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# Ancestors and Descendants

On Provenance and Repatriation of Ancestral Remains from Hawai'i in Collections of the University of Göttingen

Holger Stoecker and Katharina Stötzel,  
Georg August University Göttingen

## Abstract

From 2020 to 2023, the interdisciplinary research project *Sensitive Provenances* at the Georg August University of Göttingen investigated the Blumenbach Skull Collection and the Anthropological Collection of the University with regard to their holdings' entanglements with colonial contexts. In this paper, we report on the provenance research that led to the repatriation of 13 ancestral remains, or iwi kūpuna, to Hawai'i. The iwi kūpuna were taken during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century from abandoned battlefields or gravesites – without the consent of the descendants – and reached the collections in Göttingen after various migrations through private property and different institutions in Germany. The proactive steps that were undertaken early in the process in order to inform the present-day countries of origin about the presence of human remains in the collections led to an official request for restitution by the Office of Hawai'ian Affairs (OHA) in September 2021. All further provenance research was carried out in close coordination with the Hawai'ian partners, especially following the realisation that more remains were held in the collections than was indicated by the collections' inventory.

The public repatriation ceremony in February 2022 was programmed to a large extent by the Hawai'ian guests, and was characterised by mutual respect. A joint summer school in Honolulu organised by the University of Hawai'i, Manoa, the East-West Center and the University of Göttingen in September 2023 emphasised the continued relationship between the German and Hawai'ian partners. It was concluded with a visit to the final resting place of the iwi kūpuna near Nu'uuanu Pali on the island of O'ahu.

## Introduction

From 2020 to 2023, the interdisciplinary research project *Sensitive Provenances* at the Georg August University of Göttingen investigated anthropological collections of the university with regard to their holdings' entanglements with colonial contexts. The goal of the project was twofold. Firstly, it aimed to identify human remains from colonial contexts in the Blumenbach Skull Collection and in the Anthropological Collection, and to determine their origins, the circumstances of acquisition and the related transfer networks. Secondly, it sought to proactively seek out communication and understanding with representatives of the countries and communities of origin in order to agree upon further handling of the ancestral remains, including their return.

For this provenance research, the project was given an interdisciplinary structure. One string carried out anatomical-anthropological investigations, in which predominantly morphological observations were carried out on the skeletal remains themselves in an aim to determine the age at death, biological sex and pathologies of the remains, as well as taphonomic changes and soil adhesions on the remains. The other part consisted of historical provenance research that seeks to determine the larger historical contexts as well as the specific acquisition circumstances that led to the ancestral remains' presence in collections of a German academic institution today. The historical investigation started with the remains themselves, namely with inscriptions, labels and investigations into the paperwork of the collections (i.e., lists, inventories and collection documentation). The next step was to look into external archives and historical publications, but also for an exchange with experts from the countries of origin and their local – sometimes

orally handed down – narratives. In the end, both research paths were brought together to form a synthesis. The goal was a plausible reconstruction of an object or subject history, including geographical and ethnic or social indication of origin. The history of the individual person whose human remains are at hand, as well as of the remains in the status of a collection object,<sup>1</sup> can thus be placed in the historical contexts of both the region of origin and the collection in question.

In the following paper, we will report on the results of provenance research using the example of ancestral remains from Hawai'i and the process of their repatriation.

## The Blumenbach Skull Collection

The Blumenbach Skull Collection at the Center for Anatomy of the University Medical Center Göttingen is the oldest existing university skull collection worldwide. It was established by the Göttingen naturalist and anatomist Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752–1840) between the 1770s and 1840, and then continued by the holders of the Göttingen Chair of Anatomy until the 1940s.<sup>2</sup> Currently, there are approximately 840 skulls and skull casts in the collection, of which about 200 skulls have a non-European provenance.

Blumenbach used skulls from his collection to describe five “varieties” of anatomically modern humans: “Caucasian,” “Mongolian,” “Ethiopian,” “American,” and “Malayan.”<sup>3</sup> These categories, established according to morphological criteria, later served as a template for the erroneous division of mankind into “races,” and in this respect gave rise to a disastrous power.

The scientific-historical importance of the Blumenbach Collection for anatomy and anthropology is widely recognised; this is at least true for the 245 skulls in the collection that were curated by Blumenbach himself and that have been thoroughly catalogued in recent years.<sup>4</sup> However, the more extensive part of the collection (namely the skulls which only entered the collection after 1840) has hardly been researched in terms of its scientific history.

## The Anthropological Collection

The Anthropological Collection at the Department for Historical Anthropology and Human Ecology of the Johann Friedrich Blumenbach Institute of Zoology and Anthropology was created at the *Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde* (today: *Museum am Rothenbaum – Kulturen und Künste der Welt* [MARKK]) between 1880s and the 1930s, mainly between 1904 and 1919, i.e., essentially at the time of German colonialism. In addition to human remains from Hamburg and other areas of Germany, it includes about 1,300 ancestral remains from all continents that were given or acquired by travellers or through expeditions by colonial officers and officials or by traders.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the Anthropological Collection of the *Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde* was transferred in several steps to the Anatomical Institute of the University of Göttingen, thus dissolving the Anthropological Department of the Hamburg Museum.<sup>5</sup> However, the Hamburg Museum kept “43 skulls that are of ethnological interest” in its holdings.<sup>6</sup> In Göttingen, the collection was initially kept in the Anatomical Institute, but with the founding of an Institute for Anthropology in 1972, the collection moved into its care. In the course of a faculty reform in the 1990s, the institute was incorporated into the newly founded *Johann Friedrich Blumenbach Institut für Zoologie und Anthropologie* as the department of *Historische Anthropologie und Humanökologie*.<sup>7</sup>

## Iwi kūpuna in Göttingen

In the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Hawai’i became a favourite place for European scientists who wanted to collect ancestral remains of the indigenous population.<sup>8</sup> Travellers from Europe and North America often helped themselves to older burial grounds, some of which dated from the time of the violent unification of the island archipelago into the Kingdom of Hawai’i. The iwi kūpuna (ancestral skeleton remains of Hawai’ian descent) in the two Göttingen anthropological collections were collected in the course of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century by ship and expedition travellers on supposedly abandoned

battlefields and taken from gravesites, or rather, stolen. This was done without the consent of the descendants and against Hawaiian beliefs, laws and practices.<sup>9</sup>

The remains did not reach Göttingen directly, but in a roundabout way. With their torturous migrations through private property and various institutions in Germany, the iwi kūpuna point to the widespread interest – not only scientific, and difficult to grasp today – in human remains of indigenous, often colonised people from distant continents. The following section outlines the acquisition and transfer histories of the iwi kūpuna of 13 people from present-day Hawai'i in the order in which they were received in the collections.

## Kanaka Maoli I

Rudolph Wagner (1805–1864) succeeded Johann Friedrich Blumenbach as professor of anatomy and curator of the anatomical collection at the University of Göttingen in 1840 and held this position until his death in May 1864. On 9 March 1864, he reported to the Society (today: Academy) of Sciences in Göttingen about the arrival of several skulls in the Anatomical Collection:

*I was particularly pleasantly surprised last year by a letter dated 9 July [1863] from Mr W[ilhelm] v[on] Freeden, Rector of the Grand Ducal Oldenburg Navigation School in Elsfleth. He sent us an excellently beautiful skull of a Kanaka from Honolulu on the island of Oahu.<sup>10</sup>*

The natural scientist and oceanographer Wilhelm von Freeden (1822–1894) was apparently prompted to make the donation by an appeal for skulls to be sent to Göttingen, which Wagner published in *Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen* on 9 March 1863.<sup>11</sup>

Wagner further reported that Freeden had

*received the skull from a friendly ship captain, who reported the following about the acquisition. He was on a ride, which he had carried out with several colleagues into the interior, on which occasion they would have come over an old battlefield, on which, according to the stories of the natives, they had already fought a battle before the times of the first discoverer (Cook).*



Figure 1 | Inscription on the historical cardboard box (ink): “37. / Kanaka / [donated] by Wilhelm von Freeden / [curator] W[agner] 1863 / from South Sea Isle / Honolulu”. © Georg August University Göttingen, Blumenbach Collection, Photo: Katharina Stötzel

James Cook (1728–1779), on his third voyage to the South Seas, first landed on Kaua’i, one of the eight main islands of Hawai’i, on 20 January 1778. Before continuing his voyage, Cook named the archipelago the “Sandwich Islands” after John Montagu, the fourth Earl of Sandwich and First Lord of the British Admiralty. Thus, the battle in question must have taken place some years before 1778. As Wagner further learned from Freeden, the ship’s captain had “jokingly attached one of these bleached skulls, which were lying around there in quantity, to the saddle and had taken it with him. However, a Bremen captain had taken the lower jaw; he had sailed to the East Indies with it.”<sup>12</sup>

With its entry into Blumenbach’s skull collection of the Anatomical Institute of the University of Göttingen, the iwi kūpuna received the status of a medical object. Its collection number 37 (Fig. 1) was also listed in a catalogue of the Blumenbach Collection, published by the anatomist Johann Friedrich Spengel (1852–1921) in 1880.<sup>13</sup> This catalogue lists the entries up to 1874. In a new listing of the collection before the Second World War, the skull was given the inventory number 747 (today: AIG 747).

Wagner described Freeden’s gift as a “splendid, really quite well preserved skull”, which is

*completely preserved and as freshly prepared. The 16 teeth of the upper jaw show themselves in beautiful condition and are almost not worn at all. They announce a man in the 20s or at most at the beginning of the 30s. These teeth are the most beautifully formed in almost our entire collection.*<sup>14</sup>

He compared the skull with those four skulls from Oahu, which the Brunswick anatomist Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand Uhde (1813–1885) had already described in 1861,<sup>15</sup> and came to the conclusion: “I therefore do not doubt in the least the authenticity of the skull.”<sup>16</sup> Wagner was, however, uncertain as to whether it was a “well-prepared skull from the hand of a doctor in the Sandwich Islands” or actually a “found grave skull.”<sup>17</sup>

The skull was later opened in the sagittal plane, dividing it in the middle. Pencil marks on the outside of the skull were made to indicate the position of the cut and fine striations on the surface indicate the use of a serrated blade. The frontal bone has several shallow kerf marks 1–2 millimetres parallel to the saw edge, most probably caused by a slipping of the blade at the beginning of the sawing process. It is likely that the missing bone parts of the nasal and oral cavities broke off during this procedure and were lost afterwards. The two halves of the skull are currently being held together by two metal pins, one in the front and one in the back. It is known that Wagner used several skulls from the collection for his morphological studies of the human brain. He made plaster casts from the cranial cavity in order to reconstruct the shape of the brain, describing the opening of the skull in the sagittal plane as the most “successful” method.<sup>18</sup> It is therefore very likely that Wagner himself opened the skull for his research, even though no records exist that confirm it for this particular skull.

The outside surface and the edges of the saw cut have pencil marks congruent with points or lines that are used for craniometry. These pencil marks were made after the skull was opened, either during Wagner’s time or afterwards. Spengel recorded measurements for the skulls in his catalogue, but it is not known if he made any marks on the skulls.<sup>19</sup> The teeth and the alveolar ridge of the maxilla have remnants of dark grey to black modelling clay, possibly left over from making a dental impression. The timeframe for making the dental impression and its use are unknown.

We can conclude that the iwi kūpuna with the inventory number AIG 747 belongs to a person who died on the island of O’ahu before the arrival of James Cook, i.e., before January 1779. The skull, without its mandible, was taken by an unnamed ship captain in or near Honolulu on O’ahu before 1863 and shipped to Germany. From the possession of Freeden in Elsfleth, it entered the Anatomical Collection of the University of Göttingen in 1863. Wagner’s uncertainty as to whether it was a “found grave skull” can be eliminated by the fact that there were soil and plant root adhesions found on the iwi kūpuna. As to its individual identity, it can be determined by the anthropological findings that the person was probably of female sex and had lived to be between 18 and 25 years of age.<sup>20</sup>

## Kanaka Maoli II

In 1897, Georg Thilenius (1868–1937), a lecturer in anatomy at the University of Strasbourg since 1896, applied to the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences in Berlin in order to secure funding for a research trip to Australia and New Zealand. His intention was to collect “developmental material of *Hatteria punctata*,” a lizard considered to be a living fossil that was only found in New Zealand.<sup>21</sup>

The Prussian Academy of Sciences supported the trip with 8,400 German Reichsmark from the funds of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation.<sup>22</sup> Thilenius’ teacher and doctoral supervisor at Berlin University<sup>23</sup>, who was also the director of the Anatomical Institute, Wilhelm Waldeyer (1836–1921), chaired the foundation’s board of trustees from 1896 to 1920, and the well-known pathologist Rudolf Virchow (1821–1902) was its vice-chairman until 1902.<sup>24</sup>

In July 1897, Thilenius started his journey to North America, Hawai’i, Samoa and New Zealand. He spent about a month on the Hawai’ian archipelago,<sup>25</sup> where he met the ethnologist and then naval staff physician Augustin Krämer (1865–1941). Together, they climbed the volcano Manua Loa on the island of Hawai’i<sup>26</sup> and subsequently worked together in Samoa.<sup>27</sup>

On the island of Maui, Thilenius excavated the iwi kūpuna brought from the Hawai’ian archipelago. He described the site as a “burial place from the time of the battles of the first Kamehameha against Maui in the dunes of Maalea Bay”.<sup>28</sup> Kamehameha I (probably 1758–1819), the king on the island of Hawai’i, first invaded the neighbouring island Maui in 1790, and conquered it in 1795. The violent union to form the later Kingdom of Hawai’i under Kamehameha I also encompassed other islands in what is now the Hawai’ian archipelago, and lasted until 1810.<sup>29</sup> The military battles against the resident chiefdom claimed many fallen fighters, whose remains remained on the battlefields, such as the one at Mā’alaea Bay, for decades.

More than hundred years after these events, the former sites of the battles represented a relatively easily accessible plundering place for Western ‘explorers’ or for scientific collectors like Thilenius. Nevertheless, the removal of ancestral remains was done against the will of the Hawai’ian population from the very beginning. In 1860, the acquisition of ancestral remains was expressly forbidden by the Hawai’ian authorities.<sup>30</sup> Thus, Thilenius clearly violated Hawai’ian law through the appropriation of the remains in 1897.



The financing of the journey was granted under the condition that Thilenius would make the results and collections of his expedition available to the *Museum für Naturkunde Berlin*, the *Museum für Völkerkunde Berlin* and the *Anatomisches Institut in Berlin*.<sup>31</sup> Consequently, Thilenius transferred the stolen human remains to the Berlin Anatomy after his return in 1899. In total, he handed over 52 skulls, 13 skeletons, and 1 pelvis that he had excavated during his stays in Hawai'i, New Zealand, the New Hebrides (today: Vanuatu), Samoa, Solomon Islands, New Ireland, Taui and Kaniet.<sup>32</sup> The remains excavated on Maui (Hawai'i) included, according to Thilenius' own information, "1 skull, – 1 skull, broken and bleached, – 1 pelvis, – 2 skeletons, complete except for small bones of the extremities."<sup>33</sup>

The anthropologist Felix von Luschan (1854–1924), then director of the Department of Africa and Oceania at the Berlin *Museum für Völkerkunde*, had initially taken over the scientific processing of the remains.<sup>34</sup> In 1900, Thilenius was appointed a professorship of anthropology and ethnology at the University of Breslau. Thus, Luschan thought it right that Thilenius "should now publish his skulls and skeletons himself."<sup>35</sup> Apparently, at least some of the ancestral remains were returned to Thilenius as a result.

It seems that Thilenius initially took the remains, kept them in his private possession, and only gave them to the Anthropological Collection of the *Museum für Völkerkunde Hamburg* – which he had headed as director since 1904 – in 1919. In the *Eingangsbuch* (entry book) of the Hamburg museum, he noted down on 15 December 1919: "Thilenius, Oceania / 35 / W.3800.– [probably as an indication of value] / Anthropology / P 117 7 / Skeleton, skeletal parts, skull."<sup>36</sup> Although the entry was only recorded in a general way as a series of human skulls and skeletons, it is quite clear that these were the remains that Thilenius had brought back from his voyage to Oceania from the islands of Samoa, Hawai'i, Vanuatu, the Solomon Islands, New Zealand and Kiribati, and which have been numbered from 8:19 to 30:19 since their entry into the collection (19:19 to 23:19 for the Hawai'ian *iwi kūpuna*).

In response to an enquiry by the Munich anthropologist Hans August Ried (unknown living dates) in October 1926 about the sex of skeletons in the *Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde* – including those from Hawai'i – Walter Scheidt (1895–1976), the curator of the Anthropological Collection, stated that the collection documentation showed "that the skeletons were excavated and brought by Professor Thilenius. [...] The two skeletons from Hawaii 19:19 and 20:19 (Fig. 2) are, in my opinion, male. Nothing is given here by the collector about the sex."<sup>37</sup> Since Ried has not published his study of ancestral

20:19 Skelett	Anzahl der Stücke: 0203219	Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg	Eingangsdatum: 1919	Sammler: Prof. P. Thilenius
Bearbeiter: 9. MAI 1980	Literaturnachweis:	Rasse, Stamm ufw.:	Herkunft, Fundort: Hawaii	
Eigenname, Stand ufw.:	Alter: Jahre. Geschätzt: inf. I; inf. II; adult. matur. senil.			
	Geschlecht: bekannt ♂, ♀; bestimmbar ♂, ♀; anscheinend ♂, ♀; unbestimmt.			
Erhaltungszustand: Cranium, Calvarium, Calvaria, Calva, Bruchstück; intakt, mazeriert, verwittert, zusammengesetzt, ergänzt. Fehlende Teile: 2 Humeri; 2 Radii; 2 Ulnae; ..... Handknochen; 2 Scapulae; 2 Claviculae; 22 Rippen; 1 Sternum; Becken <i>ganz</i> ; 2 Femora; 2 Tibiae; 2 Fibulae; 2 Patellae; ..... Fußknochen. 25 Wirbel 63 Hand- u. Fußknochen				
Besondere Bemerkungen (Pathologische Zustände, Deformationen ufw.):				

Figure 2 | Anthropological collection, Inventory card 20:19. © Georg August University Göttingen, Anthropological Collection

remains from Hawai'i, we do not know his research question, his methodological approach, or the results of his investigations of Hawai'ian remains.

Due to the transfer of the Anthropological Collection of the Hamburg Museum of Ethnology to the University of Göttingen in the 1950s and 1960s, the ancestral remains looted by Thilenius eventually reached the University of Göttingen. There, they were used in teaching and for mostly undocumented research purposes. In the years right before the start of our project *Sensitive Provenances*, two of the human remains were part of a dissertation project by Mérida Inés Núñez Castillo from Panama. Her work aims to describe the ancient genetic landscape of archaeological human remains from Panama, South America and Oceania, and was carried out in the Department of Historical Anthropology and Human Ecology at the Georg August University in Göttingen. For this purpose, DNA samples were collected from the individuals 19:19b and 21:19.<sup>38</sup> In Castillo's dissertation, the origin of the two Hawai'ian remains is stated as Oceania, but the region and country are incorrectly given

as “unknown”. A DNA sample was also collected from individual 19:19a by another unknown researcher, though the time and research purpose of this sampling is unidentified.

Our provenance investigation on these iwi kūpuna began with the assumption that they were the remains of four persons. However, the anthropological findings revealed that in fact, the remains of three persons were recorded under the signature 19:19 (today 19:19a, 19:19b and 19:19c), and the remains of two persons under the signature 20:19 (today 20:19a and 20:19b). The other findings of the anthropological investigations, e.g., bone preservation and taphonomic changes, are consistent with the historical provenance investigation.<sup>39</sup> Thus, these were the remains of a total of eight people of different ages and sexes who were excavated on the island of Maui.

### Kanaka Maoli III

The skulls discussed below were acquired as early as 1854, but they were the last of the iwi kūpuna to enter the Göttingen skull collection in 1934. In his paper *Über die Schädelform der Sandwich-Insulaner* (*On the shape of the skulls of the Sandwich Islanders*), which he presented to the Leopoldina Academy in Halle an der Saale in 1860, the aforementioned Brunswick surgeon Carl Uhde reported on the origin and acquisition contexts of the skulls and mandibles in the Blumenbach collection. Based on his paper, Uhde published in the following year, among other things, illustrations of two skulls marked with the numbers 3 and 4, which are identical to the skulls 755 and 754, as well as illustrations of a mandible marked with the number 5, which is identical to the mandible 755a.<sup>40</sup>

According to Uhde’s report, a certain “Mr Bielitz, a ship’s doctor on the ‘Hansa’, visited Hawaii in 1854”.<sup>41</sup> Hawai’i was then called “Sandwich Islands” by Europeans. Bielitz was possibly a former student of the *Collegium anatomicum-chirurgicum* in Brunswick, which existed until 1869 and trained so-called “Wundärzte” (wound doctors), also called “Chirurgi” or “Handwerkerärzte” (craftsmen doctors).<sup>42</sup> Uhde taught surgery at the *Collegium anatomicum-chirurgicum* in Brunswick, so he may have been one of Bielitz’s instructors. In any case, Bielitz promised Uhde to “bring back Kanaka skulls” from his travels as a ship’s doctor.<sup>43</sup>

Uhde based his publication on Bielitz’s information and described one of the sites: the “Kulau plain on the island of Oahu [...], about one English mile

behind the Pali”, the place where Bielitz had taken three skulls as “Golgotha”.<sup>44</sup> As part of the Nu’uanu Valley, the Pali is an “almost vertical, 600-foot-deep abyss opening between two forested mountains”.

In the history of O’ahu and by extension of Hawai’i, this place is of central importance. It was here, in May 1795, that the battle between the warriors of Kalanikupule (1760–1795) – the last king of O’ahu – and the fighters of Kamehameha I. took place, paving the way for the latter to unify Hawai’i by force. After Kalanikupule’s forces were defeated, they retreated, and, reaching the edge of the precipice, threw themselves down to escape capture.<sup>45</sup> This battle was the culmination of Kamehameha’s campaign to conquer the archipelago. The events of May 1795 were henceforth among the central mementoes in Hawai’i’s history.<sup>46</sup>

Less than 60 years after the Na’anu battle, Bielitz found

*dazzlingly bleached skulls together with the other bones [ , which ] in the course of time had been pushed by the mountain water from their first resting place into the Kulau plain [and lay there] in deep [ , partly ] silted furrows. [...] A few of them are still well preserved. Most of them are partly crushed by the transfer to the plain caused by the mountain water; partly brought close to crumbling or already destroyed by weather influences; partly completely trodden down by the hoofs of the horses grazing there from time to time. From this memorable point on the islands of Oahu, about 8 miles from Honolulu, Mr Bielitz took skulls 1, 2, 3 in November 1854.*<sup>47</sup>

The preserved pencil inscription “3” identifies skull AIG 755 as one of the three skulls taken from the Kulau Plain.

Bielitz took a fourth skull from another “skull site” and said of it: “This place is about six English miles from Honolulu, located on the south-eastern coast of Oahu, east of Demant Hill (Diamondshill, Lealu) [today: Diamonds Head, Lē’ahi], facing the coast of Malakāi Island [today: Moloka’i]”.<sup>48</sup> Bielitz recounted various stories about this place: “According to some, Kamehameha I fought a battle here against the inhabitants of Oahu; according to others, there was a sacrificial site here; according to others, he had a landing place here on his campaigns of conquest. [...] Skull no. 4 comes from here.”<sup>49</sup> The pencil inscription “4 dt” (dt = dedit = latin for “he gave”) on the skull identifies the skull AIG 754 as skull no. 4 from Diamonds Head / Lē’ahi.

Uhde concludes that he also received four mandibles from the Kulau Plain from Bielitz, “none of which match the heads described above”. This means

that the two mandibles currently enclosed in boxes AIG 754 and AIG 755 do not belong to the skulls preserved in them, but are from O'ahu.

Uhde continues to discuss in detail the question of the ethnic or "racial affiliation" of the people from whom the skulls and mandibles originate. Specifically, he is concerned with the question of whether the "Sandwich Islanders, who called themselves Kanaka"<sup>50</sup>, belonged to the Polynesian or Malay group. He makes comparisons with people from Philippines (Tagals), Australia, Indonesia (Amboines), Malaysia, Tahiti (Otahaites) and Papua, but also with Africans and Mongols as well as with skulls of Germans and Slavs, without conclusion. In the end, he notes three things: firstly, Bielitz's observation that "the chiefs of the Sandwich Islanders in particular differ noticeably from the common man in terms of their size, strength, colour, etc."<sup>51</sup>. Bielitz thus observed social – rather than biologically inherited physical – distinctions. Secondly, Uhde comes to the groundbreaking conclusion, far ahead of his time and his European colleagues, that "the Sandwich Islanders were of mixed parentage as early as 1795."<sup>52</sup> And thirdly, Uhde concludes with an insight that was remarkable for his time "that the shape of the skull alone cannot be sufficient for the classification of human tribes"<sup>53</sup>.

In this respect, Uhde's report does not provide any evidence regarding the doubt corresponding to the label of AIG 754 as to whether it is the skull of a "Kanaka" ("Probably not a Kanaka skull, but of a different race"<sup>54</sup>). He does discuss the possibility that skull no. 4 (AIG 754) is not a "Sandwich Islander": for example, skull no. 4 is considerably lighter than skull no. 3, but skulls 1 to 3 also show "a considerable deviation in the weight figures."<sup>55</sup> Rather, it must be highlighted that the notation on the attached label was made in a context far removed in time and place from the context of acquisition and probably not by Uhde himself. The label could have been added at the earliest in 1861 in the collection of the *Collegium anatomicum-chirurgicum* in Brunswick or possibly later by the director of the Anatomical Institute at Göttingen Hugo Fuchs (1875–1954) in the course of the acquisition of the skulls into the Blumenbach Collection in 1934.<sup>56</sup> In any case, as property of a German medical institute of the time, the skulls were subjected to racialising logic and categorisation, causing the labelling curator to overlook – unwittingly or willingly – the literal meaning of the term "Kanaka". In the language of Hawai'i, "Kanaka" means: "the human species in distinction from brutes, a common man in distinction from a chief, the people generally, mankind"<sup>57</sup>.

The subsequent path of the remains into the Blumenbach Collection is somewhat unclear. Perhaps Uhde gave the four skulls and four mandibles brought by Bielitz to the *Collegium Anatomicum-chirurgicum's* collection or he

kept them in his private possession. Another plausible possibility would be that he first kept them in his private possession and later relinquished them to the *Collegium Anatomicum-chirurgicum's* collection.

However, it seems most likely that the skulls and mandibles initially remained in Uhde's possession. In this case, the collection stayed in his family and was passed on to his son-in-law, Wilhelm Blasius (1845–1912), an ornithologist and, director of the Brunswick Natural History Museum from 1870 onwards. This assumption is supported by the inscription “Slg. Blasius” (Slg = dt. Sammlung = Collection) that can be found on the historical boxes which held the skulls until their repatriation. The note “Slg. W. Blasius” is also written on a slip of paper enclosed with the skulls, further indicating that the remains in question were in Blasius' collection before being sent to Göttingen.

Another possible (though less likely) explanation is that the collection of the *Collegium Anatomicum-chirurgicum* was transferred to the Ducal (Teaching) Hospital in Brunswick<sup>58</sup> after the collegium's dissolution in 1869.<sup>59</sup> From there, it may have been passed on to the Anthropological Department of the Natural History Museum in Brunswick in 1890<sup>60</sup>, where Blasius could have accessed it.

In October 1934 Hugo Fuchs requested 300 Reichsmark from the curator of the University of Göttingen: He wanted to purchase “racial skulls” that had been offered to the institute by its student Wilhelm Blasius (jun.). This was probably the physiologist Wilhelm Blasius (1913–1995), who studied medicine in Göttingen. The ornithologist and namesake Wilhelm Blasius was not his father, as Fuchs erroneously assumed, but his grandfather or great-uncle. According to Fuchs, the offer to the curator included: “9 racial skulls (4 Peruvian<sup>61</sup>, 1 Australian<sup>62</sup>, 2 Sandwich Islander<sup>63</sup>, 1 Circassian<sup>64</sup>, 1 K[...]<sup>65</sup>), plus 3 German burial skulls<sup>66</sup> from the Brunswick area.”<sup>67</sup> The collection came “from the estate of the student's [grand]father, Prof. Dr Wilhelm Blasius in Brunswick, and had already been partly established by his father-in-law, Geh. Med.-Rat Dr Uhde in Brunswick. [...] The skulls are in good, partly excellent condition.”<sup>68</sup> Although Fuchs' request was rejected,<sup>69</sup> the skulls nonetheless became part of the Blumenbach Collection, supplemented by the note “Fuchs 1934”, and have remained a part of it ever since.

Our provenance investigations on these iwi kūpuna began with the assumption that they were the remains of two persons. However, the anthropological findings and the historical sources revealed that the remains of two persons were recorded under each signature, i.e., AIG 754 (today AIG 754 and 754a) and AIG 755 (today AIG 755 and 755a, see fig. 3a and 3b). Consequently, these are the remains of four individuals, who were male adults at the time of their deaths.

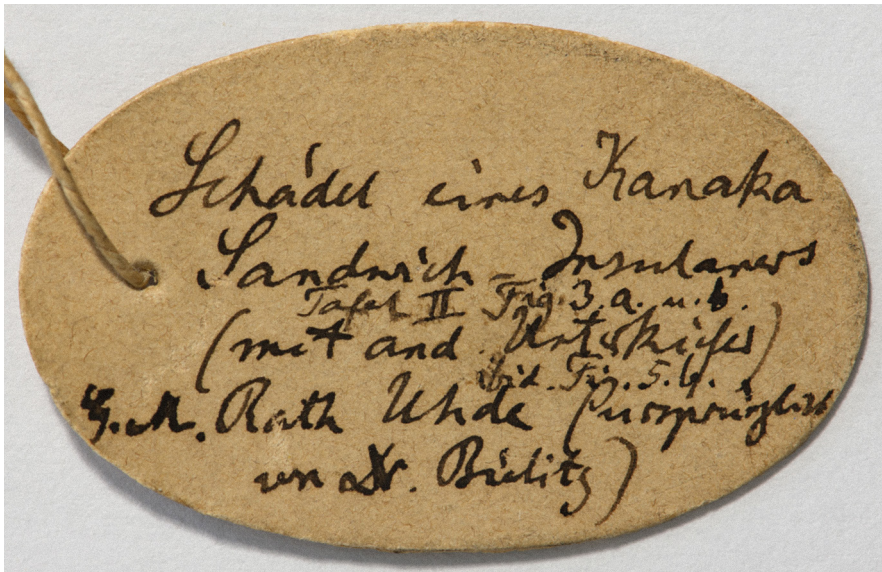
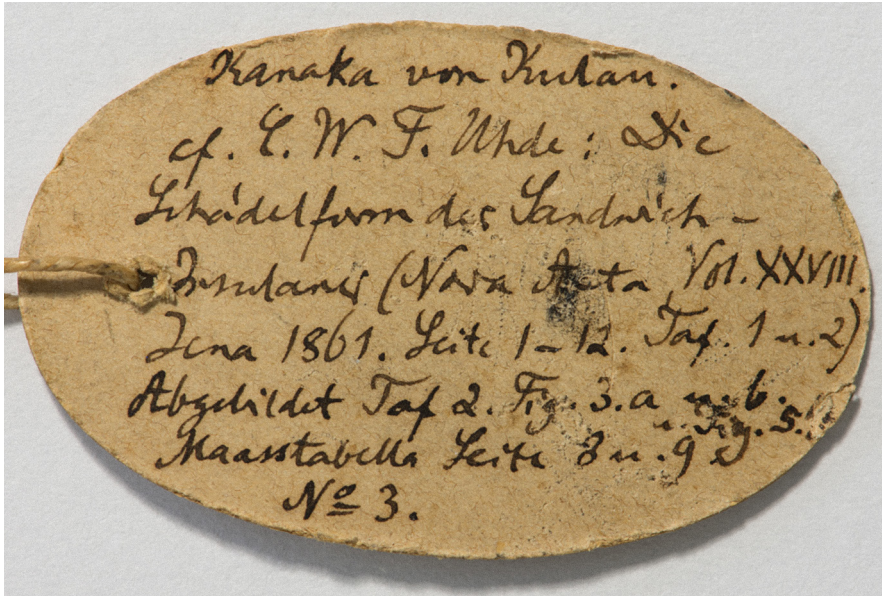


Figure 3a and 3b: Paper label attached to the skull AIG 755.

## Repatriation in 2022

After taking inventory of the collections, we next informed the present-day countries of origin in Oceania about the ancestral remains housed in Göttingen. To do so, Jonatan Kurzwelly (a member of the research group) and author Holger Stoecker met with representatives of the Pacific countries in online meetings in summer 2021. The meetings were organised and facilitated by Tarisi Vunidilo, our project member from Fidji/Hawai'i, who is well connected through the Pacific Islands Museum Association (PIMA), and who found excellent contacts.

The reactions varied. Most of the interlocutors were completely unaware of the fact that ancestral remains from their countries had been taken to Germany. Many signalled that they needed time to confer with their government administration, museum experts, and affected communities. Our interlocutors from New Zealand, Australia, and Hawai'i understood, based on already established repatriation protocols, the respective meeting as a prelude to restitution processes (see Te Herekiele Herwini's contribution in this volume).

Our Hawai'i partners, longtime repatriation activist Edward Halealoa Ayau and Kamakana Ferreira of the Office for Hawai'ian Affairs (OHA), issued a reclaim while the meeting was still in progress. In addition to the ancestral remains, they also reclaimed a plaster cast of a Hawai'ian skull,<sup>70</sup> not in order to bury it like the *iwi kūpuna*, but to destroy it and thus remove it from future potential research. Simultaneously, they set comparatively strict guidelines for the further handling: no anthropological research beyond looking at the skulls was to take place; the *iwi kūpuna* must not to be exposed to daylight under any circumstances, as this would disrespect the ancestors;<sup>71</sup> and all further steps had to be carried out in close coordination with them.

The OHA's official request for restitution reached the Presidency of the University of Göttingen on 21 September 2021.<sup>72</sup> Since the return of the *iwi kūpuna* was scheduled for early 2022, the necessary provenance research had to be carried out in a timely fashion, but still in close coordination with the Hawai'ian partners. Different approaches to generating knowledge about the origins of the *iwi kūpuna* came into play. In the course of the investigations, it became apparent that the mandibles of the *iwi kūpuna* with collection numbers AIG 754 and AIG 755 did not match the skulls. It was initially unclear whether they had been added to the skulls while still in Hawai'i or





Figure 4: The memorial at Nu'uuanu Pali, where looted and repatriated iwi kūpuna are reburied, September 2023. © Photo: Holger Stoecker

later in Germany. This was very important, because if the mandibles had not been brought from Hawai'i, they would not be eligible for repatriation. We approached Edward Ayau with the problem, who offered to consult a seer in Hawai'i who, with her spiritual methods, would be able to find out whether the mandibles came from Hawai'i, too. Shortly thereafter, he conveyed the seer's verdict: the mandibles were also from Hawai'i and should be repatriated as well. A little later, we came across the historical report on the acquisition contexts of the remains on the island of O'ahu, which affirmed that the mandibles came from Hawai'i. Thus, among the two collection numbers are remains of four individuals. In this case, the spiritual result was confirmed by the historical provenance research, and certainly contributed to the fact that a few months later the repatriation of the iwi kūpuna could be carried out as a consensual, successful process.

On 9 and 10 February 2022, a three-member delegation of the OHA visited the University of Göttingen to retrieve the 13 iwi kūpuna and the plaster cast. One member of the Hawai'ian delegation was Ayau who served as the executive director of Hui Mālama I Nā Kūpuna O Hawai'i Nei (Group Caring for the Ancestors of Hawai'i) until 2015 and now acts as a volunteer for OHA leading international iwi kūpuna repatriation efforts. In addition, Mana and

Kalehua Caceres ensured as cultural practitioners that the iwi kūpuna returned safely to Hawai'i.<sup>73</sup> Göttingen was not the only stop for the Hawai'ian emissaries. On the same trip, they visited the *Übersee-Museum Bremen*, the University of Jena, the Prussian Heritage Foundation in Berlin, and the Natural History Museum Vienna in order to bring home ancestral remains. On 9 February, a public repatriation ceremony took place in the prestigious *Alte Mensa* of the University of Göttingen. Participants included representatives of the University of Göttingen, the city and civil society of Göttingen, the state of Lower Saxony, and the U.S. Embassy. The dignified ceremony, characterised by mutual respect, was programmed to a large extent by the Hawai'ian guests and received an interested echo in the regional, national and international media. The iwi kūpuna have since been reburied and found their final resting place near Nu'uau Pali at the island of O'ahu (Fig. 4).

## Conclusion

From 8 to 10 September 2023, a joint summer school on the topic of "Provenance research and restitutions of human remains", organised by the University of Hawai'i at Manoa, the East-West Center and the University of Göttingen, took place in Honolulu. In total, 15 students, young researchers as well as additional postdocs from the University of Hawai'i at Manoa, Hilo, West Oahu, and the Brigham Young University at Laie were invited to participate. One part of the event was dedicated to learning about the different perspectives of provenance research from the Pacific region, with keynote lectures held by Noelle Kahanu (University of Hawai'i at Manoa) and Edward Halealoha Ayau. The second part allowed the students to gain detailed insight and hands-on experiences of historical and bioanthropological provenance research. The summer school was concluded with a visit to the Nu'uau Pali memorial site.

The processes and results reported here on our provenance research in relation to the iwi kūpuna from the islands of Hawai'i demonstrate how challenging and intricate the treatment of human remains can be. In our project, we relied on two different approaches. For one, the historical research provided not only the information that the iwi kūpuna were taken in violation of Hawai'ian law, but also important details about the locations from which they were abducted and the people involved in the process. In addition, the

bioanthropological research yielded crucial information about the number of individuals whose bones were kept in the Göttingen collections. Through the synthesis of both research paths, we were able to reconstruct the history of 13 individuals and their journey from Hawai'i, through different institutions in Germany, and finally back to their home in Hawai'i. The summer school at the University of Hawai'i, Manoa, emphasises that repatriation should not be seen as the end of a process, but rather the beginning of a new relationship between institutions in Western countries and countries of origin.



- 1 On the dual character of ancestral remains as both subjects and objects, see Winkelmann, Andreas; Stoecker, Holger; Fründt, Sarah; Förster, Larissa (2022) (Eds): *Interdisziplinäre Provenienzforschung zu menschlichen Überresten aus kolonialen Kontexten. Eine methodische Arbeitshilfe des Deutschen Zentrums Kulturgutverluste, des Berliner Medizinhistorischen Museums der Charité und von ICOM Deutschland*, Heidelberg, Berlin, p. 16.
- 2 Schultz, Michael (2015): "Die Blumenbachsche Schädelammlung. Eine historische Schädelammlung als Quelle interdisziplinärer Forschung", in: Georg-August-Universität Göttingen (Ed.): *Dinge des Wissens. Die Sammlungen, Museen und Gärten der Universität Göttingen*, Göttingen, p. 106–116.
- 3 Blumenbach, Johann Friedrich (1795): *De generis humani varietate nativa*, 3. edition, Göttingen.
- 4 On: Blumenbach – online, *Sources on Blumenbach's skull collection*, <https://www.blumenbach-online.de/Einseiten/QuellenSchaedelsammlung-englisch.php>, accessed 29 August 2023.
- 5 Borchert, Nadine (2021): *Zum Bedeutungswandel "sensibler" Objekte. Am Beispiel der Translokation der anthropologischen Schädelammlung des Hamburger Völkerkundemuseums an die Universität Göttingen 1953*, Seminar Thesis, University Hamburg, Department of History.
- 6 Otto Bente (Administrative director of the *Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte*) to the Hamburg Cultural Office, 24 April 1969, in: Staatsarchiv Hamburg, 363-6 Kulturbehörde 1629 (Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte, An- und Verkäufe 1943–1969).
- 7 On: <https://www.uni-goettingen.de/de/geschichtliches/212176.html>, accessed 3 November 2023.
- 8 Grimme, Gesa; Kahanu, Noelle M. K. Y.; Schorch, Philipp (2022): "Re-membering Hawai'i. Provenienzforschung und Restitution als (post)koloniale Erinnerungsarbeit", in: *Historische Anthropologie*, vol. 30, no. 1, p. 33–56; Ayau, Edward Halealoha; Ty P. Kāwika Tengan; Ka Huaka'i O Na'Oiwi (2002): "The Journey Home", in: Cressida Fforde, Jane Hubert, Paul Turnbull (Eds), *The Dead and Their Possessions. Repatriation in Principle, Policy and Practice*, New York, p. 171–189; Pietrusewsky, Michael (1986): "Human Cranial Collections from the Pacific and Asia Preserved in Dresden, Berlin and Leipzig and Information on Collections Outside the German Democratic Republic", in: *Abhandlungen und Berichte des Staatlichen Museums für Völkerkunde Dresden*, vol. 42, p. 21–52.
- 9 Ayau, Edward Halealoha (2021): "The responsibility to restore the ancestral Hawai'iian foundation through repatriation and reburial", on: *German Museums Association: Guidelines – Care of Human Remains in Museums and Collections*, <https://www.museumsbund.de/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/dmb-leitfaden-umgang-menschl-ueberr-en-web-20210625.pdf>, p. 126–127, accessed 3 November 2023; Ayau, Edward Halealoha (2020): "I Mana I Ka 'iwi from. Dignity empowered by repatriation", in: Cressida Fforde, C. Timothy McKeown, Honer Keeler (Eds): *The Routledge Companion to Indigenous Repatriation, Return, Reconcile, Renew*, p. 65, on: <https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9780203730966-5>, accessed 30 December 2021.
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- 12 Wagner (1865), *Über einige Sendungen von Schädeln*, p. 89.
- 13 Spengel, Johann Wilhelm (1880): *Die von Blumenbach gegründete anthropologische Sammlung der Universität Göttingen*, Braunschweig, p. 82–83.
- 14 Wagner (1865), *Über einige Sendungen von Schädeln*, p. 88–89.
- 15 Uhde, Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand (1861): "Über die Schädelform der Sandwich-Insulaner", in: *Nova acta Academiae Caesareae Leopoldino-Carolinae Germanicae Naturae Curiosorum / Kaiserlich Leopoldinisch-*

- Carolinische Deutsche Akademie der Naturforscher in Halle/S.* These four skulls include the two skulls AIG 754 and AIG 755, which entered the Blumenbach collection in 1934, see below.
- 16 Wagner (1865), *Über einige Sendungen von Schädeln*, p. 92.
  - 17 *Ibid.*
  - 18 Baer, Karl Ernst von; Wagner, Rudolf (1861): *Bericht über die Zusammenkunft einiger Anthropologen im September 1861 in Göttingen zum Zwecke gemeinsamer Besprechungen*, Leipzig, p. 39–41.
  - 19 Spengel (1880): *Anthropologische Sammlung der Universität Göttingen*, p. 82–83.
  - 20 Stötzel, Katharina (2024): *Individualisierung menschlicher Überreste in zwei historischen Schädel-sammlungen der Universität Göttingen und ihr Beitrag zur bioanthropologischen Provenienzforschung*, Med. Diss. Göttingen.
  - 21 Thilenius, Georg (1902): "Ethnographische Ergebnisse aus Melanesien, Teil I: Reisebericht – Die polynesischen Inseln an der Ostgrenze Melanesiens", in: *Nova Acta. Abhandlungen der Kaiserlich Leopoldinisch-Carolinischen Deutschen Akademie der Naturforscher*, vol. LXXX, no. 1, p. 3.
  - 22 "Humboldt-Stiftung für Naturforschung und Reisen to the Königlich Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 10.7.1897", in: *Archiv der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (BBAW), Berlin, Historische Abteilung*, vol II-XI, no. 76, p. 17. The amount of 8,400 German Reichsmark in 1897 corresponds to a purchasing power equivalent of 62,160 Euro or 70,360 U.S. Dollars in 2021.
  - 23 "Thilenius: CV, 30.7.1926", in: Staatsarchiv Hamburg, 361-6 \_ 1030 IV Personalakte Thilenius.
  - 24 Dunken (1959), *Humboldt-Stiftung*, p. 165; BBAW-Archiv, II-XI, p. 76.
  - 25 Thilenius (1902), *Ethnographische Ergebnisse aus Melanesien*, p. 3; Thilenius, Georg (1903): "Ergebnisse einer Reise durch Oceanien. Reiseerfahrungen – Ausrüstung", in: *Zoologische Jahrbücher. Abtheilung für Systematik, Geographie und Botanik der Thiere*, vol. 17, p. 428.
  - 26 "Professor Dr. Georg Thilenius zu seinem 60. Geburtstag", in: *Hamburger Nachrichten*, 3 October 1928, in: Staatsarchiv Hamburg 731-8\_A 770 Zeitungsauschnitte.
  - 27 Thilenius (1903), *Ergebnisse einer Reise durch Oceanien*, p. 436.
  - 28 Thilenius to Waldeyer, 6 March 1900 (transcript), in: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ethnologisches Museum, Archiv (SMB-PK, EM), ACTA betreffend die Abgüsse von anthropologischen Gegenständen und die Erwerbung anthropologischen Materials [file concerning the casting of anthropological objects and the acquisition of anthropological material], vol. 2, I B. 39, E 1865/06.
  - 29 On: *Maui* (Wikipedia article), <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maui#History>, accessed 1 April 2022.
  - 30 Ayau (2021), *The responsibility*, p. 126–27; Ayau (2020), *I Mana I Ka 'iwi from*, p. 65.
  - 31 Letter of the Akademie der Wissenschaften to the Auswärtige Amt and the Kaiserlichen Staatssekretär des Reichsmarineamtes, Herrn Contre-Admiral Tirpitz, in: Archiv der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Historische Abteilung, II-XI, p. 76: Humboldt-Stiftung 1897 bis 1904, p. 15–16; Thilenius: CV, 30 July 1926, in: Staatsarchiv Hamburg, 361-6 \_ 1030 IV Personalakte Thilenius.
  - 32 Thilenius to Waldeyer, 6 March 1900 (copy), in: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ethnologisches Museum, Archiv (SMB-PK, EM), ACTA betreffend die Abgüsse von anthropologischen Gegenständen und die Erwerbung anthropologischen Materials [file concerning the casting of anthropological objects and the acquisition of anthropological material], vol. 2, I B. 39, E 1865/06.
  - 33 *Ibid.*
  - 34 Adolf Bastian (director of the Ethnological Museum Berlin) to Thilenius, 9 October 1899 (with notations about the grant of 8 November 1899 and von Luschan's about the receipt of the nine skulls of 10 February 1900), in: SMB-PK, EM, Acta betreffend die Erwerbung ethnologischer Gegenstände aus Australien [File concerning the acquisition of ethnological objects from Australia], vol. 12, E 753/1899.
  - 35 Luschan to Waldeyer, 19 October 1906, *ibid.*
  - 36 Sortierraum. Eingänge. 1912–1925, entry 128, in: MARKK Hamburg, Archive. All translations of German documents by the author Holger Stoecker.

- 37 Ried (München) to the Museum für Völkerkunde Hamburg, 3 October 1926, in: MARKK Hamburg, Archiv, 101-1 Nr. 965; Scheidt to Ried, 19 October 1926, *ibid.*
- 38 Núñez Castillo, Mérida Inés (2021): *Ancient genetic landscape of archaeological human remains from Panama, South America and Oceania described through STR genotype frequencies and mitochondrial DNA sequences*, Phil. Diss. Göttingen, p. 228–229, on: <http://dx.doi.org/10.53846/goediss-9012>, accessed 1 April 2022.
- 39 Stötzel (2024): *Individualisierung*.
- 40 The skulls were drawn by means of a *camera lucida*; the illustrations therefore show great attention to detail, see Uhde (1861), *Über die Schädelform der Sandwich-Insulaner*, p. 7.
- 41 The frigate *Hansa*, on which Bielitz served as ship's doctor, had an eventful biography. Built in New York in 1848 as a paddle steamer with sail propulsion and subsequently converted into a warship, it was the flagship of the German Imperial Fleet from 1850 until its dissolution in 1853. In the service of the Bremen shipping company Fritz & Lehmkuhl, the frigate was used from 1853 for liner services between Bremen and New York and chartered by the British Navy in 1855 for transports in the Crimean War and in 1857 for transports to India. In 1862, the frigate burnt out in London; see Gröner, Erich (1966): *Die deutschen Kriegsschiffe 1815–1945*, vol. 1, München, p. 99, on: [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hansa\\_\(Schiff,\\_1848\)](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hansa_(Schiff,_1848)), accessed 1 April 2022.
- 42 Oehme, Johannes (1992): „Ausbildung und Bedeutung der Handwerkschirurgen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Ausbildung am anatomisch-chirurgischen Institut in Braunschweig“, in: *Würzburger medizinhistorische Mitteilungen*, 10, p. 293–301.
- 43 Uhde (1861), *Über die Schädelform der Sandwich-Insulaner*, p. 3.
- 44 *Ibid.*, p. 3–4.
- 45 Jarves, James Jackson (1843): *History of the Hawaii or Sandwich Islands*, London, p. 164.
- 46 For example, to the battle at Nu'uuanu Pali refers the track "Pali Gap" from the posthumous 1971 album "Rainbow Bridge" by the guitarist Jimi Hendrix, on: *youtube*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wJ7Attlb-kc>, accessed 1 April 2022.
- 47 Uhde (1861), *Über die Schädelform der Sandwich-Insulaner*, p. 4.
- 48 *Ibid.*
- 49 *Ibid.*
- 50 Uhde (*ibid.*, p. 5) refers to the botanist Franz Julius Ferdinand Meyen's (1804–1840) traveller report (1835): *Reise um die Erde ausgeführt auf dem königlich preussischen Seehandlungs-Schiffe Prinzess Louise, commandirt von Capitain W. Wendt in den Jahren 1830, 1831 und 1832*, Berlin, p. 161.
- 51 Uhde (1861), *Über die Schädelform der Sandwich-Insulaner*, p. 7.
- 52 *Ibid.*, p. 12.
- 53 *Ibid.*
- 54 Label at AIG.754.
- 55 Uhde (1861), *Über die Schädelform der Sandwich-Insulaner*, p. 10.
- 56 The handwriting suggests that the labels were inscribed by Hugo Fuchs.
- 57 Andrews, Lorrin (1836): *A vocabulary of words in the Hawaiian Language*, Lahainaluna, p. 64.
- 58 NLA Wolfenbüttel, 12 Neu 4 980, p. 34.
- 59 Oehme (1992), *Ausbildung und Bedeutung der Handwerkschirurgen*, p. 295.
- 60 Ahrens, Sabine (2004): *250 Jahre Naturhistorisches Museum in Braunschweig. Eine "Pflanzstätte für die naturgeschichtliche Bildung"*, Braunschweig, p. 111.
- 61 AIG.808, AIG.809, AIG.810, AIG.811, all mummies.
- 62 AIG.694.
- 63 AIG.754, AIG.755.
- 64 AIG.547.

- 65 AIG.695. Today "Kaffir" is a hate speech term to identify Black African people. At that time, it was a term for Bantu-speaking people in Eastern Cape region in South Africa, especially of the Xhosa. See Modest, Wayne; Lelijveld, Robin (2018) (Eds): *Words Matter. An Unfinished Guide to Word Choices in the Cultural Sector*, Amsterdam, p. 121.
- 66 AIG.309, AIG.310, AIG.311.
- 67 Fuchs to the curator of the University of Göttingen, 1 October 1934, in: University Archive Göttingen (UniA Goe), Kur 984, p. 35.
- 68 Ibid.
- 69 University curator to Fuchs, 9 October 1934, in: UniA Goe, Kur 984, p. 37.
- 70 The plaster cast of a "Sandwich Islander" (AIG 751) came into the Blumenbach skull collection between 1840 and 1874. Nothing is known about the origin of the cast and the original skull.
- 71 Ayau (2021): *Responsibility*, p. 125.
- 72 Sylvia M. Hussey (OHA Chief Executive Officer) to Metin Tolan (President of the University of Göttingen), 21 September 2021, copy in possession of the authors.
- 73 "Hawaiian delegation to bring home 58 iwi kūpuna from Germany and Austria", 7 February 2022, on: <https://www.oha.org/news/hawaiian-delegation-to-bring-home-58-iwi-kupuna-from-germany-austria/>, accessed 4 November 2023.

