

III.

Managing, Using and Researching Objects
in Collections

Colonial Entanglement,
“South Sea” Imaginations and
Knowledge Production

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Colonial Entanglement, “South Sea” Imaginations and Knowledge Production

Katharina Nowak

Abstract

My chapter focuses on a collection that came to Germany from Pacific Islands during the German colonial period. It was named the “South Sea Collection” by Wilhelm Knappe (1855–1910) and is housed by the Museum of Thuringian Folklore (*Museum für Thüringer Volkskunde*) in Erfurt. Knappe was a German diplomat and colonial official. I am interested in different epistemic practices through which knowledge is produced in dealing with these objects in historical and contemporary contexts, including the everyday cultures from which they originated. The chapter examines the practices of collectors and dealers, curators and scholars who have gathered these objects from their everyday or ritual contexts (sometimes using force and power), mobilised them, shipped them to Germany and sold, stored, researched, curated, and still curate them in the context of museums. How are and were these objects remembered and forgotten, conceived and classified, produced and used, stolen or exchanged, researched and exhibited? In conclusion I will address current questions concerning the collection.

*L'enchevêtrement colonial, l'imaginaire des « mers du Sud »
et la production de savoir (Résumé)*

Mon chapitre est axé sur une collection qui est arrivée en Allemagne en provenance des îles du Pacifique pendant la période coloniale allemande. Cette collection a été nommée la «Collection de la mer du Sud» par Wilhelm Knappe (1855–1910) et est conservée au musée du folklore de Thuringe (Museum für Thüringer Volkskunde) à Erfurt. Wilhelm Knappe était un diplomate allemand et un fonctionnaire colonial. Je m'intéresse aux différentes pratiques épistémiques par lesquelles les connaissances se développent lors de la gestion de ces objets dans des contextes historiques et contemporains, notamment dans les cultures quotidiennes dont ils sont issus. Ce chapitre se penche sur les pratiques des collectionneurs et des marchands, des conservateurs et des spécialistes, qui ont rassemblé ces objets dans leur contexte quotidien ou rituel (en ayant parfois recours à la force et au pouvoir), qui les ont mobilisés, qui les ont expédiés en Allemagne et vendus, qui les ont stockés, qui ont fait des recherches, qui les ont conservés et qui les conservent toujours dans le contexte des musées. Comment ces objets sont-ils et ont-ils été perpétués et oubliés, conçus et répertoriés, produits et utilisés, volés ou échangés, recherchés et exposés ? En conclusion, j'aborderai les questions actuelles concernant la collection.

Introduction

The current public and critical discourse on how to deal with objects from colonial contexts addresses political questions but also the need for European museums to reappraise their holdings. In addition to provenance research;¹ that is, the reconstruction of object biographies, other perspectives, such as collaborative research with people from the societies of origin or participant observation in the field, are relevant for the collections concerned.² This chapter contributes to the decolonisation of knowledge production through museum collections. The perspective is interdisciplinary in nature, as it has implications for ethnology, museology and historical studies, as well as for cultural and social anthropology in the narrower sense, and draws on the theoretical and methodological foundations of the aforementioned disciplines. In addition to a global, transnational perspective, this chapter contributes to work critical of power and domination, with a special focus on postcolonial structures.³

The Collection

This chapter focuses on a group of 900 objects in the ethnographic museum, which came into a German collection during the colonial period. They originate from what is now called Papua New Guinea (PNG), Marshall Island, Samoa and other islands of the Bismarck Archipelago, then German colonies.⁴ The group of objects form the so-called “South Sea Collection” appropriated by Wilhelm Knappe (1855–1910),⁵ a German colonial official, and it is housed by the Museum of Thuringian Folklore in Erfurt.

I am interested in different epistemic practices that produce knowledge in dealing with these objects – both in the historical and contemporary contexts. The everyday cultures from which they originally came; as well as in relation to the practices of collectors and traders, curators and scientists who took these objects out of their everyday or ritual contexts (sometimes using force and power), mobilised them, shipped them to Germany and sold, stored, researched and curated them in museums to this day.⁶ How are these objects made and forgotten, conceived and classified, manufactured and used, stolen or exchanged, researched and exhibited? I use a broad, comparative concept of knowledge in the sense of Fredrik Barth,⁷ which not only includes academically produced knowledge, but all knowledge that people use to interpret and act in the world – *models of and models for* – as Clifford Geertz says.⁸

Objects can have different meanings for different actors. From a museum perspective, they can be semiotic characters. From an anthropological point of view, for example in Marilyn Strathern’s works or in actor–network theory,⁹ they are active actors. What were their meanings for their societies of origin? The epistemic practices of different groups of actors produce different “truths” and ontologies. I am interested in the hierarchical order of these truths and their interactions with power.

I examine the connections of knowledge or knowledge production with positions of power in terms of the “situated knowledges”¹⁰ regarding the so-called South Sea Collection in Erfurt.¹¹ The incorporation of historical and ethnological methods and approaches practiced in this work suggests that the Global South and the Global North must be seen simultaneously and as part of a globally intertwined modernity, although they participate in it under asymmetrical conditions.¹² In this context, a differentiated view of

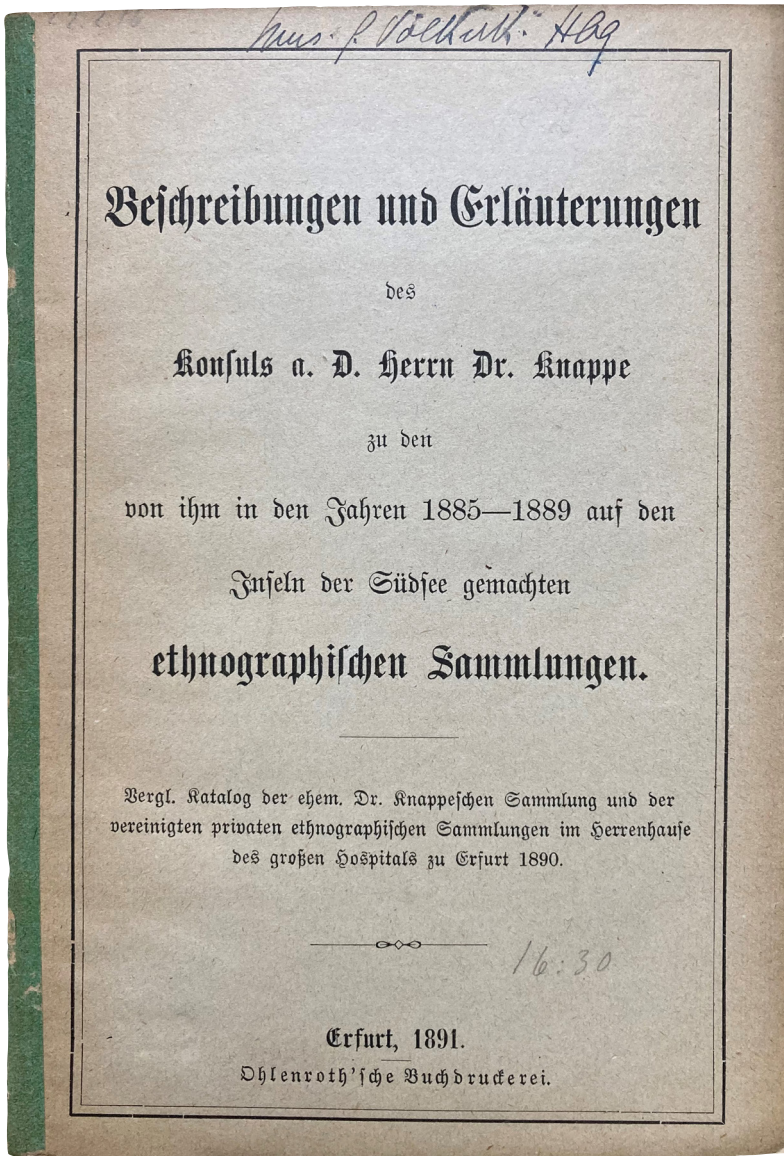


Figure 1 | Cover page "Descriptions and Explanations" 1891 by Wilhelm Knappe
(Source: *Beschreibungen und Erläuterungen des Konsuls a.D. Herrn Dr. Knappe zu den von ihm in den Jahren 1885–1889 auf den Inseln der Südsee gemachten ethnographischen Sammlungen*, Erfurt 1891)
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(historical) colonisation is necessary: for example, racist settlement colonies proceeded differently to former plantation economies.

Source and archive material supports the reconstruction of the history¹³ of the collection. I then analyse the interests and attributions of value of Knappe from the sources of the museum archive. There are also inventory books and inventory cards in Erfurt.

The descriptions of the collection published by Knappe in 1890 imply that he was interested in the stories behind the people and things, addressing aspects such as the manufacture and materiality of the objects in his self-written catalogue of 1890 and descriptions and explanations of 1891.¹⁴ Presumably, however, he wished to secure the (scientific) value of the collection.

There is also relevant archival material in the city archives of Erfurt, such as newspaper clippings, correspondence in the form of letters and contracts, and digitised photos of glass plates. In order to carry out a broader contextualisation of the objects in the colonial setting and from different perspectives, I am also working with colonial and oral history sources from the 1960s and 1970s, which I hope to find in the National Archive in Port Moresby, PNG. Additional important sources include the exhibition catalogue, newspaper articles and the exhibitions themselves. Other archival sources of importance to the project are located in the Political Archive of the Federal Foreign Office in Berlin.

Epistemic Practices

The original 900 objects have been in Erfurt since 1889.¹⁵ These objects were appropriated in 1885–86 by the colonial official Wilhelm Knappe.¹⁶ From 1886 to 1887, Knappe was the first Imperial Commissioner of the Marshall Islands at Jaluit and from 1888 to 1889 the Consul in Samoa.¹⁷ Today the collection still consists of about 600 objects from Melanesia.¹⁸ Knappe appropriated cultural materials at the Huon Peninsula and the Bismarck Archipelago, among other places. In 1886 he travelled up a stretch of the Kaiserin Augusta River (Sepik River in PNG)¹⁹ and, with Carl Schrader (Astronomer, 1852–1930), Max Hollrung (Scientist, 1858–1937) and Georg von Schleinitz (German Naval Officer, 1834–1910), he travelled 300 nautical miles (555.6 km)

inland along the Sepik, aboard the steamer *Ottilie*.²⁰ He also took part in a number of expeditions, including the research trip of the German New Guinea Company from 28 July to 10 August 1886.

Upon Knappe's return to the "South Sea" as a colonial official in 1889, he left the collection in his hometown of Erfurt,²¹ where it remains part of the Museum of Thuringian Folklore today. In a publication from 2005 the museum stated that the collection came to Erfurt through "civic engagement".²² The objects are utilitarian and cult objects such as musical instruments, jewellery and weapons.²³ Knappe also created an extensive photographic archive with photographs from his stay in Samoa and the Marshall Islands. Some objects were exchanged with the Royal Ethnographic Museum (*Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde*) Berlin in June 1928,²⁴ including the ancestor board, leaf paintings and a feather shield. Previously, the collection had already been requested by Felix Luschan (1854–1924) himself for the first German colonial exhibition²⁵ in Berlin-Treptow, but was rejected.²⁶

The objects were initially presented in the *Große Hospital*, now the Museum of Thuringian Folklore.²⁷ Unfortunately, there is no documentation for this beyond sketches for the display tables.²⁸ But the objects remained accessible in the order of the first exhibition in 1890. However, if one reads the exhibitions of the time as sources, there are three narratives, each set in the period and telling of the different exhibitions.

During the Weimar Republic in the 1920s, the aim had been to rearrange the collection, but this plan was abandoned due to lack of personnel and postponed to the early 1930s. During the Third Reich in 1941, the collection attracted the attention of a city official who advocated for a profound expansion.²⁹ The objects were increasingly given a propagandistic function, where their scientific value was superseded by a pedagogically deployed display of strength. Knappe's influence, which had already diminished, was lost entirely when the "Knappe Collection" was renamed the "South Sea Collection", thus shifting the focus to the territory to be conquered or regained. The notion of colonisation was to be symbolised by a future colonial museum and the popularisation of the colonial idea was to be guaranteed by appealing to the youth.

The objects had very different missions to fulfil: As ethnological objects they were to educate, as "exotic" objects they were to entertain, and as colonial objects they were to enhance the prestige of the city.³⁰ "The colonial" was thus variously consumable at the exhibitions without always being interpreted as such. Less mutable were the colonial stereotypes, which in Knappe's

case also corresponded to contemporary narratives of the “original primitive peoples”.³¹ These followed the idea that the people in the colonies were fundamentally different from the population in the Global North. The culture of the “others” was perceived to be inferior in this respect because it could only exist in contact with its European counterpart.

In the post-war period, the collection was not forgotten, but was exhibited again in 1966 and 1873.³² After the museum brought back individual pieces to the *Große Hospital* in Erfurt, the South Sea Collection was shown on new premises and on the first floor in 1966.

The Collection was also exhibited in a similar constellation in 1973, at the “request of many citizens”³³ as a newspaper article claimed. The “Stone Age motif” was almost completely dropped in the newspaper articles, which instead emphasised the lack of contact with the outside world and the prehistoric classless form of society. The people originally from these territories otherwise tended to be side-lined. Narratives about them served only to distinguish them from the hegemonic group in question. In this context, explicit reference was made to the over-modelled ancestral skulls and “the large outrigger boat with mast and sail – the only one of its kind in the East Germany”³⁴, supporting the narrative of the “primitive stranger”. It is noticeable in the photos of the exhibition space that more objects were exhibited than in 1966.³⁵ The fact that the new exhibition would display “more extensive material”³⁶ had already been announced. This was also intended to offer scientists in particular a “rich field of activity”³⁷, but no reference is made to youth.

Even though the collection then disappeared again into the depot in Erfurt, the regional museum landscape of East Germany continued to show interest in the subject. In 1977, part of the collection was loaned to neighbouring Gotha for two years, where the museum there displayed it together with objects from other collections under the title “Oceania – Cultures of Distant Peoples”.³⁸ Once again, the outrigger boat was pointed out as a special attraction, set up in Gotha for the first time complete with sails, and has since been touted as a jewel of the collection.³⁹

Today, the Museum of Thuringian Folklore exhibits the South Sea Collection in the so-called *Benary-Speicher*, a warehouse building built in 1887 as a storage facility for the Benary seed company. It was not until the beginning of the year 2000 that the objects moved there on a long-term basis,⁴⁰ having undergone extensive restoration before the exhibition opened its doors in March 2001.⁴¹ Individual exhibits were prepared in display cases and on tables, while the majority – as in most museums – were stored in boxes.⁴² In the

years that followed, the collection was open to visitors almost every Wednesday afternoon and sometimes on other days; with quarterly guided tours and smaller special exhibitions. Then, in a special exhibition, the South Sea Collection was made partly accessible to the public together with artworks from the Erfurt Art Gallery (*Kunsthalle*) under the title "Journeys to Paradise – The Erfurt South Sea Collection reflected in art". Although the aim of the exhibition was to break with the stereotype of the "South Sea paradise"⁴³, in fact the exhibition and publication both reproduced this stereotype rather than deconstructing it.⁴⁴ Both the title and the catalogue of the exhibition suggest the colonial ideas and exotic fantasies of the "South Sea paradise", which fail to indicate a critical examination from a postcolonial perspective. Unfortunately, the exhibition and the catalogue were only partially successful.

Most recently, in 2012, the museum organised an exhibition together with the *Iwalewa House* of the University of Bayreuth entitled "In Dialogue: Contemporary South Sea Art and the South Sea Collection of the Museum of Thuringian Folklore".⁴⁵ The closures, re-openings and varying scopes of exhibitions recorded between 1890 and 2005 indicate changing interests and opportunities. Currently, the South Sea Collection can only be visited upon prior request and there are no fixed opening hours.⁴⁶

Conclusion

In examining which and how knowledge about the objects was produced; for example, what knowledge about Europeans the local producers of objects (during the colonial period) had, this chapter has explained the changes in meanings and functions of the objects. What functions will the objects have in the future? To answer this question, the collection must be digitally accessible and contact must be made with Melanesia to inquire about their needs and wishes. But in PNG as well as in Europe, there is often a lack of financial resources for everyday museum practice. These findings from ethnographic and historical research seek to visualise different epistemic practices. They ask how these different practices are related to each other and how their articulation might be appropriately, innovatively and symmetrically represented in exhibition projects and in museum work. The analysis from different perspectives is not possible without cooperation with actors from the societies of origin.

It would be neocolonial to once again use the societies of origin for our interests, under the guise of science, to interrogate and enrich ourselves with their knowledge, under the pretext of “cooperation”. Will the Indigenous people there really be helped if German scientists go there without speaking the language, without knowing what they are triggering, both emotionally (re-traumata) and socially (disputes about land and jurisdiction). Moreover, research projects are usually limited in time. The restitution debates of recent years, triggered by the Humboldt Forum in Berlin, are putting museums under pressure. Quick action is demanded. We have finally learned to listen and acknowledge the injustice. Of course, the cultures wish to see their cultural material returned. Of course, there are scientists and sometimes museums in the societies of origin. Yes, there are also legal hurdles. But that is not what this is about, it’s about our collaborative partners from Oceania. We are holding privileged debates about colonialism and the collecting mania of the Europeans.

Provenance research, once the local source study has been completed, should primarily involve collaboration with partners from the objects’ countries of origin. Collaboration can illuminate the meanings and histories of the objects and shed light on knowledge production. Ontological contextualisation can bring forth an understanding of reciprocal appropriations and transnational exchanges. Reconstructions allow for knowledge production that also allows for resistance and brings to light local as well as colonial stereotypes and classifications. Challenges in collaboration, such as differing levels of access to digital media and infrastructure, must be overcome in order for postcolonial provenance research to decolonise knowledge production.

Archival documents

BArch Berlin: Federal Archives of the Federal Republic of Germany Berlin-Lichterfelde, therein:

- R 1001/2977 General conditions in Kaiser Wilhelms Land and in the Bismarck Archipelago (Allgemeine Verhältnisse im Kaiser-Wilhelms-Land und im Bismarck-Archipel).
- KA III Gr.28 Administrative cases (Verwaltungssachen), Vol. 2.

MfTV: Archive Museum for Thuringian Folklore Erfurt, therein:

- File Knappe Collection.
- Card catalogue of the Knappe collection.
- Digital photos of the exhibitions 1966, 1973/74 and 2005.

PA AA Berlin: Political Archive of the Foreign Office Berlin, therein:

- Personnel files Wilhelm Knappe:
- P1: 7534, P1: 7537, P1: 7538, P1 7539, P1 7541, P1 7542, P1 7544.

StArch Erfurt: City Archive Erfurt, therein:

- 1-2/322-3843 Museum of Natural History, General.
- 1-2/322-4838 South Sea Collection (Knappe).
- 1-2/322-4898 Museum, advertising.
- 3/8 Newspapers: Thüringer Allgemeine, Thüringer Volkswacht, Erfurter Wochenzeitung, Thüringer Tageblatt, Thüringer Landeszeitung, Thüringer Neuste Nachrichten, Das Volk, Erfurter Allgemeine.
- 4-0 II B 127 Catalog: Katalog der ehemaligen Dr. Knappe'schen Sammlung und der vereinigten privaten ethnographischen Sammlungen im Herrenhause des großen Hospitals zu Erfurt, 1890.
- 4-0 II B 128 Descriptions and explanations: Beschreibungen und Erläuterungen des Konsuls a.D. Herrn Dr. Knappe zu den von ihm in den Jahren 1885–1889 auf den Inseln der Südsee gemachten ethnographischen Sammlungen, 1891 by Wilhelm Knappe, Ohlenroth'sche Buchdruckerei Erfurt, Erfurt 1891.
- 4-0 E 8/ b 30 Communications of the Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde
- 6_0_18A7_003 Photo: Reopening Knappe-Sammlung.
- 7/141-202 Floor plans of the rooms of the *Große Hospital*.
- 5/5 Museums in general, therein: South Sea Collection.

- 1 Provenance research is a concept of the Global North that is infused with Western notions of property and the individual. I would like to distance myself from this in order to provide a different perspective. Use of the term "provenance research" here only serves to understand the method, which I in turn try to decolonise through collaboration in my PhD project.
- 2 Scholz, Andrea (2019): "Transkulturelle Zusammenarbeit in der Museumspraxis: Symbolpolitik oder epistemische Pluralität?", in: Iris Edenheiser; Larissa Förster (Eds): *Museumsethnologie. Eine Einführung. Theorien, Debatten, Praktiken*, Berlin, pp. 162–179.
- 3 I would like to question the objects' production, their circulation, their appropriation and usage, their museum functions, and their meanings today, shedding light on this from multiple perspectives.
- 4 For introductory literature on Melanesia, see Sillitoe, Paul (2000): *Social Change in Melanesia. Development und History*, Cambridge.
- 5 A critical reappraisal of the person Wilhelm Knappe is given by Hoes, Charlotte M. (2022): "Wie hast du's mit der Wissenschaft? Zur Kolonialität der Erfurter 'Südseesammlung'", in: *Historische Anthropologie*, Vol. 30, no. 1, pp. 100–109. See also Hoes, Charlotte M. (2019): "Die Erfurter 'Südseesammlung'", on <https://decolonizeerfurt.wordpress.com/die-erfurter-suedseesammlung/>, accessed 10 March 2023.
- 6 Theoretically framed by Mauss, Marcel (1990 [1925]): *Die Gabe: Form und Funktion des Austauschs in archaischen Gesellschaften*, Frankfurt am Main.
- 7 Barth, Fredrik (2002): "An Anthropology of Knowledge", in: *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 43, no. 1, pp. 1–18.
- 8 Geertz, Clifford (1993): "Religion as a Cultural System", in: Geertz, Clifford (Ed.): *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, London, pp. 87–125.
- 9 Strathern, Marilyn (1992): "The Decomposition of an Event", in: *Cultural Anthropology*, Vol. 7, no. 2, pp. 244–254.
- 10 Haraway, Donna (1988): *Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective*. *Feminist Studies*, 14(3), pp. 575–599, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3178066>.
- 11 Moritz, Martina; Schierz, Kai Uwe (2005) (Eds): *Reisen ins Paradies. Die Erfurter Südseesammlung im Spiegel der Kunst*. Exhibition Catalogue Erfurt. Schriften des Museums für Thüringer Volkskunde Erfurt.
- 12 Begrich, Roger; Randeria, Shalini (2012): "Historiographie und Anthropologie. Zur Kritik hegemonialer Wissensproduktion bei Talal Asad, Bernard S. Cohn und der Subaltern Studies Group", in: Reuter, Julia; Karentzos Alexandra (Eds): *Schlüsselwerke der Postcolonial Studies*, Wiesbaden, pp. 69–84.
- 13 In the sense of Thomas, Nicolas (1991): *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific*, Cambridge, MA; London.
- 14 Cf. Figure 1.
- 15 Municipal Archive Erfurt (*Stadtarchiv Erfurt*, StArch), File 4-0 II B 127, "Katalog der ehemaligen Dr. Knappe'schen Sammlung und der vereinigten privaten ethnographischen Sammlungen im Herrenhause des großen Hospitals zu Erfurt, 1890".
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Mückler, Hermann (2016): *Die Marshall-Inseln und Nauru in deutscher Kolonialzeit*, Berlin.
- 18 Höfer, Iris (2005): "Bejubelt, beargwöhnt, vergessen: Die Stadt Erfurt und ihre Knappe-Sammlung", in: Moritz and Schierz, 2005, *Reisen ins Paradies*, pp. 101–118; p. 101.
- 19 Melk-Koch, Marion (2005): "Die Südsee", in: Moritz and Schierz, 2005, *Reisen ins Paradies*, pp. 15–19, p. 18.
- 20 RaBloff, Steffen (2005): *Wilhelm Knappe (1855–1910). Staatsmann und Völkerkundler im Blickpunkt deutscher Weltpolitik*, Jena, p. 95.

- 21 Ibid, p. 68.
- 22 Moritz and Schierz, 2005, *Reisen ins Paradies*, p. 13, in the preface, translated KN.
- 23 Höfer, 2005, *Bejubelt, beargwöhnt, vergessen*, pp. 106f.
- 24 Melk-Koch, 2005, *Die Südsee*, p. 51.
- 25 The "Great Industrial Exposition of Berlin" took place from 1 May to 15 October 1896 in Treptow.
- 26 Museum for Thuringian Folklore, Archive, File *Knappesammlung*, fol. 409–411. Luschan's letter, 4 February 1896, fol. 409.
- 27 Höfer, 2005, *Bejubelt, beargwöhnt, vergessen*, p. 109 and 112.
- 28 Municipal Archive Erfurt, file 7/141-202, floor plans of the *Große Hospital*.
- 29 Museum for Thuringian Folklore, Archive, digital photos of the exhibitions.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 Municipal Archive Erfurt, "Beschreibungen und Erläuterungen des Konsuls a.D. Herrn Dr. Knappe zu den von ihm in den Jahren 1885–1889 auf den Inseln der Südsee gemachten ethnographischen Sammlungen", 1891 von Wilhelm Knappe, Erfurt 1891, excerpt: "Die hier ausgestellten Gegenstände stammen ausschließlich aus dem Deutsch-Neu-Guinea. Dieses Gebiet ist erst in den letzten Jahren näher erforscht worden, während es bis 1884 von Weißen kaum betreten war. Die Erzeugnisse sind sämtlich noch mit den primitivsten, nur im Lande hergestellten Werkzeugen fabriziert, insbesondere ist kein Metall, sondern nur Holz, Stein, Muscheln und Knochen als Material verwendet. Selbstverständlich waren Eisen und aus Eisen und Stahl gemachte Werkzeuge, die bei näherer Bekanntschaft sofort am meisten gesuchten Tauschartikel, und schon nach kurzer Zeit wurden die alten Werkzeuge nicht mehr verwendet, während man im Übrigen an den alten Sitten und Gebräuchen noch festhielt und daher die Erzeugnisse ihrer Arbeit und Industrie noch dieselben blieben. Heute schon findet man an der Küste von Kaiser Wilhelmsland fast nur mit eisernen Werkzeugen hergestellte Geräte, während die in diesem Schrank ausgestellten Gegenstände noch sämtlich mit den einheimischen primitiven Werkzeugen angefertigt worden sind."
- 32 Museum for Thuringian Folklore, Archive, digital photos of the exhibitions.
- 33 Municipal Archive Erfurt, 3/8, Thüringer Neuste Nachrichten, 20 July 1973, translated KN.
- 34 Municipal Archive Erfurt, 3/8, Thüringer Tageblatt, 17 July 1973, translated KN.
- 35 Museum for Thuringian Folklore, Archive, digital photos of the exhibitions.
- 36 Municipal Archive Erfurt, 3/8, Thüringer Neuste Nachrichten, 20 July 1973, translated KN.
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 Höfer, 2005, *Bejubelt, beargwöhnt, vergessen*, p. 114, translated KN.
- 39 Ibid., p. 114.
- 40 Moritz and Schierz, 2005, *Reisen ins Paradies*, p. 13.
- 41 Ibid.
- 42 Museum for Thuringian Folklore, Archive, digital photos of the exhibitions.
- 43 Moritz and Schierz, 2005, *Reisen ins Paradies*, p. 13 in the preface.
- 44 See Hoes, 2022, *Wie hast du's mit der Wissenschaft?*
- 45 Website of the City of Erfurt, <https://www.erfurt.de/ef/de/service/aktuelles/pm/2012/106267.html>, accessed 13 March 2023, translated KN.
- 46 Website of the City of Erfurt, <https://www.erfurt.de/ef/de/erleben/kunst/museen/108329.html>, accessed 13 March 2023, translated KN.