Old institution, new perspective

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Cover page: Portrait sculpture from Cyprus, fifth century BC (www.rmo.nl).

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Leiden, June 11th 2015
Final version

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Acknowledgements

This research has been made possible with the help of certain people. I would like to thank Prof. dr. Ruurd B. Halbertsma, Prof. dr. Pieter ter Keurs, the volunteers at the library and archive of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, and my supervisor Dr. Mariana Françozo.

Chapter 1: Introduction

In December 2013 the Royal Museum of Central Africa in Tervuren (RMCA), Belgium, closed its doors for a large scale renovation. This renovation was started for a variety of reasons: the old infrastructure did not fit in a modern museum anymore, the outdated permanent collection did not match with the recent, temporary exhibitions concerning new, scientific research, and most of all, the ideas expressed and displayed within the museum were no longer 'of this time'. It has been said that the RMCA in Tervuren is the "last colonial museum of the world" (Hope 2013). The presentations from 1857 displayed a wild, dark Africa, with people that had no history until the coming of the colonizers. The 'Leopard man', a sculpture from 1913 that was part of the permanent presentation until 2013, stressed the idea of a savage, African native (fig. 1). When the museum reopens in 2017, it will be a place where Central Africa is displayed within the current context, with a strong memory to the colonial past (Hope 2013).

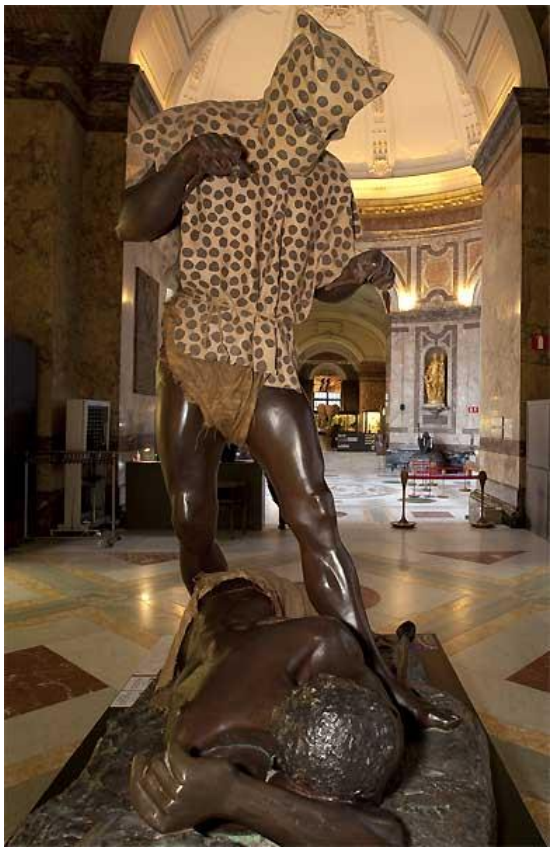

Figure 1: *The Leopard Man* in the Africa Museum in Tervuren (www.africamuseum.be).

This news item caught my attention. If the RMCA truly is the last colonial museum, then how did other museums cope with this issue? How did museums change their practices and altered their exterior under the influence of that which we now call postcolonialism? Without doubt, museums still struggle with controversial pasts and the difficulties that come with displaying cultures. The RMCA can be classified as an ethnological museum. Many cultures displayed in ethnological museums are contemporary cultures, or, contemporary, indigenous peoples still feel strongly connected to their ancestors and their displayed culture. Therefore, within the museological field one must handle with precaution and cooperate with indigenous cultures and other stakeholders and provide them a voice. In this thesis I want to research how postcolonialism has affected different kinds of museums. The National Museum of Antiquities, or the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden, an archaeological museum, will function as a case study.

1.1 Structure and research questions

In this research I investigate the changes made in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, under the influence of postcolonialism. Within this research I want to answer the questions what postcolonialism precisely is, and how it has affected archaeology and museums. I do this, because although postcolonial archaeology has been a subject of much literature (Van Dommelen 2011), there is still very little information on how this is supposedly translated to archaeological museums.

This thesis is organized in five main chapters. The first and final chapter contain respectively the introduction and the conclusion. The second chapter treats postcolonial theory and practice in archaeology, and answers the questions: what is postcolonialism and how has it influenced archaeology? The third chapter focuses on the changes that museums generally have made in the light of postcolonialism. The fourth chapter contains the case study. In this chapter five aspects of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden are presented: the presentation, the temporary exhibitions, the research, collecting policies and the attitude towards the public. To

compare the older situation with the recent circumstances, I have chosen the time frame 1945 to 2013. After the Second World War, the museum was able to grow again. 2013 represents the most recent year that is documented in the year reports. Every aspect is tested in order to answer the main questions of this research: How did the National Museum of Antiquities changed in the past seventy years under the influence of postcolonialism?

1.2 Theoretical Framework

Much has been written about postcolonialism in museums. Examples are *Unpacking the collection* by Sarah Byrne (Byrne *et al.* 2011), *Sharing knowledge & cultural heritage* by Laura van Broekhoven (Van Broekhoven *et al.* 2010), *The Postcolonial Museum* by Iain Chambers (Chambers *et al.* 2014) and *Sensible Objects* by Elizabeth Edwards (Edwards et al. 2006). These bundles all contain case studies concerning indigenous groups, heritage, material culture and colonialism in the context of museums. There is however one notable fact: this literature speaks exclusively about ethnological museums. Archaeological museums, which often house artifacts from ancient Greece, Rome, Egypt and the Near East, are hardly debated. The question rises how archaeological museums have handled topics that are applicable to them as well, such as ownership, colonialism and postcolonialism. How does this work for museums that deal with objects that are (supposedly) much less provided with these sensitivities? The artefacts from classical and ancient civilizations have less emotional baggage, since their associated cultures are now extinct, or transformed over time. Nevertheless, there must have been changes in archaeological museums in the last fifty years, although these changes might be less clear and less obvious than the changes made in ethnological museums.

This thesis is partially based on postcolonial theory in classical archaeology. In section 2.2 of this research these theories will be elaborately explained. To avoid repetition I discuss the most influential works briefly. Postcolonial theory has made its way into archaeology for the first time in *Roman Imperialism: Post-Colonial*

Perspectives by Jane Webster and Nicholas Cooper (Webster and Cooper 1996). The contents derived from a symposium held in 1994 at the University of Leicester, and explain how postcolonial theory can be embedded in archaeology. It is inspired by the so-called 'holy trinity' of postcolonial studies: Edward Said, Gayatri Spivak and Homi Bhabha (Young 1995, 165). In *Orientalism* (Said 1978) Said states that no culture can be studied without looking at the power relations in the past and present. Said created a new field of study: colonial discourse analysis. Spivak's *Can the subaltern speak* (Spivak 1988) focuses on the marginalized in history and tries to find an answer to who these marginalized, or subaltern, are. The answer that Bhabha in *The Location of Culture* (Bhabha 1994) gave was that perhaps there was no strong dichotomy between the oppressor and the oppressed.

Webster has summarized the postcolonial ideas for classical archaeology. These concepts shall be used in this research. Webster states that postcolonial archaeology must deconstruct the Western, binary models and articulate the active histories of the marginalized (Webster 1996, 7). For a more profound discussion I refer to section 2.2. In the fourth chapter, the knowledge of postcolonialism in ethnological museums and postcolonialism in archaeology is combined.

1.3 Methodology and research limitations

In this thesis I have collected data in multiple ways. Chapter 2 and 3 contain extensive literature studies. The actual research, in chapter 4, is based upon different sources. The National Museum of Antiquities possesses a large archive where varied types of documents are being kept. I have mainly used the museum's year reports. These reports are edited by the museum director, and give information about the museum's staff, presentation, visitors, archaeological research, temporary exhibitions and other events. Other archival material I have used are the inventory catalog and the folders that contain information about the temporary exhibitions. This data is supplemented by two interviews with curators Prof. Dr. R. Halbertsma and Prof. Dr. P. ter Keurs.

Besides the usual limited amount of research time, I have encountered other limitations. Unfortunately, the contents of the archive are fragmentary. Not all series and folders are complete, or have been kept up consistently. From 2004 onwards, many folders containing the temporary exhibitions are not existing.

The museum has been keeping up a large part of its outgoing correspondence. These letters and e-mails are in large numbers and are stored chronologically, though without any context. Due to the amount of correspondence and the lack of context and research time, I was not able to look into this part of the archive. Another source I would have wanted to use are the staff meeting records. These are however not present in the public archive.

Information about the appearance of the past permanent presentations in the National Museum of Antiquities was difficult to find. Year reports and photographs could only give a limited insight into this. Older maps of the museum or texts that have been shown in the presentation are not available in the archive.

As said above, the time frame in this research is from 1945 to 2013. This means that the year 2014 and 2015 are not discussed in this thesis because extensive information is not available in the archive yet. Therefore, the recent exhibition *Carthage* and other events from these years shall not be mentioned.

Chapter 2: Postcolonialism

To examine postcolonial ideas in museums it is necessary to define what postcolonialism is and what role it has played in history. In this chapter I will generally speak about colonialism and how postcolonialism has influenced the two areas of research: archaeology and museology. Postcolonialism has had a large impact on both anthropology and archaeology; in this research however, I will focus more on the latter, since my case study is the National Museum of Antiquities, an archaeological museum.

2.1 Decolonization and Postcolonialism

The term postcolonial is a difficult one. In some cases it is written with a hyphen (post-colonialism) and sometimes not. What does this hyphen imply? This term was first used in the 1960's, to highlight a period in world history; the after effects of European imperialism after the Second World War. During the three decades after 1945, the number of independent states grew by a factor of three (MacQueen 2007, 123). The European ex-colonists were quite optimistic about the future economic position of these new states. Around the end of the 1960's it became clear that this 'accelerated development' was not happening. In fact, many states became underdeveloped. The economic benefits of colonialism were revised once more, and the European ex-colonists came to the conclusion that only under colonialism the economy of the less developed states could thrive. Under these influences neocolonialism came into being, stressing the fact that some sort of colonial relationship between states is necessary, but the political form may differ (MacQueen 2007, 139-144). In the 1980's this dependency theory went out of style, under the influence of negative critiques. In the light of globalization the dependency theory recently gained some credit; cultures and economy are interdependent, and all countries contribute to an interconnected global community. However, globalization can also be seen as a process of westernization, the developed world projecting its economic and political power to shape the rest of the world (MacQueen 2007, 153-

154). In this way, the term post-colonialism is a strictly chronological tool, namely characterizing the period after colonialism. However, this term seems to imply that colonialism has completely disappeared, which is not the case. Various forms of colonialism and neocolonialism are still present, and it is therefore not adequate to say that we have left colonialism behind (Lydon and Rizvi 2010, 19). This notion has been stressed by Jaime Pagán-Jiménez, stating that a large part of Latin America is indeed not post-colonial. He names Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Aruba and Barbados as examples of areas that are still under control of the United States, the Netherlands or the United Kingdom (Pagán-Jiménez 2004, 201).

In the years after the 1960's, the term became more and more used without the hyphen, indicating more than just chronology. A new set of ideas and a new theoretical framework came into being under the name 'postcolonialism' (van Dommelen 2006, 104). To avoid confusion in this research, the term postcolonial shall only refer to these new concepts and ideas, and shall not be used as a chronological term.

2.2 Postcolonial studies and Archaeology

Postcolonial studies in archaeology can be divided in two basic categories: theory and practice; or, how postcolonial archaeology is written and how postcolonial archaeology is executed.

2.2.1 Postcolonialism in archaeological theory

Probably the most influential writer in the context of postcolonial theory was Edward Said. In his book *Orientalism*, first published in 1978, he stresses that "ideas, cultures and histories cannot seriously be studied without their force, or more precisely their configurations of power, also being studied" (Said 2003, 5), and that "power and knowledge directly imply one another" (Said 2003, 27). Said has put an emphasis on discourse, which created a new field: colonial discourse analysis (van Dommelen 2006, 106).

Where earlier history writers focused more on the imperial, the first steps towards postcolonial theory were taken later on. In the late 1970's groups of scholars became dissatisfied with the elitist and colonist bias in historiography. Their cooperation resulted in the first volume a large series on subaltern studies (Guha 1982). This new movement wanted to write histories from the oppressed point of view. The focus was now on women, peasants, or, the colonized. This subaltern resistance, or the Nativist Turn, resulted in scholars presenting the oppressed as rebellions in opposition to the assumed and stereotypical silent, passive peasant (van Dommelen 2006, 107-108). Gayatri Spivak, a second influential writer, has stressed the importance of the voice of the subaltern. However, the strongest point she makes in her essay *Can the Subaltern speak?* is the fact that the so-called 'subaltern' is not a uniform group (Spivak 1988).

The response came a year later by Homi Bhabha. He questioned the strong opposition that was assumed between the oppressor and the oppressed. Bhabha highlights the ambiguities of colonial discourse and introduces the term 'third space' in colonial situations (Bhabha 1994, 36). This term was created in order to define the new space that came into being when the colonists and the colonized interacted. In this way the dissection between the two groups starts to become vague and the idea of hybridity rises (van Dommelen 2006, 107). Hybridity itself is a much debated term. It has developed from biological origins, in which the Latin term means 'the offspring of tame sow and wild boar'. The term was much used in the nineteenth century, when it also was applied on mankind. The belief existed that there could be such a thing as a human hybrid, namely a person of mixed 'race'. This idea implies that "the White and the Negro are two distinct species" (Young 1995, 6-7). The kind of hybridity used in postcolonial theory is not based on biological differences and similarities of people but on their culture and political exchanges. For Bhabha, hybridity becomes the moment in which the discourse of colonial authority loses its univocal grip on meaning and finds itself open to the trace of the language of the other. The hybridity of colonial discourse reverses the structures of domination in the colonial situation (Young 1995,

22-23). Hybridity, in every field of science, does however imply two 'pure' entities merged into one. Is it still accepted to see cultures as pure? In my opinion, the term hybridity can be used, but with precaution. Because of the negative annotations it has been given in the past, I think it is better to replace the term hybridity with globalization or connectivity.

To sketch a short time line of the development of postcolonial theory, one can say that colonial anthropology and archaeology focused on the history of people from the point of view of the colonizers, oppressors and elites, where postcolonial theory shifted towards the point of view of the colonized and the oppressed: the Nativist Turn. A starting point for this was Franz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* (Fanon 1961). Now, both anthropology and archaeology are trying to adopt the idea of hybridization and globalization (Webster 1996, 6).

Similar to recent histories, ancient histories can be written with a colonial thought as well. This happened prominently in classical and Mediterranean archaeology where the emphasis lies on the successful empires, such as the Roman empire. The history of North Africa, an area which was colonized by the French, has been studied mostly by the French and from a Western point of view. However, recognizing and acknowledging this bias is not enough. A conventional picture of colonialism is that power originated from a center which drew resources to that center using military might and economic power, while weakening its colonies. However, colonialism was often more complex than this top-down notion. Power relations were fluid and could vary between incomers and locals (Gosden 2012, 256). Issues about the interpretation of archaeological evidence can be raised: can the models of colonial situations and relations of for instance Belgian Congo or Colonial Brazil be applicable to the imperialism of the Romans or the Incas? (Patterson 2008, 32). In the 1990's, the first scholars explored postcolonial theory within classical archaeology, which resulted in a volume on Roman Imperialism (Webster and Cooper 1996). This volume contains the first explicit discussion on postcolonial theory in archaeology (van Dommelen 2011, 2).

The Nativist Turn has also taken place in this field of archaeology. In the 1970's, archaeology started to focus more on the non-elitist or oppressed parts of ancient societies, such as farmer communities or women. However, nativism has received much critique, as it presumes a 'pure' indigenous culture (Webster 1996, 6).

Postcolonial theory is difficult to summarize, since it is not a homogenous body. However, some themes seem to be essential. First, postcolonial archaeology wants to decenter Western categories of knowledge. This means that postcolonial theory does not put an emphasis on a dominating power that spreads culture or 'civilization' from one center. Postcolonial theory explores how the 'Other' represents itself and how these attempts have operated under colonial influence (Webster 1996, 7). Secondly, by doing this, it articulates the active histories of the margins, or colonized peoples, and their capacity to resist the domination of 'the center'. Thirdly, postcolonial thought ceases the creating of dichotomies, and deconstructs the binary models by which the West has categorized 'Others', and defined itself. Examples of these oppositions are self / other; dominance / marginality; metropolis / colony; center / periphery. If these dichotomies are deconstructed, the margins are brought into the center. Finally, postcolonial theory focuses on colonial discourse analysis, or, the study to the relationship between power and knowledge in colonial images and languages (Webster 1996, 7).

2.2.2 Postcolonialism in archaeological practice

In the past decades, anthropology has realized the impact of colonialist concepts and discourses that remained influential in the discipline after decolonization. Anthropologists have shifted the attention from examining collaboration with colonial administrators, missionaries or military officials to considering issues of authority and representation. Archaeology has been much slower in this process. It has only recognized its colonial roots and Western bias in the last two decades (van Dommelen 2006, 109). Colonialism is still strongly present in archaeology as European scholars still form the majority in many fields of archaeology. For example, the history of Egypt, a land that has been under French and English authority in the

past, has mostly been written by Egyptologists from these nationalities, and it has only been until recently that non-European scholars contribute to the discussions.

In practice, postcolonial studies in archaeology have taken two basic forms: the investigation of histories of colonialism from an archaeological standpoint, often driven by Native peoples in collaboration with non-native archaeologists; and investigating the colonial histories of archaeology, physical anthropology, and social/cultural anthropology, to distinguish types of colonialism in archaeology and start to rethink the discipline along new lines that acknowledge a greater plurality (Gosden 2012, 253).

One effect of postcolonialism in archaeology was the criticism it was given by the indigenous peoples. Earlier, the voice of the oppressed or indigenous in the archaeology of their forefathers was hardly present. They have long been the subject of archaeological research without being participants. Only in recent years the indigenous began to challenge this system, and gained influence over their own heritage. Plus, they have become archaeological professionals (Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2012, 268). In the early 1990's the concept of 'community archaeology' was developed. It refers to Indigenous communities and archaeologists collaborating, and it also has been used as a way to moderate tensions and promoting cooperation between the two groups, and to recognize the rights of the Indigenous related to their cultural heritage (Brady and Crouch 2010, 414). Today, many archaeological projects invite the indigenous population to take part. For archaeology, this can have many advantages. One of these advantages is the access to oral tradition. Native oral tradition – histories passed through the generations as unwritten narratives – is considered a vital tool for interpreting ancient sites. Another major contribution of indigenous collaboration has been its emphasis on multivocality. The goal of this multivocality is not to create a unified narrative, but to bring together different perspectives and uncover different truths (Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2012, 274-275).

There are, however, many problems with indigenous collaboration in theory. The first problem is concerning the term 'indigenous'. This term is full of historical

baggage, and in fact born out of the colonial experience. Indigenous groups are not fixed nor timeless (Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2012, 278-279), or, referring to hybridity, 'pure'. It can even be questioned if there is anything like 'the Indigenous': "If we are to accept the meaning of Indigenous as referring to the people who lived here before the colonizers arrived, a relational consideration of that term is unavoidable. (…) This means that there is nothing in itself to be considered Indigenous or non-Indigenous. Instead, these are positions – sometimes quite mobile – that are embedded in networks knitted by colonial relations" (Haber 2007, 216).

Another problem is the Propaganda Problem. This problem occurs whenever the indigenous peoples manipulate archaeology for their own political ends (Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2012, 280). One example where this has been the case took place at Mesa Verde National Park in Colorado, United States. The bookstore removed all books containing the word 'Anasazi' in the title. The term 'Anasazi' is derived from the Navajo term 'Anaasázi', which means 'ancient enemies', and is therefore offensive to Pueblo tribes. This action could be regarded as a political move that has little to do with understanding history (Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2009, 195). These statements however, go hand in hand with much controversy. Political archaeology is not limited to Indigenous approaches, but occurs everywhere. "To accuse Indigenous archaeology of a unique political motivation while defining mainstream archaeology as apolitical ignores how politics pervades all science" (Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2012, 280). Archaeology is always embedded within social and political issues of its time, and can therefore not be apolitical.

The remaining dichotomy is probably the main difficulty. Letting indigenous groups take part or inviting them in archaeological projects is potentially beneficial for both parties, however, the difference between the indigenous and the archaeologists is still there. Archaeologists are *allowing* Indigenous communities to work together with them in projects involving the cultural heritage of the Indigenous. In this light, archaeologists position themselves as change agents and as the beginning of Indigenous empowerment, denying the Indigenous agency (Brady and Crouch 2010,

417). This can be regarded as a form of neocolonialism adapted to the field of archaeology. Since the exchange of information is important and the political stakes are high, it is probably not advantageous to change the current attitude towards indigenous collaboration. However, the archaeologist must be made aware of its biases and the ongoing power relations.

To summarize, we have seen that postcolonial studies in archaeological takes a practical and a theoretical form. The practical side mostly wants to focus on collaboration with indigenous peoples, while postcolonial theory wants to review power relations. But how postcolonial is archaeology nowadays? In some theoretical cases, the distinction between for instance the Romans and the oppressed peasants is still expressed. By merely focusing on the imperialists, one could even call this kind of narrative colonial. The trend in archaeology today does seem to stick around the Nativist Turn; the archaeology of the oppressed. However, we should consider Bhabha's Third Space, and tell the histories in a gray situation instead of it being black and white. "Postcolonial archaeology has to be less self-indulgent and more critical in order to deconstruct the ongoing relationship with neocolonialism" (Gonzáles-Ruibal 2010, 45). In the practical as well as in the theoretical case of postcolonial archaeology, we must stop creating dichotomies between the archaeologists and the indigenous, the colonists and the colonized. Again, moving towards the idea of globalization in its broadest sense is the right direction.

Chapter 3: Museology and postcolonialism

In the previous chapter we have seen what the general themes in postcolonial theory are, and how this translates to archaeology and its practice. The concept that is debated in this chapter is how these theories are present in current museums. A museum operates within the field of sciences in two ways: internally, how the museum collects and conservates objects and produces information and knowledge; and externally, how these objects and information are being displayed towards the public. This chapter shows what changes postcolonialism has brought, and how museums can deal with these ideas. Although the main case study in this research comprises an archaeological museum, the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, the focus shall lie on both ethnological and archaeological museums and heritage.

3.1 Colonial collecting

At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century ethnological museums were filled with large collections from the colonies. In the light of the eighteenth century rationalism there was an urge to categorize and document the collections and objects in detail. However, in reality these practices were more chaotic. Many objects were obtained in situations that were not controlled by the collector, and often was the contact with local informants limited. This resulted in the lack of or unreliable information about the cultural significance of objects (ter Keurs 2007, 4-5).

When we think about collecting in colonized areas we might think that white supremacy was also solely present in obtaining objects. However, colonial collecting was probably much more a balanced activity. It is true that the white colonizers dominated the power relationship with the local population, but the influence of this local population might have been larger than first was assumed. In some places there were markets, where objects were being shown and sold by local people. It is likely that that local sellers of objects manipulated the western visitors to a large extent, however, since there are almost no written sources about this, this is difficult to prove

(ter Keurs 2007, 5). Colonial collections still bear this association with the negative past. Such collections are many times regarded by the popular opinion as 'colonial loot', and all these objects should be repatriated to the communities from which they were 'stolen'. However, we must take in consideration that this collecting process happened on a more nuanced scale (Basu 2011, 29). This is not to say that violent looting did not happen at all; the Benin Bronzes make a good example of this. The Benin Bronzes form a group of more than thousand cast brass plaques of high technical and aesthetical value. During a British punitive expedition in 1897, the bronzes were stolen from the Royal Palace in Benin City, Nigeria. The war booty was later on sold to the British Museum (Wood 2012, 120-121). Looking at a case from Sierra Leone, we can see that transactions may have been more complex. In 1877, the African American missionary Joseph Gomer wanted to buy a carved wooden figure from a woman who passed near his house in Rotifunk. When the woman refused to sell it, Gomer appealed to the local chief. The chief negotiated with the owner, and ensured that the adequate ceremonies would be performed with it. As a result, the carved figure came in the possession of the missionary. In this example the unequal power relations are evident, however, it cannot be characterized as colonial looting (Basu 2011, 30).

As illustrated above, there was no general process in colonial collecting: with such a large amount of objects form many areas around the world the context may differ for every object. The general idea behind collecting in colonized areas might however have been universal. The European colonists, who explored the land, had (besides military and political objectives) a scholarly interest in the objects; they wanted to educate themselves about the cultures around them. During military actions objects have also been collected, some were bought, some were looted (Budiarti 2007, 134). Unfortunately, the actual act of collecting as well as the nature of the relationship between the collector and the local population has in most cases hardly been documented (ter Keurs 2007, 12). It is however valid to argue that most

objects within colonial collections have been acquired under the circumstances of unequal power relations.

Colonial relations always involved material culture. Material was the main motive for Europeans to colonize land overseas; they searched among other products for rubber, oil, gold, herbs, and human labor. This search for goods was not one-sided, materials were exchanged between the colonizers and the colonized areas (Gosden and Knowles 2001, 6-7). An effect of this kind of collecting may have been a raise in the levels of production of local artefacts to meet the needs of the colonizers. Many objects, probably tens of thousands, were removed from the south coast of New Britain between 1880 and 1945. This could have had an enormous impact on the production levels by local people and the type of object produced. In addition to this production, the sale of objects would have set up a large network of producers and buyers, local people and Europeans. New Guineans were interested in Western mass-produced goods, but were encouraged towards mass-production themselves by white demand (Gosden and Knowles 2001, 8-10). Through colonialism, colonial collecting or just the exchange of goods the connections within the world became closer. Exchange was a trans-cultural phenomenon. The fact that many objects from cultures all around the world are now in the Western museums, has transformed the object.

Colonialism, with its ideologies and power relations, influences the ways in which archaeological artefacts are understood. By looking at the changing narratives about archaeological artifacts and how these objects are displayed this becomes evident: when an artifact is removed from the colonial periphery to an imperial center, it changes our understanding of that artefact (Tahan 2010, 296). One subject that is sometimes still underrepresented in the ethnological museums is the relationship and the interaction between the colonizers and the colonized (Tahan 2010, 301).

3.2 Repatriation

One question that became more and more asked amidst the scholars, archaeologists and especially the indigenous peoples was the issue about heritage and ownership. Can (archaeological) heritage be owned as property? And, if so, who has the right to claim it? (Skeates 2000, 19) One of the most well-known reactions concerning ownership and repatriation is the NAGPRA-law. NAGPRA, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act was signed in 1990 as a United States federal law. The act states that Native American tribes have ownership of all human remains and cultural items found on tribal or federal land, and the act authorizes these tribes to reclaim identifiable human remains and objects of ceremonial significance when they can prove cultural affiliation or can show that the museum obtained the remains without the legal consent of the owner (Pinkerton 1992). Some archaeologists remain critical towards NAGPRA, since it becomes more problematic for them to study the past cultures. On top of this, the restitution of ancient remains to contemporary Indians is in their opinion unjustified, since the connections between the two are too unclear. One the other hand, Native Americans have expressed their critique also, since NAGPRA provides only limited protection to ancestral sites and remains (Skeates 2000, 26-28).

In some cases, looted or illicitly traded objects are restituted to their place of origin. However, these repatriation demands have received a strong counterattack. In 2002 the Declaration on the Importance and Value of Universal Museums was issued by nineteen European and North American museums. The Declaration states that "illegal traffic in archaeological, artistic, and ethnic objects must be firmly discouraged". However, according to the declaration, people should recognize that "objects acquired in earlier times must be viewed in the light of different sensitivities and values, reflective of that earlier era" and that "objects so acquired (...) have become part of the museums that have cared for them, and by extension part of the heritage of the nations which house them" (ICOM 2004, 4). This declaration justifies the position of these larger museums not to restitute possibly looted objects. It is

however no wonder that it received many critiques, which designate the listed museums as "dominant, prestigious social institutions" (Fiskesjö 2010, 306).

Other well-known examples of highly discussed objects are the Parthenon Marbles from ancient Greece and the bust of Nefertiti from ancient Egypt, both originating from antiquity. In both cases, there is much discussion on whether the objects should be returned to the country from which they came from, since the objects were initially collected under unequal power relations, and vague circumstances or conditions. The Parthenon Marbles were bought by the British government in 1816 from Lord Elgin, who had no authority to remove them in the first place (Skeates 2000, 31-33). The bust of Nefertiti was found in December 1912 by Ludwig Borchardt. His findings were only partially published and taken to Germany, and so it happened that the bust suddenly was exhibited in the Egyptian Museum in Berlin in 1924 (Vandenberg 1979, 35-47). Since this date, there were many negotiations and requests for repatriation. The bust of Nefertiti still remains in Berlin, as the Parthenon Marbles are still in London.

The question is: are these kinds of requests for repatriation coming from a postcolonial standpoint? In many cases this question can be answered with yes. A great amount of objects has been collected under the circumstance of some form of colonialism, as was the case in Greece and Egypt, which became independent after many objects were already shipped to West-European countries. Repatriation requests by newly independent nations are therefore truly postcolonial. The NAGPRA-law of 1990 has given Native Americans the (although limited) right of ownership of their cultural heritage. But, most of all, they are given a voice. Museums in a postcolonial context can no longer ignore these voices of the (formerly) oppressed. The question however remains whether the demands and requests of this multivocality can always be fulfilled.

3.3 Changing museums

In the last fifty years, many museums have changed under the pressure of public dissatisfaction. One country where this is most visible is the United States of America. The US has been the location for many historical events concerning cultural and racial emancipation, where the most well-known movement has been the African American Civil Rights Movement, between 1954 and 1968. The Native Americans, reclaiming their cultural heritage, formed organizations as the American Indian Civil Rights Council in 1969, which fought for self-determination and equal rights. In some cases, the actions taken by the movements were quite violent, as were the responses of the State.

In this period, museums received much criticism for their Eurocentric approach in representing other cultures. Museums were serving a cultural elite, reflecting white values and working only with white people. Ethnic minority groups were powerless over the content of the museum exhibitions. (Simpson 2004, 360). One example of destructive criticism was the incident at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1969. On January 18th, the exhibition *Harlem on My Mind* opened, which consisted of photographs and videos of Harlem, the black neighborhood in Manhattan. Because it contained no works of art by black artists, and thus showing 'a white man's view', the exhibition received much criticism. Demonstrators picketed at a dinner party at the museum, several paintings were damaged, paintings were defaced, words were written on the walls and a guard became injured trying to cease further vandalism (Simpson 1996, 10).

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, museums curators in the US began to recognize that the needs of minority groups were not being met. Community museums began to grow, and the rethinking of the role of the traditional museum started. Controversial topics such as slave trade, were more and more treated in exhibitions. In Britain, the neglect of the history and cultures of minority groups is now recognized within museology (Simpson 1996, 21).

3.3.1 Indigenous collaboration in museums

Many ethnological museums face the problem of displaying a culture adequately. In these museums, which are often designed as a micro-world, a cultural identity is recreated on the basis of objects. It is often generalized and simplified, in order to make a clear and compact story for the museum visitor. In this process many mistakes can be made in regard to certain sensitivities around cultural objects (eg. ceremonial objects or human remains). In these struggles, museums sometimes collaborate with Indigenous peoples. These groups can give their vision on the story, and how an object from their culture should be on display. The collaboration with indigenous peoples has many aspects, of which one is very beneficial to museums: linking communities to collections bridges the gap between institutional knowledge and community knowledge. A more holistic approach towards social history and cultural identity can be taken (Driscoll Engelstad 2010, 40). The idea behind indigenous collaboration is to reconnect the artifacts in museums to their source communities. New technologies and the internet have caused that this reconnecting can be done very easily and on a large scale (Driscoll Engelstad 2010, 47). Digital repatriation is an outcome of these factors. With this new development, museums can digitalize their collections and put them online. The collections become more accessible for the source communities, and the rest of the world. Such a project is 'Reanimating Cultural Heritage: Digital Repatriation, Knowledge Networks and Civil Society Strengthening in Post-Conflict Sierra Leone', an online project with the goal to reconnect the people of Sierra Leone with their heritage. Collections from the United Kingdom and Sierra Leone can be browsed (www.sierraleoneheritage.org). One major downside on these kind of projects is that the digital collection is only open for people with internet access.

Indigenous groups may also participate in larger events. Such an event happened a few years ago at the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden, the Netherlands. The museum wanted a waka, a traditional Maori canoe. During the project '*Een waka voor Leiden, een waka voor Europa'* (A waka for Leiden, a waka for

Europe) Maori carpenters built a traditional canoe, and added in their enthusiasm another canoe in which children and women are allowed, and a boat house. On October 18th 2010, the canoes were ceremonially transferred to the Museum of Ethnology, and rituals were performed (waka.volkenkunde.nl). Events as these are not only educational and museological, but can also have political benefits and can promote the indigenous cultures.

What happens in ethnological museums, is that these institutions become less object-orientated, and focus more on people and the community (Hovens 2010, 126). In the past, museums worked more or less independently, whereas now, they want to get in contact with the source communities. In the next chapter I answer the question whether this is also the case in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, an archaeological museum without direct source communities.

3.4 How to incorporate postcolonialism into museums

As is explained in the previous chapter, postcolonialism has practical and theoretical aspects. Both can be executed within a museological context. The practical aspects, such as collecting, repatriation of objects and cooperating with indigenous groups, are all shortly addressed in the International Council of Museums Code of Ethics (ICOM, 2004). The ICOM is the international organization representing museums and museum professionals. Three aspects from the Code of Ethics comprise the postcolonial practices very well, in the case of collecting;

> **2.3 Provenance and Due Diligence**
> Every effort must be made before acquisition to ensure that any object or specimen offered for purchase, gift, loan, bequest, or exchange has not been illegally obtained in, or exported from its country of origin or any intermediate country in which it might have been owned legally (including the museum's own country). Due diligence in this regard should establish the full history of the item since discovery or production.

cooperation with source communities or indigenous communities;

> **6.1 Co-operation**
> Museums should promote the sharing of knowledge, documentation and collections with museums and cultural organizations in the countries and communities of origin. The possibility of developing partnerships with museums in countries or areas that have lost a significant part of their heritage should be explored.

and repatriation of objects from that source community;

> **6.3 Restitution of Cultural Property**
> When a country or people of origin seeks the restitution of an object or specimen that can be demonstrated to have been exported or otherwise transferred in violation of the principles of international and national conventions, and shown to be part of that country's or people's cultural or natural heritage, the museum concerned should, if legally free to do so, take prompt and responsible steps to cooperate in its return.

The ICOM Code of Ethics is no law by which museums must abide, but more a set of guidelines. Being a member of ICOM affirms agreement with the Code of Ethics, however, not every museum holds membership and therefore not every museum uses these guidelines.

Of course there are no guidelines on how to design a museum that answers to postcolonial theory. Is it even possible to integrate a theory that originates from literary studies into public displays of objects in museums? Any museum that presents a (past) culture deals with issues as representation and varieties within a culture.

One aspect of postcolonial theory is adaptable for museums. The histories of the marginalized, such as the colonized, but also women and the poorer part of a culture, should be included in a museum that calls itself postcolonial. These histories should be regarded as active, while their culture must be displayed as diverse. One example of a museum display where this is not the case, is the display at the Royal Museum for Central Africa at Tervuren before its renovation. The Democratic Republic of Congo was displayed as a true 'dark Africa', where time has stood still and cultures have remained the same for hundreds of years; until the European colonists came (see Chapter 1: Introduction).

Another aspect of postcolonial theory, flooding from the 'active histories', might be less suitable for museums. The idea of Bhabha's 'third space', or even globalization, is highly complex as it wants to portray a multifaceted, globalized world. The fact that new ideas arise when two separate cultures meet is still underrepresented within the museum world. What happens, is that many ethnological and archaeological museums are divided in a geographical manner. Each continent or country is given its own cultures, and all these cultures are separated. To

display these cultures within the context of each other, might be however too challenging for the museums. Boundaries cease to exist, which can confuse the average museum visitor in his or her tendency to systemize the world around.

Is it possible for an ethnological or archaeological museum to make their public aware of its Western bias, especially since the museum is a Western institution a priori? Postcolonial theory might be too complex for the average museum public to understand, however, museums are able to challenge their audience.

At this moment we have reached a turning point in this research. After a long 'introduction' we have seen that many museums that have changed their way of displaying under the influence of postcolonialism are ethnological museums. Many objects that are the topic of debates of repatriation, which were collected in colonial circumstances, are objects that would be displayed in ethnological museums. In these ethnological museums, the exhibitions give the impressions that the portrayed cultures are contemporary, especially when there has been cooperation with the indigenous peoples. Museums of this kind still struggle with representing the cultures adequately.

As stated in the introduction, much literature about museums in a postcolonial time discusses the ethics within ethnological museums. However, are these ethics, repatriations, indigenous collaborations also applicable to museums that display cultural objects of a far past? How does an archaeological museum deal with questions like this? In the next chapter I shall examine this on the basis of a case study: the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden.

Chapter 4: The National Museum of Antiquities

In this chapter I will answer the question whether the National Museum of Antiquities has been influenced by these ideas in the past. The National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden was founded in 1818 by King Willem I, with C. J. C. Reuvens as its first director. I will address the many changes the museum has made and will make regarding their presentation, temporary exhibitions, collecting policies, collaboration and their attitude towards the public, in the time period from 1945 to 2013. The question then rises whether these changes are indeed made from a postcolonial perspective.

4.1 Presentation

4.1.1 Past

In the year reports of the National Museum of Antiquities, there are many unclear remarks on how the museum was arranged after the Second World War. On the 15th of July 1945 the museum reopened with a rearranged department for Dutch and Prehistoric antiquities (ARMO 4.1944-1945, 3). In 1948 the Classical department in the museum was refurnished, small cabinets made room for a spacious gallery, "according to modern concepts" (ARMO 4.1948, 2). In the 1950's many small changes were made within the permanent presentation. It becomes clear that in this period the museum was arranged in four departments: Egyptian, Classical, West-Asian and Dutch. Within these four departments the rooms were arranged by type of object. There were, among others, rooms for classical bronzes, classical sculptures, Greek vases (fig. 2), classical arts and crafts, Egyptian arts and crafts, Egyptian utensils, Egyptian sculptures and Egyptian mummies. Just as in the rooms for the Egyptian sculptures (ARMO 4.1951, 2-3), the Greek vases were arranged in a chronological order, and did only contained the "most representative pieces" (ARMO 4.1954, 4). It is not mentioned who decided what the most representative pieces were.

Figure 2: Room for antique vases (RMO 1954,5).

In the 1960s most alterations were made in the light of modernizations, such as the placing of an internal telephone line. In 1967 however, the museum received information about the donation of a Greco-Egyptian temple. This donation required much more space, and it is therefore that the museum underwent a large rebuilding in the next decade. For the placing of the temple the first courtyard had to be covered (ARMO 4.1969, 2). These large renovations were united by a rearrangement of the complete museum. New in the museum were the recreation room and the tribune room, a room in which stair-like platforms were built. On these platforms the museum had presented "a historical archaeological panorama in which the development of mankind with his tools and different cultures up to 1000 AD in their simultaneousness are displayed by means of more than thousand objects" (ARMO 4.1975, 251)(fig. 3). In this room the museum collections were united, and brought, with extra information on pictures and scenes, a more complete image of the history of humanity (ARMO 4.1975, 251). The Egyptian department received a facelift in 1976. The walls between the rooms were cut out, and the strict chronological way of

displaying the objects was left behind. The museum wanted to rearrange the objects according to aesthetic principals; every object is worth looking at (ARMO 4.1976, 254). On the 4th of April 1979 the new museum reopened after many years of renovating (ARMO 4.1979, 228).

Figure 3: Tribune room (RMO 1975, 252).

In the years after 1979 the museum staff focused mostly on the inventory and a better way of organizing and storing the objects. In 1988 the objects from the Near East were finally also on display, with objects from Mesopotamia, Syria, Anatolia and Iran. The presentation was divided by object, showing script, ceramics, sculpture, bronzes and jewelry from the Neolithic to the rise of Islam (ARMO 4.1988, 28). An Etruscan presentation was added a year later, displaying different phases of Etruscan art and culture (ARMO 4.1989, 4). In 1993 the rearranged department for Dutch archaeology reopened. It was renewed because the presentation, which originated from 1968, was strongly outdated. The old presentation showed merely objects, while the new presentation told a story that connects to the more modern connotation that archaeology is about people (ARMO 4.1992, 4).

With this the museum started to realize that they were no longer a place for objects, but a center where a varied public could get in touch with ancient cultures. The museum started a large renovation in 1998 (ARMO 4.1996, 3-6). Because of the extensive rebuilding, the museum was forced to make four semi-permanent exhibitions. Within these exhibitions the museum experimented with different ways of displaying. The exhibitions *Mummies!*, *!Actie Romein!*, *Antiek Toerisme* and *Who's afraid of ancient blue?* were very different presentation with diverse methods of information transfer. *Mummies!* gave extensive information about the mummification process, and was designed as a journey to the ancient Egyptian afterlife. *Antiek Toerisme* was a more traditional exhibition with objects of high aesthetic value, and *!Actie Romein!* was an interactive children's presentation based on educational television series. This was the first exhibition in the museum that was designed specifically for children. *Who's afraid of ancient blue* was a presentation with large sculptures and a moving light decor, in order to attract the more visually oriented visitor (ARMO 4.1997, 16-20). The museum was under renovations again from 1998 to 2001. The main goal of the rebuilding was more space, better climate control, a better route for visitors and better facilities. Also, the museum wanted to make to presentations more accessible by relating the four core collections Egypt, Classical world, Near East and Netherlands (ARMO 4.2000, 2-3). Unfortunately the year reports do not tell how this was done or how the museum collections are presented at this time, but one can assume that since 2001 the museum did not change its presentations considerably. In 2009 plans were made to rearrange the department for Dutch archaeology (ARMO 4.2009, 84).

4.1.2 Present

The current situation in the National Museum of Antiquities is as follows: apart from the temporary exhibitions, the permanent collection is divided into seven departments (appendix 1). On the first floor the collection starts with 'Egyptians', and is then followed on the second floor by 'Greeks', 'Etruscans', 'Near East' and 'Romans'. The top floor comprises 'Netherlands in the Roman era' and 'Archaeology of the

Netherlands'. It is striking that four departments are named after a group of people, while the other three imply a geographical area. This is probably done because the objects from the geographical departments do not belong to a more or less uniform cultural group which is recognizable for the public. By naming the departments 'Egyptians', 'Greeks', 'Etruscans' and 'Romans' the museum stresses the human aspect of the displayed object. The Egyptian department is arranged in a chronological order, starting from the Predynastic era, which is presented by means of displaying farmers' tools. This is the only space in which farmers are represented. The museum then presents the Old Kingdom, and moves via the Middle Kingdom to the New Kingdom. Within these rooms, many sarcophagi, grave stelaes and monumental statues are on display. The museum has also created a domestic scene. All of these objects used to be in the possession of or made for the rich elite, or even the royal families. A large room with mummies and wooden chests follows, and the Egyptian collection ends with 'Roman Egypt', a place where 'east meets west'.

The department 'Greeks' is situated on the second floor behind two glass doors, and is by means of this truly separated from the rest of the collection. The department is thematically arranged with themes as 'Land of a 100 nations' and 'Greeks on the move'. The collection is displayed in a circle, and ends with Etruscan objects.

Since April 27th 2013 the collection 'Near East' is to be seen in the museum. This department differs somewhat from the other departments. Many objects from by example Turkey, Iran and Jordan are on display. However, the objects are placed in the context of the early history of collecting of the museum.

Another department on the second floor is 'Romans'. This department mainly focuses on the Roman emperors and funerary monuments. A domestic scene is also created here, and religion obtains some attention.

The third floor of the museum has a Dutch character. 'Netherlands in the Roman era' is the first department on the top floor, and displays many Roman objects found in the Netherlands and Belgium. The presentation focuses on how the Romans have conquered the Low Lands with weapons and other military objects. It also

displays many domestic utensils such as earthenware and pans, and jewelry. It is stressed that these objects probably were made in the Netherlands or Belgium, however under a Roman influence.

The last department is very coherent and clear. 'Archaeology of the Netherlands' shows 300,000 years of history by means of objects that have been found in the Netherlands. This room was opened in 2011 (ARMO 4.2011, 8). An actual timeline guides the visitors from the Ice Age to the Second World War. Within the presentation are philosophical quotes from writers or historical persons.

4.1.3 Future

On the 11th of May 2015 the museum closed for another renovation. This renovation is highly necessary, since traces of asbestos have been found in the floors and walls of the square on the first floor, which housed the Greek department. Curator of the collection from the Classical World Prof. dr. R. Halbertsma has seized this opportunity to design a completely new arrangement for the Greek objects (R. Halbertsma, interview, appendix 2A). After the renovations, the Greek department will open in the two rooms that now house the larger temporary exhibitions. The temporary exhibitions will swap their space with the Greek department, and are thus planned in the square. Temporary exhibitions then have a uniform room, instead of two separate rooms. This is more clear for the visitors. However, the Greek department will then be split up into two rooms. Prof. Halbertsma has found the solution for this in his project 'Grieken in context' (*Greeks in context*). The first room will show how the Greeks have absorbed styles from the more powerful reigns as Egypt, the Near East and Assyria. In earthenware and sculptures these aspects are clearly present. In the second room, the curator wants to show how the Greeks have inspired other cultures. From the 5th century BC onwards, Greece becomes a leader in the field of science, architecture, art and culture, and the Greek influence is present i the material culture of for example the Romans and the Etruscans. Every Greek object will be put in the context of another culture.

The Etruscans will move to the Roman department, where the Roman culture that originated in Italy will be connected to the Etruscan culture. For the rest of the museum, the plans have not yet been made. It is clear however, that Prof. Halbertsma would like to see much more dynamic within and between the different departments within the museum. The 'islands' which represent the different department could be more integrated. By means of this, the museum can show what globalization is, and that "globalization is not something new" (R. Halbertsma, interview, appendix 2A).

4.1.4 Postcolonial theory?

It is clear that the National Museum of Antiquities has changed its interior considerably after Second World War. The question I would like to answer in this section is whether it has been possible for the museum to adapt its presentation to the changing theories in archaeology, in particular postcolonial theory. As said above, postcolonial theory is complicated, but can be summarized in four points. Postcolonial theory wants to decenter western categories of knowledge, articulate the active histories of the margins, stop creating dichotomies, and study the relationship between power and knowledge in colonial images and languages (Webster 1996, 7). To test whether an archaeological museum meets these points is complex. Breaking down western categories of knowledge and concepts can even be impossible in a museum. To begin with, the museum is a western invention, and histories around museums are very often Eurocentric. This is also the case with the National Museum of Antiquities. In the case of archaeological objects belonging to cultures that have been 'dead' for a very long time, it can be quite challenging to move from modern, western perceptions to, for example, an Ancient Egyptian mindset. But is it wise for a museum to do this? There are sources on how the Ancient Egyptians viewed their past, and a notion of that can be made in museums. However, to keep the museum presentations comprehensible, the National Museum of Antiquities should better not depart too much from the western perceptions in their general presentation. Because of the limited information with regard to past presentations in the museum it is not clear whether the museum changed its attitude towards this. The decentering in

postcolonial archaeology is not clearly visible in the National Museum of Antiquities. Only the drive for expansion of the Romans is mentioned in the museum, but the museum does not tell whether they came from their center Rome, or from smaller towns around this center.

Likewise, showing the histories of the suppressed, or the Nativist Turn, is in any archeological museum truly challenging. Most museums do want to tell a story, but can only do this by means of the available objects. The National Museum of Antiquities has nevertheless changed its presentations in regard to this. In the 1950's, only the objects with a high aesthetic value were on display. When the museum was renovated, there became more space for small utensils, or objects used in daily life. The Egyptian department now has some showcases that present objects used by women and peasants. This new focus could be a sign of postcolonialism: in the museum specific parts of history are now presented from the perspective of the socially less-favorable.

Where classical archaeology starts to considerate these margins as important, the National Museum of Antiquities still gives full attention to the Roman emperors. This becomes clear in the department 'Romans in the Netherlands'. This department shows how the Romans have conquered the Netherlands, and what kind of material culture they have brought with them. Every object in this department is called 'Roman'. It is however not mentioned who the conquered peoples were and how their culture was. In other words: the presentation of the National Museum of Antiquities fully focuses on the Roman colonists and leaves out the colonized. This particular presentation is therefore not in the light of postcolonialism.

One aspect in which the museum clearly transformed its presentation is the issue of globalization. The first time this was mentioned is the opening of the tribune room in 1975. This room connected every culture already presented in the museum, over an extensive time period. In the future, the focus will be on this connectivity as well. In the project 'Grieken in context', the Greek department will be showing objects that are placed in the context of other cultures. This move towards displaying

objects in the context of each other can be called postcolonial. By showing the similarities instead of the differences between cultures, boundaries become blurred, and dichotomies cease to exist. However, boundaries are still present when it comes to the Dutch department. This department shows the history of the Netherlands by means of objects that have been found solely in Dutch soil. Although they are accompanied by philosophical quotes of non-Dutch philosophers, the objects do not set one foot abroad. Although the museum is a National Museum, this department could open up more, since the state borders that we have now, have got nothing to do with the same area in Prehistoric, Roman or Medieval times.

We have seen that it is very well possible to translate postcolonial theory to museum presentations. It can however only be shown in a limited way, since the museum obviously does not possess every object from every culture. On top of this, the arrangement of the museum must be understandable for every museum visitor. In an ideal postcolonial archaeological museum, one department would blend into the other.

4.2 Temporary Exhibitions

In the period from 1945 to 2013 the museum organized many temporary exhibitions with diverse subjects. In appendix 4 I have put together a list of all the exhibitions in this time frame accompanied by their dates and a small description. A direct observation that can be made is that during the 1940's and 1950's only four exhibitions were on display, while later this number increased to almost seven exhibitions per year. A long series of temporary exhibitions started in 1960, with the two exhibitions *Huis en Huisraad in de Griekse en Romeinse oudheid* (Home and furniture in Greek and Roman antiquity) and *Panorama der Prehistorie* (Panorama of Prehistory). The museum staff noticed that these events attracted more public; in 1959 the museum had 23,105 visitors and in 1960 30,733. This is an increase of more than 30% (appendix 3). For the museum this was the motivation for organizing these kind of exhibitions on a regular basis (ARMO 4.1960, 8).

I cannot address every exhibition in great detail. Therefore, I shall select some exhibitions that are relevant for this research, while dividing them into three groups. First, I examine the exhibitions with subjects that can be viewed as theoretically postcolonial subjects. Then, I look at the exhibitions that were of considerable transnational importance. Thirdly, exhibitions with challenging subjects are discussed, and finally, the exhibitions that were involved with contemporary artists are looked into.

4.2.1 Temporary exhibitions and postcolonial theory

One can easily see that during the examined period the nature of the exhibition titles changes. The earlier titles were much more descriptive, such as *Romeinse mozaïeken uit Tunesië* (1963) (Roman mosaics from Tunisia) or *Klassieke Kunst uit particulier bezit* (1975) (Classical art from private possession). These titles pretty much described their content. Later on, the titles became more abstract and evoked a certain emotion. Examples of these are *Wijn! Wijn!! Wijn!!!* (1995-1996) (Wine! Wine!! Wine!!!), *Het geheim van de Kelten* (2006-2007) (The Secret of the Celts) or the untranslatable wordplay *Beeldschoon. Meesterwerken in gips* (2008). The main reason for this, is that over the years, the temporary exhibitions became of greater importance for attracting public. The temporary exhibition became a product that had to be sold. One should however not judge an exhibition by its title; a complete change of theoretical views is not what happened. The large majority of the exhibitions still focuses on the object instead of the person behind the object. I have picked out a few exhibitions that contained divergent subjects.

In 1983 a reflective exhibition was held at the museum. *Egypte – bereisd, beroofd, bewaard, beschreven* was a presentation that wanted to illustrate the rediscovery of Egypt by the West in the 19th century. The expedition of Napoleon (1798-1801), which was of great significance regarding the knowledge of ancient Egypt, received much attention. Also, furniture inspired by ancient Egypt from the 19th century was on display (ARMO 4.1983, 207-208). A few years later the museum organized an exhibition around the Dutch artist Willem de Famars Testas (1834-1896).

This artist travelled through Egypt and became inspired by this country. Testas thus became the first Dutch artist specialized in orientalism, an art movement that was popular in England and France. On the basis of his drawings, watercolors, paintings and photographs an impression of his journeys and courses of action was given (ARMO 4.1988, 32-33). The reason why the museum staff dedicated an exhibition to Testas was the rediscovery of his diaries in the archive in 1985, which were given to the museum in 1939 by his son Henri Baudouin. The museum wanted to reintroduce this forgotten artist (ARMO, 9.1988, f. 9.4/20). In both of these exhibitions, the postcolonial element presents itself in looking back at Egyptology, and how colonialism and orientalism has changed or even created this discipline. However, the exhibitions presented no postcolonial critique.

Marginalized groups received very little attention in the temporary exhibitions. This is probably due to the fact that marginalized communities in ancient societies are difficult to distinguish. Although women were not marginalized by a colonial power, they have been part of a world that was and still is mostly patriarchic. Therefore, we could count the focus on women in antiquity as a part of postcolonial theory. The museum has had two exhibitions that concentrated on women in antiquity. In 1993 *Vrouwen in de Griekse oudheid* was set up. The acquired legate of mrs. G. Schneider-Herrmann was the basis of this presentation, and it was supplemented by objects from the museum itself (ARMO 4.1993-1994, 7-8). Further information is lost in the archive. A second exhibition about women was the dual presentation *Etrusken. Vrouwen van Aanzien. Mannen met Macht* in 2011. For this exhibition the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden worked together with the Allard Pierson Museum in Amsterdam. In Amsterdam objects of Etruscan men were on display, and in Leiden objects from Etruscan women were shown. Both museums used lease-loans from several Italian museums, the British Museum, the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen, and the Royal Museums of Art and History in Brussels (ARMO 4.2011, 88).

What can be said about these exhibitions, is that the museum does not choose just any subject. The themes of the presentations are always based upon the available material. Thus, the subjects that are in line with postcolonial theory, can be regarded as coincidentally chosen. However, the curators and other members of the museum staff who created the temporary exhibitions, are very well aware of past and current debates concerning postcolonialism and further theories in archaeology. It is therefore very probable that the museum staff choses these kinds of topics from their academic knowledge, which has been undoubtedly influenced by postcolonialism.

4.2.2 Temporary exhibitions and postcolonial practice

In section 3.3.1 of this research I have spoken about ethnological museums and their attitude towards indigenous communities. It appears that where there are possibilities, collaboration with these people is strongly preferred. In archaeological museums this is done differently; the collaboration with indigenous cultures is simply not possible, since the cultures have passed away. The main goal of indigenous collaboration, i.e. bringing institutional and community knowledge together, can therefore not happen. There are however many other stakeholders concerning ancient cultural heritage from the source countries that can contribute to the discussion. The National Museum of Antiquities certainly has not operated merely on its own. In the many international projects the museum staff has cooperated with museums and institutes abroad. Below are given some examples.

In the period from 1945 to 2013 the first exhibition of considerably large international value was *Romeinse mozaïeken uit Tunesië*. In the exhibition, which opened on the 21st of December 1963, mosaics, sculptures and pottery from Tunisia were on display. These objects were lease-loans from several museums in Tunisia, and were never shown outside of this country before. The museum also took initiative for the first time to organize an international, traveling exhibition; after Leiden, the exhibition was on display in Brussels, Neuchâtel, Cologne and Stockholm (ARMO 4.1963, 15).

More than twenty years later, in 1986, the museum organized what was then the largest exposition ever: the exhibition *Schatten uit Turkije*, or *Treasures from Turkey* (ARMO 4.1986, 248). The exhibition was put together by the Turkish government and consisted of objects from the Turkish national collections. The preparations started in 1985, and had to be done in a relatively short period of time. From the correspondence and the attached meeting reports one can conclude that it was well organized. The exhibition was previously displayed in three Japanese cities Tokyo, Osaka and Fukuoka, under the name *Turkey, Land of Civilizations*. In Europe, Leiden was the first museum to present this exhibition, with objects that had never been on display on this continent before (ARMO, 9.1986a, f. 9.4/12). The 408 objects that were presented were lease-loans from more than twenty museums, and were, in the presentation, accompanied by Dutch, English and Turkish texts. Internal meetings show that many attention was given to the publicity of the exhibition. By means of press announcements, flyers, posters, targeted recruitment (for example at tourist organizations, Turkish organizations in and outside the Netherlands, schools) and adverts the museum succeeded to attract more than 200,000 visitors (ARMO, 9.1986a, f. 9.4/12). This record has only been equaled in 2014.

In 2001, Krikor Momdjian, an Armenian artist living in the Netherlands, initiated the temporary exhibition *Armenië, Verborgen rijkdom uit de bergen*. The occasion for this was 1700 years of Christianity in Armenia. The presentation showed the prehistoric culture of herd tribes on the basis of over 80 archaeological objects from the State History Museum of Armenia in Yerevan. During ten weeks a wooden chariot was restored by the Dutch restorer Hans Piena and Armenian conservator Elena Atoyants (ARMO 4.2001, 12-13). A year later a relatively large exhibition was held. *Bronnen van inspiratie uit het oude Syrië* consisted of 640 objects from eleven Syrian museums, and was earlier on display in Switzerland, Canada and the United States (ARMO 4.2002, 15-16). The exhibition was well visited in 2002, when the number of visitors peaked significantly (appendix 3). In 2013 the latest 'Blockbuster' exhibition came into being. The large presentation *Petra. Wonder in de Woestijn* gave

information about the Nabateans and their capital Petra, Jordan. For this exhibition, the museum used lease-loans from several Jordanian museums (ARMO 4.2013, 31).

These five exhibitions are the only exhibitions where the museum has extensively collaborated with museums that are located outside of Europe and that are at the same time also located in the source country of the displayed culture. This is for the museum however, definitely not self-evident. For example: in 2007 the museum organized the exhibition *Archeologische vondsten van de heilige berg Aruda, Syrië.* The objects that were displayed consisted mainly of pieces of earthenware from the Uruk-culture. These objects were found in the 1980's by archaeologists from Leiden University, near the mountain Aruda in Syria. After research, the objects were placed in the depot of Leiden University and in 2004 transferred to the National Museum of Antiquities. This exhibition was managed only by the staff of this museum (ARMO 4.2007, 8). Another recent example is the exhibition *Egyptische Magie* from 2010. The museum displayed many mystical objects from Ancient Egypt from the collection of the museum itself, the Louvre in Paris and the British Museum (ARMO 4.2010, 88).

As in many earlier instances, the museum used lease-loans from other Dutch or European museums, or private collections. Only in a few presentations the museum has collaborated with non-European museums. Can this information say something about the postcolonial character of the museum? Working with non-European museums provides new and different perspectives about their heritage, and the following exchange of knowledge concerning methods of display can be of much value. However, large museums like the Louvre or the British Museum also possess many objects that are used for traveling exhibitions. The fact that the large museums of Europe possess a considerable amount of Egyptian and Near-Eastern antiquities is however an indirect result of colonialism. It is very likely that, due to the new import rules and the constantly improving communication technologies, the museum will work more with museums, governments and agencies from source countries, both European and non-European.

4.2.3 Challenging subjects

The National Museum of Antiquities has had only four presentations with a strong critical note. One of these four, *Wel en Wee* (1970), did had nothing to do with archaeology whatsoever. The small presentation showed the dangers of environmental pollution, and received very little interest (ARMO 4.1970, 11). Although the presentation had no link with archaeology, the subject is characteristic for the 1970s, when environmental awareness became more and more an important discussion topic.

Subjects concerning collecting and heritage protection in conflict zones were not treated until the twenty-first century. In 2007 the museum presented *Verboden te verzamelen*. The exhibition displayed the so-called *oorlogskunst* (war art), Egyptian human remains and restored objects. The visitors were subsequently asked questions as: How long are the claims to looted objects from the Second World War valid? And: can a museum display human remains? How far can a conservator go in restoring an object? The interactive presentation allowed the public to vote on these cases (ARMO 4.2007, 8). The public was given fifteen questions with multiple choice answers. The detailed results were revealed on a website that is now no longer available. The archive has also not documented these results. The website of the National Museum of Antiquities however can tell that the majority of the public voted for the museum's point of view (www.rmo.nl). The presentation was closed with two public debates (ARMO 4.2007, 8).

Retour Irak (2010) was a small presentation consisting of looted Iraqi objects. The objects were intercepted from the illegal art market in 2009 by the Dutch police force, and as lease-lends given to the museum by the Dutch ambassador of Iraq. For the objects, the museum was a temporary, safe haven (ARMO 4.2010, 8).

In 2012 the Iraqi/Kurdish artist Azad Karim presented his critical artwork in the exhibition *Verloren Erfgoed*. The presentation displayed reconstruction of ancient artefacts which the artist had destroyed and made into mobiles. The artist expressed his emotions about the destruction of the cultural heritage during conflicts in the Middle East (ARMO 4.2012, 100).

The museological subjects that were presented, which are otherwise 'behind the scenes' of a museum, show the visitors dilemmas with which museums have to deal, and they challenge the public to form their own opinion. But does the public want to be confronted with these themes? The large public interest in the interactive exhibition *Verboden te Verzamelen* states that this is the fact. By presenting more complex ideas the National Museum of Antiquities wishes to lead a discussion between the curator, the visitor and the object. These debates concerning ownership and heritage management can be regarded as indirect results of postcolonialism in archaeology, and the fact that the museum is presenting these topics shows that the museum is open for other opinions. However, the museum also wants to attract her visitors with the larger 'blockbuster' exhibitions, and succeeds in doing so.

4.2.4 The museum and contemporary artists

The National Museum of Antiquities has worked with present-day artist in order to create small exhibitions. These exhibitions do not display artefacts, but the presented artwork is somehow linked to or inspired by antiquity. What is interesting about this, is that the museum broadens itself. The archaeological museum is no longer a place where solely ancient objects are displayed, but converts into a cultural center where objects from other disciplines can be shown. The connection between the past and the present is clearly demonstrated.

The first artist that displayed his own work was Willem van Scheijndel, a Dutch painter. In the exhibition *Taffeh Schilderijen van Willem van Scheijndel* in October 1984 the museum had some paintings from van Scheijndel that were inspired by the large Greco-Roman Egyptian Taffeh temple (ARMO 4.1984, 225). In 1988 the Dutch painter Arnold Niessen followed with *Colosseum, Aquarellen van Arnold Niessen*, showing watercolors inspired by the Colosseum in Rome (ARMO 4.1988, 30-31). Another watercolor presentation was made by Frans de Haas in 1989 in the exhibition *Egypt on my mind*, a presentation consisting of artwork inspired by Ancient Egypt (ARMO 4.1989, 6). Three years later, in 1992, Ed Dekker showed his acrylics in the exhibition *De Ilias en de Odyssee verbeeld* (ARMO 4.1992, 7). Gerti

Bierenbroodspot, a Dutch artist, took care of three presentations in the Museum of Antiquities. She exhibited her artwork in *Okers uit Sinope, Witten van Egypte* (1980-1981), *Beyond the Horizon* (2008-2009) and *Petra revisited* (2013-2014). In *Athena en de Muze* (2008-2009) artist Peter Peereboom makes an ode to his deceased wife by portraying her as classical goddesses (ARMO 4.2008). Sand artist Elvira Wersche drew a geometric pattern on the floor of the entrance hall with sand from different locations of the world during her project *Geometrisch sterrenveld van wereldzand* in 2011. On the 23th of June dancers performed a choreography on the sand floor, dismantled the artwork by doing so, and thus closing the presentation (ARMO 4.2011, 54).

The museum also provided a platform for foreign artists. Together with six Dutch artists six Iraqi artists showed the arts and culture of their country in the presentation *Irak-Nederlands Kunstfestival* (2009). This was mostly done to show other aspects from Iraq than the negative news from this nation during the political struggles (ARMO 4.2009, 12). Later, the English sculptor Martin McWilliam presented his classically inspired vessels in the small exhibition *Vorm tegen tijd* in 2011 (ARMO 4.2011, 28).

The temporary exhibitions can say much more about the theoretical and practical changes within the museum presentation than the permanent presentation. The temporary exhibitions challenge the museum staff to innovate and provide the space to do so. Changes are easily noticed. The most striking development within the temporary exhibitions is the amount of presentations per year. Directly after the Second World War, the museum planned an exhibition sporadically, whereas now, the target is to organize ten presentations, small or large, per year (ARMO 4.2013, 22). The postcolonial character in the temporary exhibitions is slightly hidden and is mostly expressed in the fact that the museum staff over the years has collaborated more and more with institutions abroad and museums in source countries. It is likely that this will happen more in the future. Theoretically, postcolonialism seems to be

much more difficult to become reflected within the temporary exhibitions. The museum has had only one or two exhibitions that report on the colonial character of certain fields in archaeology. Other postcolonial topics, such as the study of the margins, are rarely attested. This does not mean that the public does not wish these kind of discussions. The smaller, critical exhibitions, which focused mainly on the collecting and displaying of certain objects, received many positive reactions. Collaboration with temporary artists shows that the museum wants to be more than a museum filled with archaeological objects, namely a place where the past and the present become connected.

4.3 Research

The museum has always been a center of research in combination with Leiden University. Not only has the staff published many articles, but the museum has also done field research.

4.3.1 Field research and archaeology abroad

The museum staff was always active in the archaeological field, and has done many projects in the Netherlands. These projects often resulted in the uncovering of prehistoric, Roman or medieval artefacts. The museum staff has also participated in many projects abroad. Already from 1953, members of the museum staff contributed in the field projects of other research groups. In 1955 and 1956 curator Dr. H. Brunsting was invited by professor Dr. S. Marinatos, professor in archaeology at the University of Athens and director of the Greek Antiquities Service, to an excavation on Minoic Crete (ARMO 4.1955, 8). Two years later, both scholars excavated under the same conditions in Pylos, Greece (ARMO 4.1958, 9). In 1956 and 1957 professor M. de Boüard, professor in History at the university of Caen, invited curator dr. Braat to an excavation in Normandy (ARMO 4.1956, 8). In 1960 and 1961 professor Dr. H. Brunsting took part in the excavations at Tell Deir Alla in Jordan. These excavations were under surveillance of dr. H. J. Franken from the Faculty of Theology at Leiden University (ARMO 4.1960, 6). Two excavation seasons took place in Nubia in 1963

and 1964 that were initiated by technical assistant F. G. van Veen and mr. and mrs. Jacquet-Gordon in Cairo (ARMO 4.1963, 12). Dr. J. W. Salomonson and dr. W. C. Braat, both members of the scientific staff, excavated in Tunisia in 1964 and 1965, in a Roman cemetery at Raqqada near Kairouan. They worked closely with mr. Mahjoubi, director of the Tunisian Antiquities Service and other Tunisian authorities (ARMO 4.1964, 10). In 1989 and 1990 the museum participated in one of the research projects of the British Museum in Tell es-Sa'idiyeh in Jordan (ARMO 4.1989, 14). The plan was to continue these excavations in the next years, however, this appeared to be impossible due to the Gulf War (ARMO 4.1991, 10).

In total, the museum has carried out five independent archaeological projects abroad: in Satricum, Tell Damiyah, Abu Rawash, Saqqara and Tell Sabi Abyad. In 1987, the Dutch Institute in Rome transmitted the responsibility of an excavation in Satricum, Italy, to the National Museum of Antiquities. The first campaign was carried out under the leadership of dr. C. M. Stibbe (ARMO 4.1987, 263). This project took four years and thus ended in 1990.

The most recent project started in 2012 and took place in Tell Damiyah in Jordan. The project was initiated by curator Dr. Lucas Petit (ARMO 4.2012, 88). From 2013 on, the curator has worked closely together with Dr. Zeidan Kafafi, professor of archaeology at Yarmouk University, Jordan (www.rmo.nl).

The foremost and the longest running project is the excavation at Saqqara, an ancient cemetery near Cairo, Egypt. In 1953 staff member Dr. A. Klasens was invited by the Egypt Exploration Society in London to dig in this particular area. The excavation was led by professor W. B. Emery of the University College in London and happened under the auspices of the Egyptian Antiquities Service (ARMO 4.1953, 8). Klasens participated in this project for four seasons. In 1957 he managed that the museum now could carry out excavations in Egypt independently, after he received permission of the Egyptian government. The area which was excavated was Abu Rawash, a predynastic cemetery in the vicinity of Gizeh. The excavation that was led by Dr. A. Klasens (ARMO 4.1957, 7), took three seasons and ended in 1959 (ARMO

4.1959, 8). Later, in 1961, Klasens was invited again by the Egypt Exploration Society, now to excavate as a guest in Boehen, Egypt (ARMO 4.1961, 8). After a long period without Dutch participation in excavations, curator drs. H. D. Schneider was invited by the Egypt Exploration Society in 1971 to the fields of Saqqara. The excavations were under the supervision of EES director professor H. S. Smith and financially supported by the museum (ARMO 4.1971, 11). From 1971, the scientific staff of the museum and the EES worked together in Saqqara every year, until the project was finished in 1979 (ARMO 4.1980, 256). In 1981 the project was resumed (ARMO 4.1981, 251). Until 1998 the National Museum of Antiquities has cooperated with British scholars in Saqqara. In 1999 this came to an end, and the museum started a fully Dutch egyptological expedition in association with Leiden University in the ancient cemetery. Although the team managers were indeed Dutch, some team members were international (ARMO 4.1999, 7). This project is still running, but is subjected to external influences. For example, in 2012 the Antiquities Service did not give permission to the team to dig (ARMO 4.2012, 22). In 2015, the Museo Egizio of Turin was added as a third partner (www.rmo.nl). Although there has always been close contact with the Egyptian Antiquities Service, the team leaders were always Dutch, British or American. Egyptian scholars did participate, however, the museum website mentions another group of people that are of equal importance: "The researchers work each year, mostly in January and February, in an international team made up of scientific experts, students and staff members of the university and both museums. Equally important is the group of Egyptians doing the hard work of digging." (www.rmo.nl) (fig. 4).

Figure 4: Image from the excavations in Saqqara on the museum website (www.rmo.nl).

At first sight, this anonymous work force of "Egyptian working men" doing the hard labor does not seem that postcolonial at all. Such a workforce has been around since the time of William Matthew Flinders Petrie (1853-1942), an English egyptologist and archaeologist. Petrie started to train men from Quft, Egypt, in 1893. Since then, the so-called 'Quftis' are almost indispensable in Egyptian archaeology. However, despite their importance, this group often remains anonymous in the documentation of the archaeological process. The Egyptian workforce is rarely involved in the written records (Rowland 2014, 10-12).

Another large independent research project of the National Museum of Antiquities started in 1991 in Tell Sabi Abyad in Syria. The excavations were led by Peter Akkermans (ARMO 4.1991, 9). This project ran until 2008. In 2000 and 2006 no excavation took place because of different circumstances. In 2009 the excavation project became fully under the supervision of Leiden University. The National Museum of Antiquities was however still substantively and financially connected to the project (ARMO 4.2009, 86). According to the website, many scholars from different nationalities and universities worked together: "The international team working at Tell Sabi Abyad consists of archaeologists, specialists and students from various countries, together between 20 and 25 individuals. Of course some of the team

members are from Syria and the Netherlands, but others come from Belgium, Germany, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Italy, Spain, Czech Republic, Algeria, Poland, Japan, Sweden, Australia, Canada and the United States" (www.sabi-abyad.nl). The team members are not named, except for team leader Akkermans. One noteworthy comment from the website is the phrase "Of course some of the team members are from Syria (…)", as if it is self-evident that specialists from the source country are participating in the project. In other archaeological projects in the past this was not always the case.

4.4 Collecting policies

In the previous chapter I have elaborately explained what colonial collecting is. Collecting in colonies was done mainly to enrich the culture of the colonizers with extraordinary, new objects from abroad. Within these trades, the existing power relations were of great influence, however, in many cases the collecting did not happen as violent as is commonly thought. The Dutch colonists were also active collectors, with the result that many ethnological museums in the Netherlands, such as Museum Volkenkunde in Leiden and Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam, are filled with cultural objects from Surinam, Indonesia and New Guinea. The National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden has always focused on antiquities from Egypt, Greece and Rome, the Near East and the Netherlands themselves. None of these areas were once under Dutch rule. Is it then possible to see the museum in the perspective of colonial collecting? In order to answer that question one must take a look at the early collecting history of the National Museum of Antiquities.

The museum was founded in 1818, and has collected many items over the past two centuries. However, the success of the museum still leans mainly on the early collections of Gerard van Papenbroek, Bernard Rottiers, Jean Emile Humbert and Jean d'Anastasy. The collector Van Papenbroek (1673-1743) never traveled to the Mediterranean, but enlarged his classical collection by buying at auctions or from other collectors. After his death, the collection was transferred to the University of

Leiden. The collection, which consisted of many marbles, was the decisive factor for the creation of the first academic chair of archaeology in the Netherlands, and formed a small basis for the Museum of Antiquities (Halbertsma 2003, 15-17). The new Professor of Archaeology Caspar Jacob Christiaan Reuvens (1793-1835) received a letter in 1820 with the news that the Greek collection of Flemish Colonel Rottiers (1771-1857) was offered to the Dutch government. Rottiers started collecting after his retirement in 1818, and in March 1819 he started excavations in Athens. The resulting collection was bought in 1821 by Reuvens, who hereby acquired the first collection for the museum. In May 1822, the professor of archaeology traveled to Antwerp to see a second collection from Rottiers, which he eventually bought (Halbertsma 2003, 49-54). Rottiers managed to go on an expedition fully financed by the Dutch government to Greece from 1824 to 1826. The result was a third collection that was, however, disappointing for Reuvens. Not only did Rottiers excavated at the wrong places, he also did not document his journeys adequately. All these events led to the end of a friend- and partnership between Reuvens and Rottiers (Halbertsma 2003, 57-70). Another ex-officer with a classical collection was Humbert (1771-1839). In 1821 Reuvens bought Humbert's first collection which he acquired in Tunisia. Between 1822 and 1824 Humbert went on his first archaeological expedition in North Africa and came back to the Netherlands in September 1824, along with 65 crates of antiquities. Reuvens was pleased, but wished a second expedition to Tunisia to answer some questions about the topography of Carthage (Halbertsma 2003, 71-86). In 1826 Humbert purchased a large Egyptian collection for the National Museum of Antiquities. The collection comprised over 5,600 objects and was thus the largest archaeological collection to be bought by the museum. The objects were sold by Jean d'Anastasy (1780-1857), a rich trader positioned in Alexandria (Halbertsma 2003, 99). These large collections acquired in the early years of the museum still remain the starting points for the permanent presentation in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden. In the many years after, the collection of the museum was supplemented by objects obtained from other collectors, gifts and purchases on the art market.

Can these forms of collecting be regarded as colonial? Although the Dutch never colonized the source countries, there were unequal power relations. According to Prof. Dr. Pieter ter Keurs, Head of Collections and Research Department at the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, the manner of collecting was indeed colonial in the broadest sense of the notion. The mentality of the nineteenth century that focused to a great extent on European expansion, had a great influence on the collecting of objects. The power politics expressed themselves by gathering objects from abroad in order to incorporate these objects in the Western society (P. ter Keurs, interview, appendix 2B). The National Museum of Antiquities was not an exception.

Certain rules, regulations and guidelines have now caused that this form of colonial collecting is no longer possible. The UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property from 1970 and the ICOM Code of Ethics for Museums from 1986 were of great importance for the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden. However, the year reports mention acquisition policies for the first time in 1998. Thus although the UNESCO Convention was adopted in 1970, the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden did not take these guidelines seriously for almost thirty years. This is probably due to the fact that in the years 1993-1995 the museum underwent a complete reorganization. In the early 1990's plan were made to make the museum independent from the Dutch government, and this was established on the 1st of July, 1995. The museum was no longer a civil service, but became an independent foundation that now could define and execute its own policies (ARMO 4.1995, 17). The privatization in 1995 was a period of internal conflict. It was planned to happen already in 1994, but because of disagreements on the new policies it had to be postponed. The museum staff wanted to form a clear and unanimous vision before they wanted to undergo the privatization. As a result of these conflicts, the management team led by director dr. G. J. Verwers resigned and was replaced by an interim director (RMO 1993-1994, 17). The reorganization caused new policies in the field of collecting and managing objects, and principles were formulated in 1997

(ARMO 4.1997, 7). From 1998 the museum wanted to fill up gaps in its collection and therefore, the policies need to be of value for archaeology, the museum and the collection. From the point of view of the presentation, the potential acquisitions are closely watched whether they truly enrich the permanent or temporary presentations. The year report of 1998 also mentions the regulations for the first time. According to the museum, acquisitions are being done "taking into account the Monuments Law and international conventions from the Council of Europe and ICOM" (ARMO, 4.1998). All efforts are now made in order to ensure that potential acquisitions are legally collected by the seller.

An example of the execution of these relatively new policies was the acquisition of a portrait sculpture from Cyprus in 2013 (cover). It was purchased at the TEFAF Art Fair in Maastricht, however, the seller could not prove that the object was legally imported. After months of research, the museum staff found out that the portrait was excavated by a French expedition in the 1860's, given to the French architect Hector-Martin Lefüel in 1870, and later in 2003 put up for auction by his heirs. Thus, the museum was able to purchase the Cypriotic sculpture (RMO 2013, 61).

4.4.1 Restitution and repatriation

As said above, the Egyptian Museum in Berlin and the British Museum in London have received much critique on their early ways of collecting, resulting in claims from the source countries that wish for the repatriation of particular objects. The National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden never received such claims however. This does not mean that the museum has never dealt with the restitution of objects.

In the past, the museum has collected looted objects. All these objects were collected during the Second World War. The so-called 'Zander collection', a collection of nineteen classical funerary objects, came into the possession of the museum under pressure of the German force (ARMO 4.2003, 4). According to the inventory, the collection was bought from Lippmann-Rosenthal en Co. from the collection of mr. K. L. A. Zander in Amsterdam. The collection consists of golden jewelry, originating from Anatolia (ARMO, 1.1.1994, I 1994/12). The seller,

Lippmann-Rosenthal en Co., or Liro, was a German bank situated in Amsterdam. The bank was founded during the Second World War, and registered valuable Jewish possessions with the goal to eventually loot the possessions. In 2003, the collection was restituted to the heirs of the family (ARMO 4.2003, 4). Another case of the restitution of this *oorlogskunst* (war art) happened in 2002. A Roman terracotta portrait was restituted to the Jewish Gutmann family (ARMO 4.2002, 10). It is difficult to distinguish whether the museum's acquisition of the so-called Jewish war art can be regarded as colonial collecting. It is clear that there are no colonies involved, and, in the case of the Zander collection, the museum was not the collector. However, the objects have been gathered by the German oppressor and thus under unequal power relations. The claims are more comparable to the claims that happen in ethnological museums; the (self-proclaimed) owners ask for restitution of their possessions. There is one significant difference: the war art objects do not return to the place of origin, but to families that once have collected the objects themselves. In for instance a NAGPRA-claim, the objects will return to the associated culture groups.

As said above, claims concerning repatriation have never reached the National Museum of Antiquities, however, the museum has operated as mediator in a repatriation case. In the 1950s, a Dutch tourist took a small marble piece from the Parthenon in Athens with him as a souvenir. After more than 50 years, the tourist wanted to bring the piece back to the place of origin, and asked the museum for help. On the 12th of April 2011, the marble was officially transferred to the Greek ministry of Tourism and Culture (ARMO 4.2011, 32).

4.5 Attitude towards the public

The National Museum of Antiquities has always kept track of their visitors, but it was not until the 1970's that the public received extra attention in the museum. A recreation room was created, where the visitors had the ability to relax and have a drink from a vending machine (ARMO 4.1975, 251). It can be said that the National Museum of Antiquities from this decade onwards opened its doors for a larger public.

Instead of only giving information in Dutch, the museum started to add English texts to their displays (ARMO 4.1974, 3). On top of this, the museum became completely accessible for the disabled and the less mobile in 1979 (ARMO 4.1979, 229).

The most striking change is the vision of the museum itself. In the past decades it strongly changed from merely a building displaying ancient objects to a center of knowledge, where the public is served in many ways. This new vision was introduced in 1996, and wants to form a bridge between the past and the present, and to create a dialogue between the objects and the visitor. The museum should be a place for an as large and varied as possible audience. It was not only done by means of a presentation with clearer information, but also the museum staff helped in this. The staff had to adapt to another way of communicating with the public. For instance, the 'guards' were traded for 'hosts' that treated the visitors with respect and courtesy. The museum became customer friendly (ARMO 4.1996, 6). The new vision is closely related to the privatization in 1995 and the coming of the new director drs. J. R. Magendans. A new department for public affairs was created within the organization, so that, next to the scientific tasks, the tasks related to visitors would receive more attention (ARMO 4.1995, 14). From 1998, the museum had several 'missions'. In 1998 the mission was: "The National Museum of Antiquities is the national center for archaeology, where a widest possible audience can enjoy the ancient civilizations."(ARMO 4.1998). In 2009 the museum added that it wants to be a cultural platform in the center of society (ARMO 4.2009, 3).

One can say that the museum opened up for a larger and a more diverse public. The complete focus on the public is probably not so much an effect of postcolonialism, but more due to the fact that from 1995 the museum became independent and thus did not receive a large financial support from the Dutch government anymore. On top of this, the museum was affected by financial problems during 2003 and 2004 (RMO 2004, 2). A substantial part of the museum's income had to come from the visiting public. Thus, the museum became a product that had to be sold. However, the

ongoing quest for a varied public, both national and international, can also be seen as globalization.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

This thesis has focused on the National Museum of Antiquities and the changes it has made under the influence of postcolonialism during the period from 1945 to 2013. In the previous chapters I have answered the questions what postcolonialism is and how it has influenced archaeology and museology. In Chapter 4 the main research question has been answered: how did the National Museum of Antiquities changed in the past seventy years under the influence of postcolonialism?

Postcolonialism is a complex term with many aspects. It can function as a chronological term, addressing the time period of the mass decolonization in the 1950s, '60s and '70s. This chronological term, in this research indicated with a hyphen (post-colonialism) is however much debated. To say that we are now living in a post-colonial world is not correct, since many states and other areas are not autonomous. On top of this, post-colonial does not mean non-colonial, but deals in a very strong way with the consequences of colonization and decolonization. Former colonies are still related to the ex-colonists, and often in an unequal manner; this re-invented form of colonialism can be called neo-colonialism.

Postcolonialism differs a great deal from post-colonialism. Postcolonial studies came into being in the period of post-colonialism, and have ever since been an important theoretical framework within many disciplines, such as literature, anthropology and archaeology. Postcolonialism within archaeology has two basic aspects: theory and practice. Theoretical postcolonialism form a complex body of theories, but can be best summarized by saying that postcolonial theory wants to cease creating dichotomies between groups of people, and that it wants to move towards the idea of globalization. Practical postcolonialism in archaeology mainly focuses on the discovery of the colonial bias in archaeology and how to renew the older ideas. This often results in the collaboration with indigenous groups or source communities in many ways.

Changes under the influence of postcolonialism are quite visible in ethnological museums. Presentations and methods were gradually altered, and indeed

source communities were given a voice. However, are such changes also present in a museum that does not show the histories and cultures of contemporary peoples, but the histories and cultures of ancient peoples? This research has focused on the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, and how it has changed under the theoretical and practical influence of postcolonialism. The result of this research is that postcolonialism did altered many aspects of the museum. Theoretical postcolonialism can only be visible in the method the museum presents the information to the visitors. Marginalized groups remain under-represented in the presentation and the temporary exhibitions of the museum; only some information is given about the non-elite, or woman. This is probably due to the fact that there is very little known about these specific groups, and that these groups have not left us much objects. The result is that only the valuable objects from kings, emperors and the elite are found and put into museums.

The issue of globalization however, is addressed in the National Museum of Antiquities. Over the years, the four core collections of the museum (Near East, Egypt, Classical world and the Netherlands) became more and more connected to each other. This was already done in 1975, with the Prehistoric Panorama, connecting the ancient civilizations. This idea will receive extra attention in the future; after the renovations in 2015, the Greek department will display how ancient Greece was inspired by and has inspired other cultures. For the other departments the presentation after the renovation is not clear yet, but it is likely that they will follow the globalist ideas of the Greek department.

Postcolonial practice in the National Museum of Antiquities is also existing. It expresses itself in many aspects, such as international projects, fieldwork, acquiring objects and visitors. Large temporary exhibitions were the usual result from international project. As seen above, ethnological museums often work with source communities in order to supplement the institutional knowledge of the museum with the community knowledge of indigenous groups. For an archaeological museum, source communities no longer exist, but there are however source countries that can

be of equal value. The National Museum of Antiquities has collaborated with various international institutes and museums in the past, however, only in a few events it has cooperated with institutes or museums from the source countries. These temporary exhibitions were successful.

In the many archaeological researches the museum staff has done, the colonial character is still vaguely present in the Saqqara project. This project was initiated by the British EES already in 1953, and became an independent research of the National Museum of Antiquities in 1999. Although the museum works with an international team that also includes Egyptian scholars, the website fails to report this fact and stresses the notion that an Egyptian, non-scholarly workforce is helping the team by doing the heavy labor. For the recent fieldwork in Tell Sai Abyad however, it seems self-evident that Syrian scholars work within their international team.

Collecting policies have changed substantially in the past. In the early years of the museum adventurous travelers collected many objects that nowadays still form the basis for the museum's permanent presentation. In the past two decades however, the museum has adapted itself to the rules and regulations by UNESCO and the Code of Ethics by ICOM. Every artefact the museum wants to acquire will be checked for provenance, in order to make sure the object was not illegally imported or traded. New technologies such as internet have made this easier.

From 1945 to 2013 there has been one moment that has changed the National Museum of Antiquities to a great extent. In 1995, the museum was no longer at the service of the Dutch state, but became independent. This brought many developments. The new director J. R. Magendans made the museum into a public-oriented institution. The museum was no longer a place for antiquities, but evolved into a center of knowledge where the wishes of a large and varied public is being served, and where the past becomes connected to the present.

To summarize, the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden underwent many changes during the period from 1945 to 2013. The five aspects presentation, temporary exhibitions, research, collecting policies and the museum's attitude

towards the public all have indeed changed under the influence of postcolonialism, but all in specific ways. The museum is connecting the ancient civilizations with each other, and is aiming to connect the past with the present. By opening up for people of different ages, nationalities and backgrounds, the museum is becoming more approachable and is trying to have a non-exclusive attitude towards their public. One can say that the National Museum of Antiquities is truly globalizing in many ways, and that the museum will expand these globalist views after the renovation of 2015.

Further investigations could be distracted from this research. It might be interesting to compare the National Museum of Antiquities with other archaeological museums. Dutch local museums that focus on the archaeological material excavated in the vicinity might have been influenced by postcolonialism. A comparison between a national and a local museum could give new insights. Also, different kinds of museums can be suitable for a research concerning postcolonialism in museology. For instance, art museums collecting classical as well as contemporary art must have encountered such ethical issues.

We can say that museums are still closely related to their colonial past. By all means, 'postcolonial' does not mean 'non-colonial'. Museums are still trying to find more ethical ways in managing the heritage of the other. On top of this, we are not living in a truly postcolonial era. Thus, perhaps it is foolish to think that the Royal Museum for Central Africa in Belgium was the last colonial museum of the world.

Abstract

This research will address the influence of postcolonialism within the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, an archaeological museums. Postcolonialism is a frequently discussed topic in museology, however, the discussed museums are mainly ethnological. In this thesis I have explored different aspects of the National Museum of Antiquities on the basis of year reports and other archival material, and interviews. The permanent presentation, the temporary exhibitions, the field research, the collecting policies and the public attitude of the museum all seem to have made certain postcolonial changes. The strongest change made lies in the museum's attitude towards its public. The National Museum of Antiquities is connecting past societies to the people of the present by making its collection open to visitors from different ages, nationalities and backgrounds. In doing so, the museum globalizes towards the public.

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Archief Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden (ARMO)

1.1 Inventaris van de archeologische collectie

Jaar 1994

4. Jaarverslagen

Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, 1903-1987. *Verslag van den directeur over het jaar … / Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*, 's-Gravenhage: Staatsuitgeverij.

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9. Tentoonstellingen

1986a Schatten uit Turkije

1988 Willem de Famars Testas

Interviews (appendix 2)

A) Interview with Prof. Dr. R. Halbertsma, Curator Classical World at the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, September 10th 2014.

B) Interview with Prof. Dr. P. ter Keurs, Head of Collections and Research Department at the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, March 31st 2015.

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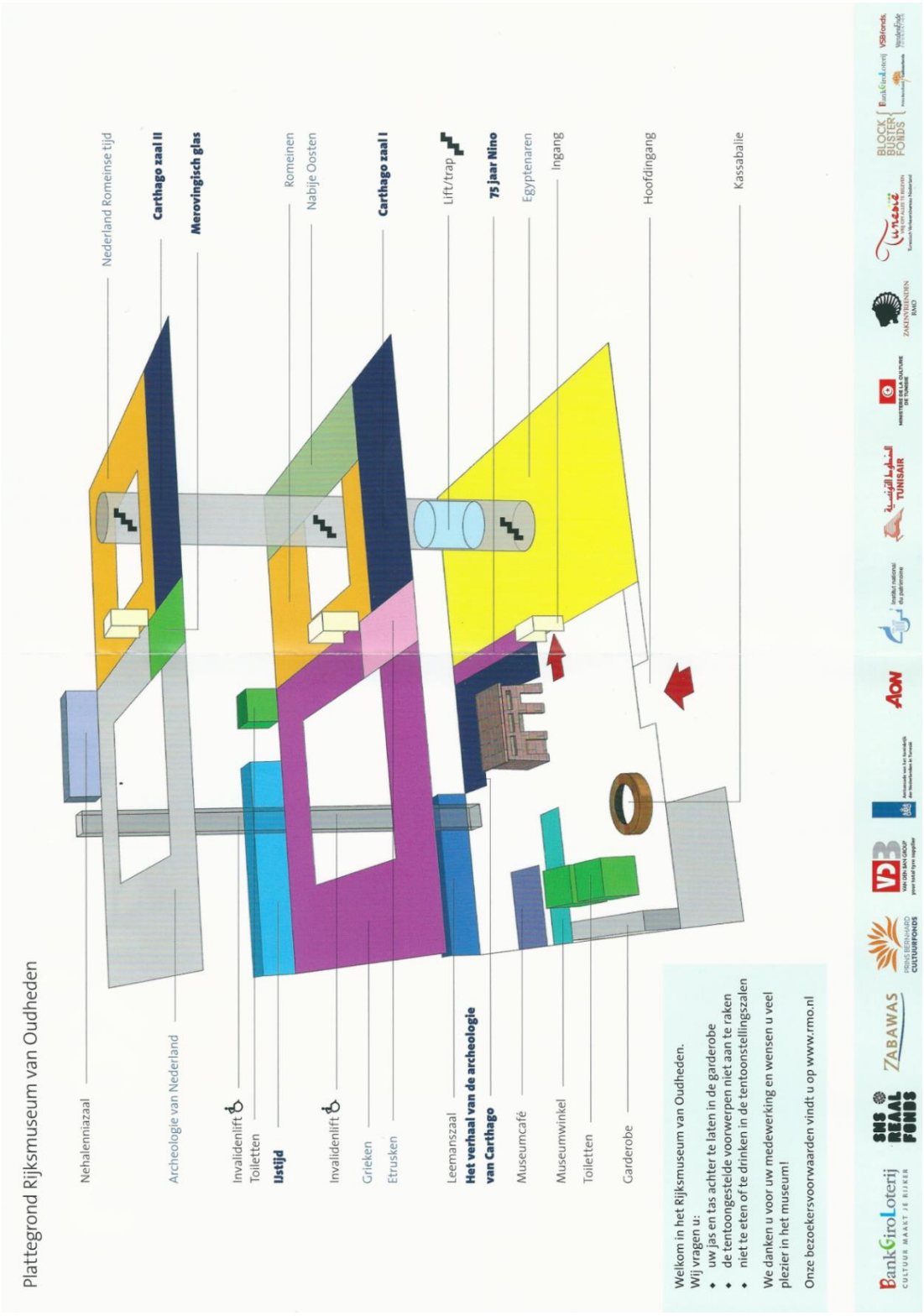


Appendix 2A: Interview with Prof. Dr. R. Halbertsma, Curator Classical World at the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, September 10th 2014.

Charlotte Welling: "Waarom gaat het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in de toekomst verbouwen, en wat gaat er inhoudelijk veranderen?"

Prof. Halbertsma: "De verbouwing van 2015 komt voort uit eigenlijk twee zaken die samen komen. Het ene is puur materieel; de noodzaak dat wij asbest moeten gaan verwijderen dat zich bevindt onder de vloer en in de wanden van de huidige Griekse afdeling. Het was aanvankelijk het idee dat we het bij asbestverwijdering zouden laten, en daarna de carré rondom de binnenplaats van het museum weer opnieuw zouden inrichten als Griekse afdeling, maar toen we met de plannen bezig waren, ben ik in overleg met de directeur een beetje gaan nadenken over de toekomst van het museum. Toen kwamen we op een andere, inhoudelijke invalshoek uit. Het huidige museum heeft twee tentoonstellingszalen, op de eerste en tweede verdieping. Dat is handig als je twee verschillende tentoonstellingen wil laten zien, maar als je een grote tentoonstelling hebt zoals nu (Gouden Middeleeuwen) heb je een verdeling van één grote tentoonstelling over twee verdiepingen. De praktijk leert, dat men soms de weg kwijt raakt. Ten eerste word je uit het verhaal gehaald, omdat je in één zaal een rondleiding krijgt, dan ben je weer terug in het museum met alle gewone bezoekers, moet je naar boven toe waar het weer opnieuw begint: er is een breuk. Veel bezoekers missen ook een zaal omdat ze denken 'dit was het dus', die zien dat niet de pijlen staan met "vervolg tentoonstelling", dus dat is gewoon lastig voor grotere tentoonstellingen. Om te kunnen overleven in de toekomst heeft het museum echt grote tentoonstellingen, 'blockbusters', nodig, grote tentoonstellingen waar veel mensen naartoe komen. Die kunnen we op dit moment niet goed behuizen. We zijn er eigenlijk op uitgekomen dat we de verbouwing gaan aangrijpen om de ruimte waar nu de Griekse afdeling is, de carré, in te richten als tentoonstellingsruimte. Dat is ideaal, want het is eigenlijk een aparte ruimte, mensen gaan vaak niet die deuren door naar de Griekse afdeling, maar blijven rondom de trap kijken. De deuren vormen een

barrière, bovendien is de ruimte achter de deuren donker. Bezoekers willen naar het licht toe, net als muggen en vliegen. Als daar het begin van de (tijdelijke) tentoonstelling is, dan weten mensen dat. Je gaat de deur door, en daar begint de tentoonstelling. Dan kun je een hele grote ronde maken, waarbij je een grote tentoonstelling helemaal in één keer kunt bekijken in één sfeer. Je kunt ruimtes ook afscheiden voor kleinere tentoonstellingen, er is ruimte voor een audiovisual. Ideale ruimte. De Griekse afdeling kan dan naar de twee ruimtes die leeg gekomen zijn, rondom de trap. Dan zit je met de vaste collectie helemaal rondom die trap gesitueerd en dat heeft zijn voordelen. Het enige nadeel is, is dat de Griekse afdeling dan over twee zalen wordt verdeeld, maar, daar hebben we ook wat voor gevonden. Nu komen we op het thema van 'Grieken in Context'. Ik heb al heel lang nagedacht over het plan van de Griekse afdeling, want wat ik mij steeds meer besef, is dat je de Griekse materiele cultuur eigenlijk in twee delen kunt verdelen. Op de Cycladen tot 500 v. Chr., kun je eigenlijk niet spreken van een puur Griekse innovatieve materiele cultuur. Het staat onder invloed van de hele grote machtige rijken van Egypte, het Nabije Oosten, Assyrië. Dat zie je terug in de oriëntaliserende beelden op bijvoorbeeld aardewerk. Je ziet het terug in de *kouroi*, die zijn direct geïnspireerd door Egypte. Grieken geven er altijd een eigen draai aan. Het wordt wel Grieks, maar het is niet geïnspireerd door zichzelf. Wanneer je die eerste periode bekijkt kun je zeggen dat Griekenland eigen absorbeert en daar een eigen draai aan geeft. Dat geldt voor het aardewerk, beeldhouwkunst. Dat plaats je dan in de context van omringende culturen. Vanaf 500 v Chr. heb je de periode van Perzische oorlogen en het onmogelijke gebeurt: het grote Perzische rijk verliest de oorlog tegen het verdeelde, kleine Griekenland. Dat geeft een enorm gevoel van zelfvertrouwen en zelfbewustzijn, dan komt er in de 5e eeuw v Chr het Griekse Wonder tot stand. De filosofie, de kunst, allerlei samenballingen van allerlei energieën, en dat leidt tot een export van Griekse idealen. Je krijgt een canon van de beeldhouwkunst, je ziet dat de Etrusken en de Romeinen, en allerlei andere culturen worden beïnvloed door dat Griekse Wonder. Dat is dan export van een cultuur: Griekenland inspireert. Dan gaat Griekenland een

leidende rol vervullen in de wetenschap, bouwtechniek, kunst, cultuur. Als je tweedeling grof gezegd kunt aanbrengen dan kun je dat ook over twee zalen verdelen. Het zijn twee aparte zalen die twee soorten materiele cultuur vertegenwoordigen. En het ideale is; dan heb je rondom de trap alle vaste objecten hebt.

We gaan ook de Egyptische afdeling verbouwen, is 2016 moet dat gerealiseerd zijn. Ik hoop dat mijn verbouwing iets tot stand brengt waardoor er meer dynamiek komt. Ik wil ook graag Egyptische objecten in de Griekse afdeling hebben. We willen meer interactie zien. Als je bijvoorbeeld een museum maakt over de geschiedenis van Nederland, kun je je niet alleen maar tot de grenzen beperken. Het is onderhevig aan invloeden van de kolonies, omringende landen. Je kunt de ogen niet sluiten voor de buitenwereld. Als we zouden zeggen, het Griekse verhaal begint bij de Cycladen en eindigt met de Byzantijnse tijd, en wat er buiten daar gebeurt, dat laten we niet zien, dat kan niet. Je moet ook de oriëntaalse invloed laten zien, de invloed van Egypte laten zien, die heel groot was. Het wordt heel levendig. De manier waarop je het doet is heel moeilijk, zodra je Assyrische objecten in de Griekse afdeling gaat plaatsen, dan zal de gemiddelde bezoeker die geen weet heeft van de Griekse cultuur, het als één geheel zien. Ik denk dat we de invloeden moeten laten zien op een andere manier, met bewegend beeld, of beelden van persepolis onder invloed van Perzische kunst, Cypriotische kunst. Daar zijn we nu mee bezig. We hebben een aantal nieuwe objecten gekocht; er komen weer nieuwe topstukken in het museum. We zijn hard op zoek naar bruikleen uit verschillende andere collecties en privécollecties, dus we willen wel open gaan met een nieuw gezicht.

De Romeinse afdeling gaat ook veranderen. We hebben nu de Griekse afdeling die eindigt bij de Etrusken, dat is een vrij scherpe overgang. We willen nu de Romeinse cultuur die in Italië ontstaan is, ook weer verbinden met de Etruskische cultuur. De Etrusken gaan dus weg van waar ze nu staan en worden geïntegreerd met de Romeinse afdeling. Dan kom je uit op ruimtegebrek, dus we proberen ook een stukje van het Nabije Oosten (zaal) voor de Romeinen te reserveren. Met dan

Romeinse invloed op het Nabije oosten, een vermenging van al die rare parten. We proberen meet verbanden te laten zien dan verschillen tussen de culturen.

De Romeinen in Nederland krijgen wel een facelift, maar we zijn nog niet zo ver dat we daar al hele specifieke plannen over hebben. Eigenlijk zou de hele Nederlandse afdeling één geheel moeten worden. De Nederlandse afdeling nu begint bij de Prehistorie, dan heb je een klein stukje Romeinen, en dan gaat het weer door naar de Middeleeuwen. De rondgang die daar is gerealiseerd doet eigenlijk geen recht aan de Romeinen. De Romeinen in Nederland is eigenlijk een vrij grote collectie die apart gepresenteerd wordt. Zou je de Romeinen in die rondgang willen integreren dan dringt hij de Prehistorie en de Middeleeuwen helemaal weg, want het is een vrij grote verzameling met monumentale stukken. Daar moeten we nog over nadenken. Dat zit nog in het denkproces.

Voor de Griekse stukken hebben wij tijdens de verbouwing geen opslagruimte, dus we hebben het Allard Pierson Museum in Amsterdam een bruikleen aangeboden. De stukken zijn dan wel te zien, maar in een tentoonstelling die door de conservatoren daar is samengesteld. Hetzelfde geldt voor de Egyptische afdeling, die gaat Bologna.

De verschillende afdelingen in het museum waren altijd een soort eilandjes. Als je dat wat meer probeert te integreren dan zie je dat de culturen ook heel veel uitwisseling hadden. Dat kun je laten zien. We zitten in een globaliserende wereld, we kunnen ons niet meer afsluiten als Klein Nederland. Globalisering is niets nieuws."

Appendix 2B: Interview with Prof. Dr. P. ter Keurs, Head of Collections and Research Department at the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, March 31st 2015.

Charlotte Welling: "Kunt u meer vertellen over postkolonialisme op het gebied van de verzamelingsgeschiedenis van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden?"

Prof. ter Keurs: "Negentiende-eeuwse nationale musea komen natuurlijk voort uit de koloniale tijd. Het valt niet te ontkennen dat deze musea in een belangrijk opzicht koloniaal zijn, het is alleen wel veel genuanceerder dan wat veel mensen denken. Het is niet alleen maar een verhaal van uitbuiting en roven, maar een museum als het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Museum Volkenkunde en Naturalis zijn ontstaan in een tijd dat Europese expansie in Zuidoost-Azië, Afrika en Latijns Amerika steeds belangrijker werd. Men kan dat niet los van elkaar zien. Het is wel zo dat het bij Museum Volkenkunde meer speelt omdat veel objecten uit de oude koloniën Indië en Suriname in de collecties bij Museum Volkenkunde terecht gekomen. Het RMO opereert niet in landen die door Nederland zijn gekoloniseerd. Echter, de manier van werken en de mentaliteit is wel heel sterk bepaald door de negentiende eeuw, en men zou kunnen zeggen dat we druk bezig zijn om daar uit te komen."

"Kan men de manier van verzamelen door de 'pioniers' van het museum, Jean Emile Humbert (1771-1839) en Bernard Rottiers (1771-1857), zien als koloniaal?"

"In de brede zin van het woord, ja. Maar Tunesië of Griekenland was geen kolonie van Nederland. Echter, Europa wilde dat soort dingen binnenhalen. Het is eigenlijk het 'vreemde' van buiten, iets wat uit een ver verleden of uit een ver land komt, wat men bijzonder vindt en wil incorporeren in de eigen samenleving. Dat is machtspolitiek. Het past in het koloniale denken, maar als je het krap definieert als slechts het opereren in landen en gebieden die gekoloniseerd werden door Nederland, dan hebben wij daar veel minder mee te maken."

"Er is zoiets als koloniaal verzamelen, is er dan ook postkoloniaal verzamelen?"

"Ja, ik denk dat de volkenkundige musea daar behoorlijk mee geworsteld hebben de afgelopen twintig jaar. Ik denk dat er sowieso een heel belangrijk verschil is tussen koloniaal verzamelen en postkoloniaal verzamelen, namelijk het feit dat men nu vergunningen nodig heeft om te verzamelen. Als de autoriteiten daar zeggen dat het niet mag, dan mag het niet. Er is veel meer machtsevenwicht dan toen. Nu ben je afhankelijk van de lokale autoriteiten. Als ze het niet accepteren, kan het gewoon niet. Het tweede punt is: als het gaat om verzamelen, onderzoek of tentoonstellingen, doet men dat tegenwoordig altijd in gelijkwaardige samenwerking met onderzoekers van daar. Ook verzamelen. Wat oudheden betreft is er geen sprake meer van verzamelen aldaar; er gaat geen object meer het land uit. Wij graven op, maar wij denken er niet aan om een vergunning te vragen om enkele objecten mee terug te nemen."

"Zijn deze nieuwe regels volgens u een voortvloeisel uit het postkolonialisme?"

"Ja, vooral vanwege het onafhankelijkheidsstreven van de landen zelf. Het zijn relatief jonge landen, die heel terecht vragen waarom zij het niet zelf kunnen houden. Dit gebeurt vervolgens niet zonder moeilijkheden. In Jordanië is er momenteel een enorme wildgroei van collecties. Er vinden veel opgraving plaats en alles wordt bewaard, waardoor zij vervolgens met een enorm managing probleem zitten. Doen zij dit niet goed, krijgen zij commentaar van de Europese landen die zeggen dat zij niet goed voor hun erfgoed zorgen. Daar probeer je ze dan bij te helpen. Dit is echter een hele andere situatie dan in de 19e eeuw. Daar komt ook bij dat wij veel strenger zijn geworden op het gebied van juridische regelgeving; wij kopen nooit meer een voorwerp aan waarvan we niet zeker weten dat het juridisch allemaal klopt."

"Ik heb gemerkt in de jaarverslagen dat dit pas veel later dan 1970 door begon te dringen."

"Dat klopt, 1970 was wel een magische grens, maar het is geen juridische grens. In feite is de UNESCO verklaring een intentieverklaring met geen enkel middel om druk uit te kunnen oefenen. Het is eigenlijk pas sinds de decennia daarna dat het

langzamerhand geaccepteerd is geraakt. Daar was Museum Volkenkunde veel eerder mee dan het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden hier. Het heeft heel lang geduurd voordat het hier serieus werd genomen."

"Denkt u dat dit inherent is aan het type museum? Is het in de etnologische hoek vanzelfsprekender dan in de archeologische hoek?"

"Ik weet niet of dat zo is. Het hangt heel erg af van de bedrijfscultuur van een individueel museum af. De bedrijfscultuur is in het RMO vrij laat omgewenteld. In elk museum is er een natuurlijk verloop van conservatoren. Als men met een hele groep oudere conservatoren zit, die het altijd zo hebben gedaan en niet het nut zien van een dergelijke verandering, moet men eigenlijk wachten tot deze mensen met pensioen zijn voordat er verandering kan plaatsvinden. Ik denk dat dit museum heel lang is blijven steken in een wat ouderwetse benadering. Andere musea zijn daar weer heel vroeg in."

"Iets anders: het lijkt er op dat het Rijkmuseum van Oudheden nooit een object heeft gerepatrieerd of gerestitueerd, op één enkele collectie van joodse oorlogskunst na."

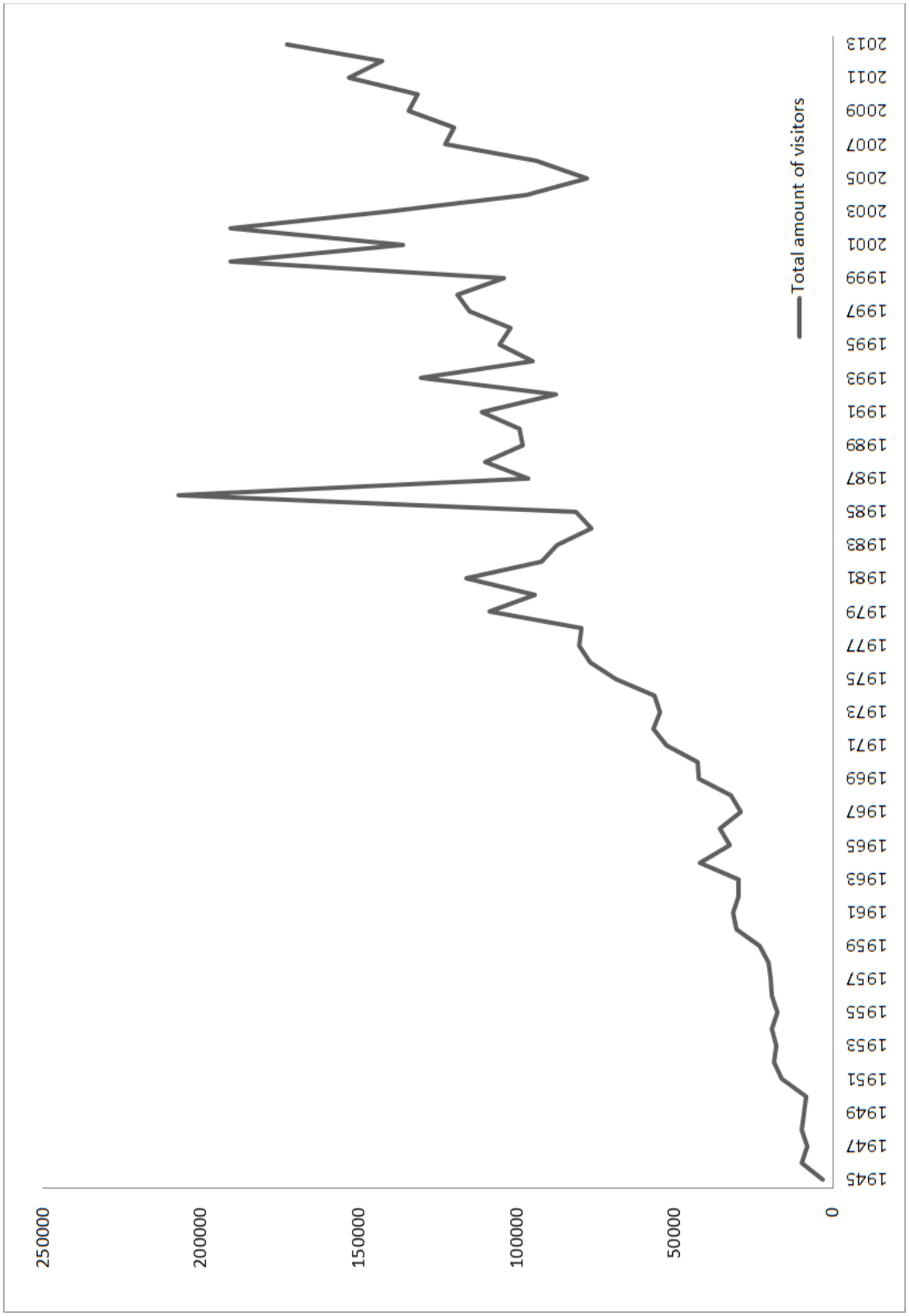
Dat zou kunnen. Er liggen geen heldere claims. De grote discussies richten zich toch voornamelijk op de echte topstukken als de Elgin Marbles in London en de buste van Nefertiti in Berlijn. De laatste is een vrij goede case; het object is laat verzameld, in de 20e eeuw, toen het echt al duidelijk was dat men dat soort dingen niet zo maar kon doen. De Elgin Marbles is een ingewikkelder verhaal vanwege de Ottomaanse overheersing in Griekenland. Lord Elgin had toestemming om de stukken mee te nemen. Juridisch klopte het, moreel niet. Zo zijn er nog wel meer voorbeelden. Wij hebben eigenlijk geen dergelijke iconische stukken. Onze beelden van Maya en Merit zijn verzameld in de jaren '20 van de negentiende eeuw door een Zweedse consul, Jean d'Anastasy. Daar zal Egypte zelf nu ook niet moeilijk over doen. Wij hebben nauwelijks verzameld in de tweede helft van de negentiende eeuw, het tijdperk

waarover veel van dit soort discussies gaan. Bovendien: de Egyptische grenzen zijn pas in 1983 officieel gesloten voor antiquiteiten.

Eén van de belangrijkste aankopen van het afgelopen jaren is een Cypriotisch hoofd. Wij hebben zelf maandenlang onderzoek gedaan of het stuk wel 'klopte'. De handelaar zei van wel, maar had verder geen papieren of ander bewijs. Wij hebben toen gezegd dat we het niet gingen kopen als we niet zeker zouden weten of het wel op de juiste manier was verzameld, namelijk in de vroege negentiende eeuw. Uiteindelijk hebben we dat kunnen aantonen. Wij hebben ook contact opgenomen met de Cypriotische autoriteiten of het stuk bekend was en of het eventueel op een verboden lijst zou staan. Er is veel meer openheid en contact dan vroeger. Dat is nu, vanwege het internet en e-mail, ook veel gemakkelijker. Dit is een fundamenteel andere situatie dan in de tijd dat het nog volstrekt normaal was dat wij koloniën hadden over de hele wereld. Toen hield men simpelweg geen rekening met dit soort dingen.

Wat betreft de joodse oorlogskunst, is het de vraag of men dat kan zien als koloniaal. Ik denk het niet, het is een hele andere situatie. Er is wel sprake van een machtssituatie: de overheerser komt stukken wegnemen bij families. Dus, in theorie is het wel koloniaal verzamelen, maar het is een geheel andere toestand.

Appendix 3: Graphic of amount of visitors at the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden in 1945-2013.



Year	Total amount of visitors	1979	108,690
1945	3,180	1980	94,243
1946	9,783	1981	115,981
1947	8,012	1982	92,255
1948	9,878	1983	87,175
1949	9,055	1984	76,402
1950	8,663	1985	81,232
1951	16,034	1986	207,121
1952	18,749	1987	96,473
1953	17,819	1988	110,000
1954	19,381	1989	98,310
1955	17,604	1990	99,095
1956	19,215	1991	111,200
1957	19,569	1992	87,649
1958	20,547	1993	130,500
1959	23,105	1994	95,000
1960	30,733	1995	105,589
1961	31,535	1996	101,896
1962	29,943	1997	115,116
1963	29,760	1998	119,010
1964	42,106	1999	104,023
1965	32,569	2000	190,804
1966	35,874	2001	136,101
1967	29,013	2002	190,858
1968	32,363	2003	141,195
1969	42,387	2004	97,068
1970	42,866	2005	77,750
1971	52,558	2006	94,001
1972	56,920	2007	122,671
1973	54,794	2008	119,829
1974	56,676	2009	134,408
1975	68,641	2010	131,383
1976	76,737	2011	153,096
1977	80,395	2012	142,707
1978	79,561	2013	173,017

Appendix 4: List of temporary exhibitions 1945-2013.

1945
Special exhibition of the new acquisitions from 1940-45.

Het Romeinse portret
28 June 1953 – 19 July 1953
Roman portrait art in marble, terracotta, ivory and frescos of the 4th century BC until the Byzantine period. Traveling exhibition in Turin, Brussels and Maastricht. Cooperation with the Italian government.

Sieraden uit de Volksverhuizingstijd
4 July 1954 – 22 August 1954
Collection from the Romisch-Germanische Museum in Cologne. Supplemented with the collection from the Museum of Antiquities and the Koninklijk Kabinet van Munten, Penningen en Gesneden Stenen in The Hague.

Huis en Huisraad in de Griekse en Romeinse oudheid
15 May 1960 – 6 July 1960
Classical domestic lease-loans from the Louvre in Paris.

Panorama der Prehistorie
4 September 1960 – 14 January 1961
Exhibition that showed a prehistoric spectrum of ancient cultures.

400 jaar Romeinse Bezetting
24 June 1961 – 10 October 1961
Important pieces from the Museum G. M. Kam in Nijmegen.

Nederlandse Opgravingen in Egypte
1 December 1961 – 18 March 1962

Glas uit de Oudheid
19 May 1962 – 19 August 1962

Luchtfoto en Archeologie
September 1962
With the cooperation of the Rheinische Landesmuseum in Bonn.

Het dier als motief in de antieke kunst
2 March 1963 – 25 August 1963

Romeinse mozaïeken uit Tunesië
21 December 1963 – 16 March 1964
This exhibition showed Tunisian mosaics, sculptures and earthenware for the first time outside of Tunisia. It was an expensive project that received much attention of the press.

Opgravingen in Bijbelse Grond
3 April 1965 – 19 September 1965
Presentation showing the methods and result of the Dutch expedition in Deir Alla.

Kunst voor de eeuwigheid
27 August 1966 – 10 October 1966
Papyri from the Book of the Dead and ostraca. Cooperation with the Royal Museum for Art and History in Brussels.

Wel en wee
5 June 1970 – 8 July 1970
About environmental pollution. Received very little attention.

Je tiens l'affaire
September 1972
Small presentation dedicated to J. F. Champollion.

Caspar Jacob Christiaan Reuvens, Archeoloog
April 1973
Small presentation dedicated to C. J. C. Reuvens.

Klassieke Kunst uit Particulier bezit
15 May 1975 – 13 July 1975

Archeologen werken in Zuid-Holland
20 November 1975 – 4 April 1976
Findings of the past fifteen years in the Netherlands.

Over de grens der Etrusken
24 November 1977 – 2 July 1978
Presentation from own collection and lease-loans from the Koninklijk Kabinet van Munten, Penningen en Gesneden Stenen in The Hague.

Taffeh gezien…
4 April 1979 – 1 September 1979
Presentation from amateur photographers who followed the construction work around the temple of Taffeh.

Gezicht op de Levant – ontmoeting met het Oude Egypte – werk van de 19e-eeuwse kunstenaar David Roberts
2 November 1979 – 1 April 1980

Lourens Alma Tadema - twee reconstructies van het oude Egypte
14 April 1980 – 19 June 1980
Paintings from Lourens Alma Tadema.

Okers uit Sinope, Witten van Egypte
12 December 1980 – 19 January 1981
Paintings from contemporary artist Gerti Bierenbroodspot.

Oudheid op reis
12 September 1980 – 19 October 1980
Traveling exhibition through the Netherlands.

Zicht op schrift
28 November 1980 – 22 February 1981
Presentation about the historical development of writing.

Vondsten uit Verleden Land
27 August 1981 – January 1982
Highlights of the findings from the Dutch soil research.

Beelden van Behnasa, Egyptische kunst uit de Romeinse Keizertijd
14 May 1982

Papyrus, van bies tot boekrol
11 November 1982 – 5 April 1983
Presentation about all kinds of handwriting and scripts on papyrus.

Egypte – bereisd, beroofd, bewaard, beschreven
28 May 1983 – 5 September 1983
Presentation about the rediscovery of Egypt by the West in the 19th century.

Oud Iran, Pre-Islamitische kunst en voorwerpen uit eigen bezit
9 December 1983 – 6 May 1984

Op zoek naar een Castellum
6 October 1983 – 25 November 1983

Urnen delven
15 January 1984 – 14 May 1983

Taffeh Schilderijen van Willem van Scheijndel
October 1984

Op Goede Gronden
26 April 1985 – 1 September 1985

Nieuw licht op een oude stad – Italiaanse en Nederlandse opgravingen in Satricum
22 November 1985 – 23 February 1985

Schatten uit Turkije (Treasures from Turkey)
21 June 1986 – 21 September 1986
Largest presentation in the museum ever. This exhibition was earlier in three Japanese cities under the name 'Turkey, Land of Civilizations'.

Verdwenen dorpen, hervonden sporen
Christmas break 1986
Archaeological research in Dorestad. Included a quest for children.

De vaticana, spiegel van de cultuur van het Avondland
24 January 1987 – 8 March 1987
Traveling exhibition.

Wel moge het U bekomen! – Feestmaal, godenmaal, dodenmaal in de Oudheid
19 June 1987 – 30 August 1987
Objects from the Near East, Egypt, Greece and the Roman empire.

Goed gezien – Tien eeuwen wetenschap in handschrift en druk
30 October 1987
Presentation located in de Pieterskerk near the National Museum of Antiquities.

Colosseum, Aquarellen van Arnold Niessen
29 January 1988 – 13 March 1988

Nederland Onderste Boven, de archeologische rijkdom van het bodemarchief
22 April 1988 – 3 October 1988

Vergeten Verzamelingen van Ockenburg
22 October 1988 – 23 January 1989

Opgravingen in Tripolitanië, Griekse oudheden van Jhr. J.F.A. Clifford Kocq van Breugel in het RMO, 1838-1988
7 November 1988 – 2 January 1988

Willem de Famars Testas (1834-1896) – Egyptische reisimpressies

December 1988
Presentation that shows the inspiration from ancient civilization in modern European art.

Egypte hertekend, het oude Egypte in de beeldverhalen
23 May 1989 – 13 August 1989
Presentation with comics.

Een verhaal voor het oprapen; opgravingen te Deir Alla in de Jordaanvallei
24 August 1989 -8 January 1989

Egypt on my mind
20 October 1989 – 21 January 1990
Watercolors from Frans de Haas.

Mozaïek der Antieken
14 May 1990 – 10 September 1990
An exhibition which functioned as a first encounter with the classical world.

Dood en verderf
23 October 1990 – 6 January 1991
Reconstruction of a mass grave from the Bronze Age.

Oermensen in Nederland. Belvédère, leven in de Oude Steentijd
8 May 1991 – 1 September 1991
On the hand of pieces of flint, traces of ocher, animal bones and charcoal, a reconstruction of the life of the earliest homo sapiens in the Netherlands was made.

Schliemann's Troje
19 October 1991 – 6 January 1992
Presentation with objects from the Schliemann collection, which could finally be shown in its whole because of the German reunification.

De Ilias en Odyssee verbeeld
13 March 1992 – 1 June 1992
Acrylics from contemporary artist Ed Dekker.

Geneeskunst in de Oudheid
6 April 1992 -1 June 1992

Brons uit de Oudheid
22 May 1992 – 5 October 1992

Een verborgen collectie Griekse kunst

23 October 1992 – 10 January 1993
Private collection of mrs. G. Schneider-Herrmann.

Mummies onder het Mes
1 April 1993 – 26 September 1993
Presentation with mummy researches.

Vrouwen in de Griekse Oudheid
October 1993
Presentation with objects from the collection of Schneider-Herrmann and own collection.

Ooit van Freud: de archeologische collectie van Sigmund Freud
23 April 1994 – 11 July 1994

De kleren van de farao
End of 1994 – Begin 1995

Tempels langs de Nijl, Tekeningen van het Oude Egypte
29 April 1995 – 3 September 1995
Architectonic drawings Jean-Claude Golvin.

Wijn! Wijn!! Wijn!!!
12 October 1995 – 9 June 1996
Presentation about the classical world and wine.

Vijf dagen feest
18 March 1996 – 29 September 1996
The Olympics in ancient Greece.

List en bedrog
26 September 1996 – 9 March 1997
Presentation showing forgeries in Dutch archaeology.

Verzamelen voor het Vaderland
8 October 1996 – 25 May 1997
Presentation about the traveler Jean Emile Humbert (1779-1839).

Mummies!
4 April 1997 – 9 January 2000

!Actie Romein!
26 June 1997 – 1999
Interactive children's presentation.

Antiek Toerisme
28 August 1997 – 1999

Who's afraid of ancient blue?
28 August 1997 – 1999
Light décor with 54 large sculptures.

Mysterie van Matilo
26 June 1997 – 2 November 1997
Results of the research in the Roman village Matilo near Leiden.

Boodschap uit de steentijd?
12 November 1997 – 30 November 1998

Sensaos; oog in oog met het meisje in de mummie
1998
Reconstruction of the face of an Egyptian mummy.

Ritueel en Schoonheid, antieke Meesterwerken uit het MIHO Museum Japan
18 November 1999 – 20 March 2000
Cooperation with the Japanese MIHO Museum and the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.

Asterix en Europa
17 March 2000 – 7 January 2001

Farao's van de Zon. Achnaton, Nefertiti, Toetanchamon
3 November 2000 – 19 February 2001
International exhibition that was earlier on display in Boston, Los Angeles and Chicago.

Armenië, Verborgen rijkdom uit de bergen
3 November 2001 – 5 May 2002
Exhibition about a people by means of eighty findings.

Dubbelfocus: Nederlandse opgravingfoto's 1900-1940
8 February 2002 – 29 September 2002
Presentation that gave an image of the archaeologist and society in the period 1900-1940.

Bronnen van inspiratie uit het oude Syrië
1 November 2002 – 30 March 2003
Largest exhibition ever, showing the origin of Western civilization.

Mysterie Middeleeuwen
15 May 2003 – 15 August 2004

De kleine meesterwerken van Egypte
6 November 2003 – 29 February 2004
Collection from Myers Museum of the British Eton College.

Gat in de Stad
8 April 2004 – 9 January 2005
History and development of Dutch cities.

Anchhor de mummie
14 October 2005 – 3 September 2006

Schatvondst Romeins wijnservies
8 April 2006 – 26 August 2006
Findings from 2004 at Nistelrode.

Schitterend Glas
19 October 2006 – 4 March 2007
Presentation with the most beautiful glass from the own collection.

Het geheim van de Kelten
15 December 2006 – 17 May 2007
Interactive family exhibition that asks the question whether the Celts are a people or a culture.

Asterix en de Romeinen
8 February 2007 – 5 January 2008
Renewal of the presentation from 2000.

Archeologische vondsten van de heilige berg Aruda, Syrië
6 April 2007 – 12 August 2007
Presentation with the focus on objects.

Verboden te verzamelen? Museale vraagstukken van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden
12 June 2007 – 28 October 2007
Critical exhibition with fifteen dilemmas.

Dichter bij de dingen
21 June 2007 – 30 August 2007
Archaeological poems.

Schitterend Sieraad
13 September 2007 – 24 March 2008
Jewelry from the own collection.

Hakken in het Zand. Nederlandse opgravingen in Egypte
29 November 2007 – 13 May 2008
Presentation celebrating 50 years of Dutch archaeological fieldwork in Egypt.

Dierenmummies
28 June 2008 – 1 March 2009
Family exhibition.

Beeldschoon. Meesterwerken in gips
13 June 2008 – 16 November 2008
Castings of well-known classical sculptures.

Europa. Verborgen Vondsten
13 June 2008 – 14 September 2008

Iran in vogelvlucht
11 October 2008 – 8 March 2009
Aerial photography from Georg Gerster, supplemented by objects from the own collection.

Beyond the Horizon
16 December 2008 – 3 May 2009
Presentation of art and archaeological objects, by Bierenbroodspot.

Athena en de Muze
18 December 2008 – 15 March 2009

Irak- Nederland Kunstfestival
28 January 2009 – 8 February 2009

Aphrodites Beautycase
27 March 2009 – 31 December 2009

Dorestad: Wereldstad in de Middeleeuwen
16 April 2009 – 1 November 2009

Pasja van het glas
20 May 2009 – 3 January 2010
Glass from antiquity and arts and crafts from East Asia, collected by Anne Tjibbes van der Meulen.

Terracotta op z'n mooist
1 December 2009 – 5 September 2010
Terracotta objects from the own collection.

Het Egypte van Gustave Flaubert
2 December 2009 – 4 April 2010
Presentation about the journeys of G. Flaubert through Egypt, 1849-1850.

Retour Irak
14 January 2010 – 14 February 2010
Illegally collected objects.

Megagrieken
18 February 2010 – 3 January 2011
Children's exhibition

Expeditie Steentijd: jagers worden boeren
18 February 2010 – 18 April 2010

Startpunt NL
28 April 2010 – 26 September 2010
Thirty remarkable objects from Dutch archaeology.

Op het oog
27 April 2010 – 19 September 2010
200 antiquities collected by van Frits Lugt and Helene Kröller-Müller

Egyptische magie
16 October 2010 – 13 March 2011
Presentation with objects from the British Museum and the Louvre.

Betoverend, Bedoeïenensieraden en gezichtssluiers
16 October 2011 – 13 March 2011
Objects from three private collections.

Nieuws uit het Midden-Oosten
17 February 2011 – 31 August 2012

Martin McWilliam: Vorm tegen tijd
24 March 2011 – 18 September 2011
Modern art inspired by antique earthenware.

Sisi en Wilhelm II – Keizers op Corfu

13 April 2011 – 11 September 2011

Handelswaar en souvenirs, Islamitische kunst rijksmuseum Amsterdam
21 April 2011 – 4 September 2011

Geometrisch sterrenveld van wereldzand
31 May 2011 – 23 June 2011
Art project by artist Elvira Wersche.

Sites in the city
30 September 2011 – 19 February 2012
Photo presentation.

Etrusken. Vrouwen van aanzien. Mannen met macht
14 October 2011 – 18 March 2012
Collaboration with the Allard Pierson Museum in Amsterdam.

Leiden en de archeologie van het Nabije Oosten
2 February 2012 – 20 April 2012
Exhibition in the former University Library.

Eilanden van de Goden
18 April 2012 – 2 September 2012
Presentation about Greek myths and aerial photography.

Tuinen van de farao's
27 April 2012 – 2 September 2012

Kleuren van de oase
21 June 2012 – 1 November 2012
Paintings, photographs and drawings of the fieldwork in the Dakhla oasis.

NWO Odyssee: De eerste boeren
8 September 2012 – 25 November 2012
Small presentation about the first agricultural society in the Netherlands.

Het Egypte van Hollywood
13 October 2012 – 17 March 2013

Het Egypte van Hollywood Kids
13 October 2012 – 31 August 2013

100.000 uur archeologie: Verzamelen op de Veluwe
2012

Exhibition with objects from the collection Zuurdeeg which was bought in 2010.

Middeleeuws Chic
23 November 2012 - 15 September 2013
Small exhibition with bags, belts and shoes ornamented with metal.

Azad Karim - Verloren Erfgoed
29 November 2012 – 28 February 2013
Presentation by artist A. Karim, showing the destiny of heritage in conflict areas.

Couperus en de Oudheid
8 March 2013 – 25 August 2013
Objects accompanied by books and drawings of artist Elisa Pesapane.

Mummiekisten van de Amon-priesters
20 April 2013 – 15 September 2013

Het negende wereldwonder
19 June 2013 – 1 September 2013
Interactive children's exhibition

Voortreffelijk en waardig. 400 jaar Arabische studies in Nederland
6 September 2013 – 2 March 2014
History of Arabic studies in the Netherlands.

Petra. Wonder in de woestijn
9 October 2013 – 23 March 2014
Large exhibition about the Nabateans.

Petra revisited
9 October 2013 – 23 March 2014
Artwork from artist Bierenbroodspot.

Barcin Höyük
March 2013
Photo presentation of archaeological fieldwork.

Graven naar Bijbelse Sichem
20 April 2013 – 18 September 2013
Photo presentation of old, rediscovered negatives.

Bedoeïenen van Petra
9 September 2013 – 23 March 2014
Portraits of Jordanese Bdul Bedouins.