The Tales of Time

The visualisation of the stories behind objects within the National Museum of Ethnology and the National Museum of Antiquities

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"There is no greater agony than bearing an untold story inside you."

- Maya Angelou (1928-2014) ~ *I Know Why The Caged Bird Sings*

Chapter 1

1.1 Introduction

The objects that surround us form a fundamental aspect of our existence; we need them to go about our daily life. Hence, it comes as no surprise that those objects are to be found in institutions of importance to our society such as museums. These objects often form the central reference point for the way we understand and interpret our surroundings, as is the case for the people working in the museum environment (Rein 2009/2010, 9). But we have to keep in mind that objects and the material world are not the only reference point for understanding the world. Knowledge embraces so much more than just these tangible artefacts. Objects constitute of the material (tangible) world, but they have a connection with the immaterial (intangible) world. This intangible world will always be activated in our reflections according to Rein (2009/2010, 9). She states: "We think about objects and we talk about things- we tell stories independently of the actual presence of the articles we refer to." The material and immaterial world exist together; they act at the same time. Rein explains this phenomenon by referring to the work of photographer Zeke Bermann (1978). He produced the art piece concerning the well-known 'Faces or vases' dilemma (fig. 1). At first one only perceives the black vases from the intensity of the black colour. But with further inspection, when the different perspective of the white faces is pointed out, one can see both dimensions (Rein 2009/2010, 9).

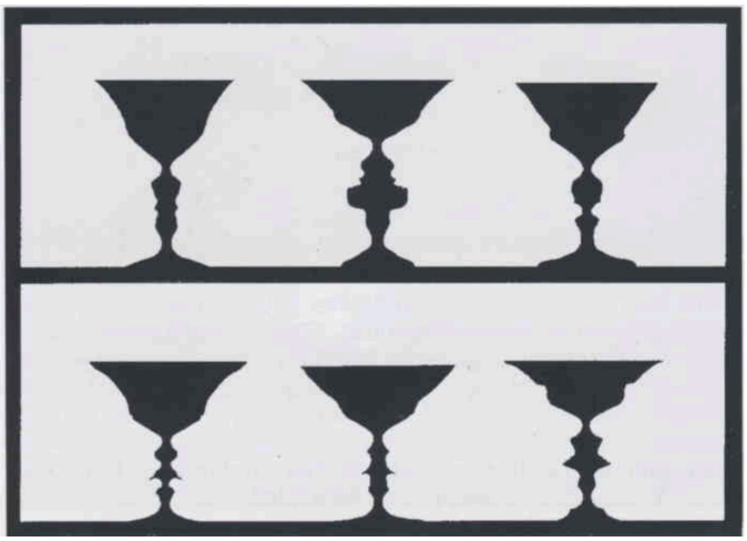

Figure 1– Faces or vases? Created by Zeker Bermann © 1978 (Rein 2009/2010, 9)

As we all know, every human being is different. Everyone perceives the world and reacts in their own way. Nobody will remember an event in the same way, according to his or her own worldview. This difference occurs, according to Rein (2009/2010, 16), by a variety of factors; including ones gender, age, descent and heritage. What role do museums have in such a case? Museums have the opportunity to voice the different viewpoints and opinions that exist around the world. They promote the plurality of different meanings and interpretations, which are present in their collections. This is achieved by using a number of different techniques; which all together could be called visualisation. Visualisation is the way to "form a picture of something in your mind, in order to image or remember it (http://dictionary.cambridge.org a)." Over time the ways to visualise the stories behind objects has changed, while some things have changed drastically, other aspects have remained the same. *But how exactly did the visualisation of the stories behind objects evolve during the existence of museums? What are the differences, and the similarities, between the way of visualising stories between archaeological and ethnographical museums? And how do museums cope with these stories?* This is what captivates my curiosity and thus will be discussed in this thesis.

For my Bachelor thesis, a research project was completed to explore the exhibition techniques used in museums in conveying information and stimulating entertainment. This therefore focused on broader aspects of museum practices. For this Master thesis the objects themselves, within those exhibition techniques, will be further examined. Maybe we could learn more about museums and their objects when we learn about their history using visualisation. Every object has a background story, and so do museums. When we understand the path they took to be the museum they are today, we can maybe even predict the visualisation of tomorrow.

1.2 The research and its relevance

Over the years museums have had different roles. Once they were the primary venue for (archaeological) research. This changed during the 20th century but museums are still recognized as the connection between the archaeology profession and society (Shanks and Tilley 1992, 68). In the 20th century the educative role of the museum has risen and became more prominent (Barker 2010, 294). Long before, during the 18th and 19th century, according to Barker (2010, 295), objects were organised and arranged in order to document time periods and cultures. They were treated as index fossils. The rise of chronometric techniques in the 20th century allowed and promoted "a focus on cultural process, rather than culture history, and altered the way material culture implicated, inscribed, and informed processual studies (Barker 2010, 295)." When we analyse these trends that occurred in museums over the years, one might discover how to enhance future museum exhibitions. However, looking at just the role of museums or its exhibitions will only bring the same results as earlier studies. In this thesis we will study the objects themselves and the stories they tell and, perhaps even more valuable, this thesis will also look at the story that is not shown. A number of objects have a quite controversial background, which is not always presented. Sometimes it may be beneficial to withhold some information, but often the whole story is required for a complete understanding. *How do museums cope with these kinds of hidden stories behind the objects?* This will be discussed in this thesis to develop a better understanding into how objects are presented and visualised in different museums. But it is important not to forget that an object on its own is not complete. It needs spectators, otherwise is would become obliterate and it would get lost in time. An object needs to be kept in ones memory. It is as Foucault wrote: "objects lose their meaning without the viewers' knowledge and acceptance of the underlying aesthetic or cultural values (Foucault in Gurian 1999, 171)." Without this kind of knowledge an object cannot be fully understood and thus loses, over time, its original meaning. But 'meaning' is not something steady. It has the possibility to change. To every person an object could have a different meaning, a different understanding. The value of objects comes, partially, from its meaning in society. Museums create and enhance the value of an object through assemblies and displays of objects. Coherent to this aspect of an object is the notion of quality. There has been a sharp debate between scholars from the museum sector and the individuals representing the culture, nation and the discoverer of the object (Gurian 1999, 172). An interesting question to look at, next to the main research question, thus is: *who selects the object, and its story, and by what criteria?*

For this thesis we thus come to our next research questions:

- How did the visualisation of the stories behind objects evolve during the existence of Western museums in the 20th and 21th century?
    - Are there any trends or changes in the methods or paradigm's throughout the 20th century until the present day?
    - What are the differences, and the similarities, between the way of visualising these stories between archaeological and ethnographical museums?
    - Who selects the objects and stories and by which criteria?

The answers to the above stated sub-questions will provide the opportunity to shed some light on the developments of visualisation and look at it from a different perspective than has been done before. The first question will establish which trends or changes have effected the visualisation of stories within museums. The second question will compare two kinds of museums with will give an insight to the similarities and differences in their ideas and practices. Those ideas and practices could have influenced the visualisation of stories over time. The last question will show who holds the responsibilities, and the power, over the stories that are to be told. The one that holds that power determines the course of visualisation within the exhibition.

1.3 Contribution to archaeology

Museums play a big part in the profession of archaeology. They have become a place to exhibit the objects and the knowledge an archaeologist provides. But it consists of more than that. Mostly museums handle the object itself and its meaning, but their background stories, the way they came to be part of the museum's collection, is not often mentioned. Take for example the mask of Agamemnon (fig. 2). This mask has, for a long time, been know as the golden mask of the king of Mycenae, which was found by Heinrich Schliemann in 1876 (Onnekink 2009, 21)

Figure 2 – The Mask of Agamemnon (http://australianmuseum.net.au/)

while excavating the tomb of Agamemnon. But in fact the mask did not belong to Agamemnon, and neither did the grave. The ensemble turned out to date about 3 to 4 centuries before the time Agamemnon had lived (Onnekink 2009, 23). However, even when it is widely known that Schliemann fabricated the mask to be Agamemnon's, the majority of society seem to acknowledge it. It is of the utmost importance that museums propagate the real stories and not falsehoods. When you communicate a lie it will stay with you forever, and so do untrue stories.
Where does archaeology stand in this story? Do people even acknowledge the fact archaeology was required for them to be able to view this golden mask, or any other archaeological objects? Asides for the rising popularity of museums, archaeology has also become more and more of a public science. Commercial archaeology, archaeological museums, documentaries, tv-series, the list is endless. Society wants to know what archaeology does and how it works. Therefore it is of paramount importance we present archaeology properly.

The lack of story thus affects more than just the object itself. This thesis will shed another light onto the portrayal of stories and will give a face to the people and places the objects encountered throughout their existence.

1.4 Methodology

1.4.1 Research methods and theoretical framework

To answer the research questions stated in §1.2 this investigation has been divided into two sections: a literature study and a practical study. In the practical study two case studies were selected to research which objects and stories are used in museums and to see how the museums copes with more unknown (and often hidden) stories. To understand, and be able to analyse the different practices within archaeological and ethnological museums the case studies were chosen from two different museums. These were the Museum of Antiquities and the Museum of Ethnology in Leiden. During the visits to the museums research has been done by:

- Personally experiencing, reviewing and describing the exhibition and the objects shown.
    - How are the objects themselves shown to the visitors?
    - What was the story presented; does it include the object biography? Has the provenance or provenience of the object been mentioned?

        - Within this thesis these terms will be discussed according to their meaning within archaeology: the provenience of an object is defined by knowing the original location of an object, whist the provenance is tied to the movement of the object from the maker to the present owner; the chain of successive owners (Joyce 2013, 45).

- Interviewing the museum staff about the object and its story (see appendix 1 for the questions used in the interviews).
    - Does the staff itself know the story behind the objects?
    - How did the exhibition of the object and its story develop over time and what does the museum staff think about the shown, or not show, story there is to the object?
    - How could this be improved?

With the answers to the above stated questions it will be possible to analyse the differences in coping with the hidden stories of objects within the archaeological and the ethnological museum. It might also be able to understand to whom the responsibility lies with, when it comes to selecting an object and its story for display.

The interviews with the museum staff were conducted in Dutch and a number of them were recorded on video, because there were to be used in a documentary. Others were recorded on tape. All the interviews were transcribed to be able to analyse them later on (these transcriptions can be found in appendix 2, 3, 4 and 5).

In addition to the research done at the museum itself some literature research has been conducted to investigate the stories behind the objects. This also goes for information on previous exhibits to be able to ascertain possible changes in the way of exhibiting in each museum. This was later on compared to the outcome of the overall literature study.

To fully understand and be able to analyse the outcomes of the case studies a literature study was done. The literature study has been carried out in two stages.

The first stage was the conduction of information on the subjects of: museum practises, visualisation and storytelling in general and in terms of ethnological and archaeological museums. Also the changes within these practises were researched to determine if there were any trends within the methods of visualising objects and their stories. The second stage researched the chosen case studies and the object biographies.

The literature study started by researching the development of museums as an institution to get a better image of the context of this thesis. With this in mind Baudrillard (1994) was read on the matter of collecting, and Rein (2009/2010) on the collection owners and the systematization of objects. For a more recent view on collecting and museums Imanse (2012) was read. Bennett (1995) and Swain (2007) were consulted for the more historical and overall context. Although these works are somewhat out-dated and have some obsolete ideas they are still quite useful to form a historical framework; this also goes for Rein. Furthermore it would have been interesting to look at some older ideas as notions and analyse them in the light of new ideas and modern practices.

On the subject of ethnological and archaeological museums the following authors were mainly consulted: Gurian (1999) and Baudrillard (1994) who both provide examples that concern museums as a place to store memories and offer different perspectives on the term: objects. They complement each other with their works. Barker (2010) gives a new insight on learning contexts witch are of importance when visualising stories.

Swain (2007) sets apart different display types and Bender (1997) proposes a whole different idea on permanent exhibitions and their shortcomings. In addition Pierce (1990) offers a three-dimensional view on archaeological exhibition whist Greenblatt (1991) only focuses on two: resonance and wonder. Both theories are interesting for this thesis when researching museum objects. They both show there is much more to an exhibition than only the object and its story on its own. Crooke (2006) takes it to another level and deals with the relationship between the museums and the community. As a way of putting ethnological objects into context Rein (2010) and Grognet (2001) have been consulted as they both explain there are three ways of presenting ethnological objects. They both explain that education and the public have become a major point of focus for museums.

Display within the researched types of museums has been discussed within various works. Dean (1994) approaches museum display for a practical point of view whilst Alberti (2005) gives a much more theoretical view on the meaning of objects and their stories. Karp (1991), Price (2001) and Lynch (2001) were studied to gain an insight into the Non-Western perspective on ethnological objects and their stories, as a way of counteracting the often more dominant Western worldviews. The matter of visualisation was of a more difficult nature. Display is a quite common term in museum practise but visualisation has not been discussed much. For the subject of visualisation and storytelling the research was thus broadened to other disciplines such as film studies and journalism. Segal and Heer (2010) provided essential information on the matter of visualisation and its integral part in human culture and Alberti (2005) gave some insights on object biographies and their relations. Finally Bal (1992) was consulted on the matter of visual storytelling.

It is thus apparent many different authors and visions have been consulted. This because, for this particular thesis, it was the aim to give an analytical and objective view on the matter of visualising stories and objects, for as far that is possible. There are some strong theories present in the literature but they were not seen as the only truth. It is thus neither the intention to let one theory dominate the research nor to be shallow. The literature now forms a background to take it a step further, and to look at the matters from a different perspective than has been done before. The thesis does not look at the visualisation of objects and stories from either an archaeological or ethnological perspective, like has been done in previous studies by above-mentioned scholars. It combines those perspectives to form a framework to understand the literature as a whole and it analyses the outcomes in light of the practical research that has been done with the case studies.

The literature research done within the case studies consists of reading articles and books published by the museums and annual reports by museums and museum societies. This was to get an idea of the information at hand within the museum itself. To get an idea of the available information outside of the museum, external sources were consulted. This research has been extended with several interviews with museum staff to get a more personal and involved perception of the visualisation of objects and their stories within the archaeological and ethnological museum.

1.4.2 Terminology

Stories

Within this thesis the word 'stories' is a recurring one. According to the Oxford dictionary a story is an: "account of past events in someone's life or in the development of something (www.oxforddictionaries.com a)." For this thesis the focus will be placed on the development part of the definition. To be more precise: the development of an object in becoming part of a museum's collection. This is also known as a biography, "The course of a person's (in this case: object's) life (www.oxforddictionaries.com b)." In the case of this thesis the so called 'object biographies' will include the people that found, bought, looted, collected, and displayed the objects; the ones the objects came into contact with and that changed its course.

Display, Exhibit, Exhibition

The words 'exhibit', 'exhibition' and 'display' are often used in the same context. They have a rather, as Dean (1994, 2) puts it, arbitrary meaning that varies for each person, and for each institution. For this theses the word 'display' will be used to define the way an object is been shown to the public on its own. This will include its way of presentation and location. An 'exhibit' will refer to the localized groups of objects and the interpretative materials (Dean 1994, 2). Together the display and the exhibit will form the exhibition. This forms the complete public presentation of collections and information, as defined by Dean (1994, 2).

1.5 Limitations of the research

As pointed out in §1.4.1 the research will only be done in two museums. This amount has been chosen because of the time limit and the amount of research there is to be done in both museums. For this thesis the emphasis will thus lie on the Museum of Antiquities and the Museum of Ethnology and within each museum two objects will be thoroughly researched and used as a case study. When the research would have been extended with an additional museum, the clear division between ethnology and archaeology would have been more difficult to attain. This unfortunately means a comparison between different kinds of archaeological and ethnological museums cannot be made. The research in this thesis will be substantial enough to ascertain some insights to the matter and will be able to give some clear answers. But to prove the findings and elaborate on the conclusions, further research will have to be undertaken.

1.6 Chapter division

Before we can begin to answer the above (§1.2) stated research questions an introduction to the research topic will be provided. This brief overview of the development of museums themselves and an overview of the collecting of objects, visualisation and display will be given at the beginning of **chapter 2**. This chapter will continue with the research that has already been conducted concerning the topic of visualising the stories behind objects and the way they are on display and are being handled by museums. This literature study will also focus on the selection of objects and their stories. The literature has been consulted to frame a reference point for the research done in the case studies and for the comparison to be made between the theoretical and the practical aspects of handling objects and their stories within the museum sector. This will provide every reader with an even amount of background knowledge.

As stated in § 1.4.1, two museums have been selected to answer the dilemmas posed in the research questions. Within each museum two case studies are used to illustrate the development of visualisation and research the way museums cope with the hidden stories of the objects. They will be used to research what part of the history of an object is in fact shown to the public and what part is being kept hidden. The selection of these museums went naturally. The Museum of Ethnology has a large collection of ethnographical objects and thus has a lot to offer. And the Museum of Antiquities offers an archaeological side to the story. The research done in these two museums, and the specific case studies, will be discussed further in **chapter 3**.

Chapter 4 will compare and discuss the similarities, differences and remarkable developments to be found in the history and modern day practice of the visualisation of stories within the researched museums and in museums as a whole.

Chapter 5 will provide clear answers to the in §1.2 stated research questions. It will form the conclusion of this thesis.

Chapter 2 - Literature study

2.1 Development of collecting objects and the institute 'museum' itself

In the 16th and 17th century the rulers, aristocrats, churches and later on the academics of Europe became obsessed with collecting objects (from the Latin *colligere*, to select and assemble) (Baudrillard 1994, 22). People from all over the world started collecting exciting and exotic things for their cabinets of curiosities (Rein 2009/2010, 9). Rareness and unusualness were the standard for the collected objects. Ethnographical objects were treated as equals, in comparison to European objects. They were presented according to their function and material condition. Provenance, provenience and traditional context were of no interest to the collectors. Among these cabinets were the royal French *etudes*, the ducal Italian *studiolos* and the imperial Habsbourg *kunst- und Wunderkammern*, which originated in the 15th century. They all consisted of collections of antiquities, art, scientific instruments and "natural and artificial curiosities" (Imanse 2012, 10). Impey and MacGregor (1985, 1) state that the cabinets of curiosities had a whimsical ring to them. Their collectors were fond of products that possessed "singularity, chance and the shuffle of things". Also the natural world was of great interest (Impey and MacGregor 1985, 1). A library full of handwritings, books, imprints and maps often accompanied these collections (Imanse 2012, 10). The *studiolos* were collections of renaissance princes and often most secret. It was not until the end of the 18th century that these *studiolos* became of a more public domain (Bennett 1995, 36).

Collection- and gallery owners often invited each other for private soirees: an evening to come together and discuss their collections. Together they "enjoyed the contemplation of items characterized by curiosity and marvel (Rein 2009/2010, 10)". Collections of artefacts were seen as the demonstration of the owner's power, wealth and knowledge. In the *studiolos'* case that could even be the power of the king. It was a representation of the cosmos. Imanse states: "Mankind was searching for symbolic completeness. Objects and thus collections represent the bigger picture (Imanse 2012, 10-11)." But does something as 'completeness' even exist? Imanse even suggests that the philosophy of the microcosms plays a big part in this 'completeness'. Our little planet and mankind are a reflection of the enormous universe; the displayed objects represented nature as a whole (Imanse 2012 10-12).

Rein proposes another possible explanation to this passion for collecting. She ascribes it to the rise of worldwide travel; Europe had to be understood in a wider context. Baudrillard (1994, 17) also dismissed the above stated kinds of cosmic clichés. He states that men do not want to own objects as a way of ensuring they can outlive themselves. It is not a way of perpetuity of a sort of after life by the way of a mirror-object. It is, according to Baudrillard, a more complex game involving the 'recycling' of birth and death within an object-system. The man himself remains powerless and can live his life uninterrupted and in a cyclical mode (Baudrillard 1994, 17). Impey and MacGregor (1985, 2) argued that the discovery of the New World and the contacts with Africa, South-East Asia and the Far East revolutionised the way people perceived the world and their own place within it.

It is clear for Baudrillard that no object is collected in the same way. "The concept of collecting is distinct from that of accumulating, the latter is an inferior stage of collecting and lies midway between oral introjection and anal retention (Baudrillard 1994, 22)." Baudrillard states that when you are collecting, you have to orient on the 'cultural' and make an internal system for the collection. For without it, the collection can never exist. A collection is first and foremost directed to oneself, although it may speak to other people. The serial aspect of its motivation is thus evident in all collections (Baudrillard 1994, 22-23). The thing that makes a collection transcend is the fact of its incompleteness. The fact that it lacks something makes it appeal to other people (Baudrillard 1994, 23). This could also be the case with stories. Stories are of a personal matter. They are never interpreted the same and can be quite personal. The fact that a story lacks a part of its content might even make it more interesting.

The end of the 17th century brought the rise of the natural sciences and the changing of collection politics. A new way of systematising objects occurred. The former universalism made way for an ambiguity regarding the way in which ethnographic objects should be categorized (Rein 2009/2010, 10). During the 18th century, the age of enlightenment, a variety of companies and societies arose and the first museum in the Netherlands was created: the Teylers museum (1778) (Imanse 2012, 21-22). By the late 19th century the space of representation, which has been created by the public museum, was hijacked by all kinds of social ideologies. It had been sexist in gender patterns, racist in assigning certain cultures and bourgeois in the fact that it clearly articulated to the bourgeois rhetoric's of progress (Bennett 1995, 97). Any particular museum display could be held incomplete, inadequate and partial where it previously had rested on the principle of general human universality. It had been volatile and was part of a constant discourse of reform (Bennett 1995, 97). The 19th century also represents the foundation of the majority of large national museums and even some of the ethnological museums. Their collection became accessible for the interested civil public: the bourgeoisie, men, woman, workers and children (Rein 2009/2010, 10). Swain (2007, 20) states the idea that those 'new museums' were developed due to the ideas of the Age of Enlightenment, which took place during the century previous to their foundation. The character of the arts and curiosities cabinets changed between 1600 and 1800. Collectors were no longer just aristocrats, and humanists; also merchants, patricians and scientist stated collecting. Objects became trophies, which reflected the collectors' travels and pride. Objects were now studied and discussed amongst scientists (Imanse 2012, 12). Most of the cabinets of curiosities closed and their collections were donated or sold to the 'new museums'. These museums were designed for the public and thus a new aim arose according to Bennett (1995, 93). This trend started in the 18th century, during the age of enlightenment. Humanistics and Natural Sciences became more and more separated and criticism on the cabinets increased. Especially the authenticity of relics and bizarre curiosities was questioned. Forgeries – like dragonheads made by taxidermists - were exposed and antiquities and art objects were now often separated from natural sciences and ethnographic objects; specialisations arose (Imanse 2012, 21-22).

Museums did not focus on the segregation of citizens anymore, but on joining the elite-and popular cultures, which had been separated categories, until then. They even became a place for discussions. Museums could represent different standpoints and function as an instrument for public debate (Bennett 1995, 104). "It became a fundamental institute in the modern state (Bazin 1967 in Bennett 1995, 76)." Amongst these 'new museums' were a lot of variances. New disciplines within science arose; such as geology, biology, anthropology and archaeology. They all had a different (part of a) museum and different methods of exhibiting. For this thesis the emphasis will rest on archaeology and ethnology.

The ethnographical objects were now organized according to a national science system: "to their geographical provenance and similarities of their forms and classified according to an imagined stage of civilisation (Rein 2009/2010, 11)." Contextual knowledge was acquired about the artefacts' origins and presented alongside the object at display: such as time, place and ethnic group. The objects were merchandised all over the world and as a result the human remains were not treated as human belongings, but rather as objects serving scientific purpose, merely to gain knowledge about the human race. Individual personalities did not matter. According to Rein (2009/2010, 11) the overall motto was: "one tribe - one chief – one voice." Interviews with people from within the community, different genders or generations are largely missing. The disentanglement of artefacts from the evolutionary system changed this quite discriminatory perspective of the 'Other'. Museums began to reconstruct the cultural background of the objects in their dioramas; the small places where objects were exhibited and could have a different theme and a different style. Ordinary life and religious life became of a bigger interest as part of the background stories. But the reconstructed "native point of view", as Rein (2009/2010, 11) notes, remained less dominant than the Western perspective despite the attempts to restage the cultural meaning of ethnographic collection objects. The voices of 'the Other' have been excused from museum presentations most of the time. According to Rein (2009/2010, 11) there are many museums that are still missing the key concepts of documentation and collection to be able to work with 'unknown' collections.

Up until the present day, there has been a Eurocentric way of presenting museum objects. On the one hand there are the art objects and on the other hand there are pieces of everyday life. Nowadays there are museums that invite people to talk about their objects that are on display in museums (Rein 2009/2010, 11).

The later part of the 20th century saw the museum develop into a multi-faceted, multi-purposed and multidimensional organisation (Dean 1994, 1). Museum resources became user-friendly and had to adept to the more consumer-oriented world in order to compete with other leisure-time activities, according to Dean (1994, 1). The museum is a central place within the quality of life. History and even more, the memory of that history, has a crucial role in the spirit, pride, will and most of all the identity of people. Destruction of the material objects may lead to forgetting, broken spirits and docility according to Gurian (1999, 163). "This understanding is what motivates cultural and ethnic communities to create their own museums in order to tell their stories, in their own way; to themselves and to others." Silverstone (1989, 143 in Mason 2006, 26) agrees with this statement. He invokes the concept of poetics and argues that museums, in its role as storytellers are mythmakers and imitators of reality. Dean (1994, 1) also agrees with Gurian. He says that museums, acting within the human society, began as the equivalent of a cultural memory bank. But Dean also states that museums have evolved to be much more. Their prime medium is the tangible object, and the essential value of a museum's collection is the information that is contained in those objects. That is what it means to the global community according to Dean (1994, 1).

2.2 General terms

2.2.1 Displaying objects

The Cambridge dictionary describes an object as: "a thing that you can see or touch but that is not usually a living animal, plant, or person; a solid/material/physical object (dictionary.cambridge.org)." Baudrillard (1994, 7) proposes a different perspective. He sees objects as a subject or a cause of passion. They are personal possessions and in no way inferior to any other kind of human passion. This, in a way, is consistent with what Gurian (1999, 166) mentioned. She states the fact that objects are often described as: 'real', 'original' or even 'authentic'. They are 'one of a kind' and 'an example of' something that happened in someone's life. She even divides objects into two categories: items made by hand are 'unique' whereas manufactured ones become 'examples'. Objects from both categories became part of museum collections. Of course there are variations within these categories. The line, which separates them, will not always be impenetrable. An example could always become unique because of its history. Take for instance the plaster casts from famous Greek sculptures. In the 20th century, many of these plaster casts were made, as 'examples'; they were, after all, manufactured en masse. Since they served a purpose to educate young art students and later on travelled the world from museum to museum, they became 'unique'. Thus it is not the object itself but the associated story that makes an object worth collecting. Their story could make them unique or important, states Gurian (1999, 171). And in that way the intangible part can make something different out of a tangible object. Baudrillard goes even further than this. He states that objects are "something profoundly related to subjectivity: for while the object is a resistant material body, it is also, simultaneously, a mental realm over which I hold sway, a thing whose meaning is governed by me alone. It is all my own, the object of my passion" (Baudrillard 1994, 7). Gurian (1999, 165) stated that objects are often seen as the central element embedded within all definitions of museums. However "objects did not provide the definitional bedrock in the past, museums may not need them any longer to justify their work (Gurian 1999, 165)." According to Gurian: objects do not form the heart of the museum, but if this is true, what does? Her answer to this question concerns the fact that museums are at first *places* that store memories. Thompson *et al.* (2015, 5) agrees. They argue that museums play a role in communities as keepers of the collective memory. They are able to 'make real' different ways of living, like history books never could. Gurian (1999, 165) adds to this that museums present and organise meaning in some sensory form. It is a combination of a physical place and the memories and stories told therein. These two, above-mentioned, essential ingredients of place and memories (remembrances) are not exclusive to museums. Other institutions, like attractions and shopping malls also create memories. But objects are not to be denigrated; it still is of immense importance. They are like props in a play, the larger issues revolve around the story the museum tells, and the way they tell it. The objects provide the tangible variety. They bring stakeholders, individuals or institutions that have an interest in the actions concerning the object, and the opportunities to debate the meaning of the object so that the memories of the object can be controlled. Most discussions do not even consider the object itself but the ownership of a story (Gurian 1999, 166).

When we talk about the display of objects, Dean (1994, 1) points out that the field of exhibition development, as well as preparation, is complex. It is not to be taken lightly. It demands a lot of attention because there are many subjects and disciplines involved, which all need to be mastered and their terminologies understood. Alberti (2005, 559) states that objects themselves gather their meaning through association with the people they encounter on their travels to and through a collection. An object therefore not only has a relationship with other items but also with its collectors, curators and audiences. Responses of the visitors that view an object and their traces are symptoms of the relationship between 'thing' and 'observer'. "This relation is historically and culturally contingent, but it is never one-sided (Alberti 2005, 568)." Alberti thus proposes that objects are afforded a new set of values and meanings, which in his eyes have too often been ignored in the histories of museums. Shifts in the visitor constituencies and in the ways of viewing the objects thus meant that objects have never been a stable factor (Alberti 2005, 569).

Karp (1991, 11) states that exhibitions and museum practices are often affected by the variety of opinions and visions of a museum. Lynch agrees and determines that museums are continually enjoying the authority of a dominant and structured 'Western' ideology. Where objects used to be arranged as parts of a taxonomic table and became inserted into the flow of time. They are now differentiated in terms of their positions within the evolutionary system (Lynch 2001, 8).

2.2.2 Visualization of stories

Visualisation happens all around us. Television reporters are using it as a backdrop for their stories about items that concern the world. Static visualisations have been in use for a long time to support storytelling. It is apparent that storytelling and expression through visual means contribute to our way of life. It is an integral part of the human culture. Gershon and Page (Gershon and Page in Segal and Heer 2010, 1139) even refer to it as "the worlds second-oldest profession". It thus has had a long time to develop and evolve. Crafting a successful story from the data you have at hand requires a diverse set of skills. Gershon and Page even state that effective storytelling requires: "skills like those familiar to a movie director."

A most important part of a story is its narrative. According to the Oxford Dictionary a narrative can be defined as "a spoken or written account of connected events; a story (www.oxforddictionaries.com d)." Segal and Heer (2010, 1139) explicitly state the fact that central to the definition of narrative, as a series of connected events, is the notion of a chain of causally related events. These kinds of stories usually consist of a beginning, middle and an end. Or as Van Erp *et al.* (2014, 3277) state that stories have "a beginning, a process and an outcome". A story becomes a "true" story when it is more than just a description. The beginner state can improve or degrade through various stages and actions. But a real consensus about what characterises a true story has not yet been achieved (Brenond 1980 in van Erp *et al.* 2014, 3277). The elements of storytelling have been of interest to mankind for a long time. They have tried to understand and formalize the elements of storytelling (Segal and Heer 2010, 1139). Stories can be illustrative, concerning interacting characters and present sequences of facts of a set of observations linked together by a unifying theme. Stories exist in a variety of scales and styles, in text, film, picture, gesture and many more. But one thing that unifies them is the fact that they visualise something that cannot be touched. By telling stories you have got the power to make people remember. This especially applies to museums. Their collections all have a different story to be told. And with that story the visitor can get informed, inspired, or even moved. Visualisation plays a big part in the museum, without visualisation a story cannot be told.

When we talk of stories many different meanings can be ascribed to the term. One of those meanings, like mentioned in §1.4.2, is object biography. Kopytoff (1986 in Gosden and Marshall 2015, 170) felt that objects can never be fully understood at just one point during their existence. Their processes, cycles of production, exchange and consumption have to be looked at as a whole. This is because objects change during their existence. They have the capability to accumulate histories. The present significance of an object thus derives from the persons and the events to which the object is connected too (Gosden and Marshall 2015, 170). Joy supports this statement. He states that an object's biography is not restricted to the historical reconstruction of its birth, life and death. An object biography is relational and comprised of the sum of all the relationships that constitute it (Joy 2009, 552). Simon Chaplin (in Alberti 2005, 571) pleas for "a deeper knowledge of the biographies not just of . . . collectors but of the objects themselves". He also states objects themselves are mute, in pragmatic terms at least. Museum objects do not always have sufficient associated literature or provenance details to sustain thorough research (Chaplin 2005 in Alberti 2005, 571). However, there are indeed many objects that do have such biographies. A wealth of material is still waiting in museum archives to help museum staff and researchers to construct life histories of objects. According to Alberti, if we acknowledge the in §2.2.1 mentioned relationships of objects, we can study not only what it means for an object to be part of a museum, including the qualitative changes that are incurred by being part of a collection and the practices enacted upon them, but we can also study the particularities of the kind of institutions that house the objects (Alberti 2005, 571).

The objects in museums and thus their meanings and stories can be visualized via storytelling. Static visualisations have been used to support storytelling for a long time. This could be by using pictures, paintings, charts or diagrams. By using this format the text conveys the story and the image provides the evidence or the related details (Segal and Heer 2010, 1139). Nowadays, state Segal and Heer (2010, 1140), a new class of visualisations arises. Combining narratives with interactive graphics is something that is getting more often attempted. The visualisation of narrative thus became more complex. Now, the way of storytelling does not only rely on the author but also on the reader. Bal (1992, 588) adds to this that images, in Western cultural heritage, have been ascribed the function of showing, and words had the function of telling. These two strategies of representation have been in competition with each other within each medium. We thus might have to consider a new way, as is in accordance with Segal and Heer. We will have to consider the possibility of visual telling (Bal 1992, 588).

Communication is an important issue in the museum. Swain made a list of the basic tools of communication present. These include: objects, words, pictures and assorted props to stimulate the senses of sight, sound, touch and smell. But he does not stop there because something is added to the list, something that he finds hard to describe. It is the way those words, the objects and the pictures are combined with props as a way of creating an atmosphere and ambience for the display (Swain 2007, 217). Bal (1992, 589) even states that the story an exhibit tells is that of its own construction. It is the "technical perfection of the realist aesthetics that constantly foregrounds its own status as a backdrop for the artefacts" (Bal 1992, 589).

2.3 Development of display and visualisation within the archaeological museum

2.3.1 Displaying archaeological objects in museums

One of the most popular ways of learning nowadays are the audio-visual media such as television. However, none of them teach about the past consistently, not even books (Barker 2010, 295). People see the past in the light of their own experiences and cultural constructs, states Wineburg (2001 in Barker 296, 2010). Museums now recognise people wanting to play an active role in interpreting their own and other's past, as a way to make it mean something to them. This may be even crucial to learning (Barker 2010, 296). Dierking (2002 in Barker 2010, 296) adds to this the argument that there are three overlapping learning contexts contributing to the way people (mostly children) interact with and apprehend objects in museums. These are the personal contexts (this includes motivation, expectation, interest, prior knowledge and experience), the *sociocultural contexts* (this includes mediation between groups and individuals and social aspects of learning within the immediate group) and the *physical contexts* (advance preparation, setting and the immediate environment). Research had been done to find explanations for the logistics of exhibitions, in which the above-mentioned ideas play a part. But they also include traffic flow, sights lines, the amount of time a visitor spends in a specific area and diligence (whether the visitor fully examines the elements, objects and text signs that are on display) (Barker 2010, 296-297). The last one is of importance to this thesis. When a visitor does not look for the presented or even hidden story, he will not find it. Archaeological museums have had, according to Barker (2010, 297), many critiques regarding their museum settings. They mostly applied to their use of formalism, primitivism, authenticity and historicism in their museum setting. Bourdieu (1984 in Barker 2010, 297) argued the main purpose of museums is to maintain the existing class distinctions. Museums are rectified to perpetuate stereotypical understandings. Wood (1997 in Barker 2010, 297) confirms this has also been done by archaeological museums. The stereotypical presentation of for example gender roles persists. Swain (2007, 215) states that Wood mostly observed these stereotypes in smaller museums; this thus implies that Wood's arguments is only applicable to small museums. Swain however does not propose an alternative argument to add to this case.

Bourdieu (Bourdieu and Johnson 1993 in Barker 2010, 297) brings forward the fact that museums play a key role in consecrating objects. They embody and perpetuate the theories of how objects are to be appropriately apprehended, understood and contextualised. It has even been argued further that museums are able to create an environment that encourages certain kinds of theorizing (Whitehead 2009 in Barker 2010, 197-197).

The view of objects as signs that can be read reflects, according to Conn (2004 in Barker 2010, 298), a textual view of representation. This view dominated the late-eighteenth and the nineteenth century and is common in studies of museum interpretation (van Kraayenoord and Paris 2002 in Barker 2010, 298).

The design of archaeological museums is not only specific to archaeology. There are many elements that are common for all subject areas. But most museum designers will work across varying subjects and periods (Swain 2007, 210). Swain (2007, 210) even points out there are no display types that are particular to archaeology and archaeological collections. For instance displaying archaeology and archaeological objects by typology or series might be considered to be a characteristic of archaeological collections but this form of display is also found in museums concerning natural history and social history (Swain 2007, 210).

Over the years there have been many museums that attempted to communicate histories and prehistories but they are all similar in a way. In their fundamentals they have not changed radically over time. Swain (2007, 211) addresses the fact that most museums are still putting partially conserved and reconstructed objects in glass cases. They are to be interpreted by the written word and are supported by pictures and models of reconstruction.

To discuss the subject of displaying archaeology even further, a statement of Bender (1997, 55) could be brought forward. He suggests that museums are doing exactly what they ought not to be doing by creating permanent and temporary exhibitions. This because stories, design and display methods change over time and are thus never really permanent. But because creating a museum exhibition is an expensive process, museums tend to make their exhibitions long running, conservative and consensual. This thus inhibits development and shorter and more questioning exhibitions are to be put aside the permanent galleries (Bender 1997, 55).

2.3.2 Visualisation of the stories behind archaeological objects

Museums use real things, like objects, as a their main method of communication. This is a great and unique strength, because other types of communication such as books or movies, do not have this aspect. But it could also hold a disadvantage. Swain (2007, 211) points out the fact that things and ideas that cannot be so easily communicated visually have an immediate disadvantage against those that can. For example: a complete attic vase can be more easily understood than a single shard. This presents the museum with two challenges. First: how to avoid giving a certain period a more prominent place, only because they survived better. Secondly: how to interpret the objects that are not visually interesting. These challenges are of importance for archaeology because most of the evidence does deteriorate over time and many sites are difficult to understand visually (Swain 2007, 211).
Stories are also hard to visualise and can thus be seen as part of the disadvantaged category.

According to the surveys of Ramos and Duganne (2000 in Barker 2010, 295) it seems that, from the 88% of their respondents that visited an archaeological museum, only 8% claimed to have learned something about archaeology. It are the new media, such as television, that are the most popular tools for learning. The information and stories presented in exhibitions helps people to interpret the past according to their own experience and their cultural constructs. "We see the past not as it was but as we are (Barker 2010, 296)."

Greenblatt (1991, 54) focuses on two dimensions of objects: 'wonder', the ability to stop the audience in its tracks, and 'resonance', the ability to evoke a larger set of cultural forces. He argues that a successful exhibition requires elements of both 'wonder' and 'resonance'. "The poetics and politics of representation are almost completely fulfilled in the experience of wonderful resonance and resonant wonder (Greenblatt 1991, 54)." Exhibitions could then succeed if they offer the elements that provide wonder and elements that are able to contextualize and embed the object through resonance (Barker 2010, 296).

Pierce (1990, 150) suggests there are three dimensions in archaeological exhibitions that convey a story, that convey knowledge. Those are 'depth', the relative number of steps to get from object or element A to object or element B. 'Rings', the number of alternative pathways without backtracking and 'entropy' the relative linearity of the exhibition layout. These dimensions are, according to Pearce, the things that structure how the information of an exhibition is perceived (Pierce 1990, 150). The most beneficial exhibition would then be one with a high entropy value, a high ring factor and considerable depth. This kind of exhibitions would "show knowledge as a proposition with may stimulate further, or different, answering propositions (Pierce 1990, 150)."

2.4 Development of display and visualisation within the ethnological museum

2.4.1 Displaying ethnological objects in museums

In ethnological museums the organisation of ethnographic items occurs in different ways. One way of organisation is a very classic but still contemporary way of presentation. The objects are hereby systematized based on the indigenous society they officially belong to, mostly according to geographical regions (Kästner 2009 in Rein 2010, 47). In such a way of exhibition planning the traditional Western scientific way of creating order is displayed. It brings a symmetrical order by using objects, languages and clear borders between, for example, the living areas of indigenous peoples. In such an exhibition you will not find any interviews with people from the communities, talking about their way of viewing their own cultural environment or organisation within the community (Rein 2010, 48).

A second way of organising, according to Rein (2010, 48), is the use of all-embracing categories. This could be for instance: "the world of woman" or "the world of men". Borders of indigenous communities, which are different than national borders, are of less interest in this case. Around the 1950s objects were shown as being part of a holistic and cultural concept. They were usually interpreted as being tangible illustrations of mostly abstract, intangible (non-material) and cognitive correlations, which represented social organisation and were mostly used as an expression of religious rituals. One thing that is completely abandoned by this approach is the 'native point of view'. It is not stimulated at all, according to Rein (2009/2010, 11) (as explained in §2.1). The voices of 'the Other' have been excused from museum presentations most of the time. It is mainly the cultural context of the objects that matters; it is explained and interpreted in text and displays (Förster 1999, 40 in Rein 2010, 48). In recent museum practice the word 'community' has become of more importance. According to Crooke (2006, 170) the pre-existing concern to make museums relevant to the 'community' has been gradually shifting towards combining museums and key social policy issues. These issues include "tackling exclusion, building cohesive communities, and contributing to community regeneration (Crooke 2006, 170)". The relationship between the community and the museum encourages people to investigate the meaning and consequences of the relationship and what it could say about the role of modern day museums (Crook 2006, 170).

A third classic concept of exhibiting, presents the ethnographic artefacts as 'pure' art objects. This form of exhibiting follows a formal and aesthetic point of view. Objects are thus exhibited like Western art and are usually shown in Art Museums and Galleries. These exhibitions do not only focus on the object itself, but also on the composition of the object together with the individual artist. Thus not the culture where it came from, but the maker of the object became the point of interest. They are mostly removed from its cultural context or the suggestion of a functional use (Rein 2010, 48).

Grognet (2001, 51) also determines three mayor stages of displaying ethnological objects. The first period roughly spans from the end of the 19th century till the 1930s. In this period museum practices aimed to display artefacts in exhibitions with prominence to arrays of specific objects. This could be, for example, weaponry or pottery. The presentations were intended to be exhausting and were set up according to a classification based on the industrial level present in cultures. They ranged from 'archaic' or 'primitive' to 'developed' or 'evolved' (Grognet 2001, 51). During the professionalization of ethnology around 1925, the ethnological exhibition itself became more 'scientific'. Educational dimensions were introduced to spread the knowledge about the diversity of cultures. The displays themselves imitated reality; photographs, taken during fieldwork, were used and got supplemented by text written by ethnologists and the displays were broken apart into geo-cultural areas and reflected the monographs made by scientists. The museum thus made a transition from the exhibition of ethnological objects to the science of ethnology (Grognet 2001, 52). Grognet states that subsequently a revolution in museum practice took place; museography now became a visible part of research undertakings. From the 1960s onwards, Grognet (2001, 53) states that ethnographic exhibits have been presented as a showpiece and as a work of art in its own right. It can thus no longer be claimed that exhibitions focus on ethnology as a science, even though the ethnological discourse is produced by scientists (Grognet 2001, 53).

Nowadays, Rein (2009, 48) proposes, the public has become more and more of a point of focus for museums. It started in the 1970s when new educational programs occurred and new political challenges arose. Working together with the public and engaging their expectations became more significant. Macdonald (2006, 3) even describes a 'new museology'. A more theoretical and humanistic form of museology. The perspective shifted in 'new museology', it was now part of a broader deployment in many of the cultural and social disciplines in the 1980s. Especially the question of representation was raised states MacDonald. How did objects come to be inscribed and by whom? Rein (2009, 48) mentions there are two sides to the story of representation in the ethnological museum. On the one side you had the public, the museum visitors, who wanted to know more about the unknown cultures of the world. And on the other hand there where the indigenous peoples who began to question the way they were, and still are, represented in museum exhibitions (Rein 2009 in Rein 2010, 48).

After a while indigenous peoples became a part of the exhibition design. This caused a varied set of reactions. Museum people often saw objects as 'their objects' states Rein (2010, 49). Some museums even experimented with the many possibilities of working with indigenous peoples and how to integrate their original, individual voice into their own 'scientific' concepts (Rein 2010, 49). Ethnological museums thus mainly focussed on historically 'recent' cultures from 'far away' in cultural comparison to Europe and the West. One of the key aspects of this trend was the fact that objects were to be considered uncontaminated by any contact with 'modern culture'. The concept flourished for a long time but was put into question as a result of global developments (Rein 2009/2010, 16).

As stated by Wood and Swain in § 2.3.1 the archaeological museum has some stereotypes that still persist. Bal (1992, 567) notes that within anthropology, and also ethnology, there too has been a lot of speculation concerning the origins and meaning of alimentary taboos that teach people about distinction. These could concern, for example, taboos regarding food or sexual taboos. Bal (1992, 567) states that if we forbid certain connections and incorporations, people can be able to learn to respect the differences between themselves and others. An ethnological display would in that case not question and criticize another culture, but sustain it. Self-reflection is then swept aside in favour of naturalisation (Bal 1992, 567).

2.4.2 Visualisation of the stories behind ethnological objects

Ethnological objects have something to tell us, states Grognet (2001, 54). But the object is mostly silent. The object would be able to communicate if they are rid of the idea of being a piece of art. It must shed its invasive aesthetic dimension, for without getting rid of the objects aesthetic nature, we can never attempt to define the objects in term of its use. Because before it ended up in a museum exhibit, it had a life of its own, it had a purpose. This is mostly limited or skipped in aesthetic displays (Grognet 2001, 54). Grognet (2001, 54) also points out that being on display is not enough. Only when the ethnological discourse that accompanies an object is understood it will be able to speak for itself. But to achieve this goal a museum has to understand that "visitors are not interchangeable 'empty boxes' that need only be stuffed full of ethnological facts in order for understanding to dawn (Grognet 2001, 55)". There is no need to define the 'average visitor'; this notion of the 'general public' will have to change according to Grognet (2001, 55). This because each individual bears, more or less, socially determined ideas and notions along, which define his or her vision of the world around it.

As stated by Rein (2009/2010, 11) ethnographic objects are often displayed as art. Price (2001, 83) adds to this that it is first and foremost conceptualized as a perceptual-emotional experience. The objects are expected to bring the visitor pleasure during its visit; it is not supposed to be a cognitive-educational experience. There is an important distinction between Western and primitive objects, an often created category that is questioned by Price. This distinction is that the Western ones are presented as made by a named individual and fitting in an evolving history of artistic styles. Primitive or ethnographical art pieces are, in contrary, presented with information about technical, social or religious functions. The notion that it can speak for itself is erased (Price 2001, 83). It is this mode of presentation, according to Price (2001, 83) that the viewer is invited to form an understanding of the object itself, solely on the basis of the explanatory text. Rather than to "respond to perceptual-emotional absorption of its formal qualities (Price 2001, 83)". In a way the emphasis on an object's cultural distance is thus replacing the focus of an object's place within a documentable and historical framework (Price 2001, 83).

In §2.2.1 it was stated that exhibitions and museum practices are often affected by the variety of opinions and visions within a museum. All exhibitions are organised on a basis of assumptions that concern the intentions of the producers of objects, their cultural skills and the qualifications of the audience. Also the aesthetic merit of the object or setting exhibited is judged and the claim to the authoritativeness made by the exhibition itself (Karp 1991, 12).

But more problems arise when different cultures and their perspectives come into contact. Those multiple gazes found amongst, and within, cultures mean it is much more complicated for a museum to debate these cultures. Debates about whether they have to privilege the objects or their context for example, whether to accentuate the aesthetic value of the objects or the prepositional knowledge about the objects, and whether the message of the curator about the objects history and its original context is more authentic to tell than the provenance of the object itself (Karp 1991, 12).

These debates do however not question the fundamental assumptions concerning 'exhibition' itself as a medium of, and setting for, representation (Karp 1991, 12). Exhibitions are mostly thought of, states Karp (1991, 12), as conforming to one of two models: either as a vehicle for displaying an object or it is a space for storytelling. It is also stated that it is not possible for an exhibition not to contain traces of either one of these models (Karp 1991, 13). It is concluded that aesthetic responses have to be based upon experience and skill, which are derived from settings that are external to the singular experience of appreciating an object (Karp 1991, 13).

Alpers (in Karp 1991, 13) proposes that labels distract. She wishes that the story of an exhibition is told in a setting that is separated from the objects themselves. But Alpers (in Karp 1991, 13) also acknowledges that the reception of a story depends on the degree in which knowledge and perceptual skill is shared, between the artist and their audience.

Museums and exhibitions and thus the story they convey are, in principle, morally neutral. But in practice it always makes a moral statement. Karp (1991, 14) states that the alleged and innate neutral position of a museum and its exhibitions is, in fact, the very quality that makes it possible for them to become an instrument of power, next to their instrument of education and experience.

Exhibitions are representatives of identity: either through assertion (directly) or through implication (indirectly). When a cultural 'other' is implicated the exhibition tells us who we are and, even more so, who we are not. Exhibitions thus form a privileged arena, which are able to present images of the 'self' and the 'other' (Karp 1991, 15).

2.5 Selection of objects and their stories

Within a single museum there may be different attitudes and orientations amongst the museum staff, because they are organisations composed out of diverse personnel. They all have their own different interests and this is what sometimes poses difficulties for museums in developing an internal consensus with clear defined objectives (Karp 1991, 11). Dean (1994, 2) adds that exhibitions require teamwork involving all museum specialities. One ought to have the general knowledge of the theories about exhibitions, the methodologies and the practice. These aspects are the best tools any exhibition team member can acquire.

Bernadette Lynch, Head of Education of the Manchester Museum states that when a museum curator was asked about the role of the curator in a museum, he said: "I work with people to claim back pride in their past, recognise their role in shaping the present, and engender the knowledge, power and confidence to change the future (Lynch 2001, 1)." Lynch immediately questions this statement, which she calls 'social inclusion' in action. "How free are museums to make it a reality (Lynch 2011, 1)?" When thinking about the term 'excluded' or 'included' one might start thinking of a place or nation, something with a boundary. Lynch states that people are constantly searching for clues that remind us of who we are and where we belong. We search for pictures and objects, "for something we can take hold of that says: "Here I am, this is me" (Lynch 2001, 2)." With this same kind of spirit they walk into a museum, proposes Lynch (2001, 2). People thus enter a museum as seekers, looking for experiences through the objects (Lynch 2001, 5).

Alberti suggests that when selecting objects the things themselves are not the ones who have to get the most power. It is their lives in the histories of collections and the museums themselves, which forms their perspectives, meanings and their values. If one does assert too much power to the objet itself it would diminish the agency of the humans that are part of its story. Objects do not act in their own right but rather in the material culture that was acted upon it (Alberti 2005, 561).

When selecting a story that is to be told in an exhibition, Hawkins (2012, 44) proposes, there are three narratives to be taken into account as narrators share their stories, when looking from a scientist point of view. Firstly, they could be acting as practitioners within the science. Secondly, they could act as a member of an institution or lastly as an individual in its own right. The narrator thus talks for science and the museum. But it also leaves room to talk about himself, as a member of the wider society (Hawkins 2012, 44).

"Museums are gatekeepers" proposes Lynch (2001, 2). She states they have the ability to allow access to criticism about their most valuable objects. Even a university must allow these voices of criticism, to let their perceptions of knowledge and truth be questioned (Lynch 2001, 2). Museums cannot keep their distance from creating partnerships, which can be beneficial to both parties. But Lynch (2001, 10) also warns that the role of curator had better be separated from that of the gatekeeper to collections. This way the communities can begin to use the resources to be found in the collection to make a statement within the exhibitions. Lynch (2001, 9-10) proposes that museums must continually weigh, ethically, their merits and examine 'social inclusion' and 'access', "in the light of very real and valid question of power and control (Lynch 2001, 10)." But even then, no one is able to look at an object objectively. As Price (2001, 93) describes it: "even many Primitives are endowed with a discriminating 'eye' – fitted within an optical device that reflects their own cultural education (Price 2001, 93)." The aesthetic goals of the makers of documentations are thus never universal. The illusion is being kept alive by the idea of a shared cultural knowledge and perspective in the Western world. But when cultural knowledge and perspective are implicit rather than explicit the aesthetic evaluations can be assumed an authority. And this seems, according to Price (2001, 98) arbitrary, timeless and unconditional. Karp (1991, 15) adds to the discussion that it are neither the producers of the objects nor the audiences, which form the most powerful agents in the construction of identity. The exhibition makers themselves hold the power to mediate amongst the parties involved. The parties who will not get into direct contact. But Karp also mentions that the audience can escape the control by refusing to follow the exhibition plan and seek their own assumptions about identity, which are confirmed in the design and arrangements of the objects (Karp 1992, 15). In any case we have to remember: the voices that will be represented in a museum exhibition will always depend upon scientific and political parameters. What this means is that there is no neutral place in a museum (Rein 2009/2010, 16).

2.6 Conclusion literature

From the literature it became apparent that objects form relationships with the people they encounter and within these relationships they are afforded values and meanings (Alberti 2005, 559). Those values and meanings where mostly being ignored by museums, but that is now changing. Alberti (2005, 569) proposed that object were thus never a stable factor. Something that is a constant factor, according to Lynch (2001, 8), is the fact that objects are often placed within an evolutionary 'Western' system. Within these systems, and others, objects are mostly mute (Chaplin in Alberti 2005, 571). But objects do not have to be mute. Objects and their stories can be visualized through various ways. Visual storytelling is one of those ways. This method combines narrative with interactive graphics (Bal 1992, 588; Segal and Heer 2010, 1114). Communication thus becomes a more important issue within museums. But next to the objects, words, pictures and props it is also the combination of all these factors, which create an atmosphere and ambiance for the display that is of importance (Swain 2007, 217).

When we talk about the archaeological museum it is clear that the issue of 'Western' organisation is also present. Objects, in the past, were mostly treated as index fossils, organised according to static time periods and cultures. Nowadays cultural processes became more important than culture history (Barker 2010, 295). The way an object is perceived by the visitor is depending on the way the story is being visualized. But according to Greenblatt (1991, 54) there are two factors that determine the success of the whole exhibition. These are 'resonance' and 'wonder'. If these two factors are successfully created, then objects can be contextualized and embedded (Barker 2010, 296). Pierce (1990, 150) adds to Greenblatt's statement that knowledge has to be a proposition that would stimulate answering those propositions. When we look at the visualisation of the story itself, it are the new media that best convey stories, state Ramos and Duganne (2000 in Barker 2010, 295). But the information is always interpreted in light of one's own experiences and cultural constructs (Barker 2010, 296). The way the object's themselves are displayed is not so very different in archaeology than in any other discipline. Museums still often use the standard elements; like glass showcases supported by words and pictures (Swain 2007, 211). This however is more and more changing, multimedia and audio-visual elements such as documentaries, mobile applications, film projections and even Kinect or Wii games have been used to accompany the objects on display. Bender (1997, 55) suggests that museums have to stop using permanent exhibitions because those leave no room for development.

Ethnological objects, like archaeological objects, are classified in a Western scientific way according to a specific theme, mostly indigenous societies (Kästner 2009 in Rein 2010, 47). The level of evolution within society was of importance as well (Grognet 2001, 51). Within the first of these exhibitions the personal 'indigenous' point of view was of no interest (Rein 2010, 48). Later on the holistic and cultural concept was introduced and tangible illustrations were combined with intangible and cognitive correlations to represent social organization and religious rituals (Förster 1999, 40 in Rein 2010, 48). However, states Rein (2010, 48), ethnographical objects were often still presented as 'pure' art objects. If museums do not lose the idea of art, the object will never be able to speak for itself and tell its own story from discovery to exhibition (Grognet 2001, 54). Although, according to Price (2001, 83) the museum is still allowed to choose whether they focus on the art or on the ethnological object. In the more recent past, ethnological exhibitions became more scientific and educational. Stories of diverse cultures were told and displays contained pictures and personal texts (Grognet 2001, 53). Crooke (2006, 170) points out that the community itself has become more and more relevant to the museum and it made them think about their role in modern day life. Next to the community the public got more involved and their expectations were taken seriously (Rein 2009, 48).

The story that an object tells is, according to Alpers (1991, 31-32) never without a moral statement, whilst they are perceived to be neutral. This alleged neutral position of a museum is in fact the one thing that gives them the power within education and experience (Karp 1992, 14). Bal (1992, 567) states that people are only able to respect the differences between themselves and the other if incorporation and connections are stopped. An ethnological exhibition thus merely has to 'show', and must not criticize the other culture. Exhibitions are then representatives of identity, as Karp (1992, 15) puts it. They tell us something about who we are and who we are not. Karp also states that an exhibition can either display an object or form a space for storytelling. An exhibition without one of these aspects does not exist (Karp 1992, 12-13). But merely being on display is not enough for an object to be understood (Grognet 2001, 54). The ethnological discourse of the objects has to be understood before an object is able to speak for itself. Every visitor has its own ideas and notions about the world around them and those have to be respected by a museum; visitors are no blank slates. This also goes for the museum staff. The power of selecting an object to be on display lies not with the object itself. The object biography is what created their perspectives, meanings and values. Within their biography, the agency of humans ought not to be erased. Objects do not act on their own right but rather in the material culture that was acted upon it (Alberti 2005, 561). Still the museums remain the gatekeepers, according to Hawkins (2012, 44), regardless of the way the story is being told. Museums have to keep an open mind towards creating partnerships and criticism (Lynch 2001, 10). Even though it may never be able to regard an object without having a discriminating eye, and the aesthetic goals of exhibition makers will never be universal, the illusion of a shared cultural knowledge is being kept alive (Price 2001, 93).

Chapter 3

3.1 The case studies

As described in §1.4.1 this thesis discusses case studies from two different museums, namely the Museum of Ethnology and the Museum of Antiquities, both situated in Leiden. Within each of these museums two different objects will be researched to establish their background story, and how the museums are handling it. Does the museum staff agree with the way the background story is being displayed or would they want to handle it in a different way?

For the Museum of Antiquities the objects are: the golden helmet of De Peel and the Cypriot head. And for the Museum of Ethnologies these are: the Lombok Treasure and the Singosari statues.

The research done with the objects consists of reading about the objects in books and articles as well as on the websites of the museums itself. Besides the literature research, interviews have been held with the museum curators to gain further inside information about the objects and the museum.

3.2 Case study 1: The National Museum of Ethnology

The National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden belongs to one of the oldest ethnographical museums in the world, together with the Batavian Society for Arts and Sciences (Ter Keurs 2005, 16). It was founded in 1837 and is located in a former hospital (Staal and De Rijk 2003, 35). The museum was closed for some time until it was reopened again in 1946. Since that moment on the museum has been paying attention to organising temporary exhibitions to attract various audiences (Rassers 1937, 61-62; Van Wengen 2002, 102). There are many permanent exhibits showing collections from Africa to China, and from Japan to Southern America and the Arctic. In 2014, the National Museum of Ethnology owned 240.00 objects and 500.000 audio-visual sources from over the whole world (volkenkunde.nl a). Scientific research, participation in controversial publics programmes and many international collaborative projects makes the National Museum of Ethnology one of the most important European expertise centrums in the world on the subject of global cultures (volkenkunde.nl a).

The National Museum of Ethnology was redesigned in 1996. The final design had to do justice to the museum's mission statements, the management of the study and presentation of cultural world heritage to provide insight into how cultures interweave, and enhance the quality of all the sub-collections. The new interior had to be an expression of the philosophy that the museum believed in, which was the justification of ethnological collections (Staal and De Rijk 2003, 44). Subsequently, state Staal and De Rijk (2003, 44), the collection itself served as the aesthetic and philosophical starting point for the design. Also the departments of communication and education played a key role in the new programme demands as well. They were open-ended, which allowed the museum to rewrite the script for the design as the project continued (Staal and De Rijk 2003, 45).

Since April 1st the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden fused with two other museums in the Netherlands: the 'Tropenmuseum' in Amsterdam and the 'Afrika Museum' in Berg en Dal. They became: the National Museum of World Cultures. They are now one organisation, which means the curators and exhibition departments now have to divide their attention over the three museums (Interview Woerlee, 2015, for full interview see appendix 2). However, each museum still has its own subjects. Woerlee (Interview, 2015) states the Museum of Ethnology in Leiden primarily focuses on the icons of World Heritage. Subjects like the 'Maori' and 'Geisha' have been tackled in recent years. The museum tries to translate those stories to their audience. One aspect that plays a big part in this is the use of media. The exhibitions are now becoming multi-medial, but the objects are still the primary focus. The use of media in the museum has been present for some years now. The visitors are used to 'moving pictures' and use of audio-visual elements, according to Woerlee (Interview, 2015), which thus appeals to them. Especially families with children want to have interactive activities. This thus forms an efficient way to teach children about cultures. The museum often uses video's and pictures from their own database, but it also occurs that they work together with photographers connected to the subject. The (moving) image and interactivity is, according to Woerlee (Interview, 2015), important for conveying knowledge from museum to visitor. And subsequently it brings the possibility to broaden the subjects that are presented.

Prof. dr. Pieter ter Keurs (Interview, 2015, for full interview see appendix 3), former curator of the Museum of Ethnology, explains that the stories and histories of collecting objects were of no importance in the old exhibitions. They were mainly focussing on the esoteric aspects of the objects. Ter Keurs tried to change this and involved the names of the collectors into the exhibition but anything else that hinted at a more controversial way of collecting was being erased. Nowadays this element of colonial times has been included (Interview Ter Keurs, 2015). Ter Keurs states he is glad it is becoming more and more accepted to show the more difficult stories behind objects. Because it should be possible to talk openly about colonial times and the art and objects it brought the museums. It had been 60 years but finally it is possible to talk about this without shame. Still you constantly have to take action. People still find it hard, odd and difficult but it does not have to be (Interview Ter Keurs, 2015).

Woerlee (Interview, 2015) explained that when designing and planning an exhibition there are many choices to be made. The curator of the department in question and the creator of the exhibition will take these decisions. One of those choices involves the stories that are to be to be told in the exhibition. Woerlee (Interview, 2015) states she usually works from the perspective of the visitor. What does the visitor want to know? In ethnographic museums, she states, people want to know how an objects has been used, why it has been used and why it has been made. The origin of the object or who collected or bought the object is not something the visitors would want to know per se, states Woerlee (Interview, 2015). If someone, for example, visits the 'Geisha' exhibition they will want to hear stories about the objects and not how the museum acquired them. But none the less she does mention it would be interesting to set up an exhibition that shows how objects ended up in the Museum of Ethnology. In the tours the museum provides, questions are often raised about the provenance of an object. Those questions need to be dealt with correctly, because a lot of falsehoods are often circulating amongst visitors (Interview Woerlee, 2015).

Some exhibitions, like the Geisha, consist greatly of objects acquired via contacts the museum holds. The objects in the Geisha exhibition are on loan from a geisha teahouse, and this story is important to be told because it shows the visitor how the museum cooperates with other countries. The Museum of Ethnology thus displays this cooperation in their exhibition. But Woerlee (Interview, 2015) emphasises it would not be interesting to portray a background story with every object.

Internally there have been and still are some discussions concerning the text labels of the objects, states Woerlee (Interview, 2015). What is going to be written on the labels and what not? Do we have to state the collector or the antiques dealer it came from? Or if it is part of loot, what do we tell? The museum for example houses British war loot from Africa. In those cases the fact that they were looted during war is indeed told to the visitor. Woerlee (Interview, 2015) concludes that, when displaying stories of objects, decisions will have to be made. First and foremost the story has to be recorded and stored. Once this is accomplished a choice has to be made between telling a story or not. This choice coincides with the aim and the storyline of your eventual exhibition.

Apart from story choice there will have to be made some principal choices about the texts themselves. How long do you make them? In the Museum of Ethnology text are usually between 50 and 100 words. The museum is not a book, says Woerlee (Interview, 2015). We want show the visitor the beauty of the objects and how they were made. Texts need to be supportive. A more extensive text providing background information can be found in the, so-called, C texts. This way the visitor is able to get a better understanding of the context the object is placed in. In the permanent exhibitions there are columns to be found which provide extensive information about an object, these texts can also be found in the online database. These columns have some disadvantages when the museum is crowded and they tend to overload, state Staal and De Rijk (2003, 123). But they have far more advantages. They do not distract the visitor who is only coming to see the object itself and gives those who want more information a more detailed insight than the traditional description.

In the interviews with the museum staff of the Museum of Ethnology a question regarding their personal thoughts about displaying the stories behind objects in museums was raised. Subsequently they were to state an object of their interest. Anne Marie Woerlee (Interview, 2015) mentions that it is usually the person behind the story that makes it fascinating. The personal stories are the ones that are worth sharing. She states there are so many great objects and there are so many of them. But the ones that have an interesting story, and with which she has a personal connection, are the Kotomisi costumes from Surinam. This is a costume worn during a national holiday that has many different stories attached to it. The Surinamese wear it with pride because it symbolises that, even with their difficult history, they came out positive. More about these costumes can be found in the entire interview (Appendix 2).

Prof. dr. Marijke Klokke (Interview, 2015)(appendix 4), curator of the Classical, South and South East Asia department of the Museum of Ethnology in Leiden, states objects are great to work with because of their abundance of stories. Every object has its own special story but there are so many objects it would just be impossible to show them all. She has a hard time deciding which object would be her personal favourite; there are so many unknown ones in the museum. But ultimately she concludes the objects of which the background story is not yet known are the ones of utmost interest. Only then it becomes a discovery.

Drs. Francine Brinkgreve (Interview, 2015)(appendix 5), Curator of the Indonesian department, tells about her favourite object, which is the Ihram clothing she received as a token of friendship from an Indonesian family. In spite of the fact that Islam men usually get buried in their Ihram clothing they gave it to Brinkgreve to strengthen the bonds between the National Museum of Ethnology and the National Museum of Indonesia in Jakarta. She adds that the fact that she knows the story behind the object makes her like the object even more, even though it is not being shown in the exhibit.

3.2.1 The Lombok Treasure – from treasure to trophy

Figure 3 – A broche, which is part of the Lombok Treasure (TMS RV-4905-129)

In the city of Cakranegara on Lombok, one of the islands of Indonesia, stands the palace of Anak Agung Gde Ngurah Karangasem (1872-1894), the monarch of Mataram (one of the principalities of Lombok). He acquired his position after a bloody conflict between the principalities of Mataram and Singasari. Mataram won but lost its monarchy. Subsequently Anak Agung Gde Ngurah Karangasem came to power (Ernawati 2005, 149; Ernawati 2007, 188). He asserted this power and wealth through the possession of many golden objects, ornamental weapons, jewels and gemstones (fig. 3); like many other Indonesian monarchs and sultans did. The monarch himself, his family and the servants were all adorned with these precious jewels (Brinkgreve 2013b, 143). He even built himself a temple complex based on the *Pura Ageng* (Great Temple) of Karangasem on Bali (Ernawati 2005, 149).

The civilians of Lombok are called the Sasak. The society of Lombok consists of social layers, based on descent. The highest ones are the *raden*, the middleclass are the *triwangsa* and the lowest one is formed by the *jarang karang* (Ernawati 2005, 148). Nowadays, Ernawati (2007, 187) points out, these social layers are fading due to education, power and wealth. But descent still is of great importance.

In 1843 the Netherlands and Mataram signed a contract, which recorded that the Netherlands reigned over Lombok instead of England (Ernawati 2005, 150). In the meantime Anak Agung Gde Ngurah Karangasem had become old but was not ready to transfer his power to his two sons. The principality of Mataram went downhill. On 7 August 1891 a war with *Pray,* which had already been supported by villages that were opposing the reign of Mataram, broke out. The war escalated and many people died or got imprisoned and the Dutch government got involved (Ernawati 2005, 151). The government of the Dutch-Indies demanded an apology from the monarch of Mataram and they wanted him to resign as monarch, but he declined (Ernawati 2005, 152).

The government of the Dutch-Indies thus undertook an expedition to Lombok on 10 June 1894 to assert an ultimatum, led by General Vetter (Ernawati 2005, 151). The expedition was originally meant to keep the Opium-monopoly (Interview Brinkgreve, 2015), but eventually they took part in the revolt. On 30 September 1894 Mataram was overthrown and the Dutch forces continued to Cakranegara. Thousands of bullets were shot to break the resistance of this last municipality of Lombok. This failed and consequently, many more soldiers followed. On 19 November 1984 Cakranegara fell and the fight came to an end (Ernawati 2005, 154). The palace of Anak Agung Gde Ngurah Karangasem was overthrown. General Vetter preferred to level it to the ground and with it the *pura's* (special temples) and *puri's* (the residencies of the monarchs) (Vanvugt 1994, 40-41). The treasury of the palace was looted, and the bodies of the deceased were ransacked

(Interview Brinkgreve, 2015). They took about 230 kilos of gold, 7000 kilos of silver and tree chests full of jewellery, gems, ornamental weapons and other objects. The next day these riches were shipped to the Netherlands (Ernawati 2005, 154). Anak Agung Gde Ngurah Karangasem was sent to Batavia and died in 1895 (Ernawati 2005, 156).

Indonesia specialist H. Van Kol once wrote about the event in Cakranegara: “In the palaces our troops smashed statues, chairs and mirrors. Chests with copper coins were vilely smashed and surrendered to the flames. And while ‘*kettinggangers*’ were breaking down the heavy wall of the palaces, a monarch family was slaughtered. White soldiers were stealing golden krisses, beautiful jewels and valuable jewellery [...] everything was destroyed, crushed and looted by these modern iconoclasts (Vanvugt 1994, 40-42)."

At the end of the World War II the Netherlands did not want to give up their colonies. It hoped to solve the problem by starting one last colonial war (1945-1949). But they lost (Vanvught 1994, 98). In the case that Indonesia would have lost the war, instead of the Netherlands, the war would most probably have been erased from Dutch history. Once the colonial wars bore the name: *Politionele acties (the Indonesian National Revolution)* but it is now known as the *decolonisation process.* In Indonesia this process is known as the *war of independence* (Vanvught 1994, 98). Vanvught (1994, 99) states: After World War II the word ‘colonial’ has been tainted, as a kind of term of abuse. All organisations and expenses that once bore the term ‘colonial’ in its name have now erased it.

The origin of many cultural treasures is part of the ‘forgotten memory’ of many countries, including The Netherlands (Vanvugt 1994, 101). And at the end of the 60s and beginning of the 70s, when there was much social unrest, the National Museum of Ethnology was under a lot of pressure. This was caused by, as many museums experienced, the discussion about the presence of objects that could be part of the cultural heritage of another country than their own. Many of the once colonised countries where now asking restitution of their cultural treasures (Vanvugt 1994, 101). During colonial times some objects that had been part of a museum collection had already been returned to their source of origin. But this was only on a small scale. In 1968 a new cultural agreement came into being between

Indonesia and the Netherlands. As a result Indonesia, in 1974, requested the return of objects that were of important cultural, historical and emotional value (Brinkgreve 2012, 155). Brinkgreve (2013b, 143) states this was part of a way to strengthen the political and cultural ties with the Netherlands.

During the 1973 UNESCO meeting a resolution got accepted which meant all cultural treasures, which were acquired during colonial times, were to be returned to the source countries. These treasures, along with objects from Africa and Latin America, were often removed for the sake of the banishing of idolatry (Vanvugt 1994, 101). All over the world unrest arose. This also included the Netherlands; they had the task of determining which of their Indonesian objects were to be given back. Not long after the establishment of the resolution the Indonesian government sent a delegation to the Netherlands to talk about the in colonial times acquired cultural objects (Van Wengen 2002, 166).

Extensive meetings between the department of international relations and representatives of the ministry of culture, recreation and social services followed. In 1975 a Dutch delegation, under the leadership of mr. R. Hotke travelled to Indonesia to discuss the matter in further detail. The discussion did not go as smooth as planned. The Indonesian government demanded the return of over 10.000 objects. But the Dutch delegation refused and proposed they would talk only about those objects that were essential to the history and cultural identity of Indonesia. The discussions continued, but another matter brought friction. The Indonesians rather used the term 'returns' to determine the objects, while the Dutch preferred to speak in term of 'transfers'. The term 'return', argued the Dutch delegation, would mean they would confess to the idea that the objects were illegally appropriated. Hotke even said proving this would be a difficult task for many of the objects, as some were legally purchased (Van Wengen 2002, 167).

In 1978 the return of the objects took place. Part of the Lombok treasure was given to the Museum Nasional (in that time known as the Museum Pusat) in Jakarta, including the 'crown of Lombok', which was a headdress, adorned with rubies (Van Wengen 2002, 168). The Museum Nasional already owned the Indonesian part of the treasure since 1894. The other 200 objects were kept by the National Museum of

Ethnology (Brinkgreve 2013b, 143). Originally their collection included 352 objects (Vanvugt 1994, 96).

Brinkgreve (2012, 155) adds to this that the restitution of the Lombok treasure "in a way marked the end of the colonial-influenced relationships between Indonesia and the Netherlands." This thus had to be started anew in the post-colonial period. And thus, since 2003, the National Museum of Ethnology and the Museum Nasional Indonesia have joined forces. They are now sharing collections, knowledge, skills, ideas and information, all on the basis of the shared and common collection history of the two museums (Brinkgreve 2012, 155-156).

The Lombok treasure has been on display in the Rijksmuseum and was transferred to the Museum of Ethnology in 1936 and 1977 (Interview Brinkgreve, 2015). After World War II the pieces that were on display became dormant, there were almost never on display and kept disappearing behind the scenes of faceless organisations. Letters were not signed by a single person but by the organisation as a whole and not a word was said about the treasure. But in the meantime the treasury of Leiden, where a part of the Lombok treasure was on display, was being visited in large numbers. The origins of the objects or their stories were not being kept hidden but they were not explicitly told either. The colonial stories were left out of the education programmes and daily life, and thus were soon forgotten (Vanvught 1994, 100). Brinkgreve (Interview, 2015) states that after the return of the treasure the treasury had been closed for a while. In the 90's the museum got renovated and the Lombok treasure was on display again. In the new exhibition the context and collection histories got more attention. There was a clear line indicating the collectors, the objects they collected and their stories. During the second renovation in 2011/2012 this was left out. The elaborated storyline is now only to be found in the special columns (Interview Brinkgreve, 2015).

In the colonies the story was still part of people's memory. Van Wengen (2002, 168), former head education of the National Museum of Ethnology, travelled to Indonesia and discovered what an emotional impact the transfer of the cultural treasure has had on the people there. Ernawati (2005, 157) and the Museum Nasional Indonesia, spoke to Anak Agung Biarsah Huruju Amlanegantun, a descendant of Anak Agung

Gde Ngurah Karangasem. He remembered the stories his father told him about the Lombok expedition. They were stories about the greatness of his grandfather when he was monarch and about his father who was a commander in the army. He was wondering why the Netherlands had stared a war against Mataram, for it was a beloved municipality and they lived in harmony with all ethnic and religious groups. He even told the Netherlands were cunning during peace negotiations and would have even deceived monarchs into custody. When the museum asked him whether he knew where the treasure of Cakranegara was kept at the moment, he told them he did not know. When the museum showed him some pictures of their collection he was amazed and affected, happy, proud but also sad (Ernawati 2005, 157). After this he transferred his own pieces of the treasure to a regional museum in order to make them accessible to the people of Lombok. So they could see how big Cakranegara once was. Anak Agung Biarsah is now trying to make his grandfather a national hero for his determination during the Lombok expedition (Ernawati 2005, 258).

Brinkgreve (Interview, 2015) also tells that the Indonesian delegation she received at the National Museum of Ethnology was not even aware that most of the Lombok treasure was kept in Jakarta. They all thought it was in Leiden.

Within the exhibition 'Indonesia' some of the objects that are part of the Lombok treasure (TMS RV-4905 and RV-2364) are shown in special cases called 'Vorstelijk goud' and 'Ritueel goud', which can be translated as: 'the gold of the royals' and 'ritualistic gold'. It used to be called the 'golden alley' (Interview Brinkgreve, 2015). The case in itself does not show the individual background of the Lombok treasure but it does present the audience with an information sign introducing the military missions of the Netherlands in Indonesia. But the main subjects are not the colonial and military missions on Lombok; it is the skills of its jewellery makers and artists. There is a strong emphasis of the aesthetic qualities of the objects. As an addition to the show case there is a digital column with a touchscreen. The visitor can now click on the objects he is interested in to get some additional information. This mostly lists the place of origin; dating and material it is made of. But it also offers a little piece of background story, which explaines the objects are part of the Lombok treasure and that they were taken as loot during a military expedition.

Brinkgreve (Interview, 2015) states it is a pity that the more elaborate storyline, which was once part of the exhibition, has vanished from sight. But that storyline is still to be found in the digital columns and it will appear in the audio tour that is being developed. This audio tour also contains a video from the descendant of Anak Agung Gde Ngurah Karangasem and it links to a special informative website. But the visitors still have to look for the information and the tour themselves. Brinkgreve (Interview, 2015) also states that every story is important. There are three kinds of stories: the cultural-historical, the meaning itself and the collection histories. She states that the most ideal situation would be to display them all, in a balanced way. But unfortunately there is not enough room. This implies a more elaborated information layer is being concerned, but it is not to be found in the exhibition of the objects themselves, only in their additional instruments.

3.2.2 The Singosari statues – from temple to tale

Figure 4 – Ganesha, one of the Singosari statues (TMS RV-1403-1681)

On Java, one of the islands of Indonesia, lays the small village of Singosari. Nowadays it is a small and quiet village but in the 13th century it was the centre of the Indonesian kingdom of Singhasari (volkenkunde.nl b). It was the first attempt to form an empire in Javanese history (Sedyawati 2005, 34). At that time it was known as Kutaraja. It was the place where the kings lived, surrounded by the houses of their servants and subjects (volkenkunde.nl e). The kingdom was founded in 1222 and came to an end 70 years later, when King Kertanagara passed away (volkenkunde.nl b). The centre of the new empire, the Mayapahit dynasty, moved to Majapahit, another city on Java to the north of Singosari (volkenkunde.nl e). The art of Singosari, especially the sculptures (fig. 4), can be seen as the second blossoming of Hindu-Buddhist art in Indonesia. An art in which the lines became more angled than before and the bodies were more sophisticated and elegant (Sedyawati 2005, 36). But Singosari was not totally abandoned or left alone. It became an important ritualistic place for Hindus and Buddhists. This stayed like this until the Islam made its entrance and became the main faith of the people of the area (Volkenkunde.nl b). Singosari was forgotten; temples were abandoned and became ruins. It was not until the 19th century that Singosari was rediscovered by many. Amongst them were travellers, archaeologist and artists (volkenkunde.nl b). One of them was Nicolaus Engelhard, who rediscovered the temple area of Singosari with its beautiful statues. Until then only locals visited the temple to bring offers to the gods (Application Singosari, rediscovery). The statues Engelhard saw were also to be found in the surroundings of the temple. Nowadays there is not much left of the temple area, but when Engelhard and his companions visited Singosari there were many more sanctuaries on the premises, located to the south of the temple. These were all filled with statues. The original location of the statues has been lost, but it is certain they were of great importance in understanding the temple complex. The statues point out that Buddhist temples and Hindu temples stood alongside each other. They even prove Singosari was of great importance after the centre of the empire moved to Majapahit (volkenkunde.nl c). Some of the statues are still situated around the temple tower and others are on display in the Museum National in Jakarta (volkenkunde.nl c). Nicolaus Engelhard removed the statues from the tower in 1803. All statues but one, because he could not succeed in removing it. Engelhard was the governor of the Northern coast of Java at that time and placed the statues in his garden, as it was legal for Europeans to remove statues in the 19th century. Not all citizens of Singosari accepted this law about removal. They took some statues for themselves and hid them deep in the forest. The aim of Engelhard was to preserve the statues and protect them against degradation caused by, amongst others, the weather (Application Singosari, Journey of the statues). When Engelhard got fired in 1808 the statues stayed in his possession (volkenkunde.nl d). In 1816 the Dutch King William I sent Prof. C.J.C Reinwardt to Java to collect antiquities, because he was interested in the Hindu-Buddhist past of the Dutch colony. The most famous statue is the one of Prajnaparamita, the Buddhist goddess of transcendental wisdom. Reinwardt shipped this statue in 1823 (Brinkgreve 2012, 154). After being on display for many years in the Museum of Ethnology in Leiden the statue was returned to Indonesia in 1977 to celebrate the 200th anniversary of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences (Brinkgreve 2012, 155).

Engelhard donated the statues to the Dutch state. In 1819 three of the statues were shipped and were placed in the garden of the Trippenhuis in Amsterdam (Application Singosari, Journey of the statues), the rest was exhibited in the botanical garden of Bogor. In 1828 these statues were shipped to the Netherlands as well and ended up in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden. In 1903 all statues came together in the collection of the Museum of Ethnology (volkenkunde.nl d). In 2005 the statues went back to Indonesia for a short time. There the exhibition 'Warisan Budya Bersame' (Shared Cultural Heritage) was organised by the Museum Nasional in Jakarta in cooperation with the National Museum of Ethnology (Brinkgreve 2013a, 100). One of the statues, the one of Trinavindu, was returned to the Republic of Indonesia in 1978. Ever since, it has been given a place of honour in the permanent exhibition of the Museum Nasional of Indonesia in Jakarta (Application Singosari, Journey of the statues).

The temple of Singosari has now become one of the most important attractions of East-Java (Application Singosari, Rediscovery). However, there is not much left of Singosari, it is covered under the modern city. The biggest temple has been restored between 1934 and 1973 by the Archaeological Service (Application Singosari, Rediscovery). The first step to these restorations and research was taken in 1901, the year when the Committee for Archaeological Research in Java and Madura was created. Between 1901 and 1905 the Committee had devoted its efforts into doing archaeological research at Singosari. The temple was being cleaned of its rampant vegetation and the foundations, which had been buried for centuries, were unearthed. Unfortunately much of the temples had vanished over time (singosari.info). Only drawings from the 19th century can show us the splendour of what Singosari once was. The most important document is a map of the southern temples of Singosari, made by the brothers Bik. It was the first map ever made displaying the entire temple complex (volkenkunde.nl e). Sedyawati (2005, 38) states that the statues of Singasari, as the central representative of a central sanctuary of state, embody a designed system of esoteric and iconographic values as a consequence of the political, social and cultural developments during the Singosari period.

When the statues first arrived in the museum in 1903 they were displayed in a room filled with statues from the Hindu-Java culture. During the renovation in the 90s they were displayed in a static way and did not have any context to them. This changed during the renovation of 2011/2012. A picture of the great temple Singosari arose and the statues could now be visualised within the complex. The exhibition became more spatial (Interview Brinkgreve, 2015).

Nowadays the National Museum of Ethnology and the Museum Nasional of Indonesia in Jakarta are involved in a partnership called *Singosari and the Origins of Majapahit*. Scientists of each museum have been researching the areas of Indonesian history concerned. As a way of presenting the newfound information an application (app) and a website have been constructed. The app tells the story of the Kingdom of Singosari. It provides the reader with background information about the statues to be found in each museum and the temple. The app uses short pieces of text and animations, which serve as a useful introduction to Indonesia and Singosari. The website, singosari.info, offers a more detailed explanation of the short texts provided in the app. Within this website, the scientific results are to be found as well (Application Singosari, About the Project). The Museum of Ethnology also provides information on Singosari on its own website. This website, however, is only accessible in Dutch while the app and the special Singosari website are indeed available in English.

Within the museum the Singosari statues are positioned in the Indonesia area. They are the first objects that are presented in the exhibition area and are accompanied by a large image of the temple of Singosari. To the right of the entrance is a text panel that introduces the exhibition: *Indonesia and collecting during colonial times*. But this last one it not positioned obviously, it's around the corner and some visitors might miss it because their attention is immediately drawn toward the impressive statues. The statues themselves are all accompanied by a small fragment of text, which mentions the god or goddess they represent and their position within the temple complex. The object biography is not mentioned in those texts, but their story it is not kept hidden explicitly. An extra panel gives a description of Singosari and its importance for Hindu and Buddhist culture. It briefly touches the story of Engelhard and the shipping of the statues to the Netherlands. But the return of some objects and the cooperation with Indonesia and the Museum Nasional in Jakarta is not mentioned; only the return of Prajnaparamita is mentioned, in another display placed on the other side of the image of the temple. Also the application that has been developed is not mentioned. This one gives a detailed description of the histories of the Singosari statues, a unique insight to the story. The app is not being advertised in the exhibition. The whole exhibition of the statues focuses on the aesthetic value of the objects and they are thus a great eye catcher when entering the exhibition area.

During an interview with Prof. dr. Marijke Klokke, curator of the Classical South and Southeast Asia department, where the Singosari statues are on display, it became clear that not all the Singosari statues are on display in the same room. One statue is on display outside the Singosari area. Klokke (Interview, 2015) states this is unfortunate, but she had not been part of the designing process of the exhibition. The exhibition area has been given a new approach during the renovation of 2011/2012. At first the exhibition was to be seen as a journey. You would start in Hindu and Buddhist Asia and then travel to the old Hindu and Buddhist Indonesia and ultimately this would have led the visitor to Oceania (Interview Klokke, 2015). But nowadays this idea is nowhere to be seen within the exhibition. The present exhibition has got some new elements to it. For example the colonial aspect, which would not have fitted in the old concept (Interview Klokke, 2015).

One of the core aspects of conveying the story of the Singosari statues, according to Klokke (Interview, 2015), is the application. It is a medium that has been successful, not only in the Netherlands, but also in Indonesia. But unfortunately the app is not well known yet and it is not being displayed within the exhibition. Brinkgreve (Interview, 2015) states that this was the initial plan, but because a new audio tour that is being developed, the app will be integrated into the tour. And it is thus, unfortunately, not yet shown in the exhibition (Interview Brinkgreve, 2015).

The app has been made in cooperation with Indonesia and the Museum Nasional, but it did not go as smooth as the museum would have hoped. At the end of the project, which lasted for many years, very ambitious plans that did not concern the Singosari arose. This meant there was little investment of time left.

Klokke mentions that the Indonesian community does not seem to understand the impact Engelhard and the Dutch had when they took the statues from Singosari (Interview Klokke, 2015) states. If they had left them as they were they would have probably been gone by now; lost forever. This way it becomes shared heritage. This incomprehension also is apparent from a conversation with other Indonesians, Klokke (Interview, 2015) mentions. They do not understand why the statues are situated in the Museum of Ethnology, why they are not in Indonesia itself. In the beginning Indonesia indeed wanted the statues to be returned, and for one of the statues this was the case. An iconic piece, the Prajnaparamita, was given back. After that, the dispute about to whom the statues belonged ended and Indonesia and the National Museum of Ethnology started to cooperate (Interview Klokke 2015).

3.3 Case study 2: The National Museum of Antiquities

The National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden opened in 1818 on the initiative of King William I. It was also known as the Archaeological Cabinet (www.rmo.nl a). C.J.C Reuvens (1793-1835) was appointed director of the Archeological Cabinet. Financial aid from the government made it possible for Reuvens to buy new objects, all in the context of creating a new form for the future Museum of Antiquities. Unfortunately the financial aid from the government, and thus King William I, stopped in 1830. Due to the uprising in Belgium, financial aid for the archaeological cultural policy was no longer possible. Instead of the grand Archaeological Museum Reuvens dreamt about, small exhibition rooms were made in four small houses, all situated in a side street of the Rapenburg in Leiden (Eickhoff 2007, 233-234).

When Reuvens died in 1835 the Museum of Antiquities started its use as centre for Dutch archaeology. The museum relocated to the Breestraat, a street to the north of the Rapenburg, which was its original place. Here it became open to the public (Eickhoff 2007, 239). The collections started to grow and the Museum of Antiquities came to be the Central Archaeological Museum of the Netherlands during the second half of the 19th century (Eickhoff 2007, 242).

In 1893 one part of the collection housed on the Breestraat returned to the Rapenburg (www.rmo.nl a) and, in 1920, the museum itself followed (www.rmo.nl b). The four different buildings became one after a renovation. In 1971 the state became owner of the museum, where it first belonged to the university. This meant the state was now financing the museum. Since July 1995 the museum exists as an independent foundation, a collection of the Dutch state. Its goal is to make the collection visible to a big audience (www.rmo.nl c).

Nowadays there are many permanent exhibitions as well as temporary ones. The museum handles ancient civilisations from Egypt, the Classical World, the Near East and The Netherlands in prehistoric times, the Roman period and the Middle Ages in their permanent exhibitions, but it also hosts temporary exhibits which usually are connected to the permanent ones and are composed of their own objects or objects on loan from national and international museums (www.rmo.nl c). The collection of the Museum of Antiquities includes about 180.000 objects. The annual visitor counts ranges between 150.000 (2011) and 210.000 (2014). Next to public activities and museum classes for primary and secondary education the Museum of Antiquities does active research on national and international scale (www.rmo.nl c).

In recent years there have been many changes in the National Museum of Antiquities. In the year 2000 the whole museum was renovated and renewed. This meant all the public areas have had a makeover. But unfortunately, as Prof. dr. Pieter ter Keurs, head of Collection and Research (Interview, 2015) mentions, not all the galleries received the makeover the museum had planned. Because of financial reasons the Greek and the Dutch prehistoric department had to be finished without any money. Today the museum wants to redo some of these galleries. But they will not shut down the whole museum at once. They are going to shut down each part separately. The style of the departments will be much more varied and this will give a more dynamic providing of information.

The National Museum of Antiquities mainly, according to Ter Keurs (Interview, 2015), wants to get people fascinated with ancient culture, its objects and their significance. Over the last couple of years they have been trying to lay an emphasis on making contact with the present. And after a visit to the museum one could only hope they were impressed and leave for home with a good feeling. That is the ultimate goal (Interview Ter Keurs, 2015).

Ter Keurs (Interview, 2015) states that sometimes a museum cannot show everything, because objects possess more stories than just one. The story you choose to display depends on the part you want to zoom into and the storyline of your exhibition. You need to dose information in the right way; you just cannot tell every story there is. And this, Ter Keurs (Interview, 2015) admits, can be really difficult sometimes. But personally he thinks the collection history of objects has had too little attention. This in a way forms the image of ancient cultures you convey to your public. The context of collecting strongly determines what we are able to show. Ter Keurs (Interview, 2015) thus states these kinds of stories have to be told, not constantly but surely on a regular basis to make the visitor aware of it. But this, also, depends on the context of the object in the museum. You just cannot tell everything; you have to make a choice. The curator of the concerned department usually makes those choices and not every curator finds the same subjects interesting. Ter Keurs (Interview, 2015) states they, as management, try to encourage the curators to show more of the hidden stories behind objects. But monotony has to be avoided, because diversity is not bad at all. Sometimes objects possess such a known background story that you just cannot hide them from the public. You then have to show it. This feeling of wanting to hide this information, according to Ter Keurs (Interview, 2015), is related to an old school scientific approach where it did not matter; simply because the old stories are more important than the recent ones. Political decisions are connected to this statement. It is a case of wanting to avoid difficult questions, which is something museums in the past had to struggle with (Interview Ter Keurs, 2015).

Like in the interviews with the staff of the Museum of Ethnology Prof. dr. Pieter ter Keurs was questioned about his personal thoughts about displaying the stories behind objects. He says there has not been enough emphasis on the history of collecting of an object. As an example he mentions two objects. The first is an Egyptian showpiece of Maya and Merit. Especially the collection history of this object appeals to Ter Keurs (Interview, 2015). It once had been taken by the Armenian consul of Sweden who easily got a permit to sell it in Livorno. The second object Ter Keurs (Interview, 2015) mentions is the statue of emperor Trajanus. This one was also chosen because of its collection history. It is a fascinating story of the contacts between the local 'Dutch' and the governors of the Roman Empire. Next to this he also was one of the most successful and just emperors the Roman Empire has ever had.

3.3.1 The golden helmet of De Peel – from swamp to showcase

Figure 5 – The golden helmet of De Peel (www.rmo.nl)

17 July 1910 was the day that changed the life of a Dutch peat cutter named Gebbel Smolenaars. Just outside of a little town called Helenaveen, Smolenaars uncovered an odd object. At first it seemed to be an old kettle but the shimmering the object possessed and the many coins and weaponry surrounding it could mean the object was more special than Smolenaars thought. He took the object home to his wife, who cleaned and polished it, in the process removing all the hair stuck to the object. It appeared to be a beautifully adorned golden helmet (fig. 5) (Pouls 2006, 21).

The helmet became known all over the area and, not long after, people came to admire the object in the small farmhouse of Smolenaars and his wife. They had put it on display in a small cabinet made of glass (www.rmo.nl d). Gebbel Smolenaars even went from fair to fair, with the helmet on the back of his bike, in order to show it to admirers for a dime. Some months later, which consisted of many discussions about the property rights of the helmet, Smolenaars sold the objects to the National Museum of Antiquities for twelve hundred guilders (Pouls 2006, 21). Smolenaars knew it was a risky undertaking to keep this valuable object in his own house, thus the choice to sell it to the Museum of Ethnology was made (Interview Ter Keurs, 2015). Twelve hundred guilders was a very high price in these days (www.rmo.nl d). He was able to buy two houses from his profit (Kik and Weijland 2012, 22).

The helmet was in poor condition and had to be restored. The leather inside had been removed during the cleaning process and this made the helmet collapse. Also the right cheek flap was missing (www.rmo.nl d) this was later remade by a goldsmith (www.rmo.nl e).

A publication of M. Evelein, museum curator in 1911, shows the objects consisted of the helmet (or headdress), tree shoes, leather, spores, a fibula, 41 bronze coins (*folles* – 315-319), two horse bells and pieces of textile. According to the inscription that was found on the helmet it was established the objects belonged to an officer of the Roman mobile cavalry unit *Equites Stabilisani.* They were active all over Europe and Northern Africa (Pouls 2006, 21). Another inscription shows the maker of the helmet is Marcus Titus Lunamis (www.rmo.nl d). The owner would have died on the spot, according to Evelein, but she mentions nothing about any human remains found, Jan Pouls points out (Pouls 2006, 22). Evelein even talks about two people, who were involved because of the three shoes that were found. Overall though, the attention of Evelein and the museum goes to the helmet. The other objects or the condition of the finds were set aside, as was usual in that time (Pouls 2006, 22). The most logical explanation for the origin of the objects, according to Pouls and the participants of a congress concerning the helmet, is that the fact the objects where part of a ritual deposition of personal military armour to the gods (Pouls 2006, 23). But the discussion continues; not everyone agrees with the theory of deposition. Amateur archaeologist Leo Kluijtmans swore he had been in contact with the spirit of the Roman officer. He even told him his name: *Basilius*. He claimed the spirit told him he had been murdered (Pouls 2006, 23).

In spite of his valuable find Gebbel Smolenaars lived a poor life and his asthma kept getting worse, which made him unsuitable for labour. Gebbel Smolenaars died penniless at the age of 52 (Pouls 2006, 24).

The village of Helenaveen, the place where the helmet was found, has not forgotten Gebbel Smolenaars and the historical events. Many songs and poems, communal places, alcoholic beverages, souvenirs and restaurants honour the memory of the helmet and its discoverer (Pouls 2006, 25). But this did not mean the inhabitants were content the helmet was on display in Leiden. They wrote a letter to the Museum of Ethnology, to reclaim their object. It was no angry one, but it did have a certain undertone, states Ter Keurs. It implied the museum could not ignore the letter because the helmet was rightfully theirs. It was not written by the mayor of Helenaveen but by people from the local townhouse. They even called in a former Royal Governor (Interview Ter Keurs, 2015).

The story of the Peel helmet and its journey to the Museum of Antiquities is lacking in the permanent and current exhibition. The helmet is on display in the Roman section of the museum. It is being shown as part of the belongings of a Roman soldier. They tell the visitor about the place where the object was found but not a word is mentioned about the controversy surrounding the ownership of the objects, about Gebbel Smolenaars or the fact that Helenaveen tried to get the helmet to be displayed in their own province for that matter. The story has not always been hidden away from the visiting public. In 2011 the museum of antiquities held a special exhibition about the golden helmet of de Peel. It not only discussed the Roman helmet itself but also all those other stories that kept buzzing around about the owner, the finder, what was found exactly and if it was complete (Kik and Weijland 2012, 22). The website of the National museum of Antiquities has many detailed descriptions about the golden helmet of de Peel (www.rmo.nl f) but, as mentioned before, the controversial background is not mentioned.

In the interview Ter Keurs explains the Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, in the time of the 'golden helmet of de Peel' case, was the most likely location for the helmet to end up. This was because Leiden had been the centre for the display of Dutch archaeology. Nowadays this is not the case, objects are now kept within the province they are found in. The fact that the helmet was on display in Leiden also meant that the citizens of Helenaveen and Meil, the villages close to the original location of the helmet, would hardly see the helmet ever again. They would almost never go to Leiden. Ter Keurs feels that, in the 100 years that followed, there has not been any contact between the museum and Helenaveen. The museum thus had no idea how the inhabitants felt about the helmet and the fact is was on display in Leiden. The original cultural context had been separated from the objects. This is something, as Ter Keurs (Interview, 2015) notes, that is especially present in the ethnographical (museum) world. It was still the scientific objective impression they wanted to convey about an object and its story. This has been effectively applied with the golden helmet of de Peel. Until 2009 there was no communication. Then, the first sign of life appeared. The village of Helenaveen wanted the helmet back, because they felt it belonged there. The descendants of Smolenaars themselves were quite indifferent about the objects being in the museum, Ter Keurs (Interview, 2015) tells.

But the inhabitants of the village had a firmer point of view with they made clear in their letter. With the involvement of the local townhouse and the former Royal Governor there was certainly some pressure exerted from the authorities. When the local museums got hold of the event, they meddled in the case for they all wanted to exhibit the golden helmet of de Peel. The Museum of Antiquities went to discuss this matter with them and eventually the helmet went to Helenaveen as a loan, to be on display in 2010. When the helmet was returned to the Museum of Antiquities it went straight back into its old case. The story of Helenaveen and the letter was not being told. But after the case of Helenaveen the helmet has been requested as a loan more often. It has been to Limburg and is planning to go to the Louvre. The museum thus developed a new and active loan policy (Interview Ter Keurs, 2015). The helmet has been a part of the collection of the National Museum of Antiquities since 1910 and has also been leant out to expositions in Venice and Bonn (Pouls 2006, 23).

Ter Keurs mentions that the Roman-Dutch area where the helmet is on display at the moment has been unchanged for many years. It is therefore one of the intentions of the Museum of Antiquities to change the exhibition in this room. The helmet is being shown amidst many other objects from the same time and area and is part of a quite traditional arrangement. It does not stand out as an object with a special background story. This will be one of the issues addressed in the new arrangement.
Ter Keurs himself would have approached the golden helmet of de Peel differently than has been done so far. He would, as he states in the interview, have accentuated the *nachleben* of the objects more. The *nachleben* of an object deals with the 'after life' of an object outside its own time period. Ter Keurs thus pleads to not only mention what is happening to the object now and how it has been used in Roman times, but to also discuss the impact of an object on present generations. And this could be applied to almost every historical object, for all those objects still play a part in the present (Interview ter Keurs, 2015).

3.3.2 The Cypriot head – from finder to keeper

Every year the European Fine Art Fair, more commonly known as the TEFAF antique fair, is held in Maastricht, The Netherlands. During the 2013 edition The National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden purchased a limestone portrait sculpture from Cyprus (fig. 6) (Halbertsma 2014a, 18). It was possible to acquire the object, which would cost 200.000 euros, with financial support from the Rembrandt Association and the BankGiro Lottery (Kik and Weijland 2014, 61). The head, which originates from the 5th century BC, is of exceptionally high quality, is very well preserved and shows the influences of other cultures surrounding Cyprus (Kik and Weijland 2014, 61; www.rmo.nl g). It once was part of an entire life-size male figure and probably stood alongside a temple or sanctuary and served as a gift for the relevant god or goddess (Kik and Weijland 2014, 61). The head was excavated on Cyprus itself in 1860, during an archaeological expedition led by the Frenchman Melchior de Vogüé (Halbertsma 2014a, 16). Two hundred and twenty of the unearthed objects were donated to the Louvre in the 1860's. This would mean the object was part of a collection from the 19th century onward, which means the present heritage issues did not apply. Juridically the purchase was thus legal (Interview Ter Keurs, 2015). According to antiques dealer Charles Ede, the head had been on display in the Louvre and in was 1870 was to one of the architects in service of Napoleon III in recognition of his part in the restoration of the Louvre (Kik and Weijland 2014, 61; www.rmo.nl g). His name was Hector-Martin Lefüel. Nowadays this would never have been possible to arrange (Halbertsma 2014a, 15). After his death in 1880 the head was sold and ended up at a Parisian auction house in 2003 (Halbertsma 2014b, 18).

Figure 6 – The Cypriot head (ww.rmo.nl)

This provenance was not immediately taken for granted. After the first visit to the TEFAF in March 2013 the RMO started to research the provenance of the object in the archives of the Louvre (Halbertsma 2014b, 18). This was, because according to the legislation and ethical codes of the International Council of

Museums (ICOM), the provenance of any archaeological object must be proven to be staunch. Also, the museum budget was not able to buy the object on its own, and this raised many doubts, but the museum took an option on the object and went to do their research (Halbertsma 2014a, 15). After doing research in the archives of the Louvre and working together with a French expert it seemed the story checked out. There had indeed been an expedition to Cyprus in 1861. One of the participants was named Charles-Jean-Melchior de Vogüé. He used to serve the Russian Tsar in Saint Petersburg as a French *corps diplomatique*. But his passion lay with travelling and archaeology, so he resigned his post and travelled through Syria and Palestine from 1853 to 1854. He intended to study ecclesiastical architecture and even made a publication with which he became known in the scientific world. In 1861 De Vogüé was asked to join an archaeological expedition led by theologian Joseph-Ernest Renan, in which de Vogüé was to document the archaeology found in the area (Halbertsma 2014a, 15). All objects were thus properly labelled and organised and sent to the Louvre. Every single piece is still part of the collection of the Louvre, all but one: number 55 (Halbertsma 2014a, 15). The missing piece had been described as *une grande tête sculptée* ('a big, beautifully modelled head'). The last part of the puzzle thus also seemed correct. Antoine Hermany, who published the catalogue of the antiquities from Cyprus told the museum of Antiquities he had seen the head at a Parisian auction house called Trojan. He had no doubt this head was the missing object, no. 55. This auction house gave some further information about the object and it appeared to be brought to the auction by no one less than Olivier Lefüel, a distant relative of Hector-Martin Lefüel (Halbertsma 2014a, 16-17). All there was left to do now was to check with the Cypriot authorities if the object had not been smuggled out of the country recently or if it was on their wanted list of objects. Neither of this seemed to be the case. All thus seems in order. But the story did not end there. During the contact with the Department of Antiquities of the Republic of Cyprus they ascertained the museum of their support. They wanted the Museum of Antiquities to buy the Cypriot head (Halbertsma 2014a, 18). One of the most important reasons was that by letting the Museum of Antiquities buy the object it would disappear from the illegal trades market. The museum promised Cyprus they could lend the object for display. This created a good cooperation between Cyrus and the Museum of Antiquities (Interview Ter Keurs, 2015).

The Cypriot head momentarily forms a part of the exhibition 'Carthago'. It embodies the role of Cyprus in linking East and West (Halbertsma 2014a, 17). A text panel accompanies the object. This panel states that the head illustrates the relation between Cyprus and Cartage. It mentions the head was recently acquired by the museum, but this is not elaborated on any further. The panel focuses on the way the head looks and the different characteristics it has. In the detailed object information it is being notified the object was purchased with funds from the Rembrandt Association and the BankGiro Loterij. Within the exhibition itself the background story of the object thus is being kept relatively silent. After the 'Carthago' exhibition the Cypriot head will become part of the permanent exhibition states Ter Keurs (Interview, 2015).

As we have seen, the exhibition does not show the story of the Cypriot head, but the website of the RMO does in fact tell the background story of the object under the label 'acquisitions'. It would thus be possible for the visitors to easily get to know more about the hidden story of this object, but the website is not mentioned on the text panel. As Ter Keurs (Interview, 2015) notes, the lack of information about the background story of the object is due to the fact it is not part of a permanent exhibition yet. But this will happen soon. Earlier, the statue has in fact been on display in a display case showing new acquisitions. In this situation the origin and the background story where in fact being told. At present the statue is part of the 'Carthago' exhibition, a stated above. It has been used to show the relation between Cyprus and Cartage, so its background story had nothing to add to the subject of the exhibition per se.

3.4 Analysis of the case studies

After the research that has been done in the National Museum of Ethnology and the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden a few things can be said concerning the development of visualisation in both museums.

The approach of the Museum of Antiquities is completely different from that of the Museum of Ethnology. Where the Museum of Ethnology focuses on the aesthetic aspects of an object, the Museum of Antiquities focuses on establishing contact between their visitors and the past and present. Object biographies have only recently become of interest in exhibitions. The possibility to openly discuss difficult situations regarding the museums' pasts has been given, and taken by the public, although not everyone is fully consigned to it. There are still some people who find it hard, odd and difficult to talk about these matters.

Since the Museum of Ethnology became part of the Museum of World Cultures it mainly focuses on the icons of world heritage and it uses various resources, such as new media, to translate stories to the audience. But multi-medial aspects do not form the primary focus for the exhibition. It is still the objects that form the centre of the museum. But these media do make it easier to convey a story to the visitor and bring the possibility to widen the range of subjects that are presented. The Museum of Antiquities plans on renovating the museum, during which a diverse style within the museum will be created. This diversity will benefit a more dynamic providing of information.

Two objects (or collections) in the Museum of Ethnology have been researched for this thesis. During the research it became clear that the objects were shown in a beautiful aesthetic way. With the Lombok treasure, for example, the emphasis lay on the beauty of the treasures and how they were made. It is all about the skills and artistry of the jewellery makers. The information about the colonial history was minimalistic but was optionally expanded by digital information columns. However, it does not go into much detail about Mataram and its rulers. This was something that at first seemed illogical; in the text it seemed the Dutch went there, gained victory, and went home with a lot of treasure. There is nothing mentioned about the struggles that were going on between the local rulers and the inhabitants. There is only mention of the Dutch and their colonial wishes for expansion and the fact that some parts of the treasure returned to Indonesia. The information seems a bit biased by only showing the Dutch side to the story. But because the exhibit is not, in the first place, about the colonial history of the Netherlands it is not surprising the museum did not address the whole history of events. You just cannot show everything there is to a story. Sometimes you have to cut a story short in order to make it understandable and still interesting to the public. But it does not have to be at the expense of a more elaborate storyline. Brinkgreve states that it is a pity the elaboration of the Lombok story vanished in the new arrangement. Today it is only to be found in the columns. Fortunately, there will be an audio tour in the future. This aesthetic way of displaying an objects and the lack of in-depth information is also true for the Singosari statues. The story behind the statues was not on display explicitly, the statues are not even complete in their assembly. The statues received a more visible context when a large image of the temple of Singosari was placed but the text labels alongside the statues still mostly describe the gods depicted and their position in the temple complex and not their object biography. There are however two information panels that describe the ritual history of Singosari and the story of Engelhard. These also describe the history of Indonesia and collecting during colonial times. But nonetheless the information about the background story is also to be found on the website of the museum and in the application that was launched; although is has not been advertised within the exhibition. The museum thus tries to make an effort in showing the hidden stories behind objects; but they are only to be found if you know where to look.

The objects in the Museum of Antiquities, contrary to the Museum of Ethnology, are shown without a trace of their object biographies. The golden helmet of de Peel is presented in its original context. The place of discovery is mentioned but not a word is said about Gebbel Smolenaars or the fact that the village of Helenaveen wanted the helmet to be on display in place of origin. But the fact that it is not shown does not mean the Museum does not want to do so. Ter Keurs mentioned that the story of the helmet has once been told and it will most likely return in the new arrangement of the gallery. The *nachleben* of an object will become of more importance. This is also true for the Cypriot head. Within its current location, as part of a temporary exhibit, its story is not in particular being given any attention. This is because the statue takes part in the exhibition to show the relationship between Cyprus and Cartage. Although it is mentioned the head was bought with funds, its background story is of no importance for the storyline that has been chosen. The choice to not show its story is therefore of no surprise. But the fact that none of these stories are being told in their display does not mean they are being kept totally quiet. On the website of the Museum of Antiquities there is a lot of information to be found on both objects.

Both the Museum of Ethnology and The Museum of Antiquities spoke with the (indigenous) communities that are concerned with the objects. Whilst the government of Cyprus turned out to be very positive about the fact that the museum wanted to buy the object, the inhabitants of Helenaveen did not understand why the objects belonged to the Museum of Antiquities and tried to get it back. This was also the case for the Indonesian community, which the Museum of Ethnology spoke with. On the one hand they feel proud and happy, but on the other hand they feel sad and confused. They did not understand why the objects were on display in the Netherlands and not in Indonesia itself. This led to a request from Indonesia to return the statues and objects and ultimately it led to collaboration between the two countries. Both the Museum of Ethnology and the Museum of Antiquities have good connections with other countries to share knowledge, culture and heritage.

The decisions about what will be displayed in the exhibition and what storylines will be told rests mostly with the curator(s) of the department in question, but they have to work together with the creator of the exhibition. One of those choices that have to be made concerns the story that is to be told alongside the object in the exhibition. The story you ultimately choose to display depends on the part you want to zoom in to in the storyline of your exhibition. The creator of exhibitions of the Museum of Ethnology, Anne Marie Woerlee, said that she usually follows the perspective of the visitor. What do they want to see? For the ethnographic museum this usually consists of information about the objects themselves, for example, how they were made and used, and why. It is not the origin of the objects and the way they became part of the museum's collection that is of primary interest, but this does not mean it will never be shown within the museum. Woerlee (Interview, 2015) stated that a special exhibit that shows these stories could even be set up. The Museum of Ethnology is thus not ignoring the object biographies; their stories are already being told during guided tours and are sometimes to be found in the special columns placed in the permanent exhibitions. There still are many debates about what the text labels will have to say, in what way the stories should be told, and how long the text has to be. Length is of importance, because a museum is not a book, according to Woerlee. Texts, in that case, need to be supportive of the object. Ter Keurs (Interview, 2015) tells that you need to dose the information at hand. You just cannot tell every story there is. The collection history of an object has had too little attention over the years, Ter Keurs states. In a way the context of a collection determines what a museum is able to show. These stories will have to be told regularly to make the visitors aware of their existence. This, of course, also depends on the context of the object in the museum. But it also has to be made sure that there is no monotony; diversity is not a bad thing. There is one time you cannot do anything else but show the story, and that is when the stories are already known amongst the public. Hiding it would then be unwise.

But what makes a story special? Woerlee mentions that the person behind an object is what makes it interesting. The personal stories are the ones worth sharing. Klokke and Ter Keurs agree that every objects has its own meaning, and every single one of them has its own special story. There are so many stories with one object that it is impossible to show them all; even though it would be most ideal to display them all alongside each other, states Brinkgreve. But most of the time there is not enough room to do so. If we are to show object biographies, then the *nachleben* of an object is also important according to Ter Keurs. An object meant something to his contemporaries and will therefore also have an impact on present generations. Although it is not always the stories we already know, which should be visualised; the ones that are yet to be found are maybe even more interesting, as Klokke states.

Chapter 4 – Overall research analysis

The research that has been done through literature studies (as analysed in §2.6) has brought some interesting ideas to the front. It became clear that objects are the steppingstones on which mankind builds its history and they create the tools to tell stories. Comparing the results from the literature to the research that has been done by case studies would provide new avenues of research. This may give a new insight to the matter of visualising the hidden stories of objects.

A comparison can be made concerning the selection of objects for an exhibition. The literature points out that the selection of objects and their stories depends on teamwork. It is thus not only the curator that decides which objects and what storyline will be dealt with in the exhibition. The literature further stated that the lives of the objects within the history of collecting, the material culture and museum exhibitions, provide the object with perspectives, meanings and values. These attributes have to be respected and given agency. From the case studies it is clear that, in practice, the curator has a lot to say in the matter of selecting objects and their stories. But they are not alone; the creator of the exhibition is also involved. Those are the main people making the decisions about the objects and the selected stories that fit into the overall storyline.

In the literature it is being stated that there are three ways to tell a story. It could be told from the perspective of a practitioner of science, as a member of an institute or as an individual in its own right. In practice it seems that the emphasis is not on the perspective a story is being told from, but who it is being told to. The perspective of the visitor is what counts. The text itself, both museums state, has to be secondary to the objects. A museum is not a book. Texts have to be supportive of the object or the image and should not distract from it. This is also something that is being stated in the literature. There it is concluded that the mode of presentation, of an object, has to balance text, image, object and all the involved media to create a harmonised display that does not criticize the objects, its culture, its history, its timeframe, meaning or pose stereotypes. This is something both researched museums adhere to. The text labels, images, other objects and media involved were in harmony with the object. They did not overshadow the objects, but they complemented them by creating context and gave information where it was needed.

It is also proposed by the literature that museums are to let their knowledge and truths be questions in order to create partnerships that can be beneficial. Those partnerships are clearly formed within both museums. The communities and governments of different countries are involved in the exhibitions created and are, in some cases, in an active cooperation with the museum. But whatever a museum attempts, and whomever it consults, it can never be truly objective; everyone is influenced by his or her cultural education or background. It is still the exhibition makers themselves who hold the power over the voices represented in the exhibition. The Museum of Ethnology and the Museum of Antiquities both try to find a balance in what kind of stories they show and how to voice them. This is because an object has many stories and they cannot all be told; however the dream of telling all stories still exists. It depends on the curator and on the museum which of those stories are to be told. The Museum of Ethnology chose to focus more on the icons of culture and has the emphasis on the aesthetic qualities of an object. The hidden stories of collection biographies are to be found, but it is not the primary focus. The Museum of Antiquities chose to focus on the contact between the visitors and the past and present. However the management is aiming to show more of the hidden story of an object in the near future. This is also consistent with the analysis of the literature study. There it is being stated that the archaeological museum tends to focus on the aspect of wonder, which holds the visitor in its grasp and conveys its story by a well thought off information structure, while the ethnological museum seems to focus on the aesthetic value of an object. A focus on aesthetic values might lead to the perception of the objects as art, which will make an object mute according to the literature. However, neither the Museum of Ethnology nor the Museum of Antiquities treated the objects as 'pure' art. They did not always show the object biographies but they gave the objects a voice of their own, a change to tell a story; even if it was just a small piece of it. It is apparent that the stories that are being visualised within an exhibition will never be the same. Every curator and every staff member will have a different point of view on the matter, like the literature already pointed out. The fact that they are able to decide what is best for the exhibition on its own creates a positive diversity.

When we look at the way of visualising the stories that are behind the objects it could be stated that, according to the literature, a multi-medial approach is getting more and more popular. This is especially true for the Museum of Ethnology. This museum uses multi-media techniques in most of their exhibitions to tell more about the hidden stories of the objects. They consist of interactive columns, video screens, sound, websites and a mobile application. The Museum of Antiquities does not implement multi-medial elements into their exhibitions. They do, however, hold an active and informed website. But the lack of multi-medial elements does not mean their way of conveying a story is any less interesting. A story can still be told in a more static display. In the case of the two case studies in the Museum of Antiquities, however, the background stories were not being told. This is probably going to change in a new arrangement states Ter Keurs.

It is thus clear that not every story can be told and there will never be just one way of visualising the story of an object. But there may be more to an object than just its abundance of known stories. Klokke mentioned that the objects of which the background story is not yet known are the ones of utmost interest. Baudrillard (1994, 23) also states the importance of absence. He mentions that a collection becomes interesting when it lacks something. This could be extended to stories. When a story lacks a section, you will want to know how it goes. That is what makes a story appealing.

Chapter 5 – Conclusion

At the beginning of this thesis four questions were posed. The main research question stated: *How did the visualisation of the stories behind objects evolve during the existence of Western museums in the 20th and 21st century?* To help answer the main research question three sub-questions were posed. The first of these sub-questions stated: *Are there any trends or changes in the methods or paradigm's throughout the 20th century until the present day?*

From the literature research, the case studies and overall analysis it can be concluded that the stories behind objects have been suppressed for a long time. At first it were the objects themselves, the time periods they came from and the cultures and people who made the objects who were of importance. Later on this shifted to the aesthetic qualities of the objects and the individual maker became of interest. It seems all these qualities are still present but a shift has been made to also tell the hidden stories of objects. Object biographies, collection histories and stories that are never told before are becoming more and more prominent in exhibitions. This also applies to the impact that an object has on society and falls together with the increase in use of multimedia, which offers the museum an extra platform to display the information at hand. Websites, mobile applications, interactive displays and video screens offer a more prominent context to the object itself.

The second sub-question stated: *What are the differences and the similarities between the way of visualising these stories between archaeological and ethnographical museums?* From the literature study and the research conducted in the case studies it became clear that both ethnological and archaeological museums stay true to the value of their objects; they try to find a balance between the selection of the stories behind objects and the way they are to be visualised. But they both clearly focus on different aspects of those stories. The ethnological museum, on the one hand, tends to focus on the aesthetic qualities of objects and chooses a storyline that matches that approach. The archaeological museum, on the other hand, tries to emphasise the aspect of wonder; that what makes a visitor stop in its tracks and by doing that, that object has the possibility to really transfer its story. It creates a real time connection between objects, their stories and the visitor.

The various media that are used in museums to show objects and tell their stories differ in every museum. The one tends to keep their way of visualising more static and accompany an object with photographs and text labels and the other one implements multimedia and interactive platforms. Still, no matter how they present their objects, both the ethnological and archaeological museums want to show more of the hidden stories behind objects, like it has been done in the past and recently fell out of practice, but they both acknowledge this is something that is difficult to accomplish on a short notice.

The third sub-question stated: *Who selects the objects and stories and by which criteria?* The research in both literature and case studies showed that the decision of the stories and the objects that are to be on display usually lies with the curator of the concerned department and the exhibition maker; together they decide what will be the main storyline and which of the individual stories will accompany it. It has also become clear that great power lays in these decisions for the museum itself. The museum, as an institute, has often been regarded as a neutral and independent entity. But no point of view is a neutral one. Everyone's decisions are influenced by their cultural education and environment; thus also the vision of a museum. It is as it is with a story; there is never one true side to it all. A museum has to choose which side it will portray and in what way.

The research done via literature studies has brought a lot of insights to the matter that would not have been possible to get from practice. This was equally so for the case studies and interviews conducted. These brought a face-to-face encounter with the issue being researched. The interviews gave a unique insight into the museums that were looked into during the case studies. To be able to compare the Museum of Ethnology and the Museum of Antiquities was an interesting experience that showed there are some differences in their way of executing their work, but their thoughts and ideas do often converge.

It can thus be concluded that the visualisation of stories behind objects has gone through many changes. There was an emphasis on time period and cultures, followed by the importance of the individual maker and its essence as pure art object. Later on the focus changed to objects with a personal history and a more cultural significant quality that impacts society. The hidden stories of objects, their personal biographies, are thus becoming of more and more interest. Museum staff already tries to place more emphasis on these hidden stories, but they experience it is not very easy to change the way objects and their stories are being visualised in the modern day museum. The ideas and dreams are present to make the museum a place where every story of an object is on display, but the means at hand are unfortunately, not sufficient. We can state we are definitely on the right path to letting objects tell their full stories. If one is able to know a story to its fullest, one will love it and fight for it. For it is as Foucault (in Gurian 1999, 171) one wrote: "objects lose their meaning without the viewers' knowledge and acceptance of the underlying aesthetic or cultural values." The first steps, into giving objects a voice of their own, have been taken. It may be a long way before every story is out in the open, but we are one step closer every day.

Abstract

This thesis focuses on the visualisation of the stories behind objects in the ethnological and archaeological museum. Objects form a fundamental part of our daily life, but we do not always know the full stories behind them. Some objects possess an intriguing story about their use in indigenous communities or their impact on an historic civilization, but the stories that are sometimes of even more interest are the object biographies. These biographies consist of the people, places and events the objects encountered on its way to a (museum) collection.

The research done for his thesis will provide new insights into the visualisations of stories behind object in the 20th and 21st century. Furthermore it will discuss some case studies that show how stories, and what kind of stories, are being visualised in the modern day ethnological and archaeological museum. The research reflects the combination of a literature study and case studies. These case studies have been exercised within the National Museum of Ethnology and the National Museum of Antiquities. The selected objects within the case studies have been extensively researched in terms of their history, method of collecting, biographies and presence within the exhibition. These objects are: the Lombok Treasure, the Singosari statues, the golden helmet of de Peel and the Cypriot head.

The results of the research showed that the visualisation of the stories behind objects has never been the same and is still shifting, which provide a diverse array of objects and stories. Object biographies were sporadically present in museum exhibitions, but they were never fully embraced. Nowadays this becomes more and more present in museums and new exhibition techniques, such as multi-media and interactive platforms that are implemented to tell and show those hidden stories.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Draft of the questions posed in the interviews (in Dutch)

1. Kunt u iets over uzelf vertellen? Wat is uw functie binnen het museum?
2. We staan nu in de Indonesië/Romeinse zaal, hoe is deze zaal tot stand gekomen en welke keuzes zijn er gemaakt bij het bepalen van de gebruikte objecten en de wijze van tentoonstellen?

Lombok: Kunt u wat vertellen over de Lombok schat en zijn geschiedenis?

a. Hoe is het museum hiermee omgegaan? Welke keuzes zijn er gemaakt bij het ontwerpen van de tentoonstelling en de visualisatie van het achtergrondverhaal. Zou u dit zelf anders aangepakt hebben?
b. Is de wijze van tentoonstellen en visualiseren van het verhaal achter de Lombok schat veranderd na de teruggave van een deel van de schat in 1978?
c. Hoe staat de gemeenschap van Indonesië tegenover het feit dat de objecten in het Volkenkunde tentoongesteld worden?

Singosari: Kunt u wat vertellen over de beelden van Singosari en hun geschiedenis?

a. Hoe is het museum hiermee omgegaan? Welke keuzes zijn er gemaakt bij het ontwerpen van de tentoonstelling en de visualisatie van het achtergrondverhaal. Zou u dit zelf anders aangepakt hebben?
b. Het museum is een samenwerking aangegaan met het Museum Nasional in Jakarta. Hoe is deze verlopen en heeft dit de huidige expositie en de wijze van visualisatie van het achtergrondverhaal beïnvloed?
c. Hoe staat de gemeenschap van Indonesië tegenover het feit dat de objecten het in Volkenkunde tentoongesteld worden?

Peelhelm: Kunt u wat vertellen over de Peelhelm en zijn geschiedenis?

a. Hoe is het museum hiermee omgegaan? Welke keuzes zijn er gemaakt bij het ontwerpen van de tentoonstelling en de visualisatie van het achtergrondverhaal. Zou u dit zelf anders aangepakt hebben?
b. Wat is er precies gebeurt met de boze brief van de gemeente Helenaveen? Hoe is het museum hier mee omgegaan en heeft dit de visualisatie van het verhaal achter het object beïnvloed?

Cypriotische kop: Kunt u wat vertellen over de Cypriotische kop en zijn geschiedenis?

a. Hoe is het museum hiermee omgegaan? Welke keuzes zijn er gemaakt bij het ontwerpen van de tentoonstelling en de visualisatie van het achtergrondverhaal. Zou u dit zelf anders aangepakt hebben?
b. Hoe staat de gemeenschap van Cyprus tegenover het feit dat het beeld in het RMO tentoongesteld wordt?

3. Op welke manier is de wijze van tentoonstellen van de objecten in het RMO de afgelopen jaren veranderd?
4. Ieder object heeft een verhaal en deze wordt niet altijd getoond in musea. Wat vindt u daarvan?
5. Welk object in het museum vindt u het mooiste verhaal hebben?

Interview algemeen

1. Kunt u wat vertellen over de veranderingen binnen de structuur van het Volkenkunde/RMO? Wat is het doel, het beoogde publiek, de opzet van de tentoonstellingen etc.?
2. Op welke manier is de wijze van tentoonstellen van de objecten in het Volkenkunde de afgelopen jaren veranderd?
3. Ieder object heeft een verhaal en deze wordt niet altijd getoond in musea. Wat vindt u daarvan?
4. Welk object in het museum vindt u het mooiste verhaal hebben?

5. Waarom wordt niet ieder achtergrondverhaal van een object aan de bezoekers getoond, en wie maakt deze beslissing?

Appendix 2: Transcription of the interview with Anne Marie Woerlee on 7 April 2015 (in Dutch)

Vraag 1: Kunt u iets over uzelf vertellen. Wat is uw functie binnen het museum?

Woerlee: Dag, ik ben Anne Marie Woerlee. Ik ben hoofd van de afdeling tentoonstellingen voor het Volkenkunde museum in Leiden, voor het Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam en het Afrika museum in Berg en Dal. Nou, de afdelingen tentoonstellingen werkt heel veel samen, ook met de conservatoren voor de inhoud van een onderwerp. Tentoonstellingsmakers uit mijn afdeling schrijven vooral de storyline. We proberen het onderwerp wat we hebben gekozen heel erg te vertalen naar het publiek toe. En natuurlijk komen daar ook allerlei andere expertises bij, zoals educatie en PR-marketing, dit is heel erg belangrijk in dat geval. En zo proberen we twee keer per jaar op elke locatie een tijdelijke tentoonstelling neer te zetten en daarnaast hebben we natuurlijk onze vaste presentaties op alle drie de locaties.

Vraag 2: Kunt u wat vertellen over de veranderingen binnen de structuur van het Volkenkunde? Wat is het doel, het beoogde publiek, de opzet van de tentoonstellingen etc.?

Woerlee: Nou, de structuur is sinds 1april veranderd. We zijn gefuseerd met de drie musea die ik net noemde. Het tropenmuseum en het Afrika museum, samen met het museum Volkenkunde hier in Leiden. Nu zijn we één organisatie en dat betekent dat mijn functie nu ook verdeeld wordt, of mijn aandacht verdeeld wordt, over die drie locaties. Ik heb een team van tentoonstellingsmakers. En wij concentreren ons qua ontwerpen, wat Leiden betreft, vooral op iconen van het werelderfgoed. Onderwerpen als 'Maori', als 'Geisha', dat zijn onderwerpen die we de laatste tijd hebben beetgepakt, zeg maar. En die we dan ook naar het publiek vertalen, We proberen daar ook veel media bij te betrekken. Dus dat zijn eigenlijk wel de multimediale tentoonstellingen terwijl de voorwerpen natuurlijk wel voorop blijven staan.

Vraag 3: Op welke manier is de wijze van tentoonstellen van de objecten in het Volkenkunde de afgelopen jaren veranderd?

Woerlee: De hele media zijn er omheen gekomen. Dat is al een aantal jaren aan de hand, eigenlijk ook omdat je merkt dat publiek ook gewend is om bewegend beeld te zien. Families die komen, en met name de kinderen, vinden het heel leuk om gewoon interactief bezig te zijn en wij vinden dat ook een hele goede methode om kinderen iets te leren over de culturen. En daarom proberen we altijd zoveel mogelijk media erbij te betrekken. Soms zijn er bijvoorbeeld ook foto's uit onze eigen collectie, maar soms ook van fotografen die met het onderwerp te maken hebben. Bewegend beeld is belangrijk, het interactieve is belangrijk en daardoor kun je ook je kennis op een goede manier overdragen aan veel publieksgroepen. Ook om de onderwerpen wat breder te maken. Iets waarvan je denkt: "Oh, daar heb ik wel eens van gehoord maar hoe zit dat nou precies." Net zoals met Geisha. Heel veel mensen hebben daar toch wel van gehoord in Nederland, maar ze weten eigenlijk niet precies hoe de vork in de steel zit, dus vandaar dat we dat soort onderwerpen behandelen. Dit geldt eigenlijk ook voor de indianen van de Noordwestkust, en dat geldt ook voor de Maori, dat soort onderwerpen zijn eigenlijk de laatste jaren bij ons in trek.

Vraag 4: Ieder object heeft een verhaal en deze wordt niet altijd getoond in musea. Wat vindt u daarvan?

Woerlee: Ja, ik ga altijd uit van wat het publiek graag wil weten. Ik denk dat mensen heel graag, als ze in een volkenkundig museum komen, willen weten hoe het is gebruikt, waarom het is gebruikt en soms ook waarom het is gemaakt. Of we het nou van mevrouw Jansen of mevrouw Respawiro hebben gekocht. Ik denk niet dat bezoekers dat zo heel veel uitmaakt. Ik denk wel dat het leuk is om bijvoorbeeld een keer een tentoonstelling te maken over hoe voorwerpen in het museum gekomen zijn. En heel vaak in onze rondleidingen nemen we dat wel mee, want het is altijd wel een vraag van het publiek: "Hoe komen jullie daar nou aan?" En heel vaak denken ze ook dat in ons museum de spullen uit de grond zijn gehaald. Nou en dan, in een rondleiding, ga je daar ook heel erg op in dat het niet zo is. Dat wij op verschillende manieren aan onze voorwerpen komen.

Ik weet niet hoe interessant het is als een tentoonstelling over Geisha gaat, dan wil je vooral alles over Geisha weten en niet per se hoe die voorwerpen nu in het museum gekomen zijn. Nou is daar het verhaal heel duidelijk dat we het hebben geleend van een geisha-huis en dat vinden we dan ook belangrijk. Want dat verteld iets over hoe wij met andere landen samenwerken, wat voor band we met hen hebben. In dat geval vertellen we dat verhaal zeker. Maar per object denk ik dat het niet altijd even interessant is.

En we hebben binnen het museum ook wel hele discussies van: moet je op elk label bijvoorbeeld zeggen dat het via een antiquair of via mevrouw huppeldepup is binnengekomen. Of dat het uit een buit is. We hebben bijvoorbeeld een Britse oorlogsbuit. Dat zijn spullen uit Afrika. En dan wordt dat daar ook wel bijgezet. Dus we maken heel erg die keuze en ik denk dat het belangrijk is dat je het sowieso ergens vastlegt, dat is ook niet in alle gevallen zo. En als je het vastlegt is het altijd die keuze van: "Gaan we het wel of niet vertellen?" Dat hangt een beetje af van de insteek van de storyline van je tentoonstelling.

Vraag 5: Welk object in het museum vindt u het mooiste verhaal hebben?

<u>Woerlee:</u> Ik vind het altijd leuk als er een verhaal van iemand achter zit. Een persoonlijk verhaal dat vind ik altijd heel mooi van voorwerpen. Er zijn hartstikke leuke voorwerpen, er zijn hier heel veel voorwerpen. Heel veel zijn ook niet tentoongesteld, die volgens mij een prachtig verhaal erachter hebben. Ik ga dan toch meer naar een wat algemener verhaal, zeg maar. We staan hier op de afdeling Midden- en Zuid-Amerika en daar is een vitrine ook aan Suriname is gewijd, met dat land heb ik ook een hele warme band. En daar heb je de nationale feestdracht: dat is het Kotomisi kostuum en daar zijn verschillende verhalen over. En wat ik leuk vind is dat Surinamers dat kostuum met trots dragen. Het zegt iets over hun verleden. Best een moeilijk verleden, maar ze zijn er goed uitgekomen. In dat kostuum zit ook een hoofddracht, een hoofddoek, en die heeft ook allerlei verborgen symboliek. Het is een kostuum dat uit de slavernijperiode stamt en daar waren de slaven niet altijd vrij om met elkaar te praten en via de hoofddoek konden ze elkaar dan berichten

geven. Bijvoorbeeld een vrouw die aan een man liet weten van: "Wacht vanavond op zo'n plek op mij." Nou dat kon hij aan het puntje in haar hoofddoek zien van: "Ah vanavond hebben we daar dan een afspraak." En verder is het verhaal rondom het kostuum ook dat de slavenmeesters het uitgevonden zouden hebben, want het is een kostuum dat de vrouwen eigenlijk een beetje onaantrekkelijk maakt, het maakt haar heel erg dik door heel veel kussentjes onder de kleding, waardoor je de mooie heupen en de mooie lijnen niet kan zien. Een ander verhaal is dat de plantagevrouwen jaloers waren op de mooie inheemse bevolking en die de vrouwen toen dwongen om dit soort kleding te dragen, want het was best wel warm daar. Ja, dat soort verhalen vind ik eigenlijk heel erg mooi om te vertellen en ook bij de objecten neer te zetten en te schrijven.

Vraag 6: Waarom wordt niet ieder achtergrondverhaal van een object aan de bezoekers getoond, en wie maakt deze beslissing?

<u>Woerlee:</u> De verhalen die we vertellen bij een voorwerp, zeg maar de inhoud daarvan, bepalen we samen met de conservator die bij een tentoonstelling is betrokken en de tentoonstellingsmaker. Die verhalen kunnen te maken hebben met hoe het voorwerp is gebruikt. Het is heel erg afhankelijk van de context en van het verhaal dat we in het algemeen willen vertellen. Maar het heeft wel te maken met: waar gebruiken die mensen dat voorwerp voor, in welke lagen werd het gebruikt, is het bijvoorbeeld iets wat in de paleizen een object was, voor religieus of voor feestelijk gebruik, of was het iets uit het dagelijks leven? Dat kan natuurlijk, daar hebben we ook heel veel voorwerpen van. Wat deden de mensen ermee en wat voor betekenis had het voor hen? Nou, zoveel mogelijk informatie proberen we wel in de voorwerptekst kwijt te kunnen. We willen het niet te lang maken, want een museum is geen boek. We willen mensen, als bezoekers, ook vooral laten kijken naar de voorwerpen, hoe mooi ze zijn en hoe kunstig ze gemaakt zijn. En daarbij moeten teksten ondersteunend zijn. Dus we beperken ons tot ongeveer 50 tot 100 woorden voor een objectlabel. En wat meer achtergrondinformatie, die wordt dan in een zogenaamd 'C' tekst verwerkt, zodat de mensen dan ook een beetje de context van het geheel begrijpen. Verder zijn al onze voorwerpen ook op het internet beschreven, bezoekers kunnen altijd nog in de database zoeken om wat extra informatie te vinden. Dat proberen we ook wel heel erg te stimuleren. In onze vaste

tentoonstelling hebben we zuiltjes ingevoerd en dat zijn ook teksten die direct uit onze database worden getrokken. Die zijn ook wat langer dan de gewone objectlabels bij tijdelijke tentoonstellingen. Daar kunnen we dan ook wat meer informatie in kwijt. Maar de beslissing wordt dus eigenlijk vooral door de conservator en de tentoonstellingsmaker genomen en dan komen we samen we tot elkaar.

Appendix 3: Transcription of the interview with Prof. dr. Pieter ter Keurs on 7 April 2015 (in Dutch)

Vraag 1: Kunt u iets over uzelf vertellen? Wat is uw functie binnen het museum?

<u>Ter Keurs:</u> Officieel is mijn functie: hoofd van de afdeling collecties en onderzoek. Dat wil zeggen van zowel het fysieke collectiebeheer: het depot beheer, de restauratie, de archieven registratie etc. Deze zitten in de collectiepoot. En daarnaast ook het inhoudelijke collectiebeheer: het onderzoek, de conservatoren, de opgravingen. Dit zit in de onderzoekspoot. En dat hebben wij dan als een afdeling geformuleerd en daar ben ik hoofd van.

Ik ben oorspronkelijk antropoloog. Ik ben opgeleid in Leiden en heb vele jaren bij het Volkenkundig museum in Leiden gewerkt. Zes jaar geleden ben ik overgestapt naar het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden.

De Peelhelm

Vraag 2: Kunt u wat vertellen over de Peelhelm en zijn geschiedenis?

<u>Ter Keurs:</u> Je hebt natuurlijk twee soorten geschiedenissen. Het verhaal uit de tijd dat hij gemaakt werd en dat hij gebruikt werd, en het verhaal dat hij gevonden is in 1910. En ik neem aan dat je dat laatste bedoelt.

<u>Voeten:</u> Ja dat klopt.

<u>Ter Keurs:</u> Nou hij is dus gevonden door een lokale turfsteker, Smolenaars, die hem een tijdje tentoongesteld heeft in zijn eigen huis. Maar het was al vrij snel duidelijk dat het om een belangrijk archeologisch voorwerp ging. Ook de lokale archeologen,

of de lokale intellectuelen, hadden dat al vrij snel door. En Smolenaars die zag zelf ook op een gegeven moment in dat het niet zo handig was om dat ding in zijn huis te bewaren. Hij vroeg ook entreegeld om extra inkomsten te hebben. Maar hij zag wel in dat dit ook extra risico's met zich meebracht. Als zo'n ding bekend werd en gestolen werd uit zijn huis dan had hij helemaal niets meer. Dus uiteindelijk is toen besloten om het aan te bieden aan het RMO, en het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden heeft het overigens vrij snel na de vondst gekocht. Voor 1200 gulden, en dat was voor toen een enorm bedrag. Dat was ongeveer de prijs van drie keer het soort huis waar hij in woonde. Dus dat was een behoorlijk bedrag. Ik heb overigens later nog met familieleden van hem gesproken en die vertelden me dat ze dat geld nooit hebben gezien. Maar goed, dat zijn dan van die familieverhalen.

En toen is het dus naar Leiden toegekomen, het stuk. Leiden was toen net als nu het centrum van de presentatie van de Nederlandse archeologie. De collecties gingen toen automatisch naar Leiden toe. Dat is nu niet meer zo, nu blijven heel veel spullen in de provincie, zo dicht mogelijk bij de vondstplek. Toen was dat wel heel vanzelfsprekend dat Leiden een soort centrale rol had. En daarmee was het museum een exponent van de Nationale Cultuurpolitiek. Maar de lokale mensen uit Meil of Helenaveen, waar de helm gevonden is in die driehoek van dorpen, die kwamen natuurlijk nooit in Leiden. Dus die zagen dat stuk gewoon niet meer. En ik heb sterk het vermoeden dat er in 100 jaar tijd helemaal geen contact is geweest met de vondstplek. Wij hadden ook geen idee hoe men lokaal tegen die vondst aankeek. Er was echt een soort scheiding der geesten ontstaan. Het stuk was effectief gescheiden van de plek waar hij gevonden was.

In de volkenkundige wereld zie je dat natuurlijk ook heel sterk. Zeker in de 19e eeuw. Daar noemt men ook nooit namen van mensen waar men stukken van gekocht heeft. Men scheidt het vaak van de originele culturele context, om meerdere redenen. Niet alleen om politieke redenen, wat natuurlijk heel sterk meespeelde, maar ook omdat men vond dat het er niet toe deed. Je moest een wetenschappelijk objectieve indruk geven van een voorwerp en van het verhaal rondom het voorwerp.

Nou bij die Peelhelm was dat zeer effectief gebeurd. Er was geen contact meer met het dorp. Tot dus in 2009 er ineens een teken van leven kwam met een soort idee van: "Ja eigenlijk hoort dat ding hier. We willen hem dus eigenlijk terughalen, in welke vorm dan ook." Nou en daar zijn we toen over gaan praten en uiteindelijk zijn we uitgekomen op de oplossing dat hij dus een week tentoongesteld kon worden in Helenaveen in 2010.

Voeten: We hadden het net over de familie van Smolenaars. Heeft u ook met hen gesproken over wat zij ervan vonden dat de helm in het RMO tentoongesteld word?

Ter Keurs: Ja, zij waren vrij laconiek. Er was wel in het dorp een soort algeheel gevoel van: "Ja, waarom moet dat ding eigenlijk in Leiden staan?" Als je het dan met de mensen van het dorpscentrum, maar ook de autoriteiten, er over praat dan snappen ze wel dat zij niet de faciliteiten hebben om voor zo'n belangrijk stuk te zorgen. Dus al je er uiteindelijk op die manier over praat dan kom je daar wel uit. Maar bij sommige mensen liepen de emoties wel een beetje hoog op. "Waarom zou ik naar Leiden komen om dat ding te zien. Dat hoort toch hier?"

Voeten: En dat hangt dus eigenlijk een beetje samen met die brief waar u mij enkele weken geleden over vertelde? Want wat voor brief was het precies?

Ter Keurs: Het was niet echt een direct boze brief maar wel een ondertoon van: "Jullie moeten hier wel iets mee, want dat ding hoort gewoon bij ons." En het was een mengeling. De drijvende krachten waren de mensen die het dorpshuis runde. Want het was dus geen brief van de burgemeester direct, maar ze hadden bijvoorbeeld wel een oud Commissaris van de Koningin betrokken in het geheel. Dus er was wel degelijk een soort druk van de autoriteiten uit. En ook van allerlei musea daar in de buurt. Want toen zij doorkregen dat dit speelde begonnen zij ook geïnteresseerd te raken. "Kan dat ding niet tentoongesteld worden bij ons?" Dus er waren wel 3 ,4 verschillende partijen bij betrokken op een gegeven moment.

Vraag 3: Kunt u iets vertellen over hoe de zaal waar de Peelhelm zich in bevindt tot stand is gekomen en welke keuzes er zijn gemaakt bij het bepalen van de gebruikte objecten en de wijze van tentoonstellen?

Ter Keurs: Daar kan ik niet zo heel veel over zeggen omdat die in een zaal staat die al heel oud is, en we willen dat eigenlijk ook heel graag gaan veranderen. Hij is logischerwijs opgenomen in de Romeins-Nederlandse afdeling en staat daar tussen een aantal andere voorwerpen in. De keuzes die daar precies zijn gemaakt, daar weet ik eigenlijk niets van. Het is natuurlijk een vrij traditionele opstelling, hij springt er niet uit als een object met een speciaal verhaal. Dus in de nieuwe opstelling gaan we dat weldegelijk veranderen.

Vraag 4: Hoe is het museum hiermee omgegaan? Zijn er bepaalde keuzes gemaakt bij het ontwerpen van de tentoonstelling en de visualisatie van het achtergrondverhaal.

Ter Keurs: Nee, want het is daarna gewoon weer teruggegaan in de oude vitrine. Het is wel zo dat het stuk nu vaker gevraagd wordt als bruikleen. In Limburg bijvoorbeeld willen ze hem tonen, en daar is hij ook al eens getoond in het Limburgs museum. En hij gaat binnenkort naar het Louvre. Dus er is wel een behoorlijk actief bruikleen beleid rondom het stuk ontstaan.

Vraag 5: Zou u de visualisatie van het verhaal achter het object anders aangepakt hebben?

Ter Keurs: Bij de Peelhelm zou ik veel meer het '*nachleben*' benadrukken. Dus niet alleen wat er nu gebeurt. Over: "Hoe is hij gebruikt in de Romeinse tijd" en "Wat weten we van waarom hij daar in de grond is gestopt." Dat is een mooi verhaal, maar je moet natuurlijk ook vertellen hoe belangrijk dat stuk is voor de mensen van nu. Dus dat zou ik in een nieuwe opstelling anders doen.

De Cypriotische kop

Vraag 6: Kunt u wat vertellen over de Cypriotische kop en zijn geschiedenis?

Ter Keurs: Ja, we hebben daar heel lang onderzoek naar gedaan, want het is een voorwerp dat ons interesseerde. Het werd aangeboden in de handel door Charles Ede in Londen. En die vertelde dus dat het stuk als sinds het midden van de 19e eeuw in Europese collecties was. En dat zou dus betekenen dat het juridisch kan. Want meestal zijn die erfgoed kwesties, de erfgoed regels, van latere data. Maar toen wij vroegen om bewijs bleef het angstvallig stil, en dat bewijs was er dus ook niet. Toen zijn wij dat onderzoek zelf gaan doen. En toen bleek dat het afkomstig was van een oude Franse collectie. Die eerder al, in 1862, in het Louvre gelegen heeft. In de jaren 1870 is het Louvre een keer gerenoveerd door een architect: Lefüel. En hij kreeg als dank één van die Cypriotische koppen mee. Nou en dat hebben we dus met onze contacten in het Louvre, maar ook een Franse expert die in de Exemple Provins zit, kunnen achterhalen. Het Louvre was er ook erg blij mee dat wij het stuk aankochten, het was één van hun 'missing objects' in feite. Dus wij hebben die link met dat jaar, 1862, wel kunnen leggen. We hebben toen ook contact opgenomen met de Cypriotische autoriteiten, om er zeker van te zijn dat het stuk niet recent het land uit gesmokkeld was of op de lijst van gezochte voorwerpen stond. Dat klopte allemaal. Dus dat is een lange geschiedenis geweest van: een opgraving en een midden 19e eeuw collectiebeleid dat ze gewoon maar stukken weggaven, blijkbaar, aan belangrijke mensen. En ja daardoor is een voorwerp dus een lange tijd uit het zicht onttrokken, in een privé verzameling terecht gekomen, en uiteindelijk in 2002 of zo op de markt verschenen en daarna in verschillende handen geweest. Op zich wel een fascinerend verhaal, en natuurlijk heel mooi dat we het hebben kunnen traceren tot zo lang geleden.

Voeten: Hoe staat de gemeenschap van Cyprus tegenover het feit dat het beeld in het RMO tentoongesteld wordt? Klopt het dat ze blij waren dat het museum het beeld heeft aangekocht.

Ter Keurs: Ja, voor hen was een belangrijke reden dat het daarmee dus verdween uit de handel. Dat het daarmee dus in een collectie kwam die openbaar was. En we hebben ook gezegd: als jullie het willen lenen, dan kan dat gewoon. Dat soort dingen spreek je dan wel af natuurlijk. Dus dat was eigenlijk een hele goede samenwerking.

Vraag 7: Hoe is het museum hiermee omgegaan? Welke keuzes zijn er gemaakt bij het ontwerpen van de tentoonstelling en de visualisatie van het achtergrondverhaal. Zou u dit zelf anders aangepakt hebben?

Ter Keurs: Hier is het veel moeilijker omdat de kop nog geen vaste opstelling heeft. Dat krijgt hij wel. Hij is een paar keer opgesteld geweest in de nieuwe aanwinst vitrine, waar dit verhaal over de herkomst en het onderzoek dus wel in verteld is. En hij staat nu in de Carthago tentoonstelling waar hij weer met een heel ander verhaal staat om aan te tonen dat er dus relaties zijn tussen Cyprus en Carthago.

Maar ik vind dat er sowieso veel meer dat '*nachleben'* zoals ze dat dan wel eens noemen bij de teksten in de openbare opstellingen terug moet komen. Want die voorwerpen spelen ook nu nog een rol. Maar dat kan je niet van de één op de andere dag veranderen.

Algemene vragen

Vraag 8: Op welke manier is de wijze van tentoonstellen van de objecten in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden de afgelopen jaren veranderd?

Ter Keurs: Ja, er zijn heel veel verandering geweest, maar het is een ander soortige verandering dan vroeger. Rond 1998, het jaar 2000, is het hele museum verbouwd en helemaal vernieuwd. Dus de hele openbare opstellingen is opnieuw gedaan. Wat je wel zag is dat een aantal afdelingen bijvoorbeeld dat bij de Grieken en Nederlandse prehistorie het geld eigenlijk op was en dat is dus maar zeer provisorisch opnieuw gedaan. En wat we nu aan het doen zijn is: we willen niet het hele museum stuiten voor een complete *refit*, een reinstallation. Maar we zijn dus nu afhankelijk van hoeveel geld we hebben om delen van het museum te herzien. We hebben dus de afdeling Nederland volledig herzien, er is dus ook een hele nieuwe opstelling op de 2e etage die ook heel goed ontvangen is. We zijn nu bezig met de Grieken afdeling opnieuw te doen. We hebben de Nabije Oosten afdeling al opnieuw gedaan. We gaan de Romeinen en de Etrusken de komende tijd ook aanpakken. Het enige wat dan nog als laatste overblijft is Romeins Nederland. Dus dat wordt dan misschien nog voor 2018. Maar misschien ook daarna. Dat moeten we even kijken of het financieel ook kan. Dus we gaan eigenlijk nu per afdeling het veranderen waardoor ook de stijl van de afdelingen ook wat gevarieerder wordt. En ik hoop ook dat er in de informatievoorziening een duidelijke dynamiek in komt.

Vraag 9: Ieder object heeft een verhaal en deze wordt niet altijd getoond in musea. Wat vindt u daarvan?

Ter Keurs: Nou, je kunt soms niet alles tonen. Objecten hebben natuurlijk meerdere verhalen. Het hangt er vanaf waar je op inzoomt. En dat hangt helemaal van de verhaallijn van je tentoonstelling af. Je ziet het met die Cypriotische kop, we hebben daar echt op die verzamelgeschiedenis ingezoomd toen het een nieuwe aanwinst was. "Kijk eens hoe interessant dat is." Maar die noemen we nu niet bij de Carthago tentoonstelling, omdat het gewoon teveel zou worden, je moet informatie ook doceren. De ene keer noemen we het belang van die kop voor de relatie tussen Cyprus Carthago en de andere keer noemen we de verzamelgeschiedenis. Dus het hangt helemaal van je opstelling af, van je verhaallijn, welk stukje van die informatie je kiest. En elk voorwerp heeft wel 10 verhalen. Dus je kunt gewoon niet anders. En dat maakt het vaak heel moeilijk. Alleen vind ik dat in het verleden veel te weinig aandacht is besteed aan die verzamelgeschiedenis. Want dat is ook een beeld dat je uitstraalt van oudere culturen of van culturen ver weg. De context waarin het verzameld is bepaald heel sterk wat wij nu kunnen tonen dus ik vind wel dat je dat verhaal niet overal, maar wel regelmatig, moet vertellen; om de bezoeker daar ook bewust van te maken. Dus het hangt een beetje af van de context. We kunnen niet alle informatie geven die we hebben, maar je moet daar keuzes in maken.

Vraag 10: Welk object in het museum vindt u het mooiste verhaal hebben?

Ter Keurs: Dat is heel moeilijk want er is natuurlijk heel veel. Ja, dat dubbel beeld van Maya en Merit dat is toch een topstuk dat blijft ook wel fantastisch. Dat ken je he?

Voeten: Ja.

Ter Keurs: Wat ik daar ook minstens zo interessant aan vind is de hele verzamelgeschiedenis. Zo'n Armeniër die consul van Zweden wordt en dan een vergunning krijgt om daar gewoon stukken uit Egypte te halen en die in Livorno, in Italië, aan te bieden. Wat ik misschien nog wel het meest imposante, fascinerende, vind is het grote keizer beeld van Trajanus. Je hebt op de 1e verdieping zes van die grote Romeinse keizerbeelden. Met een hele verzamelgeschiedenis. Dat is een zeer boeiend verhaal van contacten tussen Nederlanders en lokale heersers. Maar ook het verhaal; het oorspronkelijke verhaal van het beeld, van die persoon van keizer Trajanus. Dat is ook buitengewoon, hij is één van de meest succesvolle Romeinse keizers geweest. Een zeer goed bestuurder. Dus op één of andere manier vind ik dat ook een absoluut topstuk.

Vraag 11: Kunt u wat vertellen over de veranderingen binnen de structuur van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden? Wat is het doel, het beoogde publiek, de opzet van de tentoonstellingen etc.?

Ter Keurs: Ik kan natuurlijk heel braaf de missie voorlezen. Die staat op de site. Maar wat wij natuurlijk toch willen is mensen gefascineerd laten raken door oude culturen, maar niet in de laatste plaats ook de fascinatie ontwikkelen voor de voorwerpen en de betekenis die deze voorwerpen voor nu hebben. Zeker ook dat contact leggen met het heden daar leggen we steeds meer de nadruk op de laatste jaren. En dan hoop je gewoon dat mensen onder de indruk zijn en met een goed gevoel weer naar huis gaan. Ja, dat is toch je doel.

Vraag 12: Waarom wordt niet ieder achtergrondverhaal van een object aan de bezoekers getoond, en wie maakt deze beslissing?

Ter Keurs: Dat is natuurlijk heel ingewikkeld in de praktijk. Als je dus het hele museum in een keer opnieuw doet kun je zo'n tekstuele redactie in de handen van één of twee personen leggen. Wij doen het nu per afdeling, dus dat betekend dat de conservator daar een belangrijke rol in speelt. En niet iedere conservator vindt het even belangrijk. Daar sturen wij als management wel iets in bij, maar ook weer niet zo dat het een eenheidsworst gaat worden. We vinden die diversiteit helemaal niet erg. Het moet wel zo zijn dat bepaalde dingen bijvoorbeeld bij zo'n voorwerp als de Peelhelm , dat is inmiddels zo bekend, dat daar nog een extra verhaal achter zit, dat ga je gewoon niet verzwijgen. Ik denk dat het niet noemen van dat soort informatie vaak het gevoel is van een wat ouderwetse wetenschappelijk houding van: “Het doet er niet toe, want het gaat meer om het oude verhaal dan om het recente verhaal.” Impliciet zijn het natuurlijk ook vaak politieke beslissingen. Het niet willen; de moeilijke vragen uit de weg willen gaan. Dat is steeds minder zo. In het verleden hadden de nationale musea daar wel degelijk last van. Ik heb toen precies hetzelfde meegemaakt met Indonesië toen ik in het Volkenkunde nog conservator was. Dat Indonesië ook wel eens met moeilijke vragen kwam. Nou voorheen werd dat soort vragen zelfs niet beantwoorden. Werd dat gewoon: “Laten we het maar doodbloeden. Laten we maar een niets zeggend antwoord sturen en verder houden we het gewoon stil.” Veel informatie werd bewust niet naar buiten gebracht. Mensen mochten zelfs niet in de depots komen. Met allerlei smoezen van het is niet op orde. Dus ik denk dat dit in het verleden, veel sterker dan nu, wel heel duidelijk een rol speelde. Dat men bewust dit soort moeilijke vagen uit de weg wilde gaan. Men durfde eigenlijk de confrontatie niet aan. En dat is natuurlijk, vind ik, heel erg. Want dat moet je juist wel doen. Waarom zou je dat voor je houden? Het is een beetje het idee van: de collecties zijn van de conservator. In Frankrijk heb je dat nog heel sterk bij een aantal musea. De conservator bepaald alles wat er gebeurt. Die heeft zelfs de sleutel van het depot en als die er niet is dan komt er niemand in. Maar ook daar zijn dingen aan het veranderen de laatste tijd. Die oude houding is langzaam aan het weg ebben. En mede door die angst om geconfronteerd te worden met de politieke werkelijkheid heeft men dit soort informatie over de geschiedenis van het voorwerp, de geschiedenis van het verzamelen, vaak niet genoemd. Ik heb wel eens ergens een voorbeeld genoemd in de begin 20^{e} eeuwse catalogus van de Indonesië collectie in leiden. Daar heb je het deel over Noord-Sumatra. Daar staat één zinnetje, in de inleiding, over dat het eigenlijk vanzelfsprekend is dat de voornaamste mensen die de collectie verzameld hebben militairen waren. Verder staat er helemaal niets over 30 jaar koloniale oorlogen in dat gebied. Helemaal niets. Ik geloof niet dat het onwil is geweest van de conservatoren. Deels omdat men vond dat het er niet toe deed, maar juist die houding van objectieve wetenschapper zijn, is natuurlijk ook een keuze. Want daarmee sluit je je eigenlijk af van de politieke werkelijkheid, en ik vind dat het niet meer kan. Daar moet je echt als conservator, en in mijn geval als hoofd van de conservatoren, gewoon keihard tegen in gaan. Dat kan echt niet meer.

Dus ik vind wel dat je dat moet tonen in het museum, moet laten zien, moet vertellen, maar ook weer niet bij elk voorwerp. Want dan worden de mensen helemaal gek.

Voeten: Kun u iets vertellen over hoe het Volkenkunde museum, toen u er conservator was, is omgegaan met de verhalen achter objecten in de Indonesië zaal? En dan met name de Lombokschat en de Singosari-beelden?

Ter Keurs: Ja, die verhalen over de verzamelgeschiedenis werden in de oude opstelling totaal niet genoemd. Dat was een volstrekt esoterische opstelling. De oude Singasari zaal was echt een voorbeeld van een traditionele kijk op het hindoe-boeddhisme. Er werd echt uitgelegd wat voor goden het waren en over de verzamelgeschiedenis helemaal niets. Punt, komma, helemaal niets. En ik heb toen rondom het jaar 2000 die hele Indonesië afdeling herzien. In grote lijnen is het de structuur die er nu nog staat. Fransje Brinkgreve heeft inmiddels wat veranderingen bij Singasari gedaan die ik heel goed vind. En, in mijn tijd dan, was het zo dat bijvoorbeeld het voorbeeld van de Lombokschat en het noemen van namen van verzamelaars, dat heb ik er toen wel ingebracht. Maar bijvoorbeeld bij die oorlogsbuit, dat verhaal van die oorlogsbuit, daar had ik dus in de planning ook foto's zitten van de veldtocht van het vernietigen van het paleis van Lombok en dat is er allemaal door de vormgeving uitgehaald. Nu zit er wel iets in. Op het eind heb ik dat er nog in kunnen frutselen, maar we hadden veel meer fotomateriaal. En ik had dat verhaal ook veel sterker willen aanzetten. Ook als een soort contrapunt tegen de toch behoorlijk esthetische opstelling. Dat is er toen eigenlijk buiten mijn wens uitgehaald. Dat was een behoorlijke strijd tussen de presentatie afdeling en de conservatoren toentertijd. Ik had het er veel meer in willen hebben. Ik was wel blij dat er aan het eind toch nog iets in kwam. Maar het was toen ook zo'n vage foto dat eigenlijk niemand die boodschap echt overnam. Dus die verandering was best een behoorlijke stap voor het Volkenkunde. Aan de kop van de vitrines heb ik nog wel aandacht besteed aan Rassers en Nieuwenhuijse. Ik weet niet eens of dat er nog staat ik heb het al een hele tijd niet gezien.

Voeten: Het is mij in ieder geval niet opgevallen.

Ter Keurs: Maar dat was ook al heel wat. Dat vonden ze al veel te ver gaan. Er zijn nog andere dingen geschrapt toen. Ik had op de wand grote foto's willen hebben van het moderne Jakarta, van de wolkenkrabbers, de hoge flats en de auto's en dat is ook allemaal geschrapt, het was toen een behoorlijke strijd. En ik ben blij dat het er langzamerhand toch in komt; dat dit nu wel kan. Het heeft even wat tijd nodig gehad. Ik heb natuurlijk toen wel, maar niet in Leiden, in de Nieuwe Kerk is een hele grote tentoonstelling gemaakt over verzamelen in Indonesië, en dat werd toen wel gezien als iets dat Nederlandse musea nog nooit hadden gedaan en waar ook openlijk gesproken werd over oorlogsbuit en dergelijke. En dat is een tentoonstelling geweest die ik dus niet kon maken bij Volkenkunde maar wel in de Nieuwe Kerk. Ja, heel raar. Terwijl ik dus gewoon salaris kreeg van Volkenkunde. Maar goed dat is een heel verhaal. Maar daar hebben we echt uitgepakt. Daar was de verhaallijn: "Hoe komen die collecties nou eigenlijk hier heen?" En ik moet zeggen, ik was erg blij dat in de NRC op een gegeven moment een kop stond: "Eindelijke kunnen we eens naar koloniale kunst kijken zonder schuld gevoel." Dat er gewoon openlijk vragen kwamen hoe dat allemaal verzameld was. Soms heel verantwoord en soms ook juist niet, maar goed je moet daar gewoon openlijk over kunnen praten. Maar dat heeft wel 60 jaar geduurd. Er komen steeds meer redenen, er is steeds meer. Ook het nieuwe hoofd van de conservatoren, Laura van Broekhoven, die is daar ook steeds meer voor. Het is ook gewoon hard nodig, je moet er constant mee bezig zijn en ik blijf het vreemd vinden dat nog steeds voor een aantal mensen zo moeilijk ligt. Heel raar.

Appendix 4: Transcription of the interview with Prof. dr. Marijke Klokke on 10 april 2015 (in Dutch)

Vraag 1: Kunt u iets over uzelf vertellen? Wat is uw functie binnen het museum?

Klokke: Ik ben conservator voor Klassiek, Zuid- en Zuidoost-Azië. Dat betekend dat ik verantwoordelijk ben voor het oude Indonesië, waar we dus een topcollectie op hebben, en voor India en Zuid- en Zuidoost-Azië. Tibet hoort daar ook bij, omdat dat cultureel gezien vanuit het boeddhisme vaak bij Zuid-Azië wordt getrokken. Ik ben nu bezig met een tentoonstelling over de Boeddha.

Vraag 2: Hoe is het museum omgegaan met het verhaal achter de Singosari (van vondst tot museum)? Welke keuzes zijn er gemaakt bij het ontwerpen van de tentoonstelling en de visualisatie van het achtergrondverhaal. Zou u dit zelf anders aangepakt hebben?

Klokke: Ik ben daar niet bij betrokken geweest, maar wat wel een beetje jammer is, vind ik zelf, is dat er nog een beeld bij hoort en die staat in een andere zaal. Dat vind ik zelf jammer. Maar verder, bij de hele indeling van de zaal ben ik niet bij betrokken. En dat is volgens mij ook weer een beetje veranderd toen ze deze nieuwe opzet kregen. Toen was het beginidee dat het een reis moest worden. Dat je van hindoe-boeddhistisch Azië door kon lopen naar hindoeïstisch-boeddhistisch Indonesië, oude tijd, en dan was er aansluiting met Oceanië. Maar die is nu weg, dus dat loopt niet meer. En er zijn andere dingen, er is nu ook een koloniaal element ingebracht wat daar misschien wat minder goed in paste, in dat oude idee.

Vraag 3: Het museum is een samenwerking aangegaan met het Museum Nasional in Jakarta. Hoe is deze verlopen en heeft dit de huidige expositie en de wijze van visualisatie van het achtergrondverhaal beïnvloed?

Klokke: Nou, wat een beetje ingewikkeld daaraan is, is dat ik zelf daar niet bij ben betrokken. Ik ben hier pas gekomen toen dit project eigenlijk al af had moeten zijn. Dus hoe dat dit verder heeft beïnvloed, weet ik eigenlijk niet. Ja, ik kan daar niet heel veel op antwoorden, maar ik denk dat vanuit de achtergrond van het hele verhaal, het wel belangrijk was om die context erbij te doen. Dus die tempel erbij te doen, omdat het eigenlijk het idee was, virtueel althans, alles wat er is bij elkaar te brengen. Dus er is het één en ander op de site, er is het één en ander in het museum in Jakarta en er is het één en ander hier. Dus dat heeft wel daar aan bijgedragen. Daarnaast zijn we natuurlijk bezig geweest met de app. Heb jij die al gezien?

Voeten: Ja, die heb ik bekeken.

Klokke: Zodat hij op elk van die locaties gezien zou kunnen worden.

Vraag 4: Zou u de visualisatie van het verhaal achter de objecten zelf anders hebben aangepakt?

Klokke: Nou ja, met die app wordt het verteld eigenlijk, daar zou je meer mee kunnen doen denk ik. Niemand weet dat volgens mij.

Voeten: Klopt, ik wist er zelf ook niet van totdat ik er op gewezen werd.

Klokke: Het is wel een heel mooi medium eigenlijk. Het is ook iets wat in Indonesië, ik weet niet hoeveel hits er nu zijn, maar in het begin waren er ook best wel veel Indonesiërs die de app gebruikten. Dus het is wel een medium dat goed ingezet kan worden voor wijdere verspreiding van dit verhaal. Want dit verhaal gaat toch heel erg ver naar Indonesië door. En de samenwerking daar, ik kan niet zeggen dat die heel soepel is gelopen, ook omdat er wisselingen van de wacht waren daar. Dus er zijn drie directeuren bij betrokken geweest. De laatste, degene waar ik dus mee te maken had, had zo ontzettend veel op haar bordje liggen en zulke ambitieuze plannen te verwezenlijken, dat dit project een beetje een oud project was van de vorige directeur. Waar zij zich niet meer zo heel erg verantwoordelijk voor voelde, denk ik. En ja, wij hebben hier natuurlijk die Singosari-beelden zo bij elkaar en dit zijn onze topstukken. Zij hebben dat niet zo bij elkaar staan. Het is wel jammer hoor. Zij hadden daar toch te weinig mensen die zich daar uiteindelijk mee bemoeiden.

Vraag 5: Hoe staat de gemeenschap van Indonesië tegenover het feit dat de beelden in het Volkenkunde tentoongesteld worden?

Klokke: Nou, wat ik toch merk is dat het in de museumwereld, bij mijn collega's daar, elke keer wisselt. Maar er is een tijd geweest dan men alles terug wilde hebben. En we hebben ook een heel representatief beeld teruggegeven. Weet je daarvan?

Voeten: Ja, daar heb ik over gelezen.

Klokke: Prajnaparamita. Maar daarna is er een trend ingezet om er niet over te gaan kissebissen en met elkaar te gaan samenwerken. Dus dat is het idee, maar ja, soms komen die vragen toch wel weer terug. Maar als ik met mensen daarover praat, niet dat ik daar veel over praat hoor, maar toevallig deed ik een cursus Indonesisch; nog eens een opfriscursus. En toen heb ik daar wel over verteld in het kader van die cursus. En dan vinden mensen het onbegrijpelijk. Dat het allemaal hier staat eigenlijk. Ze beseffen zich niet echt, volgens mij, dat als de Nederlanders dit niet hadden weggehaald uit die tempel dat die beelden er misschien helemaal niet meer zouden zijn geweest. Het is toch wel heel erg ook gedeeld erfgoed, hoewel het natuurlijk ook weer in elke periode anders kan zijn, dat is ook niet iets dat vast ligt. Het kan ook zijn dat het voor ons totaal niet meer heel erg relevant is en er op een gegeven moment een tijd komt dat het voor Indonesië wel weer heel relevant is. En dat dingen dan weer verschuiven en anders zijn.

Vraag 6: Ieder object heeft een eigen verhaal (van vondst tot tentoonstelling) en deze wordt niet altijd getoond in musea. Wat vindt u daarvan?

<u>Klokke:</u> Nou ja, het zou natuurlijk ontzettend leuk zijn om alle objecten te tonen, maar we hebben zo gigantisch veel objecten dat we maar een heel klein aantal van wat we allemaal hebben kunnen tonen. Vaak heeft elk object zijn eigen bijzondere verhaal. Het is heel leuk om met objecten te werken. Want inderdaad, vanuit elk object kan er een heel speciaal verhaal zijn. En ik zou het zelf erg moeilijk vinden om te zeggen wat nou voor mij nu een heel bijzonder object is, want er zijn gewoon zo veel bijzondere objecten met bijzondere verhalen en ik ken eigenlijk maar zo weinig van de collectie. Dus het is wel altijd een grote ontdekkingstocht, vind ik zelf, en wat soms ook interessant kan zijn, zijn de objecten waarvan het verhaal niet bekend is; die nog moeten worden uitgevonden.

Appendix 5: Transcription of the interview with Drs. Francine Brinkgreve on 7 april 2015 (in Dutch)

Vraag 1: Kunt u iets over uzelf vertellen? Wat is uw functie binnen het museum?

<u>Brinkgreve:</u> Mijn naam is Fransje Brinkgreve. Ik heb Culturele Antropologie gestudeerd in Leiden, lang geleden. En ben altijd wel erg geïnteresseerd geweest in Indonesië. Ik heb allerlei andere banen gehad en ben in 2004 aangesteld in het

museum als projectmedewerker en vanaf 2009 ben ik conservator van de afdeling Indonesië.

Vraag 2: We staan nu in Indonesiëzaal, hoe is deze zaal tot stand gekomen en welke keuzes zijn er gemaakt bij het bepalen van de gebruikte objecten en de wijze van tentoonstellen?

Brinkgreve: Zoals de zaal op het ogenblik in ingedeeld, dat is gebeurd in het jaar 2011/2012, dat was omdat er een masterplan was; er was een herinrichting van het hele museum, toen is deze zaal voor de helft heringericht en de achterste helft is blijven bestaan zou als hij was. En de bedoeling was dat er iconische objecten zouden komen in de zaal. Dat was het idee van ons Hoofd Marketing, ons hoofd PR en de publieksfuncties. De helft is dus vervangen en waar wij nu staan dat werd 'het Goudstraatje' genoemd. En dat zou eigenlijk een soort vertegenwoordiging moeten zijn van de schatkamer die we heel vroeger hier hadden. Dus eigenlijk is de schatkamer van de Indonesië afdeling hier te zien in het Goudstraatje. En in de zuiltjes zoals jullie hier zien, daar is een verdiepingslijn aangebracht, zoals de collectie geschiedenis. Die zijn daar allemaal te zien.

Vraag 3: Kunt u wat vertellen over de Lombokschat en zijn geschiedenis? Hoe is het museum hiermee omgegaan? Welke keuzes zijn er gemaakt bij het ontwerpen van de tentoonstelling en de visualisatie van het achtergrondverhaal. Zou u dit zelf anders aangepakt hebben?

Brinkgreve: Over de Lombokschat zelf daar weet je natuurlijk al een heleboel van. Dat is een grote goudschat die vooral bestaat uit sieraden, zoals ringen, broches en kettingen en dergelijke. En ook rituele voorwerpen, die zie je aan die kant van de vitrine. En die stonden vroeger opgesteld in de schatkamer van het museum. Het is een collectie die eigenlijk als oorlogsbuit is verzameld, in 1894 tijdens de oorlog tussen het rijk Mataram en het Nederlandse Koloniale rijk. Die oorlog had ook allerlei oorzaken. Er werd gezegd dat de Sasak, de oorspronkelijke bevolking van Lombok, de hulp in riepen van de koloniale regering, omdat zij werden onderdrukt door de vorst van Mataram in het paleis van Chakranegara. Anak Agung Gde Ngurah Karangasem. Maar in werkelijkheid ging het toen om de monopolie op opium en om de angst van Nederlanders dat de Engelsen een grotere vinger in de pap zouden hebben in Lombok. Toen is er in 1894 dus een grote militaire expeditie georganiseerd waarbij het paleis helemaal in puin is gevallen, maar waarbij de vorst niet gedood werd. Die werd verbannen naar Batavia en is daar uiteindelijk overleden. Maar bij die strijd is er een enorme goudschat buitgemaakt en niet alleen uit de schatkamers van het paleis, maar ook van de lichamen van de mensen zelf. Ringen en dergelijken, krissen, werden gewoon van de lichamen gehaald. Die grote schat is toen vervoerd naar Batavia. Zoals dat bij alle oorlogsbuit als het ware gebeurde. Daar werden de beste stukken geselecteerd om te houden in het museum zelf. Het museum van het Bataviaasch Genootschap, dat is het huidige Museum Nasional Indonesia in Jakarta. Het grootste deel van de schat werd vervoerd naar Nederland. Onder andere ook om hier tentoon te stellen. Via allerlei omwegen, via het Rijksmuseum, is uiteindelijk de schat in 1936 in ons museum terecht gekomen en ook in 1977 is er nog een deel van die schat vanuit het Rijksmuseum naar ons museum overgedragen. Omdat er toen al duidelijk was dat een groot deel van de schat gerepatrieerd zou worden naar Indonesië. Vanaf 1965, meen ik, was er sprake van het herstel van de culturele en de politieke betrekkingen tussen Indonesië en Nederland. En er werden lijsten opgesteld van wat Indonesië graag terug wilde hebben. Nou onder andere wilden zij graag de Lombokschat. Toen is er ook op heel hoog diplomatiek niveau onderhandeld en vertegenwoordigers van beide partijen, zowel van Nederland als van Indonesië, hebben toen een keuze gemaakt wat zou er van de Lombokschat terug gaan naar Indonesië. En in Indonesië zelf was ook al een belangrijk deel van de schat, namelijk die al die tijd al in Batavia gebleven was. De meest unieke delen zijn daar dus ook nog steeds. En wat je hier nog ziet, is dus hier gebleven op grond van de keus die destijds in 1977 gemaakt is door de gezamenlijke Indonesische en Nederlandse onderhandelingspartners. In die tijd was ons deel van de schat tentoongesteld in de schatkamer gewoon als schatten, als onderdeel van alle andere mooie schatten die het museum heeft. Dus niet alleen de schat uit Indonesië was in die schatkamer te zien, maar ook goud uit Afrika en Latijns-Amerika, onder andere. Dat kan ik me ook nog van heel vroeger, toen ik als student daar kwam, nog wel herinneren. En ik meen me te herinneren dat na de teruggave van de schat, die schatkamer toen gesloten is geweest. Maar dat weet ik eigenlijk niet meer zeker. In ieder geval, in de jaren 90 was er een grote herinrichting in het museum, waarbij een deel van de schat weer tentoon werd gesteld. Ik weet eerlijk gezegd niet meer waar dat was en hoeveel objecten. Volgens mij niet zo heel erg veel. Maar ik weet nog wel dat er toen in die zalen meer aandacht werd besteed aan de context en aan de verzamelgeschiedenis. De hele zaal was namelijk opgezet volgens het idee van schepen als schakels. Zo hete die zaal ook, van cultuurcontact tussen China, India en Indonesië. Hoe de rijken in Indonesië, vooral de hofkunst van Indonesië, beïnvloed is geweest door Indiase rijken en ook door het Chinese Rijk. En het kan zijn geweest dat de schat daar toen een deel uitmaakte van het thema hofculturen en hoe hofculturen toen uit India beïnvloed zijn. Er was wel een hele duidelijke lijn in die zaal van de verzamelgeschiedenis. Er waren overal borden met wie de verzamelaars waren en wat zij hadden verzameld; een aantal belangrijke voorbeelden daarvan. En van de Lombokschat was dat ook een apart paneel, kan ik me herinneren. En ik vind het zelf erg jammer dat er met de tweede herinrichting weer; dus 2011/2012, dat die verdiepingslaag als het ware alleen nog maar op de zuiltjes te lezen is. En dat er maar één objecttekst aandacht besteed aan de militaire expedities. En dat is dan vooral met een foto erbij van de militaire expedities in Bali 1906-1908, heel specifiek 1906. Maar dat die verzamelgeschiedenis en hoe die dingen hier allemaal komen niet meer zou duidelijk geëxpliciteerd wordt. Het wordt wel gedaan in die zuiltjes, en straks is dat wel zo. We zijn nu bezig met het ontwikkelen van een audiotour hier in het museum en de Lombokschat is één van de onderwerpen die zijn uitgekozen en op je smartphone of tablet kun je dan die audiotour downloaden. En daar zitten allerlei verdiepingslagen in. Bij die Lombokschat zit er onder andere een filmpje bij van een interview dat gehouden is van die nazaat van die laatste vorst van Lombok die Ernawati heeft opgezocht toen ze daar in 2005 was. Dus daar wordt er wel weer duidelijker aan gerefereerd. Maar dat is dus in de audiotour en daar moet je dan wel naar opzoek gaan als bezoeker.

<u>Voeten:</u> En is deze wijze van tentoonstellen dan ook hoe u het zelf het liefst aan zou willen pakken? Of zou u het anders doen?

<u>Brinkgreve:</u> Voor mij heeft een object verschillende lagen van betekenis. En de één is niet belangrijker dan de andere. Dus er zijn per object verschillende verhalen te vertellen. Je hebt zowel het cultuurhistorische van inderdaad die invloed uit India, die invloed uit China, invloed van die culturen op de motieven. Je hebt het verhaal

van de betekenis van die voorwerpen voor de Indonesiërs zelf; dus hoe werden ze gebruikt, alleen maar door in de schatkamer te bewaren door die vorst om zijn macht te tonen of werden ze wel degelijk als kledingstuk of accessoires gebruikt bij belangrijke gelegenheden? Of in het geval van de rituele voorwerpen, bij wat voor rituelen werden ze dan gebruikt en waarom? Dat verhaal vind ik zelf ook heel belangrijk. Maar ook het verhaal van, en natuurlijk ook de bewondering voor het vakmanschap, hoe mooi die dingen gemaakt zijn. Ze staan niet voor niets te schitteren in een museum. Maar ook heel belangrijk is het verhaal van hoe het hier terechtgekomen is. Eigenlijk zou ik willen dat die verschillende typen verhalen die je hier hebt, dat die gewoon allemaal aan bod zouden komen. Op een evenwichtige manier. Maar daar is dus eigenlijk veel te weinig ruimte voor. Het is wel zo inderdaad, die audiotour waar ik het daarnet over had, daar krijg je ook weer een link met de website van het museum, waarin die verhalen ook verder worden uitgediept. Dus er wordt nu wel wat meer mee gedaan. Dus niet zo direct in de zaal zelf maar wel bij de hulpmiddelen erbij.

Vraag 4: Is de wijze van tentoonstellen en visualiseren van het verhaal achter de Lombokschat veranderd na de teruggave van een deel van de schat in 1978?

<u>Brinkgreve:</u> Het is eigenlijk ook vooral omdat ik, toen ik hier in 2004 kwam als projectmedewerker, toen was ik een medewerker van het project 'Shared cultural Heritage'. Dat is in samenwerking met het Museum Nasional Indonesia waarbij we aandacht gaven aan de gemeenschappelijke verzamelgeschiedenis van beide musea. Omdat alles in principe, zoals ik daarnet al vertelde, eerst naar het Bataviaasch Genootschap werd gestuurd. Niet alleen van militaire expedities, maar ook van wetenschappelijke expedities of wat mensen opgroeven; archeologische sites enzovoort. En dan werd er in Batavia over besloten. De dubbelen werden dan naar Nederland gestuurd en de meest unieke stukken bleven in Batavia. Omdat ik dus die ervaring had met dat project hebben we in dat project dus ook de taken verdeeld. De conservatoren van het Museum Nasional pakten bepaalde onderwerpen aan en mijn collega's en ik pakten hier bepaalde onderwerpen aan. Erna had dus de Lombokschat gekozen als haar onderwerp. Nou ik had toen door dat project ook zo veel ervaring opgedaan met het belang van verzamelgeschiedenis, en heel veel

interessante verhalen en wat dat allemaal losmaakt, dat ik bij de herinrichting van 2011/2012 het eigenlijk extra jammer vond dat verzamelaarslijn, die hier in de zaal toch eerst wel inzat, dat die gesneuveld is.

Vraag 5: Hoe staat de gemeenschap van Indonesië tegenover het feit dat de objecten in het Volkenkunde tentoongesteld worden?

Brinkgreve: Ja het gekke is: ik heb tot nu toe één keer een delegatie uit Lombok op bezoek gehad. De gouverneur van Lombok kwam hier toen voor iets anders, met een aantal van zijn collega's en die heb ik rondgeleid. En die was eigenlijk een beetje teleurgesteld bij het zien van wat wij hier hadden, het was veel minder dan dat hij had gedacht. Nu hebben we hier ook maar pak hem beet, hoeveel objecten hebben we hier, een stuk of 30. Terwijl we 200 voorwerpen hebben. Maar we hebben wel de mooiste hier uitgekozen. Er is trouwens nog een verzameling te zien, vooral van zilveren voorwerpen in het Rijksmuseum, in de zaal van de 19e eeuw. Waar juist die voorwerpen in de context van de koloniale expansie zijn geplaatst. In die zaal van de 19e eeuw, wordt echt de historisch context verteld. Veel meer dus dan hier. Maar goed, die gouverneur van Lombok was dus eigenlijk teleurgesteld dat er hier maar zo weinig was, want hij dacht dat alles hier was en hij wist dus ook niet eens dat verreweg het grootste deel van de Lombokschat in het Museum Nasional is Jakarta is. Die ervaring heb ik voortdurend met delegaties die uit andere delen van Indonesië langskomen. Die denken dat alles hier is en hebben er geen idee van dat de belangrijkste stukken, en het merendeel, gewoon in Jakarta ligt. En dan is het natuurlijk wel zo dat Jakarta niet de regio zelf is, dat is een andere kwestie. De Lombokschat wordt daar beschouwd als nationaal erfgoed in een museum dat, net als bij ons, de functie vervult als bij ons het Rijksmuseum. Maar zij willen wel meer gaan doen aan het ontwikkelen van de musea in de regio's. Maar daar zijn toch vaak de veiligheidsmaatregelen nog te slecht, of de condities om de voorwerpen te bewaren te slecht, om de voorwerpen daar goed te kunnen bewaren. En daar gaan wij natuurlijk ook niet over. Ik bedoel wij hebben samengewerkt met Jakarta en we kunnen nu moeilijk tegen Jakarta zeggen: "verdeel je schatten onder de regio's." Dat is hun zaak.

Vraag 6: Op welke manier is de wijze van tentoonstellen van de objecten in het Volkenkunde de afgelopen jaren veranderd?

Brinkgreve: Het verschil met de opstelling zoals hij nu is gerealiseerd, en die was gemaakt in 1990, is dat de historische lijn er eigenlijk uitgehaald is, maar wat we nu wel hebben, vergeleken bij vroeger, dat is de meer moderne lijn die er nu in zit door de projecties die op de muur zijn gemaakt. En waar dan foto's worden getoond, ook kun je muziek en geluiden horen, zoals nu; de motorbikes en de auto's, van de moderne tijd. Maar het is wel een beetje jammer, vind ik, dat er geen directe relatie is tussen die moderne beelden en de historische collecties, die hier getoond worden. Het wordt niet echt duidelijk wat die beelden, behalve dan dat het mooie beelden zijn van het moderne Indonesië, maar wat het daar precies doet. Het zijn meer sfeerbeelden dan dat het enige verdieping aan de objecten geeft. Dat vind ik wel jammer.

Vraag 7: Ieder object heeft een verhaal en deze wordt niet altijd getoond in musea. Wat vindt u daarvan?

Brinkgreve: Ja, zoals ik daarnet eigenlijk ook al zei heeft elk object verschillende verhalen. Dat is dus zowel het verhaal van de verzamelgeschiedenis, alsook van de culturele betekenis, dat vind ik ook een belangrijk verhaal, alsook het verhaal van de cultuur-historische invloed. Ik zou het liefst willen dat alle drie de verhalen geïntegreerd of naast elkaar per object verteld zouden kunnen worden. Of dat er een hele duidelijke keuze word gemaakt van: "Oké, nu vertellen we het koloniale verhaal, of nu hebben we het alleen over de culturele betekenis of nu hebben we het alleen over beelden van vakmanschap." Maar dat dit expliciet gemaakt wordt. Dat er behalve wat er verteld wordt nog meer verhalen zijn.

Vraag 8: Welk object in het museum vindt u het mooiste verhaal hebben?

Brinkgreve: Ja, ik weet niet of we er zo meteen nog naar toe kunnen, dat staat in de Hadj galerij in de Azië-zaal. Dat is een voorbeeld van Ihram kleding. Dat is de kleding waarin iemand die de bedevaart naar Mekka maakt; vooral de mannen, zich in moeten verkleden op het moment dat zij Mekka betreden. En in ieder geval op het moment dat ze de Kahba en de belangrijke heiligdommen binnengaan. Dan moeten zij zich kleden in twee handdoeken, als het ware, van katoen. Die zijn heel eenvoudig. En mensen lopen dan ook blootvoets daarbij. Om te laten zien dat voor God, voor Allah, iedereen gelijk is. Wij waren bezig met het organiseren van een tentoonstelling over Mekka. Dat was in 2012. En ik ging naar Jakarta in het najaar van dat jaar voor de samenwerkingsprojecten voor andere dingen die ik daar te doen had. En toen heb ik van een medewerkster van het museum, met wie ik heel goed contact heb, de Ihram kleding van haar man en ook van haarzelf gekregen. Maar die van haar man was echt Ihram kleding, van haar was het gewoon een mooi wit kostuum wat vrouwen dan dragen; heb ik cadeau gekregen voor het museum hier als teken van vriendschap tussen beide musea. En omdat zij het heel belangrijk vond dat wij in het museum ook meer aandacht besteedde aan het feit dat Indonesië het land is met het grootste aantal moslims ter wereld. En tot nu toe is dat nog heel weinig gebeurd, dat vond zij heel belangrijk en ze zegt dan krijg jij dit van mij. Ik had het ook gewoon op de markt kunnen kopen, waar je die Ihram kleding gewoon kan kopen. Voor heel weinig geld maar ze zei nee: "Ik geef je dit, want dit is een teken van onze vriendschap." En het is extra belangrijk omdat, voor zover ik begrepen heb, dergelijke Ihram kleding vaak wordt bewaard door mensen, dus door mannen, om later in begraven te worden. Dus het feit dat ze dit nu gaven, en waarbij we dan ook de foto's hebben van hoe zij daar als echtpaar met hun dochters in mekka waren en het hele verhaal eromheen. Daarom vind ik dat een prachtig voorbeeld van een object met verhaal. Waar trouwens ook niet het hele verhaal verteld wordt, maar ja, dat is wel iets waar ik zelf erg van houdt omdat ik dat verhaal ken.

Vraag 9: Zou u wellicht iets kunnen vertellen over de ontwikkeling van tentoonstellen van de Singosari-beelden?

Brinkgreve: Deze Singosari-beelden zijn sinds 1903 in ons museum gekomen en in die tijd was er een hele zaal gewijd aan deze beelden. Met niet alleen deze beelden maar ook andere beelden uit de Hindoe-Javaanse cultuur. En weer een aparte zaal speciaal voor de bronzen, er was gewoon een hele vleugel gewijd aan Indonesië en nu hebben we maar één zaal. Toen bij die herinrichting in de jaren 90 waren ze heel statisch opgesteld. In het ontwerp van de zaal zijn die vitrines dwars op de lengterichting van de zaal gezet en toen waren er de twee wachters aan de voorkant. De drie beelden, de drie belangrijkste beelden: de Durga, de Bhairava en de Ganesha, die stonden met hun rug naar de glazenwand. En de Nandi die zwierf daar een beetje rond. En dat was niet zo'n aantrekkelijke opsteling. Ook was er nog geen grote foto van de tempel. En in die herinrichting van 2011/2012 werd dit echt ook beschouwd als één van de iconen van het museum en nu zijn ze dus wat ruimer opgesteld met de Candi Singosari zelf erbij. De grote foto ervan waarbij je dus ook heel makkelijk kan uitleggen dat de Ganesha bijvoorbeeld in die nis op de foto gestaan heeft en de Durga in die andere nis. En dat de twee wachters daar aan de voorkant stonden en dat de Nandi daar vooraan aan de trappen stond. Het heeft dus een wat ruimtelijkere opstelling gekregen en met de contextfoto erbij, waardoor je makkelijker kan visualiseren hoe die beelden vroeger in de tempel gestaan hebben. En er is dus een app en een hele website, maar dat weet je al hè?

Voeten: Ja, maar wat nou vreemd is, is dat die app hier nergens wordt aangeprezen of vermeld. Niet iets van een QR code of iets dergelijks.

Brinkgreve: Je hebt helemaal gelijk, dat is echt rampzalig, want dat was ook de bedoeling dat we dat zouden doen. Maar dat is toen volgens mij, tijdens de afronding van het project in 2013, nee 2014, zijn we ook naar Jakarta gegaan. Marijke heeft ook een presentatie gegeven, daarna is het idee gekomen van die audiotour en het kan zijn dat ze dat niet meer als een apart ding wilde hebben. Het is nu ook één van die onderwerpen in de audiotour. Dus dan wordt die app, en die website, daarin als verdieping opgenomen. Ik denk dat dit de reden is. Maar voor nu, kijk ik moet er ook aan denken als ik een rondleiding geef van: denk aan die app. Het is jammer dat er niet nu al, in die tijd dat de audiotour ontwikkeld wordt, wordt vermeld. Het had er nu al een jaar kunnen staan.