ROUTLEDGE COMPANIONS

The Routledge Companion to Indigenous Repatriation

Return, Reconcile, Renew

Edited by Cressida Fforde, C. Timothy McKeown and Honor Keeler

THE ROUTLEDGE COMPANION TO INDIGENOUS REPATRIATION

This volume brings together Indigenous and non-Indigenous repatriation practitioners and researchers to provide the reader with an international overview of the removal and return of Ancestral Remains.

The Ancestral Remains of Indigenous peoples are today housed in museums and other collecting institutions globally. They were taken from anywhere the deceased can be found, and their removal occurred within a context of deep power imbalance within a colonial project that had a lasting effect on Indigenous peoples worldwide. Through the efforts of First Nations campaigners, many have returned home. However, a large number are still retained. In many countries, the repatriation issue has driven a profound change in the relationship between Indigenous peoples and collecting institutions. It has enabled significant steps towards resetting this relationship from one constrained by colonisation to one that seeks a more just, dignified and truthful basis for interaction. The history of repatriation is one of Indigenous perseverance and success. The authors of this book contribute major new work and explore new facets of this global movement. They reflect on nearly 40 years of repatriation, its meaning and value, impact and effect.

This book is an invaluable contribution to repatriation practice and research, providing a wealth of new knowledge to readers with interests in Indigenous histories, self-determination and the relationship between collecting institutions and Indigenous peoples.

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RUSSIA AND THE PACIFIC

Expeditions, networks, and the acquisition of human remains

Elena Govor and Hilary Howes

Introduction

In 1859, in an article published 'for public awareness' in the popular magazine *Russkii Vestnik* (*Russian Herald*), the Baltic German anatomist and embryologist Karl Ernst von Baer (1792–1876) enthusiastically noted that the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg had recently added to its craniological collections a total of '12 skulls of orang-utans and 83 skulls of different peoples', a bequest from Georg Joseph Peitsch (1788–1838), a German-born medical officer stationed with the Dutch armed forces in Batavia (now Jakarta).[1] This collection, 'which far exceeded the existing collection [of the Imperial Academy of Sciences] at that time', both in number and in 'the perfect preparation of the skulls', was further 'distinguished by its diversity' (Baer 1859a: 10–11):

> We received three skulls of Negroes, one of Indus [Indian], three skulls of Bengalese, two Ceylonese, one Batak from Sumatra, seven skulls of pure Chinese, six skulls of mixed Chinese, two Malay skulls, one skull of a mixture of European with Malay, six Javanese skulls, six Madurese (from an island near Java), six Balinese (Bali, also near Java); from Celebes Island: seven skulls of Makassar, five Buginese, six Menadon, three Gorontalo and two skulls of Jangrin; in addition, five skulls of Amboinese, two skulls of Tidorese, six Alfuros (Garafora) from Gilolo, Celebes, and New Guinea, and three Papuans from New Guinea.
>
> *(Baer 1859a: 11)*

Peitsch's decision to offer his collection to the Russian Emperor Nicholas I was motivated by the fact that he had served as battalion surgeon in the Russian army from 1813 to 1815. Shortly after Peitsch's death in 1838, his friend and executor Philipp Franz von Siebold (1796–1866), also a medically trained German in the Dutch colonial service, 'had the honour of entertaining' Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolayevich, Emperor Nicholas's second son, in Leiden. Siebold, who had served as doctor for the Dutch trading post in Nagasaki, Japan, from 1823 to 1829, showed the Grand Duke 'his Japanese collections' and the collection of skulls assembled by Peitsch and gave the latter into the Grand Duke's keeping, following

the instructions in Peitsch's will, and hoping his efforts would attract a reward of some kind (Baer 1859a: 10, see also Baer 1859b: 186; Ber 1970: 57–59 (the 1970 reference was published under the Russian spelling of Baer's name, <Ber>, see also comment on p. 311); Gerabek 2010; Steenis-Kruseman 1950: 402).

This single incident demonstrates the extent to which physical anthropology in nineteenth-century Russia was entangled with the scientific and colonial endeavours of other European nations. It is easy, in light of the tense relationship between Russia and the West since World War II, to underestimate the strength and number of the nineteenth-century networks cultivated by scholars, scientists, and travellers in Imperial Russia with their Western European colleagues. This chapter offers an overview of Russian engagement with the peoples of the Pacific during the nineteenth century, focusing on the acquisition of Ancestral Remains for Russian collections to highlight transnational networks of scientific communication and exchange. It is structured around three major themes. We begin with the commercial, diplomatic, and scientific ambitions of Russian naval expeditions to the Pacific, then consider the professionalisation of craniology and the expansion of the Anatomical Museum at the Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg under Karl Ernst von Baer, and conclude with the emergence of Moscow as a second centre of anthropological studies in Russia.

The first Russian round-the-world expedition, 1803–1806

As the example outlined above suggests, Russian science in the nineteenth century was very much an international venture. Two European languages – German and French – were used within Russian academia. French was the language of culture of the middle and upper classes, while German predominated in technology and science. Moreover, German was the native tongue for a significant section of the population of the Russian Empire; they were Baltic Germans who often served as a bridge between Russia and Germany and thus Western Europe. This applies not only to Baer, who was born in the Russian Governorate of Estonia, but also to many members of the first Russian round-the-world expedition in 1803–1806 on the ships *Nadezhda* and *Neva*. The expedition's leader, Adam Johann von Krusenstern (1770–1846), was a Baltic German; German was the most common language in the wardroom, and most of the journals documenting the expedition were written in German, including those of the surgeon Karl Espenberg (1761–1822), the fourth lieutenant Hermann Ludwig von Löwenstern (1777–1836), and naturalists Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff (1774–1852) and Wilhelm-Gottlieb Tilesius von Tilenau (1769–1857) (Govor 2010: 9–27, 36–37).

Like other major sea voyages of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Russian round-the-world expedition had multiple aims. 'Russian naval aspirations to gain a foothold in the North Pacific' combined with commercial visions, specifically the Russian-American Company's desire to '[launch] a sea connection with Russia's European ports and [promote] a direct fur trade with China'; diplomatic ambitions, best illustrated by the late and controversial inclusion, in the expedition party, of a Russian Embassy to Japan; and 'exploratory and cultural tasks', including scientific observation and the acquisition of ethnographic specimens (Govor 2010: 1–3).

A similar diversity is evident in the expedition members' motivations for collecting human remains, particularly skulls. Many were acting for the benefit of scientifically-inclined contacts in Western Europe and Russia. Johann Kaspar Horner (1774–1834), for example, the expedition's Swiss-born astronomer, 'stole the head of an executed Chinese pirate displayed on the city gates' in Macao for Franz Joseph Gall (1758–1828), the German-born founder of phrenology (Govor

2010: 22). Others had been urged by relatives to bring them back a fashionable souvenir. Christiane Gertrude von Kotzebue (1769–1803), the second wife of the famous playwright August Friedrich Ferdinand von Kotzebue, wrote playfully to her cousin Krusenstern on his departure:

> Of course you have to bring me something, but what? Perhaps skulls of the various wild tribes you will come across? In earnest, dear Adam, you will oblige me greatly if you can do it without inconvenience or danger to yourself . . . bring me some lovely skulls.

She accompanied her odd request with the explanation that they were intended for her friend, who was collecting 'skulls and bones' (Rappard 1987).

'Most rare and striking': ornamented skulls from Nuku Hiva

During this expedition's twelve-day visit to the island of Nuku Hiva in the Marquesas archipelago in 1804, skull collecting was particularly intense. Among the most striking features of Nuku Hivan attire, spotted almost immediately by members of the expedition, were ornamented skulls (*ipu o'o*) carried by men. Writing to the German comparative anatomist Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752–1840), Langsdorff observed:

> The ornamental locks of hair thought by earlier travellers to be mementoes of beloved friends and relatives are [in fact] trophies from slain enemies. In just the same way they carry the complete skulls as trophies tied at the waist – a custom which, by the bye, has put me in a position to obtain some fine skulls for your collection.
>
> *(Langsdorff 1805: 200)*

The scramble for these ornamented skulls led to tensions among expedition members. Espenberg 'had a hefty dispute with Langsdorff because of a skull that they both wanted' (Löwenstern 2003: 96), while Tilesius was left lamenting that he

> would have had the opportunity to bring home for my scientist friends some very good skulls of Marquesan savages, if only everybody else on board had not wanted to collect them, and if some who had no use for them whatever had not forestalled me.
>
> *(Tilesius 1804: 4)*

This was presumably a reference to non-naturalist members of the expedition, including the courtier and nominal expedition leader Nikolai Rezanov (1764–1807) and the cargo manager Fedor Shemelin, who nevertheless prized the sophisticated ornamentation of Nuku Hivan warrior-trophy skulls.

Some years after the expedition's return, Tilesius indicated the extent of its members' skull collecting in a letter to the German-born anatomist August Franz Josef Karl Mayer (1787–1865): 'Krusenstern acquired skulls for Loder, Espenberg for Isenflamm, Dr Langsdorff for Bojanus and Langenbeck, and naval officers for the Imperial Russian Admiralty and other collections' (Tilesius in Mayer 1828: 450).[2] More than twenty skulls were collected during the expedition; several of them were carefully depicted and published, while others are mentioned in textual references.

To date, only a few skulls from the first Russian round-the-world expedition have been located in museum collections. Blumenbach was the first to describe and publish a 'most rare

and striking' Nuku Hivan skull delivered to him by Langsdorff. This skull, still intact with nose plug and plaited band around the lower jaw, is held today in the Blumenbach Skull Collection at the Centre for Anatomy of the Georg August University in Göttingen (Schultz 2011: 54). Although Blumenbach described its decorations and its use as a trophy, for him it was primarily an anatomical specimen; his published engraving of the skull lacks any ornaments (Blumenbach 1808: 19–20). Another surviving Nuku Hivan skull is currently displayed in the Museum of Medical History at Moscow State University as the 'skull of a Polynesian chief' (Kantor 2014). It was initially in the possession of Justus Christian von Loder (1753–1832), a Baltic German anatomist in Russian service, for whom Krusenstern acquired a total of five skulls during the expedition (Krusenstern 1804: 42); indeed, the left lateral side of the skull in question bears an inscription in Russian, 'Sent by Admiral Krusenstern'.[3] The anatomical collection assembled by Loder was donated to the University by the Russian Emperor Alexander I, who purchased it in 1818.

The voyage of the *Rurik*, 1815–1818

The collection of skulls and other human remains was also a feature of some subsequent Russian expeditions to the Pacific. The French-born poet and naturalist Adelbert von Chamisso (1781–1838), who was educated in Berlin after his parents fled Champagne during the French Revolution, joined the Russian round-the-world expedition of 1815–1818 led by Otto von Kotzebue (1787–1846), son of the aforementioned August and companion of Krusenstern during the first Russian circumnavigation of 1803–1806. Chamisso, selected at short notice after the botanist Karl Friedrich von Ledebour fell ill, discovered craniology as a possible field of study merely by chance: 'on board the *Rurik* I found a treatise by Dr Spurzheim, who . . . recommended for the advancement of craniology that the heads of savages should be shaven and the impression of their skulls be taken in plaster' (Chamisso 1986: 14–15).[4]

Having traversed the Pacific from east to west – stops included Isla Salas y Gómez, Rapa Nui/Easter Island, the Tuamotus, and the Cook and Caroline Islands – the *Rurik* reached Kamchatka in the Russian Far East on 19 June 1816, then proceeded northward along the northwest coast of North America as far as the Bering Sea, west of mainland Alaska, where Kotzebue hoped to identify and navigate the fabled Northwest Passage. Inclement weather forced the voyagers to retreat southwards to San Francisco, then to the Hawaiian Islands where they overwintered, returning to Alaska in mid-April 1817. A second attempt to locate the Northwest Passage, this time with the assistance of fifteen local Aleut (Unangan) people, was abandoned due to Kotzebue's failing health (Ratzel 1882). The truncation of the voyage had not prevented Chamisso from obtaining human remains:

> On the height of the island, in the gravel that forms the ground, I found a human skull, which I took along carefully concealed under my plants. I had the good fortune of bestowing three not easily procured specimens upon the rich skull collection of the Berlin Anatomical Museum: this one from St. Lawrence Island, an Aleutian from an old gravesite on Unalashka, and an Eskimo from the graves in the Bay of Good Hope in Kotzebue Sound. Of the three only the latter was damaged.
>
> *(Chamisso 1986: 80)*

Unlike the warrior-trophy skulls acquired in Nuku Hiva by members of the first Russian round-the-world expedition, described above, which their owners had evidently been willing

to exchange for European items they considered valuable – 'We bartered our knives', the *Neva*'s commander recalled, 'for these trophies of their bestial and inhuman victories' (Lisianskii 1977: 75) – the skulls Chamisso sent to Berlin had clearly been plundered from burial grounds. Chamisso himself was aware of the distinction, as the quote below reveals, but seems to have had little difficulty privileging the interests of European scientists above those of local Indigenous people, an attitude which even today continues to shape views on repatriation in some quarters (see, for example, Pickering 2008; Schindlbeck 2013).

> Only among warlike peoples who, like the Nukahiveans, count human skulls among their victory trophies, can such things be an object of trade. Most people, like our northlanders, bury their dead and consider the graves to be sacred. Only through a rare happy accident can the traveller and collector gain possession of skulls, which are of the greatest importance for the history of the human races.
>
> *(Chamisso 1986: 80–81)*

A 'fresh and genuine skull': methods of skull collecting

Collecting skulls, whether for scholarly purposes or as curiosities, continued to be a focus of subsequent Russian expeditions traversing the Pacific. For instance, when the *Kamchatka*, commanded by Vasily Golovnin (1776–1831), visited Georg Langsdorff, now the Russian consul in Brazil, in 1817, they heard an anecdote about local methods of skull collecting. Petr Balk-Polev, the Russian envoy in Brazil, had asked a local military commander for a skull of a 'Tapuski' (probably Tapiguarani) Indian. The commander had replied with a note stating that he had no time to look for such a skull, but was sending Balk-Polev a 'live Indian' from whom he might obtain a 'fresh and genuine skull'. The Russians balked at the suggestion of committing murder, instead leaving the Indian in Langsdorff's service. Young Fedor (Friedrich) Lütke (1797–1882), a midshipman aboard the *Kamchatka*, recorded the story with dismay, commenting: 'What barbarity and inhumanity!' On the other hand, while visiting the ruins of Pachacamac in Chile, the officers were happy to discover and appropriate a skull as 'a curio' (Matiushkin 1971: 34, 61; Litke 1971: 107).

Members of an expedition to the South Pole in 1819–1821, led by Fabian Bellingshausen (1778–1852) and Mikhail Lazarev (1788–1851) in the *Vostok* and *Mirnyi* (Donnert 2009: 116–121), were entertained with the mummies and skulls of Guanches in Santa Cruz, Tenerife, collected by local mayor Juan de Megliorini y Spínola. They were also able to acquire several mummified Māori heads during their voyage, although the circumstances of these acquisitions remain unclear. The expedition visited Ship Cove on the South Island of New Zealand in May 1820, but there is no reference to the acquisition of mummified heads in any of the participants' journals. Nevertheless, contemporaries wrote about these rarities soon after the expedition's return. By 1822, one mummified head was in the possession of the expedition surgeon Nikolai Galkin (1773–1859), and two were in the Admiralty Museum in St Petersburg (Galkin 1822: 103). By the 1840s, according to the expedition's astronomer Ivan Simonov (1794–1855), one was held in 'the Museum of St Petersburg Academy of Sciences' (likely the Kunstkamera), and the other was in the Zoological Cabinet of Kazan University, where Simonov was based (Simonov 1990: 184). It is likely that he himself donated these two mummified heads. The destiny of the mummified head held by Kazan University is unknown, but the Kunstkamera currently holds three mummified Māori heads 'from old collections'. One of these may originate from the Bellingshausen expedition and be identical with the mummified head mentioned by Simonov (Kabo and Bondareva 1974: 103).

More skulls were obtained by the South Pacific expedition of 1826 to 1829 commanded by Friedrich Lütke in the *Seniavin* and Mikhail Staniukovich (1786–1869) in the *Moller*. Baer described the contribution made to the Imperial Academy of Sciences by Karl Heinrich Mertens (1796–1830), the *Seniavin*'s botanist:

> The zealous naturalist Mertens, who unfortunately died so young, gave to the Academy . . . five skulls of Aleut from Unalashka, two of Kolosh [Tlingit], two of Eskimos from the north-west coast of America and one of a Sandwich Islander. The latter had been obtained by Mr [Ivan] Kastalski [*sic*], who was employed as naturalist on the second ship [*Moller*].
>
> *(Baer 1859b: 184)*

Early inventories: Fridolin and Ludewig

In the early twentieth century, two Russian savants of German stock published their studies of the Academy's craniological collection – by that time it was housed in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (MAE) in St Petersburg. Julius Fridolin, specialising in craniology, made a detailed study of a number of 'South Sea skulls' (1900), while Jules Ludewig published an inventory of all skeletal remains in the collection with brief references to their provenance and collector (1904). Ludewig (1904: 11) noted the following skulls among early donations:

> 368. Inhabitant of Sandwich Islands. Is. Obachu. Mertens
> [. . .]
> 377. New Hollander. Posler
> 378. New Hollander. Dr Mertens

Ludewig's 'Is. Obachu' must be a misreading of the island of Oahu, where Kastalsky acquired the 'Sandwich Islander' skull, as Fridolin in his paper refers to the same skull (368) as 'male skull from Sandwich Island Oahu. Dr Mertens' (1900: 702). Fridolin (1900: 704) attributes two other skulls in his study as follows:

> 377. Female skull from Australia. Pässler.
> 378. Male skull from Australia. Dr Merzalof.

'Posler' in Ludewig's inventory could be a misspelling of the *Seniavin*'s naturalist, Alexander Postels, while 'Dr Mertens' is obviously the *Seniavin*'s botanist. However, the fact that the *Seniavin* and *Moller* expedition never visited Australia suggests that Fridolin's reading of the scarce documentation concerning these skulls might be more reliable. His 'Dr Merzalof', rather than 'Dr Mertens', must refer to the surgeon Dmitry Mertsalov, who visited Melbourne in January 1862 aboard the Russian naval ship *Svetlana*. This expedition had extensive contacts with the German-Australian botanist Ferdinand von Mueller (1825–1896), first director of the Botanic Gardens in Melbourne, and took back to Russian learned societies Australian plants and animals received from him (Massov 2014: 134, 246–247, 255–256; Massov and Pollard 2014: 57, 59–60). It is not unlikely that Mertsalov received an Australian Aboriginal skull from Mueller as well. The identity of Posler/Pässler needs further study, but this could also be a person connected with Mueller.

The professionalisation of craniology: Karl Ernst von Baer

It is noticeable in these early accounts of Russian expeditions that the human remains collected en route by expedition members seldom entered Russian collections; instead, they remained in private possession or were presented to European anatomists. Baer, a towering figure in the history of the biological sciences, was instrumental in changing this. Born in Estonia, he obtained his doctorate in medicine from the University of Dorpat (now Tartu) in 1814, then studied anatomy and embryology in Königsberg (now Kaliningrad), Berlin, Vienna, and Würzburg, before returning to Königsberg in 1817 to take up the position of prosector (anatomist's assistant) at the city's newly-established Anatomical Institute. Here he remained for almost twenty years, progressing rapidly from prosector to Professor of Zoology, then Professor of Zoology and Anatomy, and finally Director of the Zoological and Anatomical Institute. His research and publications during this period, including the discovery of the mammalian ovum, led to his later being designated the 'father of embryology' (Stieda 1902).

In 1834, Baer relocated to St Petersburg at the invitation of the Academy of Sciences there, taking up the position of Member of Zoology (effectively a tenured professorship). Initially, this position had its drawbacks: he had few opportunities to teach, and was hampered by shortages of research material and the lack of a suitable workspace (Baer 1986 [1886]: 242–251). However, Baer supplemented his income by taking on additional responsibilities, including librarian of the foreign department of the academic library and Inspector of Private Boarding Houses. He also took every opportunity to investigate his surroundings, visiting the archipelago of Novaya Zemlya in the Arctic Ocean, then southern Finland, Genoa and Trieste, and publishing numerous reports on his observations of geology, climate, flora, and fauna. Later expeditions made at the behest of the Minister of Imperial Territories to investigate fisheries took him to the Baltic provinces, Finland, Sweden, and along the Volga River to the Caspian Sea and the Caucasus (Stieda 1902).

After his relocation to St Petersburg, Baer vigorously pursued his long-standing interests in anthropology and craniology. From 1846, having been transferred to the position of Member of Comparative Anatomy of the Academy of Sciences, he also took responsibility for organising and augmenting the craniological collection held in the Anatomical Museum. He lamented that in Russia the need for 'a plentiful collection of skulls of [various] nationalities' had 'only been recognised at a very late stage' (Baer 1859b: 183); although a promising beginning had been made in 1717, when Tsar Peter the Great purchased an extensive collection of anatomical and embryological specimens, embalmed animals and dried plants from the Dutch botanist and anatomist Frederik Ruysch (1638–1731), many 'favourable opportunities' to add to St Petersburg's craniological holdings had since been disregarded (Baer 1859b: 183; Luyendijk-Elshout 1970; Mirilas et al. 2006; Reve 2006: 118–156; Schnöpf 2000; Werrett 2000: 38, 58–59, 105). For example, only one of the skulls collected during Krusenstern's round-the-world voyage eventually found its way to the collection in St Petersburg; the rest, as described above, had 'enriched' various other collections in Europe or were lost without a trace.[5] Nor was this an isolated incident. In 1828, while attending a gathering of naturalists in Berlin, Baer had been horrified to witness Joseph Rehmann, personal physician to the Russian Emperor, presenting thirty-five skulls from Russia to the Berlin Anatomical Museum. When he asked why they had not instead been kept in Russia, 'where such things must be very much desired', Rehmann apparently replied: 'no-one cares about them there' (Baer 1859b: 182–184).

'The spoils of his travels': early donations to St Petersburg's craniological collections

During an earlier stay in St Petersburg in 1830, Baer had been unimpressed with the zoological museum, which 'still bore the character of former curiosity cabinets'; it ought, he believed, to 'be removed from these halls in which the antique character was too deeply ingrained' and re-arranged according to 'scientific usefulness rather than . . . specularity'. He noted approvingly that the oriental and botanical elements of the original collection had already 'detached themselves, and henceforth made good progress' (Baer 1986 [1886]: 243–244). Baer's suggestion was duly followed, and the zoological museum, under the direction of Johann Friedrich Brandt (1802–1879), 'was newly arranged, with splendid success, and increased rapidly', drawing contributions of skulls 'from a great many quarters' (Baer 1859b: 185; Stieda 1903).

In addition to the skulls collected by Mertens and Kastalsky, early donations included 'two skulls from California' sent by Ivan A. Kupreianov (1800–1857), chief company manager of the Russian-American Company, and 'one negro skull' sent by a Mr Wiedemann from New Orleans. Ilya G. Voznesensky (1816–1871), who led a scientific expedition to Russian America from 1839–1849, provided the Academy of Sciences with 'the spoils of his travels': 'two skulls of Aleuts from Atcha [Atka] Island . . . one Kolosh [Tlingit], one inhabitant of Kenai,[6] one Tschesnuk [Chinook?], one Eskimo from Norton Bay and one from Kotzebue Sound, [and] one Northern Californian from the area of the former Ross Colony'. Voznesensky added to these skulls 'the dried head of a native Brazilian', which he had 'purchase[d] on his return voyage from the American Possessions'. 'Mr Woldem. v. Middendorff, who for several years had directed the meteorological station in Sitcha [Sitka, Alaska]', contributed 'a valuable gift of seven very complete Kolosh [Tlingit] and two Californian skulls'.[7] The Swiss-born traveller Johann Jakob von Tschudi (1818–1889) contributed 'the skull of an ancient Peruvian, a mummified head and a mummified child from the graves there'. More Peruvian remains, namely 'the mummy of an adult Peruvian of the Chinca race, and nine skulls, several of them [artificially] deformed by compression . . . from an ancient burial place near Lima', were acquired by Dr Leopold von Schrenk (1826–1894), a Baltic German zoologist, geographer and ethnographer based in St Petersburg. Later on, from the 1870s, Schrenk championed the establishment of a united museum which would bring under one roof the Anatomical (including the skull collection) and Ethnographic Museums. This joint institution, now the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (MAE), was established in 1879 and Schrenk became its first director (Baer 1859b: 185, 189–190; Reshetov 1997: 74–78).

Still more mummified remains – 'an incomplete Egyptian mummy, a mummified head and the head of a New Zealander' – entered the collection from the estate of a Prince Soltykov (also spelled 'Saltykov' or 'Soltykow') (Baer 1859b: 190).[8] In 1867, when the All-Russian Ethnographic Exhibition was organised in Moscow, casts were made for it 'from the skulls of a Papuan and a New Zealander in the Academy's collection in St Petersburg'; in the 1870s, Moscow anthropologist Dmitry Anuchin inspected 'two New Zealanders' skulls' from Prince Saltykov's collection in the Academy (Anonymous 1878: 69; Anuchin 1877: 4; Bogdanov 1878: 38). However, the inventory of the Academy's holdings (Ludewig 1904: 11) compiled by its curator Ludewig in 1904 did not list the Ancestral Remains from Aotearoa New Zealand supplied by Saltykov, ascribing to him instead the following skulls:

369. Nukagiva [*sic*]. Pr. Soltykov
370. Ibid
[. . .]
379. New Hollander. Pr. Soltykov.

On the other hand, Fridolin's earlier craniological study (1900: 702–703, 705) had described these skulls as:

> 369. Female skull from the Island of Nukahiwa. Prince Soltykow
> 370. Male skull from the island of Nukahiwa. General Friderici [*sic*]
> [. . .]
> 379. Male skull from New Zealand. Prince Soltykow.

Considering that both Baer and Anuchin referred to a skull from New Zealand supplied by Saltykov, and that Baer noted that Hermann Karl von Friederici, a participant in Krusenstern's expedition, donated a Nuku Hivan skull in 1844 (Baer 1859a: 8), it is reasonable to accept Fridolin's rather than Ludewig's attribution (i.e. that Ludewig's 'New Hollander' was actually a misreading of 'New Zealander').

In addition to these manifold donations, there were of course the skulls assembled by Peitsch in Batavia and donated to St Petersburg in 1841 with his executor Siebold's assistance. Most of these, Baer noted, had been 'received from hospitals', a few had been 'obtained during the wars on Java Island', and one, 'the skull of [an] old Papuan', had been 'brought from New Guinea by a Dutch traveller' (Baer 1859b: 186–187; see also Baer 1859a: 11).

Although lavish gifts, such as Peitsch's, constituted the bulk of the Academy's collections, Baer also obtained skulls in other ways. He was not averse to undertaking his own collecting if there was an opportunity to do so: in Switzerland, for example, pursuing an interest in Rhaetian craniology,[9] 'I stole several heads from charnel houses, until a narrow-minded clergyman opposed me, and I eventually fled . . . in order to avoid being imprisoned as a church-robber' (Baer, quoted in Ottow 1966: 47). Occasionally, he bought remains outright, as with 'a rich collection of 20 skulls, including Yakuts, Buryats, Goldi (?) [Nanai], Chudes and ancient inhabitants of the Baikal lands . . . acquired by purchase from Mr Maack [Maak]',[10] or utilised the influence and resources available to him as a member of the prestigious St Petersburg Academy of Sciences to encourage travellers to collect on his behalf (Baer 1859b: 190).

In addition to the cranial collections previously described, St Petersburg's scientific institutions hold some further crania from the South Pacific. A number of these were collected by the Russian naturalist-explorer Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay (1846–1888); they are discussed in Chapter 28, this volume. The Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology (MAE) also has a skull collected in New Ireland by the German traveller-naturalist and colonial pioneer Otto Finsch (1839–1917), inscribed 'Papua. Finsch. Bismarck Archipelago. Nusy' (Ludewig 1904: 38), as well as seven skulls from 'New Guinea' studied by the Russian anthropologist Valery Alekseev. Some of these skulls were transferred from the Central Naval Museum and the P.F. Lesgaft Natural Science Institute (closed 1957) (Alekseev 1974: 189). The Department of Normal Anatomy of the S.M. Kirov Military Medical Academy has nine skulls from New Guinea, collected in 1871 by officers of the Russian corvette *Vitiaz*, as well as four skulls from the Mariana Islands in northern Micronesia and two Māori skulls. It also has one skull of an Australian Aboriginal individual with provenance recorded as Queensland (Alekseev 1974: 189, 197; 1984: 28). It can be assumed that most of these skulls were collected by Russian naval officers during their visits to the South Pacific, although the available documentation about them, especially about the Aboriginal skull, needs further investigation. Alekseev (1984: 28) also refers to one skull from Solomon Islands stored in the 'OMI' collection; OMI might stand for Odessa Medical Institute.

'Significant services to . . . anthropological studies': Baer's influence on the development of the biological sciences

Aspiring collectors of human remains looked to Baer as an inspiration. In his 1865 monograph *Neu-Guinea und seine Bewohner* (New Guinea and its Inhabitants), Otto Finsch particularly recommended to his readers Baer's 'extraordinarily thorough' 1859 essay *Über Papuas und Alfuren* (On Papuans and Alfuros) (Baer 1859c). Noting that Baer's investigations had been 'limited to a couple of skulls', namely a selection of those collected by Peitsch, Finsch stressed that 'definitive conclusion[s]' in the natural sciences could only be reached through 'sustained and repeated investigations . . . based on a very rich material' (Finsch 1865: 34–37; Howes 2013: 121–127). During two major voyages in 1879–1882 and 1884–1885, Finsch's efforts to assemble suitably rich material for such investigations resulted in almost 300 skulls and over forty full or partial skeletons reaching Berlin from locations across the Pacific, including Hawai'i, New Guinea and New Zealand (Finsch 1899: 15, 28 n. 7; Howes 2011). Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Ancestral Remains removed by Finsch from Cape York and Mabuyag have since been returned to their Traditional Owners (Charité Human Remains Project 2013, 2014; Howes 2015b: 234–235; Olberg 2013). Finsch's contemporary Adolf Bernhard Meyer (1840–1911), who published a three-part article on his collection of 135 skulls from New Guinea over the years 1875–1878 (Howes 2012, 2015a), chose as the overarching motto for his work the following passage from Baer's *Über Papuas und Alfuren*:

> Much is still required in order to gain a sound insight into the distribution of the various larger tribes of the human race in these regions, for individual skulls and photographic images of individual persons will not suffice; one must seek to establish the intermediate form, or the type, from many [skulls and photographs].
>
> *(Baer 1859c: 70; compare Meyer 1875: 61)*

Baer's influence on the development of the biological sciences reached well beyond his publications. An active letter-writer and frequent traveller, he cultivated personal and professional contacts with leading anatomists and anthropologists across Western Europe, very much as Blumenbach had done five decades earlier.[11] Baer's numerous contacts included Christoph Theodor Aeby, University of Bern; Karl Bergmann, University of Rostock; Alexander Ecker, Albert Ludwigs University, Freiburg im Breisgau; Pieter Harting, University of Utrecht; Cornelis van der Hoeven, University of Leiden; Johann Christian Gustav Lucae, Senckenberg Institute, Frankfurt am Main; Armand de Quatrefages, National Museum of Natural History, Paris; Anders Adolf Retzius, Karolinska Institute, Stockholm, best known for having developed the hugely influential concept of the cephalic index (the ratio of the breadth of the skull to its length); Hermann Schaaffhausen, Rhenish Friedrich Wilhelms University, Bonn; Karl von Scherzer, Austrian diplomat and explorer who accompanied the *Novara* expedition of 1857–1859; Willem Vrolik, Athenaeum Illustre (later renamed University of Amsterdam); Ernst Heinrich Weber, University of Leipzig; and Hermann Welcker, Martin Luther University, Halle (Saale).[12] Over the period 1858 to 1861, Baer made three extended tours of Western Europe, meeting with many of these individuals, visiting notable craniological collections and attending scientific gatherings (Baer and Wagner 1861: 5; Ottow 1966: 53–54, 60; Schierhorn 1977: 361).

In 1861, together with Rudolph Wagner, curator of the Blumenbach Skull Collection, Baer convened a three-day gathering of prominent German-speaking anthropologists in Göttingen. Its primary aims were to 'reach agreement on a uniform method of measurement of the entire body and in particular of the head (or skull)' and to discuss 'the most suitable method' of visually

depicting skulls and other body parts; each invited participant was therefore requested to bring with him 'the particular measuring tools or drawing apparatus he uses'. Baer's earlier visits to craniological collections overseas had convinced him that the lack of 'a uniform method of description and depiction' was a serious hindrance to the progress of comparative anatomy, since it prevented researchers from comparing their findings with those of others (Baer and Wagner 1861: 1–2, 5). The various methods agreed upon at the conclusion of this gathering were not consistently followed in subsequent years, even by the participants themselves. However, the gathering itself was significant in marking the increasing professionalisation of physical anthropology in general and craniometry (skull measurement) in particular (Ottow 1966; Spengel 1877).

Moreover, Baer was instrumental in realising one of the possibilities raised by the participants, namely:

> the establishment of an archive or repertory for anthropology. . . [which] could not only accept smaller relevant works in this field, but could also report on works which have appeared in various places; it could serve to facilitate correspondence amongst the participants and with anthropological and ethnographic societies overseas, and . . . could, to some extent, take the place of an anthropological society, [which is] currently lacking in Germany.
>
> *(Baer and Wagner 1861: 63)*

The journal *Archiv für Anthropologie*, first published in 1866, amply fulfilled these purposes. On 28 February 1872, Baer's eightieth birthday, the journal's editors dedicated that year's volume to Baer 'in grateful recognition of his significant services to the revival of anthropological studies in Germany and his outstanding contribution to the establishment of this journal' (Ecker et al. 1872; see also Ecker 1879).

Liminality and paradox in Baer's life and work

Baer was in many ways a liminal figure, not least as a Baltic German with manifold ties to both Germany and Russia. As someone whose scientific activities encompassed both direct observations of the natural world and theoretical analyses of others' collections, he also blurred the boundaries separating armchair anthropologist from field researcher. Moreover, his documented lack of concern in disturbing the remains of the dead coexisted, as Peter Ucko (1992) has observed, with a fundamental sympathy for monogenist (single-origin) explanations of humankind. He scoffed at the suggestion that external features could productively be used to differentiate human 'species':

> What compels us to assume [the existence of] different species within humankind, disregarding the common ability of all human beings to reproduce? The pigment of the Negro! Are black and white horses different species? The varying structure, or rather, the different dimensions of the jaw, the nose, the cheekbones! Is the Egyptian goat different from ours, because the bridge of its nose is higher? I can find for the concept of species no other [definition] than this: the sum of [those] individuals which are or could be connected by descent.
>
> *(Baer 1859c: 78)*

As he told his fellow anatomists at their 1861 gathering in Göttingen, Baer suspected that 'the view that humankind consists of multiple species' had less to do with 'positive knowledge' than

with 'the feeling that the Negro, particularly when enslaved . . . is different from the European and appears ugly to him', or even 'the desire to imagine him [to be] excluded from all the rights and entitlements of the European'. He further cast doubt on the related view that 'the sexual union of different tribes (races)' produced biologically inferior offspring who were either sterile or became 'depraved, physically or morally feeble'. Although such claims were frequently made, their authors seldom provided any supporting figures, nor did they take into account the social difficulties experienced by children of mixed parentage. Drawing on his own experience growing up in Estonia, where Estonians had only recently been emancipated from centuries of bondage to the German minority, Baer noted that so-called 'bastards' were often torn between the relative luxury of their early upbringing and the menial work they were expected to undertake as adults; others were disadvantaged in seeking work by potential German employers whose 'national feeling' led them to favour fellow Germans over 'half-castes'. Under these circumstances, unemployment, disaffection, social isolation, and alcoholism were not uncommon. No wonder, then, that 'a mixed population' was nowhere to be found in Estonia, even though there had been 'no shortage of bastards over the course of the centuries'. These observations, Baer argued, could easily be extended to mixed-race individuals in North America, where 'Anglo-American pride' would doubtless make it more difficult still for a 'coloured man' to assert any claim to a middle-class existence (Baer and Wagner 1861: 17–18, 20–21).

On the one hand, Baer expressed strong sympathy with living non-European peoples and condemned their ill-treatment at the hands of Europeans. On the other, his inexhaustible desire to accumulate ever greater quantities of their mortal remains led him to apply and encourage collecting practices which, even in his own time, were considered invasive and disrespectful. This seemingly paradoxical combination can also be observed in his younger compatriot, the Russian naturalist-explorer Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay, whose fieldwork and collecting activities in New Guinea and the wider Pacific are discussed in Govor and Howes, Chapter 28, this volume.

Museum of Anthropology of Moscow State University and its predecessors

While Baer was building up his craniological collection in St Petersburg, Moscow emerged as another centre of anthropological studies in Russia. Initially the activities of Moscow's natural science enthusiasts centred around the Imperial Moscow Society of Naturalists, established in 1805 at the Moscow University with a predominantly academic membership.[13] The situation changed in the liberal 1860s when in 1863 a new Society of Devotees of Natural Science was established with broad membership; it later grew into the Imperial Society of Devotees of Natural Science, Anthropology and Ethnography. Anatoly Bogdanov (1834–1896), a Russian zoologist and anthropologist, was instrumental in its expansion and development. By 1864 it had already established an anthropological section and was championing the organisation of anthropological exhibitions as part of the 1867 All-Russia Ethnographical Exhibition in Moscow.

Moscow's two learned societies worked hand in hand for the benefit of the exhibition, involving in their activities the aforementioned Ferdinand von Mueller, a German-Australian botanist with a vast network of scholarly contacts in Europe and Russia. In 1866, the Imperial Moscow Society of Naturalists elected him a member, and Charles Renard (Karl I. Renar in Russian, 1809–1886), secretary of the society and curator of the ethnographic collection of the nascent Moscow Public and Rumiantsev Museum, appealed to him for 'ethnographic objects' and 'skulls of the natives' from Australia which could be shown at the exhibition. Mueller

supplied the required materials without delay, as reported at a meeting of the Society of Naturalists in November 1866:

> Dr Ferdinand Müller of Melbourne announces the despatch of a box containing 2 complete skeletons, of a man and a woman, from the tribe inhabiting the Murray desert, and several other separated bones of the black natives of these parts. Mr Müller has included in this sending some arms [i.e. weapons] of the Yarra tribe and also some fruit of Banksia serrata.
>
> *(Anonymous 1866)*[14]

In 1867, the Society of Naturalists received from Mueller the human remains described earlier. For the Moscow Public Museum, he also sent a Papuan skull, collections of weapons of the Indigenous inhabitants of the Yarra River area, Victoria, and Arnhem Land, Northern Territory (collected by Charles Hulls), and the Murray River area (collected by Allan Hughan), as well as bark paintings by Aboriginal children from the Yarra tribe and a collection of photographs of Aborigines from the Yarra River area. For decades these weapons and bark paintings constituted the best and richest collection of Australian Indigenous artefacts in Russia (Anonymous 1867a: 15, 1867b: 62, 65, 1867c: 86–87, 1872: 7–8, 1915: 35; Govor and Novikova 1989).

The 'Murray desert' from which some of these human remains were obtained was the place of Mueller's fieldwork in the 1850s, the territory between Swan Hill and the Murray-Darling junction (Gillbank 2011: 98). This territory was inhabited by several Aboriginal tribes: Latje Latje, Dadi Dadi, Wadi Wadi, and Wergaia. Ascertaining the provenance of these remains and identifying their current location needs further investigation. In 1867, the *Proceedings of the Society of Devotees of Natural Science* noted 'an extremely remarkable latest acquisition', 'a complete skeleton of a New Hollander' sent by Mueller to the Society of Naturalists, transferred by the latter to the craniological collection of the Society of Devotees of Natural Science (Anonymous 1867d: 1143). The second skeleton may have been left in the collection of the Society of Naturalists; alternatively, it may have been transferred to the Moscow Public and Rumiantsev Museums, where the artefacts sent by Mueller were deposited.

Available materials on the All-Russian Ethnographical Exhibition of 1867 do not mention the Aboriginal skeletons sent by Mueller: perhaps they did not arrive in time to be displayed. Nevertheless, plaster casts of a Papuan and a Māori skull from the St Petersburg collection were exhibited, as well as the cast of a New Caledonian skull from the Paris Anthropological Society (Anonymous 1878: 69). The exhibition was a success and rapidly generated interest in anthropological and craniological studies; this was reinforced by the participation of the Society of Devotees of Natural Science in the International Exhibition in Paris in 1878, which had an anthropological section, allowing members to establish contacts with French anthropologists. In 1879, Moscow hosted an Anthropological Exhibition, co-organised by Bogdanov, by this time director of Moscow's Zoological Museum and an active member of the aforementioned Society of Devotees. The craniological collection displayed at this exhibition numbered over 3000 skulls, including two Papuan skulls (one received from N.M. Baranov) and two skulls of 'Sandwich Islanders' from the British medical practitioner and anthropologist Joseph Barnard Davis (1801–1881) (Bogdanov 1880: 28).

The display also featured mannequins of Australian Aborigines made by the Russian sculptor Ivan I. Sevriugin, who drew inspiration from busts held in the Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle (National Museum of Natural History, MNHN) in Paris and lithographs published in 1847 by the British naturalist and painter George French Angas under the title *South Australia*

Illustrated (Anonymous [1879]; Bogdanov 1880, 'otdel manekenov' section: 37–40; Efimova et al. 2015: 25; Morgan 1966). Sevriugin used further materials from the museum in Paris to create busts and masks of Tasmanian, mainland Australian, Papuan, New Caledonian, New Irish, Fijian, Samoan, and Caroline Islander peoples (Bogdanov 1880, 'otdel manekenov' section: 37–40; Efimova et al. 2015: 25). Two of these were clearly modelled on Benjamin Law's 1835–36 busts of 'Woureddy, an Aboriginal chief of Van Diemen's Land', and 'Trucaninny. Wife of Wouraddy [*sic*]', considered the earliest major pieces of Australian sculpture (Efimova et al. 2015: 25; National Gallery of Australia, Canberra 2010a, 2010b). The MNHN holds copies of these busts, acquired in Tasmania in December 1839 by the navigator-naturalist Jules-Sébastien-César Dumont d'Urville (1790–1842) during his final voyage to Oceania of 1837–1840 (B. Douglas, pers. comm., 8 April 2017). In addition, the MNHN holds the collection of moulages (plaster busts cast from living subjects) made by the phrenologist Pierre-Marie Alexandre Dumoutier (1797–1871) on the same voyage, including depictions of people from Mangareva, Fiji, Isabel, the Torres Strait Islands, Tidore, Tasmania, Timor, and New Zealand, as well as further moulages fabricated by other travellers (B. Douglas, pers. comm., 8 April 2017; see also Douglas 2008: 126–127, 129–130, 115n., 113, 120–121). Any of these could have inspired Sevriugin's work.

The Anthropological Exhibition of 1879 was visited by prominent French anthropologists including Paul Broca (1824–1880), Armand de Quatrefages (1810–1892), Gabriel de Mortillet (1821–1898), and Paul Topinard (1830–1908). Due to the success of the exhibition and Bogdanov's promotion of craniological studies, Moscow University became a centre of anthropological thought and collecting from the 1870s onward. In contrast to the more academically secluded St Petersburg, anthropological endeavours in Moscow enjoyed broad interest and support.

Collections from the Anthropological Exhibition, including several skulls from the South Pacific, were transferred after the exhibition to the newly established Anthropological Museum of Moscow University (Krivosheina 2014). This institution, which also incorporates the collections of the abovementioned Moscow Public and Rumiantsev Museum, is now the second largest repository of Australian and South Pacific materials in Russia, after St Petersburg. Its craniological collections number over 16,000 individuals (skulls and skeletons). An inventory of its collections has been published (Alekseeva et al. 1986) and some of its craniological materials were used in Alekseev's study (Alekseeva 1974, 1984).[15] This allows us to overview its Australian and South Pacific holdings, which currently number over thirty skulls. The collection also includes twenty-five skulls from the Malay Archipelago (Alekseeva et al. 1986: 193).

According to Alekseeva's 1986 inventory, the museum holds five skulls of Australian Aborigines, information about which is published with a brief note 'Provenance unknown'. There is no reference to Ancestral Remains sent from Australia by Mueller, nor to the Papuan skull received from Mueller before 1872. The two Hawaiian skulls from Barnard Davis exhibited during the Anthropological Exhibition are not mentioned either; possibly they were sent on loan only (Alekseeva et al. 1986: 193).

The collection has ten skulls received from the Dresden Museum via A.B. Meyer, its then director, in 1896. The provenance of these skulls is recorded as Gazelle Peninsula, New Britain. As Meyer did not visit this area himself, it is likely that these items were collected by someone else, deposited in the Dresden Museum, and used by Meyer for inter-museum exchange. Alekseeva's 1986 catalogue lists seven Māori skulls received from the Russian Admiral Avramy Aslanbegov, but Alekseev's 1984 study attributes them to the Admiralty Islands. However, considering that Aslanbegov visited Auckland in December 1881 but never stopped at the Admiralty Islands, the first attribution seems more reliable. There are also five skulls from New Guinea, some of which are from the Maclay Coast and must have been donated to the Museum by Russian naval officers who visited the area. One further Papuan skull, probably acquired from the Hamburg-based

Umlauff family of dealers in ethnographica, is preserved in the ethnographical section of the Museum, alongside a mummified Māori head received from Prince Aleksandr Mikhailovich Dondukov-Korsakov (1820–1893) (Penny 2002: 61, 67, 70, 103–106; Thode-Arora 1992).[16]

In addition to the aforementioned skeletal remains, the ethnographical section of the Museum holds the attire of a Papuan man named Nolle (or Noli) from the Kai-Kai tribe in Merauke, southern New Guinea (now Indonesian territory). He and two other Papuans were brought to Moscow in 1910 by Angelo Koufakos, a Greek impresario. Like Bob and Tambo before him – two of the 'Professional Savages' whose story Roslyn Poignant (2004) has painstakingly pieced together – Nolle died while on tour. Dmitry Anuchin promptly acquired both his attire and his skeleton; however, the whereabouts of the latter requires further investigation (Anonymous 1911a; 1911b).

To the best of our knowledge, none of the Ancestral Remains described above have been returned to their Traditional Owners. Currently the law of the Russian Federation identifies the so-called Museum Fund, managed by the Ministry of Culture, as the owner and manager of the collections of all Russian state museums. In consequence, similar to the situation in France, the managers of individual museums are not legally able to approve any requests for repatriation. Such requests would need to be approved by the Ministry of Culture, and would require an expert opinion confirming that the Ancestral Remains to be returned have no museum or scientific value and can therefore be de-accessioned.

Conclusion

This chapter has profiled individuals from a variety of professions and nationalities, ranging from medical officers to traveller-naturalists, poets, botanists, and impresarios with connections to North and South America, Australia, the Dutch East Indies, France, Germany, Greece, the Netherlands, and Switzerland. These diverse personalities had one thing in common: all were involved in acquiring human remains from the peoples of the Pacific for Russian collections. We have illuminated how numerous and complex were the international networks underlying Russian cranial and skeletal collections by focusing on three major themes: the commercial, diplomatic, and scientific ambitions of Russian naval expeditions to the Pacific; the professionalisation of craniology and the expansion of the Anatomical Museum at the Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg under Karl Ernst von Baer; and the emergence of Moscow as a second centre of anthropological studies in Russia. We view our study not as a comprehensive catalogue of human remains from the Pacific in Russian collections, but as an initial contribution to the topic only. A more complete understanding of the networks connecting Russia and other collecting nations will require further research, as well as the involvement of relevant Russian institutions.[17]

Notes

1 Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are the authors' own (translations from the Russian by Elena Govor, from the German by Hilary Howes). Terms such as 'race' and 'Negro' should be understood in their historical context.

2 Justus Christian von Loder, physician and anatomist, born in Riga, active in Göttingen, Jena, Halle and Moscow; Heinrich Friedrich Isenflamm, anatomist, born in Erlangen, active in Dorpat, Munich and Erlangen; Ludwig Heinrich Bojanus, zoologist, born in Buchsweiler (Alsace), active in Jena, Darmstadt and Vilnius; Conrad Martin Johann Langenbeck, surgeon and anatomist, born in Horneburg bei Stade, active in Jena, Vienna, Würzburg, and Göttingen.

3 Krusenstern received the rank of admiral in 1842; however, this does not mean that the skull itself was donated after 1842. Most likely the inscription was added at a later date for easier identification.

4 Johann Gaspar Spurzheim, phrenologist, philosopher, anatomist and physician, born in Longuich bei Trier, active in Vienna, Paris, Great Britain, Ireland, and the United States.

5 In addition to the three skulls held in Göttingen, Moscow, and St Petersburg, respectively, the Institute of Anatomy at the Rhenish Friedrich Wilhelms University in Bonn also holds a skull obtained in Nuku Hiva during the first Russian round-the-world expedition. It had been given by Tilesius to the German anatomist Johann Christian Rosenmüller (1771–1820). After Rosenmüller's death, it was bought at auction in Leipzig by August Mayer (1787–1865), an anatomist from Bonn. Noticing a pencilled inscription, 'Nukahiwa', on the skull, Mayer made a thorough investigation, discovered the connection with Tilesius, and obtained from him abundant information regarding the circumstances of its acquisition (Mayer 1828: 437–439). Tilesius had acquired the skulls of two children, a girl of around twelve to fourteen (bought by Mayer) and a boy of five or six (current location unknown), from the priest of Taiohae valley at Nuku Hiva. He learned that they were the remains of human sacrifices; after the death of the high priest, a member of another tribe was usually kidnapped, strangled and hung up on a tree near the high priest's house, where the body would gradually dry up and disintegrate. This was the reason Tilesius gave for the missing lower jaw of the girl's skull (Tilesius in Mayer 1828: 449–452).

6 Probably the Kenai Peninsula, Alaska.

7 Vladimir Andreevich von Middendorf (1826–1868) was in Russian America in 1849–1856, serving as director of the Sitka Magnetic Observatory (Pierce 1990: 357).

8 Possibly Alexei Saltykov (1806–1859), who visited Persia in 1838, then India and Sri Lanka in 1841–46; his brothers Ivan and Peter were also passionate collectors (Anonymous 1909).

9 'Raetia . . . ancient Roman province comprising Vorarlberg and Tirol states in present-day Austria, the eastern cantons of Switzerland, and parts of Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg states in Germany.' *Encyclopaedia Britannica Online* 2015, www.britannica.com/place/Raetia (accessed 2 November 2016).

10 The Baltic German naturalist Richard Otto Maack (Richard Karlovich Maak, 1825–1886) undertook a number of expeditions to Siberia in the 1850s (Maack 1853: 368; Knox 1871: 372 ff).

11 Blumenbach's contacts included Georg Thomas von Asch (Baron Asch), who supplied him with skulls from the peoples of the Russian Empire (Radziun and Khartanovich 2015: 116; Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen 2016).

12 Baer appears to have had little contact with English-speaking savants, though he was not ill-disposed towards the English in general; he visited London in 1859, and later opined in his autobiography that '[o]f all the important nations, the English probably have the most resolute patriotic and national feeling . . . However, this strong national feeling does not prevent the English from recognising foreign worth' (Baer 1986 [1886]: 301, 359). Possibly his contacts were partly shaped by his linguistic abilities. He was certainly fluent in German, Latin, and Russian, and probably also French to some extent, but seemingly not English.

13 A more exact translation of the last word would be 'explorers of nature', but we employ the commonly used version of the name.

14 English translation courtesy of the Correspondence of Ferdinand von Mueller Project. We are grateful to Sara Maroske for providing access to relevant original texts and English translations from unpublished material collated under the auspices of this project (Sara Maroske, pers. comm., 24 January 2016). See also Correspondence of Ferdinand von Mueller Project, www.rbg.vic.gov.au/science/herbarium-and-resources/library/mueller-correspondence-project (accessed 13 April 2018).

15 Despite the similarity of their surnames, Alekseeva and Alekseev are two different people.

16 Alekseeva's 1986 catalogue does not list the mannequins, busts and masks produced by Sevriugin for the Anthropological Exhibition of 1879.

17 A table listing human remains from the South Pacific in Russian institutions is to be placed in the restricted access area of the RRR digital archive of repatriation information. This facility will be available in 2020 (www.returnreconcilerenew.info).

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