

Global Markets, Local Suppliers: Examining the Provenance of Archaeological Material from Southern Central America in Dutch Ethnographic Museums

Georg A. Müller  / Martin E. Berger 

Abstract: In recent years, Central American countries have more actively developed efforts for the repatriation of archaeological material. In this context, more attention to provenance research on archaeological material from the region is warranted. In this article we examine the acquisition history of the Southern Central American archaeological material currently housed in the Wereldmuseum Leiden and Wereldmuseum Amsterdam. By looking at who supplied material to the museums, where these individuals were based, and how their engagement with these objects was shaped by professional and personal characteristics, we aim to come to a better understanding of the structural and incidental factors that contributed to the formation of these collections. By examining the acquisition history of the 742 objects categorized as archaeological material from the region in these museums, as well as the biographies of the 45 individuals and institutions involved in supplying this material, we conclude that the collecting of Southern Central American archaeological material in the Wereldmuseum Leiden and the Wereldmuseum Amsterdam should be considered in light of mostly US-driven corporate and geopolitical interests in the region. At the same time, we highlight the importance of ‘collection idiosyncrasies’, based on personal relationships and interests, in shaping the collections we have today.

Keywords: archaeology; Central America; Wereldmuseum Leiden; Wereldmuseum Amsterdam; museum history

Introduction

In her landmark 1969 article on the looting of Pre-Columbian antiquities, Clemency Coggins drew attention to the large-scale plundering of archaeological sites in the Maya areas in Mexico and Guatemala.¹ Fueled by a quickly growing market for antiquities, a steep increase in looting of archaeological sites took place in Mexico and Central America, beginning in the 1950s, with activity peaking in the 1960s and 1970s.² As a result,

thousands of pieces left their countries of origin and made their way to dealers, collectors, and museums in the US and Europe (as well as collections in the region itself). Much of the Indigenous Latin American archaeological material that is currently on display in ethnographic and art museums around the world derives from this trade, which took flight after the Second World War.

In this process of commodification and commercialization of archaeological heritage, the relationship between academics and commercial actors was ambivalent and often problematic (at least according to modern-day standards). Whereas some museum- and university-based scholars agreed to assess and authenticate material for antiquities dealers, others vehemently protested against this practice and refused to engage with

1 Clemency Coggins: Illicit Traffic of Pre-Columbian Antiquities, in: *Art Journal* 29 (1969), No. 1, 94-114.

2 Sofía Paredes Maury / Guido Krempel: There and Back again. Looting, Trafficking Culture, and the Management of Cultural Heritage in Guatemala, in: Cara Tremain / Donna Yates (eds.): *The Market for Mesoamerica. Reflections on the Sale of Pre-Columbian Antiquities*, Gainesville 2019, 61-86.

objects that did not derive from a documented excavation context. To this day, most professional archaeological associations discourage or even prohibit the publication in their journals of material from undocumented contexts through their ethical codes.³

In Mexico and Guatemala, the worlds of professional archaeologists, on the one hand, and commercial dealers, on the other, were generally kept apart. Most archaeologists did not cooperate with commercial actors, and professional excavations were clearly separated from illegal digging. In contrast, in Southern Central America (Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama) lines dividing academic actors from commercial actors were more blurry, and professional archaeological associations included both academics and commercial actors who were engaged in dealing with this material for other reasons.⁴ A prime example of this ‘blurri-ness’ was the Archaeological Society of Panama, a private organization whose members were primarily North American residents of the Canal Zone. Officially, the society aimed to stimulate archaeological research in the country, amongst other means by publishing the journal *Panama Archaeologist*. However, in practice, this society showed a “great moral ambiguity” as many of its members were primarily interested in amassing collections for the market, rather than contributing to archaeological research.⁵ Cooke and Sánchez describe how the society’s admission of academic researchers – including well-known archaeologists such as the American Samuel K. Lothrop (1892-1965), and the Swedish Henry Wassén (1908-1996) – in their membership base gave it an ‘academic veneer’ that

legitimized by proxy the actions of some of the less reputable members.⁶ Moreover, some of the best-known professional archaeological excavations in the region were financed by affluent collectors in the United States with the explicit aim to contribute to the building of private collections in the US.⁷

In recent years, Central American countries have more actively developed efforts to repatriate archaeological heritage.⁸ In this context, more attention to provenance research on archaeological material from the region is warranted. In this article, we present an overview of the material acquired from Southern Central America by the Wereldmuseum Amsterdam and Wereldmuseum Leiden in the Netherlands over the past 150 years. We focus on when these acquisitions took place, where most material came from, and, especially, who the people were that supplied objects to these museums. In the process, we aim to create a deeper understanding of the networks involved in acquiring these pieces, as well as the structural conditions and individual personal histories that enabled and motivated the acquisition of this material by Dutch museums.

Archaeology, Geopolitics, and Corporatism in Southern Central America

In archaeological literature, the countries in Southern Central America have historically been called the ‘Intermediate Area’, a pejorative term describing the location of these countries and their past cultures as in-between the ‘great civilizational centers’ in Mesoamerica and the Andean region.⁹ Initial interest in the archaeology of the region emerged from the possibility of incursions from the supposedly more developed areas to the North and South.¹⁰ While these views have certainly shifted in recent years, they strongly impacted the

3 Society for American Archaeology: Editorial Policy, Information for Authors, and Style Guide for American Antiquity, Latin American Antiquity, and Advances in Archaeological Practice, Washington D.C. 2023, 4; European Association of Archaeologists: European Journal of Archaeology Publications Ethics Policy, Prague 2022, 3.

4 Christina Luke: Corporatism, Heritage, and Museums. Rigmarole in Central America, 1899-1950, in: Cara Tremain / Donna Yates (eds.): *The Market for Mesoamerica. Reflections on the Sale of Pre-Columbian Antiquities*, Gainesville 2019, 37-59; Nicole Smith-Guzmán et al.: Resurrecting Playa Venado. A Pre-Columbian Burial Ground in Panama, in: Colin McEwan / John Hoopes (eds.): *Pre-Columbian Art from Central America and Colombia* at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington D.C. 2022, 279-329.

5 Richard Cooke / Luis Sánchez H.: *Arqueología en Panama*, in: Universidad de Panamá. Comisión Universitaria del Centenario de la República Panamá. Cien Años de República, Ciudad de Panamá 2004, 3-104, here: 18.

6 Cooke / Sánchez H. 2004 (see FN 5), 18.

7 Nicole Smith-Guzmán et al. 2022 (see FN 4), 281.

8 See for example <https://www.artnews.com/art-news/news/netherlands-returns-artifacts-panama-1234638950/>, <02.10.2024>.

9 Gordon Willey et al.: *Method and Theory in American Archaeology*, Tuscaloosa 2011, 204.

10 Doris Stone: *A History of Lower Central American Archaeology*, in: Frederick Lange / Doris Stone (eds.): *The Archaeology of Lower Central America*, Albuquerque 1984, 12-32, here: 14.

development of archaeological practice in the region and framed the collecting and exhibition histories that emerged during the 20th century.¹¹

Archaeology in Southern Central America developed primarily through projects funded by American or European institutions and donors. One of the first of these was William Holmes' (1846-1933) 1888 compilation of material from the Panamanian province of Chiriquí.¹² A decade later, Swedish interests in the region were ignited through Carl Vilhelm Hartman's (1862-1941) archaeological expedition in Central America,¹³ followed by a further Swedish project undertaken in eastern Panama and northern Colombia in the first two decades of the 20th century.¹⁴ Both of these projects led to large-scale acquisitions of Central American archaeological material by museums in Stockholm and Gothenburg.¹⁵

Archaeological practice existed in an entangled space of political and corporate interests which greatly influenced the work conducted. Important developments included the activities in the region of US corporations such as the United Fruit Company, as well as the construction of the Panama Canal. The infrastructure that was developed through these projects allowed for better access to archaeological sites, and archaeologists got directly involved in corporatism and imperial projects, chiefly led by the USA and US-based companies. Importantly, pioneering scholars such as Samuel K. Lothrop, Doris Zemurray Stone (1909-1994), and Dorothy Popenoe (1899-1932), whose husband worked for the United Fruit Company in Honduras, all had ties to these political and corporate interests.

Stone's work in Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica was essential to the development of archaeo-

logical practice in the region.¹⁶ She was also instrumental in the formation of the National Museum of Costa Rica in San José.¹⁷ Born in New Orleans, Stone was the daughter of Samuel Zemurray (1877-1961), founder of the Cuyamel Fruit Company and later President of United Fruit, whose corporate interests directly shaped US political involvement in the region, including the "Banana Wars" in Central America and the Guatemalan coup of 1954.¹⁸ Moreover, Stone's husband Roger was involved in a coffee plantation in Costa Rica from the late 1930s,¹⁹ as a result of which the couple moved to Costa Rica while Stone remained affiliated to Tulane University's Middle American Research Institute.

Samuel K. Lothrop was a respected figure in the history of Southern Central American archaeology and conducted work in the region under the auspices of Harvard's Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology.²⁰ At the same time, Lothrop worked for the US Office of Naval Intelligence, using his anthropological training and understanding of land and people to provide intelligence. Lothrop's work at the rich archaeological site of Playa Venado stands as a clear example of how corporatism, private collecting, and the US military presence shaped archaeological practice. Discovered in 1949 on the land of the former Howard Air Force Base in the Canal Zone, the site was first professionally investigated by Lothrop. This research was funded by American diplomat and collector Robert Woods Bliss (1875-1962), the founder of the Dumbarton Oaks collection, who claimed first choice of items for his private collections.²¹ Lothrop's work at Playa Venado took place alongside other excavations by a number of amateur archaeologists united in the aforementioned Archaeological Society of

11 Juan Antonio Murro: The History of the Central American and Colombian Collection at Dumbarton Oaks, in: McEwan / Hoopes 2022 (see FN 4), 11-27, here: 11-13.; John Hoopes / Colin McEwan / Bryan Cockrell: Introduction, in: *ibid.*, 1-9, here: 1.

12 William Holmes: *Ancient Art of the Province of Chiriqui*, Colombia, Washington D.C. 1888.

13 Carl Vilhelm Hartman: *Archaeological Researches in Costa Rica*, Stockholm 1901.

14 Sigvald Linné: *Darien in the Past. The Archaeology of Eastern Panama and North-Western Colombia*, Gothenburg 1929.

15 Martin E. Berger: New Horizons or Well-trodden Paths? Collecting Prehispanic Archaeology in European Museums 1945-1975, in: Andrew D. Turner / Megan E. O'Neil (eds.): *Collecting Mesoamerican Art in the Twentieth Century*, forthcoming.

16 E. Wyllys Andrews V / Frederick Lange: Doris Zemurray Stone 1909-1994, in: *Ancient Mesoamerica* 6 (1995), 95-99.

17 David Arias: Doris Stone y el Museo Nacional de Costa Rica. Historia social y cultural de siglo XX. Eugenia Ibarra Rojas, San José: 2016, in: *Anuario de Estudios Centroamericanos* 43 (2017), 489-492.

18 Stephen Whitfield: Strange Fruit. The Career of Samuel Zemurray, in: *American Jewish History* 73 (1984), No. 3, 307-323, here: 310-311, 317.

19 Marilyn Ogilvie / Joy Harvey (eds.): *The Biographical Dictionary of Women in Science: Pioneering Lives from Ancient Times to the mid-20th Century*, London / New York 2000, 1241.

20 Samuel Lothrop: Archaeology. Then and Now, in: Samuel Lothrop (ed.): *Essays in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology*, Cambridge Massachusetts 1964, 1-13, here: 9; Stone 1984 (see FN 10), 17.

21 Smith Guzmán et al. 2022 (see FN 4), 281.

Panama, a diverse band of actors, some of whom donated materials to museums, while others collected privately and sold material on the market.

During the same period, many Central American states introduced legislation to combat archaeological looting and the removal of archaeological patrimony from source countries. Laws for the protection of archaeological heritage were introduced in Panama in 1923 and Costa Rica in 1938.²² However, such laws were frequently circumvented and overall did little to control the removal of objects. As a result, significant amounts of this kind of material appeared on the art market and were collected by private collectors and museums in the Global North.

The Collections

In this article we examine the acquisition history of the Southern Central American archaeological material currently housed at the Wereldmuseum Leiden and Wereldmuseum Amsterdam. These museums both trace their origins back to the 19th century. The Wereldmuseum Amsterdam developed out of the former Colonial Museum, founded in 1864 in the city of Haarlem, moving to its current location in 1926. The Wereldmuseum Leiden grew out of the National Museum of Ethnology, originally established in 1837 based on the collections of the German-Dutch collector Philip Franz von Siebold (1796-1866). In 2014, the museums merged to form the National Museum of World Cultures, called Wereldmuseum since October 2023.

Currently, the museums in Leiden and Amsterdam hold a total of 742 objects²³ from Costa Rica, Nicaragua and Panama that are classified as 'archaeological material' (table 1). Most of this material lacks a documented archaeological provenience. All of the information on the origin of these materials is based on what was provided by suppliers at the moment of transfer to the museums. As a result, there is no unequivocal evidence of where exactly these objects were unearthed. The collections were acquired between 1882 and 2011. It should be noted that 742 is a minimum number, as there are an additional 720 objects from the region which have not been classified and are simply categorized as "voorwerpen" (objects). While many of these are ethnographic objects, others represent archaeological material. Most of these uncategorized objects were supplied by the same individuals studied here. As a result, the overall histories and networks of collecting are similar, if not the same.

The overwhelming majority of objects was acquired after the Second World War, with only 83 out of 742 objects acquired before 1945. A clear peak of collecting is visible in the 1950s and 1960s (table 2). The pieces are not evenly distributed among both museums. Whereas Leiden holds 173 objects, Amsterdam has 569. Still, the number of interactions through which these pieces were acquired is significantly higher in Leiden (42) than in Amsterdam (29), showing that Leiden primarily acquired rather small-scale collections, often just individual pieces, from a wide range of suppliers. It should be noted here as well that the collections in Leiden

22 Imme Arce Hüttmann: Cultural Heritage Policies in Costa Rica. Development and Current Conditions, in: *Journal of World Heritage Studies* 3 (2016), 32-45, here: 37.

23 Throughout the article we refer to the collections under discussion interchangeably as 'objects', 'pieces', or 'material'. We recognize that these different terms may allude to different conceptualizations of the values that these objects represent. Whereas 'object' and 'material' are terms generally used in archaeology to refer to items found in excavations – 'object' often used for entire vessels or tools, while 'material' is mostly used to describe ceramic sherds or other fragments – 'piece' generally refers to works of art. The collections presented here include objects/pieces/material that span the entire spectrum from archaeological sherd to 'pre-Columbian Art'. Clearly, to the people who created these objects their meaning was quite different. While a significant part of the collections consists of fragments of what was once presumably everyday use ware, some pieces surely held deeply religious/spiritual significance to their creators and users. While we acknowledge the importance of finding new terminologies for Indigenous 'belongings', in this article we decided to use traditional terminologies for archaeological material because we are not aware of any contemporary Indigenous communities that lay claim to these objects. We are of course happy to be corrected in this regard if such communities do exist.

were primarily acquired through sales, while the Amsterdam museum almost exclusively acquired material through donations (tables 3 and 4). This is an indication of the fact that the Leiden collection is more market-based, while the Amsterdam collection is more dependent on the willingness of (local) individuals to donate objects.

Since the 1990s, the collections of both Wereldmuseum Leiden and Wereldmuseum Amsterdam have been digitized and made available online in their entirety. This digitization process reflected increased calls for transparency as well as higher standards for the inventorying and documentation of collections. Beginning already in the 19th century, the museums formatted their inventory numbers such that all objects acquired during one acquisition event were grouped under a single 'series number'. Since the merger of the Wereldmuseums, these numbers are preceded by a two-letter code specifying the respective museum. These are derived from the prior names of the two museums with TM (Tropenmuseum) referring to the Wereldmuseum Amsterdam and RV (Rijksmuseum Volkenkunde) referring to the Wereldmuseum Leiden. For example, "RV-3602-2" indicates the second object acquired by the Wereldmuseum Leiden during acquisition event 3602 in 1959. All objects referred to in this article can be found on the museum's collections website under these acquisition numbers.²⁴

The Suppliers

In total, the 742 objects were collected during 71 different 'acquisition events', that is to say individual moments of transfer of material from a supplier to the museum. 45 individuals and institutions were involved in the transfer of this material. A full list of names of contributors is provided in the appendix to this article. 38 of these 45 suppliers contributed less than ten pieces to the collections (through donation, sale, exchange, or legacy). The most prolific donor to the collections, Hans Feriz (1895-1970), contributed a total of 475 pieces, clearly having a major impact on the total make-up of

the institutional collections. When looking at the countries that these suppliers were based in, it seems that the Leiden and Amsterdam museums were dependent on both local and international networks for acquiring this kind of material (table 5). About a third of the suppliers were based in the Netherlands, by far the largest group per country. For about 20 percent of the suppliers, we currently do not have information on their location at the time of transfer, though it should be noted that all of these suppliers have Dutch surnames. This leaves a little over 40 percent of suppliers based abroad, a clear indication that the museums were embedded in broader international networks of supply.

Unfortunately, little archival information is available that can help reconstruct the provenance and provenience of these objects. Only ten out of 71 transactions are documented in correspondence. This lack of written documentation can be interpreted in its own right as evidence of the direct and personal connections between many of the suppliers providing the objects and the curators of these museums. We have identified four major types of suppliers that shaped the collections as we see them today. We differentiate between these types of actors based primarily on their professional background, their level of expertise about the archaeology of the region, and/or their apparent motivations for collecting material. Concretely, we identify the following actor-types:

1. Academics and museum professionals who are primarily interested in the material for scholarly reasons,
2. Art dealers who collect material primarily for commercial/economic reasons,
3. Diplomatic actors who use their privileged position to acquire and supply material to the museums,
4. Other individual collectors whose motivations for collecting are difficult to ascertain because of their relative anonymity and who, generally, only supply a very limited number of objects.

²⁴ See <https://collectie.wereldmuseum.nl/#/query/b134263f-200c-452d-8ac6-f3ea82c0c02a>, <02.10.2024>. Complete series can be found using an asterisk in lieu of the individual object number, e.g. RV-3602-*

In the following, we will discuss each of these categories separately, highlighting a few individuals who most clearly exemplify these categories.

Academic Actors

This category consists of both individual academics as well as trades with other museums. In total, four individuals and four institutions fall into this category. Together they supplied a total of 530 objects. As such, this group of actors supplied the largest number of objects. However, this number is skewed due to the disproportional number of objects supplied by one individual supplier: Hans Feriz. Born in Vienna in 1895, Feriz originally became interested in the archaeology of the region when he visited several Latin American countries as part of his travels as a ship's doctor from the 1930s onwards. Eventually, this interest led him to conduct his own excavations in the region and become an expert on the archaeology of the Americas, with a special interest in Southern Central America and Peru. Feriz contributed a total of around 3.000 objects from across the Americas to the Amsterdam museum over the course of the 1950s and 1960s.²⁵ His 475 objects from Southern Central America constitute more than two-thirds of the total number of objects from the region. Because of his significant contributions to the Latin American collections, Feriz was named honorary curator of Latin American Archaeology in 1955 by the Amsterdam museum.

Feriz's archaeological work often took place in collaboration with members of the 'Archaeological Society of Panama', of which Feriz was a member. According to a membership roll published in 1961, Feriz was one of only three associate members of the Archaeological Society of Panama based in Europe.²⁶ Even though he did not have a professional archaeological education, Feriz' ties to the Amsterdam museum place him in the category of scholars that provided the Archaeological Society of

Panama with an 'academic veneer'. At the same time, Feriz' membership of the society not only enabled him to excavate in the country, but also to have access to material that was excavated by others. In light of his significant contributions, one might expect detailed archival material regarding Feriz' collection in Amsterdam, but no relevant archival material in relation to these interactions could be located. It is likely that much of the relevant correspondence between Feriz and his collaborators in the region was part of his personal archive, since he was a honorary curator and not a salaried employee. As such, Feriz' private correspondence was not included in the institutional archives. In addition, because Feriz was based in Amsterdam, there may have been little to no written correspondence between him and the museum, as discussions on the collections and acquisitions likely took place in person in Amsterdam.

Apart from Feriz, most individual suppliers with an academic background contributed to the Leiden museum before the Second World War. These include Carl-Wilhelm Lüders (1823-1896), an avid private collector and head of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Hamburg, as well as the well-known German anthropologist Arthur Baessler (1857-1907), who founded the anthropological journal *Baessler Archiv*, which is still published to this day. Material was also acquired through trades with other museums, but the total number of pieces acquired from these four institutions is less than ten.

Commercial Actors

This category consists of individuals who were professionally involved in the art/antiquities trade and primarily dealt with museums for commercial reasons. The art market was one of the driving forces behind the creation of the Southern Central American collections at both museums. In total, ten actors fall into this category, who together supplied 81 objects to the museums. Unsurprisingly, all of these transactions were sales rather than donations. Among these were prolific international art dealers like André Emmerich (1924-2007),²⁷ Emile Deletaille (died 2021),²⁸

25 Richard van Alphen / Herman van Gessel: The Hans Feriz Collection, in: Google Arts and Culture, <https://artsandculture.google.com/story/the-hans-feriz-collection/ywVBQ1wQThAA8A>, <11.04.2024>; Martin Berger: Between Canon and Coincidence, in: Journal for Art Market Studies 7 (2023), DOI: <https://doi.org/10.23690/jams.v7i1.147>, <https://doi.org/10.23690/jams.v7i1.147>

26 Membership Roll, in: Panama Archaeologist 4 (1961), No. 1, 77-79, here: 78.

27 <https://sova.si.edu/record/aaa.andremmg>, <20.09.2024>.

28 <https://www.deletaille.gallery/about>, <20.09.2024>.

Edgar Beer (1909-1984),²⁹ and Ernest Ohly of the Berkeley Galleries,³⁰ who all sold 'pre-Columbian Art' to museums and private collectors around world. At the same time, local commercial actors are also present. Examples of these are the Amsterdam-based galleries Lemaire and Menist, and, especially, the US-born artist Michael Francis Podulke (1922-1988), who owned a contemporary art gallery in Amsterdam. Clearly, the market for this material was both highly international, as shown by the presence of multiple foreign art dealers, and grounded in Amsterdam.

Quantitatively, the most impactful commercial actor is Podulke. After Feriz, Podulke is the second largest contributor to the collections at both museums. Importantly, he is also the only person who supplied objects to both museums. All in all, he supplied 55 objects, including ceramic vessels, anthropomorphic figurines, and lithics, over the course of ten transactions between 1957 and 1959. During this time, the Leiden annual reports mention a number of visits by Podulke to the museum,³¹ which resulted in several acquisitions. However, written correspondence with Podulke about these acquisitions is entirely absent. This is especially noteworthy because for most of these pieces it is unclear how, from whom, where and when Podulke acquired them.

While direct communication with Podulke is not present in the archives, some correspondence related to his collections does exist. In 1959, Leiden's director requested funds from the museum's board to purchase five figurines from Podulke.³² The figurines are said to come from either the site or town of Tres Rios in Costa Rica, which most likely refers to a location on the easternmost outskirts of the capital of San José. No further information regarding the objects is provided in the letters. The requested funds were subsequently granted by the board. Significantly, such permission only

had to be requested for purchases exceeding f 500 (approximately 1,950 € in 2024). As a result, any number of objects could be purchased under this threshold. This limit could explain the relative lack of communication for a number of purchases, especially when they were made from local art dealers or collectors such as Podulke. Nonetheless, the absence of such correspondence and permission for funds also appears illogical at times. For example, 20 objects were purchased from Podulke in 1957,³³ and no request for additional funds was made for these, even though these objects must have certainly been more expensive. It can be surmised that most of the transactions between the museums and local art dealers such as Podulke must have been conducted on an in-person basis. In addition to the impact this practice has on understanding the relations between providers of archaeological material during the mid-20th century period, it also obscures the origin and provenance of objects acquired during this time.

With 15 letters about only two objects, the correspondence between the museum and Ernest Ohly of the Berkeley Galleries in London is sizeable.³⁴ These letters give a particular insight into the general atmosphere that appears to have surrounded the acquisition of artefacts during the 1950s. The letters exchanged in regard to RV-3602 have a generally friendly if not jovial tone and are as much an exchange of business matters as of pleasantries. Seasonal greetings are exchanged and plans for a meeting in Leiden made, while decisions on the purchase and value of objects are simultaneously negotiated. Close relations are fostered to enable the acquisition of objects. At the same time, little attention is paid to the provenance and provenience (or legal status) of the material. The letters in relation to RV-3489, a single object from Nicaragua, have a similar tone. This object, which was owned by Ohly, was on display as part of an exhibition in the ethnographic museum in Rotterdam, another example of the close and friendly relationship between art dealers and museums at the time.

29 Rosalie Hans / Annette Schmidt: The Antiquary and Librarian Edgar Beer, in: Fanny Wonu Veys (ed.): Provenance #2 – The Benin Collections at the National Museum of World Cultures, Leiden (2021), here: 76, <https://amsterdam.wereldmuseum.nl/sites/default/files/2021-03/2021%20NMVW%20Provenance%202%20%28Benin%29%20e-book.pdf>, <02.10.2024>.

30 Hermione Waterfield / J.C.H. King: Provenance: Twelve Collectors of Ethnographic Art in England 1760-1990, Paris 2016.

31 Gerbrands, A.A. Quarterly reports to director P.H. Pott (1955-1965). Unpublished manuscript, Wereldmuseum Leiden.

32 Letter from Pieter Hendrik Pott to the Board of the Museum Volkenkunde: 0058, Archive LdnRMV-A01, Folder 174.; Object inventory number RV-3617.

33 Object inventory number RV-3470.

34 Letters between Ernest Ohly and the Wereldmuseum Leiden directorate and secretariat: 0389, Archive LdnRMV-A01, Folder 165; 0579, 0578, 0553, 0550, 0262, Archive LdnRMV-A01, Folder 166; 0633, 0514, 0507, 0506, 0188, 0187, 0152, 0151, 0150, 0125, 0732, Archive LdnRMV-A01, Folder 174; 0436, Archive LdnRMV-A01, Folder 175; Object inventory numbers RV-3489 and RV-3602.

A similar air of professional appreciation runs through the interaction with André Emmerich, a prolific art dealer based in New York City and also a member of the aforementioned Archaeological Society of Panama. Emmerich only supplied one object from Central America – a polychrome with anthropomorphic depictions supposedly from Rio de Jesús in central Panama³⁵ – to the Leiden museum. The content of the four connected letters largely involves the settlement of the sale as well as an offer of two further objects. While not as clearly characterizing the personal interaction between art dealers and museums, the letters nonetheless give insight into the continuous nature of acquisitions and interactions between dealer and museum. While one object is being purchased a possible next sale is already offered. In this, the origin or context of the objects plays little to no role as the two offered objects come from opposite ends of the world (Indonesia and Panama). Objects are offered, traded and acquired with the purpose of expanding the collections while the provenance and provenience of the objects is not discussed at length, if at all.

Diplomatic Actors

A third group of actors, distinguished by their profession, are professional diplomats who are able to obtain and ship objects for the museums through diplomatic channels. While their number is limited in the Southern Central American collections, these actors clearly represent a separate category because of their privileged access not only to the material itself, but also to (legal) ways of exporting and shipping these objects. For this corpus, only two diplomatic actors are present who together supplied 22 archaeological objects, but diplomatic actors also played a significant role in the creation of collections from the region in other museums.³⁶

Because the Wereldmuseum Amsterdam grew out of the former Colonial Museum, it fell under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for most of its

history. As a result, contributions by Dutch diplomats abroad represent a noticeable category of suppliers at the Amsterdam museum. In the context of this research, the most relevant is Arnout de Waal, ambassador to Costa Rica between 1966 and 1968. Having visited the Amsterdam museum multiple times during his youth, de Waal aimed to use his position to support the museum. In total, the Wereldmuseum Amsterdam purchased six archaeological objects through de Waal, another twelve items were donated by him to the museum between 1967 and 1968.³⁷ During this period, de Waal stood in continuous correspondence with the museum, covering almost his entire time as ambassador. This is documented in 45 letters related to him.³⁸

As can be seen from the correspondence between him and the museum, de Waal was not an experienced collector himself and relied on local collecting networks in Costa Rica to assist him in assembling collections. These local individuals included the aforementioned archaeologist Doris Stone, as well as Carlos Balser, who sold archaeological material from Costa Rica to several museums and dealers abroad and was involved in the sale of archaeological objects from Playa Venado in Panama.³⁹ While much has been written about Doris Stone and her controversial but highly influential role in the development of archaeology in the region, Balser's influential role is not widely documented. Even lesser-known is Evelyn de Goicoechea, who is introduced by de Waal in his letters to the museums as someone actively involved in the trade in archaeological artefacts. Objects provided by her are also present in the collection of the National Museum of the American Indian, USA.⁴⁰ She was also a patron of the National Museum in Costa Rica through her membership in the Friends of the

35 Letters between André Emmerich and the Wereldmuseum Leiden directorate and secretariat: 127, Archive LdnRMV-A02, Folder 013; 070, 071, 189, Archive LdnRMV-A01, Folder 014; Object inventory number RV-3940-1, see also Armand Labbé: *Guardians of the Life Stream. Shamans, Art and Power in Prehispanic Central Panama*, Santa Ana 1995.

36 Berger forthcoming (see FN 15).

37 Object inventory numbers TM-3691 and TM-3758. An additional 22 objects are registered as “voorwerpen” as part of the acquisition events.

38 Correspondence concerning Arnout de Waal at the Wereldmuseum Amsterdam, Archive NL-KIT, Folder 7710.

39 Murro 2022 (see FN 11), 17; Smith Guzmán et al. 2022 (see FN 4), 282.

40 These are eight cylindrical seals sold to the museum in 1962 and inventoried under record ID NMAI_247423 to NMAI_247431. Additionally, further interaction (and possible sales) between the NMAI and her is documented in an attached letter to de Waals' correspondence (NL-KIT-7710_16), which speaks of the possible sale of a vase to the museum for \$135 (approx. \$1,480/1,400€ in 2024).

Museum organization.⁴¹ De Goicoechea was of British-Salvadoran descent and was not only active in the trade of material but also engaged in undocumented excavations in the vicinity of her house on the coast of the Gulf of Nicoya. On at least one of these ‘expeditions’, she was joined by ambassador de Waal. What exactly was found during these expeditions with de Waal remains unclear, but he subsequently made his first contribution to the museum in October 1967, which consisted of six objects including a *metate*, two zoomorphic *manos*, and a number of vessels with zoomorphic imagery.⁴²

The correspondence with de Waal also gives more insight into what the museum aimed to acquire and why. In a letter to de Waal, dated 4th July 1966, head of the museum Dr. Joop Jager Gerlings (1917-2010) writes that the museum is interested in “1. Truly spectacular pieces of mineral [...], 2. Archaeological objects of the Middle American cultures [...] 3. Contemporary items of use, for example implements and tools used by farmers”.⁴³ The lack of specificity in this designation of archaeological material shows that relatively little value was attached by the museum to the context and origin of objects. The primary concern seems to be appearance, size, and perceived value. Key reasons for the desire to acquire objects from the region that are mentioned in the correspondence are a lack of objects that represent the archaeological cultures of Southern Central America, as well as an exhibition under the guidance of Hans Feriz that was in preparation at the time. This exhibition never materialized, but the focus of collecting appears to have been an attempt to ‘fill in the gaps’.⁴⁴

After this first interaction, communication slows down somewhat. Nonetheless, de Waal made a second contribution as a gift of objects he already had acquired for free in Costa Rica. It is not specified in the correspondence how de Waal acquired these objects for free, but one can imagine that he might have received these in his role as ambassador. Besides some ethnographic material from Puerto Limón on the Caribbean coast, this collection includes several tripods and decorated ceramic vessels as well as polished stone axes, all without information on the find context. Once more, the nature of the interaction reflects the focus on acquiring objects in large quantities, without explicit attention to their provenance and archaeological context.

A different actor from the diplomatic sphere is the Costa Rican Fernando Montes de Oca y Gómez, who worked for UNESCO in Paris and donated four Costa Rican tripod vessels to Leiden in 1982.⁴⁵ Covered in two letters, Montes de Oca y Gómez describes his fascination with the museum’s collection and the personal connections he has made with the staff over his multitude of visits to the institution. During one of these visits, he offered the vessels to the museum. In his letters, Montes de Oca y Gómez claims that the objects on offer were excavated at his grandfather’s private hacienda *El Guayabo*, during what he broadly describes as the interwar period. Afterwards, the pieces remained in private ownership and on location until being removed from there before the official designation of the region as ‘National Archaeological Park’ in 1973.

Several aspects of this interaction stand out. First, Montes de Oca y Gómez’s position at UNESCO suggests that he was aware of the legislation regarding the export of these objects. This awareness is reflected in the summary details he provides about the provenance and archaeological provenience of the collection that he offers to the museum, and the way they relate to relevant legislation. For example, the supposed ‘interwar’ moment of excavation could cover both the period before or after 1938, the year in which the Costa Rican government passed the first law regarding the

41 Walter Lehmann: *Tesoros del Arte Precolombino de Costa Rica. Recopilación de las Diferentes piezas del mes publicadas por la Asociación de Amigos del Museo de San José*, San José 1971.

42 Object inventory number TM-3691.

43 “1. Waarlijk spectaculaire mineralen [...] 2. Archeologische objecten van Midden-Amerikaanse culturen, [...] 3. Hedendaagse gebruiksvoorwerpen, bijvoorbeeld werktuigen en gereedschappen van boeren.” Letter of Dr. J.H. Jager Gerlings to A. de Waal, Amsterdam, 4th July 1966, NL-KIT-7710_5. Translation from the Dutch by Martin E. Berger.

44 This idea of ‘filling the gaps’ stood also at the basis of the Leiden museum’s acquisition policy in the same period, see Martin E. Berger: *Between Policy and Practice: The Impact of Global Decolonization on the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, 1960-1970*, in: Holly O’Farrell / Pieter ter Keurs (eds.): *MCS Yearbook 2021*, Leiden 2021, 81-96.

45 Correspondence between Fernando Montes de Oca y Gómez: 128, Archive LdnRMV-A02, Folder 181; 128, Archive A02, Folder 182.; Object inventory number RV-5197.

state ownership of all and any archaeological objects and monuments. While also covering the export and registration of any finds, objects that were in private ownership prior to the issuance of the law were not subjected to the same scrutiny and remained privately held.⁴⁶ The dates for removal from their original collection are equally vague and evade scrutiny that comes from both the designation of the site as a 'National Archaeological Park' and the passing of the 1970 UNESCO convention in April of 1972, although this later convention would not be ratified by Costa Rica until 1995.⁴⁷

This interaction underlines a general attitude in the acquisition events studied here. An air of opportunism and vagueness surrounds not only the correspondence with Montes de Oca y Gómez but also permeates the other acquisitions. As such, the focus lies strongly on the expansion of collections while considerations regarding the origin of the objects have their purpose more in conveying legality or authenticity rather than the scientific value of context.

Other Suppliers

The final category of actors is also the largest, as it consists of 25 individuals who together supplied 109 archaeological objects. Most of these acquisitions consist of small-scale donations or sales, often of less than five pieces. In fact, twelve of these suppliers each only contributed one single object from the region. As a result, this category is highly diffuse and encompasses primarily individuals without a documented institutional, professional, or commercial link to the archaeology of the region.

For at least one of these actors, it can be established that he had indeed some academic interest in regional archaeology. This concerns Edward Tatelman, who supplied two objects to the Amsterdam museum, and who was also a member of the Archaeological Society of Panama and excavated together with Hans Feriz. However, whether his interest in the material was primarily scholarly or rather commercial could not be determined during this research, as a result of which he is classified

here under the category 'other'. Importantly, Tatelman resided in Panama due to his appointment as Special Judge of the United States District Court of the Panama Canal Zone in 1958. This position supposedly granted him privileged access in legal matters pertaining to export of this material.⁴⁸

Two other significant suppliers in this category are A. Heirman and Johan Ohler, who contributed ten and 18 objects, respectively. Ohler was the Senior Agricultural Officer at the Royal Institute for the Tropics, of which the Amsterdam museum was part until 2014. He specialized in coconut and cashew plantations,⁴⁹ and it is likely that he obtained the objects he donated to the museum during field research. Similarly, A. Heirman, whose first name could not be verified, published on the disease leptospirosis in a dairy herd in Panama in the journal *Tropical and Geographical Medicine*.⁵⁰ This journal was also published by the Royal Institute, and it is likely that Heirman acquired the objects he donated during research for the aforementioned article.

The only other person to supply more than ten objects in this category is Herbert Knöhr (1891-?), a Costa Rican-born German, who was the leader of the local 'Deutsche Club/Club Aleman' in the 1930s, as well as a member of the NSDAP and prominent proponent of the Nazi party in Costa Rica.⁵¹ It is not clear how Knöhr obtained the objects that he sold to the museum in Leiden, nor is it clear how he first established contact with the museum, since archival documentation of these interactions is lacking. Knöhr lived in Germany in the first decades of the 20th century and it is possible that he knew of the existence of the Leiden museum because of his education in Europe. Additionally, Knöhr worked in the export of coffee, making him ideally placed to ship archaeological material to Europe as part of his business.

48 https://archives.federalregister.gov/issue_slice/1958/1/4/83-84.pdf, <16.10.2024>.

49 Johan G. Ohler: *Modern Coconut Management: Palm Cultivation and Products*, Amsterdam 1999.

50 J. W. Wolff / A. L. Heirman / H. J. Bohlander: A Survey of the Occurrence of Leptospirosis in a Dairy Herd in the Republic of Panama, in: *Tropical and Geographical Medicine*, 12th March 1960, 82-90.

51 <https://www.schulgeschichte.humboldt.ed.cr/artikel-2-1>, <23.09.2024>.

46 Norma Gutiérrez: *Protection of Archaeological Objects in Costa Rica* (95-2695), Washington D.C. 1995, 3.

47 Arce Hüttmann 2016 (see FN 22), 37.

Discussion

Several themes emerge from these acquisition histories that contextualize how and why archaeological material from Southern Central America came into the collections of ethnographic museums in the Netherlands. The first of these is the commodification and commercialization of archaeological heritage from the region, especially after the Second World War. With the exception of Hans Feriz's large-scale donation, which is clearly a unique case, we see that the majority of items in this corpus was acquired through sales. This monetary valuation of cultural heritage ties in directly with the corporate and military forces that shaped the political and physical landscapes at the time. Even well-known archaeologists like Stone and Lothrop tied archaeological practice to the interest of American corporations and their employees.⁵² These corporate infrastructures created easy access to objects and sites for archaeologists and museums, who were the main sponsors of projects.⁵³ Through the same channels, botanical research was stimulated around the same time.⁵⁴ Similarly, the membership base of the aforementioned Archaeological Society of Panama included both academic (such as Feriz) and commercial (such as Emmerich) actors that both show up in different ways in the two Dutch museums. Likewise, the *Amigos del Museo* association in San José, Costa Rica, included a range of actors representing both recognized archaeologists, such as Carlos Balser who corresponded with Arnout de Waal, and more commercially oriented actors such as Evelyn de Goicoechea who supplied material to museums abroad and in the country itself. As such, the heterogeneous background of actors that were active in the archaeological field in the region is clearly represented in the Dutch collections as well.

The presence of many small-scale suppliers is another relevant feature of these collections. As mentioned above, 38 out of a total of 45 suppliers supplied less than ten objects. This fact speaks to the widespread availability of this kind of material

in the Netherlands after the Second World War. The small number of objects that were acquired before the war primarily came from outside of the Netherlands. Material acquired in the Netherlands was received only from institutional partners such as the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden and the former ethnological collection of the Amsterdam Zoo Artis, rather than from individuals. After the Second World War, the museums acquired material from suppliers located in at least ten countries, among which many individuals based in the Netherlands. While this increased access to pieces for individuals in the Netherlands can be explained in part by the internationalization of the market itself,⁵⁵ it is likely that the expansion of Dutch companies such as Philips, Unilever, and Shell to Latin America also contributed to more widespread collecting of pieces by Dutch expats in the region.

Another theme that emerges from the available correspondence are the personal relationships that the museums maintained with commercial actors. The cultivation of a personal relationship between dealers and the museum during this time allowed for a continuous flow of correspondence through which one object would be bought while the next possible purchase would already be initiated. In these conversations one can observe a relative lack of interest in the actual find contexts, origins and circumstances of excavation of the individual objects. Acquisitions by the museums seem to have been based on chance availability of pieces, rather than concerted efforts guided by a coherent acquisition policy that outlined the kinds of objects that were desired and the types of value (e.g. aesthetic, scholarly, financial) that were prioritized in the acquisition process. This is most clearly visible in the abovementioned correspondence between Jager Gerlings and de Waal, in which the former simply seeks to acquire "archaeological objects of Middle American cultures", a lack of specificity that stands in stark contrast with the precision that surrounded the acquisition of material from, for example,

⁵² Luke 2019 (see FN 4), 45.

⁵³ Lothrop 1964 (see FN 20), 9.

⁵⁴ Storrs Olson / Clyde Stephens: Alwyn Hasso von Wedel (1873-1957). Bird and Plant Collector on the Caribbean Coast of Panama, in: *Archives of Natural History* 45 (2018), No. 2, 317-334.

⁵⁵ Tremain / Yates 2019 (see FN 2); Walter Alva: The Destruction, Looting and Traffic of the Archaeological Heritage of Peru, in: Neil Brodie / Jennifer Doole / Colin Renfrew (eds.): *Trade in Illicit Antiquities. The Destruction of the World's Archaeological Heritage*, Cambridge 2011, 89-96.

the Maya area, or the Andean region.⁵⁶ Perhaps here we continue to see the echoes of the earlier conceptions of this area as an ‘Intermediate Area’ caught between ‘centers of civilization’.⁵⁷

A final observation that should be noted is the fact that only one supplier provided items to both museums: Michael Podulke. While the two institutions are only about 40 kilometers apart, this lack of overlap shows that they acted in different networks of suppliers. For example, Hans Feriz is not only the most important contributor to Amsterdam, he also brings with him contacts with other suppliers, such as Edward Tatelman (also a member of the Archaeological Society of Panama) and Fritz Morlock (a local Costa Rican contact of Feriz), embedding the Amsterdam museum in a broader international network. Similarly, the personal affection that Arnout de Waal and Fernando Montes de Oca y Gómez developed for the Amsterdam and Leiden museums, respectively, indicate their preference to contribute to the collections of one particular institution, rather than collecting for multiple museums.

Conclusions

Based on the research presented here, it is clear that the collecting of Southern Central American archaeological material in the Wereldmuseum Leiden and the Wereldmuseum Amsterdam has to be considered in light of mostly US-driven corporate and geopolitical interests in the region. The infrastructures that these non-academic interests created, facilitated amateurs and professional archaeologists to start working in the region. On the back of the broader development of a global market for ‘pre-Columbian Art’ in the mid-20th

century, archaeological objects from Southern Central America became both collectable and marketable, making their way to individual collectors and institutions across the Atlantic. In contrast to developments in Mexico and Guatemala, where commercial actors were not recognized by academics as legitimate knowledge-holders, the evolution of archaeological interest in Southern Central America developed in the interplay between academics and antiquities dealers. It should be noted here that many of these commercially-oriented actors excavated with official licenses from national authorities, both in Panama and in Costa Rica.⁵⁸ Eventually, all of these actors ended up contributing through different channels to the collections under study here.

In this research, we have identified four major types of suppliers:

1. Academically interested individuals
2. Commercial actors
3. Diplomatic actors
4. Other suppliers – a diverse array of mostly smaller-scale suppliers

We hope our research contributes to a clearer categorization of the different types of actors that were active in the region, in order to enhance comparability between museums and work towards ‘collection profiles’ that outline the different axes along which museums built their collections. At the same time, our research recognizes the interdependency of supposedly ‘ethical’ and ‘unethical’ actors (at least from the point of view of contemporary professional archaeological ethics) in the formation of the museum collections, and the role museums themselves played at the time in circumventing (or simply ignoring) local laws and regulations on the excavation and export of archaeological material.

While the historical context described above structured the availability of material, it is individual idiosyncrasies of museums that finally determine the make-up of institutional collections. This is most clearly apparent in the case of the Wereld-

⁵⁶ See for example the correspondence between Leiden director Dr. P. H. Pott and antiquities dealer Heidi Albrecht, in which Pott mentions he is explicitly looking for “a Recuay ceramic piece, further a Kero beaker, a complete garment of the Inca (shirt or loin-cloth). A planghi textile and colored fabrics could also be worthwhile. I am also looking for a good example of a scale (of wood).” Letter of Dr. P. H. Pott to Heidi Albrecht, 28th October 1960, in: 0592, Archive LdnRMV-A01, Folder 182. Original: “So möchte ich zum Beispiel gern ein Stück Keramik [sic!] aus Recuay erhalten, weiter einen Kero Becher, ein vollständiges Kleidungsstück der Inca (Hemd oder Lendentuch), weil auch ein Planghi Gewebe und bemalte Stoffe wertvoll sein könnten. Auch such [sic!] ich ein gutes Beispiel einer Waage (aus Holz).” Translation from German by Martin E. Berger.


⁵⁷ Olga Linares: What is Lower Central American Archaeology, in: Annual Review of Anthropology 8 (1979), 21–43, here: 31.

⁵⁸ Frederick Lange: Costa Rica and the “Subsistence Archaeologist”, in: Current Anthropology 17 (1976), No. 2, 305–307; Dwight Heath / J. Robert Hunter: Costa Rican Government Restricts Archaeological Excavation, in: Current Anthropology 10 (1969), No. 4, 466; Cooke / Sánchez H. 2004 (see FN 5), 18.


museum Amsterdam, where Hans Feriz almost single-handedly shaped the collection that we see today. What is also clear is that, while the market for ‘pre-Columbian Art’ from Southern Central America became increasingly global after the Second World War, museums in the Netherlands still largely depended on local suppliers based around the museums to acquire artefacts.

Today, as the historic harm and the contemporary and future relevance of ethnographic museums in society are a topic of broad international discussions, it is important to create more transparency about the collecting practices of these institutions. Compared to Colonial contexts in sub-Saharan Africa, South and Southeast Asia, and Oceania, little research attention has been paid so far to archaeological material from Latin America. Still, our research shows that global commercial and geopolitical interests (which one could describe as neocolonial) also deeply impacted collecting practices in countries that became independent from Colonial rule in the early 19th century.

ORCID®

Georg A. Müller 

<https://orcid.org/0009-0000-5812-6384>

Martin E. Berger 

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2895-8216>

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank Paul van Dongen, former librarian of the Wereldmuseum, for his kind help in locating correspondence. Similarly, we are grateful to Richard van Alphen, registrar at the WM, for providing us with an overview documentation of the Latin American collections. In addition, we are thankful to Pasquinel Hartman, Anouk van de Ven, and Milou Meijer for their work on earlier parts of this project, as well as to Inez de Ruiter for the biographical research she performed that supported this research. We would also like to thank the two anonymous reviewers for their helpful and important comments, which helped to significantly improve our text. This research was funded by the European Union (ERC StG, BECACO, 101117234). Views and opinions expressed are however those of the author(s) only and do not necessarily reflect those of the European Union or the European Research Council Executive Agency. Neither the European Union nor the granting authority can be held responsible for them.

Appendix 1. Overview of all actors associated with the collections (first names if known)

Name of Actors	Collector Type	Years of Interaction	Number of Objects	Country of Origin
Baessler, Arthur	Academic	1899	43	Germany
Feriz, Hans	Academic	1951, 1954, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1962, 1968, 1969	475	Netherlands
Laffer, Luis Tihanye	Academic	1962	1	Switzerland
Lüders, Carl-Wilhelm	Academic	1882	4	Germany
Museum für Völkerkunde Hamburg	Academic	1956	1	Germany
Natura Artis Magistra	Academic	1921	2	Netherlands
Rijksmuseum van Oudheden	Academic	1903	3	Netherlands
Wellcome Historical Medical Museum	Academic	1955	1	United Kingdom
Beer, Edgar	Commercial	1948 (2x), 1958, 1972	6	Belgium
Deletaille, Emile	Commercial	1982	3	Belgium
Emmerich, André	Commercial	1963	1	United States
Galerie Menist	Commercial	1979	3	Netherlands
Höge, Carl Friedrich	Commercial	1897	6	Germany
Hôtel Drouot	Commercial	1951	1	France
Legat, Karl Alexander	Commercial	1949	2	Germany
Lemaire, Matthias Ludovicus Joannes	Commercial	1952, 1957	2	Netherlands
Ohly, Ernest	Commercial	1957, 1959	2	United Kingdom
Podulke, Michael Francis	Commercial	1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961	55	Netherlands
Montes de Oca y Gómez, Fernando	Diplomatic	1982	4	France
Waal, Arnout de	Diplomatic	1967, 1968	18	Costa Rica
Baron von der Heydt, Eduard	Other	1957	3	Switzerland
Bogaart, Nico C. R.	Other	1978, 1980	8	Netherlands
Collee-Berg, Erna	Other	1981	1	Netherlands
da Silva, Herbert Juan	Other	1957, 1958	6	Netherlands
Eikelenboom, N.	Other	1960	1	Netherlands
Franssen, Caspar	Other	1959	1	Netherlands
Glasbergen-Duyvis, E.	Other	1985	1	n/a
Heirman, A.	Other	1957	10	Panama/Netherlands
Knöhr, Herbert	Other	1931	23	Costa Rica
Lier, L. van	Other	1959	1	Netherlands
Linterman, Ferdinand	Other	1961	1	Netherlands
Majoor	Other	1971	1	n/a
Meerlo, J. A. M.	Other	1969	2	n/a
Missio/Remmerswaal, J. H. G.	Other	2011	8	Netherlands
Morlock, Fritz	Other	1956	1	Nicaragua
Ohler, Johan G.	Other	1967	18	Netherlands
Oudshoorn-Spaan, Sophia H.	Other	1973	1	n/a
Rombouts, E. L. C.	Other	1964	1	n/a
Rottier-Velds, H. L.	Other	1991	1	n/a
Schreuder, Jan	Other	1966	1	Netherlands

Name of Actors	Collector Type	Years of Interaction	Number of Objects	Country of Origin
Seventer, H. A. van	Other	1993	4	n/a
Straatman	Other	1960	1	n/a
Tatelman, E. J. P.	Other	1957	2	United States
Unknown	Other	n/a	7	n/a
Woltjer, L.	Other	2004	5	n/a

Graphs

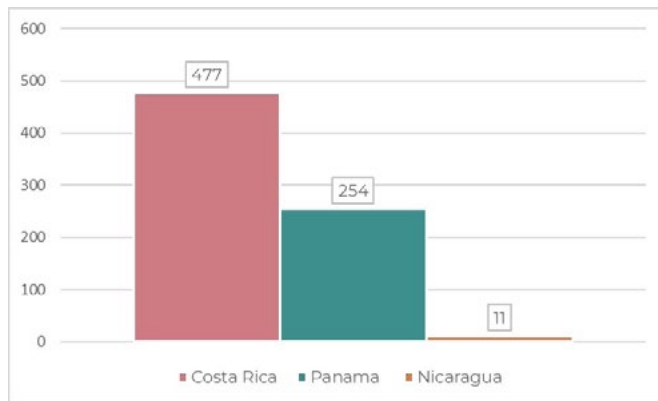


Table 1: Overview of the countries that pieces derive from.



Table 4: Overview of transaction type for Amsterdam.

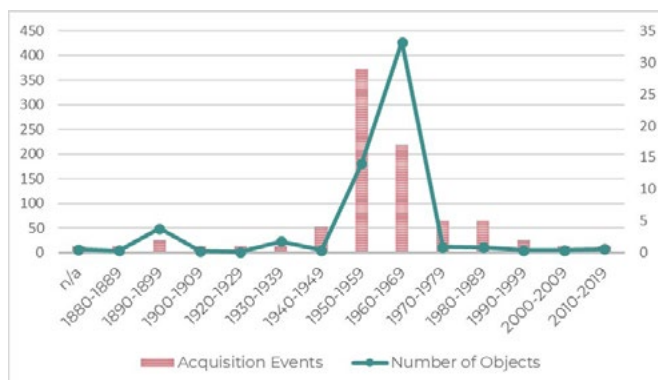


Table 2: Overview of acquisitions per decade.

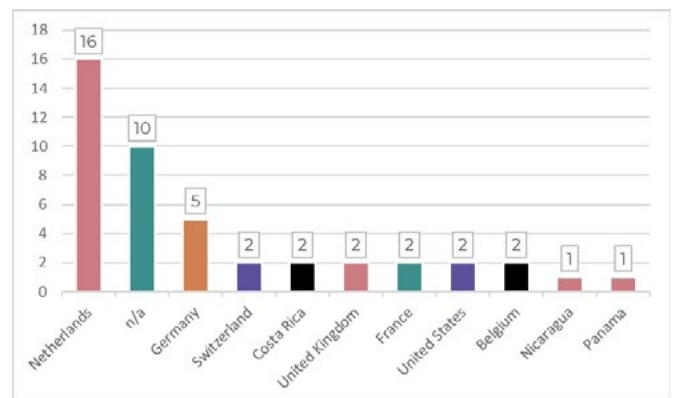


Table 5: Overview of countries that suppliers are based in (Leiden and Amsterdam combined).

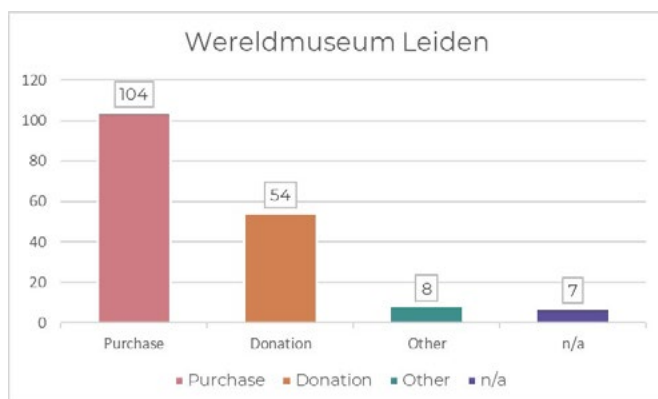


Table 3: Overview of transaction type for Leiden.

Reference

Georg A. Müller / Martin E. Berger: Global Markets, Local Suppliers: Examining the Provenance of Archaeological Material from Southern Central America in Dutch Ethnographic Museums, in: *transfer – Zeitschrift für Provenienzforschung und Sammlungsgeschichte / Journal for Provenance Research and the History of Collection* 3 (2024), DOI: <https://doi.org/10.48640/tf.2024.1.108906>, 190-204.