fields of science and from politics (Gärtner 2004/05, 87-88).

Apart from some minor fluctuations, the number of acquisitions displayed a clear tendency. While the annual allotment seldom exceeded 3000 inventory numbers in the 1880s (it was often substantially lower), this mark was generally surpassed from 1891 on. The years 1900 and 1901 were the only exceptions. There is a simple explanation for this, however, as these were the years when the Schliemann collection had to be sorted and inventoried anew (Schmidt 1902). This would obviously have tied up a lot of the staff's capacities. On the other hand, some years could display impressive peaks. In 1904, for instance, nearly 8500 inventory entries were added.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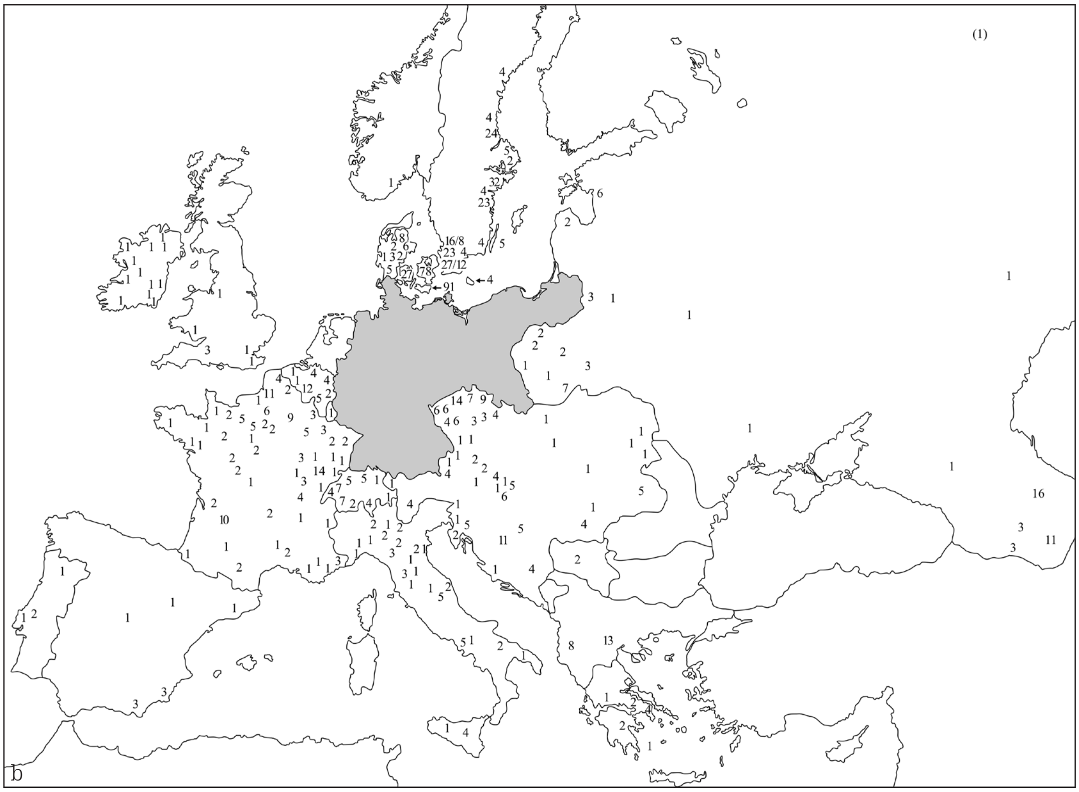

(1)
b

A European comparative scope

The geographical scope of the collection was also expanded significantly. The territories of Prussia and Germany, however, still remained the primary focus of acquisition activities. More than half of the new entries, nearly 50,000, were allotted to finds from the Prussian provinces. The acquisition numbers for the remaining German states display a clear south to north gradient. While finds from the northern German territories rarely found their way to Berlin, the central portion of Germany provided more than 4000 items, and southern Germany excelled with more than 8000 inventory numbers.

As a consequence of its substantial acquisitions from all over Europe, the Berlin Museum began to evolve into a truly international institution for comparative studies. More than 22,000 positions in the inventory, a full 27% of new acquisitions, came from European regions outside the German Empire. These objects enabled the Museum to document and present nearly 5000 sites from all over Europe between 1880 and 1906 (Fig. 3). Nevertheless, acquisitions still depended to a large extent on chance. The ideal of a collection which was well-balanced both in geographical and chronological respects remained elusive.

The final years of the German Empire were marked by a paradigmatic shift in Prehistoric archaeology away from the natural sciences and evolution towards a perception which emphasised cultural and historical aspects (Menghin 2004/05). A revised concept which envisaged a comparative presentation of the development of European cultures and peoples was finally presented to a wider audience when the new director of the Museum, Carl Schuchhardt (1859-1943), published his work *Alteuropa* (Ancient Europe) (Schuchhardt 1919).

Fieldwork and spectacular acquisitions

From 1907 to 1925, the growth of the collection slowed down considerably, with only 20,000 new entries in the inventory. This was offset by a number of spectacular acquisitions which were made during this time. Another new trend was also filling out the collection, the international research projects organized by staff members of the Museum. These included the excavations conducted in Romania by Hubert Schmidt (1932), a curator, and the director himself, as well as those carried out by Max Ebert (an assistant labourer at the Museum) in southern Russia (Bertram 2011b; Menghin 2011).

Fig. 3 (opposite page) 1880-1906: inventory entries from more than 5000 sites throughout Europe (the figures indicate the number of sites in each region) (© Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte).

One of the most spectacular acquisitions was made in 1910 with the Palaeolithic finds from the excavations which the well-known Swiss archaeologist Otto Hauser had carried out in the Dordogne region of France (Drößler/Freyberg 2000; Hoffmann 2003). Numerous stone artefacts, the skeleton of a Neanderthal individual from Le Moustier, and the remains of a Homo sapiens sapiens from Combe Capelle can be mentioned in this context.

Berlin also gained a substantial number of grave inventories from the Late Roman and Merovingian periods found in northern France when the Museum bought the Boulanger collection in 1913 (Neumayer 2002).

The year 1913 also saw the discovery of the famous Bronze Age treasure of Eberswalde (Schuchhardt 1914), which was initially presented in Berlin's Stadtschloss (city palace) after having been acquired by the German Emperor Wilhelm II. In 1914, however, he loaned the find to the Museum to ensure an adequate public presentation.

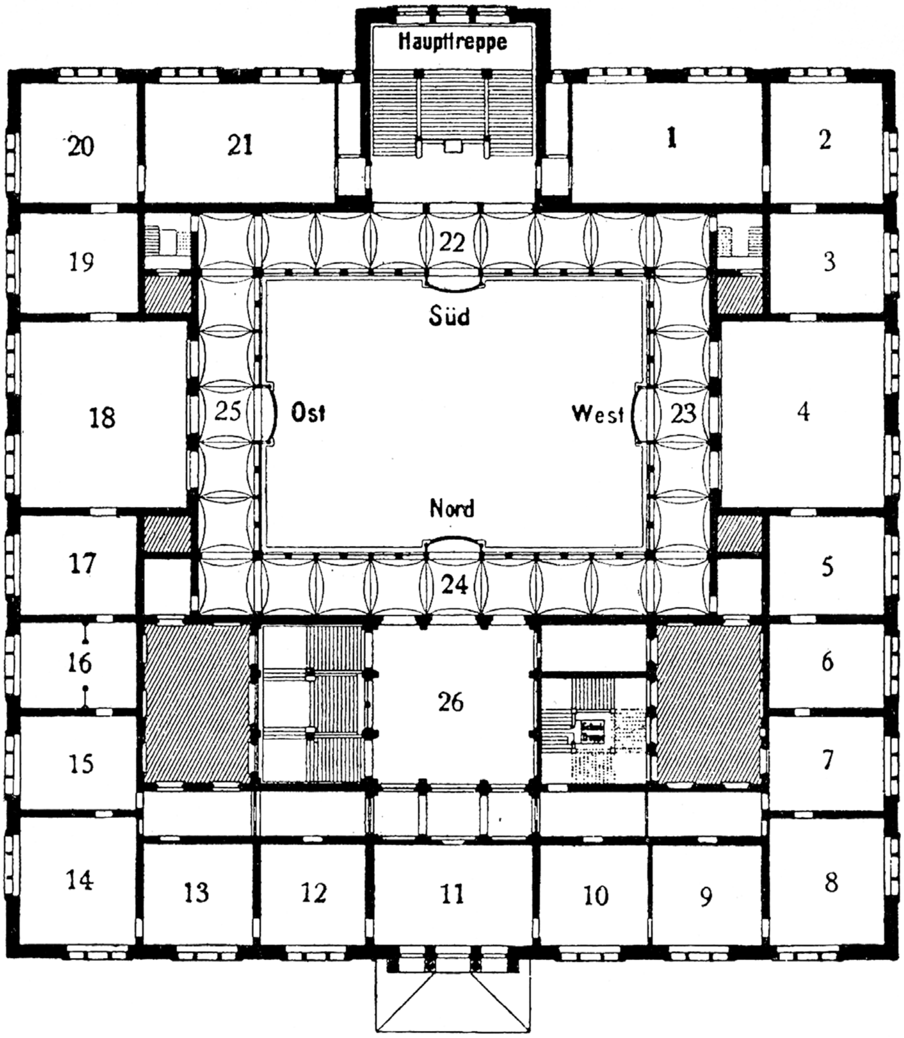
Another important find complex which belonged to the Emperor found its way into the Museum in 1918. A cousin of Wilhelm II, the Duchess of Mecklenburg, had presented him in 1913 with the finds from her excavations in the Krain region of Slovenia (Weiss 1993; 1999). Once again, these Hallstatt period finds were initially exhibited in the Stadtschloss. Both the Eberswalde treasure and the Krain finds became the property of the Museum when the German Empire collapsed.

The number of acquisitions recorded for the years between 1907 and 1925 clearly illustrates the influence of the political events of this era. Both World War I and, even more severely, the years of the Great Depression led to an almost complete suspension of acquisition activities. In addition, new legislation on heritage conservation now favoured the retention and presentation of finds in their region of origin.

Schuchhardt and his ideas on Ancient Europe

Schuchhardt's concept of a comparative presentation of ancient European cultures and peoples exerted a strong influence on his acquisition policy. This led to an almost complete turnaround concerning the regions where new acquisitions came from. Now, Germany contributed a mere 7000 new inventory numbers, of which some 90% came from the provinces of Prussia. Out of a total number of 20,000 inventory entries recorded between 1907 and 1925, some 65% came from foreign countries. Amongst these, Austria, Hungary, Romania, southern Russia, and especially France were heavily represented. The substantial shares of southern Russia and the Balkans are largely a result of the intensive excavation activities of the Museum staff in these regions. The enormous French share, on the other hand, is mostly due to the acquisitions of the Hauser and Boulanger collections mentioned above.

Directly after he had assumed office in 1908, Schuchhardt had implemented his concept of a comparative presentation of cultural history in a newly arranged permanent exhibition in the Ethnological Museum (Schmidt 1908). Yet he had to wait until the end of his term for the full realization of the collection's potential when it relocated to the *Martin-Gropius-Bau* (Martin-Gropius-Building). Freed from the constraints of the Ethnological Museum, the independent Prehistoric Department could now utilize 21 exhibition rooms to present a truly comprehensive exhibition on the archaeology of ancient Europe (Führer 1922; see Fig. 4)



MUSEUM FÜR VÖLKERKUNDE II. OBERGESCHOSS
PRÄHISTORISCHE ABTEILUNG

1	Ältere Steinzeit
2—3	Jüngere Steinzeit
4—6	Troja
7	Altes Mittelmeer
8	Kaukasus und Ungarn
9—10	Bronzezeit
11—12	Ältere Eisenzeit
13—14	Jüngere Eisenzeit
15—17	Römische Kaiserzeit
18	Völkerwanderungszeit
19	Goldfunde
20	Wendische Zeit
21	Leihgaben

Fig. 4 Map of the exhibition of the *Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* in the Martin-Gropius-Building (around 1930) (© Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte).

Towards the present day

As the last director of the pre-1945 era, Wilhelm Unverzagt (1892-1971) took office in 1926. His overall approach to the collection was dedicated to continuity, and his acquisition policy was aimed at filling existing geographical and chronological gaps (Bertram 2004/05b).

However, this completion of the collection was severely hampered by the reduction of available funds during Unverzagt's term in office. On the other hand, his excavations of fortification sites in Brandenburg province provided the Museum with large amounts of find material (Bertram 2004/05c; 2013). In addition, Unverzagt was more persistent than his predecessors in urging the local authorities in Prussia to deliver finds from public land to the Berlin museum.

The inventory was also expanded through the acquisition of several substantial private collections. In general, the acquisition policy of the Unverzagt era was characterized by a focus on important individual objects or smaller find complexes. As a result, the collection now gained a larger number of gold finds (Von Jenny/Volbach 1933). Even though Unverzagt's personal interests and activities were increasingly focused on the province of Brandenburg, he never neglected, throughout his term in office, to strengthen the pan-European character of the collection. He would claim with some pride that he "[…] *headed the largest collection of European Prehistory on the continent* […]" (Unverzagt/Von Jenny 1935, 4).

Under Unverzagt's guidance, prehistoric research expanded to encompass global relationships between the continents. As a consequence, the Museum acquired increasing numbers of finds from Africa and Asia. On the other hand, his own research on Slavic culture extended the chronological scope of the collections to include the High Middle Ages.

Only 7000 inventory numbers were recorded between 1926 and 1940. Of these, some 2000 were allotted in the year 1926 alone. This peak was a direct result of the large backlog of non-inventoried finds which Unverzagt had inherited when he took office. From 1927 on, the

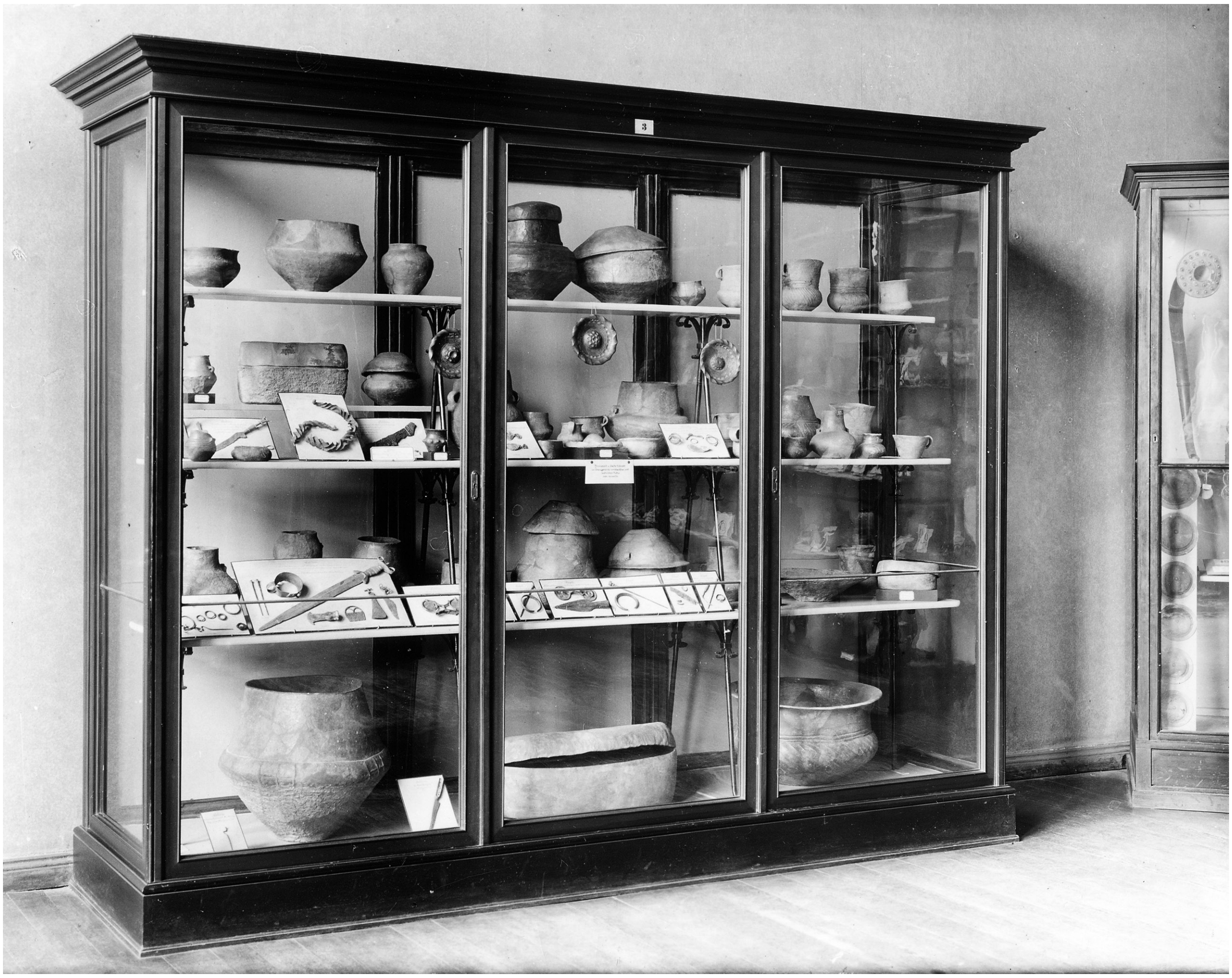


Fig. 5 Display case with Bronze Age finds (around 1930) (© Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte).

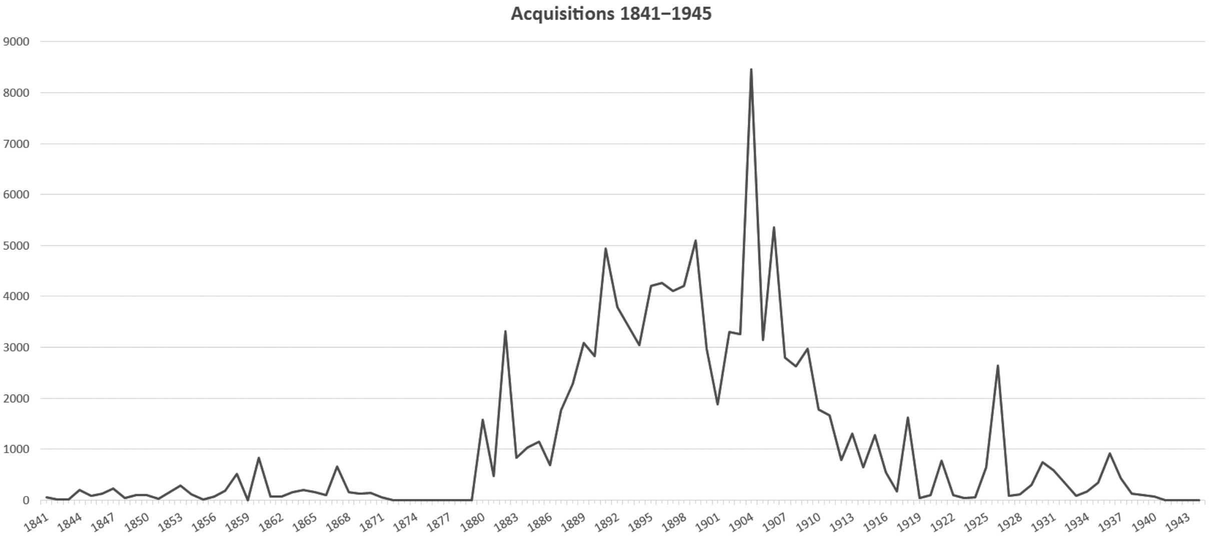


Fig. 6 Acquisition figures of the Berlin collection from 1841 to 1945 (© Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte).

number of acquisitions dropped to the level of the years after World War I. The regional distribution of these finds was similar to the Schuchhardt era. At 62%, the majority of objects still came from foreign countries. The large number of new acquisitions from Africa (nearly 1000 entries) or Western Asia and Asia Minor (more than 2000) was an unusual feature of this era. The 2600 entries from Germany on the other hand, were still dominated by the Prussian provinces (at 86%).

The Great Depression and the rise of National Socialism shaped the conditions under which the Museum now had to operate. With the beginning of World War II, the activities of the Museum (including acquisitions) largely came to a standstill. The only significant sources of finds which still contributed to the collection were Unverzagt's excavations in Brandenburg.

The permanent exhibition on the archaeology of ancient Europe which had been set up in 1922 would remain in place throughout these years with only minor alterations (Fig. 5). Plans for a modernization of the entire exhibition came to nothing as funds were simply not available. Nevertheless, when World War II broke out, the collection of the Berlin Museum could claim to be a well-stocked and comprehensive scientific institution with its 150,000 inventoried objects (Fig. 6).

To the present day, the Berlin Museum of Pre- and Early History has upheld its successful concept, the presentation of a comparative cultural history of Europe and its neighbouring regions. The permanent exhibition in the *Neues Museum* (New Museum) on the Museum Island is an impressive testimony to this scientific legacy (Wemhoff 2015).

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Frédéric Troyon (1815-1866) and Arnold Morel-Fatio (1813-1887)

Collecting European antiquities for the *Musée cantonal* in Lausanne (Switzerland)

Lionel Pernet

Introduction

In 1818, the Cantonal Museum of Vaud opened its doors to the public. The Antiques Museum was created in 1852 with the archaeological and historical collections of the Cantonal Museum (only around 750 objects at the time). Most of the collection was collected in the first half of the 19th century, after the 1798 Revolution and the Independence of the State of Vaud in 1803. Some of the objects also came from the library of the Academy of Lausanne. However, after 1852, the international contacts of the Museum's first director Frédéric Troyon and the discovery of lake dwellings on the shores of Lake Geneva and Neuchâtel brought thousands of pieces to Lausanne. This paper aims to count and classify the 3700 archaeological objects that came from outside Vaud between 1790 and 1914 that are kept nowadays by the *Musée cantonal d'archéologie et d'histoire* (MCAH; the archaeological and historical State Museum for the Swiss canton of Vaud).

The Museum's collection 1790-1852

Between 1790 and 1914, the *Musée cantonal d'archéologie et d'histoire* in Lausanne, collected around 30,000 objects (Fig. 1), including a number of pieces from territories other than the canton of Vaud or Switzerland. This article analyses the context of acquisition of these different collections and the motivations that prevailed to integrate foreign archaeological objects in a regional museum.[1] To do this, it is necessary to go back to the origins of the MCAH.

Created in 1852, the Museum was initially called *Musée des Antiquités*. It was housed at the Academy of Lausanne, on the hill of the Old Town. However, scientists from Vaud

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[1] The figures presented in this article are based on the MCAH's inventories. Due to the large number of objects involved, the data was not individually checked, but taken as it was. Concerning the origins or interpretation of certain items, it is not impossible that there may sometimes be confusion between the places where the objects were produced and the places of discovery, or changes in borders that change the origin of the items. But, overall, these figures give a correct idea of the composition of the MCAH collections up to the First World War. I thank Pierre Crotti, keeper at the Museum, for his help in gathering this data.

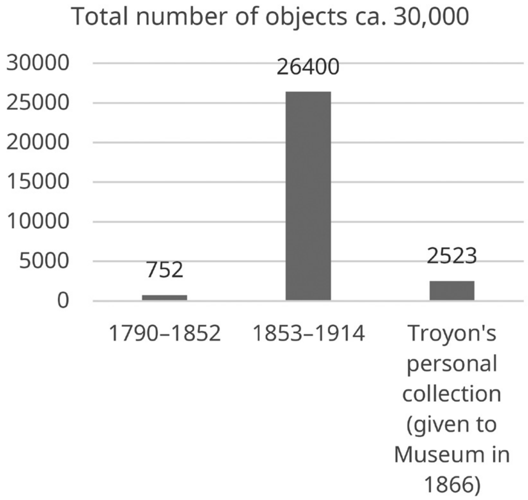


Fig. 1 The number of objects in the collection of the *Musée cantonal d'archéologie et d'histoire* (MCAH) between 1790-1914 (L. Pernet).

did not wait until the middle of the 19th century to build up historical, archaeological and ethnographic collections. At the very beginning of the 19th century, after the Vaud Revolution of 1798, the *Société des sciences physiques de Lausanne* and subsequently the *Société d'émulation du canton de Vaud*, dreamt of the creation of a *Musée d'Antiquités cantonales* in the capital of the young State (Brizon *et al.* 2018a, 8). The meagre collections inherited from the 18th century and kept in the Academy's cabinet (Brizon 2018) were gradually enriched: in 1804, for example, at the initiative of the *Société d'émulation*, 30 objects found in the Roman site of Lausanne-Vidy, entered the Antiquities cabinet (Brizon *et al.* 2018b, 69), but it would take several more years for collecting to intensify.

In July 1818, Daniel Alexandre Chavannes (1765-1846), pastor and professor of zoology, inaugurated the rooms of the *Musée cantonal* at the Academy, 15 years after Napoleon's Act of Mediation which gave birth to the Canton of Vaud and three years after the Congress of Vienna, which confirmed its status as an independent canton. The *Musée cantonal* replaced the Academy's Cabinet and brought together collections of natural sciences (botany, geology and zoology), fine arts and antiquities, including numismatics. The grouping of all these documents under the aegis of the Canton allowed the implementation of an acquisition policy carried out by curators. In the case of archaeology and history, these were the *Conservateurs des Antiquités cantonales*, appointed in 1822. They were responsible for bringing objects discovered in the territory of Vaud into the Museum. Their actions were based on information from the inhabitants, who were invited by an official circular dated to October 1822, to inform the Museum of any discovery of "*inscriptions, sculptures or metal art objects*". The "*patriotic gifts*" of private collectors gradually contributed to the growth of the archaeological collections. In 1824, Louis Levade (1750-1834), a doctor, also offered more than 50 objects, discovered in Avenches, Bern and Rome (Brizon *et al.* 2018b, 69; Gutzwiller *et al.* 2017).

For this generation, born in the last quarter of the 18th century, which founded the *Musée cantonal* almost *ex nihilo*, the emphasis was on the constitution of collections. They aimed to collect as many pieces as possible, in the encyclopaedic tradition. However, these founders were also already interested in the interpretation of objects and especially in their dating, which often remained mysterious when it came to objects that could not be linked to known periods. The distinction between prehistoric periods was still difficult, in the absence of local and supra-regional references.

The *Conservateurs des Antiquités* were thus responsible for monitoring the territory. In the north of the canton, François-Rodolphe de Dompierre (1775-1844) played a key role in the establishment of a cantonal museum in Avenches (*Aventicum*, capital of the *Helvetii* in Roman times). A distribution of discoveries was made between the 'encyclopaedic' museum in Lausanne and the site museum established in Avenches, which would be extended over the decades to other important archaeological sites that preserve the discoveries made *in situ* in local museums (Lausanne-Vidy, Nyon and Yverdon-les-Bains).

In 1841 the Fine Arts collections left the Academy and were moved to the Arlaud Museum, on the Place de la Riponne, in the centre of Lausanne. The space freed up allowed the addition of cabinets for natural science and archaeology collections. In an article published the same year, Daniel Alexandre Chavannes reviews the collections held by the *Musée cantonal* (Chavannes 1841). Concerning archaeology and history, there are essentially objects from the canton of Vaud, which "*belong to our history*". The Roman period is well represented with bronze statuettes, *fibulae*, tile fragments, ceramics and various instruments. The collection also includes "*Celtic ornaments*" as well as earrings from the Early Middle Ages.

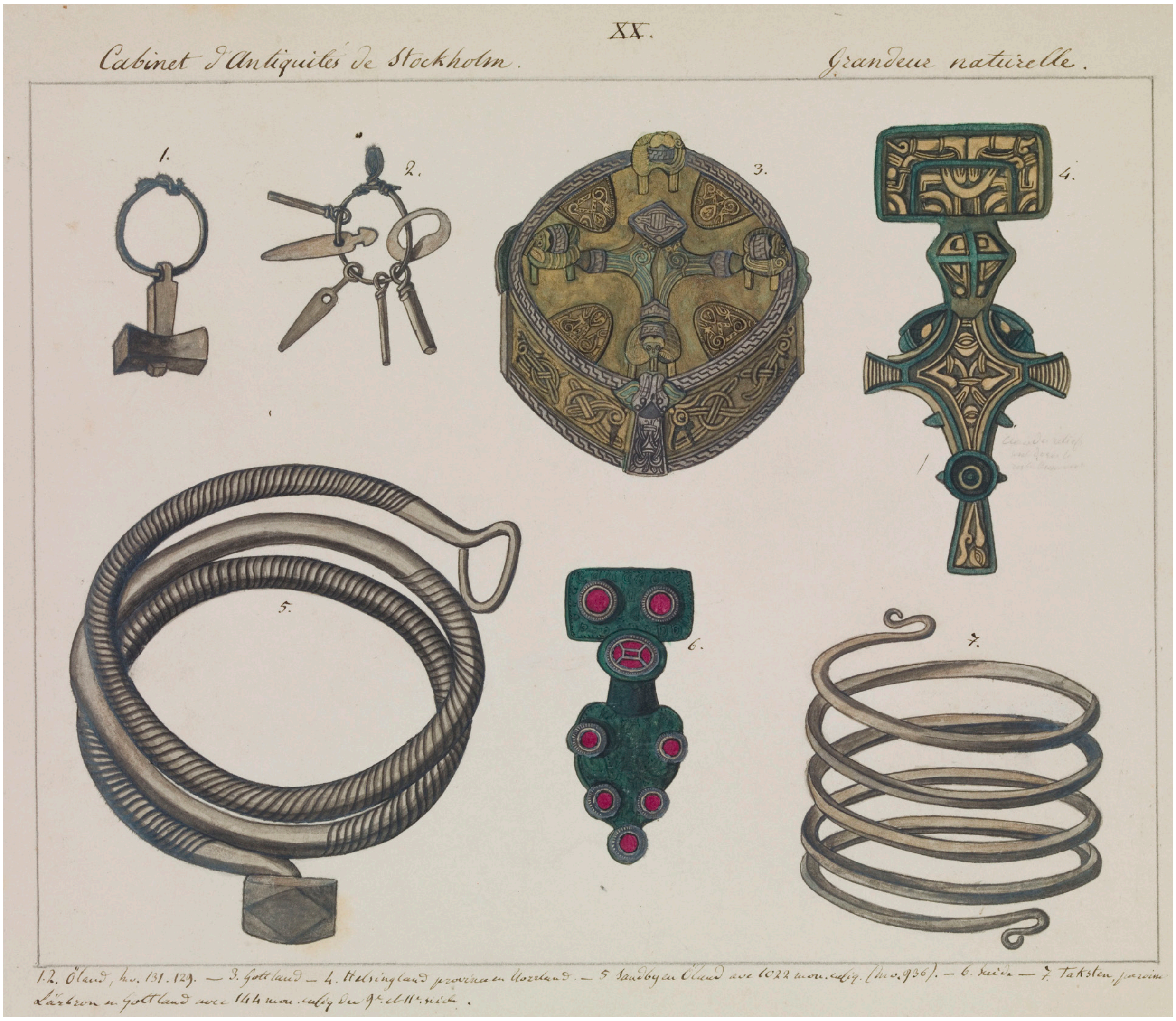
In a recent academic paper, Vincent Fontana showed the heterogeneous, encyclopaedic nature of the collections of the years 1820-1840 (Fontana 2018). In total, this was just a small number of pieces (less than 400), mainly consisting of local discoveries and some objects brought back from the Mediterranean Basin.

Frédéric-Louis Troyon

Frédéric Troyon, who would become the first curator of the Antiquities Museum, entered the field of archaeological research precisely at the time when the initial generation of founders left the scene in the early 1840s. Born in 1815 near Lausanne, Troyon, whose father was a revolutionary in 1798, was raised in a Protestant family. He intended for his son to pursue a career as a pastor. Troyon joined the Academy where he attended theology classes. In 1838, at the age of 23, he discovered by chance the first tombs of one of the largest Early Medieval cemeteries of Vaud in the family estate of Bel-Air in Cheseaux-sur-Lausanne. This discovery changed the course of his life. While studying, he devoted more and more time to his new passion, local and European antiquities. As a member of the young archaeological commission of the *Société d'histoire de la Suisse Romande*, chaired by Louis Vulliemin (1797-1879), Troyon contributed to the establishment of a 'database' of the archaeological finds in the territory. It was based on existing publications, such as the *Dictionnaire statistique du canton de Vaud* published in 1824 by Louis Levade and, above all, on a form sent to pastors and prefects of each parish and district of the canton. This work resulted in an archaeological site map, one of the first in Europe (Kaeser 2000, 134, fig. 93-94).

Fig. 2 Album of watercolored drawings by Frédéric Troyon: sheet with objects seen at the Antiquities cabinet in Stockholm during Troyon's journey to Scandinavia (Archives MCAH).

Between 1843 and 1846 Troyon left Lausanne for a long journey to Northern Europe. It allowed him to meet the great intellectual figures of his time, such as the Grimm brothers in Berlin, Christian Jürgensen Thomsen in Copenhagen or Bror Emil Hildebrand in Stockholm (Kaeser 2000, 54; Vulliemin 1866, 530-534). Troyon documents his research through long letters, to his family and friend Vulliemin, drawings, watercolours and casts of objects that now form a first-rate archive for this early period in the collections (Fig. 2). He left Stockholm in 1846 to go see the imperial collections in St. Petersburg. In a long letter to his sister, he describes the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1.2. Öland, No. 131. 129. — 3. Gottland — 4. Helsingland province en Norrland. — 5 Sandby en Öland avec 1022 mon. cufiq. (No. 936). — 6. Suède — 7. Takstem, paroisse Lärbro en Gottland avec 144 mon. cufiq du 9e et 11e siècle.

city and the purpose of his trip: drawing and taking prints of various objects. There he met several Swiss people living in St. Petersburg, including Florent Gille (from Geneva), in charge of part of the imperial collections, and Rodolphe Picard (from Lausanne), an illustrator participating in the future publication of *Antiques of the Cimmerian Bosphorus*. To his great surprise, he was allowed to make casts, including some of the Siberian gold plaques, from the cabinet of Czar Peter the Great, which reminded him of certain Western European decorations from the Early Middle Ages.

Back in Lausanne, he continued his activities as an archaeologist and was appointed head of the Museum in 1852. His aim was to quickly develop the institution so that it became more than just a place to collect objects discovered in the Canton or brought back from abroad by travellers. A systematic inventory of old collections was undertaken and the objects were classified by period, type and place of discovery. In a report he submitted in 1858 to the *Commission des musées et de la bibliothèque du Canton de Vaud*, he noted that the archaeology and ethnography collections are not "*without any value*", but that they "*still leave important gaps to be filled*" (Troyon 1858, 15). The aim therefore became to supplement national antiquities (which "*make up for the inadequacy of written documents for prehistory*") by exploring lake sites through dredging and excavations. Troyon thus assigned the task of monitoring the territory and protecting the remains discovered to the Museum. This happened at a time when the ownership of the objects was not public and many pieces were collected in agreement with the owners of the land and then sold, particularly those from the lake dwellings discovered from 1854 onwards. Troyon followed or forwarded the dredging and required that the objects be brought back to the Museum in Lausanne, causing violent conflicts with colleagues with a more liberal approach who considered that the restriction of the right to carry out excavations was a resurgence of Medieval privileges (Kaeser 2004, 328; Rapin 1966, 145-146). Troyon indeed also gathered a personal collection consisting of pieces from Vaud and outside in parallel with the cantonal collection. The resulting progression of the Vaud collections was spectacular: from 752 objects when he arrived in 1852, the number of objects rose to just over 3000 when he died in 1866, not to mention his personal collection (about 3000 pieces), which also became part of the Museum's collection.

Troyon described the finds in reports and also developed broader syntheses, based on the state of research in Switzerland and Europe, as prehistory became a scientific discipline. While Troyon was interested in the work of the ethnographers of his time, particularly in an attempt to better understand the organization of lake dwellings, he also took up the racist theories of his time, shared by many of his contemporaries, without criticizing them.

In 1860 and 1867 his two main works, *Habitations lacustres des temps anciens et modernes*, followed by *L'homme fossileou résumé des études sur les plus anciennes traces de l'existence de l'homme*, were published, but quickly became obsolete in the very dynamic context of European prehistory of the time. Ferdinand Keller (1863) published a highly argued critique of the book on lake dwellings, strongly reproaching Troyon for explaining each change in material culture through population invasions (arrival of lakes-dwellers in the Neolithic, then Celts in the Bronze Age and finally Helvetians in the Iron Age). He was also criticized for his understanding of religion and mystical explanations (Kaeser 2000, 58). However, they also contain insights that would prove to be correct, particularly on chronological issues like his contemporary from Neuchâtel, Édouard Desor (1811-1882), he placed the iron swords of the La Tène site (discovered in 1857) in the Iron Age (Olivier/Pernet 2017, 81; Troyon 1860, 348-349).

To feed his publications, Troyon exchanged letters, but also casts of objects, with several scholars of his time, including Ludwig Lindenschmit in Mainz. In four letters preserved in the *Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum* (RGZM; Roman-Germanic Central Museum), dated between 1849 and 1854, Troyon describes recent discoveries of Vaud and Swiss sites, objects with their parallels, and hypotheses for the interpretation of the sites.[2]

Troyon's personal collection

At the same time as he was developing interpretations for the pieces discovered, Troyon was building a collection of objects in his name, in parallel with those he had brought into the Museum since 1852. With 2523 pieces inventoried, it is characterised by a strong presence of pieces from outside Vaud (almost 40%) (Fig. 3). These varied origins reflect Troyon's travels in Germany, Scandinavia, but also his contacts in Britain, France, Italy and Switzerland. A couple of bifaces from Saint-Acheul near Abbeville in France entered Troyon's collection through Henry Christy (Fig. 4), as well as some ethnographical objects used by Troyon to reflect on the nature of prehistoric axes[3].

Objects from Denmark, for example, mainly comprised polished axes (Fig. 5) (Pernet 2017, 90-91), while those from Italy are mostly ornamental pieces such as *fibulae*. These are not Roman *fibulae*, but rather Italic or Celtic ones, as well as Italic ornamental bronze objects like a rare bronze knuckle ring from a Picenian grave (Fig. 6).

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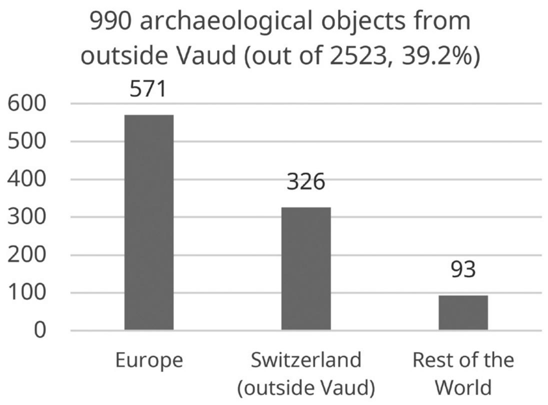
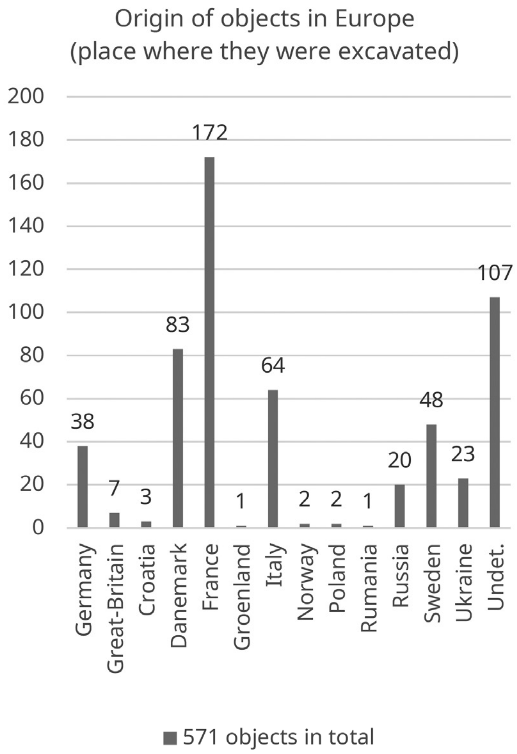
[2] The letters were kindly provided by Jeannette Frey from the RGZM. We thank her for her help.

[3] The axe bears the inventory CT/2666 (Pernet 2017, 94-95).





Denmark (Prehistory)	
Bronze tools	5
Shells	5
Stone	67
Varia	6
Total	83

Italy (1000-1 BC)	
Pottery	11
Glassware	3
Terracottae	15
Bronze jewellery	26
Wall paintings	5
Varia	4
Total	64

Fig. 3 Number of objects in Frédéric Troyon's personal collection, by countries and tables of types of objects coming from Denmark and Italy (L. Pernet).

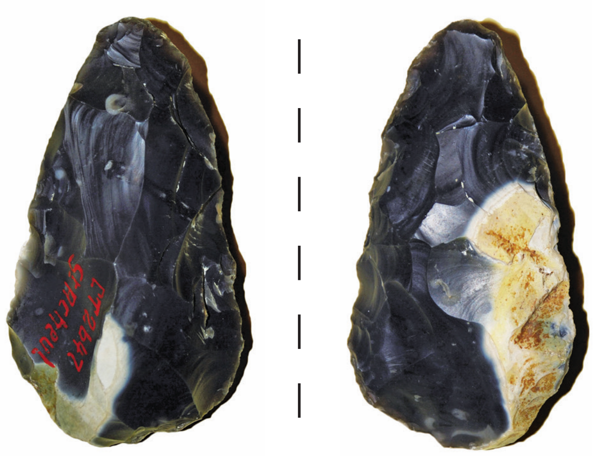


Fig. 4 Biface from Saint-Acheul, given to Frédéric Troyon by Henry Christy and kept in his personal collection; inv. CT/2647 (MCAH).

Arnold Morel-Fatio

When Troyon died in 1866, the *Conseil d'Etat* of Vaud appointed Arnold Morel-Fatio as head of the Museum. He had a very different background from Troyon, with a strong interest in numismatics, for which he took charge of the collections already in 1864. Born into a family of bankers in Rouen, but with parents from Vaud, Morel-Fatio did not have the same relationship with the region as his predecessor, who had excavated several sites and compiled the data collected in a major archaeological survey to make the first archaeological map of Vaud. While Troyon was initially destined for a career as a pastor, Morel-Fatio worked in family banking from 1831 to 1859 after studying classics in Lausanne and Paris. This combination enabled him to build up sufficient capital to devote himself to his favourite study, numismatics. Two different trajectories, but representative of a 19th century career where professional archaeological training did not yet exist and the modalities of access to the few jobs in this field remained extremely varied.

Like Troyon, Morel-Fatio donated an important collection of objects to the Museum. However, in the case of the last one, they were purchased at public sales. Most of them are pieces of Mediterranean archaeology, including those acquired in 1867 at the des Vergers auction in Paris. Other important items from the MCAH collections were acquired at the Raifé (1867), De Cesnola (1870) or Piérides (1873) auctions. However, Morel-Fatio's actions were not completely disconnected from the territory of Vaud. Continuing on from Troyon, he scrupulously followed the lake dwellings discoveries and ensured their entry into the Museum, such as the

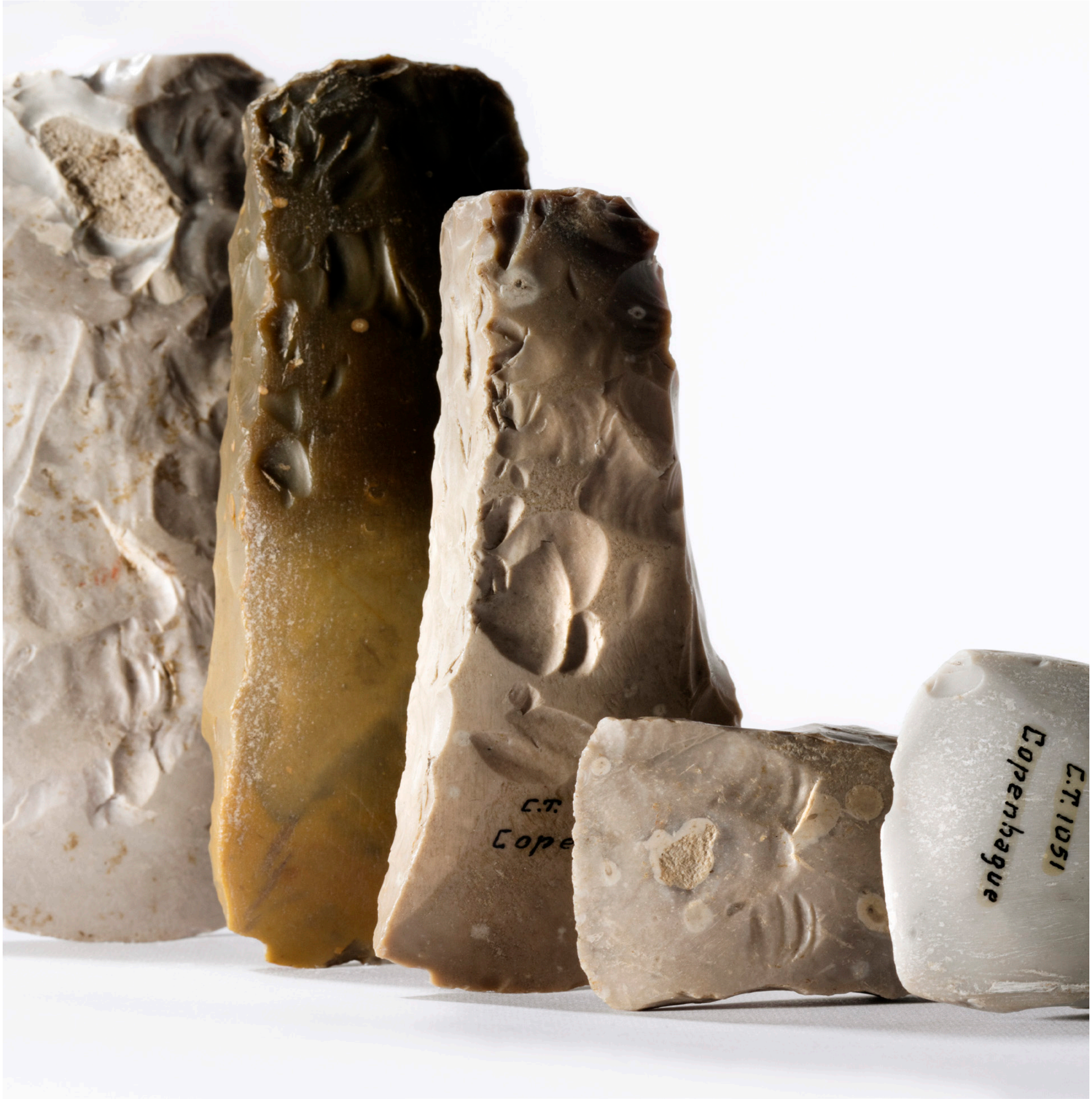


Fig. 5 Polished flint axes from Danemark (Yves André, MCAH).

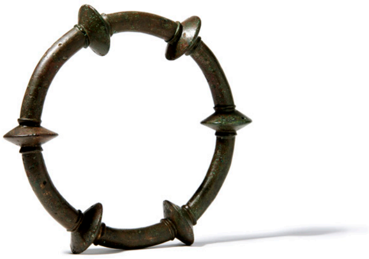
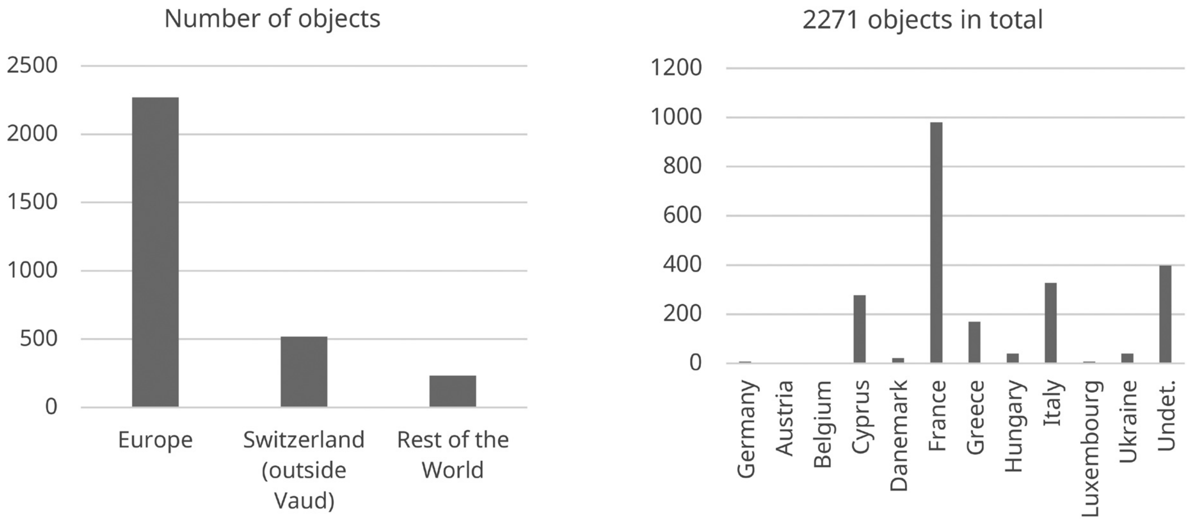


Fig. 6 Bronze 'knuckle ring' from a Picenian grave (*annellone a nodi piceno*) from Frédéric Troyon's personal collection; inv. CT/2974 (Nadine Jacquet, MCAH).

Forel collection in 1887, which contained the discoveries of the station of *Les Roseaux* in Morges. In 1877, he renamed the institution into *Musée archéologique*, thus abandoning the notion of antiquities inherited from the 18th century. In an obituary published in the *Gazette de Lausanne* on August 12, 1887, shortly after Morel-Fatio's death, Eugène Demole put forward two figures to show how much the collections had been enriched under his direction: the number of objects upon his arrival, about 3000, and the same number upon his death, about 20,000.



France (prehistory to MA)	
Prehistory (to the end of Neolithic)	556
Protohistory (Bronze and Iron Age)	183
Roman	191
Middle-Ages	20
Unknown	30
Total	980

Greece (1000-1 BC)	
Bone and ivory objects	5
Pottery	105
Alabastre	1
Terracottae	45
Stone statues	3
Metal objects	11
Total	170

Italy (1000-1 BC)	
Bone and ivory objects	5
Pottery	212
Glassware	8
Terracottae	44
Stone objects	8
Bronze objects	36
Silverware	2
Others	12
Total	327

Cyprus	
Glassware	150
Pottery	23
Terracottae	82
Stone statues	7
Metal tools and weapons	1
Gold and silver jewellery	14
Total	277

Fig. 7 Number of objects from outside Vaud in the MCAH (1790-1914) and number of objects by countries with tables showing details by types and materials for Cyprus, France, Greece and Italy (L. Pernet).

Overview of European objects in the Museum's collections (outside Troyon's collection)

In total, and excluding the Troyon collection, approximately 26,400 objects entered the Museum during the years under the direction of Troyon and Morel-Fatio and their successors until the First World War. Of these, around 3000 do not come from Vaud, the Museum's main collection area: 519 come from the rest of Switzerland and 2271 from other European countries. The best represented countries are Cyprus, France, Greece and Italy (Fig. 7). They are from all periods, from the Palaeolithic to the Middle Ages, with a greater number for the prehistoric and ancient periods, echoing the interests of archaeologists from Vaud in the second half of the 19th century, when the lake dwelling sites on the shores of lakes were involved in the construction of a European prehistory.

The objects discovered in what is now France (Fig. 7, Tab. France) are the most numerous and varied: 75% of them concern pre- and protohistoric finds, 20% date to the Roman period and 2% to the Middle Ages. They came from both Swiss and French donors, including several famous people with whom Troyon and Morel-Fatio were in contact.

The second half of the 19th century was marked by the discovery of human remains and artefacts in caves, which highlighted the very long chronology of human presence in Europe.[4] Félicien de Saucly, president of the *Commission de topographie des Gaules* from 1858 to 1879, donated about a hundred objects from various caves to the Museum, including some pieces from the excavations of Edouard Lartet and Charles Christy in Les Eyzies, La Madeleine, but also from the caves in southern France and Charente. These collections also include the discoveries made by François Forel in the Grimaldi or Balzi Rossi Caves, near Menton

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[4] Jérôme Bullinger, keeper in charge of Prehistory at the MCAH is currently working on the Palaeolithic collections of the Museum. I thank him here for the information shared in the paragraph.

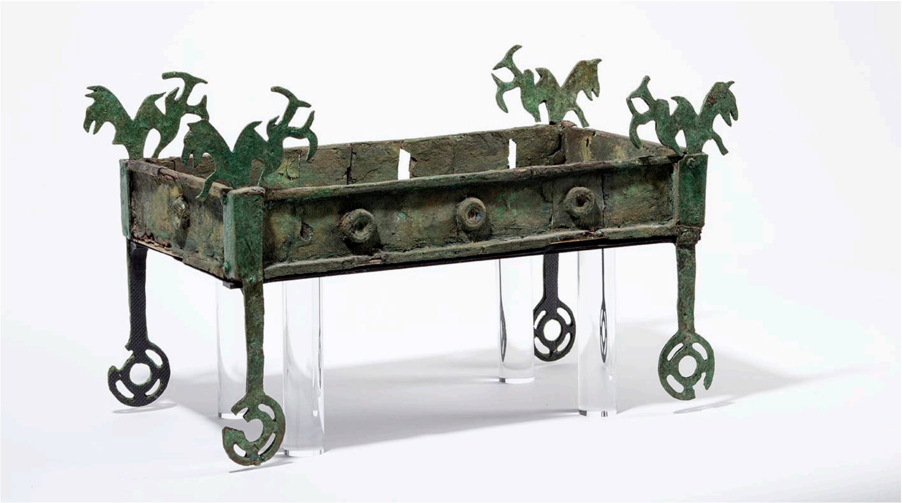

Fig. 8 Etruscan brasero (*fucolo*) from Chianciano (near Chiusi), from the Des Vergers collection, bought by Arnold Morel-Fatio; inv. 3365 (Yves André, MCAH).

in Italian territory, where he stayed in 1858. Dr. Gustave Campiche, from Sainte-Croix in Vaud, received more than 120 objects from the Mas d'Azil cave, in various shipments, as part of exchanges with the Natural History Museum of Toulouse. The excavations of the Abris de Veyrier in the Geneva basin are also represented at the MCAH by about 60 lots of objects donated in 1868 by Hippolyte-Jean Gosse, the year in which his excavations began on site by François Thioly.

The Neolithic is represented by about 50 series of flint collected in Touraine on the site of Le Grand Pressigny and donated to the Museum by the same Campiche in 1861. The Celtic and Roman objects are the result of purchases in Paris by Morel-Fatio, either from merchants (Henri Leman) or from private individuals such as Jean-Baptiste Muret, who died in 1866. He was an artist at the *Cabinet des Médailles* in Paris and had built up a collection of archaeological objects that became dispersed after his death.

Some of the objects from Greece and Italy kept at the MCAH indeed come from the Muret collection, as Morel-Fatio acquired about 450 objects in Paris after his death. Most of them are pottery or terracotta statuettes (Fig. 7, Table Italy and Greece). The objects in the Muret collection also come from Asia Minor and North Africa (Libya) and are therefore also included in the 234 archaeological objects in the MCAH collections that come from the rest of the world and not from Europe (Fig. 7).

Another very interesting series from Italy was acquired by Morel-Fatio in Paris in 1867 at the Des Vergers auction in 1867. He subsequently gave it to the Museum. Adolphe Noël Des Vergers was passionate about Etruscan civilization. In 1850 he joined forces with the Italian archaeologist Alessandro François, and founded an archaeological investigation company, first in the territory of the Etruscan city of Chiusi, then in Vulci. Des Vergers negotiated access to the land and financed the excavation from Paris, while François managed the operations on site. The sale of the objects was intended to cover the costs. The operation was legal and negotiated with the owners of the land; in Vulci, it was with Princess Alexandrine de Canino, widow of Lucien Bonaparte. About 20 tombs were excavated there in 1857, including the famous *Tombe François* with its large historical frescoes. It was during these excavations that a large part of the exceptional collection sold in Paris was constituted. The Museum holds 104 objects from this auction. These are high quality pieces: *bucchero nero* cups and canthars, light paste alabaster, bronze tableware and banquet utensils. The origins of some gives them an additional interest: a pair of andirons and a bronze brasero come from a tomb at Chianciano (near Chiusi) (Fig. 8), but above all, the MCAH owns three objects from the *Tombe François*: a black ware bowl decorated with *quadrigas*, a jug and a pair of bronze tongs.

For Cyprus, the objects (Fig. 7, Table Cyprus) come from several auctions: Raifé in 1867, De Cesnola in 1870 and Piérides in 1873. These include a series of glasses (auction

Piérides and a purchase from the antique dealer Rollin in Paris) and terracotta statuettes from the Kition sanctuary at Larnaca's salt lake (excavations De Cesnola) (Kapeller/Pomari 2000, 61-69).

Conclusion

The beginning of the 20th century marked several changes in the orientations and missions of the MCAH. The new Swiss Civil Code of 1912 regulated the ownership of archaeological objects discovered in Switzerland by assigning them to the cantons. This is the end of the trade in antiquities discovered on national territory, in particular the trafficking of objects discovered on lake dwellings and sold throughout the world. As a result this required the Swiss cantons to carry out new official tasks, which until then were sometimes already carried out, without a clear legal framework. Together with the Roman Museum of Avenches, the Museum as such became the place *par excellence* for the conservation of the archaeological heritage of the Canton of Vaud. This situation *de facto* refocused the Museum on the cantonal territory. In addition, the arrival of the First World War significantly slowed down the exchange of objects across borders and scientific contacts between archaeologists.

The number of archaeological objects coming from outside Vaud that entered after 1914 is relatively small up to the present day, compared to the 4000 pieces recorded between 1790 and 1914, including 3700 from European countries. This overview, with the imprecisions and simplifications inherent in such a broad view, nevertheless raises several questions: what to do with these objects, often of minor and relatively local interest? The problem of their return does not arise, not only because they entered the Museum legally at a time when the legal and moral framework did not prohibit these exchanges. Acquisitions were often scientific in nature and organized by the Museum curators themselves, or purchased at official public sales. Additonally, none of the countries of origin of these objects claims them. The question arises whether we should make catalogues out of them, photograph them all to put them online and allow us to gather these collections scattered in the 19th century through search engines and online databases? Such a project would first require, as the Dutch National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden has done, the complete control of the inventories, descriptions and history of these collections, which is an important task. As the MCAH continues to regularly receive collections of rescue archaeology from the Vaud territory, it is difficult for it to find the resources to launch a large-scale project on these European collections. Nevertheless, some particularly interesting collections have been highlighted in recent years, such as the Muret collection or the Des Vergers one (see above). The MCAH is also part of research projects conducted by Italian and French researchers for these two sets of objects. Gradually, these European objects should thus become better known and better documented in order to join the online databases that the Museum plans to make available in the coming years.

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Collecting Europe

Creation, growth and networks of the Ancient Europe collection at the Leiden National Museum of Antiquities (1824-1970)

Luc Amkreutz

Introduction

From its foundation in 1818 the *Rijksmuseum van Oudheden* (RMO; National Museum of Antiquities) in the Netherlands focused on several collection areas. Apart from Egypt, the Classical world, the Near East and the Netherlands, this also involved the acquisition of objects for the collection 'Ancient Europe' from 1824 onwards. Today this collection comprises several thousand Prehistoric, Roman and Medieval objects from a wide range of European countries, but they are largely not on display. The European galleries closed in 1957, the objects were relegated to the storerooms and the general idea behind their acquisition was largely forgotten. A recent project enabled research into the collection and an analysis of its background. In this contribution the characteristics of the collection are outlined and its development over 150 years discussed.[1] The aim is to understand the changing motives behind collecting European antiquities in a national context and define the networks and the scientific and social context within which this happened.

Background to the Museum and to the Ancient Europe collection

The museum in Leiden was founded in 1818 by King William I. The general idea behind its formation may be interpreted against the background of Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo and the subsequent geopolitical reshuffling that took place (Hoijtink 2012, 12-15, 23-24). Similar to other countries, the new nation state of the Netherlands, which until 1830 also included Belgium, wanted to establish and affirm its role and position on the new European stage. Apart from economic and military achievements, scientific discoveries and rich collections also formed a part of that, and burgeoning national museums were an instrument for achieving recognition (*e.g.* Díaz-Andreu 2007, 318-337; Hoijtink 2012; Pearce 1995, 132-139).

The core of the collection was formed by the classical statues and artefacts of the 18th-century Papenbroek collection which formed the *Archaeological Cabinet* of Leiden University. Christian Caspar Reuvens, who was the first to hold a professorship in archaeology in the world, was appointed as its first director (Brongers 2002, 79). From the outset Reuvens had a clear idea of what his museum should become. Inspired by visits to the Louvre and the British Museum, the aim was to establish an archaeological Museum of World Cultures. This meant that apart from the Classical Mediterranean cultures, Egypt and the Near East, antiquities from South-east Asia and the Americas also formed a natural part of this until these finally were incorporated in the collections of the *Ethnographic Museum* in 1903 (currently *Museum voor Wereldculturen*) (Hoijtink 2012, 93-113; Willemsen 2018, 52).

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[1] Part of this contribution is based on Amkreutz 2018 and Amkreutz submitted. The results presented here are part of the NWO-Museum-scholarship project (no. 333-54-012).

Archaeological objects from the Netherlands of course also formed a core collection area. Reuvens himself excavated at the Roman town of Forum Hadriani in 1823 and visited and investigated the megalithic *hunebedden* and burial mounds as early as 1819 (Brongers 1973). As Prehistoric, early historic and Roman finds were found in other European countries as well, it was quite natural to also start collecting these antiquities for comparative purposes (Schneider 1981, 23). From 1824 onwards then the first objects appear in the Museum inventory and for the next 150 years *Ancient Europe* would form a consistent collection area. The number of objects would gradually rise over the years and currently comprises over 8000 artefacts. These include many less conspicuous pieces, but also superb artefacts and a wide range of copies.

In the early 20th century the importance of the collection would grow in comparison to the other collection areas, culminating in a separate permanent Ancient Europe exhibition, including study galleries in 1926 (Amkreutz 2018; Verhart 2008a). Exactly 30 years later these galleries were closed, and while addition of new objects continued for some years, most objects were never displayed again and eventually active acquisition ended completely.

The existence of a collection which grew over many decades into an important focus area for the Museum, but meanwhile has become obsolete and largely forgotten is remarkable. In order to understand this development, it is important to review the start and expansion of the collection from a historical perspective and embed it within the larger European socio-political and scientific contexts of the 19th and early 20th centuries.

In order to review and study this collection a grant was obtained from the NWO Museum Grants programme that enabled the author to research the collection at the level of objects and archives within the project *Collecting Europe. In search of European antiquities for the national archaeological collection (1824-1970)*.[2] The research was aimed both at a qualitative re-evaluation of chronological and typological aspects of the collection as well as to investigate to what extent the motives for bringing together these objects changed over time.

In this contribution I document the characteristics of the Ancient Europe collection in the RMO and present an overview of its historical development over time. I subsequently analyse and compare the way the motivations for acquiring European archaeological artefacts and the professional networks within which this occurred changed. I finally briefly aim to provide a future perspective for these and similar collections.

Ancient Europe, some dimensions

Before focusing on the historical development of the collection, it is helpful to present a brief overview of its dimensions. The collection currently holds 8542 objects. These comprise many individual finds, but also groups of objects that were part of other collections, were sold together or derived from the same archaeological site. The collection includes many stone and ceramic finds as well as a considerable number of metal objects (see Tab. 1). The artefacts range from insignificant sherds and flint flakes to complete vessels, polished axes, swords and gold jewellery.

Most artefacts were acquired by purchasing them from antique dealers, collectors and other individuals, or at auctions. A smaller part of the collection was donated to the Museum by individuals and other institutions such as universities and museums, or exchanged (see Tab. 1). Due to the way in which and time-period when many finds were acquired there, is often little information on the exact find location and circumstances. There are numerous exceptions that detail finds beyond country and region, but in particular the antiquarian approach of the 19th century often seems to have favoured typological relevance or aesthetical quality over archaeological context (see Díaz-Andreu 2007, 53; Pearce 1995 121-124; Trigger 1989, 70-72).

The collection includes finds from a wide range of (former) European countries, including Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, former Czechoslowakia, Denmark (and Greenland), England, Estonia, Germany, France, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Ireland, Latvia, Luxemburg, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Russia, Sweden, Switzerland, Spain and Ukraine. Over time it also came to comprise a small number of finds from countries outside Europe, including Algeria, Ethiopia, India, Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, Syria, Thailand, South Africa, Tanzania and the US. These finds could not be attributed to the other collection areas or were a remnant of the separation of the ethnographical archaeology collections into the *Museum of Ethnology* in 1903 (Schneider 1981, 34). Clearly Belgium, Germany, France, Scandinavia and the former Austro-Hungarian empire were the main contributors to the collection (Fig. 1). From the perspective of the main scholarly developments and discoveries in

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[2] For the project see: https://www.nwo.nl/en/research-and-results/research-projects/i/60/26360.html.

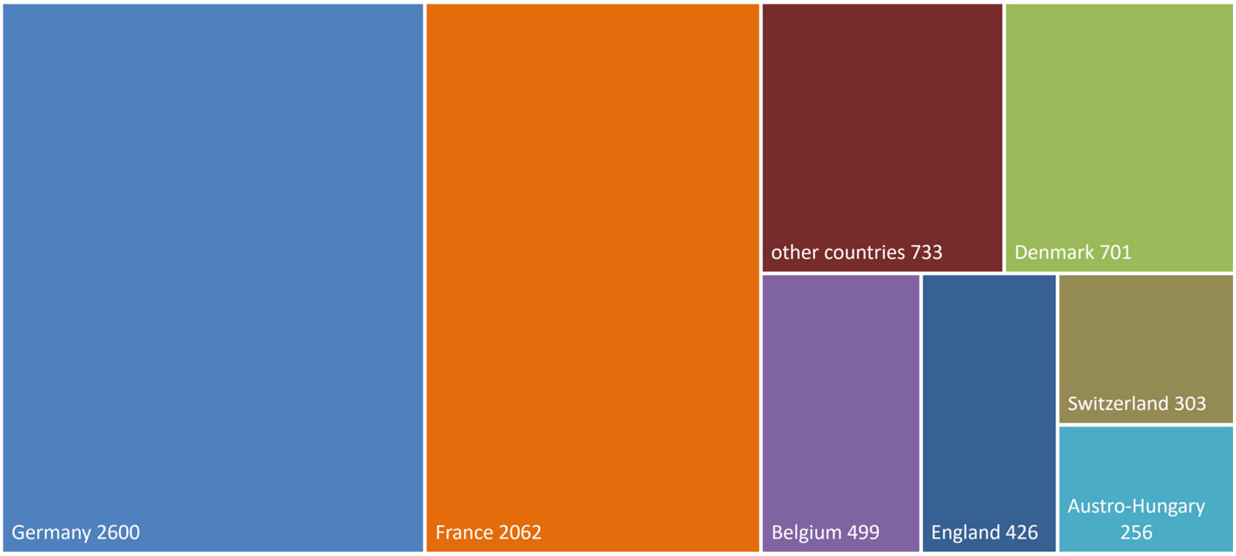

Fig. 1 Quantitative geographical composition of the Ancient Europe collection at the RMO.

the 19th and early 20th century European archaeology, and Prehistory in particular, this is a logical composition (Bibby 1979; Trigger 1989).

From a chronological perspective the collection comprises Prehistoric, Roman and, mainly early, Medieval artefacts. As the Museum had separate departments for Classical, Egyptian and Near Eastern archaeology, finds from the 'classical' Mediterranean world were excluded. In 1926 this was officially outlined in the guide to the permanent Ancient Europe exhibition where it was stated that the exhibition sought to "*provide an overview of the main forms of civilisation on our continent, excluding the classical world* […] *from the oldest of times, those of the Palaeolithic cavemen, onto those of the Goths and Franks*" (Holwerda 1926, 3; my translation). In reality it often proved difficult to keep to these geo-chronological guidelines (Schneider 1981, 34). For instance, Villanovan Iron Age finds from Italy were part of the Ancient Europe collection, while most, but not all Etruscan finds were not. Stone Age finds from northern Africa or the Near East were integrated, but some from Tunisia, Jordan or Egypt were not. Some provincial Roman finds were also to become part of the Classical collections or displays if they proved more important for these. Later on objects were acquired for the Dutch department, for instance over 200 Palaeolithic artefacts from the pits surrounding Swanscombe, although they were registered under the Ancient Europe collections (RMO annual report 1970).

While most of the objects are genuine, almost 5% are replicas. Most of these are made of plaster and even include copies of stone tools and organic artefacts. In the later 19th and early 20th century, metal and galvanoplastic replicas were also popular. Replicas served as an ideal means of exchange in cases where original artefacts could not be sent or acquired by the Museum. The RMO had its own plaster workshop, but many plaster copies were for instance acquired from the large plaster workshop of the *Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum* (RGZM; Roman-Germanic Central Museum) in Mainz, where objects could be ordered from catalogue lists. This workshop (Fig. 2) arose at the RGZM in the 19th century in order to establish a comparative collection for Germany and neighbouring countries (see Frey *et al.* 2009). The RMO twice, in 1920 and 1925, sent employees to Mainz to learn the trade (Amkreutz/Brattinga 2018, 15).

Material		**Acquisition**	
Stone	2920	Purchase	5607
Ceramic	2526	Gift	1525
Metal	2192	Legate	680
Organic	402	Exchange	522
Plaster	365	Administrative	108
Glass	137	Excavation	61
		Unknown	39

Table 1 Composition of the collection according to material and method of acquisition.

When overviewing the quantitative aspects of the collection as a whole, most of the larger numerical contributions are related to the acquisition or donation of groups of objects. Nevertheless, in general a trend is noticeable which is informative on the history of acquisition (Fig. 3). Apart from a normal distribution, several fluctuations can be seen. After initial acquisitions started in 1824, it is

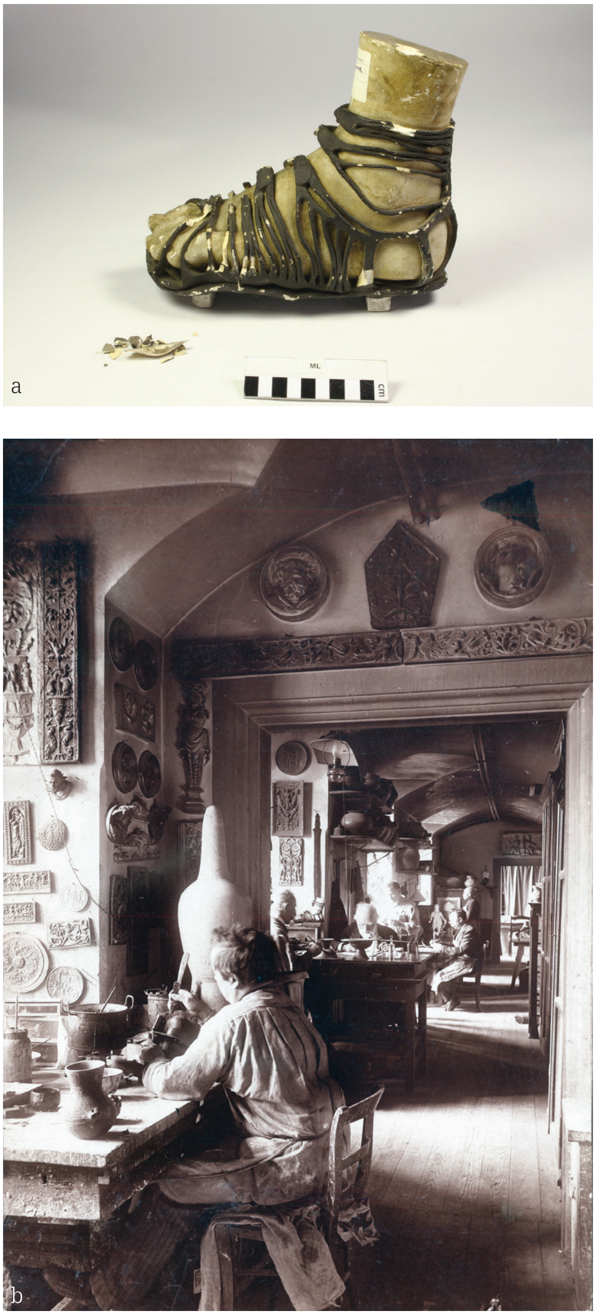

Fig. 2 (a) Plaster copy of a Roman sandal found in Mainz. Acquired in 1857 from L. Lindenschmit, curator at the RGZM in Mainz in exchange for a publication on Roman shoes by curator Janssen (RMO). An exact copy of the sandal is visible in the background (b) of the plaster workshop in Mainz (© RGZM).

clearly visible that regular contributions to the collection only appeared during the middle of the 19th century. At this time many European museums took shape and archaeology became more established at universities. National museums such as the RMO were ordered to participate in this by establishing and acquiring collections which bolstered knowledge, national pride and identity (Díaz-Andreu 2007, 398-402; Eickhoff 2007, 238; Pearce 1995, 132-139; Schneider 1981). As will be further dealt with below, this can partially be seen in relation to the scientific developments in particular in Prehistoric archaeology and the dissemination of information and distribution of objects (Arnold 2012; Trigger 1989, 74-101). The directors Conrad Leemans (1839-1891) and Willem Pleyte (1891-1901) and the curator Leonhardt Johannes Friedrich Janssen (1835-1863) were aware of these developments and participated in the associated networks. A second rise in acquisitions is visible from the early 20th century onwards. These relate to the appointment of a new curator for the Dutch Department in 1904, the later director Jan Hendrik Holwerda (1909-1939). His interest in Dutch and European archaeology further shaped the Ancient Europe collection. From the Museum's correspondence archives and annual reports it may be concluded that the intermittent 'lows' in this period are caused by the First and Second World War and the Great Depression, during which the exchange and acquisition of artefacts was difficult. After the Second World War and in particular after the European galleries closed in 1957, acquisition for the collections gradually dwindled with the exception of large collections that were donated to the Museum such as in 1970. As such there are two main phases of collecting antiquities for 'Ancient Europe', a 19th century and an early 20th century one. In the following both are discussed.

Nordic cultures and comparative collecting

The earliest finds in the collection are Roman antiquities from the Belgian town of Tongeren, which at that time, 1823, was still part of the Netherlands. As early as 1824, however, a large collection of Bronze Age urns was donated to the Museum by professor Johann Gustav Gottlieb Büsching from Breslau in Germany. The Lausitz type urns originated from the Oberlausitz area in Silesia in what is currently Poland. Büsching was in contact with various scholars including Christian Jürgensen Thomsen in Denmark and Reuvens in Leiden. While there is little information in the Dutch archives it is likely that the urns were part of the Antiquity collections of Breslau University and were acquired by systematic excavations that yielded many finds (*e.g.* Halub 1997). As was common in those days, surplus, double or qualitatively lesser finds could be used in exchange. Büsching's colleague at the Breslau University Museum August Heinrich Hoffmann von Fallersleben contacted the Leiden Museum and Reuvens to ask whether they were interested. Reuvens certainly was (Poettgens 2014, 637-638) and 69 urns were shipped to Leiden in July 1824. As argued by Poettgens (2014, 29) they formed the basis of the Ancient Europe collection, although at that time they were not yet perceived as such. Unfortunately,

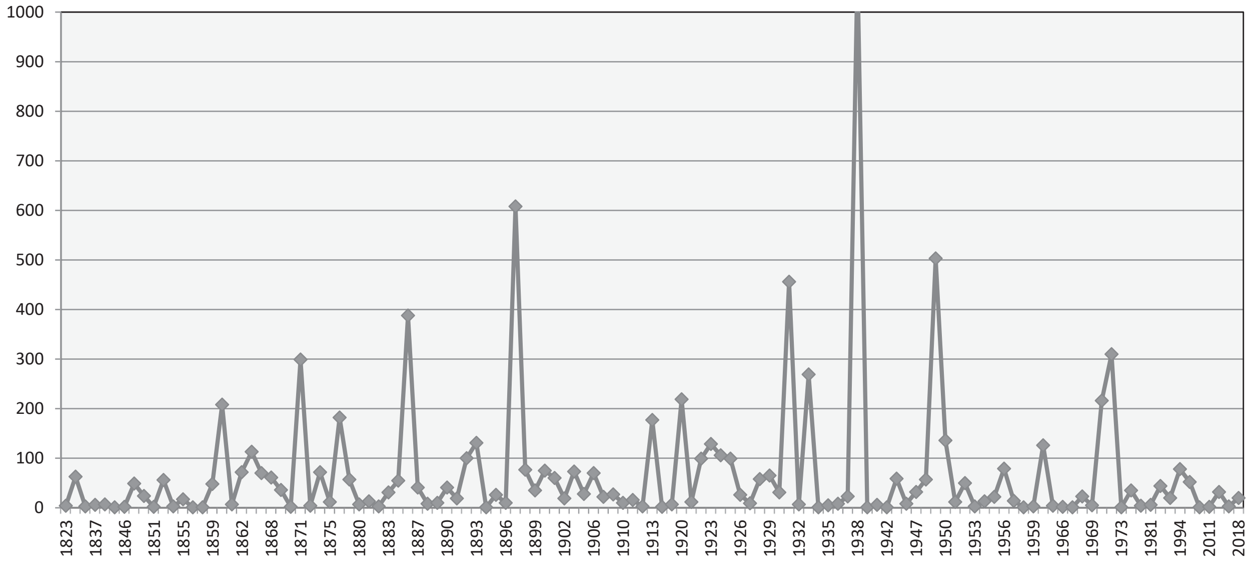

Fig. 3 Graph with the quantitative contribution of objects acquired for the Ancient Europe collection over time.

the young Museum did not yet have any objects in return, which is why Reuvens may have sent publications instead (Poettgens 2014, 137-138). Noteworthy is the fact that while the interaction took place amongst scholars, these were very much in positions that were ordained by the state and by royalty: Reuvens being appointed by a royal decree of King William I (Hoijtink 2012, 46) and Hoffmann von Fallersleben by lobbying with Prince Frederik van Pruisen (Poettgens 2014, 637).

In those early decades between 1830 and 1860, a number of other exchanges followed, in particular with Denmark. This is no coincidence in view of the developing interest in Danish archaeology in the 19th century, the rise of Scandinavian antiquarian societies and the foundation of a National Museum in Copenhagen (Díaz-Andreu 2007, 323-327). In particular the scholarly discoveries, most notably the Three-Age System, of the director of the Museum of Northern Antiquities (later the *Nationalmuseet*) Thomsen (1788-1865) and the proliferation of this approach (Trigger 1989, 83-86) formed an incentive for these interactions. A first exchange took place in 1837.[3] The former Danish consul in Tunis, Christian Tuxen Falbe (1792-1849) donated a group of Neolithic daggers and axes to the Museum (inv. no. CF 1-7) with the request of a future return of 'doublets' for the National Museum in Copenhagen. Falbe had brought the objects in 1837, but Leemans only understood several years later, through visiting scholars, that he had not done so on personal title, but was actually commissioned by the Copenhagen Museum, which expected something in return. He then reluctantly convinced the ministry to send several objects, including an Iron Age urn from Brabant, some stone axes and a spindle whorl in return, arguing that the Danish objects fulfilled an important comparative purpose in Leiden while the Dutch objects could be easily missed. The response by Thomsen was positive and underlines the principle use of these exchanges: "*pour faire des antiquités analogiques*".[4]

In future years a number of other interactions would take place, for instance in 1850 Carl Christian Rafn of the *Kongelige Nordiske Oldskriftselskab* (the Royal Nordic Society of Antiquaries) sent over 50 plaster casts and originals of lithic tools from Denmark and the US to the Museum. This shipment was a return for several facsimiles of the 'Nordic and Germanic monuments' of the RMO that were sent to the Society earlier. Leemans remarks on the quality of the casts and on the typological completeness of the objects (RMO annual report 1847). A further major exchange took place in 1860 when Leemans responded to an earlier proposition by Thomsen for an exchange. The RMO received objects from Greenland and a systematic collection of 135 Danish artefacts dating to the stone and Bronze Age from the *Nationalmuseet* and books. In return Thomsen requested objects from the Japanese collection of the German physician Von Siebold which Leemans also curated as he was also director of the ethnological museum. In return the Dutch sent a shipment of 29 crates with Japanese objects, including 36 panel screens, 26 rolls of silk, fans, teacups etc. The official exchange took place at the level of the Dutch ministries of internal and foreign

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[3] RMO correspondence archive 1840, sent: 45, 47; received 37 and 1841, 22, 23, 34 and received 20; and inventory catalogue 1837.

[4] RMO correspondence archive 1840, sent: 47. The response by Thomsen (see RMO correspondence archive 1841, received: 22).

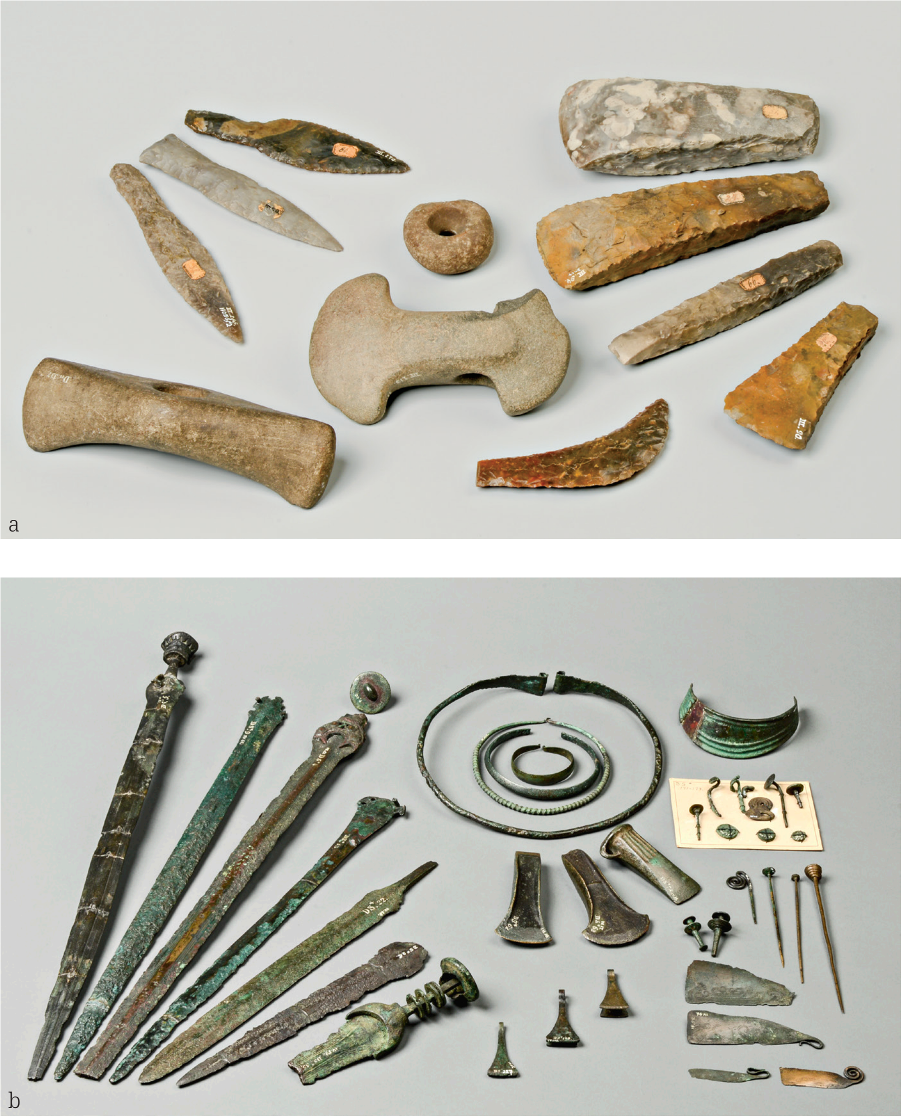

Fig. 4 (a) A selection of Prehistoric lithic artefacts and (b) bronzes acquired through donation and exchange with Denmark in the 19th century (RMO).

affairs and the Danish government and was sanctioned by the Dutch King.[5] Unfortunately the latter and director Thomsen were rather disappointed by the Dutch shipment and even the Dutch government agreed. Thomsen even travelled to Leiden to deal with the matter personally and Leemans had to be fetched from his vacation address. Eventually Leemans was ordered to send a second satisfactory shipment (Amkreutz 2018, 327-328; Verhart 2008a, 16-18).[6]

While an amusing anecdote in itself, the example demonstrates that the exchange of objects between different European museums and institutions was intensive. As evidenced by these and other examples it entailed not only objects, or copies of objects, but also academic literature and in general was geared towards the dissemination of knowledge. The main reason for collecting these antiquities was for comparative purposes. Already in 1826 Reuvens described the different collection areas of the Museum (Schneider 1981, 12) in which he mentions the development of a collection of Nordic and pre-Christian Germanic antiquities. These were essential for the study of the earliest inhabitation of the Netherlands. Clearly the terms 'Nordic' and 'Germanic' point to a sense of a past that is part of a larger cultural sphere which is notably Prehistoric and mainly non-classical (*e.g.* Van der Woud 1998, 49-50). This is further clarified in a description by Leemans in 1839 (RMO yearly report 1839; my translation): "*the seventh department consists of a group of objects deriving from the earlier inhabitants of these lands and should mainly be attributed to Germanic antiquity. Important discoveries in the past years were added to the Museum, while similar objects, sent form Denmark and Silesia, offer an important opportunity for comparison*".

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[5] Correspondence archive Nationalmuseet Aa 16-25, AC 260-68 Minsteriet for Kirke- og Underviisningsvæsnet to Director Thomsen.

[6] RMO correspondence archive: letters sent: 1859, nos. 129, 134, 170, 172, 1860, nos. 17, 21, 22, 26, 38, 39, 40, 41, 52, 55, 56, 58, 59, 64, 65, 72, 74, 76, 81, 84, 95bis, 102, 116, 118; 1861, nos. 40; 1863, 19 [classified]; letters received: 1859, nos. 96, 121; 1860, nos. 23, 28, 38, 43, 52, 60, 61, 63, 76, 79, 82; 1862 nos. 108; letters sent: 1860, no. 17; letters received: 1860: no. 17, 76).

As was argued by Thomsen (*cf. supra*), and as evidenced by the collection of European antiquities in many other museums, the possibility of comparative study seems to have been the main academic reason for acquiring archaeological finds from other European countries, especially in view of the increasing effort in establishing ever more detailed (evolutionary) typologies later on in the 19th century (Díaz-Andreu 2007, 326; Lorre 2017, 63-67; Pearce 1995, 136-139; Trigger 1989, 73-86, 156-161). Apart from these scientific reasons it should be mentioned that the limited possibilities and availability of photographs and colour prints in books of objects also formed an additional practical reason which should be seen in relation to the enthusiastic proliferation of copies (Amkreutz/Arentzen 2018, 206; also see Arentzen 2018, 193). That this culture of exchange was widely implemented in the (inter)national collection landscape is further testified by the instalment of a separate State committee for the international exchange of objects of art and science: *de Staatscommissie voor de internationale ruiling van voorwerpen van kunst en wetenschap* in which RMO curator Janssen also participated (Bakhuizen van den Brink *et al.* 1860; Poettgens 2014, 29).

Nationalism and notable networks

Apart from the academic purposes of bringing together a comparative collection and presenting 'Nordic' or 'Germanic' archaeology, there was another reason behind acquiring these objects. For much of the 19th century the annual reports of the Museum regularly and quite emotionally plead with the audience to donate objects for the collection. Leemans speaks of "*offers to be brought on the altar of patriotic love, through which the collection will blossom and the scientific glory of the nation will be enhanced*" (RMO annual report 1840; my translation). He also clearly mentions how in earlier days travellers, naval officers, consuls and other officiaries would donate objects to the Museum. He even points out that the British Museum, through its contacts, received marvellous Lycian finds, while the Louvre would soon receive mysterious objects from the civilization of Nineveh and that the RMO could not stay behind (RMO annual report 1845).

Based on the donations for the Ancient Europe collection in the 19th century, it is apparent that these often involve Dutch officials abroad, such as consuls, government emissaries and members of the military. The Museum even received a number of finds from the Dutch royal estates in Germany and Poland (Silesia) that were donated by the King himself (a.o. inv. nos. KWP 1-5; OM 5-58). Next to the developing scientific contacts in museums and at universities, this network of officials was of crucial importance. These people operated as agents for the Museum abroad and competed with similar agents from other nations. In order to stimulate them, Leemans stressed these national sentiments. Therewith he clearly built on what Reuvens already did in 1827. In order to receive increased funding from the government, he pointed to the development of archaeological museums in England, France, Germany, Austria and Italy, and demanded that the Netherlands should not "*lag behind in the mud*" (Eickhoff 2007, 238; Reuvens 1827, 50; my translation).

These nationalistically inspired motives do not stand alone and are part of a wider European trend (Pearce 1995, 124). While later in the 19th century archaeology increasingly became related to culturalist and ethnic concepts of identity and nationhood (Trigger 1989, 148-155), these nationalist developments in the earlier 19th century relate to the search for a national identity and the role archaeology plays in relation to the involvement of states with their past and the search for a common heritage (see Díaz-Andreu 2007, 335-337, 359-367). In post-Napoleonic northern Europe, this particularly also meant a reaction against the idealized link between France and Rome and for instance in Germany a reappraisal of their own Germanic roots (Díaz-Andreu 2007, 327-329). In other countries such as Denmark and Sweden, the study of early Prehistory and its role in national identity clearly benefited from the early protection of archaeology and the absence of a Roman presence. For the Netherlands the end of the French rule and several years earlier that of the Batavian Republic also meant the end of a focus on this 'noble tribe' as representative of the earliest inhabitants of our lands. Ever since the Eighty Years' War against Spain, it had been used in various forms to unite the Republic. In the early 19th century this shared history based on literary sources made way for a Germanic past beyond written sources in which for instance the megalithic *hunebedden* took on an important role (Van der Woud 1998, 41-52).

Nevertheless, the presence of strong nationalist sentiments linked to national archaeology seems not to have been te case in the Netherlands. The endeavours of Reuvens and his successors were much more linked to the study of archaeology within the context of universal knowledge and a more humanist national ideal (Eickhoff 2007, 262). Both the mostly classical background of the RMO staff and the rather decentralized archaeological landscape in the Netherlands with provincial and regional societies did not contribute to such a shared identity.

Keeping pace

Apart from highlighting the reasons for collecting European antiquities, the acquisitions in the first decades of the century also demonstrate the networks the Museum operated in. Throughout the 19th century, a number of important archaeological discoveries and developments shaped the discipline (Bibby 1979; Trigger 1989, ch. 3). It appears that the Museum quite often was able to participate in the new knowledge and acquire books and objects.

The relationship with Scandinavia was already mentioned and continued. Thomsen's successor Jens Jacob Asmussen Worsaae kept working on the Three-Age System and part of this was the proliferation of both literature and objects. In 1850 the Museum acquired a copy of *Danmarks Oldtid* (RMO annual report 1850; see Verhart 2008b, 2-6) and in 1862 Worsaae donated a selection of lithic tools, both from the earlier (*Køkkemøddinger*) Stone Age as well as from the later (dolmen) period (see RMO annual report 1862; inv. nos. DW 1-19). This distinction between a Mesolithic Stone Age and a Neolithic one was propagated by Worsaae (see Trigger 1989, 80-82) and besides scientific articles objects and correspondence helped him to communicate this. In 1872 Worsaae and Sophus Muller even actively assisted the RMO in acquiring a very large private collection of Bronze Age objects, the Schmidt collection (annual report RMO, 1871; inv. nos. DS 2-293; Fig. 4b) arguing it was a good collection offering an excellent overview of the Scandinavian Bronze Age for a reasonable price.[7] A similar example is formed by a donation by the British Museum of a number of Palaeolithic finds and copies of finds originating from the French caves in the Dordogne area. These were probably excavated in the campaigns by Edouard Lartet and Henry Christy and included a chunk of breccia with lithic and osseous finds as well as a number of Ice Age fauna butchering remains. These, as was custom in those days, were sent onwards to the *Museum of Natural History* in Leiden (RMO annual report 1869; Trigger 1989, 95-97).

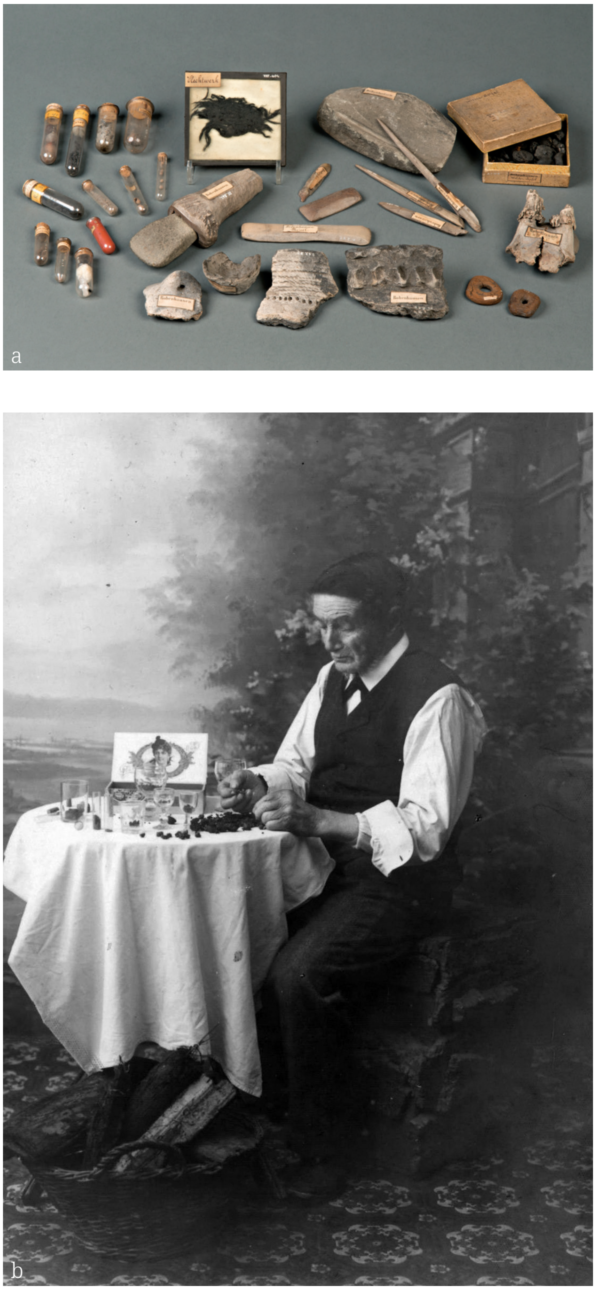

Fig. 5 (a) Selection of objects from the Swiss lake dwellings in the RMO, partially deriving from Messikommmer himself (RMO) and (b) Jakob Messikommer filling glass tubes with remains of fruits and seeds (Fritz Wiesendanger).

A different example is formed by the well-known Swiss lake villages that were discovered in the Alpine foothills. They were excavated by local antiquarians such as Ferdinand Keller and Jakob Messikommer (Bibby 1979). The discovery of the finds and in particular the many organic artefacts caused a lot of attention with many museums and institutes wanting to acquire these pieces. They were unscrupulously sold on a large scale (Arnold 2012) and the

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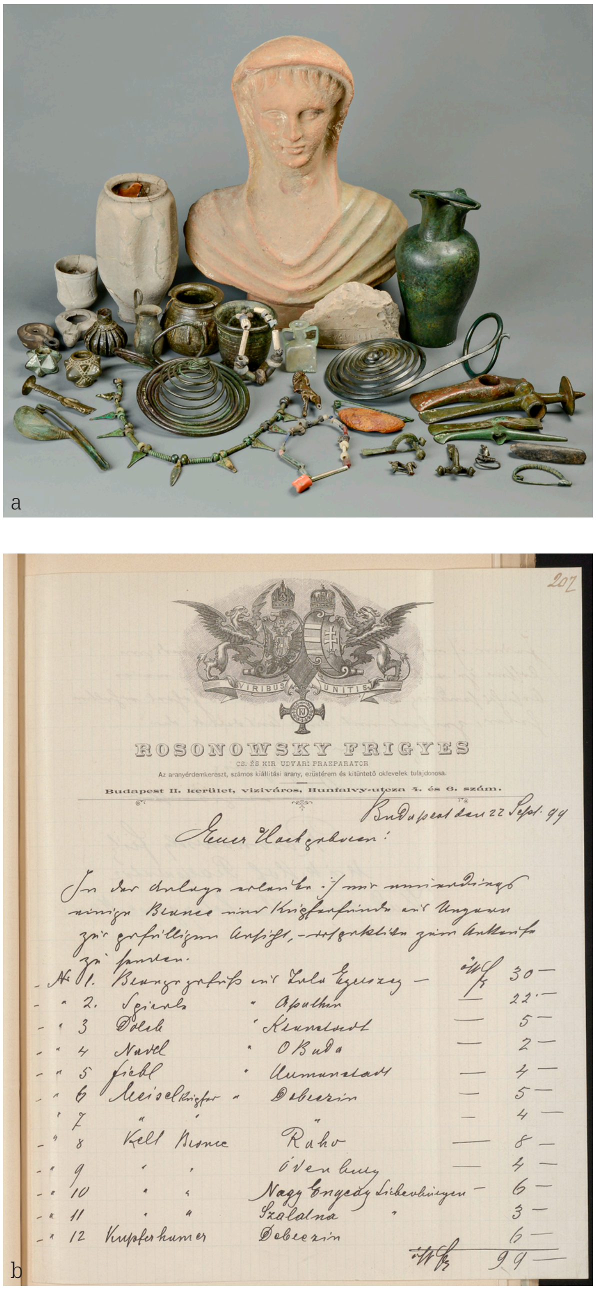
[7] RMO-correspondence archive 1871, received 24.

RMO acquired pieces as early as 1859. Over 300 objects from the lake-side settlements came to the Museum, including finds directly purchased from Messikommer in 1862 (Fig. 5a and b). These included pottery, flint, metal objects, textile, test tubes with fruits and seeds, charred wheat and glass frames with textile or netting (see Amkreutz 2018). It appears that the Museum, its curators and its director were quite aware of these developments and operated in the appropriate networks. The important steps in the development of European Prehistory (*e.g.* Bibby 1979) as such quickly found their way to Leiden.

The idea that the RMO was aware of developments is confirmed by large acquisitions such as the hundreds of Merovingian objects from graves in Andernach and Niederbreisig, purchased from 'antiques dealer' Jacob Schmitz (RMO annual report, 1885-1886; see Willemsen, this volume), or for example many Roman finds obtained from Amiens in France. The scale of these interactions these days is surprising, but in many countries, legislation regulating the selling of antiquities only developed later on, as for instance the *lex Queckenberg*, or *Preusisches Ausgrabungsgesetz* was a reaction against the looting of the Andernach and Niederbreisig cemeteries (Nieveler 2000, 39).



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VIRIBUS UNITIS

ROSONOWSKY FRIGYES
CS. ÉS KIR. UDVARI PRAEPARATOR
Az aranyérdemkereszt, számos kiállítási arany, ezüstérem és kitüntető oklevelek tulajdonosa.
Budapest II. kerület, víziváros, Hunfalvy-utcza 4. és 6. szám.

Budapest den 22 Sept. 99

Euer Hochgeboren:

In der Anlage erlaube ich mir nachstehende einige Bronze und Kupferfunde aus Ungarn zur gefälligen Ansicht, – respektive zum Ankaufe zu senden.

No 1.	Bronzegefäss	aus Zala Egerszeg –	ö.W.fl	30 –
" 2.	Spirale	" [illegible]	—	22 –
" 3	Dolch	" Kronstadt	—	5 –
" 4	Nadel	" O Buda	—	2 –
" 5	Fibel	" Hermannstadt	—	4 –
" 6	Meisselkupfer	" Debreczin	—	5 –
" 7	"	" "	—	4 –
" 8	Kelt Bronze	Raho	—	8 –
" 9	" "	Ödenburg	—	4 –
" 10	" "	Nagy Enyed Siebenbürgen –		6 –
" 11	" "	Szalatna "		3 –
" 12	Kupferhammer	Debreczin		6 –
			ö.W.fl	99 –

Fig. 6 (a) A selection of the hundreds of finds acquired by the RMO from two Hungarian art dealers at the turn of the 20th century and (b) detail from the RMO inventory books with a price list sent by Rosonowsky Frigyes accompanying a shipment of finds.

Overall acquisitions for the Ancient Europe collection during the 19th century appear to have been related to major archaeological discoveries and scientific developments. It should be said though that interaction was often also the initiative of the researching scholars, such as Thomsen, Worsaae and colleagues of the British Museum, or almost inescapable due to the scientific and popular impact certain finds had, such as those of the lake dwelling sites (Arnold 2012; Bibby 1979). The idea that there was often little strategy beyond the acquisition of interesting or aesthetically pleasing objects is demonstrated by the many objects that found their way to the Museum through two Hungarian antiquity dealers from Budapest: Féjer József and Rosonowsky Frigyes. For four years between 1898 and 1902 they corresponded intensively with the RMO and sent crate-loads of Prehistoric, Roman and Medieval finds to the Museum. Upon arrival the RMO curators selected those pieces that were aesthetically pleasing or which were lacking in the collection, eventually keeping hundreds of finds and sending also many of them back (Fig. 6). While most objects came from within the enormous Austro-Hungarian empire, there is often no or very little context or site information (see RMO annual reports 1898-1899 to 1902-1903 and RMO-correspondence with Frigyes and József 1898-1903). No scientific or deeper meanings were discovered for acquiring these objects (Amkreutz/Brattinga 2018, 6). They just seem to have been on offer. The unfamiliarity of the curators, especially with some of the Prehistoric and Medieval material may also have been a factor. In any case the mania for collecting in the late 19th century appears to have been a consequence of advances in infrastructure and communication. The post and railway systems made contacts over long distances increasingly easy. Dealers approached museums with lists of their stock and later even with 'photographies' of these. As with modern internet shopping, objects could be ordered and just as easily returned.

A change of policy

The turn of the century brought a change for the RMO with the appointment of the director's son, J.H. Holwerda as curator of the Dutch department in 1904 (Verhart 2008b). While trained as a classical scholar, Holwerda held broad interests and largely focused his energy on Dutch archaeology. He also actively sought to expand his knowledge by study trips and trained himself in excavation techniques in Germany (Schneider 1981; Verhart 2008b). This enthusiasm was reflected in numerous field campaigns in the Netherlands, but also in a drive to translate that newly acquired knowledge in the exhibitions within the Museum. This culminated amongst others in a new Dutch archaeological display in 1923 and popular books for a lay audience such as *Nederland's vroegste beschaving* and *Nederlands vroegste geschiedenis* (Holwerda 1907; 1918).

Right from the start it is clear that Holwerda does not perceive the archaeology of the Netherlands in isolation. During his study trips he expanded his international network and brought back or acquired finds for comparative purposes, but also with a distinct chronological and functional motive, such as lithics from various periods in French Prehistory or a large selection of plaster casts of Prehistoric posts and brooches from the plaster workshops at the RGZM in Mainz (RMO annual reports 1904-1905; 1905-1906). Holwerda actively sought to acquire objects, books for the library (including works by Evans, Greenwell, Hauser, Montelius, Steenstrup etc.; RMO annual report 1904-1905; 1909; 1915) and establish collegial relationships. Exemplary is the 1908 annual report stating:

> *"In the first months of 1908 he undertook a trip to visit the Museums of Berlin, Brunswick, Namur and Paris-St. Germain, both to make preliminary studies for the further cataloguing of the Museum's collections, as well as to establish indispensable relationships for the Museum and study and observe different institutions. With the Antiquarium in Berlin it came to a small exchange; a large one with the Prehistoric department of the Völckerkunde Museum will soon take place."* (RMO annual report 1907-1908; my translation).

Holwerda wanted to expand his knowledge as a scholar and broaden his horizon for understanding the archaeology of his home country. In his 1907 book he argues that in order to explain phenomena in the Netherlands, those from abroad have to be studied. For that reason, he continued to seek out objects and information. His acquisition of Scythian and Gothic objects, acquired through the Leiden University Fund and additional finances from the ministry (RMO annual report 1921), demonstrates that he was very specific, knew what he wanted and found the means to get it.

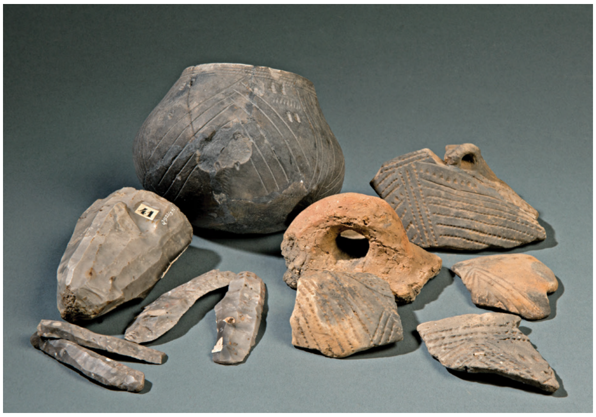

Fig. 7 LBK pottery and flint acquired by Holwerda from Belgian colleagues in 1924. Soon after he would discover and excavate LBK sites in the Netherlands (RMO).

From a scientific perspective there are a number of factors that kept troubling him. His upbringing as a classical archaeologist and focus on German archaeologists of the time hindered his acceptance of the depth of time and the Three-Age System, based on the use of stone and bronze as chronological indicators. For a long time, he even denied the existence of a Bronze Age, at least for the Netherlands (Verhart 2008b; also see Holwerda 1907). In that respect he remained focused on the Mediterranean world and to some extent on literary sources. At the same time, it also forced him to look beyond the borders and seek understanding in comparing the archaeology from many countries. This also stands out in his later publications (see for instance Holwerda 1925, 50-53, 90-93, 238-243) where he frequently draws on parallels with other countries and explains how Dutch archaeology relates to that. For instance, in a discussion of Neolithic material, he draws in English, French, German and Scandinavian knowledge and similar parallels are in place for early Medieval finds. An important example for his European-wide approach seems to have been his colleague and friend, the famous German Prehistorian Carl Schuchardt. His work *Alteuropa* (Schuchardt 1919) may clearly be seen as an important source of inspiration.

Evidently the investigation of archaeology from abroad, through visiting and corresponding with scholars, through literature and through the acquisition of finds, in short, the creation of a European context, was crucial to Holwerda for understanding Dutch archaeology. While before the Museum collected beautiful pieces from abroad for the Ancient Europe collection that also had a comparative purpose, Holwerda changed this around and endeavored to systematically collect those objects that offered the necessary context to understand Dutch archaeology. It is only logical then that following the opening of the new permanent Dutch galleries in 1923 and the publication of the guide in 1924, that these should be complemented by a European display (RMO annual report, 1923-1924).

The ancient Europe galleries

In 1923 Holwerda mentions that the department of Ancient Europe is still to receive a permanent display (RMO annual report 1923). Arguably the plans for this probably arose much earlier and finally materialize in 1926:

> *"The newly opened gallery for Ancient-Europe provides a view of the early civilizations in our continent in numerous successive culture periods, of the oldest inhabitants of the caves to Goths and Franks; and, in that great perspective the Netherlands is always presented and positioned. Many valuable original pieces are on display, but it goes without saying that we often had to content ourselves with good copies. A study collection has also been set up for this department."* (RMO annual report 1926; my translation).

The 1926 guide to the exhibition indicates that an overview is given of the many cultures in Europe outside of the classical world, for which the Museum had separate departments. The setup was chronological in six rooms: Palaeolithic, Neolithic, 'Bronze culture', Iron Age, 'Roman domination' and Goths and Franks (Fig. 8). Both the use of the term Bronze 'culture' instead of 'age' and 'domination' clearly hint at Holwerda's scientific ideas (*cf. supra*). In the latter case he clearly expressed his ideas on the Romans as an important source of cultural, social and technological inspiration and development (Eickhoff 2007, 250 and references).

As underlined by the press releases in the newspapers following the opening, the exhibition was considered very modern and informative. Apart from the showcases with finds, there were explanatory wall plaques, photographs as well as casts and models and, very importantly, in each room a cabinet was reserved for Dutch finds from the same period in order to visually illustrate the connections and relations of Dutch archaeology within Europe (Delpher: Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant 15-12-1925; also see Amkreutz 2018; submitted). The galleries also had accompanying study rooms highlighting the important relationship between both public display and scholarly research.

While with the benefit of hindsight Holwerda's ideas, even at the time, may be considered outdated, it remains true he was mainly critically making an effort to understand chronology and cultural relations (Verhart 2008b, 9). It could even be argued that Holwerda was at the forefront of museum design and education. Other museums such as the *Musée d'Archéologie nationale* (National Archaeology Museum) of France in Saint-Germain-en-Laye or the Pitt-Rivers Museum in Oxford (Hicks 2013, 47; Pitt-Rivers 1874, 300, 500) also presented national and foreign archaeology, but often in relation to ethnographical objects and with an evolutionistic perspective. Museums such as the Berlin *Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* (Museum for Pre- and Early History) or *Landesmuseum für Vorgeschichte* (State Museum of Prehistory) in Halle are more comparable (*e.g.* Bertram 2004/05), but the explicit contextual approach by Holwerda so far seems a novelty. In a way it works as an exhibition-version of his own publications (as if he planned to visualize his publications (*e.g.* Holwerda 1907; 1918; 1925) and inspirational works such as Schuchardt's (1919) *Alteuropa* for a museum audience.

A quiet exit

While the galleries opened to great acclaim and even queen mother Emma visited them in 1928 (Delpher: Nieuwsblad van het Noorden 12-4-1928), interest quickly waned after Holwerda left the Museum in 1939. Curator Frans Bursch,

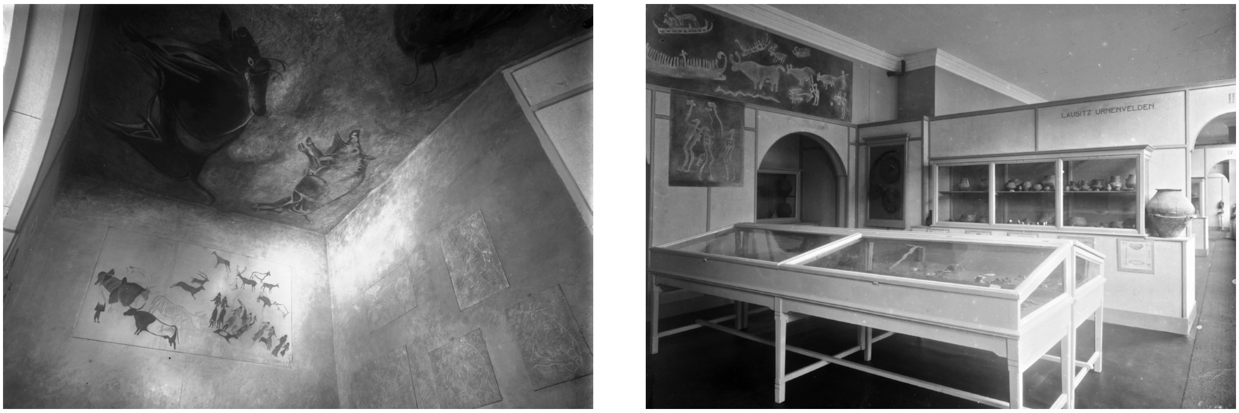

Fig. 8 (a) A view into the Palaeolithic room (I) of the Ancient Europe galleries (b) and room of the 'Bronze culture'. On the left wall there is a plaster copy of a Bronze Age lur (RMO).

who sided with the Nazis and became director of the *Rijksbureau voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek* (State Bureau for Archaeological Research), added a peculiar addition to the collection through his war-time excavations of burial mounds in Ukraine at Solonje (Eickhoff 2003; 2018; Verhart 2008). The subsequent curators and directors dutifully continued to acquire objects, mainly from art galleries and dealers. Then in 1957 renovation works of the roof forced the dismantling of the Ancient Europe exhibition rooms (RMO annual report 1957) and without any documentary evidence they would not return.

In the following years the collection as such remained active in that objects were acquired occasionally and sometimes larger private collections, such as the one from amateur archaeologist Butter in the 1970s, considerably add to its volume (Fig. 3). However, gradually interest waned and the collection was no longer actively curated. It became more of a reservoir for acquisitions or donations that do not neatly fit the other collections of the Museum. In 2008 highlights from the collection were briefly placed in the spotlight again in the exhibition *Europa. Verborgen vondsten* (*Europe. Hidden finds*; Verhart 2008a).

It was the NWO Museum Grants programme, however, that allowed for a more in-depth and comprehensive study of the collection itself and its development and role in the RMO. The project *Collecting Europe. In search of European antiquities for the national archaeological collection (1824-1970)* focused both on a qualitative re-evaluation of chronological and typological aspects of the collection as well as the motives for bringing together these objects, how these motives changed over time and in which European networks the Museum operated.[8] This is discussed further below.

Discussion: changing networks

In reviewing the historical development of the Ancient Europe collections of the RMO, many distinctions can be made, but in general there is much to say for a subdivision into two time-frames. The first of these covers the directorates of Reuvens and mainly Leemans and Pleyte. It clearly is characterised by a 19th century paradigm of collecting. This paradigm is related to the developing nation-state of the Netherlands and, as demonstrated above, the Museum calls on the upper classes of society to acquire and donate objects. Notables, officials, military personnel and consuls operated as agents for the Museum (Halbertsma 2003, 54). This importantly added to the status of the Museum, its collections and thereby the Kingdom and nation.

During the 19th century displaying objects, in particular in the days of Leemans and Pleyte, was also socially inspired, and used as a means to educate the common man (see RMO annual reports 1867, 1869, 1877; Eickhoff 2007; Venema 2011). The particular collection of objects for the Ancient Europe collections may partially be inspired by a search for identity, but this seems far less related to creating a link with Prehistoric ancestors compared to surrounding countries such as Scandinavia and Germany (Díaz-Andreu 2007, 323-329; Eickhoff 2007, 262). The main scientific reason seems to be acquisition for comparative purposes and this was explicitly mentioned in the annual reports (*e.g.* RMO annual report 1838). Foreign objects were displayed together with Dutch finds in the collection and display of 'Germanic and Northern Antiquities' and continued to do so also after 'antiquities from the fatherland' became a separate collection in 1867 (RMO annual report 1866, 1867).

While acquisition as a goal in itself and for reasons of comparison may have been the main rationale, it is clear that the Museum and its curators and directors also naturally operated in the existing networks of scholars. Reuvens, Leemans, Pleyte and in particular Janssen had elaborate European contacts (Arentzen 2018, 191) that enabled them to exchange with and acquire objects from Austro-Hungary, Belgium, France, Germany, Scandinavia and a range of other countries. Through these networks they were also informed on important scientific discoveries such as the Swiss lake side settlements, the discoveries in the French caves of the Dordogne or the institutionalisation of the Three-Age System. As argued, it is questionable to what extent the RMO was a very active participant on the European stage (see also Arentzen 2018). The fact that the Museum had such a broad global collection base and its staff was mainly classically and philologically trained, partially impeded an appreciation of developments taking place in Prehistoric archaeology at the time (*e.g.* Trigger 1989, ch. 5) and a proper investment in integrating this knowledge into Dutch archaeology. Nevertheless, although the position of the Museum was perhaps more passive in comparison to its position and role in the antiquarian Mediterranean and Egyptian collections, they were knowledgeable and appreciative of the developments taking place. 'Indigenous archaeology' also formed part of the Museum from its outset.

The second time frame is characterized by curator and later director Holwerda. He clearly saw it as his mission to research Dutch archaeology, not in the least by excavation. Already from the outset though (see Holwerda 1907; RMO annual report 1907-1908) he is of the opinion that the way to do this is to approach this from a European perspective:

> *"To explain certain phenomena in the Netherlands, often those from abroad had to be studied…and because also from Dutch archaeology one again can learn a lot about other countries"* (Holwerda 1907, 1; my translation).

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[8] https://www.nwo.nl/en/research-and-results/research-projects/i/60/26360.html.

Eventually this culminates in his investment in the Ancient Europe collection and from 1926 onwards in its galleries. The motives for collecting objects from other European countries distinctly goes beyond comparative issues and was intended to create an informed contextual background for which large-scale chronological overviews such as his own work and in particular that of Schuchardt (1919) form the inspiration. Holwerda was very much aware of the developments taking place, although his classical scholarly education and later function as director of the RMO also impeded his position and academic perspectives on for instance the Three-Age System and burial mounds (*e.g.* Verhart 2008b). Nevertheless, his vision and drive were clearly scientifically inspired and aimed at creating a contextual background to construct his version of the cultural-historical paradigm of archaeology at the time.

It is interesting to note that after Holwerda retired in 1939, the later acquisitions for and interest in the Ancient Europe collection and until 1956 its galleries, in fact dwindled and more or less reverted to part of its 19th century state when occasional donations and interesting objects on offer by art and antiquity dealers shaped the collection for matters of completeness and aesthetics.

A network perspective

If we were to compare both periods from a perspective of network theory in which a network consists of animate and inanimate actors that all have agency, including objects, places, even discoveries and ideas etc. (see Hoogsteyns 2008; Latour 2005), then it appears that the 19th century development of the Ancient Europe collection is much more based on a heterogeneously distributed network, in which regular and important discoveries in the field, scientific developments in (mainly) Prehistoric archaeology and a relatively small but developing group of scholars and agents created the anchor points for the collection to grow and develop. In the same field the increasing activities and relationships of antiquities dealers and collectors should be placed, which at times added large numbers of objects to the collection that seem to have been acquired without much of a plan. Other factors in play are the broad global perspective of the Museum, its birth as a national institute to compete on a European stage and the classical background of its main curators. These form the actual margins within which this took place.

Conversely a network analysis of the 20th-century development of Ancient Europe colelctions would have an important actor in the person of Holwerda, functioning as a distinct node. His mission and vision to understand Dutch archaeology from a wider perspective would importantly shape the collection for almost 40 years. The other nodes or actors would be formed by colleagues and fellow institutions in Holwerda's scholarly network. This appears to have been focused on Germany more than other countries. Of course, collectors and donations and dealers and acquisitions would continue to form a factor, but the initiative and selection with respect to objects would much more be on the side of Holwerda in his search for objects than just 'what was on offer'. As such the network for this stage should be defined as much more focused, more scientific and therefore in a way more homogenous.

A view towards the future: some thoughts

Times have changed. In the RMO, as in many other museums, collections such as the Ancient Europe collection have become largely obsolete. The main reasons for this can be found in the fact that the motives for acquisition have disappeared. The acquisition of foreign objects as contributions to the nation and the formation of national identity (see *e.g.* Díaz-Andreu 2007, 336) disappeared from the political agenda in the 20th century. Acquisition for comparative purposes and scientific study lasted longer, but is no longer useful due to much better and quicker ways of disseminating knowledge. With this I mean the development of photography and its increased use in publications and the more widespread use of imagery in exhibitions, the development and spread of regular scientific journals and the easier ways of traveling and communication in order to acquire or communicate knowledge, especially in the current digital age etc.

In tandem with this there has been increased legislation in European countries from early on in order to regulate the trade and export of antiquities, making it more difficult to obtain foreign objects (*e.g.* Nieveler 2000). At the same time there has been a distinct quest for authenticity. In the mid to late 20th century and even in the 21st century, also in the RMO, casts were treated as inferior objects, much unlike a century before (Noble 1959). Moulds and casts were thrown away or neglected, often leading to severe damage. It is only recently that a re-appreciation of plaster casts can be witnessed in particular for the classic statues and reliefs, while the recent interest in 3D printing may in part function as something of a revival of the use and proliferation of copies. (*e.g.* Kik/Dooijes 2018).

In the RMO and in contrast to collections that focused on the Classical world, the Near East and Egypt, the focus shifted away from collecting European and national antiquities to national antiquities only. As argued above after the retirement of Holwerda and the final dismantling of the galleries in 1957, the attention for the Ancient Europe galleries dwindled and objects were only acquired incidentally without much planning. In the past few decades objects were only added passively as by-catch from larger collections or as handovers from other museums. Internally some objects from the 'fossilized' Ancient Europe collections were used in exhibitions and even permanent galleries and some officially or unofficially *de facto* became part of other collections, such as a golden brooch and pin with granulated decoration (inv. no. M1902/12.1 and 2). These were obtained from Hungarian antiquity dealers. They were probably of Etruscan manufacture, but were found in Novi near Fiume in modern-day Croatia. As such they were probably an item of exchange in antiquity of the Etruscans with local groups. For years now the shiny objects have been part of the Classical collection and presentation as Etruscan jewellery.

A new hope?

The question is whether this is how it should end. One of the outcomes of the NWO-project and of the workshop organised in September 2018 (of which this volume is the result), was that there is much to be learned from researching the networks that bind together these collections of European antiquities and that inform us on the important historical motivations that underlie their formation and development. It is worthwhile to further study them in order to understand our museums and their position in society better. Some may argue that the often inactive status of the collections themselves would favour the return of objects to their countries of origin, but basing myself on the RMO-collection it is questionable to what extent this is feasible and desirable. Often very little is known on the exact find locations and often it involves objects of which there were many available at the time. To dismantle these European collections would be to dismantle part of our shared European collection and museum history. These collections provide crucial information on the networks through which our institutes and our knowledge of the past came about, as well as information on associated topics such as antiquities trade, the status of copies and the dissemination of scholarly information. Both objects and archives work in tandem here.

There is another aspect for future reconsideration of these collections as the European stage has changed. Against the background of localisation, accents have shifted. On the one hand there is increasing attention for the 'national', 'regional' and 'local' as a way of creating identity, while reality has us living and cooperating in a larger world where Europe is the binding element. Against this background there is, I think, a renewed need for reconsidering and re-invigorating these collections. They in particular communicate that many of the European borders are fairly recent creations, they point out that we at times shared many similarities with our neighbours and at other times were distinctly different. As such these collections have the power to nuance our perspective on the past.

Finally, and from a practical perspective, I would argue that in view of the stories these objects communicate, it is worthwhile to also start acquisition for this collection again. Our ancient past is either regional or European in scope and only rarely national. The acquisition of foreign objects from Europe dating to Prehistory, the Roman period and Medieval times may better help to tell the modern stories we want to communicate in our museums. Stories of mobility, developing and disappearing traditions, migrations and human stories. As such they would benefit from looking beyond our own domestic borders.

The current trade in antiquities is very much a European one. While museums are naturally held to the ICOM code of conduct for museums (http://archives.icom.museum/ethics.html#section6) and the Unesco 1970 convention on illicit import, export and transfer of cultural property, many interesting objects with good pedigrees do appear on the art market and at internet auctions. Cooperation with museums in the countries of origin would allow a more assertive means to obtain objects for public collections where they can be researched, displayed and enjoyed, while short-term and long-term loans allow them to become true artefacts of the cultural variety of Ancient Europe. I think both the historical value of the Ancient Europe collection and its potential in future museum practice argue in favour of re-installing it as a fully-fledged part of the RMO collections.

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From past to future

Can an archaeological collection of comparison be relevant in the 21st century?

Christine Lorre

Introduction

A singular creation in the landscape of the French museums, the Comparative Hall of the *Musée d'Archéologie Nationale* (MAN; Museum of National Archaeology) is the result of a progressive aggregating process of archaeological collections of foreign provenances. The collection of comparative archaeology was conceived at the very foundation of the Museum, a long time before scholars who managed this new national establishment could ever think about an autonomous exhibition hall. Thanks to geopolitical and scientific circumstances, a special room took shape, designed as a reflecting instrument to the museographic course devoted to the archaeology of the French territory and intended to offer a variety of lines of thought on the development of human societies to the visitor. By using examples of acquisition or exchange of original archaeological material and replicas, I focus on the ways the MAN's comparative collection was enriched and its scientific network enlarged. Finally, it is considered, through examples of current research, how this collection may be enhanced from a historical point of view, sometimes helped by a scientific reassessment based on new data coming from fieldwork, with the aim to achieve a much better and meaningful display.

In 2017, the 150th anniversary of the opening to the public of the MAN of Saint-Germain-en-Laye (France) created the opportunity to think about the reasons and the ways its collection of comparative archaeology was founded and how it developed (Lorre 2017). To foresee future changes in the display and enhancements of the collection as part of the future renovation of the Museum, it was first necessary to understand how it was established, which roles scientists who contributed to its foundation played and to estimate their strategies regarding acquisitions, scientific studies and public enhancement.

This also offered a suitable moment to consider the quality, the range and the condition of the documentation connected to the collection. This documentation is crucial to the collection, and forms the most insightful part of its genuine value. In the last two decades and from a general point of view, the MAN's archives supplied food for thought about the circumstances dealing with the development of archaeology in France and abroad, both from a purely institutional perspective and from specific scientific contexts. Such as, for example, the relationship between archaeology and ethnology and the development of what has been specified now for many decades as 'ethnoarchaeology' (Lorre 2018).

At the start of the Museum, the room devoted to ‘Comparison’ was not the kind of ‘museum in a museum’ that we witness today. Rather, it was the result of a ‘work in progress’. Against the background of favourable geo-political circumstances, its development was intertwined with an increasingly autonomic Prehistoric perspective during the second half of the 19th century. Obviously, it was not isolated from the keen interest demonstrated by European countries for their national antiquities and the importance of groundbreaking archaeological discoveries abroad. Within the context of French colonial expansion, the developing collection diversified, but from the very beginning it had a scientific foundation. The project of a comparative collection, influenced by the works of the Durkheimian school reached another extent at the turn of the 20th century, when in 1898 Henri Hubert was recruited to achieve what we may consider today as a kind of scientific and museographic experiment (Lorre 2010; Mohen 1981; 1982).

Archaeological comparison during the MAN’s foundation period: obstacles and favourable scientific and geopolitical settings

The *Gallo-Roman Museum*, as its first designers conceived it, had a double task offering either a chronological or thematic display, not only for research purposes, but also as a pedagogical instrument for a wider audience. This focus developed further when Salomon Reinach (1854-1932) became the director of the Museum. He invested in getting as many didactic tools such as models, plaster casts, geographical charts, drawings, engravings and photographs to support the display of archaeological collections (Allaire 2018). The Museum claimed a universal vocation and therefore tried to give the most complete state of knowledge about the past of French territory in its European context. It also used a widened geographical frame by calling on archaeological and ethnographical materials coming from other continents (Chew 2008; Lorre 2015, 142-143). Strictly speaking, the founding act is the now well-known donation of the collection of Danish Prehistoric objects by King Frederik VII, delivered to Napoleon III by Christian Jürgensen Thomsen himself (Lundbeck-Culot 1997). This gift offered the opportunity to improve the MAN displays by sequencing objects according to the Three-Age system.

In spite of the almost implicit creation of a comparative collection from the start, this in its initial phase may have given the impression of being heterogeneous and showing some lacunae, both in terms of quantity and quality. The poor architectural condition of the castle, which became rather damaged over the years required several phases of restoration, which led to several movements of the collections. One must keep in mind that the comparative collection did not receive any specific space between 1867 and 1898 and it was only installed in the ancient festival hall, *the Room of Mars*, at the end of the architectural restoration in 1907 (Fig. 1). Therefore, at that time there was no real global perspective on the collection which was steadily growing. There were only limited counterpoints to objects discovered on French soil, for example: the King of Denmark’s collection was initially exhibited at the back of the first room opened in 1867, directly in front of a selection of French Prehistoric artefacts (Lorre 2015).

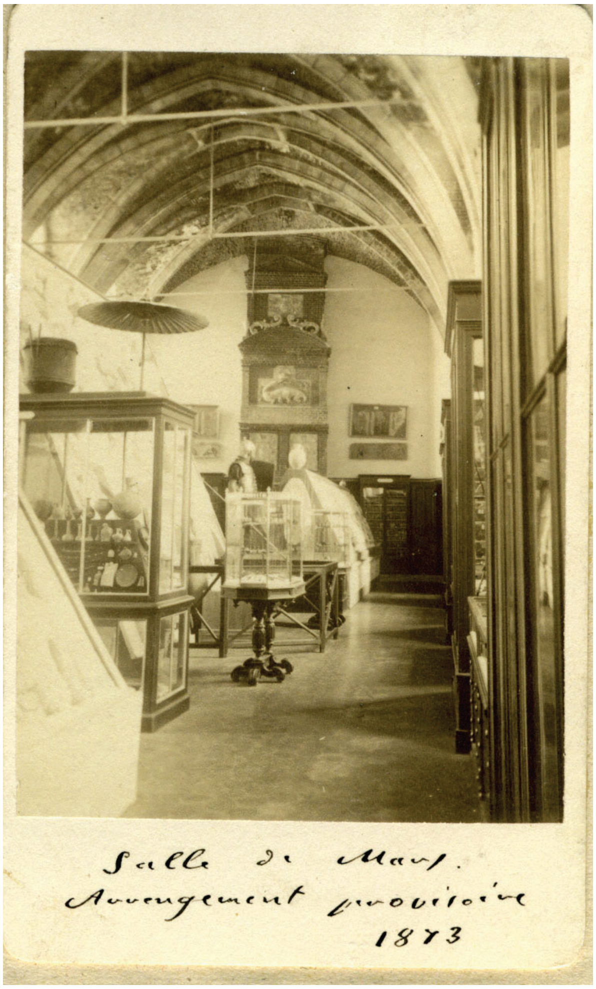

Fig. 1 The Comparative Hall around 1873 (MAN/Service des ressources documentaires, album noir 24).

A developing discipline

Another aspect to take into account is the fact that Prehistory as an autonomous science was still very new and mostly oriented on a western and eurocentric point of view. One may infer that this, to some extent, limited the methodical development of the collection because Western scholars were at first worrying about the recognition of European Prehistory. As such, the first stage of the collection's constitution appears rather as the result of opportunities seized by the Museum's scholars within their scientific networks. For example, Alexandre Bertrand, the Museum's director for 35 years, was a tireless scientific traveller. During summertime he visited Austria, Germany, Hungary, Italy and Switzerland, tracking collections and documentation and even participating in excavations (Chew 2008; Cicolani/ Lorre 2009). Also, at the time of the Museum's founding, Alexandre Bertrand and the famous Prehistorian Gabriel de Mortillet accepted donations, participated in spontaneous exchanges and negotiated purchases of objects discovered on the then recently discovered and explored Swiss lake dwellings by Ferdinand Keller, Edouard Desor and Friedrich Schwab (1865). They also acquired large collections of artefacts from Scandinavia (1869, 1879 and 1887) and Hungary (1867).

The obstacle of classic Antiquity and orientalism

The third obstacle – rather of an intellectual nature – dealt with the French tradition of classic humanities and with the privileged consideration granted by European academic circles to classic Antiquity and to orientalism (Gran-Aymerich 1993; 1998; Schnapp 2001). This system was consolidated throughout the 19th century, in particular by the creation of the so-called French Schools at Rome (1829), Athens (1846) and Cairo (1880), and conveyed a certain lack of interest for the oldest Prehistory, and somehow demonstrated a late or a poorly understood recourse to ethnographic studies.

In spite of these difficulties, two factors looked really rather more favourable. During the Second French Empire (1852-1870), several official heritage institutions were created or strengthened through State policy and at the same time the development of academic societies and private collections contributed to the enrichment of the MAN's collections (Landes 2009; Lorre 2017). Nowadays, we know how some European national museums exchanged experiences and sometimes even provided advice or 'guidelines' to contribute to the development of new ways of displaying artefacts (Lorre 2015; Poulot *et al.* 2012; Risbjerg Eskildsen 2012). In this respect the MAN's archives, artefacts and cast collections bring to light the prominent role – clearly as a kind of 'godfather' – of the *Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum* Mainz (RGZM; Roman-Germanic Central Museum) in Mainz from its foundation to the turn of the 20th century (Bertinet 2015, 335-347; Lorre 2001; 2015; Lundbeck-Culot 1997, 114-117). From the 1870s to the 1890s and in spite of political events, correspondence demonstrates the close relationships between director Bertrand and Ludwig Lindenschmit, head of the RGZM, especially regarding acquisitions and exchanges of numerous casts and pieces considered duplicates. At this time, the MAN received plaster copies of every significant archaeological discovery unearthed in southern Germany dating to the Iron Age, in exchange for Palaeolithic 'duplicates' or casts made by its workshop.

In the context of the French colonial development, the Department devoted to scientific and literary missions at the Ministry for Public Education was strengthened with a more substantial budget from 1874 (Antoine 1977). During the following decades, the MAN actually benefited from the results of an increasing number of archaeological and ethnographical explorations. The regions from where objects of comparison could be obtained from widened considerably, eventually including all continents. Between 1867 and 1890, archaeological and ethnographical collections successively came from Russia (1867), Algeria, Java Island, Cyprus, Peru (1870-1871), the Caucasus (1882), as well as from the Ottoman Empire (1885), Indochina or the United States of America (1890) (Reinach 1921). Due to the lack of explicit rules for sharing excavation results and finds until the 1920s, the increase in archaeological fieldwork in foreign countries was of great benefit to the MAN's collections. This development could be interpreted as a manifestation of the entanglement between the elaboration of a scientific and museographic framework and the development of archaeological explorations in North Africa and the Middle East until the outbreak of the First World War. The latter were considered as one of the touchstones of French diplomacy in front of German and British claims (Chevalier 2002).

A memorable moment: Hubert's 'microcosm' as autonomous instrument and place of experiment

From 1898, Hubert joined the MAN at the key moment of the advent of the French sociological school to which he was closely associated. This may be interpreted as a strong sign in favour of the completion of the Museum project by the realization of the Comparative Hall, which was perceived as a place of scientific and museographic experimentation. The hall functioned both on its own and as a counterpart to the scientific and museographic construction of the 'national' collection of the MAN (Lorre 2015; 2017; Mohen 1981; 1982).

Behind the creation of the Comparative Hall

At the request of director Salomon Reinach, from 1910 Hubert conceived of the museographic display devoted to archaeological comparison in an autonomous way of thinking: as a 'microcosm'. Although he considered it his 'main work', he unfortunately would not see this room completed, because he prematurely died in 1927 at the age of 55. The creation of this new room conveyed a change

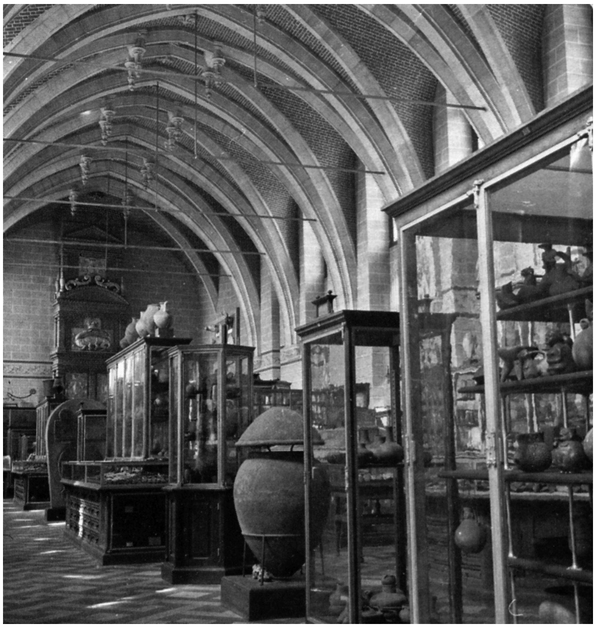

Fig. 2 The Comparative Hall before WWI (MAN/Service des ressources documentaires).

of scale and perspective in the general arrangement of extra-national artefacts (Fig. 2). For the curator, it was an original work which had to help the outcome of comparative methods in a sociological way. For Prehistoric archaeology it aimed at reaching 'a complete description of human events'.

Hubert's professional archives allow us to better understand his intent and its realization. A few notes, for example, indicate: "*the main object of the chosen plan is to highlight some of the distributions of civilization*". The archaeologist in him writes that it is necessary to develop an "*ethnological plan for the explanation of collections exhibited in the rest of the Museum*" and that one of the ways to go about this was to create an "*image of the techniques of the civilization*". Here he was explicitly inspired by the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford (Lorre 2011; Olivier 2017). Hubert studied and organized objects – *i.e.* material facts – and tried to understand and connect choices made by human societies themselves – *i.e.* immaterial facts – as main features of social phenomena. Several handwritten sketches of plans show that the curator experimented with the organization of artefact series according to various spatio-temporal axes, sometimes overlapping each other.

Through the choice and the distribution of objects, the display intended to establish the 'genealogy of facts': to show material objects with the aim of thinking about what could be recognized as 'uniform laws' or characteristics of social order, for which it could be possible to consider their consequence for the history, arts and institutions of former human societies in relation to their specific context. With an anthropological approach Hubert thought it was possible to study social phenomena based on an evaluation of their material characteristics. They could be appreciated according to their proximity in time and their distance in space and vice versa. This thinking on the Comparative Hall somewhat reflects the distribution of fields of study between Hubert, devoted to ancient civilizations of the Old World (close in space and distant in time) and the famous anthropologist Marcel Mauss, looking into Australian aboriginal populations (close in time and distant in space; Lorre 2017).

Several fortunate events accomplished the Comparative Hall

At first, the MAN made the acquisition of the outstanding Chantre collection in 1882. Ernest Chantre (1843-1924), co-director of the *Muséum d'histoire naturelle* (Museum of Natural history) at Lyon since 1875, was interested in the origin of ancient metallurgy and was particularly well-known for his studies of the French Bronze Age. In 1879 he took part in the anthropological congress in Moscow and achieved the funding for a long mission in the Caucasus. In 1881, together with other Russian and German scholars, he conducted excavations in the necropolis of Koban (North Ossetia), which was discovered by chance in 1879. Chantre donated a first part of the archaeological discoveries in March 1882, before the Museum bought the second part in November of the same year, possibly out of gratitude to the generous archaeologist. This collection is one of the most prominent in Europe to evoke the transition between the Bronze and Iron Ages in the northern Caucasus, next to those housed in Vienna and Berlin.

From 1893 onwards, Baron Joseph Berthelot de Baye donated several archaeological objects, in particular coming from Russia and Scandinavia. De Baye (1853-1931) is now considered a pioneer of protohistoric archaeology. He began to be interested in the Russian Empire from 1890. His first archaeological survey in the Caucasus took place in 1892 with the support of the Czar. He travelled throughout the Empire, from the Ukraine to western Siberia, and went back through the Caucasus in 1898-1899. He had a keen interest in the Kirghiz people, whom he studied ethnologically. During his explorations, he conducted excavations and took numerous pictures. He fell into oblivion after his death, although his collections enriched numerous Russian and French museums. The MAN also keeps a part of his archives and dedicated a special room to his French discoveries.

In 1909-1910, a big donation by Jacques de Morgan (1857-1924) was probably the decisive event to actually carry out the comparative room. Throughout his scientific life, Morgan regularly reported the results of his fieldwork in exhibitions, publications and donations to public institutions, because he fairly considered them as the result of the public funding for his explorations. In 1888-1889 he sent part of the discoveries he made from Armenia to France and gave another part to the Caucasian Museum at Tiflis (Tbilisi, Georgia). In 1892, he donated most of his finds from Russian Lenkoran (today Azerbaijan) and northern Persia to the MAN in accordance with the treaty negotiated between the French authorities and the Shah of Persia. His outstanding donation of 1909-1910 represents one of the most spectacular developments of the MAN and comprises around over 30,000 objects. The collection includes three major sets: Egyptian predynastic objects, a selection of artefacts from the oldest levels of Susa (Iran) and remarkable evidence of the activity of Bronze and Iron Ages metalworkers in the southern Caucasus.

The last major contribution to the MAN consisted of a large part of the Oceanian collection formerly housed in the *Musée de Marine*, a special department of the Louvre Museum. This collection exhibited nautical and ethnographic artefacts coming from explorations patronized at the time of the ancient monarchy.

In 1898 a young *attaché libre* (*i.e.* volunteer) was recruited by Bertrand and Salomon Reinach, primarily in order to deal with the arrangement of an 'Oriental Comparative Room'. At that time, Hubert was collaborating with Marcel Mauss on the *Essay on Nature and the Social Function of Sacrifice*, published in *L'Année sociologique* of 1899. Simultaneously, the new *Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro* (Ethnography Museum of Trocadéro), founded in 1880, maintained regular relationships with MAN scientists, at the very moment when some scholars and political leaders were becoming aware of the erratic management of the ethnographic collections of the *Musée de Marine* at the end of the 19th century. The timing was therefore very favourable to Hubert for organizing the rescue and transfer of the ethnographic collection to several institutes, including the MAN between 1907 and 1911 (Cleyet-Merle 1983; Jacquemin 1990; Lorre 2015).

The room of comparative archaeology today: a scientific legacy in constant evaluation

The comparative exhibition, renovated and simplified at the instigation of Jean-Pierre Mohen, was inaugurated in 1984 (Fig. 3). Wishing to emphasize "*the originality of Hubert's universal perspective*", he considered that "*the main part of the message* [of Hubert] *deserves to be protected*". He also considered, at that time, that it was desirable when research demonstrated the validity of archaeology conceived as an "*ethnography of the past*" (as Leroi-Gourhan – who was Mauss' student – intended) and when scholars such as D.L. Clarke or J.-C. Gardin "*asserted the omnipresence of the comparison in archaeology*", as a support point for archaeological reasoning (Mohen 1982).

With the new exhibition, the MAN simultaneously obtained permission from the Department of Oriental Antiquities at the Louvre Museum for the deposition of the Iberian Iron Age collection from the perspective of reinforcing and completing the presentation of protohistory for the whole Mediterranean basin, a strong point of the comparative room. And not, because the strong point is the presentation of the Mediterranean protohistory in a whole and not only the Iberian collection. However, in 2018, following its new scientific and cultural scheme, the Louvre Museum put an end to the transfer of this collection, considering comparative archaeology scientifically obsolete as a discipline and underlining the overlap of certain parts of collections from the Mediterranean area. This decision did not take into account the process of 'sedimentation' of these collections with regard to the demonstration initially desired by Hubert and continued by Mohen.

It appears that almost directly after the death of Hubert, the room of comparative archaeology closed and experienced a form of instability, especially considering the claim of Asian and American artefacts by the *Musée Guimet* and the Trocadéro Museum, when Paul Rivet assumed the direction of the latter institution and prepared its transformation into the *Musée de l'Homme*. After the renewal of the Comparative Hall in 1984, the Oceanian collection inherited from the former *Musée de Marine*, received a new designation in 1992 as part of a redeployment of extra-European collections made on request of the French Museums administration. At the risk of distorting the original purpose of Hubert, it was transferred to the *Musée national des Arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie* (National Museum for Arts of Africa and Oceania) in Paris, whose collections ultimately contributed to the creation of the so-called *Musée du quai Branly-Jacques Chirac* in 2006.

The partial dismantling of this room, however, was fortunately balanced in 1995 by the donation of Pierre and Anne-Marie Pétrequin, gathering the fruit of more than 20 years of scientific research missions in West Papua and the Moluccas. After the publication of the *catalogue raisonné* of the collection and a temporary exhibition in 2006-2007, two showcases were dedicated to this collection in 2013 (Lorre 2014; Pétrequin/Pétrequin 2006). While awaiting the outcome of a new museographical path resulting from the MAN's recent scientific and cultural project, this ethnoarchaeological collection (comprising nearly 2000 objects) gives new life to the Comparative Room and helps to continue, to a certain extent, the initial project by reintegrating

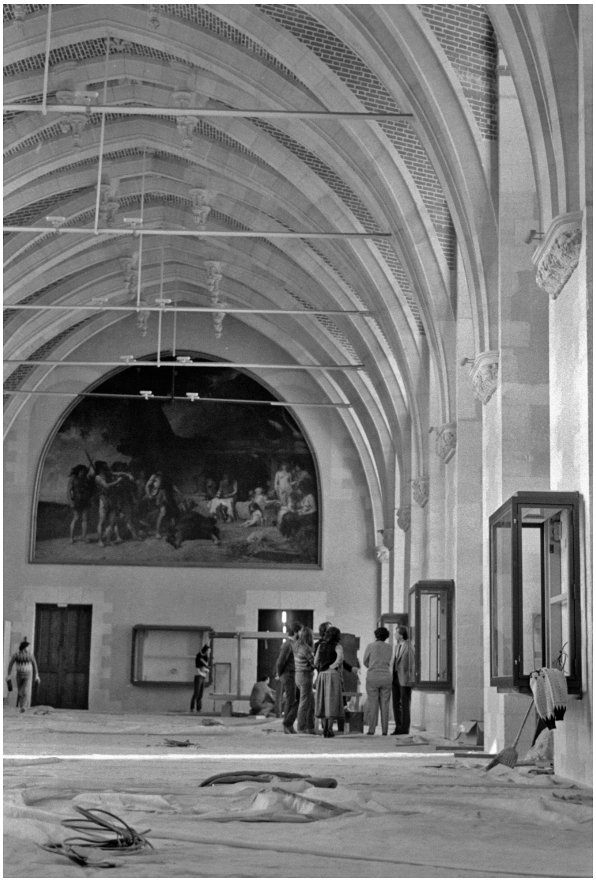

Fig. 3 Restoration works in the Comparative Hall, around 1980-1982 (MAN, Service des ressources documentaires).

Oceanian objects which, according to Hubert himself, provided the "*best facts of comparison*".[1] This collection could reassess the use of comparative data from anthropology to inform reconstructions of past human societies, which was one of the MAN's purposes at the beginning of the 20th century, before ethnographic analogy developed a troubled history and its use needed to be amended to avoid any oversimplification (Currie 2016; Schlanger/Taylor 2012).

Scientific relevance

As we know, the scientific relevance of archaeological collections changes over time as they relate to specific times and social, epistemological and methodological contexts. When these contexts evolve, they change the perspective and interest in these collections, which then lose some of their scientific value while often also gaining historical value. In addition to this historiographical value, we believe that it is possible to reintegrate some of the scientific value into these ancient collections by taking into account progress made within science and submitting them to new studies and new investigations (Poulot 2013). It is then necessary on the one hand to practice a kind of 'global archaeology', by not only relying on 'soil archives' but also on documents and objects in order to try to reconstruct a research process. On the other hand, to try to detect and deconstruct any old representations regarding sites, archaeological assemblages, intellectual reconstructions, interpretations, interferences of potential actors, etc. It is a matter of developing a fresh look at the collections, both as assemblages as well as juxtapositions of individuals, and taking into account their material characteristics and their diversity (materials, geographical origin, previous owner, etc.) in order to try and develop new scientific data supporting further interpretations.

With an odd flashback to the origins, a global reassessment work began two decades ago on the *Comparative Collection*, similar to the *Characterization of the collections project* conducted at the Pitt Rivers Museum by Dan Hicks and Alice Stevenson, even if it was on a smaller scale in terms of resources and organization (Hicks 2013). As the collection becomes a new field of archaeological investigation, some parts have been explored in the light of rediscovered or recently identified documentary sources, such as the aboriginal material of the Malacca Peninsula (Malaysia) (Jaunay 2003), the ceramic assemblage having contributed to the original definition of the Golasecca culture (Piedmont and Lombardy, Italy; see Fig. 4) (Lorre/Cicolani 2009), the batch of objects coming from the old mines of Laurion (Greece) (Boucher 2017), the material excavated by Claude Schaeffer during the first years of fieldwork at Ras Shamra-Ugarit (Syria) in the 1930s (Sauvage/Lorre in press) or the exceptional Bronze and Iron Ages material from Azerbaijanese and Iranian Talysh which was the pretext for setting up an archaeological cooperation program between France and Azerbaijan between 2012 and 2016 (Casanova *et al.* 2014). In the framework of this NABIALLA project, a new study of the artefacts, brought back by Morgan in the 1890s, started in order to improve the understanding of their chrono-cultural context and manufacturing process. For that purpose, the Centre for Research and Restoration of the Museums of France (C2RMF) was involved in carrying out archaeometric analyses on metallic ore components. Several missions for fieldwork and study of collections in Azerbaijan and Austria were conducted at the same time to gather new data and try to reconstruct the cultural context of the transition between Bronze and Iron Ages in

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[1] Unfinished handwritten note "*De la nécessité de maintenir au Musée de Saint-Germain des objets définis généralement comme ethnographiques*", 11 fol., n.d., MAN archives, Hubert archives, file Divers travaux, Ethnographie à S[aint] G[ermain].

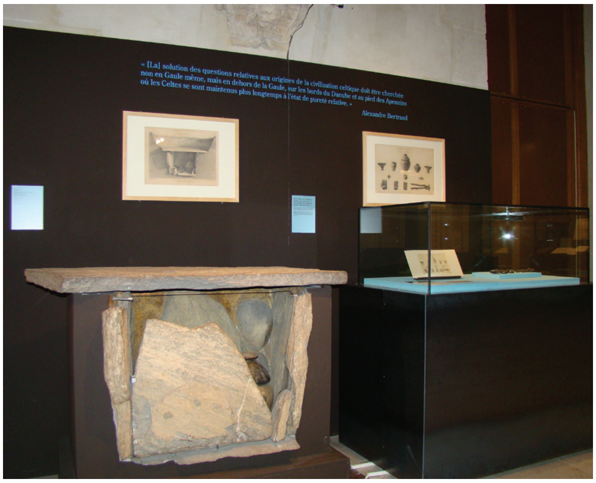
« [La] solution des questions relatives aux origines de la civilisation celtique doit être cherchée
non en Gaule même, mais en dehors de la Gaule, sur les bords du Danube et au pied des Apennins
où les Celtes se sont maintenus plus longtemps à l'état de pureté relative. »
Alexandre Bertrand

Fig. 4 Golasecca temporary exhibition in 2009-2010: ancient drawings in front of archaeological material (Loïc Hamon; © MAN).

the southern Caucasus. The digital registration of the artefacts is currently still in progress and is finally expected to include the results of this program into the website dedicated to Jacques de Morgan that was launched in June 2019.[2] Actually, through the use of digital humanities, we expect to address a more general concern dealing with current public collections' management and research that includes their historical background, critical dimensions and documentation in a context of public restitution (Poulot 2013).

What about the future?

The situation of the MAN's comparative collection fundamentally changed over time and we do need to keep working at its future. A great number of objects was previously collected in circumstances closely related to colonialism. Nowadays, we must consider these archaeological and ethnographical collections not only as historiographical or museographical evidence, but also as archaeological and ethnographical documents that have kept, to some extent, their intrinsic meaning. We must not express any judgement with anachronism. As many curators across Europe, Henri Hubert addressed issues on how to produce knowledge in his museum display for a wider audience and found new ways of creating a permanent exhibition. His concern was to make this knowledge more detailed and nuanced as well as accessible to and meaningful for scholars and the general audience (Bäckström 2015, 133-134). As such, we today have the same concerns because our museum is still a place of science, learning and enjoyment, but at the same time we now address a much more diverse audience with new matters of interest and access to new media. In this context, the reassessment of comparative collections may infer new ways of knowledge production and through a new display a dissemination situated within and determined by historical, political, aesthetic and social conditions (Bäckström 2015, 137).

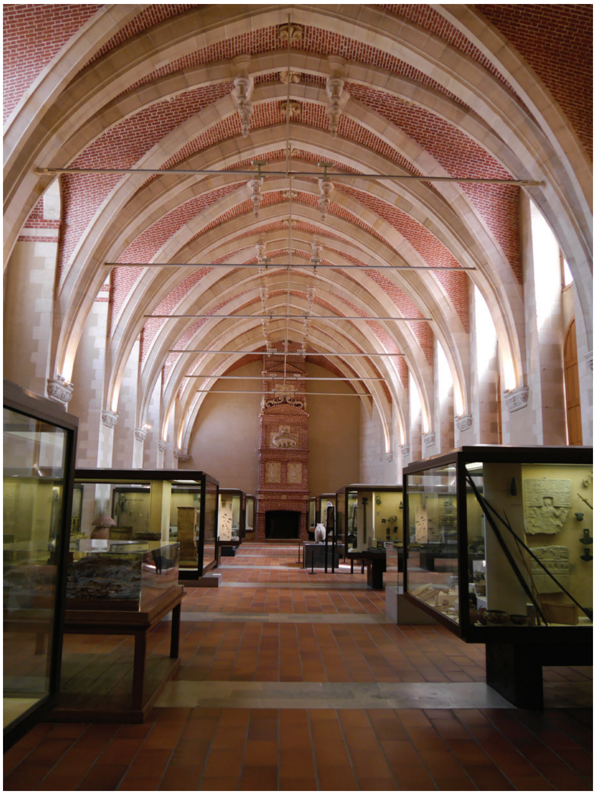

Fig. 5 The Comparative Hall today (MAN/Service des ressources documentaires/C. de Joly-Dulos).

We must keep in mind that objects – in their materiality – constitute an endless or at least a revolving resource for further developing research methods. For this reason, we think that the method chosen by Hubert for the exhibition of the 'Comparative Archaeology Room' keeps a suggestive power even today, despite the fact that this collection is sometimes considered as ill-assorted and brought together under unscientific conditions (Fig. 5). At a sort of 'interface of meaning and materiality', the nature of these objects may help us 'to trigger visitors intellectually', and, through the variety of material aspects, to give them the opportunity to think about different issues such as invariables in human societies, variations of social status, interferences between man and environment and consequences of different perceptions, diverging capacities of adaptation and evolution.

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[2] Posted at the link: http://archeologie.culture.fr/fr/a-propos/jacques-morgan.

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Collecting European antiquities as part of the Scottish antiquarian tradition

Alison Sheridan

> “*Amid this medley, it was no easy matter to find one’s way to a chair, without stumbling over a prostrate folio, or the still more awkward mischance of overturning some piece of Roman or ancient British pottery. And, when the chair was attained, it had to be disencumbered, with a careful hand, of engravings which might have received damage, and of antique spurs and buckles, which would certainly have occasioned it to any sudden occupant. Of this the Antiquary made Lovel particularly aware, adding, that his friend, the Rev. Doctor Heavysterne from the Low Countries, had sustained much injury by sitting down suddenly and incautiously on three ancient calthrops, or craw-taes, which had been lately dug up in the bog near Bannockburn, and which, dispersed by Robert Bruce to lacerate the feet of the English chargers, came thus in process of time to endamage the sitting part of a learned professor of Utrecht*.” (Scott 1816, ch. 3)

Introduction

In Scotland, as elsewhere in Europe, the antiquarian tradition of the 18th and 19th centuries (as lampooned by Sir Walter Scott, above) featured the collection of ancient artefacts from beyond the national boundary as well as within it, in order to provide comparative material that was used to build narratives of social and technological evolution, and to set the nation’s archaeological and historical artefacts within their broader geographical context. Most of this material is now in the collections of National Museums Scotland, where some is on display in the National Museum of Scotland in Chambers Street, Edinburgh, and some is in the National Museums’ Collections Centre a short distance away.

Much has already been published concerning the Scottish antiquarian tradition: an entire book by that name was published to mark the 1980 bicentenary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (Bell 1981), and this provides a comprehensive account. For that reason, this contribution simply summarises the European collecting activities and their context, and reviews the varied history of the display and deployment of this material, principally in the National Museum of Scotland and its predecessor organisations. In considering the collection of European material, case studies that highlight the close ties between Scottish antiquaries and their counterparts in Scandinavia and Ireland during the 19th century are highlighted.

Background: the Scottish antiquarian tradition, the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, and the Royal Museum of Scotland (and its predecessor institutions)

In common with other European nations, Scotland has a long history of antiquarian collecting. The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (henceforth SAS; Fig. 1) was founded in 1780 by David Steuart Erskine, 11th Earl of Buchan, and it brought together the artefactual collections of the great and the good of Scottish society, and of their associates elsewhere, in a conscious attempt to assert and celebrate Scotland's cultural and national identity (Cant 1981). Prior to the 1840s it was one of only three societies in Britain with the principal aim of promoting the study of antiquities, the others being the Society of Antiquaries of London (founded 1717) and the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne (founded 1813). Its pre-eminent role during the 19th century, not only in shaping Scottish archaeology but also in integrating it within the wider world of British, Irish and Continental antiquarianism and archaeology (and indeed ethnography)—through the inclusion of non-Scottish Fellows, acquisition of non-Scottish material, and formalised exchanges of its *Proceedings* with societies across Europe—has been documented by David Clarke (1981). The first acquisition for the Society's collection (1781) was of a Late Bronze Age metalwork hoard from Duddingston Loch in Edinburgh, but from its inception the collection included archaeological and ethnographic material from around the world (Stevenson 1981a, 37), including items donated from Captain Cook's final Pacific expedition (acquired 1781).

By 1851, the Society's collections had grown considerably and the costs of maintaining its museum—which had been housed in various, unsatisfactory, locations in Edinburgh—had outstripped its resources. In his Anniversary Address to the SAS in 1851, Daniel Wilson announced that the Society had, "*through a deed of conveyance prepared by the Lords of her Majesty's Treasury*", transferred its collection, library and archive to the Crown, as public property, in order to safeguard the maintenance and development of those collections (Wilson 1854). It, however, was not until 1859 that the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland (NMAS) opened, housed in part of the Royal Institution (now the Royal Scottish Academy) on Princes Street in the centre of Edinburgh (Stevenson 1981ab).

Prof. Sir James Young Simpson's call, in 1861, to "*every true-hearted Scotsman to contribute* [...] *to the extension of this museum, as the best record and collection of the earliest archaeological and historical monuments of our native land*" (Simpson 1862; NMAS 1892, frontispiece), was answered to such an extent that, by the 1880s, the collections had far outgrown their premises (Stevenson 1981b, 163–164; Fig. 2). After much deliberation regarding alternative accommodation, and thanks to a generous donation by newspaper owner and philanthropist John Ritchie Findlay, an imposing new home was built for the NMAS—shared with the Scottish National Portrait Gallery—in Queen Street, Edinburgh (Fig. 3; see Clarke

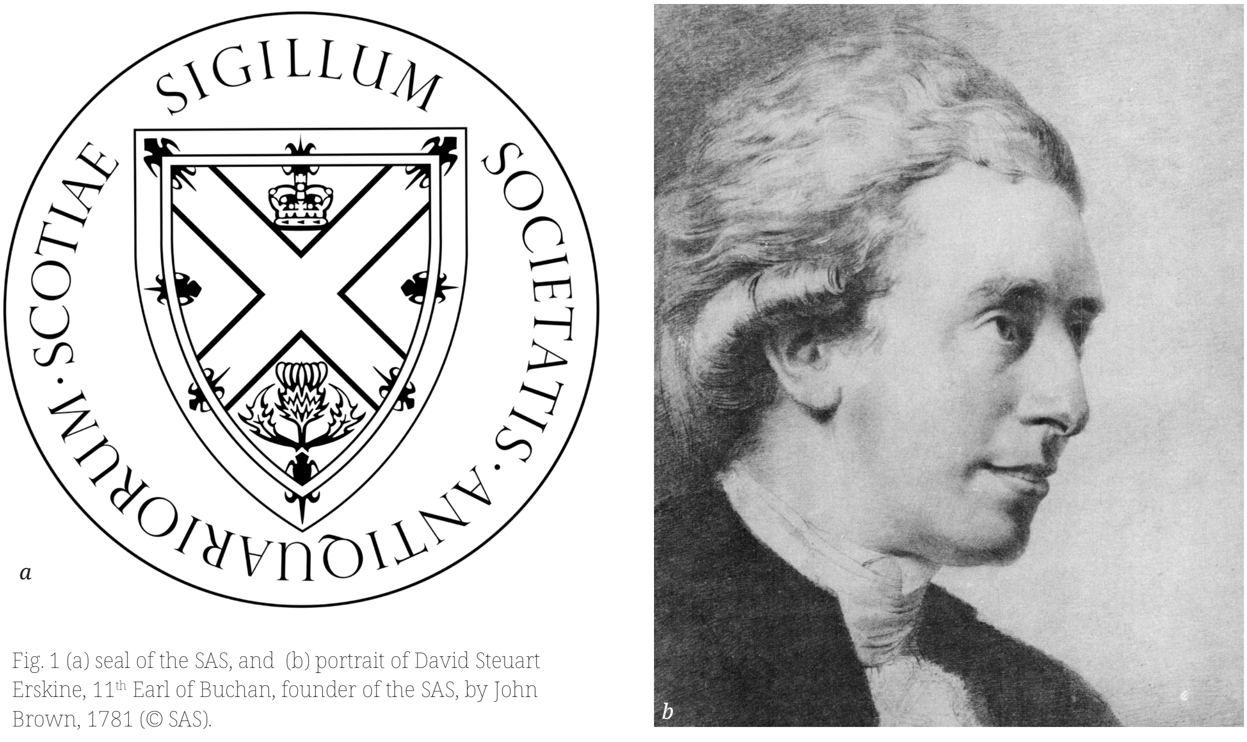


Fig. 1 (a) seal of the SAS, and (b) portrait of David Steuart Erskine, 11th Earl of Buchan, founder of the SAS, by John Brown, 1781 (© SAS).

Fig. 2 Gallery in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, 1890, in the Royal Institution building. The Keeper, Joseph Anderson, is in the foreground and his assistant, George Black, is in the background (© NMS).

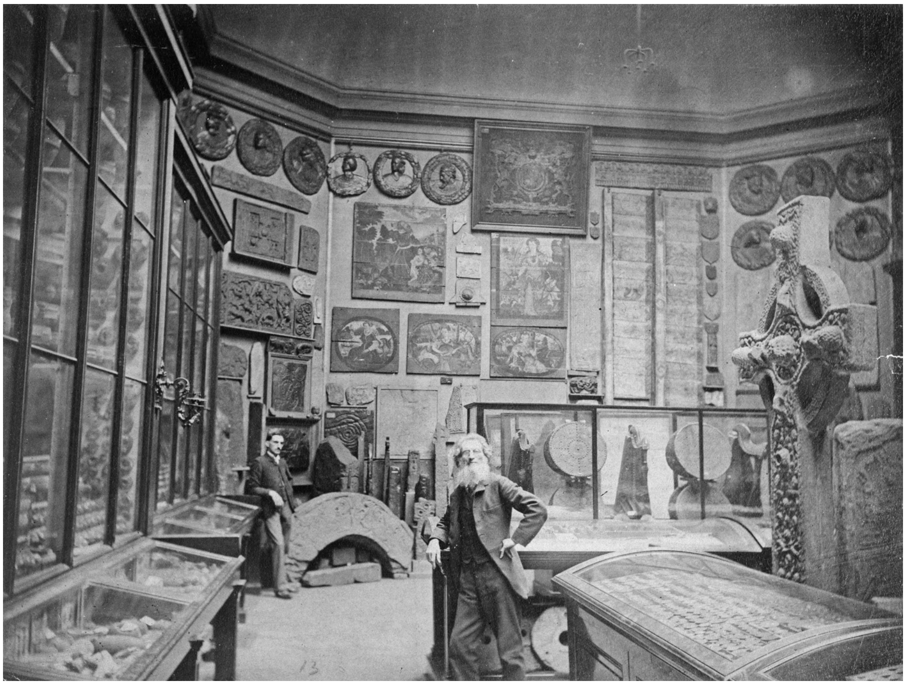
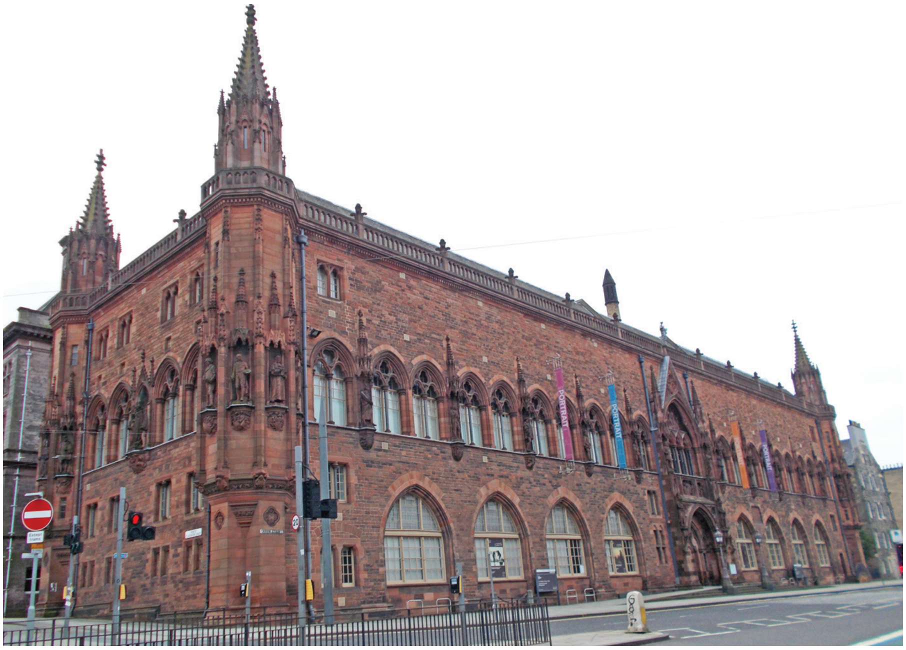
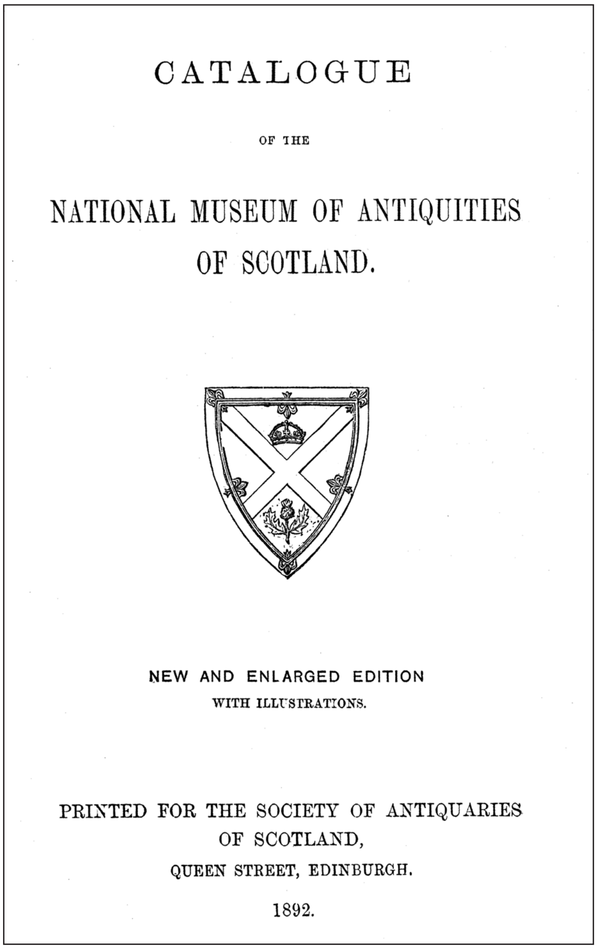


Fig. 3 The building in Queen Street, Edinburgh, that formerly housed the NMAS (in the left side of the photo) and the Scottish National Portrait Gallery (right side of the photo), but is now exclusively occupied by the latter (Alison Sheridan).



1990 on its stained-glass window, memorialising the members of the SAS Council). Its opening in 1891 was accompanied by the publication of a new Catalogue (Fig. 4; NMAS 1892) that included a listing of all the European and other non-Scottish items in the collections, as well as the Scottish objects.

Further expansion of the collections over the course of the 20th century led to a repetition of the overcrowding issue and, to cut a long story short (Calder 1989), following a lengthy campaign starting in 1946 (Stevenson 1981b, 199–209) and more than one false start, in 1998 a new, purpose-built building adjoining the then-named Royal Museum of Scotland (RMS) in Chambers Street was opened by Her Majesty the Queen on the symbolically-significant St Andrew's Day, 30 November (Fig. 5; Clarke 1998). Originally named the Museum of Scotland, in 2006 it and the RMS were re-named the National Museum of Scotland. A threshold stone explains the articulation between the two buildings' missions: one presents Scotland to the world, the other the world to Scotland (Fig. 6).



CATALOGUE

OF THE

NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES
OF SCOTLAND.

NEW AND ENLARGED EDITION
WITH ILLUSTRATIONS.

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
OF SCOTLAND,
QUEEN STREET, EDINBURGH.

1892.

Fig. 4 Title page of the 1892 Catalogue of the NMAS.

The SAS/NMAS was not the only organisation in Edinburgh to acquire Scottish and non-Scottish antiquities. The aforementioned RMS, from its first incarnation as the Industrial Museum of Scotland—founded 1854, and inspired by the 1851 Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations in London—collected widely, and many of its archaeological acquisitions from around the world are currently on display. Several other museums around Scotland also acquired, or had on loan, non-Scottish antiquities (*e.g.* the formerly-named Museum of the Albert Institute, Dundee: Anderson/Black 1888, 347-348), but space precludes a discussion of these.

European antiquities in Scotland: modes of acquisition

Most of the European antiquities in the National Museums' Scotland collections were acquired over the second half of the 19th and the first part of the 20th century. While the institution's collecting policy still allows for collecting such material (subject to local and international regulations), in practice, the only European antiquities to have been acquired over the last 75 years or so—other than those acquired for the classical and Mediterranean prehistory collections (including an important collection of Cypriot archaeological material, transferred from St Andrews Museum to the RMS Mediterranean Archaeology section in 1987)—have been medieval or later in date, collected as works of art and examples of design by the department that is currently named Art and Design.

In the NMAS and its earlier incarnation as the Society's museum, until 1881 when a Purchase Committee was appointed, acquisitions of European antiquities had mostly been in the form of gifts and bequests from Fellows and associates. The extensive and active international network of antiquaries that was built up by the SAS ensured that some highly significant material entered the collections, including Palaeolithic artefacts from Edouard Lartet's and Henry Christy's excavations in caves in the Dordogne (acquired 1869: Stevenson 1981b, 152), and others from French and Belgian findspots, including St. Acheul, acquired from Sir John Evans (1870), Dr. Robert Munro (1890) and Sir Herbert Eustace Maxwell (1889). The items from St. Acheul, and from the Neolithic flint mine at Spiennes, Belgium, that were donated by Sir John Evans (1897) feature as *comparanda* for British finds in his *magnum opus*, *The Ancient Stone Implements, Weapons and Ornaments, of Great Britain*.

Some material was, indeed, specifically gifted to provide *comparanda* with Scottish artefacts: this is the case, for example, with finds from Swiss lake settlements—namely Wangen and Robenhausen on Lake Constance, and Marges on Lac Léman/Geneva—donated by Frédéric Troyon in 1863 for comparison with finds from Scottish crannogs (artificially-enhanced islands in lakes). (See also Pernet, this volume.) Similarly, finds from a terp at Aalsum, Friesland, were acquired in 1889 from Dr. Robert Munro, specifically for comparison with crannog finds (Munro 1889). The results of Munro's conscientious parallel-chasing were incorporated in his 1890 publication of his 1888 Rhind lecture series, *The Lake Dwellings of Europe*, a follow-up to his 1882 book on *Ancient Scottish Lake Dwellings or Crannogs.* The sharing of finds from archaeological excavations was a common practice during the 19th century.

In addition to these acquisitions, a handful of European antiquities were included in the set of material that was transferred from Edinburgh University to found the collections of the Industrial Museum of Scotland in the mid-19th century; these have the designation 'UC' ('University Collection': Swinney 2013, 164). A further European item that subsequently made its way into the National Museums' collections from the University is a cast of an Eneolithic horse-head pommel sceptre from Russia (for which type, see Dergachev 2007).

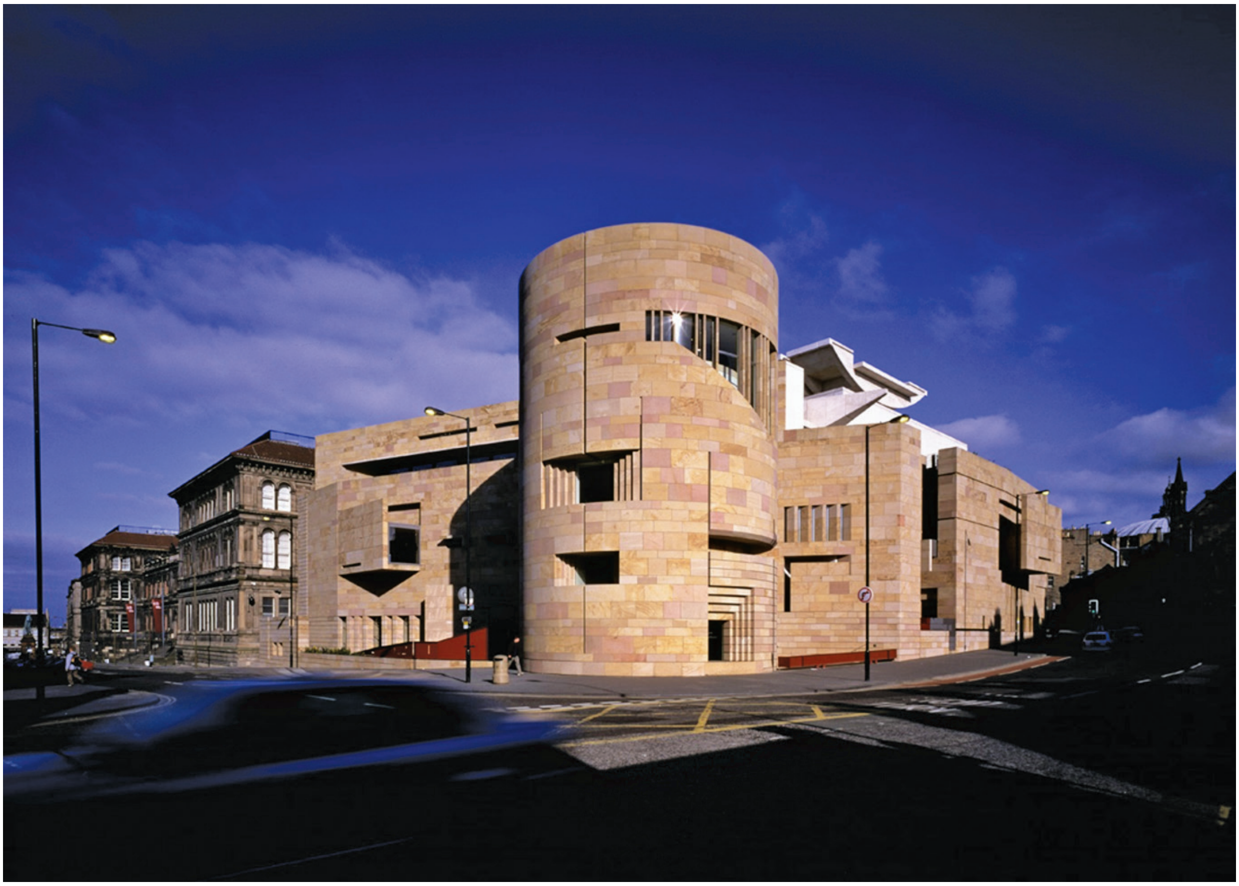


Fig. 5 The Scotland Galleries of the National Museum of Scotland, formerly named the Museum of Scotland. The older building behind it is the formerly-named RMS. (© NMS).

Other European antiquities were purchased, both by NMAS—whose Purchase Committee dedicated a small amount of its funds specifically to develop the comparative collection—and by the predecessor institutions to the RMS. Examples of such purchases for the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art (EMSA—the first 'reincarnation' of the Industrial Museum of Scotland) include a cast of a decorated Palaeolithic reindeer antler fragment from Elie Massénat's excavations at Laugerie Basse cave (Fig. 7A), bought for two shillings (around 11 cents in today's money!) in 1888; and further items from Swiss lake dwellings (Fig. 7.2), bought in 1891 for £1/5- (around €1.40), from a shop that specialised in selling antiquities and ethnographic items: Fenton & Sons, *The Old Curiosity Shop*, 11 New Oxford Street, London. Several Palaeolithic flint hand-axes were also bought from that shop.[1] The pre-eminence of London in the 19th-century trade in international antiquities and ethnographic items has been documented by Mark Westgarth (2020). Interestingly, however, while EMSA was buying items from London dealers, and was buying casts, all (or virtually all) of the NMAS purchases seem to be from Scottish sources—and, with a few important exceptions, such as commissioned casts of sculptured stones (Foster 2016, 175), they are of actual artefacts rather than casts (David Clarke pers. comm.). This is one of several significant differences between the practices and approaches of the two Edinburgh museums. (See Swinney 2013 on the history of collecting by the EMSA, its predecessor, and its successive incarnations.)

Overall, between these two museums in Queen Street and Chambers Street, several hundred European antiquities were acquired through donations and purchases, with

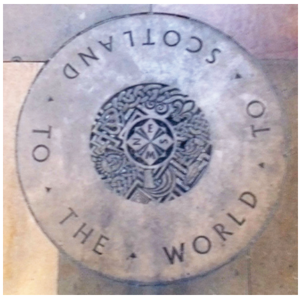


Fig. 6 Threshold stone, *Scotland to the World—the World to Scotland*, between the Scotland Galleries and the rest of the National Museum of Scotland (Alison Sheridan).

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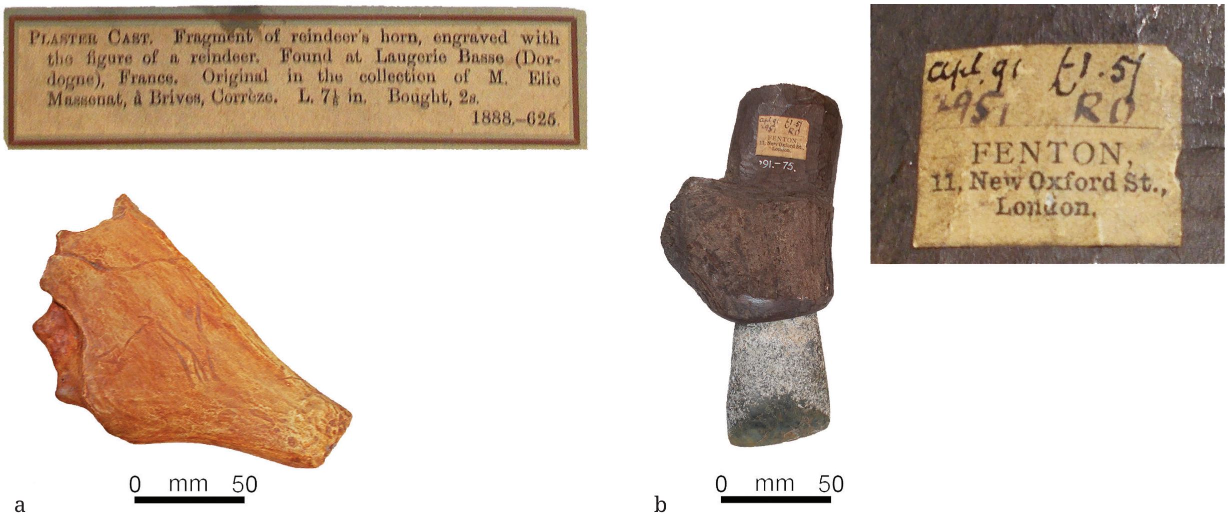
[1] *Cf.* items bought from this shop by Pitt-Rivers for his museum in Oxford: http://web.prm.ox.ac.uk/rpr/index.php/primary-documents-index/16-second-collection-1880-1900/659-pitt-rivers-and-fentons.html [accessed June 2020].


PLASTER CAST. Fragment of reindeer's horn, engraved with the figure of a reindeer. Found at Laugerie Basse (Dordogne), France. Original in the collection of M. Elie Massenat, à Brives, Corrèze. L. 7⅛ in. Bought, 2s.
1888.–625.

apl. 91 £1.5/
951 RO
FENTON,
11, New Oxford St.,
London.

Fig. 7 (a) Plaster cast of decorated reindeer antler fragment. The label reads: “*PLASTER CAST. Fragment of reindeer’s horn, engraved with the figure of a reindeer. Found at Laugerie Basse (Dordogne), France. Original in the collection of M. Elie Massénat, à Brives, Corrèze. L.7⅛ in. Bought, 2s. 1888.–625*”; (B) Axehead of jadeitite or other Alpine rock in antler sleeve from Robenhausen lake dwelling, Switzerland, and detail of the label showing that it was acquired in April 1891, for £1.5/-, from Fenton & Sons, 11 New Oxford Street, London. The label is also marked ‘951 RO’ (Alison Sheridan, © NMS).

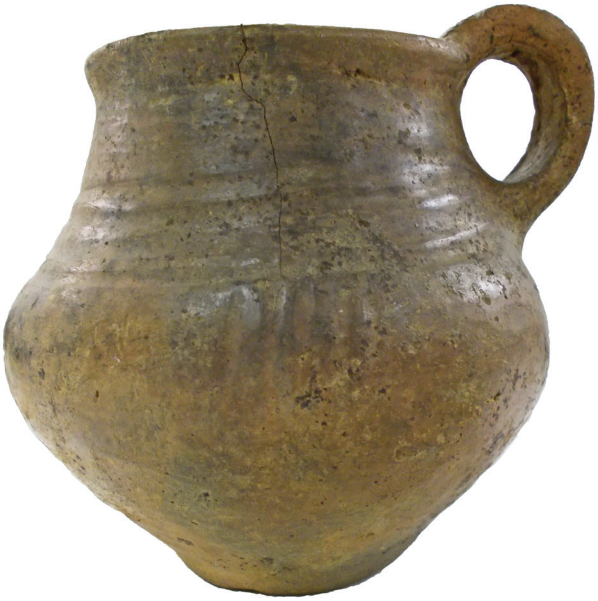


Fig. 8 Handled vessel from Urnfield cemetery between Muskau and Förste, Brandenburg, Germany (Christine Yuill, © NMS).

the geographical range of the acquisitions extending from Ireland in the west to Russia in the east, and from Lapland in the north to Malta in the south. Excepting classical and other Mediterranean antiquities, the largest number are from Ireland and Scandinavia, and these feature in the case studies offered below. Only a few items were acquired from the Netherlands and Germany, most of the former being mentioned above. The latter include cinerary urns (including one of Late Urnfield, 10th–9th century *Kegelhalsgefäß* type) and cremated human remains from Hannover, and other Urnfield culture cinerary urns (Fig. 8) and their contents from a cemetery between Muskau and Förste, in Brandenburg. The latter were bought by EMSA for £80 (around €100) in 1877.

In addition to artefacts, many important Continental publications were acquired by the NMAS Library (and its predecessor, the SAS Library), and these helped to make it the best archaeological library north of Cambridge. The practice of collecting books on European archaeology for what is now the library of the National Museum of Scotland continues to the present, albeit on a somewhat smaller scale than during the 20th century.

Awareness of, and interest in, European archaeology was not just expressed through the acquisition of artefacts and publications. The flourishing correspondence and the visits between Scottish antiquaries and their counterparts in Ireland and on the Continent, especially during the second half of the 19th century, informed scholarly discourse and publication and materially advanced the discipline of archaeology. This is exemplified in Dr. Robert Munro’s study of beaver and otter traps in the Society’s Proceedings (Munro 1891), based on his visits and correspondence, which draws together examples from, Germany, Italy, Ireland, Poland, Slovenia and Wales and which succeeded in identifying their function. Munro’s enlightened internationalist perspective, showcased in his aforementioned 1888 Rhind lectures on the lake dwellings of Europe (Munro 1890), was influential in establishing the tradition of international prehistoric archaeology at the University of Edinburgh (Stevenson 1981b, 163)—a tradition initially developed during the Abercromby Professorships of Vere Gordon Childe and Stuart Piggott, and more recently extended during that of Ian Ralston.

The undertaking of international scholarly research visits was, of course, a feature of 19th-century antiquarianism in many parts of Europe—as other contributions in this volume make clear (and see Anderson/Black 1888, 331–332). In Scotland, this was greatly facilitated by the establishment, by Dr. Robert Halliday Gunning, of a fund to mark Queen Victoria's Jubilee in 1887, "*to help experts to visit other Museums, Collections, or Materials of Archaeological Science at home or abroad, for purposes of special investigation and research*" (Anderson/Black 1888, 331). The visit of Joseph Anderson—Keeper of the NMAS, 1869–1913—to museums in Switzerland and Italy, courtesy of this Gunning Jubilee Fund, is documented in his report in the SAS Proceedings for 1889–90, and he concludes:

> "[…] *I have to say that the knowledge derivable from a visitation of foreign museums is always of a kind that is singularly incommunicable. They present so many unfamiliar features, and tell their story, as it were, in a foreign tongue, more or less unintelligible to the visitor until by repeated visits his eyes become familiarised with the features of the types, and his mind begins to take in their relations to other types that are more familiar to him. But there are many archaeological links to be picked up (as I have endeavoured now and then in these pages to show), and there is the still more important knowledge to be gained of the special types that are characteristic of the different areas—a knowledge that is only to be obtained by careful inspection and comparison of many different and widely separated collections.*" (Anderson 1890, 510).

As Keeper, Anderson had previously visited museums in Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Norway and Sweden, observing:

> *"As a rule, the Museums of the Rhineland and Belgium are inferior to those of France in the extent and variety of their collections of the prehistoric, and they do not equal the French in the art of display, but what they have done has been done with thoroughness and evident desire to secure the public utility of their collections."* (Anderson 1884, 46).

In addition to maintaining the scholarly links that helped to secure items for the NMAS collections, these tours also informed Anderson's thoughts on the NMAS displays, in the same way that previous international connections had informed previous displays (Ash 1981, 103).

To underline the significance of international research visits to and from Europe, and of other international antiquarian connections, to the development of the comparative collection of European antiquities, the following two brief case studies are offered.

Case study 1: the collection of Scandinavian antiquities

Scottish antiquarian and archaeological links with Scandinavia have been strong from the very beginning of the SAS to the present day. One of the earliest acquisitions by the SAS is a magnificent 11th-century runestone (Fig. 9) from Lilla Ramsjö, 40 kilometres west of Uppsala, Sweden, that was presented in 1787 by Sir Alexander Seton of Preston and Ekolsund (1738–1828; Anon. 1822). This stone, whose recent history is detailed below, did not join the collections of the NMAS in 1851 but instead was presented to the proprietors of the Princes Street gardens in 1821 when it was set up just below Edinburgh Castle, and it only joined the National collections in 2017.

The fact that Scandinavia had been in the forefront of antiquarian studies in the 17th and 18th centuries—with antiquarian organisations being founded in Denmark in 1745, in Sweden in 1753, in Norway in 1760 and in Iceland in 1791—explains how the founder of the SAS, David Erskine, 11th Earl of Buchan, came to be given honorary membership of the Royal Danish Society in 1785 and of its Icelandic counterpart in 1791 (Cant 1981, 23). This had been arranged through the Icelandic scholar Grímur Jonsson Thorkelin, Assistant Keeper of the Royal Archives in Copenhagen, who had been seeking documents relating to Danish,

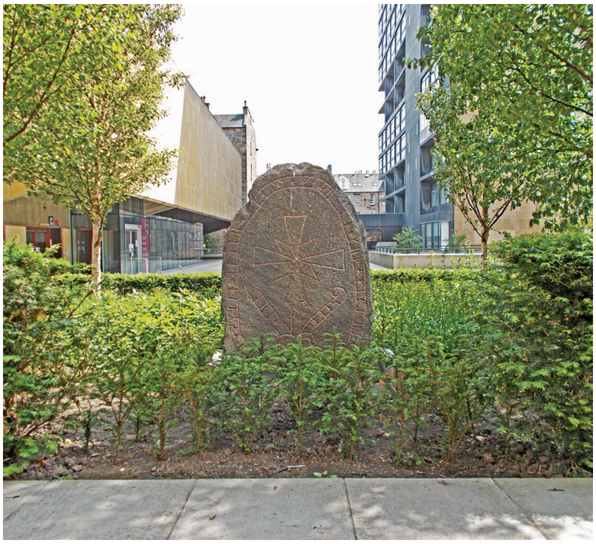


Fig. 9 Runestone from Lilla Ramsjö, Sweden, after its relocation to Edinburgh University in 2019 (Alison Sheridan).

Norwegian and Icelandic antiquities in British repositories; Buchan, similarly, "*wished to secure copies of Scottish source-material from abroad, especially from countries having strong historic ties with his own*" (Cant 1981, 23). Thorkelin and Buchan developed a close and long-lasting friendship, and Thorkelin became the first Scandinavian to be elected to the SAS; thereafter a number of Scandinavian Fellows were elected, and the Crown Prince of Denmark, later King Frederi[c]k VII, was made an Honorary Fellow in 1844. The SAS was formally linked with the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries (RSNA) in 1829 (Ash 1981, 93), and the RSNA had previously donated flint and bronze artefacts to the SAS collection in 1815. The history of the antiquarian connections with Scandinavia has been covered by others (Ash 1981; Cant 1981; Clarke 1981; Stevenson 1981ab), so is not repeated here; suffice it to say that, in addition to resulting in the acquisition of Scandinavian antiquities, these connections had a profound effect on the way in which the displays were arranged, and on the introduction of a financial award to finders of *bona vacantia* in 1859 (Ash 1981, 93, 107; Stevenson 1981b, 149).

The Scandinavian artefacts that were acquired as a result of these close connections include a collection of Swedish Neolithic objects, obtained by Robert Chambers during his visit to Scandinavia c. 1849; Viking oval brooches from Denmark and Norway, presented by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries in 1849, by Joseph Anderson in 1874, and by Robert Carfrae in 1878; and Neolithic artefacts from Korsør Nor, Denmark, presented by King Frederi[c]k VII following his visit to the Society's Museum in 1844, when he was still the Crown Prince. (See below for more on the King's gift.) Other Scandinavian artefacts were purchased by NMAS curator Robert Carfrae during the 1880s and early 1890s. Overall, the Scandinavian collections comprise over 500 artefacts.

The flow of artefacts was reciprocal, even if far fewer Scottish objects ended up in Scandinavia. During Jens Jacob Asmussen Worsaae's visit to Scotland in October 1846—a visit where *"part of my mission is to unite the efforts of the British and Scandinavian antiquaries more than hitherto has been the case"* (quoted in Ash 1981, 98)—the Society gifted to the then-named Copenhagen Museum (now the Nationalmuseet) five objects including a fine oval Viking brooch, one of a pair found with a skeleton at Castletown in the old country of Caithness, in exchange *for "representative specimens of Danish antiquities"* (Anderson 1874, 549–550; Ash 1981, 98; Stevenson 1981a, 79). A further Scottish object, which did not pass through the hands of the Society, is a fine Alpine jadeitite axehead from Garvock, Aberdeenshire (Fig. 10). This was acquired in 1846 by Worsaae from the Edinburgh-based antiquary Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe (c. 1781–1851), a friend of the writer Sir Walter Scott, and the holder of one of the finest collections of antiquities accumulated by a private individual in Scotland. It had lain, largely overlooked, in the collections of the Nationalmuseet, its findspot wrongly given as 'Garsack', but its true findspot and significance were determined in 2008, thanks to the efforts of Dr. Lutz Klassen, during an international research project, *Projet JADE*, which focused on axeheads of Alpine stone (Sheridan *et al.* 2011, 421–422).

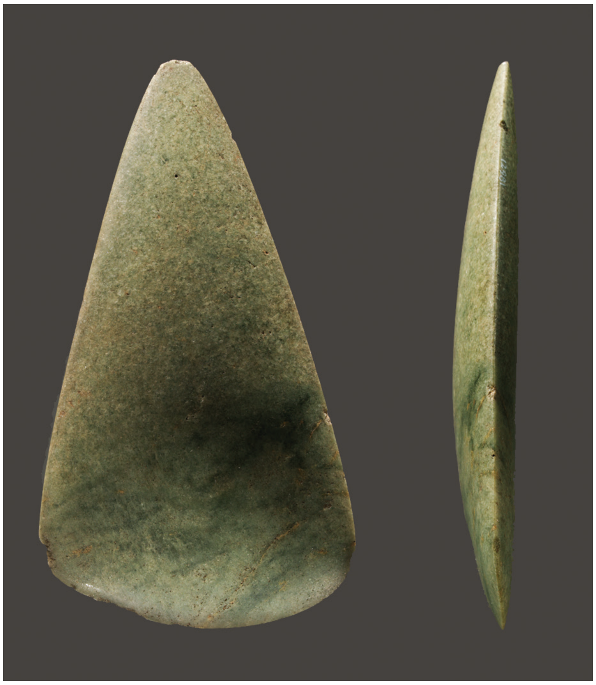


Fig. 10 Jadeitite axehead from Garvock, Aberdeenshire, in the collection of the Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen (Lutz Klassen, © Moesgård Museum).

Case study 2: the collection of Irish antiquities

There are around 2500 Irish antiquities in the collections of National Museums Scotland (NMS), and of these, around 1400 come from the collection of John Bell (1793–1861), a Scottish antiquary who lived for much of his life in Dungannon, County Tyrone before returning to Scotland. Bell was elected a Fellow of the SAS in 1844 and, in 1867, his important collection was purchased by NMAS using a special Government grant of £500 (Stevenson 1981b, 153). Irish artefacts also featured among the large and eclectic collections that Alexander Henry Rhind bequeathed to NMAS in 1860 and that Sir Herbert Eustace Maxwell, President of the SAS, presented to NMAS in 1889 (Anon. 1889). The remainder of the Irish antiquities were acquired through gift or purchase from various sources, including the sale of the collection of Archibald Leckie of Paisley in 1855 and the auction of the Earl of Londesborough's collection at Christie's in 1888.

Links between Scottish and Irish antiquaries existed from as early as the late 18th century, as attested by the donation to the SAS, in 1784, of ten flat bronze axeheads from Ireland by the Reverend Edward Ledwich, vicar of Aghaboe, County Laois and author of *Antiquities of Ireland* (NMAS 1892, 129; unpublished Inventory of Antiquities c. 1785, 15). These links remained strong during the 19th century, with Daniel Wilson praising what had been achieved in Dublin with the establishment of the National Museum of Ireland when he was campaigning for the creation of a national museum for Scotland:

> "*In Dublin…as in Copenhagen, a keen spirit of nationality and patriotic sympathy has been enlisted in the cause of Archaeological science* [but in Scotland] *our native nobility have stood aloof from us* […]." (Wilson 1854, 4)

> "*In Copenhagen a genuine nationality has been awakened* [through the establishment of a National Museum] […]*; and it is wonderful what has been effected in Dublin*." (1852, unpublished manuscript, quoted in Ash 1981, 111)

Moreover, in his 1851 Anniversary Address, Wilson congratulated the SAS on the decision "*to resume printing of our Proceedings…which…will also restore us to a more active intercourse with Kindred Societies, both at home* [by which term Ireland was implicitly included] *and on the Continent*" (Wilson 1854, quoted in Clarke 1981, 121).

This 'intercourse' included the international exchange of Society publications. It was also to include the election of Joseph Anderson (Keeper of NMAS from 1869 to 1913), as an honorary member of the Royal Irish Academy, and the exhibiting to the SAS, in March 1887, of four flint artefacts that are now recognised to be Late Neolithic oblique arrowheads, found in County Antrim (Anon. 1887, 201–202). These were posted to Anderson by the Reverend George Raphael Buick of Country Antrim (1843–1904; Woodman *et al.* 2006, 337–8), who had been inspired by seeing similar artefacts from Ormiegill passage tomb in the former county of Caithness illustrated in Anderson's (1886) *Scotland in Pagan Times—the Stone and Bronze Ages*. Buick (1888) subsequently gifted these arrowheads to NMAS in 1887 (NMAS 1892, 16) and published his speculations on their interpretation as knives in the Proceedings in 1888.

Some acquisitions of Irish artefacts were not recognised as having Irish provenances at their time of acquisition. This is the case with an Irish-style gold lunula and three Late Bronze Age gold artefacts, originally on loan to NMAS from the Monzie Estate, Crieff, Perth and Kinross, and initially assumed to have been found on the Estate. These are now firmly believed to have been found in Ireland, since General Alexander Campbell of Monzie is known to have collected antiquities in Ireland; this would account for their specific typological features (Coles 1960, 36; Wallace 1986; Ó Néill 2008). An Irish provenance is also strongly suspected for another gold lunula of Irish style, which was bought by NMAS in 1898 during the sale of the collection of Thomas Brown at Lanfine House, near Kilmarnock in the west of Scotland, and whose provenance was originally described as 'probably Ayrshire or Lanarkshire' (Wallace 1986). Likewise, a Late Bronze Age goldwork hoard that had initially been acquired by Sir Walter Scott in 1825 and ascribed a findspot at Torloisk on Mull, was revealed, through research by Prof. George Eogan of University College Dublin, to have come from Munster (Eogan 1967).

The Scottish-Irish collaborative research that was able to correct these provenance errors typifies the close and cordial relations that endure to this day, linking archaeologists in Scotland and Ireland. Important Irish objects are on long-term loan from NMS to the National Museum of Ireland (NMI) and the Ulster Museum, and Mary Cahill and Maeve Sikora, emerita and current Curator of Irish Antiquities at NMI respectively, are part of a current AHRC-funded research project into Chalcolithic and Bronze Age gold, placing Scottish, Welsh and English gold artefacts within their broader context.[2]

European antiquities in Scotland: modes of deployment

The way in which European antiquities have been deployed by NMAS and RMS and by their predecessor institutions has both differed between the two museums and has changed over time. When the NMAS opened in the Royal Institution building in 1859, these items were displayed alongside Scottish artefacts, and ethnographic artefacts, in a large room labelled 'British Antiquities etc.' This physical juxtaposition, which continued the earlier display practice of the Museum when it belonged to the SAS (Stevenson 1981a, 79), was specifically intended to facilitate cross-cultural comparisons and to illustrate the belief that *"societies at similar stages of development produce similar artefacts"* (Ash 1981, 103).

By 1892, when the NMAS reopened in its new premises in Queen Street, the non-Scottish artefacts (except for medals, seals and armour) were displayed in a large room on the second floor, separate from the Scottish material on the two floors below (Stevenson 1981b, 171), although with the continued intention of presenting these as *comparanda*. However, the aforementioned pressure on space that was occasioned by the expansion of the collections, especially of Scottish material, necessitated a reorganisation, and in spring 1914 all of the collections and display cases were removed to another part of the building, for temporary storage (Stevenson 1981b, 184).

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[2] See https://www.nms.ac.uk/collections-research/our-research/featured-projects/prehistoric-gold/ [accessed June 2020].

As a way of relieving the pressure on space, it was agreed to relocate parts of the collection elsewhere—militaria to the newly-established Scottish United Services Museum (SUSM) in Edinburgh Castle, and some non-Scottish (including some ethnographic) material to the museum in Chambers Street, which by then had been re-named the Royal Scottish Museum (RSM; Stevenson 1981b, 188). The move of this material to the SUSM and RSM, however, was initially undertaken on a loan basis, rather than a transfer: in 1921, 134 Greek pots and figures and Roman lamps, and in 1924 around 700 ethnographic items were placed on long-term loan to the RSM. Meanwhile, in NMAS the comparative gallery remained closed until 1927, and thereafter it underwent refurbishment, the work being completed in 1938 (Stevenson 1981b, 189).

The pressure on space occasioned by the ever-growing collections remained a problem, and throughout the 1930s various items were transferred 'on permanent loan' to other institutions. The closure of the NMAS due to the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 offered the opportunity to transfer Egyptian, South American and Mexican items to the RSM, and it was at this point that the European archaeological artefacts were packed away and placed in storage, freeing up the comparative gallery for other use (Stevenson 1981b, 194). For most of those objects in NMAS, this was to be the last time they were on display (although there was, in the late 1940s, a temporary display of *Scottish and comparative foreign objects in the Museum—ancient and modern*; Stevenson 1981b, 204). The perennial pressure on space in the NMAS, as the Scottish collections continued to expand, necessitated a further culling of the European antiquities collection, facilitated by a Disposal of Surplus Material Order in 1951 (Stevenson 1981b, 204). The artefacts that had been lent to RSM, plus some more Greek and Roman artefacts, were permanently transferred at this time; and, on advice from the British Museum, some 700 foreign classical antiquities were auctioned in London in 1954, raising £460 (around €500; Stevenson 1981b, 204).

In Chambers Street, meanwhile, European antiquities formed part of the displays from the moment the Industrial Museum of Scotland opened in its magnificent, newly-built premises in Chambers Street in 1866 (Swinney 2013), and some have continued to be displayed in that building ever since. Classical sculpture and vases were displayed as exemplars of art and ingenuity, with the latter being *"kept alongside historical and modern ceramics rather than as an aspect of Classical culture"* (Goring 1989, v)—a practice that continues today, in the recently-opened Art of Ceramics gallery[3]. Other European antiquities were displayed alongside ethnographic objects, *"suggesting that the ethnographical objects represented a recapitulation of stages of technological evolution through which western peoples had passed in their distant history. The ethnological gallery included objects and model representations of implements, lake dwellings and dolmens, or 'Rude Stone Monuments', from the European Neolithic. Such juxtaposition constructed a Whiggish view of an evolutionary process which placed western 'civilisation' as the culmination of global history."* (Goring 1989, 228).

This explicitly social-evolutionary approach fell out of favour during the 20th century, and both in the permanent displays and in temporary exhibitions, such as Elizabeth Goring's *Aphrodite's Island: art and archaeology of ancient Cyprus* (whose catalogue is presented in the accompanying book; Goring 1988), the emphasis shifted—implicitly, and latterly explicitly—to 'presenting the world to Scotland'. That exhibition also highlighted and celebrated Scotland's links with the archaeology/antiquarianism of Cyprus (Elizabeth Goring pers. comm.). In today's NMS, European antiquities currently feature in the Art, Design and Fashion galleries, including the recently-opened Art of Ceramics gallery, and also in the Grand Gallery's 'wonder wall'-type displays.[4] Most of the displayed items are medieval, classical Greek and Roman and prehistoric Cypriot, but there are also a few Irish prehistoric artefacts. As for any comparison between European and Scottish antiquities, this is implicit rather than explicit, and is achieved through the juxtaposition of the Scottish Galleries (which is what the Museum of Scotland is now called) with the rest of the NMS: the Scottish Galleries 'present Scotland to the world' (Fig. 6).

The deployment of the European comparative collections (and indeed of all the display objects) for pedagogical purposes was a key part of the ethos of display, at both the Queen Street and the Chambers Street museums, from their foundations: a major part of their *raisons d'être* was to educate the public. As for the use of the displays (and of material held in store) for formal educational purposes at school and university level, the latter was a major element informing the initial arrangement of the displays in the Industrial Museum of Scotland, situated as it is immediately adjacent to the University's Old College in Chambers Street. As Geoff Swinney has pointed out (2013, ch. 7), the arrangement was intended to tie in with University teaching, just as the University's own museum displays had done, but over the course of the 19th and 20th centuries, a tension developed between the rather dry, typology-driven pedagogical displays that might fulfil the needs of formal education and the need of the public for a more engaging and accessible style of display. (The latter has been the main driver for successive re-displays in the museum at Chambers Street in the more recent past.)

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[3] https://www.nms.ac.uk/national-museum-of-scotland/things-to-see-and-do/explore-the-galleries/new-ancient-egypt-east-asia-and-ceramics-galleries/ [accessed June 2020].

[4] https://www.nms.ac.uk/national-museum-of-scotland/things-to-see-and-do/explore-the-galleries/ [accessed June 2020].

It must be admitted that, over the last century, the European comparative collections have not featured in University level education to any significant extent, other than for students of the history of art (in the case of the classical artefacts). Similarly, they have not been used in the school-level educational activities, except in the case of one or two objects in the NMAS teaching collection. It is unclear whether the European comparative collection on display in NMAS until 1939 featured in the teaching of Vere Gordon Childe, during his Abercromby Professorship in the University of Edinburgh (1927–1946); indeed, Childe developed his own international collection of antiquities in the University[5]), and used this to teach European archaeology. By the time his successor, Prof. Stuart Piggott, was teaching archaeology at Edinburgh University, the comparative collections were off display, and when he brought students to examine artefacts on or off display, it was Scottish material that was studied (David Clarke, pers. comm.).

Research visits to NMS collections by students in the more recent past have similarly focused almost exclusively on Scottish artefacts, rather than on the European archaeological collection, and it is fair to say that the latter has been largely overlooked; until very recently it has remained virtually unknown among archaeologists on the Continent. However, this is beginning to change: before his death, Alan Saville (Senior Curator, Earliest Prehistory) catalogued the collection of Continental Palaeolithic material, and more recently, Dr. Hugo Anderson-Whymark (Curator of Prehistory, Palaeolithic–Neolithic) has been uploading those notes to the Museum's Adlib documentation system. Since 2019, as part of his work on the European comparative collections, Hugo has also been working with a postgraduate student from the University of Durham, Luke Dale, researching, documenting and improving the storage of the Danish artefacts, and Luke has recently produced an excellent blog on this work.[6] This is succeeding in raising the profile of this important collection around the world. As the long-term process of digitising and making available all of the NMS collections online progresses, more of the European collections will become accessible.[7]

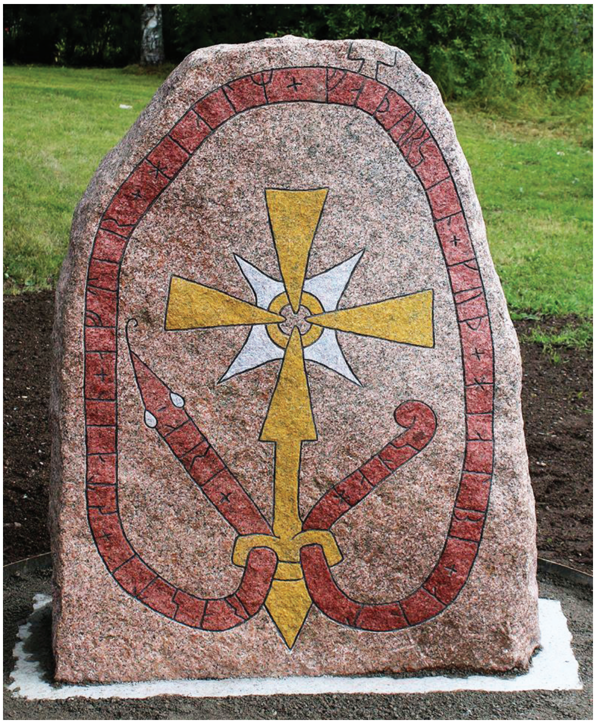

Fig. 11 Replica of the Lilla Ramsjö runestone, made by Mats Köbin, erected at Morgongåva, a village near the findspot (Mats Köbin).

Moreover, the seminar in Leiden that gave rise to the current publication served as a further way of informing Continental colleagues about the existence of NMS' European artefactual collections, and it led to a fruitful exchange between the author and one of the participants regarding the linen textile remains from Robenhausen lake village (NMS X.HZ 211–213). It may be that further enquiries about the NMS' European holdings will result from the publication of this volume.

Finally, a recent initiative co-ordinated by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland has served to raise awareness of a European artefact that has been 'hidden in full view' for the better part of two centuries. This is the aforementioned runestone from Lilla Ramsjö, Sweden, that had been given to SAS in 1787 and which finally joined the NMS collection in 2017. As explained in an excellent online account by SAS' Director Simon Gilmour[8], between 1821 and 2017 it stood in Princes Street Gardens immediately below Edinburgh Castle, largely overlooked by the millions of visitors to the Castle. It was spotted by Eva Åkerman (who lived on the farm where it had been found) and Thorvaldur Arnason, who contacted SAS in 2013 to say they were establishing a fund, in honour of Eva's father, to improve the interpretation and presentation of the runestone. To cut a long story short, in 2014 a replica of the runestone carved by Swede Mats Köbin was erected in Morgongåva, a village near the findspot (Fig. 11), and in 2017, to mark the Scottish Year of History, Heritage and Archaeology, the SAS initiated the Runestone Project—a collaboration between several Edinburgh-based organisations. Having raised the requisite funds and secured permissions, the Project removed the stone and conserved it. On St Andrew's Day 2019, it was unveiled in its new location close to the School of Literatures, Languages and Cultures at Edinburgh University, and an interpretation panel will soon accompany it.

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[5] https://www.ed.ac.uk/history-classics-archaeology/archaeology/facilities-community/childe-collection [accessed June 2020].

[6] https://blog.nms.ac.uk/2020/05/19/the-kings-flints-new-light-on-prehistoric-stone-and-bronze-artefacts-from-denmark/ [accessed June 2020].

[7] For currently-available information, see https://www.nms.ac.uk/explore-our-collections/search-our-collections/ [accessed June 2020].

[8] https://www.ssns.org.uk/news/update-on-the-edinburgh-runestone/ and see also https://www.socantscot.org/research-project/runestone-project-2017-18/ [both accessed June 2020].

Discussion and conclusions: a future for the European antiquities in the NMS collections

The study of Scottish archaeology within its broader European context has moved on considerably from the naïve, social-evolutionary approach of the 18th and 19th centuries. Today, comparison of Scottish artefacts with those found in Ireland and on the Continent—housed in institutions across Europe, and beyond—has shed important new light on the nature of contacts and influences in Scotland's past: obvious examples include the results of Pierre Pétrequin's international research project, *Projet JADE*, which has clarified the source, the biography, the background and the significance of the Neolithic axeheads of jadeitite and other Alpine rocks that have been found in Scotland (Pétrequin *et al.* 2012; 2017; Sheridan/Pailler 2012). Likewise, Fraser Hunter's (2019) magisterial *The Carnyx in Iron Age Europe: the Deskford carnyx in its European context* perfectly illustrates how essential it is to consider European *comparanda* in order to understand some of the artefacts from Scotland's past. (Other examples include Shepherd and Barclay's 2004 volume, *Scotland in Ancient Europe*; Saville's (2004) *Mesolithic Scotland and its Neighbours*; and the aforementioned current research into the European context for Chalcolithic and Bronze Age goldwork in Britain's auriferous regions.) It is not just material culture that is deepening our understanding of Scotland's links with the rest of Europe in the past: ancient DNA studies (*e.g.* Olalde *et al.* 2018; Brace *et al.* 2019; Sánchez-Quinto *et al.* 2019; Rivollat *et al.* 2020) are providing genetic proof that, for example, Scotland's earliest farmers and earliest users of Beaker pottery and metal were indeed immigrants from the Continent. Scotland's past is inextricably bound up with that of other parts of Europe, and it can only be understood by adopting an internationalist perspective. So, what role can the European archaeology collections of NMS (and other Scottish institutions) play now, and in the future? In addition to forming an important part of the history of collecting in Scotland, this hitherto under-utilised resource has the potential to inform about broader patterns of international antiquarian interaction during the 18th and 19th centuries, like pieces of a jigsaw showing what ancient artefacts moved where, and when, and why, across Europe. The SAS' Lilla Ramsjö Runestone Project has shown how individual artefacts can act as international ambassadors, bringing communities in different parts of Europe closer together. This Swedish-Scottish collaboration has vastly improved the presentation and interpretation of this significant piece of Sweden's past, both at the findspot and in Edinburgh.

It may be that the NMS collections include other items that had long been thought to have been lost in their countries of origin. Greater interaction between curators, and between archaeologists more generally across Europe, will help to release the information potential about these items (and about Scottish items held in European museums). Indeed, it may be that such interactions can help to solve two long-standing mysteries concerning human remains found in caves. One concerns item NMS X.HO 259, which is described in the 1892 NMAS Catalogue (p. 250) as "*human jaw embedded in cave-earth, locality unknown*", presented by Sir James Young Simpson in 1871 and listed in the category *Collections from caves* [From England, France, &c.]. The other concerns a human skull and long bones embedded in breccia, which for a long time had been held in the Natural History Department, and assumed to be from Inchnadamph Cave in north-west Scotland. Research by Prof. Chris Stringer of the Natural History Museum, London and by others around 2010 (as yet unpublished) was able to demonstrate that these remains cannot have come from Inchnadamph but, as with NMS X.HO 259, their provenance remains unclear. Might there be antiquarian correspondence, somewhere, that could shed light on these mysteries? The current curator responsible for human remains in the Scottish History and Archaeology Department, Dr. Matt Knight, would welcome any information.

At a time when the United Kingdom is 'consciously uncoupling' (to use Gwyneth Paltrow's expression) from the rest of Europe through Brexit, it is more important than ever to maintain close, collaborative links with our colleagues in Ireland and on the Continent, so that we can better understand our own, and each other's past. It is hoped that this volume will help to strengthen those links.

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PART 2

Scholars & Collectors

Hans Hahne and the national vision of Prehistory in central Germany (1912-1935)

Regine Maraszek

The history of the collections of the *Landesmuseum für Vorgeschichte* in Halle (Saale)

The history of the State Museum of Saxony-Anhalt starts with the foundation of the *Thuringian-Saxon Club for research into the Fatherland's Ancient History and the Preservation of its Monuments* on October 3, 1819. This congregation of enthusiastic amateurs settled in Halle in 1823. Many of the nowadays most popular objects found their way to the collection in the 19th century: the Herzsprung shields in 1844, the rider slab of Hornhausen in 1874 and the inventory of the princely grave from Leubingen in 1877. The public interest was increasingly aroused. In total 6000 posters were printed in

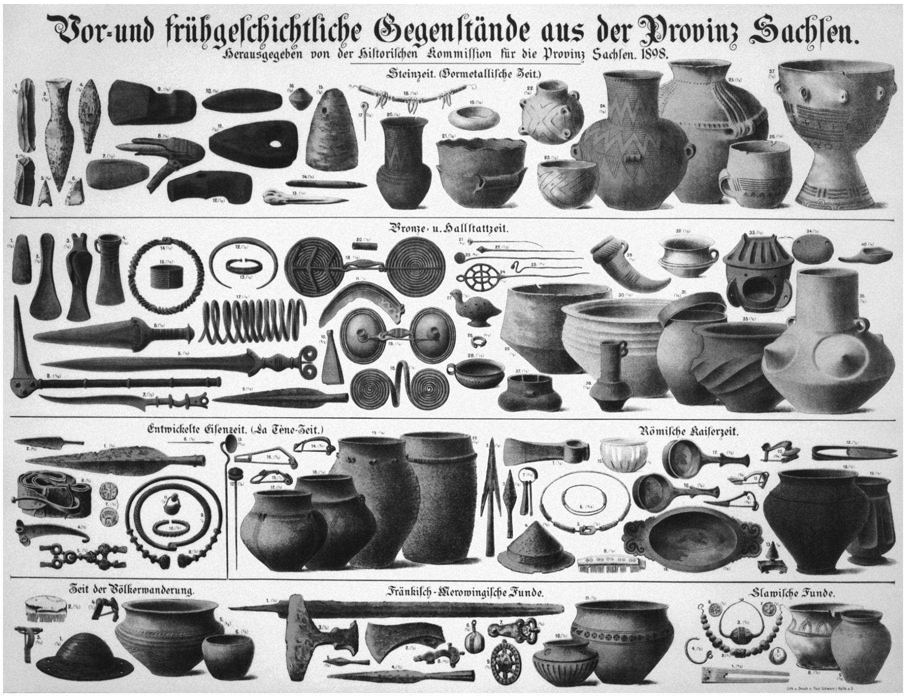
Vor-und frühgeſchichtliche Gegenſtände aus der Provinz Sachſen.
Herausgegeben von der Hiſtoriſchen Kommiſſion für die Provinz Sachſen. 1898.
Steinzeit. (Vormetalliſche Zeit.)
Bronze- u. Hallſtattzeit.
Entwickelte Eiſenzeit. (La Tène-Zeit.)
Römiſche Kaiſerzeit.
Zeit der Völkerwanderung.
Fränkiſch-Merowingiſche Funde.
Slawiſche Funde.

Fig. 1 Poster of pre- and early history artefacts from the province of Saxony published by the Historic Commission 1898 (© LDA).

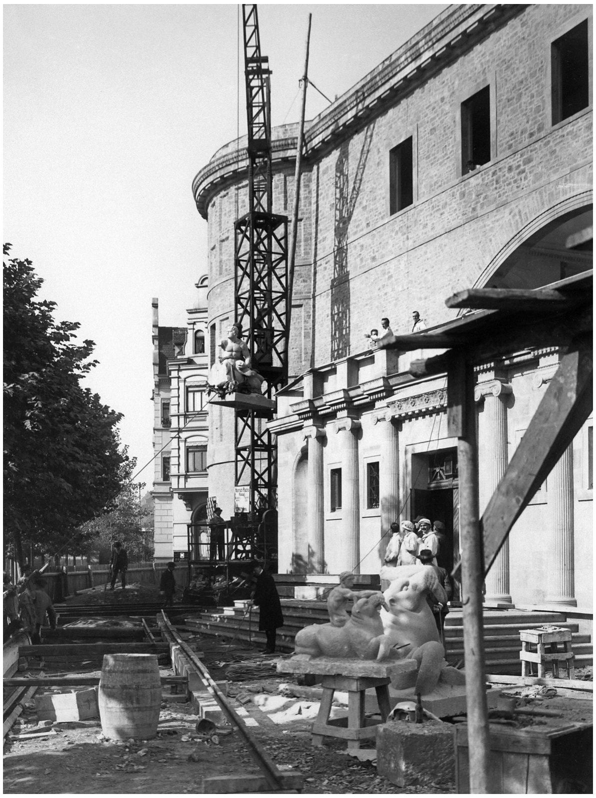

Fig. 2 Building site of the Museum (1913). Germany's first purpose-built Museum of Prehistory opened on 9th of October 1918, about a month before the armistice (© LDA).

Fig. 3 Hans Hahne (1875-1935) was director of the Halle Museum 1912 -1935 (© LDA).

1898 (Fig. 1) and distributed to all schools in the province to improve the Saxonian education and the knowledge of regional antiquities. That unintentionally also supported the general collection mania culminating around 1900 followed by an illegal organization of central German antique dealers (called 'the circle') which ruined the prices for archaeological finds.

The first plans for a museum building dedicated exclusively to the archaeology of the area were drawn up in 1908. Two years later the State parliament granted 525,000 Reichsmark for the construction of the Museum (Fig. 2). The scope of the institution was limited to Prehistory. Some years later the historical commission passed a motion that suitable persons be employed as conservators to support the Museum. This was the beginning of the official archaeological conservation service in the Province of Saxony. The collection had grown from about 4400 to more than 15,000 pieces between 1883 and 1919 (Rüster 1984). A fireproof safe was bought in 1907 to store the gold, the money, the cash book and the find records.

With respect to acquisitions, the financial resources should be considered. Most of the objects were donations given by farmers, contractors, doctors, teachers, priests, civil servants, pharmacists and judges (sometimes these were rewarded). Some small collections were gathered and presented by counts as well.

Despite the incompleteness of the information for this period, one can assume that the society of antiquarians generally operated nearly 'out of pocket' at the beginning. The director had to think twice about every penny spent. The very modest budgets also limited the acquisition of valuable antiques from the market. There is only one foreign purchase documented between 1912 and 1928: a collection of Palaeolithic stone tools from Italy. As such it was never the intention to create a comparative scientific collection. The scope of the institution remained limited to regional Prehistory (Schneider 1984).

The national vision of Prehistory in the 1920s and 1930s

Hans Hahne (1875-1935) was named director of the Museum in 1912 (Fig. 3). He was a practicing doctor when he started a second career in Prehistory as a student of Gustaf Kossina in Berlin (Ziehe 1996, 19-24). He was also a passionate semi-professional dramatic poet. This is an uncommon, but interesting combination of skills to become a museum person. Hahne was described by contemporaries as a ‘Richard Wagner of museum education’. His idea was to combine archaeology, architecture, art, drama and dancing to an aesthetic pleasure. The Museum had to be a descriptive, vivid, edifying and delighting place.

Hahne also had a strong vision on how to organize and exhibit the archaeological record to reinforce the popularity of Germanic roots and liven the past for the general public. He focused on three main collections (Fig. 4):

The first was the collection of *Religionskunde* or religious education (Fig. 5; Ziehe 1996, 69). Religion was considered as being based on race, blood and soil. Hahne hoped to find archaeological records of rituals to create ‘Pre-Pre-Pre-Germans’. The beginning of German nationhood here did not offer a perspective on history, but one of eternity and continuity. One of Hahne’s favourite symbols to study was the swastika. You can find it scribbled on many pages in the Museum’s diary from that time.

The folklore collection formed a second focus point (Ziehe 1996, 70f.). The Archive (founded in 1924) pursued an explicitly political agenda. On the basis of a nationalist and racist ideology, the intention was to document the putative continuity of the Germanic people in Central Germany since Prehistoric times. All information about regional festivities, customs and traditional plays were collected and exploited to propagate the idea of a *Volksgemeinschaft,* or ‘organic national community’. Hahne and his curator H.J. Niehoff, however, did not only collect notes. They also made a certain amount of field trips to visit several spectacles. About 8000 amateur photographs and 80 documentary films were produced (Fig. 6; Hahne/Niehoff 1935; Ziehe 1996, 45f.). In 1953 the folklorist collection was transferred to the academy of Science in former Eastern Berlin. Some of the items in the collection were reused as index cards; most of them cut and recommissioned as dividing tabs in file folders.

Mr. and Mrs. Hahne also maintained an amateur theatre company at the Halle Museum to perform plays following the course of the year (Ziehe 1996, 53-59). These *Jahreslaufspiele* enjoyed great popularity and an enormous press response (both positive and negative). The drama performances took place nearly every month. The acting applied to the traditional festivities of country life and so directly connected with the folkloristic archive. The company stopped its activities in 1936.

The Collection of Ethnogeny (Ziehe 1996, 68f.) formed a final focal point. It was founded to shed light on the importance of the Nordic race. Consisting of the existing anthropological collection and newly made casts of different portraits the aim was to explain human races. The collection was closed the day that Hahne died in 1935.

The list of special exhibitions shows Hahne’s intentions very well. *Learn to see* in 1930 aimed at portraying casts of different human breeds to enhance the understanding of *Rassenkunde*. *Charm* in 1932 was dedicated to magical

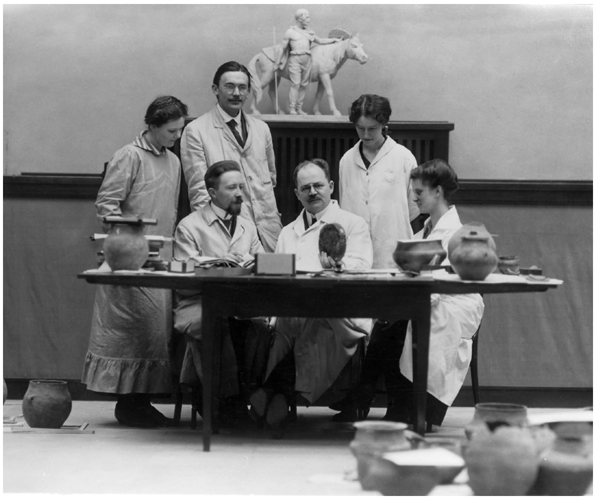

Fig. 4 Prof. Dr. Hans Hahne decoratively encircled by his assistents at the time of the Museum’s opening 1918 (© Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Halle).

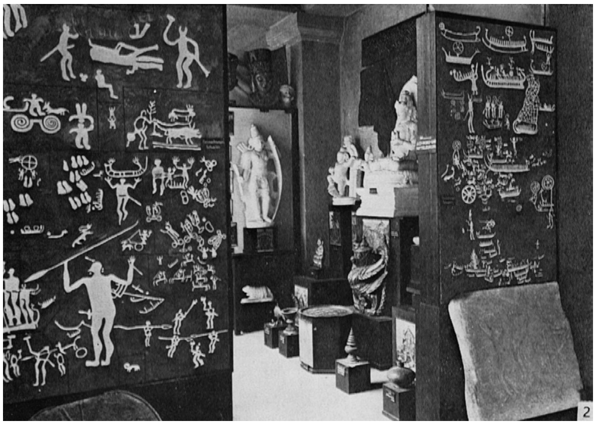

Fig. 5 The main purpose of the permanent display on religious education was to illustrate the religion of the Germanic North and its contribution to world history (© LDA).

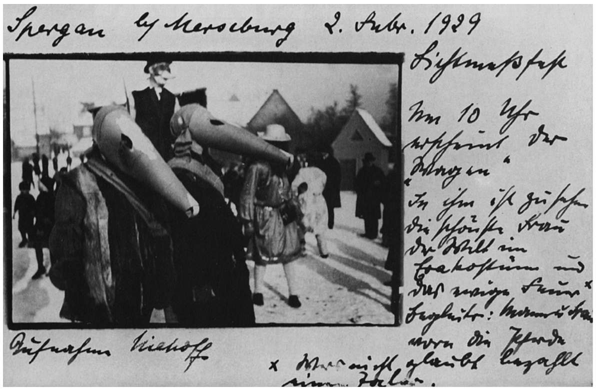
Spergau b/ Merseburg 2. Febr. 1929
Lichtmeßfest
Um 10 Uhr erscheint der „[illegible]“
In ihm ist zu sehen die schönste Frau der Welt im Evakostüm und das ewige Feuer×
Begleiter: [illegible] wenn die Pferde bezahlt
Aufnahme Niehoff
× [illegible] glaubt [illegible]

Fig. 6 Birdman in the Candlemess festivity, Spergau near Merseburg (Ziehe 1996, fig. 20) (© LDA).

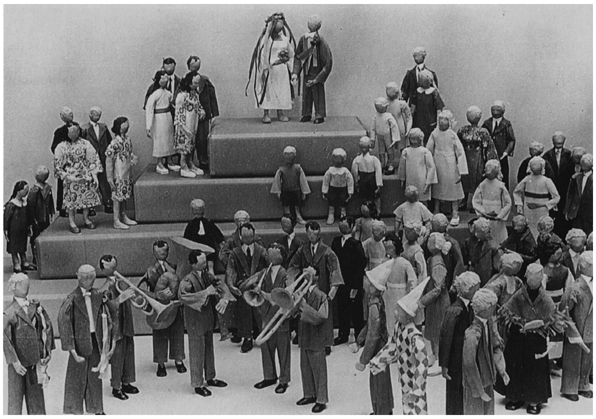

Fig. 7 Paper model of a proper German wedding, Germanic customs 1935 (Ziehe 1996, fig. 6; © LDA).

objects included in Nordic rituals. *Germanic customs* in 1935 was a mixture of photographs and films from the folkloristic archive, including life-sized mannequins equipped with folk costumes and dioramas (paper sculptures) of celebrations (Fig. 7).

The combination of Hahnes exaggerated ideas about German *Volkstum* and the political situation at the time brought trouble. He became a first-day-member of the National Socialist Party in the 1920s and aided by this made a remarkable career (Ziehe 1996, 84f.). In 1933 he was nominated president of Halle University. The name change of the Museum into *State institute of Folk studies* in 1934 became the sad climax of Hahne's intentions. He died one year later as a very popular museum person, but ignored by the scientific community.

The idea of Indo-Germanic roots within a wider European context

In the beginning of the 20th century the theory of the continuity of a common soul of peoples was developed from different subjects: Prehistory, ethnography and linguistics. The *völkische Seele* supposedly should be visible in local customs, folk art and myths, rituals and fairy tales. For Prehistory, Kossina (a German educated linguist, born in eastern Prussia) developed his nationalistic theories about the origins of Germanic peoples on that basis. Hahne proved to be one of his most eager students.

Some 500 kilometres away from Halle, Leopold von Schroeder in Vienna was also looking for the continuity of Germanic culture beginning in Indo-Germanic times. Growing up in Estonia as a member of the German minority, he studied Classical Indology and Sanskrit at the German University in Dorpat. Von Schroeder translated the Bhagavad-Gita from Sanskrit to German, but his main field of research was mythological and ritual tradition. As head of the Viennese Mythological School he inspired many scholars to specialise in this field (Ziehe 1996, 80-82). His ideas about the Prehistoric roots of Germanic myths were less popular amongst his colleagues. These professors most likely never met, but shared common ideas of the Indo-Germanic philosophy based on Houston Stewart Chamberlain's *The fundaments of the 19th century* (1899). He is considered to be the leading forerunner of German National Socialism.

New directions

Hans Hahne was undoubtedly one of the liveliest characters in the gallery of directors of the *Landesmuseum für Vorgeschichte* in Halle. The professionals after the Second World War set different priorities. Special emphasis was laid on the Neolithic because the region offers a wide and diverse range of material from this period. Many Neolithic cultures were named after findspots in Saxony-Anhalt, for example Rössen, Gatersleben, Bernburg and Salzmünde. During the times of the *Deutsche Demokratische Republik* (German Democratic Republic; GDR) a lot of scientists preferred basic research, material studies and often avoided any wider interpretations set in a political context.

The museum's history hit rock bottom with the closing of the permanent exhibition in 1994. The new director starting in 2001, Harald Meller, set a new agenda – the reopening of the galleries. Since then he has brought the famous Nebra Sky Disc back to the State and to the Halle museum. The permanent exhibitions with a newly arranged section (Paleolithic) opened again to the public in 2002. Extensive renovations of the building followed. The restoration of the historical monument in 2008 achieved a nearly original appearance of the architecture. There was a recollection and a looking for new horizons, giving the Museum back to the public.

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“*Madness and civilization*[1]”

Dr. John Thurnam’s collection of antiquities and the British Museum’s collecting networks during the Victorian era (1839-1901)

Neil Wilkin

Introduction: a forgotten map

In 1849, Dr. John Thurnam (1810-1873), then superintendent of The Friend’s Retreat, an asylum in York, received a map of East Yorkshire from his patient, Thomas Hodgson. The map survives today in the collection of the British Museum (Fig. 1). It shows the most important contemporary place names alongside locations of interest for 19th century antiquarians: several are accompanied by images of barrows, either single ‘*tumulus*’ or barrow cemeteries of Neolithic or Bronze Age date, shown from above as groups of small green circles. Many place names featured on Hodgson’s map had been the sites of excavations by the Yorkshire Antiquarian Club (YAC), founded in 1849 by a group of influential local antiquarians (Harrison 2010). It is possible that Thurnam, as a founding member and a driving force of the YAC, had commissioned the map from his patient in preparation or response to that first successful season of excavations.

Hodgson’s map has remained unpublished to this day but it is a notable document, reflecting Thurnam’s interwoven careers as an early archaeologist and proto-psychiatrist. It also reflects the increased activities and collecting practices of British archaeological societies and clubs during the mid-19th century as the discipline of archaeology and, indeed, the study of Prehistory, developed rapidly (Chung 2002; Evans 2007; Rowley-Conwy 2007, ch. 4 and 7). During the same period, pre-Roman and non-Classical, British and European collections were transformed through the development and deployment of new curatorial and collecting practices, transitioning from loosely assembled curiosities to powerful and substantial collections capable of transforming understanding about human origins and informing Victorian notions of ‘civilization’, reason and order. Although these processes can be detected in many of England’s regional museums, particularly through the development of archaeological societies (Chung 2002), the forces at play were particularly marked in the case of the British Museum (Cook 1997; Donnelly 2018). As is now well-known, the archaeology and collecting behaviours of Victorian Britain involved a great deal of nationalism and imperialism (*cf.* Evans 2007; Cannadine 2018), traits that continue to distort and prejudice our ideas about Prehistoric material culture. Paradoxically, this was

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[1] Foucault 1961 [2001].

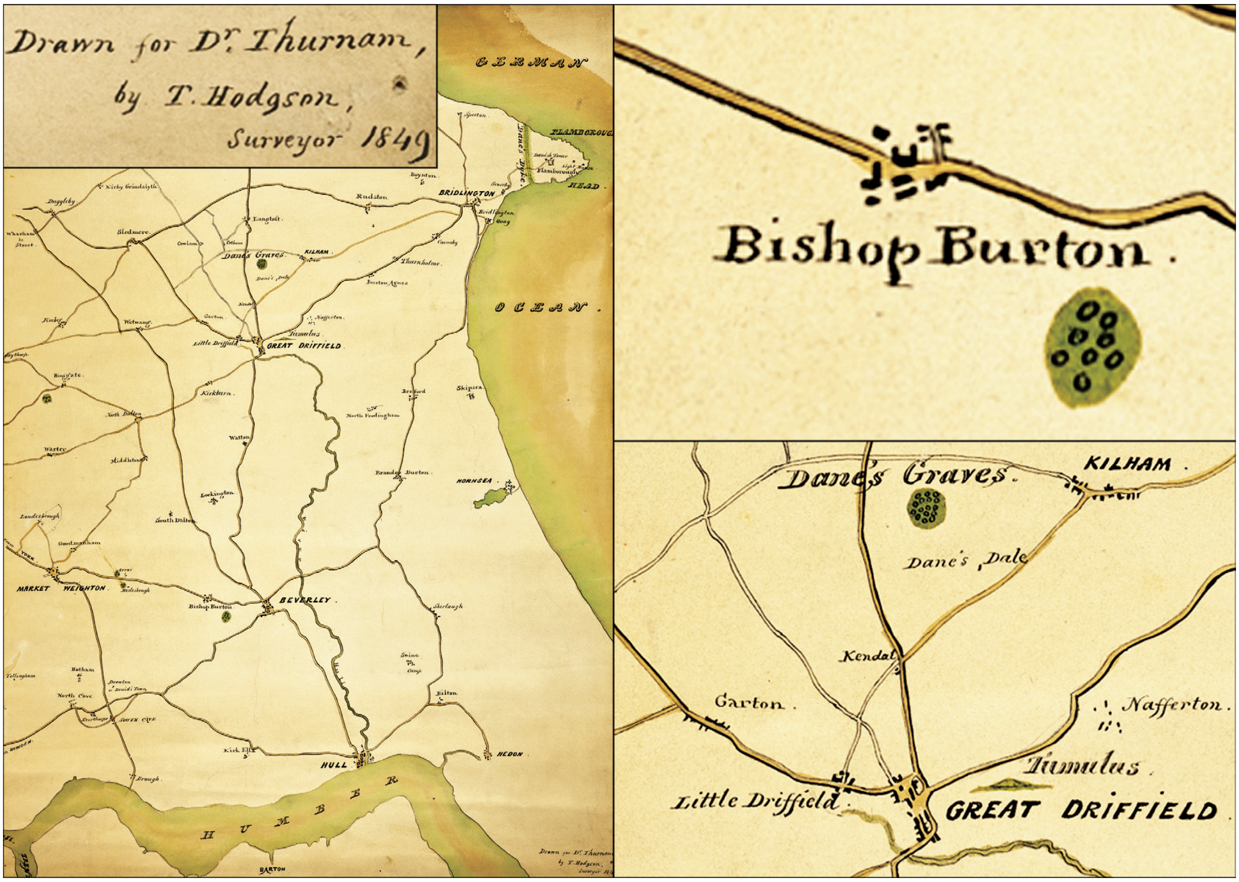
Drawn for Dr. Thurnam,
by T. Hodgson,
Surveyor 1849
GERMAN
OCEAN
FLAMBOROUGH HEAD
BRIDLINGTON
Dane's Graves
KILHAM
GREAT DRIFFIELD
HORNSEA
MARKET WEIGHTON
BEVERLEY
HEDON
HULL
HUMBER
BARTON
Bishop Burton.
Dane's Graves.
KILHAM.
Dane's Dale
Kendal
Garton.
Nafferton.
Tumulus.
Little Driffield.
GREAT DRIFFIELD.

Fig. 1 A map of East Yorkshire showing many sites excavated by the Yorkshire Antiquarian Club in the summer of 1849. The map is annotated: "*Drawn for Dr. Thurnam by T. Hodgson, surveyor 1849*". Hodgson was a patient of Thurnam at 'The Friend's Retreat' asylum, York, between 1842 and 1845 and again between 1847 and 1849 (The Trustees of the British Museum).

also a period of positive developments – at least when set within the context of their time – including the comparative archaeological studies and the growing appreciation of the complexity, essential humanity and international connectivity of Prehistoric people.

This paper forefronts one individual, John Thurnam, in order to explore his role as a key figure in the development of the discipline of archaeology, especially in relation to the use of the deployment of scientific techniques, contextual archaeology, and the timing of the adoption of the Three-Age System in England. It traces Thurnam's place – and the place of his collection – in networks of collecting and knowledge during the mid to late 19th century. It explores the relationship between his dual and, to important extent, interwoven careers: as archaeologist and medical man, during the period c. 1849 until his death in 1873, when his collection of over 300 antiquities was purchased by the British Museum.

In recent literature, Thurnam has been situated within a generation of prolific 'barrow diggers' (*e.g.* Marsden 1974), or discussed largely in the context of his craniological approaches to questions of 'race' and 'ethnicity' (*e.g.* Brickley/Smith 2009; Brodie 1994; Morse 1999). These approaches have not exhausted the range of Thurnam's work or networks, nor have they examined the important relationships and overlaps in his approaches to the study of crania, material culture and monuments. The often troubling legacy of Thurnam's work has taken on greater importance in recent years as a result of resurgent interest in the Neolithic to Bronze Age transition furnished, this time, by the rise of aDNA studies. His life and times serve as an excellent opportunity to excavate the complexity and legacy of Victorian approaches to Prehistory.

Nascent collecting: The Friend's Retreat (1838-1849)

John Thurnam was born in 1810 in the village of Lingcroft, near Copmanthorpe, some 4 miles south-west of York. His parents, Sarah and William Thurnam, were both Quakers. By 1815, the family had relocated to the outskirts of York itself, where they worked at The Plantation Tannery in St Nicholas parish, York, close to The Friend's Retreat asylum. The position of both tannery and asylum on the outskirts of the city reflect the peripheral role of these respective 'industries'. The strong tradition of York's tight-knit Quaker community meant that the Thurnams were not without important and wealthy contacts. Indeed, the marriage of Thurnam's parents (in 1809) was witnessed by Daniel Tuke (1784-1895), a member of one of the most preeminent, remarkable and innovative Quaker families in England (Sessions/Sessions 1971). The Tukes had made their fortunes as tea and coffee merchants and subsequently founded several schools and, most famously, The Friends Retreat, which opened its doors to the mentally ill in 1796.

The young John Thurnam grew up within short walking distance from the Retreat, and his father served as a director of the institution (Digby 1985, 109). Today the Retreat is famous around the world for pioneering the progressive 'moral treatment': an innovative and liberal approach to mental health at that time (Scull 2015, 159-161, 202-208). Instead of chains and physical restraints, the Retreat's approach combined Quaker beliefs with a scientific empiricism and observational approach, attempting to change the behavior of the 'mad' through moral rather than physical discipline (Digby 1984, 13; *cf.* Foucault [1961] 2001). In a novel account, *Description of the Retreat* (1813 [1996]), Samuel Tuke drew strong connections between the moral treatment and cure of the 'mad' and compulsions towards civilizing forces and the civilized (*cf.* Sessions/Sessions 1971, 69).

The Tuke family carefully and purposefully designed and managed the physical and architectural conditions and experiences of the Retreat's patients, to excellent effect (Scull 2006, 20; Sessions/Sessions 1971, 62-63). In contrast to the stereotypical idea of the filthy madhouse-as-prison, and to which it was quickly compared, the Retreat asylum had been built without high walls or bars on the windows, instead the restraints were concealed, and a great deal of attention was paid to furnishings and fittings (see Jay 2016, ch. 1-2). The setting of the Retreat was also carefully selected to ensure "*fresh air and invigorating views*", and the gardens and landscape around the building were altered to create an environment that was intended to be 'curative' and 'moralized' (Scull 2006, 19-20). Its grounds were "*laid out with walks, wooded glades, gardens and orchards* […] *form*[ing] *a tranquil setting in which patients could hope to regain their serenity*" (Digby 1985, 43). As Scull (2006, 20) notes, "[…] *structural differentiation of space* […] *proved the asylum's guiding spirit*". The creation and control of physical spaces also allowed the Tuke family to apply their empirical ideas, classifying and separating, thus "*the patients are arranged into classes, as much as may be, according to the degree in which they approach to rational or orderly conduct*" (Tuke 1813 [1996], 141).

The Tukes believed they could address the suffering caused by 'madness' by combining empirical methods of classification, and the creation and manipulation of physical and material conditions through the design of place and landscape, with the careful selection of material culture. Their intention was to practice the moral 'remoulding' of their 'defective' patients in order to create a more civilized and ordered world (Scull 2006, 75). It is notable how closely this agenda shadows, and to some extent inverts, the interests and driving impulses of archaeology as a young discipline, and the activities and collecting practices of museums, during the second half of the 19th century. If the subjects of archaeologists and curators were no longer living, the pursuit of order and civilized values were the same. Instead of imposing order on the uncivilized populations of the present, it could be understood and imposed in retrospect and be used to justify and legitimize present day actions – including many of the key values of the Victorian era (*cf.* Evans 2014, for the significant relationship between the military and archaeology during the same period).

Return to the Retreat

Having received his initial medical training in London, Thurnam returned to York in 1838 to become the Retreat's first resident medical officer, and shortly after that its first 'superintendent' (Fig. 2).[2] The appointment of a medical doctor to the role of superintendent was progressive and symptomatic of changes afoot in asylums across Britain at this time (Scull 2015, ch. 7).

Thurnam and other medical men involved in the treatment of asylum patients found ways of making themselves indispensable by stressing the value of more advanced scientific and empirical approaches, and of data and statistics as a way of investigating and curing the mentally ill. In his book, *Observations and Essays on the Statistics of Insanity* (1845), Thurnam built on Samuel Tuke's pioneering work in order to develop a strongly statistical approach to the study and classification of mental health. The work was warmly welcomed by one contemporary review (PMSJ 1846), and has become an important and often cited text in the history of psychiatry in England (*e.g.* Scull 1979). Thurnam's book is also of interest for the credit he attributes to his patients in preparing the text, expressing thanks to "*friends (some of them, at the time, patients under my care) who have kindly assisted me in the numerical calculations and in the correction of*

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[2] As a Quaker, Thurnam was barred from studying at Oxford or Cambridge but his alternative route allowed him to learn in a more hands-on and practical fashion. It is possible that this experience influenced his abilities as both a hands-on archaeological fieldworker and as an idiosyncratic thinker.

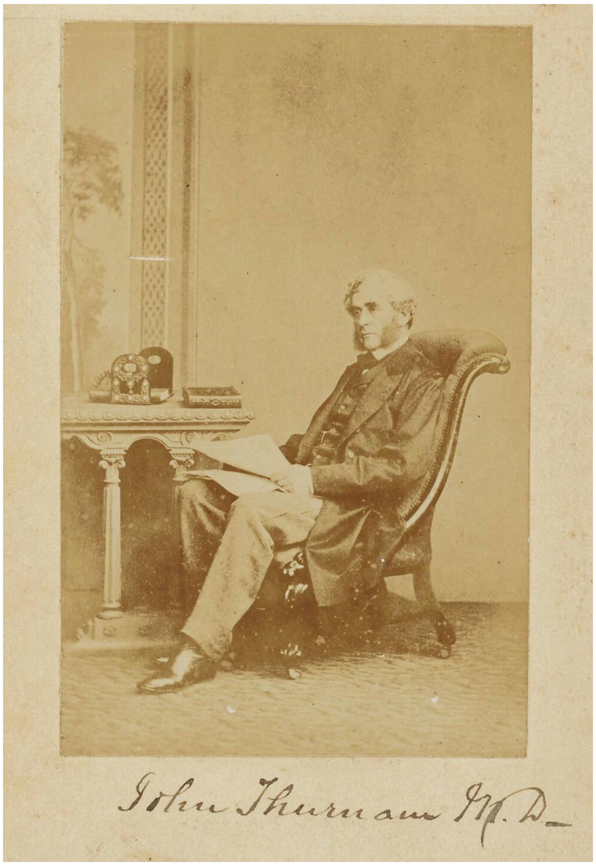
John Thurnam M.D.

Fig. 2 John Thurnam (1810-1873), during his time as medical officer or superintendent of the Retreat, c.1845-1849 (Borthwick Institute of Archives, University of York, ref. RET/1/8/7/21/2).

the press" (Thurnam 1845, xiv).[3] The inclusion of patients in the process of writing the book is in keeping with the moral approach of the Retreat and foreshadows the role of patients in his later archaeological work and writing. Also of note is the application of systematic data gathering and statistical analysis to an unruly discipline was an approach that Thurnam would later apply to the study of Neolithic and Bronze Age cultures, both in relation to craniology and to the architecture and material culture of those periods (*e.g.* Davis/Thurnam 1865; Thurnam 1869; 1871).

As early as 1838, Thurnam is known to have applied the techniques of craniology – or 'phrenology' – to his patients at the Retreat (Digby 1985, 113-114). A newspaper account of a talk given to fellow doctors in York, suggests that Thurnam was interested in the study of human skulls "[of] *the living and dead subject*", for both medical and "*other physiological pursuits*", some five years prior to the traditionally accepted date of 1849 (Yorkshire Gazette, Saturday October 12; *contra* Bibby 1957, 245-246; Morse 1999, 9). This has implications for Thurnam's place in the ignoble pursuit of craniology, suggesting he may have been amongst the first in Britain to recognise, at least in theory if not practice, the archaeological potential of the subject, pre-dating the publication of Daniel Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland* (1851), traditionally regarded as the formative application of such views (*e.g.* Morse 1999, 8).

Thurnam's first known foray into field archaeology was the excavation of Lamel Hill in the grounds of the Friend's Retreat. The excellent publication of this barrow pre-dates 1849 (Thurnam 1848; 1849), and mentions work undertaken earlier than 1848. It is unclear where Thurnam obtained the labour to excavate the barrow, but it is likely that his patient Thomas Hodgson assisted in the preparation of the detailed section drawing of the barrow (Thurnam 1848, pl. 2), amongst the best of its type published in Britain during the 1840s. As Briden (1984, 164) notes, the section "*perfectly illustrates Thurnam's interpretation of the site*", and faithfully records "*seams*" (layers) within the make-up of the barrow mound (Fig. 3). Also featured on the same plate of the Lamel Hill barrow section is a carefully rendered microscope view of a sample of organic material recovered from the barrow, an unusual and progressive foray into archaeological science. Naturally, Thurnam also took particular interest in the human remains recovered from the barrow and applied his interests in craniology to draw conclusions that connected their social status to their racial characteristics as a measure of how civilized they were (*e.g.* Thurnam 1869, 181, 185, 187 and *in passim*).

In 1849, Thurnam left York to take up a new post as superintendent of the Wiltshire County Asylum in Devizes. Amongst the small collection of objects that Thurnam brought from York was the map of East Yorkshire drawn by his patient Thomas Hodgson (Fig. 1). Preserved in the archives of the Borthwick Insititute for Archives (University of York) are several papers relating to Thomas Hodgson's confinement at The Friend's Retreat, including a detailed and elegant plan of the Retreat in its landscaped grounds, also completed in 1849 (Mss. ref. RET/2/1/16/3), and Hodgson's own notebooks which provide a window into his mental health (Mss. ref RET/6/19/73).[4] The intertwined relationship between Thurnam's studies of his patients and his investigations into Prehistoric populations is palpable in this collection of documents. In the next phase of his life, as superintendent of Wiltshire County Asylum in Devizes, surrounded by some of the richest Prehistoric archaeology in Britain, the relationship became even more marked.

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[3] The term 'friend' is a noted synonym for fellow Quakers, as in 'Friend's Retreat' but probably with a double meaning in this context.

[4] Accessed online through the Wellcome Library catalogue (wellcomelibrary.org) [Accessed: 10-12-2019].

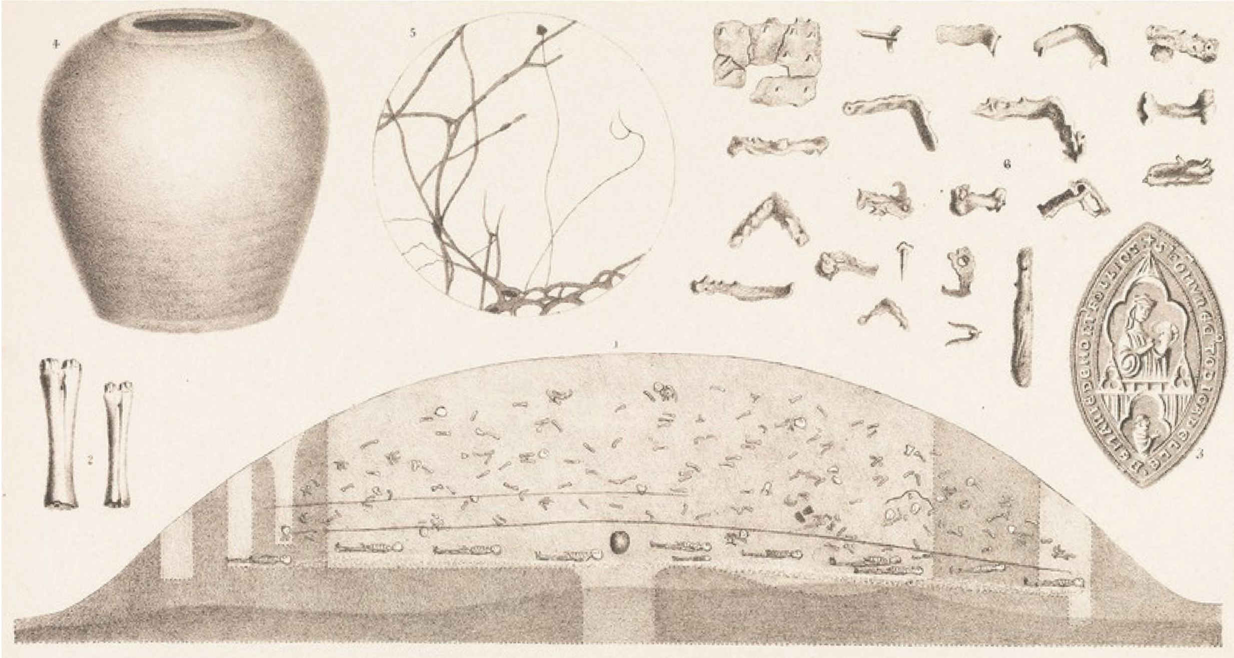

Fig. 3 Section through Lamel Hill, a barrow mound located on the grounds of The Retreat Asylum estate, excavated by John Thurnam, published by Thurnam in 1848 in the Yorkshire Philosophical Society (Borthwick Institute, ref. RET/5/9/5).

The barrow years: Wiltshire County Asylum, 1850-1873

Thurnam's new role was the result of far wider reaching changes in social and political attitudes to how mental health should be treated by the British state, as enshrined in the *Lunacy Act and County Asylum Act* of 1845, 'For the Regulation of lunatic Asylums' and 'For the better Care and Treatment of Lunatics in England and Wales'. These landmark acts encouraged every county in England to construct publically funded asylums run by medically qualified superintendents (Scull 2015, 193). The results were not generally positive, greatly accelerating the numbers of people entering asylums, with especially high numbers of women confined, often for perceived social ills, in a period dubbed the 'great confinement' (Jay 2018, ch. 2; Scull 2015, ch. 7).[5]

Despite the obvious differences, the reformative changes introduced by the Lunacy Act shared some key features and frustrations in common with the Royal Commission on the British Museum four years later. The latter had found the British Museum to be "*essentially a repository for the conservation and arrangement of a vast variety of material objects*", housing collections that resulted from "*casual acquisition by gift, or by purchase not regulated with a view to systematic illustration of historical periods*" (Commission Report cited in Donnelly 2018, 4). The push towards greater categorisation and a sea-change in the number of objects collected, ultimately enacted by staff at the British Museum and by a number of regional and local museums across England, can be seen in several important respects to shadow the events and practices in asylums, and indeed across the spectrum of Victorian social and cultural life.

Thurnam had moved into the heart of Wessex, rich with upstanding, unexcavated Prehistoric monuments with a burgeoning interest in archaeology and socially privileged as part of an important and well-networked Victorian dynasty. The Wiltshire Asylum was designed by the prolific Victorian architect Thomas Henry Wyatt (1807-1880), a key member of the Wyatt architectural dynasty, whose sister, Frances Elizabeth Wyatt, Thurnam would marry in 1851.[6] Wyatt worked and lived in a residence directly across from the British Museum, at 77 Great Russell Street, doubtless beneficial to Thurnam's growing interest in archaeology and his contacts with museum staff (as evident from British Museum correspondence from the 1850s). Thurnam evidently worked closely with Wyatt in the design of the new asylum building, paying close attention to every detail of the spatial arrangement of the asylum and the furnishings and objects that filled it (Steele 2000, 8-9). There is some degree of overlap between this 'total' approach to the living conditions of the asylum's patients and Thurnam's archaeological thinking as represented by his landmark accounts of Neolithic and Bronze Age barrows in *Archaeologia* (Thurnam 1869; 1873).[7] It is notable that the ideological move towards replacing old, outmoded asylum facilities with state-of-the-art buildings designed to restore order and 'civility' to patients, mirrored and perhaps reinforced Thurnam's later writing on the trajectory of society between the Neolithic and the more civilized Bronze Age, informed by studies of craniology, architecture and material culture.

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[5] Huge sums of public money were spent on asylums during this period (Scull 2015, ch. 7). For instance, Wiltshire County Asylum was constructed at the cost of £19,594, with the ironwork alone costing £1069 (Steele 2000)—equivalent to £1,571,166 and £85,718 in today's money.

[6] Another of Thurnam's brothers-in-law, and the executioner of his Last Will and Testament, was Sir Matthew Digby Wyatt (1820-1877), whose many achievements included being Secretary of the Great Exhibition in 1851, collaborating with Isambard Kingdom Brunel on the construction of London Paddington Station (1852-1854), and holding the position as the first Cambridge Slade Professor of Fine Art (1869-1873).

A work/work balance?

The role of superintendent at the Wiltshire County Asylum was much more demanding than the one Thurnam left at the smaller-scale and privately funded Friend's Retreat. Accounts of his time as superintendent suggest that the role brought him to the point of physical exhaustion (Steele 2000, 19). Despite – or perhaps because – of these work pressures, Thurnam excavated 77 barrows, primarily in Wiltshire, during a 15-year period between 1853 and 1868. His prolific barrow-digging predecessors, Sir Richard Colt Hoare (1738-1838) and William Cunnington (1754-1810) had excavated 465 barrows in Wessex between 1798 and 1821 (Colt Hoare 1812; 1821). Of those, 16 were Neolithic long barrows (3%) and 449 were Bronze Age round barrows (97%). By comparison, Thurnam (1869; 1871) excavated 31 long barrows (40%) and 46 round barrows (60%). He targeted Wiltshire's long barrows in order to obtain a more rounded picture of the contrast between barrow morphologies (Thurnam 1867, 4), actively collecting human remains (including skulls), which Colt Hoare and Cunnington chose not to retrieve (Marsden/Nurse 2007, 95-96). He subsequently used these human remains to test ideas about differences between the shapes of skulls from long and round barrows respectively and to draw conclusions based on these findings about the cultural and racial changes that took place between the Neolithic and the Bronze Age (Brodie 1994, 36-39; Morse 1999). In this respect he was a pioneer. The idea that the shape of skulls changed between the Neolithic and Bronze Age had been proposed by Daniel Wilson (1851) and Thomas Bateman (1861) for Scotland and the Peak District respectively, but the sample sizes were not large and their hypotheses had not been proved beyond doubt in the case of the Prehistoric populations of Southern England (*cf.* Morse 1999).

Thurnam (1869; 1871) knew from careful study of earlier and contemporary excavations that round barrows had produced the richest finds. However, in his estimation, the "*satisfactory*" excavation of barrows involved them "*yielding skeletons and crania*" (Thurnam 1869, 179), rather than being rich in grave goods or material culture *per se*. The composition of the Thurnam collection reinforces this point: of the c. 300 objects registered by the British Museum, there are 94 objects made of stone or flint (35%), 56 of pottery (21%) and 36 of copper alloy (13%), but there is not a single object made of precious metal. Of the copper alloy objects, only six (2%) are from Britain. It is constructive to compare this situation to the many objects of gold and exotic materials that were excavated by Cunnington and Colt Hoare and are now in the collections of Wiltshire Museum, Devizes (Annable/Simpson 1964).

In describing the "[m]*eans for exercise, occupation and amusement*" of patients at the asylum, Thurnam noted:

> *"Employment in the open air, particularly of an agricultural description, is doubtless that best adapted to the insane as a class; and this appears to be now generally admitted, all our best and most recent institutions being surrounded by such an extent of land as will afford sufficient occupation in the open air to their respective inmates."* (Thurnam 1845, 76)

In a further passage describing his barrow digging in Wiltshire, Thurman reflected on the moral benefits of archaeological enquiry:

> *"If* […] *we have failed in discovering the rich arms and ornaments of the native Briton, or elaborate urns and other objects of aboriginal manufacture, yet, speaking for myself* [and] *those whose manual labour the work has chiefly been accomplished, we can at least look back to pleasant days passed in active exercise on the breezy downs* […]*."* (Thurnam 1860, 20)

This is very similar to the evidence for Thurnam's use of the natural world in the treatment of patients: landscaping the hospital grounds and encouraging patients to undertake outdoor activities. As the historian of medicine, Peter Nolan (1986, 19) has argued, by bringing nature 'under control' and into the hospital's wards in the form of plants, flowers and even 'exhibits' of animal taxidermy, Thurnam was providing a symbol or metaphor for the 'civilizing' approach of his medical institution. Drawing on archives in the Wiltshire County archive, Nolan (1986, 20) has also asserted that Thurnam employed his patients in the excavation of Prehistoric barrows:

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[7] A bound volume has recently come to light containing many of Thurnam's personal papers and illustrations (Department of Britain, Europe & Prehistory archive). There has not been time to include its full content or implications within this paper.

> *"In his pursuit of the aetiology of insanity,* [Thurnam] *would take twenty able-bodied patients at a time…to undertake his digs, his role being to direct operations. He justified this on the grounds that his excavations were related to his study of skulls and cranial deviancy, and that the exercise was therapeutic for the patients."*

This suggests a blurring of boundaries between Thurnam's two disciplines and carries significant moral and historical significance for how we understand the meaning and biography of the results and objects obtained from his excavations. There are further indications of disciplinary overlap in Thurnam's language and conceptual frameworks. For example, in concluding the report of excavations at West Kennet long barrow in Wiltshire, Thurnam sought to explain why so few high value artefacts had been recovered, and why the objects that were recovered tended to be modest: largely sherds of pottery and flint tools. In order to explain their significance, Thurnam (1861, 417) cited Shakespeare; invoking the priest's words to Laertes upon discovering that his sister, Ophelia, is being buried with less ceremony and care than he desired because she had sinned by taking her own life:

> *"Her obsequies have been as far enlarged*
> *As we have warranty. Her death was doubtful,*
> *And, but that great command o'ersways the order,*
> *She should in ground unsanctified have lodged*
> *Till the last trumpet. For charitable prayers*
> *Shards, flints and pebbles should be thrown on her."*
> (Hamlet, Act V, Scene I)

The passage is likely to have had particular resonance for Thurnam: not only did it mention the type of objects buried with Ophelia (grave 'bads' rather than grave 'goods'), but Ophelia's suicide was bound-up with her descent into madness, enflamed by the behaviour of Hamlet.[8] By equating Neolithic people with victims of 'madness', Thurnam revealed some of his attitudes towards their respective states of 'civilization', moralizing architecture and material culture by imagining the Neolithic chamber as the mass graves designed to contain the malignancy of suicide victims. This was the same attitude as he took towards asylums, believing their physical layouts exerted control and power over their patients and served as 'moralizing' instruments for improvement and containment (Scull 2006, 19-20).

Thurnam is also known to have collected pathological specimens from patients who died in his care (MacDonald 2011, 143), a practice typical of the period but one that nonetheless serves to illustrate the blurring of boundaries between his archaeological and medical occupations. Thurnam even invited Joseph Barnard Davis[9], a skull collector and advocate for racists beliefs associated with polygenesis, to tour the wards of the Wiltshire County Asylum. Davis noted that the patients were "*remarkable* [for their] *large faces* […] *heads are large & differ much in for* […] *very large noses are common*" (Joseph Barnard Davis, notebook entry, on visiting Wiltshire Asylum with John Thurnam, March 18, 1860, cited in MacDonald 2011, 143). As MacDonald (2011) notes, there is a strong sense in which the living patients were seen as future sources of skulls for comparative study. Several pottery vessels collected from Thurnam's excavations at the Wiltshire long barrows of Figheldean (BM BEP 1873, 1219.6) and Winterbourne Stoke (BM BEP 1873, 1219.2) were neatly restored using linen bandages to coat their inner surfaces, seemingly drawn from the medical stores at Wiltshire County Asylum (Fig. 4).[10] The vessels stand as a metaphor for the porous relationship between patient and past people in Thurnam's thinking.

Thurnam's dual interests are also evident in his studies and classifications of Neolithic and Bronze Age material culture. His two substantial *Archaeologia* articles (Thurnam 1869; 1871), taken together, form a sustained and novel account of the grave goods and funerary practices from English barrows. In many respects, Thurnam's *Archaeologia* articles and *Observations and essays on the statistics of insanity* (Thurnam 1845), are two sides of the same coin, sharing much in common in terms of how they go about studying and accounting for the otherness of madness *and* Prehistory. The approach taken in both accounts is comparable, providing classificatory 'forms' supported by tabulated statistics. Of asylums Thurnam (1849, 39) noted that, "[h]*itherto* […] *the reports of asylums have but rarely contained returns of the cases admitted, classified according to the form of the disorder*". In the case of his archaeological research, Thurnam (1869, 161) was keen to stress that the long and round barrows of Southern England "[…] *have never been subjected to a full and complete numerical analysis*".

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[8] Elsewhere, Thurnam (1871, 323) explained that Shakespeare was "*no authority in antiquarian questions*" (!), but argued that his writing "*often preserves old traditions and curious points of learning*". It might be more reasonably suggested that the citation tells us more about Thurnam's own interests and views.

[9] Thurnam's collaborator in researching and writing *Crania Britannica: Crania Britannica: Delineations and Descriptions of the Skulls of the Aboriginal and Early Inhabitants of the British Islands* (Davis/Thurnam 1865).

[10] Thurnam's handwritten label overlies the bandages and serves to date them.

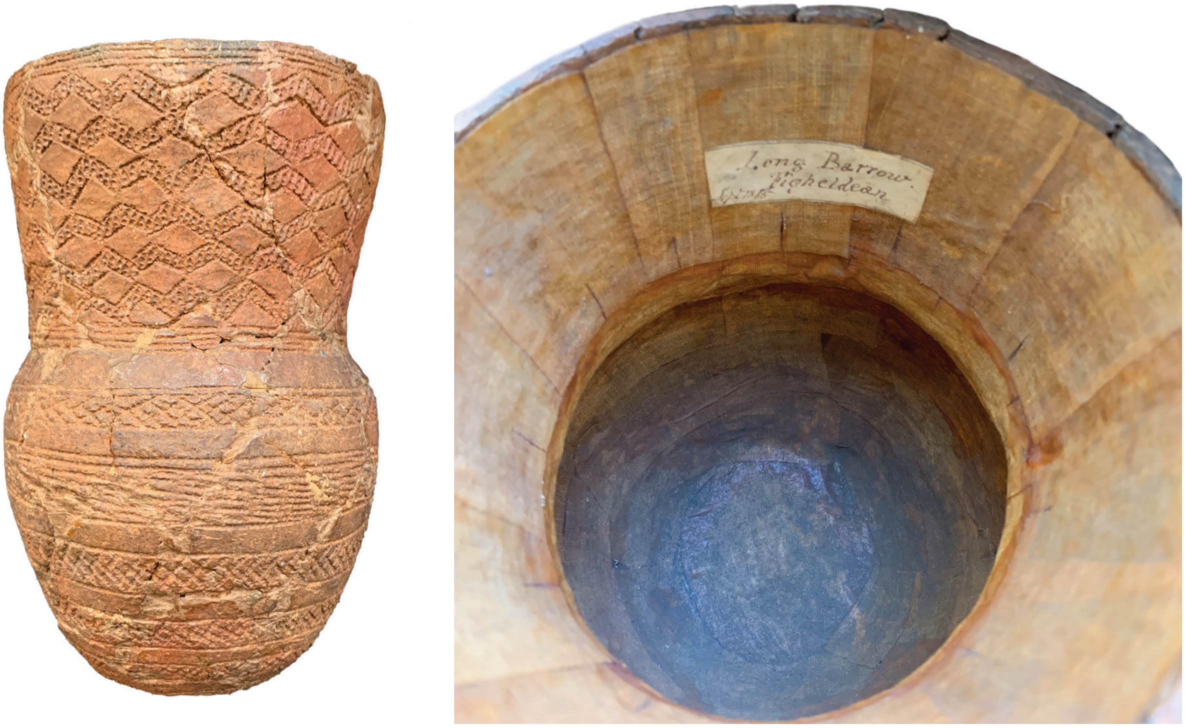

Fig. 4 (A) A Beaker pot excavated by Thurnam from a long barrow at Figheldean, Wiltshire (BM BEP 1873, 1219.6; height of vessel: 185 mm) and (B) subsequently restored using what appears to be linen bandages (The Trustees of the British Museum).

Thurnam also made comparisons between contemporary populations and Prehistoric people and practices. For instance, in discussing the function of 'little pits' found in long barrows, he considered whether they were places where "*libations and blood of victims were offered*", noting that "*such holes are still made by barbarous tribes both in India and Africa, to receive the blood of human victims*" (Thurnam 1869, 181, fn b). Other comparisons with contemporary societies featured discussions of 'cleft skulls' (*ibid*., 185), cannibalism (*ibid*., 187), human sacrifices (1869, 185; 1871, 312-313), and infanticide (1871, 313). The head and skull were a recurrent source of his misgivings about the behaviour of Prehistoric people: when not 'cleaving' skulls (Thurnam 1871, 185, 227), they were 'braining' each other with clubs (Thurnam 1871, 191). The notion that the physical treatment of the head and skull conveyed powerful insights about the inner, mental world of people is evident in his suggestion that good dentistry and dental hygiene may do more to cure patients in asylums than "*any direct pharmaceutical means*" (Thurnam 1845, 89).

The tendency to link mental illness, contemporary populations removed from 'civilized' Europe and Prehistoric people may seem like a relatively straightforward expression of Victorian attitudes to 'the other'. There is certainly some truth to this suggestion; however, in other respects Thurnam's thinking was progressive. As he himself noted, some of his contemporaries, including Joseph Barnard Davis, were keen to maintain "*an exceptional position for humanity in the case of our own remote ancestors*" (Thurnam 1869, 185), and did not believe that the ancient English could have undertaken barbarous and savage behaviour. In contrast, Thurnam stressed the connections and continuities that existed between people, albeit in a scheme of progression rather than relativism. His approach was thus in keeping with the legacy of 18th and 19th century Quakerism and the 'moral treatment' pioneered by the Tukes at The Friend's Retreat. Explicit in Thurnam's (1865, 59) writing on 'insanity' is the fear that it could strike anyone at any time; it was *not* the preserve of the poor or god-forsaken. His interest in Prehistory may be cast in a similar light: highlighting the need to be vigilant and recognize, through empirically grounded study, our 'true' state of being – as universally God's creatures.

Thurnam on the local and (inter-)national stage

The Wiltshire Archaeology and Natural History Society (WANHS) was formed in 1853, shortly after Thurnam's arrival at the Wiltshire County Asylum. Thurnam was a founding member and served on their committee.[11] He was also a regular contributor to the Society's Magazine, and to the 'Temporary Museums' (exhibitions) that the Society held on a relatively regular basis as part of their Annual General Meetings, until the opening of the Wiltshire Museum proper in 1873. The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine (WANHM), published by the Society, records the objects exhibited in the temporary museums, listing them by contributor rather than by period, geography or type, from 1854 until 1873, when the Wiltshire Museum was established in Devizes. The temporary museums played a stepping-stone role in the transition of personal collections into museum collections, with many of the objects displayed in the course of the Temporary Museums subsequently donated to form the basis of the Wiltshire Museum. Thurnam diligently contributed to the WANHS Temporary Museums held in almost every year from 1854 until his death in 1873 (WANHM vols. 1-13, 1854-1871).[12] On several occasions, Thurnam exhibited objects from Wiltshire and Yorkshire. On a number of other occasions, he displayed objects from much further afield, standing out by virtue of the exotic provenance of his artefacts. For instance, at the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society's first Temporary Museums, held in Devizes on October 12, 1853, Thurnam's contribution included:

> *"Eight Stone Implements and Weapons, from Denmark* […] *Two Bronze Celts from Yorkshire* […] *Large Oval Bronze Fibula, from Norway. Small Card of Bronze and other objects, from tumuli, in Norway. Small Card of Bronze and other objects, from tumuli in Livonia* […] *Halle* […] *Jutland* […] *Driffield, East Riding of Yorkshire* […] *Heron in glass case. Fungus from Birch tree* […] *Four fossils* […]." (WAHNM vol. 1, 62-63)

In Malmesbury in 1862 Thurnam displayed flint arrowheads from Niagra River in Canada and from the USA (WAHNM, vol. 8, 11), and in Devizes in 1863, he displayed material from the Swiss lake villages (WAHNM, vol. 9, 25). The broad, European range of Thurnam's collection reflects his wide-ranging views, contacts and interests. As it survives today in the British Museum, the collection consists of 226 objects (84%) from England, of which 175 are from Wiltshire (66%), and 40 objects (15%) from Continental Europe. Upon his death in 1873, Thurnam was remembered as "*one of* [the WANHS's] *most talented and scientific members*", and as having "*acquired an European reputation*" (WAHNM vol. 14, 234; vol. 15, 120).

Thurnam was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London in 1852. He played a prominent role as their local secretary for Wiltshire and as an active member, contributing to *Archaeologia* and to the Society's influential exhibitions on the Neolithic and Bronze Age (SAL 1873; 1874). The Society of Antiquaries also provided the context for Thurnam and Augustus Wollaston Franks to have met and worked together on Society business on numerous occasions, probably influencing the eventual sale of Thurnam's collection to the British Museum.[13] In the obituary in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, Thurnam was celebrated for his landmark *Archaeologia* articles of 1869 and 1871, which were regarded as "*amongst the most conspicuous for accurate research, well-arranged facts, and cautious induction* […]" to appear in the journal (PSAL 1876, 197). His scientific approach and European reach were also praised.

There has been a tendency to perceive English archaeologists and antiquarians as inward looking during this period, particularly due to their resistance and slowness to adopt the Three-Age System as advocated by Scandinavian archaeologists (Rowley-Conwy 2007, ch. 4). However, we should not overlook the ethnological approach of English archaeologists, following Worsaae's work, in pursuing racial distinctions based on skull measurements rather than artefact studies to explain change and transitions through the Three Ages (Morse 1999). In pursuing and developing this approach, which was influential until at least the end of the 19th century (Morse 1999, 13), Thurnam's contribution to the ethnological approach, culminating in the distinction he drew between the Neolithic and Bronze Age skull shapes in England (1869; 1869; Davis/Thurnam 1865), cannot be underestimated. He was clearly influenced by the work of Worsaae in Denmark, and Thurnam's (1850) first sustained, published, foray on the subject was entitled *Observations on Danish Tumuli, and on the Importance of Collecting Crania Found in Tumuli*. The correspondence and connection between the two men seems to have been confirmed at around the same time. In Thurnam's collection is preserved a polished stone axe an inscription noting it was from Denmark "*J.J.A.W. 1850*", Worsaae's unmistakable initials. Thurnam existed within a European network, even if the conclusions he drew were keenly influenced by the concerns of the Victorian era in Britain.[14]

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[11] Despite his active role in the Society, Thurnam did not serve as an officer, possibly because of his involvement with the Society of Antiquaries of London.

[12] Thurnam contributed to the Temporary Museums held in Devizes (1853), Salisbury (1854), Bradford, Wiltshire (1857), Marlborough (1859), Malmesbury (1862), Devizes (1863), Salisbury (1865), Trowbridge (1872). The only WANHS Temporary Museum he missed was held in Swindon in 1860.

[13] Franks played a crucial role in connecting the key, early figures of English archaeology to a network of British and European collectors, experts and Prehistorians, including Jens Worsaae in Denmark and, later, Oscar Montelius in Sweden. Closer to home, Franks cultivated connections with most prominent British barrow excavators and collectors of the day, including Augustus (Lane-Fox) Pitt Rivers, William Greenwell and, indeed, John Thurnam (Cook 1997, 124-125), establishing the groundwork of national and European connections and, piecemeal, assembling a collection of collections that would transform the British Museum and the curatorial profession (see Donnelly 2018, 2).

Discussion: 'Museums of Madness'?

I have argued that it is difficult – perhaps impossible – to separate the role of asylum and archaeology in Thurnam's thinking and work. In this respect he was of his time. Sir Arthur Mitchell (1826-1909) had something of a parallel career, acting as a Commissioner in Lunacy for Scotland as well as holding the roles of Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and Professor of Ancient History to the Royal Scottish Academy. He delivered a series of lectures on the topic, *The Past in the Present: What is Civilization?* (1874-1878) (Mitchell 1881). The twin interests of archaeology and mental health were connected in Victorian social and cultural life by deeply ingrained and invested interests in notions of 'civilization', progress, order, and the superiority of British manners and the Christian faith. The expression of these values, influenced by nationalistic and imperial concerns, reached a crescendo in the mid-19th century, when many regional and national museums were coming into existence in Britain and in nations across Europe. Scull (2006, 1) has coined the term 'Victorian Museums of Madness' to describe the asylums that sprung up across England during the mid-19th century. They represented segregative responses to the fear that mental health provoked in the value system and worldview of Victorian society and exemplars of the potential for social and moral improvement through order, classification and containment. In many respects both museum and asylum stood as temples to reason and rationality and the power and influence of Britain supported by its Empire (*cf.* Cannadine 2018).

In this respect, Thurnam's collection of antiquities and its history is an ideal case study: indicative of some of the complex and interwoven networks and cross-disciplinary tensions during the mid-19th century. Recent developments in archaeological and museological thinking ensure that the implications of Thurnam's life, collection and archaeological practices extend beyond history and into the present and future of the discipline. Recognition that Thurnam's patients undertook his fieldwork in Wiltshire requires further, primary, archival research, but there are clear grounds for believing it to be true (Nolan 1986, 19-20). In this new light, his collection and archaeological writings cannot be seen in the same way: they were the products of an often highly exploitative system of incarceration akin to the Victorian workhouse (Scull 2006, 22-23). On the other hand, it is possible that at least some of Thurnam's patients benefited from fieldwork: an early example of archaeology-as-therapy. There is, thus, a tension – or paradox – at the heart of Thurnam's life and legacy, and more work is needed to understand the full extent and implications of his use or miss-use of patients.

In early 2018, many of the ideas – and some of the language – that Thurnam pioneered in describing the Neolithic to Bronze Age transition in Britain came to broad, public attention. Newspaper headlines carried stories of: "*How the builders of Stonehenge 5000 years ago were almost completely wiped out by mysterious 'Beaker people' from the continent whose blood runs in Brit veins to this day*" (The Daily Mail, 21-02-2018). This time, the news was underpinned by the results of aDNA studies rather than skull measurements (Olalde *et al.* 2018; Reich 2018), but the language and concepts underpinning explanations of cultural change, at least in terms of how it was reported in the popular press, remained strangely familiar. This was cultural change viewed through an ethnological lense with dangerously direct equations between ethnic identities and archaeological cultures. Almost immediately, prehistorians versed in the history of the discipline pointed out the parallels and sought to (re)introduce the lessons of a century and a half of archaeological thinking (*e.g.* Furholt 2019; Hakenbeck 2019; Heyd 2017; Vander Linden 2018).

Recognizing the full history and context of Thurnam's ethnological thinking can help us to understand the dangers and naivety of arguments that draw uncritically on aDNA studies. As Furholt (2019) has recently pointed out, there is an urgent need to integrate aDNA research, anthropological and social models and detailed studies of material culture. It can be argued that Thurnam's *Archaeologia* articles (1869; 1871) were noble attempts to integrate material culture and data drawn from human remains. His approach, particularly towards grave goods, is arguably more insightful, novel and context-aware than the classificatory approaches that followed for decades afterwards. While he failed to achieve any kind of deep integration between his craniological and archaeological studies, there was a tacit awareness of the problem at the heart of the discipline. In this respect Thurnam was exceptional, capable of thinking beyond the limitations and prejudices of the archaeological method and theory of his time.

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[14] In the Thurnam collection are 16 Finno-Ugarian-Baltic objects, acquired from Professor Johann Karl Bähr (1801-1869). Having seen the objects on a trip to Germany, Thurnam played a role in the British Museum acquiring 518 Latvian objects from the same collection; desired by the Museum due to their perceived connection to Viking-period finds from England (Letter between Hawkins (Keeper, Department of Antiquities) and Thurnam: MSS British Museum Middle East Department, Thurnam, 12-8-1851).

In viewing Thurnam's collection today, it is impossible to separate the compulsions that motivated Franks and the Trustees of the British Museum to extend their non-Classical, European collections, without recognizing Britain's imperial and colonial activities and attitudes, alongside those of other European nations at the time. The cultural expression of these forces was manifest in the Great Exhibition of 1851 and the founding and growth of institutions such as the Victoria & Albert Museum and the British Museum, alongside many local and regional museums and galleries across the country. An understanding of those interwoven and complex relationships is critical if we wish to move forward with more sensitive studies and presentations of Prehistoric cultural change without repeating the mistakes of the past and the allure of empirical – and imperial – science to explain complex archaeological problems. Many of the Museums that grew or were founded in the Victorian era have long outlived their ghostly twins: the asylums or so-called 'museums of madness', in which so many people were incarcerated against their will and were treated as less than 'civilized' humans, despite the progressive intentions of a small band of reformers. The life and work of John Thurnam may inspire us to revisit this entwinement of histories in order to challenge the pejorative attitudes that still persist towards Prehistoric people and to stress the need for balance in conveying the ideal and the material within archaeological narratives.

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Different characters, different approaches

Collecting antiquities by J.H. Holwerda and A.E. van Giffen

Leo Verhart

Introduction

The *Rijksmuseum van Oudheden* (RMO; National Museum of Antiquities) in Leiden received a new lease of life just at the beginning of the 20th century. The old director Willem Pleyte (1836-1903), a real representative of the 19th century, passed away and a new director was appointed in 1903. It was Antonie Holwerda (1845-1922), professor of classical archaeology who would lead the Museum for the next two decades. As director he also continued his professorship, which proved to be a burdensome combination of duties. To reduce his workload and to launch an ambitious rejuvenation programme within the Museum and new initiatives outside its walls, he appointed his son Jan Hendrik Holwerda (1873-1951), also a classical archaeologist, as curator of the new Dutch department one year later in 1904 (Verhart 2018a).

The first years of Jan Hendrik Holwerda

Jan Hendrik Holwerda immediately started to expand his knowledge of Dutch archaeology. There was hardly any tradition, no scientific training in this field at universities and no experienced archaeologists in the Netherlands who could inform him. Also, the contacts with lay collectors and amateurs, usually leading citizens interested in the past of their immediate vicinity, was meagre. Study in the Museum was mostly limited to objects found by accident during urban development, construction of fortifications and canals or reclamation of waste lands. The undertaking of an actual excavation was a rare phenomenon. In order to educate himself and collect information about finds, monuments and the possibilities for excavation, Holwerda set off on a ‘Grand Tour’ through the Netherlands in 1905. He visited the north and south and met individuals and members of historical societies. With some he was able to make plans for future research.

In July he and his wife, who accompanied him, crossed the German border to visit the excavation of Carl Schuchhardt of the Roman fortification at Haltern. Schuchhardt had worked there for several years and initially had three assistants: Hans Dragendorff, Friedrich Koepp and Gustav Krüger (Fig. 1). In the Netherlands this

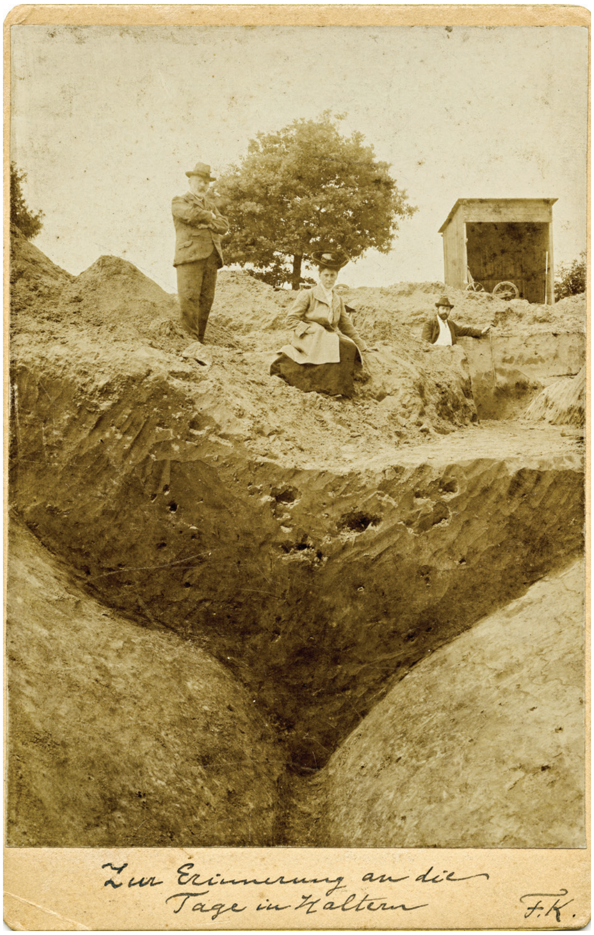

Fig. 1 Holwerda and his wife visited Haltern in 1905 where they met Hans Dragendorff and Friedrich Koepp. In this picture, probably taken by Hans Dragendorff, from L-R: Friedrich Koepp, Mrs. P. Holwerda-Jentink and J.H. Holwerda (RMO).

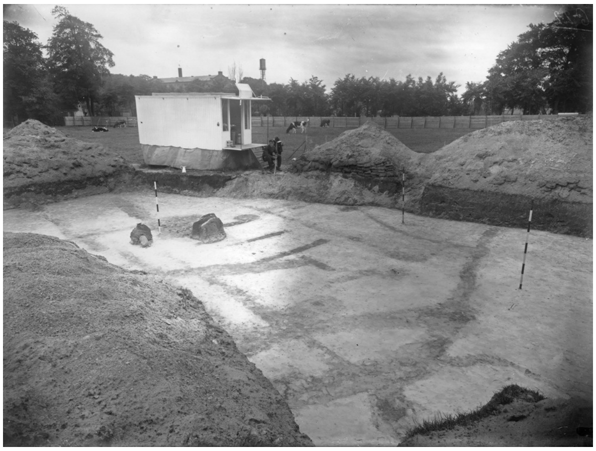

Fig. 2 Holwerda introduced modern excavation techniques in the Netherlands, not only aimed at collecting finds. He tried to expose larger surfaces and paid attention to soil traces and geology, as for instance at the excavation of Arentsburg in 1910 (RMO).

visit of Holwerda is often regarded as an internship, but detailed analysis of his travelling scheme reveals that he was there perhaps for only a day and a half, and more probably only half a day. Nevertheless, he learned to recognize all kinds of soil traces, how to organize an excavation and how to make use of photography in his own archaeological investigations.

The next summer he embarked on an impressive series of excavations in the Netherlands. Roman and younger fortifications, urnfields, megalithic monuments, barrows, churches and settlements were his objectives. As a result of the activities of Holwerda, the RMO became the leading excavating archaeological institution in the Netherlands (Fig. 2). All artefacts found during the excavations became part of the national collection. Excavations abroad were not undertaken at the time.

Apart from executing digs, the Museum also required other work. New departments had to be developed, galleries furnished, collections studied and described in guides, important artefacts had to be acquired in Europe, scientific articles written and contributions made for the general public in books, magazines and newspapers. It was all too much and expansion of the Museum staff was needed. In 1911 the Museum received permission to appoint a new assistant curator. In Groningen a young and promising scholar active in zoology and archaeology drew the attention of the Museum. He studied the terp mounds, a subject quite neglected by the National Museum.

Assistance, conflict and separation

The young biologist, A.E. van Giffen (1884-1973), was appointed as assistant in 1912 (Knol 2005; Verhart 2005; 2018b).[1] In the spring of that year, he collaborated with Holwerda on the excavation of the Roman town *Forum Hadriani* on the Arentsburg estate near The Hague, and during the summer they both excavated in the province of Drenthe. Holwerda worked on the Neolithic megalithic monuments or *hunebedde*n of Drouwen, and Van Giffen excavated the nearby Neolithic trackway of Buinen.

Looking at the pictures of these excavations we see a striking difference. The excavation of Holwerda is rather old fashioned: a small excavation trench following the contour lines of the monument and soil heaps everywhere. In the background we see the portable hut from which Holwerda directed the excavation, where his wife served tea and where he could take a

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[1] The focus of this article will be the activities by A.E. van Giffen because Luc Amkreutz is concentrating on Holwerda and the RMO in general (Amkreutz, this volume).

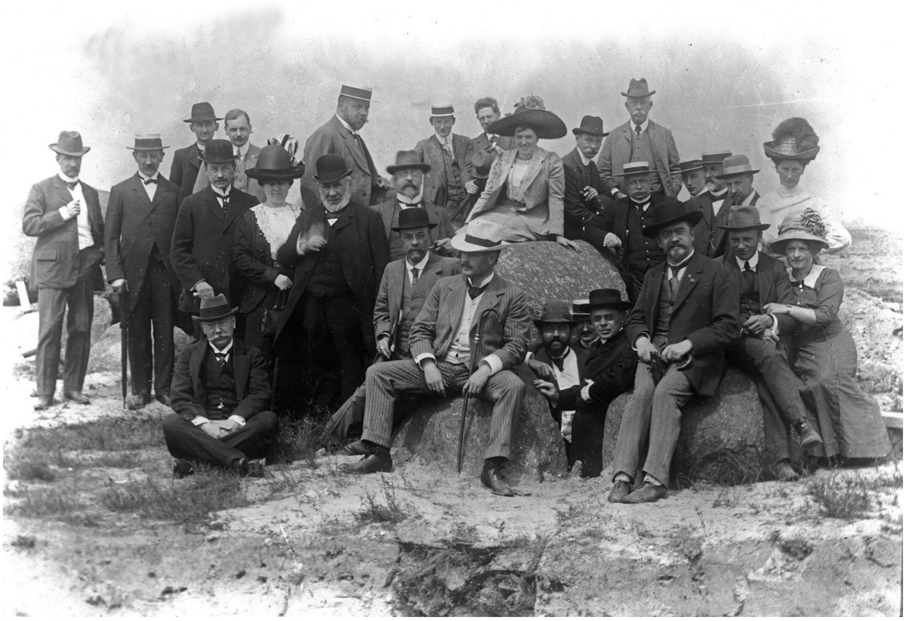

Fig. 3 The cooperation between Holwerda and Van Giffen ended in the autumn of 1912 after the first problems arose in the summer at the Drouwen excavation. This picture was taken on a sunny 27th of July, when both posed on the *hunebed* as members of an excursion. Holwerda is standing in the cellar of the megalithic monument and Van Giffen is sitting on a stone with his wife (RMO).

rest. Van Giffen had a completely different approach. His background as a biologist is immediately visible. His excavation is a combination of different levels and sections which provide a three-dimensional study of the archaeological phenomenon, similar to approaches in botany. There is a wide excavation trench and his wife accompanied him as well, but she has to rest in a tent. On the 27th of July a picture was taken during their excavations when the Dutch Society of Anthropology visited Drouwen (Fig. 3). The gentlemen, some accompanied by their wives, posed on the monument in a way which is forbidden nowadays by our colleagues from the Cultural Heritage Agency. It is the only existing picture of Holwerda and Van Giffen together.

Three months later the situation changed dramatically. In September 1912 there were some problems between Van Giffen and some subordinates at the Museum, and in November Van Giffen accused Holwerda of scientific fraud. This became the start of a conflict that spiralled out of control and even required intervention by the Prime Minister later on – in the middle of the First World War. The final result was that Van Giffen left for the University of Groningen in 1917. From that day on both scientists would oppose each other for the rest of their lives, resulting in a 'Leiden' and 'Groningen' approach to archaeology. They never went to the same conferences, they never wrote letters to each other and as far as we know they never spoke to each other again.

Van Giffen started his own institute (*Biologisch-Archeologisch Instituut*; BAI) in 1919. For decades Leiden and Groningen would work against each other, thereby shaping the future development of Dutch archaeology. These differences are also recognizable in the way antiquities were collected and treated.

Collecting in Leiden

Holwerda collected Dutch finds through excavation as well as through purchases and donations. Foreign antiquities – mainly European – were bought at auctions, purchased from important collectors and were sometimes given to the Museum. In this way the collection 'Ancient Europe' developed (see Amkreutz 2018). Exchange of antiquities as a way of collecting was rare, and excavations abroad to acquire finds did not occur. Once an inventory was made, the acquired antiquities would hardly leave the Museum of Antiquities, except for loans or for study by other scholars.

The main manner in which the collection was enlarged was through excavation. Holwerda felt that finds excavated by the Museum and funded by national money became property of the state, *de facto*: the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden. Even artefacts found on state property had to be transferred to the Museum. This strict approach caused problems with local historical societies. They also wanted to have these finds in their collections. His whole career, Holwerda fought against what he called 'local patriotism', which often caused serious problems.

When an excavation was executed in close (financial) cooperation with a local or regional historical society, the finds were divided. The collaboration in most cases was excellent and there were few problems. The most important finds from such excavations were reproduced in plaster and so the Museum's collection consists half of originals and half of replicas. A similar division existed in the collection of the local partner, often historical societies.

As noted above, no excavations were carried out abroad. Archaeological research by Holwerda was restricted to the Netherlands, and foreign objects and collections were mainly gifts, exchanges or purchases (see Amkreutz, this volume).

Collecting in Groningen

Van Giffen had a different approach. He also collected finds from the Netherlands and abroad, but mainly as study material, especially for comparison with the finds he wanted to excavate or had excavated. Later, when education became a more substantial element of the BAI, this collection was used by young students during their studies. The general public could also visit this collection, as the most important artefacts were on display in showcases in the hall of the institute.

Van Giffen had fewer possibilities to purchase antiquities due to limited budgets, so excavations were an important way to collect finds and develop an international network. Most of his excavations were carried out in the three northern provinces of the Netherlands, but he also made somewhat peculiar trips to excavate on locations far from his core region. For instance, he excavated in the deep south of Limburg in the Neolithic flint mines at Rijckholt-St.-Geertruid (Van Giffen 1925; 1926; Verhart 2017). His main goal there was to demonstrate that the ideas of Holwerda about this site were false. Holwerda thought that the enormous amount of flint debris could be the result of chalk quarrying in Roman times. If Roman exploitation really occurred, the finds could not have the old age suggested by Belgian scholars. Van Giffen demonstrated the fallacy of Holwerda's reasoning and proved that the site was a Neolithic mining centre. He transported many of the found artefacts to Groningen.

In contrast to the Leiden way of collecting, Van Giffen used the excavated finds also to exchange them for other antiquities, to develop better relations with owners of important excavation locations and to extend his scientific network. In many private and museum collections in the Netherlands, artefacts can be found which were given by Van Giffen, for instance pottery from the *hunebedden* and flint artefacts from Rijckholt-St.-Geertruid. He had also traded in antiquities on a small scale in his younger years, and continued to do so as director of his institute.

To acquire objects from abroad, Van Giffen undertook and cooperated in excavations in Hungary (1920-'21, 1923, 1927-'28), Germany (1926-'27, 1929-30, 1933-'34), Ireland (1937-'38), France (1939) and later in Spain (1953). Because of all the projects he was involved in, Van Giffen never had time to publish these excavations. Later his staff members, researchers from abroad and his pupils studied the material and published the results, such as the excavations at Dömsöd (Butler/Schalk 1984), Tószeg (Schalk 1981), Ballynoe (Groenman-van Waateringe/Butler 1976) and Lannion (Butler/Waterbolk 1974). In most cases the finds were transferred to the authorities in charge after publication.[2]

Some examples

To illustrate the differences in the way collections and objects were acquired by Leiden and Groningen, some examples are presented below, with special attention given to Van Giffen's acquisition policy.

The Groninger apostle heads

When Van Giffen was working as a prospector for the *Centraal Bureau voor de kennis van de Provincie Groningen en omgelegen streken* (the Central Committee for knowledge of the Province of Groningen and surrounding areas) and as an assistant at the Zoological Laboratory of the University, he was involved in the discovery of Medieval art objects. In 1911, in the Groningen town centre, a cesspit was discovered containing nine copper reliquary appliques, each depicting one of the apostles of Jesus Christ (Knol 1996). Van Giffen bought them all for 60 guilders in total and sold eight pieces to the Groninger Museum for 500 guilders. One he was gifted as a token of gratitude for selling these important objects of art to the Museum (Fig. 4).

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[2] The Groninger Institute of Archaeological Institute (GIA) was not able to inform me which of these finds were still in the collection of the institute (email K. van der Ploeg 21.08.2018).

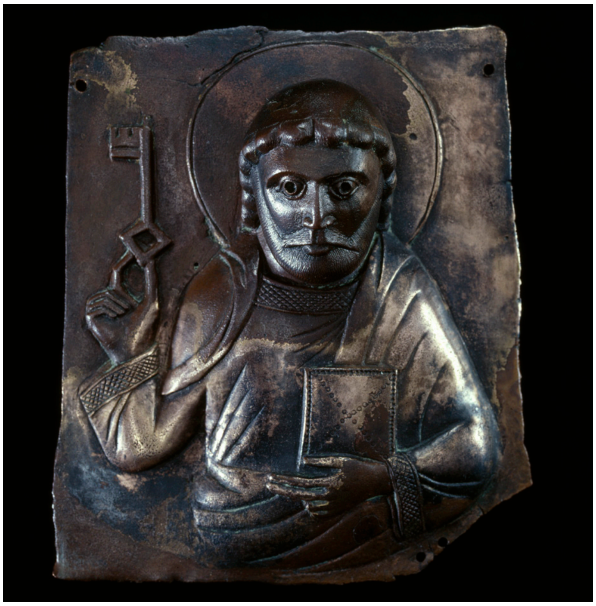

Fig. 4 The apostle head which originally was in the possession of Van Giffen, and is currently in the collection of Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Groninger Museum).

Later on he sold this object to an unknown collector and eventually it ended up in the possession of American art collector J. Piermont Morgan, who donated the apostle head to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. This apostle head is now on display in the department of European Medieval art.[3]

Even during his period as director of the BAI he occasionally traded in archaeological objects, a peculiar phenomenon. In 1925 a hoard with at least 15 golden Byzantine solidi was found at the terp of Midlum and twelve of the coins came into possession of Van Giffen as director of the BAI. He sold nine of them as a private person to the Frisian Museum in Leeuwarden and kept three coins (Ufkes 1994). What happened to these three coins is unknown. They are not in the collection of the BAI.

Hungarian expeditions

For Van Giffen archaeology did not stop outside Groningen or at the Dutch border. In his younger years, he had already contributed to German excavations and research concerning the terp mounds. Soon after his return to Groningen, he carried out excavations and gathered collections.

In the beginning of 1920, he became interested in excavations in Austria and Hungary after meeting Adolf Mahr (1887-1951), curator of the Prehistoric department of the *Kunsthistorisches Museum* in Vienna. Mahr assisted Van Giffen during the excavation of the so-called *Keltenheuvel* of 't Zandt and at the urnfield of Weerdinge.[4] Mahr had fallen in love with Maria van Bemmelen, the daughter of Van Giffen's professor and promotor. He probably functioned as an intermediary for contacts with the university in Vienna and the Österreichischer *Geschäftsträger* in The Hague. The result was a series of recommendation letters for introductions in Austria. Van Giffen could make peculiar travel arrangements because he was a member of the international Red Cross relief which ran an aid train sending food and goods to the poor post-war countries of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. The train would return with children who would stay for several months in the Netherlands and later travel back to their own families. On the 16th of January, 1920 the train left Rotterdam with Van Giffen as one of the supervisors. Also stored in the train were relief goods from private persons. One of the parcels was from Van Giffen for the curators of the *Kunsthistorisches Museum.*

In Vienna the aid was highly appreciated and Van Giffen also tried to send an aid parcel to the National Museum in Budapest, in cooperation with the Dutch consul. This resulted in eminent relations with the directors and curators of these museums. From the Austrian network he could purchase a part of the well-known Hinterstoisser collection and from Budapest he received an invitation to visit the excavation at Bodrogkeresztúr in October of that year. This trial excavation was conducted by Jenő Hillebrand (1884-1950) and Lajos Bella (1850-1937). However, Hungarian archaeology was in desperate need of money and scientific support. Due to the severe economic circumstances, archaeologists from abroad were invited to undertake and participate in excavations in return for money and with the reward that part of the excavated material could be transferred to the museums or institutes of the contributors. This formed an interesting proposal for Van Giffen, but also for others. Vere Gordon Childe (1892-1957), for instance, took part in a comparable project and later excavated at Tószeg (Leighton/Stig Sørensen 2004).

Van Giffen had to pay 16,000 Hungarian Crowns for his first participation in October 1920 and as a reward received pottery, a hoard of obsidian blades and a human skull.[5] In 1921 he was invited again and excavated at Bodrogkeresztúr, where a Bronze Age cemetery was discovered. In total 50 graves were

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[3] Inv. nr. 17-190-792.

[4] Archive GIA, sent letters, 00.12.1920 (Mahr?). Van Giffen wrote a letter of recommendation about the qualities and achievements of Mahr. He also advised him to contact the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden and N.J. Krom to survey possibilities for a job in the Netherlands and Dutch Indies (Archive GIA, received letters, 09.09.1920 (Krom)).

[5] Archive GIA, received letters, 01.12.1920 (Elemér Varjú).

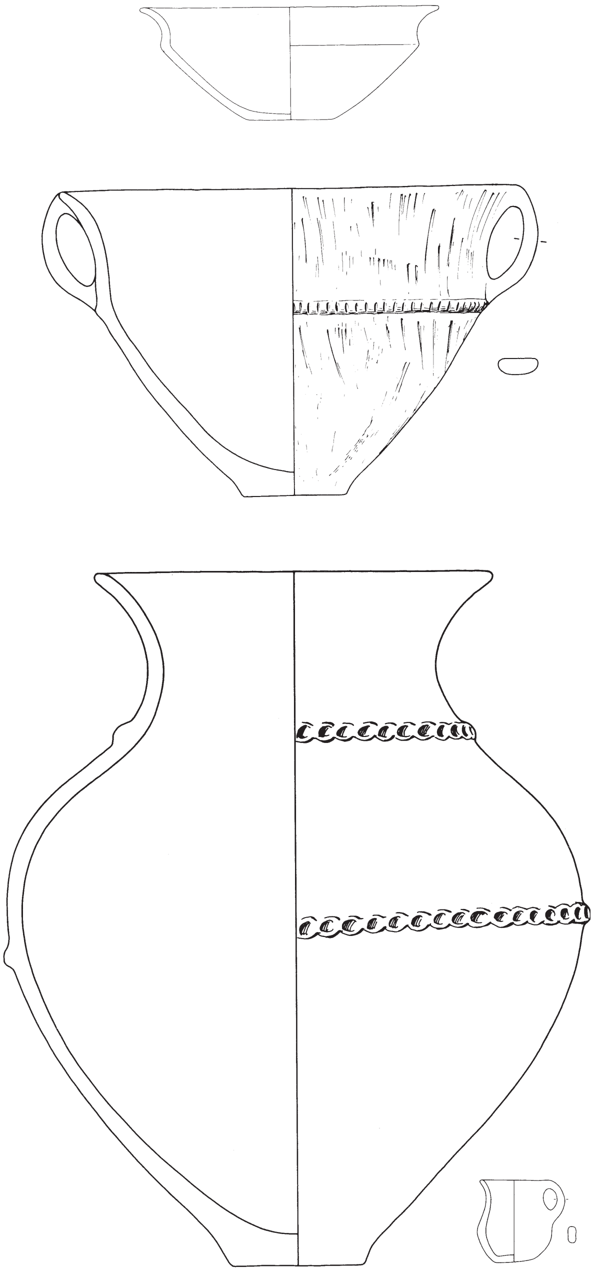

Fig. 5 One of the grave inventories, grave 56, from Dömsöd in Hungary which was transported to Groningen (after Butler/Schalk 1984, abb. 10).

found containing well-preserved skeletons of men and women, pottery, copper and bronze weapons and tools, ornaments and flint blades. Van Giffen probably paid a contribution of 100 guilders.[6] He received some grave inventories, but the precise number is unknown.[7] In 1928 he conducted an excavation at Dömsöd which was financed with 4000 guilders by his friend F.E. Baron van Heerdt (1877-1948). He received 15 grave inventories which were transported to Groningen (Butler/Schalk 1984) (Fig. 5).

The Rijckholt flints

Van Giffen transported numerous finds to Groningen after the excavations at Rijckholt in 1923-1925 (Van Giffen 1925; 1926; Verhart 2017). The National Museum of Antiquities also undertook excavations in the years 1927-1930 resulting in a comparable number of finds, now stored in the Museum in Leiden.

In 1932 Van Giffen tried to further expand his territory in the southern provinces of the Netherlands. Holwerda had developed an efficient network of correspondents who informed the Museum about important finds and who could be asked to check local finds mentioned in newspapers. Van Giffen tried to develop an identical institution and contacted Father Pinckers from the local museum of Asselt in the province of Limburg. With Pinckers he visited several amateurs in the vicinity and Pinckers became very enthusiastic when Van Giffen promised to send him several flint artefacts from Rijckholt. After receiving the finds, Pinckers wrote to his cousin Willem Goossens, chairman of the *Limburgs Geschied- en Oudheidkundig Genootschap* (LGOG), a society of antiquarians. He described Van Giffen's ambitious plans to start large excavations in Limburg and was very enthusiastic about the artefacts he had received. He found Van Giffen much more sympathetic than Holwerda because the latter would never donate artefacts from the RMO to a local museum and especially to his museum in Asselt. Pinckers, however, did not realize the strong relations existing between Goossens and Holwerda. The chairman of the historical society (LGOG) informed Holwerda immediately about the plans of Van Giffen and in a letter to Pinckers he threatened that the society of antiquarians would thwart the plans of Van Giffen. It became a 'mission impossible' for Van Giffen and he turned his attentions to the province of North Brabant.

A doctor in Beek

In the 1920s Doctor H.J. Beckers (1862-1950), a physician from Beek, became very active in the regional archaeology of southern Limburg and dominated this field for several decades (Deriks 2000). Leiden and Groningen both had great problems in cooperating with him. For Leiden it was a serious drawback that Beckers collected artefacts for his own museum. He undertook many excavations to enlarge his collection. In rare cases the finds were so important that he was not able to acquire them. These were bought by and transferred to the RMO in Leiden, such as the famous Roman sarcophagus of Simpelveld discovered on December 11, 1930 (Fig. 6).

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[6] Archive GIA, received letters, 26.2.1923 (Kadić).

[7] A request for additional information could not be answered by the GIA due to lack of time (email K. van der Ploeg 21.08.2018).

Beckers worked in a region where settlements of the Early Neolithic Linearbandkeramik culture (LBK) were discovered. In the late 1920s these were exciting new discoveries for the Netherlands and Holwerda launched excavations at Stein, working in close cooperation with Beckers (Beckers/Beckers 1940; Holwerda 1928). However, the excavation was funded by the Museum and Holwerda stayed true to the principle that when an excavation was undertaken with national funds, the finds were property of the state and had to be transferred to the RMO in Leiden.

Beckers was not amused and developed a peculiar strategy. During the excavations he was assisted by a local workman, Toni Janssen, who was instructed to secretly bring the most interesting finds from the excavation to his museum every evening. Quite soon the staff of the RMO discovered the theft, but failed to stop this treasure hunting. The only solution was to follow the same procedure and important finds were stored in the depot of the Museum at the excavation site immediately after discovery.[8] This led to the accusation by Beckers of theft by the Museum staff.

A second clash was an article written by Beckers in a national newspaper in which the RMO was accused of paying little attention to the archaeology of Limburg, that important finds disappeared to Belgium and that only by the efforts of local inhabitants some finds and sites were saved. This article forced the Minister of Cultural Affairs to start an investigation into what was going on in Limburg.[9] The cooperation between Beckers and the RMO ended.

From 1925 onwards Van Giffen and Beckers were in close contact with each other. Shortly after the clash with Leiden, Van Giffen invited Beckers to excavate, in 'close cooperation', some of dwelling pits known as *hutkommen* in Stein. At the time these were the presumed houses of the LBK (Beckers/Beckers 1940, 78). Nearly all the finds could stay behind in Stein and only a small collection was needed in Groningen for study purposes.

In 1930 a very small area was excavated and a few dwelling pits were documented. Most of the finds were transferred to Doctor Beckers and a smaller number went to Groningen (Beckers/Beckers 1940, 78-81; Van Wijk *et al.* 2014, 62).

Van Giffen left to excavate at other locations in the Netherlands and never published the results of Stein. Doctor Beckers and his son Gabriel wrote about the excavation in their book concerning the (pre)history of southern Limburg and Van Giffen provided a typical drawing as illustration (Fig. 7; Beckers/Beckers 1940, 78-81).

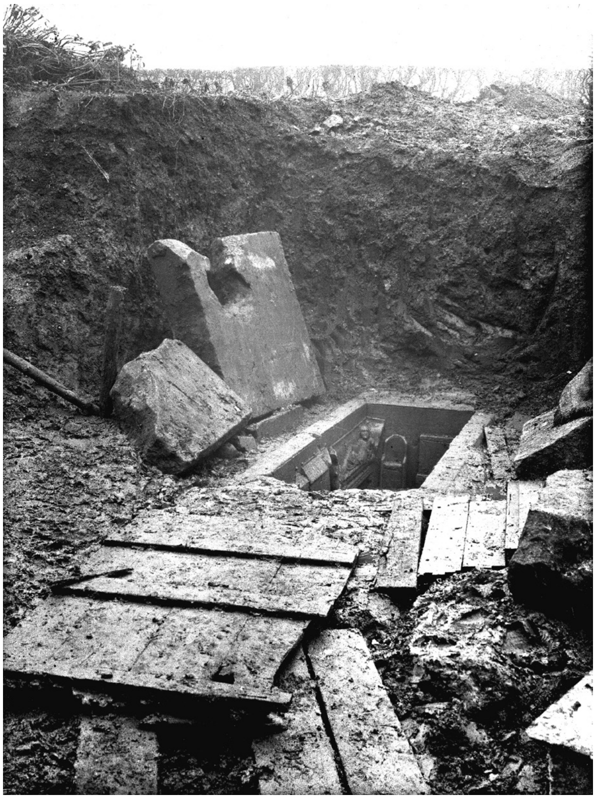

Fig. 6 In 1930 Dr. Beckers was involved in the discovery of the sarcophagus of Simpelveld, which was sold to the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden (RMO).

Van Giffen also wrote a preface in this book in which he mentioned the results and contributions of the 'independent' researcher Doctor Beckers, but also paid attention to the differences in ideas about the past and 'forgave' the local (Limburg) patriotic feelings of the writers. In 1941 they worked together again for the last time at the site of the Roman baths in Heerlen. However, this cooperation was less fertile (Jeneson 2015; Verhart 2020).

Different characters, different approaches

Holwerda and Van Giffen had distinctly different characters and different approaches. Holwerda was the more formal personality, who in the conflict with Van Giffen sought support with the traditional official structure of the ministry in The Hague and also expected support from the curators of Leiden University. Holwerda was polite, urbane and strict and not in for straying from the well-trodden paths that have to be followed. Artefacts excavated with money from the state had to belong to the state and could not be transferred to private individuals or to local historical

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[8] RMO correspondence archive, sent letters, 22-01-1927 (Goossens).

[9] RMO correspondence archive, received letters, 25-09-1928 (Curatoren); sent letters, 26-09-1928 (Ministerie OK&W).

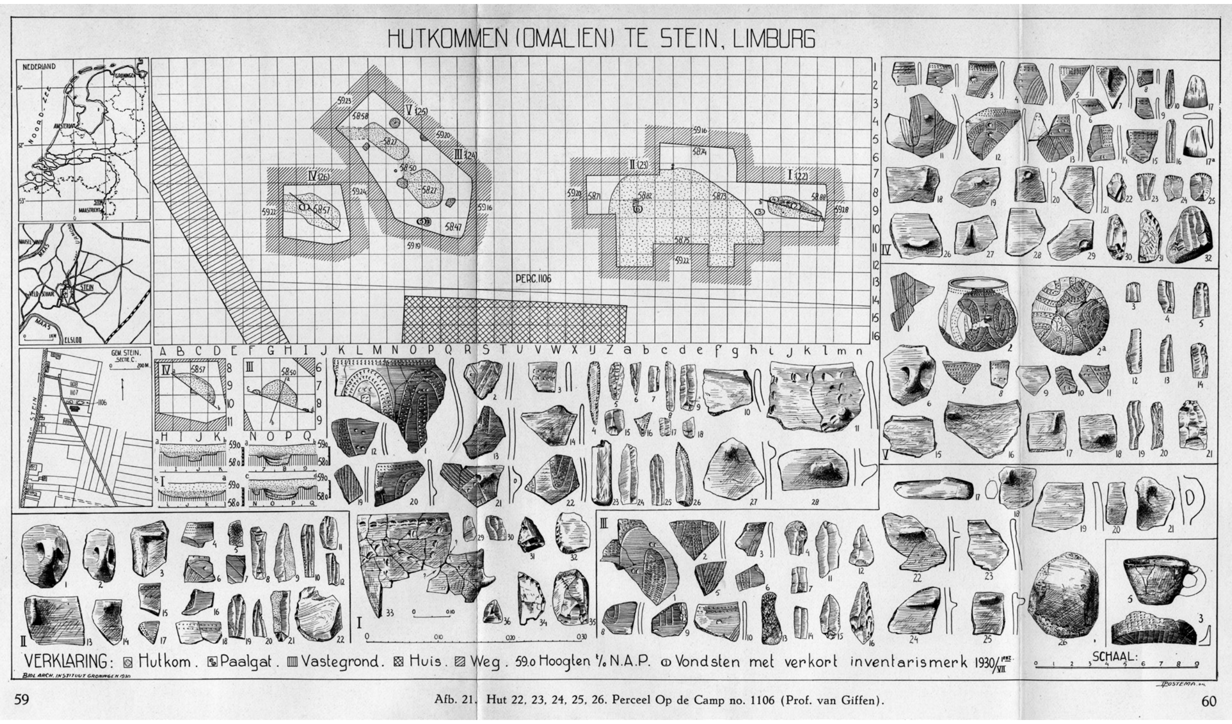
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Fig. 7 Characteristic drawing of the excavation and LBK finds at Stein in 1930. The concept of the image was designed by Van Giffen, but the drawing was made by his draftsman L. Postema (after Beckers/Beckers 1940, afb. 21).

and archaeological societies, even when conflicts would be the result. He also did not excavate abroad.

Eric Carle published the children's book *The Very Hungry Caterpillar* which can be regarded as a metaphor of the life of Van Giffen. He had a much more opportunistic character and in the Leiden conflict he sought and received support from politicians and well-to-do entrepreneurs, who often had a Groningen background, in order to gain power. This 'hungry approach' can also be recognized in gathering artefacts for his collection. Apart from his brilliant scientific approaches in excavating, some of his field research in the Netherlands and abroad was mainly carried out to obtain artefacts for the study collection of the BAI in Groningen. These excavations also provided objects which could be exchanged and used in creating and extending a network of archaeological informants.

So, in conclusion: different characters, different approaches. If we focus on the position of both scholars in relation to the collection of European antiquities than these differences are also evident. Holwerda collected objects from within his network with a national scope. He aimed at creating an overview that also provided a context and background for comparative purposes, but with respect to research as well as museum display. He actively explored his network and travelled to obtain these objects. The involvement of Van Giffen with foreign antiquities had a different background. Here artefacts were both the result and purpose of his research abroad. Obviously, Van Giffen did not run a museum and objects appear to be much more a means to an end than an end in themselves. They are also first and foremost objects of study and by products of a distinctly scientific and somewhat egocentric approach to archaeology.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the Groningen Institute of Archaeology (GIA) for permission to study a part of the correspondence of A.E. van Giffen and pay tribute to my former employer, the National Museum of Antiquities (RMO), which gave me non-restricted access to all archives and documents stored in the museum for many years now. Egge Knol is thanked for providing the photograph of the apostle head and Hetty Otten-Vogelaar corrected the English text.

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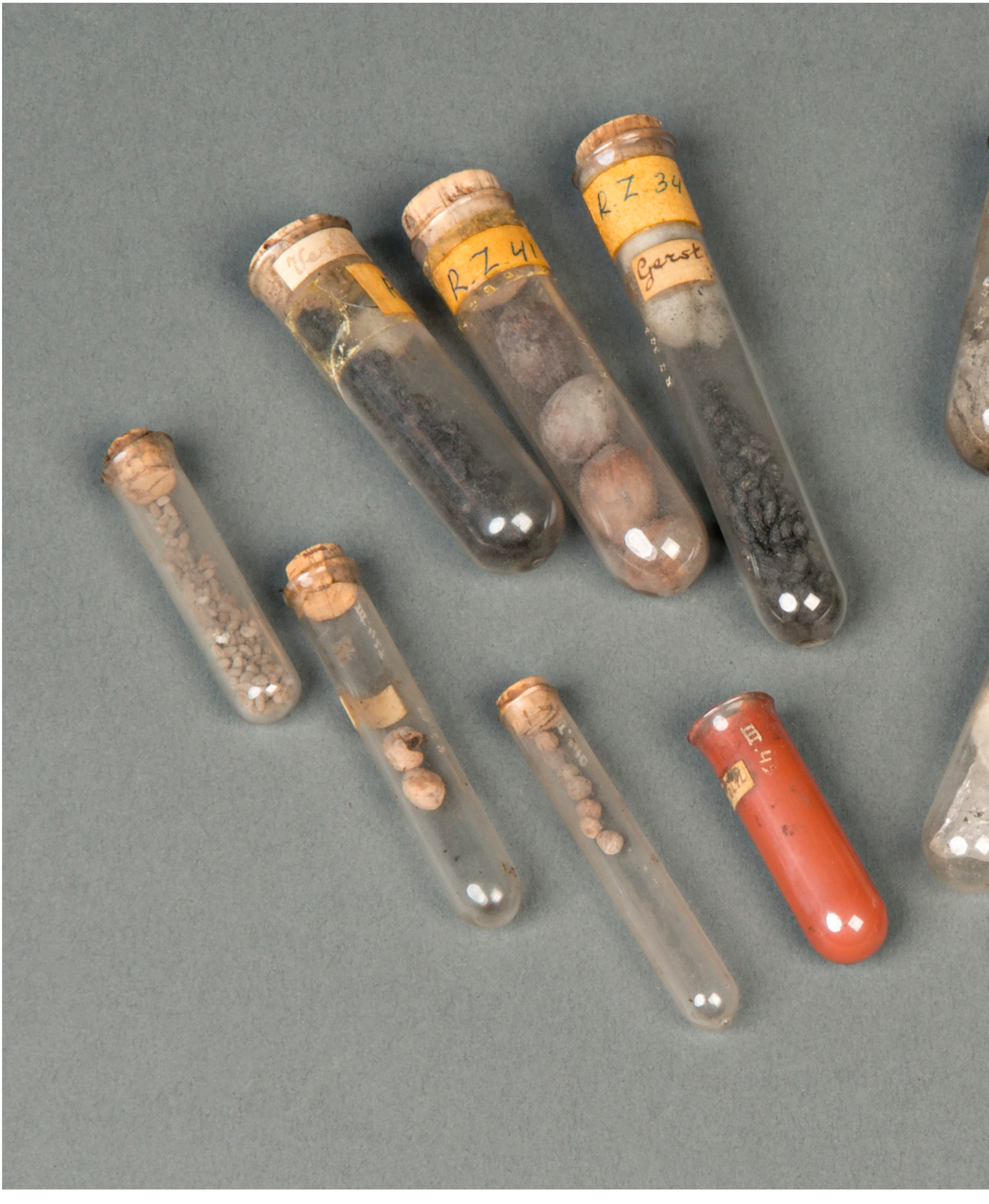
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PART 3

Sites & Discoveries

The ‘Siret collection’

The exchange value of Early Bronze Age Spanish artefacts in the Royal Museums of Art and History in Brussels

Eugène Warmenbol & Walter Leclercq

Introduction

The brothers Henri and Louis Siret have rightly been considered pioneers not only of Spanish archaeology, but also of modern archaeology. They rediscovered one of the most fascinating cultures of the Early Bronze Age, *i.e.* the ‘El Argar culture’, named after one of the sites they excavated (amongst many other authors: Chapman 1990; Lull 1983). The magnificent publication of these discoveries in their *Les Premiers Âges du Métal dans le Sud-Est de l’Espagne. Résultats des fouilles faites par les auteurs de 1881 à 1887* (Siret/Siret 1887) is a major milestone in the history of archaeological research. The material from El Argar, Fuente Alamo and several other sites, mainly funerary gifts, is presented in grand fashion, every object drawn in painstaking detail, which allows us today, even when they have lost their original labels, to identify them.

Because indeed, while the Siret brothers paid much attention to keep together what was found in the abstract world of their book, they did not do so in the real world of their business. The sale of Argaric material became a source of income for them, or, actually, for Henri Siret, though probably with the knowledge of Louis Siret. The objects became further dispersed through gifts and exchanges, involving individuals as well as institutions. This was of course not an uncommon practice in the late 19th or the early 20th century, but it leaves modern researchers with the difficult task of trying to reunite what has been dispersed.

Brothers in arms?

This is not the place to publish a biography either of Henri (1857-1933) or Louis (1860-1934), who was the subject of more attention than his older brother (Fig. 1). A lot of research remains to be done, and a lot of urban legends to be undone. As so often, very little work has been done on archival material, and the very rich archives concerning the Siret brothers were actually left untouched by Hermanfrid Schubart and Hermann Ulreich in their monumental *Die Funde der Südostspanischen Bronzezeit aus der Sammlung Siret* (Schubart/Ulreich 1991). Errors abound. Thus,

Fig. 1 The beginning: Louis Siret at the time of the publication of *Les premiers âges du métal dans le Sud-Est de l'Espagne*, about 1886-1887 (Schubart/Ulreich 1991, p. V.).

Henri Siret did not leave Spain '*définitivement*' on the 15th of August 1886 to go and work in the Congo[1] as the German archaeologists repeat, but rather to marry, on the 6th of January 1887, his '*bien aimée Thérèse*' Pètre (to whom he had been engaged since September 1884). She was the sister of Antoine Pètre, with whom Henri Siret actually started excavations in south-east Spain in September 1880[2], although there is no mention of him 'in the field', even in the earliest documents known to us. As far as Henri Siret is concerned: he seems never to have touched a spade again.

A letter dated January 25, 1882, sent by their father Adolphe Siret (1818-1888), editor of the *Journal des Beaux Arts,* to Adolphe De Ceuleneer (1849-1924), professor at Ghent University, is presently the earliest archival piece we have about the excavations in south-east Spain, and only his two sons are mentioned, not Antoine Pètre:

> *"Mes deux fils ingénieurs des mines en Espagne (Andalousie),"* he states, *"ont fait des découvertes archéologiques dont on commence à parler à Madrid et qui ont paru assez assez importantes pour attirer* [...] *M. de Vilanova sur les lieux. Celui-ci a été très ému de ce qu'il a vu* [...]*."*[3]

Our aim here is to show how the artefacts became commodities. This is largely because Henri Siret found himself in dire straits in the years 1888-1890, and, probably, totally disinterested by 1898-1900. We know through his (auto)biography, written in two hands – Henri's and his wife Thérèse's – that in July 1888 the family was informed *"que Paul Pètre* [another brother] *a fait une série d'imprudences dont les conséquences peuvent être désastreuses, maman* [Henri's mother in law, Thérèse's mother] *ayant donné sa signature en garantie*".[4] This may seem anecdotical, but it explains most of what follows.

1887-1888: Gifts

In these earlier years the distribution and dispersal of the Siret collection was mainly governed by gifts to various institutions. These are discussed below.

Brussels

The story, inevitably, begins here. The *Musée royal d'Armures, d'Antiquités et d'Artillerie*, as the Brussels Museum was called then, was indeed the first to receive a gift of (about 60) Argaric antiquities from the Siret brothers, in October 1887 (Mariën/Ulrix-Closset 1985, 13; Schubart/Ulreich 1991, 49, following the former). As we write, we have not been able to find archival material pertaining to this donation.

The *Musées royaux des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels*, the next avatar of what quite recently became the Art & History Museum (MRAH), was the one, outside of Spain, that received the biggest lot of Spanish (mainly Argaric) antiquities (about 2000) excavated by the Belgian engineers. It was bought from the Siret brothers for 9000 francs, and generously given to the *Musées* in 1899 by their new owner, Count Louis Cavens (1850-1940), who acquired them from Henri Siret. He was one of the main donators to the Brussels museums in those years, very often with conditions or restrictions which earned him the surname of '*cosaque du don'* (Duchesne 1966, 155).

The exhibition of his donation of Prehistoric artefacts (mainly from Belgium) at the *Musées* opened on the 4th of July 1901.

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[1] He never went there. He did become *Directeur Général de la Compagnie des Chemins de Fer du Congo supérieur aux Grands Lacs africains*, a company created in 1902 by Baron Empain, one of the main industrialists during the reign of Léopold II (Archives Art & History Museum, Brussels, dir. 52/2, folio 4, 6 and 7).

[2] Archives Art & History Museum, Brussels, dir. 52/2, *folio* 1-20.

[3] Ghent University Library, letter 1862.

[4] Archives Art & History Museum, Brussels, dir. 52/2, idem.

> *"Enfin nous y sommes",* Eugène Van Overloop wrote to Louis Cavens on the 26th of June 1901. *"La Galerie de la Belgique primitive s'ouvrira solennellement samedi 4 juillet à 2 heures. Je suis extrêmement heureux et en même temps quelque peu épaté du résultat vraiment magnifique auquel est arrivé le Baron de Loë. Il est vrai que vous lui aviez fourni pour son civet un tel lièvre que le plat ne pouvait être qu'excellent."*[5]

It is not obvious, however, that the objects from south-eastern Spain (the Belgian ones for sure) were actually shown to the public.

Count Louis Cavens is, for several reasons, of very special interest to us. On the one hand, he was a true *maecenas* and bought many objects with a local provenance to give them to the Museum. According to Jeannette Lefrancq (1985, 97), the gift of the Argaric objects, deemed to be rather redundant, was made so the many 'doubles' in the collection could be exchanged for objects from different horizons, but she does not give her sources for this. Cavens clearly brought up the idea all by himself. Eugène Van Overloop, curator of the *Musées*, thus wrote to him on "*2/4*" (*sic*) of June 1900:

> *"Echanges. Vous avez raison. Il y a là pour nous un moyen de nous enrichir, sans frais. Le Baron de Loë tiendra donc à part, sans les faire entrer officiellement dans votre donation tous les doubles pouvant former matière d'échange, quitte bien entendu à faire entrer successivement dans ladite donation les objets que nous pourrions acquérir par ce moyen.*[6] (Fig. 2)

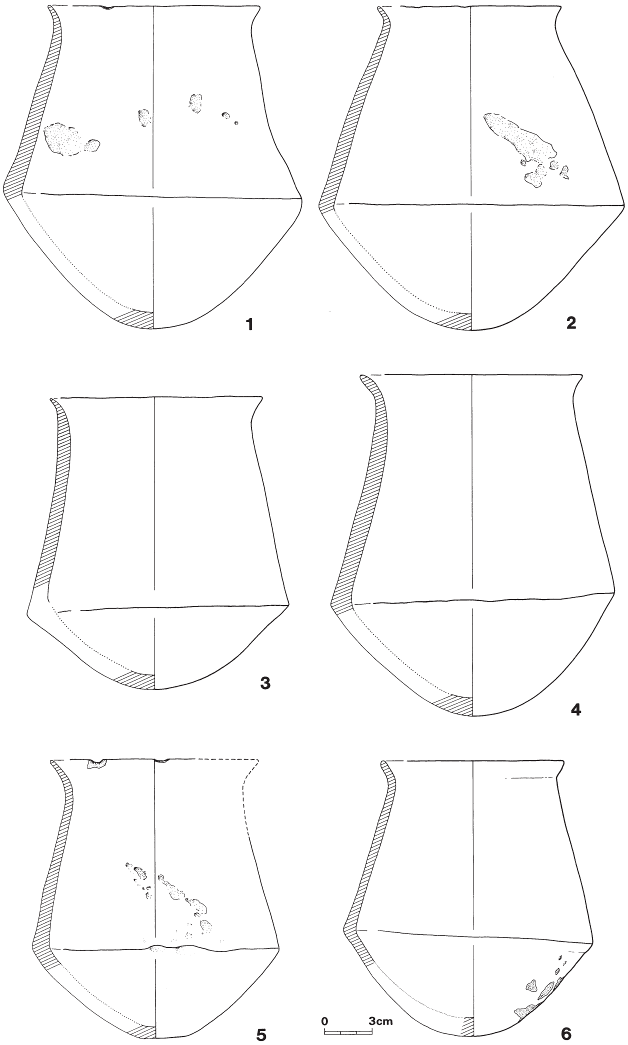

Fig. 2 The '*doubles*': the repetitive character of the Argaric material, as illustrated by a plate of 'Type 5' goblets (after Van Berg 1998, fig. 67).

Antwerp

Both Henri Siret and his father, the art historian Adolphe Siret (see above), had their home in Antwerp in 1888. The first scholars to visit the collection, invited by Henri Siret, were part of a delegation of the *Société d'Anthropologie de Bruxelles*, one of the 'playgrounds' of Baron Alfred de Loë. The delegation was in Antwerp on the 24th of July 1887, most probably quite soon after the Spanish collection arrived there. They were obviously very impressed (Siret/Jacques 1888). The objects were kept at *rue Albert* 32, '*au second*', at the house of Adolphe Siret, Henri Siret living then at *rue Saint-Joseph* 11, close by.

A gift of Spanish antiquities, about 60 items, *i.e.* a lot comparable to the one sent to Brussels before, was offered to the burgomaster of Antwerp already on the 15th of January 1888, and the objects were brought to the *Musée du Steen* on the 11th of February 1888. Curiously, as by then the two brothers (or is it only Henri?) seem to think only of selling pieces, a second gift (of a dozen objects) is offered to the City of Antwerp eleven years later on the 6th of June 1899. About 80 items (including a series of 18 bone awls) are thus included in the Antwerp collection, now in the MAS | Collectie Vleeshuis (Warmenbol 1988).

The offer of the first gift was made in a letter dated to the 15th of January 1888, and was apparently unsolicited. Henri Siret was addressing Léopold De Wael, burgomaster of the City of Antwerp:

> *"J'ai l'intention de donner au Musée du Steen, quelques objets provenant des collections archéologiques ayant trait aux civilisations primitives du Sud-Est de l'Espagne, que mon frère et moi nous avons rapportées en Belgique.*

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[5] Archives Art & History Museum, Brussels, dir. 254/1.

[6] Archives Art & History Museum, Brussels, dir. 254/1.

> *Le placement de ces objets sera peut-être plus opportun lorsque les agrandissements du Steen* [the building then housing the archaeological collections] *seront terminés. Quoiqu'il en soit, je tiens à vous faire connaître dès maintenant notre pensée et à vous dire que les susdits objets sont à la disposition du Musée".*[7]

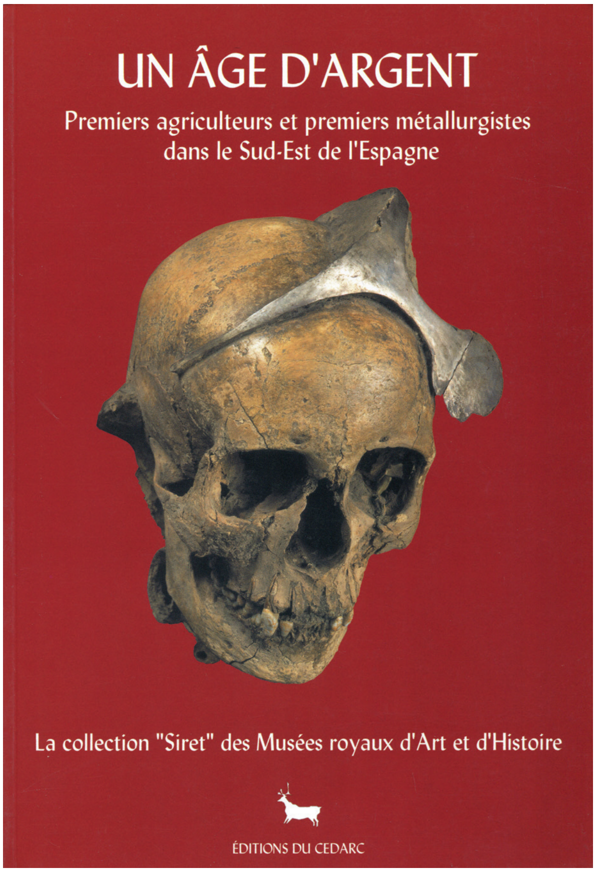
The City of Antwerp almost immediately gave a positive response to the proposition, and we have a letter dated on the 9th of February 1888 that is quite illustrative of the proceedings, knowing the gift included a complete *pithos*:

> *"Je suis prêt à vous expédier les objets pour le Steen; vous voudrez bien m'envoyer quand vous le jugerez bon deux hommes solides avec une civière; je les accompagnerai jusqu'à l'hôtel de ville. Samedi (après-demain) dans la matinée si vous voulez; ce devrait alors être de bonne heure".*[8]

As a consequence, the City of Antwerp acquired at least one copy (we know of two in Antwerp) of *Les premiers* âges *du Métal*, upon suggestion of Pierre Génard, then responsible for the City archives, who may have been talked into that by Henri Siret, who definitely was the 'commercial agent' of the Siret enterprises. The monumental work, with its *in-folio* album, cost 250 francs for the 'ordinary' edition, and 500 francs for the 'luxury' edition, of which only ten copies were printed.

Barcelona

The *Museo Arqueológico de Cataluña* in Barcelona – at present the *Museo Martorell* – received a first donation of Argaric antiquities on the 30th of April 1888 (Andugar Martinez 2006). It was of the same importance as the donations to the Brussels and Antwerp museums, but included, next to the Argaric material, a collection of unprovenanced lithic material. Another donation followed on the 20th of July 1888. These objects were not found in the collection by Lourdes Andugar Martinez, assuredly because they were all casts, and probably did not survive, including a '*cráneo de mujer con diadema de plata*', which must be the one from El Argar tomb 62, now in the MRAH in Brussels (Fig. 3). Other casts of this skull were sent to the *Musée des Antiquités Nationales* in Saint-Germain-en-Laye and the British Museum in London. The donation was clearly presented as a thanksgiving for winning the *Concurso Martorell*, created by the industrialist Francisco Martorell y Peña (1822-1878). The brothers Siret thus won a prize of 20,000 pesetas (counted as 20,000 francs by Henri Siret) for their excellent work in publishing *Les premiers* âges *du Métal*, which was to be translated into Spanish three years later. They learned about their selection on the 23rd of April 1887, more or less a year before the donation.



UN ÂGE D'ARGENT

Premiers agriculteurs et premiers métallurgistes
dans le Sud-Est de l'Espagne

La collection "Siret" des Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire

ÉDITIONS DU CEDARC

Fig. 3 The famous skull of El Argar tomb 62, as illustrated on the cover of an exhibition catalogue (Cauwe 2003), which got one of the authors 'involved' with Spanish antiquities (Warmenbol 2003).

Paris

From a letter written by Henri Siret to Ernest-Théodore Hamy (1842-1908), then director of the *Musée d'ethnographie du Trocadéro* (reincarnated in 1937 as *Musée de l'Homme*), we know a cast of the famous 'skull-with-diadem' from El Argar tomb 62, was presented to the *Muséum* in Paris at the end of 1888. Curiously, Eugène Boban (1834-1908), mainly known for his trade in pre-Columbian antiquities, served as an intermediary. This leads us to think the gift was not presented to the *Muséum national d'Histoire Naturelle* where the letter is kept, but to the *Muséum ethnographique des missions scientifiques*, as the *Trocadéro* was called then.

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[7] City archive Antwerpen (FelixArchief), MA 240/3 a – 4 (Museum van Oudheden. Gift Siret. 1888).

[8] Stadsarchief Antwerpen (FelixArchief), MA 240/3 a – 4 (Museum van Oudheden. Gift Siret. 1888).

Here is what Henri Siret writes to Ernest Hamy, on the 10th of November 1888:

> *"Voilà bien longtemps que je me trouve sans vos nouvelles. Comme je vous l'ai déjà écrit j'ai corrigé et renvoyé l'épreuve de l'article que vous avez bien voulu faire paraître dans la 'Revue d'ethnographie', j'ignore cependant s'il a paru* [this must be Siret/Siret 1889].
>
> *J'ai pu obtenir de satisfaire au désir que vous aviez exprimé, d'offrir de notre part au Museum un exemplaire du moulage du crâne de femme à diadème ; j'écris donc à M. Boban de le tenir à votre disposition, je vous demanderais seulement de le faire prendre (122, Avenue d'Orléans). M. de Nadaillac m'a envoyé il a quelques jours un bulletin à remplir, relativement à notre participation à l'exposition de 89. J'ai renvoyé ce bulletin à M. le Directeur de l'exposition. J'ai demandé un espace de 5m sur 1. Agréez, mon cher Monsieur, l'assurance de mes sentiments très dévoués".*[9]

1889-1891: first sales

A letter dated to the 7th of September 1888 and sent by Henri Siret to Adolphe De Ceuleneer, who at least in the early days seems to have been the mentor of the Siret brothers, reveals that they had, or at least Henri had, the intention of selling the finds almost as soon as they were shipped to Antwerp:

> *"L'ensemble du musée comprend 12000 pièces environ,* he writes, *dont 80 crânes, plus de 2000 objets en métal (cuivre ou bronze et argent: 300 objets); je vous recommande spécialement de me renseigner le plus tôt possible sur la possibilité d'une vente en bloc.* [...] *Il faudrait partir de la base de 80000 francs dont 10 % de commission dont je laisse l'usage à votre choix.* [...].
>
> *Rappelez-vous aussi que nous vendons ici, et que nous n'acceptons pas le risque du transport et de l'emballage."*[10]

Oxford?

The earliest sale of Argaric material can be dated to March 1889. Or, perhaps it was a gift too? One might stress this takes place before the *Exposition Universelle* in Paris in 1889, where Argaric material was exhibited with great success (see above). The objects were acquired (or obtained?) by (Sir) John Evans (1823-1908), an author quoted by the Siret brothers in their *opus citatum*. He was also a trustee of the British Museum in London, and might have played a role, later, in the acquisition of Argaric antiquities by this institution (see below). The Oxford objects (about 20?) were donated in 1927 to the Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology by Sir John's eldest son, who became curator of the Oxford institution, the well-known (Sir) Arthur Evans (1851-1941), excavator of Cnossos (collections.ashmolean.org/collection/search).

London

According to Henri Siret, he also sold Argaric antiquities for 5000 francs to the British Museum.[11] As such, the London institution on the 4th of July 1889 acquired about 330 items (under 252 catalogue entries) (see also Raposo 2012). The British Museum though, was a tad more 'modern' than the Berlin museum, another 'client', and asked specifically, in a letter dated to the 13th of February 1889 for "*le contenu de quelques tombeaux, en entier*".

They even sent someone, and not just anyone, to have a look at the objects in *rue Albert* in Antwerp, *i.e.* Charles Hercules Read (1857-1929), who would become Keeper of British and Medieval Antiquities and Ethnography in 1896, and maybe best known for his *Antiquities from the City of Benin and from other Parts of West Africa in the British Museum*, published with Ormonde Maddock Dalton in 1899. What is also quite interesting in the correspondence between Henri Siret and Charles Read is a reference to an aborted sale to some Spanish delegation. This is reported in a letter dated to the 13th of May 1889:

> *"Nous sommes assez contents, Monsieur Franks et moi, d'apprendre que vous avez reçu la visite de ces messieurs espagnols, et que vous pouvez maintenant parler de notre proposition définitivement."*[12]

In one of Henri Siret's letters, dated to the 15th of May 1889, he specifies he will be packing the British Museum shipment at the same time as the object he was sending to the *Exposition Universelle in Paris*, where, for the first time, they were to be shown to the general public (see above).

In a letter dated to June 18, 1889[13], Charles Hercules Read, upon reception of the boxes with the Spanish material, the larger pieces all broken ("*Tous les grands vases étaient en fragments*"[...]), reminded Henri Siret "[que] *nous attendons le squelette et les moulages, le crâne*

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[9] Archives of the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle de Paris, inv. Ms 2257 n°115.

[10] Ghent University Library, letter 1871.

[11] Archives Art and History Museum, Brussels, dir. 52/2, *folio* 8; archives of the British Museum, letter 354.

[12] Let us not forget French was then the *lingua franca* in the academic world, to be replaced by English in the past half century but not before.

[13] Archives of the British Museum, letter 384.

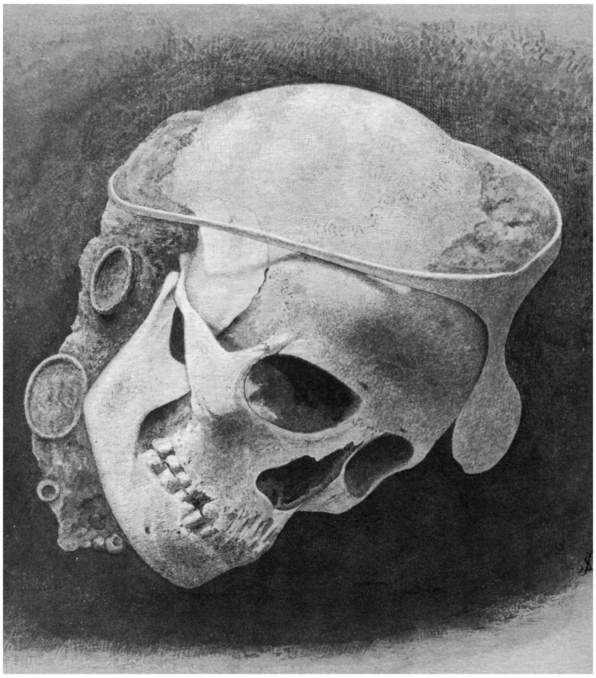

Fig. 4 The skull of tomb 62, again, as illustrated by Louis Siret, with one of the four silver diadems found in El Argar *in situ* (Mariën/Ulrix-Closset 1985, ill. 62).

avec diadème, etc." (see Fig. 4), probably hoping he would pack them better. These casts must have been the same 'lot' as the one sent to Barcelona a year earlier.

In the same letter Charles Read, rather curiously, guarantees discretion about the sum paid by the British Museum to obtain the objects: "*Pour la somme que le musée va vous donner -personner n'en parlera. On ne publie pas au musée les prix donnés*".

Finally, in a letter of the 26th of June 1889, he announces the arrival of the box with the casts: "*Voici la quatrième caisse arrivée, et, à l'exception du moulage du crâne, en bon état. Ce dernier présente une mauvaise apparence, divisé en trois gros morceaux. Heureusement il se raccomodera facilement*". Charles Hercules Read was easy going on this, and Henri Siret obviously a poor packer. In the same letter, he also definitely settles the financial aspect of the transaction: "*Le montant, selon la note que j'ai dressée est de deux cents livres sterlings – qui n'est pas exactement la même chose que 5000 frs. Vous le comprendrez bien, je n'en doute pas*".[14]

Also, and as a matter of fact, Henri Siret was earning 2000 francs *a year* at the *Chemins de fer vicinaux* in 1888 -1889.[15] Around 1898-1899 he was earning about five times more, luckily. By then he had six children, with three more to come.

Not Madrid

There were obviously discussions going on in 1889 about a transfer of the Siret collection to the *Museo Arqueológico Nacional* in Madrid, but clearly, the Spanish authorities were not planning to pay, or pay enough for the objects, and whatever proposition was made, it was clearly unacceptable to Henri Siret. One again wonders if he was also speaking in the name of his brother. Apparently, Juan Vilanova y Fiera (1821-1893), who held a chair of Geology and paleontology at the *Universitad Central* (now the *Universitad Complutense*) of Madrid, must have played a central role in this 'affair' (Lanzarote Guiral 2013, *passim*). When he came back from Copenhagen, where in 1869 he attended the *Congrès International d'Archéologie et d'Anthropologie Préhistoriques*, he had in his luggage about 300 archaeological objects from Scandinavia, obtained through exchanges and donations. As an early visitor of the Siret's excavation he was probably hoping they would donate what they had gathered to Spain, but this was not Henri's idea.

At the moment, we have only one letter that gives us some insights in the matter, and this document also says a lot about the role played by Emile Carthailac (1845-1921) in Spanish archaeology at the end of the 19th century. It was written on the 14th of September 1889 by Henri Siret (summarized below):

> "*Mon cher Monsieur* [Carthailac],
>
> *Je reçois en ce moment votre lettre du 11 septembre dont j'ai à vous remercier.*
>
> *J'écris à mon frère au sujet du quaternaire espagnol dont il s'est récemment occupé, il fera certainement tout son possible pour vous être agréable, si le temps ne lui manque pas. Je vous remercie de la lettre que vous avez bien voulu écrire à M. Vilanova. Permettez-moi aussi d'être franc au sujet de votre estimation de notre musée. La seule manière de l'apprécier c'est de le voir, or vous ne l'avez pas vu. Bien des personnes, et je crois que vous êtes du nombre, croient que nous n'avons pas grand-chose de plus que ce que nous avons exposé à Paris, c'est là une grande erreur. Les plus belles pièces sont restées ici, par crainte de les abimer* [we have seen Henri Siret is not a great packer…].
>
> *Vous savez mieux que moi que l'Espagne n'a rien dans ses musées, en fait de préhistorique. D'un seul coup on leur propose d'acquérir plus de dix mille pièces, dont un nombre considérable de choses absolument nouvelles et toujours de longues séries, qui seules permettent des études sérieuses; je ne parle pas seulement des 80 crânes, mais de tout: armes, outils, parures, poterie. Et tout cela est le produit de longues*

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[14] Archives of the British Museum, letter 393.

[15] Archives of the Art and History Museum, Brussels dir. 52/2, folio 15.

> *années de fouilles, coûteuses et patientes, je puis bien le dire, vous ne me démentirez pas. En une seule fois, ils ont devant les yeux le tableau complet de cette superbe époque. Je suis absolument persuadé que si vous étiez venu ici, ce que j'espérais, vous n'auriez pas ajouté à votre lettre ce malencontreux corollaire que M. Vilanova ne vous demandait pas.*
>
> *Je vous en prie, venez à Anvers à votre prochain voyage à Paris: pour vous qui êtes un voyageur déterminé, le trajet Paris Anvers est un peu plus qu'une course en fiacre. En attendant, je vous demande faire carrément une amende honorable c'est à dire une lettre à M. Vilanova où vous supprimeriez ce diable de corollaire. Croyez-moi, j'ai raison de ce côté, mais j'ai le tort de parler trop franchement. Ces pourparlers d'argent me répugnent, et j'éprouve assez de sympathie pour l'Espagne, pour regretter amèrement de ne pouvoir dire à ce beau pays : tenez, voilà les restes de vos pères, vous avez le droit d'en être fiers, nous vous les avons pris, nous vous les rendons.*
>
> *Mais voilà ! Il faut vivre et je puis vous assurer que ce n'est pas votre séjour en Espagne qui nous a enrichi; nous y sommes entrés comme nous en sortirons, c'est à dire, la bourse fort plate.*
>
> *Je sais, d'après ce que vous me dites de nos missions scientifiques, que j'ai été bien naïf !*
>
> *Vous ne me faites pas éprouver beaucoup d'admiration pour votre régime* [the 'crise boulangiste' is the talk of the day] *mais croyez que je vous estime d'autant plus. Laissez-moi croire aussi que vous nous obligerez tout à fait: vous n'avez certes pas réfléchi que vous avez donné à M. V. une opinion qui nous fera énormément de tort et qui nuira au but éminemment patriotique que Vilanova a en vue".*[16]

So, here we have Henri Siret refusing to hand over, or hand 'back' to Spain the discoveries made by the two brothers, in the knowledge that Spanish museums did not have any prehistoric material to show, arguing that the costs of excavations did not allow them to be so generous. And we have Henri Siret defending the high price asked for the lot, which had apparently shocked Emile Cartaillac, while explaining the lot was better and bigger than the material exhibited at the Exposition universelle in Paris suggested.

Unfortunately, we do not know the contents of the '*corollaire*' referred to. Juan de Vilanova y Piera, by the way, was one of the strong defenders of the authenticity of the Altamira paintings, strongly doubted, until the famous *Mea culpa d'un sceptique* by Emile Carthailac himself.

Berlin

According to Henri Siret, he sold Argaric antiquities for 10,000 francs to the *musée de Berlin*. Hermanfrid Schubart and Hermann Ulreich mention that the *Prähistorische Abteilung of the Völkerkunde Museum* in Berlin bought Argaric antiquities for 5000 francs in 1891, and this is assuredly the price paid for one lot. However, according to Henri Siret, there were *two* sales, for a grand total of 10,000 francs. They were (all?) recorded under almost 250 inventory numbers. The material, including a number of casts, ended up dispersed or destroyed after the Second World War (Schubart/Ulreich 1991, 47-48).[17] At the time of the acquisition Adolf Bastian (1826-1905) was the director of the *Völkerkunde Museum*. Together with Rudolf Virchow and Carl Vogt he had founded the *Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*. The former presided over the *Gesellschaft* and was well-known to the Siret brothers. Henri Siret met him in person in Wiesbaden in September 1887.

The objects are now in the *Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* (Brandherm 2003, *passim*), but a lot of work remains to be done on this collection, including on the archival material, if it still exists.

1896-1899: end of sales

After the donation and later selling of objects, the distribution of El Argar material by the Siret borthers gradually came to a halt at the end of the 19th century.

Not Saint-Germain-en-Laye

Henri Siret obviously still had the initiative during these years, and he was trying to sell *Les premiers âges du métal dans le Sud-Est de l'Espagne* as well as the objects themselves that had been illustrated, and if possible, both, to all kinds of institutions. The *Musée des Antiquités Nationales*, however, was obviously not interested in buying, probably because they were only interested in exchanging, and this explains why there is nothing from El Argar or any other site excavated by the Siret brothers in its collection. As early as September 1889, Henri Siret complained to Emile Cartailhac, the 'representative' of the Siret brothers in France, about the fact that the *Musée des Antiquités nationales* was not amongst the subscriptors of *Les premiers âges du métal dans le Sud-Est de l'Espagne*, while amongst them

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[16] Archives Municipales de Toulouse, inv. 92Z-736/2.

[17] The few objects now in the Vorgeschichliches Seminar of the Philipps-Universität in Marburg were given to the Prähistorischen Abteilung of the Seminar in 1923 courtesy of the Völkerkunde Museum in Berlin (Schubart/Ulreich 1991, 56).

were "*les grandes bibliothèques portugaises, espagnoles et italiennes, les musées de Copenhague, de Stockholm, de Leyde, de Berlin, le South Kensington M*[useum], *le British Muséum, le musée de Berlin et bien d'autres*".[18]

In a letter written on the 13th of June 1896 to Alexandre Bertrand or Salomon Reinach, Henri Siret (again?) proposed to 'Paris' to buy Argaric objects, emphasizing that 'Berlin' and 'London' had already done so. Did this, at least in his mind, give a 'quality label' to the collection? 'Paris' would probably have accepted a generous gift, and acknowledged it, but 'Paris' did not buy.

This is what Henri Siret writes:

> *"Vous connaissez, je pense, par l'ouvrage qui les décrit, les fouilles que mon frère et moi nous avons faites dans le Sud-Est de l'Espagne. Nous désirons céder ces objets. Le musée de Berlin a déjà acquis une série assez importante, pour 10000 frs. Le British Muséum a pris de même une collection de 5000 frs. et en ce moment même, nous sommes en pourparlers pour une partie avec lui.*
>
> *Je prends la liberté de vous offrir une collection dont le prix varierait suivant vos intentions quant à l'importance de l'achat. Il nous semble que nos découvertes doivent être représentées à côté des richesses accumulées à S. Germain. Je vous serais obligé, Monsieur, de me faire connaître vos intentions à ce sujet".*[19]

On the same day Henri Siret also writes a letter to Adolphe De Ceuleneer (see above), and this one shows he really means business:

> "*Nous désirons vivement, mon frère et moi* [but was Louis that keen?], *céder nos collections espagnoles. Le seul moyen pratique c'est de la scinder en plusieurs séries pareilles à celle que nous avons laissée à Berlin pour 10000 frs.* [...]. *Je suis en pourparlers avec le British* [again?] *et Vienne; je pense que cela ira. Je m'adresse aussi à Leyde, à Moscou et à Saint-Germain* [the letter above, assuredly]*".*[20]

Oxford

In 1898 slightly more than 200 Argaric artefacts were bought by (Sir) Arthur Evans, keeper of the Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology since 1884 and son of (Sir) John Evans, who had already been a client of the Siret brothers (see above).[21] They were bought for 5000 francs[22], or 100 pound sterling (Schubart/Ulreich 1991, 57). With this purchase one of the four silver diadems from El Argar became a prize possession of the Oxford Museum. It was the second one to go to a British collection, as a first one went to the British Museum. Sir Arthur Evans must have had a genuine interest for these Spanish objects that were still associated, not in the least by Louis Siret himself, with the Mycenean world. The Minoan one would remain to be discovered by the same Oxfordian.

Ghent

In the *Archeologisch Museum Universiteit Gent* (Archaeological Museum of Ghent University), there actually also is a collection of Argaric objects. Joseph Maertens de Noordhout (1938, 71-83, no. 1-303) provided a catalogue of over 300 Spanish objects, described as "*une partie des doubles des importantes collections d'objets des époques néolithique et du bronze rapportées de l'Espagne par les ingénieurs Siret*". The date of acquisition (or registration?) is given as 1898. According to Henri Siret himself, the objects were bought for 3000 francs[23], by 'the State' (or perhaps with a state subsidy?) (Desittere *et al.* 1968, 13; Mariën/Ulrix-Closset 1985, 13; Verlaeckt 1992, 10, 19, nos. 37-48).

The negotiations apparently went on all through 1897, as transpires through correspondence with Alphonse De Ceuleneer. Henri Siret rather impatiently responds on the 14th of May 1897: "*Dois-je décidément renoncer à céder à l'Etat une partie de notre collection, conforme à la liste que je vous avais addressée le 19 novembre dernier?*" (Ghent University Library, letter 1879). And rather jubilantly on the 7th of August 1897: "*M. Wolters vient de m'apprendre le résultat favorable du projet d'acquisition d'une petite série de nos antiquités à l'université de Gand. Je m'empresse donc de vous remercier de l'heureuse initiative que vous avez prise à cet* égard *et de vos efforts pour faire aboutir l'idée*".[24]

Gustave Wolters (1831-1914), an engineer, was administrator-inspector of the Ghent University between 1895 and 1901.

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[18] Archives municipales de Toulouse, inv. 92Z-736/1.

[19] Archives of the Musée d'Archéologie Nationale, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Fonds de correspondance ancienne – Siret.

[20] Ghent University Library, letter 1877.

[21] The very few objects (three…) in the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology in Cambridge were obtained in 1951 through an exchange with the Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology in Oxford (Schubart/Ulreich 1991, 50). A donation (?) dated 1938 by the latter to the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology of Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts explains the very few objects there (five…) (Schubart/Ulreich 1991, 51).

[22] Archives Art and History Museum, Brussels, dir. 52/2, *folio* 8.

[23] Archives Art and History Museum, Brussels, dir. 52/2, *folio* 8.

[24] Ghent University Library, letter 1880.

Brussels

As stated above, Louis Cavens in 1899 bought what remained of the collection that was brought back to Belgium (Deramaix 1992; Van Berg 1998):

"*Au printemps de 1899*", as stated by Thérèse Pètre in her husband's biography, "*nous vendons* [...] *ce qui nous reste de la collection préhistorique à M. Louis Cavens, qui en fait cadeau au Gouvernement belge*". She then gives a resumé of the sales "[ce que] *nous avons donc eu dans cette affaire*" (sic), adding "*nous sommes très heureux que ces belles trouvailles restent pour la plus belle partie dans notre pays*".[25] Later on, Henri Siret will suggest to send them to Madrid, to join the collection kept by Louis Siret in Herrerias (see further on).

The donation by Count Louis Cavens of these Spanish antiquities was, as we have already seen, presented with the intention of using the 'doubles' for exchange with antiquities from elsewhere, as first suggested in a letter to Eugène Van Overloop dated the 6th of January 1899 (Fig. 5).[26]

1902-1936: Exchanges

Apart from the donation and selling of the Argaric material, a number of objects was also part of exchanges with a number of institutions.

Rome

In August 1902 in an issue of the *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels*, Alfred de Loë (1902, 83) announces the arrival in Brussels of a 'most interesting' collection of Italian antiquities, obtained through exchange with the *Musée Kircher*, or more specifically "*en échange de doubles que notre généreux concitoyen M. Louis Cavens avait mis à notre disposition dans ce but*". These can undoubtedly be identified as objects from El Argar and other sites excavated by the Siret brothers. As such, no fewer than 169 catalogue numbers, most of them (124) from El Argar entered the *Museo Nazionale Preistorico Etnografico 'Luigi Pigorini'* (Müller-Kissing 2014, 227). According to Jonas Danckers and Bastien Toune, the objects were sent to Rome on the 14th of December 1901 (Danckers/Toune 2015, 181), in any case very soon after Louis Cavens' donation to the Brussels Museum was 'regularized' in April/May 1901.[27] In exchange the *Musées royaux des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels* obtained about 207 catalogue numbers, mostly from '*terramare*' sites such as Gorzano, Castione dei Marchesi and Colombare di Bersano. These objects were sent to Brussels on the 21st of May 1902.

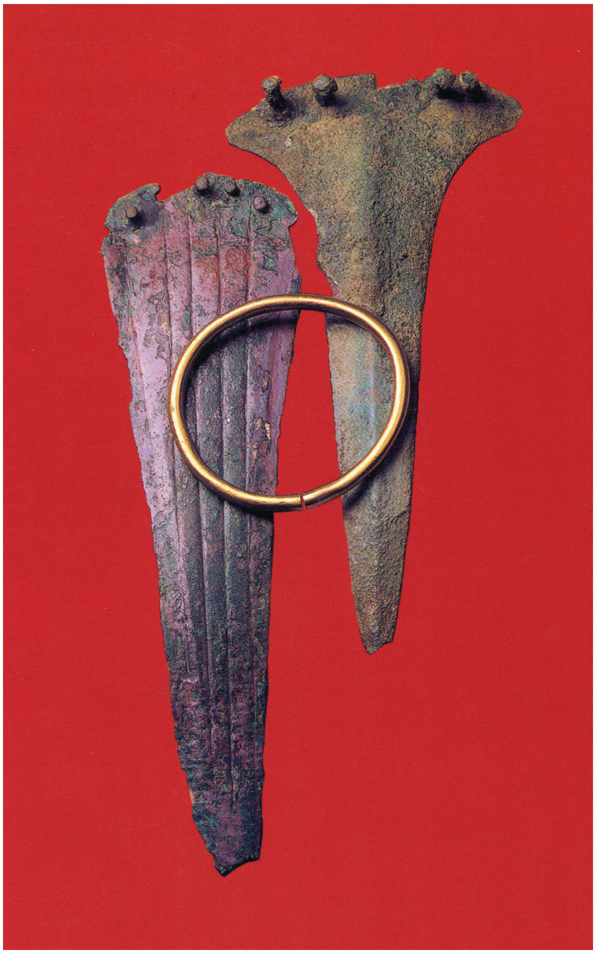

Fig. 5 Unique finds. The gold bracelet from Fuente Alamo tomb 1 (here with the associated bronze material), had no equivalent amongst the finds made by the Siret brothers (Cauwe 2003, back cover).

Not Madrid

Rather surprisingly, the major 'exchange' that was planned, was with the *Museo Arqueológico Nacional in Madrid*. It took place at the time when Louis Siret was planning the donation of all he had found since the first discoveries in El Argar, Fuente Alamo etc. Louis Cavens seems to not have been consulted at all. Key players in Madrid were José Ramon Mélida (1856-1933) and Francisco de Paula Álvarez-Ossorio (1868-1953), who, at first, seemed only keen to obtain some 'doubles', as transpires from a letter Henri Siret sent to Jean Capart, then Head Curator of MRAH, on the 23rd of June 1929[28]. Only two weeks later, the discussion is about the contrary, as Henry Siret then, in another letter to Jean Capart, on the 7th of July 1929, suggests to just keep some 'doubles', and 'get rid' of the rest:

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[25] Archives Art and History Museum, Brussels, dir. 52/2, folio 8.

[26] Archives Art and History Museum, Brussels, dir. 48/12.

[27] Archives of the Art and History Museum, dir. 254/1.

[28] Archives Art and History Museum, Brussels, dir. 52/2, *folio* 21.

Fig. 6 The end: Henri Siret near the end of his life, about 1930. The Spanish antiquities brought back to Belgium had all been sold by then (Mariën/Ulrix-Closset 1985, ill. 1).

> *"Je comprends qu'il y a une question de quantité et de qualité"*, he writes, *"et que tout ce qui se trouve au Cinquantenaire devrait aller là-bas – à part, comme vous l'avez prévu, quelques spécimens types sur la nature et la quantité desquels, on se mettrait facilement d'accord."* […]
>
> *"J'ai en tout cas écrit à mon frère pour provoquer une attitude nette de la part de la Direction du Musée de Madrid – c'est-à-dire un échange portant sur la masse".*[29]

It was never to be. The death of Henri Siret on the 22nd of October 1933 (Fig. 6), and of Louis Siret on the 7th of June 1934, were probably factors in this *non lieu*, but the attitude of some Spanish archaeologists, such as the Nationalist Martin Almagro Basch (1911-1984) and most Spanish officials, Nationalists or Republicans, we do not know, was probably decisive.

"*This is the end*" (to quote The Doors), as expressed in a letter sent by Jean Capart to *Madame Mounier, attachée* (at the embassy in Madrid?), on the 27th of April 1936[30]. The Siret brothers are no more. Cavens is slowly dying:

> *"Je réponds à votre mot.*
>
> *Voici comment se pose la question de la collection Siret. Le Comte Cavens l'a acquise des frères Siret et nous en a fait don. Plus tard, les frères Siret ont reformé une collection qui se trouve à Madrid, mais à laquelle manquent et manqueront toujours quelques pièces uniques que nous possédons. Si le gouvernement espagnol estime que les dites pièces n'ont pour lui qu'un valeur secondaire, eh ! bien, qu'il se résigne à les voir rester en Belgique. Si, au contraire, elles ont pour le Musée de Madrid une valeur exceptionnelle, il faut admettre que l'on consente pour les récupérer, un sacrifice sérieux. Or, nous demandons qu'un type important des tapisseries belges qui manquent à nos séries et qui se trouvent en abondance dans l'avoir de l'Espagne, nous soit offert en compensation. Nous avions désigné une tapisserie dont la Couronne d'Espagne possède une suite complète et des pièces séparées, qui font donc double emploi. C'est un de ces doubles que nous avions désigné. Si ces Messieurs de Madrid ne peuvent trouver le moyen de satisfaire notre désir raisonnable, qu'ils renoncent aux pièces capitales de la collection Siret. Maintenant, s'il s'agit simplement d'échanger des doubles de la collection Siret à proposer au Ministre, nous pourrions accepter des pièces préhistoriques espagnoles d'une valeur égale."*

On the 17th of July 1936, Francisco Franco initiates the Nationalist coup in Spain; on the 26th of April 1937, Guernica is bombed by German planes.

Summary

The archaeological material found in south-east Spain by the Siret brothers between 1881 and 1887 is to be found today in many different museums, some of it was donated (Antwerp, Barcelona, Brussels), much of it sold (Berlin, Brussels, Ghent, London, Oxford), and, in the end, very little of it exchanged for other archaeological material. The donation in 1899 by Count Louis Cavens of about 2000 items to the Brussels Museum supposedly provided this institution with enough 'doubles' to exchange in order to create a collection with no major gaps. Only one transaction went through, in fact, and this is how Argaric material got to Rome. The biggest

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[29] Archives Art & History Museum, Brussels, dir. 52/2, folio 23.

[30] Archives Art and History Museum, Brussels, dir. 52/2, *folio* 40.

surprise going through the archives of several of the institutions keeping material obtained from the Siret brothers, was to learn that the Brussels Museum was solicited by the Madrid Museum to exchange the totality of the Siret collection still ‘in stock’ at the end of the 1920s for one or two tapestries.

Additional note

Another, if small, exchange of Argaric material, with Scandinavian stone artefacts, occurred in 1928, to the benefit of the Historiska Museet of Stockholm. This transpires from the correspondence, both writing in French, between Edmond Rahir, Alfred de Loë’s successor in Brussels, and Olov Janse, who acted as an intermediary for Otto Frödin, curator in Stockholm. A letter to be dated about January or February 1928, explicitly mentions “*trois types de vases (originaux) caractéristiques du 1er âge du bronze dans le S-E de l’Espagne*”, i.e. three different types of Argaric pottery. Swedes were very popular with Belgians after the marriage of the future King Leopold III with Princess Astrid of Sweden, in 1926.

(Archives of the Historiska Museet, Stockholm, file SHM 18706)

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Collecting La Tène

Practices and motivations in exchanging collections from an archaeological type site

Gianna Reginelli Servais

Introduction

Why and how did museums build up collections of European antiquities in the late 19th and early 20th centuries? This is this fascinating question that was put to us in September 2018, at Leiden's Museum of National Antiquities during the workshop *Collecting Europe*. While most contributions analysed the problem from the perspective of Museum history, or the practices of noted distinct personalities from within the institutions concerned, our interest focused on the history of collections from an archaeological site which serves as a type site in European protohistory.

Re-examining La Tène

In 2007, some 150 years after the discovery of La Tène (Neuchâtel, Switzerland) (Marti 2010a), a project was launched to re-examine this eponymous site of the Second European Iron Age, with the support of the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF) (Kaeser/Reginelli Servais 2018). The first stage of the operation consisted of a huge international survey to achieve as complete an inventory as possible of the objects discovered at the site, now curated in many European and American museums. Such a preliminary inventory was a prerequisite for the re-evaluation of the site, whose international reputation is starkly at odds with the gaps in knowledge and uncertainties about its interpretation which persist to this day. The movements of collections thus catalogued have already inspired a number of studies, on which the reflections which follow are based (Kaeser 2013a; Marti 2009; 2010b; 2015).

As the history of the La Tène collections is inextricably linked with the process of excavation, we start with a short history of the investigations at the site between 1857 and 1917; then, we offer an analysis of the objects' circulation, and conclude with some observations on the collection's changing status.

Site discovery and subsequent excavations

La Tène is at the most north-eastern point of Lake Neuchâtel in west Switzerland, where it drains into the River Thielle, which in turn flows on towards Lake Biel (Fig. 1). Discovered in 1857 (Reginelli Servais 2007a), the deposit appeared as a field of submerged wooden

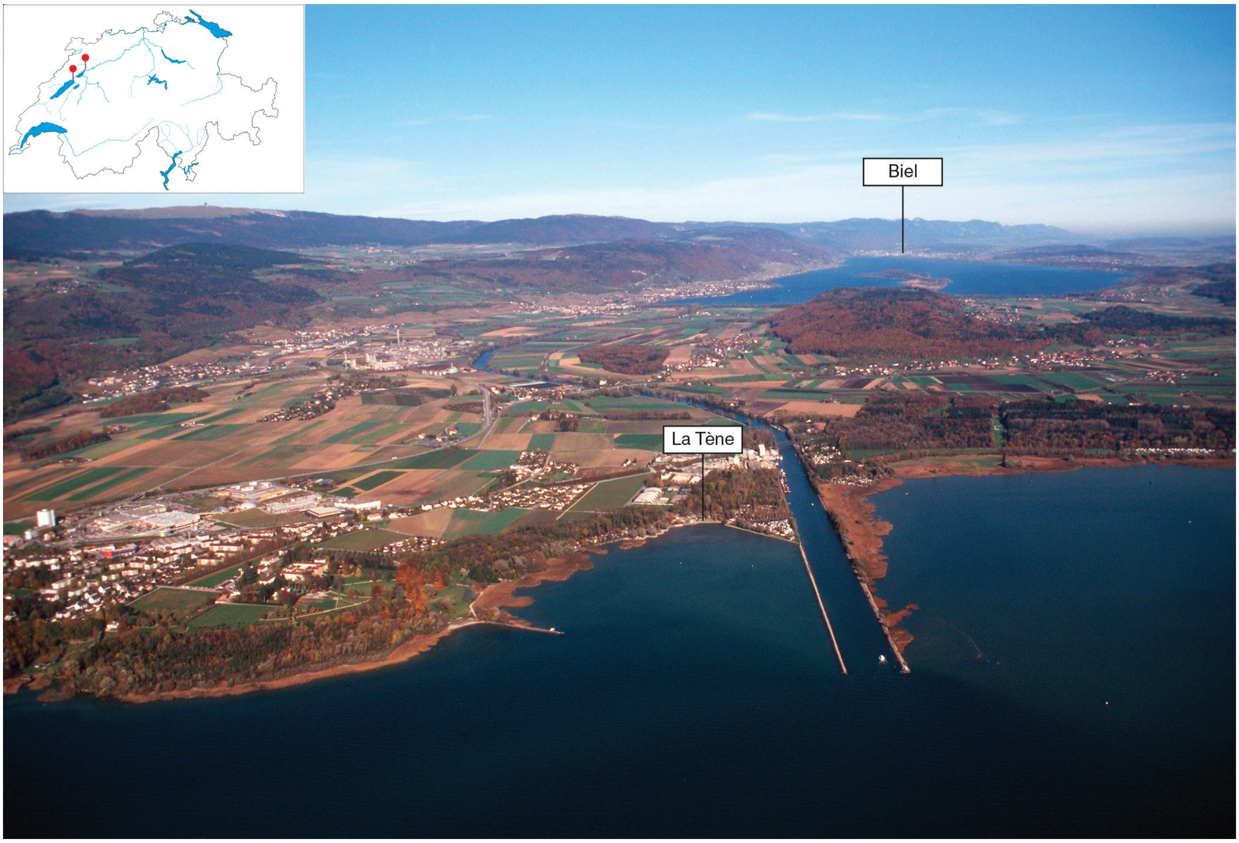


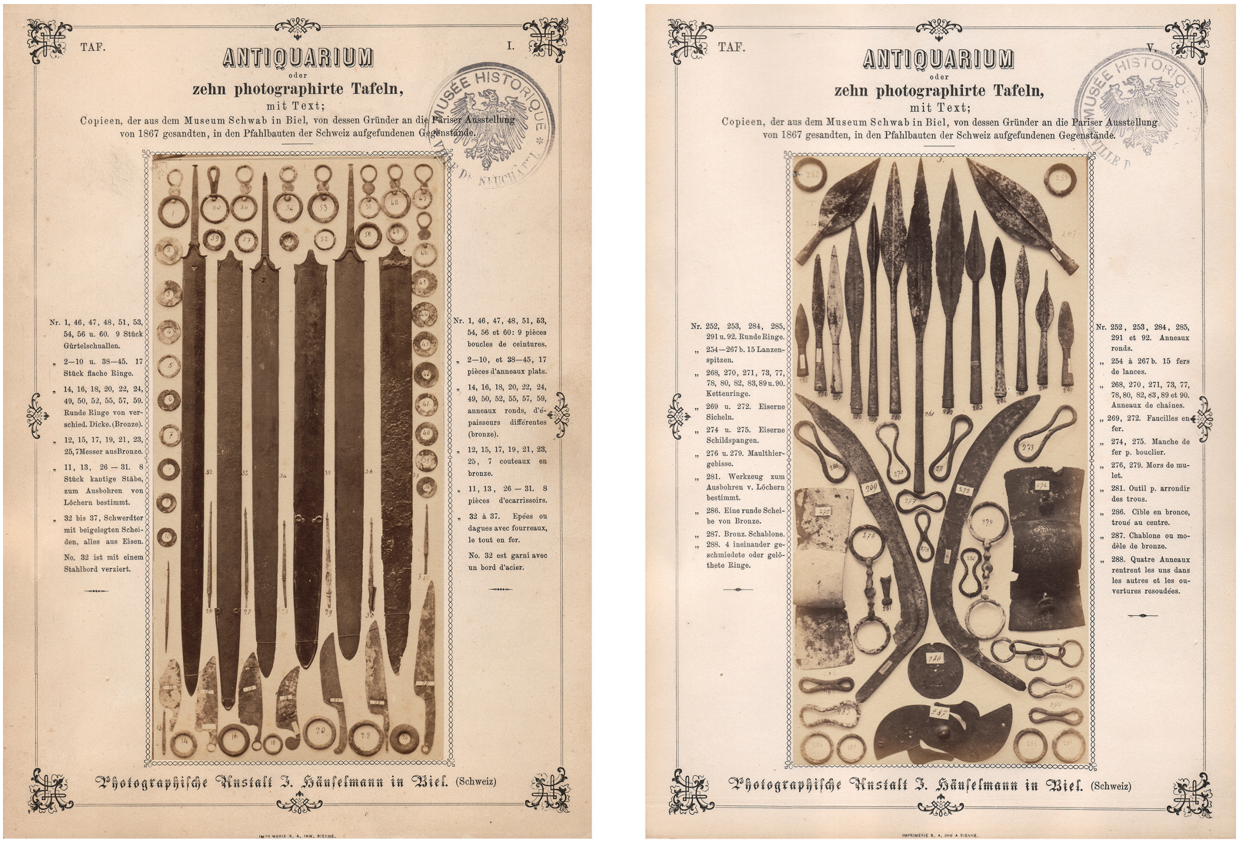
Fig. 1 The La Tène site, at the most north-eastern point of Lake Neuchâtel (Switzerland), near the River Thielle, now in a culvert (B. Arnold, 2003, view towards the north-east; graphics: J. Spielmann, OPAN).

piles from which, until 1866, collectors 'fished' up into their boats over a thousand artefacts. These included swords, spears, parts of chariots and horse harnesses, containers made of wood, ceramic and metal, *fibulae*, tools and so on.

Compared to other finds around the Swiss lakes, these objects were unique in being made principally of iron, preserved whole and as good as new by the anaerobic lacustrine silt (Fig. 2). The problem of dating them immediately arose, as neither antecedents nor parallels existed in terrestrial Prehistoric sites, which usually preserve iron very poorly. In addition, they were recovered from what was thought to be a pile dwelling, a type of settlement previously thought to be restricted to the Stone and Bronze Ages and which served to characterise the Swiss 'lake dwelling civilisation' (Kaeser 2004a). This iron, used to forge hitherto unseen types of weapons and tools, was thus strongly influential in guiding the initial attempts at dating towards the Roman period, or even later.

However, Neuchâtel geologist Édouard Desor (1811-1882) would soon resolve this issue, dating La Tène to the Iron Age, the third period of the Three-Age System. According to Desor and other contemporary archaeologists, this periodization – originally conceived in, and for, the Scandinavian countries – could be extended to the whole continent, and even beyond (Kaeser 2004b, 312-325; 2019, 171-172). Despite the model gaining little ground elsewhere in Europe, Desor believed that the first two epochs – the Stone and Bronze Ages – were already excellently represented in Switzerland by the many lake dwelling sites identified across the Swiss plateau since 1854. Thus, the discovery of an Iron Age lake dwelling was only a matter of time for him: when La Tène emerged in 1857, it instantaneously validated the Stone-Bronze-Iron succession, and the applicability of the Scandinavian tripartition beyond its original frontiers. Located in a chronological niche characterising a pre-Roman Iron Age, La Tène became the *hyphen* bridging the time between Prehistory and history.

A few years later, and due to the development of Prehistoric chronologies, the 1874 International Congress of Prehistoric Archaeology and Anthropology (ICPAA) in Stockholm chose La Tène to be the site eponymous of the Second Iron Age (Kaenel 2008). The Austrian cemetery of Hallstatt was simultaneously selected as the type site for the First Iron Age.



TAF. I.

ANTIQUARIUM
oder
zehn photographirte Tafeln,
mit Text;
Copieen, der aus dem Museum Schwab in Biel, von dessen Gründer an die Pariser Ausstellung von 1867 gesandten, in den Pfahlbauten der Schweiz aufgefundenen Gegenstände.

Nr. 1, 46, 47, 48, 51, 53, 54, 56 u. 60. 9 Stück Gürtelschnallen.
„ 2–10 u. 38–45. 17 Stück flache Ringe.
„ 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 49, 50, 52, 55, 57, 59. Runde Ringe von verschied. Dicke. (Bronze).
„ 12, 15, 17, 19, 21, 23, 25, 7 Messer aus Bronze.
„ 11, 13, 26 – 31. 8 Stück kantige Stäbe, zum Ausbohren von Löchern bestimmt.
„ 32 bis 37, Schwerdter mit beigelegten Scheiden, alles aus Eisen.
No. 32 ist mit einem Stahlbord verziert.

Nr. 1, 46, 47, 48, 51, 53, 54, 56 et 60: 9 pièces boucles de ceintures.
„ 2–10, et 38–45, 17 pièces d'anneaux plats.
„ 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 49, 50, 52, 55, 57, 59, anneaux ronds, d'épaisseurs différentes (bronze).
„ 12, 15, 17, 19, 21, 23, 25, 7 couteaux en bronze.
„ 11, 13, 26 – 31. 8 pièces d'ecarrissoirs.
„ 32 à 37. Epées ou dagues avec fourreaux, le tout en fer.
No. 32 est garni avec un bord d'acier.

Photographiſche Anſtalt J. Häuſelmann in Biel. (Schweiz)

TAF. V.

ANTIQUARIUM
oder
zehn photographirte Tafeln,
mit Text;
Copieen, der aus dem Museum Schwab in Biel, von dessen Gründer an die Pariser Ausstellung von 1867 gesandten, in den Pfahlbauten der Schweiz aufgefundenen Gegenstände.

Nr. 252, 253, 284, 285, 291 u. 92. Runde Ringe.
„ 254–267 b. 15 Lanzenspitzen.
„ 268, 270, 271, 73, 77, 78, 80, 82, 83, 89 u. 90. Kettenringe.
„ 269 u. 272. Eiserne Sicheln.
„ 274 u. 275. Eiserne Schildspangen.
„ 276 u. 279. Maulthiergebisse.
„ 281. Werkzeug zum Ausbohren v. Löchern bestimmt.
„ 286. Eine runde Scheibe von Bronze.
„ 287. Bronz. Schablone.
„ 288. 4 ineinander geschmiedete oder gelöthete Ringe.

Nr. 252, 253, 284, 285, 291 et 92. Anneaux ronds.
„ 254 à 267 b. 15 fers de lances.
„ 268, 270, 271, 73, 77, 78, 80, 82, 83, 89 et 90. Anneaux de chaînes.
„ 269, 272. Faucilles en fer.
„ 274, 275. Manche de fer p. bouclier.
„ 276, 279. Mors de mulet.
„ 281. Outil p. arrondir des trous.
„ 286. Cible en bronce, troué au centre.
„ 287. Chablone ou modèle de bronze.
„ 288. Quatre Anneaux rentrent les uns dans les autres et les ouvertures resoudées.

Photographiſche Anſtalt J. Häuſelmann in Biel. (Schweiz)

Fig. 2 Two displays of La Tène objects from the collection of Colonel Friedrich Schwab (1803-1869), one of the most significant collections of La Tène objects. Built up between 1857 and 1866, it includes over 1000 pieces (around 200 in Desor's collection). The most important are mounted on six displays, to be displayed at the International Exposition in Paris, in 1867 (Häuselmann 1867; Lejars 2013).

After a period of a relative lack of interest in La Tène, a second phase of exploration began at the turn of the 1880s. Regulatory work on lakes and watercourses in the Three Lakes region (the *Correction des Eaux du Jura* (CEJ), 1868-1882) caused a 2.7 metre drop in the level of Lake Neuchâtel, noticeable from the late 1870s. All the previously submerged lake dwellings found themselves above the waterline, on the newly dewatered beaches. At La Tène, wooden piles emerged, and the groups they formed allowed two bridges to be identified, crossing an old channel of the Thielle (Fig. 3), surrounded by various rows of piles and buildings located on the banks (Vouga 1885).

The initial interpretation of a lake settlement built on a platform was abandoned in favour of one as a trading post, strategically placed at the crossroads of overland and waterborne routes. With the site newly accessible from dry land, deep excavations were now undertaken. The excavators removed many objects, extremely well preserved, whose publicization further secured the deposit's reputation. The last deep excavations took place in 1888, after which work at the site was abandoned.

Finally, excavations organised and financed by public and volunteer organisations were led between 1907 and 1917. Methodical, exhaustive and documented, these defined the topography of the channel and the structures (Fig. 4).

They also provided the last sizeable series of objects upon which the interpretation of the site's function would rely exclusively (Fig. 5). While this function remained economic, Paul Vouga (1880-1940) – the director of the works and author of the monograph summarising the La Tène excavations – added a military component, describing La Tène as a "*fortified store with military occupation*" (Vouga 1923, 150).

Inventory of collections

Given the site's early fame, the La Tène objects precipitated a number of transactions (donations, exchanges, sales, and loans made for casts), from the moment of their discovery right up to the 1950s. As such, they were included in a large number of regional and extra-regional collections from a very early stage. Inventories of the world's La

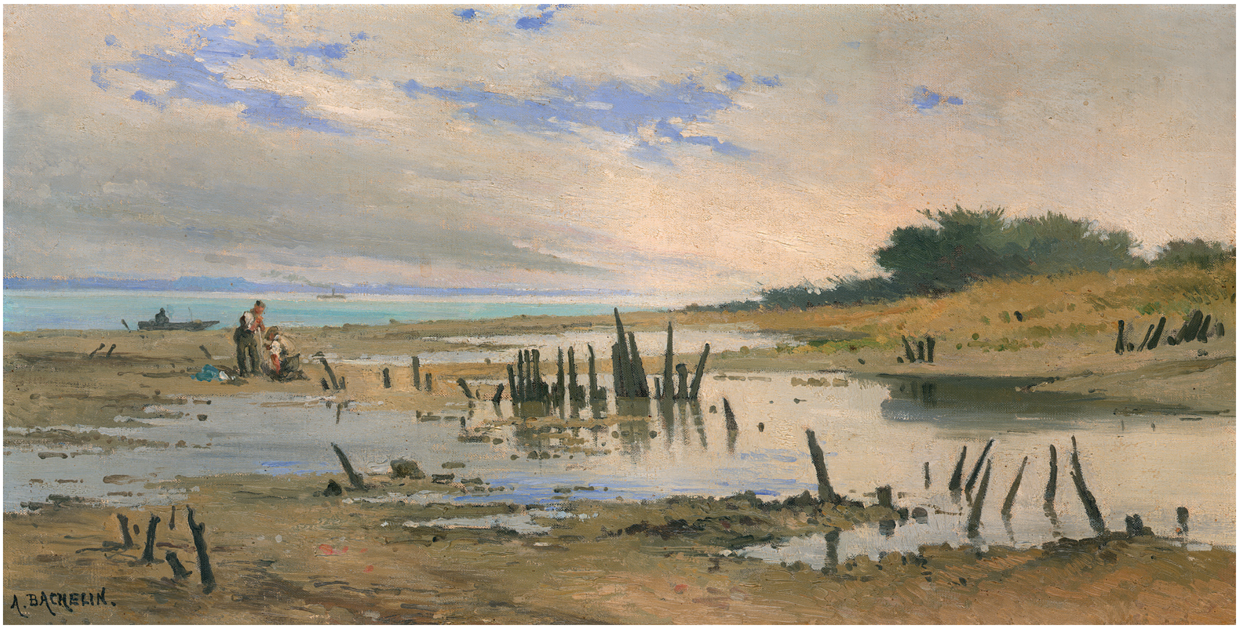


Fig. 3 After the *Correction des Eaux du Jura*, the emerging piles appear in groups, corresponding to two bridges and other shoreline structures. The site, newly accessible from dry land, was the object of the first land excavations (Auguste Bachelin, *La Tène*. Oil on canvas, 28 x 55 cm, 1879. Laténium, permanent exhibition).

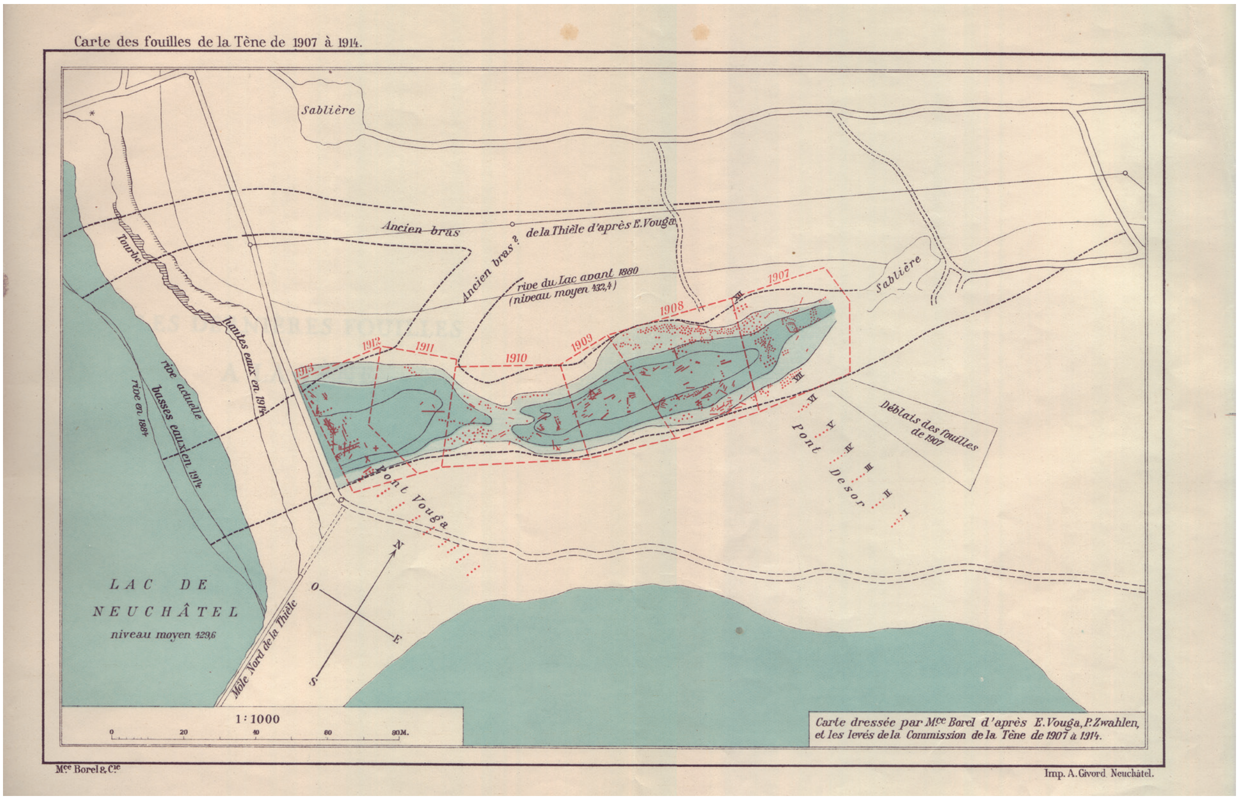

Carte des fouilles de la Tène de 1907 à 1914.
Sablière
Ancien bras de la Thièle d'après E. Vouga
Ancien bras ?
rive du Lac avant 1880
(niveau moyen 432,4)
Tourbe
hautes eaux en 1914
rive actuelle
basses eaux en 1914
rive en 1884
1907
1908
1909
1910
1911
1912
1913
Sablière
Déblais des fouilles de 1907
Pont Desor
I
II
III
IV
V
VI
VII
VIII
Pont Vouga
N
O
E
S
LAC DE NEUCHÂTEL
niveau moyen 429,6
Môle Nord de la Thièle
1 : 1000
0
20
40
60
80M.
Carte dressée par Mce Borel d'après E. Vouga, P. Zwahlen, et les levés de la Commission de la Tène de 1907 à 1914.
Mce Borel & Cie
Imp. A. Givord Neuchâtel.

Fig. 4 The protohistoric course of the Thielle is fully excavated during the 'official' excavations (1907-1917), with an area 170 m long and 35 to 40 m wide, and a depth surpassing 4 m at points. Over eleven years, more than 800 objects were brought to light (after Vouga 1914; Infographie OPAN/Laténium).

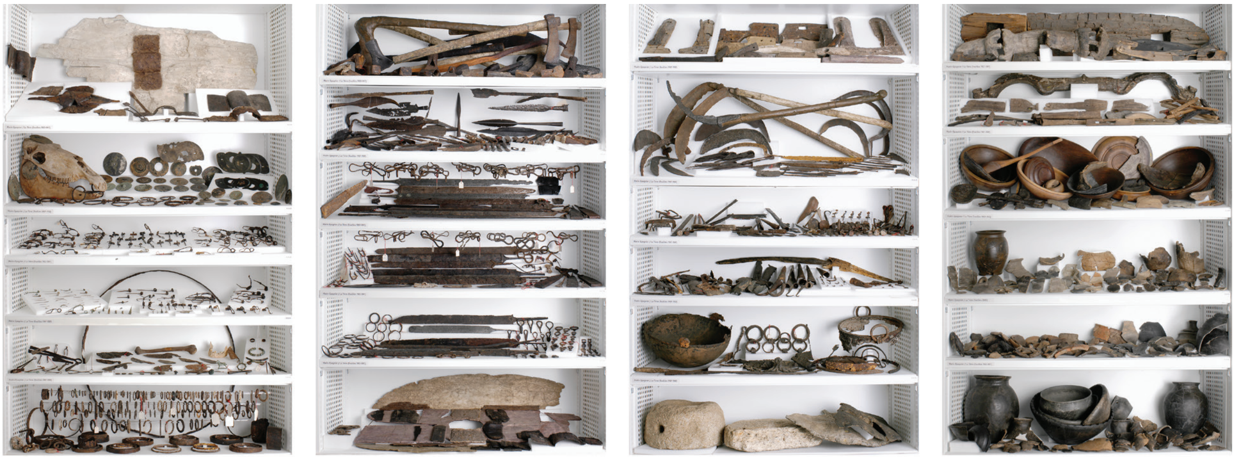


Fig. 5 Objects from the La Tène site in the Laténium's reserve collection in 2007 (M. Juillard, OPAN).

Tène collections were compiled already by Paul Vouga in 1923, in his synthesis of earlier work (Vouga 1923, 26-30), and later by J.M. de Navarro, in 1972, in a cross-collection work on scabbards and swords (De Navarro 1972, 7-13). However, a new inventory proved necessary in 2007 to restart the study of the site. On the completion of the international survey set in motion by the SNSF project, the number of objects had nearly doubled, as had the number of museums housing them. The summary table below (Tab. 1) merits further comment.

First, unlike our predecessors, we included human and animal bones in our inventory (208 records). Equally, where Vouga and Navarro counted only gold coins (5 coins), we included all coins catalogued to date under 'La Tène' in different institutions in our inventory (248 records). In order to be comparable to those of our predecessors, our total must thus be reduced by (208 + 5 + 248 =) 451 pieces, totalling (4828 – 451 =) 4377 objects. Some further points should be highlighted:

- Between Vouga's (1923) and Navarro's (1972) inventories, the number of objects increased by 411 pieces, or 15%; meanwhile, the number of custodian museums nearly doubled, from nine to 16.
- Between Navarro's (1972) inventory and our own, the number of objects increased by 1304 pieces, or over 42%; the number of custodian institutions doubled, from 16 to 32.
- Our survey records eleven museums holding casts.
- The table also shows that the vast majority of objects stayed in Switzerland: these number 4245 pieces, or 88% of the total, 54% of which in Neuchâtel and 46% outside the canton.
- Of the objects which left the country (581 pieces, or 12% of the total), 57% stayed in Europe, and 43% were acquired by American museums.

A four-stage dissemination

How can this vast dissemination of objects be explained? Philippe Marti analysed this issue as part of his dissertation, directed by Marc-Antoine Kaeser, undertaken in 2009 at the University of Neuchâtel (Marti 2009, 131-132; 2015). We draw heavily from his work in the analysis below, based on 60 known transactions.

Promoting La Tène: donations, exchanges and casts (1857-1866/67)

The first period is dominated by donations and the creation of casts (13 transactions listed, including around 79 originals and 82 casts). The two main collectors from this period, Édouard Desor and Friedrich Schwab (see Fig. 2), represent different types of collectors, as they donated objects for different reasons (Kaeser 2013b).

Édouard Desor showed himself to be relatively generous, offering various lots of objects and happily consenting to the creation of casts. His donations, however, were not made at random: he chose foreign recipients who were engaged in establishing Prehistoric chronologies, as he was. These individuals were associated with prestigious institutions whose scientific reputation was well-known, namely the *Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum* (RGZM; Roman-Germanic Central Museum) in Mainz, the British Museum in London (BM, Fitzpatrick 2018) and the *Musée d'Archéologie nationale* (MAN; National Archaeological Museum, Collectif 2019) in Saint-Germain-en-Laye. Accompanied by letters developing his arguments, his donations sought to illustrate and propagate his point of view on the Three-Age System and the chronology of Prehistory. For Desor, as for his contemporaries, correspondence and the exchanging of collections were at that point the most common means of spreading and sharing knowledge, with conferences and publications specifically dedicated

Museum / Institution	Vouga 1923: 26-30	Navarro 1972: 7-13	Today (FNS project)		(originals) By geographic area	
			Originals	Fac simile		
CH, Musée d'art et d'histoire, Cabinet de numismatique, Neuchâtel			92		2303	4245
CH, Musée d'Histoire Naturelle, La Chaux-de-Fonds			6			
CH, Musée de l'Areuse, Boudry		3	10	5		
CH, Musée régional du Val-de-Travers, Môtiers			6			
CH, Laténium, Hauterive	1264	1306	2189	104		
CH, Historisches Museum, Basel		23	18		1942	
CH, Bernisches Historisches Museum, Bern	132	139	148			
CH, Naturhistorisches Museum, Bern			28			
CH, Musée Schwab, Biel	457	618	1048			
CH, Schweizerisches Nationalmuseum, Zurich	320	415	541	119		
CH, Museum für Urgeschichte, Zug				1		
CH, Musée d'art et d'histoire, Geneva	111	140	137			
CH, Musée d'art et d'histoire, Cabinet de numismatique, Geneva			5			
CH, Laboratoire archéologie préhistorique et anthropologie, Geneva			17			
UK, The British Museum, London	15	17	18	7	19	334
UK, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge			1			
F, Musée d'Archéologie nationale, St-Germain-en-Laye	48	39	46	78	46	
F, Centre archéologique européen du Mont Beuvray				38		
A, Naturhistorisches Museum, Vienna		1	1		1	
D, Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte Berlin (formerly West Berlin)	215	226	239		267	
D, Charité-Universitätsmedizin, Berlin			2			
D, Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen, Mannheim			9			
D, Landesmuseum Württemberg, Stuttgart			10			
D, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz		44	7	90		
NL, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden			1	2	1	
US, American Museum of Natural History, New York		56	59	10	247	247
US, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge		16	12			
US, Yale Peabody Museum of Natural History, Yale University, New Haven			1			
US, Field Museum, Chicago			83			
US, Wilson Museum, Castine, Maine			65			
US, Logan Museum of Anthropology, Beloit		25	27	1		
NE, CH, Various (schools, private collections, etc.)	100	5	2		2	2
Total	2662	3073	4377	455	4828	4828
Total (including bones and coins)			4828			
Number of museums with objects from La Tène	9	16	32	11		
	+ 15% (411 pces)					
		+ 42% (1304 pces)				

Table 1 Distribution of collections of La Tène site objects in various museums across Switzerland, Europe and the US, according to P. Vouga (1923), J. M. de Navarro (1972) and recent research (31-03-2019).

to archaeology almost non-existent or very rare. Equally, the dissemination of casts, as in geology, did not just raise awareness of the site and its objects, but gradually established them as reference types.[1] Desor was thus implementing a conscious and determined strategy to promote his views.

Colonel Friedrich Schwab – more a collector than a researcher – donated very few originals, instead he preferred to loan objects for making casts. His donations were made to the same institutions as those of Desor, who played a big part in influencing them. These two collectors' practices led to a distribution of originals and casts of La Tène objects which was international from the outset.

Moreover, it is worth pointing out that the artefacts offered were most often found in lots that also contained objects from Stone and Bronze Age lake dwellings. While this may seem strange from today's perspective, for most archaeologists of the time, La Tène was simply one of a number of lake dwellings. The inclusion of objects from La Tène in these early exchanges bears witness to this conception of the site, as well as the implicit acceptance of the Three-Age System, through the lens of lake dwellings.

Only one transaction exclusively contained La Tène objects: this was Desor's donation to Napoleon III, a fact of some significance. With excavations underway since 1861 on the site of the Battle of Alesia (where the Gallic coalition led by Vercingetorix was defeated by Caesar in 52 BC), and in preparation for the new displays at the MAN in Saint-Germain-en-Laye (which would open its doors in 1867), Napoleon had sought to acquire Desor's entire La Tène collection in 1864 – not only as an ensemble with which the future museum's French sites could be compared, but also to confirm the Gallic attribution of some of the relics from Alesia (Kaeser 2013b, 42; 2019, 171). Having refused to sell his collection, Desor nonetheless handed over some pieces to the Emperor. As this example shows, the archaeological community ascribed the status of reference types to the La Tène objects, according to which the pre-Roman Iron Age could be characterised in regions where it was still poorly identified.

As for casts, these were very much in favour during this period (with 82 examples exchanged) with a view to the dissemination of knowledge, albeit tempered by the desire to keep the most important pieces in Neuchâtel and Biel. Casts were integrated into the institutions large enough to have their own restoration-conservation workshops and specialists able to make them, such as the RGZM, the BM and the MAN. Meanwhile, in exchange for his donation to the MAN, Desor received a series of casts of weapons from Alesia in return.

La Tène, type site (1866/67-1880/82)

The first turning point in the practice of collecting lake dwelling antiquities came between 1866 and 1867. To begin with, the very first International Congress of Prehistoric Anthropology and Archaeology (ICPAA), organised in Neuchâtel in 1866, gave Desor the chance to impress upon the international community the significance of La Tène for Prehistoric chronology. The subsequent International Exposition of Paris in 1867 confirmed the recognition of lake dwellings and La Tène alike. The unprecedented and unique objects on display met with such success that demands for them began to come from museums themselves. Aside from an interest in these objects in and of themselves, this turnaround in demand demonstrates that the Three-Age System had been widely accepted. From then on, museums sought to acquire lake dwelling objects as prime illustrators of the evolution of humanity, from the Stone Age to the Bronze Age, and on to the Iron Age.

While a number of donations are still recorded after that point, the period following the International Exposition was dominated by a burgeoning number of sales of 'lake dwelling collections'. As for La Tène, the number of transactions in which objects from the site were included in lake dwelling collections diminished somewhat (with seven such events recorded, involving around 40 originals and one cast).

A good example comes from the collection of Dr. Gustave Clement (1828-1870), a doctor and antiquity collector from Neuchâtel. On his way back from the International Exposition in Paris, he received two offers for his collection: one from the British Museum, the other from the Peabody Museum at Harvard University, in Cambridge (US). It would be to the latter institution that the collection would ultimately be sold between 1871 and 1872 (De Luca 2001). It was another university museum – that of Princeton (NJ, US) – to which the physician and archaeologist Victor Gross (1845-1920) would sell a substantial collection between 1875 and 1880 (Coye 2009; Marti 2010b; also see below). In both cases, Desor – while not directly concerned – influenced the transactions and negotiations in the direction of the sales towards these large public institutions.

Finally, it appears that the naming of the La Tène site as the eponymous type site of the Second European Iron Age in 1874 did not significantly influence the volume of transactions. Actually, the division of the Iron Age into earlier and later stages at the Stockholm ICPAA formalised an idea that was already quite widespread (Kaeser 2004b, 317-322; 2019, 171-172). The choice of La Tène to name the second part of the period was a result of Desor's activism: it was ultimately a form of coronation, notwithstanding the site's still strongly representative nature at that point. Even though demand for objects from the eponymous site did not grow from 1874 onwards, they were from this moment systematically identified as being from La Tène in museums' inventories – while the lake dwelling collections remained less specific, often grouped under generic terms like 'lake dwellings' or 'Lake Neuchâtel' – thereby demonstrating that their eponymy had secured their status as reference types. Consequentially, the market value of objects from La Tène increased after its promotion to the rank of eponymous site.

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[1] Desor was a close colleague of the famous geologist Louis Agassiz (1807-1873) until 1852, as the latter was beginning his career at Neuchâtel. Agassiz then opened a fossil-casting workshop; he would exchange and sell his impressions to serve as reference types in the geological collections into which they were incorporated (Schaer 1998, 38). This is certainly where Desor developed the practice of disseminating casts of Prehistoric objects. We thank M.-A. Kaeser for bringing this link to our attention.

The 1880s: a lucrative trade

A second turning point in collection practices began in the 1880s, when a scramble over the lake dwelling sites developed after their draining by the CEJ. Each site was subjected to intensive harvesting and excavation – performed regularly by collectors, and intermittently by locals – turning up impressive quantities of antiquities and forming new collections. Many of these objects were then sold, creating a new wave of dissemination of lake dwelling antiquities.

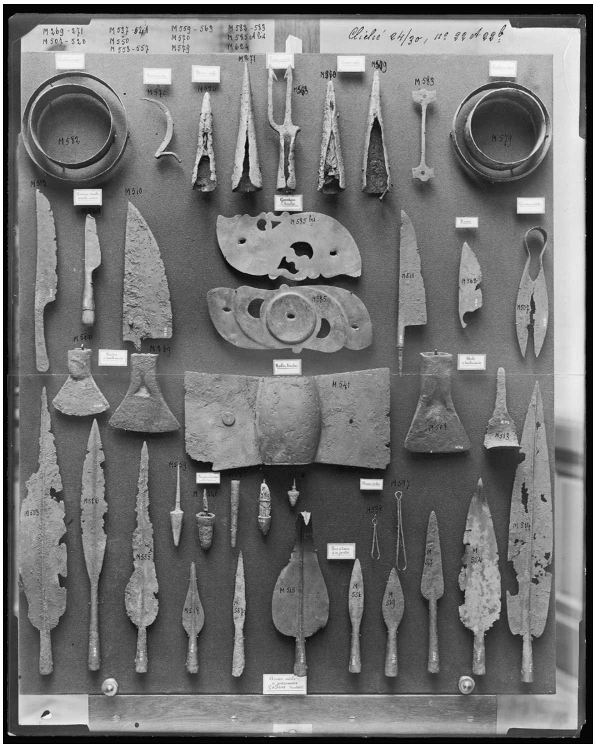

Fig. 6 Photobooks of the La Tène displays at the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire in Geneva, around 1885 (Anastassov 2017, 106; © Museum of Art and History, City of Geneva).

La Tène was no exception to the rule: new and highly productive excavations were undertaken, and sales multiplied, involving approximately 887 originals and four casts. However, excavations – like sales – suffered with Édouard Desor's death in 1882, with the scientific supervision of research and the fate of the collections for sale no longer assured. As such, of the 25 transactions identified, only three went abroad.

Economic motives dominated amongst the vendors, who benefitted from the growth of the number of objects available and the increase in their price from the newly eponymous site. For buyers, the motivations were twofold. The acquisitions made between 1884 and 1895 by the Ethnology Museum in Berlin occurred against a backdrop of ideas drawn from the historical-cultural paradigm: seeking equivalence between peoples and material culture, the La Tène objects had to illustrate the idea of a La Tène *culture*. As for the Swiss museums (the Bern Historical Museum, the *Musée d'Art et d'Histoire* (Museum of Art and History) in Geneva (Fig. 6), the Swiss National Museum in Zurich and the Museum of Ethnology/Historical Museum in Basel), their acquisitions seem to have been inspired by the raised awareness of the site's international fame and scientific value, as well as considerations of each museums individual policy.[2] In both cases, almost half of the transactions would involve lots of objects exclusively from La Tène, rather than lake dwelling collections in the wider sense.

Awareness of the antiquities' heritage value concerns every region implicated in the dissemination of archaeological relics. On the one hand, this was the result of the establishment of the discipline of archaeology. On the other hand, and maybe more importantly, it resulted from the spectacular rise of the antiquities trade, which would lead to the development of a legal framework. It was within this context that the canton of Neuchâtel set about regulating excavations and limiting the traffic of antiquities, which were leaving the region and the country in higher and higher numbers. The cantonal authorities issued a decree in 1878 (Order of January 4, 1878) followed by a regulation in 1883 (Regulation of September 21, 1883, concerning the removal of antiquities from lake dwellings), requiring all excavations to be conducted under the aegis of a museum, which may also exercise a right of acquisition over objects considered to have scientific importance

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[2] S. Reubi notes that purchases of lake dwelling collections (a minimum of 255 objects, 82 of which came from La Tène) in 1906, 1908 and 1910 by the *Museum für Völkerkunde* in Basel from the Schwab Museum (Biel) were recorded in the context of comparing contemporary and ancient 'primitive' peoples, indicating a policy of justifying the purchases of foreign collections (Reubi 2011, 135, 139).

(Marti 2013; Reginelli Servais 2013). Set apart from the rest, La Tène was the subject of a specific decree due to its status as an eponymous type site: the Order of September 18, 1883 stipulated that any excavation at La Tène would from then on be the exclusive prerogative of a local 'learned society', the *Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Neuchâtel* (SHAN). Endowed with limited financial means, the latter financed a few minor interventions until 1888, with most of its discoveries going to the Museum of Neuchâtel. Then, with funds running low and the deposit considered all but exhausted, excavations were halted, not to resume until 1907. While sales of collections did not stop as a result, transactions after 1884 were no longer of recent discoveries; they mobilised old collections, often private, which were increasingly rare.

It should be mentioned that only four casts were produced and exchanged during this period, found in a museum in the Neuchâtel region (the Areuse Museum in Boudry). By contrast, the production of fakes from the Swiss lake dwellings ballooned in the 1880s, along with the skyrocketing prices for antiquities (Lehmann 2018). There is no record of fakes from La Tène; but objects from other sites were described as being from La Tène, in order to increase their market value (Kaeser 2011).

The beginning of the 20th century: inter-institutional exchanges of doubles and casts

The fourth period saw a decrease in the volume of exchanges in comparison with the previous period: 15 transactions are recorded, involving arond 449 originals and 34 casts. It began with official excavations in 1907, directed until 1917 by Paul Vouga, professor of archaeology and curator of the Museum of Neuchâtel's archaeological collections. During this period, with private collections becoming rarer, transactions largely took place in the form of inter-institutional exchanges. As such, Paul Vouga sold objects from various of the Museum's collections: doubles taken from earlier excavations and considered to be without context, as well as pieces taken from his own research. Of the La Tène objects Vouga sold, almost 150 pieces went to three American museums between 1922 and 1927: the Wilson Museum in Castine (ME), the Museum of Natural History in New York and the Logan Museum of Anthropology in Beloit (WI). The sales responded to economic and scientific needs. On the one hand, they compensated for the scant funds available to the Museum, with doubles of objects from the eponymous La Tène proving the most lucrative. On the other hand, there were scientific motives, as the acquiring museums sought to complete their series or display objects hitherto unseen. As in the preceding period, a large proportion of the lots only contained objects from La Tène, now distinct from the lake dwelling collections.

The dwindling number of original objects in circulation was answered by an increase in the production and exchange of casts (34 examples). These exchanges were made possible by the fact that new moulds were taken, *in situ*, during official excavations (Reginelli Servais 2007b; Reginelli Servais/Cevey 2011). They reproduced objects of unfamiliar type or morphology in organic matter, such as wooden wheels or shields, found whole (Fig. 7). These imprints thus served not only to guarantee the long-term survival of objects whose conservation was problematic, but also to provide sales or exchanges with other institutions.

Only three transactions are recorded after Paul Vouga's death in 1940, two of which resulted from the reorganisation of Basel's museums in 1947 (a relocation to the city's historical museum and a return to the Museum of Neuchâtel), and the third from the Swiss National Museum's purchase of an old lake dwelling collection in 1959 (Reginelli Servais 2009), containing fewer than ten objects from La Tène.

The changing status of collections: the Princeton example

The example of the movements of La Tène site collections allows us to track the evolution of the archaeological collection's status across almost 150 years. In short, this is primarily a heuristic tool, a source of the definition of the archaeological discipline and of scientists' reflections on Prehistoric chronologies. This role is concomitant with the adoption of scientific classification criteria – that is to say, based on the artefact's matter, technology and typology.

Starting in the mid-1870s, with the consolidation of the great chronological subdivisions, the collections became series to be completed in order to illustrate the technical progress of humanity. As such, they acquired the status of reference sets, used to classify other archaeological relics, while remaining tools with which chronologies could be refined and large-scale comparisons between periods, regions and even civilizations could be made (Lorre 2017).

In the 1880s, museums' inclusion of such collections contributed to the discipline's institutionalisation; the Museum is then seen as the archaeologist's laboratory. The marked increase in the number of available objects caused a parallel upsurge in sales, gradually to be tempered by the imposition of legal frameworks, in line with a heightened awareness of national antiquities' heritage value.

State intervention precipitated a decrease in the number of exchanges at the turn of the 20th century. Then, lake dwelling collections like those from La Tène gradually disappeared from museums' exhibition rooms: museological choices were now linked to the development of national and regional collections, and to the shift away from the universalist paradigm that had underpinned the discipline's earliest moments.

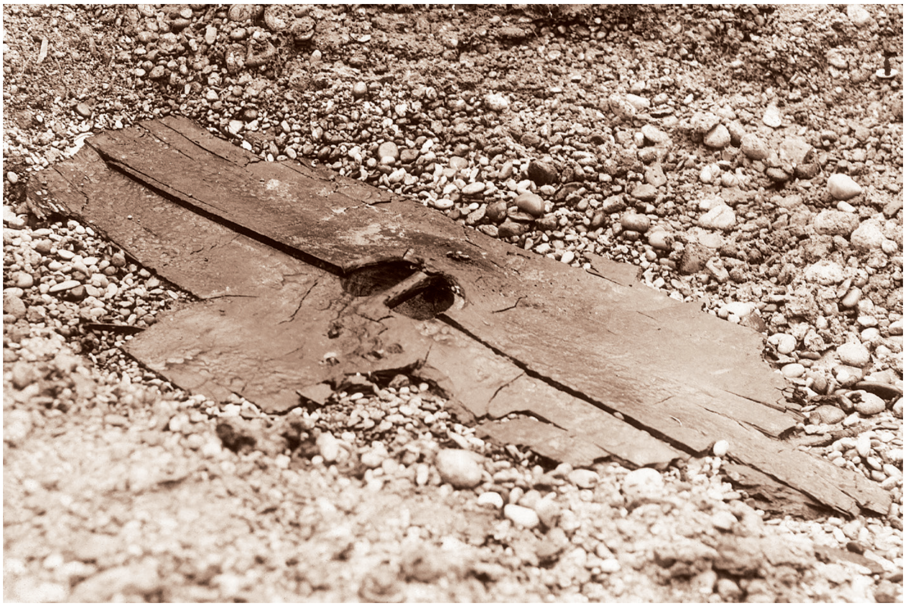

Fig. 7 A shield discovered almost complete (MAR-17091) in 1913 at La Tène, cast *in situ* (Laténium archives).

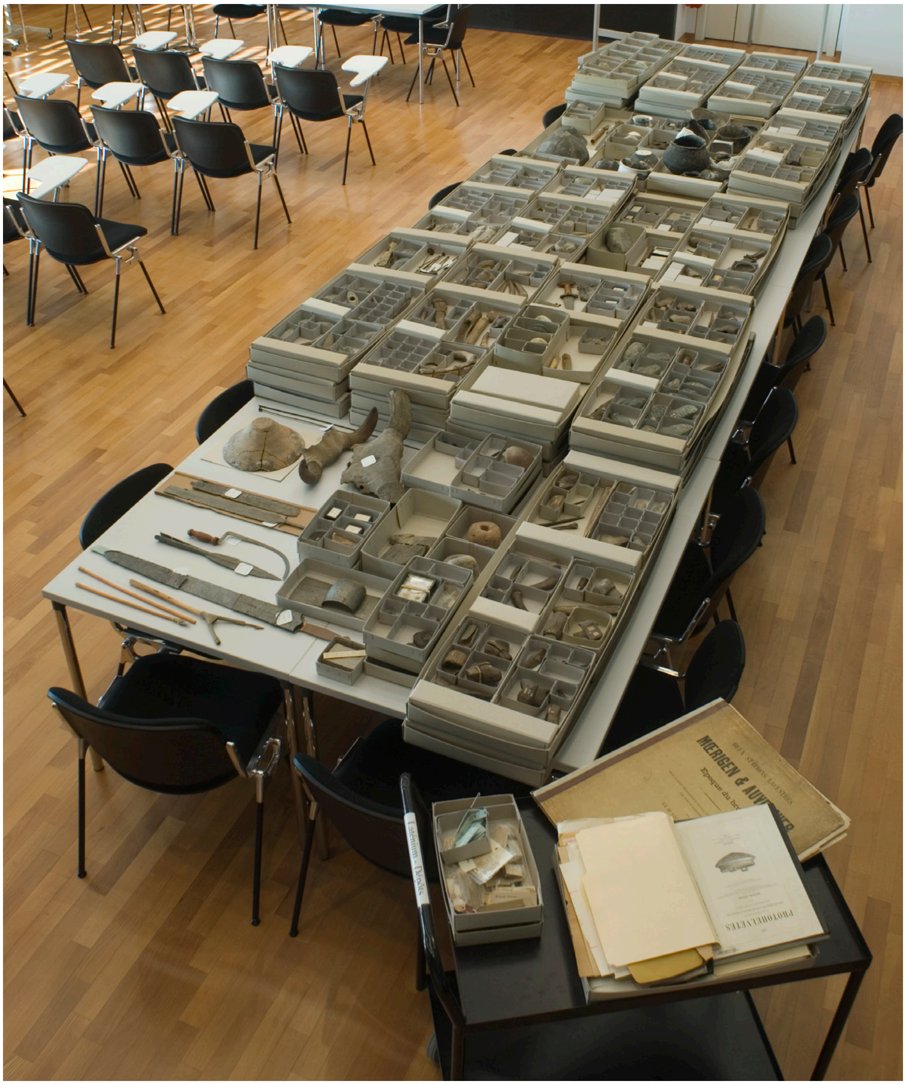

Fig. 8 The University of Princeton's lake dwelling collection on its return to the Laténium, in 2007 (M. Juillard, OPAN).

The development of casts seems to occur in a manner inversely proportional to the availability of originals: they are most numerous in the first period, when the originals in circulation were rare, and in the fourth, when their circulation gradually became controlled. As such, they acquire a value almost equal to the originals (Proust 2017), which they replace as comparative materials facilitating the classification of series (Schaer 1998, 38).

The story of Princeton's lake dwelling collection, analysed by Noël Coye (Coye 2009), illustrates the evolution of the collection's status between the mid-19th century and today. Assembled by Victor Gross between 1869 and 1875, the objects were sold between 1875 and 1880 to the geologist Arnold Guyot (1807-1884), who exhibited them in Princeton University's Museum (NJ, US) as materials pertaining to his teaching. After Guyot's death, and with each reorganization of the Museum, the collection was gradually relegated to the Museum's reserve department, only to be rediscovered in the late 1970s, at which point it would become an object of historiographic and epistemological study (Foltiny/Baird 1977). Finally, in 2007, it was repatriated to its home country and to the Museum of its region of origin, the Laténium, in the form of a permanent loan (Fig. 8). As Noël Coye argues, it would find a relevance at the centre of lake dwelling studies which it had lost in the US, with the abandonment of the universalist paradigm lifted from the natural sciences, as well as the development of issues specific to American archaeology.

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(Re-)collecting the Frankish Cemetery of Niederbreisig in the German Rhineland

Annemarieke Willemsen

Introduction

The collections labelled 'Ancient Europe' in the National Museum of Antiquities (RMO) in Leiden (the Netherlands) contain a reasonable number of Early Medieval objects. The largest group amongst these are finds marked as coming from Andernach in the German Rhineland. These are typical 5th-7th century AD grave goods, like ceramic jugs and vases, strings of colourful beads, iron swords and axes, and lots of 'small finds', including buckles, mounts, tweezers and the like. There is also the occasional glass palm cup and nice disc brooch. All this material is kept in the storerooms of the Museum, with very limited use for research and display. The initial thought upon encountering this material may be to 'give it back'. This article investigates how and why this collection of cemetery finds was acquired by the Museum in the 19th century, how much of its context can be reconstructed – also on site – and concludes with some thoughts on how these objects could be used best, and where.

'Frankish antiquities'

In July 1885, according to the Museum's inventory book, the RMO bought "*Roman and Frankish antiquities from Andernach, or its surroundings, from mr. Jacob Schmitz at Andernach*". This is a group of more than 358 objects, mostly ceramics and weaponry, the common categories when acquiring Roman finds. In November 1893, the Museum bought "*Frankish antiquities from the excavations at Niederbreisig near Andernach, at a public sale held in Bonn at 27-28 Nov. 1893*". This concerns the sale at Antiquariat M. Lempertz in Bonn. The circa 40 objects bought by the Leiden Museum were grouped at the auction as coming from six individual graves, one of them labelled in the catalogue as a female grave. They were inventoried in the same month, keeping this order.

The present-day RMO inventory numbers M 1893/11.1 to 11.8 relate to a gilded disc brooch, silver ring, string of beads, bronze bracelet, iron buckle, bone comb, glass cup and ceramic jug, presented as the contents of one female grave, cat. no. 3. M 1893/11.9 to 11.14, a disc brooch, two strings of beads, buckle, strap end and ceramic jug, formed cat. no. 15, from one grave. M 1893/11.15 to 20, a string of beads, bronze cross-shaped mount, buckle, long pin, spindle whorl and ceramic bottle, formed the grave cat. no. 22.

M 1893/11.21 to 11.25 contain a string of beads, decorative disc, buckle, ring and pot, formed the grave cat. no. 24. M 1893/11.26 to 11.30a are a string of beads, brooch, ring, buckle, bone comb and slender pot, the contents of grave cat. no. 25. Finally, cat. no. 26 consisted of a string of beads, equal-armed brooch, melon beads, spindle whorl and red pot, our numbers M 1893/11.31 to 11.36. All objects date to roughly 450-700 AD.

The sequence of grave numbers acquired betrays some of the practicalities of the buying and selling at this auction. The lots were all presented as graves, but the variety within each lot indicate strongly that the groups were composed for the sale, although it cannot be excluded that they related to actual graves. Assuming they were sold in numeric order, the 'quality' of the lots declined as the auction went along. For the first lots, there seems to have been much competition, as the Leiden Museum only managed to acquire one lot from the first ten graves, no. 3, that held a beautiful disc brooch and a glass vessel, and one more lot from the second group of ten, no. 15, again with a disc brooch. Later on, there seems to have been less interest for the 'lesser lots', as the Museum bought four further 'grave contents' (22, 24, 25 and 26) almost in a row.

For the Museum, this was a good buy. We can only guess with what ideals and wishes they came to the auction, but the group of 40 objects they took home was quite varied and thus gave a good idea of the objects normally found in female graves – although only no. 3 was actually labelled as such, all the groups indicate that the objects came from the burials of women, especially for the presence of beads and spindle whorls and the absence of weaponry usually associated with male graves only. The vases and jugs cover a number of different shapes and types of ceramics, and the other objects reflect various materials as well as shapes and sizes. It seems clear that the groups were selected for their variety, and it seems that the fact that they represented individual graves was seen as an important asset, as their order was kept and documented, while it was common to list acquired objects differently in the inventory books, namely in the order of the importance of the material and/or size.

At this auction, the Museum also acquired one *spatha* (broadsword), four *seaxes* (sword knives), three buckles and three large belt mounts which seem to have been offered separately or chosen from a larger selection of individual pieces on offer. They were catalogued after the grave assemblages and given the numbers M 1893/11.36 to 11.46. These objects, especially the swords of two types, were lacking from the sets and are typical for the burials of men. They therefore complement the selection of grave goods and make the whole acquisition more representative of Frankish cemeteries in general. That was also why the objects were bought in Bonn. At that time, no Early Medieval burial complexes had been excavated in the Netherlands, apart from the atypical cemetery at the site of Dorestad, that was published by museum curator Leonhardt Johannes Friedrich Janssen in 1859. The finds from neighbouring Andernach were destined to represent the Frankish period in Europe for the Dutch National Museum.

Niederbreisig worldwide

Leiden is by no means the only place where grave goods from Niederbreisig ended up; they have been spread worldwide (Hommen 1993; Nieveler 2000). The cemetery was emptied by local postman Friedrich Queckenberg and sold from 1892 on by Jakob Schmitz from Andernach to many parties. A process in which the already famous finds from the cemetery at the Landstraße were probably mixed with objects from the lesser known cemetery at the Frankenbach in nearby Oberbreisig, which was emptied at the same time. During Queckenberg's lifetime, a group of objects, for instance, was sold to the *Germanisches Nationalmuseum* in Nuremberg in 1892, that is still in their collections, consisting of 50 silver inlaid belts, six gold brooches and 50 necklaces.

Also, the Museums of Berlin, Bonn, Cologne, Frankfurt, Mainz and Mannheim acquired separate objects from Niederbreisig in the auctions of 1893 and 1896; it has been estimated that in total over 1000 objects changed hands. After the death of Friedrich Jakob Queckenberg, his brother Joseph offered over 400 objects to the *Rheinisches Landesmuseum* in Bonn, the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, and the British Museum, who all thought the group too expensive. Subsequently, it was offered to other German museums, with a letter of the director of the Bonn Museum who had tried in vain to keep the collection in the Rhineland.

Finally, on May 25, 1910, 410 "*Merovingian antiquities coming from the late Post Master Queckenberg in Niederbreisig on the Rhine*" were bought by J. Pierpont Morgan of New York, for 10,000 pounds. He had Seymour de Ricci compile a catalogue of this 'collection of Germanic antiquities' (De Ricci 1910b), a counterpart to the catalogue of 'Merovingian antiquities' that De Ricci made of a collection of Early Medieval jewellery acquired earlier by Pierpont Morgan (De Ricci 1910a). In the preface of the catalogue of the Niederbreisig finds, De Ricci states that the one fault of that Merovingian catalogue was "*the absence of definite provenances for many of the items*" and that "*the main object of the collector for acquiring the antiquities now described has been to complete his collections by bringing together in one room a large series of contemporaneous objects from a single burial field. The possibility of such an addition to the Baron collection of jewels was too tempting to be overlooked and the Queckenberg collection of Niederbreisig gave an excellent opportunity to complete*

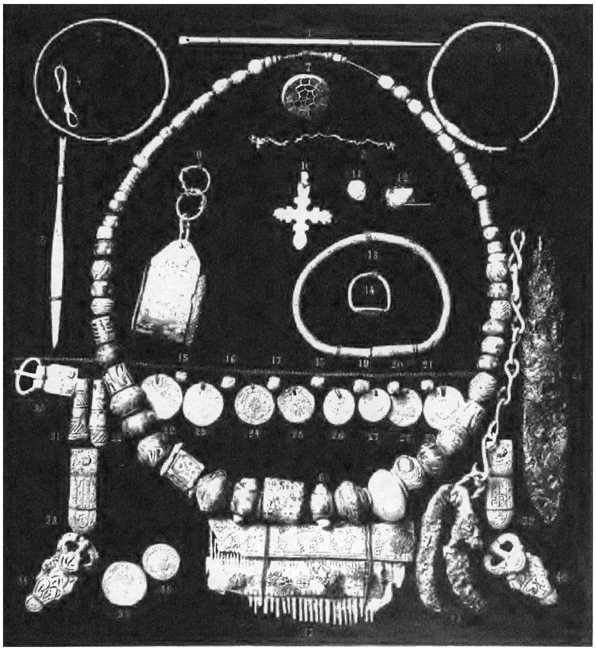

Fig. 1 Arrangement of finds from Niederbreisig around a necklace (from De Ricci 1910b, fig. I).

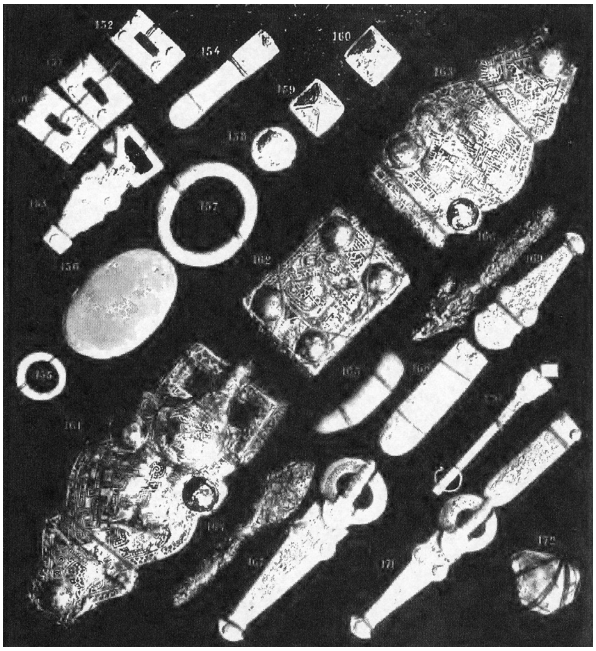

Fig. 2 Arrangement of finds from Niederbreisig on both sides of a belt set (from De Ricci 1910b, fig. XII).

a beautiful series of precious objects by a large collection of unquestionable scientific importance."

The 32 black-and-white photographs in the 'Germanic' catalogue illustrate "*the whole contents of Frankish tombs, male and female*" with "*hairpins and ear-rings, paste necklaces and precious fibulae, armlets and finger-rings, iron belt-buckles inlaid with delicate fold and silver niello, bone hair-combs, bronze chatelaine-plaques, iron scissors and knives, innumerable small bronze terrets and fittings from the shoes, belts and leggings, studs and buckles of every description*". The preface suggests that the collection was bought because of their known provenance and the fact that they concern full grave assemblages. The plates and their descriptions seem to represent graves, but were definitely composed for the photographs (or even the sale), as is clear from the extreme consistency of their contents. The photos, made in Paris, show symmetric installations of finds. Most of them (21 plates) have a beaded necklace in the centre, with bracelets, earrings, buckles, belt plates etc. arranged on both sides, and smaller objects placed inside the 'frame' formed by the necklace (Fig. 1). Three 'cards' are arranged diagonally with objects arranged on both sides of a large niello buckle with its plates (Fig. 2) and one is arranged horizontally. All pictures clearly show the pins and threads used to fasten the objects onto the background, suggesting that this is how the sets of objects were offered at the sale. The last seven plates are composed out of individual pictures of glass vessels and weapons.

When the German archaeologist Hermann Stoll compiled his '*Frankenkatalog*' of all Frankish finds from the Rhineland between 1934 and 1937, he listed the Morgan purchase and material reputedly from Niederbreisig in eight other museums, including those at Leiden, and drew attention to further excavations near the site in 1914 by Frits Littauer. Apart from the 400+ finds in New York, published by De Ricci, more than a thousand finds that are said to have originated from the Early Medieval cemetery at Niederbreisig are known. That means that the cemetery was quite extensive. The 'complete pillage' (*völlige Ausplunderung*) of the cemetery of Niederbreisig and the public indignation about the American sale, were important for the instalment of German laws for the protection of archaeological heritage, the '*Preußisches Ausgrabungsgesetz*' (March 26, 1914), ruling that excavations could not be done by private persons and finds should go to local museums. This law is popularly known as the Lex Queckenberg (Hommen 1993).

J. Pierpont Morgan donated his collection of 410 Early Medieval objects to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and some tens of them are now on show in the Pierpont Morgan Library there. This "*Merovingian collection said to be from the Frankish cemetery at Niederbreisig, in the Rhineland*", is the "*only major group of Early Medieval archaeological material in the Morgan collection*" with "*such a specifically localized find spot*" and was published by Elke Nieveler in the Metropolitan Museum catalogue *From Attila to Charlemagne* (Nieveler

2000, 28). Then, she reconstructed most of the excavation and collection history of this cemetery (Nieveler 2000). This last group to be sold seems to have contained the best, most valuable objects from the cemetery: mostly jewellery, with inlaid disc brooches (partly published by Herbert Kühn in the 1930s), gilded bow brooches, gold coin pendants, silver inlaid buckles and lots of colourful beads.

Reconstructing the cemetery

The excavations, from which all these objects derive, started in the garden of the hotel *Zum weißen Roß* at the Zehnerstraße in Niederbreisig, and were extended alongside the Bachstraße. They grew larger when the post office building, also on the Zehnerstraße, was expanded. As a site visit in July 2018 showed, both the *Weißen Roß* and the post office are still there. Combined with the rest of the documentation on the excavations, they outline a more or less rectangular area (Fig. 3), bordered by the Zehnerstraße on the north side (towards the Rhine), Bachstraße on the east (where the church is) and Grabenstraße on both the south and west side (where the post office is).

The hotel is about halfway the north side of this terrain. On the other side of the Zehnerstraße streets lead down to the river Rhine, and a Frankish farmstead was excavated alongside one of these streets, the Biergasse. On the other side of the Grabenstraße, the terrain slopes upwards. This leaves the area where the cemetery was on the edge of a settlement along the Rhine river, between living quarters and a natural height. This area measures 260 metres in length and tapers from 120 metres (at Bachstraße) to 85 metres, which translates to about 26,000 square metres. If we assume that the average size of an inhumation grave is 2-3 square metres, and use the knowledge that Frankish row cemeteries are usually fairly densely packed, this means that anything between a few hundred to even several thousand graves may have been here originally. The area can also be discerned in the oldest preserved town plan of Andernach, engraved by Merian in 1647, with the street running in front and the later Medieval church to the left (Fig. 4).

This estimate of the number or burials 'emptied' here does not include the other cemetery from which objects were retrieved, in Oberbreisig at the Frankenbach – a *Bach* is a brook and this brook streams towards the hamlet of Franken, which means 'Franks'. This site, that is said to have been in the area of the Ockenfeld mill and can be reconstructed to be aside the present-day street *An der Mühleneck*, is a strongly sloping hillside on the side of a brook, that is quite deep and not built on. Its size is harder to estimate, but this cemetery must have been significantly smaller than the one in Niederbreisig, both due to the available space and the less suitable terrain. Like the site at Zehnerstraße, the setting of this former cemetery in the landscape is quite obvious, and seems to relate to several sites in the area of Oberbreisig and Franken connected with Early Medieval occupation.

Both Niederbreisig and Oberbreisig are nowadays part of Bad Breisig, which is situated some 9 kilometres upstream from Andernach. In the early Middle Ages, this larger area contained many Frankish farmsteads and cemeteries and this section of the Rhine seems to have harboured a settlement roughly every 5 kilometres – close enough to travel to and fro within a day, much like the Dutch section of the Rhine at that time. Andernach itself was an important centre in the region especially in the 6th and 7th centuries AD, with a *villa regia*, a Merovingian royal seat, from 464 to c. 630 AD. This palace is famously described in the poem *De navigio suo* (The Boattrip) written by Venatius Fortunatus about his journey over the Rhine with the young Merovingian king Childebert II in 588 AD. He calls Andernach *Antonnacencis castelli* and describes how this bend in the river 'where kings sit' is abundant with fish, enjoys nice weather and is attractive to nobility for its (high) location (Roberts 1994). Andernach is still the main place in this area. It seems that the name of Andernach was better known, at least outside the Rhineland, than Niederbreisig, and finds from that area were given the more general provenance of Andernach – at least before the 1893 auctions and its consequences.

Niederbreisig in Leiden

When the National Museum of Antiquities bought the 'grave assemblages' from Niederbreisig in 1893, no large Frankish cemeteries were known in the Netherlands. Therefore, the finds from the Rhineland functioned as typical Frankish objects in the Museum's first public displays of Dutch archaeology in 1908. The catalogue for these displays (Holwerda 1908) demonstrates that the finds from Andernach and Niederbreisig were used alongside other objects from the Ancient Europe collection, in the same cases and side by side with objects from Dutch soil – they were used as a coherent group and as reflecting one single culture, all called 'Frankish'. The catalogue was designed as a guide book that would take the visitor through the displays, listing the objects that had been handily painted with large, well-readable catalogue numbers, as the real inventory numbers were considered a national secret.

The catalogue demonstrates for instance in the section 'Franks and later Saxons' the presence of a "*bottle shape with impressed ornaments, typical early-Carolingian*" from "*Nieder Breisig*" (G.I.17, in case 61a). From "*Andernach*", case 63 showed 50 pieces of ceramics:

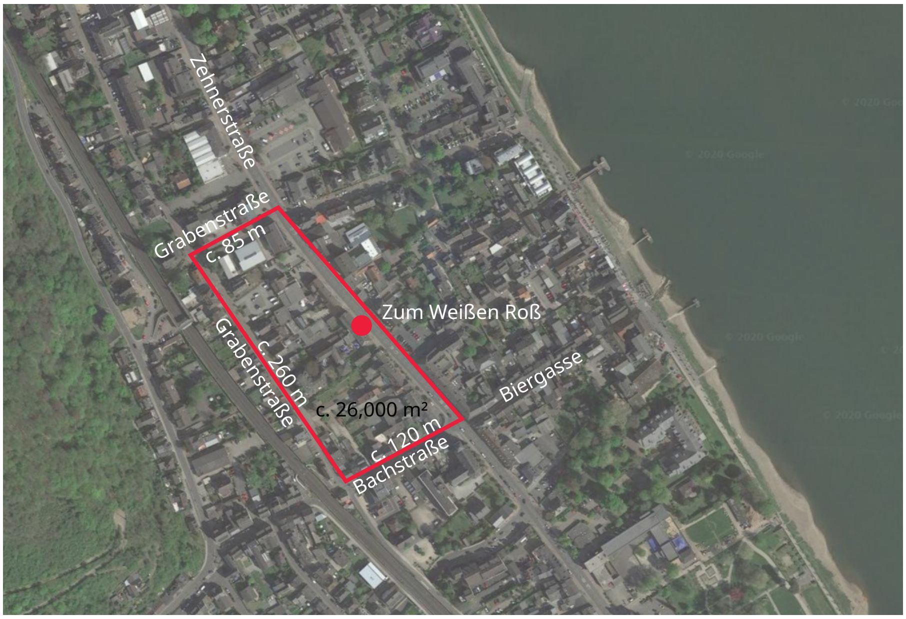
Zehnerstraße
Grabenstraße
c. 85 m
Zum Weißen Roß
Grabenstraße
c. 260 m
c. 26,000 m²
Biergasse
c. 120 m
Bachstraße

Fig. 3 Reconstructed position and area of the Frankish cemetery at Niederbreisig on a modern map (S. van der Vaart-Verschoof; background image: google maps).

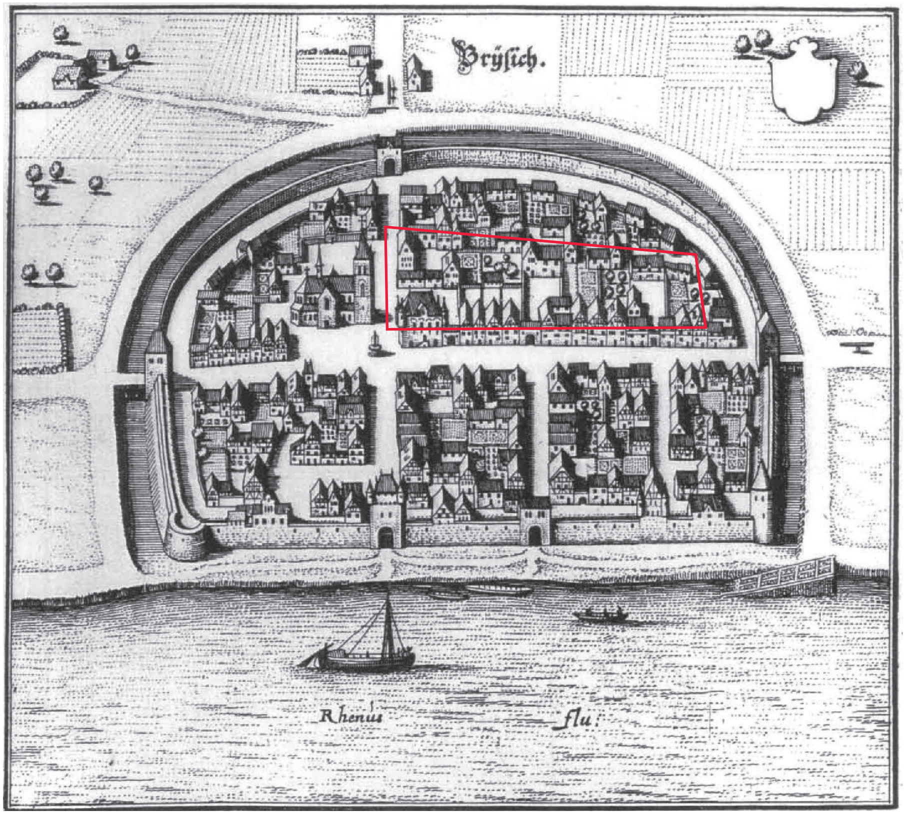
Brÿſich.
Rhenus
flu:

Fig. 4 Indication of the area of the Frankish cemetery on a town view of Bad Breisig am Rhein by Matthaeus Merian, c. 1647 (alamy.com).

"*various small urns in the shape that is related to the pointed belly one and ornaments like that*" (G.I.266-269), "*strange course ware bottle shape, Frankish*" (G.I.270), "*small coarse ware Frankish urns*" (G.I.271-276), "*coarse ware jugs in various shapes*" (G.I.277-294) and "*dishes and plates derived in shape partly from Roman terra sigillata shapes, partly from Roman coarse ware dishes*" (G.I.295-315). Amongst the glass objects, case 66 contained a "*Frankish bowl with circular bottom*" and a "*coarse tall beaker*", both from Andernach (G.V.532 and G.V.533).

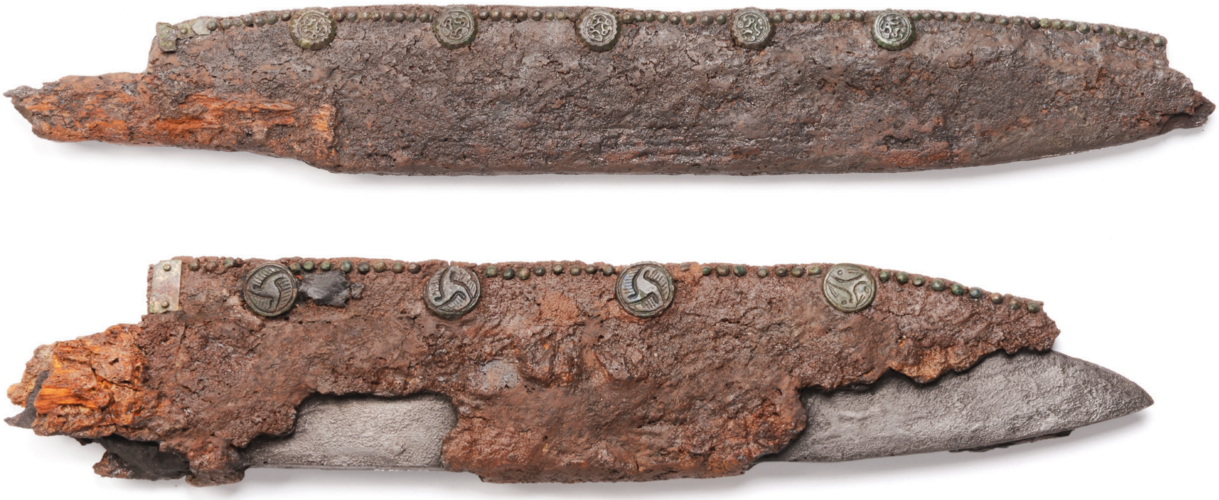

Fig. 5 Two *seaxes* from Niederbreisig after restoration (M 1893/11.37 and 11.39; RMO).

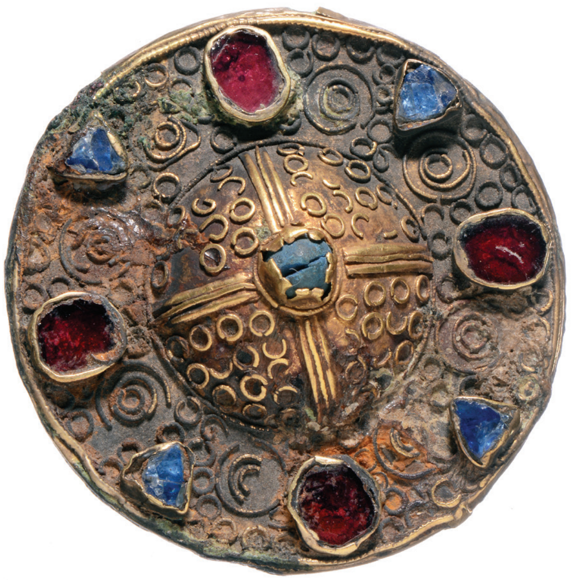

Fig. 6 Disc brooch from 'Andernach' (M 1931/2.5; RMO).

Of the metalwork, the Museum used for case 64 a "*brooch with incised decoration, typical Frankish shape*" (G.III.100), a "*simple Frankish brooch shape*" (G.III.103), a "*Frankish decorative brooch with glass inlays*" (G.III.104), "*Frankish bronze buckles*" (G.III.106-118), "*Frankish bronze leather mounts with buckles*" (G.III.119-124), "*small bronze rings*" (G.III.126-127), a "*bronze needle*" (G.III.128), a "*bronze cross*" (G.III.129) and "*fragments of decorated arm rings*" (G.III.130), all originating from Andernach. Finally, case 66 showed a large number of iron weapons from the Rhineland: "*fragments of large double-edged iron swords*" from Andernach (G.III.395-396), "*single-edged iron swords of larger and smaller type*" from Andernach (G.III.397-408), "*single-edged iron swords with remains of sheaths*" from Andernach (G.III.409-411), "*single-edged swords*" from Nieder Breisig (G.III.412-413), and again from Andernach "*small iron knives*" (G.III.414-416), "*iron spear heads*" (G.III.420-429), "*Frankish axes*" (G.III.430-440), an "*iron ring*" (G.III. 442), "*iron nails*" (G.III.443-445), an "*iron square pin*" (G.III.446). "*Small iron chisels*" came from Andernach and Hungary (G.III.447-448), "*iron scissors or fragments thereof*" from Andernach (G.III.449-451) and "*fragments of iron buckles and mounts, partly with inlaid copper decoration*" from both Andernach and Nieder Breisig (G.III.452-465).

All in all, there were at least 140 Early Medieval objects labelled from Andernach on show in 1908, and three from "*Nieder Breisig*". It would never be this many again. The 1908 displays on Dutch archaeology would last a long time, but already during those years, at some point the foreign objects were taken out, "*to be displayed separately with many new acquisitions*", as a sheet tucked into the catalogue states. From 1910 onwards, many Early Medieval cemeteries would be excavated within the borders of the modern Netherlands (Willemsen 2014), including large 'Frankish' cemeteries in the eastern part of the country like those at Putten (1911), Wageningen (1928) and the Donderberg in Rhenen (1951). The latter one contained over 1100 burials and its finds continue to outnumber and outshine the objects from Niederbreisig that were once acquired by the Museum (Wagner/Ypey 2012). Those eventually disappeared into the extensive storerooms.

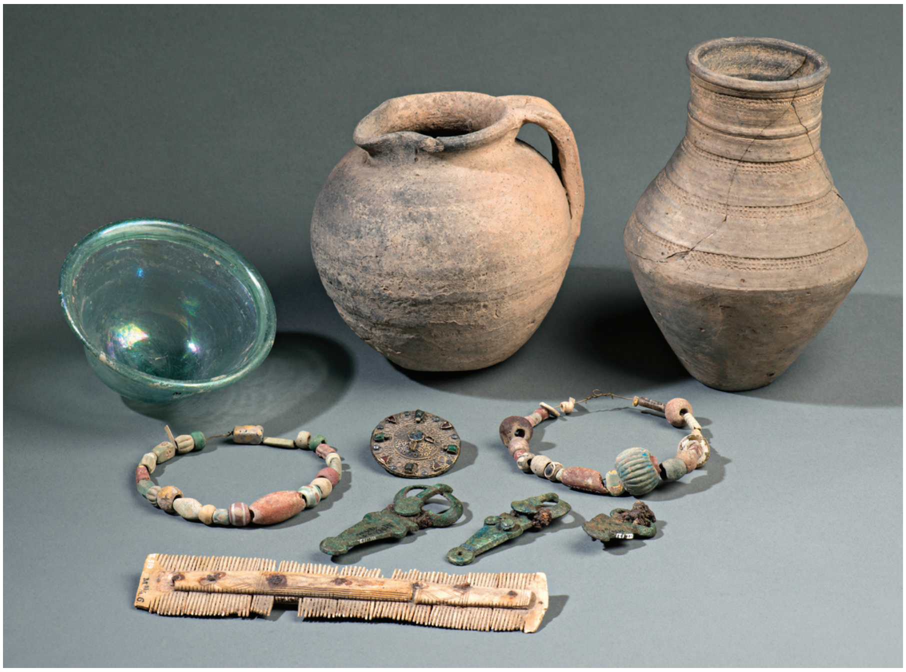

Fig. 7 Group of objects from the Niederbreisig cemetery, assembled for the exhibition on Ancient Europe in the RMO in 2018.

A future for the Leiden finds

Two of the *seaxes* from Niederbreisig, numbered M 1893/11.37 and 11.39, were selected for restoration in the 1990s and subsequently conserved and prepared at the Restaura workshop in Haelen (currently in Heerlen), the Netherlands. They contained much of the original wooden grips and leather scabbards, with the decorative mounts, the hobnails and even the stitching in place. Therefore, the sword knives were prepared only showing part of their steel blades, and mainly showing the remaining scabbard (Fig. 5). In this, these *seaxes* from Niederbreisig are amongst the best examples of sheathing the Leiden Museum owns, and were used for that purpose in a large exhibition on swords in 2016 (Amkreutz/Willemsen 2016, 43). In this case, the Ancient Europe objects had a clear function, but their provenance was not the main reason. It would take another century, until the acquisition of the weapon assemblage excavated in 1995 in Geldrop, that the Museum would get possession of a better example of scabbards from the Merovingian period, and that was because in this case the whole set of swords, sheaths, knife and decorated straps was lifted as a block in the field and carefully unpacked in the laboratory. The Niederbreisig sheathed swords can also be discerned in the 1908 catalogue, where they are provenanced to Andernach, which affirms the idea that distinction between that site and Niederbreisig in the 1908 displays and listings should not be taken too seriously. The 1910 catalogue of the Morgan assemblage shows that also the *seaxes* acquired by him have this extraordinary preservation of scabbard with nails and mounts.

The nicest disc brooch the Leiden Museum owns from Andernach or Niederbreisig, with number M 1931/2.5 (Fig. 6), featured in the 2017 exhibition and catalogue on brooches (Heeren/Willemsen 2017, 65). This gilded 'hat-shaped' brooch decorated with filigree, red garnets and blue glass in cross shapes, made its way to the collection with a detour; it was donated in 1930 by the painter and antiquarian Paulus Adriaan Gildemeester (Pauts 2018), who in turn acquired it probably at the same auctions at the end of the 19th century. Again, this brooch was not in this exhibition for its provenance, but as a good example of the 'European-wide' taste in brooches in the 7th century.

The 2018 exhibition on Ancient Europe contained a selection of finds from Niederbreisig: the one glass cup, one of the gilded disc brooches, a jug and a pot, two strings of beads, three bronze brooches and a bone comb (Fig. 7). This is not one of the sets from a single grave, as they were acquired in 1893. This was, again, a selection from the selection, meant to be representative of the assemblage of grave goods. In this case, their provenance was the reason they were chosen to be on show, and because this provenance is more precisely known than in the case of most Early Medieval objects in the Ancient Europe collections, which have at best a region attached to them, more often a country, and sometimes not even that.

Nowadays, the permanent displays of the archaeology of the Medieval period in the National Museum of Antiquities include strictly Dutch finds. The objects from Andernach and/or Niederbreisig are safely stored, to be accessed only once in a while for an exhibition, where they have a limited function. They have not yet been accessed for study purposes. They do have a history in the collections, and that gives them a role, but it is quite possible that they could serve a better function elsewhere, for instance on loan to the place where they were once excavated. In a different setting, these objects might be valued for their local and regional features, or archaeological details like the preservation of leather, instead of being used as 'typical Frankish objects', in which role they would always have to be as general as possible.

Conclusion

At the end of the 19th century, the public sale of a range of Early Medieval grave goods from Niederbreisig was an opportunity for the RMO at Leiden. Its collections did not yet contain such assemblages from Dutch soil, and the Rhineland finds were seen as 'typically Frankish' and were thus suited and used for showing the Early Middle Ages in presentations of Dutch (*sic*) archaeology. Other museums outside the Rhineland seem to have bought their selection of the Niederbreisig finds for the same reason, and also in the US they functioned – and still function – as 'universal Early Medieval objects from Europe'. However, after the Second World War, the ideas of a communal, 'Germanic' past were largely abandoned, while excavations of large cemeteries within the borders of the present-day Netherlands presented the Museum with large collections of its 'own' Early Medieval objects, often of a better quality and with more information on their context. Since then, the 'ancient European' finds from Niederbreisig have been living a shadow life in the Leiden museum, and mostly everywhere as well. Their specific local details and archaeological characteristics are yet to be researched and valued.

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PART 4

Objects & Outreach

In the curator’s chair

Online participation in research on the Ancient Europe collection at the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, the Netherlands

Rosanne van Bodegom

Introduction

This paper presents the results of the pilot crowdsourcing project *Op de stoel van de conservator* (in the curator’s chair), carried out from March through October in 2018. In this crowdsourcing project the public contributed to research on the Ancient Europe collection of the *Rijksmuseum van Oudheden* (RMO; National Museum of Antiquities) in Leiden, the Netherlands. The project was part of the research project *Collecting Europe. In search of European antiquities for the national archaeological collection (1824-1970)*[1] led by Dr. Luc Amkreutz from the *Rijksmuseum van Oudheden* in Leiden, the Netherlands.

The key motives behind the project were to involve the public with a new form of engagement, and valorisation of the collection. Furthermore, the project aimed to contribute to the knowledge on the Museum’s collection and to promote the collection and the Museum with this form of engagement. Within this context we investigated how online crowdsourcing can be applied to research on the Ancient Europe collection. The project was set up on the social media platform Facebook, featuring a main page for followers and a group for participants. Within this group participants could engage with case studies and questions, including tasks like transcribing correspondence, improving the dating and typology of objects, or research on collectors who have contributed artefacts to the Museum. Beside the research output by the participants, the data collected consisted of participant statistics and the monitoring of engagement with different kinds of case studies, themes and media.

Crowdsourcing can be set up with minimal budget and time, and successfully used to engage the public, in this case, with the Ancient Europe collection. However, the quality of the crowdsourcing increases when investments are made in three elements: time, money and flexibility. Furthermore, it is evident that participants want to feel useful, and need guidance and feedback in order to produce substantive results. The project also serves as food for thought on the role and function of museum collections nowadays and what new means of (digital) interaction with the public are needed to fulfil engagement demands.

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[1] NWO project no 333-54-012.

Online participation in research is one of many ways in which a museum can go beyond its physical walls. This form of crowdsourcing gives museums the chance to have a dynamic form of interaction with the public. On the one hand, there is a growing demand from the public for meaningful information and mutual interaction with museums online. This demand is answered by providing a digital framework and environment (McGee/Harrower 2017, 303-304). On the other hand, research is enhanced by added personal stories, labour contribution and the combination of public participation and expert commentary (Marty 2007; McGee/Harrower 2017, 303-304). Each museum has its own collection, identity and established relations with the public. It is therefore up to each cultural institution to create a strategy on how to move forward in an increasingly digitalizing and participatory age while safeguarding quality of information (Everstijn 2019; Rozan 2019).

Online public engagement

Crowdsourcing is generally practiced online. It is the practice of obtaining information for, or input into a task or project by enlisting the services of a large number of people, either paid or unpaid, typically via the Internet (Oxford English Dictionary 2019). For museums crowdsourcing is a method to engage with people while potentially meeting multiple demands of the public. In the last decade, several successful crowdsourcing projects have been developed, for example the *Micropasts* program by the British Museum together with University College London (Bonacchi *et al.* 2014). The RMO also hosted a crowdsourcing initiative within the *Metamorfoze project*, in which volunteers transcribed letters from the archives. The initial inquiry for volunteers was answered with over 250 responses (Bulsink 2018). Various research outcomes indicate that the public views online presence as an essential part of the Museum. There is a growing demand for not only museum websites, but a multi-channel digital presence which includes various social media (AXIEEL 2016; Cameron/Kenderdine 2007; Everstijn 2019; Hausmann 2012; King *et al.* 2016; Marty 2007; Puhl *et al.* 2008; Rozan 2019; Skov 2013). While the global number of museum visitors grows, in part because of an increase in interactive exhibitions and international travel, museums have to become more easily accessible from home as well (Eckholm/Weckström 2016; Museum Association 2013, 3, 13-15). Museums are expected to serve the public with information that can be accessed anywhere and is constantly available (*e.g.* Everstijn 2019; Marinescu 2018, 185; Marty 2008, 82; Rozan 2019). Furthermore, Everstijn (2019) mentions that users' digital needs increase in sophistication and that they look for ongoing and dynamic dialogues when interacting with a museum. In 2013, 15 Dutch museums conducted a survey amongst their website visitors (INTK 2013). Of the website visitors looking for information, 51% planned a visit to the museum or wanted to book or buy something, while 49% chose one of the following answers: find information for personal reasons/find information for professional reasons/engage in casual browsing (INTK 2013). Similar results were found in earlier research in Indiana, US (Filippini Fantoni *et al.* 2012) and in Ireland (Marty 2008). These outcomes show that a online museum's presence is not limited to practical information, but provides an opportunity for engagement with a group of people looking for more knowledge and immersion (Nixon 2003). Online participation in research carried out by a museum gives participants the chance of gaining more knowledge and immersion while receiving direct feedback and points of discussion. Furthermore, online crowdsourcing is not limited by opening times or distance to the Museum, potentially facilitating the formation of a diverse and large group of participants. Looking back at the traditional role of a museum, Emmanuel Arinze, the 1999 chairman of the Museum Association, mentions the following:

> "[…] *to collect objects and materials of cultural, religious and historical importance, preserve them, research into them and present them to the public for the purpose of education and enjoyment."* (Arinze 1999, 1)

Online crowdsourcing has the potential to fill in both purposes of education and enjoyment and take this a step further. The public itself takes on the role of researcher and educator. The research itself becomes part of the enjoyment. Key in this definition and the application of crowdsourcing is the term 'present'. While the artefacts do not necessarily change, it is the way they are presented and the choice of what information is given, which defines the impact on the public and how museums move their collections forward into the future.

Crowdsourcing and the RMO's Ancient Europe collection

The Ancient Europe collection of the RMO features artefacts collected from 1824 onwards, and currently consists of over 7500 objects from various European countries, such as Denmark, Germany, Hungary, Switzerland and the UK (Amkreutz 2015, 1). In 1956 the galleries in which the Ancient Europe collection was exhibited were closed down. From 2016-2018, curator Dr. Luc Amkreutz led the *Collecting Europe* project, disclosing and interpreting the history of the Ancient Europe collection with archival research and modern archaeological techniques. More details on the history and content of the Ancient Europe collection can be found elsewhere in this volume (see Amkreutz, this volume). Furthermore, a temporary exhibition in the RMO has been curated, explaining the extensive history of the Ancient Europe collection. In this exhibition the crowdsourcing project was also mentioned.

Within the *Collecting Europe* project, a web platform was envisaged to allow visitors to actively participate in the research by sitting 'in the curator's chair'. This way a broader group of interested parties could become involved, generating complementary output to the research of the curator (Amkreutz 2015, 9). This output would consist of a contribution to the analysis of objects through the answering of questions, the provision of information and/or the search for artefact parallels (Amkreutz 2015, 10). By combining different sources, a 'web of information' was created around an object or group of objects that provided clues for interpretation. The participants became co-owners of the research and developed a better understanding of the value of the objects and the collection (Amkreutz 2015).

Research questions

For the RMO, the project would give insight into a novel way of public engagement regarding parts of the collection which are not permanently on display. The results could shed light on how these less visible collections can potentially be used in the future without actually displaying them physically. In designing the project there were three key elements. Firstly, the aim was for results to contribute to the knowledge of the collection. Volunteers could perform tasks in which knowledge is gathered to supplement the primary information that is already available. Some of these tasks are time-consuming and cannot always wholly be performed by the Collections and Research department. A second key element was promotional. The project served as a promotion for the collection in itself as well as for the exhibition *Ancient Europe – New research on an important collection*, which was exhibited from July 2018-November 2020. The aim was to involve people and make them aware and enthusiastic for this type of research. The third aspect was the participation component. Not only for the Museum, but also for the general valorisation of archaeological research it was clear that it is becoming increasingly important to involve the public, both in the course of the research and the results.

Looking at the aims of the project, the following research question applies: *How can online crowdsourcing be applied to research on the Ancient Europe collection, in order to engage with the public*? In answering this question, several related questions apply: *Is the Ancient Europe collection suitable for crowdsourcing and how can it be employed? What is the time/cost of 'In the curator's chair'? Is social media an effective means of online crowdsourcing? What is the suitability of online crowdsourcing as a contribution to scientific research on museum collections, beside engagement?*

Methodology

In the curator's chair ran from 30-03-2018 – 01-10-2018. The time available for running the project was approximately eight hours per week for the duration of the project. The preparation time beforehand consisted of two months, for approximately eight hours per week. The data that was planned to be collected consisted of two types. The first type of data centred on the suitability of the Ancient Europe collection and the second type on the group of participants. By monitoring engagement an idea arose of which objects of the Ancient Europe collection, as well as surrounding themes, discussions and tasks, were more or less suitable for crowdsourcing. The collection was never physically handled by the participants. All the content created consisted of digital media such photos, videos, PDFs and text. Of the complete RMO collection, approximately 72,000 objects are publicly accessible via the Museum's website www.rmo.nl (Baan/Weijland 2018, 99). Where possible in the project, the website entries were referred to when mentioning a specific object in a designed case study. All further content like videos, behind-the-scenes-footage and sneak peaks of the exhibition were shot by Museum staff. The second type of data planned to be collected concerned information on the group of participants, to see whether factors such as age, interests and familiarity with the Museum would influence the level of engagement. The target public at its broadest were people over 13 years of age, with an interest in antiquity. Within this group targeted messages were sent to attract related interest groups such as amateur archaeologists, students with a degree related to antiquity and archaeology and people who already follow the Museum on various social media channels. In order to save money and time, the social media platform Facebook was chosen as the base from which *In the curator's chair* would operate. This way no separate website needed to be built for the project and Facebook also presents (anonymised) statistical data on various aspects of their users for free. The second reason to use Facebook was that potential participants would not need to create a new account to follow the project's progress or participate, and that by having an account they already agreed to Facebook's terms of agreement. A third reason was the ability to share content of the project into already existing networks and groups, creating higher exposure. Furthermore, Facebook has an automatic translation option, providing non-Dutch speakers with a version of the content in their native language.

Designing In the curator's chair

After the initial draft of the project and the decision to use Facebook as the preferred social media platform from which to launch *In the curator's chair*, the following target goals were set: 200 followers, 75 participants

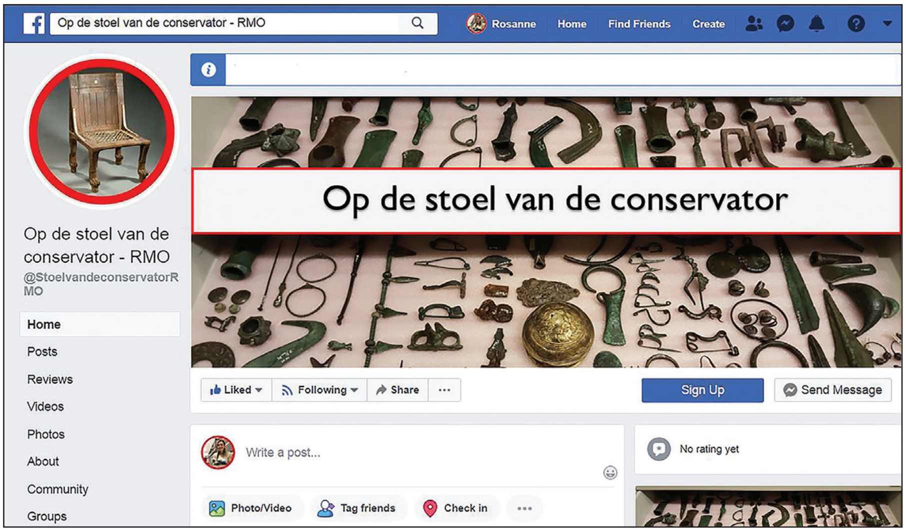
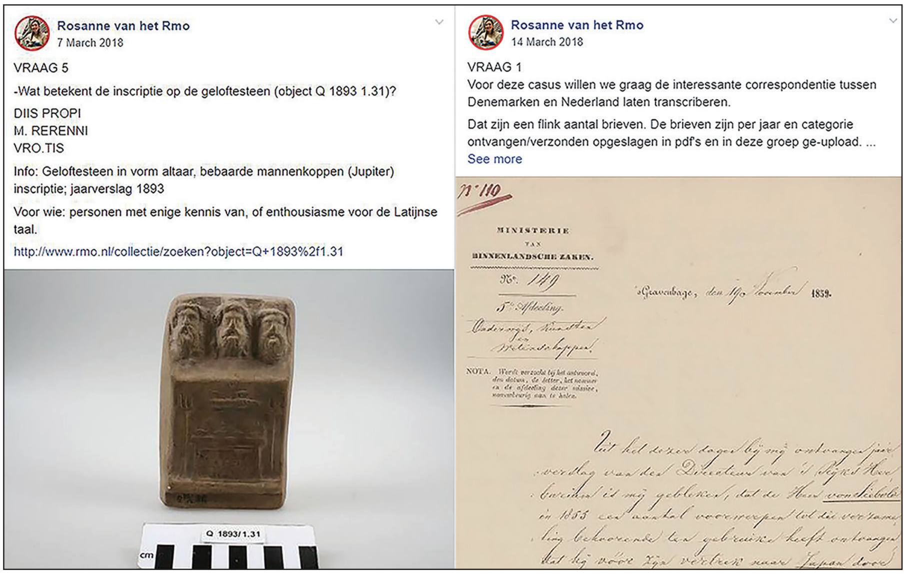

Op de stoel van de conservator - RMO
Rosanne
Home
Find Friends
Create
Op de stoel van de conservator
Op de stoel van de conservator - RMO
@StoelvandeconservatorRMO
Home
Posts
Reviews
Videos
Photos
About
Community
Groups
Liked
Following
Share
Sign Up
Send Message
Write a post...
No rating yet
Photo/Video
Tag friends
Check in

Fig. 1 Screenshot of the main page on Facebook of *In the curator's chair*. This page could be 'liked', making people followers of the project. On this page, people could also apply to be a participant of the project (screenshot taken 30-09-2018; photo in screenshot: RMO).



Rosanne van het Rmo
7 March 2018

VRAAG 5

-Wat betekent de inscriptie op de geloftesteen (object Q 1893 1.31)?

DIIS PROPI
M. RERENNI
VRO.TIS

Info: Geloftesteen in vorm altaar, bebaarde mannenkoppen (Jupiter) inscriptie; jaarverslag 1893

Voor wie: personen met enige kennis van, of enthousiasme voor de Latijnse taal.

http://www.rmo.nl/collectie/zoeken?object=Q+1893%2f1.31

Q 1893/1.31
cm

Rosanne van het Rmo
14 March 2018

VRAAG 1
Voor deze casus willen we graag de interessante correspondentie tussen Denemarken en Nederland laten transcriberen.

Dat zijn een flink aantal brieven. De brieven zijn per jaar en categorie ontvangen/verzonden opgeslagen in pdf's en in deze groep ge-upload. ...
See more

N° 110
MINISTERIE
VAN
BINNENLANDSCHE ZAKEN.
'sGravenhage, den
1859.
NOTA.

Fig. 2 Examples of case study questions. (A) Case study question asking for a translation of a Latin inscription on a votive altar. (B) Case study question asking for the transcription of a letter from the Dutch ministry of Internal Affairs to the 'Archaeological Cabinet' in Leiden (currently National Museum of Antiquities) (screenshot taken 30-09-2018; photo in screenshot © RMO).

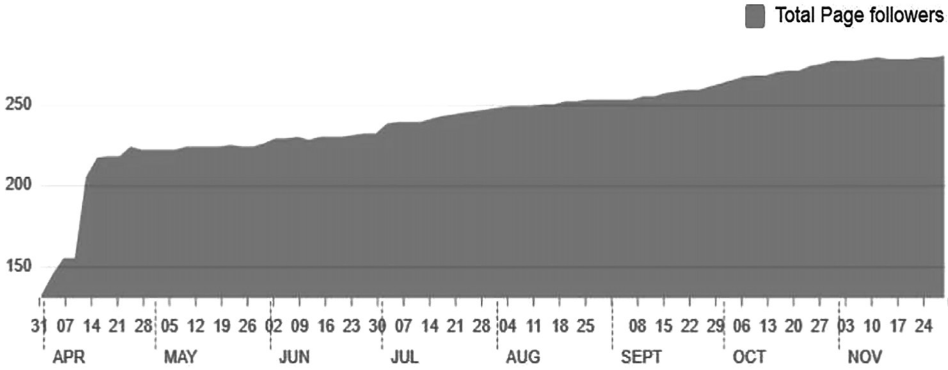


Fig. 3 Graph showing the number of followers of the main page on Facebook for the period of 31-03-2018 – 24-11-2018 (Facebook statistics, 24/11/2018).

and 20 case studies. Of these, the followers were not participating, but onlookers onto the progress of the project. The participants actively joined in answering and discussing set case studies. The case studies consisted of one or more questions regarding one or more objects from the Ancient Europe collection, or questions related to people involved, or themes central to the curation of the Ancient Europe collection. The tasks that were envisioned beforehand included the transcription of correspondence between the Museum and collectors, determining type and age of objects, looking into the careers and lives of collectors, and researching the post-excavation history of artefacts. The case studies were selected and created based on the availability of suitable tasks per group of objects. During the *Collecting Europe* project, a list was made, sorting per decade which objects of the Ancient Europe collection were acquired and by whom they were gifted or sold. Based on this list a selection was made with object groups that had the potential to be a case study. Care was taken to create case studies with a variety of tasks, by focusing on different objects, materials, periods and regions of Europe, showing the variety of the Ancient Europe collection. For each case study an indication was made on how long it would take, what sort of skills were needed and the maximum of people that could apply for it. For the transcription of correspondence, a manual was made to keep the transcriptions consistent.

On Facebook the project was designed with three levels. The main page was an overview page which people could 'like' or 'follow'. This page focused on the promotion of the project and the exhibition, and featured updates, reports of results and unique content like videos of the collection and behind-the-scenes footage (Fig. 1). On this page, people could apply to the participants group, which was a 'group'-page on Facebook. This page was closed-off from the public and was only visible once the moderators approved entry. The third-level pages were also group pages, but dedicated to the separate case studies. Figure 2 shows an example of a question asked in a case study. These groups were also closed-off and only those members participating were allowed entry after asking permission. The idea behind separating into smaller groups was to ensure dedicated participants and reduce hesitation to respond. Before the project went online five case studies had been prepared, after which more would be added over time. The moderators consisted of a team of three, regularly checking the pages for new members, comments and questions. They operated with a regular Facebook account, specifically created for the project. On each Facebook webpage related to the project, a disclaimer was made, concerning intellectual property, liability and the absence of payments in any form.

Targets	Actual results (as of 01-10-2018)
200 followers	279 followers
75 participants	101 participants
20 case studies	8 case studies & 5 case questions

Table 1 Comparison between the targets that were set at the start of the project in March 2018 and the actual results when the project ended on 01-10-2018.

Results

The results from the project are divided in three sections. First the target goals are discussed. Then, the research results are discussed (substantive results in relation to the Ancient Europe collection) and the project results (results in relation to the public participation in this project).

Target results

Table 1 shows a comparison of the set targets and actual results. The number of followers and participants were amply met. Once 'In the curator's chair' went online it quickly amassed followers during the first week when the project was actively promoted, online and offline. Once the project was underway there was a slow, but steady increase in followers (see Tab. 1 and Fig. 3). The number of participants showed the same rising pattern. The main reason the target of case studies was not met was due to the unforeseen amount of time it took to interact with the participants on the existing case studies. Therefore, several case studies were made smaller and presented as single questions.

Research results

In general, the participants were critical and made good use of sources and references. They participated with great enthusiasm, which yielded valuable results for the acquisition of knowledge on the Ancient Europe collection. Important tasks, like the transcribing of correspondence and the analysis of coin imagery, have been completed. For some objects, the Museum's information has been corrected after research done by the public. The complete results have been collected and will be taken up in the Museum records. A summary of the case studies, types of questions and degree of response is given in Table 2. Case studies with less than two questions are called case questions here. Case studies with numismatic questions, transcribing correspondence or looking up personal histories attracted the most engagement. Case studies with questions on typology, dating or finding parallels generally attracted less or no engagement. An exception to this was case question 12. Here a considerable discussion developed on the meaning of the statuette in question and whether it could be called a 'goddess statuette'. The region of origin of the

Case study	Period	Region	Question types	Response
1. Finds from Belgium	Neolithic-Middle Ages	Various regions in Europe	-Typology -Dating -Finding parallels -Translating Latin	Several comments on typology. Extensive discussion on Latin translation. No comments on dating and finding parallels.
2. Minoan?	Bronze Age	Ancient Greece	-Collector's history -Typology	Completely finished, extensive research for both question types.
3. Neolithic axe and chisel from England and Ireland	Neolithic	England and Ireland	-Collector's history -Historical research -Typology -Toponymy	Comments on collector's history and toponymy. No comments on historical research and typology.
4. Quarrelling with Denmark	1859-1861	Netherlands and Denmark	-Correspondence transcription	Extensive work done. 57 pages of important correspondence was transcribed.
5. Roman coins from Germany	Roman period	Germany	-Dating -Numismatics	Completely finished. Dates and types of coins were determined.
6. Flint from Leytonstone	Palaeolithic	England	-Toponymy	No comments (but answered in participants group).
7. Roman coins from Monterberg	Roman period	Germany	-Numismatics	Almost completely finished. Extensive discussions on imagery.
8. Mr. Koenen & Mr. Krantz	1850s-1930s	Germany	-Collector's history -Correspondence transcription -Typology	Extensive discussion on collector's history. Other questions unanswered.
Case question	**Period**	**Region**	**Question type**	**Response**
9. Flint from Leytonstone	Palaeolithic	England	-Toponymy	Extensive discussion.
10. Rosonowsky's bronze needle	Unknown	Hungary	-Object determination	No response.
11. Belgian pottery	Middle Ages (100-750 AD)	Belgium	-Dating	No response.
12. The plaster statuette from Germany	Unknown	Germany	-Finding parallels	Extensive discussion.
13. Auvernie, Auvergne, Auvergnier?	Neolithic	France	-Toponymy	Several comments.

Table 2 Overview of the case studies used for *In the curator's chair.*

Country	# of people	City	# of people	Language	# of people
Netherlands	278	Leiden, NL	46	Dutch	229
Belgium	8	Groningen, NL	25	English (UK)	44
United Kingdom	4	Amsterdam, NL	17	English (US)	21
Germany	3	The Hague, NL	17	German	4
Greece	2	Utrecht, NL	14	Russian	2
Italy	2	Rotterdam, NL	13	Italian	2
France	2	Deventer, NL	7	Greek	1
Sweden	2	Nijmegen, NL	7	Polish	1
Iraq	1	Delft, NL	5	Arabic	1
Singapore	1	Arnhem, NL	4	French (France)	1

Table 3 Aggregated demographic data about the people who follow the main page of *In the curator's chair*, based on the country, residence and language information provided in user's profiles. The total number of followers was 279 people. (Facebook statistics, 24-11-2018).

objects did not seem to matter, with an exception for case studies concerning Denmark or (Ancient) Greece. People mentioned they had specifically looked for a case study concerning these regions.

Project results

The user statistics provided by Facebook demonstrate that the largest group of followers were men and women between 25-34 years of age with a division of 61% women and 39% men. Figure 4 shows that the other age groups were represented in a downward sloping curve from the largest age group. A significantly low percentage is seen in the age group 13-17. Followers' place of residence varied greatly and was not limited to the Netherlands (Tab. 3). Leiden and Groningen are the two cities that most followers state as their place of residence. Together with Deventer and Amsterdam, these are the places where universities have archaeology programmes. Table 3 also shows that approximately 18% of followers had English as their installed language on Facebook. It is

Fig. 4 Aggregated demographic data about followers of the main page of *In the curator's chair*, based on the age and gender information provided in user profiles. The total number of followers was 279 people (Facebook statistics, 24-11-2018).

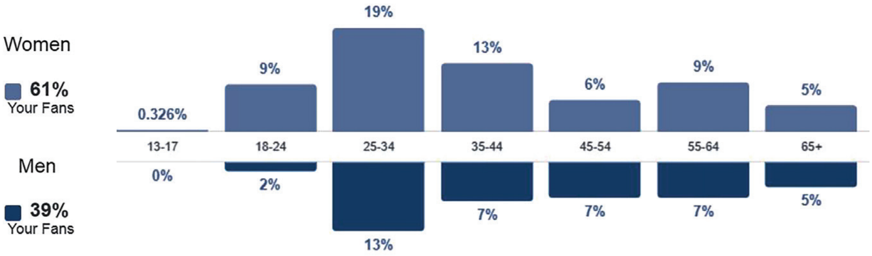
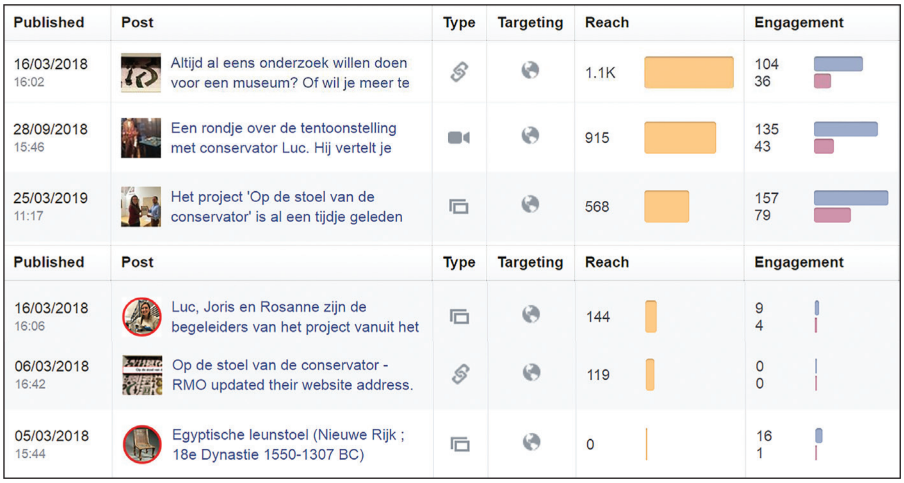


Fig. 5 Overview of the three posts with the highest engagement (top) and with the lowest engagement (bottom). 'Reach' applies to the amount of Facebook users reached in total (Facebook statistics, 23-05-2019).



Published	Post	Type	Targeting	Reach	Engagement
16/03/2018 16:02	Altijd al eens onderzoek willen doen voor een museum? Of wil je meer te	🔗	🌐	1.1K	104 36
28/09/2018 15:46	Een rondje over de tentoonstelling met conservator Luc. Hij vertelt je	📹	🌐	915	135 43
25/03/2019 11:17	Het project 'Op de stoel van de conservator' is al een tijdje geleden	▭	🌐	568	157 79
Published	**Post**	**Type**	**Targeting**	**Reach**	**Engagement**
16/03/2018 16:06	Luc, Joris en Rosanne zijn de begeleiders van het project vanuit het	▭	🌐	144	9 4
06/03/2018 16:42	Op de stoel van de conservator - RMO updated their website address.	🔗	🌐	119	0 0
05/03/2018 15:44	Egyptische leunstoel (Nieuwe Rijk ; 18e Dynastie 1550-1307 BC)	▭	🌐	0	16 1

unclear how many of these users could speak Dutch, but the possibility exists that they followed or participated using Facebook's translation option.

Concerning the posting of photos, videos, links and information, Facebook statistics showed that days of the week, or time of day had no effect on the number of followers online, with exception of the hours midnight-07.00 AM. Figure 5 shows the three posts with the highest engagement and three posts with the lowest engagement, all from the main page of *In the curator's chair*. The post with the largest reach was the main promotional post, which was shared in groups with related interests. The post with the second largest reach was a video giving a sneak peek of the *Ancient Europe* exhibition. The third post was the final post of the project, showing the results and thanking the participants. Although not the highest reach, this post had the most engagement in terms of comments, clicks and shares. Overall, the videos were the type of post that was engaged with most. Figure 6, however, shows that high engagement does not mean that the videos were watched in full. On average, only 16% of the audience was still watching after 36 seconds, after which a steady decline left 3% that watched a full video. The three posts that were least engaged with were (highest engagement to lowest engagement) the introduction to the team of moderators, changes to the practical information and the instalment of a profile picture/logo.

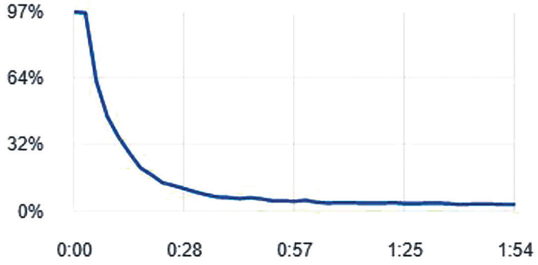


Fig. 6 Graph showing the audience retention of one of the video's showed on the main page of *In the curator's chair*. The percentage on the y-axis is the number of people watching, the x-axis shows the amount of time watched (Facebook statistics, 28-11-2018).

Discussion

The results of this study indicate that in terms of the quality of engagement *In the curator´s chair* provided participants with in-depth and broadened knowledge of the Ancient Europe collection. By creating a platform online, the collection has been brought back in the open, as, with exception of the temporary exhibition, it is generally not on display in the RMO. This provided online visitors with unique content and an experience which cannot be replicated with a visit to the Museum. The enthusiasm and care with which the research output was generated shows the motivation of the public to learn and involve themselves with the content the Museum has to offer. In combination with information regarding which tasks, questions or themes were met with little to no engagement, an idea can be formed of what the needs and expectations of the public are. Important lessons were also learned concerning the time needed for creating, managing and finishing a crowdsourcing project. The demand of the public for online engagement was evident from research and projects before the start of this project (Everstijn 2019; Filippini Fantoni *et al.* 2012; INTK 2013; Marty 2008). The next step is understanding and coming to terms with this new aspect in the relationship between public and museum (Marty 2008, 95; Russo/Watkins 2007, 151). The results of this study provide valuable information on the needs and expectations of the public as well as knowledge on the amount of time it takes to create content, engage with the participants and fact-check research outcomes. It also gave insights on the usefulness of the research output the participants provided. This provides guidance for future public engagement strategies of the RMO.

Three factors of quality crowdsourcing

An important point resulting from *In the curator's chair* is that when creating a crowdsourcing project, a museum needs to make decisions on three factors, namely how much time, money and flexibility they are willing to give. If an ample amount is spent on each factor, the results show that satisfied followers will ensue. Time will make the project grow in available, varied content. This includes content created by the public. When the moderators would not actively participate in certain discussions these would sometimes cease developing. Participants need to hear whether they are going in the right direction and that they are providing the project with the research output needed. The participants are volunteers, doing work which could otherwise not be finished by a curator due to lack of time. The reward for the volunteers lies in the recognition of their work. In the temporary exhibition at the RMO, museum visitors which were also participants saw the crowdsourcing project mentioned, and could also recognize objects from the case studies. They were also invited as special guests for the opening of the exhibition. One must also take into account that people may start on the project with enthusiasm, but not finish it due to other commitments getting in the way. However, it is evident that commitment works both ways.

Money spent on marketing, PR and technological streamlining will make the awareness and number of followers grow. While a crowdsourcing project can be set up with relatively little money, there are several benefits to spending some more. Spending money on targeted ads online and offline may increase awareness under potential participants, but museums should take care to find a balance between treating crowdsourcing as an engagement tool and a marketing tool (Koszary 2018). The user-friendliness of the platform may also potentially grow by using a specifically designed web platform. This will give a museum the chance to increase the accessibility of case studies and streamline communication. In using an existing (social media) platform like Facebook, statistics are provided and no expensive web design is needed, but one is also limited to the structure provided.

Flexibility in the communication with participants is essential. Guidance and commentary should be given frequently and shortly after participants' comments, as this will grow the participant's satisfaction with the engagement offered. Done right, the Museum truly enters into a form a dialogue where it has the chance to educate the participants and lead them along a narrative, as well as learning from the public. Indeed, Russo and Watkins (2007, 153) state that a curator's role of educator and collection caretaker only strengthens by an audience-focused approach. Flexibility also saves the Museum time, as there is more control over the quality of research output and less fact-checking needs to be done afterwards. This factor is perhaps the hardest to apply, as museum professionals often have other responsibilities and schedules next to a crowdsourcing project. In this case the appointment of a project member specifically for the crowdsourcing projects was both a necessary and valuable investment.

Looking at the results of the research output of *In the curator's chair* there is a clear division between types of questions and the amount of engagement. A possible explanation for this is that it may be difficult to draw conclusions on questions relating to typology, dating or finding parallels while only having photographs next to textual information. An increase in video material or 3D imagery of artefacts may help people take on these types of tasks and questions. A second possibility is that these questions rely more on expertise and opinion of the participant and rely less on collecting sources. Thirdly, providing participants with guidebooks, related sources, instruction and more background information may also help them answer these questions. Furthermore, it would be interesting to study whether different questions are engaged with more when crowdsourcing offline or by certain age groups.

The results concerning followers of the project have given insight into their behaviour. It showed which age group formed the majority of people involved. The age group distribution of participants is in accordance with the age group distribution of museum visitors (UK Department for Culture, Media & Sport 2016, 6). What our data does not show, unfortunately, is whether there is a relation between certain age groups and certain kinds of crowdsourcing tasks or themes. This is a limitation in the statistics which might in the future be solved by conducting a survey amongst the participants. Another limitation of the current study is that there were no means to measure how much the project contributed to the promotion of the temporary exhibition of the Ancient Europe collection and vice versa. This also could be solved by undertaking a survey amongst both the participants of the project and the Museum visitors. By monitoring engagement with certain tasks/themes or types of posts and discussions, museums can tailor their content to their public, in turn bringing about more engagement and possibly more visitors. Museums must, however, stay critical and not only serve what works, but keep trying to see where, and on what topics engagement can be developed, finding common ground between what the public wants and what the Museum wishes to present. Fojut (2009), states that the meaning and interpretations that people assign to objects may have risen above the physical substance of the objects (Fojut 2009, 18; Holtorf 2012, 8). Museums have the power to influence and shape the way these objects are beheld and interpreted (Everstijn 2019). Content and posts do not exist on their own, but are part of a bigger story which must be kept in mind when setting up a project (Marinescu 2018; Marty 2008, 95).

Conclusion

The results of this study offer insights to museums into what kind of engagement the public is looking for and how the practice of crowdsourcing can contribute to this. The RMO project *In the curator's chair* was a successful undertaking in terms of quality of engagement. Reflecting on the research question of how public engagement with (research on) the Ancient Europe collection of the RMO can be increased using online crowdsourcing, the key factors to take into account are time, money and flexibility. A successful crowdsourcing project is not a static entity that can be managed at fixed times, but something that grows and flourishes with flexibility and the ability to react and give guidance to the public when needed. The study offers a contribution by exploring what kinds of crowdsourcing tasks and questions are engaged with on what kind of level. Furthermore, this study showed that the Ancient Europe collection, not normally on display at the RMO, can be used for education, engagement and mutual interaction using only online content. Putting this in a broader perspective, there is new potential to use those parts of collections which museums do not have on display. While this study had its limitations, mainly by including little marketing and by not using a personalised web platform, it has brought the Ancient Europe collection 'back to life'. Museums can use these results for devising strategies for future crowdsourcing endeavours to further involve the public with their narratives and artefacts. Moreover, it must be realised that people giving their free time to help with research is no small matter. The type of research and its results are relevant to the content of the Museum, and it is work which curators do not always have time for. For the long-term, projects like these could potentially give museums a growing record of people who can do an enormous amount of work over the years, while also enjoying and educating themselves and the Museum.

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COLLECTING ANCIENT EUROPE

In order to understand our past, we need to understand ourselves as archaeologists and our discipline. This volume presents recent research into collecting practices of European Antiquities by national museums, institutes and individuals during the 19th and early 20th-century, and the 'Ancient Europe' collections that resulted and remain in many museums.

This was the period during which the archaeological discipline developed as a scientific field, and the study of the archaeological paradigmatic and practical discourse of the past two centuries is therefore of importance, as are the sequence of key discoveries that shaped our field.

Many national museums arose in the early 19th century and strived to acquire archaeological objects from a wide range of countries, dating from Prehistory to the Medieval period. This was done by buying, sometimes complete collections, exchanging or copying. The networks along which these objects travelled were made up out of the ranks of diplomats, aristocracy, politicians, clergymen, military officials and scholars. There were also intensive contacts between museums and universities and there were very active private dealers.

The reasons for collecting antiquities were manifold. Many, however, started out from the idea of composing impressive collections brought together for patriotic or nationalistic purposes and for general comparative use. Later on, motives changed, and in the Dutch National Museum of Antiquities became more scientifically oriented. Eventually these collections fossilized, ending up in the depots. The times had changed and the acquisition of archaeological objects from other European countries largely came to an end.

This group of papers researches these collections of 'Ancient Europe' from a variety of angles. As such it forms an ideal base for further researching archaeological museum collection history and the development of the archaeological discipline.

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