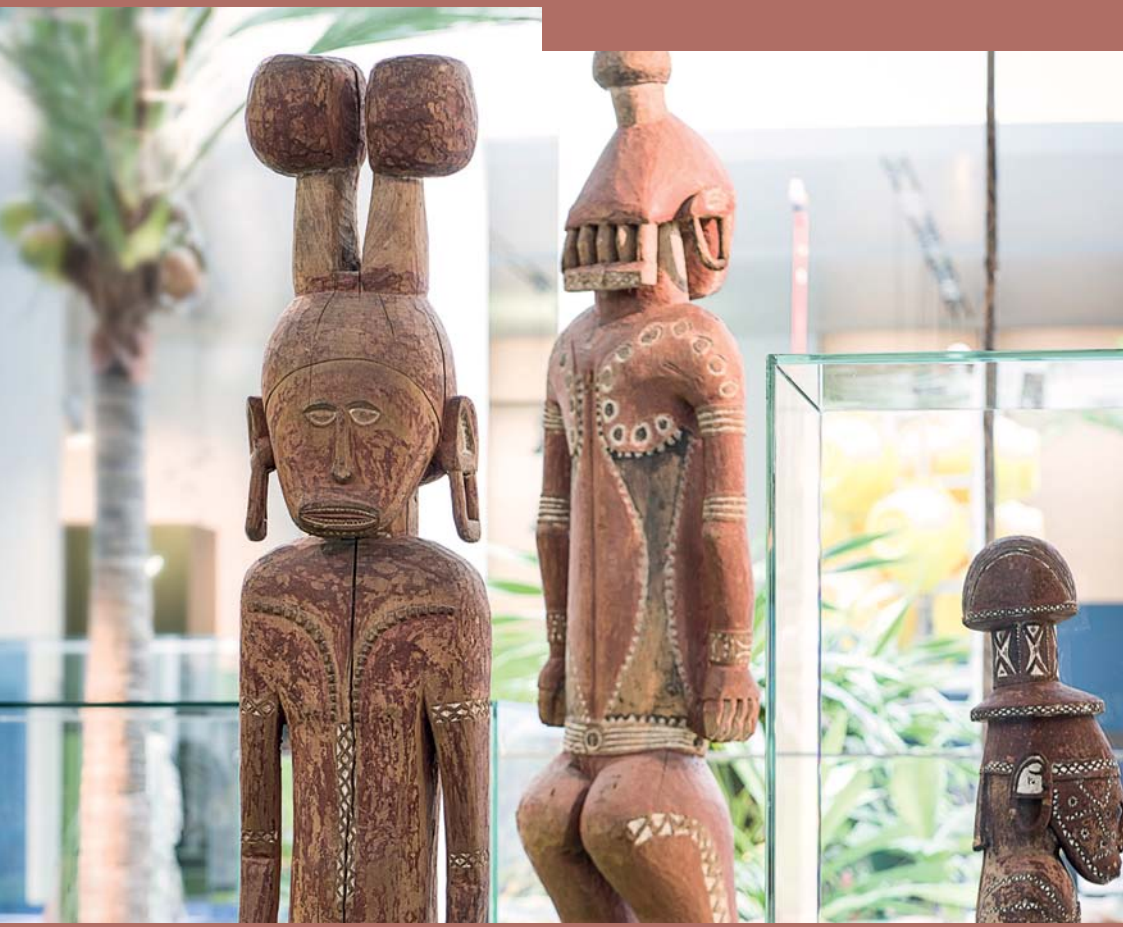
DEUTSCHER MUSEUMS BUND

Guidelines on Dealing with Collections from Colonial Contexts



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Imprint

Guidelines on Dealing with Collections from Colonial Contexts
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Content

Foreword

A preliminary contribution to an indispensable discussion

Since the 1990s, those affected by colonialism and its victims have increasingly been speaking out. The UN adopted the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2007. A little later, the debate reached Germany, especially in the form of demands that ethnological museums face their colonial past. It was not only German museums which were often unprepared for this discussion.

The German Museums Association believes that the historical examination of the colonial past of museums and their collections is vital. The time has come to make this issue better known in the museum landscape and to actively tackle it. These guidelines have two objectives: to heighten awareness among the institutions concerned and their staff, and to provide practical guidance to them.

Many museum objects in Germany were collected between the 17th and the early 20th centuries. Collections from colonial contexts are found not only in ethnological museums, but in all kinds of museums. The German Museums Association therefore expressly addresses all museum and (university) collections with these guidelines.

The intensive discussion during the drafting of these guidelines shows that only those who are prepared to change perspectives and hear nuances will better understand the actual magnitude of this issue and the questions it raises. Therefore, in this preliminary version, the German Museums Association begins by setting out its own position on this important and highly complex subject and presents it to international experts for debate.

Of fundamental importance in dealing with collections from colonial contexts are provenance research and the digitisation of the collections. Both are essential for transparency and international dialogue on equal terms. Large gaps in both areas still complicate the process of assessing colonial collections. The bodies which oversee museums are called upon to provide the necessary financial and human resources for this. In addition, a German Federal Government policy on financial support is also required, because for the most this part concerns non-European collections and therefore also issues of relevance to Germany's international relations.

I would like to thank the members of the working group led by Prof. Wiebke Ahrndt, who have drawn up the guidelines on this extremely complex topic, and all those who wrote the individual articles for their collaborative work and

their commitment. Special thanks are due to Dr Anne Wesche for assuming the academic supervision of the project.

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Prof. Eckart Köhne
President of the German Museums Association

1. Introduction

An interdisciplinary guide to active engagement with collections from colonial contexts

Colonialism has shaped the modern world, defining today's structures and perspectives, and is therefore not a footnote of history. These guidelines are the result of the realisation that objects from colonial contexts not only have their own history, but also have to be seen in a wider historical context. They bear witness to a value system in which, on the basis of an assumed superiority, colonial rulers placed themselves above other states and their populations or parts of the population, exploiting and oppressing them. The German Museums Association believes that the discussion about the colonial past of museums and their collections is essential.

With regard to the colonial era, representatives of the communities from where these objects originate want to discuss their issues on an equal footing with the museums. It is by no means always simply a matter of returning these objects, but mostly about participation, involvement, negotiation processes, the prerogative to interpret the past, and knowledge transfer. This provides a tremendous opportunity to learn more about the objects and their contexts, and to shape the future of the German museum landscape together.

The ethnological museums are seen by many as the embodiment of colonial exploitation. But many other museums also have their roots in the colonial era. A large number of museum collections in Germany and other European countries were built up between the 17th and early 20th centuries – a period marked by European expansion. Thus, almost all types of museum have material from colonial contexts and a lot of different types of object must be considered. An overview of formal colonial rule at the end of these guidelines illustrates the global dimension of the phenomenon of "colonialism".

Objects that can be assigned a colonial context thus come from all over the world, not just from the former German colonies. In addition, there are objects that served the advancement of colonialism, such as technical equipment for transportation as well as weapons and uniforms. Moreover, there are objects which reflect colonial situations or which positively anchored colonialism in the public's perception. Advertising should be mentioned here as well as works of visual and performing arts. The museums also have to realise that colonial situations rarely ended with formal decolonisation and can have a lasting effect to the present day. The aim of this publication, therefore, is to raise awareness that a colonial context can even be assigned to objects made or acquired after decolonisation or to objects from those countries that were themselves never subjected to formal colonial rule.

This shows that even assigning an object to a colonial context may sometimes not be easy. Furthermore, establishing that there is a colonial context does not mean that the provenance should be categorised as problematic or that consideration should always be given to returning the object. Rather it is an indication that sensitivity and scrutiny are needed. These guidelines are intended to facilitate classification and decisions for dealing responsibly with objects from colonial contexts in museums and collections. The museums thus strengthen their awareness of history and problems in connection with colonial and post-colonial contexts in their work. The actual recommendations for action in chapter 5 are preceded by general comments that serve to improve understanding and raise awareness.

Chapter 2 explains concepts that are mentioned throughout the following chapters. This is to ensure a basic understanding. In chapter 3 the different categories of colonial contexts are presented and illustrated with examples. The specialist contributions in chapter 4 provide in-depth explanations of European colonialism, how different types of museum acquired their collections, provenance research and legal aspects. A set of questions on how to deal with the objects is presented in chapter 5, along with the four main tasks of a museum – collecting, preserving, researching and exhibiting. Due to the discussions about returning objects, questions on this topic are also answered. At this point, attention is drawn to the fact that general statements about when it is necessary to return objects are not possible due to the heterogeneity of the cases.

In terms of structure, this publication is thus very similar to the *Recommendations for the Care of Human Remains in Museums and Collections,* published in 2013. By its very nature, however, the subject of these guidelines is broader.

The working group has entered uncharted territory with the *Guidelines for Dealing with Collections from Colonial Contexts.* There are no comparable texts to date. This text is understood by the German Museums Association as a preliminary standpoint and as a basis for discussion, which has its origin in the needs, experiences and questions of German museums. It does not represent the conclusion of a discussion, but rather a preliminary positioning, on the basis of which further discussions should be conducted.

This publication has been prepared by a multidisciplinary working group consisting of ethnologists, archaeologists, natural scientists, art historians, historians and lawyers. In the future, they will be available as contact persons for further specialist questions and will be able to advise on conflicts but will not make any

decisions or act as an ethics committee. Names and contact information can be found at the end of these guidelines. Furthermore, in the case of difficult negotiations on the return of objects, museums can also contact the Headquarter of ICOM, its Ethics Committee or make use of the ICOM-WIPO Art and Cultural Heritage Mediation.

These guidelines are intended to provide impetus, increase awareness and serve as an aid for the work museums undertake with objects from colonial contexts as well as with demands for the return of these objects. Each museum and collection should take these guidelines as the basis on which to formulate its own stance and guidelines for dealing with such objects. In addition, the museums are called upon – regardless of whether they have objects from colonial contexts in their collections – to actively deal with the issue of colonialism in their exhibition and education work.

2. Addressees and terminology

2.1 For whom are these guidelines intended?

These guidelines explicitly address all German museums and (university) collections. These include ethnological, natural history, historical (including local and military history), art and cultural history, archaeological and anthropological museums and collections as well as art, technology and folklore museums. In the following text, for the sake of simplicity, the term "museum" is used throughout.

Almost all types of museum have items from colonial contexts. For example, the natural history museums largely created their non-European collections before 1960, many archaeological objects came from countries that once belonged to the Ottoman Empire, while collections in technical museums include the equipment with which colonial regions were opened up, such as locomotives or telecommunications equipment. In addition, there are objects such as advertising posters or advertising figures for so-called colonial goods.

It follows that different groups of objects must be considered. So it is not – as often assumed – only the ethnological collections that are affected. In particular (though not exclusively), museums are home not only to historically sensitive but also culturally sensitive objects, and this makes the subject even more complex.

2.2 What are historically and culturally sensitive objects?

Objects from colonial contexts are historically sensitive objects, whose history and character have to be assessed by museums. Their acquisition often involved by the use of force and/or highly dependent relationships. In addition, these objects may reflect discrimination and colonial or racist ideologies.

Culturally sensitive objects in museums include human remains, religious and ceremonial objects and symbols of power. They usually have a special significance, which is why dealing with them is subject to justified restrictions on access in the community of origin. For example, some objects (e.g. Australian Aboriginal bullroarers, certain Hindu statues of gods) may not be viewed or touched by women, the uninitiated or low-ranking persons. The objects are considered taboo for these groups, especially controversial or even potentially dangerous. According to some communities of origin, such as those in Oceania, all objects that, for example, are connected to religion, ancestors or imperial insignia, contain Mana[1], which can be potentially dangerous and require rituals prior to handling them. For some

[1] a highly effective force

societies, images of the dead are also a sensitive matter, something which may be relevant for access to historical film and photographic collections.

Photographs, drawings[2], impressions, anthropometric data, film and sound recordings[3] of members of the communities of origin may also be regarded as culturally sensitive objects for ethical reasons. Such forms of documentation were, and in some cases still are, totally incompatible with the world view and value system of some communities of origin. In the colonial context, some of these forms of documentation were created by exerting pressure or the use of force. The subjects also had to endure degrading practices sometimes, such as exposing the head or body.

Owing to the way in which many European museums acquired their collections (cf. also background information from p. 37 onwards), a very large overlap of historically and culturally sensitive objects from colonial contexts can be found in the institutions. Museums should be aware that the special significance of culturally sensitive objects is, as a rule, not based on the colonial context, but primarily in the object itself and thus in its significance for the community of origin.

It should be noted, however, that culturally sensitive objects make up only part of the collections. Most collections rather contain objects of everyday culture (some of them without signs of use or not/no longer functional), supplemented by obvious souvenirs and models of all kinds.

2 During the Hamburg South Sea Expedition, for example, Elisabeth Krämer-Bannow drew tattoo designs of Micronesian women. The publication of these images is considered an affront and breach of trust by today's Micronesian women (personal statement by Susanne Kühling).

3 Some Australian cinema and television films, but also public libraries and archives indicate per disclaimer in the opening credits or on their websites and in their brochures that the film or the collections and archives contain images and sound recordings of now deceased persons as Torres Strait Islanders, and certain Australian Aboriginal groups, regard the mention of the deceased as offensive or even prohibited (e. g. State Library of Queensland: Protocols for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Collections).

2.3 What is the temporal and geographic scope of these guidelines?

Their scope is unlimited. Colonial contexts existed in different regions and countries at different times. These guidelines therefore have no limits in terms of time or geography. They apply to all objects from colonial contexts (cf. categorisation p. 16).

2.4 What is meant by "colonial contexts"?

To answer this question, let us begin by explaining three basic concepts:

Colonialism

Basically, colonialism is a relationship marked by domination, in which the colonised are limited in their self-determination, are subject to heteronomy and forced to adapt to the needs and interests of the colonisers, especially as far as of politics and economic aspects are concerned. What most colonisers had in common was an unwillingness to accept or even accommodate societies they subjugated, either culturally or politically, or to adapt to local circumstances[4].

Colonialism was not a uniform process, but varied with regard to when it occurred, where it occurred, and who was the colonising power. It had global significance.

Colonisation often began with exploration, the establishment of trade links, or missionary work. Settlement or formal subordination to the colonial power might follow, as might informal penetration. In more than a few cases, colonisation culminated in violent conquest and the subjugation of the regions in question.

Colonisation manifested itself in a great variety of ways. The three main forms of colonies were "trade and military enclaves", "exploitation colonies" and "settlement colonies" (see also background information on European colonialism pp. 24 ff).[5]

[4] according to Osterhammel and Jansen 2017

[5] Since the beginning of the 20th century, the term "Non-Self-Governing Territories" has been used as a synonym for colonies/protectorates in international law (cf. also UN https://www.un.org/en/decolonization/nonselfgov.shtml)

The characteristics of colonialism and the transitions between the various forms were geographically and temporally very different and often fluid, as were the transitions from formal colonial rule with claims to territorial ownership to an informal dominion without direct territorial claims.

Even after the end of formal colonial rule, colonial structures had lasting effects. Firstly, they continued to have a regional impact because the elites in many states that had become independent resorted to a form of politics that differed little[6] from that of the colonial period, and in particular often practised a nationalist policy that continued to marginalise certain ethnic groups[7]. Secondly, there was a supraregional impact because economic and cultural exploitation structures continued to exist. For example, independence from Spain did not change or even improve the situation of indigenous peoples in Latin America. Many North American Native Americans, on the other hand, did not come under American dominance until decades after US independence. There are comparable examples for all continents. Most of those affected are minorities who define themselves as an ethnic group[8] or are defined by others as such.

The term "colonial" refers to the actual exercise of rule, as well as to the ideologies, discourses (also racial discourses), knowledge systems, aesthetics and perspectives, which preceded formal or actual rule and which supported and safeguarded it for colonisation and can have an impact beyond it. They not only have an effect in colonial territories but also worldwide and are interrelated (see also "Post-colonial" below).

Colonial ideologies, even in states without a formal colonial history, have led to structures in which parts of the population were or are exposed to domestic power imbalances. The westward expansion of the United States, which resulted in conflicts with indigenous Americans, is one example of this. At the time of this expansion, the British colony on North American soil had gained its independence on

6 cf. Conrad 2012

7 The various marginalised groups, in their entirety, may constitute the numerical majority of the population in some countries.

8 Ethnicity: a category of individuals who, based on the ideology of a common descent and culture, is set apart from other categories of people by social processes of exclusion and/or incorporation. Ethnic belonging and ethnic boundaries are marked and signalled by certain (almost random) cultural traits and patterns: often territorial references, religion or socio-political organisation." (cf. Thode-Arora 1999).

soil. The newly acquired areas were successively integrated into its own territory and not managed as colonies. Nevertheless, the seizure of its land brought the indigenous population into a colonial situation.

Colonial ideologies are also reflected in objects and portrayals of European origin.

B Post-colonial

Firstly, post-colonial refers to the situation and period after the formal end of colonialism, and secondly it also means a theoretical framework and a programmatic demand. Post-colonial perspectives rely on a critical and differentiated examination of role models and power structures that have their origins in colonialism. They are based on the assumption that mental structures and knowledge storage are important to the imposition of colonialism and also see this as one of the long-term effects. Post-colonial approaches reinforce the general awareness that colonialism took very different forms, having a lasting effect on both the colonised and the colonisers.

Their goal is to overcome the Eurocentric way of thinking and highlight the reciprocity in the historical developments.

C Racism

The European Commission Against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) defines racism[9] as "the belief that a ground such as race, colour, language, religion, nationality, or national or ethnic origin justifies contempt for a person or a group of persons or the notion of the superiority of a person or a group of persons". This includes the attribution of cultural and psychological characteristics due to certain outward features such as skin colour.

Colonialism and racism intersect and overlap. Modern colonialism (from about the 15th century) was increasingly influenced by the self-perception of cultural superiority (theological, technological, biological) of the members of the colonial powers. The idea that people outside Europe had different mental and physical attributes and were thus not capable of high (cultural) achievements and, consequently, were not equal to other (European) cultures was anchored in the colonial mind-set. As

[9] Since all people belong to the same species, ECRI rejects theories that are based on the existence of different "races". However, ECRI uses this term to ensure that people commonly and incorrectly referred to as members of a "different race" are not excluded from the protection of legislation (ECRI 2003).

a result, European colonial powers, for their part, believed it was their mission to civilise and lead the "savages" and "barbarians" in other parts of the world[10]. In practice, however, this thinking was used to justify heteronomy and exploitation.

Many colonial powers developed a multi-faceted racial supremacy mind-set, culminating in the racial teachings of the 19th and 20th centuries[11].

Further explanations can be found in the background information "European colonialism: Political, economic and cultural aspects of early globalisation" in chapter 4.1 from p. 24.

Definition of the term "colonial context"

The term "colonial context" describes much more than "only" formal colonial rule, such as German or British, French or Spanish colonial rule. Colonial contexts did not end in 1918/19 when the German Empire lost its colonies. Nor did they end in the 1960s with the decolonisation of large parts of Africa. Furthermore, they did not begin in 1884, but all the way back in the 15th century, when the Europeans explored the world and, for example, Spanish colonial rule in America began. It had not even started in other parts of the world when it ended there in the early 19th century.

On the basis of the preceding explanatory notes, these guidelines draw the following conclusion regarding the definition of the term "colonial context":

Colonial context as the term is used in these guidelines is initially regarded as circumstances and processes that have their roots either in formal colonial rule or in colonial structures outside formal colonial rule. At such times, structures of great political power imbalance may have arisen both between and within states or other political entities. This created networks and practices that also supported the collection and procurement practices of European museums (cf. chapter 4.2 p. 37 et seq.).

Colonial contexts, however, also led to the emergence of objects and depictions which reflected colonial thinking.

[10] cf. to Osterhammel and Jansen 2017

[11] also cf. Geulen 2016

Common to colonial contexts is an ideology of cultural superiority to colonised or ethnic minority populations[12] (cf. "Colonialism" and "Racism", p. 11 et seq.) and the right to oppress and exploit. This also raises doubts about the legality of its use to justify acquiring collections. In some public debates, acquisition of any object in the colonial context is considered wrong per se. This is justified by the assumption that there was such a power gap between the ruled and the rulers under colonial rule or in colonial structures that the legality of the acquisition of any objects is absolutely inconceivable. These guidelines are based on the conviction that the full range of historical and local acquisition and negotiation processes must be included. Awareness of the entire spectrum should be raised.

[12] The various indigenous groups as a whole can also constitute the numerical majority of the population of a country.

3. Categories of colonial contexts

In these guidelines, colonial contexts are divided into three categories. The categorisation is intended to enable an assessment of objects and raise awareness of the complex causes and relationships of colonial contexts. It does not represent a hierarchy.

If an object can be classified into one of the categories mentioned below, a colonial context as defined by these guidelines can definitely be assumed.

Category 1: Objects from formal colonial rule contexts
An overview of formal colonial rule can be found in the annex starting on p.110. In order to assess whether an object belongs to this category, it is also advisable to take into consideration the development of colonial rule in any given case.

1a: The object is from an area that was under formal colonial rule at the time of collection[13] or manufacture, acquisition or export of the object.

Example 1: Objects from Namibia and the Kingdom of Benin
Most objects from present-day Namibia kept in German museums and collections were collected or acquired by European missionaries, settlers, colonial officials, or military personnel during the colonial occupation and administration of "German South West Africa" (1884–1919). Objects that were collected between 1904 and 1908 in central and southern Namibia were acquired or appropriated during the genocidal colonial war of the German Empire against the Herero and Nama peoples. It is thus possible that such objects came from victims of this genocide.

Objects appropriated while a region was being conquered or as a result of its conquest should be considered historically sensitive. An example of such objects are works of art from the Edo Kingdom of Benin (in present-day Nigeria) that were appropriated in 1897 during a British "punitive expedition" and which today are in many European and North American museum collections.

[13] Here, collection means the process of collecting objects from where they originated, e.g. natural history objects as part of field research.

Example 2: Syrian glass

Ancient glassware from Syria were excavated at the beginning of the 20th century during the construction of the Baghdad Railway, which was to pass through the Ottoman Empire from in what is now Turkey the Konya region to Baghdad. Various German companies were involved in the construction of this railway line on behalf of the Ottoman Empire. Under their direction, there were also large numbers of Armenian forced labourers, who sifted through the rubble for valuable objects. The antique glassware came to Germany through middlemen.

Example 3: Samoan objects

The western part of the Samoan Islands in the Pacific became a German colony in 1899. Colonial officials and settlers often bought objects such as kava bowls, fly-whisks or bark cloth as souvenirs. The great demand for some of these artefacts meant they were also made especially for sale as souvenirs. However, the pieces actually used were significant objects of Samoan culture and society: flywhisks, in addition to their obvious function, are the insignia of an orator chief. Kava, the drink from the root of the pepper bush, is ceremonially prepared and served in kava bowls at official gatherings. The order in which the drink is served reflects a complex balancing of hierarchies. Germans often received these objects as a gift or in exchange. In Samoa, important and long-lasting social relationships are established and confirmed through spontaneous but in the long-term reciprocity-oriented gift-giving, and above all through a ritualised exchange of articles of value.

Example 4: Natural history objects from Australia and New Guinea

Collectors commissioned by the Godeffroy Museum in Hamburg, such as Amalie Dietrich between 1862 and 1872, amassed significant botanical and zoological collections in British colonial territory along the east coast of Australia. Also, in Kaiser Wilhelm's Land, a "protectorate" created by the German New Guinea Company in the northern half of New Guinea in 1885, natural history (often together with ethnological) objects were collected until the early 20th century. Local helpers were deployed and colonial networks were used.

Example 5: Colonial goods and raw materials as well as products manufactured from them

Colonial goods included first and foremost overseas semi-luxury and standard foodstuffs (e.g. cocoa, coffee, tea, sugar, tobacco, rice, spices). Other commodities of commercial interest from former colonised areas included gold, ivory, coconut, bird feathers, hunting and forest products, rubber. In the colonial trade, the local population was often used as labour for the cultivation, harvesting, extraction and often also for the production or transport of the merchandise.

1b: The object was used in an area under formal colonial rule. This use was related to colonial rule, colonial commerce or colonial life.

Examples: Weapons, uniforms, flags, decorations and other military items, vehicles, ships (and parts thereof) as well as other infrastructure elements (rails, wharves etc.), files and documents, production and agricultural equipment, European emblems, signs (signposts etc.), instruments and anthropometric photographs from the field of medicine and "racial doctrine", transport containers (barrels etc.), architecture (fragments), colonial coins, memorabilia of all kinds.

Category 2: Objects from colonial contexts outside formal colonial rule

The object comes from an area that was not under formal colonial rule at the time of collection[14], manufacture, purchase or export of the object, but in which there were informal colonial structures or which was under the informal influence of colonial powers (cf. chapter 4.1, p. 24).

Example 1: Textiles from Guatemala

Guatemala became independent as early as 1821, but the indigenous population continued to live in a colonial situation in which their rights of co-determination were largely denied by the political elite. In the early 1980s, there was a civil war in Guatemala, during which the Mayas in particular suffered. There were massacres and mass refugee movements. Due to economic hardship, the refugees sold their traditional costumes/parts of their costumes and pre-Spanish ceramics plundered from archaeological sites to Europeans working in the country (e.g. teachers at German schools). Also, the women began to weave

[14] Here, collection means the process of collecting objects from where they originated, e.g. natural history objects as part of field research.

belts for sale. These purchases have been offered by the returnees to German museums since the 1990s, and, in the case of textiles, collected by them (the pre-Hispanic ceramics fall under the UNESCO Convention of 1970, or since 2016 under the Act on the Protection of Cultural Property).

Example 2: Chinese objects

In the 17th century, Chinese porcelain was increasingly imported to Europe by the East India Trade Company. This led to the development of export porcelain. The porcelain was made to meet the requirements of European culinary habits. And European ideas were also reflected in the decoration (e. g. Chinese porcelain in underglaze blue with Dutch tulips or genre scenes). The trade in Chinese porcelain and the influence of European taste suggest there was a flourishing Chinese porcelain business. China was not a colony at this time.

In the 19th century, among other things due to the Opium Wars (1839–1842 and 1856–1860), China was initially under informal colonial rule and, since its defeat in the Sino-Japanese War in 1895, also partly under Japanese formal colonial rule. The Jiaozhou region (with Tsingtao as the capital) was under formal German colonial rule from 1898. Even informal control resulted in key aspects of politics in the Middle Kingdom being determined by foreign powers. At that time, more and more Chinese porcelain reached Germany. However, it was mostly everyday utensils, burial objects, antiques and imperial porcelain rather than export porcelain. At the beginning of the 20th century, China was faced with economic collapse due to the Boxer Indemnity after the Boxer Rebellion quashed by the Eight-Nation Alliance (German Empire, France, Britain, Italy, Japan, Austria-Hungary, the United States, Russia), and this resulted in unimaginable quantities of Asian art from private homes and palaces coming on to the market. Entire areas of Chinese cities were engaged in the art trade. China became a destination for art agents and art dealers, including German soldiers. The peak in Far Eastern trade was in the period after the German colonial era, in the 1920s and 1930s. All this was also reflected in museum collections.

Example 3: Pre-Spanish objects from Latin America

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, many archaeological finds from former Spanish colonies in Latin America found their way into European museums. This often happened with the knowledge or involvement of local governments. The objects came from both excavations and looting. An appreciation of the pre-colonial heritage in the countries themselves began only in the course of

the 20th century and resulted in export bans. Accepting such objects was internationally prohibited for the first time by UNESCO in 1970. After this, however, exports considered to be illegal continued to find their way into European museums. Since 2016, this is prohibited by the Act on the Protection of Cultural Property.

Example 4: Religious objects from America and Oceania

Due to Christian evangelisation, people gave religious objects from their old faiths to Europeans, in some cases because they still feared their power despite their conversion to the Christian faith. This occurred, among other places, on the northwest coast of America, where in addition to the activities of missionaries, diseases were introduced that the shamans could not heal. What is more, the persecution of shamans by the Canadian Government led to the decline of shamanism and subsequently the giving away of shamanic objects.

Similar examples are also known from Polynesia and Micronesia: after indigenous peoples were converted to Christianity, figures depicting an ancestor or a god, for example from Tahiti, the Cook Islands, Easter Island (Rapa Nui) or from Nukuoro, were sold in large numbers to Europeans, or even burned. Due to their Mana[15], however, they were also integrated into church buildings or placed in secret hiding places. For example, during his research on Easter Island in the 1950s – decades after the missionary work had ended – Thor Heyerdahl was offered such religious objects which had been kept in hidden caves.

Example 5: Natural history objects from Oceania

Collectors commissioned by the Godeffroy Museum in Hamburg, as well as captains in the service of the Godeffroy trading house, brought not only ethnographic objects but also botanical and zoological items from Australia and New Guinea to Germany. The Godeffroy trading house also established trading bases in Oceania, for example in Fiji, Samoa, Palau, the Caroline, Marshall and Marquesas Islands. These areas were only granted "protectorate status", and only in part, from various colonial powers at a later date.

[15] a highly effective force

Category 3: Objects that reflect colonialism

The object reflects colonial thinking or conveys stereotypes based on colonial racism.

In the most serious cases, these objects are intended for openly propagandistic purposes, such as the promotion, legitimisation or even glorification of colonial systems of rule, as well as their actions and actors. In ways which were often more subtle, defamatory racist ways of thinking or portrayals of colonial contexts found their way into product advertising or commercial art advertising, especially in relation to colonial goods or the travel industry. Also, in works of the visual and performing arts, there are references to colonial contexts or intellectual discourses of them.

Objects that reflect colonialism can be roughly divided into three groups, which can also overlap. For example, images from the 19th century (or from before or after) have often been shaped by colonial ways of thinking, racism and stereotypes, and thus are also objects of propaganda:

- Colonial propaganda
- Advertising products
- Works of the visual and performing arts

Example 1: Colonial and revisionist propaganda

Postcards played a significant role in the propaganda for the German colonial system, showing the "new masters" and/or their "new subjects" with photographs or (caricatured) drawings, with the intention of demonstrating the perceived cultural superiority of the German colonisers. After the First World War and the surrender of the German colonies enforced by the Treaty of Versailles, former actors such as Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck in particular propagated the return of the former colonies to Germany and idealised the colonial past in an abundance of writings as well as in memorial meetings. The Nazi Party incorporated this cause into its state propaganda and combined it with its own iconography and goals in posters and other types of propaganda.

Example 2: Advertising posters for ethnic shows

Ethnic shows involved putting people from foreign cultures on display; these people were recruited for a period of several months or years in order to demonstrate activities that were perceived in Europe as "typical" of their culture to paying audiences. From the beginning of the 19th century and in increasing

numbers from the 1870s, this genre of entertainment spread throughout the entire Western world (e.g. Europe, the United States, Australia, New Zealand) and even to Japan. Since long-distance travel was uncommon and books, newspapers and magazines showed only a limited number of illustrations, if any at all, the physical presence of (mostly) non-European people was fascinating for the spectators. Unlike Britain and France, there were only a few ethnic shows in Germany with individuals recruited from its own colonial territories. Colonial exhibitions with ethnic shows were also much rarer in Germany. Usually, ethnic shows were commercial enterprises and, despite paying lip service to educating people about issues of colonialism, focused primarily on entertainment and the public's taste, although some promoters sought a high level of ethnographic authenticity, based on academic perceptions of their time. Ethnic shows usually went on tour and reached an audience of millions. They are therefore closely linked to the formation or perpetuation of stereotypes about people from foreign cultures. Not all ethnic shows had a clear imbalance of power: in some cases, non-European participants took the recruitment into their own hands, organised what should (and should not) be shown to visitors, or became impresarios who toured with their own ethnic shows.

Advertising posters for ethnic shows reflect all these facets: in addition to sensational depictions of non-European people in action and caricatures of them, the Carl Hagenbeck company, for example, used ethnographic-like village scenes, a head and shoulder portrait of a Sioux man, or an original Ethiopian painting as poster motifs.

Example 3: Works of the visual and performing arts

From the 16th century onwards, representations of distant exotic territories and cultures played an increasingly prominent role in the range of motifs used in the visual arts in Europe. European artists helped present figurative portrayals of the "New World", Africa and other overseas territories. Their works served the interest of the local audience in "foreign culture". The artists' views were often strongly influenced by the colonial perspectives of the European "explorers", colonists or merchants, in whose milieu the artists moved. Sometimes they even travelled abroad. Their work was often the starting point for the emergence of widespread stereotypical iconographies such as "the savage" or "the Indian", which were found, for example, in many baroque allegories relating to non-European parts of the world. Later, Orientalism and exoticism and from the 19th century onwards growing importation of objects from the colonies to

Europe fostered the spread of motifs with a colonial background in the fine arts. It also inspired dance and theatre, as well as scenery and costume design.

Category 3 also includes works of performing arts (including theatre, dance, film), literature (including books, leaflets) and music.

3.1 Conclusion

Assigning an object/a collection to category 1 or 2 does not indicate whether the provenance should be classified as problematic, or even that consideration should be given to returning the object. Rather, it is merely an indication that heightened awareness and a more precise examination are required. It is clear that in museums with predominantly non-European collections, large parts of the collection can fall into categories 1 and 2. While assignment to category 1 is largely based on the origin and date of the object, assignment to category 2 is only possible through further investigation into the particular situation in the country of origin at the given time. Assignment to category 3 usually requires an assessment of the purpose, intent and impact of the object.

3.2 Prioritisation when examining collections

A museum with large collections of heterogeneous origins may face the question of prioritisation when it comes to examining its collection. It is not possible to give generally binding advice on the best course of action. Each museum has to develop its own strategy.

Possible starting points for prioritisation could be:

- Significant/exhibited objects
- Objects from former German colonies
- Objects associated with a violent colonial context
- Objects of a type known to be problematic (i. e. culturally sensitive objects)
- Types of object for which demands for their return have already been made in Germany or in other countries (possibly also in the countries of origin) or which are of special significance
- Objects related to local actors and local history at the museum's location
- Objects in respect of which contacts have already been established with experts and communities in the countries of origin.

4. Background information

4.1 European colonialism: Political, economic and cultural aspects of early globalisation

Jürgen Zimmerer

General: Colonialism and globalisation

European colonialism, reaching out across many parts of the globe and its gradual submission to European emissaries, as well as the overcoming of that subjugation, was the hallmark of the second half of the last millennium. This process spans more than 600 years, the entire world and has left its mark on all areas of culture, science, business and politics. Its impact is visible in globalisation to this very day, even if it has changed direction to some extent. Where for centuries Europe, then the Global North in general, became the centre of commerce and domination and were one of its greatest beneficiaries, the former colonies have now emancipated themselves and are challenging the former colonial powers. They are pushing aside Europe and, increasingly, the Global North as a whole. All this is taking place in the context of globalisation, European colonialism being its history[16].

The start and end dates of major developments are always arbitrary. 1415, the year in which Portuguese troops conquered a city outside Europe for the first time since antiquity, the North African city of Ceuta, could be regarded as the start of European expansion. One of the conquerors' goals was to engage with force in the lucrative gold and slave trade through the West African Sahara. Another important date is 1492, when Christopher Columbus landed on islands on the edge of the Atlantic coast of what was later named America, thereby ushering in exploitation, colonisation and settlement by Europeans. Northern Europeans had already reached North America but, as far as we know, knowledge of this did not penetrate either into the European or into the African, Asian or American consciousness. Another important symbolic date is 6 September 1522. On this day, the remainder of the Spanish fleet of Ferdinand Magellan (Fernão de Magalhães) reached Seville, from where it had sailed three years earlier. The earth was thus circumnavigated, proving that it was indeed round, a globe. While this did not mean that people in all parts of the world had become aware of each other, or that their actions were directly influenced by it, it can be said that over the next few centuries more and more regions came under ever greater European influence, with the globe becoming a connected communication and imagination space.

[16] Forms of colonialism that did not originate in modern Europe are not considered below. This text is based in part on earlier texts by the author, especially: Zimmerer 2012, pp. 10–16; Zimmerer 2013, pp. 9–38.

What is colonialism?

It is not easy to describe what colonialism actually is, even though there have been numerous attempts to define it that differ according to the geographic or political position and agenda of those defining it and the epoch in which they undertook those definitions. This is not surprising, since it subsumes phenomena that date back up to six hundred years, evolved and changed during that period and affected the interaction of people from very different societies and "cultures".

As Jürgen Osterhammel says:

> "Colonialism is a relationship of domination between collectives in which the fundamental decisions about the way of life of the colonised are made and imposed by a culturally different minority of colonial rulers, which have little desire to adapt, and which gives in their decisions and actions priority to external interests. In modern times, this is usually accompanied by ideological justification doctrines based on the colonial rulers´ the conviction of their own cultural superiority"[17].

Common to all "colonial situations" is the dichotomy between colonisers and the colonised, often between Europeans and non-Europeans. From the beginning, the contrast in terms of geography and techniques of domination was accompanied by ideology and philosophical underpinnings. Initially, it was the binary opposition between Christians and "pagans" that justified land-grabbing and exploitation, and later biological-racist arguments.

Other central concepts are the alignment with external interests, mostly those of the colonial motherland in Europe, and the (assumed) cultural otherness. This foreign rule requires a legitimising basis, it requires discursive and ideological justifications. These can precede the phase of formal colonialism or outlast it. In addition, they are often not nationally bound, that is to say, they are common to all European colonial powers. Moreover, colonialism exists as a mental map and as a mental disposition, independent of formal colonial rule.

Knowledge and the production of knowledge are therefore a central component and prerequisite of colonial rule, which in turn assigns colonial collectors and collections an important place in the colonial sphere. Colonialism is not only a social

[17] Osterhammel 2006, p. 21

practice (domination), but also a discourse – a discourse on (supposed) differences with the goal of mutual demarcation. "Colonial discourse is thus a system of statements that can be made about the colonies and colonial peoples, about colonising powers and about the relationship between these two. It is this system of knowledge and beliefs about the world within which acts of colonisation take place"[18].

These discourses determine the relationship between those who see themselves as colonisers and those who are considered colonised, although terms such as colonisers and the colonised containing problematic homogenisations. The colonial discourse can also exist detached from any concrete formal colonial rule, as a communicative understanding of an unequal world based on essential differences.

Designations such as "savages", "barbarians" or "primitives", have considerable credibility with the discourse-makers and often gain a life of their own. Most importantly, those representations of the *"Other" can create* not only knowledge, but also the very reality they appear to describe. In time such knowledge and reality produce a tradition"[19]. And this tradition also extends far beyond the formal end of the colonial era.

Attempt at a typology

In view of the far-reaching importance of discursive practice, which transcends states and colonial empires, the colonial typology is secondary, especially as the transitions are fluid and numerous hybrids exist. If one wants to try anyway, the tripartite division in trade and military enclaves, settlement and exploitation colonies seems to make the most sense[20].

Trade and military enclaves served mainly strategic purposes, that is, as a base for the economic, political or military penetration of remote regions. In the course of widespread power projection, they also helped to informally control other countries and areas, that is to say, without the establishment of formal rule. Classic examples would be Cape Town in the 17th century (as a central port on the maritime route to India) or Hong Kong and Singapore up until the 20th century.

[18] Ashcroft, Griffiths, Tiffin 2007, p. 35

[19] Said 1995, p. 94.

[20] With different degrees of differentiation, this tripartite division is found among most historians, as a glance at the three most important recent German-language general accounts of colonialism reveals: Eckert 2006; Reinhard 2008; Osterhammel 2006. For detailed reading: Reinhard 2016.

Exploitation colonies are the type that most strongly influenced the general idea of colonies. British or Dutch India (Indonesia) are well-known examples, as are large parts of Africa. Created for the economic exploitation of resources, for tax revenue or as a market for their own goods, the exploitation colonies were mostly managed by a very small number of European civil servants and military personnel. The British Indian Civil Service, which controlled large parts of the subcontinent with only a few thousand officials, is legendary. At the end of their service, many of these officials returned to their homeland or were transferred to another colony, which meant that they did not identify closely with the colony. This usually made decolonisation easier. The local elite was usually barely involved in government, though it could be involved in day-to-day administration to varying degrees. Thus, indirect rule, in which indigenous elites governed their own subjects at the behest and under the pressure of the new masters in a colonial sense – European "advisers" indicated to the traditional rulers how certain decisions were to be made – was a tried and tested means of reducing administrative costs and diverting responsibility. In addition to direct economic gain through access to cheap raw materials or to a market for overpriced and/or unnecessary European products, revenue for the colonial state could be generated in particular through taxation. The establishment of a tax system was therefore usually flanked by the introduction of a monetary economy. As the local population had to work and operate under the colonial elite, it was often necessary to establish a rudimentary education system, which above all also served to enforce the colonial language as a business and administrative language, in order to increase efficiency. Mostly unintentionally, in the sense of the "dialectic of colonialism",[21] this led to the emergence of an anti-colonial elite that pushed for independence, as evidenced by the examples of Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Amílcar Cabral or Aimé Césaire. The colonies were protected by the colonial powers by establishing boundaries. Local voices or sensitivities hardly played a role in the demarcation of these borders. Many of the post-colonial minority problems, wars and secessions were rooted in the fact that indigenous groups were torn apart by colonial borders or herded together in completely alien and partially hostile newly created states.

Settlement colonies, on the other hand, were characterised by the mass influx of European immigrants, who were not only in charge of the administration, the military and the economy, but also appropriated and managed the land themselves, often using and exploiting indigenous labour or imported slaves. The Spanish

[21] Reinhard 1992, pp. 5–25

colonies of South and Central America are examples of this. However, the most notable examples were the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, where there was de facto widespread "displacement of the pre-colonial population". The direct competition between the new European settlers and their descendants and the local population led to extreme violence in some cases, and in its wake, to the extensive displacement of the latter. This resulted in the dramatic impoverishment and social disintegration of indigenous communities. The colonial state and its settlers even carried out "ethnic cleansing" and genocide. Due to their European majority population, settlement colonies were granted a high level of independence relatively early on, or fought for such, as in the United States in 1776 or most Latin American countries in the first half of the 19th century. Nevertheless, colonial structures continued to function for a long time both internally and externally. Where European colonisation did not lead to a "white" majority, or even widespread displacement of the indigenous population, as in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Kenya, Angola, Mozambique or Algeria, decolonisation was particularly fiercely fought for after the Second World War.

Whether they were established due to economic interests, an attempt to win military advantages or a mission to spread civilisation, all of these colonies had one thing common from the point of view of the colonised: the involuntary, enforced character of European rule. Usually the colonised population did not accept foreign rule. Moreover, colonialism was a system of extreme, more or less institutionalised inequality, even if the degree of its imposition differed.

Certainly, nowhere could colonial rule be established overnight, and in many cases the cooperation of local authorities was necessary. This meant that the colonised had an agency. There was also resistance, both violent and indirect, which could be described as passive opposition. European colonial rule was not absolute, not total rule, but it often strove for this in the settlement colonies, for example in places where the local population was partly driven out or even annihilated. In the end, the distance from the colonial centres of power often quite literally determined how much individual people were affected by European rule, and of course the nature of the colony. In the settlement colonies, the displacement of the local population took place earlier and more rigidly than in exploitation colonies. In Africa, for example, colonial influence – with the exception of North Africa and South Africa – was limited mainly to the coastal regions up until the last quarter of the 19th century. It was only after the Berlin Congo Conference (1884/85) that an encroachment into the interior took place, since the Congress had defined effective administration as a prerequisite for the registration of claims to power.

In addition to the different forms of formal rule, however, there were also informal types of influence. The ability to project military power – based on a system of global bases (cf. "military enclaves") – enabled the control of foreign states without the formal establishment of a colonial state. A prime example of this is provided by China, which in the 19th century tried in vain to escape the ever-growing influence of the colonial powers, above all Britain. When Beijing attempted to prevent the import of opium from British India for public health reasons around 1839, the Royal Navy forced the lifting of the prohibition in the First Opium War by force of arms. It also ceded Hong Kong, which henceforth played a central role in the British penetration of the "Middle Kingdom" and remained in British possession until 1997. The Ottoman Empire, which remained formally intact until 1918 but was de facto under the multi-faceted influence of all the European imperial powers, could also be mentioned here.

The caveat applies here too that the forms and methods differed from colonial power to colonial power, from colonised region to colonised region and even within larger regions, largely depending on the form of rule and economic practices, which likewise underwent enormous development. Regardless of its actual exercise, the threat of colonial power – or even the presumed threat – had an impact on the assertion of European claims, both individually and collectively.

The first German colonial empire[22]

Germans, or those who would be considered Germans today, were involved in European expansion from the outset. They sailed with Portuguese and Spaniards to India and America, as did Ulrich Schmidl and Hans von Staden: Others attempted to found colonies themselves, as did the Welsers in Venezuela or the Great Elector with his Gross Friedrichsburg colony on the West African coast. He was as involved in the slave trade as the founder of today's Hamburg district of Wandsbek, Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann. Countless people settled in the "New World", went to Africa or Asia as missionaries, or took part in the scientific opening of the world as "armchair explorers", from their desks or studies. Colonialism was a pan-European phenomenon, and as such always included Germans.

[22] Recently, three modern overall presentations have been published: van Laak 2005; Speitkamp 2005; Conrad 2008

Germany did not enter the world stage as a formal colonial power until very late, apart from the short interlude of the Brandenburgers in West Africa. Not until 1871 was there a German Empire which could actually play the role of a colonial power. The founding of the empire also gave the colonial movement a decisive boost, which campaigned for the formal acquisition of colonies for economic, political and social Darwinist motives. Its representatives not only hoped for a safety valve for the supposed impending overpopulation and a market for industrial overproduction, but also as a visible symbol of the desired role as a world power. A certain inferiority complex with regard to Britain played a role, as did the fear of crises and (social) upheavals in the Empire. Colonies appeared to offer an ideal world without the dark side of industrialisation with the growth of the working class and its demands for political participation.

Colonial ownership appeared to be a necessity and a duty to future generations, if only on the basis of the social Darwinist interpretation of the rivalry among the developing imperialist industrialised countries. They wanted to make sure that they were among the winners in this rivalry, in which only the strongest would survive. While the middle classes within European nations were largely convinced that they were a superior class, they felt even more so compared to non-European cultures. Because of their own superior position, they believed that they were called upon to "civilise" the supposedly backward and primitive inhabitants of the non-European world and thus had a positive justification for any colonial endeavour. Simultaneously, Germany's superior power, as demonstrated by the successful but brutal conquest of the colonies, as well as the accompanying cultural programme in museums and art, reaffirmed the colonial project.

Since the government of Otto von Bismarck was initially sceptical about the colonial acquisition (the Chancellor regarded colonial engagement as a source of conflict with other colonial powers), the colonial empire was based on the outdated model of the "chartered company", that is, as a private enterprise guaranteed by the state. In rapid succession, "colonial pioneers" acquired territories in West, East and South Africa in 1884 and 1885, which were soon placed under the official protection of the German Empire. Cameroon, Togo, German South West Africa (Namibia) and German East Africa (Tanzania) were created. In addition, there were some islands in the Pacific (German Samoa and German New Guinea) and in 1897 Chinese Jiaozhou, part of the aforementioned informal penetration of China, where Germany now demanded its share. Since these private colonisation companies all failed within a short time, the state had to take their place. The German Empire thus became a colonial power.

It is impossible to summarise the colonial experience of such disparate colonies. Even the administration was different. While Jiaozhou was administered by the navy, the other colonies were administered by the colonial department at the Foreign Office, and later by the Imperial Colonial Office. While Togo, Cameroon and East Africa, as well as the Pacific possessions, were exploitation colonies, South West Africa was planned and built as a settlement colony. Even though the dreamed-of settlement numbers could not be realised, Namibia has a small German-speaking minority to this day.

Generally, it can be said that the hopes associated with colonial acquisitions were not fulfilled. Apart from the "model colony" Togo, all the colonies were financially subsidised, which was partly a result of the enormous cost of conquest, pacification and administration. This was not least due to the vehemence of the resistance against the German colonisers in almost all territories and the brutality with which the colonial power put this down. In turn, the problems in the colonies undermined the hoped-for prestige.

The fierce resistance and the at times catastrophic consequences for the original population was also due to Germany's late start: Germans believed they had to make up for the past and to run colonies in a particularly efficient way. These were to be model colonies, not only for economic reasons, but also to show the other colonial powers how to do things right. There was little time for a gradual adaptation in the living and economic conditions, especially those of Germany's African subjects, or for an adjustment of colonial practices in the light of experience.

In German South West Africa, the colonial utopia even included the establishment of a genuine society of racial privilege[23]. Germans were supposed to form the upper class, while Africans were to be transformed into a homogeneous black working class. Rudimentary education was intended, first and foremost, to increase their productivity. Any "mixing" of the "races" was to be prohibited. Existing marriages between Germans and Africans were retroactively annulled in 1907, all sexual relations stigmatised and the term "native" finally biologically defined.

[23] See for this concept and for the consequences of this ruling utopia: Zimmerer 2004

"Natives" were:

> "all the blood relatives of a primitive people, including the descendants of native women fathered by white men, even if there have been several generations of mixed race. As long as ancestry from a member of a primitive people can still be proven, the descendant is a native"[24].

Thus, the principle of biological origin had pushed aside any idea of "civilising" the "native" population that would have required Africans to be "educated" as "Europeans".

The two longest and most costly colonial wars were conducted at the beginning of the 20th century in the two largest colonies of South West and East Africa (now Namibia and Tanzania). In the latter case, there was a war of extermination instigated by the German side, with an estimated 250,000 African victims, both through fighting and through the supply shortages[25] triggered by military actions. In the former case, the war even led to the first genocide of the 20th century. It has been estimated that up to 80 percent of the Herero and 50 percent of the Nama were killed[26]. A significantly higher number of German soldiers were used in South West Africa (an estimated 19,000, of which about 1,500 lost their lives), while in East Africa the war was waged on the German side mainly by African mercenary units, the Askari. Apart from the different perception of German South West Africa as a German settlement colony, it appears mainly to be the number of German victims and the number of affected German soldiers which has assigned the war in southern Africa a prominent position in the German collective memory[27].

Contrary to widespread views, German violent excesses not only occurred in these two wars. A campaign of extermination in German East Africa had already taken place around 1897 against the Wahehe[28]. Even in the supposedly peaceful South Seas, the German colonial authorities responded to every form of resistance with

[24] Verdict of the District Court of Windhoek, 26.9.2007. National Archives of Namibia, Windhoek, GWI 530 [R 1/07], gazette 23a–26a

[25] Becker and Beez 2005; Giblin and Monson 2010

[26] Zimmerer and Zeller 2016

[27] See Zimmerer 2013 for the place of the colonial in the German collective memory

[28] See also Baer and Schröter 2001

unconditional severity, such as the suppression of the "insurrection" on Ponape (1910/11)[29]. The conduct of the German Expeditionary Force in suppressing the "Boxer Rebellion" in China, which was encouraged to exercise brutality by Kaiser Wilhelm's "Hun speech", no longer appears to be a one-off lapse in this context:

> "If you come before the enemy, then they will be defeated! Pardon will not be given! Take no prisoners! Kill whoever falls into your hands! Just as a thousand years ago the Huns made a name for themselves under their King Etzel, which still makes them appear powerful in traditions and fairy tales, may the German name in China be confirmed for a thousand years by you in such a way that the Chinese never dares to look at a German with suspicion!"[30]

The inhumane actions of Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck in the "defence" of East Africa during the First World War also belong in this context. Against the orders of his civilian superior and without any strategic relevance or chance of victory, he waged a four-year war of attrition, in the wake of which 700,000 people, most of them civilians, died in East Africa alone.

There, as in the other German colonies, the First World War marked the end of the first German colonial empire. In the Treaty of Versailles, Germany was deprived of all colonies because of "proven inability to colonise" and they were handed over as mandates to the newly formed League of Nations for trusteeship.

However, this was not the end of the age of German colonialism. Not least out of outrage over the "colonial guilt lie", the colonial movement continued to gain in popularity, as shown by the number of memoirs, colonial novels, lectures, etc. Many joined the National Socialists upon their coming to power in the hope of recovering the colonies. However, this was of secondary importance to the new regime. Rather, the geographical focus of the German colonial empire moved from the south to the east, symbolised by the slogan "Volk ohne Raum" (people without space). Originally the title of a novel set in southern Africa, it became the slogan for the Malthusian and Social Darwinian fears of the Germans before and during the Third Reich. The sought-after space was eventually found in eastern Europe, and with the invasion of the Soviet Union began the even shorter-lived "second

[29] See also Krug 2005; Morlang 2010

[30] Quote from Thoralf Klein, Die Hunnenrede (1900), in Zimmerer 2013, pp. 164–176; in general terms to the colonial wars: Kuss 2010

German colonial empire"[31]. Nevertheless, German colonial enthusiasm, as it was mainly reflected in literature, art and science, reached its peak in the years before the Second World War.

Colonialism was both practice and discourse. Both are reflected in colonial collections: on the one hand, they can be seen in the forms of acquisition that were possible in the context of formal colonial rule, or against the background of the colonial situation that was establishing itself. On the other hand, they are mirrored in the purpose of collecting and exhibiting, which stemmed from a curiosity about foreign regions and an enthusiasm for colonialism, but, at the same time, could also strengthen the colonial mentality. Especially in its epistemic structures, in its discursive expressions, colonialism has an effect far beyond its formal end, in some ways even to the present day.

[31] See this debate: Zimmerer 2011; Baranowski 2011

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4.2 Collection history: The different types of museums and their "(post-) colonial heritage"

General

European expansion promoted the expansion of trade links to the Far East and fostered intellectual change.

The authority of antiquity and that of a Christian world order were challenged in equal measure by empirical research. The more exotic the goods and objects that came to Europe were, the greater the need was to collect them and gain knowledge from comparative studies. The consumption of exotic luxury goods, which grew steadily in the 16th century, played a large role in the emergence of cabinets of art and curiosities. They were structured in line with a classification system based on different intellectual disciplines. The essential categories were natural objects, the creations of God, and the artificial creations of the human hand. Curiosities and exotica were also popular exhibits in the cabinets. In the course of this development, a lively trade arose in these types of objects, and many merchants in the trading metropolises became collectors themselves with their collections subsequently also finding their way into the museums.

From the 18th century onwards, collecting took a new form: the gains in knowledge and scientific advances led to a dwindling interest in curiosities. The cabinets of curiosities were replaced by special collections which evolved into art galleries, collections of antiquities, coin cabinets or natural history collections. The history of the various types of museum has, as a rule, been linked to the development of specialist disciplines. They were not rigorously separated at first, though. For example, ethnologists also collected natural history objects, while naturalists collected ethnographic items.

Classification and categorisation have played an important role since the Enlightenment. These were only possible if there was sufficient comparative material. But not until the 19th century did colonial expansion create a veritable "collecting mania", which resulted in a large number of (non-) European objects, specimens and human remains being incorporated into museums. Colonial networks and infrastructure contributed to the procurement of objects, as did missionaries and military operations. For instance, local workers were employed, while new modes of transporting all kinds of collection items and of accessing excavation sites were created. In addition, missionaries brought many ritual objects onto the market and

into museum collections, while "punitive expeditions" and expropriations caused a considerable growth in the collections of European museums.

In addition, travel reports, souvenirs and trophies as well as weapons, uniforms, means of transport and the like were added to the collections. The import of food and beverages (e. g. cocoa, sugar) as well as the artistic exploration of foreign countries and cultures left their traces in museums.

In the following text, the significance of colonial expansion in the history of collecting in seven types of museum is briefly outlined. The range of various disciplines highlights the common roots as well as the heterogeneity of museum holdings as a result of colonialism.

Ethnographic collections

Larissa Förster

The oldest holdings in ethnographic collections are often objects and collections in princely cabinets of art and curiosities. In addition to this, larger ethnographic departments at existing museums or specialist societies as well as independent ethnological museums emerged, especially in the 19th century and in the early 20th century. The ethnological museum in Munich, for example, was founded in 1862, followed by Leipzig in 1869, Berlin in 1873, Hamburg in 1879, Cologne in 1901 and Frankfurt in 1904. By 1919, numerous German cities had founded ethnological museums and erected appropriate buildings, thus allowing the middle classes to demonstrate their cosmopolitan outlook. The resulting collections and museums were focal points not only of ethnological practice, but also of ethnological theory. Although ethnography was also established at universities in the 19th century (partly also with its own collections), it was often part of disciplines such as geography, anthrowpology, prehistory and early history, etc. In many places, it was not until the 1920s and 1930s that separate Chairs of Ethnology were established at universities. The discipline, which had long been the domain of museums, thus began to separate from them.

The emergence of ethnographic collections – and thus the development of ethnology (today also: social and cultural anthropology) as a science – is closely linked to European colonial expansion, both in the German-speaking world and beyond. Colonial expansion enabled, encouraged and "required" people to travel around the world and especially to collect objects on a grand scale. While categorisation and classification have played an important role in the sciences since the

Enlightenment, it was not until the 19th century that a kind of "collecting mania" arose in relation to (non-) European objects, specimens and human remains. The collection of extensive holdings was not least due to the search for (historical) lines of development and an orientation towards empirical, quantitative and comparative methods. Especially for theoretical approaches such as evolutionism, diffusionism and *Kulturkreislehre,* which dominated ethnology at the time, collecting, describing and analysing large volumes of data and objects seemed absolutely essential. In particular, salvage anthropology tried to forestall the purported "extinction" of colonised societies and to "secure" material cultural heritage for research and museums.

Many resulting forms of collection, purchase, trade and exchange (sometimes under pressure, coercion or threat of violence), but also of theft and robbery were only possible through colonial development and expansion. Researchers and collectors made use of colonial infrastructure and networks and, in return, provided knowledge for colonial development through their publications. Museums initiated expeditions into the colonies, encouraged colonial actors (soldiers, administrators, traders, settlers and missionaries) to collect – through written instructions, for example – and acquired objects from wars and colonial "punitive" expeditions, either from their own participants or through trade. In addition, they popularised images of "foreign cultures" and the resulting stereotypes in their exhibitions and events – similar to the "world exhibitions" and "ethnic shows".

Not infrequently, ethnological and anthropological theories of "levels of civilisation" and "races" underpinned colonial and racist ideologies, although anti-colonial and anti-racist currents also existed in ethnology. Therefore, ethnological museums were part of colonial infrastructure and networks as well as places where colonial knowledge was produced and represented. The ties between museum ethnology and colonial politics were sometimes close: for example, a *Bundesrat* decision of 1891 stated that all objects acquired with state funds or by officials and soldiers of the German Empire should go to the Berlin Ethnological Museum. Later, individual ethnologists also supported the colonial revisionist movement of the 1930s and 1940s. Ethnologists, like other academics, played a very ambivalent role in the colonial project, even though they invoked humanistic and enlightened ideals and sometimes bemoaned or even sharply criticised colonisation and colonial violence.

Today, up to half of the collections in some museums date back to the period before 1919, including substantial holdings from formerly German (as well as British, French and other) colonial territories. The collections, often acquired as described above in a short space of time, could seldom be inventoried or studied quickly enough or with the required thoroughness. This is one of the reasons for the insufficiently documented provenance of many objects by today's standards.

The study of the colonial contexts in which a part of their collections originated (also beyond the colonial activities of the German Empire) is a central challenge for ethnographic collections and museums today. Ethnological museums can only become places where post-colonial knowledge is produced if they adopt an appropriate stance in the relevant discourses within society, step up the historical research into collections and knowledge production that has been done in this field (for instance in the context of theoretical debates on post-colonialism and transnational entangled history), and in particular if they focus on collaborative forms of research, preservation, exhibition and communication.

Natural history collections

Matthias Glaubrecht

In contrast to the cabinet of curiosities, for example, natural history collections partly stem from the possessions of citizens or scholars, who became increasingly independent of secular rulers and church leaders during the Enlightenment. Typically, these were displayed as cabinet collections (this arrangement even having an impact on monographic treatments, such as the famous "Conchylia Cabinet" of the Shell Atlas authored by Rumphius and illustrated by Sibylle Merian).

The first natural history collections were established in close collaboration with scholarly societies and natural history associations (such as the Association of the Friends of Natural History, founded in Berlin in 1774, or the Natural Science Association, founded in Hamburg in 1842). Occasionally, an own collection was the entrance ticket for the members of such associations and societies.

Other natural history collections (later mostly belonging to universities) were established as teaching collections. For instance, in Berlin the zootomic-anatomical collection went to the Museum of Natural History of the newly founded university after 1819. In Hamburg, the collection of the gymnasium Johanneum became part of the Natural History Museum.

The content of individual collections often depended on the interests of the respective owners. For example, some were specifically and exclusively created as collections of shells (i.e. mussels and snails), others as collections of rocks and minerals. In the meantime, not only pieces of the then valid (for example taxonomic) classification, but also occasionally items from other systematic groups were found there. Herbaria, whose origins date back to the herbal collections of pharmacists, also played a special role.

The natural history museums founded from the end of the 18th century in Europe's capitals, for example in Paris, London, Vienna and Berlin (i.e. in those countries which had become colonial powers), became the principal "clients" of such private collections. They were later supplemented by collections specifically commissioned or directed by these museums.

Increasingly, the motivation for such collections – with the Enlightenment in the second half of the 18th century and the "Humboldtian Science" operating in first half of the 19th century – was the foundation and documentation of a world view based on natural history and the development of the respective disciplines. At the same time, the natural sources from non-European regions, and thus also those from a colonial context, increasingly came into focus. Natural history collections are no different from other disciplines in terms of how objects were collected during the colonial period and the circumstances under which this took place.

Antiquities and archaeological collections
Katarina Horst

With the onset of humanism and the Renaissance, archaeological excavations and the collection of ancient objects began in Italy in the 14th century. When the Roman city of Pompeii was discovered in the 18th century, an enthusiasm for antiquity also reached Germany, which was enhanced by the publication in 1764 of "History of the Art of Antiquity" by Johann Joachim Winckelmann.

The era of public antiquities collections began at the end of the 18th century. The British Museum was opened in 1759, followed by the Louvre Museum, which was established in the wake of the revolution in 1793 in parts of the city palace. In Berlin, it was decided to build a new museum (known today as the Altes Museum), that would only house antiques. These were formerly spread in and around Berlin in the King's various buildings. In Munich, the new "Forum" of antiquity was built on Königsplatz, with the glyptotheque and the antiquities

collection opposite. Greek originals came into the collection in 1813 with the famous pediment figures of the Aphaia temple on Aegina, at a time when Greece was still part of the Ottoman Empire.

Until the mid19th century the "collection concept" of the archaeological museums focused on classical antiquity with objects from the Mediterranean region. Objects from "marginal cultures" or "marginal eras" came rather by chance into the collections. Archaeologists and local artists were charged with procuring archaeological evidence. The numerous donations from archaeologists' collections were another source of new acquisitions.

State-organised excavations began in Germany only after the founding of the Empire in 1871. Institutions were created to carry out excavations and obtain antiques for German museums. Due to the close political relations with the Ottoman Empire, interest shifted to ancient Near Eastern cultures. The first excavations began in 1878 in Pergamon, followed by expeditions to Assyria and Mesopotamia. As patron of the acquisition of antiques, Kaiser Wilhelm II founded the German consulate in Baghdad in 1887. The excavation sites were secured by the German Orient Society, which was founded in 1889 as an excavation company. The excavations took place in areas that belonged to the Ottoman Empire, which was regarded by the people living there as a dictatorship.

In the period of decline, the Ottoman Empire sought allies in the fight against the Russian Tsarist Empire. By 1882, it had found such an ally in the German Empire. The construction of the Baghdad Railway (1892–1898), which ran from Constantinople to Baghdad via Ankara and Konya and was financed by the Deutsche Bank, was of great help to German expeditions in Turkey, the Levant and Iraq. A law of 1902 granted the Deutsche Bank the right to mine "natural resources" in a 20-kilometre zone on either side of the track. Thus, major architectural objects were removed, for example, from the northern Syrian Tell Halaf.

After the First World War, the Conference of San Remo of 1920 redefined the spheres of influence in the Middle East: with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, France took over the League of Nations mandate for Syria and Lebanon, which amounted to colonial rule and continued until independence in 1946 (Lebanon 1943). France received southern central Anatolia from the heartland of Turkey. Britain had a mandate to administer the territory of present day Iraq until 1958 when the country gained independence. Palestine and Jordan also became British territories (until 1946).

The island of Cyprus was part of the Ottoman Empire from 1571–1878. There was German interest in antiquities there from 1878 onwards, when the island came under British control. While Cyprus was a British Crown colony (1925–1960), large quantities of ancient objects were excavated and found their way into North American and European museums. Even in the newly founded republic, controls on the export of antiquities were not always possible because of the civil war. Since 1974, when the Turkish occupation of the northern part of the island began, many ancient and, above all, Byzantine Cypriot objects have come on the market.

As a result of the race among the great powers for control of Africa, the territories of the former ancient world of North Africa came under colonial rule – especially Algeria, which came under French rule after the invasion of 1840. The colonial powers France (Maghreb), Italy (Libya) and Britain (Egypt) divided among themselves the fertile areas (the coastal regions and areas along the Nile), with Spain gaining (indeed still retaining) a small area in Morocco.

Thus, the acquisition of single antique objects is in most cases closely related to the respective political powers. In all these countries, collections of antiquities were in the hands of representatives of the European and North American diplomatic corps. Their position made it possible to build up collections of antiquities, which earned them social prestige and personal profit through the resale of the collected objects.

Collections of applied and East Asian art

Silke Reuther

The cabinet of curiosities became an important part of royal representation in Europe in the 16th century. It had its origins as an early modern form of collection in the Renaissance and was the foundation for the subsequent museum art collections of the 19th century, in particular the museums of applied art. The exhibited objects were intended to show off wealth and to help acquire knowledge. Like the collections of scholars, the cabinet of curiosities was based on an all-inclusive concept of collection and provides an image of the world on a small scale or of one particular field.

The emergence of art collections required the circulation of exotic materials and luxuries. The basic catalyst of this development was international maritime trade. The "discovery" of America in 1492 ushered in the commercial and colonial expansion of European maritime powers, which came under Spanish and

Portuguese domination in the 15th century and was largely dominated by the Netherlands and its trading companies from the 17th century.

The Dutch East India Company (VOC), which emerged from a merger of merchant companies in 1602, was the most important supplier of Chinese porcelain and Asian products to Europe. Porcelain, which had previously been found primarily in courtly collections, became the status symbol of the upper bourgeoisie far beyond the Netherlands. This led to the development of export porcelain. This dinnerware was designed to meet the requirements of European eating habits. The result was China porcelain in underglaze blue with Dutch tulips or typical scenes. Porcelain jugs with metal lids, which resembled a type of Persian jug in purely formal terms, were also in demand. The porcelain jugs were made in China, while the metalwork was done in India. The trade in Chinese porcelain and the influence of European taste point to a flourishing business with Chinese porcelain in the "Golden Age" of the Netherlands, in which Chinese porcelain manufacturers were directly involved.

In the course of this development, many merchants in the trading metropolises became collectors. In Germany, trade and financial centres such as Augsburg and Nuremberg were involved in this development in addition to the port cities. Luxury goods and art objects were also made and exported here. Business relations were important because the transfer of goods was connected with the transfer of cultural goods. The close link between world trade and the art trade shifted within Europe over the centuries but remained relevant as an important engine. As a result, the collections from which the arts and crafts museums emerged can have a direct colonial context, because the countries of origin of the exhibits were subjected to a formal colonial system or were still feeling the impact of colonial structures.

The court collections supplied, for example, in Dresden, Munich or Berlin, the exhibits for the specialist museums. In the second half of the 19th century, merchant towns such as Hamburg, Leipzig or Frankfurt am Main began to set up arts and crafts museums at the instigation of local arts and crafts associations. The holdings of these houses were largely supplied by donations and legacies from private collections and were expanded by their founding directors through acquisitions in the international art trade or, for instance, at the world exhibitions in Paris and Vienna. These houses also focused on non-European cultures. The preferred objects included those from East Asia, mainly from China and Japan, as well as art and cultural objects from Islamic countries.

Individual houses – for example, the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg and the Grassi Museum in Leipzig – included the antiquities in their collections. Training institutions for prospective artisans and craftsmen were affiliated to many arts and crafts museums, for example in Vienna (MAK) and Hamburg (MKG). This had a great impact on the collections, which consisted of the greatest possible range of arts and crafts products from all eras and corners of the world, including the African continent.

History and cultural-history collections

Hans-Jörg Czech

The preservation and presentation of objects of historical or cultural importance can be traced back to ancient times in Europe. Today's museums owe many of their oldest objects to the fact that in the Middle Ages relics and secular objects were preserved for subsequent generations. Originally, these were often kept as personal testimonies or material evidence of legal acts or claims to power in modern royal or municipal collections. However, they were subsequently increasingly regarded as testimonies to history and other objects such as weapons, armour, coins, sculptures or ceremonial objects were added. As early as the 16th century, Ambras Castle in Tyrol was an outstanding example of how to create collections and galleries explicitly for depicting history, frequently in close connection to cabinets of arts and curiosities.

Trophies, travelogues and memorabilia of all kinds relating to non-European colonial and long-distance trading territories came into local collections from the end of the 15th century with the extension of the European sphere of influence to newly discovered continents, Africa and other overseas territories. However, the triangular trade and its actors, the use of imported food and beverages (i. e. cocoa, sugar) as well as the artistic interest in foreign countries and cultures also left material traces in aristocratic, municipal or early private collections (for example, maps and graphics, dishes) in the following centuries. Collecting was systematised under French influence during the Enlightenment, and clearer demarcations between different categories began to prevail. Regional historical holdings gained in shape as part of wide-ranging sovereign art and cultural collections. At the same time, in the course of the 18th century, the first German royal collections, including their history sections, opened to the public, as in the case of the Friedricianum in Kassel.

From the beginning of the 19th century, a changed awareness of history within society led to the founding of bourgeois historical and antiquarian societies in

German-speaking countries whose collecting activities were generally aimed at preserving material relics of the respective regional past, craftsmanship and political or economic importance. Up until the early 20th century, many of these collections of middle class origin emerged to become important foundations in the second half of the century for municipal, state and national museums, mostly borne by patriotic sentiments. The anchoring of the collections of these new history museums in wider sections of society make it likely that in many places personal memorabilia, documents and later photos, which directly document the work of traders, settlers, soldiers, missionaries or researchers in colonial contexts found their way into museums via private donations and bequests from companies.

When such objects were exhibited in museums, the focus was often on the presentation of the biographies of personalities of importance to local history, regional economic relations or the rise of outstanding family or commercial dynasties – without any in-depth explanation of the colonial background. In many cases, the view of history thus conveyed was accompanied by a distortion or trivialisation, or at the very least a sketchy depiction, of colonial realities of the time.

The development of advertising for products, brands and services in Germany also began around the middle of the 19th century and is reflected in the emergence of museum poster and advertising material collections, which mostly exist to the present day. Extending to colonial goods, tobacco and travel advertising, objects with visual links to pictorial worlds and stereotypes with a colonial background are almost inevitable.

Over the years, specialised museums and special collections emerged in other cultural and historical areas, for example those focusing on business, shipping, toy or military history. Depending on the genesis and composition of the collection items, the presence of objects with a direct or indirect colonial reference cannot be ruled out here either.

Objects with a link to colonial or post-colonial contexts and their adequate presentation are often even a relevant topic in newly founded state history museums in Germany today.

Collections of technical museums

Veit Didczuneit

The establishment and expansion of German colonial rule in Africa, Asia and the South Seas and its protection would not have been possible for Germany without the use of various modern technologies. A modern transport infrastructure as well as communication technology were of particular significance, as was a superior weapon armoury. Surveying instruments, installations for water extraction, cleaning and distribution, energy supply stations, modern techniques in mining, agriculture and forestry, modern means of constructing, brewing and refrigerating, and finally a medical infrastructure were all of great importance for the control and economic exploitation of Germany's overseas empire.

Against the background of these wide-ranging and important aspects of colonial rule, it is likely that many technical museums own objects related to the colonial past. These may have been integrated into their collections during the German colonial period from 1884 to 1919 as part of the institution's special interest in colonial matters. The German colonial revisionist movement between 1919 and 1945 also promoted the collection of technical artefacts as evidence of the so-called "German civilising mission" that had taken place in her colonies until 1918 and thus protect Germany against accusations of having been a barbaric coloniser. While the GDR used colonial artefacts as a propaganda tool to denounce especially West German capitalism and imperialism, the museums of the Federal Republic emphasised the efficiency and superiority of German technology used in the colonies. German technology museums are only just beginning to address their colonial heritage, both with regard to history of their objects and to the museums' past practices of collecting and exhibiting.

Objects with a colonial provenance or from a colonial context could also be found in the estates of researchers, engineers and officials involved in or interested in the development, construction and use of this technology in the colonies. It is also possible that these holdings contain ethnological objects which originated as "tourist souvenirs". The Imperial Post Museum, for example, acquired African news drums, spears, axes and knives as well as animal horns in order to display them as "exhibits of savages" in its colonial department in the context of German colonial post institutions. In addition to a large number of stamps, postcards and picture postcards, letters and photographs, the collections of the Museum Foundation Post and Telecommunication nowadays also docu-

ment the colonial activities of the Imperial Post Office until 1918 with dozens of three-dimensional objects stemming from the post, telegraph, telephone and radio services.

Reflections of colonialism in art museums
Christoph Grunenberg

The incorporation of political and theoretical paradigm shifts in the practice of institutions is often characterised by scepticism, resistance and delay. Post-colonial theory seems to have entered the exhibitions, collections and presentation practices of art museums – i. e. museums that deal primarily with painting, sculpture, works on paper, media art and installation – primarily through the medium of exhibitions, especially of contemporary art. We can thus talk of an "ethnographic turn". In contrast, the question as to what traces the colonial era has left in museum collections, why and how museums should deal with the colonial heritage and how to exhibit colonial history has long been neglected by leading art museums, including international ones.

The heydays of many German museums can be situated between the founding of the German Empire and the Weimar Republic, parallel to massive territorial, colonial and economic expansion. Especially the first two decades of the 20th century witnessed the establishment and construction of numerous museums, expansion of collections and the professionalisation of art history and museum work. Rapid industrialisation, the growth of global trade relations and the exploitation of the colonies created the basis of the wealth which enabled patronage and the purchase and donation of works of art. Precisely for this reason, it is worthwhile to examine the complex links between colonial history, bourgeois patronage and the history of art, collecting and taste from the 19th to the early 20th century. The traces in the collections and the institutional history are present, though often hidden and only visible at a second glance.

It is important to remember that it was the intercontinental trade routes that allowed direct contact with non-European cultures and the trade in art and artefacts. Unlike in ethnographic or natural history collections, however, objects from non-European cultures were usually not exhibited in art museums. In art museums, the fascination and contact with unknown cultures, as celebrated in the numerous world, trade, art and industrial exhibitions, primarily took the form of exotic depictions of distant cultures and people. For example, global networks are also

mirrored in the depiction of exotic products that indicate the local and regional importance of certain commodities or industries as well as travel and trade links.

It was not until the reception and inspiration of modern artists through non-European cultures that they were occasionally seen in art museums, primarily in the medium of exhibitions. An early example is the juxtaposition of Japanese woodcuts with the Post-Impressionist painting and graphics they influenced. The inspiration that Cubist and Expressionist artists found in African sculpture, Asian objects, South Sea art or pre-Hispanic artefacts was also explored in exhibitions and, occasionally, items were acquired for collections. In particular, the preferences of individual private collectors, such as Karl Ernst Osthaus, went beyond a strict hierarchical separation according to geographic, chronological and taxonomic categories as practiced in most public institutions.

The objective of a critical reflection of one's own institutional history must not only be to question the interaction of economic and cultural life at the time of European colonialism, but also to analyse how colonial images stubbornly persist in art and everyday life. Especially in works of high modernist art, the approach to and presentation of "the Other" can be examined in an exemplary manner, usually revealing a mixture of artistic admiration and the projection of escapist utopias and exotic fantasies. The inclusion of critical positions of contemporary art is instructive as it adds an aesthetic dimension to a historical examination.

Against the background of the present-day effects of globalisation and migration, a reflection on the historical legacy of colonial trade, industry and emigration should also provide an explicit impetus to ask new questions about cultural difference and identity. A critical examination can not only generate surprising historical insights, heighten awareness and change attitudes among the public, academia and museums, but also open institutions to new audience groups. The intensive involvement – in terms of concept and content – as well as the cooperation with various ethnic communities, post-colonial activists, political parties, responsible public administrations and university partners is essential in order to allow new perspectives and to lend any examination authenticity and credibility.

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4.3 Provenance research – research sources, methods, possibilities

Jonathan Fine & Hilke Thode-Arora

Provenance research investigates an object's relations of possession and ownership from its creation to the present. Researching provenance is a basic obligation of museums – regardless of whether or not objects are subject to requests for restitution or repatriation, – and it must be carried out with "due diligence"[32].

Researching the provenance of objects from colonial contexts (in the narrower sense, objects from categories 1 and 2, cf. p. 16 et seq.) often does not differ fundamentally from researching those from other contexts. To understand the relations of possession and ownership concerning an object, it is often necessary to understand the circumstances under which the object was sold, acquired, or appropriated and not merely to know the chain of owners and possessors. In order to grasp this context, it is often necessary to draw on and interpret a wide range of written and oral sources from Europe and from other regions, as well as to examine the object and its materials. The object itself is thus often a source that can help illuminate the context of its provenance. Nonetheless, existing sources relating to each step of the chain of ownership are often inadequate to give a complete picture of the facts. Well-founded contextualisation and interpretation play an important role in provenance research. The investigation of how an object has changed hands can always be advanced by new sources, information, and interpretations. Therefore, provenance research should not be regarded as a process that can "clear" the history of an object, but rather as a research process that often leads to provisional conclusions regarding an object's history.

It is important to bear in mind the following issues when researching the provenance of objects from colonial contexts:

- colonial contexts were often, but not always, charcaterised by violence;
- knowledge and the expertise of people from countries of origin or communities of origin from which the objects originate should be considered important sources, especially with regard to aspects of the history of the objects before they were acquired.

[32] ICOM Code of Ethics for Museums, section 2.3, 2010

A number of things can serve as the impetus to investigate the provenance of objects from colonial contexts: cataloguing and inventorying museum collections; preparing exhibitions; inquiries regarding objects from scholars or other interested persons; larger research projects; possible new acquisitions[33] or in response to a request that the object be restituted or repatriated. Regardless of the reason why the provenance is to be examined, the same questions must be considered: where does the object come from? Who had possessed it and to whom did it belong? When and under what circumstances did it change its owner or possessor?

This section of the guidelines is intended to introduce investigating the provenance of objects from colonial contexts. It considers four main topics: (1) the sources for research and how to interpret them critically; (2) dealing with incomplete or unclear provenances; (3) incorporating the knowledge and expertise of people from the object's countries of origin / communities of origin; and (4) effectively communicating about the provenance of objects to museum visitors and the interested public through museum exhibitions, museum educational work, as well as through academic and other publications.

1. Sources: The different kinds of sources and how to interpret them critically

A. Different kinds of sources

A variety of sources are relevant to investigating the provenance of objects from colonial contexts. Primary written sources that relate to the change of possessors and owners and shed light on the context of the respective acquisition are unquestionably important. As with any historical research, other sources such as wills, historical newspaper articles, photographs, letters, diaries, books (such as memoirs), and other publications may be relevant as well. Secondary sources, such as academic articles, books, and contemporary newspaper articles should also be consulted.

In museums information about changes in ownership or possession is often found in acquisition records and other kinds of museum documentation. The museum's own files often document the last link in chains of ownership and possession; often they also point to other relevant sources in external archives or libraries or collections.

[33] ICOM Code of Ethics for Museums, section 2.3, 2010

Written documents and records are not the only relevant sources for provenance research. Oral histories and traditions may also be important. Oral information can be preserved in families, villages, associations and other institutions, and can be passed on from generation to generation. Such oral information is a living source – in Europe and in other parts of the world.

The object itself can also be a source of information about its history, which can be unlocked through different kinds of investigation into its materials, form, and material context. Such investigation can reveal information about the object's age what it is made of, its archaeological context, its use (or lack thereof) in ritual or other contexts, or the historical and geographical environment where it was found. For instance, the fact that an object carved from old wood was collected in an abandoned forest or in a war-torn village can provide important clues about its age and about the possible circumstances under which it changed hands or owners.

The sources that are relevant for provenance research are often not only in Europe. Information about the history of an object can sometimes be found only where it was made, collected, or exported. This holds for both written and oral sources, information about the materiality of the object, and about its physical environment. Such information is an important basis for reconstructing, contextualising, and understanding the origins of an object and the circumstances under which it came to Europe.

B. Critical interpretation of sources

As in any research, the critical evaluation of sources is an important step in investigating the provenance of objects from colonial contexts. Since the attitudes of many European actors in colonial contexts were characterised by racism and a sense of superiority as well as by a sense of the legitimacy of their actions, contemporary sources must be interpreted taking account of these biases. It is often necessary to read between the lines and to be aware that colonial contexts were frequently (but not always) characterised by violence. Military force was often used to conquer regions, and further acts of violence (such as "punitive expeditions") maintained the ´colonisers´ rule. Resistance to colonial rule was often crushed. Colonial violence did not always involve force of arms. "Softer" forms of violence and exploitation were common. Because Europeans often took racism and violence for granted, they frequently did not describe them in when writing about events. It is necessary to interpret the sources critically and to read them "against the grain". Consulting additional sources in order to contextualise, verify, and question the presented facts is recommended, as with any historical investigation with primary sources.

Of course, even in the period when contact was first made, some objects were made or commissioned especially for Europeans because the different communities of origin into which they came into contact often quickly became aware of Europeans' desire to collect objects. Europeans did not always recognise this adaptation to their demands, and they often believed these to be "authentic" objects used in daily life or in rituals by the persons who made them. Careful examination – especially of the objects themselves – reveals that some of them were early souvenirs, non-functional, unused, or models of tools and implements. Moreover, even under conditions of colonial structural inequality, objects could be transferred among persons under circumstances in which the exchange occurred on fair or equal terms and/or was embedded in an indigenous system of exchange and reciprocal gifts.

When conducting provenance research, one must also be aware of whether the historical representations of the persons involved in an object's history are compatible with today's perspectives. In many situations, the circumstances of an acquisition could be interpreted differently today than they were by the actors involved. Thus, the way acquisitions were described at the time, especially by Europeans may not reflect today's perspective. Moreover, new interpretations may emerge from knowledge gleaned from new research that can also draw on information from the objects' communities of origin. It is crucial therefore to critically review sources relating to colonial events and contexts.

2. Dealing with incomplete or unclear provenances

It is often not possible to find documentation for every link in the chain of an object's provenance, especially for objects from colonial contexts. Often, not all provenance steps were documented[34]. Frequently this is because different motivations and different academic or scientific methodologies lay behind the assembly of collections in the colonial era. In addition, relevant records were sometimes not archived, were lost, or were destroyed over time. It is therefore important to be aware in many cases it will be impossible to obtain a complete picture of an object's history. Nonetheless, museums should seek to publicise even limited insights that they gain through provenance research, even if this does not give a complete picture of the provenance. Future research by others, perhaps with new sources, may be able to build on prior incomplete work, thus advancing the state of knowledge more generally.

[34] Basic Position of the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation for the Handling of its Non-European Collections and the Study of Provenance, p. 1, 2015.

3. Including the knowledge and expertise of people from countries of origin and communities of origin from which the objects come in provenance research

Information about the history and acquisition of objects in colonial contexts may be found not only in Europe, but also in the objects' countries, societies, and communities of origin. It can be methodologically challenging to access and interpret such sources[35]. But nevertheless, such sources may be highly relevant and it may be crucial to include these in provenance research wherever possible. In addition to facts and histories that cannot be known from sources in Europe, they can also reveal new perspectives and interpretations. This knowledge and the resulting contacts can help to better understand the objects' history as well as to help develop just and practicable solutions for possible acquisitions or to requests for restitution or repatriation.

Local scholars or partner institutions, such as museums, government agencies, or universities can often assist in finding contacts in local communities. If there are no contacts with such partner institutions in other countries, specialised ethnological museums, other kinds of museums in Europe, or public authorities in Germany can often help establish them. But in many cases such assistance may not be enough.

Research in other countries can also pose ethical and legal issues. Researchers must abide by applicable local ethical guidelines and laws, and some investigations must be approved in advance by the national authorities in the countries concerned. Before investigations are undertaken on site, for instance, the German museum concerned should inform itself about the governing ethical standards and the legal steps to obtain a research permit, if necessary[36]. Often relevant laws, standards, or guidelines can be found on the Internet.

Including the views of people from the objects' countries of origin or communities of origin collaboratively in provenance research usually requires specialised ethnological expertise: national institutions may not always be the most suitable contacts when it comes to questions regarding objects from colonial contexts. Nor is every representative of a society or ethnic group able to speak in a well-founded way about *every* object – it is important to find persons who possess knowledge of the objects in question. Depending on the individual case, these can be individuals,

[35] Complex local social conditions may require complex sensitive methods of locating and raising using sources.

[36] For example, there are ethics committees at New Zealand universities, to which university research projects must be submitted for consideration.

families, descendants, clan spokespersons, village representatives, religious practitioners, or others. It is not always possible to communicate directly with them in a European language. Those with authority to speak often are not highly visible or able to communicate effectively through European media. One should be mindful that there may be several competing interpretations of and claims to the same objects in European museums in the countries and communities from which the objects come. When there are competing demands and prerogatives of interpretation, culturally influenced forms of communication and negotiation must be taken into account. For instance, sometimes seniors or elders will not be contradicted by members of their own society; instead of confronting them openly, more subtle ways of negotiation are sought.

The results of provenance research in collaboration with representatives of the communities of origin from which the objects come is an open-ended process. Investigating provenance of objects should be independent of requests for repatriation or return and should not be seen as an inevitable step toward deaccessioning the objects in question in order to return them[37].

4. Communication of provenance research

Communicating the results of provenance investigations through disclosure and transparency are central dimensions of provenance research. There are different and complementary ways to make the knowledge gained accessible to the public. Each museum should decide how to focus its communication effectively. For instance, different goals for communicating information about provenance can be to provide information on individual objects or lots; to cover the history of the collection; to shed light on the historical context of colonialism; to establish closer links with local groups from countries and regions of origin, or to present provenance research as one of the museum's tasks. One should not underestimate the fact that the non-academic public often does not know what provenance means and how provenance research is conducted – there is also a need for communication here.

Traditional approaches to conveying the results of provenance research include information in object and exhibition texts, audio guides, thematic tours, as well as workshops, publications and entries in online and printed catalogues on museum collections and exhibitions. Provenance information can also be an integral part of museum exhibitions and installations. Some museums have devoted entire

[37] cf. section 4.4 “Legal aspects” in this volume.

exhibition areas to the subject. In addition, the museums' own positions on provenance and provenance research can be posted on museum websites and included in mission statements. Newer ways of communicating provenance research are online portals and interventions in museum exhibitions themselves. Regardless of the form and focus of the communication, collaboration with staff from the museums' public relations and publicity departments is important so that they are able to respond to questions from visitors and interested parties.

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4.4 Collections from colonial contexts: Legal aspects

Carola Thielecke & Michael Geißdorf

The "legality" of ownership is an issue often raised in the debate surrounding collection items from colonial contexts. This term is employed in a very broad and more moral sense rather than an objectively legal one. The purpose of this article is to examine the question of how the ownership of collection items from colonial contexts in German museums can be judged in legal terms today and whether claims for their return can be asserted successfully under national or international law.

Critical lawyers point out that current international law in particular, but also the law of most former colonies, has its roots in European, Christian legal systems, with barely a trace of other legal traditions. It has also been posited that international law as we know it today could not have developed without colonialism. Therefore, colonial and imperial structures are inherent to international law. As a result, international law not only maintains but also reproduces colonial asymmetries and thus renders it more difficult to enforce reparations, for example. In this context, the value neutrality and universality of human rights are also called into question. For example, the guarantee of private property helps maintain ownership that was established in the colonial period and favours the inhabitants of the northern hemisphere[38].

Whilst such observations are certainly relevant in many respects and worthy of consideration, they have yet to lead to any significant change in legislation or in the application of the law. Rather, these are voices which still form a minority in international jurisprudence and are encountered almost exclusively among legal scholars, as opposed to in legal practice. The following comments are founded on today's legal practice and the majority view of jurisprudence.

[38] One specific example worth mentioning here are legal scholars in the (informal) group Third World Approaches to International Law (TWAIL). See among others: Antony Anghie, *Imperialism, sovereignty, and the making of international law*, Cambridge 2005 and Makau W. Mutua, *Savages, Victims, and Saviors. The Metaphor of Human Rights*. Harvard International Law Journal, vol. 42, no. 1, pp. 201–245, 2001.

1. Ownership of collection items from colonial contexts

1a) Ownership under German law and intertemporal private law

The examination of the ownership of collection items acquired during the colonial period also presents a legal challenge, since some of the objects were acquired 100 years or even significantly longer ago. This not only makes it difficult to clarify the actual circumstances of an acquisition, but also raises specific legal issues. For example, when determining under German law whether a person (natural or legal) is the owner of an object, the process by which he or she is supposed to have first acquired ownership is examined and the question as to whether ownership was actually acquired through this process is considered. If this question is answered in the affirmative, it will then be examined whether there has since been a legally significant occurrence by which the person lost ownership again.

When investigating each step of the acquisition, it is not current law but the law applicable at the time of the occurrence which applies. This principle of continental European law goes back to Roman law and is referred to as "intertemporal private law". According to this principle, new legislation shall only apply to such circumstances as arise after the amendment of an act or the law. Old law still applies for matters that were already completed before the respective changes to the law. The background in such cases is that the law applicable at any one time needs to be reliable. Retroactive application of new regulations would lead to barely manageable shifts in legal rights. It would not only change the ownership title for the past, but, for example, all contracts relating to the object would have to be reversed. Consequently, any acquisition of ownership that had taken effect under old law remains valid despite any changes to the law. In the examination in line with the earlier law, not only must the old legal text be used, but the legal practice of that time must be observed, even if it is no longer compatible with today's legal views. Of course, the legislature is free to enact legislation that restricts or even revokes existing legal rights prospectively, among other things to correct past mistakes. These laws also only take effect in the future. One such example is the Act on the Settlement of Unresolved Property Issues, adopted in 1989, which corrected asset movements in GDR times. However, these movements were not retroactively declared ineffective. Rather, the former owner was reinstated prospectively.

When deciding whether a German museum is today the owner of a collection object that was acquired in a colonial context, the first step is therefore to determine the legal norms according to which the acquisition of ownership is to be judged.

1b) Applicable law in the German and British colonies during the colonial era

The following section will outline, as an example, which laws were applied in the German colonies. Of course, there are also numerous objects in German museum collections which were not acquired in the German colonies, but rather in areas dominated by other colonial powers. In such cases, not only the intertemporal principle must be considered when examining the applicable law, but also the question as to which of several possible national legal systems should be applied to the change of ownership. To represent all of this in its entirety would go beyond the scope of this article. Therefore, the legal situation in the British colonies will merely be outlined briefly in order to illustrate the differences that may exist.

Development of the legal system in the German colonies

It has been pointed out by scholars that the establishment of colonial law was not primarily about law and justice, but about the stabilisation of colonial rule. It had been recognised that efficient government is conditional upon consistency in the exercise of power. The aim was to replace state arbitrariness with a bureaucratic administration and to create structures through which domination could be exercised. Due to the relative brevity of German colonial rule, the development of a colonial legal and administrative system for the German colonies did not progress beyond the fundamental elements. In addition, due to foreign and political security considerations, the German Government had no interest in becoming an overseas colonial power until 1884. This was due to its relatively weak naval forces and the associated fear that Germany would be drawn into an unwinnable conflict with the established colonial powers such as Britain.

Since Germany did not become an overseas colonial power until 1884, the German Government initially preferred to leave overseas trade and land acquisitions to private commercial and colonial companies. These usually concluded extremely one-sided "contracts" regulating land ownership and other rights with local rulers. This view later changed, a change demonstrated, for example, by the issuance of so-called letters of protection to companies and by the division of Africa agreed upon by the European colonial powers in the Congo Act of 26 February 1885. As a result, the need for state regulations arose in the newly developing German colonial territories. After the initially unregulated situation, the Protectorate Act (SchGG) for the German colonies was enacted in 1886, in order to define the legal situation in the colonies. These areas were considered to be domestic, not foreign territory. However, the Protectorate Act did not simply bring into force the German legal system. Rather, in the colonies, the Kaiser had far-reaching authority to regulate and could often govern without the involvement of the *Reichstag/*

Bundesrat. In this regard, the Protectorate Act represented an enabling act, which incidentally was only abolished when the Act on the Dissolution, Winding Up and Deregistration of Colonial Companies was passed by the *Bundestag* on 20 August 1975. The right to issue statutory instruments was not exercised by the Kaiser himself, but delegated to (various) subordinate bodies. This led to a very diverse legal situation in the colonies.

In the field of private law, the Kaiser's right to issue statutory instruments was clearly limited. The Protectorate Act stipulated differing legal regulations for locals and non-locals.

For non-locals, especially the Germans in the colonies, Section 3 of the Protectorate Act contained a reference to Section 19 of the Act on Consular Jurisdiction. This, in turn, stipulated the application of the law of the German Reich. Thus, initially the P*reussisches Allgemeines Landrecht* and then, as of 1900, the *Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch* (German Civil Code), still on the statute books today, applied to legal transactions between non-locals (mainly but not exclusively Germans).

According to Section 4 of the Protectorate Act, the reference in Section 3 of the Protectorate Act, and therefore the law of the German Reich, was only applicable to the local population if the Kaiser so decreed. However, such a decree, which would have fully brought into force the Reich law, was never issued. According to the statute, the local population's own law therefore remained in force. This was, however, amended by imperial decrees on various individual issues. Ultimately, colonial officials had great freedom to lay down or formulate their own laws. An order by the Governor of German East Africa of 1896 is indicative of the attitudes of the time: "For the decisions (of the colonial officials for the local population), the valid legal principles among educated peoples, common sense and local customs and traditions prevail. In difficult and especially important cases, the district captain is entitled and obliged to obtain the opinion of a learned judge of his district or province" [39].

[39] Excerpt from the Ordinance on the Jurisdiction and Police Powers of the District Captains of 14 May 1891 A. Jurisdiction governing coloureds, I. Civil disputes. Published under no. 56 pp. 196–198 in The Legislation of the German East Africa Protectorate, Systematic Compilation of the Laws, Ordinances, etc., Valid in German East Africa. Published by the Imperial Governate of German East Africa, 2nd edition 1911, Tanga/Dar es Salaam.

For so-called "mixed legal disputes", German law was largely applied, and in cases where local law was also applied alongside German law, it was certainly not allowed to diminish the legal rights of non-local persons. This legal situation was by and large known, as proven by a comprehensive publication carried out on the basis of questionnaires evaluated in 1893 on behalf of the "International Association for Comparative Law and Economics" and published in 1903[40]. This enterprise was repeated on a large scale on the initiative of the Reichstag in 1907, this time on a government basis, but it did not prove possible to publish the results until after the end of the German colonial era. Nevertheless, responses from local colonial officials and other interviewees clearly show extensive knowledge of local law, so it can generally be assumed that Europeans were aware when they "illegally" acquired sacred objects from locals, for example, which should not have been for sale[41]

In the field of public law, there was an almost unlimited imperial right to issue statutory instruments in the spheres of state, administrative and military law.

It is quite conceivable that private citizens, for instance explorers or military personnel outside their official capacity, made acquisitions which were not allowed under the applicable law of that time. Thus, even in the colonial period, a theft did not constitute the acquisition of ownership, even if the owner was a local and the thief a non-local. In contrast, it can be assumed that appropriations by public authorities were always covered by applicable law.

Additional example: British colonies

No legislative acts such as the Protectorate Act were introduced in the British Empire. This was due to the case law prevalent in the Anglo-American world. Over time, the courts developed views on which law should apply. Differing doctrines developed in which local law remained applicable to various degrees. First and foremost, a distinction was made on the basis of how the crown had acquired a particular territory.

[40] on the development of "Das Eingeborenenrecht", Dr Erich Schultz-Ewerth and Dr Leonard Adam, published by Strecker and Schröder, Stuttgart 1929, vol. 1, preface p. V et seq.

[41] For example, the Oruzo collective property, here sacred cattle, sheep, calabashes, ancestral objects and those for the maintenance of the sacred fire in "Das Eingeborenenrecht", see above, vol. 2, p. 235.

If the territory had been acquired through "settlement", British law had to be applied in full. The idea behind this was that there was no existing law in uninhabited land taken over for the first time during the settlement. However, this doctrine was also applied to areas with populations considered to be so uncivilised that it was assumed that there could be no legal system there in the true sense. One example of this is Australia, which – in complete disregard of the Aborigines – was regarded as "terra nullius" and thus as an uninhabited area. Even in areas treated according to this doctrine, elements of local law were sometimes declared effective.

If land was acquired by conquest or cession, the existing law initially retained its validity until expressly replaced by British law. Here, too, there are very few instances where local law was replaced in full. Elements of local law remained in force.

In each individual case, the court had to determine which law was applicable based upon these doctrines. Any legal rules in conflict with basic British values were set aside. The fact that British courts applied local law meant that it was reshaped in many different ways, as judges often did not have complete information on local law and thus applied their own perceptions of the law, etc.

In conclusion, in many cases, it may be difficult to even determine which law applied to an acquisition in the first place and under which law the validity of the original acquisition of ownership should be assessed today. This applies both to the German colonies as well as, for example, to the British colonial territories.

2. Claims for return relating to collection items from colonial contexts

2a) Claims for return under German law?

At present, the only legal basis for claims would be the general provisions for return under private law, since there is no special legislation for cases of this nature. According to the general provisions of the German Civil Code, the owner of an object may demand that the person/entity in possession of the object surrender it. In other words, firstly, the person demanding the return of an object must prove that he himself is the owner and that he acquired the ownership of the object correctly and effectively. Secondly, it must be determined that the person/entity currently in possession of the object is not the owner. The judicial enforcement of claims for the return of objects acquired in colonial contexts is therefore likely to encounter a whole series of problems.

The biggest problem is likely to be difficulties in gathering proof, as the acquisition processes are often documented only very cursorily or not at all. However, as already indicated above, there may be individual cases in which it can be concluded from contemporary records that an acquisition was not lawful even at that time. There are cases in which explorers even address this in their records. However, in order to actually demand the surrender of the respective object, the claimant must also be able to prove that he derived his right from a person who was the owner of the object at the time of this illegal transaction, i. e., he is, for example, an heir or part of the community of heirs of the person from whom it was stolen and represents the heirs. This is rarely likely to succeed.

Moreover, all return claims relating to colonial operations (during formal colonial rule) are barred under the statute of limitations by German law. However, the limitation is a so-called plea, which means that the defendant can decide whether he wants to invoke the statute of limitations. If the defendant refrains, the statute of limitations is not applied by the court. On the other hand, however, the very example of acquisition in a colonial context highlights the purpose of the statute of limitations: it is not merely intended to establish a degree of legal certainty or "legal peace". Rather, the courts should not have to deal with lawsuits in which the facts are very difficult to determine and thus there is a considerable danger that incorrect facts will be ascertained.

2b) Return claims under international law?

Recently, there have been various attempts to achieve redress for colonial injustice through international law. First of all, there was the complaint brought before the International Court of Justice by the Republic of Nauru against Australia in 1989 concerning the mining of phosphate-bearing rocks during the period of the trustee mandate and the resulting environmental damage. Furthermore, 14 Caribbean countries have joined together in the CARICOM association and have announced their intention to take various European countries to the International Court of Justice. The focus here is the injustice caused by the slave trade. Finally, in January 2017, representatives of the Herero and Nama in the United States sued the Federal Republic of Germany. Within the framework of the Alien Torts Claim Act (ATCA), this concerns claims which may arise from the genocide against the Herero and Nama. In none of these cases has there hitherto been a court hearing or even a ruling. To date, there have been no legal proceedings on the basis of international norms on the return of assets taken from colonies to Europe. Against this background, the question arises as to whether there could be a claim for the return of cultural property under international law.

As in German law, the intertemporal principle is applied in international law. There is widespread agreement upon this. This means that facts must also be assessed in international law under the law that was valid at the time they occurred, not under the law in force at the time of the decision.

This principle was called into question during the preparation of the United Nations' 2001 World Conference against Racism. Efforts were made there to achieve the retroactive effect of certain international rules of law. The focus was on slavery and colonialism in particular. The conference was prepared by four regional conferences. The possibility of retroactivity was discussed at both the African and the Asian regional conferences. Ultimately, however, this position did not prevail.

In order to achieve the return of cultural property through international law, either the acquisition would have to have been prohibited under international law at the time of acquisition or there would have to have been a subsequent rule of international law providing for the return of artefacts acquired during formal colonial rule.

It is unanimously agreed that there are no rules under international law which prohibited the acquisition of cultural goods during colonial rule. There are now a number of agreements under international law which deal – either exclusively or in part – with the protection of cultural property. These include the Hague Convention on Land Warfare of 1907 and the Hague Convention of 1954, the UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property of 1970, and the Unidroit Convention of 1995. In view of the dates of their entry into force, these instruments of international law can be of no relevance to the colonial period. What is more, some contain provisions expressly limiting their validity to the time after their entry into force. It should be noted that in the negotiations on the UNESCO Agreement there was also an effort by some states to make the Convention's validity retroactive, but this was ultimately not successful.

Owing to its wording, the 2007 UN Declaration on Indigenous Rights appears most pertinent. Articles 11 and 12 contain statements regarding the cultural rights of indigenous peoples. Among other things, restitution is mentioned. For example, Article 12 (2) states that the states shall seek to enable the access and/or repatriation of ceremonial objects and human remains in their possession through fair, transparent and effective mechanisms. Article 11 (2) contains a similar statement in relation to "cultural, intellectual, religious and spiritual property". Unusually, there is no time limit here on the recorded cases of objects removed. However,

the declaration – like all other UN declarations – is not legally binding. Although it has occasionally been argued that by now the declaration has the status of customary international law and has therefore become binding, this is likely to be a minority opinion. Certainly, the declaration cannot directly serve as a basis for claims for return, as it only asserts that the states have to develop restitution mechanisms and does not prescribe the return of cultural property. Difficulties regarding its application to colonial contexts are also due to the fact that the term "indigenous people" is not synonymous with local populations. Nevertheless, there is a partial congruence, so that an application would be conceivable for a certain group of people even in a colonial context. The declaration addresses "the states". This raises the question of whether only the states in which indigenous groups live today are meant or whether it is only about the relationship between the respective "home country" and the indigenous group. The wording here definitely suggests, for example, that the former colonial powers could also be included.

Finally, it would be conceivable to derive a return claim for objects that were stolen in the context of a genocide as an annex from the ban on genocide. Even here, however, the problem of the intertemporal principle arises. The fact that a ban on genocide under international law has existed since the 18th century has occasionally been posited in legal research publications. However, it is generally assumed that it did not become a rule of customary international law with binding effect until the early 20th century.

3. Conclusion

The current legal system – this applies to both German and international law – does not provide suitable instruments for deciding ownership issues surrounding acquisitions from colonial contexts. Of course, it would be conceivable to create such legal instruments at both levels. However, it is very questionable whether the political will for such a measure exists.

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5. Recommendations for dealing with collections from colonial contexts

The questions and answers listed here are intended to outline the issues surrounding colonial objects and to help raise awareness. They provide suggestions for differentiated assessments as well as assistance in forming opinions. This text contains recommendations and is not (legally) binding.

Each museum has to find a position tailored to its own needs in the current debates on colonial history and dealing with objects from colonial contexts. A transparent presentation of this point of view is recommended.

The recommendations refer to a museum's four areas of responsibility – collecting, preserving, researching, exhibiting – as well as the topic of returning museum objects.

5.1 General recommendations

The Code of Ethics for Museums of the International Council of Museums (ICOM 2010) is fundamental to museum's work.

The standards recognised for museum work also apply to objects from colonial contexts (cf. p. 11). The classification into one of the three categories defined in these guidelines (cf. p. 16 et seq.) presupposes some knowledge of the origin and age of the object as well as of the historical circumstances in which it was acquired. Names of traders, consignors or of those who had the object in their possession are also helpful. If there are no clues in the museum documentation, only more extensive provenance research (cf. Research, p. 84 et seq.) can provide insights into whether there are colonial contexts. Provenance research not only looks at the object's path to the collection, but also includes questions on the function, the context of the production and use as well as the materiality of artefacts and ethnographic objects. It has a central significance for modern museum work.

Prioritisation can be helpful (cf. p. 23) when it comes to proactively examining large collections of very heterogeneous geographical origins, with the aim of identifying colonial contexts of objects and identifying the acquisition contexts. However, these guidelines cannot provide a generally valid approach. Each museum is required to develop its own concept and to present it transparently.

The recommendations relevant to all three categories of colonial contexts within the scope of a museum (cf. p. 16 for categorisation) are briefly described below:

Collecting

In general, museums should develop a collection concept as well as a complete inventory accessible to employees with careful documentation of all objects (cf. also Leitfaden Nachhaltiges Sammeln. Ein Leitfaden zum Sammeln und Abgeben von Museumsgut *[Sustainable Collecting. Guidelines on Collecting and Deaccessioning Museum Property]*, German Museums Association 2011). Collection concepts should transparently show how objects in a colonial context are dealt with in each museum.

Further sources with suggestions on acquisition policy and acquisition ethics are provided in the Leitfaden zum Erwerb von Museumsgut *[Guidelines to the Acquisition of Museum Property]* (Lower Saxony Ministry of Science and Culture 2013) or the publication Besitz- und Eigentumsfragen *[Possession and Ownership Issues]* by the Coordination Centre for Scientific University Collections in Germany (2015).

Preserving

The usual conservation standards apply for the preservation of all objects.

In principle, the documentation of the collection holdings is an essential prerequisite for their proper storage. The Leitfaden für die Dokumentation von Museumsobjekten *[Guidelines for the documentation of museum objects*] (2011) published by the German Museums Association can be used to document objects. Object documentation comprises the receipt documentation, the inventory and the scientific cataloguing. All documentation should be neutral and sources subjected to an objective and critical evaluation.

An inventory will include all documents and records associated with the object, as well as sources of additional references (e.g. collector biographies, journal entries, itineraries and reports, dealer directories) and a record of any restrictions on access. The museum should develop a systematic survey for this.

All results and findings are documented. It should also be documented if there is no information or comments at any given time.

Ideally, the collection holdings should be documented digitally. This not only facilitates work on the collections, but also supports data dissemination and networking with specialist colleagues (worldwide) and communities of origin. The museum should establish transparent standards for the digital documentation of objects.

Researching

Research is fundamentally free but should comply with principles of scientific ethics. Care must be taken to ensure that the questions underlying the research as well as the research results are portrayed in a way that is fundamentally unbiased and does not provide any basis for discriminating interpretations.

The museum should be aware that objects from colonial contexts should be regarded as historically sensitive objects (cf. p. 9). This, on the one hand, means that the museum has an ethical responsibility in dealing with the biographies and provenances of objects and, on the other, encourages the museum to reflect on the history of its own establishment and acquisitions.

Provenance research is not an exhaustive clarification procedure. Rather, it should be seen as a research process that often only produces preliminary results due to gaps in documentation or in the information that has been passed down. Museums are thus encouraged to share the results of provenance research with third parties to help locate other important information in other institutions and archives.

Exhibiting

The museum is responsible for dealing with objects from colonial contexts appropriately and helps raise awareness. In any event, stereotypes and discrimination should be avoided in all depictions, presentations and publications.

All in all, the museum has little influence on why people come to the museum, with what attitude the visitors stand in front of the exhibits and how these affect the viewer. Therefore, it cannot be ruled out that objects from colonial contexts will have an emotional impact to a greater or lesser degree and this should be taken into account when designing the exhibition.

Every museum should decide how to draw attention to the (possibly unaccounted for) provenance of objects from colonial contexts. Possible starting points on the ways in which this can be done are given on page 92. Every museum should be open to forms of communication that allow objects from colonial contexts to

be seen from different perspectives, that make it possible to discuss tensions and contradictions, and to seek dialogue with the communities of origin.

The museum should develop a strategy for online publications and open-access entrance to databases that conforms to the mission statement and ensure that this strategy is transparent. The museum should critically examine whether a freely accessible representation of objects can be discriminatory, whether copyright and/or personal rights or data protection are violated or whether content could be used in questionable ways and communicate its position.

In the case of exhibition-related loans, the museum, in addition to the general requirements, should examine whether the planned exhibition concept is ethical. The content, context and purpose of the presentation must meet the criteria laid down. The context of the exhibition should not hinder a critical examination of colonialism.

Objects from colonial contexts can be used for academic teaching. The same criteria apply as for exhibiting. The content, context and goal of the course or seminar should not prevent a critical examination of colonialism.

Returning museum objects

The subject of returning is not relevant to all categories of colonial contexts as defined in these guidelines. Therefore, recommendations are presented within the corresponding category (cf. the catalogue of questions on categories 1 and 2, from p. 93).

5.2 Questions and answers

The questions and answers relating to the objects are set out separately for each category. Within the respective category, they are assigned to the corresponding task areas of a museum – collecting, preserving, researching and exhibiting – as well as the sphere of returning museum objects.

This catalogue of questions and answers is by no means exhaustive. Each colonial context must be judged differently. What is more, questions and answers other than those presented here can also arise.

The concrete explanations of the categorisation can be found starting on p. 16.

Category 1: Objects from formal colonial rule contexts, from p. 78
Category 2: Objects from colonial contexts outside formal colonial rule, from p. 102
Category 3: Objects that reflect colonialism, from p. 104

Category 1: Objects from formal colonial rule contexts

An overview of formal colonial rule can be found in the Annex from p. 110 et seq..

Category 1a:

The object is from an area that was under formal colonial rule at the time of collection,[42] manufacture, purchase or export of the object.

Category 1b:

The object was used in an area under formal colonial rule. Its use was related to colonial rule, colonial commerce or colonial life.

The following questions can usually be applied equally to objects of category 1a and 1b. The text indicates whether differentiations will be necessary.

[42] Here, collection means the process of collecting objects from where they originated, e. g. natural history objects as part of field research.

Collecting

The following section deals only with questions that may arise when the museum is offered objects from colonial contexts today. For a retrospective review of how objects came to the museum in the past, see the background information on collection history on p. 37 et seq..

General recommendations on collecting can be found on p. 75.

With regard to imminent acquisitions, should it be asked whether the objects have a connection to formal colonial rule? Does this have a legal effect on the acquisition?

Objects that are acquired today, whether by purchase (in trade, at auction, etc.) or in the form of donations and bequests, or acquisitions from other public collections, can also be assigned to categories 1a or 1b. The colonial history of the object rarely affects the legal validity of the acquisition. It would only be influenced if the original acquisition under formal colonial rule had been ineffective and no subsequent acquisition of ownership has taken place.

> Example: An object in a German colony was stolen in 1901 from the owner by a German collector travelling privately. He then "donated" it to a museum and provided extensive information on the acquisition circumstances, which are also documented. The object would then not have been either the property of the collector or the property of the museum. Nor if the object is passed on to another museum will it acquire effective ownership.

Normally, however, the museum will become the owner despite the object's colonial history. The problem of such an acquisition lies in the ethics. Regardless of any connection to the colonial era, it goes without saying that general legal requirements must be adhered to in every purchase. In any case, it should be self-evident that the provenance has to be clarified as far as possible, not only with a view to identifying any connections with colonialism but also, for example, any connections with losses related to persecution during the National Socialist regime.

Should a museum abstain from an acquisition if the examination of the object's provenance reveals its connections with formal colonial rule?

A generally binding answer to this question is not possible. A differentiated approach is required due to the length of colonial rule and the vast geographic extent of the colonial territories.

With regard to category 1a[43] objects, it should be remembered that there was a wide range of manufacturing and trade contexts. At one end of this spectrum are objects made specially for sale to collectors and traded on markets. At the other end are objects whose acquisition was in breach of the colonial legal conceptions and morality of the period[44]. While the working group assumes that the acquisition of the former objects is generally harmless, it would advise against acquiring the latter. Ultimately, however, as far as possible each museum, after the most comprehensive possible examination and taking into consideration its own collection concept, must decide for itself whether to accept or acquire an object.

With regard to objects in category 1b[45], it is crucial that any connection to formal colonial rule be taken into account in any decision on acquisition. Indeed, the museum should take special care to clarify the provenance as the basis for deciding for or against acceptance. It should be noted that the context in which an object was used rather the one in which it was manufactured may be problematic here.

Museums can collect objects that were collected during formal colonial rule, as well as those that changed hands during formal colonial rule but were collected or created before that time. Do these objects raise different questions?

Yes. For older objects (e.g. archaeological objects, but also weapons produced before colonial rule, etc.), the crucial question is whether there were changes of ownership during formal colonial rule, how they were effected and how they are to be evaluated. In contrast, in the case of objects taken or produced from nature (natural history objects) during formal colonial rule in the colonial territories, the general conditions of their collection[46] or production must also always be examined. These can raise additional questions, for example, when the collection or production took place in the context of forced labour/coercion.

[43] Category 1a: The object comes from an area that was under formal colonial rule at the time of collection, manufacture, purchase or export of the object.

[44] Collectors of that time were well aware of this, but often considered scientific interest to be more important.

[45] Category 1b: The object was used in an area that was under formal colonial rule.

[46] Here, collection means the process of collecting objects from where they originated, e.g. natural history objects as part of field research.

Should a museum abstain from a purchase if the provenance cannot be completely clarified?

In many cases, the provenance is incomplete or impossible to clarify. In these cases, too, the museum must make a decision on an individual basis. Generally speaking, caution should be exercised. Where an acquisition does not fill a gap in the collection because similar items have already been acquired, the acquisition should not be made. In any event, the decision on acquisition should be documented in detail.

Should objects in Category 1a[47] be acquired in order to withdraw them from the (art) market?

Sometimes demands are made that public cultural institutions should accept objects with no or difficult provenance (as a donation or bequest) or buy them in order to withdraw them from the (art) market[48]. Great caution is advised here. It may already be difficult under budgetary regulations to buy an object when it is already clear at the time of acquisition that it may have to be handed over to a third party. Cultural institutions should therefore not see themselves as a "safe haven", especially as a purchase does not stop the illegal art trade, but merely absolves the collector of any responsibility. The situation may be different if, for example, the acquisition is made at the express request of the country of origin or of persons from the respective ethnic group who have the prerogative of interpretation in relation to an object[49].

Which national regulations come into play for the collection of objects from formal colonial rule contexts?

It is self-evident that the general legal requirements for the acquisition of such objects must be observed for each purchase. Legal regulations do not yet exist, in particular under international law, which have an effect on the acquisition of objects from formal colonial rule contexts.

[47] Category 1a: The object is from an area that was under formal colonial rule at the time of collection, manufacture, purchase or export of the object.

[48] Museums can be custodians of objects confiscated by customs. There are clear restrictions on storage (cf. Engelhardt 2013).

[49] for example, repurchase of Hopi objects by a foundation (https://www.survivalinternational.org/news/9829)

Can objects from formal colonial rule contexts from the collection of one museum be passed to another museum by way of deaccession of its own accord?

Objects from formal colonial rule can be transferred to other museums through deaccession of its own accord. The requirements of the Act on the Protection of Cultural Property (KGSG)[50] must be observed.

An overview of the general procedure for handing over collection items is provided in the publication Sustainable Collecting. Guidelines on Collecting and Deaccessioning Museum Property (2011) from the German Museums Association.

If there is a link to formal colonial rule, care should be taken when deaccessioning that the transfer to another institution does not lead to less transparency with regard to provenance, thus making the public discourse on the objects more difficult. What is more, it should be ensured that the documentation on provenance is not separated from the objects in a way that hinders subsequent research.

Preserving

Please first consult the general recommendations on preservation (p. 75).

What ethical aspects should be taken into consideration to ensure that objects from formal colonial rule are stored in the appropriate manner?

Any ethically relevant aspects stem first of all from the nature of the object. In the case of culturally sensitive objects (cf. p. 9), it should always be checked whether the storage of the object/collection is appropriate and respectful. The museum must develop its own position on this and set it out in an apt fashion.

The Empfehlungen zum Umgang mit menschlichen Überresten in Museen und Sammlungen *[Recommendations for the Care of Human Remains in Museums and Collections]* (2013) of the German Museums Association offers advice on human remains. Although separate storage does not appear to be always necessary, access restrictions may sometimes make sense for photographs, drawings, impressions, anthropometric data, film and sound recordings of members of indigenous communities of origin (cf. chapter 2.2 "Historically and culturally sensitive objects", p. 9) which came into existence under formal colonial rule. This may require further research on the views regarding such records within the community of origin.

[50] http://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/kgsg/index.html

How should access to holdings be regulated?

In a depot, the usual access authorisations apply. Rules for access to the collections should be developed by the museum and communicated in a transparent manner. Access restrictions usually apply to culturally sensitive objects (cf. chapter 2.2, p. 9) regardless of any link to the colonial past. If members of communities of origin wish to inspect objects with access restrictions, the museum may be confronted with demands or wishes from guests that do not conform with our customs (e.g. no female employees in the depot). The museum should therefore seek in advance a dialogue on requests and wishes in order to agree on conditions that are acceptable to all parties concerned.

If necessary, the museum should inform guests from the communities of origin of the presence of culturally sensitive objects before visiting the depot.

In general, museums should allow access to objects/collections to members of societies of origin as their ethical responsibility. An interest in objects from one's own culture, or those closely related to one's own history, is a legitimate interest[51]. Requests should elicit a prompt response. The museum should always support active discussion and consider requests favourably.

Is it necessary to note any links to formal colonial rule in a basic inventory? If yes, how?

As far as possible and as far as is known, it should be noted in the basic inventory whether the object has links to formal colonial rule. The museum should develop a system on whether and how objects from formal colonial rule contexts can be flagged.

Are there any specific criteria and information that must be taken into consideration in the inventory?

The usual rules apply to an inventory (cf. p. 75).

Information about the link to formal colonial rule should be noted[52]. An indication of possible cultural sensitivity and resulting restrictions on access or exhibition should be part of the inventory for the relevant objects.

[51] cf. UN Resolution 61/295 with the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2007

[52] These include, among other things, provenance data with factual commentary on the colonial context, references from literature, reports.

What should be taken into account in the digitisation of objects from formal colonial rule contexts?

Beyond the usual standards of digitisation (cf. p. 76), as with the access rules relating to depots, care should be taken to ensure that images of culturally sensitive objects and data are not freely accessible to all but are subject to access restrictions drawn up by the museum (cf. p. 9).

Researching

Please consult the general recommendations on research (cf. p. 76) as well as the background information (chapter 4.3, p. 55 et seq.).

What should be taken into consideration before beginning research on non-European objects?

The first thing which has to be clarified is whether it is a historically or culturally sensitive object (cf. p. 9). All museums should be aware that restrictions on research on culturally sensitive objects may exist. If small museums are still in doubt, they should first contact other German museums which specialise in a specific field for further expertise. These colleagues can help plan the further course of action.

In the case of culturally sensitive objects, it is important to carefully weigh up whether a consultation with partners from the respective community of origin should be sought before or during the research (e.g. in connection with invasive examination methods or publications containing depictions of the object). In some cases, (national) museums in the countries of origin can provide initial information about cultural protocols or assist in the search for authorised persons (in Oceania this applies especially to New Zealand, Vanuatu and Hawai'i, in the case of the United States the Smithsonian Institution can be contacted). Often, however, representatives authorised by the communities of origin to handle the objects in question must be identified and localised in another way. In a renewed or ongoing colonial situation, cooperation with national institutions or museums in some countries of origin may not be reconcilable with the interests and cultural sensitivities of the communities of origin. It should also be borne in mind that different or even competing interpretations, degrees of expert knowledge or social attitudes ("traditionalists" versus "modernisers") may exist in these communities.

This section is structured as follows:

A) Provenance research

B) Other research projects that do not focus on the provenance of an object

A) Provenance research

Against the background of debates on the legitimate acquisition and possession of collection objects, robbery and looted art, illegal art and antiques trade and ethical standards, museums should regard provenance research as a moral obligation and as a prerequisite for handling their collection objects responsibly. Questions regarding provenance should therefore be included in any scientific or restorative work on collections and objects and should be systematically covered, particularly in the case of larger-scale research projects.

Provenance research is a way of gaining better knowledge of the history of an object/collection, an institution or discipline, and its involvement with the colonial project. It should therefore be considered separately from claims for restitution and does not inevitably have to result in a return – for even if the unlawful acquisition of one or more objects is detected, there may be grounds for them to remain in the collection, as the application of NAGPRA[53] in the United States has shown. Provenance research should not only be conducted after a claim for restitution has been made. Ideally the museum should be carrying it out proactively and on an ongoing basis.

Are there differences in provenance research between objects from formal colonial rule contexts and other objects?

Essentially, provenance research on objects from formal colonial rule contexts does not differ from provenance research on objects from other contexts. The circumstances in which an object was collected, sold, acquired or appropriated must be carefully reconstructed in order to establish possession and ownership of the object. The knowledge and expertise of people from countries of origin or communities of origin on certain sections of provenance should be regarded not only

[53] NAGPRA (Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act) is a 1990 US federal law for the protection of the graves, bodies and grave goods of indigenous peoples. NAGPRA requires publicly-funded collections to proactively approach Native American communities of which they have human remains, grave goods, and/or ceremonial items, and, if desired by the communities, to initiate a return. NAGPRA has led to numerous returns. However, some communities have decided to leave objects or documents – in some cases under special conditions – in the possession of the respective museums.

as an important source, but also as a relevant perspective on the object and as a starting point for transnational cooperation in provenance research. For certain sections of the provenance, such as those prior to acquisition by Europeans, ethnological methods and oral history research may be important. Against the backdrop of the situation with regard to source material, which is often particularly difficult in the case of colonial rule for various reasons, classifications, interpretations and evaluations should be particularly well-substantiated, while any gaps or open questions should be explicitly named.

Should the museum prioritise the examination of collection holdings with regard to colonialism?

A generally binding answer to this question is not possible. Many museums have a research concept and should work out a concept and a strategy for working through their holdings.

Possible starting points for a prioritisation can be:

- Significant/exhibited objects
- Objects from former German colonies
- Objects associated with a violent colonial context
- Objects from known problematic types of object (e.g. culturally sensitive objects)
- Types of object for which claims have already been articulated in Germany or in other countries (possibly also the countries of origin) or which have special significance
- Objects related to local actors and local history at the museum's location
- Objects in respect of which contact has already been established to experts and communities of the countries of origin.

The prioritisation strategy should be tailored to the museum in question.

Inquiries from countries of origin/communities of origin/individuals from a community of origin should always be answered promptly. However, if the collection holdings relating to the request have not yet been processed, this is not a reason for failing to provide information.

Which questions should be answered concerning the provenance research on objects to evaluate links to formal colonial rule?

The answers to the following questions should be part of the research and, as far as possible, underpinned by supporting documents:

- How was the object collected and/or acquired by European actors? Which courses of action are recorded? With what intentions was the object collected/acquired or given away? (cf. p. 56)
- Is it a culturally sensitive object? (Information on this can be found in chapter 2.2, p. 9)
- By whom, how and in what context was the object made and first used? Are the biographies of artists or users known or can they be established?
- Which local networks can be identified in relation to the object?
- Which trading networks were involved in the transfer of the object to Europe? Are middlemen and traders and their biographies known?
- How was the object eventually acquired by the museum?

It should be borne in mind that the museum's own sources on the acquisition of an object often do not include or even conceal previous acquisitions. Sources found outside the museum are therefore indispensable. At the same time, the credibility of historical, especially colonial, sources must be critically examined.

If the search for the acquisition or the production of the object reveals any illegal or ethically questionable circumstances, the aim and use of other research questions (i.e. material analysis, geographical origin) outside of provenance research should be examined more critically.

Which actors and events should be critically questioned regarding the acquisition of objects from formal colonial rule contexts?

The following groups of actors are relevant to provenance research. Their significance may vary from collection to collection, so the order given does not imply any kind of ranking. The groups are listed alphabetically:

- **Colonial officials** (who were specifically invited to create collections) and members of the diplomatic corps (Those belonging to embassy circles were almost expected to create a collection.)
- **Colonial trade** (this was often – except for the German colonies of course – not with the colonies directly, but via merchants, for example, in the Netherlands or England)

- **Merchants of ethnographic, artistic, antiquities and natural science objects** (this may overlap with provenance research for the period 1933–1945) and their collaborators (e.g. captains, agents)
- **Military personnel in colonial territories** (there was repeated looting during punitive expeditions. The plundered objects got into the ethnographic trade or were later donated, etc.). The military also built up their own (private) collections or sometimes acted as hauliers.
- **Missionaries in colonial territories** (often missionaries had collections of their own, frequently with religious objects given to them by converts)
- **Museum employees**
- **Researchers** (prospectors, surveyors, but also natural scientists and humanities scholars) who in the course of the colonial expansion – often within the framework of (military) expeditions – collected certain objects or in certain regions
- **Settlers** – especially those who left the colonies again later
- **Shipping and trading companies** (they acted not only as hauliers as the ship crews also acted as collectors)

What problems can occur in the provenance research of objects from formal colonial rule contexts?

Different cultural, regional, linguistic and historical conditions make the research on these objects very complex. Due to the varying forms of colonial rule in different regions, their diversity and ambivalence, the concrete circumstances with regard to origin, collection and/or acquisition are difficult to assess in some cases. In addition, incorrect or incomplete evidence or information about the provenance of objects may have been knowingly or unknowingly documented. Previous provenance research has shown that sometimes the origin and/or the transferor were not disclosed, because the acquisition was illegal, was considered problematic or the source of the acquisition was not to be used by others. False provenance information was also used to enhance the origin or identity of the objects and thus increase their commercial value.

Another reason for gaps in the documentation is the (subsequent) division of collections of the same origin. They were often split between different museums – for example, in the context of trade, auctions or the exchange of duplicates. In the case of archaeological excavations and natural history collections, objects were divided from the outset. Objects or sets of documents of similar origin were distributed to different museums (sometimes also to different genres of museums or to different countries). What is more, the accompanying documentation and correspondence were not always duplicated, so that sometimes only a part of the objects/sets

of papers had documentation. Therefore, it is advisable to reconstruct the dividing up of these collections/findings in the provenance research and to look specifically for the documentation that may be in the possession of other museums.

Which kinds of cooperation on collections can be considered?

Cooperation with other museums conducting provenance research on similar categories of object can be very helpful in the case of category 1a[54] projects in particular. In addition, collaboration/cooperation with communities of origin should be sought. The museum should always support access to objects for representatives of communities of origin. Their view on – and their knowledge of – the objects can lead to important new insights on both sides. Individuals, initiatives and institutions, as well as academic and non-academic experts from communities of origin, can not only supply handed-down information about the objects themselves (i. e. author/artist, origin, function, context, meaning), but also help to identify places and people in images and photographs and provide translations. An open dialogue and transparent presentations are therefore recommended. It is also desirable that individuals, initiatives and institutions from the countries of origin be involved in the formulation of research agendas. Ideally, the questions and goals of the research should be formulated together with representatives authorised by the respective society of origin for the objects in question. It should be borne in mind, however, that different or even competing interpretations, degrees of expert knowledge or social attitudes ("traditionalists" versus "modernisers") in relation to these objects may also exist in the community of origin.

B) Other research projects that do not directly affect the provenance of the object:

Is authorisation of the community of origin/country of origin necessary for research on objects from formal colonial times?

Legal permission from communities of origin/countries of origin is not required for the research on objects from formal colonial rule contexts. There are no regulations on this under either national or international law at present.

54 Category 1a: The object is from an area that was under formal colonial rule at the time of collection or manufacture, purchase or export of the object.

Nonetheless, a dialogue – as well as collaboration/cooperation – on issues which concern or could concern communities of origin should be sought as soon as possible. It should be noted in this context that research permits may be necessary for research in the country of origin.

Are there any other authorisation requirements?

The same rules apply here which apply generally. It may be advisable to be guided by the Nagoya Protocol (Access and Benefit Sharing – ABS) for natural history objects from formal colonial rule contexts, even if it is not yet legally binding. This protocol concerns the collection and research of genetic material (DNA) from collections/acquisitions after October 2014.

What should be taken into consideration in publications containing results on objects from formal colonial rule contexts?

Careful thought should be given to whether to depict objects, especially in the case of publications on culturally sensitive objects from formal colonial rule contexts (cf. chapter 2.2, p. 9). It may be advisable to choose the cover image for publications carefully and to add "warnings" or corresponding markers at the beginning of the publication out of respect for the community of origin[55]. The museum should be particularly aware of its responsibility to data and personal protection for information providers.

Are there any situations that rule out research on objects from formal colonial rule? Research on an object is prohibited if it is still in the possession of the museum, but has already been deaccessioned, as may be the case in the run-up to a return. Research can only be carried out with the express consent of the new owners.

How should lending be regulated in research projects?

General guidelines on lending in connection with research projects are regulated by the museum's standardised loan agreement. There may be concerns and sensitivities relating to objects from formal colonial rule contexts that require individual

[55] See among others Margaret Daure, *Sacred Information should remain Secret, Papua New Guinea Workshop hears,* Pacific Islands Report 2000; National Museums Scotland (ed.), *Introduction to Pacific Collections: Cultural Considerations,* https://www.nms.ac.uk/media/497076/32-introduction-to-pacific-collections-cultural-considerations.pdf; Moira G. Simpson, *Making Representations: Museums in the Post-colonial Era*. Routledge: London – New York 2001; South Australian Museum, *Statement on the Secret/Sacred Collection,* Adelaide 1986 (https://www.samuseum.sa.gov.au/Upload/files-about/secret-sacred_collection-policy.pdf)

additional museum and collection-specific regulations (i. e. issuing a guarantee that the objects will be returned to the lender, agreement on guidelines for the handling of culturally sensitive objects, agreements on the procedure for invasive examination methods). This also applies to planned publications (see above). Individual supplementary regulations may include provisions on how research is conducted, the structure of publications and the documentation and accessibility of research results.

Exhibiting

Please consult the general recommendations on exhibiting (p. 76).

Can objects from formal colonial rule contexts be placed in a context other than the colonial one?

Yes. Even if an object originates colonial rule contexts colonial rule context, it should not be considered one-dimensional. Museums are called upon to present these objects in other contexts, and not exclusively in that of colonial rule. The museum should make its visitors more aware of the problem of the colonial context (see more details below). This should be done in the awareness that objects from colonial contexts can trigger a less than positive reaction among visitors (not only those from countries of origin).

Is it possible to exhibit objects if the circumstances of their acquisition are unknown, but whose dating and origin suggest they are connected to formal colonial rule?

Yes. The answer above applies to the form of presentation.

However, presentation in an exhibition does not release the museum from its obligation to further explore the provenance of the objects. For further clarification of the provenance, the active involvement of the public may be helpful if visitors (online or in the exhibition) are given the opportunity to provide information. Such information about the year of acquisition or previous owners or collectors may provide clues which can help further clarify the origins of objects.

Can objects from formal colonial rule contexts be exhibited, even if their provenance is problematic?

Yes. A problematic provenance is not a criterion for ruling out an object's presentation. The museum must, however, suitably address this problematic provenance or consider whether presentation should focus exclusively on this provenance.

How can the connection/origin of objects to/in formal colonial rule be presented in exhibitions?

The museum should also think about the subject when designing an exhibition if objects from formal colonial rule contexts are to be presented. A general recommendation on how this should be done cannot be given due to the heterogeneity of the exhibition themes and practices. The museum should examine suitable options and show visitors how it deals with and appraises its own collection history.

Museums should strive for a holistic approach in their efforts to communicate knowledge. The intention to act transparently with regard to the origin of the objects should be clear in the exhibition. It is recommended that certain data be disclosed to the extent that they are known and as allowed under data protection. This includes, above all, the year of acquisition and the previous owner(s) or collector(s), as well as the place of collection.

Ways of communicating information include:

- Additional text panels indicating the state of knowledge about the objects or their acquisition
- Notes on captions and/or object legends (the collector and the year are now often a standard feature), information on where the object was collected (for example, in the form of "from the former colony…"), possibly also with a reference to unresolved or problematic provenance
- Own exhibition areas in which the colonial collection and the museum's acquisition history is presented
- Explanations of certain objects representative of others
- Awareness-raising and training of attendants and staff responsible for communicating knowledge
- Offer tours on a specific theme and integrate the topic into the work of communicating knowledge and information
- Provide additional background information (for example in audio guides, media stations, additional information in digital form for retrieval, print and/or online catalogues)
- Highlight the topic on the website or in connection with the online presentation of collections

How should museums communicate with the public?

In general, a transparent communication strategy with regard to objects in the museum from formal colonial rule contexts is recommended. Responses to reactions, requests and criticism should be timely and respectful.

What, in general, should be taken into account in publications?

Just like other objects, those from formal colonial rule contexts can be described or depicted in museum publications of any kind (printed and online). In the case of culturally sensitive objects (cf. chapter 2.2, p. 9), the museum should consider very carefully before publishing images of the objects. Some communities of origin reject images – or descriptions[56] – of certain culturally sensitive objects. If in doubt, a picture should be omitted. It may make sense to include a note at the beginning of the publication indicating that sensitive objects are depicted. Please also consult the following paragraph.

What should be taken into consideration in online publications and open access strategies?

The museum decides itself to what extent inventory lists of objects from formal colonial rule contexts are made accessible to academics and the public (e.g. (online) databases). For reasons of respect, it should be carefully considered whether photos of objects, especially in the case of non-European collections, are published in online publications and open-access databases (cf. chapter 2.2, p. 9).

The museums should draw up their own guidelines on how to indicate the (possibly unexplained) provenance of the objects in online publications.

Are there any loan restrictions concerning objects from formal colonial rule contexts?

Objects from formal colonial rule contexts can provoke restitution claims. The borrower's position on such claims should be clarified in advance.

A few countries have a state "return guarantee" or legal protection against seizure by the courts/police (e.g. Switzerland, the United States). The relevant legal framework must be clarified in advance.

Returning museum objects

Even though the issue of the return of cultural property is very much the focus of attention in the discussion about colonialism in the press, returns of museum objects on the basis of colonial contexts have been an absolute exception to date. There have been isolated requests for the return of cultural property from countries of origin and communities of origin, but they have remained infrequent thus far.

[56] This applies e.g. for Australian Aboriginal bullroares

Nevertheless, the issue of returns is, of course, highly relevant. It presents museums with particularly great challenges, both in terms of the decision on the return itself and how it is effected. The following section aims to provide suggestions as to when a return of museum objects might be appropriate. Furthermore, an attempt is made to set out in a very practice-oriented manner which procedural steps are required to conduct discussions about returns successfully and, if necessary, to implement the return itself as smoothly as possible.

When might a return of museum objects be appropriate?

The question of the return of objects may arise because a request for a return is submitted to the institution from the outside, be it from a society/country of origin or individuals/groups of individuals. A museum may also discover while carrying out its own research on objects in its collection that there are circumstances which cast doubt on whether the museum should retain them.

In cases where museums take the initiative in particular, it is important to remember that returning the object is perhaps not the only or entire solution. The museum should exercise sensitivity from the outset. Some communities of origin do not want objects from European museums to be returned to them, whilst others are only interested in certain types of object, for example, those of religious significance. In other societies, the return is controversial among the potential recipients of the objects. Sometimes communities of origin are more interested in exchanges of knowledge, capacity building or being provided with digitalised forms of the objects rather than their physical return. Even if they do desire the return of the objects, they may also be interested in further cooperation and exchange at the same time. In this context, the needs and interests of the individual or group the museum is speaking to should be determined on a case-by-case basis, rather than unilaterally offering to return objects.

The decision regarding any return is the responsibility of the museum and the body which oversees it. This is a delicate situation for all those involved. On the one hand, the museum is obligated to preserve its collection and must therefore consider any return very carefully as this always involves deaccessioning collection property. On the other hand, the concerns of the person or group approaching the museum with a request for an object to be returned may be of high political, emotional or spiritual importance, and this can have a great impact on the discussions. The legal regulations on handing over collection items as well as ethical considerations are of fundamental importance when it comes to making a decision. In addition, the museum's mandate to collect objects must be taken into consideration.

The circumstances of the individual case are crucial. It is therefore important to ascertain these circumstances as far as possible, for example through provenance research. The following comments can therefore only be a suggestion as to which aspects may play a role in the decision.

First of all, it should be examined whether there is an outright legal right to the return of the specific collection item. We recommend that an expert (lawyers at the museum, the body which oversees the museum or a lawyer specialising in this field) be consulted.

If there is a clear legal claim, the objects should, as a rule, be surrendered if the former owner (or his legal successor) so wishes. In this case, the museum or the body which oversees it has no discretion and limitation of statute/forfeiture of possible claims should not be pleaded. More details on such legal claims are provided in the background information (cf. p. 63 et seq.).

If there is no legal right to return, thought must be given as to whether a return or another amicable solution should be considered for other reasons. It should be noted that public institutions are bound by the applicable laws. Property and assets should normally only be surrendered if there is a legal basis for such measures. Surrendering objects without a legal basis can therefore only be considered in exceptional cases. The fiscal law of the German Federal Government, the federal states or local authorities, as well as the statutes of other bodies which oversee museums and collections, contain regulations on who (administration, committee, corporate body, supervisory body) should take the relevant decision on a return. This political decision must be weighed up and prepared by the museum in advance. For example, return does not follow automatically if there is a colonial context. A return of museum items can be considered in particular, if the legal and ethical standards of the time were violated when the object was acquired or if the circumstances under which it was acquired contravene today's standards.

This applies to cases in which the collector was aware that he was acting wrongly when he took the objects, because, for example, they were taken against the will of the owner. Similarly, the return may be appropriate if the object was taken from the original owner unlawfully using direct violence. Due to the wide range of circumstances, however, it is not possible to make a general statement as to when a wrongful act has been committed which should result in repatriation. It must be remembered that the wrongful act does not need to have been committed by the employees of the museum itself or by German citizens. There are also cases in

which wrongful acts were committed within the communities of origin as a result of the colonial situation.

Insofar as a return is considered in principle, the German Federal Foreign Office must clarify whether there are any compelling social, political or factual reasons why a return should not take place either at the current point in time or ever (e. g., unstable states, entities not recognised under international law, war or natural disasters, regimes with which cooperation does not seem wise on political grounds).

What should be taken into consideration to ensure that talks about return requests can be conducted in a spirit of mutual trust?

General suggestions

Due to the importance of the objects to the communities of origin, which have, to differing degrees, a bearing on cultural, scientific, religious, economic or political issues, museums need to be especially sensitive when it comes to addressing and discussing requests for returns. This is also the reason why museums are obliged to examine their own holdings critically and ensure the greatest possible transparency.

How museums deal with people or groups that contact them and their demands should therefore be characterised by the following points:

Transparency

In order to ensure a dialogue based on mutual trust about requests for the return of museum items, it is important to establish the greatest possible transparency. This can prevent ill feelings on the part of the petitioners. Naturally, this applies first and foremost to the relevant objects and their documentation in the respective collection. Access should be as comprehensive as possible, so as not to give the impression that information is being withheld.

In addition, however, the greatest possible transparency in procedural matters is recommended. Information should therefore be provided as early as possible on:

- who the relevant contact persons at the museum are (who should then not be changed unless absolutely necessary);
- what decision-making powers does the museum or the body which oversees it have, i. e., who ultimately decides whether an object should be returned;

- what are the expectations vis-à-vis the petitioners. For example, what must petitioners bring to the table to verify that they are entitled within their society of origin to conduct the dialogue (cf. p. 98)?
- how long is the process expected to last?

Both sides should offer transparency. The petitioners should be asked to disclose facts and circumstances that may be of importance for a return.

Professional and timely examination of applications
Due to the complex circumstances and issues, every individual case should be examined. The cost of the examination should not prevent a request for a return from being processed promptly. The body which oversees the museum, as the owner of the collection, is called upon to provide the financial resources to ensure that applications can be processed quickly whilst enabling the museum to carry on with its work. This research should be conducted as swiftly as possible, but also as thoroughly as necessary. Museums should not be pressed into making rash decisions.

Decision-making powers should be clarified as soon as possible in order to ensure the swift processing of applications and, in cases where they do not lie with the museum, to involve the competent agencies.

Case-by-case assessment also entails the consultation of experts (ethnologists, lawyers, doctors, anthropologists, ethicists, etc.) to determine the facts, if the necessary expertise is not available in the institution concerned. It is also worth considering including experts from the country of origin in the fact-finding process[57]. However, case-by-case examination also includes the exercise of discretion and a decision based on objective criteria of justice and equity of good conscience (cf. the principle of "justice, equity and good conscience" in English case law; in Germany Section 242 of the German Civil Code).

Mutual respect and communication on an equal footing
The museums should signal that they are prepared to enter into a dialogue, that they take concerns seriously and will treat them with the necessary care. Different attitudes to dealing with such matters in cultural, religious or academic terms, espe-

[57] This is especially relevant if the museum would like to identify authorised contact persons in the society/country of origin for the return or if the museum decides against a return.

cially in the case of culturally sensitive objects, should be taken into consideration and addressed openly. The petitioner must always be treated with respect.

Open-ended efforts to find solutions
Alternative solutions to returns (for example, "virtual restitution" (providing objects in digital form), academic exchange, (joint) exhibition or publication of provenance research results, permanent loan, joint ownership, joint research projects, exchange for equivalent objects, etc.) should be considered and addressed openly. In cases which are legally or factually complex, other options for conflict resolution, such as mediation, may also be considered (e.g., via ICOM-WIPO).

Who is the right entity with whom to discuss a possible return?

Regardless of whether the question of a return arises from a request submitted to the museum by an external entity or is the result of the museum's internal research, it is important to clarify with whom the return is to be negotiated and who is ultimately responsible for taking the object into their custody. This can be one of the most difficult challenges in conducting discussions about the return of objects. There are often different views in countries and communities of origin on who is entitled to conduct such discussions and to whom objects are to be handed over. Differences in opinion on this matter arise time and again between the governments of today's states and traditional dignitaries. Sometimes, there is only one particular individual or group of persons authorised to take part in such talks even within a society of origin.

All dialogue partners should be asked to participate constructively in clarifying this issue. This cannot and should not be the sole responsibility of the museum.

As mentioned above, either individuals or groups, entire communities of origin or other entities (e.g., states, religious communities) are possible partners for discussions. The other entity/person should be asked to cooperate on the following points:

- Description of the connections/relationship of the entity/person to the object
- Competence of the entity/person to conduct negotiations
- If the entity/person does not claim to be negotiating for himself, documents showing that he/she is authorised to negotiate should be provided. These can be powers of attorney for individuals or interest groups can, for instance, have a mandate from the state to negotiate related issues.
- If contact is to be made with a foreign state, the first point of contact will usually be the respective national embassy in Berlin.

Countries of origin
If a foreign state is a negotiating partner, it must be clarified whether other states have to be addressed, for example because the object can only be attributed to a certain ethnic group but not to a geographical area, or the former owner, who is no longer able to assert a claim personally, cannot be attributed with certainty to a specific country today. It must also be clarified whether the state is (at least also) entitled to assert claims to the objects.

Communities of origin
If a museum decides to conduct negotiations with the respective ethnic group or community of origin, the question of the right to negotiate can be particularly pertinent. This is relatively easy to clarify when there is an elected representation with its own legal status. This is often the case, for example, with the North American First Nations/Native Americans. If the community of origin is not organised or legally recognised in this form, care must be taken to verify who within the group has the right to speak on its behalf. In such cases, it will often be advisable to attempt to include government officials from the respective country in the negotiations. This increases legal certainty in the event of a return and also helps ensure that the museum does not become embroiled in domestic disputes in a country of origin.

In all cases, it is important to examine the connection between the community of origin and the objects in question carefully. Difficulties may arise because membership of a group has changed over time or communities of origin have merged with other ethnic groups.

Individuals or groups of individuals
As a rule, these can only be the right negotiating partner if they assert claims as the (former or current) owner or are entitled to assert them. Ownership or the legal succession (inheritance, purchase, donation, etc.) must be examined.

Please consult the background information (cf. p. 63 et seq.), on verifying ownership. The question of succession should, wherever possible, be clarified by documents, register extracts from registry offices and probate courts or, alternatively, church registers or equivalent agencies authorised to issue such documents. The museum should request that the respective individuals or groups provide this information, as this research would place a strain on a museum's capacities. The individuals or groups should state and provide evidence of any different legal and/or cultural understanding of relationship in the claimant's country of origin. Various documents, such as affidavits, academic literature, expert reports, photos, etc.,

may be considered as proof. If the museum is unable to assess the quality of the evidence, an external adviser should be consulted.

If an individual proves that he is entitled to an object, but there are other persons who also have rights with respect to the object, he should demonstrate that he is authorised by the others. This ensures that the museum is not drawn into any disputes within a group of claimants. In the case of individual claimants from abroad, in cases of doubt, it should be insisted that the respective German embassy legalises and authenticates the foreign documents (Sections 13 and 14 of the Consular Law).

Where an individual is neither the owner nor entitled to represent all other owners, he should only be allowed to negotiate in very exceptional cases.

Who should be involved on the German side in considerations/talks on the return of objects?

- The **body which oversees the museum** should be involved early on, so that the museum's scope for action can be clarified at an early stage and commitments can be upheld.
- It is also essential to involve the **German Federal Foreign Office** and the **Federal Government Commissioner for Culture and the Media** (BKM) as early as possible. This is due, on the one hand, to the Federal Government's exclusive responsibility for foreign affairs under Article 73 of the Basic Law and, on the other, to the Government's comprehensive knowledge of the current political and social situation in the countries of the communities of origin. The competent division at the German Federal Foreign Office (Division 603), if necessary via the competent Federal State ministry, and then the German embassy responsible should be informed. The Federal Government Commissioner for Culture and the Media (BKM, Division K 53) should also always be notified.
- In addition, the body which oversees the museum must agree whether and in what manner competent authorities of the respective Federal State must be informed.

What further steps are recommended when a decision has been made to return objects?

If the museum has decided on the return of a museum object, it should be agreed in writing with the negotiating partner. The question of repatriation costs also needs to be regulated. It should furthermore be established that upon return of the objects all claims with regard to the specific objects are settled. If necessary, information on their treatment should be included, for example, if they are restored,

damaged or contaminated with pollutants. Making the return subject to conditions is not appropriate.

Many returns of museum objects are accompanied by a handover ceremony. This ceremony should be designed and organised with the interlocutors on an equal footing with regard to both content and procedure. How a return ceremony is conducted can be highly politically charged, especially if governments are involved or if the return is to be used for any additional goals vis-à-vis the community of origin or the former colonial power.

In order to avoid any disagreements, the expectations of all parties involved with regard to the content and order of the handover should be clarified in advance. The following questions should be decided:

- Who exactly are the parties responsible for the handover and its execution? Is this the museum on the one hand and an individual or ethnic or social group on the other? Or is it the Federal Republic of Germany and the current state in which the community of origin lives?
- In addition to the parties to the handover, will there be other participants, for example representatives of the community of origin in addition to the state of origin? How should these other participants be involved and what role do they play in the handover?
- What are the expectations regarding statements/speeches by the parties?
- Is an apology or acknowledgment of guilt expected? Who is in a position to apologise on whose behalf or concede guilt (what is the political dimension)?

Return ceremonies will often involve policy-makers supported in their work by protocol officers. These representatives or protocol officers can help museum representatives to prepare the handover.

What should be done if a return would be indicated on legal, ethical-moral or other grounds, but is not possible (e.g., because the rightful owner cannot be identified)?

In some cases, a return may be indicated due to the above circumstances but the return may not be possible, for example because it cannot be conclusively established to whom the return would have to be made or if the German Federal Foreign Office states that there are compelling social, political or practical reasons that temporarily or permanently preclude it. In these cases, the object must remain in the museum collection under the appropriate conservational and ethical

conditions. The museum can transfer the objects to another museum (see above). The presentation of such objects in exhibitions should be decided on a case-by-case basis.

What aspects can be relevant if the collection items are to remain in the museum after a return?

It is conceivable that the ownership of objects from formal colonial contexts is transferred back to the country of origin/community of origin as a result of justified legal and/or ethical demands for its return, but both sides mutually agree that the objects should nevertheless remain in the museum. It would be particularly conceivable that the parties agree that the objects remain on loan, but a reacquisition by purchase or donation would, of course, also be possible.

In current discourses, the term "shared/joint custody" is used of objects in museums/collections with countries of origin/communities of origin is a subject of discussion. However, this is not a legal construct under German law. What is meant is that both sides – regardless of the actual ownership – assume joint responsibility for the objects. Both parties enter into a negotiation process on equal terms and agree on the conditions that should apply to the storage, presentation and research of the respective objects, with corresponding contracts concluded. In addition to the establishment of ownership, this also includes any access restrictions, access for the (former) owners and specifications for digitising the objects.

Category 2: Objects from colonial contexts outside formal colonial rule

The object comes from an area that was not formally under colonial rule at the time of its collection[58], manufacture, acquisition or exportation, but which had informal colonial structures or was under the informal influence of colonial powers (cf. chapter 2.4, p. 11).

Should category 2 objects be examined less critically than those of category 1 (= objects from formal colonial rule contexts)?

No. The categorisation made under these recommendations does not represent a hierarchy. Informal colonial structures are based on the same ideology of cultural superiority and the ensuing right to oppression and exploitation as in formal colonial rule.

[58] Here, collection means the process of collecting objects from where they originated, e. g. natural history objects as part of field research.

All circumstances relating to production and acquisition should be examined on a case-by-case basis and the museum should develop and make transparent its own position.

If colonial contexts exist outside formal colonial rule, the questions and answers listed in category 1 are relevant (see from p. 78 et seq.).

Additionally, some specific questions are raised: in particular how colonial contexts outside formal colonial rule can be identified and evaluated:

Why are colonial contexts possible even outside formal colonial rules?

Formal colonial rule was mostly the result of a prolonged process of "discovering" an area and increasingly subjecting it to foreign rule, to (more or less) complete incorporation into a colonial empire. Structures and networks were developed in the run-up to formal colonial rule. Therefore, political power imbalances with colonial structures may have already prevailed even before the beginning of formal colonial rule. What is more, colonial structures did not automatically terminate with a state's attainment of political independence after formal decolonisation. In some cases, they were continued by the local political elite. Dependency, for instance in the economic field, could continue as could control over knowledge systems. The discrimination or exploitation of local minorities[59] could/can continue to exist.

Political power imbalances and/or colonial dependency relationships have also developed in countries that were never, only informally, or only partially formally colonised[60]. This made it possible for colonial structures to exist in which parts of the population were, or are still (at least temporarily), suppressed and exploited. For examples see chapter 3, categorisation p. 16 et seq..

How can colonial contexts outside formal colonial rule be identified and examined?

As a rule, the evaluation can only be carried out in individual cases, taking into account as many factors as possible. The following questions should be asked about the object:

[59] The various indigenous groups as a whole can also constitute the numerical majority of the population of a country.

[60] for example, China in the 19th Century, Tonga

Where does the object come from?
If the object originates from an area in which colonial structures existed at the time of its creation, acquisition or export, a colonial context may exist.

Who made the object?
If with regard to its production or former possession the object can be attributed to members of a(n) (ethnic) minority/population group oppressed by colonial structures, then a colonial context may exist.

Under what conditions did the community of origin from which the object originated live at the time of manufacture, purchase or export of the object?
There may be a colonial context if the community of origin was exposed to colonial structures.

For what purpose was the object made?
A colonial context may exist if the object is a culturally sensitive object for the community of origin, which was intended for its exclusive use or its exclusive possession on the basis of the values and the world view of that community of origin. Similarly, there may be a colonial context if the object was made specifically for sale owing to hardship as a result of colonial structures.

Under what circumstances did the object change hands?
In particular, the following should be examined: sale due to hardship, forced sale (including the influence of government agencies), the surrender of religious objects (of the original faith) as a result of proselytising, political and social status of the indigenous heritage, robbery, theft or misappropriation.

How did the acquisition occur?
There may be colonial contexts if the conditions under which the transaction took place indicate that the parties involved were not on an equal footing (i. e. inadequate price, surrender under force or surrender due to hardship). Local workers were often used for natural-history voyages of discovery and expeditions. Working conditions should be examined to check for coercion or inadequate payment.

Category 3: Objects that reflect colonialism

Within the framework of these recommendations, the term "object that reflect colonialism" serves as a working concept for the demarcation and characterisation of objects with a contextual, in some cases manipulative, often artistic connection with colonial contexts. Objects in this category include objects that actively or passively reflect colonial thinking or convey stereotypes that underlie colonial racism. In the most serious case, these are objects that openly pursue propagandistic intentions, such as the promotion, legitimisation or even glorification of colonial systems of rule as well as their actions and actors. In often more subtle ways, defamatory racist ways of thinking or portrayals of colonial contexts found their way into advertising material or commercial art work, especially in connection with colonial goods or the travel industry. Connotations of colonial contexts or reflection of such contexts can also be found in works of the visual and the performing arts.

Against this background, a rough orientation vis-à-vis objects that reflect colonialism can be provided by dividing this category into three sub-groups, namely:

- Colonial propaganda (including inside and outside monuments[61])
- Advertising products
- Works of the visual and performing arts

Objects in this category may have been created during or after formal colonial rule. They mostly originated in the domestic territories of the colonial powers, but sometimes also in the colonial territories themselves, for example in connection with the demonstration of a claim to power.

It should be noted that a critical analysis of colonial contexts has been taking place for some time now and to an increasing extent in the works of contemporary artists. However, these objects of art, with their post-colonial perspective, form a separate group of critical receptive objects which cannot be ascribed to the objects which fall under this category. The following questions therefore explicitly do not apply to such post-colonial objects.

[61] Where the responsibility of the museums is limited to those monuments that lie within their administrative area.

What purpose did objects that reflect colonialism have?

Objects that reflect colonialism propagate, popularise, project and stylise. They made it possible to popularise colonial images and themes in society and to convey the policies of the colonial powers. Propaganda using images which today would be regarded as racist and/or discriminatory against minorities[62] often promoted, legitimised or glorified the social acceptance of colonial aspirations within the population of a colonial power, sometimes even in post-colonial times (e.g. the Nazi regime).

But the legitimisation or glorification of colonial aspirations is not always in the foreground. Advertising art (e.g. posters, sales packaging for colonial goods) primarily played (and in some cases still plays today) with the image of the exotic as well as the desire for adventure and discovery. It often used catchy stereotypical image motifs with stereotypical colouring and decoration.

The colonial context can often only be detected through a post-colonial perspective, for example, by questioning the effect on the communities of origin that were presented.

When can reflection of colonialism be assumed for an object?

Clear rules for answering this question are difficult to define given the variety of objects to be considered. In general, however, any substantive and/or motivic reference to exoticism, orientalism, etc. as well as to historical long-distance trade and basically all aspects of the "discovery", conquest and development of foreign continents or territories should at least be grounds for scrutiny in order to detect the possible existence of an even deeper connection to colonial contexts. Where these are perceptible (e.g. ethnic show posters, advertising pamphlets on colonialism), it is recommended that the museum seeks to clarify the relevant colonial context and to fully reveal colonial racism/stereotypes by undertaking an in-depth analysis using information pertaining to the object (above all original context, purpose and intention, effect), as well as by studying the details of the iconography in pictures, thus achieving a thorough evaluation in each individual case. The inclusion of different perspectives (cf. post-colonial perspective, p. 13) is of great importance.

62 The various indigenous groups taken together can also constitute the numerical majority of a country's population.

How can colonial contexts be distinguished from purely advertising stereotypes?

Not every promotional item for colonial goods or ethnic shows is automatically an object whose connection to colonial contexts needs special treatment or explanation. Not every historical poster that seeks to awaken wanderlust through depictions of African or oriental views has to be immediately classified as colonial propaganda. Thorough analysis and evaluation is crucial in every individual case to establish whether, in what form and with what intention actual racist perspectives or stereotypes from a colonial context are being conveyed. Under certain circumstances, it may be necessary to call in external experts, who would help decide whether an individual object represents an advertising commonplace (recurring representation of stereotypes in the advertising context) or reflects specific colonial thinking or representation patterns. The transitions are fluid and can be perceived differently from different perspectives.

How should the colonial context be documented?

The usual standards apply to the documentation (cf. p. 75). Explicit references to recognised colonial contexts in inventory entries or references to possibly hidden or subtle connections with colonial stereotypes (object-intrinsic) or with other collection objects or papers with a colonial background (objects in category 1 or 2, cf. p.16 et seq.) must also be documented.

What significance does the provenance of the object have?

For museums it is generally important to know as much as possible about the origin of their objects. Nevertheless, the provenance of objects that reflect colonialism plays a subordinate role, since colonial contexts as a rule do not result from their origin or the history of their acquisition, but primarily from the contents and intentions portrayed (iconography) and the purpose of their creation.

What use does the digitisation of objects serve?

The benefits of digitisation are the same for all objects in museums (cf. p. 76). It also makes it easier to pass on information about the context in which objects that reflect colonialism should be seen, which may not be immediately apparent to inexperienced viewers. Therefore, references to this context, such as the racist or ideological foundation of iconography, the context of origin, etc., should most certainly be noted.

How can colonial contexts be communicated?

The colonial contexts of reception objects should be highlighted whenever possible in the museum's exhibition, communication and publication work by addressing

the contextual or iconographic connection to colonial thinking as well as the argumentative intentions/purpose of the object. Depending on the nature and extent of this connection, a detailed contextualisation may be necessary, regardless of whether the object is incorporated into a perhaps deviating thematic exhibition or communication context.

In addition, the use of objects with clearly racist representations and ideologies in museums should be weighed up particularly carefully and, if they are used it should certainly be done with the utmost sensitivity. The museum has little influence on the attitude with which visitors approach the exhibits and how they are affected by them. Objects that reflect colonial thinking or convey colonial racism and ideologies can be perceived by members of the cultures of origin as shocking or defamatory. The museum should be open to a dialogue about this. The presentation of (individual) perspectives from the communities of origin on the respective object in publications and exhibitions can foster a multi-dimensional perspective on colonial contexts.

Ways of explaining colonial contexts can be:

- Text panels and/or references to object legends depicting the iconography of the objects
- Thematisation of the colonial reflection aspects of certain objects with transference to others
- Awareness-raising and training of museum attendants and staff responsible for communicating knowledge
- Offer tours on a specific theme and integrate the topic in the work of communicating knowledge and information
- Provision of additional background information (for example in audio guides, media stations, additional digital information for retrieval, print and/or online catalogues)
- Highlight the topic on the website or in connection with the online presentation of collections

Overview of formal colonial rule

This overview serves the temporal and geographical classification of formal colonial rule. The given dates indicate a time span in which a colonial power maintained colonies, protectorates, or bases and factories in certain regions[63]. More concrete historical research is required in individual cases, both in terms of temporal and geographical limits as well as the colonial structure (exploitation colony, trade and military enclave, settlement colony, protectorate).

As a rule, the list does not contain territories occupied by another country during the duration of a war. Therefore, the territories occupied by Germany during the National Socialist regime are not included here.

The compilation below includes areas subject to League of Nations mandates (after the First World War) and United Nations mandates (after the Second World War), as well as areas that today legally have the status of overseas territories (including overseas regions, overseas departments and outlying areas) that are consequences of colonialism. The name says nothing about whether the respective population is now voluntarily or involuntarily under the control of the former colonial power.

The overview does not claim to be complete.

[63] Since the beginning of the 20th century, the term "non-self-governing territories" has been used as a synonym for colonies/protected areas in international law (cf. UN https://www.un.org/en/decolonization/nonselfgov.shtml).

Continent	Colony	Current name of territory	Period of time	Colonial power
Africa	Algeria	Algeria	1830–1962	France
Africa	Algiers (Algeria)	Algiers (Algeria)	1536–1830	Ottoman Empire
Africa	Aneho (Togo)	Aneho (Togo)	1731–1760	Netherlands
Africa	Anglo-Egyptian Sudan	Sudan incl. South Sudan	1821–1885* 1899–1914	Ottoman Empire (*under Egyptian rule)
Africa	Anglo-Egyptian Sudan	Sudan incl. South Sudan	1916–1956	Great Britain
Africa	Angola	Angola	1575–1975	Portugal
Africa	Angola (coastal areas)	Angola	1641–1648	Netherlands
Africa	Annaba (Bona, Algeria)	Annaba (Bona, Algeria)	1535–1541 1636–1641	Spain
Africa	Annobón (Equatorial Guinea)	Annobón (Equatorial Guinea)	1474–1778	Portugal
Africa	Annobón (Equatorial Guinea)	Annobón (Equatorial Guinea)	1778–1968	Spain
Africa	Antongil Bay (Madagascar)	Antongil Bay (Madagascar)	1641–1647	Netherlands
Africa	Appa (Ekpé, Benin)	Appa (Ekpé, Benin)	1732–1736	Netherlands
Africa	Arguin (island off the coast of Mauritania)	Arguin (Mauritania)	1448–1633	Portugal
Africa	Arguin (island off the coast of Mauritania)	Arguin (Mauritania)	1633–1685 1722–1723	Netherlands
Africa	Arguin (island off the coast of Mauritania)	Arguin (Mauritania)	1685–1721	Brandenburg/Prussia
Africa	Arguin (part of the colony of Mauritania)	Arguin (Mauritania)	1721–1722 1724–1728 1904–1960	France
Africa	Badagry (Benin)	Nigeria	1737–1748	Netherlands
Africa	Bechuanaland	Botswana	1885–1966	Great Britain
Africa	Béjaïa (Bougie, Algeria)	Béjaïa (Bougie, Algeria)	1510–1555	Spain
Africa	Benin (British protectorate from 1852)	Nigeria	1486–1852	Portugal
Africa	Benin City (Benin)	Nigeria	1705–1736	Netherlands
Africa	Bioko (Fernando Póo, Equatorial Guinea)	Bioko (Equatorial Guinea)	1474–1778	Portugal
Africa	Bizerte (Tunisia)	Bizerte (Tunisia)	1535–1574	Spain
Africa	British Bechuanaland, united with Cape Colony in 1895	South Africa	1885–1895	Great Britain
Africa	British Cameroons	Cameroon	1919–1961	Great Britain
Africa	British East Africa	Kenya	1895–1963	Great Britain
Africa	British Somaliland	northern Somalia	1884–1960	Great Britain
Africa	British Togoland	Ghana	1918–1957	Great Britain
Africa	British West Africa	Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Gambia, Ghana	1780s to 1960s	Great Britain
Africa	Cameroon	Cameroon	1919–1960	France
Africa	Cape Colony	South Africa	1665–1806	Netherlands
Africa	Cape Colony	South Africa	1806–1910	Great Britain
Africa	Cape Verde Islands	Cape Verde Islands	1456/61–1975	Portugal
Africa	Cap-Vert (Senegal)	Cap-Vert (Senegal)	1617–1700	Netherlands
Africa	Ceuta (Morocco)	Ceuta (Morocco)	1415–1668	Portugal
Africa	Chad (part of French Equatorial Guinea)	Chad	1900–1960	France
Africa	Comoros	Comoros	1841–1975	France

Continent	Colony	Current name of territory	Period of time	Colonial power
Africa	Congo (part of the colony of French Equatorial Africa)	Congo	1885–1960	France
Africa	Constantine (Algeria)	Constantine (Algeria)	1637–1830	Ottoman Empire
Africa	Côte d'Ivoire	Côte d'Ivoire	1843–1960	France
Africa	Dahomey (coastal kingdom at the Bay of Benin)	Republic of Benin	1892–1960	France
Africa	Danish Guinea (West African Gold Coast)	Ghana	1658–1850	Denmark
Africa	Darfur (Sudan)	Darfur (Sudan)	1874–1883	Ottoman Empire
Africa	Darfur (Sudan; affiliated to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan)	Darfur (Sudan)	1916–1956	Great Britain
Africa	Delagoa Bay (Mozambique)	Maputo Bay	1721–1730	Netherlands
Africa	Delagoa Bay (Mozambique)	Maputo Bay	1777–1781	Austria-Hungary
Africa	Djerba (Tunisia)	Djerba (Tunisia)	1551–1560	Spain
Africa	Egypt	Egypt	1517–1798 1801–1914	Ottoman Empire
Africa	Egypt	Egypt	1798–1801	France
Africa	Egypt (British consulate general from 1882)	Egypt	1914–1922	Great Britain
Africa	Epe (Benin)	Nigeria	1732–1755	Netherlands
Africa	Equatoria	South Sudan	1871–1889	Ottoman Empire
Africa	Eritrea	Eritrea	1882–1941	Italy
Africa	Fezzan	Fezzan (province in Libya)	1842–1912	Ottoman Empire
Africa	Fezzan	Fezzan (province in Libya)	1943–1951	France
Africa	French Somali Coast/Territory of Afars and the Issas	Djibouti	1896–1977	France
Africa	French Sudan	Mali	1890–1902 1920–1960	France
Africa	Gabon (part of the colony of French Equatorial Africa)	Gabon	1839–1960	France
Africa	Gambia (coastal base since 1664)	Gambia	1783 - 1965	Great Britain
Africa	German East Africa	Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi and parts of Mozambique	1885–1919	German Empire
Africa	German Somali Coast	Somalia (parts)	1885–1918	German Empire
Africa	German South West Africa	Namibia and parts of Botswana	1884–1919	German Empire
Africa	German West Africa	Togo, eastern Ghana, Cameroon, parts of French Guinea and territories at the West African coast eastern Lagos	1884–1919	German Empire
Africa	Gold Coast	Ghana	1598–1872	Netherlands
Africa	Gold Coast (coastal base since 1621)	Ghana	1874 - 1960	Great Britain
Africa	Grande Comore (Comoros)	Grande Comore (Comoros)	1500–1505	Portugal
Africa	Guinea	Guinea	1885–1958	France
Africa	Honaine (Oney, Algeria)	Honaine (Oney, Algeria)	1531–1534	Spain
Africa	Italian East Africa (A.O.I.)	Eritrea, Somalia, Ethiopia	1935–1941	Italy
Africa	Italian Libya	Libya	1521–1911	Ottoman Empire
Africa	Italian Libya	Libya	1911–1945	Italy

Continent	Colony	Current name of territory	Period of time	Colonial power
Africa	Italian Libya	Libya	1945–1951	Great Britain
Africa	Italian Somaliland	Somalia (southern and central parts)	1888–1950	Italy (UN trusteeship territory from 1950-1960, then independence)
Africa	Jaquim (Benin)	Nigeria	1726–1734	Netherlands
Africa	Kordofan (Sudan)	Kordofan (Sudan)	1821–1883	Ottoman Empire
Africa	Lado Enclave	South Sudan and Uganda	1894–1910	Belgium
Africa	Larache (Morocco)	Larache (Morocco)	1610–1689	Spain
Africa	Lebanon	Lebanon	1920–1943	France
Africa	Lebanon (Beirut, Sidon)	Lebanon (Beirut, Sidon)	1510–1860 1915–1919	Ottoman Empire
Africa	Loango (Boary, Congo)	Congo	1648–1686 1721–1726	Netherlands
Africa	Loango (Boary, Congo)	Congo	1883–1960	France
Africa	Madagascar	Madagascar	1883–1960	France
Africa	Mahdia (Tunisia)	Mahdia (Tunisia)	1550–1553	Spain
Africa	Malindi (Kenya)	Malindi (Kenya)	1500–1630	Portugal
Africa	Massawa (Eritrea)	Massawa (Eritrea)	1557–1884	Ottoman Empire
Africa	Mauritania	Mauritania	1904–1960	France
Africa	Mauritius	Mauritius	1598–1710	Netherlands
Africa	Mauritius	Mauritius	1715–1810	France
Africa	Mauritius	Mauritius	1810–1968	Great Britain
Africa	Mehdya (La Mamora, Morocco)	Mehdya (La Mamora, Morocco)	1614–1681	Spain
Africa	Mers El Kébir (Mazalquivir, Algeria)	Mers El Kébir (Mazalquivir, Algeria)	1505–1732 1708–1792	Spain
Africa	Mogadishu (Somalia)	Mogadishu (Somalia)	1875	Ottoman Empire
Africa	Mombasa (Kenya)	Mombasa (Kenya)	1500–1729	Portugal
Africa	Mombasa (Kenya)	Mombasa (Kenya)	1585–1588	Ottoman Empire
Africa	Monastir (Tunisia)	Monastir (Tunisia)	1540/41–1550	Spain
Africa	Morocco	Morocco	1911–1956	France
Africa	Morocco regions/cities: Ksar el-Kebir (Alcácer-Ceguer), Asilah, Azemmour, El Jadida (Mazagão), Mogador (Essaouira), Safi, Agadir	Morocco regions/cities: Ksar el-Kebir (Alcácer-Ceguer), Asilah, Azemmour, El Jadida (Mazagão), Mogador (Essaouira), Safi, Agadir	1458–1769	Portugal
Africa	Mozambique, aka Portuguese East Africa	Mozambique	1502–1975	Portugal
Africa	Natal (southern Africa, part of Cape Colony)	KwaZulu-Natal (South Africa)	1843–1910	Great Britain
Africa	Nigeria	Nigeria	1849–1960	Great Britain
Africa	Northern Rhodesia	Zambia	1911–1964	Great Britain
Africa	Nyasaland (southern Africa)	Congo	1891–1964	Great Britain
Africa	Oran (Algeria)	Oran (Algeria)	1509–1708 1732–1792	Spain
Africa	Oran (Algeria)	Oran (Algeria)	1708–1732 1792–1831	Ottoman Empire
Africa	Orange River	South Africa	1900–1910	Great Britain

Continent	Colony	Current name of territory	Period of time	Colonial power
Africa	Ouadane (Oden, Mauritania)	Ouadane (Oden, Mauritania)	1487–16th century	Portugal
Africa	Ouidah (Benin)	Ouidah (Benin)	1670s–1680s	Netherlands
Africa	Ouidah (Benin)	Ouidah (Benin)	1680–1961	Portugal
Africa	Peñón of Algiers (Algeria)	Peñón of Algiers (Algeria)	1510–1529 1573–1574	Spain
Africa	Perejil Island	Perejil Island	1663 to date	Spain
Africa	Portuguese Congo	Angola	1883–1975	Portugal
Africa	Portuguese Gold Coast (Accra, Ford Duma, Fort San Sebastian, Fort São Jorge da Mina, Cape Coast Castle, Fort Dom Pedro, Fort Cará)	Ghana	1482–1690	Portugal
Africa	Portuguese Guinea	Guinea-Bissau	1614–1974	Portugal
Africa	Réunion	Réunion (French overseas department)	1640 to date	France
Africa	Rwanda-Burundi	Rwanda and Burundi	1916–1962	Belgium
Africa	Saint Helena	Saint Helena (British overseas territory)	1501–1600	Portugal
Africa	Saint Helena	Saint Helena (British overseas territory)	1600–1651	Netherlands
Africa	Saint Helena	Saint Helena (British overseas territory)	1659 to date	Great Britain
Africa	Sao Tome	Sao Tome	1599–1641	Netherlands
Africa	Sao Tome and Principe	Sao Tome and Principe	1471/72–1975	Portugal
Africa	Senegal	Senegal	1612–1960	France
Africa	Senegambia	Senegambia	1765–1783	Great Britain
Africa	Seychelles	Seychelles	1811–1976	Great Britain
Africa	Seychelles	Seychelles	1756–1811	France
Africa	Sfax (Tunisia)	Sfax (Tunisia)	1540/41–1550	Spain
Africa	Sierra Leone	Sierra Leone	1791–1961	Great Britain
Africa	Sousse (Tunisia)	Sousse (Tunisia)	1540/41–1550	Spain
Africa	South Africa (dominion)	South Africa	1910–1931	Great Britain
Africa	South West Africa (League of Nations mandate of the Union of South Africa, end of mandate 1946, then occupation)	Namibia	1919–1990	Great Britain
Africa	Southern Rhodesia	Zimbabwe	1891–1965	Great Britain
Africa	Spanish Guinea	Equatorial Guinea	1788–1968	Spain
Africa	Spanish Morocco (Rif)	Parts of Morocco	1912–1956	Spain
Africa	Spanish West Africa (association of Ifni and Spanish Sahara)	Western Sahara (largely annexed by Morocco)	1934(46)–1958	Spain
Africa	Swedish Gold Coast (individual bases around Cabo Corso and Accra)	Ghana	1650–1659	Sweden
Africa	Tanganyika	Congo	1922–1961	Great Britain

Continent	Colony	Current name of territory	Period of time	Colonial power
Africa	Tangier (Morocco)	Tangier (Morocco)	1471–1661	Portugal
Africa	The Belgian Congo	The Democratic Republic of the Congo	1885–1960	Belgium
Africa	Togo	Togo	1919–1960	France
Africa	Transvaal (South Africa)	Province of South Africa	1902–1910	Great Britain
Africa	Tripoli (Libya)	Tripoli (Libya)	1509–1530/1551	Spain
Africa	Tripoli (Libya)	Tripoli (Libya)	1551–1912	Ottoman Empire
Africa	Tunis (Tunisia)	Tunis (Tunisia)	1531–1531 1574–1912	Ottoman Empire
Africa	Tunis (Tunisia)	Tunis (Tunisia)	1535–1570 1573–1574	Spain
Africa	Tunisia	Tunisia	1881–1956	France
Africa	Ubangi-Shari (Oubangui-Chari, part of the colony of French Equatorial Guinea)	Central African Republic	1910–1958	France
Africa	Uganda	Uganda	1896–1962	Great Britain
Africa	Upper Senegal and NIger	Mali	1904–1920	France
Africa	Upper Volta	Burkina Faso (full independence not until 1960)	1919–1932	France
Africa	Wituland (East Africa)	Kenya	1885–1919	German Empire
Africa	Zanzibar (Tanzania, semi-autonomous)	Zanzibar (Tanzania, semi-autonomous)	1503–1698	Portugal
Africa	Zanzibar (Tanzania, semi-autonomous)	Zanzibar (Tanzania, semi-autonomous)	1890–1963	Great Britain
Africa	Zeila (Somalia)	Zeila (Somalia)	1548–1884	Ottoman Empire
Africa	Ziguinchor (Senegal, handed over to France in 1888)	Ziguinchor (Senegal)	1645–1888	Portugal
America	Acadia (Canada)	Acadia (Canada)	1604–1710	France
America	Alaska	Alaska (part of the USA since 1867, federal state since 1959)	1741–1867	Russia
America	Anguilla	Anguilla (British overseas territory since 1980)	1650 to date	Great Britain
America	Antigua and Barbuda	Antigua and Barbuda	1632–1981	Great Britain
America	Bahamas	Bahamas	1717–1973	Great Britain
America	Barbados	Barbados	1536–1620	Portugal
America	Barbados	Barbados	1625–1966	Great Britain
America	Bermuda	Bermuda (British overseas territory)	1620 to date	Great Britain
America	Brazil	Brazil	1500–1822	Portugal
America	British Columbia	British Columbia (Canada)	1848–1871	Great Britain
America	British Guiana	Guiana	1831–1966	Great Britain
America	British Honduras	Belize	1798–1981	Great Britain
America	British Virgin Islands	British Virgin Islands (British overseas territory)	1672 to date	Great Britain
America	Canada (dominion from 1867)	Canada	1867–1931	Great Britain
America	Carolina	Carolina (USA)	1663–1776	Great Britain
America	Cayman Islands	Cayman Islands (British overseas territory)	1503–1661	Spain

Continent	Colony	Current name of territory	Period of time	Colonial power
America	Cayman Islands	Cayman Islands (British overseas territory)	1661 to date	Great Britain
America	Cisplatina	Uruguay	1808 -1822	Portugal
America	Colónia do Sacramento (Uruguay)	Colónia do Sacramento (Uruguay)	1680–1777 1822–1826	Portugal
America	Colónia do Sacramento (Uruguay)	Colónia do Sacramento (Uruguay)	1777–1807	Spain
America	Connecticut	Connecticut (USA)	1639–1776	Great Britain
America	Cuba	Cuba (until 1934: USA has a right to intervene in Cuba's internal affairs)	1898–1901	USA
America	Cuba	Cuba	1492–1762 1763–1898	Spain
America	Danish West Indies (Caribbean: Lesser Antilles, Virgin Islands)	Lesser Antilles, Virgin Islands (US-American overseas territory)	1666–1917	Denmark
America	Delaware	Delaware (USA)	1664–1776	Great Britain
America	Dominica	Dominica	1748–1763	France
America	Dominica	Dominica	1763–1978	Great Britain
America	Dutch Brazil	Brazil (northeast)	1624–1654	Netherlands
America	Dutch Virgin Islands	British Virgin Islands	1625–1672	Netherlands
America	Equinoctial France	Maranhão, Brazil	1612–1615	France
America	Falkland Islands	Falkland Islands (British overseas territory)	1764–1767	France
America	Falkland Islands	Falkland Islands (British overseas territory)	1833 to date	Great Britain
America	Florida	Florida (USA)	1513–1763	Spain
America	Florida	Florida (USA)	1763–1776	Great Britain
America	Fort Caroline	Fort Caroline (Jacksonville, Florida, USA)	1564–1568	France
America	Fort Ross	Fort Ross (Kalifornien, USA)	1812–1841	Russia
America	France Antarctique	Territory between Rio de Janeiro and Cabo Frio, Brazil	1555–1567	France
America	French Guiana	French Guiana (French overseas department since 1946)	1801–1809 1817 to date	France
America	French Guiana	French Guiana (French overseas department since 1946)	1809–1817	Portugal
America	French West Indies	French Antilles (French overseas department since 1946)	1635 to date	France
America	Georgia	Georgia (USA)	1732–1776	Great Britain
America	Greenland	Greenland	1921–1979	Denmark
America	Grenada	Grenada	1649–1763	France
America	Grenada	Grenada	1763–1974	Great Britain
America	Guadeloupe	Guadeloupe (French overseas department since 1946)	1635–1759 1763–1794 1794–1810 1814 to date	France
America	Hispaniola	Haiti and the Dominican Republic	1492– 1697/1795 1808–1822 1861 - 1865	Spain

Continent	Colony	Current name of territory	Period of time	Colonial power
America	Jamaica	Jamaica	1509–1655	Spain
America	Jamaica	Jamaica	1655–1962	Great Britain
America	Labrador	Labrador (Canada)	1499–1526	Portugal
America	Louisiana	Louisiana (USA)	1683–1763 1800–1803	France
America	Maryland	Maryland (USA)	1634–1776	Great Britain
America	Mississippi Territory	Mississippi Territory (USA)	1783–1795	Spain
America	Montserrat	Montserrat (part of the West Indies, Lesser Antilles, British overseas territory since 1962)	1632 to date	Great Britain
America	Mosquito Coast	Mosquito Coast (Carribean coast of Nicaragua)	1655–1850	Great Britain
America	Navassa	Navassa (United States Minor Outlying Island)	Since 1857	USA
America	Netherlands Antilles	Netherlands Antilles (Dutch overseas territory since 1964)	1948 to date	Netherlands
America	Netherlands Guiana	Suriname and Guiana	1616–1775	Netherlands
America	New Brunswick	New Brunswick (Canada)	1713–1867	Great Britain
America	New France	Acadia, Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland, Louisiana, territory around Saint Lawrence River)	1534–1759	France
America	New Hampshire	New Hampshire (USA)	1629–1776	Great Britain
America	New Jersey	New Jersey (USA)	1664–1776	Great Britain
America	New Netherland	Region on the US East Coast	1624–1667	Netherlands
America	New Sweden	Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey (USA)	1638–1655	Sweden
America	New York	New York (USA)	1664–1776	Great Britain
America	Newfoundland (dominion from 1907)	Newfoundland (Canada)	1610–1931	Great Britain
America	Nootka Territory	Nootka Territory (British Columbia, Canada)	1789–1794	Spain
America	Northwest Territories	Northwest Territories (Canada)	1859–1870	Great Britain
America	Nova Scotia	Nova Scotia (Canada)	1713–1867	Great Britain
America	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania (USA)	1681–1776	Great Britain
America	Prince Edward Island	Prince Edward Island (Canada)	1763–1873	Great Britain
America	Puerto Rico	Puerto Rico (free associated territory of the USA since 1952)	1898 to date	USA
America	Rhode Island and Providence	Rhode Island and Providence (USA)	1636–1776	Great Britain
America	Rupert's Land	Rupert's Land (Canada)	1670–1870	Great Britain
America	Saint Kitts and Nevis	Saint Kitts and Nevis	1623–1983	Great Britain
America	Saint Lucia	Saint Lucia	1650–1814	France
America	Saint Lucia	Saint Lucia	1814–1979	Great Britain
America	Saint Pierre and Miquelon	Saint Pierre and Miquelon (French overseas collectivity since 2003)	1670–1778 1813 to date	France

Continent	Colony	Current name of territory	Period of time	Colonial power
America	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	1719–1783	France
America	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	1783–1979	Great Britain
America	Saint-Barthélemy	Saint-Barthélemy (French overseas collectivity since 2007)	1784–1877	Sweden
America	Saint-Domingue	Haiti	1697–1804	France
America	Terra Nova	Terra Nova (Newfoundland, Canada)	1521–1526	Portugal
America	Tobago	Trinidad and Tobago	1498–1814	A minimum of 33 different owners. Only extended periods of colonial power are mentioned as follows:
America	Tobago	Trinidad and Tobago	1628–1634	Netherlands
America	Tobago	Trinidad and Tobago	1762–1781 1814–1889	Great Britain
America	Tobago	Trinidad and Tobago	1781–1793	France
America	Trinidad	Trinidad and Tobago	1802–1889	Great Britain
America	Trinidad	Trinidad and Tobago	1552–1802	Spain
America	Trinidad and Tobago (unified in 1899)	Trinidad and Tobago	1889–1962	Great Britain
America	Vancouver Island	Vancouver Island (Canada)	1848–1871	Great Britain
America	Viceroyalty of New Granada	Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador and Panama	1717–1724 1739–1810	Spain
America	Viceroyalty of New Spain	Mexico, Belize, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Venezuela, Palau, Guam, the Carribean Islands, as well as states in northern America and Asia	1535–1821	Spain
America	Viceroyalty of Peru (initially founded in 1542 as the Viceroyalty of New Castile, it contained all of Spanish-ruled South America (including Panama) except Venezuela; in 1776, it was subdivided into the Viceroyalties of Peru and Río de la Plata)	Peru, Chile, Panama, Bolivia, Paraguay, Uruguay, Argentina, parts of Colombia and Ecuador	1542–1823	Spain
America	Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata	Argentina, Bolivia, Uruguay and Paraguay	1776–1811	Spain
America	Virginia	Virginia (USA)	1607–1776	Great Britain
America	West Louisiana	West Louisiana (USA)	1762–1800	Spain
Antarctica	Kerguélen Islands, Amsterdam, Saint Paul, Crozet Islands, Adélie Land (today French overseas territory)	Kerguélen Islands, Amsterdam, Saint Paul, Crozet Islands, Adélie Land (French overseas territory)	1772 to date	France

Continent	Colony	Current name of territory	Period of time	Colonial power
Asia	(northern) Laos	(northern) Laos	1945–1946	China
Asia	Abkhazia	Abkhazia (Georgia)	1578–1810	Ottoman Empire
Asia	Aden (Yemen)	Aden (Yemen)	1538–1839	Ottoman Empire
Asia	Aden (Yemen)	Aden (Yemen)	1839–1967	Great Britain
Asia	al-Hasa (Saudi Arabia)	al-Hasa (Saudi Arabia)	1550–1670 1871–1913	Ottoman Empire
Asia	Amur	Amur	1689–1858	China
Asia	Arad Fort (Bahrain)	Arad Fort (Bahrain)	1521–1602	Portugal
Asia	Armenia	Armenia	1829–1918	Russia
Asia	Asir (Saudi Arabia)	Asir (Saudi Arabia)	1871–1914	Ottoman Empire
Asia	Azerbaijan	Azerbaijan	1784–1918	Russia
Asia	Bahrain	Bahrain	1820–1971	Great Britain
Asia	Baku (Azerbaijan)	Baku (Azerbaijan)	1516–1806	Ottoman Empire
Asia	Bencoolen	(parts of) Indonesia	1825–1949	Netherlands
Asia	Bhutan	Bhutan	1772–1910	Great Britain
Asia	British Bencoolen	(parts of) Indonesia	1685–1825	Great Britain
Asia	British Indian Ocean Territory	Chagos Archipelago (British overseas territory)	1814 to date	Great Britain
Asia	Brunei	Brunei	1888–1984	Great Britain
Asia	Burma	Myanmar	1885–1948	Great Britain
Asia	Ceylon	Sri Lanka	1517–1658	Portugal
Asia	Ceylon	Sri Lanka	1796–1948	Great Britain
Asia	Cilicia	Adana and Mersin (Turkey)	1919–1921	France
Asia	Colombo	Colombo	1658–1796	Netherlands
Asia	Coromandel Coast (India)	Coromandel Coast (India)	1606–1825	Netherlands
Asia	Cyrenaica (eastern Libya)	Cyrenaica (eastern Libya)	1521–1911	Ottoman Empire
Asia	Dagestan	Dagestan (Russia)	1645–1730	Ottoman Empire
Asia	Dejima	Dejima (Japan)	1641–1857	Netherlands
Asia	Dutch India	Republic of Indonesia	1602– 1949 (54)	Netherlands (under Dutch sovereignty from 1949–1954)
Asia	East Turkistan (Xinjiang)	Xinjiang (China)	1759–1864	China
Asia	Federated Malay States	Malaysia	1795–1948	Great Britain
Asia	Formosa	Taiwan	1626–1646	Spain
Asia	French India	(parts of) India	1673–1962	France
Asia	French Indochina	Laos, Cambodia and Viet Nam	1863–1954	France
Asia	Gamru	Bandar Abbas (Iran)	16th century– 1615	Portugal
Asia	Georgia	Georgia	1578–1801	Ottoman Empire
Asia	Georgia	Georgia	1738–1918	Russia
Asia	Guangzhouwan	Guangzhouwan (China)	1899–1943	France
Asia	Gulf of Tonkin (Viet Nam)	Gulf of Tonkin (Viet Nam)	1945–1946	China
Asia	Hejaz	Hejaz (Saudi Arabia)	1517–1803 1812–1916	Ottoman Empire
Asia	Hội An	Hội An (Viet Nam)	1636–1741	Netherlands
Asia	Hong Kong	Hong Kong (Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China)	1841–1997	Great Britain

Continent	Colony	Current name of territory	Period of time	Colonial power
Asia	Hormuz	Hormuz (Iran)	1507–1622	Portugal
Asia	India	India	1756–1947	Great Britain
Asia	Iraq	Iraq	1920–1932	Great Britain
Asia	Iraq (Baghdad, Basra, Mosul)	Iraq (Baghdad, Basra, Mosul)	1534–1623 1638–1918	Ottoman Empire
Asia	Jerusalem	Jerusalem (Israel)	1516–1918	Ottoman Empire
Asia	Jiaozhou (China)	Jiaozhou (China)	1898–1919	German Empire
Asia	Jordan	Jordan	1516–1918	Ottoman Empire
Asia	Karabakh	Azerbaijan	1557–1730	Ottoman Empire
Asia	Kars (Turkey)	Kars (Turkey)	1878–1918	Russia
Asia	Kartli (Georgia)	Kartli (Georgia)	1727–1735	Ottoman Empire
Asia	Kazakhstan	Kazakhstan	1865–1918	Russia
Asia	Korea (protectorate from 1905)	Korea	1910–1945	Japan
Asia	Kuril Islands	Kuril Islands (Russia)	1945 to date	Russia
Asia	Kuwait	Kuwait	1534–1914	Ottoman Empire
Asia	Kuwait	Kuwait	1899–1961	Great Britain
Asia	Kyrgyzstan	Kyrgyzstan	1865–1918	Russia
Asia	Lebanon	Lebanon	1920–1943	France
Asia	Lorestan (Iran)	Lorestan (Iran)	1587–1639	Ottoman Empire
Asia	Macao	Macao (Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China)	1553–1999	Portugal
Asia	Malabar Coast (India)	Malabar Coast (India)	1661–1790	Netherlands
Asia	Malacca (Malaysia)	Malacca (Malaysia)	1511–1641	Portugal
Asia	Malacca (Malaysia)	Malacca (Malaysia)	1644–1824	Netherlands
Asia	Maldives	Maldives	1558–1573	Portugal
Asia	Maldives	Maldives	1654–1796	Netherlands
Asia	Maldives	Maldives	1796–1965	Great Britain
Asia	Maluku Islands (Ambon, Bacan, Banda Islands, Ternate)	Maluku Islands (Ambon, Bacan, Banda Islands, Ternate)	1512–1861	Portugal
Asia	Manchukuo	Manchukuo (three north-eastern Chinese provinces)	1931–1945	Japan
Asia	Manchuria	Manchuria (China)	1636–1931	China
Asia	Manchuria	Manchuria (China)	1858–1905	Russia
Asia	Mongolia	Mongolia	1688–1911	China
Asia	Muscat (Oman)	Muscat (Oman)	1507–1648	Portugal
Asia	Muscat (Oman)	Muscat (Oman)	1507–1650	Portugal
Asia	Muscat (Oman)	Muscat (Oman)	1550–1551 1581–1588	Ottoman Empire
Asia	Nagasaki	Nagasaki (Japan)	1571–1638	Portugal
Asia	Najd	Najd (Saudi Arabia)	1817–1819 1837–1902	Ottoman Empire
Asia	New Guinea	New Guinea	1528/1545–1606	Spain
Asia	Nicobar Islands	Nicobar Islands	1756–1848	Denmark (with interruptions)
Asia	North Borneo	Sabah (Malaysia)	1882–1963	Great Britain
Asia	North Korea	North Korea	1951–1958	China

Continent	Colony	Current name of territory	Period of time	Colonial power
Asia	Oman	Oman	1891–1958	Great Britain
Asia	Palestine	Palestine	1920–1948	Great Britain
Asia	Paracel Islands	Paracel Islands (Xisha Islands, China)	1974–1974	China
Asia	Pescadores	Penghu Islands (China)	1624–1661	Netherlands
Asia	Philippines	Philippines	1565–1898	Spain
Asia	Philippines	Philippines	1898–1946	USA
Asia	Portuguese India	Goa, Damão, Diu (India)	1498–1961	Portugal
Asia	Portuguese Timor	East Timor	1586–2002	Portugal
Asia	Qatar	Qatar	1868–1971	Great Britain
Asia	Qatar	Qatar	1871–1916	Ottoman Empire
Asia	Sakhalin (Kuye Dao)	Sakhalin (Russia)	1644–1858	China
Asia	Sanjak of Alexandretta	Hatay (Turkey)	1516–1918	Ottoman Empire
Asia	Sanjak of Alexandretta	Hatay (Turkey)	1918–1938	France
Asia	Sarawak	Sarawak (northwest Borneo)	1888–1963	Great Britain
Asia	Siberia	Siberia (Russia)	Since 1557	Russia
Asia	Singapore	Singapore	1946–1963	Great Britain
Asia	Socotra (Socotra, Yemen)	Socotra (Socotra, Yemen)	1507–1511	Portugal
Asia	Sohar (Oman)	Sohar (Oman)	1507– 17th century	Portugal
Asia	Songhkla	Songhkla (southern Thailand)	1685–1688	France
Asia	Straits Settlements	Penang, Singapore and Malacca	1867–1946	Great Britain
Asia	Sunda Islands	Sunda Islands	1512–1861	Portugal
Asia	Sur, Oman	Sur, Oman	1507– 17th century	Portugal
Asia	Surat (India)	Surat (India)	1616–1795	Netherlands
Asia	Syria	Syria	1920–1946	France
Asia	Syria (Damascus, Aleppo)	Syria (Damascus, Aleppo)	1516–1918	Ottoman Empire
Asia	Tabriz (Azerbaijan)	Tabriz (Azerbaijan)	1585–1639	Ottoman Empire
Asia	Taiwan	Taiwan	1683–1895 1945–1949	China
Asia	Taiwan and Penghu Islands	Taiwan and Penghu Islands	1895–1945	Japan
Asia	Tajikistan	Tajikistan	1868–1924	Russia
Asia	Tibet	Tibet	1720–1913 1951–present	China
Asia	Tonkin (Viet Nam)	Tonkin (Viet Nam)	1636–1699	Netherlands
Asia	Transjordan	Jordan	1922–1946	Great Britain
Asia	Trucial States (states at the southern coast of the Persian Gulf)	Part of the United Arab Emirates	1835–1971	Great Britain
Asia	Turkmenistan	Turkmenistan	1894–1924	Russia
Asia	Ussuri Bay	Ussuri Bay (Russia)	1644–1860	China
Asia	Uzbekistan	Uzbekistan	1868–1918	Russia
Asia	Weihai (city in north-east China)	Weihai (city in north-east China)	1898–1930	Great Britain
Asia	Yemen	Yemen	1517–1636 1872–1918	Ottoman Empire
Asia	Yerevan	Yerevan (Armenia)	1514–1618	Ottoman Empire

Continent	Colony	Current name of territory	Period of time	Colonial power
Europe	Albania (Shkodër, Vlorë, Uskub)	Albania (Shkodër, Vlorë, Uskub)	1410–1912	Ottoman Empire
Europe	Azores	Azores	1427–1766	Portugal
Europe	Baltic governorates (Estonia, Livland and Courland)	Estonia and Latvia	1721–1918	Russia
Europe	Belarus	Belarus	1793–1918	Russia
Europe	Bessarabia	Moldavia and Ukraine	1488–1812	Ottoman Empire
Europe	Bessarabia	Moldavia and Ukraine	1878–1917	Russia
Europe	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Bosnia and Herzegovina	1463–1908	Ottoman Empire
Europe	Bulgaria (Vidin, Danube River, Rumelia)	Bulgaria (Vidin, Danube River, Rumelia)	1395–1908	Ottoman Empire
Europe	Canary Islands	Canary Islands	1479	Spain
Europe	Congress Poland, Vistula River region	Poland	1815–1916	Russia
Europe	Crete	Crete (Greece)	1669–1908	Ottoman Empire
Europe	Crimea	Crimea	1475–1783	Ottoman Empire
Europe	Cyprus	Cyprus	1570–1914	Ottoman Empire
Europe	Elba	Elba (Italy)	1557–1709	Spain
Europe	Faroe Islands	Faroe Islands	1814–1948	Denmark
Europe	Finland	Finland	1808–1917	Russia
Europe	Greece (Athens, Salonica, Thessaloniki)	Greece (Athens, Salonica, Thessaloniki)	1460–1822	Ottoman Empire
Europe	Hungary	Hungary	1541–1699	Ottoman Empire
Europe	Iceland	Iceland	1814–1918 (1944)	Denmark
Europe	Kosovo	Kosovo	1389–1912	Ottoman Empire
Europe	Macedonia (Skopje)	Macedonia (Skopje)	1371–1913	Ottoman Empire
Europe	Madeira	Madeira	1580–1834	Portugal
Europe	Mani (Greece)	Mani (Greece)	1453–1822	Ottoman Empire
Europe	Moldavia	Moldavia	1541–1877	Ottoman Empire
Europe	Moldavia	Moldavia	1792–1856	Russia
Europe	Montenegro	Montenegro	1516–1878	Ottoman Empire
Europe	Otranto	Otranto (Italy)	1480–1481	Ottoman Empire
Europe	Podolia (region in Ukraine)	Podolia (Ukraine)	1672–1699	Ottoman Empire
Europe	Rhodes	Rhodes (Greece)	1522–1912	Ottoman Empire
Europe	Rumelia (European part of the Balkan peninsula)	Part of Greece and Bulgaria	1363–1908	Ottoman Empire
Europe	Samos	Samos (Greece)	1475–1912	Ottoman Empire
Europe	Serbia (Belgrade, Niš, Kalemegdan)	Serbia (Belgrade, Niš, Kalemegdan)	1459–1878	Ottoman Empire
Europe	Transylvania	Transylvania (region in Romania)	1538–1699	Ottoman Empire
Europe	Ukraine	Ukraine	1667–1917	Russia
Europe	Wallachia (region in Romania)	Wallachia (region in Romania)	1541–1877	Ottoman Empire
Oceania	American Samoa	American Samoa (US-American overseas territory)	1899–to date	USA

Continent	Colony	Current name of territory	Period of time	Colonial power
Oceania	Australia (Commonwealth of Australia) (dominion from 1907)	Australia	1770–1931/1986	Great Britain
Oceania	British New Guinea	Papua New Guinea (south-eastern part)	1884–1902	Great Britain
Oceania	Caroline Islands	Federated States of Micronesia and Palau	1526–1899	Spain
Oceania	Caroline Islands	Federated States of Micronesia and Palau	1899–1919	German Empire
Oceania	Caroline Islands	Federated States of Micronesia and Palau	1919–1944	Japan (as League of Nations mandate, 1933 Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations)
Oceania	Cook Islands	Cook Islands (independent in free association with New Zealand)	1888–1901	Great Britain
Oceania	Cook Islands	Cook Islands (independent in free association with New Zealand)	1901–1965	New Zealand
Oceania	Easter Island (Rapa Nui)	Easter Island (Rapa Nui, Chile)	1888 to date	Chile
Oceania	Ellice Islands	Tuvalu	1877–1978	Great Britain (1892 part of the British protectorate Gilbert and Ellice Islands; protectorate up to 1915, colony from 1915)
Oceania	Fiji	Fiji	1874–1970	Great Britain
Oceania	French Polynesia	French Polynesia (French overseas territory since 2004)	1842 to date	France (1842 establishment of the French protectorate Tahiti, French colony from 1880, conquest of the remaining islands in 1881, on UN list of Non-Self-Governing Territories since 2013)
Oceania	German New Guinea	Papua New Guinea (north-east with Bismarck Archipelago), Solomon Islands (northern part), Marshall Islands, Nauru, Northern Mariana Islands, Palau, Caroline Islands	1884–1919	German Empire
Oceania	German Samoa	Samoa (western part of the archipelago)	1900–1914	German Empire

Continent	Colony	Current name of territory	Period of time	Colonial power
Oceania	Gilbert Islands	Kiribati	1892–1979	Great Britain (declared a British protectorate together with the Ellice Islands in 1892; protectorate up to 1916, crown colony from 1916)
Oceania	Guam	Guam (US-American overseas territory)	1898 to date	USA
Oceania	Guam	Guam (US-American overseas territory)	1521–1898	Spain
Oceania	Hawai'i	Hawai'i (US state since 1959)	1898 to date	USA
Oceania	Mariana Islands	Northern Mariana Islands	1667–1898/99	Spain
Oceania	Mariana Islands	Northern Mariana Islands	1919–1944	Japan (as League of Nations mandate, 1933 Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations)
Oceania	Mariana Islands	Northern Mariana Islands (free associated territory of the USA)	1944 to date	USA
Oceania	Mariana Islands (as part of German New Guinea)	Northern Mariana Islands	1899–1919	German Empire
Oceania	Marshall Islands	Marshall Islands	1919–1944	Japan (as League of Nations mandate, 1933 Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations)
Oceania	Nauru	Republic of Nauru (governed by Australia as League of Nations mandate)	1920–1968	Great Britain
Oceania	Nauru	Republic of Nauru	1947–1968	New Zealand
Oceania	Netherlands New Guinea	Part of Indonesia (annexed in 1961)	1885–1962	Netherlands
Oceania	New Caledonia	New Caledonia (French overseas territory)	1853 to date (next independence referendum in 2018)	France
Oceania	New Hebrides	New Hebrides	1887–1980	France (governed as a condominium with Great Britain)
Oceania	New Hebrides	Vanuatu	1906–1980	Great Britain (governed as a condominium with France)
Oceania	New Zealand (dominion from 1907)	New Zealand	1840–1931	Great Britain
Oceania	Niue	Niue (in free association with New Zealand)	1901–1974	New Zealand

Continent	Colony	Current name of territory	Period of time	Colonial power
Oceania	Niue	Niue (in free association with New Zealand)	1900–1901	Great Britain
Oceania	Palau	Republic of Palau (associated with the USA)	1526–1899	Spain
Oceania	Palau	Republic of Palau (associated with the USA)	1899–1914	German Empire
Oceania	Palau	Republic of Palau (associated with the USA)	1914–1947	Japan
Oceania	Phoenix Islands	Part of Kiribati	1889–1979	Great Britain
Oceania	Pitcairn	Pitcairn (British overseas territory)	1838 to date	Great Britain
Oceania	Solomon Islands	Solomon Islands	1899–1978	Great Britain
Oceania	Spanish East Indies	Caroline Islands, Mariana Islands and Palau	1565–1898	Spain
Oceania	Territory of New Guinea (governed by Australia as League of Nations mandate)	Provinces of Papua New Guinea: Enga, Western Highlands, Simbu, Eastern Highlands, West Sepik, East Sepik, Madang, Morobe, Bougainville, West New Britain, East New Britain, New Ireland, Manus	1919–1972	Great Britain
Oceania	Territory of Papua and New Guinea (British New Guinea became the Territory of Papua in 1906, League of Nations mandate for German New Guinea from 1920 (excluding the Micronesian Islands) as Territory of New Guinea; unification as the Territory of Papua and New Guinea in 1949	Papua New Guinea	1906–1972	Australia
Oceania	Tokelau (administration under Western Samoa)	Part of New Zealand	1926–1949	New Zealand
Oceania	Tokelau (under the name of Union Islands, included into the Gilbert and Ellice Islands colony in 1893)	Tokelau	1877–1926	Great Britain
Oceania	Tonga	Tonga	1900–1970	Great Britain
Oceania	United States Minor Outlying Islands (today US overseas territory)	Part of New Zealand	1857 to date	USA
Oceania	Wallis and Futuna (official French protectorate not until 1888)	Wallis and Futuna (French overseas territory since 1961)	1842 to date	France
Oceania	West Papua	Irian Jaya	1962 to date	Indonesia
Oceania	Western Samoa (initially League of Nations mandate, trusteeship territory from 1946)	Samoa	1914–1962	New Zealand

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Guidelines on Dealing with Collections from Colonial Contexts