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## Why Does a Plaque at the Espace Tilo Frey Still Mention Louis Agassiz?

Detouring as a Methodological Tool to Reveal Diverting Tactics

Defining the Espace Tilo Frey—the first public space in Neuchâtel dedicated to a Swiss woman of African descent—has proven to be a challenging task. This difficulty stems from two issues. First, the documents I have consulted for my research on monuments and colonial symbols in Neuchâtel<sup>1</sup> offer no consensus on what the Espace actually represents. Second, there remains an unresolved question concerning the visual language of commemoration within the site. Indeed, Louis Agassiz—Frey's controversial predecessor—remains visibly present at the University of Neuchâtel: his name is still inscribed on a wall, accompanied by a QR code that links to his biography. Confronted with these elements—Agassiz's name, the QR code, and its biography—I am compelled to ask: what purpose do these objects serve? And moreover, what does it mean to rename a place while preserving a visual and discursive framework that continues to give physical presence to the very figure the renaming sought to call into question?

Located in the Humanities building at the University of Neuchâtel, the Espace Tilo Frey occupies a site at Les Jeunes-Rives, on the shore of Lake Neuchâtel.<sup>2</sup> It is surrounded by three key buildings: an auditorium; the heart of the faculty; and another edifice that houses the library.<sup>3</sup> The Humanities complex was built after many institutional quarrels. For years, the faculty of humanities was scattered across unsuitable premises, constantly forced to move between different locations or adapt to temporary arrangements. The anticipation for a complex that would finally bring the faculty under one roof was palpable and its inauguration on October 31, 1986 marked a momentous occasion.<sup>4</sup>

The courtyard between the buildings—referred to by architect Jean-Michel Triponoz and his team in a 1986 report as «la place préau de l'aula»—is organized around a sculpture of Swiss artist Gianfredo Camesi (born 1940).<sup>5</sup> After winning a contest, Camesi's work was seamlessly integrated into the overall architectural design.<sup>6</sup> The artist later revised the original title of his sculpture, *Anamorphose*, renaming it in 1988 as *Ouvert, Formation-Transformation*.<sup>7</sup>

The sculpture is composed of various stones arranged in a circle that opens from 30° to 180°. This circular arrangement recalls another work by Camesi, located at Avenue Piccard, on the campus of the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology in Lausanne (EPFL).<sup>8</sup> In Camesi's practice, the circle carries multiple symbolic meanings: the cosmos, the world, and life itself. In this context, it also evokes the different stages of a student's transformation through engagement with university life. Like its title, the installation itself underwent changes: initially, it only consisted of

stones. A few years later, the Swiss art historian and curator Marc-Olivier Wahler mentions that «certain authority» recommended replacing the gravel by shrubs and grass.<sup>9</sup> In November 1988, the street running through «la place préau de l'aula» was inaugurated as Espace Louis Agassiz,<sup>10</sup> a name it retained until May 2019, when it was officially renamed as Espace Tilo Frey, in honor of the first woman of both Swiss and Cameroonian origin elected to the Swiss Parliament.

As historian Jovita Dos Santos Pinto observes, the prior failure to commemorate Tilo Frey (1923–2008) reflects a «raceless» national narrative: «according to this narrative, Switzerland has no colonial history and therefore no history of colonial racism». In her 2020 article, Pinto then explains that Tilo Frey was among the first twelve women elected to the National Council in 1971, the very year women's suffrage was introduced in Switzerland. She was also the first Black woman—or more generally woman of color—to serve in the Federal Parliament. Raised in Neuchâtel, Frey joined the Free Democratic Party (FDP) in September 1959, shortly after the canton granted women the right to vote. She was elected to the municipal parliament in 1964, served as its president from 1970 to 1971, and became a grand councilor of the canton in 1969.<sup>11</sup>

Yet, despite her trailblazing career, the decision to rename the Espace Louis Agassiz in her honor sparked controversy in Neuchâtel, prompting what I describe as a public display of anger and disappointment from a group of historians and researchers affiliated with the natural sciences societies in the French speaking part of Switzerland.<sup>12</sup> Their reactions, voiced through various public media outlets, led to a series of subtle visual modifications to the space now dedicated to Frey. Until June 2019, when the site still bore the name Louis Agassiz, two plaques placed on the north building displayed his name, along with his profession and the dates marking his birth and death. Back then one plaque read «Espace Louis Agassiz», with «Naturalist, 1807–1873» inscribed beneath. Since June 6, 2019, three new plaques are displayed on the wall. One bears the name «Tilo Frey», while another reads: «First woman from Neuchâtel elected to the federal parliament, Swiss Cameroonian politician, 1923–2008». Beneath them, a smaller plaque states: «Formerly Espace Louis-Agassiz». This note is accompanied by a QR code linking to Louis Agassiz's entry in the Swiss Biographical Dictionary, offering a more detailed account of his life (fig. 1).

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The renaming of the space from Agassiz to Frey is the result of political and social pressures that arose following the launch of the Demounting Louis Agassiz campaign in 2007. Prior to this, Louis Agassiz was mainly celebrated for his pioneering work as a glaciologist and ichthyologist of global renown,<sup>13</sup> as well as a key founder and prominent figure of the University of Neuchâtel (formerly the Académie neuchâteloise). He was also regarded as a «charming scientist»,<sup>14</sup> well connected with influential figures in politics and science in Paris, Germany, and the United States, where he held a professorship at Harvard.<sup>15</sup> Starting in 2007, a critical counter-narrative about Agassiz gained traction in Switzerland. This narrative focused on his views and actions regarding Black people in the United States. It highlighted his support for segregationist and polygenist ideologies.<sup>16</sup> Public attention was drawn to these critiques through a range of interventions, including open letters,<sup>17</sup> political debates in the Swiss Parliament,<sup>18</sup> and artistic projects organized by the Demounting Louis Agassiz committee. Notable among these artistic projects were *Rentyhorn* (2008),



1 Plaques and QR code Espace Tilo Frey, 2025, Neuchâtel (photo by the author)

a video intervention by Swiss Haitian artist Sasha Huber and *Glaciologist, Racist: Louis Agassiz (1807–2012)* (2012), an exhibition curated by Hans Fässler and Hans Barth, both historians and members of the Demounting Louis Agassiz committee (fig. 2).<sup>19</sup>

Building on the legacy of this critique, a series of petitions challenged the use and meaning of urban public spaces in Neuchâtel in the following years, ultimately contributing to the renaming of the Espace Louis Agassiz. While all these petitions



2 Sasha Huber  
Metal plaque,  
2008, engraved  
aluminium on  
wood, 31,5 × 33 cm,  
Courtesy the artist  
and Museum of  
Contemporary Art  
Kiasma

did not target the Espace directly—each driven by distinct political agendas—they converged to prompt the eventual change. The demands emerged from three main motivations: the desire to reinterpret Neuchâtel's historical narrative, the push to feminize public spaces, and the wish to restore the memory of a previously overlooked Neuchâtel politician.

In 2018, Martha Zurita, a politician from the Swiss Party of Labor (POP) in Neuchâtel, submitted an interpellation to the municipal council. It proposed the installation of a plaque aimed at highlighting the multiple facets of Agassiz's legacy on the commodities that celebrated him.<sup>20</sup> This initiative was soon followed by

two additional petitions. The first, supported by the African Popular University in Switzerland (UPAF) and the Carrefour de Réflexion et d'Action Contre le Racisme Anti-Noir (CRAN), called for a public space to be dedicated to Tilo Frey. Notably, this petition was submitted after the tenth anniversary of Frey's death, and in light of the lack of public celebration of this figure.<sup>21</sup> The second petition submitted by Raymonde Richter from the Radical Liberal Party (PLR), sought to increase the visibility of women in public spaces, particularly highlighting the case of Tilo Frey.<sup>22</sup> In response, the city's executive authorities decided to address these various demands by renaming the Espace Agassiz as Espace Tilo Frey.

This decision, however, was met with strong resistance from Neuchâtel's intellectual elite. The University of Neuchâtel, for instance, refused to install an explanatory plaque beneath Agassiz's statue, which remains on display in the university main building.<sup>23</sup> Similarly, the commemorative stone in honor of Agassiz and his colleague<sup>24</sup> at Pierre-à-Bot remains untouched, preserving its original form without any explanation. In the Museum of Natural Science, the sign contextualizing a portrait of Agassiz painted by Alfred Berthoud (1881) offers only a brief mention of his racist ideology, choosing instead to emphasize his contributions to the museum's collections. It is worth noting that the portrait in that museum is oddly positioned behind two other celebratory statues,<sup>25</sup> as if it were meant to be hidden while still on display. Apparently, the museum chose to move Agassiz's portrait from its former place to a corner dedicated to the institution's founders.<sup>26</sup> Nevertheless, this scenographic choice—exhibiting an object while partially concealing it—reveals a broader pattern present in Neuchâtel's cultural institutions: a simultaneous acknowledgment and avoidance.

The practice of hiding while displaying brings me back to the Espace Tilo Frey, where Agassiz's name—along with a QR code—has been added beneath the new plaque bearing Tilo Frey's name. The renaming represented a significant milestone, as it granted Neuchâtel its first public space dedicated to a Swiss woman of African descent. Nevertheless, Agassiz's name remains engraved on the wall of the University of Neuchâtel, accompanied by a QR code that directs to his biography. Taken together, these elements lead me to ask: What is the intended purpose of displaying technological objects in this memorial place? To answer this, it is essential to examine how Agassiz's memory is framed in public discourse: What is being said about him? What is left unsaid? What do certain actors choose to remember, and what do they prefer to forget?

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The announcement of the renaming from Agassiz to Frey was aired on Swiss national television on September 7, 2018.<sup>27</sup> In this brief report, three speakers take the floor. The first, Neuchâtel City Councilor Thomas Fachinetti, explains the reasons behind the city's decision to change the name citing a «rise in xenophobia» and the municipality's desire to «take a stand against» this trend in Europe. In contrast, historian Jean-Pierre Jelmini, who regretted the change, argues: «Personally, I find it unfortunate that one half of a man's life cancels out the other. I would have preferred an explanation that acknowledges both sides of his life.» Another historian, Marc-Antoine Kaeser, remarks: «I feel we are prisoners of the present—using today's lens to judge the past. But history and the past serve a different purpose: We must confront them to interrogate our present and to imagine a different future.» Towards the end

of the report, the journalist poses the question: «In Neuchâtel, streets and buildings bear the names of notables enriched through slavery—so is the city considering launching a cleanup operation and renaming Place de Pury?» To this, Fachinetti responds: «We won't erase that; we acknowledge the legacies of history, and it is far from our intention to yield to what some might perceive as political correctness.»

These commentaries reveal a diverse range of perspectives. Fachinetti's view, for instance, links the name change to a perceived «increase in xenophobia». Kaeser, on the other hand, invokes «science» and «the past» as guardians of historical truth, contending that the proposed alteration would violate historical ethics. Jelmini takes yet another position, viewing the renaming as a form of erasure, tantamount to wiping out half of a man's life.

Another striking aspect of the public debate around Agassiz is the prominence given to voices that share similar views. Of the three individuals interviewed in the reportage, two are esteemed researchers with ties to the University of Neuchâtel who advocate for retaining Agassiz's name at the university. No reference is made to Martha Zurita, who submitted the petitions to engage more critically with Agassiz's legacy in 2018. Likewise, neither the Demounting Louis Agassiz committee, which has denounced the selective nature of Swiss writings on Agassiz since 2007, nor the historian Jovita Dos Santos Pinto, whose research focuses on Tilo Frey, are given a voice.

What this suggests to me is that the debate around Agassiz's memory in Switzerland is shaped by a select group of voices—mainly those who carefully curated his image and uphold Agassiz as an extraordinary scientist. Such an approach, I believe, diverts attention from other critical issues at stake: making explicit that the making of science is not neutral,<sup>28</sup> and acknowledging that one can foster significant contributions to certain fields—such as glaciology or ichthyology—while also advancing hierarchical racist theories.

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Suppose I were to study the controversy surrounding Agassiz's legacy using only media that prioritize the perspectives of natural historians and university rectors advocating to keep his name at the university of Neuchâtel. In that case, I might wrongly conclude that this criticism of Agassiz is a recent phenomenon—dating back only to the launch of the Demounting Louis Agassiz campaign—lacking historical depth. I might also be led to view such criticism merely as an attempt to rewrite what Kaeser considers «the past».

The research practices of colleagues such as Izabel Barros and artist Sasha Huber offer alternative perspectives grounded in decolonial, feminist, and activist methodologies. Their work demonstrates that to truly grasp the criticisms of Agassiz as historical facts, one must adopt an international lens—taking into account the places where he lived, taught, collected human remains and natural specimens, commissioned photographs, and continues to be celebrated. Their findings suggest that the collections underlying Agassiz's scientific renown cannot simply be seen as a great accomplishment.<sup>29</sup> In contrast to the narrowing of the conversation in Neuchâtel, these perspectives provide crucial counterpoints, enabling me to *de-center* the reactionary views so prominently featured in Swiss mainstream media and Swiss natural historians' publications about Agassiz.

Part of Huber's work is to challenge the visual and symbolic persistence of Agassiz's legacy. She created a map of sites around the world that bear Agassiz's

name, revealing the global impact and reach of his commemorations.<sup>30</sup> Through this mapping, she charted necessary *detours* required to gain a fuller understanding of Agassiz's global impact. One of these detours leads us to the United States, where Agassiz served as a professor.

In the United States, I look for texts by Black writers that address scientific racism from the nineteenth century onward. I begin with Frederick Douglass's 1854 address *The Claims of the Negro, Ethnologically Considered*,<sup>31</sup> where he directly challenges the racist premises of polygenism and the ethnological theories circulating in the mid-nineteenth century, including those advanced by Agassiz. Building on Douglass's intervention, I then turn to W. E. B. Du Bois's *The Conservation of Races* (1897),<sup>32</sup> a speech delivered at the inauguration of the American Negro Academy in Washington, D.C., which develops a more systematic vision of race as both a social and historical construct. Finally, I bring this historical trajectory into conversation with the late twentieth century, analyzing the visual and discursive strategies of Carrie Mae Weems's photographic installation *From Here I Saw What Happened and I Cried* (1995–1996),<sup>33</sup> which reframes photographic archives of enslaved subjects to expose and resist the legacies of racial objectification. These references testify, both in the nineteenth and the twenty-first centuries, to how Black intellectuals have exposed the everyday costs of polygenism—and the racial segregation it was used to justify. These testimonies move me because they bear witness, on an emotional level, to the everyday effects of racist scientific discourse from the standpoint of the embodied experience of Blackness.

I wonder how these ideas circulate and eventually reach Switzerland. Because in my opinion, some elements of this Black tradition appear in the petitions of the Demounting Louis Agassiz committee as well as in the demands of Martha Zurita. Both underscore the ways in which the governance of public space is entangled with historical narratives inherited from the nineteenth century. In doing so, they make visible something that Du Bois was also suggesting: namely that theory actively shapes not only the urban environments we move through on a daily basis, but also those we observe and reflect upon from a distance.

The Black critical tradition of scientific racism—by foregrounding the everyday costs of racialization—has provided a grammar for articulating restitution claims against Agassiz. In my work, I use the term «restitution» in the sense of restoring—bringing to light what was once set aside, re-historicizing, and revisiting the written narratives<sup>34</sup> surrounding Agassiz's memory.

There are multiple restitution claims against Agassiz internationally at the moment I write. These demands encompass a wide range of actions, from the revision of historical discourse—such as in Martha Zurita's interpellation—to disseminating images digitally—as in Tamara Lanier's trial against Harvard, in which she sought the return of daguerreotypes of her enslaved ancestors, arguing that the university had no rightful claim to possess, to circulate or profit financially from them.<sup>35</sup>

I frame these demands as an international complaint against Agassiz, arguing that such restitution claims have emerged particularly in places where Louis Agassiz collected natural resources and local ecological knowledge about the fauna and flora he studied.<sup>36</sup> Engaging with the voices behind this international complaint has prompted me to reconsider the achievements for which Agassiz is usually celebrated, situating them within a broader historical critique of natural science. I further argue that these complaints reveal another dimension of scientific knowledge production:

the plundering of human remains—such as those excavated in Rio de Janeiro in 1865–1866<sup>37</sup>—as well as the use of troubling imagery he commissioned, both in the United States and in Brazil, to illustrate his racial theories.<sup>38</sup> From this perspective, I interpret the plaque and QR code honoring Louis Agassiz at the Espace Tilo Frey as tangible manifestations of an invisible discursive struggle between competing intellectual traditions<sup>39</sup> while simultaneously serving as diversion tactics. These objects *divert* attention from the claims formulated by the international complaint against Agassiz and redirect it to the fears and disappointments of a group of Neuchâtel natural science historians. This group frames any criticism of Agassiz's legacy as an attempt to rewrite history and dismisses such critiques as ahistorical. Consequently, *detouring* through other geographies and timelines—or, rather, engaging with traditions of thought that expose what Neuchâtel's narratives seek to sideline—becomes a crucial methodological strategy, allowing me to move beyond the limitations of a purely national and one-sided acknowledgment of Agassiz's legacy.

## Notes

1 My sources include Neuchâtel newspapers reporting on the 1988 inauguration of the Espace Louis Agassiz, municipal archives from 1985–1988 and 2017–2019, a book published by Jean-Michel Triponez and others for the opening of the new University Humanities building in 1986, as well as maps from the Géoportail Neuchâtel website. [https://sitn.ne.ch/theme/main?lang=fr&base\\_layer\\_ref=blank&tree\\_groups=gp\\_points\\_interets%2Cgp\\_photos\\_360%2Cgp\\_main%2Cgp\\_base\\_layers&tree\\_group\\_layers\\_gp\\_photos\\_360=](https://sitn.ne.ch/theme/main?lang=fr&base_layer_ref=blank&tree_groups=gp_points_interets%2Cgp_photos_360%2Cgp_main%2Cgp_base_layers&tree_group_layers_gp_photos_360=), accessed 26.08.2025

2 Dominique Chloé Baumann: Une histoire des lieux, dans l'université de Neuchâtel 1909–2009. Former, chercher, transmettre, innover, Hauterive 2009, p. 233–241.

3 Jean-Michel Triponez & al. (eds.): Université, science, morales, Neuchâtel, in Université de Neuchâtel Aula et faculté des lettres, Neuchâtel 1986, p. 29–37.

4 Baumann 2009 (as note 2), p. 233–241.

5 Triponez & al. 1986 (as note 3), p. 29–37.

6 Marc-Olivier Wahler: Anamorphose, in: Walter Tschopp/Hans Christoph von Tavel (eds.): Camesi, exhib.-cat., Bern/Neuchâtel 1994, p. 171–179.

7 Gianfredo Camesi: Camesi. Cahier d'artiste, Zurich 1988, p. 15.

8 École Polytechnique Fédérale de Lausanne (EPFL): Cosmogonie, 2018, [https://www.epfl.ch/campus/art-culture/museum-exhibitions/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/Gianfredo\\_Camesi\\_Cosmogonie.pdf](https://www.epfl.ch/campus/art-culture/museum-exhibitions/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/Gianfredo_Camesi_Cosmogonie.pdf), accessed 28.07.2025

9 Wahler 1994 (as note 6), here p. 179.

10 Ville de Neuchâtel: Conseil général 22<sup>ème</sup> séance, Lundi 12 novembre 2018, Geographical map, p. 2594, [https://www.neuchatelville.ch/fileadmin/sites/ne\\_ville/fichiers/votre\\_commune/](https://www.neuchatelville.ch/fileadmin/sites/ne_ville/fichiers/votre_commune/)

cg\_pv/PV\_CG\_no\_22\_-12\_novembre\_2018.pdf, accessed 28.07.2025.

11 Jovita Dos Santo Pinto: Afrofeminismus gegen das Vergessen, fernetzt 2020, <https://fernetzt.univie.ac.at/afrofeminismus-gegen-das-vergessen/>, accessed 15.08.2025.

12 To substantiate this claim, I conducted a comprehensive review of several sources. These include coverage in the Neuchâtel press about the Espace Louis Agassiz between 1988 and 2020, reports by Swiss French television on the same subject, as well as various forms of public debate addressing the renaming of Espace Louis Agassiz (such as podcasts, discussions in Cafés Scientifique, and similar forums).

13 Hans Fässler: Press Release Campaign «Demounting Louis Agassiz (1807–1873)», in: Archiv Louverture 2007, [https://archiv.louverture.ch/KAMPA/AGASSIZ/mail\\_agassiz.pdf](https://archiv.louverture.ch/KAMPA/AGASSIZ/mail_agassiz.pdf), accessed 18.08.2025.

14 Marc-Antoine Kaeser: Un savant séducteur. Louis Agassiz (1807–1873), prophète de la science, Vevey 2007.

15 Ibid., p. 161.

16 Hans Fässler: Such Is in a Name. Louis Agassiz, Sasha Huber, and Swiss Snow White-ness, in: Mark Sealy/Gaëtane Verna (eds.): Sasha Huber: You Name It, Milan 2022, p. 33–43. See also Demounting Louis Agassiz committee: Rentyhorn Petition, in: Rentyhorn.ch, 2008, <https://www.rentyhorn.ch/list.php?lang=en>, accessed 18.08.2025.

17 Sasha Huber: Request to rename the Agassiz-horn (3946 m above sea level, BE/VS), letter, Helsinki, September 15, 2008, in: Sealy/Verna 2022 (as note 16), p. 45–46.

18 Hans Fässler: Letter to the Swiss Federal Office of Topography, in: Archiv Louverture 2007,



- [https://archiv.louverture.ch/KAMPA/AGASSIZ/agass\\_landestopo.pdf](https://archiv.louverture.ch/KAMPA/AGASSIZ/agass_landestopo.pdf), accessed 18.08.2025. See also: Carlo Sommaruga: Interpellation «Démonter Louis Agassiz et redonner la dignité à l'esclave Renty», Swiss Parliament 2007, <https://www.parlament.ch/fr/ratsbetrieb/suche-curia-vista/geschaeft?AffairId=20073486>, accessed 18.08.2025.
- 19 Sasha Huber: Imagining Freedom through Transa(r)tatlantic Reparative Interventions, in: Sealy/Verna 2022 (as note 16), p. 113–123.
- 20 Ville de Neuchâtel 2018 (as note 10), p. 2582–2583.
- 21 Dos Santos Pinto 2020 (as note 11). See also: Université populaire africaine en Suisse: Appel pour la Mémoire de Tilo Frey, 1<sup>re</sup> Neuchâteloise parlementaire d'origine africaine, Petition, Bern and Geneva 2018, <https://www.change.org/p/autorités-suissees-fédérales-et-neuchâteloises-appel-pour-tilo-frey-1re-neuchâteloise-parlementaire-d-origine-africaine-56-premières-signatures-déjà>, accessed 18.08.2025.
- 22 Ville de Neuchâtel 2018 (as note 10), p. 2584–2585.
- 23 Isaline Deléderray-Oguey/Matthieu Gillabert/Chantal Lafontant Vallotton: Changer de nom pour changer de passé? Échange autour de l'Espace Louis-Agassiz à Neuchâtel, devenu Espace Tilo-Frey, in: Traverse: Revue d'histoire, 2019, Nr 26, p. 183–191.
- 24 Namely Arnold Guyot, Edouard Desor, Leon Dupasquier.
- 25 These statues depict Paul-Louis-Auguste Coulon (1777–1855) and his son Louis Coulon (1804–1894). As Marc-Antoine Kaeser notes, it was Louis Coulon who organized the subscription that financed Louis Agassiz's professorial salary in Neuchâtel, thus forging a direct link between the Coulon family and Agassiz's academic career. Kaeser 2007 (as note 14), p. 76.
- 26 Ville de Neuchâtel 2018 (as note 10), p. 2590.
- 27 Radio Télévision Suisse: Louis-Agassiz persona non grata à Neuchâtel pour ses théories racistes. L'espace qui porte son nom est rebaptisé Tilo Frey, Video, in: 19h30, September 7, 2018, <https://www.rts.ch/info/regions/neuchatel/9826189-neuchatel-debaptise-lespace-louis-agassiz-scientifique-conterverse.html>, accessed 18.08.2025.
- 28 See for example: Katherine McKittrick: *Dear Science and Other Stories*, Durham 2021.
- 29 I am referring to the work of historian Marc-Antoine Kaeser on Agassiz, which describes the collections at the National Museum of Natural History in Paris as «des récoltes scientifiques». See Kaeser 2007 (as note 14), p. 59. The term «récolte» is discussed by Felwine Sarr/Bénédicte Savoy in their book *Restituer le patrimoine africain*, Paris 2018, p. 30.
- 30 Janice Cheddie: Sasha Huber's Rentyhorn. Challenging Political Race-less-ness in Switzerland, in: *Third Text, Journal for Critical analysis in Art*, June 12, 2017, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09528822.2017.1329183>.
- 31 Frederick Douglass, in: *Frederick Douglass Papers*, 1854, <https://frederickdouglasspapersproject.com/s/digitaledition/item/15927>, accessed 18.08.2025.
- 32 William Edward Burghardt Du Bois: The Conservation of Races, Speech, in: *The American Negro Academy Occasional Papers N° 2*, 1897, <http://www.webdubois.org/dbConsrVOfRaces.html>, accessed 18.08.2025.
- 33 Carrie Mae Weems: *From Here I Saw What Happend and I Cried*, Photographic installation 1995–1996, in: Carrie Mae Weems.net, <https://www.carriemaeweems.net/fromhereisaw>, accessed 18.08.2025.
- 34 This definition was inspired booth by the work of Bénédicte Savoy and Felwine Sarr, and also by the vocabulary the international complaint against Agassiz is formulating.
- 35 Legacy Russell: *The Shadow, the Substance. Renty and Delia as Viral Daguerreotypes*, in: *Black Meme. A History of the Images That Make Us*, London 2024, p. 132–143.
- 36 Louis Agassiz/Elizabeth Agassiz Cabot Cary: *A Journey in Brazil*, Boston 1868.
- 37 The Harvard University Steering Committee on Human Remains: Report of the steering committee on human remains in university museum collections, *Rapport*, Harvard University 2022, p. 10. [https://provost.harvard.edu/sites/g/files/omnuum12476/files/provost/files/harvard\\_university\\_human\\_remains\\_report\\_fall\\_2022.pdf](https://provost.harvard.edu/sites/g/files/omnuum12476/files/provost/files/harvard_university_human_remains_report_fall_2022.pdf), accessed 15.08.2025.
- 38 Legacy Russell 2024 (as note 35), p. 132–143. See also: Maria Helena Pereira Toledo Machado: *Louis Agassiz's Brazilian Photographic Collection and the Politics of Remembering and Forgetting*, in: Sealy/Verna 2022 (as note 16), p. 79–87; and John Manuel Monteiro: *Mr. Hunnewell's Black Hands. Agassiz and the «Mixed Races» of Manaus*, in: *Mirror of Race* 2018, <https://mirrorofrace.bc.edu/files/original/76f4c07315f52f9b155d6036c5f29865.pdf>, accessed 15.08.2025.
- 39 Michel-Rolph Trouillot: *Silencing the Past. Power and Production of History*, Boston 1995, p. xxi–xxiii.