

**Southern African Human Remains as Property:
Physical Anthropology and the Production of Racial Capital in Austria**

Hella Sophie Charlotte Schasiepen



Supervisor: Professor Ciraj Rassool

A dissertation submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of History, Faculty of Arts, University of the Western Cape.

June 2021

Key Words

physical anthropology, human remains, history of science, colonialism, racism, racial science, racial capital, capital formation, expedition



UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

Abstract

From 1907 to 1909, the Austrian anthropologist, Dr Rudolf Pöch (1870-1921), conducted an expedition in southern Africa that was financed by the Imperial Academy of Sciences in Vienna. Pöch enjoyed administrative and logistical support from Austria-Hungary as well as the respective colonial governments and local authorities in the southern African region. During this expedition, he appropriated the bodily remains of more than one hundred people and shipped them to Vienna. When Pöch started teaching anthropology and ethnography in 1910, the remains became an essential part of the first ‘anthropological teaching and research collection’ at the University of Vienna. Pöch’s appointment to the first chair for anthropology and ethnography in Austria in 1919 was strongly supported by the fact that he provided this collection of human remains, most of which he had declared to be his private property. With the exception of the remains of two people, Klaas and Trooi Pienaar, who were returned to South Africa in 2012, the remains of the people taken from southern Africa were still held at the University of Vienna in the early 2020s.

I trace the social, political and epistemological preconditions for the realisation of the expedition and the integration of human remains of the colonised into a university collection in Vienna. In so doing, I situate Pöch’s expedition to southern Africa in longer histories of colonialism, the history of science and the very peculiar socio-political situation in the Habsburg monarchy. The appropriation of human remains during Pöch’s expedition, however, was significantly marked by a discourse of extinction that was specific to the situation in the colonies and corresponded with the genocidal practices of the settlers and colonial governments. Throughout the thesis, I try to show how human remains used for racial science have served not only as means for the production of knowledge, but also for the production of capital.

Declaration

I, Hella Sophie Charlotte Schasiepen, declare that *Southern African Human Remains as Property: Physical Anthropology and the Production of Racial Capital in Austria* is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination other than the University of the Western Cape, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Cape Town, 30 June 2021



Sophie Schasiepen



UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

Acknowledgments

It has been a journey. The UWC thesis guide tells me that I should avoid sentimentality when acknowledging those who have helped this thesis become reality. I am afraid I cannot comply. It all started with a seminar at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna back in 2009, in which Christian Kravagna had us discuss different figures emblematic of Austria's colonial past, and therefore, Austria's post-colonial present. I chose the anthropologist Rudolf Pöch. Christian Kravagna supervised my *Diplomarbeit* and the beginnings of my doctoral thesis. I am grateful for his support and friendship, that make me believe that I can do this. Two more people who helped me in the preparatory phase of my *Diplomarbeit* became part of a network of scholars who generously provided advice, discussion, and sometimes space for sharing vents and laughter: Margit Berner at the Naturhistorisches Museum Wien and Walter Sauer from SADOCC (Southern Africa Documentation and Cooperation Centre). Thank you especially for taking me seriously when I was very new to everything.

I would not be sitting at a desk in Cape Town now if it wasn't for a scholarship from the Austrian agency for international mobility and cooperation in education, science and research (OeAD). From October 2015 to July 2016 their funding allowed me to come to South Africa for the first time and start working on my thesis. I got to acquaint myself with the sometimes almost overwhelmingly stimulating intellectual environment that is the History Department of the University of the Western Cape and the Centre for Humanities Research (CHR). The reading groups with – among others – Nicky Rousseau, Patricia Hayes, Robin-lea Karating, Brent Abrahams, Riedwaan Moosage and Bianca van Laun changed my thinking and understanding of teaching. In what back then appeared like an ironic twist of fate to me, Professor Ciraj Rassool, who was the main reason for me coming to South Africa, spent the exact same time period that I was in Cape Town at a residency in Cologne. I am grateful to him for making the time to discuss my proposal during his Christmas break here in Cape Town and for letting me visit him in Cologne when I was already back in Europe. It was in Cologne that Ciraj Rassool offered to formally supervise my PhD at the UWC, which was a major turning point for my work. It cannot be overestimated how much I am learning from you. Sometimes I am still in disbelief at how lucky I have been.

There is much to be said about the entitlement and privilege that is inherent in the fact that I managed to successfully apply for funding to come to South Africa with the little knowledge

I had about the academic field here. Among the people who provided me with essential information were Jakob Krameritsch, who also put me in contact with my first friend in Cape Town, Lonwabo Kilani, and (through Ruth Sonderegger) Anette Hoffmann. Lonwabo introduced me to Mariella Franzoni, who became an invaluable source of joy and company (and a generous provider of transport to the CHR seminars) during these ten months. Ingrid Dekker, in whose house I stayed in Woodstock, her daughter Zazi and Emily Müller, who also stayed at Ingrid's at the time, became family. They helped me reflect and learn about being in South Africa better. I am still in awe of and thankful for the light-heartedness with which we eased into living together. Zimasa Mpemnyama, Zanele Lwana, Khayaletu Witbooi, Dathini Mzayiya, Ndikhumbule Ngqinambi, Zipho Dayile, Mandisa Ngqulana, Nonzaliseko Hodini and Lunghi Zondi were among the people who I got to hang out with during that time. It was through them that I learnt about South African politics and started to grasp the actual meaning of Eurocentrism. Memory Biwa was the first and only person who welcomed me to //Hui !Gaeb, at one of the first parties I went to. I didn't understand what she was saying until I looked it up once I was home.

When I went back to Europe, my father, Dieter Scheyhing, provided me with a private residency at his home in Hoppegarten, at the outskirts of Berlin, during a time of no income. On his birthday, we went to a performance by The Brother Moves On at the Haus der Berliner Festspiele. My father was a strong supporter of my work. He died in early 2019 after months of hospitalisation. I am grateful that I could be with him during that time. And that we saw penguins, elephants, and so many different birds when he came to South Africa.

In October 2016, I got to take up a junior fellowship at the IFK, the International Research Center Cultural Studies in Vienna. Thomas Macho, Johanna Richter, Katja Geiger, Petra Radecki, Eva Hallama, Bernhard Leitner, Ross Lipton, Sabina Folnović-Jaitner, Mareike Peschl, Klaudia Rottenschlager-Wieser, Wolfgang Trimmel, Thilo Neidhöfer: Danke. I wish we could all spend another semester together.

It was at the IFK that I gave my first academic lecture. My mother, Claudia Schasiepen, decided to surprise me and came all the way from Berlin, together with my little sister Paula. When my grandmother Gyp heard of their plans, she insisted on joining. It is such a blessing to have a family who believe in the relevance of the work I am doing. Many thanks also to that unknown man who came to my lecture and said that the whole history of anthropology

would have to be written anew if what I was saying was true. My grandmother regularly reminds me of that sentence. From the bottom of my heart, I thank my uncle, Günter Scheyhing, and his wife Martina for everything they've done for me, my father, and the family. I would never have thought that she would make it, but it gives me so much joy that my paternal grandmother, Annemarie Scheyhing, gets to witness me finally submitting my thesis. She's held many families together throughout her life and it will be incredibly difficult without her. As I am writing these acknowledgments, my mother calls me every day at noon to remind me that I must eat. She also patiently listens to where I am with my work. Every day. Danke, Mami.

Many people have carried me through this time, in different ways: Peter, Georg, Carolina, Ezgi, Nina, Milad, Mírkan, Rosa, B, Xolisa and Hillary, Wagner, Steffi, Alice, Joshua, Luyanda, Kitso, Elisabeth Magdlenner, Sheri, Niki, Babsi, Swati, Julia: Thank you for doing life with me. Lisa Domin, I cherish your encouragement and how we witness each other grow. Katharina, thank you for your love and for being there so wonderfully during my father's illness and after his death. David, thank you for the dances; lass uns mehr tanzen.

Before I fell sick from Covid, boxing was what kept me sane. Thank you to Bettina Pernstich, Tatiana Kai-Browne, PFA, Boxclub Wiener Linien, Samurai Claremont, Boxclub Sparta 58 Berlin and Kings Boxing Gym. Khoelife, your products and energy held me. Thank you to Simon Delacher and Hille Beseler for their different forms of therapy. Thank you also to Planet 10 in Vienna for having me in your space.

In 2016 and 2017, I did many interviews with different people in South Africa and Austria, because I originally wanted to also write about the repatriation of Klaas and Trooi Pienaar. Abel Pienaar, Alan Morris, Andre Gingrich, Arnold Suppan, Teresa Indjein, Christine Buzeczki, Brigitte Öppinger-Walchshofer, Cecil Le Fleur, David Morris, Elisabeth Freismuth, Yvette Abrahams, Gerald Kozik, Deona Botha, Maryna Steyn, Herwig Friesinger, Koera Steenkamp, Herbert Kritscher, Maria Teschler-Nicola, Martin Gärtner, Mbazima Makhubele, Margit Berner, Sabine Eggers, Karin Wiltschke-Schrotta, Petrus Vaalbooi, Reinette Stander, Roger Chenells, Shane Christians, Katarina Matiasek, Harald Wilfing, Walter Sauer, Wendy Black: Thank you for your time! I hope the work in its current form will be of interest to you and that I can write about issues closer to what we discussed in the future.

Thanks also to Wandile Kasibe, Nashilongweshipwe Mushaandja, Molemo Moiloa, Britta Lange, Brigitta Kuster, Jeremy Silvester, Te Herekiekie Herewini, June Jones, Madeleine Bernstorff, Johanna Schaffer, Jannik Franzen and Anette Hoffmann for conversations and inspiration. Anette, thank you for sending your book through. Gudrun Rath, thank you for your support. Goodman Gwasira, thank you for the conversations and to you and your family many thanks for hosting me in Windhoek. I wish I had been at a more advanced stage with my work when Holger Stoecker, Larissa Förster and Sharon Macdonald generously took time to discuss Anna Szöke's and my research when Anna was still at CARMAH. Thank you all for your kindness. Anna, I would have gone mad without our conversations.

Special thanks to the staff from the archive of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, particularly Jennifer Linninger for transcribing some essential records and for taking the time to explore the archive with me and thereby allowing me access to the unpublished reports from Pöch's expedition; Walter Sauer for sharing files from the National Archives of Namibia; Kristy Stone for scanning a Pöch file when she went to the Botswana National Archives for her own research; Margit Berner for sharing files and her notes from the Luschan estate in the Staatsbibliothek Berlin; Holger Stoecker for sharing files on Leonhard Schultze-Jena and for reading two chapters of this thesis shortly before submission.

Tim Rüdiger, Regina Sarreiter, Talya Lubinsky, Delal Isci, Robyn Humphreys, Duane Jethro, Bongani Kona, Elisabeth Knittelfelder, Keso: Thank you for being writing buddies and discussing my work with me at different phases of the research process. Sepideh Alwand-Azari: you are the best. Sam Longford, Abiti Nelson and Mary Mbewe, I wish our fabulous four meetings had gone on for longer. It means a lot to know you are there.

Thank you to the Remaking Societies, Remaking Persons supranational forum for being such a wonderful space of learning and for providing the funding with which I am finishing the writing.

Dr. Maria Fuchs, thank you for your friendship, for being my daily coach and for pushing me.

Table of images

Figure 1: Map of the location of a showcase in <i>Kärtnerstraße</i>	108
Figure 2: Inner cover of book 10 of Pöch's diaries from southern Africa, 1909	227
Figure 3: List of payments to George Lennox	259
Figure 4: List of contents of cases sent to Vienna	265
Figure 5: List of destinations for different cases sent to Vienna	266



Table of contents

Abstract	ii
Acknowledgments	iv
Table of images	viii
Introduction	
Putting Austria on the restitution map	1
PART I	
PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY IN THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE	
Chapter One	
Proto-anthropological Research and State-building Processes	14
Chapter Two	
Anatomical Origins of Physical Anthropology	47
Chapter Three	
The Ethnographisation of the Empire	65
Chapter Four	
Institutions of Collecting and Display: Condensing the World into Racialised Stratification at Home	87
PART II	
THE PRODUCTION OF CAPITAL THROUGH EXPEDITIONS	
Chapter Five	
Rudolf Pöch and the Anthropologist as Field-Worker	120
Chapter Six	
Preparing the Expedition to Southern Africa: Mobilising social capital	149



Chapter Seven	
Settler Colonialism and Physical Anthropology in southern Africa	183
Chapter Eight	
Extracting Capital on/from the Ground: Methods of Appropriation	207
Chapter Nine	
Establishing Value: Human remains as academic capital	254
Conclusion	284
Bibliography	297



UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

Introduction: Putting Austria on the restitution map

*How does Austria's colonialism shape your subjectivity?
"I find it hard to define this. It's just something I know, something I am aware of since day
one in this country. It's in the air."*¹

Although debates around restitution and the return of collections from colonial contexts have gained enormous momentum in recent years, Austria is one of the countries that has stayed relatively untouched by these developments. As a nation that tried but failed to occupy overseas territories and turn them into colonies, Austria has long been perceived as a society without colonial history. Despite interventions by scholars and activists, the idea of Austria's colonial innocence continues to persevere in public discourse and private minds. As the historian Walter Sauer has shown, this image has its own history. As pretext for the 'lack' of overseas colonies, the notion of a 'voluntary renunciation' on the side of Austria-Hungary was brought forward by scholars, officials and writers in the public domain as early as the turn of the 20th century. Instead of formally colonising territory abroad, it was argued, the empire was following its calling for cultural, intellectual and missionary conquest as well as the actual colonisation of South East Europe.² This changed during the 1930s, when a revisionist colonial movement positioned colonialist projects of the Habsburg empire as precursors of German colonialism.³ Explorers who had worked in colonial conditions were further glorified as heroic *Ostmarkforscher* during Nazi rule.⁴ After the formal end of

¹ Belinda Kazeem-Kamiński in *Anti*colonial Fantasies: Decolonial Strategies*, ed. by Imayna Caceres, Sunanda Mesquita, Sophie Utikal (Vienna: Zaglossus, 2017), 39.

² Walter Sauer, 'Jenseits der „Entdeckungsgeschichte“: Forschungsergebnisse und Perspektiven', in *k. u. k. kolonial. Habsburgermonarchie und europäische Herrschaft in Afrika*, ed. by. ibid. (Vienna: Böhlau, 2002), 7-15, here 15. See for a more condensed version of Sauer's arguments in English: Ibid., 'Habsburg Colonial: Austria-Hungary's role in European overseas expansion reconsidered', *Austrian Studies* 20 (2012): 5-23.

³ Walter Sauer, 'Habsburg Colonial', 6. In the 1920s and 1930s there were, however, also scarce demonstrations of solidarity with anticolonial and antiracist movements from the communist and social democratic parties and labour movements. (Walter Sauer, *Expeditionen ins Afrikanische Österreich: Ein Reisekaleidoskop* (Vienna: Mandelbaum, 2014), 58).

⁴ See Gregory Weeks, *Hitlers österreichische Kolonialisten: Erste Republik – Ständestaat – "Drittes Reich", 1918-1945* (Vienna et al.: LIT Verlag, 2016); Ingrid Oppenauer, 'Ausstellungen und Tagungen mit kolonialem Hintergrund in Wien 1939/1940', unpublished seminar paper (University of Vienna, 2003/2015),

National Socialism, it was expedient for Austria to return to the narrative of colonial immaculateness. In popular culture, however, stereotypical racist and colonialist representations dominated the imaginary, from movies to porcelain figures.⁵ In public discourse, the colonies were mainly instrumentalised for other debates and conflicts, like the cold war or the allied occupation. In 1952, for example, the Austrian chancellor Leopold Figl proclaimed that it was a 'European disgrace' that Austria was occupied while 'underdeveloped colonial peoples' were being liberated.⁶ After the signing of the State Treaty in 1955 and Austria's declaration of neutrality, Austrian politics slowly started to show more awareness for matters outside of Europe. During a time of formal decolonisation, Austria positioned itself as opportune trading partner for the newly independent countries.⁷

Scholarly interest in postcolonial analyses of Austria's past peaked in the early 2000s with publications on colonial relations within the Habsburg empire,⁸ Austria-Hungary's imperialism,⁹ the colonial involvement of the Habsburg monarchy on the African continent¹⁰ and an analysis of anthropological discourses in the empire between 1850 and 1960.¹¹ Since then, more research has been done, and it would be a futile attempt to list everything.¹² Anti-

https://homepage.univie.ac.at/walter.sauer/Afrikanisches_Oesterreich2-Dateien/Oppenauer_Kolonialausstellung_2015_korr.pdf (accessed 14 June 2021).

⁵ Walter Sauer, *Expeditionen ins Afrikanische Österreich*, 80 f.

⁶ Paula Pfoser, *Bilder der Dekolonisation: Afrika-Repräsentationen im frühen österreichischen TV* (Vienna: Zaglossus, 2016), 21.

⁷ Walter Sauer, 'Habsburg Colonial', 6.

⁸ Moritz Czáký et al. (eds.), *Habsburg postcolonial. Machtstrukturen und kollektives Gedächtnis* (Innsbruck: Studien-Verlag, 2003); Kakanien revisited, an online platform for research on the Habsburg monarchy, established 2001, <https://www.kakanien-revisited.at/> (accessed 29 June 2021).

⁹ Evelyn Kolm, *Die Ambitionen Österreich-Ungarns im Zeitalter des Hochimperialismus* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2001).

¹⁰ Walter Sauer (ed.), *k. u. k. kolonial. Habsburgermonarchie und europäische Herrschaft in Afrika* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2002).

¹¹ Brigitte Fuchs, „Rasse“, „Volk“, *Geschlecht: Anthropologische Diskurse in Österreich 1850-1960* (Vienna: Campus, 2003).

¹² See for example Roswitha Muttenthaler and Regina Wonisch, *Gesten des Zeigens: Zur Repräsentation von Gender und Race in Ausstellungen* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2006); Vida Bakondy and Renée Winter, „Nicht alle Weißen schießen“: *Afrika-Repräsentationen im Österreich der 1950er Jahre im Kontext von (Post-) Kolonialismus und (Post-)Nationalsozialismus* (Vienna: Studienverlag, 2007), Simon Loidl, „Europa ist zu eng geworden“: *Kolonialpropaganda in Österreich-Ungarn 1885 bis 1918* (Vienna: Promedia, 2018), Stefan Meisterle, *Von Coblön bis Delagoa: Die kolonialen Aktivitäten der Habsburgermonarchie in Ostindien*

racist groups, artists and diaspora communities in Austria also have a long standing history in addressing colonialist sentiments in the country.¹³ Prominent examples are the campaigns against two popular brands in Austria, the department store and coffee company *Julius Meinl* and the brewery *Mohrenbrauerei*, which both use stereotypically racist depictions of Africans as logos.¹⁴ The *Recherchegruppe zu Schwarzer österreichischer Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Research Group on Black Austrian History and Present) holds a special place in these movements to rewrite Austrian history.¹⁵ One aspect of their project to ‘talk back’, in the words of bell hooks, was a re-evaluation of Josefine Soliman’s role in Austrian history.¹⁶ Josefine was the daughter of Angelo Soliman, a Black Austrian Freemason who had been taken captive as child and brought to Europe as slave in the early 18th century. Although he had become a respected figure in the intellectual circles of Vienna and a member of the elite, his body was appropriated and exhibited in the Imperial Natural History Museum after his death in 1796. Josefine Soliman protested against this desecration on all levels.¹⁷

The ethnological museum in Vienna, whose collections were part of the Natural History Museum until 1928, and which became the *Weltmuseum* (World Museum) in 2017, has long been a focus of critique. Probably the longest standing demand for restitution in the Austrian context concerns a featherwork crown, a *quetzalapanecáyotl*, known as *Penacho de Moctezuma* (Moctezuma’s headdress). It is claimed to be the headdress of Moctezuma II,

(unpublished dissertation: University of Vienna, 2014).

¹³ These include, among others, M-Media, an association for the advancement of intercultural media relations; maiz, an independent organisation by and for migrant women; Pamoja, movement of the young African diaspora in Austria; Schwarze Frauen Community; Afro Rainbow Austria; Black Voices Volksbegehren; the collective Trenzta; SADOCC, Southern Africa Documentation and Cooperation Centre.

¹⁴ <http://www.meinjulius.at/>; Jeff Bowersox, ‘Racism in a beer logo (2012)’, <https://blackcentraleurope.com/sources/1989-today/racism-in-a-beer-logo-2012/> (both accessed 29 June 2021).

¹⁵ Claudia Unterweger, *Talking Back: Strategien Schwarzer österreichischer Geschichtsschreibung* (Vienna: Zaglossus, 2016).

¹⁶ <https://remapping-mozart.trafo-k.at/htm/main/einleitung2/index-en.htm> (accessed 29 June 2021).

¹⁷ Irene Wigger and Spencer Hadley, ‘Angelo Soliman; desecrated bodies and the spectre of Enlightenment racism’, *Race & Class* 62:2 (2020): 80-107.

Aztec emperor at the time of Spanish conquest. Its presence in Habsburg collections has been documented since the late 16th century.¹⁸ Restitution demands have been articulated for decades, by activists and politicians, and were recently renewed by the Mexican president.¹⁹ While the former Austrian minister of education, science and culture, Elisabeth Gehrler, once infamously responded to such claims by stating: “If we began [restituting everything] – what would Austrians exhibit then? Cow bells?”,²⁰ the official reason for denying the return of the crown has since become its fragile condition.

Another well known case of restitution demands concerns the Benin bronzes, which were looted from the Benin kingdom by British soldiers in 1897. To decide over the handling of the *Weltmuseum*'s substantial holdings of these famous plaques and sculptures, an international collaboration between the National Commission for Museums and Monuments in Nigeria and various museums internationally, which still keep the loot in their possession, the Benin Dialogue Group, was started in the early 2000s.²¹ In the early 2020s, criticism of the group's apparent aim to loan rather than retribute the bronzes to Nigeria gained immense momentum.²² Belinda Kazeem-Kaminski analysed the Viennese approach towards Nigeria at

¹⁸ Gottfried Fliedl, „...Das Opfer von ein paar Federn“: Die sogenannte Federkrone Montezumas als Objekt nationaler und musealer Begehrlichkeiten (Vienna: Turia + Kant, 2001); Khadija von Zinnenburg Carroll, *Mit fremden Federn: Quetzalapanecáyotl – Ein Restitutionsfall* (Vienna: Madelbaum, 2021); Jennifer Ponce de León, ‘Through an Anticolonial Looking Glass: On Restitution, Indigenismo, and Zapatista Solidarity in Raiders of the Lost Crown’, *American Quarterly* 70:1 (2018): 1-24.

¹⁹ Marta Rodriguez Martinez, ‘Mexico's first lady embarks on 'impossible' mission in Austria to retrieve headdress of Aztec king’, Euro News, published 14 October 2020, <https://www.euronews.com/2020/10/14/mexico-s-first-lady-embarks-on-impossible-mission-in-austria-to-retrieve-headdress-of-azte> (accessed 30 June 2021).

²⁰ Thomas Trenkler, ‘Die Kuhglocke als Alternative: Unterrichtsministerin Elisabeth Gehrler über Federkronen und Bauchläden’, interview in *Der Standard*, republished on Museum Denken, <https://www.museumdenken.eu/post/restitution> (accessed 30 June 2021); my translation.

²¹ ‘Participation in the Benin Dialogue’, *Weltmuseum Wien*, <https://www.weltmuseumwien.at/en/science-research/participation-in-the-benin-dialogue/>; ‘Press Statement: Benin Dialogue Group Steering Committee 24.3.2021’, <https://markk-hamburg.de/files/media/2021/03/Press-Statement-24.3.21.pdf> (both accessed 30 June 2021).

²² Many scholars, activists and artists have demanded the return of the bronzes for decades, such as Peju Layiwola (<https://www.pejulayiwola.com>, accessed 30 June 2021). Recently, Dan Hicks’ book *The British Museums: The Benin Bronzes, Colonial Violence and Cultural Restitution* (London: Pluto Press, 2020) has become the centre of attention.

the occasion of the exhibition ‘Benin – Kings and Rituals: Court Arts from Nigeria’, shown at what was then still called *Völkerkundemuseum Wien* in 2007, as neocolonial discourse of ‘those who possess’.²³ Many were expecting the Viennese position on restitution to change, following the appointment of Jonathan Fine as new director of the *Weltmuseum Wien* in March 2021.²⁴

Although parts of the collections held in Viennese museums have thereby been given much attention in international debates around the return and restitution of cultural artefacts, Austria’s post-colonial history and present is still barely discussed. The *Weltmuseum* itself tried to contribute to changing this deficiency by dedicating one room of their renovated and restructured exhibition spaces to Austria’s involvement in the colonial project. Since 2017, visitors now get told that the

notion that Austria does not have a colonial past has long been considered obsolete. The country benefitted from the European expansion and was part of the colonial system. Although Austria did not have any significant overseas colonies despite its multiple attempts, it was heavily involved in the colonial project and kept toying with the idea of owning land outside Europe time and again. Parts of our collections stand testament that both the Habsburg Monarchy and individual Austrians were implicated in European colonialism through political alliances, trade interests, missionary work, or allegedly scientific expeditions. Austria’s overseas experiences and related material legacy not only shaped colonial perceptions of the world but also continue to have an effect to this day.²⁵

²³ Belinda Kazeem, ‘Die Zukunft der Besitzenden. Oder fortwährende Verstrickungen in neokoloniale Argumentationsmuster’, in *Das Unbehagen im Museum: Postkoloniale Museologien*, ed. by Schnittpunkt (Vienna: Turia + Kant, 2009), 43-59.

²⁴ ‘Jonathan Fine wird neuer Chef im Weltmuseum Wien’, *Wiener Zeitung*, published 31 March 2021, <https://www.wienerzeitung.at/nachrichten/kultur/kunst/2098646-Jonathan-Fine-wird-neuer-Chef-im-Weltmuseum-Wien.html> (accessed 30 June 2021).

²⁵ Introduction to a timeline in the room ‘Im Schatten des Kolonialismus/In the Shadow of Colonialism’, which is part of the permanent exhibition of the renovated *Weltmuseum Wien*, which opened with a spectacular show by performers from all over the world, curated by André Heller, on Austrian National Day in 2017. It is debatable in how far this insight is sufficiently reflected in the rest of the exhibition. Nadja Haumberger, who was appointed interim curator of the Africa collection south of the Sahara in 2015, has been especially active in trying to forge more transparency and collaboration in the handling of the collections.

Christian Kravagna, among others, has questioned the potential of the desire to reform ethnological museums such as the *Weltmuseum Wien*:

Ethnological museums are historical products of colonial violence. This violence carries the name of the sjambok and the napalm bomb, of slavery and forced labour, of dispossession and the destruction of economic structures, of genocide and concentration camps, of sexual violence, of the commodification of people, of religious, cultural and epistemological violence against the colonised.²⁶

Kravagna argues for the notion of an ‘impossible colonial museum’, not as institution but as process, in which the articulation of conflicts, arguments, schizophrenic tensions and critical epistemological work might nurture something like a decolonisation of the museum into a format whose nature we don’t yet know.²⁷

In reaction to the explosion of international debates around colonialism and the restitution of cultural artefacts, in which the publication of Bénédicte Savoy and Felwine Sarr’s *The Restitution of African Cultural Heritage: Toward a New Relational Ethics* in November 2018²⁸ acted as catalyst, the governing coalition of the Green Party and the People’s Party in Austria declared that it would support provenance research into collections from colonial contexts and research into the handling of human remains in collections.²⁹ The Office of the Federal Chancellor funded a symposium on the ‘Museum in colonial context’³⁰ in 2019 and several institutions received (small) extra funds to conduct provenance research into their

²⁶ Christian Kravagna, ‘Vom ethnologischen Museum zum *unmöglichen* Kolonialmuseum’, *Zeitschrift für Kulturwissenschaften* (2015): 95-100, here 95; my translation.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 100; my translation.

²⁸ Bénédicte Savoy and Felwine Sarr, *The Restitution of African Cultural Heritage: Toward a New Relational Ethics*, published November 2018, http://restitutionreport2018.com/sarr_savoy_en.pdf (accessed 30 June 2021).

²⁹ ‘Regierungsprogramm 2020-2024’, Bundesministerium Kunst, Kultur, öffentlicher Dienst, <https://www.bmkoes.gv.at/Ministerium/Regierungsprogramm.html>; Sophie Schasiépen, ‘Koloniale Provenienzen und Grenzregime’, MALMOE 91, published 6 March 2020, <https://www.malmoe.org/2020/03/06/koloniale-provenienzen-und-grenzregime/> (both accessed 30 June 2021).

³⁰ ‘Das Museum im kolonialen Kontext: Österreichische Bundesmuseen und Erwerbungen im 19. Und 20. Jahrhundert’, 17 October 2019, <http://icom-oesterreich.at/kalender/das-museum-im-kolonialen-kontext> (accessed 30 June 2021).

collections. In 2021, it was not clear what further actions the government was willing to take, while the initiative ‘Black Voices Volksbegehren’ and the Open Society-funded ‘Project 3RRR – Restitution, Rehabilitation and Reconciliation’ organised panel discussions regarding collections from colonial contexts in Austrian museums and have thereby been trying to foster awareness about these issues in public discourse.³¹

Regarding the handling of human remains in collections, Margit Berner, Annette Hoffmann and Britta Lange’s publication *Sensible Sammlungen* (sensitive collections) made an important contribution to the debates in Austria by thoroughly analysing case studies of both colonial and national socialist appropriation and research practices conducted by Austrian and German scholars.³² Between 2016 and 2019, the collaborative artistic research project *Dead Images: Facing the History, Ethics and Politics of European Skull Collections* critically addressed ethical questions around a cabinet with more than 8 000 skulls in the Natural History Museum in Vienna.³³ The interviews with international actors in the repatriation field as well as curators and staff from the Natural History Museum in Vienna are exceptional documents of ongoing negotiations between often contradictory positions of the interviewees regarding rightful ownership, continued research and return of human remains from colonial contexts. The former director of the museum, Christian Koeberl, stated:

Of course there were lots of things that were done one hundred, two hundred years ago, that, with today’s standards, I consider it unethical, but those people back then did not consider it unethical or it was even encouraged. ... So, to say that I have to give back everything that is in our collections to a country of origin to me defeats the purpose of having a museum in the first place. ... So it is a very anthropocentric view and sometimes I think people are very selfish about these things, that they don’t want

³¹ ‘Programm: Black History Month’, Black Voices Volksbegehren, published 1 February 2021, <https://blackvoices.at/pogramm-black-history-month/>; ‘Project 3RRR – Restitution, Rehabilitation and Reconciliation (2021)’, https://www.afrieurotext.at/?page_id=5140 (both accessed 30 June 2021).

³² Margit Berner et al., *Sensible Sammlungen. Aus dem anthropologischen Depot* (Hamburg: Philo Fine Arts, 2011).

³³ ‘Exhibition and Conference: Dead Images: Facing the History, Ethics and Politics of European Skull Collections’, CARMAH, http://www.carmah.berlin/events/dead_images/ (accessed 30 June 2021).

to share culture and history and biology with the rest of the world.³⁴

Te Herekiele Herewini, manager in the repatriation team of the Te Papa Tongarewa / Museum of New Zealand, took a different view on the question of ownership of human remains:

At the end of the day, these ancestors were living human beings just like us and so the ownership – there was no ownership of them. So, even though they may be overseas, I don't believe the overseas institutions owned them. They still have a cultural connection, a physical connection, an ancestral connection with their communities of origin.³⁵

These statements show how much work is still to be done if one wanted to attempt to reconcile such diametrically opposed positions. Since the 1960s and 1970s, indigenous people worldwide have publicly demanded the return of the physical remains of their ancestors from academic and museum collections.³⁶ At the core of the negotiations initiated by this repatriation movement are questions about the (il)legality of the appropriation of the remains, the usefulness of scientific research on them, the authority over a respectful treatment of the deceased, and continuing global social, political, and economic inequalities. The debates are part of broader efforts for decolonisation and the right for cultural, social and political self-determination of indigenous people.³⁷

Internationally, museums and institutions holding collections of human remains have defended their right to access and often denied demands for returns. Like Koeberl, museum

³⁴ 'Return', Dead Images Project Videos, youtube, published 27 May 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G9Wjimh9-sA> (accessed 30 June 2021).

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Jane Hubert and Cressida Fforde, 'Introduction: the reburial issue in the twenty-first century', in *The Dead and their Possessions: The repatriation in principle, policy and practice*, ed. by Cressida Fforde et al. (Routledge: London, 2002), 1-16, here 1.

³⁷ See, for example: Devon A. Mihesuah (ed.), *Repatriation reader: Who owns American Indian remains?* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000); Paul Turnbull and Michael Pickering (eds.), *The Long Way Home: The Meaning and Values of Repatriation* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2010).

officials emphasised their obligation to conserve their collections, while scholars stressed the scientific relevance of further investigations in the remains and the necessity to keep them accessible for the international scientific community.³⁸ From that perspective, bones are presented as an archive of the development of humanity, which needs to be preserved for (future generations of) scientists.³⁹ Critics of this scientific protectionism stress the continued relevance of the initial motivation of those who collected the remains. They argue that the interest in racial science, which led to the establishment of such collections, cannot be separated from the use of the collections today. Research conducted on remains collected under such circumstances would ultimately face the problem of reproducing racial classifications.⁴⁰

Up until today, human remains from colonial contexts in Austrian collections were returned to the countries they had been taken from on five different occasions. The first documented return took place in 1985, when the ethnological museum in Vienna gave back a mummy to the Māori of New Zealand, that had been stolen by Andreas Reischek at the end of the 19th century. In 2009, the Natural History Museum in Vienna gave back the remains of 17 people to Australia. In 2011 the remains of further 31 people were given back to Australia.⁴¹ Another return took place in 2015, when the *Weltmuseum Wien* gave back another mummy and some more human remains to the Māori, all of which had also been stolen by Andreas Reischek.⁴²

³⁸ Tiffany Jenkins, *Contesting Human Remains in Museum Collections: The Crisis of Cultural Authority* (New York/London: Routledge, 2011), 33-45.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 40.

⁴⁰ Ciraj Rassool, 'Human Remains: Disciplines of the Dead and the South African Memorial Complex', in: *The Politics of Heritage in Africa: Economies, Histories, Infrastructures*, ed. by D.R. Petersen et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 133-56.

⁴¹ Estella Weiss-Krejci, 'Abschied aus dem Knochenkabinett' in *Sammeln, Erforschen, Zurückgeben? Menschliche Gebeine aus der Kolonialzeit in akademischen und musealen Sammlungen*, ed. by Holger Stoecker et al. (Berlin: Ch. Links 2013), 447-476; Maria Teschler-Nicola, 'Das forMUSE-Projekt und die Beforschung und Restitution überseeischer menschlicher Skelettreste in Wiener Sammlungen', in *Sammeln, Erforschen, Zurückgeben?*, ed. by H. Stoecker et al., 259-278.

⁴² 'Return of ancestral remains welcomed', Beehive, published 26 Mat 2015, <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/return-ancestral-remains-welcomed> (accessed 30 June 2021).

Arguably the most prominent case internationally was the repatriation of the remains of Klaas and Trooi Pienaar to South Africa in 2012.⁴³

Remarkably, the Austrian anthropologist Rudolf Pöch (1870-1921) featured in two of these returns, the one in 2011 and the one in 2012. Pöch had appropriated the human remains on two longer research expeditions, one to New Guinea and Australia from 1904 to 1906 and one to southern Africa from 1907 to 1909. When he was appointed lecturer for anthropology and ethnography at the University of Vienna in 1910, the human remains were transformed into the first ‘anthropological teaching and research collection’ at the university. In 1919, Pöch was appointed as the first professor for anthropology and ethnography in Austria. The ‘collection’ of human remains, most of which were considered to be his private property, was a crucial argument for his appointment. The remains were used for research purposes at the University of Vienna until 2016, with researchers often relying on Pöch’s information for the contextualisation of the remains.⁴⁴ Out of the remains of more than one hundred people that Pöch appropriated in southern Africa, only the remains of Klaas and Trooi Pienaar have been returned so far. In their case, Ciraj Rassool and the late Martin Legassick could prove that their exhumation had been illegal even at the time.⁴⁵ Further returns have long been planned but have not yet been realised.⁴⁶

Pöch’s expedition to southern Africa and the resulting establishment of an ‘anthropological teaching and research collection’ with the human remains that he appropriated are the focus

⁴³ Ciraj Rassool, ‘Re-storing the Skeletons of Empire: Return, Reburial and Rehumanisation in Southern Africa’, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 41:3, (2015): 653-670.

⁴⁴ See, for example, Julia März, *Association of Pelvic Shape, Body Height, and Head Circumference in Khoisans* (unpublished MA thesis: University of Vienna, 2016).

⁴⁵ Martin Legassick and Ciraj Rassool, *Skeletons in the Cupboard. South African museums and the trade in human remains 1907-1917* (South African Museum, Cape Town and McGregor Museum, Kimberley, 2000).

⁴⁶ ‘Debatte über Menschenknochen an Uni Wien’, science.orf.at, published 9 May 2017, <https://science.orf.at/v2/stories/2842058/> (accessed 30 June 2021).

of this thesis. I trace the social, political and epistemological preconditions for the realisation of the expedition and the integration of human remains of the colonised into a university collection in Vienna. In so doing, I situate Pösch's expedition to southern Africa in longer histories of colonialism, the history of science and the very peculiar socio-political situation in the Habsburg empire. By starting my analysis with the 'prehistory' of the establishment of anthropological studies in the monarchy, I hope to contribute to a better understanding of the specificities in which racialised and ethnographic conceptions of belonging played out in the multi-ethnic empire. These processes of distinction and hierarchisation *within* show the pervasiveness of a colonialist, racialised and ethnographic understanding of humanity at the time. I also show that the methods of appropriation and research that Pösch applied during his expeditions relied on earlier anatomical traditions in Vienna. However, as I try to emphasise, the appropriations of human remains during Pösch's expeditions were significantly marked by a discourse of extinction that was specific to the situation in the colonies and corresponded with the genocidal practices of the settlers and colonial governments. I detail the violent methods and the wide-ranging support from military, government and settlers with which Pösch realised these appropriations. It is this kind of violence that allowed for the establishment of the first chair for anthropology and ethnography in Austria, founded on the basis of the bodily remains of the colonised.

In delineating these histories, I am hoping to contribute not only to a critical re-evaluation of the history of physical anthropology in Austria but also to broader debates around the legacies of racial science, the meaning of 'collections' from colonial contexts, questions of ownership and return, and Austria's position in them. Throughout the thesis, I try to show how the human remains used for racial science have served not only as means for the production of knowledge, but also for the production of capital, both of a symbolic and social

kind. In many ways, this capital is racial and I try to detail its racial character from different angles in every chapter. The thesis is thereby also a contribution to the study of ‘racial capitalism’, a concept used both by Cedric Robinson and Neville Alexander. In the words of Sylvia Wynter, ‘race’ as a ‘genetic status-organising principle’ “lies in the founding premise, on which our present order of knowledge or *episteme* and its rigorously elaborated disciplinary paradigms, are based.”⁴⁷ As I argue, human remains appropriated for racial science must be analysed as key elements in the production of this ‘genetic status-organising principle.’ It is through them that scholars tried to evidence the very idea of physical difference on which this organising principle is based. Using Pösch’s expeditions and the ‘anthropological teaching and research collection’ of human remains at the University of Vienna as example, I try to situate the violent appropriation of human remains for racial science in colonial contexts, their usage by scholars for the construction of a racialised, hierarchical order of humanity and the (critical) analysis of these histories in a broader debate about ongoing racialised forms of exploitation.



UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

⁴⁷ Sylvia Wynter, “No Humans Involved”: An Open Letter to my Colleagues’, *Forum N.H.I.: Knowledge for the 21st Century* 1;1 (1994): 1-17, here 3.

PART I

PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY IN THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE



UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

Chapter One: Proto-anthropological Research and State-building Processes

At the time of Pöch's expedition, it was not clear which methods should be applied for the study of mankind and for what purpose. Conflicting conceptions of the origin and evolution of humanity, of how to account for the differences of the contemporary population of the world, were being debated. Internationally, anthropology was not yet fully established as an academic discipline, and it certainly had no academic representation in Austria-Hungary.

Throughout the 19th century, research of a proto-anthropological kind¹ was conducted mostly by zoologists, anatomists, philologists, geographers, missionaries and laymen, like travellers and colonial officials.² Slowly, and partly through the formation of associations for scientists and laymen alike, physical anthropology and ethnography gained ground as institutionalised research fields.³ In 1906, when Pöch started negotiating his expedition to conduct “ethnographic and physical anthropological studies of the bushmen”⁴ with the Imperial Academy of Sciences in Vienna, several associations and institutions in Vienna contributed to the development of anthropological discourses in Austria, often with intersecting membership and staff, cutting through different disciplines.

¹ For the purpose of this study, I refer to such research as ‘proto-anthropological’ that was conducted prior to the establishment of anthropological studies as academic disciplines. As should become evident, this does not imply that I consider such research as not relevant for the history of physical anthropology and ethnography as academic disciplines.

² Laura Franey, ‘Ethnographic Collecting and Travel: Blurring Boundaries, Forming a Discipline’, *Victorian Literature and Culture* 29:1 (2001): 219-239.

³ George W. Stocking, ‘Essays on Museums and Material Culture’, in *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture*, ed. by ibid. (London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 3-14, here 7.

⁴ Letter Pöch to the presidium of the Academy of Sciences (renewed subsidy application), Vienna, 25 Oct. 1906, AOeAW, subsidies, box 3, No. 862/1906; my translation. The German term *Buschmann* has been used as a derogatory term only, which is why I do not use it. The English term, however, is also used as self-identification today. I have refrained from ‘translating’ the term Bushmen into the academically more common term San or Khoesan because I believe that such a translation would in actual fact also be a repetition of the violence of racial categorisation: Pöch and his contemporaries based their categorisations on notions of racial types that did not represent the realities of the people they framed in such a way. The category of the Bushman as used by them was a fiction and I don't see a possibility to correct this retrospectively. Although it has been suggested to use the term bushmen without capitalising the first letter in order to indicate that it is a category of representation, I have decided to use a capital letter in order to indicate that it is a social category.

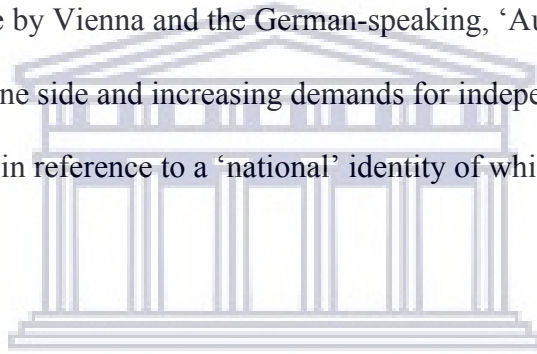
I want to attend here to the ‘pre-history’ of these formations, to trace the interrelatedness of aristocracy, state formation, governmental bureaucracy, processes of quantification and scientisation of society and cultural and political struggles for hegemony. This includes the very peculiar tensions caused by desires for nationalisation within the multi-ethnic Austro-Hungarian empire and those scholarly practices which sought to measure the human body in order to enable and manifest its classification in different ‘races’, ‘peoples’ and ‘tribes’. This history is not only a history of travellers, scholars, missionaries and colonisers setting out to find, invent and describe a ‘non-European Other’. The ‘entangled histories’ of the globe in this phase of intensified colonisation become remarkably evident in this ‘conglomeration of nations’⁵ that constituted Austria-Hungary and its predecessors. Albeit not having succeeded in occupying overseas colonies, colonial discourse and practices are ingrained in the monarchy’s politics, intellectual and cultural life, in the social relations of its citizens. I focus this tracing of the establishment of physical anthropology as an academic discipline on Vienna, as the capital of ‘Cisleithania’, the ‘Austrian’ part of the empire, and the place in which Rudolf Pöch was appointed to a full professorship for *Anthropologie* and *Ethnographie* in 1919.

The Habsburg monarchy was a territory in movement. Austrian history books struggle to define what it is that they refer to as ‘Austrian’⁶ and it is a dissatisfying endeavour to settle

⁵ Friedrich Hegel, qt. in Marianne Klemun, ‘National ‘Consensus’ As Culture and Practice: The Geological Survey in Vienna and the Habsburg Empire (1849–1867)’, in *The nationalization of scientific knowledge in the Habsburg Empire, 1848-1918*, ed. by Mitchell G. Ash and Jan Surman (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 83-101, here 84.

⁶ See, for example, different attempts to demarcate the spatial dimension of a historicised Austria that Thomas Winkelbauer compiled for the introduction to a recent publication on the history of Austria. Arno Strohmeier argues for a multi-perspective approach and territorial pluralism that takes into account Eastern and Central Europe as much as the dynasty’s lineages in Spain and overseas, Alois Niederstätter suggests to focus on today’s territory of Austria and expand only where necessary. Winkelbauer stresses that it is impossible to write a national history of Austria from the middle ages until today. Only after 1945, the idea of a specifically ‘Austrian’ nation gained currency. As late as 1956, a survey resulted in only 49% of the respondents feeling that Austria was a nation on its own. (Thomas Winkelbauer, ‘Einleitung: Was heißt ‘Österreich’ und ‘österreichische Geschichte’?’, in *Geschichte Österreichs*, ed. by ibid. (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2015), 15-31, here 29-31).

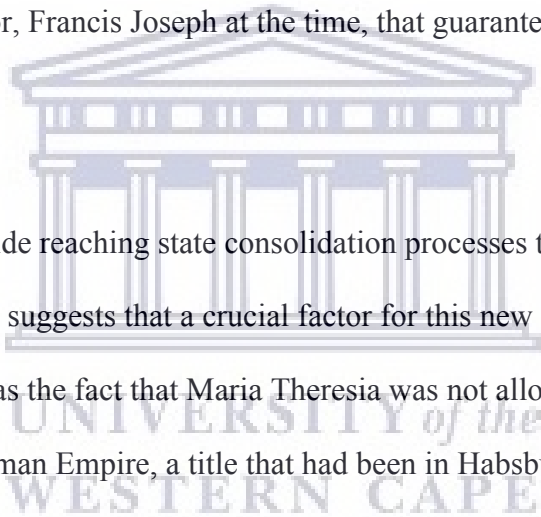
for names for the various configurations of empire it evolved out of. It was comprised of different federal states and kingdoms, with varying political structures. In terms of its territorial expansion, by the time of Pöch's expedition, it stretched from Tyrol, neighbouring with Switzerland and Italy in the west, Dalmatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina in the south, Galicia, Bukovina and Transylvania, neighbouring with Russia and Romania in the east, and Bohemia, sharing borders with the German Empire in the north. The question of naming is no superficial one. Throughout the 19th century, rhetorics of nation and empire were articulated from different positionalities, having different meanings, demands and desires attached to them. Historical narratives commonly describe these processes as counter-plays between claims for hegemony made by Vienna and the German-speaking, 'Austrian' aristocracy and emerging bourgeoisie on one side and increasing demands for independence made in the crown lands, often framed in reference to a 'national' identity of which the full meaning was very undefined.



Historically, the empire grew out of the house of Habsburg, a dynasty that had progressively expanded its influence, at times through strategic marriages. That the 'Habsburg Empire' began to denote a (political) territory rather than a dynastic reign was born out of a dilemma; the male lineage of the Habsburgs was about to die out. In the so-called Pragmatic Sanction of 1713, Charles VI made provisions for his children to take over his throne after his death, even if no male heirs existed.⁷ The document not only determined the succession, it also declared the Habsburg hereditary possessions indivisible. Through intense negotiations and compromises with other European powers, Charles VI plotted to secure his daughter Maria-

⁷ The Pragmatic Sanction was based on a decree that the father of Charles VI, Leopold, already issued in 1703, allowing, in face of a lack of male grandchildren, a female inheritance of the throne and prohibiting the partition of the lands (Pieter M. Judson, *The Habsburg Empire: A New History* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2016), Chapter 1, Sex and the Empire).

Theresia's rule over the empire.⁸ When he died in 1740, she became the first and only female ruler of the Habsburg dominions. Despite her father's bargainings, Maria-Theresia had to defend her lands against immediate attacks from neighbours, Prussia and Bavaria. Only with the help of the Hungarian nobility could she fight back against the invasions but she still lost large parts of the economically exceptionally strong Silesia to Prussia. Maria-Theresia's concessions and indebtedness towards Hungary deepened its exceptional status within the empire. After their conquest of Hungary from the Ottoman Empire, the Habsburgs' attempts of fiscal, administrative and judicial control over their lands were least successful in the Magyar territory.⁹ In 1867, Hungary was the first and only part of the empire to reach a settlement with the emperor, Francis Joseph at the time, that guaranteed it an independent constitution.



Maria Theresa initiated wide reaching state consolidation processes that her son Joseph II continued. Brigitte Mazohl suggests that a crucial factor for this new governing approach for the Habsburg monarchy was the fact that Maria Theresa was not allowed to follow her father as empress of the Holy Roman Empire, a title that had been in Habsburgs' hands since the mid-fifteenth century, rendering the Habsburg dominions as just one part of a bigger whole. Only five years later, in 1745, Maria Theresa's husband Francis I brought that crown back to Vienna. This period of 'interregnum' was crucial for the development of an understanding of the Habsburg monarchy as a territory on its own.¹⁰ In the terms of Michel Foucault, Maria Theresa's reforms can be framed as both expression and facilitation of a biopolitical shift in government. I will briefly discuss some of the ways in which the Empire attempted to exert

⁸ Thomas Winkelbauer, 'Die Habsburgermonarchie vom Tod Maximilian I. bis zum Aussterben der Habsburger in männlicher Linie (1519-1740)', in *Geschichte Österreichs*, 159-289, here 192-195.

⁹ Officially, the War of the Austrian Succession ended in 1748 (Pieter Judson, *The Habsburg Empire: A New History*, Chapter 1, Sex and the Empire).

¹⁰ Brigitte Mazohl, 'Vom Tod Karls VI. bis zum Wiener Kongress (1740-1815)', in *Geschichte Österreichs*, 290-385, here 290.

“a positive influence on life, that endeavors to administer, optimize, and multiply it, subjecting it to precise controls and comprehensive regulations.”¹¹ As will become clearer throughout this and the next sections, these reforms were necessary pre-conditions for the evolution of physical anthropological studies in the Habsburg Empire.

Maria Theresia and her son Joseph II cut down the influence of local elites and the church in favour of a centralised state apparatus. These measures left their mark on people’s self-understanding. They essentially laid the foundations for implementing democratic structures and the consolidation of a transformation from feudalism to capitalism. Traditional ways of stratification, like the peasants’ serfdom to their landlords and guild restrictions in the manufactural sector, were removed progressively and replaced with more liberal economic policies and state jurisdiction to enable higher economic productivity and more state control.¹² The strategic development of different markets within the empire followed a colonial logic in the division of labour. While certain areas were advanced as producers of raw materials, in others manufacturing and industrialisation were promoted. According to Fichtner,

Theresan cameralism ... looked upon the Habsburg holdings as a kind of inner-European colonial empire, self-sufficient enough to free the government from dependence on outside suppliers. The western areas of the empire were to house the empire’s industrial base for which the eastern lands would serve as a kind of agricultural hinterland.¹³

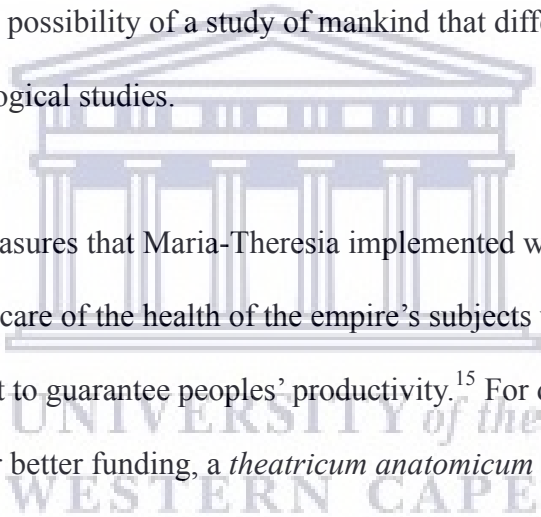
Maria Theresia introduced, at least in theory, obligatory school education for both sexes between the ages of six and twelve throughout the monarchy, and started a wider reformation and secularisation of the education system that Joseph II continued. Traditionally, teaching in

¹¹ Michel Foucault, ‘Right of Death and Power over Life’, in *Biopolitics: A Reader*, ed. by Timothy Campbell and Adam Sitze (London: Duke University Press, 2013), 41-60, here 42.

¹² Paula Sutter Fichtner, *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1490-1848* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 67-86.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 71.

the Habsburgs' lands was in the hands of the Jesuits. From 1616 they prescribed university curricula, and they dominated primary and secondary education. Until 1778, non-Catholics were not even allowed to obtain academic degrees. Both Maria-Theresia and Joseph II still relied on the clergy to provide teachers, especially in the countryside, but increased the state's influence on curricula. While Maria-Theresia's antisemitism is well known and led to the expulsion of all Jews from Prague in 1744, under Joseph II, the Jewish population of the Habsburg territory was progressively granted more access to urban centres, professions and education, although they were still far from being treated as equal to Christians.¹⁴ Although Christian influence on education stayed strong, these secularisation processes were a necessary condition for the possibility of a study of mankind that differed from the genesis, such as physical anthropological studies.



Among the first reform measures that Maria-Theresia implemented was a restructuring of medical education. Taking care of the health of the empire's subjects was increasingly seen as a duty of the state, not least to guarantee peoples' productivity.¹⁵ For decades, the medical faculty had been asking for better funding, a *theatrum anatomicum* and the foundation of a botanical garden to improve the teaching situation, all of which was now granted. In contrast to practices in other European regions, Vienna also allowed the anatomical dissection of people who had died in hospital for teaching purposes, not only those who had been executed. The supply of corpses from people who had been executed were not sufficient for the approximately five bodies that were dissected for teaching every year.¹⁶ Maria-Theresia also allowed for bodies of women who had died in St. Marx hospital, a hospital that treated

¹⁴ Pieter Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*, Chapter 2, Reform.

¹⁵ Sonia Horn, "...ein wohl auffgerichtetes theatrum anatomicum." Anatomischer Unterricht für nichtakademische Heilkundige an der Wiener Medizinischen Fakultät im 18. Jahrhundert', in *Anatomie: Sektionen einer medizinischen Wissenschaft im 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Jürgen Helm and Karin Stukenbrock (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2003), 189-212, here 189; 196.

¹⁶ Sonia Horn, "...ein wohl auffgerichtetes theatrum anatomicum", 208 f.

pregnant, often single women, people with venereal diseases and mentally ill, to be sent to the surgeon who trained midwives and their assistants.¹⁷ Anatomical studies and especially the dissection of the body were fundamental pillars in the development of physical anthropology. In 1784, Joseph II founded the General Hospital in Vienna, portrayed as the largest medical institution in Europe at the time.¹⁸

Joseph II also restructured the theological training and put it under state control. His educational aim, however, was not so much a humanistic ideal of enlightening his people. Instead, education was seen as a means to raise diligent, loyal and dutiful servants of the state. Teachers were instructed to stick strictly to the content of the textbooks and had to expect punishment if they transgressed.¹⁹ However, Joseph loosened censorship regulations, thereby facilitating more scholarly publications and allowing pamphlets and periodicals to be distributed that were critical of government and court, enabling broader political debate and making it accessible to a wider public. A massive growth of state administrative structures also went with an

absolute and a proportional increase in the numbers of non-noble men who served at the higher levels of the bureaucratic service ... , a bureaucrat's success depended increasingly on proof of his individual merit.²⁰

In that respect, bureaucratisation allowed for social mobility. Anthropological and ethnographic studies undertaken within the empire later played a crucial role in working out new social orders in this transforming society.

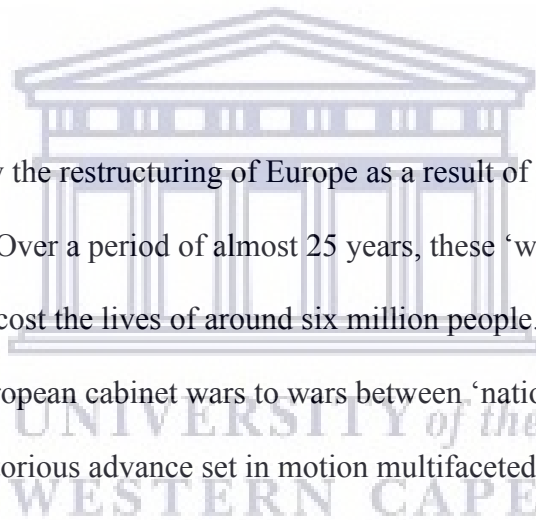
¹⁷ Tatjana Buklijas, 'Cultures of Death and Politics of Corpse Supply: Anatomy in Vienna, 1848–1914', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 82:3 (Fall 2008): 570-607, here 579.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Peter Stachel, 'Das österreichische Bildungssystem zwischen 1749 und 1918', in *Geschichte der österreichischen Humanwissenschaften, Band I: Historischer Kontext, wissenschaftssoziologische Befunde und methodologische Voraussetzungen*, ed. by Karl Acham (Vienna: Passagen Verlag, 1999), 115-146, here 116-126.

²⁰ Pieter Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*, Chapter 2, Servants of Society.

Under the reign of Maria Theresia and Joseph II, Vienna got its first natural history collections and a menagerie. Initiated and paid for by Francis I, the collections became state property at the time of his death in 1765 and were made publicly accessible, even if restricted.²¹ Francis I brought a renown botanist, Nikolaus Joseph von Jacquin, to Vienna, who introduced the Linnaean taxonomy in Austria. He also organised a long expedition to the Americas and left a decisive mark on the development of scientific studies.²² Joseph II later opened the menagerie and two parks, the *Augarten* and the *Prater* for the general public.²³ It is in this period that ideas corresponding with enlightenment ideals, and an understanding of the citizen as active participant in the construction of a nation state, made their first entry in the Habsburg monarchy.



The decades thereafter saw the restructuring of Europe as a result of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. Over a period of almost 25 years, these ‘world wars’, as they were called by contemporaries, cost the lives of around six million people. This period reflected a structural change from European cabinet wars to wars between ‘nations’.²⁴ Within the monarchy, Napoleon’s victorious advance set in motion multifaceted and partly contradictory movements. First and foremost, the Habsburgs tried to fight back. To ensure the support of their own people, Joseph II’s successors, Leopold II (1790-1792) and Francis II (1792-1835), made considerable concessions to local elites. Leopold II took back labour reforms and taxation systems and even restored serfdom in Galicia.²⁵ Francis II put an end to the state

²¹ Maria Teschler-Nicola, ‘Geschichte der physischen Anthropologie am Naturhistorischen Museum Wien’, in *Mensch(en) werden* ed. by ibid. and Katarina Matiassek (Vienna: Natural History Museum, 2016), 10-23, here 11.

²² Brigitte Mazohl, ‘Vom Tod Karls VI. bis zum Wiener Kongress’, 349.

²³ Paula Sutter Fichtner, *The Habsburg Monarchy*, 83; Oliver Lehmann, ‘Die Geschichte’, in *Tiergarten Schönbrunn: Mythos und Wirklichkeit*, ed. by Dagmar Schratter (Vienna: Christian Brandstätter), 22-48, here 31.

²⁴ Brigitte Mazohl, ‘Vom Tod Karls VI. bis zum Wiener Kongress’, 309.

²⁵ Paula Sutter Fichtner, *The Habsburg Monarchy*, 92.

commission that had overseen church policy and behaviour. Conscription processes that had been centralised under Maria-Theresia were delegated back to local elites to strengthen local support of the wars. Militia songs were translated to Czech, Polish and further local languages to nurture commitment to the cause.²⁶ Supporting local pride and public welfare programmes was seen as tools to enhance loyalty to the Austrian emperor. Government funded periodicals made suggestions for local cultural programmes, local nobilities ventured into founding provincial and national museums and funded research into local languages.²⁷ Under Francis' rule and against the backdrop of the Napoleonic threat, a new tradition of history writing and politics was consolidated in the empire. According to Fichtner,

[G]overnment officials and like-minded Austrian writers and thinkers ... embarked on a campaign to reconfigure the Habsburgs as the spearhead of a Germany rededicated to past values.²⁸

The government made use of newspapers, journals and sponsored literature “to burnish the image of the dynasty.”²⁹ “[T]he novel and the newspaper”, Benedict Anderson pointed out, “provided the technical means for ‘re-presenting’ the *kind* of imagined community that is the nation”³⁰. It also did so, in our case, for the empire. Anderson referenced the House of Habsburg as a poignant and almost comical example of a dynasty’s heterogeneous territories, and therefore a precursory and converse form of the nation-state. But one might situate the later Habsburg Monarchy as a political configuration that, albeit still a heterogeneous empire, attempted to apply measures of unification similar to parallel nation-building processes in nearby domains.

²⁶ Ibid., 104.

²⁷ Ibid., 105.

²⁸ Ibid., 103.

²⁹ Ibid., 117.

³⁰ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (Verso: London, 1991), 25.

Against Napoleon's victories, the Habsburgs lost considerable ground in their influence on European politics and ruined their finances. Between 1801 and 1803, a 'territorial revolution' of the Holy Roman Empire was agreed upon in which the Habsburgs had little say. The diverse entities of the old empire were restructured and transformed into secular states.³¹ In 1806, the *Rheinbund* alliance under Napoleon's leadership gave a final blow to the collapse of the Holy Roman Empire.³² Remarkably, that very same year, the Viennese court made a costly investment by purchasing collections that had been appropriated on expeditions led by James Cook. The imperial collections in Vienna also appointed a new director, Carl Schreiber, who re-organised the mineral, plant and animal collections and started an ethnographic display.

What had become the Austrian empire in 1804 became bankrupt in 1811. However, towards the end of the wars, the monarchy managed to restore some of its pre-war influence, mainly through the diplomatic strategies of one of the central figures of Francis's regime, Prince of Metternich-Winneburg zu Bellstein, who acted as foreign minister from 1809 and as Chancellor from 1821. At the Congress of Vienna in 1815, a post-Napoleonic Europe was established which saw the founding of the German Confederation, presided over by the Austrian emperor, and the establishment of Germany as federal state. Shortly after, Russia, Prussia and Austria entered a Holy Alliance to prevent future revolutions and secure European peace on the basis of Christian principles. With the exceptions of England and the Papal States, all European powers joined the treaty.³³

³¹ Brigitte Mazohl, 'Vom Tod Karls VI. bis zum Wiener Kongress', 314.

³² *Ibid.*, 330.

³³ *Ibid.*, 320 f.

The Austrian empire positioned itself at the forefront of a counter-revolutionary Europe. For Francis and Metternich, this also meant the continued surveillance of the empire's subjects, even if, as Pieter Judson pointed out, they lacked financial means to enact their police state as thoroughly as it has often been portrayed.³⁴ Earlier in his reign, Francis already empowered the police and enforced surveillance of his subjects, to extinguish revolutionary currents. Suspects were arrested, some were executed, masonic lodges were closed and strict censorship was enacted in public life, including arts and culture.³⁵ With the Carlsbad Decrees in 1819, freedom of speech was further restricted, the press was submitted to censorship, fraternities were forbidden, universities were put under surveillance and sports fields, as potential sites of student unrest, were closed down.³⁶

Yet, Francis' rule also saw the conclusion of a more than 50 years-long process that established common private law in the whole Austrian monarchy, with the exception of Hungary, which maintained its own state law.³⁷ With the General Civil Law Code in 1811 (*Allgemeines Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch*, AGB), in contrast to the measurements which reintroduced privileges for local elites, the state implemented unified and direct rule over its people. Subjects became citizens and belonged to the empire as a whole, rather than to their individual region: "An individual earns the full enjoyment of his rights through his citizenship in the state."³⁸ These individual rights, however, were contradicted by persisting feudal structures in the public sphere. These continued to empower local elites to exercise control in ways not unlike earlier serfdom structures. The Austrian empire remained as far

³⁴ Pieter Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*, Chapter 3, Policing and Censorship.

³⁵ Paula Sutter Fichtner, *The Habsburg Monarchy*, 97 f.

³⁶ Brigitte Mazohl, 'Die Zeit zwischen dem Wiener Kongress und den Revolutionen von 1848/49', in *Geschichte Österreichs*, 359-390, here 367 f.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 361.

³⁸ Allgemeines Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch 1811 qt. in Pieter Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*, Chapter 2, Introduction.

from being a unified political structure as it was from consisting of one ‘Austrian’ people. It is in the context of these paradoxical developments — the French revolution and counter-revolutionary campaigning and military recruitment, the fostering of local cultural practices to enhance loyalty for an ‘Austrian’ emperor, the strengthening of local elites and their feudal control while introducing individual citizens’ rights — that new national movements and demands began to arise in the empire, supported by an emerging discipline, history.³⁹

Questions around the building of ‘a nation’ or nations within the empire first peaked in the revolutionary years of 1848/49. However, there were no homogeneous groups in the different entities demanding their right to national independence from the empire. Judson suggests three major revolutionary movements: those of noble elites who wanted more power against the bureaucratic state, sometimes demanding full independence, those of people in the cities who demanded a constitutional empire, therefore a participation of society in the decision-making processes of the imperial bureaucratic state and those of peasants in the countryside who continued their battles against agrarian feudalism and their local landlords, also often counting on the empire to improve their situation.⁴⁰ These complex power structures were not the only reason that the notion of ‘a people’ and ‘a nation’ lacked a defined meaning. None of the different ‘people’ actually held a majority within the empire. On the contrary, those who claimed hegemony, the ‘Germans’, were a minority of 23% of the overall population. Equally, within the different states and kingdoms, different ‘peoples’ lived together.⁴¹ Pieter Judson illustrates some of the questions at stake when people in the Austrian empire demanded national representation:

Was there an Austrian nation? Or did a nation encompass the inhabitants of a specific historic territory such as Bohemia or Styria or the Kingdom of Hungary? Or did some

³⁹ Brigitte Mazohl, ‘Die Zeit zwischen dem Wiener Kongress’, 361-363.

⁴⁰ Pieter Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*, Chapter 4, Introduction.

⁴¹ Brigitte Mazohl, ‘Die Zeit zwischen dem Wiener Kongress’, 364.

kind of common linguistic heritage that crossed traditional crownland borders define nationhood? Did Czech-speakers in Bohemia, for example, constitute a single nation with Czech-speakers in Moravia and Silesia? Or did historic Bohemia and Moravia constitute separate nations? Was it possible for a single person to belong to more than one nation? Or was membership in a nation exclusive in nature? Were relations among nations to be fraternal in character, as many nationalists presumed in the first weeks of revolutionary exuberance, or did nationalist claims rest on a zero-sum game that inevitably pitted nations against each other for access to state resources or territorial claims? Above all, how should individual nations relate to Austria, the imperial fatherland?⁴²

On top of these complicated relations within the empire, foreign politics also played into the unfolding battles for a constitutional state and the representation of its peoples. Individual groups were supported by neighbouring countries or bigger powers on the continent, like Serbs and Ukrainians by Russia. No matter how undefined the meaning of it was, in 1848 and 1849 respectively, the different peoples of the empire were granted political rights and equality. However, unresolved structural problems made these promises factor into a sharpening of antagonisms between different interest groups, rather than appeasing the situation.⁴³ Conflicts between different groups within the empire were also enhanced by a discourse of people with and without history and culture. While Germans, Italians and Hungarians were perceived as nations with a long-standing history and culture, Slavic people were seen as in need of civilising missions, especially by German Austrians.⁴⁴ From 1848, members of the German confederation were debating in parliament in Frankfurt if and in which way a unified German nation should be founded. German nationalists in the Habsburg empire vouched for a unification, while Slavs and other groups favoured developing alternative concepts.⁴⁵

⁴² Pieter Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*, Chapter 4, A Disquieting Prelude in Galicia.

⁴³ Brigitte Mazohl, 'Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918', in *Geschichte Österreichs*, 391-476, here 394-397.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 396.

⁴⁵ Pieter Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*, Chapter 4, Springtime of the Peoples?

Although already in 1848 the Emperor promised civil liberties, an end of censorship and a new government, it took almost twenty years to actually issue a constitution. Struggles over a number of questions occurred, including who was going to be allowed to vote, who had a right for representation in the Imperial Assembly, which languages were spoken in political debates. Changing bourgeois-liberal governments negotiated these first constitutional experiments and the restructuring of the Habsburg monarchy into Austria-Hungary in 1867.⁴⁶ Only as part of these negotiations could liberals also achieve a curtailing of the Concordat with Rome, that the neo-absolutist regime had renewed in 1855 and which had revived, amongst other privileges, the church's influence on education within the empire.⁴⁷

So when, in 1870, the *Anthropologische Gesellschaft Wien* (Anthropological Society, AGW) was founded in Vienna, the 'Austrian' part of Austria-Hungary had only just been transformed into a constitutional monarchy. Part of the newly achieved liberties was a more liberal law regulating the founding of associations. Throughout the first part of the 19th century, associations were seen as potential revolutionary threats and were therefore generally forbidden or thoroughly surveilled. After the revolutions, quite restrictive regulations were issued in 1852 and later attempts to issue a new law for associations were either ignored or delayed by the government. The main point of conflict was the fact that political associations remained forbidden, while the law also left undefined the question of what was and what was not a political association.

When yet another application to form a workers' association was declined in 1867, a public debate ensued. Various petitions were issued from other workers' associations, demanding

⁴⁶ Brigitte Mazohl, 'Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918', 400.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 412.

that government change its policies. Remarkably, the associations framed their demands in a self-disciplinary manner, situating workers associations as crucial means to educate the worker, to liberate him from “physical and mental rawness” and ultimately to enable him to generate more productivity.⁴⁸ A similar argument was brought forward by the chamber of commerce, which saw the possibility of forming associations to lower financial risks as necessary for the Austrian-Hungarian economic development, with the lack thereof seen as a major obstacle for the empire’s competitiveness.⁴⁹

The establishment of anthropological studies in Austria must be understood as part of these fundamental restructuring and ‘nation-building’ processes within the empire. Prior to Pöch’s teaching at the university of Vienna, the founding of the *Anthropologische Gesellschaft Wien* and the establishment of a department for anthropology, ethnography and pre-history at the Imperial Museum of Natural History (1876) signaled the institutionalisation of anthropological studies in the city that was home to the empire’s governing body.

Anthropological interests, especially in the beginnings, were dominated by research about the Austro-Hungarian empire, albeit aspirations to study people outside of Europe and a desire for overseas colonies were part of their coming-into-being.

The initiative for constituting an Austrian Anthropological Society came from a group of geologists, among them Ferdinand von Andrian-Warburg, Franz von Hauer and the mineralogist Wilhelm Haidinger.⁵⁰ They were members of the *k. k. Geographische*

⁴⁸ Hans Peter Hye, ‘Zur Liberalisierung des Vereinsrechtes in Österreich. Die Entwicklung des Vereinsgesetzes von 1867’, *Zeitschrift für Neuere Rechtsgeschichte* 14 (1992): 191-216, here 203.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 201 f.

⁵⁰ Christian Feest, ‘The Origins of Professional Anthropology in Vienna’, in: *Kulturwissenschaften im Vielvölkerstaat. Zur Geschichte der Ethnologie und verwandter Gebiete in Österreich ca. 1780 bis 1918*, ed. by Britta Rupp-Eisenreich and Justin Stagl (Vienna: Böhlau 1995), 113-131, here 119; Irene Ranzmaier, *Die Anthropologische Gesellschaft in Wien und die akademische Etablierung anthropologischer Disziplinen an der Universität Wien 1870-1930* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2013), 41.

Gesellschaft (Imperial Geographical Society), founded in 1856. Members of the Geographic Society soon also conducted proto-anthropological studies within and outside of the Habsburg Empire⁵¹, their main research areas being the Alpine region, the Balkan and Orient, the polar regions and Africa.⁵²

Some of these studies were funded by the Imperial Academy of Sciences in Vienna, which later also funded Pöch's expedition to southern Africa. After decades of failed attempts by different initiatives, the Association of Friends of Science (*Vereinigung der Freunde der Naturwissenschaft*, 1845) succeeded in pushing for the establishment of an Austrian Academy of Sciences in 1846/47.⁵³ This was not only late in international comparison, but also occurred subsequent to the establishment of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest in 1845.⁵⁴ The first president of the Viennese Academy of Sciences was Joseph Hammer-Purgstall, a renowned orientalist and historian. He had led one of the previous initiatives for the establishment of such an institution,⁵⁵ and was also one of the founding members of the Geographical Society. From 1861-1913, the Geographical Society's office and library were housed in the main building of the Academy of Sciences.⁵⁶

⁵¹ Christian Feest, 'The Origins of Professional Anthropology in Vienna', 115 f.

⁵² Ingrid Kretschmer, '150 Jahre Österreichische Geographische Gesellschaft und ihre Vorgänger', in *Das Jubiläum der ÖGG: 150 Jahre (1856-2006)*, ed. by ibid. (Vienna: Österreichische Geographische Gesellschaft, 2007), 25-38, here 31. For their "jubilee-excursion" in 2007, the members of the Austrian Geographical Society decided to travel to southern Africa, a destination which is reduced to the code "Africa" (in parenthesis) throughout the report on it in their anniversary publication. They reason this decision with the Society's tradition of grand expeditions to the African continent (Heinz Neissl, 'Die Jubiläumsexkursion: Große Auslandsexkursion der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft "Südliches Afrika"', in *Das Jubiläum der ÖGG*, 217-21).

⁵³ Richard Meister, *Geschichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien 1847-1947*, Denkschriften der Gesamtkademie 1 (Vienna: Holzhausen, 1947), 12-23.

⁵⁴ Mitchell G. Ash and Jan Surman, 'The Nationalization of Scientific Knowledge in Nineteenth-Century Central Europe: An Introduction', in *The nationalization of scientific knowledge*, 1-29, here 10.

⁵⁵ Werner Telesko, 'The Academy of Sciences – the development of an Austrian research institution', in *The Austrian Academy of Sciences: The Building and its History*. ed. by Herbert Karner et al. (Vienna: Academy of Sciences, 2007), 54-60, here 55.

⁵⁶ Elisabeth Lichtenberger, 'Grußworte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Anmerkungen zur Beziehungsgeschichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften mit der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft', in *Das Jubiläum der ÖGG*, 19-21, here 20.

The Geographical Society had close ties to the Imperial Geological Institute, which was established through a transformation of the Imperial Montaneistic Museum, where Wilhelm Haidinger gave lectures for higher-ranking mining staff. In 1849, in a post-revolutionary restructuring, the museum was moved from the auspices of the Imperial Chamber of Coining and Mining to the Imperial Ministry of Agriculture and Mining.⁵⁷ Wilhelm Haidinger's brother-in-law, who owned mines and knew of "the relevance of the new discipline of geology to coal-mining as well as to the iron and steel industry"⁵⁸ served as minister of this imperial ministry. He agreed to Haidinger's plans of turning the institution into a centre for the production of systematic geological knowledge about all Habsburg territories. Coordinated from Vienna and working with scholars from different regions, the first comprehensive geological survey of the empire was completed in 1867.

Mapping the territory was a fundamental aspect in the consolidation of European nation-states, with the British empire being the first European country to establish a geological institute in 1835.⁵⁹ Just as in all other fields, in the Habsburg empire, these territorial nationalisation processes were complicated because of its specific political structure. The geological survey that was started in Vienna in 1849 followed "the paradigm of treating all lands of the Monarchy as scientifically equal" and "was supposed to contribute to the reconciliation of different powers and nations."⁶⁰ However, Marianne Klemun claims that

Vienna, being the centre, benefited by receiving information from all parts of the Empire and that this concentration of information also became the basis of [the Germans'] continued self-confidence.⁶¹

⁵⁷ Christian Feest, 'The Origins of Professional Anthropology in Vienna', 115.

⁵⁸ Marianne Klemun, 'National 'Consensus'', 87.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 85.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 84.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 88.

The tension of wanting to unify the empire while positioning Vienna as center of a German-speaking hegemonic culture lies at the core of all major Austrian scientific projects in the second half of the 19th century. It also is a crucial aspect in the development of Austrian anthropological studies.

In addition to its geography, the population of the empire was also evaluated to improve governability. Between 1855 and 1857, Karl Freiherr von Czoernig's *Ethnographie der oesterreichischen Monarchie* (Ethnography of the Austrian monarchy) was published in three volumes. Czoernig aimed to depict different ethnic affinities within different crown lands, not least to work against growing national movements of the post-1848 era. As head of the Imperial and Royal Bureau of Statistics, Czoernig wanted to show the very 'mixed' realities of the different regions and wanted his map to serve as a visualisation of the unique conviviality within the empire. As Pamela Ballinger put it, the work set an example for "using ethnographic work as a political instrument of (re)conciliation."⁶² After collecting and processing statistical data about the empire's population for 14 years, the Bureau identified 137 peoples and 22 linguistic categories. The 'mix', however, as Brigitte Fuchs maintained, did not allow for individuals to have more than one clearly defined national identity. It was individuals belonging to different ethnic groups living next to each other, not persons belonging to several groups at the same time, that made the 'mixture'.⁶³

The mapping of the empire was still ongoing, when one of the most prominent military, scientific and colonialist endeavours of the Habsburg Monarchy was brought under way: the

⁶² Pamela Ballinger, 'Multiculturalism against the State: Lessons from Istria', in *Understanding Multiculturalism: The Habsburg Central European Experience* ed. by Johannes Feichtinger and Gary B. Cohen (New York: Berghahn Books, 2014), 101-21, here 106.

⁶³ Brigitte Fuchs, „Rasse“, „Volk“, *Geschlecht. Anthropologische Diskurse in Österreich 1850-1960* (Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 2003), 153.

Novara expedition of 1857-59, the first circumnavigation of the world accomplished by the Austrian Navy. While it was the official mission of the expedition to expand scientific knowledge, to represent the imperial flag around the world and to further trade interests,⁶⁴ archduke Ferdinand Maximilian, who initiated the project, was also hoping to use the circumnavigation for turning the Nicobar Islands into an Austrian colony.⁶⁵ The Nicobar Islands, a group of small islands in the Bay of Bengal, were temporarily occupied in the name of the Habsburg Empire at the end of the 18th century.

At that time, William Bolts, who previously worked for the British East India Company, but was expelled from India for his private trade activities, was granted permission to establish a second Austrian East India Company under Maria Theresia. In the course of installing new trading posts, he and his employees occupied territory at Delagoa Bay, today Mozambique, and the Nicobar Islands. Enslaved people were left to farm the soil and prepare for a future establishment of colonies. However, both endeavours were soon terminated by other European powers, the Portuguese intervening in Mozambique and the Danish on the Nicobar Islands.⁶⁶ Ferdinand Maximilian, who was appointed commander-in-chief of the Imperial Navy in 1854, wished to do better at a second attempt of occupation. Part of a lobby for the acquisition of colonial territory for Austria overseas, he convinced his brother, Emperor Francis Joseph, not only to fund the circumnavigation, but also secretly to investigate the

⁶⁴ Ibid., 123.

⁶⁵ David G.L. Weiss and Gerd Schilddorfer, *Die Novara. Österreichs Traum von der Weltmacht* (Vienna: Almathea Signum, 2010), 98.

⁶⁶ Stefan Meisterle, *Von Coblön bis Delagoa: Die kolonialen Aktivitäten der Habsburgermonarchie in Ostindien* (unpublished dissertation: University of Vienna, 2014).

legitimacy of Denmark's claims on the Nicobar Islands.⁶⁷ Plans existed to have the actual colonisation be performed by prisoners deported from Austria-Hungary.⁶⁸

The circumnavigation was preceded, accompanied and followed by substantial publicity work. Karl Scherzer, who was trained as a typesetter but who built reputation by extensive travels with the German naturalist Moritz Wagner in the Americas, was appointed head of the scientific commission travelling with the *Novara*.⁶⁹ He published a popular report on the expedition and edited a multi-volume scientific report, which was published by the Austrian Academy of Sciences. The latter's exceedingly high costs were paid for by Emperor Francis Joseph.⁷⁰ Scherzer's popular account was soon translated into English and Italian and, with five different succeeding editions and more than 30 000 copies, became an unexpected success and the second most sold popular scientific book in the German-speaking areas, after Alexander von Humboldt's *Kosmos*.⁷¹ Scherzer's account is filled with patriotic emphasis, situating the project firmly in a broader German national vision.

The *Novara* expedition has been described as the "founding moment" of anthropological collections in Austria.⁷² To aid the success of the scientific mission of this expedition, the Academy of Sciences asked all its members, among them renowned naturalists like

⁶⁷ Ferdinand Maximilian to Emperor Francis Joseph, ÖstA/Haus-, Hof- u. Staats Archiv, I. N°29S/I resp. 18S6 14/XI, qt. in David G.L. Weiss and Gerd Schilddorfer, *Die Novara*, 98. However, mainly due to political and economic developments in Austria-Hungary, a second attempt of occupying the islands was never made. (Walter Sauer, 'Schwarz-Gelb in Afrika. Habsburgermonarchie und koloniale Frage', in k. u. k. *kolonial. Habsburgermonarchie und europäische Herrschaft in Afrika* ed. by. *ibid.* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2002), 17-78, here 50).

⁶⁸ Brigitte Fuchs, „Rasse“, „Volk“, *Geschlecht*, 138.

⁶⁹ Christian Feest, 'The Origins of Professional Anthropology in Vienna', 116 f.

⁷⁰ Thomas Theye, "Mathematische Racenmasken": Vermessen und Abbilden auf der Erdumsegelung der Fregatte "Novara" in den Jahren 1857-1859', in *Österreicher in der Südsee: Forscher, Reisende, Auswanderer*, ed. by Hermann Mückler (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2012), 73-109, here 95.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 94.

⁷² Maria Teschler-Nicola, '„...der Barbar in der farbigen Hautdecke" – Anthropologische Objekt- und Datenakquisition im Rahmen der Novara Forschungsreise 1857-1859', *MAGW* 136/137 (2006/2007): 41-65, here 64.

Alexander von Humboldt, and several Austrian associations, like the Geological Institute, the Zoological-Botanical Association and the Association of Medical Doctors for advice to compile a booklet with instructions.⁷³ The accumulation of ‘material’ for future studies was understood as most urgent duty of the expedition. Remarkably, neither ethnography nor anthropology made it into the table of contents, which was divided in sections for ‘botany’, ‘zoology’, ‘geology, meteorology, physics and chemistry’ and lastly ‘linguistics, history and archaeology’.⁷⁴ Within the last part, it was recommended that members of the expedition collected as many language directories of little or unknown languages as possible. One also finds some surprisingly specific wishes for material culture from China, the Japanese island Yesso and the Russian island Sakhalin as well as for Chinese and Japanese books.⁷⁵

Early on in that section the authors mentioned that “in the interest of ethnography”, they joined the request of the mathematical-scientific commission that stereoscopic pictures may be taken of “racial figures”.⁷⁶ Another two paragraphs concerning anthropology were hidden in the mammals section:

If it was possible to come into property of skulls of different human races, which will be object to great difficulties at least in all places where there are no hospitals, then the gentlemen scientists are encouraged to collect of all races whatever may be possible for them. Specifically desired would be skulls of the Criquas, Behuanas and Kaffir from the Cape, the Papua and Alfurus from the islands of the Pacific Ocean, the mixed-bloods [*Mischlinge*] (mestizos, mulattos, creole, quadroon, etc.), the indigenous tribes of Indians of South America, the Hindus (not Malay), the Siamese and Japanese (not Chinese), as well as tattooed heads including hair, of New

⁷³ Maria Teschler-Nicola, ‘Objektakquisition’, 45; Brigitte Fuchs, „Rasse“, „Volk“, *Geschlecht. Anthropologische Diskurse in Österreich 1850-1960* (Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 2003), 137.

⁷⁴ *Bemerkungen und Anweisungen für die Naturforscher, welche die Expedition von Sr. k. k. apost. Maj. Fregatte ‘Novara’ unter dem Commando des Herrn Obersten Bernhard v. Wüllerstorff-Urbair, begleiten* (Vienna: k. k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1857).

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 127-140.

⁷⁶ “Die Commission schliesst sich im Interesse der Ethnographie einem in der mathematisch-naturwissenschaftlichen Classe geäusserten Wunsche nach stereoskopisch aufgenommenen Racengestalten an, enthält sich jedoch jeder weitem Bemerkung über diesen eigentlich in den Ressort der mathematisch-naturwissenschaftlichen Classe fallenden Gegenstand.” *Bemerkungen und Anmerkungen*, 117; my translation.

Zealanders, skulls of the old Peruvians, natural mummies etc.⁷⁷

Amongst countless further collections, the scholars travelling on board of the Novara brought the remains of 103 individuals to Vienna.⁷⁸ They also took anthropometric measurements from indigenous people of the places they visited, often using prisons and hospitals for their purposes.⁷⁹ In his popular account of the circumnavigation, Scherzer painted the acquisition of collections less as endeavour of long lasting investigation, but rather of social networking. He wrote about the expedition's stay in Cape Town:

Favoured by introductions to the most eminent men of science, who received us in the most friendly way, we succeeded, in the course of a few weeks, in acquiring rich and valuable scientific collections, and forming important connections for the future supply of our museums. A most cordial reception was accorded us by Mr. Julius Mosenthal, the Austrian Consul, and the head of one of the leading mercantile firms of the colony. In his hospitable house, German music and German song made us entirely forget that we were sojourning thousands of miles from home at the southernmost point of Africa.⁸⁰

It was through a visit in a prison, that the commission was introduced to indigenous people of southern Africa.⁸¹ Five inmates were taken on board the Novara to work, two of whom managed to get away in New Zealand, while three became sailors in the Austrian Navy.⁸² As early as 1857, the Novara members sent remains of people labelled as Bushmen to Austria that were then displayed in the halls of the Academy of Sciences.⁸³

⁷⁷ Ibid., 58; my translation.

⁷⁸ Maria Teschler-Nicola, 'Objektakquisition', 44.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 'Objektakquisition', 59; Weiss and Schilddorfer, *Novara*, 190.

⁸⁰ Karl Scherzer, *Narrative of the Circumnavigation of the Globe by the Austrian Frigate Novara, (Commodore B. von Wüllerstorff-Urbair), Undertaken by Order of the Imperial Government, in the years 1857-1859* (London: Saunders, Otley, 1861-63), 202. The German version of this last sentence is slightly different and could be translated as following: "made us entirely forget that we were in the land of panthers and hyenas, that we were at the southernmost tip of Africa!" (Karl Scherzer, *Reise der oesterreichischen Fregatte Novara um die Erde, in den Jahren 1857, 1858, 1859 unter den Befehlen des Commodore B. von Wüllerstorff-Urbair*, Wien 1861, qt. in Weiss and Schilddorfer, *Novara*, 159).

⁸¹ Karl Scherzer, *Narrative of the Circumnavigation*, 209-13.

⁸² Ibid., 211.

⁸³ Brigitte Fuchs, 'Bushmen in Hick Town': The Austrian Empire and the Study of the Khoesan', *Austrian Studies* 20 (2012), 43-59, here 51.

Shortly after the return of the expedition, in 1860, there was an exhibition held at the *Alte Börse* (old stock exchange) in Trieste. Trieste, one of the two harbours in the Habsburg empire's territory, was also a development project of Ferdinand Maximilian and the colonial lobby, given that Triestine ship owners were quite invested in the idea of overseas colonies, for obvious reasons.⁸⁴ In 1856, Maximilian started the construction of Castle Miramar by Trieste, his future residency and site for his collections. It was he who decided that only the anthropological and ethnographic collections of the Novara should be on display in Trieste, arguing that these were the ones that would generate most interest among the general public, due to their direct relation to the human. Centrally located in the exhibition, a pyramid of human skulls was erected, meant to illustrate the hierarchies between different 'races'. About 10 000 visitors came to see the exhibition within eight weeks. Shortly thereafter, when the collections were also on display in Vienna, interest was similarly high.⁸⁵

Even before the popular account of the expedition, Karl Scherzer and Eduard Schwarz, a medical doctor, published a scheme that they developed and deployed for their measurements of living people during the expedition. According to Maria Teschler-Nicola, their article '*Über Körpermessungen, als Behelf zur Diagnostik von Menschenrassen*' (1859) was one of the earliest attempts to standardise racial research.⁸⁶ After a short time, in 1862, it was

⁸⁴ Johann Wagner, *Österreichische Kolonialversuche in der zweiten Hälfte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (unpublished dissertation: University of Vienna, 1955), 7-9.

⁸⁵ Maria Teschler-Nicola, 'Geschichte der physischen Anthropologie', 15. The critical scrutiny which the expedition has been awarded with by recent scholarship does not prevent affirmative recourse to it. Even the Worldmuseum Vienna features the Novara in its promotional video produced for the museum's re-opening in 2017. In it, one can see the frigate sailing on an animated world map. At every harbour it stops at, future collection items are already awaiting it, later magically re-appearing next to Castle Miramar, without any further interaction displayed in the meantime. (Weltmuseum Wien, 'Weltmuseum Wien Animationsfilm', youtube, published 16 March 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mTAx2s8UwW0> (accessed 15 June 2018)).

⁸⁶ Teschler-Nicola, 'Objektakquisition', 63; Karl Scherzer and Eduard Schwarz, 'Über Körpermessungen, als Behelf zur Diagnostik von Menschenrassen', *Mitteilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft* 3 (1859):11-31. It is indicative of the central role the Geographical Society played for anthropological studies in Austria before the establishment of the Anthropological Society, that their results were published in the Geographical Society's journal.

published in English, under the title ‘A system of anthropometrical investigations as a means for the differential diagnosis of human races’.⁸⁷ Scherzer and Schwarz wanted to improve what they considered to be up to then a vague and unstable basis for the categorisation of humans. Their approach was based on calculating an average type of a given ‘race’, aiming to deduce laws from a wide range of empirical data. Adolph Quetelet, a Belgian astronomer and statistician, who “laid the foundations of the quantitative paradigm in the social sciences”,⁸⁸ and Alexander von Humboldt were their references for assuming average measurements to be an expression of physical laws, a means to disclose stability in the change and ephemerality of different appearances.⁸⁹ Once these laws could be established, one would come closer to the natural order of things, to the original types of beings. Their mistrust in individual appearances manifested itself in their rejection of photographic representations. Instead, they opted for geometric drawings as illustrations for different types they claimed to have found. A contemporary reviewer called these “mathematical race masks”.⁹⁰ The schematic drawings could be put on transparent paper; layered upon each other, they were thought to depict images of average types. This method was similar to Francis Galton’s ‘composite images’ that he later proposed for the determination of ‘criminal types’, although Galton, unlike Scherzer and Schwarz, used photographic images.⁹¹

The anthropological part of the actual scientific report of the circumnavigation consisted of three contributions, two of which were dedicated to measurements of human remains and the body and one to ethnography. Given the importance of the expedition for scientific developments in Austria in general, and the anthropological disciplines more specifically,

⁸⁷ Eduard Schwarz, *Novara Expedition: Anthropology. A system of anthropometrical investigations as a means for the differential diagnosis of human races* (Vienna: Imperial Court and Government Printing Office, 1862).

⁸⁸ Allan Sekula, ‘The Body and the Archive’, *October* 39 (1986): 3-64, here 19.

⁸⁹ Thomas Theye, “Mathematische Racenmasken“, 80 f.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 83-86.

⁹¹ Allan Sekula, ‘The Body and the Archive’, here 40-54.

these texts form part of the founding moments in Austrian anthropology. They also showed a shift in perception concerning the relevance of anthropological studies in the mid-19th century. Despite the comparatively minor relevance given to anthropology and ethnography in the instructions for the expedition, the section of the 21 volume publication dedicated to these emergent disciplines was the second largest after zoology. All three contributors show different conceptions of the aims and methods of anthropological and ethnographic studies, of how they are defined and how they relate to each other. I want to highlight their central arguments here, to indicate some of the ideological and methodological issues in the field at the time.

Emil Zuckerkandl, an anatomist who later was one of Pöch's teachers and a supporter of his expedition to southern Africa, was in charge of measuring the skulls which had been brought by the Novara scholars. Craniology, for him, was significant for *ethnographers*,⁹² a field that he situated within the broader project of anthropological scholarship. He was appointed to write the craniological part of the report after another scholar, Franz Romeo Seligman, founder of the chair for history of medicine at the University of Vienna, had failed to accomplish this task for more than 12 years.⁹³ The time pressure under which Zuckerkandl then produced the volume may not only explain why he chose to compile only the most "essential proportions", as he stated in his introduction.⁹⁴ It may also have been a factor for him to be the only one of the three authors who was little concerned with using his text for general declarations about the mission of anthropological studies as a whole. However, in regard to methodology, he made some pronounced remarks. Considering the poor and

⁹² Emil Zuckerkandl, 'Cranien der Novara-Sammlung', in *Reise der österreichischen Fregatte Novara um die Erde in den Jahren 1857, 1858, 1859 unter den Befehlen des Commodore B. von Wüllerstorff-Urbair*, Anthropologischer Theil: Erste Abtheilung (Vienna: K. und K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1875), II, 68.

⁹³ Teschler-Nicola, 'Objektakquisition', 50; 54.

⁹⁴ Emil Zuckerkandl, 'Cranien der Novara-Sammlung', I; my translation.

comparatively small sample available for his study, he opted to *avoid* calculations of average values and instead stuck to close descriptions of the skulls. He amended these with crania of the anatomical museum at the University of Vienna and previously published material by other scholars, to verify the “authenticity” of the crania from the Novara collection. In comparison to the other two authors, his tone was certainly the most matter-of-fact. His concern was with different anatomical phenomena that he wished to understand globally. The ways in which he drew comparisons between European and non-European peoples implies an understanding of shared humanity. However, ultimately, he was concerned with the search for a ‘type’ and sought to sort out any ‘abnormalities’ during his examination, before then making conclusions about the physiological condition of what he, too, conceptualised as different, hierarchically structured ‘races’⁹⁵, that is “lower”/“uncivilised” and “civilised”. The concluding remarks of his contribution were dedicated to cranial sutures. He stressed that there was no reason to presume that the process of cranial development of “civilised” and “uncivilised” races differed in any substantial manner.⁹⁶

After Eduard Schwarz’s death in 1862, Augustin Weisbach was chosen to write up the section on body measurements. Weisbach served as regimental doctor for the imperial army from 1860 and in this occupation collected body measurements of recruits. He had a particular interest in the physiology of “German females” (*Deutsche Weiber*) and collected human crania.⁹⁷ For the Novara publication, he drew not only on the data that Schwarz and Scherzer had gathered, but also on his own measurements within the Austrian-Hungarian empire. His section on “Europeans” was divided in “1. German men, 2. German females, 3. Slavs, 4. Romans” and thereby indicated a clear desire to distinguish different ‘races’ within Austria-

⁹⁵ Ibid. II.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 116.

⁹⁷ Brigitte Fuchs, „Rasse“, „Volk“, *Geschlecht*, 141 f.

Hungary, with a particular focus on defining “German” features. Brigitte Fuchs understands Weisbach’s work as giving a “scientific basis for an Austrian inner colonialism through which the ‘peoples’ of Austria-Hungary were framed within a universalist ideology of race and gender.”⁹⁸

Where Zuckerkandl decided against statistics (and stuck to morphology),⁹⁹ Weisbach employed them to the fullest. Although he too cautioned against the pitfalls of the small sample, he saw the mission of comparative anthropology, and therefore the mission of his study, in the establishment of average types of different ‘races’, based on as much anthropometric data as possible.¹⁰⁰ At the heart of his project lay the question of which out of all the different peoples (*Völker*, which is understood as a subcategory of ‘races’), mentioned in his study represented the lowest stage and if they occupied a lower stage of the human appearance than Europeans. He took as granted that the closer the average body measurement proportions of a given people were to those of Orang Utans, the lower was their stage of humanity. However, he stated, this was a difficult investigation to accomplish. Throughout his examinations, he found that the similarity to apes was by no means concentrated within just one people, but different body parts showed more or less proximity to the ape in all people, “even the Europeans”.¹⁰¹ After having compared statistics between different preconceived groups and given average numbers representing the Orang Utan over almost 300 pages, Weisbach ended on this note, not being able to draw the desired conclusions, in

⁹⁸ Ibid., 139; my translation.

⁹⁹ See also *ibid.*, 141.

¹⁰⁰ Augustin Weisbach, ‘Körpermessungen, an Individuen verschiedener Menschenrassen vorgenommen durch Dr. Karl Scherzer und Dr. Eduard Schwarz’, in *Reise der österreichischen Fregatte Novara um die Erde in den Jahren 1857, 1858, 1859 unter den Befehlen des Commodore B. von Wüllerstorff-Urbair*, Anthropologischer Theil: Zweite Abtheilung, (Vienna: K. und K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1867), 2.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 269; my translation.

fact having implicitly falsified them, but nevertheless not showing any doubt in the legitimacy and urgency of his research question.

Both Weisbach's and Zuckerkandl's contributions included a list of literature but Friedrich Müller's part on ethnography made only scarce references to other authors in footnotes. He based his ideas on notes taken by Karl Scherzer during the Novara expedition, his own correspondence with friendly scholars and missionaries as well as "a series of rare brochures and newspapers, mainly printed in the colonies".¹⁰² Müller started teaching oriental languages and linguistics at the University of Vienna in 1860, where he was awarded a full professorship in 1869.¹⁰³ Being at first only asked to write up the linguistic part of the report and support Scherzer in his drafting of the ethnographic part, Müller was eventually tasked to also write the latter alone. The stated mission of his ethnographic contribution to the Novara publication was in line with his broader vision for ethnography, in which he positioned language as the key determinant for the differentiation of humanity into different peoples. The task of science (*Wissenschaft*), he said, was to observe facts, to find an explanation for them in "simple, general laws of nature" and to then bring these reasoned facts into a "natural order", "a system".¹⁰⁴ Therefore it was the task of ethnography to relate back

the general appearance in language, in the field of the senses and thinking of a people, in its manners and customs, in short in its mental and material culture, to general laws of nature (...) and to then summarise the individual peoples and groups of peoples into a systematic whole.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Friedrich Müller, 'Ethnographie auf Grund des von Dr Karl v. Scherzer gesammelten Materials', in *Reise der österreichischen Fregatte Novara um die Erde in den Jahren 1857, 1858, 1859 unter den Befehlen des Commodore B. von Wüllerstorff-Urbair*, Anthropologischer Theil: Dritte Abtheilung, (Vienna: K. und K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1868), III f; my translation.

¹⁰³ Christian Feest, 'The Origins of Professional Anthropology in Vienna', 118.

¹⁰⁴ Friedrich Müller, 'Ethnographie', VIII; my translation.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid; my translation.

While he saw language determining the mental capacities of humans, it was their physical talents (interestingly he included the external conditions of their existence here), which decided the progress and goals of a culture. Anthropology, in his view, was that science, which was concerned with the human in and of itself, i.e. the analyses of the human as product of nature, not within the cultural context. Müller defined the physical appearance of humans as their “sensual characteristics” and warned against the common practice of taking one single striking feature as determinant of which “type” (for which he suggested to use the “common term race”) they belonged to. Instead, this conclusion should be drawn on the basis of *all* characteristics.¹⁰⁶ It was the task of ethnography to distinguish humans into peoples and that of anthropology to distinguish them into ‘races’.

However, in as much as ‘race’ was a “purely anthropological term”, Müller regarded it as inevitable to use it as basis for the development of his system, in which ‘race’ and language were closely interlinked, language being *determined* by ‘race’. For him, “facts” evidenced clearly that both ‘race’ and culture of different people showed “primordial differences and unalterability”.¹⁰⁷ They were determined by the environment in which humans lived. Müller proposed wild speculations about the effects of different landscapes on physical and mental capacities of humans, singling out six areas on the globe in which civilisation was possible.¹⁰⁸ It was the sixth region, in which “two offsprings of the Indogermanic family, the Germans and the Slavs” developed a new culture, which was “currently the ruler of all humanity”: Europe.¹⁰⁹ Müller’s project was the promotion of Indogermanic languages as the only ones allowing for highest civilisation. His general and pronouncedly judgmental descriptions of what he saw as different peoples of the world do not bear the empiricism he declared to be at

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., IX; my translation.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., XIII; my translation.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., XIV-XVIII.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., ‘Ethnographie’, XVIII; my translation.

the basis of any scientific endeavour. However, remarkably, as Irene Ranzmaier pointed out, the members of the Anthropological Society in Vienna praised Müller's linguistic studies as scientific (*naturwissenschaftlich*).¹¹⁰

Given the evident centrality of human physical appearance and the category 'race' in all contributions to the anthropological part of the scientific report of the Novara circumnavigation, another contribution is of interest for situating the development of physical anthropology in the empire. Before his death, Eduard Schwarz finished his medical part for the publication. Schwarz not only included the scheme for anthropometric measurements in the annexes.¹¹¹ His concluding remarks were an argument for the medical doctor as the better, modern missionary. Showing the "poor missionary" outmost respect for being the trailblazer of civilisation¹¹² amongst what Schwarz considered to be "childish primitive peoples"¹¹³ (*kindliche Naturvölker*), he positioned the medical doctor as "true, first and most desired friend of the savage".¹¹⁴ The "love and devotion of the savage for his benefactor, the medical doctor" were beyond people's imagination.¹¹⁵ Schwarz therefore encouraged travelling doctors to dedicate more effort to filling the gaps of what he saw as the most fundamental knowledge necessary for anthropological studies: the physical appearance of the human.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁰ Irene Ranzmaier, *Die Anthropologische Gesellschaft in Wien*, 34. Christian Feest summarises Müller's ethnographic part in the Novara report as follows and without further comment: "It is indeed also a classification of the peoples of the world by language, race, and culture, and served as the basis from which Müller developed his *Allgemeine Ethnographie* of 1873 (with a substantially revised 2nd edition in 1879). Müller was apparently the first professor at the University of Vienna to include ethnography in his teaching, and he greatly influenced the succeeding first generation of Viennese ethnologists." (Christian Feest, 'The Origins of Professional Anthropology in Vienna', 118).

¹¹¹ Eduard Schwarz, 'Medizinischer Teil: 1. Band', in *Reise der österreichischen Fregatte Novara um die Erde in den Jahren 1857, 1858, 1859 unter den Befehlen des Commodore B. von Wüllerstorff-Urbair*, (Vienna: K. und K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1861), 281-88.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 223; my translation.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 257; my translation.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 225; my translation.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 225; my translation.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 270 f. The myth of an intimate relation between the medical doctor as saviour conquering the hearts of otherwise to illnesses helplessly exposed 'natives' has survived up until today. It has also been used prominently in narrations of Rudolf Pöch's work. (Sophie Schasiengen, *Schreiben über Dr. Rudolf Pöch's Forschungsreisen. Postkoloniale Kritiken und die österreichische Rezeption eines k. u. k. Anthropologen. Eine kritische*

Interconnections of medicine, anatomy, anthropology, nationalism and colonialism manifested themselves in peculiar ways in this mid-19th century homage to the doctor as missionary and collector of human remains and measurements.

Pösch, too, started his career as medical doctor. The next chapter will look into the anatomical origins of anthropological studies within the Habsburg monarchy. Changing perspectives on the body in science led to an increased demand for corpses, body parts and bones. The methods and practices of acquisition and conservation that were developed along the way can be easily recognised as forerunners of Pösch's *modus operandi* during his research expeditions. Proto-anthropological studies in the Habsburg monarchy, as we have seen in this chapter, developed during the mid-19th century. These evolved in a time of major ruptures across the European continent. Questions of governance, of what was 'a people' or 'a nation' were heavily debated. New forms of subjectivities formed and the idea of a 'citizen' with individual rights started to prevail. Although a homogenisation of heterogeneous groups was part of any process of (nation-)state building, the tensions that it produced were specifically stark in the multiethnic Habsburg empire.

Negotiations did not play out as contestations of clearly defined subgroups within the empire and the emerging centralised state apparatus. Loyalties were complicated by both a multiplicity of linguistic and cultural affiliations as well as competing forms of stratification and exploitation. Peasants, as Pieter Judson insisted, saw the court as potential saviour from their subjection to serfdom regimes by their local landlords. A general interest to improve peasants' livelihoods on the side of the state, however, was itself driven by an understanding of these as vital forces for a productive economy. Biopolitical considerations lay also at the

Diskursanalyse, (unpublished Master's thesis: Academy of Fine Arts Vienna, 2013), esp. 113 f.)

heart of the urge to improve health and hygiene of the empire's population. One of the origins of anthropological studies within the monarchy was closely entangled with state-building processes specific to the heterogeneous territory that the empire was composed of. The court had to both create credibility as overall governing body and to allow for identification with separate 'imagined communities' to manage desires for self-determination. Czoernig's identification of different peoples and languages and their statistical assessment was the most prominent early example of this strand.

The acquisition of those collections that became the foundation for physical anthropological examination by scholars living in the empire was conducted within a colonial framework. Although the Habsburg monarchy's attempts to occupy overseas territories can be considered as overall failed endeavours, the first major anthropological research came out of a colonial enterprise, the Novara expedition. The discourses expressed in the publications coming out of this expedition showed different aspects of the emerging discipline. One is an unquestioned belief in the validity of the concept of 'race'. 'Race' therefore, can be clearly situated as an idea antecedent to anthropological studies in the empire. However, the texts also show that there was no common understanding of what this category should determine. While there was a general consensus of having to define 'ideal types' of the various 'races', scholars argued for different ways of accomplishing that aim. Some defended the close study of individual samples as only scientifically legitimate procedure. The majority regarded the amassing of 'research material' and the calculation of an 'average type' as more promising, thereby framing the appropriation of human remains as urgent priority. All these studies were as much concerned with a definition of others as with the self. Yet, a more thorough ethnographisation and anthropologisation of the different people within the Habsburg empire happened a bit later in the second half of the 19th century. This process and its more or less explicit desire to

support the hegemony by the German-affiliated section of the population will be discussed in the third section of this part of the thesis.



Chapter Two: **Anatomical Origins of Physical Anthropology**

Physical anthropology as academic discipline, in its quest to interrogate the origins of humankind, established divisions between different people by means of measuring their outer appearance and skeletons. Fundamental for this dissecting approach was a distinctly anatomical understanding of the human body that slowly began to permeate European societies since the late Middle Ages. In Vienna, anatomical and pathological studies reached international acclaim in the 19th century. Pösch's scholarly foundations, being a medical doctor by training, were marked by these anatomical traditions and practices. I want to introduce some of the main figures here, to show how anatomy and pathology permeated the evolution of anthropological studies in Austria in general. Notably, it was these research fields that saw the establishment of study collections of human body parts as an essential element of teaching and research. The need for bodies for dissection fostered the questionable acquisition methods that people like Pösch later applied in their research in colonial territories.

Less than a decade after the publication of Eduard Schwarz's contribution to the Novara publication, in which he stressed the important role of the medical doctor for the development of physical anthropological research, the founding members of the Anthropological Society in Vienna decided that Carl Rokitansky, a renowned pathologist, would become the society's first president.¹ This could be read as sign that the society wished to focus their work on physical anthropological studies and the links between anthropology and anatomy. However, Rokitansky was also a highly influential figure at the time, whose reputation and network gave the society a potent standing, which might have been the more relevant factor for his appointment. In 1832 and 1834 respectively, Rokitansky became the custodian of the

¹ Christian Feest, 'The Origins of Professional Anthropology in Vienna', 120.

pathological-anatomical museum of the university in Vienna and extraordinary professor of the associated faculty. Rokitansky is considered to be one of the founding fathers of modern pathology. He tied pathological observations to clinical work, systematised findings and worked towards using these for diagnoses on the living.

Prior to his era, pathological observations had not been brought into the service of clinical work, and medical science still operated predominantly speculatively.² Under his influence, the so-called Second Vienna Medical School formed and Vienna became a centre for anatomical studies, attracting many international students. He held quite an impressive list of different positions during his lifetime. In 1852/53 he was elected rector of the University of Vienna. Being a member of the Academy of Sciences in Vienna since their founding year, he became their vice president in 1866 and president in 1869. In 1867, the Emperor appointed him member of the House of Lords of the Imperial Assembly, Rokitansky being a proponent of the empire, the Greater Austria.³

Tatjana Buklijas suggested that Rokitansky's power can only be compared to his younger colleague in Berlin, Rudolf Virchow.⁴ Rudolf Virchow, himself a prominent pathologist, acted as founding president of the Anthropological Society in Berlin, which had been constituted just one year earlier, in 1869. Irene Ranzmaier considered it possible that Rokitansky was elected to give the AGW a leading figure capable to compete with Virchow.⁵ Rokitansky was in the unusual position to work both as professor (in 1844 he was awarded a full professorship) and prosector of the General Hospital in Vienna, in which capacity he

² Ottokar Rokitansky, 'Carl Freiherr von Rokitansky – zum 200. Geburtstag', *Wiener Klinische Wochenschrift* 116/23 (2004): 772-778, here 772 f.

³ Ottokar Rokitansky, 'Carl Freiherr von Rokitansky', 776.

⁴ Tatjana Buklijas, 'Cultures of Death', 589.

⁵ Irene Ranzmaier, *Die Anthropologische Gesellschaft in Wien*, 38.

conducted all post-mortems in the hospital and additionally all forensic autopsies in the city.⁶ This made him, as Tatjana Buklijas put it, “the master of dead bodies” in town.⁷

The rise of 19th-century Vienna to “the leading European center of clinical education”, was, as Buklijas’ outstanding examination of the history and politics of corpse supply reveals, intimately connected to Maria-Theresia’s unusually early approval of provision of bodies from hospitals for anatomical studies and the generally tolerant stance towards dissection taken by the Roman Catholic Church. As Sonia Horn showed, even prior to Maria-Theresia’s 18th century regulations, a special permission had been given for the supply of cadavers from hospitals to the medical faculty in Vienna, when, in 1672, a doctor complained to the government that there were too few bodies of executed for teaching purposes.⁸ Horn suggested that another factor for the rather exceptional acceptance of the opening of bodies for scientific studies in Vienna might be the long history of autopsies popular among the Habsburgs. As early as 1567, an autopsy report, as revealed in the archive, described the condition of the corpse of Emperor Maximilian II.⁹ In contrast to the USA, Britain and Germany, there was little to no public protest against the use of the deceased for scientific research in Austria. In Germany, one of the arguments brought forward against dissection was the fear that the bodies would never be buried.¹⁰ In Vienna, however, in cases of people executed, a special brotherhood was in charge of first consoling the condemned and, after dissection, giving burial to the remains in a cemetery. Faculty and students attended the mass that followed. The *Gottleichnamsbuderschaft* operated as early as the mid-15th century to

⁶ Tatjana Buklijas, ‘Cultures of Death’, 588.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Sonia Horn, ‘Sektion und Obduktion in Ländern ohne erforderliche Zustimmung Hinterbliebener – Unterschiede des Umgangen mit Toten. Versuch einer historischen Annäherung am Beispiel Wien’, in *Körper ohne Leben: Begegnung und Umgang mit Toten*, ed. by Norbert Stefenelli (Vienna: Böhlau, 1998), 596-603, here 599 f.

⁹ Ibid., 601.

¹⁰ Tatjana Buklijas, ‘Cultures of Death’, 578.

provide for burials for poor people as well as for the executed.¹¹ From 1857 to 1917, another organisation, the society of St. Joseph Arimathaea, organised and financed burials of remains after dissection. Instead of the linen bags previously used at such occasions, they introduced wooden caskets. Again, this was much unlike in Germany, “where such associations provided burials precisely to save the poor from dissection.”¹² All these traces might have added to a cultural and social context in which the Viennese medical journal proudly announced in the 1850s that the General Hospital in Vienna supplied the medical faculty with 2000 corpses a year, thereby allegedly exceeding the number of corpses that German medical schools in different towns obtained altogether.¹³

Vienna’s increasing international reputation, economic growth and urbanisation processes multiplied the number of students that needed to be provided with cadavers for their training. Competition arose between different departments. Rokitansky remained at the center of distribution. Buklijas found evidence that he was given access to bodies even beyond legalised sources. In response to a letter from Germany, enquiring about the Austrian regulations and forwarded to Rokitansky by the Habsburg Ministry of Religion and Education, the professor explained that

for him to obtain a part or all of any body buried in Vienna, it sufficed to inform the chief municipal public health official, who would then instruct the gravedigger to bury the body in a shallow grave, thus leaving it easily accessible for exhumation. In the evening, the institute attendant would collect the desired body part from the graveyard. There was no danger of protests from the families of the deceased because the gravediggers were bound by an oath of silence.¹⁴

¹¹ Sonia Horn, ‘Sektion und Obduktion’, 598.

¹² Tatjana Buklijas, ‘Cultures of Death’, 582 f.

¹³ ‘Lehr- und Lernfreiheit der Medizin’, *Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift* 3 (1853): 491-3; qt. in Tatjana Buklijas, ‘Cultures of Death’, 572.

¹⁴ Tatjana Buklijas, ‘Cultures of Death’, 589 f.

It is noteworthy that Rokitansky wrote this letter via official channels, addressing it to the ministry to have them forward the information to Germany. Grave digging had become easier ever since Joseph II had moved cemeteries out of town toward the end of the 18th century, to improve hygiene and prevent diseases from spreading. The funeral ceremonies were still held in town so that the actual burial became a plain process.¹⁵

Viennese graves were not only opened for cadaver supply, but also for the collection of crania. Some of the skulls in Franz Joseph Gall's famous collection were taken from cemeteries at the outskirts of Vienna.¹⁶ Born in Germany, Gall had completed his medical degree in Vienna in 1785. Next to his successful practice, he started investigations about how brain and mind were connected. By the time of the rise of Rokitansky, Gall's theories had already been largely discredited in the monarchy, but at the beginning of the 19th century, his idea of localising specific mental capacities in certain areas of the brain and linking the shape of brain and skull to the strength of these mental faculties was very popular. Phrenology, as his concept came to be called, had a long lasting impact on scientific development. Gall moved psychological studies from the philosophical terrain to biology.¹⁷ His

notion of a hierarchy of cerebral development and the idea that the shapes of the brain and the skull are correlated with intellectual ability proved fundamental to the rise of a craniological approach to race typology.¹⁸

To prove his theories, Gall amassed a collection of human and animal skulls, wax moulds of brains and plaster casts of heads. In 1802, his lectures were banned by Emperor Franz II

¹⁵ The procedure Rokitansky describes does not seem to have been consistent practise. Apparently only Emil Zuckerkandl remembered these arrangements when the topic was brought up at a faculty meeting after Rokitansky's retirement. (Ibid., 590)

¹⁶ Michael Hagner, *Geniale Gehirne: Zur Geschichte der Elitegehirnforschung* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2004), 62, qt. in Tatjana Buklijas, 'Cultures of Death', 580.

¹⁷ Robert M. Young, 'The Functions of the Brain: Gall to Ferrier (1808-1886)', *Isis* 59:3 (1968): 250-68, here 254.

¹⁸ Jon Røyne Kyllingstad, *Measuring the Master Race: Physical Anthropology in Norway 1890-1945* (Open Book Publishers, 2014), 10.

because they were considered to violate primary principles of morality and religion. By then, the collection held 300 skulls and 120 plaster casts. Some of them are now at the Rollett Museum in Baden near Vienna, while the majority are held at the Musée de l'homme in Paris, where Gall eventually came to be based, after a more than two year-long, highly successful lecture tour through Europe.¹⁹ It is claimed that his collecting practices became so well known in Vienna that people specified “in their wills that their crania should be protected from his researches”.²⁰

The accumulation of crania was also one of the aims of Joseph Hyrtl, professor for anatomy at the university of Vienna from 1845. He founded the museum for comparative anatomy in Vienna in 1850, which operated in addition to the pathological-anatomical museum for which Rokitansky was responsible at that time. Hyrtl was one of the people in competition with Rokitansky for cadavers for dissection.²¹ He was also one of the mentors of Emil Zuckerkandl, who he appointed student-instructor around 1869 and who had a reputation for making exceptionally beautiful preparations.²² Remains that were considered to be of too poor a quality to become part of one of the university's collections, “were skeletonised by institute attendants and sold to students and doctors for study or for display in their offices.”²³

In contrast to Gall, Hyrtl was convinced that the brain was an instrument of the spirit and attempted to falsify the argument that there were correlations between build and size of the brain and a person's character. A firm conservative Catholic, he believed that a materialist

¹⁹ John Van Wyhe, ‘The Authority of Human Nature; the Schädellehre of Franz Joseph Gall’, *The British Journal for the History of Science* 35:1 (2002): 17-42, here 21-29.

²⁰ John Davies, *Fad and Science: A 19th-century American Crusade* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1971), qt. in Christine Quigley, *Skulls and Skeletons* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, 2001), 106.

²¹ Tatjana Buklijas, ‘Cultures of Death’, 586.

²² Tatjana Buklijas, ‘Surgery and national identity in late nineteenth-century Vienna’, *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* 38 (2007): 756-74, here 762.

²³ Tatjana Buklijas, ‘Cultures of Death’, 587.

approach to scientific scholarship would erode morality. The negation of metaphysics, in his view, served to combat Christianity and any positive religion.²⁴ However, he collected the remains of executed people and those who had committed suicide, eager to gather series of skulls of different ‘races’. So he, too, believed in racial categorisation and the necessity of a high number of samples for comparative studies. In a book on the past and present of the anatomical museum, he explained his dissatisfaction with the working conditions the government put him in and made a remarkable connection between the accumulated pieces in his collection and financial capital:

I have always considered anatomical museums to be archives of facts, from which the contemporary state of science shall become visible in its whole. To this aim one has worked, bought, traded and collected. What the state disburses for the anatomy has been paid back abundantly, in capital and interest.²⁵

In 1869, Hyrtl had acquired 360 recent and historic ‘racial skulls’ (*Racenschädel*), including casts.²⁶ In his catalogue, he subsumed these in the following categories:

A. From graves; B. Europe; C. Asia; D. Africa; E. Australia and America; F. Skulls from the Novara-Expedition; G. Busts; H. Addenda²⁷.

In a letter to the Mütter Museum in Philadelphia, to which Hyrtl sold a major part of his collection when he was approaching retirement, Hyrtl stated:

It is easier to get the skulls of Islanders of the Pacific, than those of Moslim [sic], Jews, and all the semi-savage tribes of the Balkan and Karpathian valleys. Risking his life, the grave stealer must be largely bribed. My pupils, who are the physicians to the

²⁴ Felicitas Seebacher, “*Freiheit der Naturforschung!*” *Carl Freiherr von Rokitansky und die Wiener Medizinische Schule: Wissenschaft und Politik im Konflikt* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2006), 189 f.

²⁵ Joseph Hyrtl, *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart des Museums für menschliche Anatomie an der Wiener Universität* (Vienna: Braumüller, 1869), LXXXI; my translation.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 62; Maria Teschler-Nicola, ‘Das forMUSE-Projekt und die Beforschung und Restitution überseeischer menschlicher Skelettreste in Wiener Sammlungen’, in *Sammeln, Forschen, Zurückgeben? Menschliche Gebeine aus der Kolonialzeit in akademischen und musealen Sammlungen*, ed. by Holger Stoecker et al. (Berlin: Ch. Links Verlag, 2013), 259-278, here 267.

²⁷ Joseph Hyrtl, *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, VIII; my translation.

Turkish Pachas, procured most of them for me.²⁸

Undoubtedly, the colonial situation overseas helped collectors to acquire human remains from far away. However, grave theft was also committed closer to home. Hyrtl indeed tried to transform his collection into financial capital when he retired. But even before he decided to sell his collection, the human remains had presented a unique value.

Christine Hanke described human remains as *epistemic things* in physical anthropology. They were the means with which scholars tried to define differences between ‘races’ and sexes.²⁹ Within a general shift in the sciences from normativity to normality, the idea of statistically derived *data* as production of evidence took on obsessive forms with regard to the human body. As we have seen in the previous section, scholars were convinced that they needed large series of body parts to produce comparative studies, which would then help to deduce ideal ‘types’ of different ‘races’ and their male and female variations. However, as has become apparent in this section, it was not physical anthropology that introduced this approach. Anatomical and pathological research had already elevated the fragmented and dissected human body to a highly sought after means for the production of knowledge about the human.

The rise of anatomy, commonly marked with Andreas Vesalius’ anatomical atlas, published in 1543,³⁰ brought about a split of the *experience* of the body from its anatomically visible appearance. Medical analysis became associated with the corpse more than with the living.

²⁸ Joseph Hyrtl, letter to T.H. Bache, (no date), Collection file, Mutter Museum, Philadelphia, PA, qt. in Sara K. Keckeisen, *The Grinning Wall: history, Exhibition, and Application of the Hyrtl Skull Collection at the Mutter Museum* (unpublished Master’s thesis: Seton Hall University, 2012), 9.

²⁹ Christine Hanke, *Zwischen Auflösung und Fixierung. Zur Konstitution von „Rasse“ und „Geschlecht“ in der physischen Anthropologie um 1900* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2007), 22.

³⁰ Andreas Vesalius, *De humani corporis fabrica* (Basel: Joannes Oporinus, 1543).

To comprehend an illness, one had to open the body and *look* at it. It also introduced causal thinking into the ways illnesses were understood. Something that occurred within the anatomical body was to be detected as source of an illness. The origin of a pathology, therefore, could be traced and isolated in form of a specific part (fragment) of the body. Its social meaning and context became less relevant. By substituting feelings in relation to an illness with something that could be seen within the anatomical body, the subjective experience of the body was eliminated from the ways medical knowledge was produced. It is now through *vision* that one understands the body, its functions and its pathologies. This process of looking is always directed to an understanding of the body of the 'Other'. Even if applied to one's own body, one looks at oneself as if it was someone else's body.³¹

Katherine Park investigated the origins of dissection in their multiple cultural and social contexts. Remarkably, the professionalisation of anatomical studies was a highly gendered process, in which experiential knowledge gathered and held by women was systematically devalued in favour of the dissecting approach of male institutions of learning. I want to dive into this history here to show the deeper histories of a fundamentally flawed approach to the human body, flawed in that it inherited a divisive and discriminatory gaze. Some of the first documented dissections in central Europe were actually performed in an atmosphere of scrutiny against female saints. Women were increasingly involved in new forms of living one's spirituality, "a life of penance, poverty and urban religious activism, in place of the traditional model of monastic enclosure"³², throughout the 13th and 14th centuries. With the rise of cults around such new saints, embalming also became a more regular practice.

Complete corpses of those considered to be holy, rather than fragments of bodies and things

³¹ Joachim Widder, 'Revolution des Krankheitsbegriffs durch pathologisch-anatomisches Denken und seine Erweiterung in zukünftiger medizinischer Forschung', *Wiener Klinische Wochenschrift* 116/23 (2004): 804-7.

³² Katherine Park, *Secrets of Women: Gender, Generation and the Origins of Human Dissection* (New York: Zone Books, 2010), 54.

that had been touched by ancient saints and martyrs were now used for pilgrimage and devotion.³³ Male ecclesiastical authorities, however, were sceptical of the increasing number of alleged female saints and the attention and visibility created around them. This became even more threatening because their sanctity was often based on skills like hearing voices or having visions which “left no tangible evidence and could not be witnessed directly by others.”³⁴ In addition, Katherine Park suggests,

charismatic women whose reputation and influence were primarily local fit poorly with the style of sanctity promoted by the contemporary papacy, which privileged lay men and clerics of high ecclesiastical, social, and political status.³⁵

It is in this context, that some well documented cases of the inspection of internal organs of holy women were conducted at the beginning of the 14th century. Their bodies were opened to find evidence for statements they had made about their special connection to divine powers. In 1308, fellow nuns opened the body of their abbess Chiara of Montefalco for embalmment and found the image of the crucified Christ in her heart. They also found three small stones in Chiara’s gallbladder. In the presence of a physician, who could not give any natural explanation for the phenomenon, they concluded that these must refer to the Holy Trinity. A decade later, canonisation proceedings for Chiara took place. 400 witnesses testified her sanctity. But only in 1881, Chiara was officially recognised as saint. Her mummified body can still be visited in the church of the monastery of Santa Chiara in Montefalco.³⁶ When, in 1320, another holy woman died in a town close by, her embalmment was conducted in the presence of a large audience of friars, clerics and laypeople, possibly to prevent that the church would show the same disbelief as in Chiara’s case. A few days later, again in the presence of several male witnesses, some friars disinterred her viscera and found stones in

³³ Ibid., 42 f.

³⁴ Ibid., 56.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid., 39-49.

her heart, impressed with images representing Mary and the Holy Spirit. Although Margherita, too, was only canonised centuries later, the (male) publicity of her embalmment should be seen in relation to Chiara's lost canonisation proceedings. Margherita's followers clearly attempted to do better with building a case for her sanctity.³⁷ One thread of early anatomies in Western Europe can therefore be traced to a very specific conjuncture of forensic and religious factors scrutinising the legitimacy of female saints.

These examinations took place in an environment in which human dissection became more common for medical learning. First by custom and later by decree, medical faculties in northern Italy also relied on executed criminals for their supply of anatomical samples. This presented an obstacle for the examination of women, since they were rarely convicted of capital crimes, a situation that became "subject of perennial comment and complaint by medical faculties."³⁸ Throughout the 14th and 15th century, male medical practitioners had to primarily rely on texts and animal dissection to understand the inside of female bodies. By the second half of the 15th century, male physicians acquired more relevance in the domestic lives of noble families and were called in on the occasion of complications with childbirth and pregnancy. Midwives, wise women and female relatives who had previously been the ones to take care of 'women's issues' continued to be the ones to "[dominate] the birth chamber, the sickroom, and the deathbed — at least in the case of female patients."³⁹

However, they did not provide that kind of specialised care that the male learned physician now introduced. This also gave the doctors possibilities to expand their knowledge of female anatomy. Private autopsies of women became more common during that time and were often

³⁷ Ibid., 69-71.

³⁸ Ibid., 214.

³⁹ Ibid., 139.

conducted to find out if their deaths were connected to an illness that could have been passed down to their children:

good wives and mothers [...] opened themselves to scrutiny in the interests of their children and their husband's families.⁴⁰

Hence, it was in the context of the woman's responsibility to guarantee the continuation of the lineage of elite families that the male physician gained more frequent access to female bodies and their insides. Between the 13th and 15th century, then, a transformation of medical care occurred that had decisively gendered implications. For a long time, it was women, who were known to have access to all knowledge concerning the female body and its reproductive functions, including abortion and allegedly also ways to injure men during heterosexual intercourse. They had gained this knowledge by way of 'experiments'.

In the context of late medieval medical and natural philosophical writing, *experimenta* had a very specific meaning. Medieval 'experiments' bore little relation to the controlled tests of theoretical propositions fundamental to modern scientific practice; rather, they were 'singular discoveries.' In the words of Jole Agrimi and Chiara Crisciani, they were born solely of experience: recipes, remedies, and procedures found, often by trial and error, to accomplish a particular result. Commonly referred to as 'secrets' (*secreta*) by Latin writers, they were strongly associated with popular medical and artisanal practice as well as with the magical tradition.⁴¹

Anatomical practice, in contrast, now introduced a new way of acquiring and transmitting medical knowledge that was transmitted in written form, that relied on visible evidence and that was performed by men. Women, being almost all illiterate at the time and, despite of high reputation, even as midwives formally organised in guilds, were left out of these professionalisation processes.⁴² Furthermore, in "the eyes of the new learned medical writers and practitioners ... women stood rhetorically for the bad old ways."⁴³

⁴⁰ Ibid., 129.

⁴¹ Ibid., 83 f.

⁴² Ibid., 258.

⁴³ Ibid. 87.

A crucial element in this transformation of women being the bearers of knowledge about their own bodies and human reproduction to becoming the objects of that kind of knowledge was another fundamental shift that took place during this period, pertaining concepts of vision. In late medieval thought, the seer and the seen were not understood as in opposition or even in a relation of domination. The act of seeing was understood as reciprocal.

Sight was simultaneously active and passive, and the eye was both an instrument of penetration and a point of vulnerability.⁴⁴

Objects and people, especially women, were believed to leave impressions within the seer's body and to be able to influence their behaviour. Therefore, the act of seeing could never be mono-directional. But this conception changed. The one who was seen was attributed less and less agency. The scrutiny of the gaze became a one-sided experience.

Vesalius' *Fabrica* presented a landmark in the ways in which women were now presented as *objects* of knowledge about their own bodies, both in the sense that they had to be taught about their bodies and that their part in gaining this knowledge was one of complete passivity. Earlier depictions of anatomical teaching in this period of transformation of medical knowledge had shown women as collaborators. In illustrations, women actively exposed their opened bodies or, by way of pointing with their fingers, even instructed and guided the viewers. But Vesalius' title page showed a lifeless female corpse, arranged in an angle that emphasised the viewer's visual penetration of her genitals.⁴⁵ Borrowing from contemporary erotic prints, the title page of the bible of anatomy depicted a paradigmatic situation of sexualised violence, enhanced by an almost exclusively male and rowdy crowd surrounding the dissection scene.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Ibid., 73.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 253.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 216.

Vesalius chose to also highlight the transgressive nature of anatomical dissection in other ways. Influential physicians before him had also made use of ethically ambiguous acquisition methods for their cadavers. For example, some admitted to have secretly given money to midwives in order to examine miscarried fetuses. But they had not celebrated this behaviour. Rather, they described it as unfortunate necessity due to the scarcity of otherwise obtainable research material.⁴⁷ Vesalius, in contrast, described the theft of a woman's body by some of his students in full length in his publication and spiced it up by describing her as 'attractive whore'. The students

pulled from her tomb the attractive whore of a monk at the church of St. Anthony here, who had died suddenly, as if from suffocation of the uterus or some other fulminating illness. They brought her in for public dissection, having removed all the skin from her body with amazing industry, so that she would not be recognized by the monk who with her relatives was complaining to the Podesta that the corpse had been stolen from the tomb.⁴⁸

Indeed, to obtain female cadavers for his studies had been especially difficult for Vesalius, since he was one of the first anatomists to limit his career to academic practice only, thereby missing out on the research he could have done in domestic environments. This became apparent in his book, in which the descriptions of female genitals were lacking the detail of earlier publications.⁴⁹ Having been born into a family of several generations of medical practitioners, often in royal employment, Vesalius aimed high. He dedicated the *Fabrica* to Charles V, Holy Roman emperor at the time and, of course, from the Habsburg dynasty. Using a few more representational tricks on his title page, Vesalius managed to both further desacralise anatomical practice and have himself stand in for a figure previously identified as the saint. Additionally, he merged two roles into one: Whereas it had been custom that a

⁴⁷ Ibid., 190.

⁴⁸ Vesalius, *Fabrica* 5.15, pp. 538-39, qt. in Katherine Park, *Secrets of Women*, 215 f.

⁴⁹ Katherine Park, *Secrets of Women*, 218 f.

surgeon did the actual work on the body and the professor instructed his students, Vesalius presented himself doing both. He merged practice and theory into one single personage.⁵⁰ All these moves can be read as an effort to frame himself as “heroic, even transgressive, figure as part of his campaign to attract the patronage of the Holy Roman emperor Charles V”⁵¹, a campaign that showed immediate success. Western European academic anatomical practice, then, came into the world as an occupation held by wealthy men, studying the bodies of people who were represented as passive, ignorant ‘Others’: women and criminals. People’s self-understanding was increasingly shaped by this male-centred anatomical gaze.

Three and a half centuries after the publication of Vesalius’ *Fabrica*, Rudolf Pöch wrote letters to his friends and his mother while he was on his first self-organised research expedition in Papua New-Guinea and Australia. To all of his three most frequently contacted friends, he mentioned that he took nude pictures of female Australians: “(I mean whites, i.e. English)”⁵²; “I now also have a number of photographs of the bodies of white Australian women”⁵³; “I sent manuscripts and photographs to you: the reason, among them are many pictures á la Stratz that my mother should not see.”⁵⁴ In his letter books, some of his lists with descriptions of these pictures are archived. The format is the same that Pöch used for his anthropological photographs: a number and a short description of the image, using an abbreviation, a nickname or the full name of the person

⁵⁰ Ibid., 228.

⁵¹ Ibid., 234.

⁵² Letter Pöch to Putz, Sydney, 1 August 1905, letter books VI, Anthropological Department, Natural History Museum, Vienna; my translation.

⁵³ Letter Pöch to Fröhlich, Sydney, 2 August 1905, letter books VI, Anthropological Department, Natural History Museum, Vienna; my translation.

⁵⁴ Letter Pöch to Kaulich, Sydney, 22 August 1905, letter books VI, Anthropological Department, Natural History Museum, Vienna; my translation.

shown and an indication of the position they were photographed in. Once, he also added physical anthropological measurements of his erotic model. His most frequently used terms were “standing”, “kneeling”, “lying”, “from the back”; in some cases, he took pictures of their profiles, sometimes it was only fragments of their bodies, indicated by “piece of knee” or “piece of chest”. Clearly more interesting for the purpose of it all were his scarce further comments: “faded beauty” [English in the original], “Page is regarded as accomplished beauty in regards to her face”, “young girl with ugly meagre leg musculature”, “beautiless face, bad bosom”.⁵⁵

Rather than a different genre (Pösch himself called it “Ethno-Pornology”),⁵⁶ these lists appear as a sexualised version of the same normative gaze that Pösch directed towards his research objects. Notwithstanding the distinct differences between this colonial situation at the beginning of the 20th century and western Europe in the mid-16th century, there is some concurrence in the ways in which Pösch framed his erotic models in an apparently matter-of-fact, pathological-anatomical scheme and Vesalius’ objectifying approach to the female cadaver he was dissecting. Pösch, not unlike Vesalius, was also an early representative of the merging of two roles into one single personage: the laymen collecting anthropological ‘material’ in the field and the academic arm-chair traveller interpreting the findings. I will discuss the implications of the anthropologist as field-worker and the extraction of ‘research material’ later.

⁵⁵ Pösch letter books VII, pages 7-9, Anthropological Department, Natural History Museum, Vienna; my translation.

⁵⁶ Letter Pösch to Sachs, letter books VII, pages 10-12, Anthropological Department, Natural History Museum, Vienna; my translation.

When Pösch established the first physical anthropological collection for teaching and research at the University of Vienna, several collections of human body parts already existed at the same institution. They were essential elements for anatomical-pathological training and were commonly displayed. Students and professors also owned their own private preparations that they displayed in their offices and work places. Austria, especially Vienna, has a remarkable history with regards to the procurement of corpses for medical training and collections of human remains. By the mid-19th century, the University of Vienna boasted with having a corpse supply larger than all German medical schools taken together. Notwithstanding the favourable official regulations, several renowned figures in the field are reported to have employed illegal methods for the acquisition of human remains; graves in the newly established cemetery at the outskirts of Vienna were secretly exhumed. Despite the focus on anatomical and pathological issues, the collections at the University of Vienna included so called 'racial' crania, some of which were similarly obtained through a network of medical doctors and grave diggers. The effort put into accumulating human remains in order to conduct comparative studies must be explained with the high status that these had gained throughout the development of anatomical research. One hoped to get a better understanding of individual human beings and their illnesses by fragmenting the human body into separate entities, study them visually and thereby also better understand the different functions of the body. These developments were not only crucial for the establishment of the anthropological disciplines much later. They were at the heart of fundamental changes in the ways in which knowledge was produced and the individual understood. This was a process that involved the devaluation of experimental knowledge associated with women in favour of

academically legitimised ‘scientific’ knowledge conducted by men. Indeed, as Michel Foucault has suggested:

Western man could constitute himself in his own eyes as an object of science, he grasped himself within his language, and gave himself, in himself and by himself, a discursive existence, only in the opening created by his own elimination: ... from the integration of death into medical thought is born a medicine that is given as a science of the individual. ... It is understandable, then, that medicine should have had such importance in the constitution of the sciences of man—an importance that is not only methodological, but ontological, in that it concerns man’s being as object of positive knowledge.⁵⁷



⁵⁷ Michel Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception* (London, New York: Routledge, 2003), 197.

Chapter Three: **The Ethnographisation of the Empire**

Proto-anthropological research, as we have seen, was conducted in various fields in the Habsburg monarchy during the second half of the 19th century. Scholars of different disciplines founded the Anthropological Society in Vienna (AGW) in 1870, which was an important milestone for the professionalisation of anthropological studies in Austria.

Discussions regarding the most urgent aims and appropriate methods in the new research field were still ongoing. Influenced by the fact that, at the time, the monarchy did not occupy colonies overseas but instead faced a highly complex situation of various interdependencies and separationist movements within the empire itself, anthropological studies focussed primarily on the situation 'at home'. It was through the emerging disciplines of *Volkskunde*, *Anthropologie* and *Ethnographie* that ideas of belonging were now negotiated. All of them relied on dividing people according to their physical appearance and propagated a racialised understanding of humanity. The categorisation of the whole population of the world, however, became a mere backdrop for the much more urgent contestations around such racially inspired hierarchical rankings of different people within the empire. Simultaneously, the quest for overseas colonies was substituted by an orientation towards South Eastern Europe. Very similar to developments between European powers and their colonial territories overseas, Austria-Hungary employed the anthropological disciplines to legitimise the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and further quasi-colonial relations between the Viennese centre and different regions of the empire. In Vienna itself, two sets of identities were particularly contested: the German and the Jewish. Antisemitism pervaded all aspects of life, even the anatomic departments at the University of Vienna, which had a large influence on the development of physical anthropological studies in Austria. During the last third of the

19th century, social, political and economic conflicts within Austria-Hungary were increasingly framed through an ethnographic and physical-anthropological lens.

In discussions leading up to the founding of the Viennese Anthropological Association, future members considered to link it to a German parent organisation. It is said that the impulse for founding both the Anthropological Society in Berlin and the one in Vienna originated in conversations at the 43rd meeting of the Association of German Naturalists and Physicians in Innsbruck in 1869. These meetings had been held from 1822, at changing locations in different German-speaking regions, among them Austria. Since 1868, the association had a section for physical anthropology and ethnology. Initially, the plan had been to first found a German anthropological parent association. But disagreements about the relation between local branches and the umbrella organisation delayed the process. Both Berlin and Vienna founded their own associations before the German Society for Anthropology, Ethnography and Prehistory was constituted in Mainz in April 1870, two months after the one in Vienna and half a year later than the one in Berlin.¹ Irene Ranzmaier, who published a detailed study about the early years of the AGW, could not find much information about this decision-making process in their archives. At the founding meeting of the AGW, a potential adhesion to the German association once it would be constituted was raised but it was resolved to postpone the discussion, and eventually the AGW did not join the Germans. Ranzmaier speculated that different lines of conflict between the two associations could have been a reason for that development. Next to rivalries between the two presidents, Rokitansky and Virchow, the anti-catholic and decisively Prussian approach of Virchow might have contributed to the Viennese decision to formally keep a distance from

¹ Irene Ranzmaier, *Die Anthropologische Gesellschaft in Wien*, 36-43.

the Germans.² It appears as if the German side also had different motifs for not including the Austrian association. Andrew Zimmerman, in his study on German anthropology in the age of imperialism, quoted a letter from Carl Vogt, a prominent (polygenist) German scientist, to Rudolf Virchow, in which Vogt maintained that the political decision to exclude Austria from the German federation also needed to reflect in the organisation of the anthropological associations. And in 1881, when Virchow was on his way to a conference in Salzburg, he wrote to a colleague:

Tomorrow we go [...] as men with the lowest expectations, for the Austrians have also shown themselves to be weak helpers.³

After the first decade, however, the German and Viennese societies began to hold joint meetings, which took place in 1889, 1894, 1899, 1905, 1911 and 1926.⁴ This kind of ambiguous desire to both affiliate Austria with the German Empire but also develop and maintain a distinct identity was a constant factor in the production of physical anthropological and ethnographic knowledge conducted by those affiliating themselves with German-speaking Austrian culture.

During the early years, the anthropological society in Berlin focused on researching territory outside Europe,⁵ but other German anthropological societies and the one in Vienna were mainly concerned with 'pre-historic' studies. The AGW was dominated by geologists and scholars of the humanities.⁶ These focussed on finding and researching prehistoric sites in

² Ibid., 40-42.

³ Andrew Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 114; footnote 8, p.283.

⁴ Karl Pusman, *Die "Wissenschaften vom Menschen" auf Wiener Boden (1870 - 1959): Die anthropologische Gesellschaft in Wien und die anthropologischen Disziplinen im Fokus von Wissenschaftsgeschichte, Wissenschafts- und Verdrängungspolitik* (Vienna: LIT-Verlag, 2008), 54.

⁵ Andrew Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism*, 5.

⁶ Irene Ranzmaier, *Die Anthropologische Gesellschaft in Wien*, 24; 51; Christian Feest, 'The Origins of Professional Anthropology in Vienna', 121.

Austria-Hungary to gather data concerning age and life of pre-historic humans in the area. Several aristocrats donated money to support the research. A main interest were excavations in Hallstatt, Upper Austria, where in 1846, miners had encountered an Iron Age gravesite and remains of what later would be termed Hallstatt culture, stretching from Western to Central Europe.⁷ Studies of the site took not only place in the AGW, but also in the Academy of Sciences. Equally, another focus of the pre-historic research conducted in the AGW, investigations of pile dwellings, were also parallel conducted at the Academy of Sciences.⁸ A plan to follow a Russian example and produce a map of sites of ‘Tumuli’, a specific type of grave, for the whole of Europe in order to trace early migration movements, was never realised.⁹ In her study on the AGW from 1870-1930, Ranzmaier did not find evidence for this early focus on pre-history to have been a deliberately set research agenda. On the contrary, the protocol of the first meeting after AGW’s founding stated that the society wished to establish an equitable representation of the different anthropological fields, guaranteed through an organisation in three sections, one for racial science (“*Racenlehre*”), one for ethnography and one for pre-history.¹⁰

In his inaugural speech at the constitutive meeting of the AGW, Carl Rokitansky described the task of anthropology as rooted in natural history: a *science*, that needed to act as “advocate of nature against religious and philosophical, against political and social silly ideas and their impertinences”.¹¹ For Rokitansky, anatomy and physiology formed the most

⁷ Paula Sutter Fichtner, ‘Hallstatt Culture’, in *Historical Dictionary of Austria* (Lanham et al.: Scarecrow, 2009), 139.

⁸ Irene Ranzmaier, *Die Anthropologische Gesellschaft in Wien*, 53; Richard Meister, *Geschichte der Akademie*, 93.

⁹ Irene Ranzmaier, *Die Anthropologische Gesellschaft in Wien*, 53-4.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 51.

¹¹ Carl von Rokitansky, ‘Eröffnungsrede’, *MAGWI* (1871), 6; qt. in Irene Ranzmaier, *Die Anthropologische Gesellschaft*, 35; my translation.

essential foundations of anthropology: “Everything that man aspires to and produces, material and mental creations, must be deduced from them.”¹² He considered it to be

natural, that the civilised man, that he will put himself at the center, that he will put himself as benchmark, just as comparative anatomy departs from and draws on him; that, the higher he stands, the more increases his anthropological material, in that everyone below him is rendered an object to him.¹³

Rokitansky was convinced that comparative studies of the brains (rather than that of crania) of different ‘races’, animals and particularly primates were especially important for the advancement of the anthropological project.¹⁴ It was evident to him that intellectual capacities of different ‘races’ varied and that some were insufficiently intelligent. For Rokitansky, the solution to this problem was, rather uncommon for his times, a thorough ‘mixing’ of the ‘races’. While the context in which he put this suggestion in his inaugural speech implies that he referred mainly to people living in Austria-Hungary, the statement itself is formulated as a general observation.¹⁵ Despite Rokitansky’s focus on anatomy and physiology, only 30% of all archived lectures at the AGW between 1871-1880 were dedicated to physical anthropological studies.¹⁶

The few studies conducted by members of the society that were dedicated to physical anthropology focussed on people within the empire. When several famous men were exhumed and reburied in honorary graves at the recently established Vienna Central Cemetery, the society succeeded in taking measurements of the remains of Ludwig van Beethoven and others.¹⁷ In 1881, Carl Langer, professor for anatomy at the University of

¹² Carl von Rokitansky, ‘Eröffnungsrede’, 2 f.; *ibid*; my translation.

¹³ *Ibid*; my translation.

¹⁴ Irene Ranzmaier, *Die Anthropologische Gesellschaft*, 28; Christian Feest, ‘The Origins of Professional Anthropology in Vienna’, 119.

¹⁵ Irene Ranzmaier, *Die Anthropologische Gesellschaft*, 28 f.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 57; Christian Feest, ‘The Origins of Professional Anthropology in Vienna’, 121.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 84 f; Karl Pusman: *Die “Wissenschaften vom Menschen“*, 79.

Vienna and vice president of the AGW at the time, presented a ‘programme for ethnographic studies particularly in the territory of Austria’, which actually focussed on physical anthropological aspects. The proposal came out of a commission ‘for the execution of anthropological measurements and evaluation of the peoples and races in Austria’ within the association. Based on the assumption that nations were ‘racially mixed’, the studies aimed to trace characteristics of earlier, ‘purer races’ in regions where less mixture was expected to have taken place, like in remote regions in the Alps.¹⁸

For populations failing to display a uniform character, [Langer] suggested that researchers subdivide it before beginning work at a given nationality's geographic center and continuing toward the periphery.¹⁹

Langer asserted that the examinations had to be conducted by people trained in anatomy and could not just be done by laymen. This resonates with international trends in anthropological research, where around this time, the idea of laymen collecting data and scholars interpreting them later came out of fashion. The professionalisation of anthropology called for trained people doing the work ‘in the field’. It is interesting to see how these ideas came to play out *within* the empire, ‘at home’, in the Dual monarchy. The ways in which Langer framed this research initiative as *ethnographic* but actually set out to trace ‘purer’, more ‘original’ ‘races’ through physical anthropological measurements, correlate with Pösch’s research aims and methods on his expeditions in colonial territory.

Part of Langer’s project were examinations in Vorarlberg, Tyrol, Upper Austria and Styria, that were conducted by Moritz Holl and Emil Zuckerkandl. In 1883, 1884 and 1886 the

¹⁸ Irene Ranzmaier, *Die Anthropologische Gesellschaft*, 85.

¹⁹ Margit Berner, ‘Large-Scale Anthropological Surveys in Austria-Hungary, 1871-1918’ in *Doing Anthropology in Wartime and War Zones: First World War and the Cultural Sciences in Europe* ed. by Christian Marchetti et al. (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2010), 233-53, here 242. Berner points out that Rudolf Pösch’s Prisoner of War studies, conducted between 1915 and 1918, were fundamentally in line with Langer’s guidelines, amending them, however, with his understanding of Mendelian genetics (*ibid.*, 250).

ministry granted them funds to pursue systematic craniological measurements of ‘German-Austrians’. In the publication of his research results, Zuckerkandl stated that it was decided to begin in Tyrol, since

in these valleys, one suspects next to the dominant population of German origin the remains of people who have long been wiped out of the site.²⁰

He observed that the craniological studies of European peoples and races was little developed. In his view, this grievance was owing to, on the one hand, the fact that physical anthropology had been fully occupied with “permanently fixating the essence [*Wesen*] of non-European uncivilised races”,²¹ and, on the other hand, with the focus on finding original forms that would fill the gap between the human and the anthropoid. After giving an account of the so far failed attempts to determine *one* typical Germanic skull form, he progressed to an overview of the few studies that had sought to define typical skull forms of ‘German-Austrians’. Following the assumption that the shape of the skull implied a racial origin of a person, Zuckerkandl observed that some of those who celebrated their “Germannes” had actually a “Slavic skull”.²² Zuckerkandl and Holl based their research on measurements of skulls in ossuaries. Irene Ranzmaier suggested that these were easier accessible than living people, for the latter’s examination would have needed the permission of state authorities.²³

Zuckerkandl argued vehemently against a contemporary of his, Franz Tappeiner, who claimed that people in the Alpine region neighbouring Switzerland had wider skulls than Germans. Tappeiner saw a distinct race at play, a theory that went along with the idea of

²⁰ Emil Zuckerkandl, ‘Craniologische Untersuchungen in Tirol und Inner-Österreich’, *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft* 14 (1884): 117-128, here 117; my translation.

²¹ *Ibid*; my translation.

²² *Ibid.*, 128; my translation. See also Brigitte Fuchs, „Rasse“, „Volk“, *Geschlecht*, 160.

²³ Irene Ranzmaier, *Die Anthropologische Gesellschaft*, 85.

another contemporary of them, Carl von Czoernig. Czoernig thought of Tyroleans as descendants of Etruscans. Both concepts worked

to reaffirm the connection between the Roman Empire and the Habsburgs [...] and to establish Austrian racial and cultural independence from, and superiority over, Germans.²⁴

Rather than attacking Tappeiner for these ideological aspects, Zuckerkandl dissected his methods as speculative and erroneous. Zuckerlandl maintained his dismissiveness towards an approach that sought to determine different types of people by way of calculating average measurements. It needed a detailed description of the whole appearance of a certain type. One also needed to identify ‘pathological cases’ to exclude them from the sample. Similarly, it was necessary to look at women separately from men, even if with

transitional forms this is not easy or even not possible at all: but to recognise the typical female skull is not difficult for any anatomist who has been conducting studies on skulls over a longer period of time. Here, too, skill comes with practice.²⁵

The debate about the origins of Tyrol’s population also occupied another colleague of Zuckerkandl: Carl Toldt. Toldt did not follow Tappeiner and Czoernig in their invention of a uniquely ‘pre-Austrian’ race in the region but emphasised Tyrol’s closeness to the German empire by dividing Tyroleans into descendants of Italians and Germans. As Tatiana Buklijas has shown, the biographies and obituaries of the Jewish, liberal Zuckerkandl and the Roman Catholic, German-National Toldt allow for an illuminating discussion of the ways in which questions of the nation and belonging permeated the politics of medical studies in Vienna before the turn of the century. Zuckerkandl and Toldt occupied the two chairs for anatomy during Pösch’s medical studies in Vienna. They were also both members of the

²⁴ Tatjana Buklijas, ‘The Politics of Fin-de-siècle Anatomy’, in *The Nationalization of Scientific Knowledge in the Habsburg Empire 1848-1918*, 209-244, here 220.

²⁵ Emil Zuckerkandl, ‘Craniologische Untersuchungen’, 121; my translation.

Anthropological Society and the Academy of Sciences in Vienna and key figures in the development of physical anthropological studies in Austria. Later, they both supported Pösch's expedition to southern Africa. It therefore seems worthwhile to quickly outline Buklijas' arguments here.

Part of the post-1848 reforms in education were a change in the appointment procedures for academic chairs. Instead of civil servants and courtiers it was now the professoriate who was entitled to nominate candidates.

The key questions that divided the Austrian professoriate were the viability of the Empire, ethnic differences and the cultural positions of ethnic groups.²⁶

In 1884, Zuckerkandl and Toldt were both nominated for the first chair of anatomy at the University of Vienna.²⁷ Zuckerkandl was seen as representative of an 'Austrian', in the sense of pro-empire, liberal tradition not only due to his political views, but also in regards to his professional practises. He had trained with both Rokitansky and Hyrtl.

For all of Zuckerkandl's talents, his greatest recommendation was probably his claim to Hyrtl's tradition. For 'pro-Austrians', the old master was not only a skilled human anatomist but also a symbol of the old golden era of Viennese medicine, of a time without ethnic divisions.²⁸

Toldt, on the other hand, had started his career as military doctor and was appointed Professor of Anatomy at the University of Prague in 1876. Born in Tyrol, his connections to that region stayed strong. Toldt operated in a predominantly German-speaking network and repeatedly acted as outspoken supporter of German-National students, most prominently

²⁶ However, the ministry had the final say on who to eventually appoint and could even reject the professorate's list of three nominees altogether (Tatjana Buklijas, 'The Politics of Fin-de-siècle Anatomy', 212).

²⁷ Ibid., 214.

²⁸ Ibid., 217.

during his time as rector of the University of Vienna in 1897/1898.²⁹ At that time, German Nationals successfully opposed new language policies in the monarchy which equated Czech as official language next to German in Bohemia and Moravia. In his obituary for Toldt, Pöch praised Toldt's commitment for the cause, "the protection of freedom of the universities and Germanity at the German university in Prague."³⁰ It was a recurrent theme in Toldt's obituaries that he was praised as "a stalwart German".³¹ Zuckerkandl was less public with his political views, most probably out of necessity. The rise of antisemitism heavily impacted Jewish life at the time. But his wife, Bertha Zuckerkandl, was a famous *salonnière*, journalist and cultural critic, who supported the Secessionists and *Wiener Werkstätten*, who was in favour of progressive reforms in arts and culture.³² She was the daughter of Moritz Szeps, an influential newspaper editor. Emil Zuckerkandl, certainly facilitated by his wife, had an interest in the intersections of arts and sciences, was a founding member of the *Volkshochschulenbewegung*, a left-wing movement for popular education, and supported women in medicine, for example by employing one of the first female demonstrators at the medical faculty in his department.³³ Zuckerkandl was a liberal to left-wing patriot, while Toldt appears to have been a conservative nationalist.³⁴

²⁹ Ibid., 220-3.

³⁰ Rudolf Pöch, 'Carl Toldt (gestorben am 13. März 1920). Nachruf', in *MAGW* 51 (1921): 77-94, here 85.

³¹ Tatjana Buklijas, 'The Politics of Fin-de-siècle Anatomy', 224.

³² Sophie Schasiepen, 'Out of the Salon. Female counterspaces, anticolonial struggles and transversal politics', in *Utopian Pulse – Flares in the Darkroom*, ed. by Ines Doujak und Oliver Ressler (London: Pluto Press, 2015), 44-51.

³³ Tatjana Buklijas, 'The Politics of Fin-de-siècle Anatomy', 229 f.

³⁴ The divergences between the two chairs in anatomy became even more evident, and indeed violently extreme, during the era of Zuckerkandl and Toldt's successors, Ferdinand Hochstetter and Julius Tandler. Tandler, a Jewish Social Democrat, who served as Vienna councillor for health and public welfare from 1919 to 1934, started working as Zuckerkandl's assistant in 1895 and was appointed to the first anatomical chair in 1910. Hochstetter, a Catholic German Nationalist, was appointed to the second chair in 1908. According to Tandler's notes, that he entitled 'Chronology of Terror', German Nationalists and Hakenkreuzler (people wearing swastikas) started to brutally attack Tandler's institute from 1920. (Birgit Nemeč and Klaus Taschwer, 'Terror gegen Tandler: Kontext und Chronik der antisemitischen Attacken am I. Anatomischen Institut der Universität Wien, 1910 bis 1933', in *Der lange Schatten des Antisemitismus: Kritische Auseinandersetzungen mit der Geschichte der Universität Wien im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Oliver Rathkolb (Vienna: V&R unipress, 2013), 147-171, here 159.) Drained from not only a lack of support but the rectorate's backing of the right-wing, Tandler went to teach in China in 1933. Pöch seemed to oscillate between these poles. He was friends with Tandler and supported by both Zuckerkandl and Toldt. In Pöch's correspondence during his first larger expedition to New-Guinea and Australia, he showed himself as fierce Social Democrat. Later publications seem

Zuckerlandl and Toldt both contributed to a project that became a milestone in the establishment of Austrian *Volkskunde* (insufficiently translatable to ‘folklore studies’ but literally ‘the study of the people’) and ethnography, the *Kronprinzenwerk*.³⁵ Several further members of the AGW contributed to this multi-volume book series and its production shows some of the challenges the multi-ethnic empire was facing at the time. Similar in scope as the Novara publication, but looking at the territory of the Austro-Hungarian empire, this 24 volume publication, officially entitled *Die Österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild* (The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in Word and Image) has been described as both an attempt to consolidate unity within the empire and a manifestation of increasing nationalising tendencies that were testing the viability of the multi-ethnic state since the mid 19th century.³⁶ In March 1884, crown prince Rudolph, nephew of the Novara’s initiator Ferdinand Maximilian, asked his father emperor Francis Joseph I for permission to create

a great ethnographic work which would communicate in both stimulating and educational fashion a comprehensive image of our fatherland and its peoples [*Volksstämme*], building on the best of current scholarly research and supported by the perfected means of artistic reproduction.³⁷

Rudolph had long expressed a high interest in the sciences and art, and was tutored by Ferdinand von Hochstetter, a participant of the Novara expedition and from 1872 first general director of the Natural History Museum in Vienna.³⁸ But his father was little supportive of his liberal inclinations and Rudolph suffered from depression. In 1889, Rudolph shot his 17-year old mistress, Baroness Marie Alexandrine von Vetsera, and himself, a historical instance that

to indicate that he aligned himself more and more with German-Nationalist views.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 86.

³⁶ Regina Bendix, ‘Ethnology, cultural reification, and the dynamics of difference in the *Kronprinzenwerk*’, in *Creating the Other: Ethnic Conflict and Nationalism in Habsburg Central Europe*, ed. by Nancy M. Wingfield (New York/Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2003), 149–66.

³⁷ Promemorial crown prince Rudolf to emperor Francis Joseph I, qt. in and translated by Regina Bendix, ‘*Kronprinzenwerk*’, 149.

³⁸ Christian Feest, ‘The Origins of Professional Anthropology in Vienna’, 118.

is frequently only referred to as suicide. Rudolph's widow Stephanie took over the patronage of the *Kronprinzenwerk*, thereby guaranteeing further funding. She also contributed some drawings to the publication.³⁹

432 scholars and 264 artists contributed to this project and, following Rudolph's vision, both renowned and less established as well as, even more remarkably, mainly indigenous authors of the respective regions participated. However, several difficulties rendered this project into a less inclusive endeavour than the initiator might have imagined. The publication was to be in German and (a less expansive version) in Hungarian. As Regina Bendix pointed out, many authors communicating with Vienna had difficulties with writing in German. Some left the translation of their texts to the committee. "[T]hroughout such testimony, there is a tone of subservience to the language of the center, and ample self-accusation for not having better command of German."⁴⁰ Authors were also eager to maintain a balance of both culturally distinct and assimilated language when using local terminology. Viktoriya Hryaban has highlighted that Rumanian authors explicitly wished for an orthography of local names that would, although less common, appear more familiar to the German reader. At the same time, they made sure that the Rumanian letters would not be substituted by Polish ones, even if they had the same speech sound.⁴¹ Debates around language were central in the process of nationalisation of sciences in the Austro-Hungarian empire.

Whether to remain affiliated with German-speaking 'Kultur', to create national sciences, to internationalize science beyond the German-speaking realm, or to do all

³⁹ Christiane Zintzen, 'Vorwort', in "*Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild*": Aus dem '*Kronprinzenwerk*' des Erzherzog Rudolf, edited by ibid. (Vienna: Böhlau, 1999), 9-20, here 11.

⁴⁰ Regina Bendix, 'Kronprinzenwerk', 157.

⁴¹ Viktoriya Hryaban, 'Der "Bukowina-Band" der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie in Wort und Bild', published 25 November 2005, *Kakanien Revisited*, <http://www.kakanien.ac.at/beitr/fallstudie/VHryaban1.pdf>, 7 (accessed 21 June 2020).

of these things, was a lively topic of discussion throughout the post-1848 period.⁴²

Although ‘German Austrians’ comprised a minority of the overall population in Cisleithania, they performed a cultural and political hegemony.⁴³ The *Kronprinzenwerk*, in its desire to unify the empire, simultaneously reinforced this hegemonial claim in multifaceted ways. Hryaban, in her close analysis of the volume on the Bukowina, showed how the descriptions of this peripheral region implicitly and explicitly claimed that the Bukowina was culturally and historically dependent on a more advanced, leading authority. This framing served to legitimate the central administration in Vienna, without ever naming that concrete geographic location. Rather, the code “Emperor” is used as unmarked reference point for both authority and protection, that forms the nucleus of a bigger whole without which none of the other regions of the empire could ever hope to exist.⁴⁴

For every region that was represented in the *Kronprinzenwerk*, a description of the ‘physical appearance’ (*physische Beschaffenheit*) of the population was given, structured by different ethnic categories. Several of these sections were written by Zuckerkandl. As Margit Berner pointed out, they were generally written in a more scientific language, “documenting research results, descriptions of frequencies of observations, measurements, and statistics” and using “anthropometric terms, such as the cephalic index”.⁴⁵ Arguably, these physical anthropological descriptions contributed to a racialisation of the ethnographic gaze from the centre to the peripheries of the monarchy. At the same time, they were incorporated in a

⁴² Mitchell G. Ash and Jan Surman, ‘The Nationalization of Scientific Knowledge in Nineteenth-Century Central Europe: An Introduction’, 1.

⁴³ Brigitte Mazohl, ‘Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918’, 396.

⁴⁴ Viktoriya Hryaban, ‘Der “Bukowina-Band”’, 8.

⁴⁵ Margit Berner, ‘Large-Scale Anthropological Surveys’, 244. Many of the articles also referenced a large scale school children survey in Austria-Hungary that had been conducted in 1880. A member of the Central Statistical Commission, Gustav Adolf Schimmer, had published the results in 1884. The survey followed the example of similar examinations in the German empire that had been initiated by the German Anthropological Society and published by Virchow (*ibid.*, 240-44).

process of identity building of different people within the empire who increasingly understood themselves as belonging to separate ‘nations’.

Contemporary reception was very diverse. Rudolph’s vision of producing a unifying document to nurture a patriotism that would encompass the whole empire was made explicit in his introduction to the publication and various editorial decisions.⁴⁶ It was also evident in Rudolph’s commitment to structuring the series in volumes dedicated to different crown lands rather than different ‘peoples’ or ‘nations’ as had been envisioned by archduke Johann Salvator, another liberal member of the Royal family, who drafted the first idea for a monumental ‘ethnography of Austria-Hungary in word and image’ a few months prior to Rudolph’s letter to his father.⁴⁷ While some celebrated the *Kronprinzenwerk* as liberal and a future-oriented monument to the empire (and the crown prince), it was under anti-Semitic attack from German national and catholic circles from the start. Several of the members of the editorial committees were Jewish; Rudolph had long been reproached by anti-Semites and conservatives as being part of a liberal, intellectual, partly Jewish cultural and social milieu.⁴⁸ However, disapproval also came from contemporary Jewish readers. One critic demurred that, while reading the publication, he had been looking for depictions of Jewish existences in vain. When, finally, he discovered a section on Jews in Galicia, he was disappointed to see that instead of showing their rich intellectual lives, it was a depiction of Jewish stereotypes and, in his view, misrepresentations.⁴⁹ Nationalists, especially in Hungary, Bohemia and Rumania, also opposed the project.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Katharina Weigand, “‘Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild’: Ein kulturpolitisches Instrument am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts”, in *Ethnographie in Serie. Zu Produktion und Rezeption der “österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie in Wort und Bild”*, ed. by Jurij Fikfak and Reinhard Johler (Vienna: Verlag des Instituts für Europäische Ethnologie, 2008), 62-80.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 65.

⁴⁸ Siegfried Becker, ‘Deutscher Nationalismus, Staatsgedanke und Landesbewusstsein im zeitlichen Kontext des ‘Kronprinzenwerks’’, in *Ethnographie in Serie*, 326-51, here 328 f.

⁴⁹ Jurij Fikfak, Reinhard Johler, ‘Einbegleitung’ in *Ethnographie in Serie*, 7-25, here 7.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 19.

Historiographies of *Volkskunde* in Austria have tried to identify general tendencies of different approaches during the formative phase of the discipline. Peter Stachel suggested to distinguish those mercantilistic, statistic traditions which are exemplified by Czoernig and Rudolph's mega projects, and which he calls 'ethnographic', from those approaches which took form a bit later, and which can more easily be linked to a German, romantic, *völkisch* variant of *Volkskunde*. Although they cannot be separated clearly, neither by actors nor by content, they represent distinctly different directions. Both have at their centre the imagination of a more authentic, agrarian way of life that stands in contrast to modernisation and urbanisation processes with all the negative impacts of the advancement of capitalism. Both become essentially bourgeois projects, stylising peasants' life into an ideal form of living, in harmony with nature. Both work with static depictions and stereotypes. However, the former, 'ethnographic' approach tended to present people in their social and economic context, whereas the latter, '*volkskundlich*' approach aimed to create a fundamentally a-historic, often racially defined figure. Ironically, it is this latter approach which took its leads from *Alttertumskunde* (antiquity studies), cultural history and philology. Its beginnings in the empire are commonly traced back to the establishment of a chair for Slavic antiquity studies at the University of Vienna in 1849 and German philology in Graz in 1851.⁵¹ In its 'German Austrian' manifestation, the urge was to identify/create a German/Germanic continuity in popular cultural expressions, to define German/Germanic *Urformen*. Recent artefacts were linked to imagined 'pre-historic' cultural expressions to derive normative criteria for present and future, collapsing linear time into one homogeneous continuum of ethnic culture.⁵²

⁵¹ Olaf Bockshorn, 'Volkskundliche Quellströme in Wien: Anthro- und Philologie, Ethno- und Geographie', in *Völkische Wissenschaft Gestalten und Tendenzen der deutschen und österreichischen Volkskunde in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Wolfgang Jacobeit et al. (Vienna: Böhlau, 1994), 417-24, here 417, and Helmut Eberhart, 'Von Karl Weinhold bis Rudolf Meringer: Zu den Anfängen der Volkskunde in Graz' in *ibid.*, 403-6, here 403.

⁵² Peter Stachel, 'Die Harmonisierung national-politischer Gegensätze und die Anfänge der Ethnographie in Österreich', in *Geschichte der österreichischen Humanwissenschaften, Band 4: Geschichte und fremde Kulturen* ed. by Karl Acham (Vienna: Passagen Verlag, 2002), 323-367, here 326-333.

Stachel described the mercantilistic approach as ‘human-geographic’, stressing how people were understood as part and parcel of their environment, their regions within the empire. However, as we have seen in Friedrich Müller’s work, geographic and environmental circumstances could also be employed to create notions of unchangeability of character and culture, of being infinitely determined in one’s development by the landscape one originates from, ideas that also shine through in the *Kronprinzenwerk*. While the ‘ethnographic’ approach was closely linked to questions of governability, having its origins in statistical surveys of the subjects and later citizens of the empire, and appealing to ‘patriotic’ feelings, the other aimed towards a ‘national’, ultimately ethnically/racially imagined identity, however thereby forming notions of belonging beyond the borders of the empire’s territory.

The work on prince Rudolph’s project helped ethnographic studies within Austria to gain momentum. In 1894, an Association for Austrian Folklore Studies was founded in Vienna (Verein für österreichische Volkskunde in Wien) and the following year the Museum für österreichische Volkskunde (Museum for Austrian Folklore) was established.⁵³ Several members of the steering committee of the *Kronprinzenwerk* were also members of the committee preparing the founding of the museum.⁵⁴ A distinction between ethnographic and folklore studies was not made at the time. Method and approach varied, and the terms were used interchangeably, with ethnography being the more common term for most of the 19th century. A German adaptation of the term ‘folklore’ never made it into common usage, people either used ‘*Ethnographie*’ or ‘*Volkskunde*’. A few months before Rudolph’s letter to his father, Ferdinand Freiherr von Andrian-Warburg, then president of the AGW, established an ethnographic commission within the society. Next to “general ethnology”, the purpose of

⁵³ Reinhard Johler, ‘Vom Leben, Nachleben und Weiterleben des ‘Kronprinzenwerks’ in Österreich’ in *Ethnographie in Serie*, 291-325, esp. 294-305.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 295.

this commission was “to foster and support the study of the ethnography of Austria-Hungary and the countries of the Balkan.”⁵⁵ Just like Czoernig, the *Kronprinzenwerk* and the AGW in general, the ethnographic section of the AGW also acted under the premise of representing the entire empire while operating from the ‘Austrian’ center. *Volkskunde* in Vienna, however, faced increasing competition from folklore movements in other parts of the empire, especially in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, where ethnographic studies were employed for nationalist ideologies.⁵⁶ Some scholars have argued for a (post-)colonial analysis of these dynamics.⁵⁷ The claim for ‘German’ cultural hegemony from the ‘Austrian’ center is one of the aspects of Austrian-Hungarian politics that makes such thinking fruitful. Political and economic factors add to these considerations. The position of one region, Bosnia-Herzegovina, that was occupied by Austria-Hungary in 1878, has especially come under scrutiny from (post-)colonial scholars.

Plans to occupy the area, that had been conquered by the Ottoman Empire in the 15th century, were articulated latest around the 1850s.⁵⁸ For Austria-Hungary, Bosnia-Herzegovina offered an opportunity to unite the hitherto isolated Dalmatia, that they had been granted during the Congress of Vienna in 1814/15, with the rest of the empire. The Dual Monarchy was also looking to compensate for territories lost in 1859 (Lombardy) and 1866 (Venetia), and, most

⁵⁵ ‘Jahresversammlung am 12. Februar 1884’, *Mittheilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 14; 4 (1884): 18, qt. in Reinhard Johler, ‘Vom Leben’, 300 f; my translation.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 302 f.

⁵⁷ Next to the scholars who I reference in the following section, it is the publication *Habsburg postcolonial. Machtstrukturen und kollektives Gedächtnis*, ed. by Moritz Czáký et al. (Innsbruck: Studien-Verlag, 2003) that deserves special mention here. Czáký et al probed the viability of postcolonial approaches in this edited volume, albeit in some cases based on a limited understanding of postcolonial theory. Prior to that, in 2001, some of the involved scholars established the online platform *Kakanien revisited*, <https://www.kakanien-revisited.at/> (accessed 29 June 2021). Several contributions to this platform (some of them referenced in this chapter) think through relations within the Habsburg empire through a postcolonial lens.

⁵⁸ Robert Donia, *Islam under the Double Eagle: The Muslims of Bosnia and Hercegovina, 1878-1914* (New York 1981), 2-4. The occupation by the Ottoman Empire had started an islamisation of the society. Religious affiliation influenced opportunities to gain higher social status, so that by the end of the 19th century, when Austria-Hungary intruded them, most non-Muslims were peasants and often working in serfdom. Parts of the muslim population were serfs, too, but those who belonged to the elite were predominantly Muslims. However, all in all, Bosnia-Herzegovina was an essentially multireligious society (*ibid.*, 4-7).

importantly, the decisive loss of influence over the German dominions after the Austro-Prussian war. Furthermore, Bosnia-Herzegovina promised access to coal, iron ore and other metals. But political considerations caused scepticism about the viability of an annexation. Austria-Hungary had no interest in destabilising the Ottoman Empire. It also risked offending Zarist Russia, which acted as protector of the Slavic population in the region and was itself interested to expand its territory on cost of the Ottomans. Additionally, the already tense situation within Austria-Hungary would potentially be jeopardised by an increase of the Muslim and Slavic population.⁵⁹ But after a defeated rebellion of the Christian population in Herzegovina and a following peace treaty with Russia at San Stefano that was disadvantageous for the European Great Powers, the latter managed to annul the contract at a congress in Berlin in 1878 and decided to give Bosnia-Herzegovina to Austria-Hungary.⁶⁰ A military occupation ensued that ended up being by far less easy and peaceful than the Dual Monarchy had expected it to be.⁶¹

How to best describe the resulting situation is a matter of debate. Clemens Ruthner speaks of “substitute colonialism” (*Ersatzkolonialismus*) and an Austrian-Hungarian “parallel action” (*Parallelaktion*) to overseas colonialism of other European powers.⁶² Robert Donia argued for Bosnia-Herzegovina as “proximate colony”.⁶³ Marija Todorova, in her seminal study on

⁵⁹ Clemens Ruthner, *Habsburgs ‚Dark Continent‘: Postkoloniale Lektüren zur österreichischen Literatur und Kultur im langen 19. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempo, 2018), 212-5.

⁶⁰ Donia, *Double Eagle*, 8-10.

⁶¹ Martin Gabriel, “Wir führen einen Krieg, wo man auf Gnade nicht hoffen darf...“ Irreguläre Kriegsführung bei der Okkupation Bosniens und der Herzegowina 1878’, published 11 August 2010, *Kakanien revisited*, <http://www.kakanien.ac.at/beitr/fallstudie/MGabriel1.pdf> (accessed 23 April 2018).

⁶² Ruthner, *Dark Continent*, 18f. and 61f. Peter Plener uses similar vocabulary for Austria-Hungary’s aesthetic colonialism. He sees a “cultural parallel action” at play in the prevailing colonialism in the imaginary (p.3) and identifies the ways in which people in the monarchy followed news about expeditions and excavations in foreign lands as “surrogate actions” (p.4). (Peter Plener, ‘Sehsüchte einer Weltausstellung – Wien 1873’, *Kakanien Revisited*, published 1 Oct. 2001, <http://www.kakanien.ac.at/beitr/fallstudie/PPlener1.pdf> (accessed 21 June 2020)).

⁶³ Robert Donia, ‘The Proximate Colony: Bosnia-Herzegovina under Austro-Hungarian Rule’, in *Wechselwirkungen: The Political, Social and Cultural Impact of the Austro-Hungarian Occupation on Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1878-1918*, ed. by Clemens Ruthner et al. (New York: Peter Lang, 2008), 67-82; published also on 11 September 2007, *Kakanien Revisited*, <http://www.kakanien.ac.at/beitr/fallstudie/RDonia1.pdf> (accessed

the Balkans, considers “semi-colonial” to be a more appropriate description. She argued that this term may be meaningless as a “heuristic notion”, but “it is indicative both of the perception and the self-perception of the Balkans insofar as it emphasizes their transitional character.”⁶⁴ In her view, to use the term colonialism would mean to neglect colonialism’s historic specificity and the fact that the Balkan is part of Europe. Therefore, she maintains, the Balkan has always been imagined as incomplete self, not as incomplete ‘Other’.⁶⁵ This however, did not prevent a colonialist perspective on the side of the conquerors, as this quote from the memoir of a Czech veteran illustrates:

We stood in full battle dress against the ignoble cannibal enemy and it is no exaggeration to say that the Zulus, Bagurus, Niam-Niams, Bechuana, Hottentots and similar South African bands behaved more chivalrously towards European travellers than the Bosnian Turks did towards us.⁶⁶

The relation between Austria-Hungary and Bosnia-Herzegovina was clearly one that resembled aspects of relations between colonial powers and their colonies. The Habsburg administration, literary texts and cultural productions depicted Bosnia and its population as primitive and under-developed, presenting the Dual Monarchy in the role of the bearer of civilisation. Minister Benjamin von Kállay (1839-1903), who was responsible for the occupied territory from 1882, advocated a historiography of Bosnia-Herzegovina that portrayed it as isolated region, outside of socio-political relations and time. Local rulers that had been appointed by the monarchy were restricted to enacting symbolic power while actual decision-making was conducted by an imported administration.⁶⁷ The population was

21 March 2018).

⁶⁴ Marija Nikolaeva Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 17.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 16-8.

⁶⁶ Emil Chaura, *Obrazky z okupace bosenke* (Prag, 1893), 38, qt. in English in Ruthner, *Dark Continent*, 215.

⁶⁷ Noel Malcolm speaks of a multiplication of administrative personell in the region from 120 under Ottoman rule to 9.500 in the year 1908. (Noel Malcolm, *Bosnia: A Short History* (New York: New York University Press, 1994), 138 qt. in Raymond Detrez, ‘Colonialism in the Balkans. Historic realities and contemporary perceptions’, published 15 May 2002, *Kakanien revisited*, <http://www.kakanien.ac.at/beitr/theorie/RDetrez1.pdf> (accessed 16 March 2018), 3.

surveilled heavily, filling the archives with an abundance of reports. Infrastructure was only built in so far as it served the commercial needs of the occupiers. Relations of economic dependency were created, in which the occupied territory was nothing more than a mere raw material supplier.⁶⁸

The Balkans more generally and Bosnia-Herzegovina specifically also attracted a lot of attention in the AGW. Felix von Luschan, mentor of Rudolf Pöch and nowadays notorious for his methods of acquisition as director of the Ethnological Museum in Berlin, was among the first to appeal to the association's members to direct their attention to these dominions. In 1878, while working as military doctor during the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, he plundered graves in the area. Despite the "limiting conditions" of his placement, he was thrilled by the possibilities at hand:

The small density of population, the poor quality of soil and presumably also the piety of the Mohammedan for grave sites of all kinds make Bosnia into a craniological eldorado, and I already possess more skulls from the 14th century from that region than what exists from that time period in all foreign collections together.⁶⁹

Maria Teschler-Nicola suspects that 39 crania that the Anthropological Department of the Natural History Museum in Vienna bought from Luschan in 1879 for 150 guilder were part of these appropriations.⁷⁰ In 1885, the AGW requested permission and funding from the ministry for affairs of Bosnia-Herzegovina to conduct skull measurements in the region but was rejected for financial reasons. Colonel Heinrich Himmel took it into his own hands to take anthropometric measurements of local soldiers. Several other members of the AGW

⁶⁸ Robert Donia, 'Proximate Colony'.

⁶⁹ Felix von Luschan, 'Über altbosnische Gräber', in 'Bericht über die Versammlung österreichischer Anthropologen und Urgeschichtsforscher am 28. Und 29. Juli 1879 zu Laibach', *MAGW* 10, 1881, qt. in Maria Teschler-Nicola, 'Felix von Luschan und die Wiener Anthropologische Gesellschaft' in *Felix von Luschan (1854-1924). Leben und Wirken eines Universalgelehrten*, ed. by in Peter Ruggendorfer und Herbert D. Szemethy (Vienna: Böhlau, 2009), 55-79, here 64; my translation.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

conducted research in the occupied area, either for the government or in their own capacities, often while being employed as soldiers.⁷¹

Evelyn Kolm, in her detailed analysis of contemporary sources, has argued that Austria-Hungary's behaviour towards south-eastern Europe can be described as imperialist, as attempt to enforce politics on weaker states to increase the empire's share in the world market, especially between 1900 and the First World War.⁷² Demands to enter a more expansive foreign policy strategy were particularly pushed by industrials and slowly reached more support in Royal and government circles. The rapid acquisition of colonies by the German Empire was frequently brought forward as having set an example. Proponents of colonialist and imperialist politics argued that the empire's economy would spiral further down if they did not manage to gain access to foreign markets.⁷³ There was also a danger of a shortage of raw materials, especially cotton, which had become the biggest import into Austria-Hungary.⁷⁴ To counter the Dual Monarchy's loss of influence in world politics and trade, one needed to enlarge the navy and concentrate on dominating the "European Orient", as the Union of Austrian Industrials put it.⁷⁵ Some politicians even argued for expanding the empire's territory in order to appease inner conflicts.⁷⁶ Cisleithania's economy also came under increasing pressure from within the empire; the nationalising tendencies reflected in economic developments. Hungary imported less and less from the other half of the Dual Monarchy and declared its right to an independent customs area within their territory in 1899.

⁷¹ Irene Ranzmaier, *Die Anthropologische Gesellschaft in Wien*, 77 f.

⁷² Evelyn Kolm, *Die Ambitionen Österreich-Ungarns im Zeitalter des Hochimperialismus* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2001), 10. The Habsburg rulers had, of course, long focussed on Central and Eastern Europe and the Balkans for their territorial expansions and Maria Theresia, in her modernisation of the empire, had already thought of the western provinces within the empire as industrial hubs and the eastern parts as agricultural suppliers. (Fichtner, *The Habsburg Monarchy*, 71)

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 19-22.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 49 f.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 46-8.

Even within the ‘Austrian’ part of the empire, nationalist movements in different regions called for boycotts of Austrian and a prioritisation of local products.⁷⁷

It is remarkable how uniquely intertwined questions of empire and nation were in the Habsburg monarchy, across all these emerging research fields which formed the soil for the institutionalisation of subsequently distinguished disciplines such as *Volkskunde*, *Völkerkunde* and *Anthropologie*. Physical anthropological studies were mainly conducted by people who were medical doctors by training. But the reliance on physical appearance, body and skeleton measurements for the categorisation of people was also prevalent in ethnographic studies, which were conducted by scholars with a variety of disciplinary backgrounds. The example of Austria-Hungary shows how pervasive a colonialist, racialised and ethnographic understanding of humanity was at the time. Ideas of a hierarchical ranking of different groups of people, the urge to disclose ‘original’, ‘pure’ ‘races’ via anthropometric research, the notion of an ethnographically defined, ‘primitive’, more ‘authentic’ and romanticised ‘Other’, they all were part of the social fabric of the Dual Monarchy towards the turn of the twentieth century. They were also part of a differentiation of people according to the expansion and needs of capitalist relations.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 52 f.

Chapter Four: **Institutions of Collecting and Display: Condensing the World into Racialised Stratification at Home**

The ways in which scholars negotiated belonging ethnographically and physical anthropologically depended on the shaping of a new subject, the citizen. Museums and collections in academic institutions were part of the very processes of developing and inscribing new societal orders. Meaning was created not only through the narratives of the exhibitions, but also through architectural choices and the ways in which collections were displayed. The ways in which museums came to be used as social spaces provided an environment in which developing world views of measured, categorised and stratified species could be learned by the visitor. The formation of the museum, as Tony Bennett puts it,

cannot be adequately understood unless viewed in the light of a more general set of developments through which culture, in coming to be thought of as useful for governing, was fashioned as a vehicle for the exercise of new forms of power.¹

The museum as social space, space of representation and space of observation and regulation,² “provided a performative environment in which new forms of conduct and behaviour could be shaped and practised”.³ Anthropological collections were crucial elements in the production of a new knowledge order which could be simultaneously mediated, understood and rehearsed in the space of the museum. Distinctions between subjects and objects of power within nations, nations in the making and also the Habsburg Monarchy became more fine-grained. Museums became machineries for producing ‘progressive subjects’,⁴ who learned to define themselves against ‘non-civilised’, ‘non-

¹ Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 19.

² *Ibid.*, 24.

³ *Ibid.*, 33.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 47.

European' 'Others'. It is through the space of the museum and showcases of 'exotic' people that one can better understand the ways in which the ethnographisation of Austria-Hungary was embedded in global relations of imperialism and colonialism.

From about the mid-19th century, the *Völkerschau*, the ethnographically framed exhibition of living people, became a significant influence in these dynamics of hierarchisation and distinction. Different European cultural practices merged in this peculiar mixture of spectacle and daily-life simulation, often presented under the disguise of popular education and de facto frequently utilised, legitimised and sometimes questioned by scholars of ethnography and physical anthropology. Displays of people from foreign lands for the broader public took place since the beginning of the 16th century,

in taverns and at fairs, on the stage of theatrical productions, ... in zoos and circuses, and, by the latter half of the nineteenth century, at world's fairs.⁵

The traditions these shows drew on were as varied as the forums in which they were presented. Although often the same show was performed in various countries and the scripts of different presentations were similar, the ways in which they were perceived and framed depended on the cultural and social fabric they intervened into. Like their dissimilar relatives, ethnographic and physical anthropological exhibits of artefacts and human remains, exhibits of living people gained currency throughout the 19th century. I want to first introduce some of the features of these exhibitions as they took place in Vienna before turning to the processes that led to the founding of public museums and other collections in the field of anthropology and ethnography in the 'Austrian' capital.

⁵ Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 'Objects of Ethnography', in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* ed. by Ivan Karp and Steven Lavine (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 386-443, here 407.

In his analysis of early 19th century exhibits from people outside Europe in Vienna, Walter Sauer positioned these as transitional forms from an established culture of different kinds of shows at fairs to the *Völkerschauen* as a specifically marketed medium of ‘exotic’ mass consumption, that became popular in the second half of the century.⁶ He insisted that the relation between viewer and performer depended on the specific arrangement they acted within, how the gaze was directed, in how far the staging evoked feelings of similarity or strangeness, if it was geared towards empathy or discrimination.⁷ While earlier modes of displaying ‘exotic’ people often worked within an economy of prestige, later forms operated within a more immediate logic of a capitalist market. When emperors utilised Black slaves to increase their own status, for example, they exploited a racialised idea of the subordinated ‘Other’ to elevate their own position. They did so, however, within a different form of economy than entrepreneurs who gathered people and went on tour with them, hoping to make financial profits. The showcases under review by Sauer could be understood as something in-between, as operating in both these notions, the economy of prestige and the one of financial profit. Sauer suggested that people acting within the latter framework were in a more precarious situation than people who were integrated into aristocratic households.⁸

The level of precariousness depended on the arrangements. Some actors performed on established stages, like the Viennese opera house, others as artists in frameworks more similar to freak shows.⁹ In some cases, people managed to work self-employed which, of course, gave them more control than when they depended on an impresario. Sometimes, the desire to gain representative prestige on the side of the court and popular forms of exhibition

⁶ Walter Sauer, ‘Exotische Schaustellungen im Wiener Vormärz: Zwischen Voyeurismus und früher Rassentheorie’, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 124;2 (2016): 391-417, here 393.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 392.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 395.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 396.

were intertwined. In the period under review in Sauer's analysis, two prisoners of war were taken from South America to Austria by a participant of an Austrian expedition to Brazil. They were accommodated in the Hofburg in Vienna. The woman, 21-year old Francisca, gave birth during the travel, in 1821, but the baby died soon after. She herself also passed away while still in Austria, in 1823. The public did not only see her and the 20-year old João exhibited at different events, people were even allowed to view them in their own room in the Hofburg. Contemporaries reported that Francisca and João tried to escape the situation by hiding behind a folding screen that separated their beds from the rest of the room.¹⁰ Hence, although they seem to have been 'under protection' of the court, this neither gave them a dignified treatment, nor living conditions that guaranteed their survival.

Nine more 'shows' took place in Vienna in the decades leading up to the revolution of 1848. Sauer emphasised that more than empathy or humanistic ideals, which seem to be absent in the Viennese discourse of the time, it was censorship from the court that might have eased degrading aspects of the presentations. People had to get permission for their shows from the police, who were responsible to uphold public morality.¹¹ Performers were, for example, not allowed to be naked, most of them appeared – not rarely to the disappointment of the visitors – in European clothes. One of the shows, organised by a Prussian entrepreneur in 1819, showed two men, a woman and a child, who were presented as Bushmen.¹² Before coming to Vienna, the show had caused an uproar in Prague, where performers had bitten a bird to death, live on stage. The medical faculty in Prague intervened and ensured that this scene was enacted at the end of the show and preceded by a warning for the faint-hearted, especially women. In Vienna, the police forbid that scene from the get-go. However, the impresario

¹⁰ Ibid., 398; 403.

¹¹ Ibid., 400.

¹² Ibid., 397 f.

managed to also arrange for a private show, something that seems to have been common practice. Actors, most probably for higher prices, came to perform in the homes of aristocrats and the emerging bourgeoisie. Here, as one visitor reported, the Bushman did kill a living bird in front of the audience.¹³ It is one of the crucial results of Sauer's small study that these early shows, far from being spectacles for the masses, were mainly staged indoors and at relatively high prices. Venues and entry fees suggest that although the rates were lower than average in the 'high culture' sector, events mainly targeted the moderate and upper middle class.¹⁴ As much as the display of 'exotic' people had a long tradition, these shows had not developed a format on their own yet. The genres and spaces in which they appeared were eclectic. This changed towards the second half of the 19th century.

With a similar emphasis on the details of the specific setting such exhibits were staged in, Werner Michael Schwarz analysed showcases of 'exotic' people in Vienna between 1870 and 1910. Fifty *Schaustellungen*, as he called them, took place in these forty years¹⁵, which shows a significant increase in comparison to the beginning of the century. Schwarz placed them firmly in the context of the emerging anthropological disciplines, colonialism and, with a specific emphasis, urbanisation processes in Vienna at the time. Although sometimes, the shows still took place in smaller establishments, they were now concentrated on three main and larger locations: The *Prater*, an area that had been used for hunting by the royalty and was opened to the public by Joseph II, who also allowed the development of an amusement park in one of its sections; the *Rotunde*, a building that had been erected in the *Prater* for the world fair in Vienna in 1873; and the *Wiener Tiergarten*. The *Tiergarten*, a privately run zoo, accounted for thirteen such exhibits, realised in as short a timeframe as five years, from 1896

¹³ Ibid., 407 f.

¹⁴ Ibid., 401 f.

¹⁵ Werner Michael Schwarz, *Anthropologische Spektakel: Zur Schaustellung 'exotischer' Menschen, Wien 1870-1910* (Vienna: Turia + Kant, 2001), 16.

to 1901.¹⁶ Schwarz observed changes in the ways these shows were framed and perceived over time. While the discourse around earlier exhibits focused on anthropological and ethnographic aspects of the shows, eager to disguise the unmistakable voyeurism on the side of the spectators as a form of education, later perceptions seemed to see less necessity for such legitimation. Performers were increasingly eroticised and transgressive behaviour towards them became, apparently, even more normalised.

Using the earliest exhibit in the period under review by him, Schwarz showed how debates around the authenticity of the claimed ethnic identity of the performers emerged between entrepreneurs, press and scholars. Emma Willardt, the impresario of a show with ‘Laplanders’ was confronted with the accusation that these were not ‘real’. She responded with adverts in local newspapers in which she referenced different scholars who, using language exams and similarly ‘scientific’ methods, testified that the people on stage really were ‘Laplanders’.¹⁷ As much as these shows were spectacles of the ‘Other’, in their script of showing the daily life of the performers, they also drew on an effect that Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett described, speaking with John MacAloon, as ‘genre error’: the ‘drama of the quotidian’ or ‘one man’s life [as] another man’s spectacle’.¹⁸ That Emma Willardt had to publicly defend the ‘Laplander’ show with claims to scientific authorisation conveys how much that kind of arrangement, in which people were put on display to seemingly ‘just be them’, depended on the illusion of this representation being ‘authentic’. Otherwise, visitors felt not only betrayed but also uncomfortable about their own voyeuristic curiosity.¹⁹ These negotiations were part of and contributed to a ‘scientification’ of the ways in which central European, *white* citizens perceived people from outside of Europe and People of Color.

¹⁶ Ibid., 141.

¹⁷ Ibid., 25 f.

¹⁸ Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, ‘Objects of Ethnography’, 407.

¹⁹ Ibid., 102.

Discourses became, as discussed earlier with the example of dynamics of belonging and distinction *within* the Habsburg monarchy, increasingly ethnographised.

One of the most successful impresarios of the time, Carl Hagenbeck from Hamburg, was very careful to employ and satisfy such desires for authenticity. He described his company as ‘anthropological-zoological’, was a member of several associations in the natural sciences, sold ethnographic artefacts to museums and other collections and cooperated closely with the Anthropological Society and Rudolf Virchow in Berlin.²⁰ Hagenbeck managed, to a certain degree, to become his own scholarly reference. The first time that one of Hagenbeck’s shows could be visited in Vienna was in 1878 but it was six years later, in 1884, that he accompanied the event with wider publicity measures. This time, he invited members of the Anthropological Society and other scientific associations, the political and societal elite and the press for a preview at which the linguist Friedrich Müller gave a ‘spontaneous’ lecture.²¹ ‘Ceylon and its inhabitants: anthropological-zoological exhibition’ became a big success in Vienna. Over the three weeks of the exhibition, the number of paying visitors, excluding children, was between 4 000 and 10 000 a day during the week and between 20 000 and 30 000 on Sundays and holidays.²² In his autobiography, Hagenbeck declared that he had never had to work as much as during this stay in Vienna. According to him, on the first Sunday, the box office had to close twice due to the large crowd wanting to enter, and Hagenbeck was busy giving several VIP tours every day.²³

²⁰ Werner Michael Schwarz, *Anthropologische Spektakel*, 84.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 116.

²² *Ibid.*, 81.

²³ Carl Hagenbeck, *Von Tieren und Menschen* (Berlin, 1909), 99, qt. in Schwarz, *Anthropologische Spektakel*, 82.

It was Hagenbeck who established the *Rotunde*, an extremely costly and highly prestigious dome building that had been erected for the world fair in Vienna in 1873, as location for such displays of ‘exotic’ people. From the 1878 edition in Paris onwards, world fairs themselves started to regularly feature exhibitions of living people, ‘ethnographic villages’ as they were often called.²⁴ Although this trend had not yet been established in Vienna in 1873, Brigitte Fuchs pointed out that Austria’s aim was to give more attention to culture and cultural history than it had been the case at earlier world expositions. Ethnographic aspects had featured previously, but it was in Vienna that a ‘theatrically arranged accumulation of ethnographic images and stereotypes’ first came to the fore in that intensity.²⁵ Like other forms of exhibition and collection at the time, world fairs were a condensation of the effects of colonisation, the desire to continue the colonialist expansion and urbanisation processes. More evident than their counterpart institutions like zoos, botanical gardens, museums and travelling shows, they were an expression of the advancement of capitalism, a show off of commodities and technical innovations that were celebrated as signs of civilisation.

From 1851 onward, when the first international exposition took place in London, an enormous variety of industrial and technological products were exhibited, including steam machines, lawn mowers, elevators, photographic cameras, mechanized weaving looms, and house-hold appliances. In addition, colonial raw materials and products were displayed, along with archaeological artifacts.²⁶

In Vienna, things were slightly different than in the cities of the big colonial empires of the time that had hosted previous fairs, according to the generally different situation of the Habsburg Monarchy. In keeping with their direction of expansionist aspirations, it was ‘the Orient’ that was featured more heavily than colonial territories.²⁷ Despite the recent political

²⁴ Raymond Corbey, ‘Ethnographic Showcases, 1870-1930’, *Cultural Anthropology* 8:3 (1993): 338-369, here 341.

²⁵ Brigitte Fuchs, „Rasse“, „Volk“, *Geschlecht*, 125 f.

²⁶ Raymond Corbey, ‘Ethnographic Showcases’, 339.

²⁷ As a result of the oriental section at the world fair, the Oriental Museum was founded in Vienna in 1874, and transformed into a Trade Museum in 1887. Responsible for the oriental section at the world fair was the head of

developments, it was not Hungary and Austria who stood at the centre of the circular architectural layout of the different national expositions, but Austria and the German Empire.²⁸ For the most part in neglect of its multiethnic identity, in this ‘panopticum of cultures’, Austria presented itself as nation of ‘German culture’.²⁹ Austria was hoping to uplift the Dual Monarchy’s international reputation and initiate new trade and business relations after their political influence had declined. The international exhibitions had become an expression of one’s belonging to the leading powers of the world.

Imperial expositions held in fin-de-siècle London, Paris and Berlin were knots in what together constituted a worldwide web; contemporary observers already termed them ‘nodes in the course of history’ (*Knotenpunkte des Geschichtslaufes*). A ‘Crystal Palace’ could be found not only in London but also in New York, Munich and Paris; a so-called White City not only in Chicago but also in London; the notorious ‘Rue du Cairo’ not only several times in Paris, but also in Chicago, London, St Louis and Berlin.³⁰

But the Vienna edition became a financial fiasco. 1873 saw a world wide economic crisis and Vienna was struck by a cholera outbreak shortly after the opening of the fair, which prevented many visitors from coming. The financial means had been focussed on accomplishing the architecture for this international affair although simultaneously, Vienna was busy restructuring the character of the city with a number of representative buildings. The world fair took place within a huge construction site.³¹

The AGW, in its third year of existence, also showcased its collections at the world fair. It was Felix Luschan who was appointed as curator of the exhibit, which included about 3 000

a newly established department for trade measures at the foreign ministry. (Evelyn Kolm, *Die Ambitionen Österreich-Ungarns*, 43)

²⁸ Peter Plener, ‘Sehsüchte’, 2.

²⁹ Brigitte Fuchs, „Rasse“, „Volk“, *Geschlecht*, 126.

³⁰ Alexander C.T. Geppert, *Fleeting Cities: Imperial Expositions in Fin-de-Siècle Europe* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 3.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 127.

‘objects’. Most were artefacts from within the monarchy. The few human remains among them were mainly skulls of ‘Austrian peoples’ types’ (*österreichische Volkstypen*) from Joseph Hyrtl’s anatomical collection. The exhibition received quite some attention and was lauded for its popularisation of anthropological knowledge. A year later, Felix Luschan was appointed curator of the so-called museum of the AGW.³² That same year the AGW’s collections found their first more permanent, although still temporary, home at the University of Vienna, housed by Franz Romeo Seligman, professor for History of Medicine and common illnesses (*Volkskrankheiten*). The ‘museum’ was now open to the public on Saturdays from 11-13h. Luschan tried to push the AGW to dedicate more funding to the collections in order to find them an adequate space,³³ with little success. He was eager to enlarge the collection with skeletons and casts and initiated a display of 800 ‘racial crania’ (*Racenschädel*) from Augustin Weisbach’s collection.³⁴

Luschan later became assistant to the director of the Royal Museum for Ethnology (*Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde zu Berlin*) in Berlin. From 1904 to 1910 he was the head of the African-Oceanic department. During this time, he enlarged especially the African collections significantly. He then moved on to head the physical anthropological collection, a position that he held until his death in 1924.³⁵ Laukötter distinguished the ways in which the museum obtained artefacts and human remains in three different channels: private collectors (under which she subsumed as different types of collectors as people who just donated money; people who gave the museum their own collections; people who speculated on receiving decorations or other honours in return; people who developed an interest in

³² Maria Teschler-Nicola, ‘Felix von Luschan’, 60 f.

³³ Irene Ranzmaier, *Die Anthropologische Gesellschaft*, 64.

³⁴ Maria Teschler-Nicola, ‘Felix von Luschan’, 61.

³⁵ Anja Laukötter, *Von der “Kultur“ zur “Rasse“ – vom Objekt zum Körper? Völkerkundemuseen und ihre Wissenschaften zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2007), 49 f.

collecting while being abroad; people who had long studied a specific area and gave their collections to the museum after retirement; people who responded to specific requests from the museum), who could be travellers, missionaries, colonial officials, members of the navy and military, surgeons or hold other occupations; commercial trading houses (some of which specialised in ethnographic artefacts, especially from the end of the 19th century onwards); and, most significantly, expeditions organised by the museum itself, sometimes in cooperation with other institutions.³⁶ These always required high financial investments and involved a lot of pressure for everyone involved. Museums tried to secure their shares via contracts, which, in the case of a collaboration of several institutions, often meant long negotiations beforehand as to how to divide the booty.³⁷ The drastic change in ‘acquisition’ development and policies that took place during and after the First World War demonstrates how much the collecting depended on the colonial situation. Once Germany had ‘lost its colonies’, it became significantly more difficult to obtain as many objects as before. The approach also changed. Museums were more selective and perceived their collections increasingly as burden that needed to be better classified. While previously, the main aim was to appropriate as much as possible, especially from the colonies, museums now engaged in more exchange between each other to improve the range of their holdings.³⁸

Luschan, however, just as Pösch and other scholars operating in the field, by no means depended solely on territories that their own (nation-)state occupied. Laukötter included a telling example of Luschan’s acquisition practices into her discussion of Luschan’s and Georg Thilenius’ approaches to ethnographic collecting. It is especially suited to be mentioned here, since it occurred during Luschan’s visit to southern Africa at the occasion of

³⁶ Ibid., 144 f.

³⁷ Ibid., 145.

³⁸ Ibid., 149 f.

a meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1905. In a letter to the museum, Luschan reported:

To begin with, I am very glad to indicate that I was able to buy a very beautiful typical sailing boat in Mozambique yesterday, directly from alongside the vessel of our steamer. It had been manned with three people who were then brought back in a different boat. ... The whole acquisition was carried out within a few minutes and amid the vivid applause by the whole Brit. Assoc. ... I will never forget the moment in which the boat was lifted and brought on board. All attendees clapped and I think many of them only then for the first time got a right impression of the Museum in Berlin. ... The costs are so far at 35 s. incl. a gift of 10 s. to our own sailors for lifting and storing the boat so quickly.³⁹

This example is so telling because, in comparison to other methods of acquisition that will be discussed in more detail when I turn to Pösch's expedition to southern Africa, it appears non-violent. But every aspect of the process related by Luschan shows the hierarchical (or 'asymmetric' as some like to call it) exchange situation, which I would clearly call a situation of structural violence. For an amount that is not even worth mentioning, people had their means of transport taken away from them, under the applause of a steamer full of white men of science, and Luschan recalled this moment as a gleeful anecdote of his success, nothing else. As one can see from the reaction of the members of the British Association, this kind of behaviour towards the colonised was not only accepted, but celebrated.

To return to the collections of the AGW, the situation in Vienna changed when long conceived considerations to restructure the Royal natural history collections, which had been initiated by Maria Theresia's husband back in the 18th century, were realised. The first collection consisted of about 30 000 artefacts and, according to historiographers of the Natural History Museum, was the world's biggest natural history collection at the time.

³⁹ SMB-PK: EM, Erwerbung ethnologischer Gegenstände aus Afrika 1905, IB 34 Afrika I/MV: E 1869/1905, letter 20 September 1905, qt. in Laukötter, *Von der "Kultur" zur "Rasse"*, 142 f.; my translation.

Francis I bought it from a scholar in Florence, Johann von Baillou, who he also employed as director of the collections, in 1748. Baillou displayed them according to his own scheme that followed scientific standards of the time, thereby distinguishing the Viennese collections from curiosity cabinets from the very beginning. Soon after, the Emperor commissioned the first expedition to expand the collections, as well as the menagerie, founded in 1752, and the botanical garden, founded in 1753. After Francis' death in 1765, Maria Theresia turned the natural history collections into property of the state, had them displayed in two newly erected halls and made them accessible for the public twice a week.⁴⁰ Over the next century, the collections were constantly expanded through purchases and expeditions; they were restructured, split and moved to different locations. By the mid-18th century, all different collections together counted around 15 000 to 20 000 visitors per year.⁴¹ Plans to have buildings erected solely for the purpose to house museums, one for art history and one for natural history, existed since 1857, the year the 'Novara' left for its circumnavigation of the globe. They were part of the aforementioned bigger restructuring of the overall layout of the city of Vienna.⁴²

However, the first building to be worked on was the massive *Votivkirche*, financed by public subscription and dedicated to the commemoration of the emperor's escape from the bullet of a Hungarian assassin in 1853,⁴³ followed by expansive barracks and a new arsenal complex for the military next to a railway station in the outskirts of Vienna.⁴⁴ A few years into the restructuring, the neo-absolutist regime changed into a constitutional monarchy. It was now

⁴⁰ Max Fischer et al., 'Das Naturhistorische Museum in Wien und seine Geschichte', *Annalen des Naturhistorischen Museums Wien* 80, (1976): 1-24, here 1 f.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 11.

⁴³ Carl Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna Politics and Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981), E-book edition, Chapter II, Section I.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

the liberals, who dominated the further urban planning process. The new buildings to be erected included the University, the Parliament, the Rathaus, the Burgtheater, the opera and the two museums. 'Each building was executed in the historical style felt to be appropriate to its function.'⁴⁵ It took more than three decades for the Natural History Museum to actually open its doors. 1871 the first constructions began, 1881 the façade was done, 1884 the inner architecture was finished and by 1889 the collections had been moved into the new building, organised and put on display.⁴⁶ Gottfried Semper, a very renowned architect at the time, designed inside and outside of the building specifically for the collections that the respective sections should hold. In golden letters, the different disciplines represented in the museum were written into the dome of the entry hall: *Urgeschichte* (prehistory), *Ethnographie*, *Anthropologie*, *Botanik*, *Zoologie*, *Paläontologie*, *Geologie*, *Mineralogie*.⁴⁷ Regina Wonisch analysed the ways in which the building represents ideas of European, white supremacy and the conquest and exploration of 'the Other', for example via two groups of sculptures at the entry of the museum. 'Europe', depicted as female figure with classicist attributes, holding a torch, together with a young man who carries a scroll, lyre and artist's palette, epitomising a classic bourgeois educational ideal, are juxtaposed to 'America and Australia', depicted as stereotypical representations of the two continents' indigenous people.⁴⁸

In 1876, the Emperor appointed Ferdinand von Hochstetter as director of the natural history collections. Hochstetter, who was the president of the Geographical Society at the time and also a founding member of the AGW, developed the departmental layout of the new museum. He added an anthropological-ethnographic department to the previously existing

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Fischer et al., 'Das Naturhistorische Museum', 11.

⁴⁷ Regina Wonisch, 'Schnittstelle Ethnografie: Ein Rundgang durch das Naturhistorische Museum Wien', in *Das Unbehagen im Museum: Postkoloniale Museologien*, ed. by Schnittpunkt (Belinda Kazeem, Charlotte Martinez-Turek, Nora Sternfeld), (Vienna: Turia + Kant, 2009), 217-232, here 218.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 219 f.

mineralogical, zoological and botanical sections.⁴⁹ The year of his appointment, Hochstetter approached the AGW to donate their collections, which the society eventually agreed to.⁵⁰ Next to the collections of the AGW it was those from the Novara expedition and prehistoric and ethnographic collections that the court had previously brought into their possession that formed the first stock of the new department. As soon as 1882, Hochstetter subdivided the anthropological-ethnographic department into two sections, one anthropological and pre-historic section and a separate ethnographic one, due to the rapidly growing collections. Hochstetter acted as head of the overall department whereas Franz Heger was employed for the ethnographic and Josef Szombathy for the anthropological and pre-historic section.⁵¹ The overall staff of the museum grew from 45 in 1885 to 74 employees in 1891.

One of the main goals of the institution was the expansion of its collections, which was accomplished via various channels. Franz Steindachner, who was appointed director in 1898, went on several expeditions himself, for which he received travel funding from the Academy of Sciences.⁵² The navy was commissioned to make acquisitions for the museum abroad and it was often the physicians on board who took on this task.⁵³ In 1886, Szombathy drafted instructions for the appropriation of skulls and skeletons of 'primitive people' (*Naturvölker*). Such instructions for anthropological and ethnographic collecting, mainly directed to laymen, travellers and colonial officials, were issued by ethnographic associations and museums from

⁴⁹ Hochstetter was also a supporter of the younger Felix Luschan, who married Hochstetter's daughter Emma in 1885. Emma and Felix von Luschan conducted fieldwork together, for example during their stay in southern Africa in 1905. (John David Smith, "I would like to study some Problems of Heredity": Felix von Luschan's Trip to America, 1914-1915', in *Felix von Luschan (1854-1924): Leben und Wirken eines Universalgelehrten*, ed. by Peter Ruggendorfer and Hubert Szemethy (Vienna: Böhlau, 2009), 141-63, here 141; 152.) Both Hochstetter and Luschan were in favour of situating the anthropological collections as scientific, as opposed to art historical. (Irene Ranzmaier, *Die Anthropologische Gesellschaft*, 30)

⁵⁰ Irene Ranzmaier, *Die Anthropologische Gesellschaft*, 64. Since then, the society and its archive are also housed at the museum (<http://ag-wien.org>, accessed 2 September 2020).

⁵¹ Fischer et al., 'Das Naturhistorische Museum', 12.

⁵² *Ibid.*; Inventory of the subsidy files of the AÖAW.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 13.

about the mid-19th century onwards. Felix von Luschan published several of these during his career, which is another indicator for his influence in the field, especially among German-speaking scholars and amateurs. In the – comparatively small section – on physical anthropology of his 1896 instructions for ethnographic observations and collections in German East Africa, Luschan explained:

Anthropological material. Can be brought by laymen; photographs as well, preferably big series of skulls (name of the tribe and the area to be written with lead or ink on the bone itself) would be very desired from all areas of German East Africa, as well as if possible at all of each tribe also complete skeletons (a superficial cleaning is sufficient, possibly removal of flesh and drying; everything else can be done in Europe). Extensive hair samples are also requested, with exact specification of the tribe, age and gender of each individual. For anthropological measurements Schmidt, *Anthropol. Methods*, Leipzig 1888, is to be recommended most; regular lessons in measuring and observing are also given at the Royal Museum for Ethnology.⁵⁴

The mentioned publication by Emil Schmidt dedicated more than 300 pages to the “collection of anthropological objects and observation of anthropological features”. Special focus was put on the question of ‘racial mixture’. The appendix included different examples of ‘observation sheets’ for measurements of the body and craniological features; a ‘scheme for the examination of hair’ developed by the German Anthropological Society; the *Frankfurter Verständigung*, an agreement on craniological measurements from 1884; and a ‘table of the main measurements and indices for skull measurements’.⁵⁵

Josef Szombathy in Vienna, for the acquisition of human remains, recommended to contact hospitals and prisons that were led by European doctors and officials, and also to go to burial sites of the indigenous. He offered to pay up to 500 guilder to those who successfully

⁵⁴ Felix von Luschan, ‘Instruktion für ethnographische Beobachtungen und Sammlungen in Deutsch-Ostafrika’, in *Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten* 9:2 (1896): 89-99, here 95.

⁵⁵ Emil Schmidt, *Anthropologische Methoden; Anleitung zum Beobachten und Sammeln für Laboratorium und Reise*, (Leipzig: Veit, 1888), 310-322.

obtained remains for the museum.⁵⁶ Szombathy stayed in his position up until 1916. During his time, the pre-historic collections grew from 7 000 ‘objects’ to 53 000, the anthropological from 100 to 7 000.⁵⁷ Verena Pawlowsky observed that the desire to enlarge the collections took up most space in the correspondence of the anthropological department from its beginning until the First World War.⁵⁸ The collection, display and examination of human remains did neither originate solely in the museum space nor solely in academic spaces. Rather, there was an interplay between associations like the AGW, in which laymen and scholars from different disciplines came together, the museum, the university and an extended network of collectors, which made such displays possible.

Earlier in that century, even full human bodies were put on display in the Royal history collections. In an arrangement opened in 1797 and designed by the then director of the collections, Abbé Simon Eberle, three People of Color were exhibited. Later, another person was prepared for exhibition but put into storage immediately. Three of them are known by name and were citizens of Vienna during their life time.⁵⁹ Angelo Soliman is the most renowned among them. He was brought from Africa, possibly from Kanem-Bornu, today Nigeria, to Europe by force as enslaved child. Most probably, he was purchased by a noble family of the name ‘Sollima’ from whom he would have gotten his surname.⁶⁰ Around the mid-18th century, Prince Wenzel von Liechtenstein employed Soliman as servant, to enhance his own representative prestige. In 1768, Soliman secretly married a Viennese woman,

⁵⁶ Verena Pawlowsky, ‘Quelle aus vielen Stücken: Die Korrespondenz der Anthropologischen Abteilung des Wiener Naturhistorischen Museums bis 1938’, in *Vorreiter der Vernichtung? Eugenik, Rassenhygiene und Euthanasie in der österreichischen Diskussion vor 1938 (Geschichte der NS-Euthanasie in Wien, Teil III)* ed. by Heinz Eberhard Gabriel and Wolfgang Neugebauer (Vienna: Böhlau, 2005), 139-165, here 144.

⁵⁷ Carl Blaha et al., ‘Geschichte der Anthropologischen und der Prähistorischen Abteilung des Naturhistorischen Museums in Wien: 90 Jahre anthropologische und prähistorische Forschungsarbeit’, *Annalen des Naturhistorischen Museums Wien* 69 (1966): 451-461, here 455.

⁵⁸ Verena Pawlowsky, ‘Quelle aus vielen Stücken’, 144. Many files were lost during the war period.

⁵⁹ Max Fischer et al., ‘Das Naturhistorische Museum’, 3 f.; 6.

⁶⁰ Iris Wigger and Spencer Hadley, ‘Angelo Soliman; desecrated bodies and the spectre of Enlightenment racism’, in *Race & Class* 62:2 (2020): 80-107, here 82.

Magdalena Christiano, was dismissed due to this self-determined action and later got re-employed by Liechtenstein's successor. Soliman became a member of the freemasons and acted in leading positions in one of their lodges. He was a member of the elite. But when he died in 1796, Eberle obtained his corpse for preparation and display in the Royal collections. The director of the museum had requested Soliman's body from the provincial government of Lower Austria even prior to Soliman's death.⁶¹ Fischer et al. maintained that it was the Emperor himself who had instructed to procure the corpse.⁶²

Contrary to early depictions in the historiography of the Natural History Museum, Soliman's family did not give permission to that. His wife had died about ten years previously, but his daughter Josefine fought several years for the restitution of her father's skin, to prevent the exhibition of his stuffed body and enable a dignified burial.⁶³ She went to the police, she got the support from the Catholic church and wrote a petition to the government of Lower Austria,⁶⁴ all to no prevail. Not only was Soliman's body desecrated, taken against his family's will and put on display, for everybody to see. The way he was portrayed also had absolutely nothing to do with Angelo Soliman as a person and his biography. The body was arranged

standing upright with right foot drawn back and left hand outstretched, a belt of feathers around his waist and crown of feathers on his head, each composed of alternately juxtaposed red, white, and blue ostrich feathers. Arms and legs were adorned with a string of white pearls and a wide, delicately braided necklace made of cream-colored coin-porcelain snails hung down to his chest.⁶⁵

⁶¹ Walter Sauer, 'Angelo Soliman: Mythos und Wirklichkeit', in *Von Soliman zu Omofuma: Afrikanische Diaspora in Österreich, 17. bis 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. by ibid. (Innsbruck: Studienverlag, 2007), 59-96, here 81.

⁶² Max Fischer et al., 'Das Naturhistorische Museum', 4.

⁶³ Belinda Kazeem and Claudia Unterweger / Research Group on Black Austrian History, 'Josephine Soliman', 2006, http://trafo-k.at/remapping-mozart/htm/konfig1/let_it_josephine/sub03.htm (accessed 3 September 2020).

⁶⁴ Jeff Bowersox, 'Josephine Soliman fights to bury her father Angelo (1797)', <https://blackcentraleurope.com/sources/1750-1850/josephine-soliman-fights-to-bury-her-father-angelo-1797/> (accessed 3 September 2020).

⁶⁵ Gabriele Schuster, 'Der "Mohr" als Schauobjekt im k. k. Naturalienkabinett Wien', in *Fremde Erfahrungen*.

He was placed in a fantasy tropical landscape in a glass case, at his feet the sitting body of a Black girl of only nine years whose name has not been recorded. Her body was given to the Viennese collections as a 'gift' by Maria Carolina of Austria, Queen of Naples.⁶⁶ Eberle was retired a few years later, in 1801, but only after his successor's death in 1806, and with the appointment of a new director, Carl von Schreibers, were the human bodies taken off display and put into storage.⁶⁷ Apparently, public criticism of the exhibition contributed to this decision.⁶⁸ A death-mask, a cast from Soliman's face, that had been taken only few hours after he passed away, was transformed into a bust and became part of Franz Gall's 'phrenology collection' of skulls and casts. Again, it was not categorised as representing a celebrity, but an 'African type'.⁶⁹

Where Soliman's skull and skeleton remained is uncertain. When his daughter went to the police, she also claimed his bones, but there seems to be no trace of Soliman's skeletal remains in the museum or in scholarly production of the time.⁷⁰ The body of Francisca, the woman who was brought from Brazil to Austria as prisoner of war, was also dissected after her death in 1823. Her skull was kept in the University's collections, allegedly as the 'first and only racial skull' at the time.⁷¹ Sauer observed a gradual change in the discourse in Vienna during the first decades of the 19th century. Early usage of the term 'race' included statements concerning characteristics of different groups of people such as 'singing race' or

Asiaten und Afrikaner in Deutschland, Österreich und in der Schweiz bis 1945, ed. by Gerhard Höpp (Berlin: Das Arabische Buch, 1996), p. 99, qt. in and translated by Iris Wigger and Spencer Hadley, 'Angelo Soliman' 95.

⁶⁶ Max Fischer et al., 'Das Naturhistorische Museum', 4.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 7 f.

⁶⁸ Iris Wigger and Katrin Klein, "'Bruder Mohr': Angelo Soliman und der Rassismus der Aufklärung", in *Entfremdete Körper. Rassismus als Leichenschändung*, ed. by Wulf D. Hund (Bielefeld: transcript, 2009), 81-115, here 110.

⁶⁹ Iris Wigger and Spencer Hadley, 'Angelo Soliman', 95.

⁷⁰ Iris Wigger and Katrin Klein, "'Bruder Mohr'", 107.

⁷¹ Joseph Hyrtl, *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart des Museums*, 79 Anm. 1, qt. in Walter Sauer, 'Exotische Schaustellungen', 412 f.

‘educated race’. During the 1820s it became more and more associated with a physical anthropological understanding of different categories of people⁷². As discussed earlier, how to really define different ‘races’ continued to be an unresolved issue way into the period of professionalisation and academisation of anthropological scholarship. However, the establishment of ‘race’ as category that encompassed both the interior and exterior physical appearance of a person might have established itself only around the first third of the 19th century in Vienna. Judging from the secondary literature on the matter that is accessible to me, it seems fair to state that the different ways in which Angelo Soliman’s and Francisca’s dead bodies were abused for ‘science’ could be representative of a shift in the framing of racialised bodies that occurred in this period. Whereas Soliman’s outer body was put on display as exotic spectacle, Francisca was dissected and her bones stored in a collection for ‘scientific’ measurement.

Sauer argued that the exhibitions of living ‘exotic’ people and the ways they were looked at contributed significantly to a popularisation of a physical anthropological understanding of the term ‘race’ in Vienna. At the beginning of the period analysed by him, media reported about the shows using terms like ‘savages’ or ‘cannibals’, towards the end they had learned to talk about ‘Papuas’ or ‘Ethiopians’.⁷³ Scholars also used the opportunity to study and examine the people who performed in Vienna. Schwarz, however, found that there was comparatively little interest from scholars in the *Völkerschauen* in Vienna later in that century. There are almost no collaborations documented, apart from rare occasions similar to Müller’s ‘spontaneous’ lecture at Hagenbeck’s preview. Only one paper was published that

⁷² Walter Sauer, ‘Exotische Schaustellungen’, 413.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 415.

used people performing in such a show for research and a few contributions about the exhibitions to newspapers were written by scholars concerned with anthropological studies.⁷⁴ This was in contrast to other European metropolises such as Berlin. Schwarz discussed the close collaboration between the Anthropological Society in Berlin, especially Rudolf Virchow, and Hagenbeck, which went so far that they collectively tried to hire a group of performers from Chile and often used the same agents for procuring collections and performers respectively. Hagenbeck let Virchow examine the performers he hired which in turn granted Hagenbeck government support and helped increase his credibility as well informed entrepreneur.⁷⁵ Andrew Zimmerman even claimed that the

history of anthropology has been written inside out. At least in Germany, it depended not so much on European scientists venturing out into the colonies as on colonial subjects venturing into a Europe that was dangerous, exciting, and potentially profitable for them, much as the colonies were for Europeans. In the years before the First World War, the majority of encounters between German anthropologists and the people they studied occurred in Germany, in circuses, panopticons, and zoos. To dismiss science of this sort as 'armchair anthropology,' as groundless speculation based on unreliable sources, would be to ignore the foundations of anthropology in a global culture of imperialism and in the popular culture of exotic spectacles.⁷⁶

Although it appears as if scholars in Vienna did not make as much use of these spectacles for their work as their colleagues in the German Empire, the stunning frequency and widely disseminated discussion of such exhibitions at the turn of the 20th century leaves no doubt as to the significant influence the presence of these performers had on public life and society at the time. Rudolf Pöch, in one of the letters he sent to his mother from his first self-organised research expedition to Papua New Guinea and Australia, reminded her of one of their visits to such a show:

There are still some aborigines who live in the forest, highly shy and primitive. Do

⁷⁴ Werner Schwarz, *Anthropologische Spektakel*, 116.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 84 f.

⁷⁶ Andrew Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism*, 15.

you still remember that, many years ago, we once saw Australian bushpeople, in a porch behind the *Kärtner Straße*? There are only a few left here, they are entirely uncultivable and are dying out. I have already taken many pictures and also measurements from some.⁷⁷

I will say more about Pöch's racialised and pejorative attitude towards his 'research objects' later. What I would like to highlight here is the location of the show that Pöch referred to. In contrast to the more popular and frequent locations for such performances at the time – the *Rotunde*, the *Tiergarten*, and smaller stalls in the *Prater* – this one took place in the inner city centre. The *Kärtner Straße* is still one of the most renowned upper class shopping streets of Vienna. It connects the *Stephansdom*, the town's landmark and seat of the Archbishop of Vienna, with the *Ringstraße*, the circular representative street that surrounds the first district and on which almost all of the aforementioned buildings of Vienna's Fin-de-Siècle restructuring were placed. At the time, the *Kärtner Straße* was already home to several representative warehouses and magnificent architectural constructions for the sale and display of commodities. Remarkably, Pöch even added a little drawing to his letter, to mark the location for his mother.

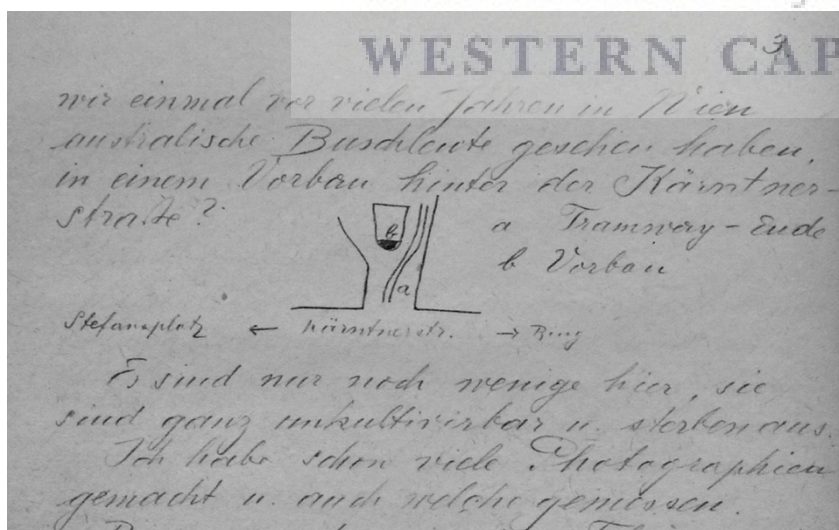


Figure 1: Map of the location of a showcase in *Kärtnerstraße* (Pöch letter books VI, p. 18).

⁷⁷ Pöch to his mother, Copmanhurst, 19 July 1905, Pöch letter books VI, Anthropological Department, Natural History Museum, Vienna; my translation.

In Schwarz's chronology of exhibitions of 'exotic' people in Vienna between 1870 and 1910, one can find the following information about this particular exhibition:

Australia-Negroes and Cannibals, duration: 13.2.1887-27.3.1887, location: circular building close to the opera, Wallfischgasse 11, number of people: three, organised by: Cunningham, former agent for Barnum, program/production: Exhibition as 'man eaters'.⁷⁸

Pösch, was only 16 years old when he went to see the exhibition with his mother. Judging from this scarce information it does not appear as if in this particular case the organisers would have spent much effort to make the show appear 'scientific'. But this did not prompt Pösch, now 35 and advanced in his career as anthropological and ethnographic scholar, to distance himself or his work from the ways in which people had been presented back then. On the opposite, the few sentences in this letter to his mother suggest an unquestioned commonality between the representation of Australian 'cannibals' that he saw as a teenager in Vienna's city centre and the Australian aborigines that he observed, photographed and took measurements of in the forests of Copmanhurst.

Like Sauer, Schwarz emphasised the significance that such exhibitions had for processes of social and political distinction within the Viennese society. Discourses of authenticity played an important role in these dynamics, setting the shows apart from lower class amusements and making them more acceptable for the middle and upper classes.⁷⁹ From the 1880s, however, these debates faded. Schwarz speculated that on the one hand, the format of displaying 'exotic' people had sufficiently established itself by that time so that less legitimation was needed, and that on the other hand, people might have become number towards the degrading character of the performances, due to the quickly accelerating pace of

⁷⁸ Werner Schwarz, *Anthropologische Spektakel*, 226; my translation.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 34 f.

the European colonialist expansion. The comparatively little interest from scholars in the Viennese context might also have contributed; in Berlin, for example, anthropologists more frequently attacked shows for being ‘unauthentic’ and tried to disclose ‘fraudulent’ entrepreneurs.⁸⁰

But there were other differentiation mechanisms at play. In Vienna, the ethnographic exhibits became associated with the liberal spectrum of the bourgeoisie. In Schwarz’ analysis of media coverage, he found that it was mainly the liberal-bourgeois papers that reported about the shows, frequently with a title page or a longer essay. Catholic, more conservative papers reported about two thirds less than the liberal ones and often only made a short mention in their chronicles. From the mid-1880s, conservative, anti-Semitic press and caricature publications started using the exhibitions to defame the liberals. While liberal papers tended to represent the performers with a paternalistic, ‘well-meaning’ attitude, the conservatives employed the full array of racist stereotypes and used these as a means to ridicule the interest from the ‘educated’, ‘uppity’ circles in such showcases. One caricature juxtaposed the image of a soldier and a modestly dressed young woman sitting on a bench in a park with an image of the upper classes staring at one of the performers of a show, represented by a drawing of a Black woman in torn European cloths and a clown-like face. The caption mocked the higher society for spending money to see ‘ugly exotic females’, while the ‘poor soldier’, who could not afford the entry fee, enjoyed himself perfectly well with a ‘very neat girl’, for free.⁸¹ Needless to say, the caricature employed plenty of racialised tropes: the promiscuous Black woman, the decadence of the wealthy European with its anti-Semitic connotations, the industriousness of the ordinary white man, the modesty of the ordinary white woman and the

⁸⁰ Ibid., 38.

⁸¹ Ibid., 86-88; my translation.

need to protect the neatness of the white nuclear family (-to-be) from the dangers of exotic temptations and their liberal supporters. In such depictions, visitors of the shows were frequently blamed for not caring for the needs and poor living conditions of the working class 'at home'.⁸²

Liberal satire, on the other hand, did indeed make fun of lower classes via depictions of the shows and their audience. One of Hagenbeck's publicity measures illustrates the ways in which social and political distinction and the urban layout of Vienna all came to play their part in the ways in which the performances were perceived and framed. The 'Singhalese' of the 1884 show did not only perform within the exhibit in the *Rotunde*, they also appeared off stage in the Viennese public. Newspapers reported about an excursion that the performers had done to the outskirts of Vienna, allegedly to admire the beautiful landscape; they visited a play in one of the leading theatres and, after the play had ended, were announced as guests so that the audience could 'view' them among the general crowd; and they performed in a tavern in Hernals, one of the worker's districts at the periphery of town. The public reacted enthusiastically to these new ways of staging difference between the Viennese and the 'Singhalese'.⁸³ As Schwarz pointed out, contrary to what one could think about the events in Hernals, they were actually private functions of the bourgeoisie. The working class people of the neighbourhood were deemed to watch the spectacle from the outside, a situation that the media coverage was happy to exploit. The liberal press talked about the 'natives of the island Hernals' and employed established vocabulary used to describe 'savages' for the crowd's behaviour.⁸⁴ Liberal satire depicted lower class girls dancing with the 'Singhalese', playing on the figure of the cheap prostitute from the outskirts of town.⁸⁵ These dynamics were by no

⁸² Ibid., 92.

⁸³ Ibid., 80.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 108.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 92.

means unique to Vienna and not even unique to the institution of ‘exotic showcases’. As Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett pointed out, the play with the familiar and the strange, the similar and the foreign, the quotidian and the spectacular was part of many aspects of urban life towards the turn of the twentieth century.

While respectability has the power to conceal, to control access to sight, poverty, madness, children, animals and the ‘lower’ orders of humankind reveal by exposing themselves fully to view. Historically, ethnography has constituted its subjects at the margins of geography, history, and society. Not surprisingly, then, in a convergence of moral adventure, social exploitation, and sensation seeking, the inner city [in Vienna, the outskirts; A/N] is constructed as a socially distant but physically proximate exotic – and erotic – territory.⁸⁶

The events in Hernals were organised by a charity organisation that collected money for a recreational holiday for working class children in a renowned thermal bath close to Vienna, Bad Fischau⁸⁷, that still exists today and mainly kept its 19th century architecture. It becomes evident how the liberal bourgeoisie put the performances to work as a mechanism of multiple distinctions, both from the ‘primitives’ at home and abroad, maintaining a paternalistic and ridiculing stance in both directions. At times, liberal satire also employed the performers from abroad to bring forward criticism against the political elite, for example by showing them wondering about the laziness of the government in this foreign country, thereby seemingly reversing the gaze back at the Viennese society.⁸⁸ Pöch was a staunch Social Democrat at the time that he wrote the aforementioned letter to his mother. In his correspondence during that time period, he regularly made references to the necessary improvement of working and living conditions for the lower classes, while Pöch’s family must have been part of the upper middle class.

⁸⁶ Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, ‘Objects of Ethnography’, 413.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 108.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 94.

It has been widely stated that the modern museum was established in differentiation to such ethnographic showcases and other popular forms of entertainment. While these two institutions operated with different profiles and, at least in Vienna, official collaboration between the Natural History Museum and impresarios or performers of such shows was limited, it is evident that both fulfilled complementary functions in the shaping of new societal structures within the city (and the Empire) via the figure of the ‘primitive’.

[T]he museum might be seen as providing a reinforcement mechanism in relation to the new institutions of social training governed by what Foucault calls evolutive time. The marking out of time into a series of stages comprising a linear path of evolution; the organization of these stages into an itinerary that the visitor’s route retraces; the projection of the future as a course of limitless development: in all these ways the museum echoes and resonates with those new institutions of discipline and training through which, via the construction of a series of stages that were to be passed through by means of the successful acquisition of the appropriate skills, individuals were encouraged to relate themselves as beings in incessant need of progressive development.⁸⁹

The argument of the ‘elevation’ of the worker from unruly behaviour by means of forming workers associations that was brought forward in the struggle to legalise political associations in the Habsburg Monarchy,⁹⁰ mentioned in a previous chapter, was part of that discourse of ‘evolutive time’. The Anthropological Society in Vienna, which was founded after the restrictions on forming associations had fallen, contributed to the refinement of a racialised and ethnographised understanding of progressive development. Their exhibitions, the Natural History Museum and the showcases of ‘exotic’ people all formed part of the popularisation of an increasingly bodily, physical anthropological understanding of race. The boundaries of scientification and spectacle in these modes of distinction were blurred.

⁸⁹ Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, 46.

⁹⁰ Hans Peter Hye, ‘Zur Liberalisierung des Vereinsrechtes’, 203.

While the showcases were run by entrepreneurs who were aiming for financial profit, the museum operated within a different economic logic. The value of the exhibitions was part of a creation of symbolic capital for the empire. Krystof Pomian, in his seminal analysis of the meanings of collections, has argued that to understand the collection as institution, one must look at its history, and that this history cannot be subordinated to the histories of art or sciences.

It is, or rather should be, a history in its own right, concentrating on ‘semiophores’, or objects bearing meaning, on their production, their circulation and their ‘consumption’, which most generally takes the form of mere viewing and does not, as such, involve any physical destruction. (...) When the history of their circulation is examined, the history of economics cannot be avoided, especially when it comes to the evolution and development of the market in semiophores.⁹¹

Pomian asked how it came about that in most cases, the owners of collections did not derive any direct financial profit from it. On the contrary, things kept at a museum for example, are kept “temporarily or permanently out of the economic circuit”.⁹² Yet, as we have seen earlier, there was a willingness to pay, sometimes high prices, for the acquisition of ‘objects’. After a short discussion of different forms of collections – funeral objects, offerings, gifts and booty, relics and sacred objects, royal treasures – Pomian argued that all these very different contexts had something in common: they facilitate communication between the two worlds of the visible and invisible.⁹³ Offerings, for example,

function as intermediaries for this world and the next, the sacred and the secular, while at the the same time constituting, at the very heart of the secular world, symbols of the distant, the hidden, the absent.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Krzysztof Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities: Paris and Venice, 1500-1800* (Polity Press, 1990), 5.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 9.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 22.

This opposition of the in/visible can take many forms: it can be spatial distance, temporal distance, go beyond all physical space, etc. and the collections could act as intermediaries with the “most diverse of beings, from ancestors and gods to the dead and to people different to ourselves.”⁹⁵ It was this unique function of the collection that enabled the custodians and/or owners of collections to assume a special role in society. To be responsible for a collection, to own a collection meant to take on an elevated position within social hierarchies.

Pomian described the establishment of collections of objects used for study purposes as new class of semiophores. It went hand in hand with the establishment of a new social group “which functioned as a vector for the interest in this new category of semiophores”,⁹⁶ the humanists. In Western Europe, from the 15th century onwards, travel seemed to allow for an expansion of the boundaries of the visible.

Fabrics, gold plate, porcelain, garments made of feathers, 'idols', 'fetishes', specimens of flora and fauna, shells and stones also flooded into the collections of princes and scholars. Whatever their original status, these objects became semiophores in Europe, collected not because of their practical value but because of their significance as representatives of the invisible comprising exotic lands, different societies and strange climates.⁹⁷

Collections of study objects became means for intellectuals and artists to define their social rank, and for those in power, collections became “a proof of their superiority, as well as the means by which they could dominate this milieu.”⁹⁸ Entangled with the European colonial expansion, ethnographers, anthropologists and archaeologists made a profession out of finding new objects to be introduced into this kind of market, that mainly operated on a symbolic level.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 24.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 35.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 36.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 38.

In Bourdieu's words, symbolic capital can be described as a form of capital that is "unrecognized as capital and recognized as legitimate competence, as authority exerting an effect of (mis)recognition".⁹⁹ It is this kind of capital that governing bodies were eager to accumulate through the establishment of collections and museums. Their representative power encompassed both the claim to dominance – through the sheer process of accumulating collections itself and the mastery of classification and order – and the capacity to forge a collective identity through the performative act of displaying these collections, thereby partaking in creating a public.

Museums, already established as sites for the bringing together of significant 'culture objects', were readily appropriated as 'national' expressions of identity, and of the linked idea of 'having a history' – the collective equivalent of personal memory. ... Just 'having a museum' was itself a performative utterance of having an identity, and this formula was 'pirated' or replicated at other levels of local governance, most notably in the civic museums which burgeoned in the nineteenth century. The possession of artefacts from other cultures was itself important for such artefacts were, for colonialist nations, also signs of the capacity to gather and master beyond national boundaries. As such, they were claims of the capacity to know and to govern; signs too for the visitors that theirs was a nation, or a locality, that also played on the global stage.¹⁰⁰

Again, the Habsburg monarchy's history complicates such analysis. In Vienna, too, the museum functioned as a means to forge a collective identity, albeit an imperial, not a national one. Moreover, here, too, the appropriation of 'artefacts' from colonial territories was practiced – possibly even more eagerly so to make up for the absence of such colonial occupations overseas. As mentioned in earlier chapters, the founding of smaller museums in the different regions of the monarchy was indeed encouraged in an attempt to reconcile 'national' identities and an identification with the empire as a whole.

⁹⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, 'The Forms of Capital', in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, edited by J. G. Richardson (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 241-258, here 245.

¹⁰⁰ Sharon J. Macdonald, 'Museums, national, postnational and transcultural identities', *Museum and Society* 1 (2003): 1-16, here 3.

Unfortunately, such detailed analysis as Michael Schwarz provided for the ways in which the showcases of ‘exotic’ people were utilised to negotiate new social orders within the democratising monarchy and during the advancement of capitalism, is still missing for institutions such as the Natural History Museum in Vienna. Nonetheless, we do know that through their displays, they, too, propagated a racialised understanding of evolution and contributed to what Wulf D. Hund described as “discriminating forms of knowing and showing” that led to a “racist alienation” of the bodies of people marked as ‘Other’.¹⁰¹ Hund called the processes of obtaining corpses and body parts, the growth of recognition for institutions and scholars that came with the growth of their collections of human remains, as well as the production of images and casts of the remains and their publication, display and distribution the ‘political economy of the desecration of the corpse’.¹⁰² Their bodies became the

material, with which race sciences legitimised the violently enforced and maintained white suprematism and its economic, political, cultural and aesthetic claim to validity.¹⁰³

Practices of display of living and dead people as well as the measuring and classification of their bodies were part of this political economy. Through the display of racialised bodies or body parts, all institutions discussed in this chapter contributed to this production of racial symbolic capital for the emerging heterogeneous societal groups of the Habsburg monarchy who were made into observers of the ‘Other’.¹⁰⁴ The next chapters will analyse the appropriation of human remains from southern Africa and their later integration into the first collection for research and teaching in physical anthropology at the University of Vienna

¹⁰¹ Wulf D. Hund, ‘Die Körper der Bilder der Rassen’, in *Entfremdete Körper. Rassismus als Leichenschändung*, 13-79, here 21; 54; all citations my translation from German.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 21.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 20.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 51; 54.

with a focus on the different forms of capital that were needed for and produced through the establishment of this collection.



UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

PART II

THE PRODUCTION OF CAPITAL THROUGH EXPEDITIONS



UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

Chapter Five: **Rudolf Pöch and the Anthropologist as Field-Worker**

The journey was a carefully considered decision through which those who stood at the beginning of their academic career were hoping to overcome the uncertain future of this profession.¹

This chapter serves to introduce the work Dr Rudolf Pöch did as a scholar, before he embarked upon his expedition to southern Africa in 1907. Instead of simply reciting a chronology of what would commonly be understood as key moments of his career, I situate his biography in the broader context of the establishment of anthropological studies as academic discipline and the socio-political changes that enabled a more consistent support of scientific expeditions. By highlighting the networks that Pöch operated in, my detailed reconstruction enables a clearer understanding of his path to becoming the first professor for anthropology and ethnography in Austria than the existing literature could provide so far.² Pöch's biography is exemplary of a generation of anthropologists who could not be formally trained in anthropology and ethnology themselves. They operated in an era when anthropological studies began to get established as academic discipline. To support these developments, new funding mechanisms were put into place. This infrastructure involved collecting institutions (as discussed in the previous chapter), and institutions like the Academy of Sciences, which, in Austria, received more and more private donations to further scientific research. The financial support and the restructuring of society according to a capitalist mode of production made anthropological (and other scientific) studies more

¹ Cornelia Essner, *Deutsche Afrikareisende im neunzehnten Jahrhundert: zur Sozialgeschichte des Reisens* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1985), 93; my translation.

² After his return from southern Africa, in 1910, Pöch started teaching anthropology and ethnography at the University of Vienna. From 1910-1913 he also worked as assistant at the phonogram archive of the Academy of Sciences in Vienna. In 1915 he earned a doctorate of philosophy with Rudolf Martin in Munich as supervisor. From 1914-1916 he fulfilled his service obligation as medical doctor. From 1915-1918 he conducted racial studies with prisoners of war. In 1919, he was appointed full professor for anthropology and ethnography at the University of Vienna and married his former student, Hella Schürer von Waldheim. In 1921, Pöch died (cf. Maria Teschler Nicola, 'Rudolf Pöch's osteologische Sammlung', 53). Many people have worked on different aspects of Pöch's career, including Margit Berner, Walter Sauer, Maria Teschler-Nicola, Britta Lange, Anette Hoffmann, the late Martin Legassick and Ciraj Rassool and I reference their work throughout the thesis.

accessible for the (emerging) middle class. As will be outlined in this chapter, the emergence of the trained scholar as researcher in the field and the demand for longer expeditions to back up claims made in the anthropological field were intertwined with these shifts in class structure within academia. Using Pösch's career path as an example, I also wish to illustrate how the scientific expedition served as a means of creating value and generating different forms of capital for the scholar conducting the expedition.

Born 1870 in Tarnopol, Galicia, at the periphery of the empire, as son of an engineer and later railway director, Pösch moved to Vienna with his family before entering school. From 1890 until 1895, he studied medicine at the University of Vienna. Pösch started working in 1896 at the General Hospital in Vienna as assistant doctor under Edmund Neusser, medical advisor of emperor Francis Joseph I. In 1897, he took part in a four month expedition to study the plague in Bombay, organised and paid for by the Academy of Sciences in Vienna. All of the four medical members of the team were young but Pösch, who turned 27 while in India, was the youngest. He travelled as assistant and was also appointed to take over the scientific work of the leader of the expedition, Dr Hermann Müller, in case unforeseen circumstances would prevent Müller from continuing his work. To travel into the epicentre of a ravaging pandemic came, of course, at some risk.³ None of the expedition's members had travelled outside of Europe before.⁴

³ This was also the opinion of the officials working at the Viennese branch of the "Star" life insurance. To their "intensive regret" they first decided to deny the insurance of the four medical members of the expedition. Only after further negotiations with Eduard Suess, the vice-president of the Academy of Sciences at the time, could a deal be made. In view of the "cultural mission" of the expedition and with a surcharge of 10% per person (in the case of the "according to medical reports less resilient" Dr Ghon 11%), "Star" was willing to make an exception (Star correspondence, AÖAW, Pest Kommission, file 1, no 166/1897).

⁴ Maria Teschler-Nicola, 'Die Wiener Pest-Expedition 1897 - Rudolf Pöschs erste Forschungsreise', *MAGW* 136/137 (2006/2007): 75-105, here 78-83.

Only a few years earlier, in 1894, Alexandre Émile Jean Yersin, a student of Louis Pasteur, had identified the pathogen responsible for the plague. The press was divided over the necessity of an Austrian expedition to study the disease. The Academy seems to have been motivated by the desire to play a part in an international effort to further research on the illness. Moreover, there was a possibility that the epidemic might spread to Austria via a newly established trading connection through the shipping company Austrian Lloyd Triest, which sailed to Shanghai via Bombay and Hong Kong.⁵ Maria Teschler alluded to the stark competition and colonial approach that seems to have dominated the behaviour of the several international commissions that conducted research in Bombay at the time. Different hospitals were divided between the German, Austrian and Russian teams. The Austrian team arrived first and, as they noted in a report to the Academy of Sciences, could secure “the possession” of “the best” hospital, namely that for the “poorest of the poor”, thereby increasing opportunities for dissections.⁶ However, the doctors complained about the suspicion and mistrust they encountered from patients and their relatives. As one member of the expedition noted,

the latter were often a huge obstacle for any scientific observation.... The beds of the sick were often completely besieged by relatives and friends who followed every movement of the physician with a fearful expression and could not be removed from the bed.⁷

Despite protests from the locals, who feared maltreatment of their loved ones by the colonial government and the international commissions, and a general hesitance or even resistance against dissections, the Austrian commission conducted more than 50 dissections within the first two months of their stay. In a report published much later, Pösch claimed that he could

⁵ Ibid., 76 f.

⁶ Report Ghon and Albrecht to Weichselbaum, Bombay, 26 March 1897, AÖAW, pest commission, file 2, no number qt. in Teschler-Nicola, ‘Die Wiener Pest-Expedition, 81 f.

⁷ Ibid., in Teschler-Nicola, ‘Die Wiener Pest-Expedition, 83; my translation.

soon gain the trust of his patients and never had any problems with them or their relatives.⁸ This resembles his later official reports of his anthropological expeditions, during which he also claimed to have gained the trust of the people he wanted to research by offering medical support, although some of his diary entries suggest otherwise.⁹

Apparently responsible for the visual documentation of the expedition's work, Pöch also took photographs of people and landscapes while travelling, images that were informed by both an ethnographic and touristic gaze.¹⁰ Research on Pöch frequently presents this expedition to Bombay as the foundational moment for his choice to follow an anthropological and ethnological career. Judging from the reports of other members of the expedition and their dismissiveness of the locals' behaviour, during his stay in India, Pöch learned how to navigate a colonial situation as *white* man with additional occupational authority in a very practical manner. Rather than romanticising this expedition as Pöch's 'first contact' with the 'non-European other' and as a trigger of 'scientific curiosity',¹¹ one might consider these experiences of racialised hierarchies and systems of oppression as foundational moments for his later career path. In the aftermath of this expedition, Pöch became a publicly celebrated figure for he contributed to preventing a plague epidemic in Vienna. The team had brought back bacteria to examine in the laboratory but the lab assistant, the leading doctor and several nurses got infected and eventually died. Pöch took over their care and later published the results of the study.¹² He was conferred the Knight's Cross of the Imperial Austrian Order of Franz Joseph and another order by the city of Vienna for his efforts.

⁸ Teschler-Nicola, 'Die Wiener Pest-Expedition', 84 f.

⁹ In one of his diaries from New Guinea, for example, Pöch mentioned an incident that occurred when he went to treat a sick woman in a village. An old man said to Pöch: "Why don't you finally all go back to Europe! You are bringing diseases! How many in the village have already died! You, too, will die and then other Whites will come and they will shoot us all dead." (Pöch, *Kleine Hefte Neu-Guinea I*, NHM, anthropological department, p. 8).

¹⁰ Maria Teschler-Nicola, 'Die Wiener Pest-Expedition', 85-94.

¹¹ I discuss these discourses in detail in *Schreiben über Dr. Rudolf Pöch's ›Forschungsreisen‹*, 106 f.

¹² Maria Teschler-Nicola, 'Die Wiener Pest-Expedition', 99.

The expedition was initiated by Anton Weichselbaum, one of Carl Rokitansky's students and head of the pathological institute and museum from 1894. Pöch's correspondence from his first self-organised expedition to New-Guinea and Australia from 1904 to 1906 suggests that Weichselbaum enjoyed a somewhat paternal relationship with Pöch, something also reflected in the fact that Pöch called Weichselbaum "good old man" when referring to him in letters to others. In a letter to his mother, Pöch reported:

I also received letters from G.O.M [good old man] and Suess. G.O. is very glad about preparations that I sent to the pathological institute. He really writes very kindly, fatherly, and wishes me more such beautiful successes further on. He also read my report. I had sent it to Suess, Toldt read it out aloud in the meeting of the Academy [of Sciences] and it will get published in the proceedings. He writes that they eagerly await the next report - I am just now busy putting one together.¹³

Although I don't have any further archival evidence, it appears to be a fair assumption that Weichselbaum's support of Pöch was not only shaped by Pöch's abilities to enlarge the collection of the pathological museum, but also by his performance during and after the expedition to Bombay, given that Weichselbaum was the initiator of that expedition. Eduard Suess, who Pöch also mentioned in this letter here, played an equally decisive role for the Bombay expedition. He has also been credited as initiator of Pöch's expedition to southern Africa.¹⁴

Suess, an influential geologist and politician, was Vice-President of the Academy from 1893 to 1898 and its president from 1898 to 1911. Born in London, his family moved first to Prague and then to Vienna when he was still young. His mother had a Jewish background and his father was a Protestant, but his mother was baptised in her early twenties.¹⁵ Suess

¹³ Letter Pöch to his mother, Sydney, 4 August, letter books VI, NHM, anthropological department; my translation.

¹⁴ See, for example, Eugen Oberhummer, 'Rudolf Pöch (gestorben am 4. März 1921): Nachruf', *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft Wien* 51 (1921): 95–104, here 99.

¹⁵ Wolfgang Raetus Gasche, 'Eduard Suess und seine Familie', in *Eduard Suess (1831-1914). Wiener*

therefore was a member of a minority in the predominantly Catholic Austria. Internationally, Eduard Suess became known mainly for his ground-breaking geological work. He developed some of the terminology that is still used in tectonics today, such as Gondwanaland for a historic supercontinent, and Tethys, a former equatorial ocean.¹⁶ For Vienna and its surroundings, his conceptualisation and advocacy for a mountain spring pipeline system and the regulation of the Danube might have been his most crucial contributions. But he was also an outspoken liberal politician, lobbying for the marginalised and, like the younger Zuckerkandl, promoted the popularisation and broader dissemination of scientific knowledge. In 1888, he was appointed rector of the University of Vienna. However, Catholic clerics and German Nationalists boycotted and protested against him, and a stark anti-Semitic campaign led him to resign from the position after only half a year.¹⁷ In light of the extraordinary successes and improvements Suess had brought for Vienna and the fact that neither he nor his parents were actually practicing Jews, these incidents give one a sense of the immense pervasiveness of anti-Semitic violence at the time. During his presidency at the Academy of Sciences, Suess initiated international networks between European and US Academies and promoted several significant joint scientific overseas expeditions, alongside the ones to Bombay and southern Africa, such as one to southern Arabia and two to Brazil.¹⁸ His reputation and cosmopolitanism helped the Austrian Academy increase its international relevance.

Großbürger – Wissenschaftler – Politiker. Zum 100. Todestag, ed. by ibid. et al. (Vienna: Geological Survey of Austria Press, 2014), 13-18, here 17 f.

¹⁶ 'Eduard Suess', Encyclopedia Britannica, published 20 July 1998, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Eduard-Suess> (accessed 11 May 2020).

¹⁷ Brigitte Hamann, 'Eduard Suess als liberaler Politiker', in *Eduard Suess zum Gedenken*, ed. by Günther Hamann (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 1983), 79-100, here 94-7.

¹⁸ Daniela Angetter, 'Eduard Suess und die Präsidentschaft der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften', in *Eduard Suess (1831-1914). Wiener Großbürger*, 24-30, here 26-28.

As we can see in the correspondence from New Guinea, like Weichselbaum, Suess and Toldt maintained encouraging communication with Pöch and it will become evident later that Pöch also benefitted from Suess's connections. While it would be wrong to attribute the benevolent stance towards Pöch exclusively to his successes in connection with the plague expedition, it is nevertheless apt to state that his stay in Bombay meant a significant step for his career. The expedition helped Pöch build social capital and achieve a status of belonging within this specific academic milieu. Thinking with Bourdieu (and backed up by empirical studies such as Cornelia Essner's, quoted in the beginning of this chapter and discussed in more detail below), one could describe the expedition as an 'institution rite' in the re/production of social relations that promise access to social capital (and, in consequence, the potential to transform it into other forms of capital).

The existence of a network of connections is not a natural given, or even a social given It is the product of an endless effort at institution, of which institution rites – often wrongly described as rites of passage – mark the essential moments and which is necessary in order to produce and reproduce lasting, useful relationships that can secure material or symbolic profits. In other words, the network of relationships is the product of investment strategies, individual or collective, consciously or unconsciously aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are directly usable in the short or long term ... into relationships that are at once necessary and elective, implying durable obligations subjectively felt ... or institutionally guaranteed (rights). This is done through the alchemy of consecration, the symbolic constitution produced by social institution ... and endlessly reproduced in and through the exchange (of gifts, words, women, etc.) which it encourages and which presupposes and produces mutual knowledge and recognition. Exchange transforms the things exchanged into signs of recognition and, through the mutual recognition and the recognition of group membership which it implies, re-produces the group. By the same token, it reaffirms the limits of the group, i.e., the limits beyond which the constitutive exchange – trade, commensality, or marriage – cannot take place.¹⁹

As will be seen in this and the following chapters, in the case of Pöch building his career as an anthropologist, some of the exchange goods included body parts from indigenous people

¹⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, 'The Forms of Capital', 249 f.

in the colonies on his part and recommendation letters and access to colonial infrastructure on the side of his counterparts. The expedition was an essential tool for the institutionalisation of a social network that would continue to be profitable to Pöch and which he maintained by correspondence, selective sharing of knowledge and the appropriation and transfer of bodies and artefacts of the colonised. Through the Bombay expedition, Pöch had the opportunity to gain experience and prove himself ‘in the field’ even before he started his anthropological career. The network of agents that he entered and to which he affirmed his belonging through this expedition was racialised, gendered and reflected the developments in class structure in the academic field that were taking place at the time.

It was not anthropology as discipline that invented the merit of fieldwork for academic scholarship. Rather, by the second half of the 19th century, all naturalists started to consider fieldwork a necessary method for their studies. This went hand in hand with a restructuring of academic research in general. Before the integration of fieldwork into the image of a credible natural history scholar, quite a strict division of labour existed between those who collected zoological and other scientific ‘material’ and those who interpreted the findings. Henrika Kuklick observed that, at the time, this division of labour was frequently lauded as suitable method to maintain impartiality on the part of both the collector and the scholar, thereby improving the scientific quality of the results.²⁰ She linked the now often lamented lack of information about the provenance of the collected ‘material’ to the unquestioned belief that it was the scholar’s job to analyse within the protected sphere of his (aristocratic) studio, in communication with his fellows, not in communication with the environment the ‘material’ was taken from. The division of labour was clearly marked by class difference. The

²⁰ Henrika Kuklick, ‘After Ishmael: The Fieldwork Tradition and Its Future’, in *Anthropological locations: Boundaries and grounds of a field science*, ed. by Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1997), 47-65, here 54.

sometimes dangerous and often ‘distasteful’, ‘physical, dirty work’ that needed to be done in the field was simply not considered to be a ‘gentlemanly activity’.²¹

However, with the expansion of the middle class in the 19th century, and with the sciences becoming an actual potential career path, scholarly work became less exclusively an aristocratic business. By the second half of the 19th century, naturalists became increasingly specialised and professionalised, and this was the case in Austria, too. Institutional structures were founded and reshaped so that they were now also allowed to fund scholarly work, and with it expeditions and fieldwork. It is during this time, that calls for trained collectors in the field became more frequent throughout all disciplines. It was also all disciplines, not just anthropology, that benefitted from the protection afforded by colonial authorities for their fieldwork, as part of colonial occupation.²² According to Kuklik,

with professionalization, naturalists of every stripe embraced a new scientific creed. This was, not surprisingly, defined in opposition to the ethos of the professionals’ amateur predecessors. The new creed was a distinctly middle-class one embodying the aspirations of those sectors of various European and American populations whose interests were served by the professionalization of those occupations that remain a base of middle-class status.²³

By the last third of the 19th century, then, a specific imagination of the proper fieldworker emerged, that was heavily marked by the social and economic changes in Europe and the colonial situation. These imaginaries of the fieldworker, as Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson claim, persist in an archetypal idea of the anthropologist today. In this construction of the anthropological subject, as they convincingly show, the ‘field site’ plays a significant role.

²¹ Ibid., 53.

²² Ibid., 49-51.

²³ Ibid., 52.

‘The field’ is often still assumed to be opposed to ‘home’ and simultaneously associated with ‘a place set apart from the urban,’ a place that needs to be reached by travel.²⁴

The hierarchy of field sites privileges those places most Other for Euro-Americans and those that stand most clearly opposed to a middle-class self. Similarly, the notion of going to ‘the field’ from which one returns ‘home’, becomes problematic for those minorities, postcolonials, and ‘halfies’ for whom the anthropological project is not an exploration of Otherness.²⁵

The archetypical anthropological subject was also noticeably gendered. The notion that fieldwork was something dangerous that required an adventurous, heroic, male figure to master the situation seems to have been carefully crafted during the process of merging the previously divided roles of the hands-on collector on the ground and the noble scholar.

Henrika Kuklick suggested that this was influenced by a ‘general cultural matrix’ in which

personal growth (of an implicitly masculine sort) could be effected through pilgrimages to unfamiliar places, where the European traveler endured physical discomfort and (genuine or imagined) danger.²⁶

In Austria, the Academy of Sciences contributed to enabling such expeditions. From the last third of the 19th century, they could access private endowments made to them in the support of science to fund individual research, even of non-members. Before 1914, about a third of the accepted applications for funding of scientific research were used for travel costs. Of the eighteen expeditions funded before 1900, seven had destinations within Europe, mainly the Balkans, five in the Middle East and the Caucasus. From 1900 until 1914, only three of the twenty expeditions funded took place within Europe. Five destinations were in the Americas, five in Asia, five in Africa and two in the Middle East. None of the people who received

²⁴ Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, ‘Discipline and Practice: “The Field” as Site, Method, and Location in Anthropology’, in *Anthropological locations*, 1-46, here 8.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 17.

²⁶ Henrika Kuklick, ‘After Ishmael’, 48.

travel funding were women.²⁷ The only explicitly anthropological study funded prior to Pöch's expedition to southern Africa was submitted by Carl Toldt on behalf of the 'Commission for the anthropological and ethnographic study of Tyrol' in 1896.²⁸ Walter Sauer has written poignantly of the Academy of Sciences as being at the centre of a cluster of colonial auxiliary sciences, together with the Geographical and Anthropological Societies, the relevant departments at the Natural History Museum and the University of Vienna, as well as the Military Geographical Institute.²⁹

At the time when Pöch decided to pursue anthropological studies, there was still no avenue for him to do so in Vienna. In 1900, two years after his return from Bombay, he went to Berlin to train one year with Felix von Luschan (1854-1924). After several research excursions, Luschan had been appointed assistant to the director of the Royal Museum for Ethnology (*Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde*) in Berlin in 1886.³⁰ Under von Luschan's mentorship, Pöch conducted studies in the African-Oceanic Department of the museum and published his first ethnographic paper in 1901, analysing 'Carved Figures from German New

²⁷ Inventory of the subsidy files (*Archivbehelf Subventionen*), AÖAW. Only three of all the 765 accepted applications for individual funding before 1914 were submitted by women (Stefan Siennel, 'Das Subventionswesen der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften vor 1914 unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Fächer Physik und Chemie', in Inventory of the subsidy files, p. 4.).

²⁸ „Ansuchen um eine Subvention von 3.000 fl. (...) zum Zwecke der wissenschaftlichen Bearbeitung des von der ‚Commission zur anthropologischen und ethnographischen Erforschung Tirols‘ mit Unterstützung des k.k. Ministeriums für Cultus u. Unterricht und des Landesauschusses gesammelten Materials über die somatischen Eigenschaften der Landesbevölkerung von Tirol und Vorarlberg (1048/1896, 1095/1896)“ (inventory of the subsidy files of the AÖAW).

²⁹ Walter Sauer, 'Österreich und Namibia: Ein schwieriges Verhältnis im langen 20. Jahrhundert', in *Wien - Windhoek retour: 150 Jahre Beziehungen zwischen Österreich und Namibia*, ed. by ibid., Elfriede-Pekny-Gesellschaft zur Förderung von Southern African Studies in Österreich (Vienna: Dokumentations- und Kooperationszentrum Südliches Afrika (SADOCC), 2008), 7-61, here 16.

³⁰ See, for a rather affirmative take on Luschan as "polymath", Peter Ruggendorfer, Hubert Szemethy, eds., *Felix von Luschan*, 2009; on Luschan's theoretical background Anja Laukötter, *Von der „Kultur“ zur „Rasse“*. Over the past ten years, a critical discussion of Luschan's role in the trade and collection of human remains and artefacts, especially during his directorship at the Royal Museum for Ethnology in Berlin, has gained pace, intensified by the debates around the Humboldt Forum in Berlin. Pöch and Luschan's close collaboration for anthropological examinations of prisoners of war during the First World War have also been scrutinised (Britta Lange, *Die Wiener Forschungen an Kriegsgefangenen 1915-1918. Anthropologische und ethnografische Verfahren im Lager* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2013) and others).

Guinea'.³¹ Pöch was also enrolled as guest student at the Friedrich Wilhelm University (today Humboldt University) at which Luschan had just started teaching as associate professor in 1900. Von Luschan acted as the opener of doors for Pöch.³² This time in Berlin was also important for Pöch, because

Berlin was the center of German anthropology well into the twentieth century. The anthropological society in Berlin had the largest, most active membership and the widest international contacts both within and outside Europe. The Berlin museum was the largest and best funded in Germany.³³

In her 'collective biography' of German 'Africa travellers' (*Afrikareisende*), Cornelia Essner traced the professionalisation of Germans traveling to Africa for scientific research. Here too, developments like those described by Kuklick can be observed. Throughout the last third of the 19th century, a former division between the untrained traveller on the ground and the educated scholar 'at home' was gradually merged into one figure, the 'research traveller'. Already in 1879, Robert Hartmann, professor for anatomy at the Friedrich Wilhelm University, who had acquired a reputation as expert for Africa, demanded that Africa travellers should pursue their aims as anatomically trained anthropologists and not as amateurs like in the past.³⁴ In 1896, Rudolf Virchow still lamented that more educated research travellers were needed and that they had to spend more time at their destination to guarantee that their studies would be thorough.³⁵

Essner detected several generations of Africa travellers throughout the 19th century. As time progressed, the people undertaking these research journeys were increasingly better educated,

³¹ Rudolf Pöch, 'Geschnitzte Figuren aus Deutsch-Neu-Guinea', *Globus* 79/22 (1901): 352-4.

³² Marion Melk-Koch, *Auf der Suche nach der menschlichen Gesellschaft: Richard Thurnwald* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1989), 24.

³³ Andrew Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany*, 4 f.

³⁴ Cornelia Essner, *Deutsche Afrikareisende*, 39.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 42.

started to conduct several journeys within their career and tended to stay longer at their research destinations. Towards the end of the 19th century, more and more people who travelled to Africa had undergone anthropological training. However, since academic and institutional professionalisation of the anthropological disciplines was still in its beginning stages, career opportunities were uncertain. To conduct a research journey thus offered the opportunity to prove one's abilities, and to increase one's credibility.³⁶ This was also a project of building one's symbolic and social capital. Berlin had advanced to being a hub for people pursuing these goals. Among the institutions that contributed to creating this centre of research endowment were the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences, the Friedrich Wilhelm University and the Anthropological Society. They were joined by several foundations which sponsored research journeys to the German colonial territories, thus creating a growing network of institutional and financial resources. Berlin was also the place where success stories had emerged of people who had travelled to Africa. Indeed, many people who held chairs at the university had earned their wings by conducting research journeys. Essner remarked on how significant Berlin was for scholarly development:

With regard to the effects of these role models for the described career paths one must highlight that the majority of later Africa travellers temporarily studied in Berlin, which gave them the opportunity of getting into direct contact with these established, well-travelled scholars Recommendations by authorities with good reputations and experience in research journeys played a decisive role for the participation in an expedition or funding applications.³⁷

With Felix von Luschan, Pöch certainly had access to a potent, established figure in the field. Luschan organised for Pöch to participate in an expedition for the Institute for Maritime and Tropical Diseases in Hamburg. In 1902, Pöch trained at the institute for five months and then proceeded, on board of a ship of the Woermann line, along the coast of West Africa to study

³⁶ Ibid., esp. 91-95.

³⁷ Ibid., 95; my translation.

malaria.³⁸ Adolph Woermann, at the time owner of the Woermann company and its shipping branch, became known as the epitome of a ruthless colonial trader. His father had already established a flourishing business by trading in fabric from Asia and Australia and started exchanging fabric, spirit and weapons for palm oil, cocoa and ivory in West Africa. It was this colonial business that Adolph Woermann inherited in 1880. As an influential politician, Woermann was a leader amongst those merchants in Hamburg, who eventually convinced Bismarck to provide state protection for their colonising activities in Africa. Woermann's methods in West Africa were of outmost cruelty. He had villages plundered and burnt down, with people taken captive and forced to work on his plantations. He bought enslaved people to make them build railway lines. Woermann's excessive distribution of brandy in the region and the catastrophic consequences of the ensuing alcoholism were highly criticised, even in German parliament at the time. Business interests, however, remained protected. Woermann owned shares in various colonial trading houses, banks, shipping companies, mines and railway companies, and he held several political and advisory positions. He also acted as 'advisor' during the 'Berlin conference' in 1884-1885 in which the colonial powers divided African territory amongst themselves. The Woermann company became one of the biggest profiteers from the war and genocide against the Nama and Herero in German South West Africa.³⁹ They charged the German state high rates for transporting soldiers and weapons and used people imprisoned in concentration camps for forced labour for their own company and others that Adolph Woermann held shares in.⁴⁰ From Olusoga and Erichsen we learn that

³⁸ Sylvia Kirchengast and Gabriele Weiss, 'Rudolf Pöch', in *Die Entdeckungen der Welt. Die Welt der Entdeckungen. Österreichische Forscher, Sammler, Abenteurer* (Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 2001), 372-380, here 373.

³⁹ It is commonly stated that the genocide lasted from 1904 to 1908 but Memory Biwa makes the argument that it began in 1903 (Memory Biwa, 'Toa Tama !Khams Ge': *Remembering the War in Namakhoeland, 1903-1908* (unpublished Master's thesis: University of Cape Town, 2006), esp. 45-53).

⁴⁰ H.M. Jokinen, Frauke Steinhäuser, 'Woermannstieg', in *Kolonialakteure: Biographien von A bis Z*, City of Hamburg, 2015, <https://www.hamburg.de/contentblob/7113252/c295990bc867dd92877eb1a3c16a0534/data/woermannstieg.pdf> (accessed 26 May 2020).

as surviving photographs show, at Swakopmund, the Woermann Shipping Line employed so many concentration-camp prisoners that they were permitted to open their own 'enclosure'.⁴¹

So called 'tropical diseases' were a hot topic for colonising countries. For the question of acclimatisation of Europeans to tropical climates, the treatment of diseases like malaria was especially relevant. In the German Empire, coinciding with German colonial occupation, debates around adaptability climaxed in the 1880s. By the 1890s, the study of tropical diseases had become an institutionalised research field with state funding within the broader field of bacteriology. Robert Koch's medical and self-marketing successes helped bacteriology to become a favoured branch of science in the German Empire. Koch, who was one of the founding scholars of the field of bacteriology, achieved some of his breakthroughs while working in colonial territories and using colonial subjects as guinea pigs.⁴² Research on tuberculosis, typhus, cholera, plague and dysentery was of significance for both the population's health within the Empire and for the success of the colonial project. In 1891, the Royal Prussian Institute for Infectious Diseases in Berlin was founded, headed by Robert Koch. After an intervention of the German colonial movement, the German state subsequently established an institution exclusively dedicated to tropical medicine. This body, the Institute for Maritime and Tropical Diseases opened in 1900.⁴³

⁴¹ David Olusuga and Casper W. Erichsen, *The Kaiser's Holocaust: Germany's Forgotten Genocide* (London: Faber & Faber, 2010), 167.

⁴² In light of the recent attempts to push for more recognition of the ongoing effects of racism and colonialism in Germany, Robert Koch's legacy has also been discussed more controversially. The institute in which information on the Covid-19 pandemic is centralised in Germany is named after Koch, so that his name is currently mentioned during every news broadcasting, countless times a day. Demands to rename the institute have so far not been met. (See, for example, Thamil Ananthavinayagan, 'Robert Koch, research and experiment in the colonial space or: Subjugating the non-European under the old international law', *Völkerrechtsblog*, published 10 June 2020, <https://voelkerrechtsblog.org/de/robert-koch-research-and-experiment-in-the-colonial-space-or/> (accessed 16 February 2021)).

⁴³ Manuela Bauche, *Medizin und Herrschaft: Malariabekämpfung in Kamerun, Ostafrika und Ostfriesland (1890-1919)* (Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 2017), 43-48.

Although Koch had wanted the new institute to be in Berlin, Bernhard Nocht, who was appointed head, succeeded in shifting its location to Hamburg. Nocht had studied medicine in Berlin and then worked as doctor for the Imperial German Navy. In 1884, his ship sank while he was travelling East Asia and he eventually stayed abroad for two years. Apparently it was here that he also gained experience in treating the cholera. His expertise made Koch bring Nocht to join his institute in Berlin. In 1892, together with Koch, Nocht was sent to Hamburg to help mitigate a cholera outbreak. Subsequently, Nocht was offered a position as port medical officer. As such, he was able to present convincing arguments in favour of the port city that handled the traffic to and from the colonised world as the home for a new institution for tropical medicine.⁴⁴ He was also very aware of the prevalence and distribution of diseases among the seamen coming into the harbour. At their return, those seaman infected by one of the respective illnesses were sent to the Institute for Maritime and Tropical Diseases to be treated. The institute also became the place where all physicians who were about to start working in the colonies had to get their training in tropical medicine before departure.⁴⁵ The task Pöch was selected for was directly connected to colonial trade. The Woermann line had experienced an especially high rate of infection with malaria and growing mortality on those ships that went along the West coast of Africa and stopped at Sherbro, Bissau and Bolama. These were, according to Pöch, all relatively small cargo vessels.⁴⁶ Adolf Woermann asked Nocht to do some research on the matter and it was decided to have a doctor trained at the institute accompany one of those travels. Pöch was given a fully-equipped laboratory to enable him to examine illnesses on board. Judging from his subsequent publication in the *Archiv für Schiffs- und Tropen-Hygiene*, the leading German-language publication for

⁴⁴ Bernhard Fleischer, 'A century of research in tropical medicine in Hamburg: the early history and present state of the Bernhard Nocht Institute', *Tropical Medicine & International Health* 5/10 (2000): 747-51, here 747.

⁴⁵ Bauche, *Medizin und Herrschaft*, 49.

⁴⁶ Rudolf Pöch, 'Ergebnisse einer Reise längs der Küste von Senegambien und Oberguinea, Sonder-Ausdruck aus *Archiv für Schiffs- und Tropenhygiene* 7 (1903): 1-42, here 1.

tropical medicine founded in 1897, Pöch concentrated on elaborating suggestions for malaria prevention for the Woermann line via two methods; quinine intake and mosquito nets.⁴⁷

Pöch used the second half of his article to publish some observations on malaria and ‘general hygienic conditions’ in the places at the coast where the ship docked. While the crew were barred, Pöch and the captain were allowed to go ashore. Pöch remarked early on in his report that he frequently spent the night on land, seemingly as the only one of the ship’s company.⁴⁸ As Pöch noted, all these places were in ‘non-German colonies’, but yet were ones where ‘German trade’ was growing.⁴⁹ His descriptions of the places he visited followed a similar scheme in each section. He gave a very short overall impression of the infrastructure, focussing on the medical care available, the number of Europeans living at the place, a list of frequent illnesses and the situation with regard to malaria and breeding sites for mosquitos, such as wetlands and sewage systems. His terminology was couched within a highly racialised colonial framework, with everyone placed in a racial template. The Portuguese, for example, in his view showed a higher adaptability to the tropical climate, which he connected to the fact that “their race at some point acquired a North African element”.⁵⁰ Before concluding the article with a full description of the laboratory he worked with, Pöch made two more observations:

The impression of the hygienic conditions in the travelled territories would not be complete if alcoholism was not mentioned. Its traces and consequences must be noted even during short visits. The topic has been repeatedly discussed by experienced tropical doctors, also in this publication. The desire for improvement is stirred in everyone who has an earnest interest in colonising activities. The big difficulty of achieving something lies in the fact that the colonialist, in his life full of deprivation in this foreign country, develops an especially strong attachment to all habits brought

⁴⁷ Ibid., 3.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 2.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 23.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 27; my translation.

from home, therefore also the embosomed drinking customs and drinking sprees.⁵¹

During his medical studies, Pöch had spent one semester in Zurich. Apparently it was in Switzerland that Pöch was inspired by his teacher Auguste Forel, one of the pioneers of the temperance movement, to join the cause. Together with one of his close friends, Richard Thurnwald, Pöch became a member of the Viennese *Abstinenzgesellschaft*, a society promoting sobriety as a means to improve socio-political conditions, especially of the working class.⁵² He concluded his remarks about the conditions in West Africa by stating that any success in the colonies would depend on the success of the abstinence movement at home, in Europe. Pöch's second observation in his article concerned the working conditions of the firemen. Pöch noticed an increase in red blood cells after the firemen finished their shifts and associated this with a thickening of the blood due to the high temperature and dry air in the stokehold.⁵³ Although the latter observation was also related to the testing of the effects of the quinine, both remarks can be linked to him being a devoted Social Democrat and as such having an interest in the improvement of the working and living situation of the European man. Pöch's racialised understanding of humankind went hand in hand with a simultaneous commitment to improving the living situation of the *white* poor and working class in Europe.

Pöch maintained contact with both Nocht and Woermann. He met both in Hamburg, before boarding the ship to southern Africa in November 1907.⁵⁴ Woermann gave Pöch a 20% price reduction for this travel to German South-West Africa.⁵⁵ After his expedition to New Guinea,

⁵¹ Ibid., 38; my translation.

⁵² Marion Melk-Koch, *Auf der Suche nach der menschlichen Gesellschaft*, 22.

⁵³ Ibid., 39.

⁵⁴ Pöch's diaries from southern Africa, NHM, anthropological department, 14.037a, book 1, 1907/08, 2.

⁵⁵ Letter Pöch to the presidium of the Academy of Sciences, Vienna, 7 Oct. 1907, AÖAW, subsidies, box 3, No. 862/1906.

while in Sydney, Pöch wrote a letter to Nocht, informing him in detail about his successful experiences in preventing and curing his own malaria infections with quinine. He also mentioned that he had sent some preparations and a letter earlier that year, 1905, from Friedrich-Wilhelmshafen. However, concerning the general use of quinine to wipe out malaria more permanently, Pöch was sceptical:

With regard to a general implementation of quinine prophylaxis, in light of the impression I've gained of the conditions, one could at best realise this in respect to the Europeans. To expand it to the natives is almost impossible in the long run. Under certain pressure, as long as they are scared, one can force the native to do all kinds of things, therefore also to once do a quinine prophylaxis. But to really exterminate the malaria, one would need a strict and continuously executed prophylaxis.⁵⁶

Given other accounts of anthropologists in colonial territories and the myriad ways in which colonised people resisted and avoided their transgressive research methods, Pöch's omnipotent fantasies can easily be questioned. It is much more likely that Pöch used the trope of the fearful "native" to bond with his male European colleague. Either way, Pöch's comment shows his employment of a dominant discourse of the superiority of the European, the coloniser, and the refusal to enable a respectful interaction with the rest of the population. Pöch ended his letter to Nocht with similar observations on the abuse of alcohol as in his article on the conditions at the West African coast and indirectly gave Nocht permission to publish the material. Just like the expedition to Bombay, the expedition to West Africa helped Pöch increase his social and symbolic capital. Once again, through his education as medical doctor, he gained access to colonised territories and became acquainted with being on the side of the colonisers. He also gifted "five ethnographic items from West Africa" to the Natural History Museum in Vienna.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Letter to Bernhard Nocht, Sydney, 11 July 1905, Pöch letter books V, NHM, anthropological department, pp 177-194, here 181; my translation.

⁵⁷ Inventory books Worldmuseum Vienna, 1902, accession numbers 71203-71204.

Von Luschan offered Pöch yet another expedition. He wanted him to do research in Oceania and would have organised the trip and allocated funding for it. Pöch turned down the offer and instead organised and paid for the expedition himself,⁵⁸ a choice that must have been facilitated by his wealthy family background. The decision to finance the expedition out of his own pocket also allowed Pöch to hold on to the authority to keep or dispose of whatever he acquired on his travels. If he had accepted Luschan's proposal and funding from a German foundation, he would most probably have been obliged to at least offer the collections to the Ethnological Museum in Berlin first or the contract would have even categorically prescribed that all collections became the museum's possession.⁵⁹ Pöch reserved 10 000 Kronen for the projected one year long expedition.⁶⁰ Eventually, he was able to recuperate almost all his expenses by selling items to the Natural History Museum, the Botanical Museum, the Zoological Garden Schönbrunn and the Anatomical Institute of the University in Vienna, as well as to Carl Toldt, Emil Zuckerkandl and Julius Tandler,⁶¹ a former fellow medical student and friend, who became Zuckerkandl's successor in 1910 and an influential politician for the Social Democrats. This is one of the examples of the direct transformation of the social, cultural and symbolic capital that Pöch had acquired throughout the years into economic capital. Later, during Pöch's expedition through southern Africa, he was also able to

⁵⁸ Maria Teschler-Nicola, 'Felix von Luschan und die Wiener Anthropologische Gesellschaft', 71.

⁵⁹ The museum in Berlin was granted a general right of pre-emption with regards to collections from the German colonies from 1889. The regulation kept being contested from other German institutions but never changed until it became obsolete when the German Empire lost its colonial territories after its defeat in the First World War (Anja Laukötter, *Von der "Kultur" zur "Rasse"*, 157). When Leonard Schultze, a contemporary of Pöch who will be discussed in the next chapter, got funding for an expedition to German South West-Africa, the contract with the Prussian Academy of Science specified that all his collections would become the Academy's possession and that they would then distribute them to museums and other institutions. (Larissa Förster and Holger Stoecker, *Haut, Haar und Knochen; Koloniale Spuren in naturkundlichen Sammlungen der Universität Jena* (Weimar: VDG, 2016), 68).

⁶⁰ Work plan Rudolf Pöch, n.d., ÖStA HHStA MdÄ AR Fach 47 (Passwesen und Reisesachen), Karton 45, Fachstudienreisen 2/178. Ultimately, he travelled for about two years.

⁶¹ Maria Teschler-Nicola, 'Rudolf Pöch's osteologische Lehr- und Forschungssammlung im Spannungsfeld von Wissenschaft und Ethik', *MAGW* 1414 (2011), 51-66, here 54 f.

negotiate with the Academy to keep some of his collections for himself, at his own expense. This was indeed a strategic move that increased his own value as scholar and teacher, thereby transforming the investments he had made into an increase of symbolic capital as well as a transformation into academic and intellectual capital.

During his expedition to Oceania, Pöch made film and audio recordings, took photographs and anthropometrical measurements, and acquired zoological, botanical and ethnographic ‘collections’, as well as human remains. I will not expand upon his Oceania expedition here and instead will selectively refer back to this first self-organised expedition of Pöch when talking about the expedition to southern Africa. Here, I want to highlight a few aspects of his correspondence and reports from New Guinea and Australia that connect to the question of the collections as a means of production of capital and the ways Pöch used and expanded his own social and symbolic capital through this expedition.

One of these aspects is the competitive element in the work he was doing. As Maria Teschler-Nicola has pointed out, Pöch had a competitive relation with Luschan, which might have been another reason for him to dismiss Luschan’s proposal. In one of his letters towards the end of this expedition, Pöch told his friend Richard Thurnwald, who had started working at the Ethnological Museum in Berlin in 1901:

I often took pleasure in the thought that I could stomp a “Luschan” into the ground with all that this travel has brought me. For example, “I have 80 skulls” and 15 skeletons, 5 cases of human soft parts in formaldehyde, 1200 anthropological photographs, 72 gramophone and 28 cinematograph recordings, 1400 ethnological artefacts etc., etc.” [sic] I see Schani sink into the ground. “A dozen different tribes, i.e. about 100 people were rounded up so that I could see and film their dances, I travelled on board the government’s cutter along the north east coast for one month, I

made prehistoric excavations” [sic] I see the ground close over Schani.⁶²

It is clear that any obsession that Pöch had with the quantity of items brought to Austria became intimately linked with fantasies of outdoing – indeed, defeating – a male superior of his. Competition was also a factor for the situation ‘in the field’, where Pöch had to strategically navigate the simultaneous presence of other scholars. One of them was Hermann Klaatsch. He was a student and later assistant under Wilhelm Waldeyer at the anatomical institute in Berlin before he moved to Heidelberg to become an assistant at the anatomical department there. From 1904 to 1907 Klaatsch conducted a research expedition in Australia.⁶³ Pöch had to indirectly negotiate access to human remains via doctors in New Guinea with Klaatsch. Pöch’s correspondence also gives an insight into his methods of acquisition and their close connections to his experiences as a medical doctor in colonial territory. Pöch had been informed by his colleague Tandler, that some of the human soft parts that one doctor in New Guinea had prepared for Pöch and sent to Vienna had not survived the journey. Apparently, the formaldehyde mixture had not been right. Pöch, now already in Australia, tried to convince that same doctor to repeat the work:

You will understand that I am trying all I can to still get something Here, there is no possibility at all. The natives live too far in the inner country, far away from hospitals etc., let alone dissections. You might ask yourself, why doesn’t he contact colleague Seibert in Herbertshöhe for a change?⁶⁴

⁶² Letter to Thurnwald, Cape Nelson, 20 Dec 1905, Pöch letter books VIII, NHM, anthropological department, pp 126-130, here 127 f.; my translation. Cf. Maria Teschler-Nicola: ‘Felix von Luschan und die Wiener Anthropologische Gesellschaft’, 69.

⁶³ Andreas Winkelmann and Barbara Teßmann, “...und gewinne die Leiche” - Zur Geschichte eines australischen Skeletts in der Berliner Anatomischen Sammlung?, in *Sammeln, Erforschen, Zurückgeben?*, 184-198, here 187 f. As Andrew Abbie has it, Pöch, during his expedition, “made an occasion to spend several months in New South Wales, where, on the advice of the Curator of the Australian Museum, he sought out the aborigines at Copmanhurst, near Grafton. One of his objectives was to compare these aborigines with those described earlier in other parts of the continent by Klaatsch.” (A. A. Abbie, ‘Rudolf Pöch’, in *Oceania* 33 (1962): 128-130, here 128.)

⁶⁴ Letter to Dr Hoffmann, Sydney, 6 July 1905, Pöch letter books V, NHM, anthropological department, pp 110-129, here 113; my translation.

Pöch then explained that upon his arrival in Herbertshöhe, Seibert had an especially high workload so that it seemed inappropriate to burden him with additional requests. Pöch continued his travels and when he returned, Seibert told him that Klaatsch had already written a letter to him to ask for body parts.⁶⁵ Pöch wrote to Hoffmann that

Klaatsch had preempted me here and I felt it to be uncooperative if I would now still make an attempt to belatedly also get some preparations for myself due to my personal connections to Seibert - and in that way undercut Klaatsch. I am now also thinking of the possibility that Klaatsch wrote to you, too - however, I believe that in this case I could still justify my request to you: In this case I would have contacted you an entire year earlier, in July 1904 - and my request today only follows from the fact that because of an ill-fated preservation your originally good intent to help me was not met with full success. I at least feel fully justified in regards to Klaatsch in this matter since I let him have absolutely full rein in Herbertshöhe.⁶⁶

Clearly, it was quite a delicate situation for Pöch, in which he had to show respect for his senior, Klaatsch, but was evidently trying to put his foot down in order to gain access to body parts for his own collections and the institutions he was associated with. Different parts of the same letter have been referred to before by other scholars, since it contained overwhelming detail about what Pöch desired to collect:

Lastly, what I wish. Of course brains, then hand and larynx. Both these things only occurred to me later: the hand is already important because of the skeleton, in none of my skeletons do I have a hand with all wrist bones. And especially our professor has done a lot of research on the metacarpus, I therefore don't want to miss out on studying the differences between the European and the Papua hand with him. Further larynx: In Namatanei I lived next to a Chinese. There I noticed that the voice of the Chinese sounds very similar to the one of the European, while there is a complete difference with the Black. Regarding the language, it is, of course, reversed: the language of the Papua and Melanesian are more similar to our languages in built and sound than the Chinese. So, maybe that is caused by the different built of the larynx and maybe one can find out about it by examination. So - and now, please, laugh at me, because of my ideas! If you object the hand request, I will readily understand it due to the easily visible injury and mutilation of the corpse - a larynx and a brain are

⁶⁵ Ibid., 114.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 115 f.; my translation.

easier to “steal”.⁶⁷

Pöch also made sure to describe in outmost detail how to best preserve a brain in formaldehyde. Right in the beginning of this letter, that is so saturated with strategic rhetoric, he set the tone for the following communication:

With regards to the matter itself, the preparations have, of course, caused me great joy and I would like to say it this way: I do like the living Papuas a lot - but I also very much love their skulls, skeletons, brains etc.⁶⁸

Here, the living person appears as obstacle for reaching what is presented as the more valuable: the dead, dissected body. As is evident in another letter from Pöch to Tandler, Pöch was well aware of the conditions that complicated such thefts that he was asking his colleague in Friedrich-Wilhelmshafen for. Suggesting to Tandler that he write a letter to Dr Hoffman and thank him for his efforts, Pöch explained:

The difficulties are great: primitive dissecting room, no assistance, permanent risk of trouble with the natives, authorities of the New Guinea Comp., who always fear people would thereby be deterred from being recruited.⁶⁹

Even after having read so many of such accounts, it still seems difficult to grasp why people like Hoffmann executed such transgressive and violent tasks. Pöch did send him money, but according to the calculation he included in the letter, none of that was meant for Hoffmann personally.⁷⁰ It is likely that this was owed to politeness and an unspoken rule of the doctor not to make gain through such means, and that Hoffmann indeed would keep some of the money for himself. Nevertheless, it was Pöch who was going to benefit from the symbolic

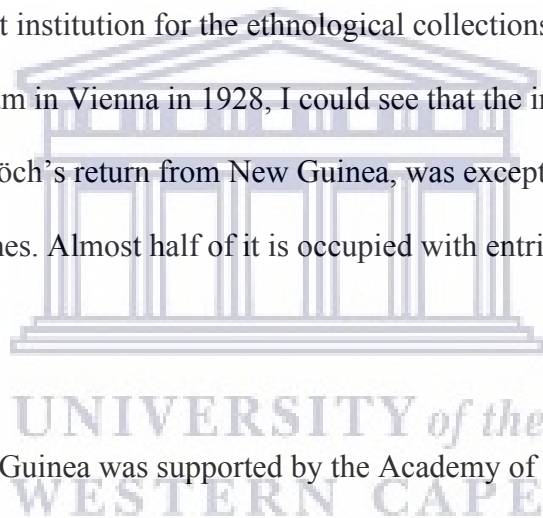
⁶⁷ Ibid., 123-125; cf. Maria Teschler Nicola, ‘Rudolf Pöch’s osteologische Sammlung’, 57 f.; my translation.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 110; my translation.

⁶⁹ Letter to Julius Tandler Sydney, 6 July 1905, Pöch letter books VI, NHM, anthropological department, pp 110-129, here 113; my translation.

⁷⁰ Letter to Dr Hoffmann, Pöch letter books V, 118.

capital of having brought these preparations to Vienna. However, Hoffmann, of course, also benefitted from the idea of his racial superiority, an idea that he could help maintain by collaborating with Pöch and others. One could argue that the assistance of people like Hoffmann with scholars like Pöch helped increase their racial symbolic capital. I have, unfortunately, not yet encountered a more detailed account of the direct financial profits Pöch secured through the collections of this expedition. In Maria Teschler-Nicola's article, in which she makes the claim that Pöch could cover his expenses by selling items, it sounds as if he might have accomplished this by his sales of ethnographica to the Natural History Museum alone.⁷¹ During a visit at the archive of the Ethnological Museum in Vienna, which was opened as independent institution for the ethnological collections previously housed at the Natural History Museum in Vienna in 1928, I could see that the inventory book of the year 1907, the year after Pöch's return from New Guinea, was exceptionally thick in comparison to other volumes. Almost half of it is occupied with entries from Pöch's collections.



Pöch's expedition to New Guinea was supported by the Academy of Sciences in Vienna. In preparation of the expedition, the Academy put in a request to the Foreign Office of the Habsburg Monarchy that it send recommendation letters to the respective, colonial governments of Pöch's projected route. Between May and April 1904, the Academy secured support for Pöch from the authorities in Australia, Ceylon, Straits Settlements, Batavia and German New Guinea.⁷² To amplify these requests for assistance they were accompanied by a ten-page work plan written by Pöch that provided details of his research objectives in the various fields, disciplines and forms of documentation he intended to work in. This included

⁷¹ Maria Teschler-Nicola, 'Rudolf Pöch's osteologische Lehr- und Forschungssammlung', 54.

⁷² ÖStA HHStA MdÄ AR Fach 47 (Passwesen und Reisesachen), Karton 45, Fachstudienreisen 2/178; my translation.

“anthropology and ethnology”; “tropical hygiene and other medical examinations”;

“biological observations, scientific collecting, and photography”.⁷³

Pöch also provided a short description of his previous experiences with expeditions and his training in Berlin and Hamburg, and referred to authoritative figures he had met in preparation of his scientific endeavour, such as Alfred Haddon, professor for anthropology at Cambridge. Pöch claimed to have asked Haddon for advice on British New Guinea and travel photography. This meeting, as Pöch recalled in a later article, had taken place in 1902 already, when Haddon showed Pöch some film material in Cambridge.⁷⁴ Haddon was the president of the anthropological section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science when they travelled to South Africa for a joint meeting with the local scientists in 1905. His presidential address at this meeting was seen as one of the turning points in the development of South African anthropological and ethnological research. He argued for the necessity of collecting physical ‘data’ of the indigenous people in South Africa and complained about the condition of South African museums. This instigation was taken up seriously by South African scholars and museums in the years thereafter.⁷⁵

The work plan Pöch submitted for the expedition to New Guinea is of special interest when compared to the one he sent later together with his requests for assistance in preparation of the expedition to southern Africa. The latter was much less detailed and did not even fill three

⁷³ Work plan Rudolf Pöch, n.d., ÖStA HHStA MdÄ AR Fach 47 (Passwesen und Reisesachen), Karton 45, Fachstudienreisen 2/178.

⁷⁴ Maria Teschler-Nicola, ‘Rudolf Pöch’s osteologische Lehr- und Forschungssammlung’, 53; Rudolf Pöch, ‘Reisen in Neu-Guinea in den Jahren 1904’, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 3 (1907): 382-399, here 395.

⁷⁵ Martin Legassick and Ciraj Rassoel, *Skeletons in the Cupboard. South African museums and the trade in human remains 1907-1917* (South African Museum, Cape Town and McGregor Museum, Kimberley, 2000), 3; see also Alan Morris, ‘The British Association meeting of 1905 and the rise of physical anthropology in South Africa’, in *South African Journal of Science* 98 (2002): 336-340; Haddon’s plea for more enthusiasm in collecting anthropological and ethnological ‘material’ was supported by another international guest of the meeting, Felix von Luschan.

pages. In 1904, Pöch openly wrote of his desire to collect “hair samples, skulls, possibly other parts of skeletons” under the section “anthropology and ethnology”, and added: “[m]aybe there will be the opportunity to conduct dissections and to preserve soft tissue (brain etc.) at places with hospitals”.⁷⁶ In contrast, there was no mention at all of the collection of human remains concerning southern Africa. For New Guinea, he listed all the equipment he was going to bring on the trip. It included three different kinds of guns “for hunting and the dissection and preservation of animals” and a Mauser gun as part of his “general and personal equipment”.⁷⁷ He also carried guns while in southern Africa, but for this trip he didn't list his equipment when asking the authorities for support.⁷⁸ A closer look at these two work plans that were formulated only two years apart reveals that Pöch had to put significantly more effort into persuading the authorities of his capability to conduct the research and the legitimacy of his project on his first trip. For his second trip, he could already rely on a broader network he built on the previous expeditions, on the credibility he derived from it, and indeed on the social capital that he had created. Even his handwriting suggested more self-assurance and a sense of more authority when presenting the documents for his expedition to southern Africa.

Indeed, Pöch felt that he had gained expansive experience while traveling New Guinea and Australia. Towards the end of his expedition, in a letter to his friend “Putz”, he explained:

And today, that I am at the end of this work, I ask myself: “What did I get out of New Guinea?” To begin with, I now know how to do such a journey and how one approaches the single details of the task. The assurance with which I will depart to work in the Clarence District tomorrow, in comparison to the tentative insecurity with

⁷⁶ Work plan Rudolf Pöch, n.d., ÖStA HHStA MdÄ AR Fach 47 (Passwesen und Reisesachen), Karton 45, Fachstudienreisen 2/178; my translation.

⁷⁷ Ibid., „für die Jagd und das Präparieren und Conserviren von Thieren: ein Schrotgewehr, ein Kugelgewehr, ein Flaubertgewehr, zu allen dreien die entsprechende Munition“, „Allgemeine und persönliche Ausrüstung: (...) Reiselampe, Trieder-Binocle, Mauser-Pistole“; my translation.

⁷⁸ He did send a detailed list of all his equipment to the Academy of Sciences once he had arrived in German South-West Africa, most probably for insurance reasons, since he also estimated its worth.

which I unpacked my things and began to put them to work one year ago in Potsdamshafen, shows me that I have learned something. In most of the things I wanted to do, I had almost no experience myself; if the bird really falls down when one shoots it; if the pelt that one has prepared does not eventually decay; if the photographic negatives keep their word in this heat and wetness as they do in Europe; if the phonogram records, once they have cooled down, will still make a sound in Europe, etc. In the beginning, all these trifles worried me to the extent of almost entire paralysation. Today, I have quite a number of birds of paradise that I shot myself, now as the only one in German New Guinea (one stuffed "Fågel" even is in Stockholm!); I have dozens of first class images of the tropics; according to Exner, the phonogram recordings are by far the best that has ever been done etc. Instead of hesitating and anxious, I now do everything with certainty and joy. The accumulated material of numbers, the piles of bones, the cases and boxes full of pelts, snakes, beetles, butterflies etc. often felt like a dead burden in the beginning, only later could I, by comparison, breath an animating thought into the things. Further, I also know what one needs and how to equip oneself; I brought too much and of many kinds - that was cautious and also easier, now I have learned the more difficult, to select and to spare; now, I appreciate the more relevant, before, I valued everything equally.⁷⁹

But Pöch was also concerned about what he did not achieve. In the same letter to Thurnwald in which he told him about his fantasies of stamping Luschan into the ground, he confided some of his doubts to him:

Despite this big hurray I still very clearly hear that voice that hails at me all that what I have not done! 1. My language skills, vocabulary and the like are extremely flimsy. 2. Therefore all these fine studies about metaphysical beliefs almost zero, since pidgeon [sic] English or a missionary are as good for this matter as a hedgehog to wipe one's ass. 3. Sociology and the like I almost completely missed out on.⁸⁰

It seems to be uncertain when exactly Pöch returned from New Guinea. His last report covered a time period up until 31 March 1906⁸¹ and a letter in the Austrian State Archives, in which he thanks some Dutch colonial officials for their support, is dated with the 6 May and written in Buitenzorg, present-day Bogor, Indonesia.⁸² In June 1906, the Academy of

⁷⁹ Letter to Putz, Sydney, 15 July 1905, Pöch letter books V, NHM, anthropological department, pp 195-200, here 195-197; my translation.

⁸⁰ Letter to Thurnwald, Pöch letter books VIII, NHM, anthropological department, 128 f; my translation.

⁸¹ Maria Teschler-Nicola refers to this date as the end of his expedition in 'Rudolf Pöch's osteologische Lehr- und Forschungssammlung', 53.

⁸² Letters of appreciation, Rudolf Pöch to Foreign Office, Vienna (via Academy of Sciences Vienna), 6 May 1906, ÖStA HHStA MdÄ AR Fach 47 (Passwesen und Reisesachen), Karton 45, Fachstudienreisen 2/178.

Sciences asked the Foreign Office to send letters of appreciation to the Dutch, German and British colonial authorities for their assistance: “[Pöch’s] journey was a full success in every respect, as one can see from the scientific reports received up until now.”⁸³ The next chapter will look into the ways in which Pöch managed to mobilise and extend his network in preparation of his expedition to southern Africa.



⁸³ Ibid., Letter Academy of Sciences Vienna to the Foreign Office, Vienna, 19 June 1906. „Indem wir diese Unterstützung der von einem hohen k. und k. Ministerium ausgegangenen Empfehlung zuzuschreiben haben, gestatten wir uns, für dieselbe im Namen des Reisenden den verbindlichsten Dank zu sagen. Seine Reise war, wie aus den bisher eingelaufenen wissenschaftlichen Mitteilungen hervorgeht, in jeder Beziehung vom besten Erfolge begleitet.“; my translation. This quote derives from the letter accompanying Pöch’s thanks to the Dutch officials. A draft from the Foreign Office shows that letters of appreciation also went to the British and German authorities.

Chapter Six: **Preparing the Expedition to Southern Africa: Mobilising social capital**

In any case, my reputation has increased. I don't know, is it my speech, or is it the discovery as bushman scholar in the Equator Paper.¹

By the time Pöch started preparing his expedition to southern Africa, he had already gathered significant experience in traveling in colonial territories as medical doctor and anthropologist. He had reason to expect to be treated as established scholar by the colonial authorities. Here I want to trace how the reputation and network that he had built over almost ten years since his first expedition to Bombay laid the basis for his expedition to southern Africa. This extended network consisted of people with whom he was in personal exchange as well as significant state and imperial institutions such as the Academy of Sciences in Vienna and the Foreign Ministry of Austria-Hungary, whose backing enabled Pöch to extract as much as he did on his southern African expedition from 1907 to 1909. This contextualisation, however, is limited. Much more would need to be said about the various colonial governing institutions, the atrocities they and the individuals working for them were involved in, as well as the lives and deeds of Pöch's colleagues. For now, what I can offer, is something like an amended chronology of the moves that Pöch made and that were made for him to afford him "every assistance that he might require"² for his endeavour.

The guiding archival source for this chapter is the subsidy file for Pöch's expedition to southern Africa in the archive of the Academy of Sciences in Vienna. As mentioned in the previous chapter, at the time, subsidies were paid from private endowments, mostly bequests

¹ „Mein Ansehen ist jedenfalls gewachsen. Ich weiß nicht, ist es meine Rede, oder die Entdeckung als Buschmannforscher in der Äquatorzeitung.“ Pöch, 3 Dec 1907, sailing to Swakopmund on board of the 'Windhuk', after having held a speech at the captain's dinner the night before. Apparently, the *Equator Paper* was a newspaper that was distributed on the ship. (Pöch's diaries from southern Africa, NHM, anthropological department, 14.037a, book 1, 1907/08, 9; my translation).

² Colonial Office to Foreign Office, London, 21 Aug. 1907, CA, GH 35/263 319.

from men of science and entrepreneurs, not from state funding. 82% of the subsidies granted between 1875 and 1914 were scientific ones, but only 1,5% were used for physical anthropology and ethnology studies. The only study explicitly marked as anthropological or ethnological that was funded prior to Pöch's travel to southern Africa was submitted by Carl Toldt, on behalf of the 'Commission for the anthropological and ethnographic study of Tyrol', in 1896.³ At that time, Toldt had already contributed a piece on the 'Physical nature of the population in Vorarlberg and Tyrol'⁴ to the 24 volumes comprising publishing project *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild*, discussed earlier. The only subsidy application for anthropological research to the Academy of Sciences prior to Pöch's expedition to southern Africa, then, was connected to one of the most prestigious projects in Austrian anthropology at the time. What makes Pöch's expedition stand out even further is the fact that subsidies for expeditions outside of Europe usually ranged between 1 000 and 8 000 Kronen, but Pöch was given 25 000 Kronen.⁵ It remains uncertain why the Academy of Sciences considered it to be worthwhile to fund an expedition 'for the purpose of the anthropological and ethnological study of the bushmen'⁶ with such a high amount of money and administrative and infrastructural support, but I want to try and offer some arguments throughout this chapter on what could have been some of the motivating factors.

³ "Ansuchen um eine Subvention von 3.000 fl. (...) zum Zwecke der wissenschaftlichen Bearbeitung des von der 'Commission zur anthropologischen und ethnographischen Erforschung Tirols' mit Unterstützung des k.k. Ministeriums für Cultus u. Unterricht und des Landesausschusses gesammelten Materials über die somatischen Eigenschaften der Landesbevölkerung von Tirol und Vorarlberg (1048/1896, 1095/1896)" (inventory of the subsidy files of the AÖAW).

⁴ Carl Toldt, 'Physische Beschaffenheit von Tirol und Vorarlberg', in *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie: Tirol und Vorarlberg*, vol. 13 (Vienna: Kaiserlich-königliche Hof und Staatsdruckerei, 1893), 229–40.

⁵ Inventory of the subsidy files of the AÖAW. Only the subsidies for Heinrich von Handel-Mazetti's botanical studies in Southwest China eventually added up to a higher sum. He was originally granted 14.000 Kronen in 1913, but renewed his requests yearly up until 1918, receiving additional 3.000 - 6.000 Kronen each time.

⁶ Letter Pöch to the Academy of Sciences, 25 Oct 1906, AÖAW, subsidies, box 3, No. 862/1906; my translation.

Brigitte Fuchs dated the beginning of a scientific interest in Bushmen in the Habsburg Monarchy to the period after the Novara circumnavigation. Already during the first year of the expedition, in 1857, members of the expedition sent remains of people labelled as Bushmen to Austria that were then displayed in the halls of the Academy of Sciences.⁷ In various competing evolutionist and anti-evolutionary theories these occupied a crucial position, being constructed as humans representing a way of being and living particularly close to the origin of humanity. In a report made to the commission deciding about the funding of Pöch's expedition, Carl Toldt stated:

According to a suggestion made by the president of the Academy, we have been concerned for about half a year with the question of whether it would be advisable for the Imperial Academy of Sciences [...] to initiate an anthropological-ethnographic study of the bushmen in the Kalahari desert. The fact that the bushmen are an extinct people, in fact a remnant of such a people, whose physical characteristics, language, customs and living conditions offer much peculiarity and are of great interest, but the knowledge about whom to date is very imperfect, made an in-depth study of them appear to be promising and highly desirable from the outset.⁸

President of the Academy of Sciences at the time was still Eduard Suess, who had been vice-president during the time of the Academy's Bombay expedition and president of the Academy when Pöch got their administrative support for his expedition to New Guinea and Australia through letters of recommendation to the respective governments. Suess had also initiated several other overseas expeditions funded by the Academy. On all of these expeditions, a team of scholars from different disciplines was sent. The respective records for these expeditions are kept in individual folders at the archive of the Academy today. They are not filed in the boxes for individual subsidies and are therefore also not part of the evaluations of the history of subsidies that I referenced before. I therefore originally did not consider such larger expeditions as frame of reference for Pöch's expedition. However, both

⁷ Brigitte Fuchs, 'Bushman in Hick Town', 51.

⁸ Report Toldt, 7 Nov 1906, AÖAW, subsidies, box 3, No. 862/1906; my translation.

the amount of money that Pöch received as well as the length of his expedition indicate that his travel should be seen in line with these expeditions, rather than with other individual funding. One could claim that it is the fact that he was trusted enough to invest the amount of money that would usually go into a whole team of researchers into just one scholar, that marks this expedition as so extraordinary. In the course of the preparatory communication, Suess also seems to have suggested that the scope of this expedition be expanded, but Pöch rejected the idea of traveling with other scholars. Pöch kept a cautious tone at the first documented mention of this issue in October 1906, in which he expressed doubt whether the plan of turning the endeavour into a bigger expedition was viable. He made traveling alone an explicit condition of embarking on the expedition when actually applying for the subsidy and argued that he wished the expedition to focus on anthropological research.⁹ It is difficult to make any claims with certainty regarding the liberty he was granted to take this decision, given that I do not know of similar instances to which I could compare the way the Academy treated Pöch. Yet, what is evident in Pöch's correspondence is that he was indeed strongly supported by Eduard Suess.

When I first studied the subsidy file, it was difficult for me to understand to whom Pöch might have addressed his letters kept in the archive. Most of the correspondence was directed to the presidium of the Academy but there are also several private letters, all addressed with "Highly esteemed professor" („*Hoch verehrter Herr Professor*“). In the beginning, it seemed implausible that Pöch would have addressed the president of the Academy merely as

⁹ “In Bezug auf den Plan aus der rein anthropologischen eine größere wissenschaftliche Expedition zu machen, sind mir die Bedenken gekommen, ob der eine Wagen für die umfangreiche Ausrüstung mehrerer Fachleute ausreichen würde, und ob der ursprüngliche Hauptzweck nicht unter der Vielheit der Ziele leiden würde.“ (Pöch to Suess, Vienna, 9 Oct. 1906, AÖAW, subsidies, box 3, No. 862/1906) „Wenn die K. Akademie geneigt ist, mein ergebenstes Ansuchen zu gewähren, so würde ich daraufhin das Versprechen geben, mich bereit zu halten, und keinen anderen Antrag in der Zwischenzeit anzunehmen. Ich würde dann an die K. Akademie das Ersuchen stellen, die Hauptbedingungen zu fixieren: das Thema, beschränkt auf die Erforschung und Beobachtung der Buschmänner, den Betrag, sowie die Bedingung, dass ich allein reise.“ (Pöch to the presidium, Vienna, 12 Nov. 1906, AÖAW, subsidies, box 3, No. 862/1906)

professor. But there is sufficient evidence that it was indeed Suess with whom Pöch was in private correspondence. As we know from Toldt's report and as is also commonly stated in later accounts of Pöch's expedition to southern Africa, it was Suess who initiated the expedition. Judging from the members of the commissions dealing with Pöch's subsidy, there were three people at the Academy who could most likely have been Pöch's addressees: Carl Toldt, Emil Zuckerkandl and Eduard Suess. In one of the letters, Pöch mentioned Carl Toldt in 3rd person, which factors him out as recipient. Zuckerkandl participated as guest in three of four meetings of a commission funding a trip for Pöch to go to The Hague to meet someone in preparation of the journey. But Zuckerkandl did not take part in the commission that decided on funding the actual expedition to southern Africa. The chair of that commission was Eduard Suess himself.

Another factor that suggests that Suess was the recipient, is the fact that in the unpublished parts of Pöch's reports from the expedition, which are archived among the general files of the AÖAW, a few letters from Pöch carry a note showing that they were given to the archive by the president himself. Furthermore, in one of the private letters in the subsidy file of the AÖAW, Pöch mentioned that the addressee had brought him into contact with Ferdinand Freiherr von Richthofen (1833-1905), a renowned geographer in Berlin.¹⁰ Correspondence between Pöch and Richthofen in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin shows that it was Suess who had made that recommendation.¹¹ Richthofen had travelled in Asia and North America for twelve years before he became president of the Geographical Association in Berlin in 1873 and professor of geography in Bonn in 1875. In 1904, Suess asked Richthofen to send recommendations for Pöch to the German Colonial Office in preparation of his expedition to

¹⁰ Letter Pöch to Suess, Breslau, 6 Nov. 1906, AÖAW, subsidies, box 3, No. 862/1906.

¹¹ Sammlung Darmstaedter, Afrika 1907, Rudolf Pöch, Handschriftenabteilung, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

New Guinea. In the course of this correspondence, Pöch accepted an invitation to present his results to the Geographical Association in Berlin once he returned.¹² Finally, in one of the last letters Pöch wrote during his expedition to New Guinea and Australia that is also addressed to a “Highly esteemed Professor”, Pöch gave a short report of the last part of that expedition and asked how he should proceed with the projected presentation of his research results with Richthofen in Berlin.¹³

Communication between Pöch and Suess about a possible expedition of Pöch to southern Africa must have started almost immediately after Pöch’s return to Europe from Australia and New Guinea. In the earliest archived letter in the subsidy file from September 1906, Pöch reported that during summer, he had already been in correspondence with Professor Molengraaff (1860-1942) in The Hague about necessary travel preparations for southern Africa.¹⁴ Most probably, it was again Suess himself who had put Pöch in touch with Molengraaff. Molengraaff worked as state geologist in the Transvaal from 1897-1900 and returned to South Africa to work as a geological consultant in 1901.¹⁵ He gave Pöch advice on logistical aspects of the expedition, like weather, possible travel routes, the costs of an ox wagon, and promised to take care of recommendations for Pöch to the respective authorities in Mafeking, Kimberley and Cape Town.

¹² In a letter preparing the presentation (which is undated but must have been written after Richthofen’s death), Pöch described in detail how he wished the light dramaturgy of the lecture to be so as to get the most powerful effects out of his slides and films. He also wished to confirm if ladies had entry to the lecture and assured that he was not going to show any undressed full figures. (Sammlung Darmstaedter, Afrika 1907, Rudolf Pöch, Handschriftenabteilung, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin).

¹³ Letter Pöch to Suess, 26 May 1906, at sea, Pöch letter books XII, NHM, anthropological department. Before I had found the correspondence in Berlin, Dr Stefan Sienell, archivist in the AÖAW, tried to verify the matter with a correspondence book of Suess; unfortunately, there is no such thing in the archives. I thank Dr Sienell for the time he took to discuss this and other questions with me.

¹⁴ Following a recommendation of Suess, he consulted two more members of the Academy (Carl Toldt and Sigmund Exner), before applying for funding to do a short research trip and meet Molengraaff in person. He was granted 250 Kronen for a journey to The Hague. (Letter Pöch to Suess 9 Oct. 1906, AÖAW, subsidies, box 3, No. 862/1906)

¹⁵ Naomi Oreskes, *The Rejection of Continental Drift: Theory and Method in American Earth Science* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 92; letter Pöch to the presidium of the Academy of Sciences, Vienna, 25 Oct. 1906, AÖAW, subsidies, box 3, No. 862/1906.

On October the 25th 1906, Pöch already sent a letter to the Academy of Sciences in which he agreed to do ‘a trip to South Africa to conduct anthropological and ethnological studies of the bushmen’.¹⁶ At this stage, Pöch outlined his research objectives as follows:

The anthropological study would have to seek to extend significantly the material of the work of G. Fritsch in Berlin of the year 1872 on which our knowledge of the bushman is still mainly based on today. Next to taking the highest possible amount of pictures and measurements from the living one would also, where possible, have to collect parts of skeletons. One would have to compile vocabularies and preserve the language, which is remarkable mostly because of its clicks difficult to master, with good phonographic apparatus. Concerning the ethnological study one would have to be especially attentive to tribal divisions, prohibitions of marriage, metaphysical beliefs, possibly religious ceremonies; therefore, one longer stay with one tribe is to be preferred.¹⁷

It will remain the only time that Pöch mentioned the collection of human remains as research aim of this expedition. Neither in his actual application for the subsidy to the Academy nor in his letters to the respective colonial authorities did he make these plans apparent.

Gustav Fritsch (1838-1927), who Pöch mentioned here as authority in the field, had travelled in southern Africa from 1863 to 1866, forty years prior to Pöch. In 1872, Fritsch had published a two-volume work comprising “ethnographic and anatomical” descriptions of “the natives of South Africa”, which is commonly referred to as first anthropological study of southern Africa.¹⁸ Fritsch divided the indigenous people of southern Africa in “A-bantu” and “Koi-Koin”. Bushmen were subsumed under the latter category but he actually doubted their kinship with the Khoe.¹⁹ His arguments for Bushmen forming a separate ‘race’, however, remain vague.

¹⁶ Letter Pöch to the presidium of the Academy of Sciences, Vienna, 25 Oct. 1906, AÖAW, subsidies, box 3, No. 862/1906; my translation.

¹⁷ Ibid.; my translation. In the same letter, Pöch also communicated to the Academy that Molengraaff had estimated a budget of a minimum of one thousand British Pound necessary for such a journey.

¹⁸ Robert Gordon, *The bushman myth: the making of a Namibian underclass* (Colorado: Westview Press, 1992), 43.

¹⁹ Gustav Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's ethnographisch und anatomisch beschrieben* (Breslau:

Trained as anatomist like Pösch, Fritsch emphasised the special relevance of anatomical observations for anthropological studies. Brushing aside questions around the evolution of humankind from ‘one or several couples’ as irrelevant quarrel that was ultimately a fight between religion and science, he believed that Darwinian ideas were going to become prevalent in the field. Fritsch cautioned, however, against the assumption that humans derived from apes. This, in his view, was far from proven.²⁰ In contrast to such speculations, what he claimed to offer in his book, was an “unvarnished description of South African peoples.”²¹ Yet, his painstaking efforts to make the Bushmen not appear as closely related to other indigenous people of southern Africa were evidently driven by the desire to present them as the first people of Africa, a hypothesis that he saw becoming “less and less questionable every day.”²² He did not disclose where he derived his observations and data from. In a few instances in the section discussing physical appearances and skeletal proportions, he mentioned that he calculated the measures from three or six people, justifying the small number with axiomatic presumptions of what was typical and what not. Two of the skeletons he discussed he reported to have dug out of their graves himself, one derived from a “*Mordplatz*” in Boshof.²³

His ideas of the Bushmen are a combination of admiration of their skills and arts, respect for their endurance, acknowledgement of the wars of extermination led against them and an

Ferdinand Hirt, 1872), 3. After discussing possible roots for the term “Hottentott”, he explained that all this speculation was ultimately irrelevant, since the name was completely foreign to the language of the people referred to. “They call themselves *Koi-koin*, a word which is the duplication of *Koin* (people) and which therefore should be the more appropriate naming of the tribes.” (ibid., 264) He also described the term ‘bushmen’ as “trivial name” but, remarkably, concluded that this made it more “objective” than others. Despite his clear positioning of these terms as foreign to the usage of the respective people, he kept using them throughout the book.

²⁰ Ibid., XVII-XX.

²¹ Ibid., XX; my translation.

²² Ibid., 446.

²³ Ibid., 411-13. Holger Stoecker researched the history of some of the remains that Fritsch appropriated as part of the Charité Human Remains Project.

insistence of them being the least civilised people of all of Africa. According to Robert Gordon, it was Fritsch who first coined the notion of the Bushmen as “unfortunate child of the moment.”²⁴ Like other scholars before and after him, Fritsch was convinced that the Bushmen were going to become extinct. Keenly aware that the colonial situation was posing an existential threat to the livelihood of indigenous people globally, these scholars promoted the idea that this was simply the course of nature. Fritsch and others believed in the superiority of their own ‘culture’ so much, that the suppression and murder of people assumed to be ‘primitive’ was seen as unfortunate but inevitable.

Pöch, of course, had encountered Fritsch before. In a letter to Richthofen that Pöch wrote from Sydney, Pöch mentioned that Fritsch visited Herbertshöhe while Pöch was still in New Guinea but that he could not meet him since he was in a different town at the time.²⁵ Pöch did not hold Fritsch in very high esteem. In a letter that he wrote on his return from the visit to Berlin to do the presentation at the Geographical Association, Pöch reported to Suess about further preparations and enquiries that he had made for the expedition to southern Africa. From Fritsch, he explained, one could not expect any assistance. Rumour had it that Fritsch had told another colleague, Leonhard Schultze, who had also travelled to southern Africa recently, that South Africa was his territory. Given this attitude and the fact that Fritsch’s journey was so long before, Pöch did not consider it essential to consult him.²⁶

However, Suess, Toldt, Zuckerkandl and Molengraaff had all recommended that Pöch read another author, Siegfried Passarge, in preparation for the Bushmen research.²⁷ Passarge had

²⁴ Robert Gordon, *The bushman myth*, 44; “Der Buschmann ist das unglückselige Kind des Augenblicks.” (Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen*, 418).

²⁵ Letter Pöch to Richthofen, Sydney, 6 August 1905, letter books XI, 59-67, here 67, NHM, anthropological department.

²⁶ Pöch to Suess, Breslau, 6 Nov. 1906, AÖAW, subsidies, box 3, No. 862/1906.

²⁷ Pöch subsidy application, 12 Nov. 1906, AÖAW, subsidies, box 3, No. 862/1906.

shortly before published his habilitation dissertation, *Die Kalahari* (1904) as well as the articles ‘The Bushmen of the Kalahari’ and ‘The Okavango Delta and its Inhabitants’ (both 1905). During this same stay in Berlin, Pöch had made ‘cautious enquiries’ about Passarge to find out if he was a trustworthy person to discuss his own expedition plans with. Passarge had a reputation as an honest and friendly researcher. Pöch went to Breslau to visit him and the latter offered to discuss the whole travel plan with him, promising to keep the consultation confidential.²⁸

Like Pöch and Fritsch, Passarge had started out studying medicine and accomplished a doctorate in geography in Berlin in 1903, after having studied with Ferdinand von Richthofen. From 1893-94, he served as medical doctor for an expedition to Cameroon, German colony at the time, and afterwards travelled on his own to Togo, likewise under German colonial occupation. He wanted to work for the German colonial service but could not find employment, so that in 1895, he joined the British West Charterland Ltd. as Assistant Geological Surveyor in order to evaluate the possibility of exploiting Ngamiland for minerals.²⁹ In 1908, when the Colonial Institute in Hamburg was founded, Passarge was appointed to the inaugural chair of geography.³⁰ The Colonial Institute offered a one-year course in colonial education that covered law, languages, history, political science, ethnology, geography, medicine and natural sciences. The aim was to teach both “colonial general knowledge” as well as practical specialised skill sets to ease the stay by Europeans in tropical territory and prolong the duration of residence of officials in the colonies.³¹ Robert Gordon situated the founding of the institute as one expression of a shift of the German Empire’s

²⁸ Pöch to Suess, Breslau, 6 Nov. 1906, AÖAW, subsidies, box 3, No. 862/1906.

²⁹ Edwin Wilmsen, ‘Introduction’, in *The Kalahari Ethnographies (1896-1898) of Siegfried Passarge*, ed. by ibid. (Cologne: Rüdiger Koppe, 1997), 13-37.

³⁰ Robert Gordon, ‘Hiding in Full View: The ‘Forgotten’ Bushman Genocides of Namibia’, in *Genocide Studies and Prevention* 4, 1 (2009): 29-57, here 44.

³¹ Anja Laukötter, *Von der „Kultur“ zur „Rasse“*, 251.

governing strategies in their colonies, necessitated by the public criticism of the savagely brutal extermination war conducted in German South West Africa.³² On average, around twenty-two colonial and naval officials participated in the programme between 1908 and 1914, a number that was below what had been expected.³³

In his writing on the Bushmen, Passarge challenged Fritsch, who, in later years, had evidently taken a more definite stance in the debates about the origins of humankind. Passarge argued for a monophyletic evolution and described the Bushmen, especially in the past, as people with societal organisation while Fritsch argued for a phylogenetic evolution and framed the Bushmen as “sessile people” who had “remained unchanged in their development for thousands of years”.³⁴

Pöch reported that Passarge had encouraged him to pursue his research “of this living fossil”, the Bushmen. Passarge had emphasised that he himself had not been able to sufficiently focus on anthropological aspects in his study. In his opinion, there was still a lot of work to be done, especially if a scholar took the time to learn the language and engage with their mentality. But Passarge highly recommended that Pöch not depart without having prepared everything in detail. Following Passarge’s advice, Pöch intended first to go to German South-West Africa to learn Khoekhoegowab at one of the Rheinische missionary stations and then conduct his actual studies mostly in the “Chanse-Veld” [Ghanzi veld], in the border region to British Bechuanaland. That way, Pöch would be able to discuss the question whether people he described as ‘Hottentotts’ and ‘Bushman’ were related. Learning some Khoekhoegowab, it

³² Robert Gordon, ‘The ‘Forgotten’ Bushman Genocides of Namibia’, 30.

³³ Erik Grimmer-Solem, *Learning Empire: Globalization and the German Quest for World Status, 1875-1919* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 406.

³⁴ Gustav Fritsch, ‘Die afrikanischen Buschmänner als Urrasse’, in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 12 (1880): 289-300, here 300, qt. in English in Wilmsen, ‘Introduction’, 33.

was assumed, would help him to later learn a language of the San. In his writings, Passarge was of the opinion that the Kalahari was the best area for getting to know Bushmen, since – as Pöch summarised his argument – in other places they had either mixed with other groups or had been exterminated.³⁵

Concerning the equipment, Passarge recommended that Pöch bring as much as possible from Europe. He confirmed Molengraaff's estimation of a required budget of about £1 000 for about one and a half years of travel, yet, in contrast to Molengraaff's advice, Passarge recommended that he not travel during the rainy season, since this was the time when people were on the move and more difficult to find. He also gave Pöch reading suggestions, offered to ensure support from a Resident Magistrate in the Ghanzi veld, gave him some more advice on the various routes he could continue his expedition on and reassured him that there was no risk in travelling the area. No "hostilities of the natives" were to be expected, not even in consideration of the recently ended war. Passarge had a close relative living in Windhoek who kept him informed about the developments. He advised Pöch to also meet with Leonhard Schultze who had recently travelled another route through the Kalahari.³⁶

Pöch therefore continued his journey to Jena, to meet with Schultze. Schultze had also studied medicine, but then obtained his doctorate in zoology in 1896. In 1898, after having accomplished several study trips within Europe, he became Ernst Haeckel's assistant at the Zoological Institute in Jena and curator of the zoological collection of the city's university. A year thereafter he started lecturing in zoology.³⁷ In 1903, Schultze had been granted a subsidy

³⁵ Letter Pöch to the presidium of the Academy of Sciences, Vienna, 25 Oct. 1906, AÖAW, subsidies, box 3; No. 862/1906; Siegfried Passarge, 'Die Buschmänner der Kalahari', in: *Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten* 18 (1905): 194-292.

³⁶ Pöch subsidy application, 12 Nov. 1906, AÖAW, subsidies, box 3, No. 862/1906.

³⁷ Förster/Stoecker, *Haut, Haar und Knochen*, 50-52.

from the Alexander von Humboldt foundation, administered by the Academy of Sciences in Berlin, to conduct zoological studies in German South-West Africa during a one-year research trip. He eventually stayed on in southern Africa from 1903 to 1905, travelling back and forth between the German and British territories. Schultze got additional financial support through funds of the Welfare Lottery dedicated to the German protectorates, the Colonial Department of the Federal Foreign Office and the German Sea Fisheries Association. In the last months of his stay, he accompanied Lothar von Trotha's troops on their campaign against Nama captain Hendrik Witbooi as war reporter.³⁸

In his accounts of the zoological and anthropological results of the journey, Schultze reported that the war had enabled him

to make use of the victims of war and remove parts of fresh corpses of natives which were a welcome supplement to the study of the living body (captive Hottentots were often accessible to me).³⁹

He told Pöch that he was forced to alter his original travel plans because of the war against Herero and Nama. Schultze confided that on his route through the Kalahari – which was the one Pöch had also projected to take – he only once saw a group of Bushmen within four months of travel.⁴⁰ Although Pöch did not mention the collection of human remains in his reports of this meeting, it seems unlikely that he would not have sought advice on this subject.⁴¹

³⁸ Ibid., 53-57.

³⁹ Leonhard Schultze, *Zoologische und anthropologische Ergebnisse einer Forschungsreise im westlichen und zentralen Südafrika ausgeführt in den Jahren 1903-1905 mit Unterstützung der Kgl. Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, Vol. 1 (Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1908), VIII, quoted in Förster/Stoecker, *Haut, Haar und Knochen*, 59; my translation; see also Andrew Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism*, 245.

⁴⁰ Pöch subsidy application, 12 Nov. 1906, AÖAW, subsidies, box 3, No. 862/1906.

⁴¹ Even more so because Schultze seems to have been particularly motivated in this field (Förster/Stoecker, *Haut Haar und Knochen*, 59 ff.).

Pöch consulted yet another person before going on his expedition. Franz Seiner (1874-1929), an Austrian journalist and explorer, had been recommended to him by Albrecht Penck (1858-1945). Penck, a German geographer, had been professor of physical geography at the University in Vienna from 1885. Pöch was in friendly correspondence with him when he was in New Guinea. Penck had just moved to Berlin to succeed Ferdinand von Richthofen in his position as director of the geographical institute of the Friedrich Wilhelm University. When Pöch was in Berlin for his lecture at the Geographical Association in 1906, Penck showed him photographs that Seiner had taken in South Africa.⁴²

Pöch met Seiner in June 1907. Seiner had just returned to Graz from his last journey through southern Africa, on which he had travelled across the Caprivi strip, along the Botletle in British Bechuanaland, to the Ghanzi veld and back to German South-West Africa via Rietfontein. Seiner had travelled the route which Pöch had projected for his expedition, just in the other direction. In 1912, Seiner sent “skulls from Herero who had died from thirst in the Kalahari” to the Ethnographic Museum in Berlin which he had most likely acquired in the Omaheke desert after German troops had murdered thousands of Herero by driving them into that area.⁴³

Seiner assured Pöch that he would find the “racially purest bushmen” in the Ghanzi veld, confirming what Pöch had heard from Passarge and Schultze. But he also gave Pöch more detailed advice concerning the border crossing at Rietfontein. At the time of this meeting, Pöch had already sent requests for assistance to the respective colonial authorities in the area. But he now sent another letter to the Academy of Sciences for them to forward through the

⁴² Pöch subsidy application, 12 Nov. 1906, *ibid.*

⁴³ Andreas Winkelmann and Holger Stoecker, ‘Rückgabe von Schädeln und Skeletten an Namibia: Überreste einer fragwürdigen „Rasseforschung“’, in *Deutsches Ärzteblatt* 111;18 (2014): A 792-793.

Foreign Office, in which he requested permission to enter British Bechuanaland duty-free. To support his request, Pöch mentioned that this perquisite had already been granted to him in British India in 1897 as well as in Australia and New-Guinea in 1906. He also asked permission to take his draught animals from German South-West Africa with him, as long as there was no cattle plague at that time. And he specified that the officials in Bechuanaland close to the German border be informed in advance about his arrival within the first months of 1908, namely the police master at Kwachanai [Quagganai] and the British Resident Commissioner at Mafeking.⁴⁴

All in all, judging from the correspondence in the subsidy file, these were the scholarly references Pöch based his preparations for the expedition on. Apparently, the prevailing assumption that the Bushmen were going to become extinct and that they were people representing an evolutionary moment close to the origins of humanity was sufficient reason for the Academy of Science to send a researcher to southern Africa for a period of almost two years. But this assumption was nothing new. So why was the decision made to fund this expedition at this point in time?

It seems obvious that the war against Herero and Nama in German South-West Africa, which began in 1903,⁴⁵ was a factor in the Academy's decision to promote Pöch's work at the time. All the scholars who Pöch consulted for his expedition shamelessly exploited the war situation to appropriate human remains. German colonial officials and scholars 'at home' also organised the shipment of human remains of the murdered from German South-West Africa

⁴⁴ Pöch to the Academy, 25 June 1907, AÖAW, subsidies, box 3, No. 862/1906.

⁴⁵ Memory Biwa, *'Toa Tama !Khams Ge': Remembering the War in Namakhoeland, 1903-1908* (unpublished Master's thesis: University of Cape Town, 2006), esp. 45-53.

for collections in the German Empire.⁴⁶ As Andrew Zimmerman mentioned in his study on German anthropology at the time, even the popular press speculated about thousands of skulls from Herero that were shipped to the German Empire. To request skulls for the Berlin collections, Felix von Luschan contacted Lieutenant Ralf Zürn, who, as district chief of Okahandja, was one of the people mainly responsible for the extreme escalation of the war. In a letter to governor Leutwein from March 1904, Chief Samuel Maharero declared: “This is not my war ... it is that of Zürn.”⁴⁷ Although Zürn had already been recalled to Germany, he was confident that he would be able to carry out Luschan’s requests via contacts in Swakopmund. Zürn explained to Luschan:

I hope that my requests will have success, since in the concentration camps taking and preserving the skulls of Herero prisoners of war will be more readily possible than in the country, where there is always a danger of offending the ritual feelings of the natives.⁴⁸

The image, sometimes referred to as retouched photograph, sometimes as illustration, of soldiers packing skulls into a wooden crate to send them off to Berlin in 1905, has often been referenced to expose the alliance between anthropological studies and genocide. It was circulated as postcard. A contemporary caption explained that female prisoners in the camp were forced to scrape severed heads clean of flesh with shards of glass in the concentration camps.⁴⁹ Among the victims of the battles and assaults perpetrated in the context of this genocide were also San and other colonised people of southern Africa. Furthermore, the

⁴⁶ Vilho Shigwedha, ‘The Return of Herero and Nama Bones from Germany: The Victims’ Struggle for Recognition and Recurring Genocide Memories in Namibia’, in *Human Remains in Society. Curation and Exhibition in the Aftermath of Genocide and Mass-violence*, ed. by. É. Anstett/ J.-M. Dreyfus, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 197-219.

⁴⁷ David Olusuga and Casper W. Erichsen, *The Kaiser’s Holocaust*, 128.

⁴⁸ Andrew Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism*, 245.

⁴⁹ David Olusuga and Casper W. Erichsen, *The Kaiser’s Holocaust*, 224.

living conditions of the survivors deteriorated dramatically,⁵⁰ thereby making them more vulnerable to economic but also scientific exploitation.

In her seminal study on anthropological discourses in Austria from 1850-1960, Brigitte Fuchs suggested that Pöch's expedition needed to be seen in the context of the work of Father Wilhelm Schmidt (1868-1954) of the Societas Verbi Divini (SVD).⁵¹ Schmidt was a German, but having joined the Catholic SVD in 1883, was sent to their newly established seminary in Mödling, near Vienna, in 1895. Around that time, he also started to do ethnological work. Schmidt sought "to construct a 'Catholic' version of universal history, particularly directed against 'evolutionism'".⁵² For this he crafted a monotheistic, monogamous 'primeval race' as the origin of mankind and saw it represented in societies that had a particularly small body size, among them Bushmen. Although his main works, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee*⁵³ and another publication relevant to research on the Bushmen, *Die Stellung der Pygmäenvölker in der Entwicklungsgeschichte des Menschen*⁵⁴ were published after Pöch's expedition, Schmidt's ideas might indeed have been a factor in the conversations at the Academy that eventually led to funding the expedition to southern Africa. In the latter publication, Schmidt lauded the Academy for having sent Pöch to study the Bushmen. He was of the opinion that in their case, it was most urgent to conduct such research, since they were the 'pygmy-people' who were going to become extinct first.⁵⁵ In an unpublished report to the Academy of Sciences that he wrote from Johannesburg in 1908, Pöch wrote about his participation in a

⁵⁰ Robert Gordon, *The bushman myth*, 54.

⁵¹ Brigitte Fuchs, „Rasse“, „Volk“, *Geschlecht*, 206-11.

⁵² Brigitte Fuchs, „Rasse“, „Volk“, *Geschlecht*, 208.

⁵³ Wilhelm Schmidt, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee: Eine historische-kritische und positive Studie*, English *The origin of the idea of God*, was published in German in 12 volumes from 1912 to Schmidt's death in 1954. A first version was published in French in 1908.

⁵⁴ Wilhelm Schmidt, *Die Stellung der Pygmäenvölker in der Entwicklungsgeschichte des Menschen*, (Stuttgart: Strecker & Schröder, 1910); the title could be translated as *The place of the pygmy-people in the developmental history of mankind*.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 308.

commission for the supervision and expansion of the Transvaal Museum in Pretoria. He was asked to give a presentation on the necessity of anthropological research. As he underlined in his report, he told the commission that one should not refrain from the assistance offered by missionaries doing ethnographic work and that such research was enriched if it was edited and published by scholars such as “Professor W. Schmidt in Mödling”.⁵⁶ Given that Pöch, in his private letters to friends, took a decisive anti-religious stance, his acknowledgement of Schmidt as professor seems to carry even more weight. It might well have been a strategic mention as a means of pleasing the members of the Academy.

Ernest Brandewie dated Schmidt’s interest in the ‘pygmies’ back to at least 1901.⁵⁷ To support his thesis, Schmidt examined ethnological observations of other travellers and tried to get missionaries of the SVD interested in research trips. In 1906 he founded the journal *Anthropos* with the support of the Catholic Church, lay Catholic organisations and the German Colonial Office.⁵⁸ Schmidt soon became one of the most influential figures in Austrian ethnology. Suzanne Marchand and Brigitte Fuchs both emphasised, in very different ways, the strong influence of Christian theology on anthropological research in its founding years. Not only were missionaries of essential assistance for traveling scholars, they often conducted anthropological studies themselves. Theological concepts had a strong influence on the ways in which anthropological discussions evolved. Marchand insisted that these debates took a special form in Catholic Austria, a *Sonderweg*: “all over Europe and America, clerics tried to take back Darwin’s turf, but only in Austria did they succeed.”⁵⁹ She described

⁵⁶ Report Pöch, Johannesburg, Transvaal, 27 March 1909 in *Bericht über die Reise durch Rhodesien, Portugiesisch-Ost-Afrika und Transvaal, von Ende Dezember 1908 bis Ende März 1909*, AÖAW, Allgemeine Akten, No. 301/1909; my translation.

⁵⁷ Ernest Brandewie, *When Giants Walked the Earth; The Life and Times of Wilhelm Schmidt*, SVD (Fribourg: University Press, 1990), 70.

⁵⁸ Suzanne Marchand, ‘Priests among the Pygmies: Wilhelm Schmidt and the Counter-Reformation in Austrian Ethnology’, in: *Worldly Provincialism: German Anthropology in the Age of Empire*, ed. by H. Glenn Penny/Matti Bunzl (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 283-316, here 297.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 288.

the movement, that soon was led by Wilhelm Schmidt, as ‘counter-reformation’. It was “not a rejection of modern learning, but an attempt to reorient it to the ends of the church”.⁶⁰

In 1910, the year after his return from southern Africa, Pöch received his *Venia legendi* with the lecture ‘Die Stellung der Buschmannrasse unter den übrigen Menschenrassen.’⁶¹ In it, he described

the Bushman race [as] a branch of mankind which apparently branched off very early from the common original forms, which partly preserved many primitive characteristics and partly changed through one-sided specialization and adaptation, so that it now stands as the final member of a special series of development, and among the human races now living we search in vain for a form which we can side with it.⁶²

These conclusions can be reconciled with Schmidt’s ideas. But already in the same lecture Pöch considered it probable that in a more exact comparison of the “small breeds [...] only one common characteristic would remain, namely their small size”, thereby contradicting the idea of them representing a common “*Urrasse*”.⁶³ In later texts he elaborated further on this line of argument.⁶⁴ Pöch therefore cannot be seen as supporter of Schmidt’s theory, even if his work was a contribution to debates around the origin of humankind and even specifically Schmidt’s ideas.

Another development in the sciences might have influenced the Academy’s decision to send Pöch to southern Africa. In 1905, the meeting of the British Association for the Advancement

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Britta Lange, *Die Wiener Forschungen an Kriegsgefangenen 1915-1918. Anthropologische und ethnografische Verfahren im Lager* (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2013), 61 f.

⁶² Rudolf Pöch, ‘Die Stellung der Buschmannrasse unter den übrigen Menschenrassen’, in *Korrespondenz-Blatt der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* 42 (1911): 21-6, here 24; my translation.

⁶³ Ibid; my translation.

⁶⁴ Barbara Plankensteiner, ‘„Auch hier gilt unsere Regel, Buschmanngut und Fremdgut auseinanderzuhalten“: Rudolf Pöch’s Südafrika-Sammlung und ihre wissenschaftliche Bearbeitung durch Walter Hirschberg’, in *Archiv für Völkerkunde* 59/60 (2011): 95-106, here 104.

of Science (BAAS) took place in South Africa. They had been invited by the South African Association for the Advancement of Science (SAAS), which had been founded two years earlier on the model of the BAAS. The conference was generously supported by the English and South African Colonial Offices.⁶⁵ The chairman of the Anthropological Section at this conference was Alfred Haddon (1855-1940), Professor of Anthropology at Cambridge, the same Haddon that Pösch had met in preparation for his travel to New Guinea. In his speech, Haddon called for the systematic collection of anthropometric data in South Africa and increased the desire in the South African scientific landscape to appropriate the bodies of the colonised as collection objects.⁶⁶ Already one year earlier, John X Merriman, chairman of the trustees of the South African Museum in Cape Town and later Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, had called for an anthropological understanding of South Africa as had already been initiated in India:

Such a survey besides being of the greatest scientific importance and of immediate necessity before the Native races are reduced to one dead level by the spread of civilization and of European ideas, would probably be of the greatest use to those who are responsible for the administration of the Coloured races throughout South Africa.⁶⁷

At the request of the South African researchers, further international scholars were invited to the BAAS conference, among them Felix von Luschan.⁶⁸

Luschan used the stay in order to pursue his own work and measured Bushmen in pass offices and prisons. Such central institutions of discipline and regulation were preferred places of

⁶⁵ Alan Morris, 'The British Association meeting of 1905', 338.

⁶⁶ Legassick/Rassool, *Skeletons in the Cupboard*, 3.

⁶⁷ John X. Merriman, 'Report of the Trustees', in *Report of the South African Museum for the Year ending 31st December* (Cape Town: Cape Times Limited Government Printers, 1904), 1-2; cf. Elizabeth Anne Dell, *Museums and the Re-presentation of 'Savage South Africa' to 1910* (unpublished PhD thesis: University of London, 1994), 226.

⁶⁸ Alan Morris, 'The British Association meeting', 336 f.

anthropological research. Luschan was supported by his wife Emma, the daughter of Ferdinand von Hochstetter, a pioneer of anthropological research in Austria. They were afforded substantial assistance by the South African colleagues and the colonial administration. Special attention was attracted when a full body cast of a person was made by the Luschan. According to Margit Berner, the cast was made from a man who was assigned the name N’Kurui and an age of about 64 years on a measuring sheet in Luschan’s estate. The costs for this plaster cast had been covered by South Africa, which is why the South African Museum in Cape Town and the University Museum in Johannesburg each received a copy.⁶⁹

When Pöch submitted his actual application for funding to the Academy of Sciences in Vienna, he did not specify his research aims further than what he had expressed in his first outline sent in October 1906. He mainly expanded on his newly acquired knowledge of the logistical and administrative aspects of the projected expedition. Pöch also requested that he be allowed to postpone the expedition for one year. He wished to first work through the ‘material’ that he had brought back from New Guinea and Australia. However, he also argued that the delay would have positive influence on the outcomes of the research in southern Africa, since he first wanted to learn how to make casts. Pöch made specific reference to Luschan’s successes in South Africa. He wrote that it was

an undeniable fact that photography is often not sufficient to reproduce the whole anthropological appearance. This is where sculpture must come to the aid. The Berlin anthropologist Prof. v. Luschan brought the cast of a whole bushman (albeit from the Transvaal) from his journey in South Africa. Due to a lack of practice and certainty I unfortunately had to refrain from using this technique on my last journey.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Margit Berner, ‘Zwei Spurensuchen. Objekte, Archive, Geschichte’, in *Sensible Sammlungen. Aus dem anthropologischen Depot*, ed. by ibid. et al. (Hamburg: Philo Fine Arts, 2011) 185–203, here 194-7.

⁷⁰ Another skillset that Pöch wanted to acquire before going on the expedition was “psychological measuring methods”, to make a contribution to the “comparison of the basic mental functions of these primitive peoples” (Pöch subsidy application, 12 Nov. 1906, AÖAW, subsidies, box 3, No. 862/1906; my translation).

Pöch did indeed bring casting equipment to southern Africa and made casts of people, some of which are still in the department of physical anthropology at the University of Vienna today. The members of the Academy of Sciences were certainly well aware of the developments surrounding the BAAS Conference. The decision to fund an expedition to southern Africa at that point in time might very well have been influenced by Haddon's instigations and Luschan's work. To contribute to the study of the indigenous people of South Africa was also an opportunity for the Austrian institution to make a name for themselves and to compete internationally.

A list of equipment, that Pöch provided to the Academy of Sciences in his first report from the expedition, most probably for insurance purposes, actually gives one a better idea of how he had planned to conduct his studies than his subsidy application. The list shows both the scope of the research areas he set out to cover – as he had done during his previous expedition – and the extent of the network of individuals and institutions who were involved in the project, either as commissioners or as supporters.

Altogether, Pöch sent 81 boxes and suitcases of equipment to southern Africa, a weight of 2200 kg gross in total. He divided all of this into twenty categories: photographic equipment, phonographic equipment, anthropological measurements, cast making, physiological examinations, language recordings, conservation of soft tissue,⁷¹ copying of rock engravings and drawings, weapons, ammunition, zoological collecting and preparation, botanical collecting and conservation, geographic and meteorological observations, medical instruments, tools, tent and storage equipment, provisions, tropical clothing, maps and

⁷¹ He refers to soft tissue from humans here – Pöch does not explicate this, taking that knowledge for granted. As you can see, zoological conservation forms a section on its own.

books.⁷² He brought three different cameras, one of them for stereoscopic photography, three different lenses, a film camera, backgrounds and lights for portraits, including a flash igniter from Dr Neuhaus, and all the equipment to develop film and photographic plates, including a small dark room tent. He brought a phonograph, borrowed from the phonographic archive in Vienna, and cylinders to record on; a travel set for anthropological measurements borrowed from Rudolf Martin in Zurich, a sliding compass borrowed from the Natural History Museum in Vienna (developed by Joseph Szómbathy), a skin colour index borrowed from Luschan, tools to take prints from hands and feet, borrowed from Otto Schlaginhaufen and measuring sheets from Rudolf Martin.

While he studied in Switzerland Rudolf Pöch had been introduced by Jakob Kollmann to Rudolf Martin, a Swiss anatomist.⁷³ Kollmann was a Swiss anthropologist who shared Schmidt's ideas of short people representing some kind of 'primal race'. Brigitte Fuchs sees Kollmann as preceding the Viennese School of Ethnology, with the views of Schmidt and Co built upon Kollmann's ideas.⁷⁴ Martin, however, was certainly the more important contact for Pöch. Martin sent Pöch measuring sheets to New Guinea, that Pöch reported to be of great help for his work, although he often was not able to complete them. At that time, Pöch also mentioned that he did not know how to use a skin colour index and doubted its usefulness. In Pöch's opinion, one would have to mix each individual skin tone with paint during the examination, in order to achieve an accurate representation of the real person.⁷⁵ Apparently he changed his mind before going to southern Africa, or at least wanted to give that tool a try. In 1914, Rudolf Martin published the first German-language textbook for physical

⁷² Report Pöch to the Academy, 10 Dec. 1907, Swakopmund, AÖAW, Allgemeine Akten, No. 8/1908.

⁷³ Letter Pöch to Professor Corning, 11 August 1905, Sydney, letter books VI, NHM, anthropological department. In this letter, Pöch asked Corning to let Kollmann know about Pöch's findings in New Guinea, where he had also met people that seemed to be of extraordinarily short build.

⁷⁴ Brigitte Fuchs, „Rasse“, „Volk“, *Geschlecht*, 207.

⁷⁵ Letter Pöch to Martin, 11 August 1905, Sydney, letter books VI, NHM, anthropological department.

anthropology, the first major attempt to standardise physical anthropological research and anthropometric measurement in the German-speaking areas.⁷⁶ Rudolf Pöch stayed in close contact with Martin throughout his life. In a later edition of the *Lehrbuch*, Martin included some of Pöch's methods for anthropometric photography.⁷⁷

Regarding his preparations for southern Africa, Pöch bought cast making equipment from the subsidy of the Academy and borrowed special tools for dental impressions from the dental institute of the University of Vienna. He brought along the following items: two sets of Holmgren's wool samples to test colour perceptions, reading samples following Pflüger's "Optotypie" and objects to be drawn by the examined; language recording books following von der Gabelenk; formalin and other preservation liquids bought with the Academy's subsidy, dissection tools and an injection syringe; copy paper and a shipping tube borrowed from the Oriental Institute of the University of Vienna; five weapons: a hunting gun, a shotgun, two different pistols and a Flobert gun; a total of 2880 cartridges; several boxes of conservation material for zoological collections from the Natural History Museum in Vienna; a box of botanical equipment given to him by Professor Wettstein from the botanical department of the University of Vienna; geographic instruments and route tracking books given to him by Professor von Danckelman; a snake bite kit, surgical and dental instruments, a compressor, delivery forceps and a tropical first-aid kit bought from the subsidy; a war map of South-West Africa and a map of its northern regions, an ordnance map of Bechuanaland.

In addition, he brought

⁷⁶ Rudolf Martin, *Lehrbuch der Anthropologie. In systematischer Darstellung mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der anthropologischen Methoden. Für Studierende, Ärzte und Forschungsreisende* (Jena: Fischer, 1914).

⁷⁷ Margit Berner, 'Forschungs-"Material" Kriegsgefangene: Die Massenuntersuchungen der Wiener Anthropologen an gefangenen Soldaten 1915-1918', in *Vorreiter der Vernichtung? Eugenik, Rassenhygiene und Euthanasie in der österreichischen Diskussion vor 1938* (Geschichte der NS-Euthanasie in Wien, Teil III), ed. by Heinz Eberhard Gabriel, Wolfgang Neugebauer (Vienna: Böhlau, 2005), 167–198, here 189 and Amos Morris-Reich, 'Anthropology, standardization and measurement: Rudolf Martin and anthropometric photography', in *British Society for the History of Science* 46:3 (2013): 487-516, here 509.

newer and older works about the indigenous people of South Africa, namely the bushmen (Bleek, Fritsch, S. Passarge, L. Schultze), the Nama language (Wallmann, Bleek, Krönlein, Planert) and about South Africa in general (S. Passarge, Somama, Leutwein, Rohrbach).⁷⁸

He brought general tools and equipment to open and (re-)seal his transport metal boxes; a so-called “Wissmann”-tent, a folding bed and table, mosquito nets, a sleeping bag from camel hair blankets, a chair, a wash basin, various lamps, a meat grinder, a field kitchen and a cruet set, a foldable rubber tub, three twenty-five litre water barrels; provisions bought from the subsidy; one cord suit,⁷⁹ four khaki suits, khaki and leather riding trousers, two pairs of putties, twelve white tropical suits and appertaining cotton underwear, five different pairs of shoes (including riding boots and Tyrolean hiking shoes), leather gaiters, a tropical hat and two felt-hats.⁸⁰

Some of this equipment he gathered in Berlin and Hamburg shortly before embarking on the ship to Swakopmund. In Berlin, he met with Luschan, von Lelioq and Professor Plate, visited Professor Nagel from the physiological institute and Privy Council Stumpf. He bought some equipment together with Hornbostel, collected a first-aid kit from von Liebenthal, got some geographic instruments from Fuess, met Albrecht Penck, went to visit the Anthropological and Geographic Association, met Gustav Fritsch and changed money. In Hamburg, he bought his ticket for the *Ostafrika Linie* and sent the cargo with Woermann, went to visit the Institute for Maritime and Tropical Diseases and Adolph Woermann and paid his insurance. The evening before his departure to Swakopmund, he spent with colleagues from the Institute for Maritime and Tropical Diseases.⁸¹

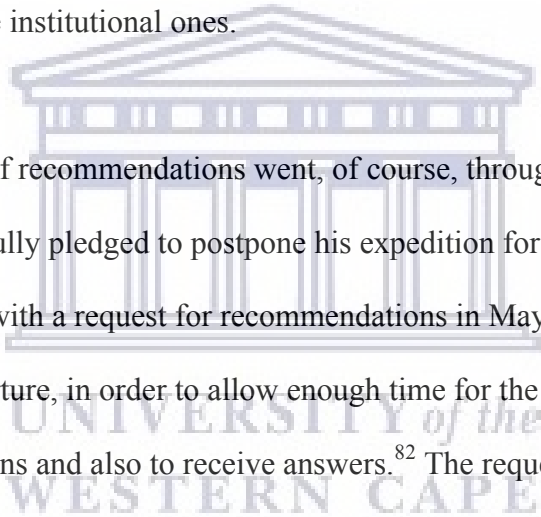
⁷⁸ Report Pöch to the Academy, 10 Dec. 1907, Swakopmund, AÖAW, Allgemeine Akten, No. 8/1908; my translation.

⁷⁹ He specified in brackets: „d.i. grauer Schnürsammt” (ibid.).

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Pöch’s diaries from Southern Africa, NHM, anthropological department, 14.037a, book 1, 1907/08, 1-3.

But Pöch not only knew how to make use of his network to collect equipment. He was also very efficient in getting people to send recommendations for him to the respective colonial governments and local authorities. Having collected enough experience on his previous expeditions himself and being supported by an institution and its president that had also gathered extensive experience in organising big scale expeditions, he was in a good starting position. As mentioned earlier, Pöch had already enjoyed the support of the Academy on his travels to Oceania. The correspondence in the subsidy file shows that for southern Africa, Pöch took great care in building his local support structure beforehand. He was the one who made sure that everything was done in due time and that personal recommendations were prepared to supplement the institutional ones.



However, the main chain of recommendations went, of course, through the Academy of Sciences. Having successfully pledged to postpone his expedition for a year in 1906, he approached the Academy with a request for recommendations in May 1907, four months prior to his projected departure, in order to allow enough time for the colonial governments to write to local administrations and also to receive answers.⁸² The request for recommendations, that Pöch prepared for the Academy to be forwarded, stated:

Owing to his official introductions and recommendations the traveller has been bestowed with the protection and assistance of the respective colonial governments on all three journeys [Bombay, Guinea and New-Guinea]. The signatory would like to ask most sincerely for the same assistance in regard to his new journey. Concerning the individual colonial territories, the traveller would like to utter the following wishes: 1. For German South-West Africa. It may be announced if the recently ended war still influences the routes suggested by the traveller in any way. Further, he asks for the perquisite to be allowed to approach the Imperial Government in Windhoek in all important matters, namely concerning the intended journey towards the east. 2. For British Bechuanaland in particular and for the whole British colonial possession in South Africa in general. The traveller seeks permission to cross borders from German South-West Africa to British Bechuanaland in Rietfontein. The closest official in

⁸² Pöch to the Academy, 15 May 1907, AÖAW, subsidies, box 3, No. 862/1906.

British Bechuanaland may be informed about the arrival of the traveller and the purpose of his travel beforehand. Additionally, the traveller asks for the issuance of a document written in English and certified by the Foreign Office in London that contains sufficient legitimation before all British officials in the colonial territory. Since the return journey might go through a big part of British South Africa, the traveller also asks to inform the authorities in the Cape Colony, the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal. 3. For Portuguese East Africa and Angola. Although a visit of the Portuguese colonial territory is not planned for at the moment, it might turn out desirable to cross to the Portuguese area in the course of the travel. Therefore, the traveller also asks for recommendations to both bordering Portuguese colonies, Angola and Portuguese East Africa.⁸³

Pöch stressed that the objective of the expedition was purely scientific and that he had no political or economic interests in pursuing it.⁸⁴ It was only after this letter was received with requests for recommendations that the Academy sent Pöch the official confirmation of his grant. In his letter of acceptance Pöch assured them that he would publish his results with the Academy first and that he would always mention their funding in every publication ensuing out of this expedition.⁸⁵

The same day he had sent his recommendation request to the Academy, he also informed Suess personally about it and told him that within the next few days, he was going to meet Privy Council von Plason in this regard.⁸⁶ The nobleman, Adolf von Plason de la Woestyne, born 1848, served in the Austrian-Hungarian Foreign Office from 1868 to 1907. He must have had a special interest in scientific collections; his name surfaces in different archives connected to this study. In the annual report of the Natural History Museum from 1885, he is mentioned as one of the external scholars who studied the collections of the museum;⁸⁷ the

⁸³ Ibid.; my translation.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Pöch to the Academy, 23 May 1907, *ibid.*

⁸⁶ Pöch to Suess, 15 May 1907, *ibid.*

⁸⁷ Dr. Franz Ritter von Hauer, 'Musealarbeiten', *Annalen des k.k. naturhistorischen Hofmuseums* (Vienna: k.k. naturhistorisches Hofmuseum, 1885), 6-17, here 12 f.

Academy of Sciences sent him newspaper reports covering their expeditions to Brazil;⁸⁸ he donated “ethnographic objects from all parts of the world” to the Natural History Museum in 1910, a collection that he had acquired “from different sources” while working at the Foreign Office;⁸⁹ and shortly after a letter of thanks from the Academy arrived at the South African Museum in Cape Town in 1910, thanking them for their assistance to Pöch, a letter from Plason arrived, asking for collections of beetles and butterflies.⁹⁰ Furthermore, von Plason’s wife, Katharina Wilhelmina née von Schmieterloew, had been raised in the Cape Colony. Von Plason must have done his best to support Pöch’s expedition.

In June 1907, the Academy sent its recommendation to the Austrian-Hungarian Foreign Office. They, too, followed a line of argument in which Pöch’s credentials were stressed while information about his research aims was kept to a minimum. They referred to reports about Pöch’s successful expedition to New-Guinea and Australia that they had sent to the Foreign Office in 1906, emphasising that this research had only been possible because of the support of the colonial governments, which had followed from the recommendations of the Foreign Office, and attached Pöch’s letter.⁹¹ On July 1st, the Austrian-Hungarian embassy in Berlin sent a letter to the German Foreign Office, forwarding a copy of Pöch’s letter and adding:

Since this outstanding task in the interest of universal science can only come to a fruitful solution with the support of the respective foreign government in whose colonial territories these studies, which lack any political sentiment, would be conducted, the Academy has asked the Austrian-Hungarian Foreign Office to take steps in this regard.⁹²

⁸⁸ Brasilien Expedition, AÖAW.

⁸⁹ Inventory book 1910-1912, year 1910, post XII, Weltmuseum Wien; my translation.

⁹⁰ Adolf Plason de la Woestyne to the South African Museum, 2 April 1910, SAM ILB.

⁹¹ Presidium of the Academy to the Austrian-Hungarian Foreign Office, Vienna, 12 June 1907, AÖAW, subsidies, box 3, No. 862/1906.

⁹² Austrian-Hungarian embassy to German Foreign Office, Berlin, 1 July 1907, NNA, support of research

On July 18th, an official of the German Foreign Office explained to its Secretary that Pöch's expedition to New-Guinea had been supported by the German authorities due to recommendations from the Academy of Sciences and Baron von Richthofen and that it had been a full success. He also mentioned that Pöch had sent a travel report to the German Colonial Office which was then published in the *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*. He praised the scientific quality of further publications of Pöch and recommended that he was assured of assistance for the forthcoming journey, adding a caution against Simon Copper.⁹³ That same day, the Secretary of the German Foreign Office forwarded the documents to the Imperial Government in Windhoek, asking them to instruct the respective offices about Pöch's expedition and to provide him with information concerning his safety at his arrival in Windhoek.⁹⁴ On August 6th, Windhoek extended the request for support to the authorities in Swakopmund, Keetmanshoop and Gobabis and asked them to provide accommodation for Pöch. The author of these instructions also asked to be informed about Pöch's arrival in the respective districts; it seems likely that it was Bruno Schuckmann himself, governor of German South-West Africa at that time.⁹⁵

In his letter to the Secretary of the British Foreign Office, Sir Edward Grey, the Austrian-Hungarian ambassador in London, Mensdorff, also began by stressing that

Dr. Rudolf Poch ... is known to fame by reason of his numerous former scientific journeys and ethnographical labours, especially most recently in regard to the wild

travels, 1898 to August 1911, J XIII a 3; my translation. Copies of the files in the Namibian National Archives have been provided to me by Professor Walter Sauer. I am most grateful for that.

⁹³ Official of the German Foreign Office to the Secretary of the German Foreign Office, Berlin, 18 July 1907, *ibid.*

⁹⁴ Secretary of the German Foreign Office to the Imperial Government in Windhoek, Berlin, 18 July 1907, *ibid.* The Austrian-Hungarian ambassador in Berlin, Szögyeny, forwarded this information to the Academy: "Although the population of the regions which come into consideration for the itinerary of Dr Pöch in German South-West Africa can be described as overall peaceful, special caution is still to be recommended in regard to the Simon Copper area at the eastern border since this tribe has not yet submitted itself." Austrian-Hungarian ambassador to the Academy, Berlin, 31 July 1907, AÖAW, subsidies, box 3, No. 862/1906.

⁹⁵ Draft letters to the offices Swakopmund, Keetmanshoop and Gobabis, Windhoek, 6 Aug. 1907, NNA, support of research travels, 1898 to August 1911, J XIII a 3.

tribes in New Guinea and Australia.⁹⁶

He referred to previous letters he had sent, asking for support of Pöch's expedition in New Guinea in 1904 and thanking for the same in 1906 and added that the generous support through which Pöch's endeavours had reached a successful outcome had "never [been] denied in similar circumstances".⁹⁷ On July 13th this letter was forwarded to the British Colonial Office, asking for advice on how to reply. The Secretary of State for the Colonies, Victor Bruce, 9th Earl of Elgin, forwarded it to the High Commissioner for South Africa, William Palmer, 2nd Earl of Selborne. He requested that the local governments be informed about Pöch's journey and that they give "every assistance that he might require".⁹⁸

Just one day after this information was passed back to the Foreign Office, on August 22nd, Pöch reported to the Academy that Francis Rickman Barton, governor of British New-Guinea, with whom Pöch had kept in touch since his last expedition, personally knew Sir Edward Grey, Secretary of the British Foreign Office, and had talked with him about Pöch's travel plans. Grey had confirmed that the British authorities would not put any obstruction in Pöch's way as long as he presented a detailed itinerary, explained his mission and gave the assurance that it was an apolitical endeavour.⁹⁹

By mid-September 1907, notice of Pöch's project reached the governor of the Western Cape, Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson, who became a strong supporter of Pöch's research. A few days later, he transmitted the documents to the ministers; by the end of the month, the Prime

⁹⁶ Austrian-Hungarian ambassador, Mensdorff, to the Secretary of the British Foreign Office, Earl Grey, London, 31 July 1907, CA, GH 35/263 319. See also *Skeletons in the Cupboard*, 9.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ Colonial Office to Foreign Office, London, 21 Aug. 1907, CA, GH 35/263 319.

⁹⁹ Pöch to the Academy, Silvaplana, 22 Aug. 1907, AÖAW, subsidies, box 3, No. 862/1906. Pöch added the address of Barton's hotel in Vienna to the letter; Barton was on visit in Europe at the time.

Minister of the Cape sent a circular to the Under Colonial Secretary, the Assistant Treasurer, the Under Secretary for Agriculture and the Secretary to the Native Affairs Department, in which he stated that he wished “all reasonable facilities extended to Dr Poch in connection with his mission” and asked the offices to indicate “what assistance can be rendered to the Austrian savant in so far as their respective departments are concerned”.¹⁰⁰ For the next two months, a vivid communication materialised among different offices which resulted in the Keeper of Archives offering his support, the Cape Mounted Police sending instructions to the respective districts to render Pöch every assistance possible, the Custom Offices offering duty free entry for Pöch if he provided a list of items he brought into the country and the Chief Veterinary official permitting draught animals to be taken across the border, as long as they passed the necessary medical test.¹⁰¹ Edward Dower from the Native Affairs Office offered some additional support:

It would also be possible if Dr. Poch’s time sufficed, for facilities to be afforded to him to visit the haunts of the last remnants of the Bushmen in the Transkeian Territories. Near Jenca trading station at the head waters of the Umga in the Tsolo District are to be found the last four, all of them advanced in age, who lay claim to pure Bushman descent. They are by profession ‘rain-makers’ and their leader Luhayi purports to be a Chief of high rank, tracing his lineage to Mahlanga, Masani and Mzimba.¹⁰²

Evidently, there was no doubt among the British-South African officials about the relevance and legitimacy of Pöch’s research objectives and their willingness to assist wherever they could was high.

¹⁰⁰ Memorandum of the secretary to the PMO, 30 Sep. 1907, CA, PMO 234 752/07. See also *Skeletons in the Cupboard*, 9.

¹⁰¹ Documents attached to a letter from the Native Affairs Office Cape Town to the secretary of the PMO, 5 Nov. 1907, CA, PMO 234 752/07.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

Prior to these events, on August 26th, Bruno Schuckmann had written a letter of introduction to Governor Hely-Hutchinson in the Cape Colony. Schuckmann had recently succeeded Friedrich von Lindequist, who had been sent to supersede von Trotha because of his horrific decisions in the war against the Herero. Schuckmann now reminded Hely-Hutchinson of the times when he had served as general consul for British South Africa and Hely-Hutchinson as governor of Natal.¹⁰³ Hely-Hutchinson responded warmly to this friendly note:

I can assure you that I have been looking forward with pleasure to the renewal of our official relations, and that I trust, with you, that they may prove of help in the settlement of the questions affecting the mutual interests of the Protectorate and of the Cape Colony.¹⁰⁴

On October 9th, Pösch thanked the Academy for having sent him a copy of the recommendation letter that the Colonial Office in London had sent to Hely-Hutchinson in mid-September. He also informed the Academy that Albert Hahl, governor of German New-Guinea, had sent a personal letter of recommendation to Bruno Schuckmann. In a letter that Pösch wrote to Bernhard Nocht from the Institute for Maritime and Tropical Diseases while he was still in Australia, Pösch mentioned that Albert Hahl had given him some information on the situation with regard to malaria in such a casual way that it implied Pösch and Hahl had been in regular exchange.¹⁰⁵ Both Schuckmann and Hely-Hutchinson indicated they would personally take care of affording Pösch all assistance he needed in their respective territories. At the time of this last letter from Pösch to the Academy before his departure, parts of Pösch's equipment were already on their way to Hamburg.¹⁰⁶ A month later, Pösch travelled to Berlin. On 13 November he boarded the "Windhuk" in Hamburg and on 9 December, he arrived in Swakopmund.

¹⁰³ Schuckmann to Hely-Hutchinson, 26 Aug. 1907, CA, GH 13/30.

¹⁰⁴ Hely-Hutchinson to Schuckmann, 17 Sep. 1907, *ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ Pösch letter to Bernhard Nocht, Sydney, 11 July 1905, letter books V, NHM, anthropological department.

¹⁰⁶ Pösch to the Academy, Vienna, 9 Oct. 1907, AÖAW, subsidies, box 3, No. 862/1906.

From the viewpoint of James Clifford, Peter Pels and Oscar Salemink, these preparations of Pöch's expedition can be understood as the *préterrain* of the anthropological fieldwork. Part of the discursive methods that go into constructing 'the field' as that remote place contrasting the *white*, middle-class, urban, 'Western' background of the anthropologist is an erasure of the connections between the place of study and the place of the anthropologist's departure.

Localizations of the anthropologist's objects of study in terms of a "field" tend to marginalize or erase several blurred boundary areas, historical realities that slip out of the ethnographic frame. ... The means of transport is largely erased—the boat, the land rover, the mission airplane, etc. These technologies suggest systematic prior and ongoing contacts and commerce with exterior places and forces which are not part of the field/object. The discourse of ethnography ("being there") is too sharply separated from that of travel ("getting there").¹⁰⁷

The administrative and logistical work done in preparation of Pöch's expedition shows that 'the field-work' starts long before the arrival of the researcher at the destination. The 'field' actually stretches well into the institutional and personal networks that need to be mobilised in order to enable the study. Pöch's expedition to southern Africa is an extraordinarily well documented case of the ways these networks were put to work at the beginning of the 20th century. The recommendation letters, private enquiries and personal recommendations record the finely attuned and multifaceted techniques of mobilising the social capital that was needed to access the desired 'study objects'.

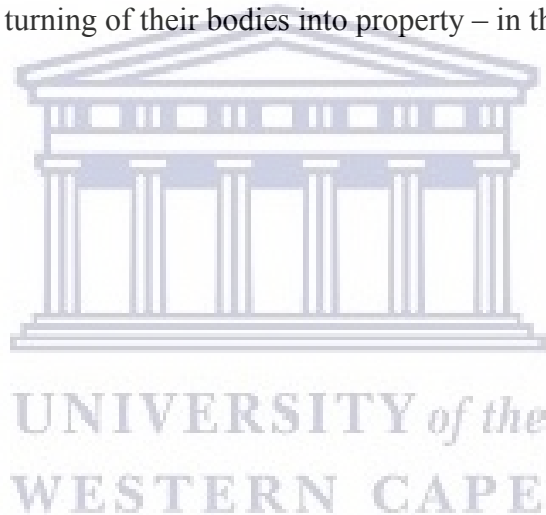
Pels and Salemink emphasised aspects of power relations, as well as the ideological preconditions and academic discourses in their conceptualisation of the *préterrain*:

[The *préterrain*] is made up of the hybrid spatiotemporal relationships that precondition the work of ethnography: mercantile, colonial, or academic discursive practices that define the possibility and necessity of going "out there"; means of transport; forms of residence; power relationships with and within the societies the

¹⁰⁷ James Clifford, 'Traveling Cultures', in *Cultural Studies*, ed. by Lawrence Grossberg et al. (New York and London: Routledge, 1992), 96-116, here 99 f.

ethnographer shall describe; the modes of production and reproduction of these relationships.¹⁰⁸

So far I have highlighted the different aspects of the *préterrain* of Pöch's expedition to southern Africa from the vantage point of Pöch as German-speaking scholar from the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. In the next chapter, I try to provide some background about the contexts he travelled to. It is important to understand the peculiarities of the conditions created by settler colonialism in relation to anthropological discourses and practices. The extermination policies against indigenous people in settler colonialist states have contributed significantly to the forms of objectification of indigenous bodies and their literal appropriation – that is: the turning of their bodies into property – in the name of science.



¹⁰⁸ Peter Pels and Oscar Salemink, 'Introduction: Locating the Colonial subjects of Anthropology', in *Colonial Subjects: Essays in the Practical History of Anthropology*, ed. by ibid. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), 1-52, here 13.

Chapter Seven: **Settler Colonialism and Physical Anthropology in southern Africa**

Nowadays, purebred bushmen in South Africa are only to be found in very small numbers, and in the not too distant future, a very unique and archaic human race will have vanished from the earth.¹

As mentioned in the previous chapter, all the scholars who Pösch referenced and consulted in preparation of his expedition to southern Africa based their research on the assumption that the indigenous people of southern Africa were ‘a vanishing race’. It was the idea that Bushmen were a ‘remnant’ of an ‘extinct people’, as Carl Toldt had it, that was brought forward as motive for funding a two-year long expedition by the Academy of Sciences in Vienna.² In this chapter, I want to look more closely at the entanglements of settler colonialism, anthropological discourses and the appropriation of indigenous bodies in southern Africa in which Pösch travelled and intervened into. Settler colonies, as Patrick Wolfe stated, “were not primarily established to extract surplus value from indigenous labour. Rather, they are premised on displacing indigenes from (or replacing them on) the land”.³ This mode of colonial elimination and dispossession is intrinsically intertwined with anthropological discourses of extinction:

Settler colonies were (are) premised on the elimination of native societies. ... the romance of extinction ... (the dying race, the last of his tribe, etc.), encodes a settler-colonial imperative.⁴

Although anthropological and colonial discourse configured indigenous people in the colonies as part of natural history – and therefore part of nature, not culture – they were discursively and physically separated from the land they lived in. Mary Louise Pratt has

¹ Rudolf Pösch, ‘Die Stellung der Buschmannrasse’, 21.

² Report Toldt, 7 Nov 1906, AÖAW, subsidies, box 3, No. 862/1906; my translation.

³ Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event* (London: Cassell, 1999), 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 2.

written about the discursive and representational patterns in 19th century travel accounts that enacted this kind of separation:

Throughout much nineteenth-century exploration writing on the imperial frontier, this discursive configuration effaces the European presence and textually splits off indigenous inhabitants from habitat. It is a configuration which, in (mis)recognition of what was materially underway or in anticipation of what was to come, verbally depopulates landscapes. Indigenous peoples are relocated in separate manners-and-customs chapters as if in textual homelands or reservations, where they are pulled out of time to be preserved, contained, studied, admired, detested, pitied, mourned.⁵

As Pratt observed, there were different narrative voices employed for the descriptions of landscape as opposed to the descriptions of people. Their effects, however, were complementary: The “voice scans the prospects of the indigenous body and body politic and, in the ethnographic present, abstracts them out of the landscape”.⁶ To describe the ways in which the (male) European gaze discursively opened up not only the country but also the indigenous body, Pratt coined the term ‘bodyscape’:

The eye “commands” what falls within its gaze; the mountains “show themselves” or “present themselves”; the country “opens up” before the European newcomer, as does the unclothed indigenous bodyscape.⁷

The ‘opening up’ of country and people, albeit framed separately, were part of the same process of colonial appropriation and conquest. As Pratt pointed out, this involved not only colonial, but also capitalist expansion:

This nineteenth-century exploration writing rejoins two planetary processes that had been ideologically sundered: the expansion of the knowledge edifice of natural history and the expansion of the capitalist world system.⁸

⁵ Mary Louise Pratt, ‘Scratches on the Face of the Country; Or, What Mr. Barrow Saw in the Land of the Bushmen’, *Critical Inquiry* 12;1 (1985):119-143, here 126 f.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 126; my emphasis.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 124.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 125.

The colonised were not only (re-)integrated into this capitalist system as exploited labourers, their bodies were also appropriated in the literal sense, as corpses, bones, body parts and in the form of casts and recordings. I suggest that although these appropriations happened in all colonial situations, the settler colonial situation with its rhetoric and practice of elimination was central to the idea of the systematic appropriation of the indigenous body for scientific collections. In turn, the anthropological discourse of extinction *and* preservation helped legitimise the colonial elimination of the indigenous from the land they lived in. As Sarita Echavez See put it, although not distinctly analysing settler colonial situations, “the university and the museum forward[ed] the colonial project by taking the colonized as objects of accumulation”.⁹

In today’s South Africa, the process of integrating culture and bodies of the indigenous people into the colonial institutions within the country began only in the early 20th century. Before that, it was mainly European scholars and institutions that were involved in these processes of appropriation. As the late Martin Legassick and Ciraj Rassool put it, at the time of Pösch’s expedition, the

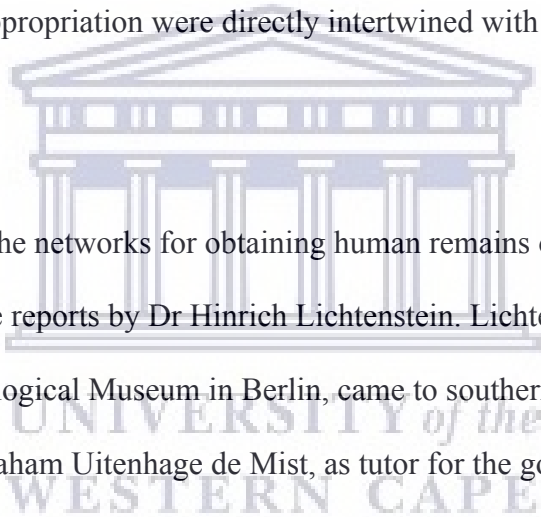
southern Kalahari and the northern Cape more generally were part of an enormous field site, stretching from southern Namibia across to then Bechuanaland, for the acquisition of human remains which were central to racial research in South Africa and Europe.¹⁰

Legassick and Rassool maintain that collections of human remains from people classified as Khoesan in South African museums increased significantly after the BAAS meeting in Cape Town in 1905 and A.C. Haddon’s call to start examining and collecting the bodies and

⁹ Sarita Echavez See, *The Filipino Primitive: Accumulation and Resistance in the American Museum* (New York: New York University Press, 2017), 3.

¹⁰ Legassick/Rassool, *Skeletons in the Cupboard*, 2.

culture of South Africa's indigenous people more systematically.¹¹ They mention several indicators for this, among them the (as they caution: often imprecise) entries of the osteological accession registers of the South African Museum in Cape Town (SAM) and the McGregor Museum in Kimberley which suggest that there was a peak of 'acquisitions' a couple of years after Haddon's incentive.¹² However, a century prior to A.C. Haddon's interventions into South Africa's scientific landscape and the systematic integration of the bodies and culture of the Indigenous into South African museums, the appropriation and export of bodily remains of people from southern Africa already was a well-rehearsed practice. They became part of the earliest collections of human remains for racial research in Europe. The methods of appropriation were directly intertwined with the violence enacted by the colonisers.



An early example of how the networks for obtaining human remains operated in the early 19th century can be found in the reports by Dr Hinrich Lichtenstein. Lichtenstein, a medical doctor who later founded the Zoological Museum in Berlin, came to southern Africa with the then Dutch governor Jacob Abraham Uitenhage de Mist, as tutor for the governor's son. In 1805, Lichtenstein, together with the landdrost of Tulbagh, Hendrik van der Graaf, travelled through the interior, where heavy battles were fought between Khoesan and colonists. Van der Graaf and Lichtenstein suggested to the governor to start a broader campaign to 'civilise' Bushmen by taking them captive and obliging them to forced labour in imprisonment somewhere close to Cape Town.¹³ In a report that Lichtenstein published later, he related that after one violent encounter between Khoesan and the colonists, he met a captive who the colonists called Baardman and who they thought of as Bushman. Baardman was brought to a

¹¹ Ibid., 3; 5f. See the previous chapter.

¹² Legassick/Rassool, *Skeletons in the Cupboard*, 5 f.; 53 f.

¹³ Nigel Penn, *The Forgotten Frontier: Colonists and Khoisan on the Cape's northern frontier in the 18th century* (Cape Town: Double Storey Books, 2005), 263.

prison in Tulbagh. Before Lichtenstein returned to Europe, he paid the town a visit, as he related later:

A few days before I arrived for this last time at Tulbagh, the old beard-man had died in prison. I got his corpse taken up, that I might have his skull, which, while he was alive, I had observed to be in many respects very remarkable. At my return to Europe, this, with the skin of his face, was deposited in the admirable collection of counsellor Blumenbach, at Gottingen.¹⁴

Johann Friedrich Blumenbach's (1752-1840) work *De generis humani varietate*, first presented as doctoral dissertation in 1775, is widely perceived as founding moment of racial classification. Taking his lead from the *Systema naturae*, published by Carolus Linnaeus in 1758, which aimed to offer a complete taxonomy of people, plants and animals, Blumenbach amended Linnaeus four categories for humans to five races. Most importantly, what had started as classification via geography in Linnaeus' scheme, became a linear ranking in Blumenbach's system. However, he also observed that one could not draw any clear boundaries between different varieties of mankind, since their features gradually changed in between different groups.¹⁵ Blumenbach and his younger contemporary Samuel George Morton (1799-1851) in Philadelphia were renowned for their large collections of human crania, unofficially called 'Golgotha'.¹⁶ Franz Gall and later comparative collections in Austria drew on their example. As the example of Lichtenstein shows, the appropriation of the bodily remains of the colonised was an easy exercise for a European with his authority.

¹⁴ Lichtenstein 1929: 453, qt. in Alan Morris, 'Trophy Skulls, Museums and the San', in *Miscast: Negotiating the presence of the Bushmen*, ed. by Pippa Skotnes (Cape Town: UCT Press, 1996), 67-79, here 71.

¹⁵ Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (New York: Norton, 1996), 401-412.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 83 and Wulf D. Hund, 'Die Körper der Bilder der Rassen' in *Entfremdete Körper. Rassismus als Leichenschändung*, ed. by *ibid.* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2009), 13-79, here 39. (Golgotha is the biblical name for the hill where Jesus was crucified, meaning 'place of the skull' in Hebrew and Aramaic). Recently, a research group has started to undertake provenance research into Blumenbach's collection, still housed in Göttingen (<https://www.uni-goettingen.de/de/629688.html>, accessed 20 February 2021).

Alan Morris linked the presence of skeletal remains of people classified as Khoesan in South African museums to the occidental tradition of obtaining trophy skulls from the subjugated. Many of the people whose remains became part of private collections were killed by colonists in what has been described as a long lasting genocide enacted in myriad ways.¹⁷ Remarks that were made by a soldier who was sent to support the colonists at the frontier in the mid-19th century testify to how common the trade and appropriation of human remains of the colonised was. When he arrived in South Africa, he saw “a Kaffir’s [sic!] head for sale” but decided he would be able to obtain one himself, once on duty.¹⁸ As Morris pointed out, some of the human remains that were appropriated during that time period and are still kept in public collections in Britain stem from people who were never buried. Their remains were taken directly after their death. They include crania of people which were conserved as full heads, with their skin intact.¹⁹ One can easily see these representing trophies of the colonisers. The appropriation of the bodily remains of the indigenous people of southern Africa must be situated in the longer history of conquest in the region.

The violence enacted against the people already living in South Africa when the United East India Company (VOC) decided to settle at the Cape of Good Hope was immense, multi-layered and, irreversible as it was, is felt until today. The main conflicts evolved around land and livestock. The VOC first depended on the Khoe, pastoralists who were living in the region, to supply the company with meat. But the company soon tried to raise the percentage

¹⁷ Mohamed Adhikari, in *The anatomy of a South African genocide: the extermination of the Cape San peoples* (Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, 2010), has most prominently emphasised that the many ways in which Khoe and San were oppressed, exploited and murdered since the beginning of European colonisation should be described as genocide. Unfortunately, in doing so, he dismissed authors who had done the painstaking and meticulous work of reconstructing exactly this violence through the lens of the colonial archive but who, in Adhikari’s view, failed to sufficiently explicitly mark these practices as genocidal. By centring the discussion on these questions of terminology, Adhikari’s contribution often runs the risk to become a cynical operation in the competition for academic turf.

¹⁸ Alan Morris, ‘Trophy Skulls’, 75.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 73.

of their own cattle, thereby further intruding on the available grazing land. Environmental circumstances, especially different rainfall patterns in different regions according to the respective season, made moving from one place to another the most efficient way of living and nursing live stock. Access to water was rather scarce and decreased the further inland one moved, a fact that hindered the settlers from expanding the colony and pushing the frontier beyond the boundary of the winter and summer rainfall regions for more than one hundred years.²⁰ Competition for resources sharpened when the VOC decided to encourage immigration to the Cape by offering free transport and land to settlers by the end of the 17th century.²¹ If the Khoes refused to give the company the cattle they requested, the VOC took to military power, attacked and stole the stock from them.²²

Throughout the 18th century, Khoes and San, people who lived as hunter-gatherers in the region, attempted to defend their livelihoods through withdrawal and counter-attacks. Who fought on which side, however, was not that straightforward. Several factors complicated the web of violent relations of the expanding colony: There were alliances and enmities between different groups of the indigenous people; company deserters and other outlaws on the colonialists' side stole where and what they could; there was competition between the needs of the VOC and the settlers; there were intermarriages between settlers and indigenous women; and the settlers and the VOC often forced indigenous people to participate in so-called 'commandos' and other attacks against fellow indigenous people. Not least due to the colonists' use of guns and horses and the alcohol and diseases that they spread among those who had lived in the region before them, they eventually kept the upper hand. Penn concluded that by the 1770s, most Khoes were already living in dependency from the

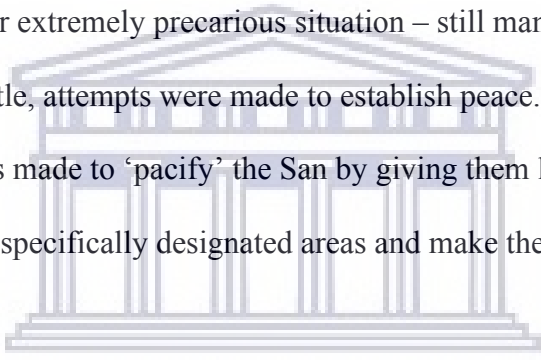
²⁰ Nigel Penn, *The Forgotten Frontier*, 82.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 27-29.

²² *Ibid.*, 29.

colonists, as shepherds or farm labourers, often in slave-like conditions. The condition of the indigenous people at the frontier dramatically deteriorated.²³ Already at that time, the colonists treated those who used to live as pastoralists and those who used to live as hunter-gatherers differently. The latter were mainly framed as unsuitable for work. There is plenty of evidence in the colonial archive that shows that it was common to think it best if the San were exterminated.²⁴

The British occupation of the Cape led to a change in approach regarding the situation at the frontiers, and specifically the ways in which the San should be treated. Since the San – despite and because of their extremely precarious situation – still managed to successfully attack settlers and steal cattle, attempts were made to establish peace. Under the guise of humanist ideals, a plan was made to ‘pacify’ the San by giving them live stock, guarantee them undisturbed usage of specifically designated areas and make them nominate leaders. However, given



the almost total ownership of the means of production by the colonists, the proposal to wean the San from their ‘casual and predatory supplies’ was but a prelude to their wholesale incorporation into the colonial economy as labourers – the likelihood of which the authorities could not have been unaware of.²⁵

There was therefore, spurred both by the resistance of the colonised and the quest for economic exploitation, an ongoing tension between the politics of elimination towards the indigenous and their ordained integration into the expanding capitalist colony as labourers. Contrary to Patrick Wolfe’s “theorisation of an abstracted ‘pure’ settler colonial model”²⁶ in

²³ Ibid., 97.

²⁴ Ibid., 122; see also Adhikari’s book.

²⁵ Penn, *Forgotten Frontier*, 231.

²⁶ Sai Englert, ‘Settlers, Workers, and the Logic of Accumulation by Dispossession’, *Antipode* 52;6 (2020): 1647-1666, here 1651.

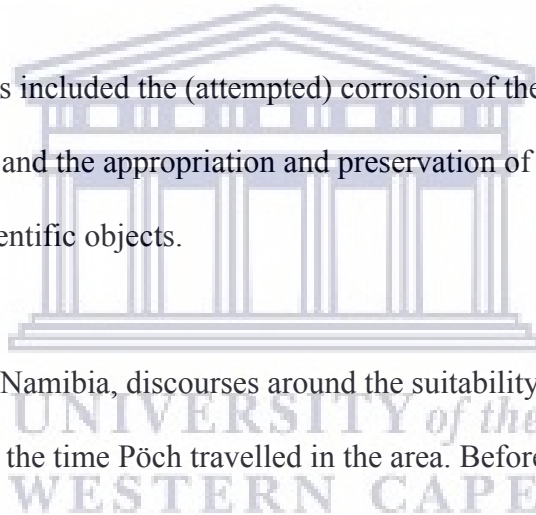
which the elimination of the indigenous population was the only aim, different scholars have pointed out that

although displacement and expropriation were definitely a central part of their [the settler colonies] *modus vivendi*, as was the undermining of collective indigenous claims over land, so was the exploitation of their labour.²⁷

Exemplifying his argument with the history of southern Africa, Robin Kelley pointed out that, yes,

the expropriation of the native from the land was a fundamental objective, but so was proletarianization. They wanted the land *and* the labor, but not the people – that is to say, they sought to eliminate stable communities and their cultures of resistance.²⁸

This attack on communities included the (attempted) corrosion of their social, political, cultural and economic ties and the appropriation and preservation of their bodies and material culture as museum and scientific objects.



In the territory that is now Namibia, discourses around the suitability of Bushmen as labourers climaxed around the time Pöch travelled in the area. Before the German Empire claimed the land as its colony in 1895, European merchants had already established colonial trading. San were crucial participants in various forms of trade, for example of copper and salt, and hunting.²⁹ They were involved in one of the biggest markets of the second half of the 19th century, ivory, most frequently in underpaid employment by the people leading such elephant hunts.³⁰ With the advance of colonial occupation, calls for the ‘extermination’ of the Bushmen by settlers and colonial officials became more frequent. Here, too, a distinction was

²⁷ Ibid., 1653.

²⁸ Robin D. G. Kelley, ‘The Rest of Us: Rethinking Settler and Native’, *American Quarterly* 69; 2 (2017): 267-76, here 269; emphasis in the original.

²⁹ Robert Gordon, *Bushman Myth*, 21-28.

³⁰ Ibid., 33-39.

made between people considered to be Bushmen and the rest of the colonised. Robert Gordon observed that

by 1905, in the state's view, Bushman life was considered to be of even less worth than that of other blacks; the state started making an ominous distinction between *Eingeborenen* and *Buschleute*.³¹

One particularly gruesome example of the violence settlers enacted against Bushmen has not only been often discussed in the historiography of German South West Africa, it has also been linked to human remains that were held in German anthropological collections. Two skulls that were held in the collections of the Center of Anatomy at the Charité Berlin and have since been returned to Namibia were associated with murders committed by a German farmer in 1905 and 1906. The following account appears even more violent in the condensed form in which I narrate it here. I do think, however, that it is important to mention such a concrete example of excessive violence, even if briefly. Paul Wiehager settled in the Outjo region, north of the Waterberg, in June 1905. Because the region was considered 'unsafe' by the colonial government, Wiehager was granted 'police powers over the natives'.³² Wiehager, as he later openly reported to the deputy district chief of Outjo, 'felt disturbed' by Bushmen on his property, and therefore went on a 'patrol' together with a servant. They captured two people they considered to be Bushmen. Wiehager shot one of them immediately, interrogated the other one about the location of a Bushmen settlement and ordered his servant to kill that man, too. Together with two mounted police men, Wiehager then went to find the settlement, killed two more people there and wounded another man. A year later, Wiehager ordered two women, Uikabis and Nabnas, who had ostensibly 'run away' from the farm but were brought

³¹ Ibid., 52.

³² NNA, OGW, H28/07: Kaiserliches Obergericht zu Windhuk Urteil(e) gegen den Farmer Paul Wiehager [Imperial High Court of Appeals in Windhuk: Verdict(s) against the Farmer Paul Wiehager], 11–12 May 1907; qt. in Holger Stoecker and Andreas Winkelmann, 'Skulls and skeletons from Namibia in Berlin: results of the Charité Human Remains Project', *Human Remains and Violence* 4; 2 (2018); 5-26, here 13.

back shortly after, to be tied up and not given any food or drink to ‘set an example’. One of them died within a day, the other woman was hanged the next day. A witness, Kunkudama, fled together with her daughter Khon’gas and reported the murders to the district office secretary in Outjo. An investigation was conducted and the bodies inspected. During the investigation, the body of another woman, Sarotte, was found. She tried to flee after one of the calves at the farm went missing but was brought back by other labourers. Wiehager ordered to take her to the field and shoot her.³³ The murders were documented in detail due to the later trial against Wiehager, but this kind of brutality was common in the colony.

The trial was heard by three different courts, with interim partial acquittals between December 1906 and May 1907, and closed with Wiehager’s conviction and a concurrent sentence of nine years in prison. After six years’ imprisonment in Herford Prison (Westfalen), including prolonged periods of parole, he was pardoned by Kaiser Wilhelm II in 1913.³⁴

Government policies make evident that this light sentence was no indication of an actual condemnation of this kind of violence. In 1907, Governor Friedrich von Lindequist issued ordinances which allowed to dispossess all indigenous people in the territory of their land and livestock; everyone was obliged to wear brass tokens around their neck and a central ‘register of natives’ was to be established. Gordon identified one aspect of the ordinances as affecting the San particularly hard: “natives who are loitering, may be punished as vagrants, when they can show no means of support”.³⁵ In Gordon’s interpretation, “this legislation facilitated the genocide of a people whose mode of existence was defined by the state as vagrancy or outlawry.”³⁶

³³ Holger Stoecker and Andreas Winkelmann, ‘Skulls and skeletons from Namibia in Berlin’, 13-15.

³⁴ Ibid., 15.

³⁵ Robert Gordon, *Bushman Myth*, 33.

³⁶ Ibid.

In 1911, Kurt Streitwolf, then Native Commissioner, helped Governor Theodor Seitz draft new regulations. Seitz incorporated strategies of the wars fought in the Cape Colony during the 1700s into the German Empire's approach.³⁷ The issued *Verordnung* stated that patrols in search of robbers in "bushman areas" must have their "weapons ready to fire at all times", and that

Firearms are to be used in the slightest case of insubordination against officials. When a felon is either caught in the act, or when being hunted down, 'does not stop on command' but tries to escape through flight.³⁸

Streitwolf, in his earlier position as head of the military in the district Gobabis, also assisted Pöch to 'find' Bushmen, as will be discussed later. Gordon interpreted these policies as warrant for genocide, since the wording 'slightest case of insubordination' could be interpreted very broadly and it was known that Bushmen fled at the sight of patrols.³⁹ When such murderous attacks were conducted, the surviving, now orphaned children, were divided amongst the farmers' wives to be taken care of and later used as servants.⁴⁰ Additionally, from 1907, different game reserves were proclaimed and a ban on hunting of giraffe, buffalo, eland and kudu cows was declared. This legally stripped the indigenous of their possibilities of hunting game, especially since it was these animals that they could easily hunt down without firearms.⁴¹

Anthropologists played a significant role in the debates accompanying these exterminating practices. All of the scholars who Pöch consulted prior to his expedition made their opinions heard on how to best treat the Bushmen. In 1908, Felix von Luschan pled to establish a

³⁷ Robert Gordon, *Bushman Myth*, 59.

³⁸ NAN, ZBU 2043, *Verordnung* J.nr 26883/5391 (24 October 1911, qt. in Gordon, 'The 'Forgotten' Bushman Genocides of Namibia', 34.

³⁹ Robert Gordon, 'The 'Forgotten' Bushman Genocides of Namibia', 35.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁴¹ Robert Gordon, *Bushman Myth*, 54 f.

reserve for Bushmen in the name of science, to preserve them for further research. Some colonial officials agreed. Lieutenant Gentz wrote in the *Deutsche Kolonial Zeitung* that there should be a reserve for Bushmen, “where they can live in peace and where they can maintain their lifestyle so important for scholarly research.”⁴² This view was also supported by the government’s chief medical officer, Dr. Siebert, who issued a memorandum saying that Bushmen

are unsuitable as settled employees, and the relinquishment of their nomadic lifestyle spells their doom. While they are of little economic value, they are of large scientific value.⁴³

Siebert’s letter was forwarded to all relevant district officers. But they all doubted that this was a feasible plan. Some thought that this was too much of a risk for the settlers’ safety, others simply did not see the Bushmen worthy of living. Leonard Schultze, who Pöch met in preparation of his expedition, did not see sufficient cultural value in the Bushmen and therefore no need for a reserve. Passarge, who gave Pöch such important advice for the planning of his itinerary, saw no other option for the settlers than kill the Bushmen, who, in his view, would never be reliable labourers. Both men, however, made themselves a name as scholars of the people who they declared to be superfluous. Against these notions of ‘inevitable’ extermination, economic arguments were brought forward, in which Bushmen were seen as undesirable but necessary workforce. Increasing numbers of settlers demanded more labourers, even more so since the discovery of diamonds in Luderitzbucht in 1908.⁴⁴ Among the proponents of using Bushmen as labourers was also Franz Seiner, who suggested a combined strategy of rounding Bushmen up, have the men sent to work at the coast, women work on farms and children raised separately on farms to make them into more obedient

⁴² Ibid., 60.

⁴³ NAN, ZBU 2043, Memorandum of Dr. Siebert (24 August 1911), qt. in Gordon, *Bushman Myth*, 60.

⁴⁴ Robert Gordon, ‘The ‘Forgotten’ Bushman Genocides of Namibia’, 32.

workers.⁴⁵ All these ‘scholars’, however, agreed on the value of the dead body of the indigenous for scientific research. As the anatomist and physical anthropologist Rudolf Virchow put it:

Now that we have become a seafaring people and have increased our colonies with great speed, we are compelled to deal with our new compatriots, to bring ourselves into an intellectual (geistige) relationship with them, and to learn to appreciate them, at least with respect to their heads and brains.⁴⁶

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the appropriation of the bodily remains of the indigenous people in German South West Africa for racial studies was that common that even popular press in Germany reported about it at the time.⁴⁷ A postcard of soldiers circulated, who were seen packing skulls from people who died in the concentration camps during the extermination war against Herero and Nama for anthropological collections in Berlin.⁴⁸ Memory Biwa pointed out that people even hid the graves of relatives and people who died in battle because the grave robbing was so notorious. This was not only the case with such high ranking leaders such as Gaob Hendrik Witbooi, on whose head German General Lothar von Trotha put a price in early 1905: “Horse riders rode over his grave so as to conceal it for fear that German officials would desecrate his grave.”⁴⁹ During her research about commemorations of the colonial war in Namibia, people in southern Namibia and the Northern Cape told Biwa of several such incidents.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Robert Gordon, *Bushman Myth*, 60-63.

⁴⁶ Rudolf Virchow, qt. in Andrew Zimmerman, ‘Adventures in the Skin Trade: German Anthropology and Colonial Corporeality’, in *Wordly Provincialism: German Anthropology in the Age of Empire*, ed. by Glenn Penny and Matti Bunzl (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2003), 156-178, here 156.

⁴⁷ Andrew Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism*, 245.

⁴⁸ David Olusuga and Casper W. Erichsen, *The Kaiser’s Holocaust*, 224.

⁴⁹ Memory Biwa, ‘Afterlives of genocide: Return of human bodies from Berlin to Windhoek, 2011’, in *Memory and Genocide: On what remains and the possibility of representation*, ed. by Fazil Moradi et al. (London: Routledge, 2017), 91-106, here 93.

⁵⁰ Memory Biwa, ‘*Weaving the Past with Threads of Memory*’: *Narratives and commemorations of the colonial war in southern Namibia* (unpublished PhD thesis: University of the Western Cape, 2012), 144-6.

When Rudolf Pöch travelled through southern Africa, South Africa was in the process of becoming a union. The making of a unified colonial nation-state caused a significant shift for the ways in which the bodies and material culture of the indigenous were appropriated in the name of science. After the victory of the British over the Boers in the South African War, fought from 1899-1902,

new possibilities [opened up] for the reconstitution of Cape colonial freedoms, albeit within the terms of a racially segregated white South African nation. Key aspects of the struggle to establish the ‘new’ South Africa were played out in the decade after 1904.⁵¹

Scientific institutions and associations, museums, art galleries, nation conservationist projects all contributed to the shaping of a new South Africanism, with the aspiration to accommodate national sentiments “within a wider sense of imperial belonging”.⁵² One of the first public institutions that was founded after the war was the South African Association for the Advancement of Science. Contemporaries saw the association, as overarching body joining different institutions, regions, amateurs and professionals, contributing to the preconditions for the creation of a future parliament in a united South Africa.⁵³ On the basis of an even firmer exclusion of the colonised, in this first decade of the 20th century, “scientific and cultural bodies helped to give shape to the emergent white nation-state by building up its intellectual infrastructure.”⁵⁴ It was in this context of the building of a unified *white* nation-state that the systematic anthropological assessment of the indigenous peoples of South Africa gained momentum.⁵⁵ Studies in comparative anatomy, palaeontology, archaeology and

⁵¹ Saul Dubow, *A Commonwealth of Knowledge: Science, Sensibility, and White South Africa 1820-2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 5.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 6.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 170.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁵⁵ Saul Dubow, *Scientific Racism in modern South Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 12.

anthropology were at the heart of what has become known as the South Africanisation of Science.⁵⁶

As mentioned earlier, possibly spurred by the meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in South Africa in 1905 and A.C. Haddon's complaints about the condition of South African Museums, Louis Peringuey at the SAM and other South African institutions started to participate in the trade with bodily remains of the indigenous peoples of South Africa in more earnest during the first decade of the 20th century.

As part of the South Africanisation of science, anatomists and museums in South Africa began to lay claim to their own collections of skeletons, casts and other biological data about the Bushmen as primitive type.⁵⁷

Shortly after the BAAS meeting, the then director of the SAM, W. Sclater, sent skulls to F.C. Shrubbsall, who had published a study on Khoesan craniology in 1898.⁵⁸ As Legassick and Rassool speculated, Louis Peringuey, who succeeded Sclater as director in 1906, could have very well been the one behind this initiative. Peringuey was the one who kept pushing for the collection of indigenous bodies, be it in forms of casts of living people or their skeletal remains. In 1906, he sent one of his employees, Maria Wilman, to look for rock engravings and skeletons in the Northern Cape. The correspondence between her and Peringuey shows the brutality of the quest for human remains of indigenous people and the intensity of competition between European and South African collectors already at that time. Reverend Westphal from the mission station in Pniel told Wilman that he had so far always refused access to remains of indigenous people buried at the station because he did not think their kin

⁵⁶ Ibid., 13.

⁵⁷ Ciraj Rassool, 'Human Remains, the Disciplines of the Dead, and the South African Memorial Complex' in *The Politics of Heritage in Africa: Economies, Histories, and Infrastructures* ed. by Derek Peterson et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 133-156, here 147 f.

⁵⁸ W. Sclater to F.C. Shrubbsall, 6 Dec 1905, SAM OLB 30/1905; Legassick/Rassool, *Skeletons in the Cupboard*, 5 f.

would like that but that if the SAM would manage to get permission from the government, he would not object. He also communicated that there was

a living, but she may die any day, a bushwoman whose bones have already been bespoken by Professor Von Luschan... However he *hinted* that should we want the skeleton, it might be secured through the District Surgeon.⁵⁹

This incident shows the intensity of the competition for the remains of the colonised that was already ongoing at that time. It was difficult for the South African Museum to compete with foreign buying power. Peringuey's outgoing letters bear several attempts of evoking patriotic feelings and loyalty in laypeople who supplied scientists abroad with remains. In April 1909, Peringuey complained in a letter to his colleague Shrubbsall in Britain, who he still regularly sent skulls to for physical anthropological examination:

Another attempt of obtaining skulls has failed. I am however so accustomed to these failures that I take them now as a matter of course. ... English anthropologists seem to be fairly asleep. For the last these years I have asked ... your ... men for simple instructions to take measurements of natives. The Germans have been at work since then. Dr Pösch of Vienna is now touring the country, and writes to me in order to pump me dry. Passargues [sic] and Schultz have finished their tour. It is really vexing that this work should not have been done here by local people.⁶⁰

Peringuey elaborated his complaints in a more public manner in the annual report of the museum in December 1909. He painted a bleak picture of the massive resource extraction that had taken place in the country in previous years and asked to prohibit such exports by law:

More and more attention is being paid in Europe, especially in Germany and Austria, to research in the Natural History of South Africa. ... Men of science have now for several years past been sent here to work systematically. They are so liberally supplied with money that some of our best examples – in certain lines – have been removed, and are irretrievably lost to the country. I have been told of 300 bushman

⁵⁹ Wilman to Peringuey, Mochudi, Sunday [nd, c. 15-20 July 1906], MMK, Rock Art Collection, qt. in Legassick/Rassool, *Skeletons in the Cupboard*, 6.

⁶⁰ Letter Peringuey to Shrubbsall, 30 April 1909, SAM OLB 234/1909.

paintings being bodily removed from the Natal side of the Drakensberg and sent to Europe; in the North-western part of the Cape Colony a systematic search for bushman skeletons – for which a very high price is paid – is going on, and has been going on for some time; gravestones have been and are being likewise removed for export. ... Yet it cannot be said that these specimens from South Africa are wanting in Europe, being, to my knowledge, largely represented in the Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Budapest, Leipzig, and other Museums, although not in London, I believe.

In making these facts public, I wish it to be clearly understood that I do not begrudge the opportunities those investigators But I protest against such systematic spoliation, and I trust that legislation framed to stop the removal of some of these relics, except under certain clauses or conditions, will be passed by the Union Parliament. If such things are required for investigation in Europe or America, let the investigator apply to us for the loan of them, when every consideration would be given if a sufficient recommendation or guarantee from a learned society accompanied the requests. ...

By all means let scientists, no matter of what nationality, come and discover new material here, but let the material remain property of the country, and, above all other things, let the country place its Museum in a position to obtain all the material obtainable in the country, and preserve it for the country.⁶¹

It is astonishing how unambiguously Peringuey framed his complaint in a language of material resource protection, in which the culture and bodies of the indigenous were framed as national property and the South African nation-to-be as their rightful owner.

As Rassool and Legassick have shown, when the South African Museum published this report, Peringuey was already in communication with officials and politicians in order to get such a heritage protection law under way. In a letter to Dr. A. J. Gregory, Medical Officer of Health, dated 18 December 1909, Peringuey lamented the loss of a high number of engravings to Germany and Austria, exported by the Rhenisch Missionaries, Fritsch, the Austrian Emil Holub, Schultze and others. Regarding the appropriation of human remains Peringuey wrote:

⁶¹ *Report of the South African Museum*, 1909, 3.

...the removal of skeletons of the aboriginals, known here as bushmen, from the country should also be expressly forbidden. A race that goes, if it is not already completely gone, their relics *must* be preserved here if we are not to share in the odium connected with or attaching to the people of Tasmania who left their last native go without recording anything about him. There is no material left in Tasmania for the study of that race; the material is in Europe! It is with the utmost difficulty that I have been able to preserve the 9 skeletons we possess - undoubtedly the largest number in any institution, but probably not so now after the [pursuits] of P[öch]'s assistant.⁶²

A police investigation against Rudolf Pöch and one of his assistants, that will be explained in more detail in the next chapter, was indeed at the centre of these negotiations of the 'preservation' of human remains for the South African nation. Again, we find the rhetoric of extinction at the core of the argument for the appropriation of the bodily remains of the indigenous. Europe was already presented as a force that illegitimately took possession of means of production for scientific knowledge. The accusation, however, was articulated from the point of view of the coloniser.

Only a few weeks after this correspondence and Peringuey's subsequent report of the South African Museum, in January 1910, Sir Hamilton Goold-Adams, President of the Association for the Advancement of Science in South Africa, wrote a letter to Lord Selborne, High Commissioner in South Africa, to lobby for a law prohibiting the removal of 'bushman relics':

I have recently been informed that there are now in S.A. Several representatives of continental museums making really big collections of bushman relics and today I am told that this goes as far as chipping off the rocks in the Drakensberg and in Basutoland of Bushman drawings, of opening Bushman graves and taking out the skeletons besides buying up where possible other Bushman relics. In Basutoland and in the Bechuanaland Protectorate you might make it obligatory that no graves should be opened without the approval of the Government and that no rocks on which paintings or cuttings are shown should be tampered with to remove the same unless

⁶² Peringuey to Dr. A. J. Gregory, 18 December 1909, SAM OLB 831/1909, qt. in Leagssick/Rassool, *Skeletons in the Cupboard*, 16 f.

with the written consent of the authorities.⁶³

The lobbying was eventually successful. In 1911, the first heritage protection law of the South African Union was issued, the ‘Bushman Relics Protection Act’. Without knowledge of the virulent trade of the physical remains of the indigenous people of southern Africa, it would be difficult to know that this law was meant to also prevent the export of human remains from the country. “Bushman-relic” was defined as:

any drawing or painting on stone or petroglyph of the kind commonly known or believed to have been executed by the South African Bushmen or other aboriginals, and shall include any of the anthropological contents of the graves, caves, rock shelters, middens or shell mounds of such Bushmen or other aboriginals.⁶⁴

The law stipulated:

No person shall remove, cause, or allow to be removed, from the Union any Bushman-relic without first having obtained from the Minister a written permit to do so. ... Any person who contravenes the provisions of the last preceding section or who makes any false statement, ... or who knowingly injures, defaces, or destroys any Bushman-relic situated in the Union, shall be liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding fifty pounds or, in default of payment, to imprisonment with or without hard labour for a period not exceeding three months.⁶⁵

It was the harsh competition between European explorers like Pösch and the aim of the South African museums and the broader scientific landscape to integrate culture and bodies of the indigenous peoples of the country into the cultural heritage of the nation-to-be that led to this law. The place of the Bushmen in the creation of the South African Union was thereby

⁶³ Hamilton Goold-Adams to Lord Selborne, 15 January 1910, File ‘Projected visit of Dr Pösch to study Bushmen’, archival series secretariat, box 36, file S.36/5, Botswana National Archives. The same file includes an earlier chain of communication between several officials attempting to trace down the location of a specific family in order to provide Pösch with information about their whereabouts and help him obtain ‘specimens’; the scans from the National Archives in Gaborone were provided to me by Kristy Stone. I am most grateful to her.

⁶⁴ ‘Bushman Relics Protection Act’, South African Cultural Observatory, published 14 September 2018, <https://www.southafricanculturalobservatory.org.za/download/103/6974ce5ac660610b44d9b9fed0ff9548/Archive+-+Bushman+Relics+Act+1911> (accessed 9 March 2021).

⁶⁵ Ibid.

defined through their dead bodies. They became assets in the creation of a ‘heritage complex’⁶⁶ of the new nation, not citizens. In the process of heritage formation, the indigenous people of South Africa were framed as ‘living fossils’.

Modes of governmentality constituted, cohered, and applied by the Union of South Africa from 1910 gendered and racialized ... human heritage. The heritage state applied and arranged the living fossil to mark out the land as empty, located indigeneity in the prehuman without any claims to inheritance, transferred responsibility of protection to itself, and possessed territory on the land....⁶⁷

Far from only benefitting from the genocidal policies and practices of settler colonialism in southern Africa, physical anthropologists, their methods of grave robbing and the desecration of the corpses of the indigenous, crucially contributed to the (attempted) destruction of communal and individual identities of the colonised. In his categorical analysis of the ‘coloniality of power’ – global power structures that he understands to have emerged through “the social classification of the world’s population around the idea of race”⁶⁸ – Anibal Quijano emphasised the massive attack on the identities of the colonised that was part of processes of colonisation, racialisation and the expansion of capitalist forms of labour exploitation:

peoples were dispossessed of their own and singular historical identities [and] their new racial identity, colonial and negative, involved the plundering of their place in the history of the cultural production of humanity. From then on, there were inferior races, capable only of producing inferior cultures.⁶⁹

Cultural discoveries of the colonised were expropriated, indigenous forms of knowledge production, “the models of the production of meaning, their symbolic universe, the model of

⁶⁶ Leslie Witz, Gary Minkley and Ciraj Rassool, *Unsettled History: The Making of South African Pasts* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017), 220-5.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 224.

⁶⁸ Anibal Quijano, ‘Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Latin America’, *Nepantla: Views from the South* 1;3 (2000): 533-580, here 533.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 552.

expression and of objectification and subjectivity” were suppressed.⁷⁰ Drawing on Cedric Robinson’s analysis of “the destruction of the African and ‘the invention of the Negro’”, Robin Kelley also stressed that there were more dimensions to the elimination of the colonised than ‘just’ the material dispossession and exploitation: “what is being destroyed – or at least attempted – are metaphysical and material relations of people to land, culture, spirit and each other.”⁷¹

Like Anibal Quijano, Sylvia Wynter, too, emphasised that these processes were based on ‘Western Europe’s epochal shift’ that followed from 1492 and the colonisation of the Americas.⁷² This shift “from the Judaeo-Christian symbolic representational or cultural system to its later secular variants ... a now purely biologized form”⁷³ and its global expansion into a “single world order and single world history”⁷⁴ were the foundations on which the colonial appropriations of the 19th and 20th century took place. Wynter, rather than speaking of ‘singular historical identities’ that were replaced, talks about ‘ethico-behavioral schemas’ and ‘modes of subjective understanding’ that – through the revolution of humanism – were “replaced with a scientific and transculturally verifiable image of the earth and conception of the cosmos.”⁷⁵ In this new intellectual framing, “human inquiry into *the organizing principles* behind the Creation” became possible.⁷⁶ ‘Race’ as a “positing of the *nonhomogeneity of the human species* was to provide the basis for new metaphysical notions of order”.⁷⁷ Wynter insists that the issue at stake is one of representation. Different

⁷⁰ Ibid., 541.

⁷¹ Robin Kelley, ‘The Rest of Us’, 269.

⁷² Sylvia Wynter, ‘1492: A New World View’, in *Race, Discourse, and the Origin of the Americas: A New World View*, ed. by Vera Lawrence Hyatt and Rex Nettleford (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), 1-57.

⁷³ Ibid., 13.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 17.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 27, her emphasis.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 34, her emphasis.

developments overlapped in the building of a system that implemented a “new bioevolutionary notion of order that was now mapped onto human hereditary variations in place of those of the physical universe of Christian-feudal geography and astronomy”.⁷⁸ Today, we still live with the consequences of what Wynter calls the “overrepresentation”⁷⁹ of a secularised notion of the human, an “ethnoclass (i.e., Western bourgeois) conception of the human, Man, which overrepresents itself as if it were the human itself”,⁸⁰ that is entirely couched in the symbolic construct of race as status-organising principle.

It is in this juncture that I want to situate the argument that the appropriation of the bodily remains and the material culture of the colonised was a process of theft and structural dispossession on a material, metaphysical and epistemological level that was central to the colonial project and the production of racial capital. The violent appropriation of the remains, the physical separation from their cultural and social contexts, was central to the erasure of specific singular historic identities and their place in the cultural production of humanity. Before they were turned into means of production for knowledge of a humankind based on the classificatory logic of ‘race’, they had already been means of production of those singular historic conceptions of what it meant to be human in their respective previous cultural and social contexts. The appropriation of ancestral remains as anonymised ‘racial types’ and their integration into a hierarchical racial order that served white supremacy were crucial for multiple, interconnected forms of dispossession on the one hand and capital production on the other. The remains themselves were turned into property, into goods to be extracted and for which to compete, because they were turned into means to produce racial symbolic capital.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Ibid., 37.

⁷⁹ Sylvia Wynter, ‘Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom: Towards the Human, After Man, Its Overrepresentation – An Argument’, *CR: The New Centennial Review* 3 (2003); 257-337.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 260.

⁸¹ As such, they were also given a monetary value, as will be discussed in the next chapters.

This capital could best be mobilised on an individual level when put into use by a scholar, who employed the remains for racial science to advance his academic career while also bolstering the idea of his own superiority. By contributing to such a racialised classificatory order, these scholars also put the remains to work for the creation of symbolic capital in a structural way, namely for those societal groups, who profited from this order – first and foremost those who were deemed to be *white*. The extraction of human remains from the colonies cannot be separated from other forms of extraction and dispossession committed during colonialism which continue to shape the global distribution of capital. The next chapter will look at the concrete methods of appropriation that Rudolf Pöch applied to access indigenous human remains in southern Africa, and therefore means of production of racial capital.



Chapter Eight: **Extracting Capital on/from the Ground: Methods of Appropriation**

I can currently predict more or less the following about further plans and the time of my homeward journey: Sorting the collections, packaging them, finding more skeletons will probably hold me in and around Upington for about two weeks.¹

As I have tried to map out in the previous chapters, Pöch's expedition would not have been possible without the formation of an objectifying anatomical conception of the human, colonisation, the prevalence of racial sciences, the social, political and disciplinary histories he stepped into in the Austrian-Hungarian empire and the broad network of institutions and individuals who supported him and his research. As stated earlier, I want to suggest that all these developments actually form part of the extended *préterrain* of Pöch's expedition to southern Africa. As such, these developments constitute the preconditions for the appropriations committed during the expedition. So when I now turn to the reconstruction of the actual physical acts of appropriation, I understand these as but one moment in what actually is a much longer and multi-layered *process* of appropriation. Part of this process was the framing of the bodily remains of peoples' ancestors as specimen of natural history, the turning of their remains into property that could be owned by scholars and institutions and that should be made accessible for science. I have tried to outline the specific contributions of settler colonialism to these notions in the previous chapter. To create the accessibility of indigenous bodies on a material level, a wide range of military, governmental, social and extra-legal tools was employed. How these methods and networks of appropriation were put to work for and by Pöch is the focus of this chapter.

¹ Rudolf Pöch, 'Bericht aus Upington, 23. September 1909', in *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserl. Akad. D. Wiss. Wien, math.-naturw. Klasse, Akademischer Anzeiger* 21 (1909): 361-365, here 365; my translation.

Pöch's presence in southern Africa lasted from 9 December 1907, the day he arrived in Swakopmund, until 17 November 1909, when he departed from Cape Town. The trails in the colonial archive that he left behind are plenty and manifold; some of the archival records appear exceptionally close-knit. The following, fragmented narrative is almost exclusively based on written records kept in public archives and museums in different countries. For me, the focus of analysis lies on reconstructing the ways in which Pöch appropriated the human remains he brought to Vienna. I have refrained from attempting to do provenance research for artefacts and other collections Pöch acquired in southern Africa. To my knowledge, Pöch's 'collections' from this expedition are currently held in different institutions in Vienna: the Natural History Museum, the *Weltmuseum*, the Phonogram Archive, the Film Archive and the Anthropological and Cultural and Social Anthropology Departments of the University of Vienna. On basis of an easily accessible inventory of Pöch's collections in the *Weltmuseum Wien*, including some of the photographs he took during the expedition, the publication of Pöch's sound recordings by the Academy of Sciences² and a recent publication by Anette Hoffmann³ on these recordings, I am able to make some cross-references to these parts of Pöch's collections and the research that has gone into their production and context of appropriation. Other parts of his estate are less easily accessible, either because they have not been inventoried or because access has been restricted. I have heard of the existence of photographs that Pöch took of some of the graves that he opened, but I am not sure where they are and have never seen them myself. Despite the amount of archival records and the extensive scholarship that went into studying Pöch's endeavour, much of what he did and appropriated has not been analysed and put into context. Rather than pointing towards flawed

² Dietrich Schüller (ed.), *Rudolf Pöch's Kalahari Recordings (1908): Sound Documents from the Phonogrammarchiv of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, The Complete Historical Collections 1899–1950, Series 7* (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences, 2003).

³ Anette Hoffmann, *Kolonialgeschichte Hören: Das Echo gewaltsamer Wissensproduktion in historischen Tondokumenten aus dem südlichen Afrika* (Vienna: Mandelbaum Verlag, 2020).

research, at least regarding more recent scholarship, this shows the immensity of both deliberate and unintended erasures of information that these kinds of research expeditions produced and that complicate finding adequate ways of approaching their legacies today. The simultaneous accumulation of high quantities of ‘material’, the poor understanding of their meaning on the side of the ‘collector’, their subsequent disintegration into separate classificatory systems (botanical, zoological, ethnographic, physical anthropological etc.) and ongoing inequalities in the accessibility of and research on these ‘collections’ make it difficult to overcome the colonial and racialised perspectives that shaped and were imprinted into Pöch’s project and its inheritances.

For a first rough orientation, I follow Walter Sauer’s grouping of Pöch’s itinerary into five sections: (1) crossing of today’s Namibia from west to east, (2) stay in the north of today’s Botswana, (3) partly touristic journey through today’s Zimbabwe and Mozambique, (4) journey through northern South Africa, (5) stay in the South African Kalahari and return journey via Cape Town.⁴ By far the longest periods, Pöch spent in three different locations during the first and second part of his expedition. From end of January until end of April 1908, he stayed at a police station in /Oas;⁵ from mid-March until mid-June 1908 he stayed at a military post at Rietfontein;⁶ from 10 July until 7 September 1908 he stayed close to a water hole by Kamelpan.⁷ During these stays, he employed his full laboratory equipment, measured, photographed and filmed people and made audio recordings. But he also made use

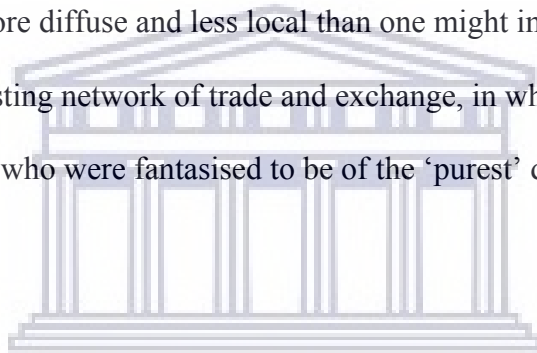
⁴ Walter Sauer, ‘Rudolf Pöchs Kalahari-Reise im Spiegel der Akten des namibischen Nationalarchivs’ (2013), https://homepage.univie.ac.at/walter.sauer/Afrikanisches_Oesterreich-Dateien/Im%20Spiegel%20der%20NAN.pdf.pdf (accessed 13 October 2020).

⁵ Rudolf Pöch, ‘Bericht aus Oas (Kameelfountain), 3. Februar 1908’, in *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserl. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien, math.-naturw. Klasse, Akademischer Anzeiger* 9 (1908): 123-25 and *ibid.* ‘Bericht aus Oas (Kameelfountain), 15. April 1908’, in *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserl. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien, math.-naturw. Klasse, Akademischer Anzeiger* 16 (1908): 316-20.

⁶ Rudolf Pöch, ‘Bericht aus Rietfontein, 12. Juni 1908’, in *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserl. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien, math.-naturw. Klasse, Akademischer Anzeiger* 20 (1908): 434-37.

⁷ Rudolf Pöch, ‘Bericht aus Tsau, 1. Oktober 1908’, in *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserl. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien, math.-naturw. Klasse, Akademischer Anzeiger* 26 (1908): 521-27.

of shorter stays and planned his itinerary strategically, as when he stopped at the village where the Herero captain Samuel Zeppert lived. In Kimberley, he went to visit the ‘native compounds’ and the convict station of the De Beers Mining Company and took pictures and measurements from workers and inmates.⁸ On different travels from Upington, he went to examine people working, some of them as slaves, on farms and dug out skeletons of people who had been buried in the area.⁹ Other human remains that Pöch brought to Vienna were dug out of their graves by different people employed by Pöch or were given to him as gifts.¹⁰ Although those parts of his expedition in which he stayed at one place for a longer period appear more relevant for examining his methods of appropriation, Pöch’s ‘acquisition’ strategies were actually more diffuse and less local than one might imagine. Pöch both relied upon and expanded an existing network of trade and exchange, in which complete skeletons and crania of those people who were fantasised to be of the ‘purest’ descent were ranked as having the highest value.



How exactly Pöch obtained the human remains that he brought to Vienna cannot be reconstructed for every person. I collected all the information accessible to me, which includes Pöch’s published and unpublished reports to the Academy of Science, a publication by Helga Pacher from 1962, Pöch’s diaries from southern Africa, and an inventory done at the occasion of Pöch asking the Academy of Sciences for permission to officially hand over parts of the collection to the University of Vienna in 1914.¹¹ Some of his diaries and notebooks from that expedition ‘disappeared’ from the archives and nobody knows when

⁸ Rudolf Pöch, ‘Bericht aus Douglas, 24. Mai 1909’, in *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserl. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien, math.-naturw. Klasse, Akademischer Anzeiger* 15 (1909): 234 f.

⁹ Rudolf Pöch, ‘Bericht aus Upington, 10. Juli 1909’, in *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserl. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien, math.-naturw. Klasse, Akademischer Anzeiger* 20 (1909): 347-49 and 21 (1909): 361-65.

¹⁰ Helga-Maria Pacher, *Anthropologische Untersuchungen an den Skeletten der Rudolf Pöch’schen Buschmannsammlung*, 1. Heft, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Rudolf Pöch-Nachlass, Serie A: Physische Anthropologie (Vienna: Böhlau, 1962).

¹¹ I will explain the details of this manoeuvre in the next chapter.

exactly and how they went missing. It looks like Pacher was still able to work with all of them. Some archival documents and inventories kept at the Anthropological Department of the University of Vienna I was unfortunately not allowed to consult, so that I do not know if they contain additional information to what I could gather. I also was not permitted access to the remains themselves and am therefore not sure how many of the people who I found information on are actually still held at the University. Some of them might have been borrowed to researchers or other institutions and not be returned or otherwise been 'lost'.

The only assessment on the remains that are still held at the University of Vienna that I have access to is a 2013 article by Deona Botha and Maryna Steyn from the University of Pretoria.¹² The aim of their bio-anthropological examinations was

to record the number and demographic profile of the Khoe-San skeletons.... [The] study form[ed] part of a larger study that focuse[d] on tracing and documenting southern African skeletal material housed in institutions outside South Africa.¹³

They found "30 complete skeletons, 92 incomplete skeletons (various skeletal elements missing) and 25 crania" that were "poor to very well preserved".¹⁴ They did not, however, treat the remains as individuals. Instead of publishing the information they found and the results of their examinations one by one, they reported statistically on how many remains were taken from a specific location, how many were probably women, etc. Both Pacher and Legassick/Rassool, who they reference, mention different names associated with the remains, but Botha/Steyn erroneously state that none of the remains had names associated to them.¹⁵ It is therefore almost impossible for me to make use of Botha and Steyn's research in order to

¹² Deona Botha and Maryna Steyn, 'Khoe-San skeletal collections in Vienna and Paris: Origin, History and Context', in *South African Archaeological Society Goodwin Series* 11 (2013): 7-12.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 9.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

clarify questions that arise from my other sources. This is even more unfortunate because they had access to the original boxes in which the remains were kept. The inscriptions on these boxes possibly offer further information on the remains.¹⁶

Pöch numbered the skeletons and skulls he obtained in two series: the S-series for full skeletons, although most of them were incomplete, and the C-Series for crania and bone fragments. When I went through all the texts available to me, I collected the different information that I could find for the respective numbers in one single table. The most striking result of this compilation was the chaos that it brought to light. At least 50 of the numbers that Pacher mentioned in 1962 were not part of the inventory of 1914. The remains that were not included in the inventory must have been seen as already being the property of the University. I do not, however, have access to or know of a complete inventory done at that time. Eight Numbers that Pöch mentioned in his diaries I could not associate with any other document. In his diaries, Pöch himself noted several times that he had mistakenly used numbers more than once, sometimes even three times. As mentioned previously, it was common practice among anthropologists and their helpers to write numbers on the bone itself, with ink or lead. Since I never saw the human remains still kept at the University of Vienna, I do not know how Pöch solved the problem of having used different numbers more than once. Did he cross them out on the bone and add new ones? He also asked his ‘assistants’ to immediately number the bones that they obtained for him. Their numbering, of course, did not correspond with Pöch’s overall list, since they appropriated these remains independently from Pöch and then handed them over or sent them to him. I do not know how much of these processes were inscribed into the actual remains of the collection. What I can see is that one finds contradictory information for several remains in the different texts that I

¹⁶ Ibid., 8.

consulted. Some of these contradictions can be roughly solved by taking into account Pöch's erroneous numbering process, other information stays ambivalent. Possibly, some of these questions could be solved if one would relate them to the physical remains. Many entries, however, are conclusive. Few give us a clear idea of who the people were who were taken out of their graves.

The first remains that Pöch exhumed were the only ones that were mentioned in his published reports to the Academy of Sciences. They were also the only ones that he obtained in German South West Africa, during the first period of his expedition. Pöch later made mention of some of the remains he appropriated in British territory, but he marked these parts of his reports as confidential, so that the Academy did not publish them in their proceedings. Before I describe the circumstances under which he appropriated these first remains for his collection, I would like to give some more context about the conditions in which Pöch conducted his research at the time and the support he received from government and military. For Pöch's first longer research 'in the field', the German administration offered him accommodation at a police station at the western fringe of the Kalahari, in a place called /Oas. To get there, governor von Schuckmann equipped Pöch with a wagon with 18 oxen and three people:

Already during the first audience with His Excellency von Schuckmann, Imperial governor in Windhoek, I was informed spontaneously that my enterprise would also be supported by the Imperial governorate, since it was suitable to enrich the ethnography [*Volkskunde*] of the protectorate. On 16 January I was ... accorded a wagon with 18 oxen and 3 people to Oas. I was thereby afforded big savings, since the point in time at which I will have to buy or loan such a vehicle is delayed by several months and I am saving the costs for the maintenance of such and also have not had to carry any risk so far.¹⁷

¹⁷ Report Pöch to the Academy, Oas, 3 March 1908, AÖAW, Allgemeine Akten, No. 391/1908; emphasis in the original; my translation.

The governor clearly saw Pöch's studies benefitting the colonial project. Pöch could generally be very satisfied with the outcome of his earlier efforts to secure the support of the German administration. In his first note to the Academy after his arrival in German South West Africa, he reported:

The local district office was prepared for my arrival; via a decree from the Imperial governor I am commended to all authorities of the protectorate. My equipment also landed. Customs exercised great care in handling my cases.¹⁸

In /Oas, he was hoping to conduct examinations of people he considered to be Bushmen.

Oas (Kameelfontein in Dutch) is a water hole in the western part of the central Kalahari, situated at the big street behind the Lake Ngami. Not far from the border to British Bechuanaland, a German police station has now been established here. The surroundings are traversed by bushmen from the tribe of the Au San. The station uses them for reconnaissance. Hence, many are accustomed to sojourn close to the station and to frequently come to the station. This is a particularly favourable circumstance for my objectives. Besides, the station allows for a relatively comfortable life, which makes a longer stay much easier. In total, I have three rooms at my disposal, a living room, a storage room and one for manipulation (taking photographs etc.). The rooms are dust- and rainproof. All instruments, among them the archival phonograph, have arrived undamaged. The police officers stationed here, who have been living in this country for a long time, are of help in every respect. The head of the military in the district Gobabis himself, captain Streitwolf, escorted me here and has arranged my stay here. ... I am planning to stay here with this tribe for a longer period of time, about two months.¹⁹

Apparently, the police station offered Pöch comfortable conditions in several ways. Not only did the employment of indigenous people for colonial warfare make it easier for him to access his 'research subjects', he was also afforded convenient living and working conditions.

In his second letter from /Oas, Pöch described his working methods in more detail:

In the meantime, I could acquaint myself with the bushpeople who are located in a 'Werft' (village) close to the police station. There are about 60 people; they have their

¹⁸ Report Pöch to the Academy, Swakopmund, 9 Dec 1907, AÖAW, Allgemeine Akten, No. 8/1908; my translation.

¹⁹ Rudolf Pöch, 'Bericht aus Oas (Kameelfontain), 3. Februar 1908', in: *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserl. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien, math.-naturw. Klasse, Akademischer Anzeiger* 9 (1908): 123-5, here 125; my translation.

hunting ground in the surroundings of the station. ... The only way to get these people for measuring, observing and photography is to provide food for a whole day. On 8 February a start was made. In the morning, one man appeared, who I fed for this day and who put himself at disposal for examination and was thereby spared the trouble of having to search for alimentionation by searching for veldkos or hunting. The compensation consists of 500g rice, some salt, if requested also some coffee and sugar and one slab of pressed American pipe tobacco. It turned out that conducting the whole examination of one individual can hardly be done in less than 6 hours, so that usually within one day only one man [*Mensch*] can be done. Women are usually accompanied by their men.²⁰

Anette Hoffmann pointed out that Pöch noted in his diaries that he had ‘received’ two ‘bushmen’ for measurements in /Oas.²¹ Indeed, that was the entry for 8 February 1908, the start of his examinations at the police station. Given the circumstances of his stay, Hoffmann considered it likely that it was the police or military who brought the people to Pöch.²² This would make Pöch’s wording in his official report, in which he wrote that a man ‘appeared’ for measurement, look slightly distorting. In an unpublished section of one of his reports to the Academy of Sciences, Pöch’s description of the station itself shows the whole situation in a less peaceful light than his report of his examinations:

The police station is built from bricks that were cut and burnt locally and has a watch tower [*Vertheidigungsturm*] with a platform and embrasures. The building is surrounded by a thick cactus hedge. (Currently there are cactus leaves planted in the front to form an outer fence.)²³

These details reveal the distinctly militaristic character of the setting, as much as they also demonstrate the improvised nature of the colonial occupation. Apparently, the building in

²⁰ Rudolf Pöch, ‘Bericht aus Oas (Kameelfontain), Zeit vom 30. Januar bis 2. März 1908’, in: *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserl. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien, math.-naturw. Klasse, Akademischer Anzeiger* 9 (1908): 261-4, here 262 f; my translation.

²¹ Pöch’s diaries from southern Africa, NHM, anthropological department, 14.037a, book 1, 1907/08, 67.

²² Anette Hoffmann, *Kolonialgeschichte Hören*, 74.

²³ Report Pöch to the Academy, Oas, 3 March 1908, AÖAW, Allgemeine Akten, No. 391/1908; my translation.

which Pöch erected his field laboratory was more of a small fortress than a regular police station.²⁴

A month after his arrival in /Oas, the police were informed that Simon Kooper and his people, who the authorities had warned Pöch about in advance, might pass through Gobabis:

The company in Gobabis was prepared for war, the two farmers close to Gobabis were warned and 600 oxen of the governorate that had previously grazed in /Oas were driven westward. At the station in /Oas were two police men beside myself, bushpeople were sent as patrols to the water holes in the east and south, to Nauna, Uikanas and Araroams. But my research suffered no interruption. On 11 March we were notified that Simon Copper ... had escaped across the English border, in the direction of the route Geiab to Matsas. The expedition corps under captain Eckert gathered in Geiab that same day. The newspapers reported about the heavy battle that took place a few days after. Currently the operations against Simon Copper are put on hold.²⁵

Simon Kooper, whose name was !Gomxab in Khoekhoegowab, was the Captain of the !Khara Khoen//aes from 1863 until 1909. He was amongst the first to join Hendrik Witbooi and the Herero in their fight against the Germans. After several leaders had given their life in these battles, Kooper and his followers were forced to surrender in March 1907 but resumed fighting just two months later. In March 1908 another battle took place between the Nama under Kooper and the Germans, relatively close to the border to British Bechuanaland. The Germans followed the warriors across the border and killed many of Kooper's followers at Seatsub, in the Kalhari desert on British territory, violating international law. The German Captain Eckert died; Kooper escaped and settled in Lokgwabe, together with his few remaining followers. Eventually, to cease hostilities, Kooper was offered an annual pension on the condition to never return to German South West Africa. However, some of Kooper's

²⁴ The description that Pöch gave was a caption of a photograph that he seems to have sent together with the report. Unfortunately, the photograph was not in the file of the archive of the Academy of Sciences.

²⁵ Rudolf Pöch, 'Bericht aus Oas (Kameelfontain), 15. April 1908', in: *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserl. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien, math.-naturw. Klasse, Akademischer Anzeiger* 16 (1908), 316-20, here 317; my translation.

supporters continued the fight against the Germans.²⁶ Kooper died on 31 January 1913 in Lokgwabe. Since 2016, annual cultural festivals in Lokgwabe commemorate these events and celebrate Nama culture in Botswana. Nichodimas Cooper, great-great-grandson of Simon Kooper, is one of the initiators of these festive gatherings. On Simon Kooper's request, his grave was kept secret by the elders of the Kooper clan for 97 years. The chief wanted to prevent that Germans could locate the site. In 2010, the grave was unveiled and declared a National Monument by the Government of Botswana.²⁷

The first mention of human remains in Pöch's diaries is about a skull and pelvic bones that he sent in a package to his mother,²⁸ who he shared an apartment with in the 9th district in Vienna. Already during his previous expedition, she served as a recipient and storage keeper for those parts of the collections that he wanted to keep to himself and that were not sent directly to one of the collecting institutions in Vienna. Later, Pöch noted about "C. 1" that it was a "Herero woman [*Weib*] at Witvlei".²⁹ Witvlei is a village in the Omaheke Region, around 50 km to the west of Gobabis. "C. 1" might have been a victim of the genocide. Pöch did not note any further information about her.

At the beginning of March 1908, Pöch spent some time on farmer Balzar's estate Zachas in the Gobabis district. He took measurements and photographs of labourers at the farm. He also

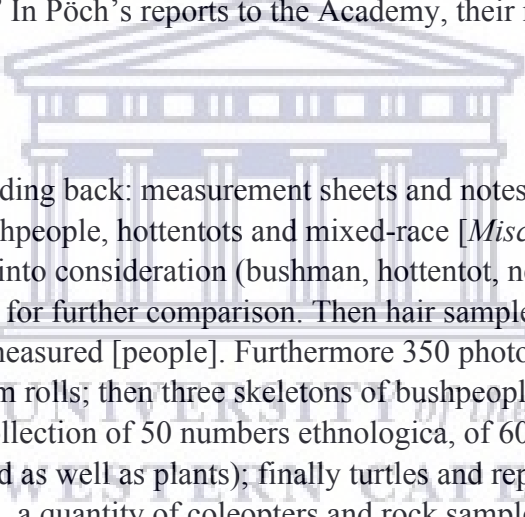
²⁶ Klaus Dierks, 'Biographies of Namibian Personalities: Simon Koper', http://www.klausdierks.com/Biographies/Biographies_K.htm (accessed 2 February 2021).

²⁷ Brigitte Weidlich, 'Botswana descendants of Nama hero Simon Kooper revive their culture', published 6 September 2019, <https://namibian.org/news/culture-and-lifestyle/nama-festival> (accessed 2 February 2021).

²⁸ Pöch's diaries from southern Africa, NHM, anthropological department, 14.037a, book 2, 1908, 157.

²⁹ Pöch's diaries from southern Africa, NHM, anthropological department, 14.037a, book 7, 1909, 603; my translation. The inventory of 1914 lists the skull as "*Hereroweib, Omitare*". (AÖAW, Allgemeine Akten, No. 691/1914). It is beyond my understanding, why Botha/Steyn list only one of the remains as having origins in Namibia and associate it with Witkop, rather than Witvlei. Pacher mentioned that one person's remains were from Witkop, but she located that place in the Northern Cape. (Pacher, *Anthropologische Untersuchungen*, 10). As I mention later in this chapter, Pöch attributed the remains of that person to one of his traders, George Lennox.

filmed dances that they performed for him.³⁰ Some of the photographic portraits are kept at the Weltmuseum Wien.³¹ Robert Gordon found that the colonial authorities saw Zachas as a positive example for the ‘taming’ of the colonised through labour — a distinction that must of course be seen in the context of the exterminating policies towards ‘bushmen’ on the side of the German colonial government.³² At the end of March, Pöch “rode again to Zachas and exhumed with Farmer Balzar three Bushman skeletons, two men and a woman.”³³ In his diaries, Pöch described them as “Kalahari bushmen (Heikum)”.³⁴ The inventory from 1914 lists them as “bushmen of the Gabe tribe”.³⁵ Helga Pacher had access to their names and dates of death: “juvenile, name Nusep, died 1901; adult, name Aukwes, died 1905; adult, name Kamap, died 1905”.³⁶ In Pöch’s reports to the Academy, their remains become mere items in a list of booty:



From here, I am sending back: measurement sheets and notes from 42 anthropological examinations of bushpeople, hottentots and mixed-race [*Mischlinge*] of the three elements that come into consideration (bushman, hottentot, negro). I copied only the most important data for further comparison. Then hair samples, feet-, hand- and fingerprints of the measured [people]. Furthermore 350 photographs ..., eight cinematographic film rolls; then three skeletons of bushpeople, skull and pelvis of a Herero woman, a collection of 50 numbers ethnologica, of 60 numbers “velkos” (i.e. herbal nutrition, seed as well as plants); finally turtles and reptiles, some smaller mammals in spiritus, a quantity of coleopters and rock samples.³⁷

I do not have further information on the three deceased people and their relatives. In this summary, the scarce information that Pöch had was erased: information about the deceased

³⁰ Rudolf Pöch, ‘Bericht aus Oas (Kameelfontain), 15. April 1908’, 318.

³¹ Inventory of Pöch’s photographs at the Weltmuseum Wien.

³² Robert Gordon, *Bushman Myth*, 54; 66; see also Sophie Schasielen, ‘Die ›Lehrmittelsammlung‹ von Dr. Rudolf Pöch an der Universität Wien: Anthropologie, Forensik und Provenienz’, in: *Zeitschrift für Kulturwissenschaften* 1, 2019, 15–27, here 22.

³³ Rudolf Pöch, ‘Bericht aus Oas (Kameelfontain), 15. April 1908’, 318; my translation.

³⁴ Pöch’s diaries from southern Africa, NHM, anthropological department, 14.037a, book 7, 1909, 603; my translation.

³⁵ AÖAW, Allgemeine Akten, No. 691/1914; my translation.

³⁶ Helga-Maria Pacher, *Anthropologische Untersuchungen*, 5; my translation.

³⁷ Rudolf Pöch, ‘Bericht aus Oas (Kameelfontain), 15. April 1908’, 319; my translation.

and living people, the cultural practices and the knowledge systems from which he removed everything he listed from. Again, one is reminded of the focus of the researcher. Not the context, but racial and classificatory categorisation and quantity were the kind of information that was transmitted to summarise and impress. In certain ways, Botha and Steyn even went a step further. Despite the information in Pacher's publication being accessible to them, they noted, in 2013:

Three individuals (S1, S2 and S3) belonged to a "Bushman" tribe known as ≠ Gabe. It is not clear which area of the Kalahari this tribe occupied at the time, i.e. South Africa, Namibia or Botswana. Subsequently, they were classified as unknown.³⁸

They are far from unknown. We know these people's names. We also know where Nusep, Aukwes and Kamap were buried before they were made into "S1, S2 and S3".

I want to mention one more telling example of military support for Pöch in German South West Africa, before I turn to Pöch's exploits in the territories that today are Botswana and South Africa. Anette Hoffmann has written about how lieutenant Kaufmann, from Pöch's next stop at the military post in Rietfontein, put together a whole camel patrol to guide Pöch on an expedition of several days to find 'bushmen' for examination. According to his reports, Pöch measured, photographed and filmed about 150 people during this camel expedition.³⁹ Hoffmann was given access to images of this expedition that are held at the Anthropological Department of the University of Vienna. As she pointed out, they show the violent character of the endeavour. One picture shows a group of indigenous people crouched on the floor, visibly concerned about the situation. Two soldiers pose heroically, chest out, gaze sternly towards the horizon, next to six rifles leant against each other to form a pyramid.⁴⁰ Kaufmann

³⁸ Botha and Steyn, 'Kho-San skeletal collections', 9.

³⁹ Rudolf Pöch, 'Bericht aus Rietfontein, 12. Juni 1908', in *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserl. Akad. D. Wiss. Wien, math.-naturw. Klasse, Akademischer Anzeiger* 20 (1908): 434 - 437, here 436.

⁴⁰ Anette Hoffmann, *Kolonialgeschichte Hören*, 131-3.

and Streitwolf were among the people who Pöch thanked for their support by requesting special letters of acknowledgement from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Austria-Hungary, a request that he sent to the Academy of Sciences who then forwarded it to the ministry.⁴¹ Pöch thanked Kaufmann for his “outstanding support” by organising this camel patrol to “the sand field of the Omaheke west of Rietfontein”, that “enabled him a longer stay among the nomads in this thirst field”.⁴² Both Streitwolf and Kaufmann were also instructed to ‘collect’ for the Ethnological Museum in Berlin.⁴³ During this period of his expedition, Pöch acquired 84 “ethnographic objects”.⁴⁴ I have not found any information about if and what he gave the people from whom he took these objects anything in exchange. By governmental order and individual deliberation, Pöch’s research aims were fully supported by the people implementing and upholding colonial rule in German South West Africa.

In British Bechuanaland, today Botswana, the military was similarly eager to offer Pöch their help. When Pöch was still on German occupied territory, Sergeant A.R. Webb repeatedly sent troopers across the border to enquire about Pöch’s wishes and to inform him that he wanted to advise Pöch on his choice of locations and servants.⁴⁵ Police, military and colonial administration in the Protectorate and the territory that is now South Africa also enabled Pöch to appropriate human remains. The following is a very fragmented compilation of notes that I found on these remains. Given the little context that I can offer about them so far, the account painfully repeats the objectifying approach of the sources. It also shows how little effort Pöch put into finding out more about the persons whose remains he took with him.

⁴¹ Presidium of the Academy of Sciences to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 5 Oct. 1908, OeStA, Fachstudienreisen, Bestand: A.R., Karton: F47/45, Mappe 2/178, Aktennummer 723. I talked about the militaristic character of Pöch’s expedition in German South West Africa and the state support he received in my lecture at the International Research Centre Cultural Studies Vienna on 8 May 2017.

⁴² Letter Pöch to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Khoutsa Pan, Bechuanaland, 26 June 1908, OeStA, Fachstudienreisen, Bestand: A.R., Karton: F47/45, Mappe 2/178, Aktennummer 723; my translation.

⁴³ Anette Hoffmann, *Kolonialgeschichte Hören*, 73.

⁴⁴ Rudolf Pöch, ‘Bericht aus Rietfontein, 12. Juni 1908’, 437; my translation.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

Pacher wrote that on Pöch's request "S. 10" was exhumed by Native Commissioner Ellenberger. The person allegedly came from an area in the Kalahari where the majority of people were Bakwena. He was executed in Gaborone.⁴⁶ In the inventory of 1914, he is listed as "bushman from the southern Kalahari, Masarwa".⁴⁷ In his diaries, however, Pöch listed "S. 11" as "Ellenberger skeleton".⁴⁸ Pöch also associated "C.4", which appears in the inventory as "Makuba skull with lower jar",⁴⁹ with Ellenberger, in a note in his diaries that reads "Mokuba Ellenb."⁵⁰

Two more skulls were given to Pöch as gift by the medical corporal in Tsau. In the diaries accessible today, Pöch only noted "C.2 and C.3 corporal".⁵¹ Pacher found a link to the medical corporal in Tsau but attributed it to "C.3" solely. In the inventory, they appear as "skull without lower jar, Herero woman [*Hereroweib*], Omitare, base broken" (the same information that was given for "C. 1") and "bushman skull from the Ghanzi veld, without lower jar".⁵²

Among those skeletons that do not appear in the inventory but in Pacher's publication are some that Pöch exhumed himself along the route from Kuruman to Tsinen. Judging from his notes this generally meant that he went to the graves himself but had assistants with him to do the digging and other assistance. He received the information about the location of these graves from Chief Kebie (in a second entry, Pacher wrote that the information came from "Headman Giba") from the Native Reserve Gamapede. Pacher associated two "bushman

⁴⁶ Helga-Maria Pacher, *Anthropologische Untersuchungen*, 5.

⁴⁷ AÖAW, Allgemeine Akten, No. 691/1914; my translation.

⁴⁸ Pöch's diaries from southern Africa, NHM, anthropological department, 14.037a, book 7, 1909, 603; my translation.

⁴⁹ AÖAW, Allgemeine Akten, No. 691/1914; my translation.

⁵⁰ Pöch's diaries from southern Africa, NHM, anthropological department, 14.037a, book 7, 1909, 603.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² AÖAW, Allgemeine Akten, No. 691/1914; my translation.

children”, five “adult female bushmen” and three “adult male bushmen” with this context of appropriation.⁵³ In Pöch’s diaries I could only find two entries associated with that information: “Gamopede n.w. from Kuruman graves 4 sk (still in Kuruman) (4 Hott. 2 BM, 1 ?)”⁵⁴ and “Skel. No 4 Gamopede (July 31th)”⁵⁵ Pöch’s diary entry numbers for the skeletons and skulls do not match Pacher’s.

Five skeletons in the inventory are listed as “Koranna, Zeekoebaard”.⁵⁶ Pacher noted that Pöch exhumed these

with the help of the German merchant H. Bach and Cape policeman Paul at the Orange River. Allegedly they died during a battle that the Kaffirs [sic!] under Donker Malgas fought against them.⁵⁷

In his diaries, Pöch noted: “Pauls Zeekobart 4 + 5”.⁵⁸ I am not sure what the additional four stands for. The five corresponds with Pacher’s information that Pöch exhumed five skeletons at Zeekoebaard. Pöch also noted “Pauls Blinkfontein 3 + 1”.⁵⁹ Pacher, in her entries on Blinkfontein, recorded that these exhumations were done by Pöch himself “at the Boers farm Blinkfontein next to Zoekobard”.⁶⁰ Pöch associated yet another skeleton with Pauls, “S.11”, in the inventory described as “Marydale, infantile skeleton”,⁶¹ in Pacher’s publication listed among those exhumations that Pöch conducted himself and as “individual of unknown tribal

⁵³ Helga-Maria Pacher, *Anthropologische Untersuchungen*, 7; my translation.

⁵⁴ Pöch’s diaries from southern Africa, NHM, anthropological department, 14.037a, book 8, 1909, 783; my translation.

⁵⁵ Pöch’s diaries from southern Africa, NHM, anthropological department, 14.037a, book 12, 1154; my translation.

⁵⁶ AÖAW, Allgemeine Akten, No. 691/1914.

⁵⁷ Helga-Maria Pacher, *Anthropologische Untersuchungen*, 10; my translation.

⁵⁸ Pöch’s diaries from southern Africa, NHM, anthropological department, 14.037a, book 7, 1909, 672.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Helga-Maria Pacher, *Anthropologische Untersuchungen*, 10; my translation.

⁶¹ AÖAW, Allgemeine Akten, No. 691/1914; my translation.

belonging”.⁶² Pöch noted for “S.11”: “Pauls Marydale children 2, hill Marydale 3 (doubling with C 45 and C 46?)”.⁶³

During the last months before his departure back to Vienna, Pöch undertook some further expeditions through the southern Kalahari, taking different trips from Upington. This was the time when he plundered most graves on his own. On one of these excursions, he excavated several graves at a “Bastard farm”⁶⁴ at /Kuris, in the north of Upington. Pacher mentioned that he did this “with the help of his Hottentot servant Andries Daries”.⁶⁵ In his diaries, Pöch noted:

In the evening consultation with C. Koos [?] a. Andries. Apparently they are too uninformed about all distances towards Witdraai, Leutlandspan, Norokei (Norokei-Leutlandspan by day!) a. absolutely want [to go] towards Kuie Pan or /Kuris.⁶⁶

It seems like Pöch had gathered information about potential grave sites for exhumations and now wanted to go to all these locations. He evidently was dependent on his assistants for guidance to these different place. It has become a common theme in critiques of anthropological accounts that the relevance of the people who work/ed as assistants for anthropologists ‘in the field’ was/is frequently undervalued, just as the erasure of the collaborative process between ‘the researched’ and ‘the researcher’ has largely remained a paradoxical feature of anthropological accounts in general. As Roger Sanjek pointed out in the early 1990s:

For more than a hundred years, members of the communities and cultures studied by anthropologists have been major providers of information, translation, fieldnotes, and

⁶² Helga-Maria Pacher, *Anthropologische Untersuchungen*, 7; my translation.

⁶³ Pöch’s diaries from southern Africa, NHM, anthropological department, 14.037a, book 7, 1909, 672; my translation. On p. 603 he had recorded “S. 11” as “Ellenberger skeleton”, as mentioned above.

⁶⁴ AÖAW, Allgemeine Akten, No. 691/1914.

⁶⁵ Helga-Maria Pacher, *Anthropologische Untersuchungen*, 7; my translation.

⁶⁶ Pöch’s diaries from southern Africa, NHM, anthropological department, 14.037a, book 9, 1909, 809; my translation.

fieldwork. While professional ethnographers – usually white, mostly male – have normally assumed full authorship for their ethnographic products, the remarkable contribution of these assistants – mainly persons of colour – is not widely enough appreciated or understood.⁶⁷

Other than in a categorical form it is, however, challenging to appreciate the people who worked for Pöch. I have very little information about them. Anette Hoffmann has written about Pöch's assistants |Kxara and |Xosi Tshai, who Pöch relied on for translations and information about history and culture of the people he wanted to do research on while he was in Bechuanaland. |Xosi apparently started working for explorers when he was only ten years old. Pöch had been looking for |Xosi, who had already worked for Passarge, months before he traveled to that area. He noted in his diaries: "Boer Talliat in Quagga ... has Passarge's bushman."⁶⁸ But few of the people who worked for Pöch can be traced that way. I will mention some more names and, if I found such information, the tasks they carried out for Pöch in the next chapter, where I turn to the financial aspects of Pöch's appropriations. It is certain that whenever Pöch went 'into the field' he had several people doing different kinds of labor for him.

/Kuris, where Andries and Koos led Pöch to, turned out to be a gainful destination from Pöch's perspective. He noted:

/Kuris From the cemetery tog. 8 big skeletons, 3 bigger a. 5 smaller children (tog. 15) one grave opened in vain Monday 27 and Tuesday 28 September 1909.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Roger Sanjek, 'Anthropology's hidden colonialism: Assistants and their ethnographers', *Anthropology Today* 9;2 (1993): 13-18, here 13.

⁶⁸ Pöch's diaries from southern Africa, NHM, anthropological department, 14.037a, book 2, 1908, 146; qt. in Anette Hoffmann, *Kolonialgeschichte Hören*, 87; my translation.

⁶⁹ Pöch's diaries from southern Africa, NHM, anthropological department, 14.037a, book 10, 1909, 962; my translation.

His diary entries on these excavations are among the most difficult for me to read. Possibly because he was so close to leaving the country, Pöch started recording how he was packaging the remains. The respective pages are filled with lines such as “C.32 big child 1 package”,⁷⁰ “C.31 child 1 package”,⁷¹ “C.34 child (infant) ~~incompl. a. very putrid 2 package [sic]~~ C biggest a. best child”.⁷² One entry is particularly painful to read: “S.33 child, was wrapped in much cloth, as complete as possible, not yet fully decayed, everything in one package”.⁷³ Judging from the overall context, the situation of the people whose children were exhumed here was very precarious. Most likely – and the fact that this is the only instance in which Pöch made that observation supports this assumption – wrapping a deceased person in a lot of fabric was not easy to do, since everything was scarce. To do it was an act of care and love, of making sure the deceased child was bedded well. In just these few words that Pöch recorded, this gesture of care is turned into a lucky instance of preservation of loot. Pöch disturbed this child’s rest at a time when their body was not even fully decomposed.

Pöch recorded some of the names of the people he exhumed at /Kuris. Pacher mentioned that they had worked at the farm and were buried by the farmers.⁷⁴ In Pöch’s diaries, all the connected entries are accompanied with a description of the state of the skeleton, its in/completeness, and how they were packaged. I will concentrate on the names here. “S. 37” is described as “Sina, old woman”⁷⁵, “S. 34” as “woman, Flak, wife of Dand Masstop

⁷⁰ Ibid., 959; my translation.

⁷¹ Ibid., 958; my translation.

⁷² Ibid., 961; crossed out in the original; my translation.

⁷³ Ibid., 958; my translation.

⁷⁴ Helga-Maria Pacher, *Anthropologische Untersuchungen*, 7.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 959; my translation.

(David)”,⁷⁶ “S. 35” is recorded as “Hákasam (Vierpramm) old man”,⁷⁷ “S. 38/2” as “Nona-sam”,⁷⁸ “S. 39” as “Ou /Kaiki, wife of Hakatom”.⁷⁹

Pöch also recorded names of people he exhumed at Valse Pan, close to /Kuris: “S. 41 young woman [*Weib*], Gret (Christ [?])”.⁸⁰ “S. 40” he described as

Hans !Khouñsi’s mother-in-law, witch, works with dolus... (there was no dolus found in the grave, was very old) /Khouñsi he is in the Kalahari since from /Khom.⁸¹

Here, he also recorded the time that it had taken him and his assistants to get to the location and to dig out the remains: “4. Trek 2 3/4 pm to 3 1/2 pm (3/4 h) Valse Pan (3 BM graves)”.⁸²

I only found such diary entries on the time Pöch spent on a single trek and for the exhumation of graves during this period of his expedition. They show his desire to optimise his efforts, to be efficient in his operations, to extract as much as possible in as little time as possible.

Pöch made these excavations at and around /Kuris at the end of September 1909. On 2 October he was back in Upington, on 9 October he started his travel towards Cape Town, on 17 November he boarded the ship back to Vienna. It was a last, violent push that he made in an effort to enlarge his collections. In a published report to the Academy of Sciences in

Vienna that is dated with 23 September 1909, he wrote:

I can currently predict more or less the following about further plans and the time of my homeward journey: Sorting the collections, packaging them, finding more skeletons will probably hold me in and around Upington for about two weeks.⁸³

⁷⁶ Ibid., 958; my translation. (In Pacher’s publication, Flak appears as “S. 38”. In Pöch’s diaries, “S. 38” is an old man without name.)

⁷⁷ Ibid., 959; my translation. (In Pacher’s publication, this is “S. 39”.)

⁷⁸ Ibid. (In Pacher’s publication, this is “S. 43” and she is spelt /Nona-sam.)

⁷⁹ Ibid; my translation. (In Pacher’s publication, this is “S. 44”.)

⁸⁰ Ibid., 965; my translation. (In Pacher’s publication, this is “S. 46”.)

⁸¹ Ibid; my translation. (In Pacher’s publication, this is “S. 45”.)

⁸² Ibid; my translation.

⁸³ Rudolf Pöch, ‘Bericht aus Upington, 23. September 1909’, in *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserl. Akad. D. Wiss. Wien, math.-naturw. Klasse, Akademischer Anzeiger* 21 (1909): 361-365, here 365; my translation.

On another trek that Pöch recorded as “5. Trek f. 12 3/4 pm to 2h pm (1 1/4 h)”, he exhumed “Ortman Piel, buried for 17 y., father of 5 children”.⁸⁴ Pacher called him “Ortman Piet” and noted that he was a “/Nu bushman” and that Pöch exhumed him himself behind the first dune at Rooidam.⁸⁵ Most probably, these were excavations that Pöch also did together with the aforementioned C. Koos and Andries.

The first two pages of the diary in which Pöch took all these notes are filled with scribbles about where in the book he recorded information about the different remains:

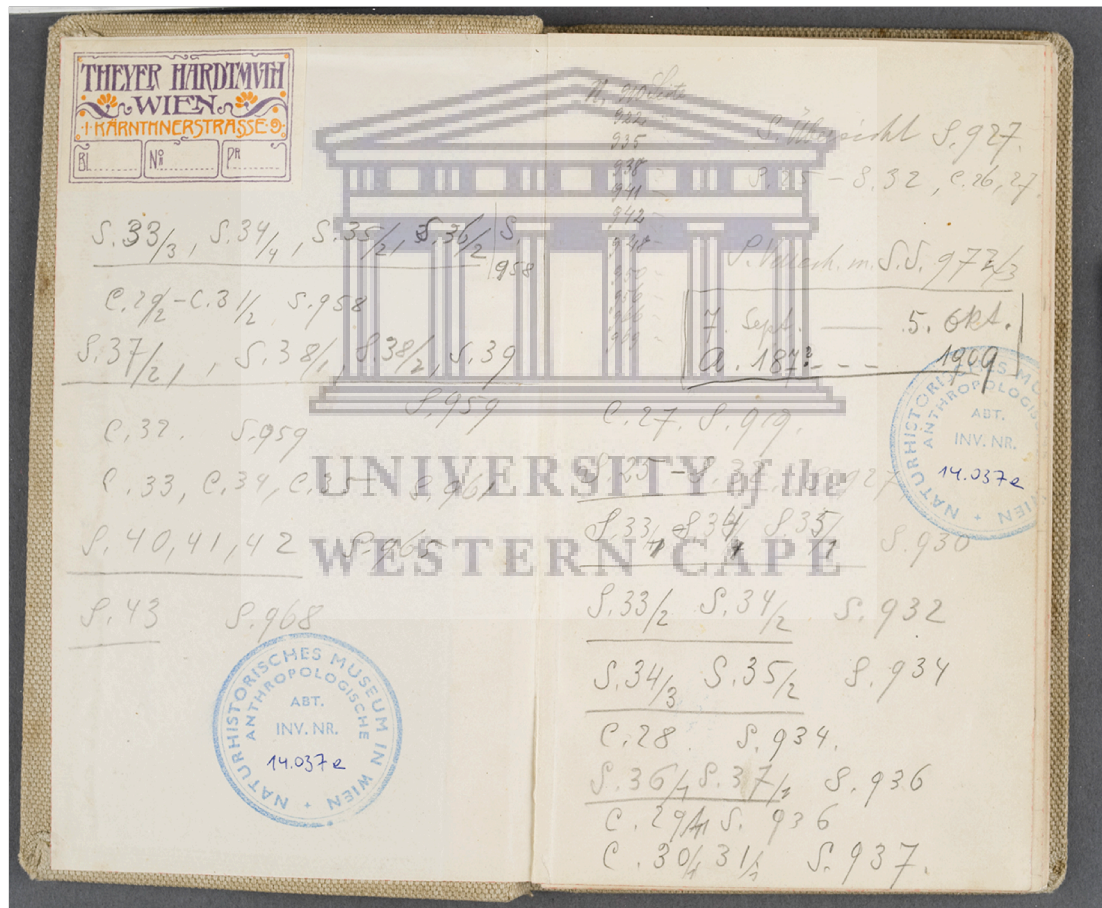


Figure 2: Inner cover of book 10 of Pöch’s diaries from southern Africa, 1909.

⁸⁴ Pöch’s diaries from southern Africa, NHM, anthropological department, 14.037a, book 10, 1909, 968; my translation.

⁸⁵ Helga-Maria Pacher, *Anthropologische Untersuchungen*, 8; my translation. In Pacher’s list and the inventory, this is “S. 48”, Pöch recorded him as “S.43”.

Clearly, during this last month of his expedition, Pöch was on a fiery hunt for skeletons and skulls. It genuinely makes my whole body ache that I have not yet managed to do further investigations about all the people mentioned here, with and without name, and the details of their exhumations. I am hoping that this work can be done soon. For now, it seemed important to collect and structure the information accessible to me so far and to thereby also make it accessible for others.⁸⁶

Pöch depended on the help of others to locate grave sites, to find out how and where to obtain the remains he was looking for. He tried his best to secure this information via all channels. Some of these requests allow us insights into the question of the il/legality of his grave digging. Although Pöch was assisted by British police and military, it is questionable in how far he really enjoyed official support of the authorities for this part of his 'research'. Archival evidence suggests that the appropriation of human remains of the colonised in British territory was officially considered to be off limits but nonetheless informally well supported. This support included high levels of government.

At the occasion of Pöch's arrival in Kimberley in the beginning of May 1909, the Austrian-Hungarian consul general in Cape Town repeated the request for a recommendation letter for Pöch to the Cape Government.⁸⁷ It was by now one and a half years ago, in September 1907, that the first request via the Academy of Sciences in Vienna, the Foreign and the Colonial Offices had reached the High Commissioner for Southern Africa.⁸⁸ The first circulars asking

⁸⁶ According to Botha/Steyn, in 2013, there were the remains of one person from the "Bakwena area" and one from the "Kgalagadi area" in Botswana at the University of Vienna, three from Kuruman, five from Gamopedi, three from Blinkfontein and two from Marydale. The other places that I have mentioned so far do not appear in their table. Possibly, they subsumed some in their category "Kalahari".

⁸⁷ Ibid, 9.

⁸⁸ High Commissioner Selborne to Hely-Hutchinson, 19 September 1907, PMO 234 752/07, CA.

to assist Pöch were sent out that same month.⁸⁹ Not only did the authorities immediately respond, both in 1907 and 1909, the Governor of Cape of Good Hope, Walter Hely-Hutchinson, also went to meet Pöch in Kimberley in person.⁹⁰ Hely-Hutchinson made sure that all local authorities were made aware of Pöch's requests.⁹¹ Still in Kimberley, he tried to get more information on the 'Vaalpens tribe' from Mr. Malcolm, Private Secretary to the Governor of the Transvaal, for Pöch.⁹² About two weeks after this quite cordial note from Hely-Hutchinson to Malcolm, Pöch also addressed Malcolm. He first apologised that he had not been able to meet Lord Selborne while he was in Johannesburg and informed Malcolm about the assistance that he had received so far:

I wished [sic] to say that I was received very well in the Protectorate, and that my studies have been helped in a quite extraordinary way. I must first mention Ltn. Hamay, the Acting Magistrate of Tsau, Ngamiland, who was assisting and helping my studies and travels during the time from June till November 1908, personally and through the Members of the Betchuanaland [sic] Protectorate Police. Besides him Ltn. Garbutt at Tsau has shown many [sic] kindness to me. Travelling down I got everything I wished from the Magistrate at Seroe, Cpt. Merry, Native Commissioner Ellenberger at Gaberones and Res. Commissioner Barry-May at Mafeking.⁹³

From the records discussed earlier, we know that at least some of the people mentioned here for their kindness were people who helped Pöch exhume graves. In this letter to Malcolm, Pöch went on to explain that he planned to finish his studies with a visit in Basutoland and that he would not be able to spend much time there.

It would be very useful to me and safe [sic] me a lot of time if inquiries could be made beforehand. I am looking for the following things in Basutoland: 1. where are good bushman paintings which I could see with not to great delay of time? 2. are there still some bushmen existing in Basutoland, and if so, where could I see them? 3. are there some bushman burriing-grounds [sic] or caves known, where bushmen are

⁸⁹ Circulation PMO, 30 September 1907, *ibid.*

⁹⁰ Leagssick/Rassool, *Skeletons in the Cupboard*, 9.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁹² Handwritten letter from Hely-Hutchinson to Private Secretary to Governor of the Transvaal, Malcolm, 12 May 1909, GOV 1206 P550/10/09, NARSSA.

⁹³ Pöch to Malcolm, Douglas, 27 May 1909, GOV 1206 P550/10/09, NARSSA.

already extinct, so that I could get some skeletons and skulls, without offending anybody's feelings? I should be very much indebted to you, Sir, if you would be so kind, to inform the High Commissioner about my further plans too, and if you could ask for me, if such inquiries could be made in the meantime.⁹⁴

Malcolm replied positively:

I have written to Mr. H. C. Sloley, the Resident Commissioner of Basutoland at Maseru on the subject of your letter and have asked him if possible to have the information for which you ask forwarded direct to you. I have also asked him to give you any help in his power when you go to Basutoland. I am sure that you will find the authorities there ready to do everything possible to facilitate your studies.⁹⁵

It is very likely that Malcolm's support was influenced by Hely-Hutchinson's direct interventions. We should, however, also note that Pöch made sure to mention that he did not want to offend anyone's feelings, which might have made it easier for Malcolm to respond to his letter officially. In another instance, the authorities replied with outspoken ambiguity to yet another request in connection to Pöch. The Chief District Surgeon of Johannesburg, Dr. Gilchrist, informed the Colonial Secretary in Pretoria in June 1909 that Pöch had

made application to obtain several specimens of Native skulls, I shall be glad if you will be good enough to let me know at your early convenience whether you approve of Dr. Pough [sic] being supplied with the same from the Government Mortuary, Johannesburg.⁹⁶

Bourne responded:

Dear Dr Gilchrist, It is extremely difficult to deal officially with your letter C.M.No.2644 of the 21st instant on the subject of the supply of native skulls to Dr Pough [sic] of Vienna: the Colonial Secretary could not possibly sanction the handing over of native skulls for such a purpose but if you like to give him any skulls which may happen to be in your possession you could of course do so on your own responsibility. I know it is well recognised, even if not legalised, practice at home to procure and keep skulls at hospitals for the purposes of medical research but such a

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Malcolm to Pöch, Pretoria, 02 June 1909, GOV 1206 P550/10/09, NARSSA.

⁹⁶ Dr. Gilchrist, Chief District Surgeon Johannesburg via Chief Magistrate to Colonial Secretary, 21 June 1909, CS 879 15788, CS 879 15788, NARSSA.

course is not legalised here and you will easily understand that the Colonial Secretary cannot appear to countenance it officially.⁹⁷

Indeed, in a similar request made in November 1908, Bourne had responded the same way.

At that time, it was the Italian consul who had asked for 'native skulls' for the Anthropological Museum in Florence from Dr MacKenzie, Superintendent of the Hospital Johannesburg. Mackenzie had already agreed to provide such, under the condition that the Colonial Secretary gave permission. But Bourne intervened:

Dear Mackenzie, I send you a copy of a letter we have received from the Italian Consul. We do not propose to send any official reply to it. It is, of course, quite out of question for the Colonial Secretary to sanction such a proceeding and it seems a pity that you should have referred the Italian Consul to him in the matter. If you like to give him skulls which you have got at the Hospital, that is a course which you must take on your own responsibility.⁹⁸

Mackenzie, it seems, was happy to take on that responsibility. He responded:

Dear Capt. Bourne, I have written to the Italian Consul and explained to him why you were not able to give permission to obtain the native skulls, or to answer him officially on the matter. I will do what I can to help him to obtain the skulls.⁹⁹

In Gilricht and Pöch's case, the archival records do not provide us with more information.

None of the inventories of Pöch's 'collection' mention Gilricht. There are, however, some remains that Pöch obtained from medical doctors. Two skulls he bought from the estate of a Dr. med. Meyers in Upington, another two he received as gift from a Dr. Phillips and another three, also as gift, from a Dr. Sinton.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ H.R.M. Bourne to Dr. Gilchrist, Pretoria, 25 June 1909, CS 879 15788, NARSSA.

⁹⁸ H.R.M. Bourne to Dr. Mackenzie, Pretoria, 21 November 1908, CS 879 15788, NARSSA.

⁹⁹ Dr. Mackenzie to H.R.M. Bourne, Johannesburg, 27 Nov. 1908, CS 879 15788, NARSSA.

¹⁰⁰ Helga-Maria Pacher, *Anthropologische Untersuchungen*, 8.

Nonetheless, Bourne's correspondence leaves no doubt that Alan Morris was wrong when he assumed that people who were involved in the trade of bodily remains of the colonised considered their business legal at the time. Morris situated the hunt for bodily remains of the indigenous people of southern Africa in the European anatomical tradition, including its field of 'Resurrectionists', who provided anatomical teaching institutions with illegally obtained corpses for their studies.¹⁰¹ In his understanding, however, none of the South African

excavators would ever have classed themselves alongside the Resurrectionists of Europe, for the occupation was considered to be quite legal as long as it was non-European bodies that were being exploited.¹⁰²

The archival records in connection with Pöch's expedition show that Morris' assumption is not true. The exhumation of indigenous bodies was not officially sanctioned and in some instances clearly declared illegal. Grave diggers were well aware of this, as was Pöch.

Judging from his notebooks and Pacher's publication, Pöch's collection was significantly enlarged through the help of two particular 'assistants', George Lennox, also known as Scotty Smith, and F. Mehnarto. The information accessible to me is a bit confusing, but in his diaries, Pöch suggested that Lennox alone was responsible for the remains of more than 50 people in Pöch's 'collection'.¹⁰³ It is not clear how many of them were obtained by Lennox on his own and how many he exhumed together with Pöch. Rassool and Legassick suggested that it may have been Pöch who introduced Lennox to the trade with human remains.¹⁰⁴ In any case, Lennox became a major supplier not only for Pöch but also for South African museums and internationally. In 1962, F.C. Metrovich wrote a biography about Lennox, aka

¹⁰¹ See the chapter on anatomical origins of physical anthropology for the ways in which cadavers and body parts were obtained for anatomical teaching in Vienna during the 19th century.

¹⁰² Alan Morris, 'Trophy Skulls', 71.

¹⁰³ Pöch's diaries from southern Africa, NHM, anthropological department, 14.037a, book 10, 1909, 974.

¹⁰⁴ Leagssick/Rassool, *Skeletons in the Cupboard*, 31.

Scotty Smith, in which he glorified him as “Robin Hood”.¹⁰⁵ In its blurb we are told that

Scotty was a

bandit, highwayman, cattle thief, I.D.B., and certainly one of the most enigmatic characters ever known in Southern Africa. Part rogue, part hero; half a villain, the other half all Good Samaritan; nobody could ever quite make up their minds whether to love or hate him.¹⁰⁶

The 16th section of the book is entitled ‘Bushman Bones’. To set the context, Metrowich explained:

In 1910, shortly after [Smith/Lennox] had settled at Upington, Kalahari Bushman skeletons suddenly achieved tremendous scientific importance. There was an unprecedented demand for their acquisition on the part of museums and similar institutions throughout the world, and Scotty found himself in the position of being the ideal man to meet the demand. In fact he gained practically a monopoly of this strange, bizarre trade.¹⁰⁷

As we know from the records in connection to Pöch, Lennox entered this business earlier than 1910. It is still remarkable that Metrowich would set the year after Pöch’s expedition as the date for a sudden rise in the interest in human remains of ‘bushmen’ for scientific research. Knowing about Mehnarto’s activities, which will be discussed later, the claim that Lennox gained a monopoly in the trade seems exaggerated. However, Lennox did provide many remains to ‘collectors’, among others to “the Kimberley and Albany museums as well as to such famous overseas institutions as the Berlin Museum”.¹⁰⁸ Metrowich gave a gruesome explanation for Lennox’s ability to appropriate that many human remains:

The popular and most widely believed explanation of Scotty’s business was that he simply shot the required number of Bushmen whenever he needed their skeletons. But Scotty had a different and much more plausible explanation of how he obtained his apparently unlimited supplies. He pointed out that at one time the Cape police,

¹⁰⁵ F.C. Metrowich, *Scotty Smith: South Africa’s Robin Hood* (Cape Town: Books of Africa, 1962).

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 202.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 204.

anxious to make his closer acquaintance, had often employed Bushmen trackers to follow his trail. Knowing that this was happening, and realising that unless he rid himself of these human bloodhounds his fate would be sealed, he would lie in wait and pick them off as they appeared on his trail. This in itself was a notable achievement, because the suspicious little men of the desert were the most difficult of all human beings to ambush. Scotty buried the Bushmen in convenient sand dunes and, according to him, it was these skeletons which he was exhuming.¹⁰⁹

The author clearly did not consider the lives of the killed people to be of much worth, otherwise he could not speak of their deaths in such a careless manner. It is remarkable that in his depiction, Smith's alleged explanation of having been followed by trackers appeared an acceptable reason for Smith to kill these people and then sell their bodily remains. It appears as as if it was Smith's right to decide over life and death of the people who tracked him and to treat their remains as he wished.

In Pöch's diaries, Lennox/Smith appears as the abbreviation "S.S.". "S.S." appears next to many of the remains Pöch listed: "SS. 3 skeletons, 2 skulls",¹¹⁰

S.S. S.25 Vishgat, S.S. S. 26 old BM-negro ... Zontpan, S.S. S.27 old woman [*Weib*] Zontpan, S.S. S. 28 child Zontpan, S.S. S.29 Kattea woman [*Weib*], not marked, came out of desert, spoke no local lang. [Engl. i. O.], S.S. S.30 man, mixed [Engl. i. O.], marked with 2, S.S. S.31 child, Groot Mier, BM?, S.S. S.32 parts of a skeleton, other side of Mier [Engl. i. O.], S.S. C 26 skull from ≠ Nosob, later some legs.¹¹¹

A few pages later Pöch noted:

S.S. S.33 BM woman, Nooitgedocht marked 3, a skull a. a package bones (leather with No 3), S. 34 kaffir (BM-kaffir *Mischling*) marked 4, a skull a. a package bones. S. 35 BM skull a. Package bones, very decomposed, in seated position, shallow in t. soil. Ad S. 33 buried by Bastard Okkis [?], about 5 ft. deep: covered with iron. She was servant to the bastard & came probably out of the Kalahari desert, Ad s. 34 shepherd to Assagi Morolong [?], Ad S. 35 nobody knows anything about him, buried

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 204 f.

¹¹⁰ Pöch's diaries from southern Africa, NHM, anthropological department, 14.037a, book 9, 1909, 838; my translation.

¹¹¹ Pöch's diaries from southern Africa, NHM, anthropological department, 14.037a, book 10, 1909, 927; my translation.

in sitting position, left arm round the head, right arm hanging down [Engl. i. O.].¹¹²

A few more entries like these follow in the next pages of the same book, which is the one in which Pöch also noted the last treks he did by himself. It appears as if the ones listed above were obtained by Lennox and then given to Pöch, whereas a few that follow later, that were taken from a place called Kalkdraai, were dug out by the two of them together. Pöch added a drawing of the position of the five grave sites to his notes.¹¹³ Towards the end of that diary, Pöch added another five numbers associated with S.S. to the S-series, one from near Witkop, one from Middleputz, three from Kuhukoop. There's no further information on them. On that same page, Pöch noted in brackets: "on top 5 double, would make 53",¹¹⁴ which seems to be the total number of remains Pöch obtained through or with Lennox. In Pacher's publication, she also mentioned remains that Pöch seemingly exhumed together with Lennox on Lennox's own farm at Leutlandspan.¹¹⁵ A Dr Borchers, who was in correspondence about human remains with Peringuey at the South African Museum in Cape Town and told Peringuey about the skeletons that Lennox had obtained for Pöch, reported that

Mr Lennox lived at Leitlands Pan in this district for some 30 years among the bushmen and knows more about them than anyone else as he had a veterinary training before his career of adventure and brought an intelligent and enquiring mind to bear upon the subject.¹¹⁶

Lennox accounted for a very large part of Pöch's overall exploits of human remains.

¹¹² Ibid., 930; emphasis in original; my translation.

¹¹³ Ibid., 934.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 974.

¹¹⁵ Helga-Maria Pacher, *Anthropologische Untersuchungen*, 8.

¹¹⁶ Borchers to Peringuey 2 May 1910, SAM P4 IL/PA Skeletal material 1886-1917, qt. in Leagssick/Rassool, *Skeletons in the Cupboard*, 32.

In his diaries, Pöch recorded a few remarks that Lennox made, like “S.S. says explicitly that we make three miles an hour”¹¹⁷ or “Thirst: One can endure 3 to 4 days without water; don’t walk during the day, only at night”¹¹⁸, that indicate that they indeed travelled together. It appears as if Pöch was learning from Lennox or that Lennox assumed a position of instruction, of the expert of the territory. In Pöch’s diary with entries from 21 August until 7 September 1909, therefore just one month prior to his aforementioned last push to appropriate as many remains by himself as he could, Pöch noted: “My big moments and successes: Spitzkopje, Methebi, Simon, Mambabiflat, Melsetter, Kimberley, Tellerie, Fletcher, SS.”¹¹⁹ During the time in which he recorded the time and exploits of his treks, Pöch noted: “Saw S.S. and kept quiet”. There are other notes in his diaries that indicate that Pöch was struggling with his self-esteem. They show that he was negotiating masculinist self-expectations during the expedition: “Moral is the fear that something happens. Simple.”¹²⁰, “No rudeness, no meanness, Baby, control yourself!”¹²¹, “You must never forget that your travelling about in t. Kalahari was something enormously weak in all directions!”¹²², “If one is vigorous, he will ... achieve something proper: but an old fart will always only put together shit”¹²³, “Everyone is treated as badly as he puts up with”¹²⁴. It might sound a little far fetched judging just from these fragments but while reading the diaries, I got the sense that Pöch also saw himself in a competitive relationship with Lennox. Pöch, as becomes evident in the quotes above, would have wanted to be more ruthless and hands on. In one of her short descriptions of the contexts of appropriation of the human remains, Helga Pacher noted that Pöch and Lennox “could

¹¹⁷ Pöch’s diaries from southern Africa, NHM, anthropological department, 14.037a, book 9, 1909, 856; my translation.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 863; my translation.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 897; my translation. Unfortunately, I do not know what he is referring to with the rest of this list.

¹²⁰ Pöch’s diaries from southern Africa, NHM, anthropological department, 14.037a, book 8, 1909, 799; my translation.

¹²¹ Pöch’s diaries from southern Africa, NHM, anthropological department, 14.037a, book 9, 1909, 891; my translation, “Baby, control yourself!” english in the original.

¹²² Ibid., 894; my translation.

¹²³ Ibid; my translation.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 897; my translation.

occasion natives to disclose the location of grave sites”¹²⁵. Given the overall context, this can easily be understood as euphemism. It is almost certain that the ‘persuasion’ consisted of threatening, violent methods. I suspect that it is this kind of violence that Pöch was aspiring to when he noted that one had to be “vigorous” to succeed. Pöch was highly dependent on assistance in order to appropriate human remains and in fact to achieve any of his ‘research’ aims. When he dug out graves by himself, he could only do so after people had pointed out grave sites to him or made them accessible on their estates. It is also questionable if he ever did the actual digging. It is much more likely that he always paid people to do it for him. The furious push to grab as much as he could during those last weeks that Pöch spent in the surroundings of Upington may very well have been motivated as much by competition and the desire to boost his ego in relation to the ‘achievements’ of Lennox (and Mehnarto) as it was motivated by the urge to appropriate large quantities of human remains for ‘his’ ‘collection’.

Apparently, Pöch’s relation to Mehnarto was similarly ambiguous. According to Pacher, Pöch reported that he got to know a mechanic named ‘F. Mehuarto’ in Vryburg and that he commissioned him to gather skeletons in the Kuruman district.¹²⁶ In Pöch’s notes from July to August 1909, Maria Teschler-Nicola found an entry that seems to offer insight into Pöch’s self-perception and his relation to Mehnarto:

In any case, I don’t feel like I can match up to F.M. ... altogether not, I feel betrayed and lied to but don’t know why. On the 19th in the morning he went measuring, he was not shy in his demands, he promised to fulfil all my wishes: if I don’t get it done myself I might as well let someone else do it.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ Helga-Maria Pacher, *Anthropologische Untersuchungen*, 8; my translation.

¹²⁶ Helga-Maria Pacher, *Anthropologische Untersuchungen*, 5.

¹²⁷ Pöch’s diaries from southern Africa, NHM, anthropological department, 14.037a, book 8, 1909, 786, qt. in Maria Teschler-Nicola, ‘Rudolf Pöch’s osteologische Sammlung’, 62; my translation.

Rather than using such diary entries to Pöch's defence, one should acknowledge the violence that speaks from them. Pöch depended on others to realise his aims. The atrocities that were committed to achieve them were not only commissioned by Pöch, he also aspired to commit them himself.

The respective part of the diary from which Teschler-Nicola took the quote above is written in a particular stenographic form of writing that I cannot decipher myself.¹²⁸ When I read through the note books, this section caught my eye for other reasons, due to a couple of written-out words: "Kuis", "F. Mehnarto" and "police man Matthison from Debeden".¹²⁹ In relation to research that Legassick and Rassool did, these words become quite meaningful. As we learn from *Skeletons in the Cupboard*, Mehnarto, as he is called in the records and Pöch's notebooks, makes his first appearance in the South African archives in a file from May 1909. The magistrate in Kuruman asked the Law department in Cape Town if there was

'any objective to certain human remains, thought to be of true bushmen, buried in an old burial ground in the Kuruman Township ...being exhumed, examined, and possibly removed by Dr Pöch's representative, Mr Mehnarto.' ... A Law Department official commented ... that 'This proposal does not seem fair to the dead' and forwarded it to the Medical Officer of Health, who concurred, ... 'on the grounds (a) that it was undesirable to have any human remains in Bechuanaland interfered with and (b) that in the event of there being any human remains of scientific value available, these should be retained in the Colony and placed at the disposal of the South African Museum.' As a result the magistrate informed Mr Mehnarto that 'on general grounds', permission to exhume remains of Bushmen could not be granted.¹³⁰

On 14 November 1909, however, a few days after Pöch's departure from Cape Town, Lance Corporal Ross wrote a report from Debeden to the Commanding Officer at Kuruman that

¹²⁸ All diaries were fully transcribed by someone who can decipher this style of writing as part of the research project 'Rudolf Pöch – Anthropologist, Explorer, Media Pioneer' (<http://poech.fox.co.at/>, accessed 26 Sep 2017). Unfortunately, these transcriptions have still not been made accessible to other researchers.

¹²⁹ Pöch's diaries from southern Africa, NHM, anthropological department, 14.037a, book 8, 1909, 786; my translation.

¹³⁰ Leagssick/Rassool, *Skeletons in the Cupboard*, 15.

indicated that Mehnarto had not obeyed the instructions. In Kuiepan, Mehnarto had “removed the bodies of 3 Bushmen who died from fever in June or July last and boiled the flesh from their bones.”¹³¹ He had also removed rock engravings at Inchwanen, “7 miles west of the farm Malley on the road to Kuiepan on unurveyed Crown Lands”.¹³² This removal, as Ross mentioned, was against a circular by the Law Department from 1906 regarding ‘Bushman paintings’, which requested that

every endeavour be made to preserve intact these unique relics, and you will kindly instruct your patrols to notice the state of preservation they are in (If any such relics are to be met with in your area) and to incite the interest of Farmers & others in preserving to futurity these interesting specimens of art as it was understood by the Aboriginal races of the Country.¹³³

The following investigations have been discussed in detail by Rassool and Legassick. Ross’ report was forwarded to the Law Department. Confronted with the accusations, Mehnarto declared that the remains had been taken in full knowledge of the Kuruman police and that a Private Maddison had pointed out the grave sites to him. He denied that he had boiled the remains. He did, however, admit to having taken a stone with engravings and regretted that ‘incident’.¹³⁴ Now under pressure, the Kuruman police followed up with a full investigation of the case. Lance Corporal Ross went to see witnesses and recorded their statements. These statements paint a very detailed picture of the proceedings that led to the exhumations.

Maddison stated:

With regard to the statement in Mr Mehnarto’s letter “the place was pointed out to me by Pte. Maddison” – this is incorrect. Mr Mehnarto came to Dedebeben on August 11th 1909 and interviewed a Bastard Bushman named Maropiñ who is working here. Maropiñ told Mr Mehnarto that three Bushmen had recently died at Khuie and had been buried near the farm. On August 16th Mr Mehnarto was at Khuie and a native

¹³¹ Ross to OC, CMP, Kuruman, 14 November 1909, JUS 62 20223/09/09, CA; Leagssick/Rassool, *Skeletons in the Cupboard*, 15 f.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Law Dept. Circular No 17 of 1906, ‘Preservation of Bushman paintings’, JUS 62 20223/09/09, CA.

¹³⁴ Leagssick/Rassool, *Skeletons in the Cupboard*, 16.

named David Asegai showed him where the three Bushmen had been buried which was to the north-west of Wessels' house. I accompanied Mr Mehnarto to this place and watched him while he dug at one of the graves. As soon as he came to the body he covered it up again and the three graves were left in practically the same state as that in which they were found. He told me that he intended to return to Khuie at some future date to disinter the three bodies and to take them away. Mr Mehnarto made every enquiry to ascertain whether there were any other Bushmen living that had been related to the three deceased but neither George Pearson of Khuie nor David Asegai knew of any. I gave Mr Mehnarto every assistance possible as letters had been written by the Colonial Secretary instructing all Civil Servants to assist Dr Poch and his representatives as much as practicable. I have heard that Mr Mehnarto has recently been to Khuie and removed these bodies, but I was not present. Re boiling. I saw Dr Poch at Kuis on August 19th and in my presence he instructed Mr Mehnarto how he was to "boil" these bodies to preserve the flesh etc. I have seen the place at Inchwaniñ where the engraving was removed and have already made a statement on the subject. I was not present when the rock was removed. Dr Poch told Mr Mehnarto to make drawings or rubbings of some of the engravings there but as far as I know Mr Mehnarto was not told to remove the rock.¹³⁵

It is remarkable how well informed Maddison was about Mehnarto's plans and actions.

Evidently, Maddison did not see much of a problem with the disinterment of the bodies. He also stressed the fact that Pöch indeed had been issued letters in which officials were requested to offer him all assistance possible for his research. Regarding the question of living relatives of the deceased, the investigation showed that either Pearson and Asegai or Maddison's statement were wrong.

In actual fact, Ross also went to collect statements from relatives of the deceased. Old Katje's statement, that was recorded through an interpreter, is a rare document of a perspective of the people who were affected by the grave robbing. As she pointed out, she worked for David Asegai's wife. The deceased were Katje's husband Kouw, who had worked for David Asegai, Kouw's son and one of Kouw's other wives. Asegai certainly knew that the deceased had living relatives.

¹³⁵ Statement E.A.J. Maddison, Debeden, 6 February 1910, JUS 62 20223/09/09, CA.

Old Katje States: I am a female Bushman, the third wife of Kouw a bushman who died at Kuiepan Kuruman District last winter. I am at present in the employ of David Assagi's wife. I came to Kuiepan last year with my husband (Kouw). ... He was David Assagi's stock herd for a short time only. My husband was an old man between 55 & 60 yrs of age. He died last winter. He succumbed to Malarial fever. He was sick for a few days before he died. Shortly after my husband's death, his son Masebi (by one of his other wives) died. Masebi was a middle aged man. He was sick for a longer time than my husband. He also succumbed to Malarial fever: Masebi was only a short time home at Kuiepan. He came to visit his father from somewhere close to Matlapin. Kruisband, one of Kouw's wives, a very old woman ... also died last winter she also succumbed to the same sickness Malarial fever. She was not very long sick only a few days. She came to Kuiepan at the same time as myself with Kouw. Kouw, Masebi (Father & Son) & Kruisband Kouw's wife were all buried at Kuiepan. 2 white men & 3 natives came to Kuiepan last year. I cannot remember their names or the date on which they were at Kuiepan. I heard that the white men exhumed the bodies of my husband (Kouw), my stepson, Masebi, & Kouw's wife Kruisband, cooked their bodies in a pot & carried their bones away. No one asked my permission to take my relatives bodies. I would not grant any one permission to interfere with my dead relatives bodies. After I had heard that the white men had taken my relatives bodies & cooked the flesh of their bones I prepared to leave for the Langberg to report the matter to the Police but I was told that Bushmen were outside the Law & that I would get no hearing. People at Kuiepan told me this, I thought they were right & kept quiet. Since I heard that my relatives bodies were taken & cooked, I am sick from sorrow & I will not recover from the shock for a long time. I wept for days. Kouw has also left a little daughter, about 13 years of age. He has also a sister living at or near Matlapin. Her name is Iwagaai. It is not true that "Kouw" has no relatives living in this District as I said already I am his wife. He has a sister & also a daughter living at Kuiepan. I did not see the white actually take the bodies but I am sure from what I heard from other people that the bodies are all taken away. I did not go near the graves when the white men were there. I was afraid. I did not register the deaths before now. I did not know that such a thing was necessary.¹³⁶

Katje, as we learn, knew about the grave robbing and was utterly opposed to and pained by it. She did, however, not see any possibility to prevent the thefts or lay charge against the people who committed them. In the ensuing discussion between the police, the Officer of Health and the Law Department it appears as if there were certain conditions that needed to be fulfilled for the authorities to consider the exhumation of graves of the colonised to be acceptable. These conditions were not formalised in laws or regulations. They rather appear as informally

¹³⁶ Statement Old Katje, Kuiepan, 26 January 1910, JUS 62 20223/09/09, CA.

negotiated markers of moral judgments that were expected to be common knowledge. As Katje's statement shows, 'Bushmen' were treated as outside the law, but not fully.

One of the markers of acceptability of the appropriation of the remains of the colonised was the question if the deceased had living relatives and if the feelings of other subjugated people would be hurt by the treatment. This trope was not unique to South Africa, as already mentioned in previous chapters. Pöch, on his expedition to New Guinea and Australia, was equally eager to assert that his appropriation of physical remains of the colonised did not offend their kin. In his correspondence with Vienna, he explained how difficult the task of conducting dissections was for the doctor commissioned by him, not least because corporations operating in the area feared that this kind of exploitation would make it impossible for them to recruit the affected as labourers.¹³⁷ It is more than likely that such fears of instigating ungovernability amongst the colonised were at the heart of the warnings to be considerate of their feelings. Such warnings were also repeated in instructions for anthropological studies published by ethnological museums and anthropological associations. Felix von Luschan, for example, recommended in one of his instructions for laymen

to recover as many skulls and skeletons as possible, as long as this can be done without arousing irritation and without hurting the legitimate feelings of the natives.¹³⁸

This, however, mostly just meant that exhumations were done in secret and that, as discussed previously, 'collectors' often relied on hospitals and prisons for obtaining remains. It also resulted in declarations like the one that Pöch made about the first remains he exhumed on his

¹³⁷ Letter to Julius Tandler, Sydney, 6 July 1905, Pöch letter books VI, NHM, anthropological department, pp 110-129, here 113. See chapter 'Rudolf Pöch and the Anthropologist as Field-Worker'.

¹³⁸ Felix von Luschan, 'Anthropologie, Ethnographie und Urgeschichte', in *Anleitung zu wissenschaftlichen Beobachtungen auf Reisen*, Band 2, ed. by G. Neumayer (Hannover: Max Jänecke, 1906), 1-153, here 5; my translation.

expedition to southern Africa, when he was still in German South West Africa. In his published report to the Academy, he made a significant addition to his notice:

On 30 March, I rode again to Zachas and exhumed with farmer Balzar three Bushman skeletons, two men and a woman. The exhumation took place with the knowledge and consent of the relatives.¹³⁹

That this statement was true is highly questionable. Considering the position of farmer Balzar with regards to 'bushmen' policies in the country as they were described earlier, even in the extremely unlikely case that the relatives would indeed have given consent, this would have happened under conditions of structural violence.

In South Africa, the (alleged) consideration of the feelings of the affected of the grave digging apparently led to a few more factors that decided over the in/acceptability of such exhumations. The initial report by Lance Corporal Ross, that caused the whole investigation against Mehnarto and Pöch, is quite informative in this regard. After Ross declared that Mehnarto had removed the bodies of three people, he contemplated:

These Bushmen are sure to have relatives living some where about there and I think that some consideration ought to have been given to these peoples feelings. For Bushmen as they are they are sure of being pained at seeing the bodies of their relatives treated in such a manner. These people made no complaints so far, probably through fear or ignorance but I am sure that their feelings are wounded at seeing the bodies of their relatives, so recently buried, removed. Much as the science of Research recommends itself to us, these people must be considered and I have no doubt Mr Mehnarto could have obtained sufficient specimens of Bushman bodies without removing or interfering with bodies so recently buried as June or July, last.¹⁴⁰

Through the filter of the archive, Ross appears as the most considerate of all the people working for the authorities. Yet, he hastened to stress the importance of the scientific studies

¹³⁹ Rudolf Pöch, 'Bericht aus Oas (Kameelfontain), 15. April 1908', 318; my translation.

¹⁴⁰ Ross to OC, CMP, Kuruman, 14 November 1909, JUS 62 20223/09/09, CA.

for which the remains allegedly had been dug up and just asserted that for such purposes, one should find people who had been buried longer than only a few months ago. It was not the exhumation of the remains per se that he questioned, it was the circumstances.

Similarly, in the statement of Sub Inspector Wimble from the Kuruman police, in which he defended himself against Mehnarto's accusations that everything had been done with the knowledge of the police, Wimble did not state that he had not given permission for the exhumation of remains of the colonised. He explained why he did not consider this permission to be valid for circumstances such as the recently deceased at Kuie Pan:

Mehnarto's letter is an extraordinary misrepresentation of facts absolutely untrue concerning the Police Officials at Kuruman having full knowledge of the remains being taken up In accordance with general instructions from The Colonial Secretary that officials were to render all assistance to Dr. Poch – in his researches for anthropology etc of the Bushman race – I gave Mehnarto (Dr. Poch's assistant) a letter to the N.C.O. i/c C.M.P. Dedebeben ... and owing to the very essence of the study the word 'remains' is used by me, but Mehnarto knew full well that this alluded to skeleton remains which might be found lying about at different places, & for the following reason. When he first came to Kuruman, he showed me a skull & I asked him where he obtained it: he replied "at Manyeding" (Kuruman District). I enquired if he had dug it up & he answered "No it was lying with some sand over it". He thereupon asked me if he could dig up some bodies buried just across the Drift at Kuruman. I replied "No you must not do that: you must be careful what you get up to". I told him again I had no power to give such permission & that he had better see The Resident Magistrate: I believe he did this: further I verbally informed you of such a conversation, at the time. The remains alluded to by me embraced such as are lying in the cave at Murubing [?] (Kuruman Dist.) where a number of Bushmen were entrapped & suffocated by the Chief KanKwe 50 or 60 years ago: also skeletons lying in the Langeberg Schanzen (used in the Langeberg war 1896-9): or these washed out by rains in the rivers, vleis, sluits, as can be obtained at Taungs & I mentioned this to him in one of my first meetings with him. The question of exhuming bodies was never again mentioned by Mehnarto to me after the instance above referred to nor had I any idea that he was doing so. ...¹⁴¹

¹⁴¹ C.E. Wimble to RM Kuruman, 21 February 1910, JUS 62 20223/09/09, CA; Leagssick/Rassool, *Skeletons in the Cupboard*, 18 f.

Wimble's statement brings home how common the hunt for remains must have been, when he could easily name so many different places where one could obtain skeletons. It also introduces another factor that evidently contributed to the decision if the appropriation of remains of the colonised was acceptable or not. To the two factors mentioned earlier – no living relatives or consent of the relatives and no recently deceased bodies – is now added the way of burial and the condition of the soil. That these aspects were indeed considered when deciding about the il/legality of appropriations of human remains becomes even more evident in another investigation against Pöch, this time regarding remains that Lennox had obtained for him. Since the authorities were now made aware of Pöch's exploits, a case of human remains that Lennox wanted to send to Pöch in August 1910 was confiscated by Customs in Port Elizabeth (today Gqeberha).¹⁴² Although it was stated that Pöch and Lennox did not have the authority to remove the skeletons, the Law Department declared that they could not charge them for any crime. Four of the remains were obtained in Bechuanaland and therefore outside of South African jurisdiction, and for the remaining one it had been stated that it was not disinterred but taken from the surface of the soil. Therefore, the appropriation did not violate a tomb and there were no legal means to persecute in the matter.¹⁴³ A few months later, Lennox sent further cases of human remains out of the country, this time addressed to the Royal College of Surgeons in Britain. Customs confiscated again. The aforementioned Dr. Borchers intervened on Lennox' behalf and produced a table, in which the following data was given for each skeleton: number, sex, time buried, where found, date exhumed, depth of burial, name of owner. The 'owners', of course, were farm owners, not relatives of the deceased. Borchers added:

Some of the bodies had been shovelled in at burial with a spade. No clothes flesh or any thing else but bones found which were sifted to get the skeleton complete. In

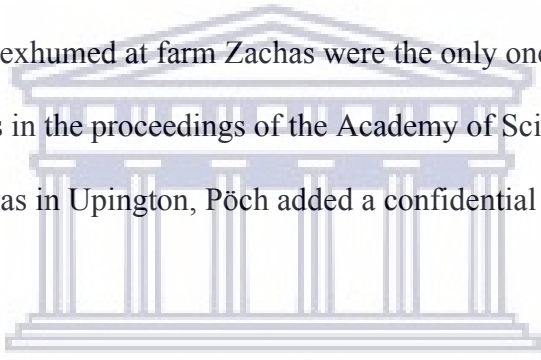
¹⁴² Leagssick/Rassool, *Skeletons in the Cupboard*, 28.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

every case permission to exhume was obtained from the owner.¹⁴⁴

Evidently, the question of the feelings of relatives was here substituted by the question of permission of owners of the land the people were buried in. The time of burial was stated as being more than ten years ago for each skeleton, just as it was declared that all of them had been interred at only two feet six inches.¹⁴⁵ Again, the authorities decided not to prosecute and the case was shipped to England, because at the time, there were no legal means available to put charges forward.¹⁴⁶

Pöch was certainly very well aware of the politics around his grave digging. As mentioned previously, the remains he exhumed at farm Zachas were the only ones that were mentioned in Pöch's published reports in the proceedings of the Academy of Sciences in Vienna. In July 1909, however, while he was in Upington, Pöch added a confidential note to his letter to the Academy:



In the area south of the Orange River thirty graves or sites that appeared to be graves were opened. The yield was: 2 Bushman skeletons, 4 Bushman skulls, 3 Koranna skeletons, 4 Koranna skulls, 2 incomplete Koranna skeletons, 3 children skeletons (Bushman o. Koranna), 1 female Kaffir skeleton.¹⁴⁷

On 23 September, he added another confidential paragraph to his next report:

Confidentially, the undersigned may inform you that a big quantity of different ~~Bus~~ skeletons was successfully obtained from the travelled areas, among them several additional good representatives of the Bushman type, as it appears to me after preliminary examination.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ RM Gordonia to Under-Secretary for Interior, 26 October 1910, 1/UPT 5/2/14; qt. in Leagssick/Rassool, *Skeletons in the Cupboard*, 33.

¹⁴⁵ Leagssick/Rassool, *Skeletons in the Cupboard*, 33.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 34.

¹⁴⁷ Report Pöch to the Academy, Upington, 10 July 1909, AÖAW, Allgemeine Akten, No. 599/1909; my translation.

¹⁴⁸ Report Pöch to the Academy, Upington, 23 September 1909, AÖAW, Allgemeine Akten, No. 679/1909; my translation.

Here, Pöch was of course already referring to some of the remains he appropriated during his last hasty push, which shines through even in the way he reported about his exploits. Eager to impress, he was tempted to declare all of the remains to be from ‘Bushmen’ but then decided to implicitly admit that he was in fact only speculating.

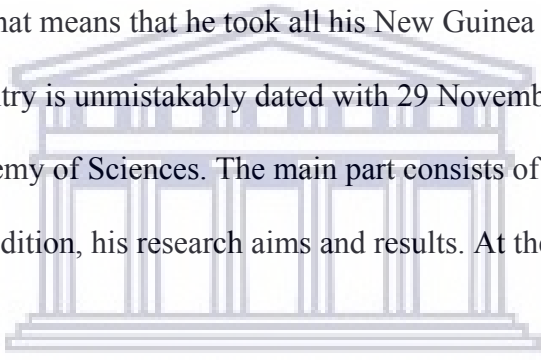
It is noteworthy that Pöch started marking his reports about his appropriations of human remains as confidential while he was in Upington. Additionally to the aforementioned note about Private Maddisson, Pöch mentioned during one of his last treks in /Kuris: “In the evening visit by the police”.¹⁴⁹ It is impossible to determine what kind of relation these policemen entertained to Pöch. Legassick and Rassool quote a letter of the Medical Officer of Health, A. J. Gregory, in which he stated that he unofficially learned that Pöch, in private conversations, had “expressed amusement at the Colonial Secretary’s order prohibiting the exhumation of human remains”.¹⁵⁰ The contradictions between informal support and official reluctance to sanction the exhumation of remains of the colonised make it very difficult to know how these interactions really took place, even during the events leading to the investigation against Mehnarto. It is impossible to know if the respective Kuruman police men were indeed as little involved in the grave digging as they suggested in their statements or if these were made to defend the police division’s official reputation. In any case, Pöch was in communication with police, Mehnarto and Lennox and he must have been aware that Mehnarto had been denied official permission to exhume the remains.

When I found Pöch’s unpublished reports among the general files in the archive of the Academy of Sciences in Vienna, I was excited to discover the mention of a ‘confidential

¹⁴⁹ Pöch’s diaries from southern Africa, NHM, anthropological department, 14.037a, book 10, 1909, 962; my translation.

¹⁵⁰ MOH to Sec to Law Department, 17 December 1909, JUS 62 20223/09, CA, qt. in Leagssick/Rassool, *Skeletons in the Cupboard*, 16.

note' enclosed to his last report from the expedition. I hoped to find Pöch communicating something about the police investigations against him. The suspicion that the confidential note included compromising information was reinforced when I saw that it was missing. Three other parts of the letter – a report about the last part of his expedition, his expenses and a list with people he wished to have formal letters of thanks sent to – were in the file, but the confidential part was nowhere to be found. I was therefore even more excited when I coincidentally found a copy of the note in Pöch's correspondence from New Guinea. On the last pages of the second last correspondence book from the New Guinea expedition, Pöch made a few entries concerning the last part of his expedition in southern Africa. I am not sure how this happened and if that means that he took all his New Guinea notebooks with him to southern Africa. But the entry is unmistakably dated with 29 November 1909, written at sea and addressed to the Academy of Sciences. The main part consists of a general summary of the motivation for the expedition, his research aims and results. At the end, Pöch added the following request:



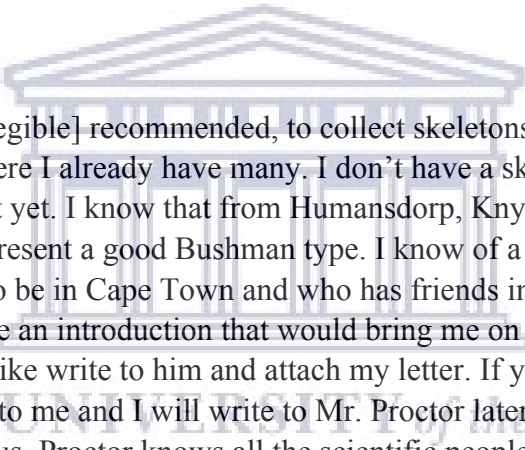
May I also take the liberty of informing you of the following, which I ask to please consider 'confidential' until the material is published: I was successful in increasing the number of collected [*aufgesammelten*] skeletons to one hundred. There are a few good Bushman types among them. Moreover, I have twenty-five single skulls. Furthermore, one male and one female Bushman body was exhumed a few weeks after death and could be preserved in relatively good condition. At least one can expect good information about ligaments intervertebral discs joints etc. I made copies of 100 different Bushman engravings, of Bushman paintings I am bringing 25 own and 25 foreign (Stow) drawings.¹⁵¹

Possibly, Pöch's previous confidentiality was also motivated by the desire to protect the means for his intellectual and academic capital-to-be, rather than by the need to secrecy regarding his methods of appropriation. I will talk more about the transformation of the

¹⁵¹ Report to the Academy, 29 November 1909, Pöch's letter book from New Guinea, book 10, 95; emphasis in the original; my translation.

human remains into means for the production of academic, intellectual and symbolic capital in the chapter. Here, I focus on the ways of extraction that Pöch applied. These did not stop with Pöch's departure.

Also in the New Guinea notebook, Pöch kept a copy of a letter that he wrote to someone in South Africa, advising them how to possibly enlarge his collection after his departure. In the notebooks, there is no addressee mentioned. The letter immediately starts with a list of instructions. The content itself, however, is clearly directed to a specific person, someone who was not trained as anthropologist or doctor, a layperson. It appears as if that person lived in Cape Town.



1. Skeletons: ... [illegible] recommended, to collect skeletons of Bushmen from other areas than those where I already have many. I don't have a skeleton of a Bushman from the south coast yet. I know that from Humansdorp, Knysna, George one gets skeletons which represent a good Bushman type. I know of a teacher in Mafeking, Proctor, who used to be in Cape Town and who has friends in George. In April, he already promised me an introduction that would bring me on the right path for a skeleton If you like write to him and attach my letter. If you don't have a chance, send the letter back to me and I will write to Mr. Proctor later from Vienna. In any case, be very cautious, Proctor knows all the scientific people in Cape Town. The next important area for skeletons would be Basutoland and maybe the slopes of the mountains around Basutoland. Skeletons of pure negroes also have value for me for comparison. You remember that I will gladly pay more f. Strandloopers. Skulls are always worth it, also from a completely mixed race. For your further instruction I simultaneously send you an anthropology. I found parchment numbers, that I certainly don't but you might still need and am also sending these.

2. Fresh bodies, or parts of fresh bodies. Hopefully you have opportunity and luck in this regard, now equipped with instruments, formalin, spirit and cases. ... With fresh bodies it is recommended to open the big veins on both sides of the crural triangle. The veins are opened, the needle of the syringe is tied into the slit you cut and then a lot of liquid injected. At the bottom of the lower end of the slit thickened blood etc. will swell out. The whole body is purged that way. Only possible with fresh bodies. With old bodies you keep to formalin and salt. Of course what matters to me are primarily real Bushmen. I would advise you to practice the injection with an animal when you next get a chance. We need male and female Dassies (rockrabbits) preserved like this. Therefore, your efforts would not be in vain.

Of the body parts, these are particularly important to me: Face, whole head, pelvis with genitals, male and female (extension of the labia minora!), penis root!, hands, feet. Very desired would be a whole body of a child. It can be easier preserved and has better prospects to arrive in good condition. Overall: good luck for the rare “game” [*Wild*]!

3. Casts. I believe I explained how face, ears, hands and feet are to be cast. ... Hopefully all the plaster is dry. If you need to buy more be very careful: cheap plaster is sometimes mixed with quicklime which will burn the victim! I primarily need casts of pure Bushmen but also all other good types are required!

4. Hair samples. Hair samples are cut at the root, put in small tubes and signed.

5. Blood samples. Via a puncture with clean instrument into the lobe. Best take an unused quill, break off one half of the top and stab firmly into the skin. That is the cheapest and most innocent lancet. Again, particularly pure bred BM. ...

6. Bushmen engravings. Good ones, well broken off are of course always welcome. Caution with the transport! Also to be declared as specimens of natural history [Engl. i. Original]. ... ¹⁵²

To my knowledge, this is the first documented evidence in which Pösch himself articulated the desire for fresh bodies that explicitly. When he wished the addressee of the letter good luck with obtaining such, he used a word play. In German, ‘*Wild*’ means both ‘savage’ and game. Pösch deliberately put the request to appropriate fresh bodies for his collections into the context of game hunting. He thus disassociated it from the context of dissections, hospitals etc. I do not know if Pösch ever received any of the required from the addressee. It is not possible to determine how much of Pösch’s wording needs to be attributed to another instance of him wanting to bond with another white European male over the assurance of their supposed shared superiority over the ‘primitive’ and how much of it was owed to the actual practice of murdering indigenous people of the country. What can be assumed with some degree of certainty is Pösch’s knowledge of the informally agreed rule that the appropriation

¹⁵² Letter by Pösch, n.d., Pösch’s letter books from New Guinea, book 10, 64-75; my translation.

of the bodies of indigenous people recently deceased was seen as off limits. That did not stop him to pursue them.

Pöch also made a few remarks about Mehnarto in the letter. Mehnarto had delivered to Pöch's content and had been paid, "the matter ended to mutual satisfaction":¹⁵³

Possibly, Mehnarto will continue to send me but he is not in my "employment". He is completely free, as well as I am of course not responsible for him. I add that Mehnarto produced all his receipts of payments of the last half a year (what he was not obliged to) and that I found that everything was in complete order.¹⁵⁴

It is remarkable how important it was to Pöch to assure that his relation to Mehnarto was intact and that he had been a reliable trading partner but to also make sure to free himself from any responsibility for his actions. Why should Pöch have bothered to define their relationship so precisely if he did not know about the accusations against him? Clearly, Pöch was well informed and knew how to find the loopholes in the tightening regulations of the authorities.

This also becomes evident in another very interesting remark he made in the same letter. Pöch instructed the addressee of the letter that all shipments to him should be declared as "specimens of natural history".¹⁵⁵ He added:

I declare explicitly that I will never export horns, ivory or feathers. I therefore request to ask Customs to always abstain from opening the cargo since the very delicate things can easily be damaged. Furthermore, I declare that none of the things are my personal property but either the property of the Imperial Museum or the Imperial Academy of Sciences.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵³ Letter by Pöch, n.d., Pöch's letter books from New Guinea, book 10, 64-75; my translation.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid; my translation.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid; my translation.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid; my translation.

As we shall see, Pöch actually kept the human remains in his own possession. He also exported horns, as he mentioned in his confidential report to the Academy.¹⁵⁷ Again, his strategies show that he knew very well what he was doing and how to avert negative consequences for the ways in which he was contravening laws and regulations.

Pöch added several further notes regarding people he had asked to send artefacts, including the director of the De Beer's Company in Kimberley, who he asked to send one or a few of the stone engravings on their land to the Natural History Museum in Vienna. As Pöch explained in detail in the letter, all these people would send the artefacts to the consulate in Cape Town. He added information on who he had paid upfront and who had to be rewarded, i.e. concrete administrative instructions to the addressee. Considering that Pöch also lived at the consulate before his departure from Cape Town¹⁵⁸ and that all correspondence during Pöch's stay in South Africa was always sent via the consulate, it seems very probable that it was the consul himself, Otto von Lieder-D'Ellevaux, to whom Pöch addressed this letter with instructions.¹⁵⁹ On top of all the aforementioned evidence, this letter further reinforces a claim that Leggasick and Rassool made regarding the nature of Pöch's methods of collection:

Beyond a vague suspicion of occasional purchases from 'outlaws', who might have engaged in grave robbing, the record of Pöch's research in South Africa is one of *systematic* grave robbery, and of clandestine deals for newly dead corpses in the name of science. If this is the evidence of the nature of his collection of human remains, then it is probable that his acquisition of cultural objects was also based in systematic plunder. Moreover, Pöch was no lone, heroic researcher who had decided to enter an unpredictable world of the primitive. On the contrary, Pöch's activities in South Africa were conducted as part of a systematic web of people and institutions.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁷ Report to the Academy, 29 November 1909, Pöch's letter book from New Guinea, book 10, 95.

¹⁵⁸ Report to the Academy, 29 November 1909, at sea, AÖAW, Allgemeine Akten, No. 829/1909.

¹⁵⁹ In one of his earlier reports, Pöch mentioned that he had already met Lieder-D'Ellevaux in Vienna in 1907, before his departure to southern Africa (Rudolf Pöch, 'Bericht aus Rietfontein, 12. Juni 1908', 437).

¹⁶⁰ Leagssick/Rassool, *Skeletons in the Cupboard*, 12.

As has become evident in this chapter, this network was far-reaching and continued to operate after Pöch's departure. It enabled Pöch to realise the systematic extraction of an immense variety and quantity of 'collections'.

All the collected [*aufgesammelte*] material was packed in about 100 cases and bales and sent to Vienna. About half of it has already successively arrived in Vienna, the other half is still on its way.¹⁶¹

Botha and Steyn maintained that the so-called "Pöch collection" at the University of Vienna was "currently the largest Khoe-San skeletal collection in Europe".¹⁶² Pöch had appropriated this 'material' in ways that contradicted contemporary ethical judgement as well as export and preservation regulations issued by the British colonial government. He also contravened prohibitions against exhumations explicitly stated by government. In an acknowledgment of the violence inherent in such collections of human remains, Wandile Kasibe has called for understanding institutions holding such collections as *colonial crime scenes*.¹⁶³ This chapter served to present the evidence for these violent practices as they played out on the ground. I also tried to give insights into the sometimes contradictory ways in which the colonial administration and Pöch's methods of extraction worked together while at the same time being in competition with each other. Pöch appropriated the remains with the help of other bandits, police, military and government officials. He then capitalised on these 'collections' for his own academic career. The next chapter will discuss how the extracted 'goods' were transformed into academic, intellectual and symbolic capital for Pöch and the institutions he worked for in Austria.

¹⁶¹ Report to the Academy, 29 November 1909, Pöch's letter book from New Guinea, book 10, 95; my translation.

¹⁶² Botha and Steyn, 'Khoe-San skeletal collections', 8.

¹⁶³ Wandile Goozen Kasibe, *Museums and the construction of race ideologies: The case of natural history and ethnographic museums in South Africa* (unpublished PhD thesis: University of Cape Town, 2020), 64; Wandile Kasibe, Wandile Kasibe, 'Colonial history rooted in museums', Independent Online, published 13 August 2017, <https://www.iol.co.za/capetimes/opinion/colonial-history-rooted-in-museums-10775526> (accessed 4 June 2021).

Chapter Nine: **Establishing Value: Human remains as academic capital**

Long since, the urge for an academic representation of anthropology was felt [...]. Now Pöch, back from his second long journey, appeared like a knight in shining armour.¹

In this chapter, I want to look at the ways in which the human remains that Pöch appropriated in southern Africa were transformed into symbolic, academic and intellectual capital. The human remains from New Guinea and Australia that Pöch appropriated earlier underwent very similar processes, which will be touched upon towards the end of this chapter. However, as in my study in general, I focus my detailed reconstruction of this process on Pöch's expedition to southern Africa. To fully grasp the process of transforming different forms of capital, I go back to Pöch's methods of appropriation and the trade of indigenous human remains in southern Africa at the time of his expedition. While the last chapter focussed on introducing the colonial context of the expedition, the colonial infrastructure that enabled Pöch to find, exhume and buy the remains, and the detail of the methods of appropriation he applied, I want to now concentrate on the financial aspect of these negotiations. As explained in earlier chapters, economic capital was only a small aspect in the different forms of capital that Pöch mobilised in order to achieve his goals. Symbolic and social capital were more pertinent for his endeavour. However, without Pöch's financial buying power, provided by the Academy of Sciences in Vienna and his wealthy family background, he would not have been able to outdo his competition. The financial costs also added to the symbolic value of the expedition as investment for the advancement of his academic career. Moreover, the very particular strategic decisions that Pöch made with regards to the property situation of the remains proved to be crucial for their mobilisation as means of production of capital to his personal benefit.

¹ Eugen Oberhummer: 'Rudolf Pöch (gestorben am 4. März 1921): Nachruf', *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft Wien* 51 (1921): 95–104, here 99; my translation.

To begin with a poignant illustration of the role that money played for the appropriation of human remains, let me go back to the first remains that Pöch obtained during this expedition. As mentioned earlier, these were the remains of Nusep, Aukwes and Kamap, deceased workers buried at farm Zachas in German South West Africa. The owner of the farm, Eduard Balzer, was not only lauded by the colonial government for his role in ‘taming Bushmen’ through labour, he was also a supporter of anthropological research. Anette Hoffman has pointed out that Dorothea Bleek also went to Zachas to do some of her language recordings and possibly to exhume remains.² Balzer was generally invested in playing his role in the implementation and upholding of colonial rule. It appears as if supporting scholars who wanted to gain access to the indigenous people of the country was one of his contributions to colonial subordination. Nonetheless, Balzer apparently expected money in exchange for the remains of the three people. From the receipts that Pöch sent to the Academy of Sciences to account for his spending, we know that Pöch paid Balzer 240 mark for three skeletons.³ To put this in perspective, Pöch noted on the the same list that his costs for milk and butter for a whole month amounted to around 20 mark.⁴ Balzer, on top of having used Nusep, Aukwes and Kamap as labourers under what certainly were exploitative conditions, made money off their bones. The bodies of the people affected here were considered to be property of the farmer they had worked for. Pöch had the means to make this financial investment, transforming the physical remains of people who had died only three and seven years ago into an asset for the advancement of his career. The conditions of this exchange were up to negotiation between the respective parties partaking in the oppression of the colonised, on the exclusion of the kin of the affected. I haven’t come across a study of the ways in which prices

² Anette Hoffmann, *Kolonialgeschichte Hören*, 71 f.; 82; 126.

³ Report Pöch to the Academy, /Oas, 27 April 1908, AÖAW, Allgemeine Akten, No. 504/1908.

⁴ Ibid.

for skeletons were negotiated in German South West Africa at the time, so I cannot offer accounts of comparable situations. For South Africa, Legassick and Rassool provided an account of the bargaining going on in that market.

The letter books of Louis Peringuey, director of the South African Museum (SAM) in Cape Town at the time, are the main source of reference to trace the development of prices that were paid for the acquisition or exhumation of the bodily remains of the indigenous people of southern Africa. I will introduce a few instances in which his negotiations were documented during the time of Pösch's expedition. Very few of the incoming letters of that period can be found in the archive of the SAM today, so that the information that is available is only a snippet of the actual communication. In 1908, Peringuey convinced a Mr Daniell to sell him two skeletons for £7/10/0, although initially, Daniell had asked for £20 for one. Daniell had apparently been commissioned by the Pretoria Museum to obtain human remains. According to him, he went searching for remains in coastal caves but found much less than he had hoped.⁵ In early 1909, mediated through the magistrate of Namaqualand, Peringuey purchased two skeletons from Reverend Kling from the Rhenisch Missionaries at Steinkopf for £2.⁶ Between 1907 and 1914, Kling "donated" many remains now labelled as Khoesan to the SAM and the Albany Museum. According to Alan Morris, many of them had died during a drought in Namaqualand between 1895-1897.⁷ In May 1909, Peringuey was in communication with the conservator of forests in Knysna, Mr Henkel, about burial methods and the disinterment of bodies of indigenous people. Peringuey offered Henkel "to expend up to £12 or £15 for the excavation and obtaining skeletons".⁸ It is unclear how many skeletons

⁵ Legassick/Rassool, *Skeletons in the Cupboard*, 7.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 6f.

⁷ Alan Morris, 'Reverend Kling's skeletons', *South African Journal of Ethnology* 10;4 (1987): 159-162, here 162.

⁸ Péringuey to Henkel, Conservator of Forests Knysna, 15 April 1909, SAM OLB 184/1909.

he was expecting for that amount. Later that year, Peringuey was asked £10 from the magistrate in Carnarvon for disinterment and transport of the body of a person who had been killed just one month earlier in the district. At that point, Peringuey had started following up on cases of murder and death sentences and had contacted the magistrate after reading about the killing in the newspapers. He convinced the magistrate to disinter the body for £5 but was later told that the field cornet assigned with the job was asking a little more for “such an unpleasant piece of work”.⁹ In 1910, Dr Borchers reported to Peringuey that Lennox had been commissioned to bring Pösch skeletons for £7/10/0 per skeleton, £5 for a complete skeleton and £2/10/0 for expenses. Borchers therefore withdrew an earlier “quotation” of £3/3/0.¹⁰ Peringuey, appealing to patriotic feelings, managed to later buy four or five skeletons from Lennox for £17/10/0.¹¹ For another five a few months later Peringuey first paid £10, then £5, leaving the difference to be paid in the future.¹² In many of his letters, Peringuey complained about the high prices of body snatchers, the insufficient funds of the museum and the competition with European institutions and researchers. In some, he explicitly mentioned Pösch’s contribution to the situation:

The price of skulls and especially of skeletons has gnarly risen since Pösch passed through. He left Collectors behind, and I am very angry at seeing these rare relics leaving the Country.¹³

Pösch regularly sent the Academy of Sciences accounts of his spending that appear very meticulous. Information about human remains, however, is scarce. After the first mention of the expenses for the remains from farm Zachas, there is a long silence. Only in his last report, written in November 1909, when already at sea, he listed a few more human remains among

⁹ SAM P4 IL/PA, Skeletal material 1886-1917, 638/09 RM Carnarvon to Peringuey, 15 Nov 1909, qt. in Legassick/Rassool, *Skeletons in the Cupboard*, 41.

¹⁰ Legassick/Rassool, *Skeletons in the Cupboard*, 31 f.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 32.

¹² *Ibid.*, 34.

¹³ Letter Peringuey to Shrubbsall, 29 March 1910, SAM OLB 40/1910; see also chapter seven.

the many other detailed costs. For 2 May 1909, while he was in Pniel, he listed a payment for the exhumation of 6 skeletons of £3/5/0. He also listed £0/12/6 for the blasting off of two stone engravings on 3 May.¹⁴ The only skeletons associated with Pniel in the documents regarding the provenance of the 'Pöch-collection' are ones that Pacher attributed to exhumations done by Pöch himself, after Reverend Westphal from the Rhenisch Missionaries had pointed out their location to him.¹⁵ Most probably, Westphal also told Pöch where to find the engravings. Pöch must have had assistants to do the actual work for him. In the first week of July, Pöch bought two skulls for £2. Interestingly, it is also here, in the section that he titled "travels in Herbert, Prieska and Kenhardt districts" that he noted £2 for the exhumation of the skeleton from Gaborones.¹⁶ For one skull in Rietfontein he listed six shillings, a cost that he dated with 28 August 1909.¹⁷ In the other documents accessible to me, the only remains associated with (English) Rietfontein are the ones that are said to have been obtained by Lennox. They are significantly more than one skull. It is unclear why Pöch listed that one in his accounts to the Academy and if and where it appears in the other lists. For 28 September, Pöch wrote down £10 as compensation for Lennox' company from 29 August until 8 September and another £47 for Lennox' "collecting" until 17 September that he paid from the Academy's subsidy.¹⁸ In his diaries, Pöch also noted payments to Lennox, or "S.S.", as he called him there. On Monday, 4 October 1909, he made the following list:

¹⁴ Report to the Academy, 29 November 1909, at sea, AÖAW, Allgemeine Akten, No. 829/1909.

¹⁵ Helga-Maria Pacher, *Anthropologische Untersuchungen*, 5.

¹⁶ Report to the Academy, 29 November 1909, at sea, AÖAW, Allgemeine Akten, No. 829/1909.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

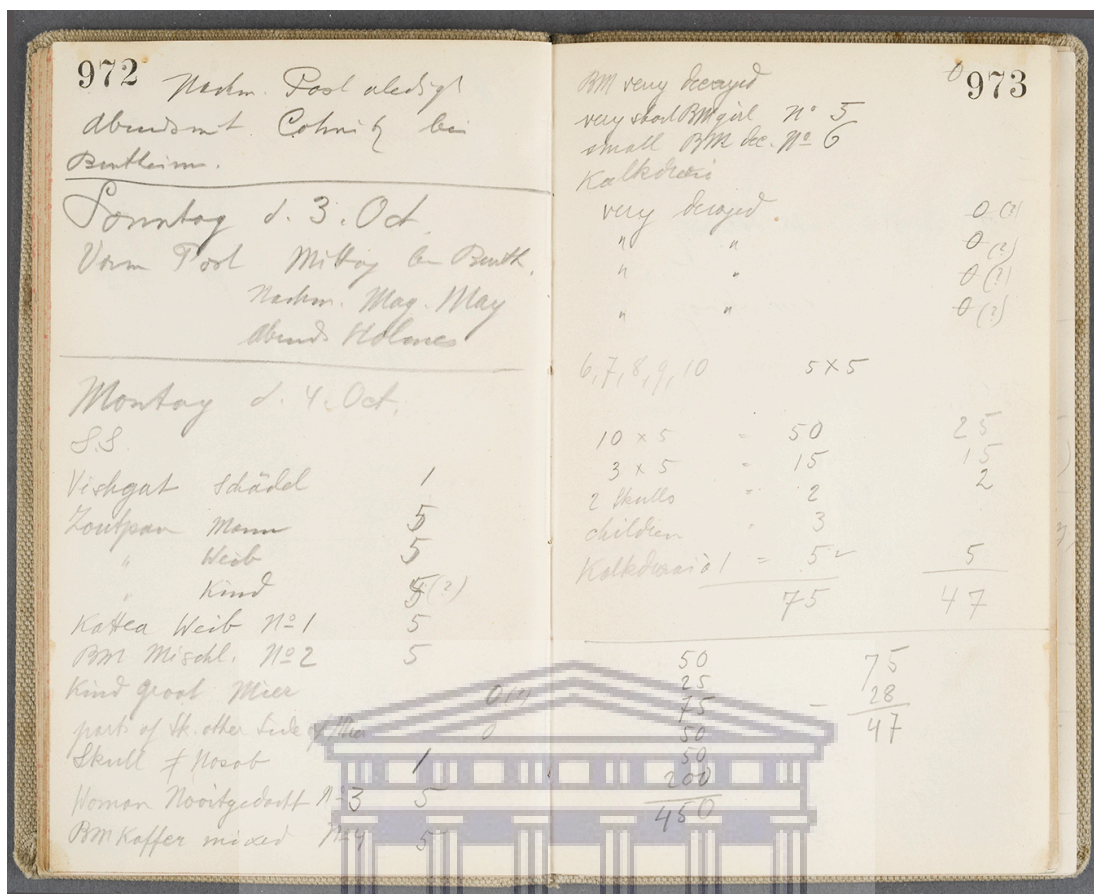


Figure 3: List of payments to George Lennox (book 10 of Pöch's diaries from southern Africa).

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

I am not sure what to make of the sums towards the end. The 47 seem to be the £47 that Pöch listed for Lennox' "collecting" in his report to the Academy. How he arrived at that sum, however, is unclear to me. I am also unsure what the 450 stand for. It could be the total price that Pöch had paid for human remains up until that day. In his notes from 11 July to 21 August 1909, he had listed different skeletons, amounting to 22, and scribbled next to the number "22 x 5 = 110".¹⁹ Next to that list, some more expenses were added up but they do not seem to correspond to the list of skeletons. Under these two lists, Pöch wrote "4 heads 4£,

¹⁹ Pöch's diaries from southern Africa, NHM, anthropological department, 14.037a, book 8, 1909, 782.

expenses 5£ 13s”.²⁰ On the next page, he noted “4 Kalahari BM, southern Kalahari, between Upington and Kuruman, 1 child Kalahari 10£”.²¹ In a later, summarising list, he noted again: “22 skeletons 110/-/-” and “4 skulls 3/10/-”.²² Two pages later, he listed for “Mehnarto: bodies 10/-/-, casting 12/-/-, map 4/4/-, [?] 8/-/-, skull 1/10/-, stone tools 15/-”.²³ Every now and then, one finds other notes about expenses in the diaries but I couldn’t find hints as to what the money was spent on.

From the fragmentary information that we have, one can see that Pöch indeed paid more for the remains than Peringuey. Borchers’ report to Peringuey about Pöch paying £7/10/0 per skeleton could be correct, although from Pöch’s notes all we can verify is that he usually paid £5 per skeleton and £1 per skull. He also did list expenses extra. It would, however, be short-sighted to only attribute those expenses with the appropriation of human remains that can be directly linked to processes of money exchange for bodily remains. One could easily argue that the costs of the whole expedition should be seen as the financial investment necessary to make the appropriation of the remains possible. Pöch’s meticulous accounting also allows us to reconstruct some of the costs that went into paying assistance for the extractions. As noted in previous chapters, in some instances, Pöch even made mention of the ways in which government and military support saved him financial costs, thereby making explicit the close relation between different forms of capital that Pöch was equipped with. Here, I want to share some information from Pöch’s accounting that shows how he compensated people’s services. More often than not, Pöch did not pay them directly but bought goods for the respective

²⁰ Ibid.; my translation.

²¹ Ibid., 783; my translation.

²² Pöch’s diaries from southern Africa, NHM, anthropological department, 14.037a, book 11, 1909, 1071; my translation.

²³ Ibid., 1073; my translation.

people. The prices of these goods, however, show a ranking by race and status of whose services were worth more money.

In his second account from /Oas, Pöch listed 25 mark for gifts for the drivers of the ox wagon from Windhoek to /Oas. 267.50 mark were used for not specified costs, among them “tips and gifts etc.” that he did not associate with particular people or services.²⁴ A month later, still in /Oas, Pöch marked cigarettes, whiskey, sherry, cognac and lard for about 160 mark as “gifts for police”.²⁵ In his diaries for this period, he noted “Native police man every month one kilo meat”.²⁶ Possibly, this indicates that Pöch bought the expensive alcohol only for the white police men, since he left them unmarked as just “police” in his report. The “native police man”, however, merely received meat. As Pöch mentioned, the fact that he could live and work at the police station in /Oas reduced the costs of his stay significantly.²⁷ Pöch’s ‘gifts’ were both compensation for the services he was afforded and contributions to the upholding of relations that were relevant for his social capital. It is remarkable how the different categories of gifts, ranked along racialised social divisions, had opposite effects for the ways in which the boundaries of this social network were defined: while some gifts implied an inclusion, others marked an exclusion from the colonial elite.

In his accounting, Pöch did not specify gifts to the people he examined in /Oas. He did not note costs for the acquisition of artefacts either. In his next account, now from Bulawayo, he mentioned that he sold the rest of the Tobacco he had bought in German South West Africa

²⁴ Reports Pöch to the Academy, AÖAW, Allgemeine Akten, No. 391/1908; my translation.

²⁵ Reports Pöch to the Academy, AÖAW, Allgemeine Akten, No. 504/1908; my translation.

²⁶ Pöch’s diaries from southern Africa, NHM, anthropological department, 14.037a, book 2, 1908, 161; my translation.

²⁷ In the same section, he also noted that he lived from the canned food brought from Europe and fresh game, which enabled him to spend very little money during that period. (Reports Pöch to the Academy, AÖAW, Allgemeine Akten, No. 391/1908.)

to farmer Balzar before he crossed the border.²⁸ One can assume that most of what he had used up until that point he had given to the people he examined, since he remarked in one of his reports to the Academy that “compensation consists of 500g rice, some salt, if requested also some coffee and sugar and one slab of pressed American pipe tobacco”.²⁹ But it is only in the fourth and fifth account that he sent from Bulawayo that Pöch started to list gifts and payments to assistants and people he examined more accurately. For his last expenses in German occupied territory, he listed in marks

gifts for the soldiers of the 2. station Rietfontein 35.25, gifts for the patrol to Sidonitsaup 52,-, salary for my servant Fritz 5,-, gifts for the soldiers at my departure 28,-, Balzar, transport of cases back to Gobabis 30,-, Burger, transport from Rietfontein to Khoutsa 60,-.³⁰

Clearly, the camel patrol organised by Hans Kaufmann was worth extra costs, whereas the services of Fritz, who Pöch called ‘his’ servant, ranked rather low in the remuneration scheme. The next account is more detailed and allows better insights into the racialised structure of gifts and salaries. From Kamelpan, Pöch reported the following expenses:

salary for Herero Komaris [?] (5 weeks) -/6/-, to a Bakalahari for an errand -/1/-, Herero Komaris for an errand -/1/-, gift for Sgt. Wobb 5/-/-, gift for German soldier 3/-/-, gift for Basuto police Pholb [?] 1/1/-.³¹

A Herero working for Pöch for 5 weeks received 6 shillings. In the same list, Pöch noted that he spent £1/5/- for 25 lb mielies and £1 for 10 lb sugar.³² A gift for a Sergeant, however, was worth £5. Another stark example of the ways in which the colonial and racialised hierarchies played out in Pöch’s expenses were the payments for Pöch’s assistant, informant and speaker

²⁸ Reports Pöch to the Academy, Bulawayo, Dec. 1908 and Jan 1909, AÖAW, Allgemeine Akten, No. 118/1909.

²⁹ Rudolf Pöch, ‘Bericht aus Oas (Kameelfontain), Zeit vom 30. Januar bis 2. März 1908’, in: *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserl. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien, math.-naturw. Klasse, Akademischer Anzeiger* 9 (1908): 261-4, here 262 f, my translation; see previous chapter.

³⁰ Ibid., my translation.

³¹ Ibid., my translation.

³² Ibid.

for language recordings |Xosi. Anette Hoffmann pointed out that in one of the recordings Pöch made of |Xosi talking, Pöch's translation included the following sentences: "The doctor calls, quickly I am here. Jakob demands money. But I don't get it. It is a misery."³³ Hoffmann explained that these situations, in which travellers 'borrowed' servants from settlers, seem to have been common practice. She found several such examples, among others in Franz Seiner's reports from German South West Africa.³⁴ Pöch's accounts show the respective sums for this practice with regards to |Xosi: The Boer Jakob Thalljard received £2 for the "temporary rental of the Bushman |Xosi", while |Xosi himself received a "gift" for five shillings.³⁵

Pöch also mentioned "gifts" for people he examined, four shillings for someone he did a language recording with, two shillings for someone he took a cast of, five shillings for taking pictures of a group of people. But these situations must have been exceptions. In Tsau he bought two shirts for "the two servants". |Kxara (the elder), who was essential for Pöch's studies, received a salary of £3/10/- for three months of labour, although it looks like he did not get the money but again Pöch paid him in goods. |Kxara (the younger) received 13 shillings for two months of labour, apparently in the form of a shirt, pants, a jacket and a scarf. In Totiñ, Pöch bought another shirt and pants for "servant Kortman [?]" for eight shillings. The same person later received £2/10/- for two and a half months of labor.³⁶ There are more such expenses for "gifts" that must have been either for people who Pöch examined or who did other forms of labour for him in his last account. The thus compensated services are not specified.

³³ Anette Hoffmann, *Kolonialgeschichte Hören*, 88; my translation.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 89.

³⁵ Reports Pöch to the Academy, Bulawayo, Dec. 1908 and Jan 1909, AÖAW, Allgemeine Akten, No. 118/1909; my translation.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

Despite their detailed nature, Pöch's accounts appear fragmentary. He must have exchanged more than what he listed. In all the accounts that Pöch sent to the Academy, I found only one single entry in which artefacts were mentioned: "gifts for BM and ethnological [objects] £ - /10/6".³⁷ In his report from Bulawayo, Pöch mentioned that ethnographic collections, if they were not connected to Bushmen, were not paid from the subsidy of the Academy of Sciences. Instead, Pöch charged the Natural History Museum directly.³⁸ The same must have been the case for zoological and mineralogical collections. Pöch reiterated this system in his last report, here adding explicitly that if they *were* associated with Bushmen he *did* pay ethnographic objects from the money the Academy had given him.³⁹ From his accounts, however, it is impossible to reconstruct if and what he actually exchanged for artefacts.

The fact that different institutions had commissioned Pöch for different tasks also made the transport of everything that Pöch appropriated an even bigger logistical mission. Different institutions had to pay for the shipping of the things that would become part of their collections. Pöch planned this meticulously. The amount of notes for and copies of Pöch's packing lists speaks to the almost obsessive urge to ship everything to Vienna in an orderly manner. As one can see in this list in his notebook, Pöch sent those cases that contained skeletons not to any institution but to his home address in Vienna:⁴⁰

³⁷ Report to the Academy, 29 November 1909, at sea, AÖAW, Allgemeine Akten, No. 829/1909; my translation.

³⁸ Reports Pöch to the Academy, Bulawayo, Dec. 1908 and Jan 1909, AÖAW, Allgemeine Akten, No. 118/1909.

³⁹ Report to the Academy, 29 November 1909, at sea, AÖAW, Allgemeine Akten, No. 829/1909.

⁴⁰ Pöch's diaries from southern Africa, NHM, anthropological department, 14.037a, book 11, 1909, 1012 f.

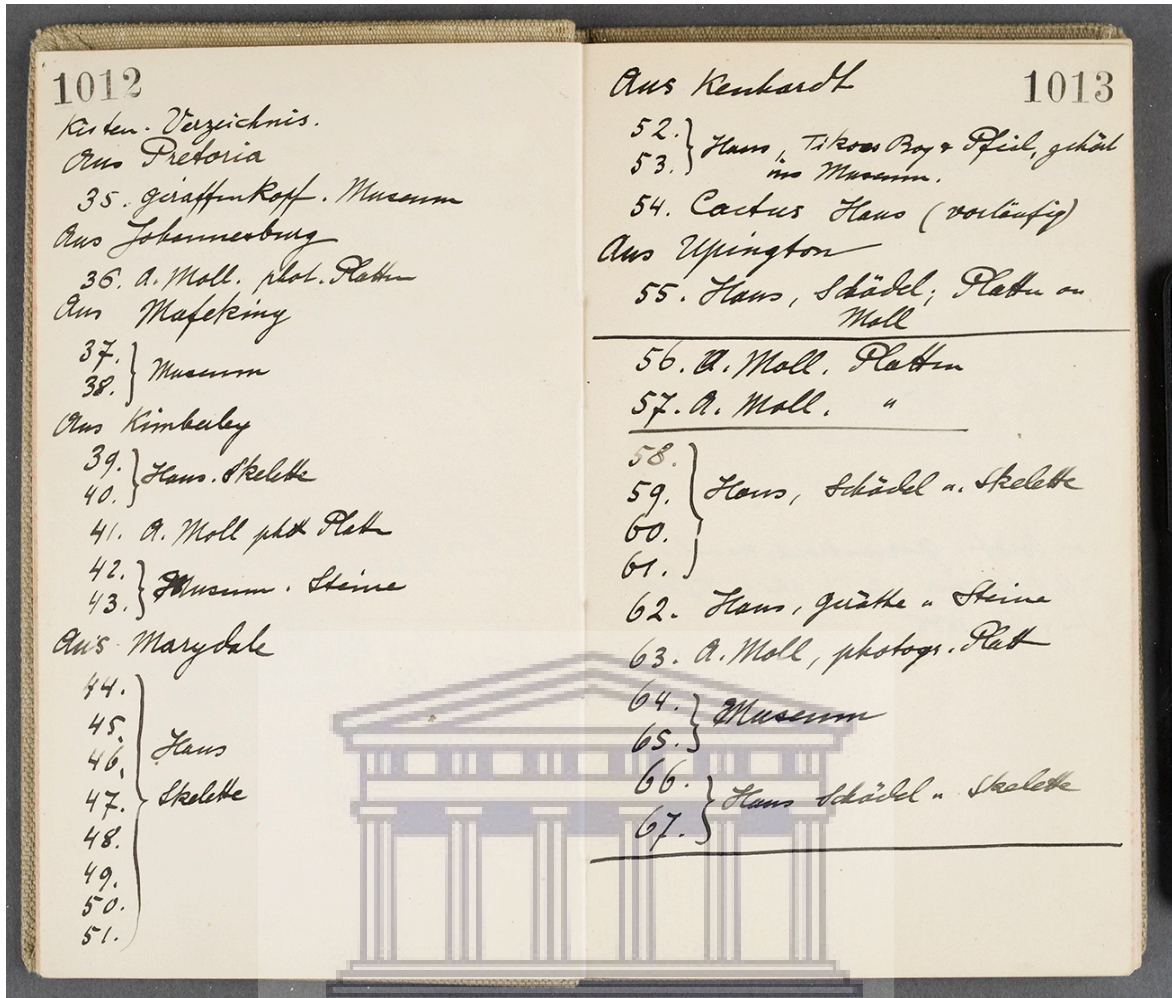


Figure 4: List of contents of cases sent to Vienna (book 11 of Pösch's diaries from southern Africa).

UNIVERSITY of the
 WESTERN CAPE

In a letter to the Austrian forwarder E. Bäuml,⁴¹ Pöch listed all the cases and their different destinations:

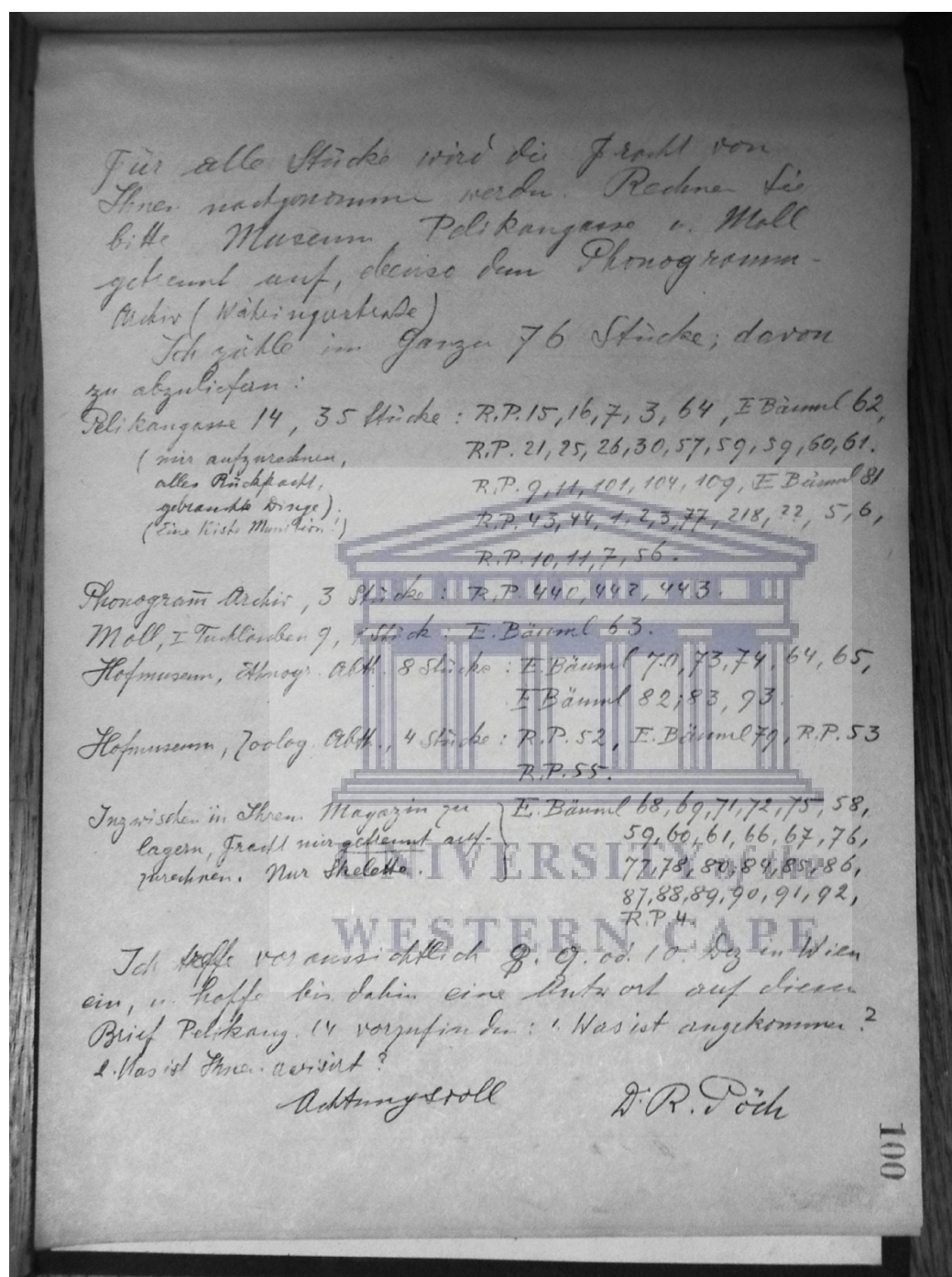


Figure 5: List of destinations for different cases sent to Vienna (Pöch letter books X, p 100).

⁴¹ E. Bäuml is now the company kunsttrans, which was commissioned to transport human remains from Austria back to Australia, almost all of them from the 'Pöch-collection' (<https://www.kunsttrans.com/de/kunsttrans-gruppe/geschichte>, accessed 27 April 2021; Estella Weiss-Krejci, 'Abschied aus dem Knochenkabinett – Repatriierung als Instrument kultureller und nationaler Identitätspolitik am Beispiel österreichischer Restitutionen', in *Sammeln, Erforschen, Zurückgeben?*, 447-476, here 461.

Pöch requested the forwarder to safeguard the cases containing skeletons – something that he explicitly stated – in their storage until Pöch would arrive in Vienna.⁴² He also emphasised that the shipping costs for these cases should be billed to him personally and separately from his other costs. In his last report to the Academy, Pöch explained that – next to the costs that the Natural History Museum had to cover – there were a few more expenses that he did not include in his last account to the Academy. Among them were the payments to “an assistant, whom I had sent to the Kuruman and Hay district from May to October in order to collect for me”.⁴³ This, of course, was Mehnarto, who Pöch apparently paid out of his own pocket at this point in time. Pöch did not communicate anything about the human remains he was sending to his private address in his reports to the Academy.

All the reports that Pöch sent to the Academy of Sciences passed Carl Toldt, who then wrote an assessment for the members of the Mathematics and Natural Sciences Research Department of the Academy. In Toldt’s assessment of Pöch’s last report, he repeated the costs that Pöch had paid himself, outside of the Academy’s subsidy, and came to the following conclusion:

It follows from these remarks that a certain, easily to determine part of the osteological material that Dr Pöch brought with him is to be seen as his private property....⁴⁴

This led him to request that the Academy may

acknowledge that ... the part of the osteological material that can be identified as acquired by Dr Pöch on his own account should remain his private property.⁴⁵

⁴² Pöch’s letter book from New Guinea, book 10, 100.

⁴³ Report to the Academy, 29 November 1909, at sea, AÖAW, Allgemeine Akten, No. 829/1909; my translation.

⁴⁴ Assessment Toldt, 16 September 1909, AÖAW, subsidies, box 4, No. 118/1910, number of the document 829; my translation.

⁴⁵ Ibid; my translation.

He also recommended that the Academy should

temporarily place at Dr Pöchs disposal for further research the ethnographic and osteological collections that were acquired with the subsidy and decide about their definite allotment at a later point in time.⁴⁶

Furthermore, he noted that the summarising report that Pöch had sent was in essence repeating what had already been covered by Pöch's previous reports published in the proceedings, so that the Academy should leave it to Pöch to publish it in a suitable Austrian newspaper. As mentioned earlier, the Academy had granted Pöch the subsidy for the expedition to southern Africa on the condition that he would offer his research results to the Academy first and always mention the subsidy in publications related to the expedition.⁴⁷ On top of these already remarkably generous suggestions, Toldt even asked the members of the Academy to provide some more money from the Treitl fund to cover Pöch's remaining costs for transport.⁴⁸ Clearly this was a matter of high relevance to the Academy. Pöch did not even have to ask all these favours himself – Toldt did so on his behalf, most probably after the situation had been discussed in private communication with Pöch and members of the Academy, most likely also with the president Eduard Suess.

On February 3rd 1910, about six weeks after his arrival back in Vienna,⁴⁹ Pöch asked for another 2500 Kronen to cover his remaining costs for transport and the acquisition of some tools and equipment to set up a work space. He attached receipts of his expenses, among them a bill from E. Bäuml which listed the transport and storage of skeletons.⁵⁰ With the

⁴⁶ Ibid.; my translation.

⁴⁷ Letter from the presidium of the Academy to Pöch, 15 May 1907, AÖAW, subsidies, box 3, No. 862/1906.

⁴⁸ Assessment Toldt, 16 September 1909, AÖAW, subsidies, box 4, No. 118/1910, number of the document 829.

⁴⁹ On 4 December 1909, Pöch's mother informed the Academy that Pöch had arrived in Southampton. Earlier, Pöch had announced that he was going to stay in London for about three days and then return to Vienna directly (AÖAW, Allgemeine Akten, No. 829/1909).

⁵⁰ Pöch to the Academy, 3 February 1910, AÖAW, subsidies, box 4, No. 118/1910.

condition that the equipment would remain property of the Academy and be marked as such, the commission granted Pöch the money.⁵¹ After thanking for the support in early March, Pöch invited the members of the Academy of Sciences in April to come see the ethnographic collections from the expedition, which were then housed at the anthropological-ethnographic department of the Natural History Museum.⁵² Remarkably, and, as I believe, crucial for understanding why the Academy was that generous towards Pöch, Pöch had already been appointed lecturer at the University of Vienna at that point in time.

On 29 January 1910, therefore only a bit more than one month after his return, Pöch submitted an application as lecturer to the philosophical faculty of the University of Vienna. To be appointed, he needed to be habilitated. Hence, Pöch also requested his habilitation on the grounds of a report he had written about his expedition to New Guinea. Furthermore, he asked to acknowledge his medical doctorate as equivalent to a philosophical doctorate. If he was granted these awards, he would teach “*Anthropologie unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der naturwissenschaftlichen Seite dieser Disziplin*”, meaning mainly physical anthropology.⁵³

The establishment of the anthropological and ethnographic department at the *philosophical faculty*, albeit with an explicit focus on the “natural history/scientific aspects of the discipline” mirrors the ideological history of the development of anthropological studies as academic discipline. I have described the various disciplinary backgrounds of the scholars who participated in establishing anthropological studies in Austria in detail in the first chapters of my thesis. My focus was on the ways in which all different fields – *Volkskunde*, *Völkerkunde* and *Anthropologie* – were framed by the idea that belonging could be

⁵¹ Presidium of the Academy to Pöch, 28 February 1910, AÖAW, subsidies, box 4, No. 118/1910.

⁵² Pöch to the Academy, 26 April 1910, AÖAW, subsidies, box 4, No. 118/1910.

⁵³ Pöch to the philosophical faculty of the University of Vienna, 29 January 1910, AUW Phil. Fak. PA Rudolf Pöch.

determined by the physical appearance of a person. Not only physical anthropology but also *Volkskunde* and ethnography incorporated the categorisation of the human according to physical features into their ways of knowledge production. However, the study of the figure of the *anthropos* emerged out of philosophical and theological considerations about what it meant to be human.⁵⁴ In Vienna, from the 1880s, the professorate was in agreement that anthropology as academic discipline should be established at the philosophical faculty.⁵⁵ Their discussions were documented in the process of Felix von Luschan's habilitation in 1881/82, the first one to be conducted in the anthropological field at the University of Vienna. Luschan focussed on somatic aspects and, remarkably, habilitated in 'physical ethnography' at the medical faculty. The commission agreed to his habilitation at the medical faculty, because of his explicit focus on physical aspects, but decided that anthropological studies to be established at the University of Vienna in the future should be situated within the philosophical faculty.⁵⁶ Indeed, disagreements about the necessary qualifications for a professor of anthropology and ethnography were a major factor for the delay of the establishment of such a department in Vienna. While some argued that ethnology should be separately taught by someone trained in philology and history, others asserted that physical anthropology and ethnology could be taught by the same person.⁵⁷ Pösch, thirty years after Luschan's habilitation, represented a solution favoured by the latter. However, despite

⁵⁴ See, for a fairly recent analysis of the ideological foundations of anthropological studies in the German speaking world: Chad Wellmon, *Becoming Human: Romantic Anthropology and the Embodiment of Freedom* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010). Andrew Zimmerman has detailed the turn towards natural sciences in the study of the human, that he described as 'antihumanist', in his study of anthropology in Imperial Germany (Andrew Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001)). Still unbeaten is George W. Stocking's very condensed version of the history of 'biological anthropology' and the often confused ways in which it mixed different traditions of thought (George W. Stocking, 'Bones, Bodies, Behaviour', in *Bones, Bodies, Behaviour: Essays on Biological Anthropology*, ed. by ibid. (London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), 3-17.

⁵⁵ Irene Ranzmaier, *Die Anthropologische Gesellschaft*, 181 f.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 182.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

his appointment as professor at a philosophical faculty, his understanding of the human was distinctly scientific, rooted in natural history and formed by his training as medical doctor.

The commission responsible for evaluating Pöch's application began their report as follows:

Seldom has a request for habilitation met the desires of the faculty as much as the present one, both with regards to potential teaching subjects as with regards to the personality.⁵⁸

They went on to summarise Pöch's CV, reported extensively on his expedition to New Guinea, especially the numerous collections he had brought to Vienna, and emphasised the value of his experiences abroad:

As becomes evident in this general overview of his unceasing activity, Dr Pöch is outstandingly well prepared for teaching the anthropological subject – not only in the museum and at the study desk but also through long-time, purposeful research journeys from which he brought very rich material consisting of notes, photographs and especially anatomical objects. Already in New Guinea he managed to gather very comprehensive collections. His South African collection, however, which regards photographs, body parts and skeletons of bushmen, is so significant that his material is bigger than everything else put together that has so far been brought to Europe and as such is of biggest value for future research on this primitive race. In his scientific publications Dr Pöch pursues the important aim to examine the primitive races, to which belong first and foremost the Australians, Papuas and bushmen, and the study of which is currently the focus of the anthropological scientific interest.⁵⁹

So, indeed, in 1910, the commission of the philosophical faculty of the University of Vienna was of the opinion that expeditions – field work, that is – were of outstanding relevance for anthropological studies and awarded the researcher with credibility otherwise not obtainable. Both expeditions that Pöch conducted were presented as special qualifications that put him in an advantageous position to act as expert on 'primitive races'. With regard to the 'collections', they positioned the loot from southern Africa as especially valuable. Both the

⁵⁸ Report of the habilitation commission, 4 (?) March 1910, AUW Phil. Fak. PA Rudolf Pöch; my translation.

⁵⁹ Ibid.; my translation.

quantity of the human remains and photographs and the research that was enabled through them were seen as opportunities to compete internationally in the field of anthropological knowledge production.

The commission further explained that a “somatological-anthropological collection for research and teaching” was the necessary precondition for anthropological studies and therefore essential for the establishment of the subject at the university. Pöch, by providing “his own comprehensive collections”, delivered “a magnificent foundation for a somatological-anatomical museum.”⁶⁰ They confirmed the habilitation request, concluded the medical doctorate was to be seen as equivalent to the philosophical one, asked to refrain from obliging Pöch to hold a colloquium due to his exceptional scientific achievements and added:

...another factor has been considered by the commission, that is the usage of Pöch’s collections for the purposes of the university. For the installation and utilisation of this comprehensive material through which we suddenly gain an enviable museum, parts of which could otherwise easily get out of the country, so that not only the university but also the Austrian state would be deprived of it, only the relatively small sum of 1000 Kronen is needed. The faculty may seek approval for this from the ministry for culture and education when applying for authorisation of the habilitation.⁶¹

It becomes evident that Pöch’s expeditions, his collections, especially the human remains and here particularly the bodies and skeletons from southern Africa, were *the* crucial argument for appointing Pöch as lecturer for anthropology and to establish physical anthropology as academic discipline at the University of Vienna. Only because Pöch financed his first longer expedition on his own and was allowed a deal with the Academy of Sciences in which part of the human remains he had appropriated in southern Africa were declared his private property could the collections be used as argument for his appointment as lecturer. Only because the

⁶⁰ Ibid.; my translation.

⁶¹ Ibid.; my translation.

remains were constructed as objects that Pöch had the right to own, use and possibly sell, could the faculty make a disapproval of Pöch's appointment and the necessary funds to turn the bodies, body parts and bones into a research and teaching collection look like a risk of losing the opportunity for a "somatological-anthropological museum" at the university. Pöch himself summarised his assets in his job application as follows:

With regards to the material necessary for research and training, the undersigned plans to build on his own material, which he collected during his research journeys in New Guinea, Australia and South Africa, and which is his private property. These are 30 skeletons and further 120 skulls from New Guinea and Australia, 50 skeletons from South Africa, several soft tissue parts from corpses from New Guinea, 12 face casts, 2000 photographs, 1500 diapositives, 2000 meter cinematographic film, and boards and drawings for anthropological teaching. Furthermore, there are 50 skeletons and 20 skulls as well as body parts from South Africa in the care of the undersigned and entrusted to him for examination and publication, which are property of the Imperial Academy of Sciences. The faculty would have to request permission to use this collection, which was also put together by the undersigned.⁶²

Even before the meeting of the whole faculty, whose approval was needed for Pöch's appointment after the commission's report, the dean of the faculty already wrote a letter to the ministry, stating that one could expect the professors to gladly agree to the request for Pöch's habilitation. He stressed that the university had been trying to find someone suitable to teach physical anthropology for a very long time.

The main challenge for the establishment of physical anthropology [*Anthropologie*] at the Viennese faculty so far has been that such a chair cannot be thought of without a department, an anthropological department, however, requires extraordinary substantial means. The habilitation of Dr Pöch now opens the possibility to relieve this lack, too, with relatively very little means, and to initiate the gradual development of such a department. Dr Pöch has the whole anthropological material, which he gathered on his renown research expeditions to Australia, to New Guinea and to Africa, in his possession. To enable the establishment of an anthropological teaching collection, the Imperial Academy of Sciences adjudged him the right of disposition for these collections. Dr Pöch would also be willing to make these eminently valuable, in many cases virtually unique items containing collections into the

⁶² Pöch to the philosophical faculty of the University of Vienna, 29 January 1910, AUW Phil. Fak. PA Rudolf Pöch; my translation.

foundation of such a teaching collection.⁶³

The dean explained that to allow for the utilisation of the collection, one needed the sum of about 800 to 1 000 Kronen. Space within the university had been allocated for the setting up of the teaching collection and the current users of these rooms, an association for the support of students, would be moved to another location. The dean added another plea to the ministry to grant permission and allowance to follow through with the plans. The matter was, as he explained, very urgent

since Dr Pöch would otherwise be compelled to house his collections elsewhere in the course of the month March to protect them from damage, thereby, however, the risk would come closer that the university would permanently miss out on the collections.⁶⁴

The dean wrote this letter on the second of March. Only one month had passed since Pöch handed in his application. The matter was truly attended to with remarkable speediness. Everyone worked together to turn the making of the human remains into a teaching collection into a pressing issue for the ministry. Several formal and bureaucratic steps were skipped in order to forward the request, habilitate Pöch and start utilising the remains for teaching and research within a month. The ministry, however, wasn't as quick as one had hoped. The dean sent a reminder about the faculty's request two weeks after his first letter.⁶⁵ On 20 April, the ministry answered shortly that the habilitation of Dr Pöch as lecturer for "anthropology, with particular consideration of the scientific aspect of this discipline" was approved. They did not mention the subsidy for the collection.⁶⁶

⁶³ Dean of the philosophical faculty of the University of Vienna to the ministry of culture and education, 2 March 1910, AUW Phil. Fak. PA Rudolf Pöch; my translation.

⁶⁴ Ibid.; my translation.

⁶⁵ Dean of the philosophical faculty of the University of Vienna to the ministry of culture and education, 16 March 1910, AUW Phil. Fak. PA Rudolf Pöch.

⁶⁶ Ministry for culture and education to the dean of the philosophical faculty of the University of Vienna, 20 April 1910, AUW Phil. Fak. PA Rudolf Pöch; my translation.

Pöch started teaching in the summer semester 1910. In early 1911, the university made another attempt to obtain a subsidy from the ministry. To substantiate their request, Pöch was asked to write a report about his teaching experiences so far.⁶⁷ Pöch's short descriptions provide better insights into the content of Pöch's seminars and the ways the human remains were used for teaching than the regular course catalogues of the university, in which only the titles of the seminars offered were listed:

Summer semester 1910

Anthropology of New Guinea: Description and categorisation of the people [*Völkerschaften*] of New Guinea according to their physical-anthropological constitution, their material culture [*Kulturbesitz*] and their languages.

Winter semester 1910/11

Systematic anthropology: Systematic description of the features, which characterise the human species and its individual races; description of the outer appearance of the soft parts (body height, proportions, skin, hair, auricle, nose, eyes, lips, cheeks, body musculature, digestive tract, brain), the skull and the skeleton; racial physiology.

Anthropology of South Africa: Description and categorisation of the people [*Völkerschaften*] of South Africa according to their physical-anthropological constitution, their material culture [*Kulturbesitz*] and their languages.

Summer semester 1911

General anthropology: Theories of evolution, heredity, variability, racial mixture, degeneration, racial hygiene.

Anthropological practical training: Measurements of the skull, of the living, anthropological photography, life casts.

Winter semester 1911/12

Description of the human races: Description of the physical-anthropological features of the individual human races, their reciprocal relational affiliation and their distribution.

Anthropological presentations and discussions: Critical review of standard works and

⁶⁷ Philosophical faculty of the University of Vienna to the ministry of education and culture, 1 April 1911, AUW Phil. Fak. PA Rudolf Pöch.

the newest publications of anthropological literature.⁶⁸

Even from these few keywords one can see that the contents of Pösch's teaching were dominated by a racialised, physical anthropological understanding of the discipline. Pösch's geographical focus was on the territories he had conducted expeditions in. The study of "primitive races" was indeed at the centre of his teaching, as had been announced by the faculty in their request for Pösch's habilitation to the ministry. In the university's course catalogues we find that Pösch continued in this avenue in the following semesters: In 1912 he taught "racial biology [*Rassenbiologie*]", "comparative craniology and osteology",⁶⁹ "the peoples of Australia, Oceania and Indonesia",⁷⁰ in 1913 "systematic anthropology", "general ethnography" and discussions of literature on Australia and the South Pacific,⁷¹ in 1914, among others, "general anthropology", "anthropological practical training"⁷² and "anthropology of the extinct human races".⁷³

The subsidy application also offers some further insights into the financial aspects of the establishment of the "anthropological collection" at the university. The dean asked Pösch to detail the expenses for the establishment and maintenance of the collection.⁷⁴ Pösch accomplished the task in meticulous manner and started the list with an entry for 17 November 1909: "F. Mehnarto, L 268-10-6".⁷⁵ Here were costs for the (violent) appropriation of human remains brought forward as argument for a state subsidy for the anthropological collection of the University of Vienna. Other costs included bills from A.

⁶⁸ Subjects of the lectures of Dr Rudolf Pösch, undated, AUW Phil. Fak. PA Rudolf Pösch; my translation.

⁶⁹ Course catalogue of the University of Vienna, summer semester 1912, 49; my translation.

⁷⁰ Course catalogue of the University of Vienna, winter semester 1912/13, 52; my translation.

⁷¹ Course catalogue of the University of Vienna, summer semester 1913, 54; my translation.

⁷² Course catalogue of the University of Vienna, summer semester 1914, 50; my translation.

⁷³ Course catalogue of the University of Vienna, winter semester 1914/15, 51; my translation.

⁷⁴ Dean of the philosophical faculty of the University of Vienna to Professor Eugen Oberhummer, 18 March 1911, AUW Phil. Fak. PA Rudolf Pösch.

⁷⁵ Saldierete Rechnungen 1909-1910, AUW Phil. Fak. PA Rudolf Pösch.

Moll, a photography equipment store and laboratory in Vienna, or P. Hermann in Zurich, who sold anthropological equipment. I cannot assign all the different names to specific merchants of the time but I assume that other than the costs for Mehnarto, most of the bills went into improving the teaching and research collection. For July 1910 and January 1911, Pöch made entries for bills from E. Bäuml, one of 406, 87 Kronen and one of 230,20 Kronen, which suggests that he received more ‘material’ from the colonies after he arrived back in Vienna. I haven’t found supporting archival documents which could tell us what exactly it was that was transported and where it was shipped from. The list covers expenses from November 1909 until February 1911. There are no other accounting documents in Pöch’s file.⁷⁶

In April 1909, the renewed application for a subsidy was submitted to the ministry.⁷⁷ In a separate, undated document in the Pöch file, entitled “Anthropological Teaching Collection”, it is mentioned that a subsidy of 1 500 Kronen for the collection was granted by the ministry on 27 December 1911. The same document detailed the contents of the collection yet again.

This time, the focus was put on the property situation. The description detailed:

The tables, chairs, etc. in the anthropological collection are the property of the physiological institute; some anthropological instruments for measuring and drawing, 53 South African skeletons and 22 skulls, soft parts etc. are the property of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in Vienna. The remaining part of the collection is the personal property of Dr Rudolf Pöch, namely 67 African skeletons and 10 African skulls, 39 Melanesian and Australian skeletons and 98 skulls from the South Pacific, soft parts from Papuas, 110 casts, 12 wall charts, 40 wall drawings, 1500 photographs, 2300 slides, instruments for measurements of the living and the skull, photographic cameras, magnifier, type writer, microscope, etc.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Dean of the philosophical faculty of the University of Vienna to the ministry for culture and education, 1 April 1911, AUW Phil. Fak. PA Rudolf Pöch.

⁷⁸ Anthropological teaching collection, undated, AUW Phil. Fak. PA Rudolf Pöch; my translation.

Similar to the lists that Pöch had sent from the expedition, the human remains were seamlessly integrated into the same register as tables, chairs and scientific instruments. They were framed as part of the equipment, presented as goods among other goods that could be owned by an institution or a private person. The author, most likely Pöch, went on to say that an inventory of all the ‘objects’ had been made. The collection was insured with a value of 40 000 Kronen.⁷⁹ In his letter to Professor Oberhummer, the dean of the philosophical faculty mentioned that he thought it “highly desirable” that the university may acquire the whole collection as soon as possible. In the meantime, he strongly supported the request for a subsidy.⁸⁰

As mentioned, the ministry granted the subsidy of 1 500 Kronen, albeit only eight months after the university’s application, in December 1912. Even before the subsidy for 1911 was paid out, the university sent another request for 1912, again asking for 1 500 Kronen.⁸¹ This time, the response took even longer: the subsidy was paid out on 12 December 1913, more than a year later.⁸² Even considering the slow bureaucracy of the empire, there seemed to be a disjuncture between the eagerness to establish a full chair for anthropology and ethnography at the University of Vienna on the side of the faculty and the willingness of the ministry.

Already in February 1912, the university asked the ministry for permission to appoint Pöch as ‘extraordinary professor’.⁸³ Only in July 1913, the ministry appointed Pöch, effective with the beginning of October 1913.⁸⁴ The response took even longer when the university asked to

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Dean of the philosophical faculty of the University of Vienna to Professor Eugen Oberhummer, 18 March 1911, AUW Phil. Fak. PA Rudolf Pöch.

⁸¹ Instruction by the dean of the philosophical faculty, 16 November 1912, AUW Phil. Fak. PA Rudolf Pöch.

⁸² K. k. niederösterreichische Statthalterei to Dr Rudolf Pöch, 12 December 1913, AUW Phil. Fak. PA Rudolf Pöch.

⁸³ The philosophical faculty of the University of Vienna to the ministry for culture and education, 3 February 1912, AUW Phil. Fak. PA Rudolf Pöch.

⁸⁴ The ministry for culture and education to the philosophical faculty of the University of Vienna, 21 July 1913, AUW Phil. Fak. PA Rudolf Pöch.

appoint Pöch to a full professorship. It generally has been assumed that the delay in establishing a chair for anthropology and ethnography after Pöch started teaching was caused by the war, since Pöch's appointment to a full professor was confirmed in early 1919, only a few months after the end of the First World War and the dissolution of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. The faculty, however, seemed to be of a different opinion at the time. They sent their first request to the ministry in December 1917⁸⁵ and renewed it in December 1918.⁸⁶ With their first request to appoint Rudolf Pöch to a full professor, they sent an elaborate report, in which they detailed the necessity for the establishment of a chair for anthropology and ethnography at the University of Vienna. The commission pointed out that they had made the first request for such a chair in 1908, when Pöch was not yet available for the position. At that point in time, the faculty had difficulties to find someone suitable for the professorship, which resulted in a failure to establish the chair. To highlight how the lack of a proper representation of the anthropological disciplines damaged the reputation of the university, they listed the anthropological staff teaching at other universities in the empire (Krakow, Prague, Budapest), at different universities in the German Empire (Berlin, Munich, Breslau, Bonn, Freiburg, Leipzig, Frankfurt, Heidelberg), in Switzerland (Zurich, Basel, Bern, Neuenburg), France (Paris, Lyon), Italy (Rome, Naples, Bologna, Florence), "even in Spain" (Madrid, Barcelona), Netherlands (Leiden, Amsterdam), Norway (Christiania), England (Cambridge, Oxford), America ("several universities, especially Boas in New York and Lehmann-Nitsche in Buenos Aires").⁸⁷ Although the anthropological disciplines were represented in various ways at all these institutions and only few of them actually had a full chair dedicated to anthropology and ethnography, the commission evidently felt that Vienna

⁸⁵ The dean of the philosophical faculty of the University of Vienna to the ministry for culture and education, 19 December 1917, AUW Phil. Fak. PA Rudolf Pöch.

⁸⁶ The dean of the philosophical faculty of the University of Vienna to the German-Austrian ministry for education, 23 December 1918, AUW Phil. Fak. PA Rudolf Pöch.

⁸⁷ Commission report for the appointment of Rudolf Pöch to a full professorship, undated, AUW Phil. Fak. PA Rudolf Pöch; my translation.

was falling behind in international competition and even in comparison to other universities within the empire. The remaining report was tailored towards presenting Pöch as the ideal candidate for the position and was in essence a repetition of the arguments that had been brought forward throughout the years, including the anthropological collections, Pöch's experience during his expeditions, his publications, amended with the examinations that he had recently conducted on prisoners of war.⁸⁸ The reminder about the university's request sent to the ministry shortly before Christmas in 1918 was much shorter and formulated in an almost aggressive tone. The faculty stressed again that the university had been wanting to establish a chair in anthropology and ethnography for several years. While their recent request had remained unanswered, the universities in Prague and Lviv had appointed extraordinary professors in anthropology in the meantime. Vienna saw their "interests neglected in a deplorable manner".⁸⁹ The faculty, it seems, saw no reason to excuse the bureaucracy's failure to respond in due time by the war situation. On the contrary, they suspected a deliberate neglect on the side of the ministry. Few months after they had articulated their frustration, on 8 February 1919, Pöch was appointed first professor for anthropology and ethnography at the University of Vienna.⁹⁰

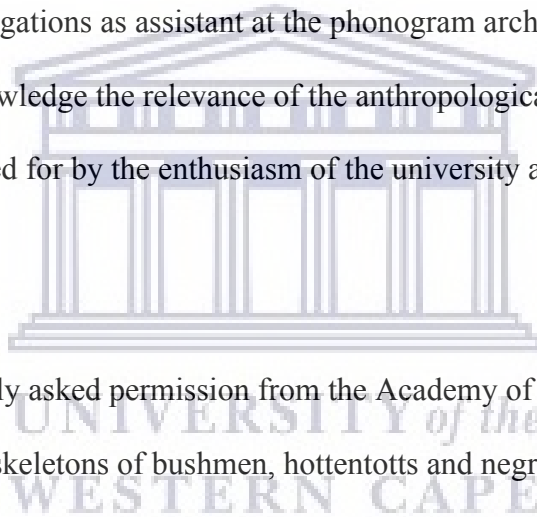
That indeed the situation of the anthropological disciplines was not very established during the time that Pöch started teaching also becomes apparent in the fact that Pöch first installed

⁸⁸ It is not within the scope of this thesis to also cover the research that Pöch conducted after his expeditions. Pöch's examinations in prisoner of war camps during the First World War have been thoroughly described and analysed in Britta Lange, *Die Wiener Forschungen an Kriegsgefangenen 1915-1918. Anthropologische und ethnografische Verfahren im Lager* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2013). See for literature in English for example Margit Berner, 'Large-Scale Anthropological Surveys in Austria-Hungary, 1871-1918'; Britta Lange, 'AfterMath: Anthropological Data from Prisoner-of-War Camps'; Wolfgang Fuhrmann, 'Ethnographic Films from Prisoner-of-War Camps and the Aesthetic of Early Cinema', all in *Doing Anthropology in Wartime and War Zones: World War I and the Cultural Sciences in Europe*, ed. by Reinhard Johler et al. (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2010).

⁸⁹ The dean of the philosophical faculty of the University of Vienna to the German-Austrian ministry for education, 23 December 1918, AUW Phil. Fak. PA Rudolf Pöch; my translation.

⁹⁰ The German-Austrian ministry for education to the philosophical faculty of the University of Vienna, 8 February 1919, AUW Phil. Fak. PA Rudolf Pöch.

the “anthropological teaching collection” at the physiological institute,⁹¹ at which he started working as assistant for the phonogram archive after his return from southern Africa. Again, this also shows how ethnography and physical anthropology were situated in between the natural sciences and the disciplines located at the philosophical faculty. Pöch’s obituaries and other affirmative descriptions of Pöch’s career often stressed the precarious situation in which he worked at the time, having to balance the teaching and the establishment of an anthropological institute with his obligations at the phonogram archive and his own research.⁹² Even the commission report requesting his appointment as extraordinary professor mentioned that Pöch’s work on the ‘material’ he had appropriated during his expeditions was lagging because of his obligations as assistant at the phonogram archive.⁹³ However, the state’s reluctance to acknowledge the relevance of the anthropological disciplines was contrasted and compensated for by the enthusiasm of the university and the Academy of Sciences.



In June 1914, Pöch formally asked permission from the Academy of Sciences in Vienna to hand over the “skulls and skeletons of bushmen, hottentotts and negroes” that were “collected during a bushmen expedition at the cost of the Academy of Sciences” to the University of Vienna.⁹⁴ He explained that he had temporarily installed the remains in boxes at the physiological institute during the first months of 1910 and that the university administration had now rented space for the anthropological-ethnographic institute in Wasagasse 4, in the ninth district of Vienna. Lockers were put up in the new space and an assistant

⁹¹ Anthropological teaching collection, undated, AUW Phil. Fak. PA Rudolf Pöch.

⁹² Eugen Oberhammer, ‘Rudolf Pöch (gestorben am 4. März 1921): Nachruf’, *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft Wien* 51 (1921): 95–104, here 100; Sylvia Kirchengast and Gabriele Weiss, ‘Rudolf Pöch’, in *Die Entdeckungen der Welt. Die Welt der Entdeckungen. Österreichische Forscher, Sammler, Abenteurer* (Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 2001), 372–380, here 375.

⁹³ Commission report for the appointment of Rudolf Pöch as extraordinary professor, undated, AUW Phil. Fak. PA Rudolf Pöch.

⁹⁴ Rudolf Pöch to the Academy of Sciences, 13 June 1914, AÖAW, Allgemeine Akten, No. 691/1914.

[*Aushilfsdiener*] was employed to guard and preserve the “objects”. Therefore, “the conditions [were] fulfilled which guarantee[d] that the objects mentioned above [were] taken over by a state institution and maintained accordingly.”⁹⁵ The attached inventory is the one that I worked with in the last chapter.⁹⁶ The request does not mention any money exchange but must have been meant to address the property situation of that part of the collection that was regarded property of the Academy of Sciences since it had been paid with their subsidy. Regarding the parts of the collection that were seen as Pöch’s private property, Pöch’s will detailed that the collection and all scientific equipment would become property of the anthropological-ethnographic institute at his passing. He divided the rest of his fortune, that he had invested in the stock market, between the Academy of Sciences and his wife.⁹⁷ All the human remains of the so-called ‘Pöch-collection’ that are still housed at the anthropological department of the University of Vienna were therefore formally declared property of the University in the past – one part was handed over in 1914, the other in 1921.

Judging from the archival material, it seems likely that the establishment of an anthropological institute at the University of Vienna, for which human remains from people deemed to be members of a ‘primitive race’ were seen as essential, was one of the main motifs for the Academy of Sciences to fund Pöch’s expedition to southern Africa.

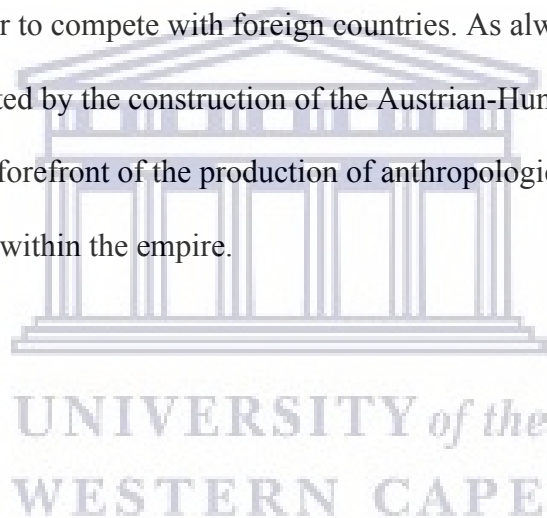
Repeatedly, the failed attempts to find a suitable person to fill the position of a professor for anthropology and ethnography and the exceptionally high costs of establishing the necessary teaching collections were mentioned in the correspondence between university and ministry in order to emphasise the extraordinary opportunity that Rudolf Pöch and his assets offered for the university and the state. Carl Told and Emil Zuckermandl, who also were strong

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Inventory, AÖAW, Allgemeine Akten, No. 691/1914.

⁹⁷ Rudolf Pöch’s will, AÖAW, Pöch commission, file 1, No. 201/1921.

supporters of both Pöch and his expedition to southern Africa, have been mentioned as main forces behind the search for a full professor for anthropology and ethnography for Austria.⁹⁸ The first chair for anthropology and ethnography in Austria was built on the exploitation of the colonies and the idea of the ‘vanishing primitive races’. The financial capital that both the Academy of Sciences in Vienna and Rudolf Pöch invested in order to violently appropriate the means of production for both knowledge about ‘the primitive’ and thereby also racial symbolic capital were also transformed into academic and intellectual capital for Pöch. Although the state was hesitant to further the research to the extent that the university requested, the university clearly framed the human remains as racial symbolic capital that benefitted the state in order to compete with foreign countries. As always, these nationalistic aspirations were complicated by the construction of the Austrian-Hungarian empire in that Vienna aimed to be at the forefront of the production of anthropological knowledge also in comparison to other cities within the empire.



⁹⁸ Eugen Oberhummer: ‘Rudolf Pöch’, 99; See for a meticulous reconstruction of previous attempts to appoint a professor for anthropology at the University of Vienna Irene Ranzmaier, *Die Anthropologische Gesellschaft*, 179-213.

Conclusion

From 1907 to 1909, the Austrian anthropologist Dr Rudolf Pöch (1870-1921) conducted an expedition in southern Africa that was financed by the Imperial Academy of Sciences in Vienna. Pöch enjoyed administrative and logistical support from Austria-Hungary as well as the respective colonial governments and local authorities in the southern African region. During this expedition, he appropriated the bodily remains of more than one hundred people and shipped them to Vienna. When Pöch started teaching anthropology and ethnography in 1910, the remains became an essential part of the first ‘anthropological teaching and research collection’ at the University of Vienna. Pöch’s appointment to the first chair for anthropology and ethnography in Austria in 1919 was strongly supported by the fact that he provided this collection of human remains, most of which he had declared to be his private property. Except for the remains of two people, Klaas and Trooi Pienaar, who were returned to South Africa in 2012,¹ the remains of the people taken from southern Africa are still held at the University of Vienna today.

I have tried to understand the histories which led to Pöch’s expedition to southern Africa and traced the social, political and epistemological preconditions for its realisation. In a broad understanding of the concept, these histories can be understood as the *préterrain* of Pöch’s fieldwork. James Clifford,² Peter Pels and Oscar Salemink stressed the importance of the

hybrid spatiotemporal relationships that precondition the work of ethnography: mercantile, colonial, or academic discursive practices that define the possibility and necessity of going “out there”; means of transport; forms of residence; power relationships with and within the societies the ethnographer shall describe; the modes of production and reproduction of these relationships.³

¹ Ciraj Rassool, ‘Re-storing the Skeletons of Empire’.

² James Clifford, ‘Traveling Cultures’, in *Cultural Studies*, ed. by Lawrence Grossberg et al. (New York and London: Routledge, 1992), 96-116, here 99 f.

³ Peter Pels and Oscar Salemink, ‘Introduction: Locating the Colonial subjects of Anthropology’, 13.

I have tried to map out these preconditions in detail throughout the thesis. Furthermore, I offer a new framework through which to analyse the appropriation of the human remains, their integration into an anthropological teaching collection and the meaning of their continued presence in a storage at the University of Vienna. Delineating the history of the establishment of anthropological studies as academic disciplines in Austria, I try to show how human remains became *the good* through which physical anthropologists in particular, but also other scholars working in the anthropological disciplines, hoped to define what it meant to be human. Christine Hanke speaks of human remains as *epistemic things* in this context.⁴ Human remains became an indispensable asset for scholars in the field. I argue that the remains must be analysed not only as a means of production of knowledge, but also as a means of production of capital.

To understand the ways in which this capital was produced and mobilised, I went back to the beginnings of proto-anthropological studies in the Habsburg empire in the second half of the 19th century, with a focus on the developments in Vienna. One of the origins of anthropological studies within the monarchy was closely entangled with state-building processes specific to the heterogeneous territory that the empire was composed of. Loyalties of different subgroups were complicated by a multiplicity of linguistic and cultural affiliations as well as competing forms of stratification and exploitation. Influenced by the complex situation of various interdependencies and separationist movements within the empire, anthropological research at first focused on the situation 'at home'. It was through the emerging disciplines of *Volkskunde*, *Anthropologie* and *Ethnographie* that ideas of belonging were negotiated. Several state funded projects tried to employ ethnographic research as a tool for reconciliation. The court wanted to foster its credibility as overall governing body but also

⁴ Christine Hanke, *Zwischen Auflösung und Fixierung*, 22.

needed to allow for identification with separate ‘imagined communities’ to manage desires for self-determination. All anthropological disciplines relied on dividing people according to their physical appearance and propagated a racialised understanding of humanity. An essential foundation for this conception was the way in which anatomical studies were framing the human.

Due to biopolitical considerations, Maria Theresia and her son Joseph II increased the state support for medical knowledge production and tried to improve health and hygiene of the empire’s population in the second half of the 18th century. During the first half of the 19th century, the reputation of anatomical and pathological studies in Vienna grew to international acclaim. Anatomical and pathological research elevated the fragmented and dissected human body to a highly sought after means for the production of knowledge about the human. By international comparison, legal structures in Vienna granted an outstanding supply for cadavers. Nevertheless, illegal methods were applied to acquire more bodies for dissection. Paupers’ graves at the outskirts of town were secretly opened. Much effort was put into accumulating human remains in order to conduct comparative studies. Several collections of human body parts were established at the University of Vienna. They were essential elements for anatomical-pathological training and were commonly displayed. One of the founders of such a collection, Joseph Hyrtl, described the human remains he had amassed as valuable enough to pay back what the state had invested in anatomical studies “in capital and interest”.⁵ These collections included crania from people in foreign countries, some of which were obtained through networks of medical doctors and grave diggers. Pöschl’s appropriation methods and research practices regarding human remains of the colonised built on these anatomical traditions.

⁵ Joseph Hyrtl, *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart des Museums für menschliche Anatomie*, LXXXI; my translation.

In the second half of the 19th century, the quest for crania from colonised people grew. The Novara expedition (1857-1859), the first circumnavigation of the world accomplished by the Austrian Navy, provided an early foundation for physical anthropological research in the empire. Amongst countless further collections, the expedition members brought the remains of 103 individuals to Vienna. In an exhibition in Trieste, shortly after the return of the expedition, these were shown in form of a pyramid of human skulls, meant to illustrate the hierarchies between different ‘races’. About 10 000 visitors came to see the exhibition and interest was similarly high when the collections were on display in Vienna.⁶ In one of the earliest attempts to standardise racial research, two scholars from the expedition later published guidelines for ‘anthropometrical investigations as a means for the differential diagnosis of human races’,⁷ which they derived from their experiences with body measurements of people used to determine ‘racial types’ during the expedition. They thus contributed to a debate about how to determine different ‘races’ that was still ongoing when Rudolf Pöch conducted his expedition. Although the category ‘race’ was prevalent in publications by scholars contributing to (proto-) anthropological research, its meaning was far from defined.

Not only such anthropological exhibitions but also showcases of so-called ‘exotic people’ contributed to popular knowledge about different ‘races’. In Vienna in the early 19th century, these took place in formats as different as the stage of the opera house or in frameworks similar to freak shows. Walter Sauer argued that such showcases disseminated a physical anthropological understanding of the term ‘race’ in Vienna.⁸ *Völkerschauen*, a specifically marketed medium of ‘exotic’ mass consumption, became popular in the second half of the century and was very successful in Vienna. In a letter to his mother, Rudolf Pöch made a

⁶ Maria Teschler-Nicola, ‘Geschichte der physischen Anthropologie’, 15.

⁷ Eduard Schwarz, *Novara Expedition*.

⁸ Walter Sauer, ‘Exotische Schaustellungen im Wiener Vormärz’, 415.

connection between a showcase he visited with his mother when he was a teenager and his anthropological research in Australia. Between 1870 and 1910, fifty such showcases took place in the city.⁹ Werner Schwarz analysed how racialised projections on the performers of these shows were employed for distinction processes regarding class and political milieus within Vienna. It has been widely stated that the modern museum was established in differentiation to such ethnographic showcases and other popular forms of entertainment. Anthropological collections were crucial elements in the production of a new knowledge order which could be simultaneously mediated, understood and rehearsed in the space of the museum. Although they operated within different economies, the Natural History Museum in Vienna and ‘exotic’ showcases fulfilled complementary functions in the shaping of new societal structures within the city (and the empire) via the figure of the ‘primitive’. Both played a role in producing ‘progressive subjects’,¹⁰ who learned to define themselves against ‘non-civilised’ ‘Others’. In the Habsburg empire, these processes always also involved distinctions *within*. Ideas of a hierarchical ranking of different groups of people, the urge to disclose ‘original’, ‘pure’ ‘races’ via anthropometric research, the notion of an ethnographically defined, ‘primitive’, more ‘authentic’ and romanticised ‘Other’, they all were part of the social fabric of Austria-Hungary towards the turn of the twentieth century. The quest for overseas colonies was substituted by an orientation towards South Eastern Europe. Very similar to European powers in their colonial territories overseas, Austria-Hungary employed anthropological disciplines to legitimise the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1878. Members of the Anthropological Society in Vienna, founded in 1870, plundered graves and conducted anthropometric measurements of local soldiers, both with commission of the government and in their own capacities.¹¹ During the last third of the 19th century, the Natural History Museum began to participate more systematically in the

⁹ Werner Michael Schwarz, *Anthropologische Spektakel*, 16.

¹⁰ Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, 47.

¹¹ Irene Ranzmaier, *Die Anthropologische Gesellschaft in Wien*, 77 f.

appropriation of human remains from the colonised and issued instructions for laymen travelling to the colonies. The responsible curator, Josef Szombathy, offered to pay 500 guilder for skeletons.¹² Wulf D. Hund called the processes of obtaining corpses and body parts, the growth of recognition for institutions and scholars that came with the growth of their collections of human remains, as well as the production of images and casts of the remains and their publication, display and distribution the ‘political economy of the desecration of the corpse’.¹³ Through the display of racialised bodies or body parts, museum and academic collections as well as showcases of people contributed to a production of racial symbolic capital for the emerging heterogeneous societal groups of the Habsburg monarchy who were made into observers of the ‘Other’.

Another important precondition for Pösch’s expedition was the emergence of the notion of fieldwork itself. By the second half of the 19th century, naturalists started to consider fieldwork a necessary method for their studies. This went hand in hand with a restructuring of academic research in general. Before the integration of fieldwork into the image of a credible natural history scholar, it was believed that it was the scholar’s job to analyse within the protected sphere of his (aristocratic) studio, in communication with his fellows, not in communication with the environment the ‘material’ was taken from. This division of labour was clearly marked by class difference. The ‘distasteful’, ‘physical, dirty work’ that needed to be done in the field was not considered to be a ‘gentlemanly activity’.¹⁴ With the expansion of the middle class in the 19th century, scholarly work became less exclusively an aristocratic business. By the second half of the 19th century, naturalists became increasingly specialised and professionalised. Institutional structures were founded and reshaped so that they could fund scholarly work, and with it expeditions and fieldwork. In Austria, the Academy of

¹² Verena Pawlowsky, ‘Quelle aus vielen Stücken’, 144.

¹³ Wulf D. Hund, ‘Die Körper der Bilder der Rassen’, 21.

¹⁴ Henrika Kuklick, ‘After Ishmael: The Fieldwork Tradition and Its Future’, 53.

Sciences, founded in 1846/47, contributed to enabling such expeditions. From the last third of the 19th century, they could access private endowments made to them in the support of science to fund individual research, even of non-members.¹⁵ Since academic and institutional professionalisation was still in its beginning stages, career opportunities were uncertain. To conduct an expedition thus offered the opportunity to prove one's abilities and to increase one's credibility.¹⁶ It was a project of building one's symbolic and social capital.

Rudolf Pöch entered a network of colonial officials, members of government, administrators, doctors, scholars, missionaries, merchants and settlers through several such expeditions. He finished his medical studies at the University of Vienna in 1895 and started working at the General Hospital in Vienna. In 1897, he was sent on an expedition to study the plague in Bombay, organised and paid for by the Academy of Sciences in Vienna. Pöch's participation in the expedition meant a significant step for his career. It helped Pöch build social capital and achieve a status of belonging within this specific academic milieu. With Bourdieu, one could describe the expedition as an 'institution rite' in the re/production of social relations that promise access to social capital (and, in consequence, the potential to transform it into other forms of capital).¹⁷ Pöch decided to start working in the anthropological field and went to train one year with Felix von Luschan at the Royal Museum for Ethnology in Berlin in 1900. Berlin was a hub for anthropological studies at the time. In 1902, Pöch accomplished another training, this time at the Institute for Maritime and Tropical Diseases in Hamburg. So called 'tropical diseases' were a hot topic for colonising countries. For the question of acclimatisation of Europeans to tropical climates, the treatment of diseases like malaria was particularly relevant. The task Pöch was selected for was directly connected to colonial trade.

¹⁵ Stefan Sienell, 'Das Subventionswesen der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften vor 1914', in Inventory of the subsidy files of the AÖAW.

¹⁶ Cornelia Essner, *Deutsche Afrikareisende*, esp. 91-95.

¹⁷ Pierre Bourdieu, 'The Forms of Capital', 249 f.

The Woermann line experienced a high rate of infection with malaria and growing mortality. Adolf Woermann asked the head of the Institute for Maritime and Tropical Diseases, Bernhard Nocht, to do some research on the matter and Pöch was sent to accompany a ship of the Woermann line along the West African coast to curb the malaria cases. Pöch used the network he had built so far to organise a self funded expedition to New Guinea and Australia from 1904 to 1906. The Academy of Sciences in Vienna supported him with recommendation letters and Pöch organised further recommendations through his private network. This expedition was central for the advancement of his career and for his own development as anthropological fieldworker. Many of the methods of appropriation that Pöch applied in southern Africa he practiced in New Guinea and Australia. Pöch made film and audio recordings, took photographs and anthropometrical measurements, and acquired zoological, botanical and ethnographic ‘collections’, as well as human remains. These were also integrated into the ‘anthropological teaching and research collection’ that he established at the University of Vienna in 1910. The social capital that could be mobilised within the network that Pöch entered into through these expeditions was marked by racial symbolic capital and depended on the exploitation of the colonies.

Pöch’s research in New Guinea, Australia and southern Africa relied on the notion that the indigenous people in these colonies were ‘vanishing races’. This discourse of extinction was intrinsically intertwined with colonial modes of elimination and dispossession that were particularly stark in settler colonies. Settler colonies, as Patrick Wolfe stated, were and are “premised on displacing indigenes from (or replacing them on) the land”.¹⁸ Taking South Africa as example, Robin Kelly pointed out that although

the expropriation of the native from the land was a fundamental objective [in settler colonies], ... so was proletarianization. They wanted the land *and* the labor, but not

¹⁸ Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology*, 1.

the people – that is to say, they sought to eliminate stable communities and their cultures of resistance.¹⁹

This attack on communities included the (attempted) corrosion of their social, political, cultural and economic ties and the appropriation and preservation of their bodies and material culture as museum and scientific objects. Far from only benefitting from the genocidal policies and practices of settler colonialism, physical anthropologists, their methods of grave robbing and the desecration of the corpses of the indigenous, crucially contributed to the (attempted) destruction of communal and individual identities of the colonised. As I argue, the appropriation of the bodily remains and the material culture of the colonised was a process of theft and structural dispossession on a material, metaphysical and epistemological level that was central to the colonial project and the production of racial capital. The violent appropriation of the remains, the physical separation from their cultural and social contexts, was central to the erasure of specific ‘singular historic identities’ and their ‘place in the cultural production of humanity’.²⁰ Before they were turned into means of production for knowledge of a humankind based on the classificatory logic of ‘race’, they had already been means of production of those singular historic conceptions of what it meant to be human in their respective previous cultural and social contexts. The appropriation of ancestral remains as anonymised ‘racial types’ and their integration into a hierarchical racial order that served white supremacy were crucial for multiple, interconnected forms of dispossession on the one hand and capital production on the other.

To create the accessibility of indigenous bodies on a material level, a wide range of military, governmental, social and extra-legal tools was employed that served both the colonists and the anthropologists. I have detailed the violent methods of appropriation and the multifaceted

¹⁹ Robin D. G. Kelley, ‘The Rest of Us: Rethinking Settler and Native’, 269; emphasis in the original.

²⁰ Anibal Quijano, ‘Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Latin America’, 552.

support Rudolf Pöch enjoyed from colonial authorities and settlers on the ground. I also tried to give insights into the sometimes contradictory ways in which the colonial administration and Pöch's methods of extraction worked together while at the same time being in competition with each other. Pöch appropriated the remains with the help of other bandits, police, military and government officials. He then capitalised on these 'collections' for his own academic career.

Pöch's expeditions, his collections, especially the human remains and here particularly the bodies and skeletons from southern Africa, were *the* crucial argument for appointing him as lecturer for anthropology and ethnography at the University of Vienna. In their correspondence with the responsible ministry, the university repeatedly stressed that Pöch's willingness to provide the human remains for teaching and research would save the state extraordinarily high costs that would otherwise be needed for the establishment of an anthropological institute. Pöch's appointment was so swift – only four months after his return from southern Africa – and the university was so eagerly working towards the founding of an institute for anthropology and ethnography on the basis of Pöch's human remains that it even seems likely that the founding of such an institute was the actual reason for the Academy of Sciences to fund Pöch's expedition to southern Africa. The Academy of Sciences was remarkably generous towards Pöch at his return. Although most of the human remains had been acquired with the subsidy of the Academy, they offered to put them at Pöch's disposal for further research and “decide about their definite allotment at a later point in time.”²¹ Furthermore, Pöch was allowed to declare a substantial part of the human remains he had appropriated as his private property, because he reported to have paid for them himself. In communication with the ministry, the university repeatedly warned that this unique

²¹ Assessment Toldt, 16 September 1909, AÖAW, subsidies, box 4, No. 118/1910, number of the document 829; my translation.

opportunity to lay the foundations for an anthropological institute at such relatively low costs could easily be lost if Pösch was not appointed. Pösch, they alleged, would then have to look for another home for the collection and “not only the university but also the Austrian state would be deprived of it”.²²

Despite several delays, the university was eventually successful in elevating Pösch to a full professorship in 1919. From course outlines in Pösch’s personal file in the archive of the University of Vienna and the course catalogues of the time, one can conclude that Pösch’s teaching was dominated by a racialised, physical anthropological understanding of the discipline. Pösch’s geographical focus was on the territories he had conducted expeditions in and the study of “primitive races” was at the centre of his teaching. The first chair for anthropology and ethnography in Austria was built on the exploitation of the colonies and the idea of ‘vanishing primitive races’. The financial capital that both the Academy of Sciences in Vienna and Rudolf Pösch invested in order to violently appropriate the means of production for knowledge about ‘the primitive’ and thereby racial symbolic capital were also transformed into academic and intellectual capital for Pösch. Although the state was hesitant to further the research to the extent that the university requested, the university clearly framed the human remains as racial symbolic capital that benefitted the state in order to compete with foreign countries. Only because Pösch was allowed a deal with the Academy of Sciences in which part of the human remains he had appropriated in southern Africa were declared his private property could the collections be used as argument for his appointment. Only because the remains were constructed as objects that Pösch had the right to own, use and possibly sell, could the faculty make a disapproval of Pösch’s appointment and the necessary funds to turn

²² Report of the habilitation commission, 4 (?) March 1910, AUW Phil. Fak. PA Rudolf Pösch; my translation.

the bodies, body parts and bones into a research and teaching collection look like a risk of losing the opportunity for a “somatological-anthropological museum”²³ at the university.

Through the transformation of the ancestral remains of indigenous people of southern Africa into means to scientifically determine European superiority, Pösch contributed to a whole structure of suppression and exploitation that we still live in today. As Sylvia Wynter reminds us,

both the issue of ‘race’ and its classificatory logic (...) lies in the founding premise, on which our present order of knowledge or *episteme* and its rigorously elaborated disciplinary paradigms, are based.²⁴

Wynter described the phenomenon ‘race’ as expression of the ‘genetic status-organising principle’ of this classificatory logic:

it is only on the basis of our present conception of a genetic status organizing principle, based on evolutionarily pre-selected degrees of biological value, as iconized in the White/Black invariant differential, that our present world system and its nation-state subunits, can be hierarchically allocated on the basis of each category's ostensible pre-selection for higher and lower degrees of genetic worth (biocentric paradigm).²⁵

Human remains appropriated for racial science must be analysed as key elements in the production of this ‘genetic status-organising principle.’ It is through them that scholars tried to evidence the very idea of physical difference on which this organising principle is based. The remains have therefore not only played a crucial role in the creation of symbolic capital for scholars and institutions holding collections of human remains, they have also been key in the construction and maintenance of an epistemological order which continues to benefit those who have been deemed to hold ‘higher genetic worth’. The extraction of human remains

²³ Ibid.; my translation.

²⁴ Sylvia Wynter, “‘No Humans Involved’”: An Open Letter to my Colleagues’, *Forum N.H.I.: Knowledge for the 21st Century* 1;1 (1994): 1-17, here 3.

²⁵ Ibid., 5.

from the colonies cannot be separated from other forms of extraction and dispossession committed during colonialism which continue to shape the global distribution of capital.

As I have tried to map out, Pösch's expedition would not have been possible without the formation of an objectifying anatomical conception of the human, colonisation, the prevalence of racial sciences, the social, political and disciplinary histories he stepped into in the Austrian-Hungarian empire and the broad network of institutions and individuals who supported him and his research. As stated earlier, I want to suggest that all these developments actually form part of the extended *préterrain* of Pösch's expedition to southern Africa. As such, these developments constitute the preconditions for the appropriations committed during the expedition. Hence, I understand the physical appropriation as but one moment in what actually is a much longer and multi-layered *process* of appropriation. Part of this process was the framing of the bodily remains of peoples' ancestors as specimen of natural history, the turning of their remains into property that could be owned by scholars and institutions and that should be made accessible for science. To think about undoing this kind of appropriation must therefore equally involve the attempt to undo the conditions that enabled the appropriation. To think about restitution would have to involve the undoing of what Sylvia Wynter called the 'genetic status-organising principle' that is still prevalent today.

Bibliography

Archives

AÖAW Archive of the Academy of Sciences in Vienna

- Brasilien Expedition
- Allgemeine Akten
 - o Report Pöch to the Academy, 10 Dec. 1907, Swakopmund, No. 8/1908
 - o Report Pöch to the Academy, Oas, 3 March 1908, No. 391/1908
 - o Report Pöch to the Academy, Oas, 27 April 1908, No. 504/1908
 - o Reports Pöch to the Academy, Bulawayo, Dec. 1908 and Jan 1909, No. 118/1909
 - o Report Pöch to the Academy, 27 March 1909, Johannesburg, No. 301/1909
 - o Report Pöch to the Academy, Upington, 10 July 1909, No. 599/1909
 - o Report Pöch to the Academy, Upington, 23 September 1909, No. 679/1909
 - o Report to the Academy, 29 November 1909, at sea, No. 829/1909
 - o Inventory/ Anfrage Sammlungsübergabe, 13 Juni 1914, No. 691/1914
- Subsidies
 - o Inventory of the subsidy files
 - o Subsidy file for Rudolf Pöch's journey to Southern Africa, box 3, No. 862/1906
 - o Subsidy file Rudolf Pöch for transport and equipment, box 4, No. 118/1910
- Pöch commission
 - o Rudolf Pöch's will, file 1, No. 201/1921

AUW Archive of the University of Vienna

- Personalakten der Philosophischen Fakultät
 - o Phil. Fak. PA Rudolf Pöch
- Course Catalogues of the University of Vienna

BNARS Botswana National Archives and Records Service in Gaborone

- Archival Series Secretariat
 - o Projected visit of Dr Poch, box 36, file S.36/5

CA Western Cape Archives and Records Service in Cape Town

- GH, Cape Colony, Government House
 - o file 13/30
 - o file 35/263 319

- PMO, Cape Colony, Prime Minister Office
 - o file 234 752/07
- JUS, Cape Colony, Department of Justice
 - o file 62 20223/09/09

NARSSA National Archives and Records Service of South Africa in Pretoria

- GOV, Transvaal, Governor
 - o file 1206 P550/10/09
- CS, Transvaal, Colonial Secretary
 - o file CS 879 15788

NHM Natural History Museum in Vienna

Archive and Library of the Anthropological Department

- Pöch's diaries from Southern Africa, 14.037a
- Pöch's Kleine Hefte from New Guinea, 2750
- Pöch's letter books from New Guinea, 14036

NNA Namibian National Archives in Windhoek

Support of research travels, 1898 to August 1911, J XIII a 3

ÖStA Austrian State Archives in Vienna

Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Bestand Ministerium des Äußern,
Administrative Registratur

- AR Fach 47 (Passwesen und Reisesachen), Karton 45, Fachstudienreisen
2/178

SAM South African Museum in Cape Town

ILB, Incoming Letter Book
OLB, Outgoing Letter Book

Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (National Library in Berlin)

Handschriftenabteilung

- Sammlung Darmstaedter, Afrika 1907, Rudolf Pöch

Weltmuseum Wien (Ethnological Museum in Vienna)

Inventory books
Inventory of Pöch's photographs

Internet Sources

Anthropologische Gesellschaft in Wien, <http://ag-wien.org> (accessed 2 September 2020).

Ananthavinayagan, T., 'Robert Koch, research and experiment in the colonial space or: Subjugating the non-European under the old international law', *Völkerrechtsblog*, published 10 June 2020, <https://voelkerrechtsblog.org/de/robert-koch-research-and-experiment-in-the-colonial-space-or/> (accessed 16 February 2021).

Bowersox, J., 'Josephine Soliman fights to bury her father Angelo (1797)', *Black Central Europe*, <https://blackcentraleurope.com/sources/1750-1850/josephine-soliman-fights-to-bury-her-father-angelo-1797/> (accessed 3 September 2020).

Bowersox, J., 'Racism in a beer logo (2012)', <https://blackcentraleurope.com/sources/1989-today/racism-in-a-beer-logo-2012/> (accessed 29 June 2021).

'Bushman Relics Protection Act', *South African Cultural Observatory*, published 14 September 2018, <https://www.southafricanculturalobservatory.org.za/download/103/6974ce5ac660610b44d9b9fed0ff9548/Archive+-+Bushman+Relics+Act+1911> (accessed 9 March 2021).

'Debatte über Menschenknochen an Uni Wien', *science.orf.at*, published 9 May 2017, <https://science.orf.at/v2/stories/2842058/> (accessed 30 June 2021).

Detrez, R., 'Colonialism in the Balkans. Historic realities and contemporary perceptions', *Kakanien revisited*, published 15 May 2002, <http://www.kakanien.ac.at/beitr/theorie/RDetrez1.pdf> (accessed 16 March 2018).

Dierks, K., 'Biographies of Namibian Personalities: Simon Koper', http://www.klausdierks.com/Biographies/Biographies_K.htm (accessed 2 February 2021).

'Exhibition and Conference: Dead Images: Facing the History, Ethics and Politics of European Skull Collections', *CARMAH*, http://www.carmah.berlin/events/dead_images/ (accessed 30 June 2021).

Gabriel, M., "'Wir führen einen Krieg, wo man auf Gnade nicht hoffen darf...' Irreguläre Kriegsführung bei der Okkupation Bosniens und der Herzegowina 1878', *Kakanien revisited*, published 11 August 2010, <http://www.kakanien.ac.at/beitr/fallstudie/MGabriell1.pdf> (accessed 23 April 2018).

Hryaban, V. 'Der "Bukowina-Band" der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie in Wort und Bild', *Kakanien Revisited*, published 25 November 2005, <http://www.kakanien.ac.at/beitr/fallstudie/VHryaban1.pdf> (accessed 21 June 2020).

Jokinen, H.M., Steinhäuser, F., 'Woermannsteig', in *Kolonialakteure: Biographien von A bis Z*, City of Hamburg, 2015, <https://www.hamburg.de/contentblob/7113252/c295990bc867dd92877eb1a3c16a0534/data/woermannstieg.pdf> (accessed 26 May 2020).

‘Jonathan Fine wird neuer Chef im Weltmuseum Wien’, Wiener Zeitung, published 31 March 2021, <https://www.wienerzeitung.at/nachrichten/kultur/kunst/2098646-Jonathan-Fine-wird-neuer-Chef-im-Weltmuseum-Wien.html> (accessed 30 June 2021).

Kasibe, W., ‘Colonial history rooted in museums’, Independent Online, published 13 August 2017, <https://www.iol.co.za/capetimes/opinion/colonial-history-rooted-in-museums-10775526> (accessed 4 June 2021).

Kazeem B. and Unterweger, C. / Research Group on Black Austrian History, ‘Josephine Soliman’, 2006, http://trafo-k.at/remapping-mozart/hm/konfig1/let_it_josephine/sub03.htm (accessed 3 September 2020).

Kunsttrans, ‘Die Geschichte’, <https://www.kunsttrans.com/de/kunsttrans-gruppe/geschichte> (accessed 27 April 2021).

Martinez, M.R., ‘Mexico's first lady embarks on 'impossible' mission in Austria to retrieve headdress of Aztec king’, Euro News, published 14 October 2020, <https://www.euronews.com/2020/10/14/mexico-s-first-lady-embarks-on-impossible-mission-in-austria-to-retrieve-headdress-of-azte> (accessed 30 June 2021).

‘Mein Julius Kampagne’, <http://www.meinjulius.at/> (accessed 30 June 2021).

Oppenauer, I. ‘Ausstellungen und Tagungen mit kolonialem Hintergrund in Wien 1939/1940’, unpublished seminar paper (University of Vienna, 2003/2015), https://homepage.univie.ac.at/walter.sauer/Afrikanisches_Oesterreich2-Dateien/Oppenauer_Kolonialausstellung_2015_korr.pdf (accessed 14 June 2021).

‘Participation in the Benin Dialogue’, Weltmuseum Wien, <https://www.weltmuseumwien.at/en/science-research/participation-in-the-benin-dialogue/> (accessed 30 June 2021).

‘Press Statement: Benin Dialogue Group Steering Committee 24.3.2021’, <https://markk-hamburg.de/files/media/2021/03/Press-Statement-24.3.21.pdf> (accessed 30 June 2021).

Plener, P., ‘Sehsüchte einer Weltausstellung - Wien 1873’, Kakanien Revisited, published 1 October 2001, <http://www.kakanien.ac.at/beitr/fallstudie/PPlener1.pdf> (accessed 21 June 2020).

‘Remapping Mozart’, <https://remapping-mozart.trafo-k.at/hm/main/einleitung2/index-en.htm> (accessed 29 June 2021).

‘Return of ancestral remains welcomed’, Beehive, published 26 Mat 2015, <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/return-ancestral-remains-welcomed> (accessed 30 June 2021).

‘Return’, Dead Images Project Videos, youtube, published 27 May 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G9Wjimh9-sA> (accessed 30 June 2021).

‘Rudolf Pöch – Anthropologist, Explorer, Media Pioneer’, <http://poech.fox.co.at/> (accessed 26 Sep 2017).

Sauer, W., 'Rudolf Pöchs Kalahari-Reise im Spiegel der Akten des namibischen Nationalarchivs', 2013, https://homepage.univie.ac.at/walter.sauer/Afrikanisches_Oesterreich-Dateien/Im%20Spiegel%20der%20NAN.pdf.pdf (accessed 13 October 2020).

'Suess, Eduard', Encyclopedia Britannica, published 20 July 1998, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Eduard-Suess> (accessed 11 May 2020).

Trenkler, T., 'Die Kuhglocke als Alternative: Unterrichtsministerin Elisabeth Gehrler über Federkronen und Bauchläden', interview in Der Standard, republished on Museum Denken, <https://www.museumdenken.eu/post/restitution> (accessed 30 June 2021);

Weidlich, B., 'Botswana descendants of Nama hero Simon Kooper revive their culture', Namibian, published 6 September 2019, <https://namibian.org/news/culture-and-lifestyle/nama-festival> (accessed 2 February 2021).

Weltmuseum Wien, 'Weltmuseum Wien Animationsfilm', youtube, published 16 March 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mTAx2s8UwW0> (accessed 15 June 2018).

Theses

Biwa, M., '*Toa Tama !Khams Ge*': *Remembering the War in Namakhoeland, 1903-1908* (unpublished Master's thesis: University of Cape Town, 2006).

Biwa, M. '*Weaving the Past with Threads of Memory*': *Narratives and commemorations of the colonial war in southern Namibia* (unpublished PhD thesis: University of the Western Cape, 2012).

Dell, E.A., *Museums and the Re-representation of 'Savage South Africa' to 1910* (unpublished PhD thesis: University of London, 1994).

Kasibe, W.G., *Museums and the construction of race ideologies: The case of natural history and ethnographic museums in South Africa* (unpublished PhD thesis: University of Cape Town, 2020).

Keckeisen, S., *The Grinning Wall: history, Exhibition, and Application of the Hyrtl Skull Collection at the Mutter Museum* (unpublished Master's thesis: Seton Hall University, 2012).

März, J., *Association of Pelvic Shape, Body Height, and Head Circumference in Khoisans* (unpublished MA thesis: University of Vienna, 2016).

Meisterle, S., *Von Coblön bis Delagoa: Die kolonialen Aktivitäten der Habsburgermonarchie in Ostindien* (unpublished dissertation: University of Vienna, 2014).

Schasielen, S., *Schreiben über Dr. Rudolf Pöchs 'Forschungsreisen'. Postkoloniale Kritiken und die österreichische Rezeption eines k. u. k. Anthropologen. Eine kritische Diskursanalyse* (unpublished Master's thesis: Academy of Fine Arts Vienna, 2013).

Wagner, J. *Österreichische Kolonialversuche in der zweiten Hälfte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (unpublished dissertation: University of Vienna, 1955).

Other Media

Schüller, D. (ed.), *Rudolf Pöch's Kalahari Recordings (1908): Sound Documents from the Phonogrammarchiv of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, The Complete Historical Collections 1899–1950, Series 7* (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences, 2003).

Contemporary published sources

Bemerkungen und Anweisungen für die Naturforscher, welche die Expedition von Sr. k. k. apost. Maj. Fregatte 'Novara' unter dem Commando des Herrn Obersten Bernhard v. Wüllerstorff-Urbair, begleiten (Vienna: k. k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1857).

Fritsch, G., *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's ethnographisch und anatomisch beschrieben* (Breslau: Ferdinand Hirt, 1872).

von Hauer, F., 'Musealarbeiten', *Annalen des k.k. naturhistorischen Hofmuseums* (Vienna: k.k. naturhistorisches Hofmuseum, 1885), 6-17.

Hyrtl, J., *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart des Museums für menschliche Anatomie an der Wiener Universität* (Vienna: Braumüller, 1869).

von Luschan, F., 'Instruktion für ethnographische Beobachtungen und Sammlungen in Deutsch-Ostafrika', in *Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten* 9:2 (1896): 89-99.

von Luschan, F., 'Anthropologie, Ethnographie und Urgeschichte', in *Anleitung zu wissenschaftlichen Beobachtungen auf Reisen*, Band 2, ed. by G. Neumayer (Hannover: Max Jänecke, 1906), 1-153.

Merriman, J. X., 'Report of the Trustees', in *Report of the South African Museum for the Year ending 31st December* (Cape Town: Cape Times Limited Government Printers, 1904), 1-2.

Müller, F. 'Ethnographie auf Grund des von Dr Karl v. Scherzer gesammelten Materials', in *Reise der österreichischen Fregatte Novara um die Erde in den Jahren 1857, 1858, 1859 unter den Befehlen des Commodore B. von Wüllerstorff-Urbair, Anthropologischer Theil: Dritte Abtheilung*, (Vienna: K. und K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1868).

Oberhummer, E., 'Rudolf Pöch (gestorben am 4. März 1921): Nachruf', *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft Wien* 51 (1921): 95–104.

Passarge, S., 'Die Buschmänner der Kalahari', in: *Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten* 18 (1905): 194-292.

Pöch, R., 'Geschnitzte Figuren aus Deutsch-Neu-Guinea', in *Globus* 79/22 (1901): 352-4.

Pöch, R., 'Ergebnisse einer Reise längs der Küste von Senegambien und Oberguinea, Sonder-Ausdruck aus *Archiv für Schiffs- und Tropenhygiene* 7 (1903): 1-42.

Pöch, R., 'Reisen in Neu-Guinea in den Jahren 1904', in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 3 (1907): 382-399.

Pöch, R., 'Bericht aus Oas (Kameelfontain), 3. Februar 1908', in *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserl. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien, math.-naturw. Klasse, Akademischer Anzeiger* 9 (1908): 123-25.

Pöch, R., 'Bericht aus Oas (Kameelfontain), Zeit vom 30. Januar bis 2. März 1908', in: *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserl. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien, math.-naturw. Klasse, Akademischer Anzeiger* 9 (1908): 261-4.

Pöch, R., 'Bericht aus Oas (Kameelfontain), 15. April 1908', in *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserl. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien, math.-naturw. Klasse, Akademischer Anzeiger* 16 (1908): 316-20.

Pöch, R., 'Bericht aus Rietfontein, 12. Juni 1908', in *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserl. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien, math.-naturw. Klasse, Akademischer Anzeiger* 20 (1908): 434-37.

Pöch, R., 'Bericht aus Tsau, 1. Oktober 1908', in *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserl. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien, math.-naturw. Klasse, Akademischer Anzeiger* 26 (1908): 521-27.

Pöch, R., 'Bericht aus Palapye', in *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserl. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien, math.-naturw. Klasse, Akademischer Anzeiger* 5 & 6 (1909): 52-6.

Pöch, R., 'Bericht aus Douglas, 24. Mai 1909', in *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserl. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien, math.-naturw. Klasse, Akademischer Anzeiger* 15 (1909): 234 f.

Pöch, R., 'Bericht aus Upington, 10. Juli 1909', in *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserl. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien, math.-naturw. Klasse, Akademischer Anzeiger* 20 (1909): 347-49 and 21 (1909): 361-65.

Pöch, R., 'Bericht aus Upington, 23. September 1909', in *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserl. Akad. D. Wiss. Wien, math.-naturw. Klasse, Akademischer Anzeiger* 21 (1909): 361-365.

Pöch, R., 'Die Stellung der Buschmannrasse unter den übrigen Menschenrassen', in *Korrespondenz-Blatt der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* 42 (1911): 21-6.

Pöch, R., 'Carl Toldt (gestorben am 13. März 1920). Nachruf', in *MAGW* 51 (1921): 77-94.

Scherzer K., and Schwarz, E., 'Über Körpermessungen, als Behelf zur Diagnostik von Menschenrassen', *Mitteilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft* 3 (1859): 11-31.

Scherzer, K., *Narrative of the Circumnavigation of the Globe by the Austrian Frigate Novara, (Commodore B. von Wüllerstorff-Urbair), Undertaken by Order of the Imperial Government, in the years 1857-1859*, (London: Saunders, Otley, 1861-63).

Schwarz, E., 'Medizinischer Teil: 1. Band', in *Reise der österreichischen Fregatte Novara um die Erde in den Jahren 1857, 1858, 1859 unter den Befehlen des Commodore B. von Wüllerstorff-Urbair*, (Vienna: K. und K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1861).

Schwarz, E., *Novara Expedition: Anthropology. A system of anthropometrical investigations as a means for the differential diagnosis of human races* (Vienna: Imperial Court and Government Printing Office, 1862).

Weisbach, A., 'Körpermessungen, an Individuen verschiedener Menschenrassen vorgenommen durch Dr. Karl Scherzer und Dr. Eduard Schwarz', in *Reise der österreichischen Fregatte Novara um die Erde in den Jahren 1857, 1858, 1859 unter den Befehlen des Commodore B. von Wüllerstorff-Urbair*, Anthropologischer Theil: Zweite Abtheilung, (Vienna: K. und K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1867).

Zuckermandl, E. 'Cranien der Novara-Sammlung', in *Reise der österreichischen Fregatte Novara um die Erde in den Jahren 1857, 1858, 1859 unter den Befehlen des Commodore B. von Wüllerstorff-Urbair*, Anthropologischer Theil: Erste Abtheilung (Vienna: K. und K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1875).

Zuckermandl, E., 'Craniologische Untersuchungen in Tirol und Inner-Österreich', *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft* 14 (1884): 117-128.

Journal articles

Abbie, A., 'Rudolf Pösch', *Oceania* 33, (1962): 128-130.

Blaha, C. et al., 'Geschichte der Anthropologischen und der Prähistorischen Abteilung des Naturhistorischen Museums in Wien: 90 Jahre anthropologische und prähistorische Forschungsarbeit', *Annalen des Naturhistorischen Museums Wien* 69 (1966): 451-461.

Botha, D. and Steyn, M., 'Khoeh-San skeletal collections in Vienna and Paris: Origin, History and Context', *South African Archaeological Society Goodwin Series* 11 (2013): 7-12.

Buklijas, T., 'Surgery and national identity in late nineteenth-century Vienna', *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* 38 (2007): 756-74.

Buklijas, T., 'Cultures of Death and Politics of Corpse Supply: Anatomy in Vienna, 1848-1914', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 82; 3 (Fall 2008): 570-607.

Corbey, R., 'Ethnographic Showcases, 1870-1930', *Cultural Anthropology* 8:3 (1993): 338-369.

Davison, P., 'Human Subjects as Museum Objects. A project to Make Life-Casts of 'Bushmen' and 'Hottentots', 1907-1924', *Annals of the South African Museum* 102:5 (1993): 165-183.

Davison, P., 'Typecast: Representation of the Bushmen at the South African Museum', *Public Archaeology* 2:1 (2001): 3-20.

Englert, S., 'Settlers, Workers, and the Logic of Accumulation by Dispossession', *Antipode* 52;6 (2020): 1647-1666.

Fischer, M. et al., 'Das Naturhistorische Museum in Wien und seine Geschichte', *Annalen des Naturhistorischen Museums Wien* 80, (1976): 1-24.

Fleischer, B., 'A century of research in tropical medicine in Hamburg: the early history and present state of the Bernhard Nocht Institute', in *Tropical Medicine & International Health* 5/10 (2000): 747-51.

Franey, L., 'Ethnographic Collecting and Travel: Blurring Boundaries, Forming a Discipline', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 29:1 (2001): 219-239.

Fuchs, B., '„Bushmen in Hick Town’: The Austrian Empire and the Study of the Khoesan’, *Austrian Studies* 20 (2012): 43-59.

Gordon, R., 'Hiding in Full View: The ‘Forgotten’ Bushman Genocides of Namibia’, *Genocide Studies and Prevention* 4, 1 (2009): 29-57.

Hye, H. P., 'Zur Liberalisierung des Vereinsrechtes in Österreich. Die Entwicklung des Vereinsgesetzes von 1867', *Zeitschrift für Neuere Rechtsgeschichte* 14 (1992): 191-216.

Kelley, R. D., 'The Rest of Us: Rethinking Settler and Native', *American Quarterly* 69; 2 (2017): 267-76.

Kravagna, C. 'Vom ethnologischen Museum zum unmöglichen Kolonialmuseum', *Zeitschrift für Kulturwissenschaften* (2015): 95-100.

Macdonald, S. J., 'Museums, national, postnational and transcultural identities', *Museum and Society* 1 (2003): 1-16.

Morris, A., 'Reverend Kling’s skeletons', *South African Journal of Ethnology* 10:4 (1987): 159-162.

Morris, A., 'The British Association meeting of 1905 and the rise of physical anthropology in South Africa', *South African Journal of Science* 98 (2002): 336-340.

Morris-Reich, A., 'Anthropology, standardization and measurement: Rudolf Martin and anthropometric photography', *British Society for the History of Science* 46:3 (2013): 487-516.

Plankensteiner, B., '„Auch hier gilt unsere Regel, Buschmanngut und Fremdgut auseinanderzuhalten“: Rudolf Pöchs Südafrika-Sammlung und ihre wissenschaftliche Bearbeitung durch Walter Hirschberg', *Archiv für Völkerkunde* 59/60 (2011): 95-106.

Pratt, M. L., 'Scratches on the Face of the Country; Or, What Mr. Barrow Saw in the Land of the Bushmen', *Critical Inquiry* 12;1 (1985):119-143.

Quijano, A., 'Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Latin America', *Nepantla: Views from the South* 1.3 (2000): 533-580.

Rassool, C., 'Re-storing the Skeletons of Empire: Return, Reburial and Rehumanisation in Southern Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 41;3 (2015): 653-670.

Rokitansky, O., 'Carl Freiherr von Rokitansky - zum 200. Geburtstag', *Wiener Klinische Wochenschrift* 116/23 (2004): 772-778.

Sanjek, R., 'Anthropology's hidden colonialism: Assistants and their ethnographers', *Anthropology Today* 9;2 (1993): 13-18.

Sauer, W., 'Habsburg Colonial: Austria-Hungary's role in European overseas expansion reconsidered', *Austrian Studies* 20 (2012): 5-23.

Sauer, W., 'Exotische Schaustellungen im Wiener Vormärz: Zwischen Voyeurismus und früher Rassentheorie', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 124:2 (2016): 391-417.

Schasielen, S., 'Die ›Lehrmittelsammlung‹ von Dr. Rudolf Pöch an der Universität Wien: Anthropologie, Forensik und Provenienz', *Zeitschrift für Kulturwissenschaften* 1 (2019): 15-27.

Sekula, A., 'The Body and the Archive', *October* 39 (1986): 3-64.

Stoecker H., and Winkelmann, A., 'Skulls and skeletons from Namibia in Berlin: results of the Charité Human Remains Project', *Human Remains and Violence* 4; 2 (2018); 5-26.

Teschler-Nicola, M., '„...der Barbar in der farbigen Hautdecke“ – Anthropologische Objekt- und Datenakquisition im Rahmen der Novara Forschungsreise 1857-1859', *MAGW* 136/137 (2006/2007): 41-65.

Teschler-Nicola, M., 'Die Wiener Pest-Expedition 1897 - Rudolf Pöch's erste Forschungsreise', *MAGW* 136/137 (2006/2007): 75-105.

Widder, J., 'Revolution des Krankheitsbegriffs durch pathologisch-anatomisches Denken und seine Erweiterung in zukünftiger medizinischer Forschung', *Wiener Klinische Wochenschrift* 116/23 (2004): 804-7.

Wigger, I. and Hadley, S., 'Angelo Soliman; desecrated bodies and the spectre of Enlightenment racism', *Race & Class* 62:2 (2020): 80-107.

Winkelmann, A. and Stoecker, H., 'Rückgabe von Schädeln und Skeletten an Namibia: Überreste einer fragwürdigen „Rasseforschung“', *Deutsches Ärzteblatt* 111;18 (2014): A 792-793.

Van Wyhe, J., 'The Authority of Human Nature; the Schädellehre of Franz Joseph Gall', *The British Journal for the History of Science* 35:1 (2002): 21-29.

Wynter, S., "'No Humans Involved": An Open Letter to my Colleagues', *Forum N.H.I.: Knowledge for the 21st Century* 1;1 (1994): 1-17.

Wynter, S., 'Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom: Towards the Human, After Man, Its Overrepresentation – An Argument', *CR: The New Centennial Review* 3 (2003); 257-337.

Young, R.M., 'The Functions of the Brain: Gall to Ferrier (1808-1886)', *Isis* 59;3 (1968): 250-68.

Chapters in books

Angetter, D., 'Eduard Suess und die Präsidentschaft der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften', in *Eduard Suess (1831-1914). Großbürger – Wissenschaftler – Politiker. Zum 100. Todestag*, ed. by ibid. et al. (Vienna: Geological Survey of Austria Press, 2014).

Ash, M. G. and Surman, J., 'The Nationalization of Scientific Knowledge in Nineteenth-Century Central Europe: An Introduction', in *The nationalization of scientific knowledge in the Habsburg Empire, 1848-1918*, ed. by ibid. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 1-29.

Ballinger, P., 'Multiculturalism against the State: Lessons from Istria', in *Understanding Multiculturalism: The Habsburg Central European Experience* ed. by Johannes Feichtinger and Gary B. Cohen (New York: Berghahn Books, 2014), 101-21.

Becker, S., 'Deutscher Nationalismus, Staatsgedanke und Landesbewusstsein im zeitlichen Kontext des 'Kronprinzenwerks'', in *Ethnographie in Serie. Zu Produktion und Rezeption der "österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie in Wort und Bild"*, ed. by Jurij Fikfak and Reinhard Johler (Vienna: Verlag des Instituts für Europäische Ethnologie, 2008), 326-51.

Bendix, R., 'Ethnology, cultural reification, and the dynamics of difference in the Kronprinzenwerk', in *Creating the Other: Ethnic Conflict and Nationalism in Habsburg Central Europe*, ed. by Nancy M. Wingfield (New York/Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2003), 149-66.

Berner, M., 'Large-Scale Anthropological Surveys in Austria-Hungary, 1871-1918' in *Doing Anthropology in Wartime and War Zones: First World War and the Cultural Sciences in Europe* ed. by Christian Marchetti et al. (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2010).

Berner, M., 'Zwei Spurensuchen. Objekte, Archive, Geschichte', in *Sensible Sammlungen. Aus dem anthropologischen Depot*, ed. by ibid. et al. (Hamburg: Philo Fine Arts, 2011) 185-203.

Berner, M., 'Forschungs-"Material" Kriegsgefangene: Die Massenuntersuchungen der Wiener Anthropologen an gefangenen Soldaten 1915-1918', in *Vorreiter der Vernichtung? Eugenik, Rassenhygiene und Euthanasie in der österreichischen Diskussion vor 1938* (Geschichte der NS-Euthanasie in Wien, Teil III), ed. by Heinz Eberhard Gabriel, Wolfgang Neugebauer (Vienna: Böhlau, 2005), 167-198.

Biwa, M., 'Afterlives of genocide: Return of human bodies from Berlin to Windhoek, 2011', in *Memory and Genocide: On what remains and the possibility of representation*, ed. by Fazil Moradi et al. (London: Routledge, 2017), 91-106.

Bockshorn, O., 'Volkskundliche Quellströme in Wien: Anthro- und Philologie, Ethno- und Geographie', in *Völkische Wissenschaft Gestalten und Tendenzen der deutschen und österreichischen Volkskunde in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Wolfgang Jacobeit et al. (Vienna: Böhlau, 1994), 417-24.

Bourdieu, P. 'The Forms of Capital', in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, edited by J. G. Richardson (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 241-258.

Buklijas, T., 'The Politics of Fin-de-siècle Anatomy', in *The Nationalization of Scientific Knowledge in the Habsburg Empire 1848-1918*, ed. by Mitchell G. Ash and Jan Surman (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 209-244.

Clifford, J., 'Traveling Cultures', in *Cultural Studies*, ed. by Lawrence Grossberg et al. (New York and London: Routledge, 1992), 96-116.

Donia, R., 'The Proximate Colony: Bosnia-Herzegovina under Austro-Hungarian Rule', in *Wechselwirkungen: The Political, Social and Cultural Impact of the Austro-Hungarian Occupation on Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1878-1918*, ed. by Clemens Ruthner et al. (New York: Peter Lang, 2008), 67-82.

Eberhart, H., 'Von Karl Weinhold bis Rudolf Meringer: Zu den Anfängen der Volkskunde in Graz' in *Völkische Wissenschaft Gestalten und Tendenzen der deutschen und österreichischen Volkskunde in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Wolfgang Jacobeit et al. (Vienna u.a.: Böhlau, 1994), 403-6.

Gasche, W., 'Eduard Suess und seine Familie', in *Eduard Suess (1831-1914). Wiener Großbürger – Wissenschaftler – Politiker. Zum 100. Todestag*, ed. by ibid. et al. (Vienna: Geological Survey of Austria Press, 2014), 13-18.

Gupta, A. and Ferguson, J., 'Discipline and Practice: "The Field" as Site, Method, and Location in Anthropology', in *Anthropological locations: Boundaries and grounds of a field science*, ed. by ibid. (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1997), 1-46.

Hamann, B., 'Eduard Suess als liberaler Politiker', in *Eduard Suess zum Gedenken*, ed. by Günther Hamann (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 1983), 79-100.

Horn, S., 'Sektion und Obduktion in Ländern ohne erforderliche Zustimmung Hinterbliebener - Unterschiede des Umganges mit Toten. Versuch einer historischen Annäherung am Beispiel Wien', in *Körper ohne Leben: Begegnung und Umgang mit Toten*, ed. by Norbert Stefenelli (Vienna: Böhlau, 1998), 596-603.

Horn, S., "'...ein wohl auffgerichtetes theatrum anatomicum.'" Anatomischer Unterricht für nichtakademische Heilkundige an der Wiener Medizinischen Fakultät im 18. Jahrhundert', in *Anatomie: Sektionen einer medizinischen Wissenschaft im 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Jürgen Helm and Karin Stukenbrock (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2003), 189-212.

Hubert, J. and Fforde, C., 'Introduction: the reburial issue in the twenty-first century', in *The Dead and their Possessions: The repatriation in principle, policy and practice*, ed. by Cressida Fforde et al. (Routledge: London, 2002), 1-16.

Hund, W. D., 'Die Körper der Bilder der Rassen', in *Entfremdete Körper. Rassismus als Leichenschändung*, ed. by ibid. (Bielefeld: transcript, 2009), 13-79.

Feest, C., 'The Origins of Professional Anthropology in Vienna', in: *Kulturwissenschaften im Vielvölkerstaat. Zur Geschichte der Ethnologie und verwandter Gebiete in Österreich ca.*

1780 bis 1918, ed. by Britta Rupp-Eisenreich and Justin Stagl (Vienna: Böhlau 1995), 113-131.

Fichtner, P.S., 'Hallstatt Culture', in *Historical Dictionary of Austria* (Lanham et al.: Scarecrow, 2009).

Fikfak, J. and Johler, R., 'Einbegleitung' in *Ethnographie in Serie: Zur Produktion und Rezeption der "österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie in Wort und Bild"*, ed. by ibid. (Vienna: Verlag des Instituts für Europäische Ethnologie, 2008), 7-25.

Foucault, M., 'Right of Death and Power over Life', in *Biopolitics: A Reader*, ed. by Timothy Campbell and Adam Sitze (London: Duke University Press, 2013), 41-60.

Johler, R., 'Vom Leben, Nachleben und Weiterleben des 'Kronprinzenwerks' in Österreich' in *Ethnographie in Serie Zu Produktion und Rezeption der "österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie in Wort und Bild"*, ed. by Jurij Fikfak and Reinhard Johler (Vienna: Verlag des Instituts für Europäische Ethnologie, 2008), 291-325.

Kazeem, B., 'Die Zukunft der Besitzenden. Oder fortwährende Verstrickungen in neokoloniale Argumentationsmuster', in *Das Unbehagen im Museum: Postkoloniale Museologien*, ed. by Schnittpunkt (Vienna: Turia + Kant, 2009), 43-59.

Kirchengast, S., Weiss, G., 'Rudolf Pöch', in *Die Entdeckungen der Welt. Die Welt der Entdeckungen. Österreichische Forscher, Sammler, Abenteurer* (Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 2001), 372-380.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B., 'Objects of Ethnography', in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* ed. by Ivan Karp and Steven Lavine (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 386-443.

Klemun, M. 'National 'Consensus' As Culture and Practice: The Geological Survey in Vienna and the Habsburg Empire (1849-1867)', in *The nationalization of scientific knowledge in the Habsburg Empire, 1848-1918*, ed. by Mitchell G. Ash and Jan Surman (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 83-101.

Kretschmer, I., '150 Jahre Österreichische Geographische Gesellschaft und ihre Vorgänger', in *Das Jubiläum der ÖGG, Das Jubiläum der ÖGG: 150 Jahre (1856-2006)*, ed. by ibid. (Vienna: Österreichische Geographische Gesellschaft, 2007), 25-38.

Kuklick, H., 'After Ishmael: The Fieldwork Tradition and Its Future', in *Anthropological locations: Boundaries and grounds of a field science*, ed. by Akhil Gupta, James Ferguson (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1997), 47-65.

Lehmann, O., 'Die Geschichte', in *Tiergarten Schönbrunn: Mythos und Wirklichkeit*, ed. by Dagmar Schratzer (Vienna: Christian Brandstätter), 22-48.

Lichtenberger, E., 'Grußworte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Anmerkungen zur Beziehungsgeschichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften mit der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft', in *Das Jubiläum der ÖGG: 150 Jahre (1856-2006)*, ed. by Ingrid Kretschmer (Vienna: Österreichische Geographische Gesellschaft, 2007), 19-21.

Marchand, S., 'Priests among the Pygmies: Wilhelm Schmidt and the Counter-Reformation in Austrian Ethnology', in: *Worldly Provincialism: German Anthropology in the Age of Empire*, ed. by H. Glenn Penny/Matti Bunzl (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 283-316.

Mazohl, B., 'Vom Tod Karls VI. bis zum Wiener Kongress (1740-1815)', in *Geschichte Österreichs*, ed. by Thomas Winkelbauer (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2015), 290-385.

Mazohl, B., 'Die Zeit zwischen dem Wiener Kongress und den Revolutionen von 1848/49', in *Geschichte Österreichs*, ed. by Thomas Winkelbauer (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2015), 359-390.

Mazohl, B., 'Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918', in *Geschichte Österreichs*, ed. by Thomas Winkelbauer (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2015), 391-476.

Morris, A., 'Trophy Skulls, Museums and the San', in *Miscast: Negotiating the presence of the Bushmen*, ed. by Pippa Skotnes (Cape Town: UCT Press, 1996), 67-79.

Neissl, H., 'Die Jubiläumsexkursion: Große Auslandsexkursion der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft "Südliches Afrika"', in *Das Jubiläum der ÖGG, Das Jubiläum der ÖGG: 150 Jahre (1856-2006)*, ed. by Ingrid Kretschmer (Vienna: Österreichische Geographische Gesellschaft, 2007), 217-2.

Nemec, B. and Taschwer, K., 'Terror gegen Tandler: Kontext und Chronik der antisemitischen Attacken am I. Anatomischen Institut der Universität Wien, 1910 bis 1933', in *Der lange Schatten des Antisemitismus: Kritische Auseinandersetzungen mit der Geschichte der Universität Wien im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Oliver Rathkolb (Vienna: V&R unipress, 2013).

Pawlowsky, V., 'Quelle aus vielen Stücken: Die Korrespondenz der Anthropologischen Abteilung des Wiener Naturhistorischen Museums bis 1938', in *Vorreiter der Vernichtung? Eugenik, Rassenhygiene und Euthanasie in der österreichischen Diskussion vor 1938 (Geschichte der NS-Euthanasie in Wien, Teil III)* ed. by Heinz Eberhard Gabriel and Wolfgang Neugebauer (Vienna: Böhlau, 2005), 139-165.

Pels, P. and Salemink, O., 'Introduction: Locating the Colonial subjects of Anthropology', in *Colonial Subjects: Essays in the Practical History of Anthropology*, ed. by ibid. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), 1-52.

Rassool, C., 'Human Remains, the Disciplines of the Dead, and the South African Memorial Complex' in *The Politics of Heritage in Africa: Economies, Histories, and Infrastructures* ed. by Derek Peterson et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 133-156.

Sauer, W., 'Angelo Soliman: Mythos und Wirklichkeit', in *Von Soliman zu Omofuma: Afrikanische Diaspora in Österreich, 17. bis 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. by ibid. (Innsbruck: Studienverlag, 2007), 59-96.

Sauer, W., 'Österreich und Namibia: Ein schwieriges Verhältnis im langen 20. Jahrhundert', in *Wien - Windhoek retour: 150 Jahre Beziehungen zwischen Österreich und Namibia*, ed. by ibid., Elfriede-Pekny-Gesellschaft zur Förderung von Southern African Studies in Österreich

(Vienna: Dokumentations- und Kooperationszentrum Südliches Afrika (SADOCC), 2008), 7-61.

Schasielen, S. 'Out of the Salon. Female counterspaces, anticolonial struggles and transversal politics', in *Utopian Pulse – Flares in the Darkroom*, ed. by Ines Doujak und Oliver Ressler (London: Pluto Press, 2015), 44-51.

Shigwedha, V., 'The Return of Herero and Nama Bones from Germany: The Victims' Struggle for Recognition and Recurring Genocide Memories in Namibia', in *Human Remains in Society. Curation and Exhibition in the Aftermath of Genocide and Mass-violence*, ed. by É. Anstett/ J.-M. Dreyfus, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 197-219.

Stachel, P., 'Das österreichische Bildungssystem zwischen 1749 und 1918', in *Geschichte der österreichischen Humanwissenschaften, Band I: Historischer Kontext, wissenschaftssoziologische Befunde und methodologische Voraussetzungen*, ed. by Karl Acham (Vienna: Passagen Verlag, 1999), 115-146.

Stachel, P., 'Die Harmonisierung national-politischer Gegensätze und die Anfänge der Ethnographie in Österreich', in *Geschichte der österreichischen Humanwissenschaften, Band 4: Geschichte und fremde Kulturen* ed. by Karl Acham (Vienna: Passagen Verlag, 2002), 323-367.

Stocking, G. W., 'Essays on Museums and Material Culture', in *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture*, ed. by ibid. (London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 3-14.

Sauer, W., 'Schwarz-Gelb in Afrika. Habsburgermonarchie und koloniale Frage', in *k. u. k. kolonial. Habsburgermonarchie und europäische Herrschaft in Afrika*, ed. by. ibid. (Vienna: Böhlau, 2002).

Sauer, W., 'Jenseits der „Entdeckungsgeschichte“: Forschungsergebnisse und Perspektiven', in *k. u. k. kolonial. Habsburgermonarchie und europäische Herrschaft in Afrika*, ed. by. ibid. (Vienna: Böhlau, 2002), 7-15.

Smith, J. D., "I would like to study some Problems of Heredity": Felix von Luschan's Trip to America, 1914-1915', in *Felix von Luschan (1854-1924): Leben und Wirken eines Universalgelehrten*, ed. by Peter Ruggendorfer and Hubert Szemethy (Vienna: Böhlau, 2009), 141-63.

Telesko, W., 'The Academy of Sciences - the development of an Austrian research institution', in *The Austrian Academy of Sciences: The Building and its History*. ed. by Herbert Karner et al. (Vienna: Academy of Sciences, 2007), 54-60.

Teschler-Nicola, M., 'Felix von Luschan und die Wiener Anthropologische Gesellschaft' in *Felix von Luschan (1854-1924). Leben und Wirken eines Universalgelehrten*, ed. by in Peter Ruggendorfer und Herbert D. Szemethy (Vienna: Böhlau, 2009), 55-79.

Teschler-Nicola, M., 'Das forMuse-Projekt und die Beforschung und Restitution überseeischer menschlicher Skelettreste in Wiener Sammlungen', in *Sammeln, Forschen, Zurückgeben? Menschliche Gebeine aus der Kolonialzeit in akademischen und musealen Sammlungen*, ed. by Holger Stoecker et al. (Berlin: Ch. Links Verlag, 2013), 259-278.

Teschler-Nicola, M., 'Geschichte der physischen Anthropologie am Naturhistorischen Museum Wien', in *Mensch(en) werden* ed. by ibid. and Katarina Matiassek (Vienna: Natural History Museum, 2016), 10-23.

Theye, T., "'Mathematische Racenmasken': Vermessen und Abbilden auf der Erdumsegelung der Fregatte "Novara" in den Jahren 1857-1859', in *Österreicher in der Südsee: Forscher, Reisende, Auswanderer*, ed. by Hermann Mückler (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2012), 73-109.

Toldt, C., 'Physische Beschaffenheit von Tirol und Vorarlberg', in *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie: Tirol und Vorarlberg*, vol. 13 (Vienna: Kaiserlich-königliche Hof und Staatsdruckerei, 1893), 229-40.

Weigand, K., "'Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild": Ein kulturpolitisches Instrument am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts', in *Ethnographie in Serie. Zu Produktion und Rezeption der "österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie in Wort und Bild"*, ed. by Jurij Fikfak and Reinhard Johler (Vienna: Verlag des Instituts für Europäische Ethnologie, 2008), 62-80.

Weiss-Krejci, E., 'Abschied aus dem Knochenkabinett – Repatriierung als Instrument kultureller und nationaler Identitätspolitik am Beispiel österreichischer Restitutionen', in *Sammeln, Erforschen, Zurückgeben? Menschliche Gebeine aus der Kolonialzeit in akademischen und musealen Sammlungen*, ed. by Holger Stoecker et al. (Berlin: Ch. Links 2013), 447-476.

Wigger, I. and Klein, K., "'Bruder Mohr": Angelo Soliman und der Rassismus der Aufklärung', in *Entfremdete Körper. Rassismus als Leichenschändung*, ed. by Wulf D. Hund (Bielefeld: transcript, 2009), 81-115.

Wilmsen, E., 'Introduction', in *The Kalahari Ethnographies (1896-1898) of Siegfried Passarge*, ed. by ibid. (Cologne: Rüdiger Koppe, 1997), 13-37.

Winkelbauer, T., 'Einleitung: Was heißt "Österreich" und "österreichische Geschichte"?', in *Geschichte Österreichs*, ed. by ibid. (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2015), 15-3.

Winkelbauer, T., 'Die Habsburgermonarchie vom Tod Maximilian I. bis zum Aussterben der Habsburger in männlicher Linie (1519-1740)', in *Geschichte Österreichs*, ed. by ibid. (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2015), 159-289.

Winkelmann, A., and Teßmann, B., "'...und gewinne die Leiche" - Zur Geschichte eines australischen Skeletts in der Berliner Anatomischen Sammlung', in *Sammeln, Forschen, Zurückgeben? Menschliche Gebeine aus der Kolonialzeit in akademischen und musealen Sammlungen*, ed. by Holger Stoecker et al. (Berlin: Ch. Links Verlag, 2013), 184-198.

Wonisch, R., 'Schnittstelle Ethnografie: Ein Rundgang durch das Naturhistorische Museum Wien', in *Das Unbehagen im Museum: Postkoloniale Museologien*, ed. by Schnittpunkt (Belinda Kazeem, Charlotte Martinez-Turek, Nora Sternfeld), (Vienna: Turia + Kant, 2009), 217-232.

Wynter, S., '1492: A New World View', in *Race, Discourse, and the Origin of the Americas: A New World View*, ed. by Vera Lawrence Hyatt and Rex Nettleford (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), 1-57.

Zimmerman, A., 'Adventures in the Skin Trade: German Anthropology and Colonial Corporeality', in *Wordly Provincialism: German Anthropology in the Age of Empire*, ed. by Glenn Penny and Matti Bunzl (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2003), 156-178.

Zintzen, C., 'Vorwort', in "Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild": *Aus dem 'Kronprinzenwerk' des Erzherzog Rudolf*, edited by ibid. (Vienna: Böhlau, 1999), 9-20.

Books

Adhikari, M., *The anatomy of a South African genocide: the extermination of the Cape San peoples* (Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, 2010).

Anderson, B., *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (Verso: London, 1991).

Bauche, M., *Medizin und Herrschaft: Malariabekämpfung in Kamerun, Ostafrika und Ostfriesland (1890-1919)*, (Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 2017).

Bennett, T., *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995).

Brandewie, E., *When Giants Walked the Earth; The Life and Times of Wilhelm Schmidt, SVD* (Fribourg: University Press, 1990).

Caceres, I. et al. (eds.), *Anti*colonial Fantasies: Decolonial Strategies* (Vienna: Zaglossus, 2017).

Dubow, S., *Scientific Racism in modern South Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

Dubow, S., *A Commonwealth of Knowledge: Science, Sensibility, and White South Africa 1820-2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

Essner, C., *Deutsche Afrikareisende im neunzehnten Jahrhundert: zur Sozialgeschichte des Reisens* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1985).

Fabian, J., *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014 [1983]).

Fichtner, P.S., *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1490-1848* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

Förster, L., Stoecker, H., *Haut, Haar und Knochen; Koloniale Spuren in naturkundlichen Sammlungen der Universität Jena* (Weimar: VDG, 2016).

- Foucault, M., *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception* (London, New York: Routledge, 2003).
- Fuchs, B., „Rasse“, „Volk“, *Geschlecht. Anthropologische Diskurse in Österreich 1850-1960* (Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 2003).
- Geppert, A., *Fleeting Cities: Imperial Expositions in Fin-de-Siècle Europe* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).
- Gordon, R., *The bushman myth: the making of a Namibian underclass* (Colorado: Westview Press, 1992).
- Gould, S., J., *The Mismeasure of Man* (New York: Norton, 1996).
- Grimmer-Solem, E., *Learning Empire: Globalization and the German Quest for World Status, 1875-1919* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).
- Hanke, C., *Zwischen Auflösung und Fixierung. Zur Konstitution von „Rasse“ und „Geschlecht“ in der physischen Anthropologie um 1900* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2007).
- Hoffmann, A., *Kolonialgeschichte Hören: Das Echo gewaltsamer Wissensproduktion in historischen Tondokumenten aus dem südlichen Afrika* (Vienna: Mandelbaum Verlag, 2020).
- Jenkins, T., *Contesting Human Remains in Museum Collections: The Crisis of Cultural Authority* (New York/London: Routledge, 2011).
- Judson, P. M., *The Habsburg Empire: A New History* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2016).
- Kolm, E., *Die Ambitionen Österreich-Ungarns im Zeitalter des Hochimperialismus* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2001).
- Kyllingstad, J.R., *Measuring the Master Race: Physical Anthropology in Norway 1890-1945* (Open Book Publishers, 2014).
- Lange, B., *Die Wiener Forschungen an Kriegsgefangenen 1915-1918. Anthropologische und ethnografische Verfahren im Lager* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2013).
- Laukötter, A., *Von der „Kultur“ zur „Rasse“ – vom Objekt zum Körper? Völkerkundemuseen und ihre Wissenschaften zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2007).
- Legassick, M., and Rassool, C., *Skeletons in the Cupboard. South African museums and the trade in human remains 1907-1917* (South African Museum, Cape Town and McGregor Museum, Kimberley, 2000).
- Martin, R., *Lehrbuch der Anthropologie. In systematischer Darstellung mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der anthropologischen Methoden. Für Studierende, Ärzte und Forschungsreisende* (Jena: Fischer, 1914).

Meister, R., *Geschichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien 1847-1947*, Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 1 (Vienna: Holzhausen, 1947).

Melk-Koch, M., *Auf der Suche nach der menschlichen Gesellschaft: Richard Thurnwald* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1989).

Metrowich, F.C., *Scotty Smith: South Africa's Robin Hood* (Cape Town: Books of Africa, 1962).

Olusuga, D., and Erichsen, C., W., *The Kaiser's Holocaust: Germany's Forgotten Genocide* (London: Faber & Faber, 2010).

Oreskes, N., *The Rejection of Continental Drift: Theory and Method in American Earth Science* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

Pacher, H.-P., *Anthropologische Untersuchungen an den Skeletten der Rudolf Pöch'schen Buschmannsammlung*, 1. Heft, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Rudolf Pöch-Nachlass, Serie A: Physische Anthropologie (Vienna: Böhlau, 1962).

Park, K., *Secrets of Women: Gender, Generation and the Origins of Human Dissection* (New York: Zone Books, 2010).

Penn, N., *The Forgotten Frontier: Colonists and Khoisan on the Cape's northern frontier in the 18th century* (Cape Town: Double Storey Books, 2005).

Pfoser, P., *Bilder der Dekolonisation: Afrika-Repräsentationen im frühen österreichischen TV* (Vienna: Zaglossus, 2016).

Pomian, K., *Collectors and Curiosities: Paris and Venice, 1500-1800* (Polity Press, 1990).

Pusman, K., *Die "Wissenschaften vom Menschen" auf Wiener Boden (1870 - 1959): Die anthropologische Gesellschaft in Wien und die anthropologischen Disziplinen im Fokus von Wissenschaftsgeschichte, Wissenschafts- und Verdrängungspolitik* (Vienna: LIT-Verlag, 2008).

Quigley, C., *Skulls and Skeletons* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, 2001).

Ranzmaier, I., *Die Anthropologische Gesellschaft in Wien und die akademische Etablierung anthropologischer Disziplinen an der Universität Wien 1870-1930* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2013).

Ruthner, C., *Habsburgs 'Dark Continent': Postkoloniale Lektüren zur österreichischen Literatur und Kultur im langen 19. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempo, 2018).

Sauer, W., *Expeditionen ins Afrikanische Österreich: Ein Reisekaleidoskop* (Vienna: Mandelbaum, 2014).

Schmidt, E., *Anthropologische Methoden; Anleitung zum Beobachten und Sammeln für Laboratorium und Reise*, (Leipzig: Veit, 1888).

Schorske, C., *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna Politics and Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981).

Schwarz, W. M., *Anthropologische Spektakel: Zur Schaustellung 'exotischer' Menschen, Wien 1870-1910* (Vienna: Turia + Kant, 2001).

See, S.E., *The Filipino Primitive: Accumulation and Resistance in the American Museum* (New York: New York University Press, 2017).

Seebacher, F., *"Freiheit der Naturforschung!" Carl Freiherr von Rokitansky und die Wiener Medizinische Schule: Wissenschaft und Politik im Konflikt* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2006).

Todorova, M., N., *Imagining the Balkans*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).
Vesalius, A., *De humani corporis fabrica* (Basel: Joannes Oporinus, 1543).

Unterweger, C., *Talking Back: Strategien Schwarzer österreichischer Geschichtsschreibung* (Vienna: Zaglossus, 2016).

Weiss, D. and Schilddorfer, G., *Die Novara. Österreichs Traum von der Weltmacht* (Vienna: Almathea Signum, 2010).

Witz, L. Minkley, G. and Rassool, C., *Unsettled History: The Making of South African Pasts*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017).

Wolfe, P., *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event* (London: Cassell, 1999).

Zimmerman, A., *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

