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SWISS *OBJETS DE MÉMOIRE* FROM BORNEO: A BIOGRAPHICAL READING OF INDONESIAN ARTIFACTS OWNED BY A SWISS FAMILY IN THE 1920s

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Abstract

This paper discusses the significance of artifacts as sources and evidence within the study of transcultural biography. More specifically, we focus on a group of objects of Bornean provenance donated to the Ethnographic Museum of the University of Zurich a few years ago: In the spring of 2007 the descendants of Wolfgang and Erika Leupold presented us with a roomful of artifacts brought back by their parents from Indonesia. Leupold, a Swiss geologist, had spent six years in Northeastern Borneo, from 1921 to 1927, in the service of the Dutch colonial government.

In planning an exhibition of this donation, we at first approached the individual objects museologically, meaning that we catalogued them following categories of ethnicity, skills, function, and cultural significance. However, over time, an additional perspective presented itself. It became clear that what had appeared to be a rather heterogeneous collection achieved a very specific unity and thus meaning, if we considered the artifacts as pieces of "contact zones". Each object could be read as a biographical document of the lives of Leupold and his wife, thus considerably adding to our understanding of the manifold aspects of the family's time in the colonies, their contacts with local peoples, as well as his geological explorations of the terrain. The contribution explores methodological aspects of this object-based biographical approach.

In the spring of 2007 the descendants of Wolfgang and Erika Leupold invited the authors of the present article to their home in Zollikon, Switzerland and showed them roughly one hundred objects their parents had brought back from Indonesia in the 1920s (Ill. 1, 2). Mostly, these were artifacts from Borneo: blowpipes, bamboo containers, shields, basketry, plaited hats, bark-cloth jackets and ear ornaments made from hornbill ivory, only to name the most typical and outstanding pieces. There were also other groups of artifacts, mostly of Javanese origin, like kris daggers, batik tools, and brass betel sets, further ikat textiles from Sumba, and Chinese pottery. The family intended to donate the artifacts to the Ethnographic Museum of the University of Zurich.

Illustrations 1, 2: Leupold family home, Zollikon, 2007

Wolfgang Leupold (1895–1986), a Swiss geologist, had spent six years in Northeastern Borneo, from 1921 to 1927, in the service of the Dutch colonial government. He belonged to the remarkably large contingent of Swiss nationals actively serving the Dutch East Indies colonial government in the Indonesian archipelago. Many of them worked as administrators on the plantations of Java and Sumatra.[1] Members of the Basel Mission were also involved in Borneo, especially in the more densely populated southern region of the island. At the beginning of the 20th century, Swiss students of geology like Wolfgang Leupold often found positions abroad in the petroleum industry after completing their studies. Leupold had been fascinated by the Malayan island world since his early schooldays. His application to the Colonial Secretary mentioned that he had achieved oral and written mastery of both Dutch and Malay. In the spring of 1921 he traveled to The Hague and negotiated the possible terms of employment with both the Batavian Petroleum Company and the colonial government. He was determined not to leave Erika Bleuler (1897–1970) – his wife-to-be, whom he would marry early in the summer of 1921 – behind in Switzerland, so he chose the lower-paying government position. This job allowed him to bring his wife for the entire duration of the five-year contract, which the Batavian Company's regulations prohibited.

From Batavia, at the time the Dutch capital, where the geological service had its main office, the Leupolds traveled on to the northeast of Borneo; oil had already been produced in Tarakan for a number of years. Leupold was to explore the small, uninhabited island of Bunyu, located northeast of Tarakan. Hence, he played an active role in Bunyu's development and settlement. In 1926 he was named the director of the island's production site Bukit Tengah. Expeditions frequently took him away from home for weeks at a time into almost inaccessible and often desolate areas: northward into the Tidung country, westward and southwestward into the areas of Bulungan and Berau, and southward to the peninsula of Mangkalihat. Leupold recruited local personnel for these expeditions, Malay cartographers, porters and cooks, but also Dayak, highly skilled builders and navigators of boats, as well as Punan and Basap, nomadic ethnic groups and thus outstanding experts at survival in the rain forest. The family – the first son, Urs, was born in July 1923 in Tarakan – at times lived in Tanjung Selor on the Kayan River, from where explorations went deep into the river delta. The explorations also led upstream toward Long Leju, to the tributary of the Bahau River and even as far as the Bem-Brem rapids. During

1 See MARSCHALL, 2011; SIGERIST, 1998; SIGERIST, 2001; ZANGGER, 2011.

this time, the Leupold family returned to Java on a regular basis for reporting and vacation. In 1926 they moved to Bandung in western Java, the new location of the headquarters of the geological service. Leupold was supposed to complete his final report and for that purpose his original employment agreement was prolonged by a few months.[2] However, when the employer offered further extension of contract and a desk job in the administration of the geological survey – clear indicators that the completed fieldwork was appreciated – Leupold declined, with reference to the poor state of health of his family. After six years, early in the summer of 1927, the Leupolds moved back to Europe.[3]

Object journeys

Their household goods also traveled back with them, the ones they had brought from Switzerland as well as all the "colonial" pieces, the various acquisitions and gifts that had come together during their Indonesian sojourn. In Switzerland these artifacts were part of the households first of Wolfgang and Erika Leupold, then of their two sons, Urs and Rudolf, and finally of their eight grandchildren.

After Wolfgang Leupold's death in 1986 his two sons resolved to bring together all the Indonesian objects, in the meantime scattered across the households of their respective children, and donate them to a museum. There were two considerations behind this decision: for one, they wanted the objects to be in a place where they were appreciated as ethnographical testimonies of another time and place. For another, equally if not more importantly, the brothers wanted the memory of the life and deeds of their father to be preserved, a task in their opinion best accomplished by reuniting the objects once and for all. The elder of the two, Urs, died in 2006, lending urgency to this project. However, some of the Leupold grandchildren opposed the idea. For them, it seemed likely that the objects, once integrated in a museum collection, would no longer be perceived as material testimonies of their grandfather's endeavors but rather disappear in the bigger ethnographical context and become anonymous things.

2 Leupold eventually delivered a meticulously conceived report of over 600 pages, the *Geological Description of Northeastern Borneo: Landscapes of Bulungan and Berau*, a pioneering feat in the area based on the methods of micropaleontology, just emerging at that time. The typescript is in the archive of the Netherlands Centrum for Biodiversiteit (NCB) Naturalis, Leiden, "Verslag Boeloengan-Beraoe", Arch. 55 30031.

3 See ISLER / VON WYSS-GIACOSA, 2011.

The donation received by the Ethnographic Museum of the University of Zurich in 2009 finally included most of the Indonesian objects, except for eight pieces the grandchildren, one for each, were allowed to retain as keepsakes of their grandfather. The family also excluded other objects from the donation, some because they considered them relevant merely on a "biographical-familial" level and others because they thought them not ethnographical but "only Swiss". These differentiations are quite interesting – especially if one takes into consideration that an essential motivation for donating these objects was the attempt to preserve this important chapter of the family's past. Despite a deep emotional involvement with their family history and particularly with the beloved father/grandfather and his time in "Insulinde," there was no information available about the history of the "collection" of the objects. Why, where exactly, and when the objects had come into the Leupolds' possession is unknown even to those members of the family who traveled to Indonesia decades later to visit the places where Wolfgang Leupold had worked and lived. Clearly, for Leupold and his wife the objects had been considered household goods rather than collectibles. For the family they had become *objets de mémoire*.

Let us go back again to the moment the Leupold donation entered the Ethnographic Museum: First we brought the artifacts to the museum, where we catalogued them for the collection, following categories of ethnicity, materials used in their manufacture and related skills and practices, function, and significance. We took account of their production and circulation, but also social contexts, meanings and values associated and reflected in them. Because none of the members of the family could give us any information about the objects themselves – where they had come from, when and why – we had little choice but to take this approach.

Our museum has collections by other geologists in Borneo, for instance of some hundred textiles and artifacts that Friedrich Weber (1878–1952), a geologist, like Leupold, and in all likelihood personally acquainted with him, assembled in the years 1912/13, some of them in the backcountry of Berau, exactly where Leupold prospected ten years later. There is a clear logic and thematic focus in Weber's method of collecting, also because he was partly purchasing objects on behalf of the Geographic-Ethnographic Society in Zurich and thus had written instructions. However, there is no such systematic approach in the group of Leupold objects, even though the items themselves are of similar

quality and belong to similar categories as those found in organized collections. Clearly, neither Leupold nor his wife had been collectors of *ethnographica*.[4]

Given this situation, our first idea was to exhibit only the objects from Borneo, because they formed a coherent group, maybe together with similar pieces, such as the ones collected by Weber. By doing standard ethnographical research on the objects – by comparing them to similar ones and studying the wide literature available – we were able to assign them to their respective ethnographical contexts. However, the charm of these objects was somehow lost. They were now decontextualized, in the sense that they no longer had any connection to the Leupolds, except for the mention of them as donators.

At the same time, we were also doing archival research to assemble more information about Leupold's biography, and we kept contacting the family with questions. While they were not able to give information on the objects themselves and on their provenance, bit by bit they told us a great deal about the couple's time in "Insulinde." At some point, almost casually, we learned about a notebook in which Erika Leupold, most probably many years after their return and at the request of her sons, wrote down the episodes in Indonesia that made the strongest impression on her.[5] Though it ended abruptly after only 22 pages, it provided many important insights. Truly the most important discovery for our research, however, was a stock of several hundred photographs taken by Wolfgang Leupold in Borneo, part of which showed the Indonesian artifacts in their original surroundings, be it that of their indigenous owners or the Leupolds' domiciles. A remarkable sensibility for beauty characterizes these photographs, which are both, documents of great photo-historical interest, and images of high aesthetic value.

Wolfgang Leupold's photographs

The Leupold family loaned us this rich visual collection. Photographs are images, of course, but at the same time they may be looked at as things. They are objects with a specific materiality, of different size and color, partly brought together in albums in a specific order and sequence. Leupold had developed the photographs on the spot. Thus they have a specific temporal and spatial quality,

4 Nevertheless, Wolfgang Leupold professionally and systematically collected items – namely huge quantities of fossils and core samples – as part of his assignment and geological survey.

5 "Meine schönen indischen Erlebnisse, auch schwere", undated manuscript.

which is emphasized by the fact that Leupold furnished them with handwritten comments on the back,[6] often specifying when and where he had taken them. These photographic objects became an essential part of the whole we studied.[7] Back in Switzerland and maybe just after having received a chair as a professor of practical geology at the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology (ETH) in Zurich, Leupold produced glass slides of his Borneo pictures to give slide shows for his students as well as for his family and friends. We were told that these talks left a lasting impression on everybody who had the opportunity to attend.

The photographs allowed for a new and different perspective on many of the objects, shedding a great deal of light on the biographical dimension. For example, many of the objects the museum had been given we were able to recognize in an interior view of the Leupold's house in Tanjung Selor, a photograph taken around 1923 or 1924: floor mats, an oil lamp and Chinese porcelain on Leupold's desk, behind it, on the wall, a Dayak shield and a Dayak sun hat, on the other side of the door a Dayak mouth organ, and on the piano a Chinese bell and a brass vessel (Ill. 3).

Thanks to the various new sources gathered in archives and given to us by the family, not only did it become possible, but it also seemed increasingly appropriate and worthwhile, to look at the pieces from a biographical perspective – thus, of course, focusing on one specific, partial dimension or reading of the objects. Putting all the information together, we got a sense of the lives of Erika and Wolfgang Leupold during their Indonesian years.

6 There is a second handwriting to be found on the backsides of the photographs, that of Leupold's first son, Urs who looked through all the material with his father not too long before the latter's demise and later traveled to Indonesia with one of his daughters to revisit the places of his birth and the first years of his life.

7 See VON WYSS-GIACOSA / ISLER, 2013.

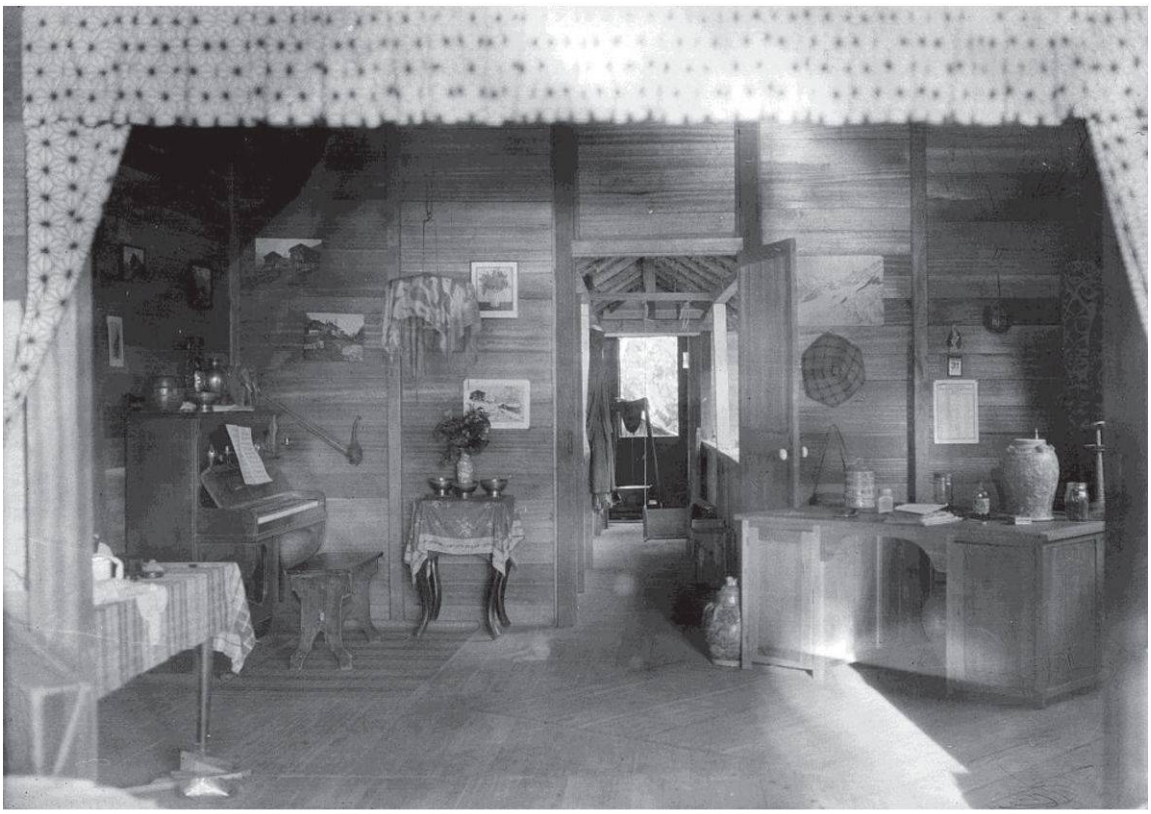

Illustration 3: Living room of the Leupold family in Tanjung Selor, ca. 1923/24 (photograph by Wolfgang Leupold)

Biographies of objects – biographical objects

Before discussing a few examples from the Leupold donation, we shall briefly introduce some considerations on the object-based biographical approach we chose to use, specifically against the background of historical expedition accounts preceding or contemporary with Leupold's stay. The following brief quotation from Arjun Appadurai's introduction to *The Social Life of Things* illustrates our perspective: "[E]ven though from a theoretical point of view human actors encode things with significance, from a methodological point of view it is the things-in-motion that illuminate their human and social context."[8]

There is a very rich anthropological discourse on the connections, lines, and relationships between persons and things, on the distinction between commodities and gifts, on barter, price, value, and appropriation.[9] Pioneering works in

8 APPADURAI, 1986: 5.

9 See HOSKINS, 2006: 74–85.

the field and highly influential to this day are of course Marcel Mauss' much referenced *Essai sur le Don* (1925), a theory of prestations, of exchange and the obligation to reciprocity as eminent aspects and phenomena of a "total social fact", and *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922), Bronislaw Malinowski's classic study on Melanesian exchange. Annette Weiner, in her research on the Trobriand islanders, focused on the characteristics and social significance of particular kinds of objects and introduced the concept of "inalienable possessions";[10] in *The Gender of the Gift* (1988), Marilyn Strathern presented a sophisticated approach based on the notion of "distributed personhood": objects are to be considered within networks of relations, as moving moments, the identity of which at any point in time is directly related to their network of relations at that very moment.[11] Nicholas Thomas argued for, and brilliantly investigated, a "kind of symmetry between indigenous appropriations of European artifacts and the colonial collecting of indigenous goods"[12] in *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture and Colonialism in the Pacific* (1991). Alfred Gell's theory of objects as social agents deserves mention as a provocative and controversial, seminal contribution to the field.[13] Another approach, exemplarily linked to selected objects and their biography-telling potential, stems from Janet Hoskins' investigation on "how things tell stories of people's lives".[14] Much broader, and more on a theoretical level, Susanne Christina Jost develops an analytical framework for outlining the impact of things and material culture on social anthropology.[15]

For our present argument, the concepts introduced by French sociologist Violette Morin in *L'objet biographique*, an essay published in 1969,[16] appear particularly useful. She distinguishes between personal, "biographical" objects, and standardized commodity, "protocol" objects, though given the author's focus on contemporary every day mass-produced things, these terms may have to be applied in a somewhat broader manner conceptually and terminologically. An object – as can be exemplified by most of the artifacts that came into the Leupolds' possession in the course of their Indonesian years – may change its relational context, even several times. In this way, the object acquires something

10 WEINER, 1985; WEINER, 1992.
11 See also STRATHERN, 1991; STRATHERN, 1999.
12 THOMAS, 1991: 5. See also THOMAS, 1994.
13 GELL, 1998.
14 HOSKINS, 1998.
15 JOST, 2005.
16 MORIN, 1969.

that is more than mere material function; it acquires affective significance for the lives of people who not only use it to form social relations among themselves but also accrue obligations towards the object itself, its preservation and maintenance. The object also has its own, allotted span of time: it wears and ages until it breaks. In this way, the object can be said to have a life of its own. Over the course of this life, as something used by society, it can go from being a "protocol object", to being a "biographical object", from being functional to being "cultural and decorative," depending on how its temporal and spatial frames of reference evolve.[17] It is, as Morin states, the relationship, the "active intimacy" and "tight synchronicity" a person establishes and holds with an object, the circumstances making it individual, particular, and localized, that provides it with the identity of "biographical object".[18] Morin defines the relationship of biographical objects to time, space and the owner as key points for categorizing them.[19] Her distinction may be applied on a general level when studying the history of groups of objects such as the Leupolds', which participated for several decades under changing conditions and perceptions in the evolving biographical context of a Swiss family. The artifacts grew old with the family, and limited and at the same time defined the concrete spaces of their owners; as *objets de mémoire* they anchored the family to a particular time, space and experience; and finally changed yet again their status and identity, individually and collectively, when they were entrusted to a museum.

Travelers and objects

Lacking more specific information on the Leupold artifacts, we at first – as described – approached the individual objects from a purely museological per-

17 MORIN, 1969: 133.

18 "L'objet dit biocentrique ou biographique […] fait partie non seulement de l'environnement mais aussi de l'intimité active de l'usager (l'Umwelt); l'objet et l'usager s'utilisent dans ce cas mutuellement et se modifient l'un par l'autre dans la plus étroite synchronie." MORIN, 1969: 132–133.

19 "Quatre champs de médiation sont choisis pour confronter de l'utilitaire au décoratif, les progressions et les régressions mutuelles du biographique et du protocolaire. Les limites de ce choix […] portent successivement, au regard du consommateur, sur le temps avec l'âge et sa durée, sur l'espace avec l'habitat et son enracinement, sur l'existence avec la personnalité de l'individu et enfin sur l'essence avec sa présence et le poids de certitude qui l'accompagne." MORIN, 1969: 134.

spective. Still, there was a remarkable gap of several decades between the points in time when the objects had come together and when they were donated to the museum. Hence, in order to get a better sense of the historical context of the artifacts, we also consulted older books, many of them accounts by early European travelers in Borneo. These proved particularly useful for situating the objects in a colonial context. Objects bestowed, exchanged or purchased play a seminal role in social spaces, in situations of encounter, and thus, not surprisingly, find frequent mention in the various expedition reports.

Commerce is a topic that recurs regularly and receives extensive treatment by colonial travel writers. Carl Bock, a Norwegian explorer and in the late 1870s commissioner for the Dutch Government in Borneo, lists a few of the main export commodities: "Rattan is the staple product; but gutta-percha, timber, beeswax, and edible birds' nests [...] from the interior, and trepang, tortoise-shell, and turtle eggs from the coast."[20] Import goods are mentioned as well: "Rice, salt, opium, gambier, coffee, petroleum, coloured prints, white and black calico, iron and brass wire."[21] On a more personal note, the author then describes a gift he received from one of the Dayak Rajah's daughters and other precious artifacts on which he was particularly keen and asked to purchase, "one of the huge straw hats worn by the Dyak women when out at work in the fields. The rim was no less than two feet seven inches in diameter, and served the double purpose of umbrella and sunshade. To complete the favour, I begged Rajah Dinda to get one of his wives to make me a bark jacket, for which I promised that she should be handsomely rewarded."[22] Interestingly, Bock also mentions gifts he offered to his hosts and new acquaintances, such as "an embroidered silk scarf and a few strings of beads" to a "Dyak woman",[23] as well as merchandise he traded, for instance with the nomadic "Orang Poonan":

> Beads of various colours, buttons of brass, silver, or glass, ribbon edged with gold lace, small knives, shilling razors, toy balloons, Japanese knives, gay-coloured prints, and above all a good stock of strong Java tobacco, and finally money. The cash they showed no appreciation of; but for all the other articles, with the partial exception of the beads, which were unfortunately not all of the proper pattern to suit the Dyak taste, they found some strange use. The large glass beads they would stick in the holes in their ears; the ribbon was

20 BOCK, 1882: 26.
21 BOCK, 1882: 26.
22 BOCK, 1882: 66.
23 BOCK, 1882: 53.

> used for making ornaments of various kinds; the prints were also useful, while the whistling balloons excited universal delight.[24]

The Dutch medical officer and explorer Anton Willem Nieuwenhuis, also offers extensive descriptions of the gifts and trading commodities necessary to carry out expeditions. Calico and silk as well as the glass beads already mentioned by Bock were especially popular goods with many ethnic groups in Borneo. The Javanese, however, showed no interest in beads, and these trading goods were not available on the island, forcing Nieuwenhuis to travel to Singapore where the local Chinese merchants stocked what he needed for completing his kit.[25]

Another Norwegian traveler in Borneo, from 1913 to 1917, was Carl Lumholtz. His meticulously compiled account is rich in detailed observations. Again, the difficulties and pitfalls experienced by the colonial travelers in handling the complexities of the "bead currency" are addressed at length: "Necklaces of beads are worn by men, women, and children. [...] the Dayaks are extremely particular about the kind they buy; therefore it is useless to take beads out to Borneo without knowing the prevalent fashion."[26]

The circulation and entanglement of things, and in fact the objects themselves may be considered and studied as dynamic and many-layered "contact zones."[27] Several pieces in the Leupold donation, such as decorated hats, bark cloth jackets, musical instruments, Chinese pottery and Javanese brass vessels, fit many of the object categories mentioned in the European accounts on Borneo, both in those quoted above and in others. The historic accounts thus proved very valuable as regards the often very detailed ethnographical information on the pieces. We also postulated that Leupold's occasions for receiving objects were analogous to those described by these writers, thereby offering a tentative hypothesis as to possible biographical events or contexts. The example of the Dayak sword, "mandau", of which Leupold owned several specimens (Ill. 4), may serve to illustrate such interrelations between people and things.

Among the objects Carl Bock mentioned as gifts he was presented with, in this case by the Sultan of Kutai, was "a very fine mandau, which he generally

24 BOCK, 1882: 62.

25 NIEUWENHUIS, 1907: 16.

26 LUMHOLTZ, 1920: 77.

27 PRATT, 1991; PRATT, 1992. See as well JONES, 2007.

Illustration 4: Dayak swords, Leupold donation, Ethnographic Museum of the University of Zurich

wore."[28] Bock also provides an instructive description of the effect this gift had on the local people he encountered: "The sight of my Mandau seemed to reassure her [the Dayak Rajah Dinda's mother]. From the length of the hair tufts and the number of bead ornaments hanging from the sheath, she rightly judged that it belonged to the Sultan."[29]

Around 1913, in Tanjung Selor, a place that would be crucial for Leupold a few years later, Lumholtz was struck by the sight of the artfully worked weapons:

> I have not, before nor since, seen such a tempting collection of the short sword of the Dayak, which has grown to be almost a part of himself. In the northeast these famous swords are called Mandau […] One exceedingly fine one, belonging to the chief, I purchased for three sets of ivory rings, each set at fifteen florins, and one sarong.[30]

28 BOCK, 1882: 45. Cf. BOCK, 1882: 191: "The principal [Dyak] weapon is the *mandau*, literally 'head-hunter', of which each Dyak has from four to six" and the illustration in BOCK, 1882: Plate 18.

29 BOCK, 1882: 59.

30 LUMHOLTZ, 1920: 60–61.

One last author to deserve mention in this context is Victor von Plessen, a German explorer and ornithologist, who in the mid 1930s spent some time in the same area and villages Leupold had visited to film *Die Kopfjäger von Borneo* (1936). In his diary, von Plessen mentions a Chinese jar with Dragon relief and a mandau as gifts the Chief of the Dayak village Long Metep on the Bahau River gave him. Von Plessen, we learn, reciprocated with a large quantity of cloth as well as bracelets for the Chief's wives.[31] In describing such objects and in bringing them back to Europe, all these travelers and researchers contributed to establishing (and, by the same token, being influenced by) a corpus of "typical" artifacts from Borneo as may be found in many an ethnographic museum today. Such collections thus, at least in part, can be described as the result of a dialectical process between producers, donators, sellers, and collectors, between local population and colonial powers.

The trades, purchases and gifts of these different travelers to Borneo have been described here at length in order to offer a broader background to the Leupold artifacts. One critical difference between the Swiss geologist and the authors mentioned above, however, needs to be emphasized once more. Bock systematically acquired *ethnographica*, such as a "two-stringed instrument, a sort of cross between a banjo and a violin" he "succeeded in purchasing [...] for 10 florins,"[32] "specimens of their [the Poonan's] very scanty stock of personal goods,"[33] and further objects "offered for sale or exchange plates, mats, baskets, and other articles of native manufacture."[34] Analogous descriptions may be found in Nieuwenhuis', in Lumholtz', and in von Plessen's accounts. They all actively collected material, and they all repeatedly describe the assembling of ethnological collections, the searching for, selecting and buying of representative artifacts – sometimes on commission – and they all make explicit mention of the intention of collecting, as well as the private or institutional destinations of the items gathered.

Not so, as we have seen, Leupold and his wife Erika. Clearly they had never considered the pieces they brought back from "Insulinde" as part of a collection, but rather as their household goods and personal effects. However,

31 VON PLESSEN, 1936: 42f.: "In Long Metep wurden wir vom Dorfhäuptling empfangen [...] Er schenkte mir einen alten, sehr schönen chinesischen Krug mit Drachenrelief und einen Mandau (Schlagmesser). Ich revanchierte mich mit zwanzig Meter Tjavattuch und Armbändern für seine Gemahlinnen."

32 BOCK, 1882: 54.

33 BOCK, 1882: 72.

34 BOCK, 1882: 86.

what to us had at first appeared to be a rather heterogeneous assortment, on the one hand of characteristic artifacts from Borneo and on the other of what could best be described as the typical pan-Indonesian colonial ensemble, achieved a very specific unity and greater meaning, when we considered the artifacts as entangled pieces of "contact zones" against the background of the photographs and the notebook. Each object could be read as a material testimony, as a biographical document of the lives of Erika and Wolfgang Leupold. One could ask, for instance, when, how, and why it had come into their possession, whether it was or could have been a gift or a commodity, both quite in the sense of Marcel Mauss, as objects contributing to, or involved in the creation and maintenance of, social links (of course for lack of sources we can discuss only one side of this relationship, that of the colonialists). The objects mirrored the manifold aspects of the family's time in the colonies, their contacts with local peoples, and Wolfgang Leupold's geological explorations of the terrain.

The process of organizing an exhibition such as the one we realized at the Ethnographic Museum of the University of Zurich may even be seen as a form of re-construction of a biography, or at least of an additional chapter thereof. The result, of course, can only be non-linear and rather associational, but nevertheless the approach used and the results presented were based on a notion of biography that asked for links between people and things, for how meanings and values were accumulated and transformed, and for how, to take up Morin again, the objects' relation to time, space and the owner can be grasped and portrayed.

Personal and official biographical objects

The social origin and background of objects, their modes of production, use, and consumption, are aspects of their own specific biographies. Additionally, they convey information about people through their relationships to them.[35] Particularly objects that are involved in a process of donation or barter bear in themselves, as Marcel Mauss states, obligations to interact between the former and the new owners; they are thus indicators of the social embeddedness of the persons to which they are attached. How much precise biographical data may be obtained from an object depends on whether it is possible to make reasonable connections to other information be it from the object's inherent characteristics

35 See HOSKINS, 1998.

or from external facts. Sometimes a single object or group of associated artifacts reveal very little; sometimes it is possible to deduce or infer an entire chapter of a person's biography from them.

A distinction that the descendants of Wolfgang and Erika Leupold made is the characterization of the pieces as either rather private or rather public. Some objects that bear biographical traces of a very private nature were not included in the donation to the museum. Nevertheless, they were made accessible to the Ethnographic Museum and hence to research and, through the exhibition, to a general public. (Besides – and interestingly – this applies as well for all the originals of the photographs: the prints with manuscript notes, the albums and the glass plates were kept by the family.)

One object that was carefully preserved for decades and remains in the family's possession is a textile elephant of indeterminable origin mounted on a small wooden board with four wheels, a toy for the little son, Urs. It may be that the family chose to keep it, because it is not, as they said, ethnographic. As they added though, it also holds great emotional weight for them. There is a very poetic photograph of the mother, child, and toy elephant together (Ill. 5).

Illustration 5: Erika and Urs Leupold, Bukit Tengah, Bunyu, 1924 (photograph by Wolfgang Leupold)

Maybe this image as well as the evident fragility and wear and tear of the toy evoked for Erika's descendants the very difficult, even precarious time of first motherhood when she was left alone for months at a time with the infant in a strange and, as we learn from her notebook, rather ambivalently perceived surrounding. Also, the picture places the elephant in a historical context, which the Leupold descendants had only heard about and which not even Urs Leupold himself remembered, but which was nonetheless very important to their collective history. The interplay between image and object invests both with significance. It thus seemed important to us to include both the toy elephant and the photograph in the exhibition.

Two further small carved wood elephants were also excluded from the donation, once again because of their primary importance as family memorabilia. They form a pair, about 20 centimeters in height and made from heavy wood. They have ivory tusks and are most likely of Asian origin (Ill. 6).

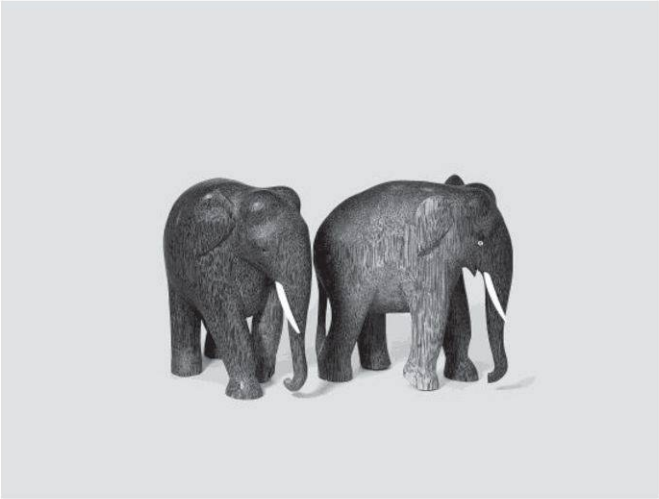

Illustration 6: Wooden elephants, Leupold family

Leupold's first superior, a man by the name of von Steiger, who died unexpectedly of jaundice in Tarakan, Northeast Borneo, had bequeathed them to the young couple. Both Wolfgang and Erika Leupold were deeply attached and grateful to him. In Berne, he had actively helped the freshly graduated Wolfgang Leupold obtain employment as a geologist in the colonies, and he was a reliable support for the newcomers once they had arrived in Indonesia. His constant assistance and willingness to help and then his sudden and early death, which they had closely witnessed, had left a deep impression. Erika Leupold wrote in her notebook:

> The first trying experience in Boelongan was that Mr. von Steiger was so sick and there were no means of transportation. Mr. von Steiger, who was very dear to us (only always asked for beer and refused everything else, a very bad lukewarm beer) then died in Tarakan from jaundice. […] My two elephants are an heirloom of Mr. von Steiger.[36]

These two elephants invariably appear in photographs of the interiors of the Leupolds' homes over the years, always in prominent and honorable positions, keeping von Steiger's biographically important role visible and present over time and space. In their commemorational function they remained significant to Erika Leupold decades later.

Let us now turn to objects that were included in the donation. Various photographs inform us about the function of these Indonesian objects in the Leupold home and about how they were integrated in the interiors. Two examples shall be discussed, the constituent parts of a Javanese betel set and a highly expressive Dayak shield. Most interesting in this context is a comparison of the phases of an individual object's biography. Its original use and social function, as these can be understood from ethnographical sources, may contrast sharply with the way it was perceived by the Leupolds (and many other colonial agents) and, similarly, how it was put to use and integrated into "European" life. Biography of this kind does not target first and foremost a sequence of events in a person's life but rather someone's position in his or her social, professional, and private sphere and the changes of this position over time. Similarly, in discussing the biographies of objects, not the objects themselves are important but their uses, functions, and roles in personal relations, for instance, the importance different people ascribed to them. Their connectedness with social realities may be comprehensible in the objects themselves – for example in signs of use or non-use – or in other sources that describe how they were arranged in space and time.

The containers and cutlery used for offering betel quids demonstrate how instructive it is to analyze spatial placements when studying biographies. Such a group usually includes a round jar, covered by a cap with handle, which serves as a platform for other, smaller pots designed to keep betel leaves, areca nuts, slaked lime and other ingredients for the betel quid. Such implements were

36 "Das erste schwere Erlebnis in Boelongan war dass Herr von Steiger so krank war und keine Transportmöglichkeit da war. Herr von Steiger, der uns sehr lieb war (hat nur immer Bier verlangt und alles andere abgelehnt, ein sehr schlechtes laues Bier) ist dann in Tarakan an Gelbsucht gestorben. […] Meine beiden Elephanten sind ein Erbstück von Herrn von Steiger." See note 5.

employed in most parts of Southeast Asia at that time to express hospitality in a highly formalized ritual. The Leupolds owned specimens of typical Javanese upper and urban class type; the rural population had other kinds of containers. We do not know how the betel sets came into the Leupolds' possession. The couple may have obtained them from the colonial authorities so as to be able to receive local guests of high rank appropriately, or the Sultan of Bulungan may have given one to them, as both a sign of appreciation and a useful gift, when the couple once visited him.

The Leupolds brought two sets and one cutter back to Europe. We showed one of these sets in the exhibition, organized in the typical and traditional manner for receiving guests, the small containers being placed on the flat cover of the large one (Ill. 7).

Illustration 7: Betel set, Java, Leupold donation, Ethnographic Museum of the University of Zurich

However, as we noticed on the photographs, the Leupolds scattered these containers in different places in their living rooms. Moreover, the descendants of the Leupolds, and we subsequently, received them as individual pieces. We therefore assume that Wolfgang and Erika Leupold had little interest in using them according to their intended purpose. It may be that the Leupolds – like most Europeans – did not enjoy chewing betel quids or that they were little inclined to embrace formalized types of behavior, something their sons and grandchildren emphasized especially with regard to Wolfgang Leupold. At the end of the day, however, there is no definitive explanation for why the Leupolds used

these objects as they did. In this case, we may guess that they were aware of the traditional purpose of these objects; in other cases the cultural transfer, which becomes visible in the changed setting and usage of things, probably took place without being remarked.

Borneo objects and their biographical implications

Wolfgang Leupold also owned other objects meant to express high social prestige, and we wondered under what circumstances he had come into their possession, since he was neither wealthy nor of high rank in the Dutch colonies. What we know from the photographs of interiors is that the Leupolds liked to surround themselves with artifacts – on the one hand from their homeland and on the other from their new environment. Among the artifacts of very high prestige brought back by Leupold are two very beautiful Dayak shields (Ill. 8).

Illustration 8: Dayak shield, Leupold donation, Ethnographic Museum of the University of Zurich

We know from the specific design of his shields that they were made by the Dayak people of the Kenyah, who dwelled (and still dwell) in the regions upstream of Tanjung Selor, the former capital of the Bulungan sultanate. Nieuwenhuis describes and illustrates shields of this type, which the Kenyah of the Bahau River used in war dances.[37] Indeed, the name of this dance, "kenja", is eponymous with the tribe. These shields are decorated with the typical patterns that have become a kind of brand for Borneo: the approximately symmetric lines that interlope in a very free elaboration, all depictions of the mythical dragon dog named *aso*. As we can see on a photograph, Leupold hung one of the shields behind his desk.[38] In doing so he treated it as a work of art to be displayed on a wall in typical European fashion. Clearly he admired and appreciated the Dayak aesthetic expression, as many European artists and scholars of the time did.[39] Maybe he was also taking a position in the contemporary debate about how primitive the so-called primitive peoples really were, given that they produced artifacts of great creativity, a tremendous degree of abstraction and extraordinary workmanship.[40]

In his description of the shields, Nieuwenhuis went on to say that the Kenyah dances were always accompanied by the music of a "keledi", the typical mouth organ of the Dayak. Leupold owned two of these instruments, one of which we can see on the same photograph as the shield displayed on the wall near the piano. There were many more Dayak artifacts in his possession, such as several bamboo containers, elaborately decorated with the dragon motif, here carved and etched out of the shiny surface and subsequently colored black or red, and others, some of which we will discuss below. The fact that Leupold owned a major group of objects of common ethnic origin is evidence for a specific biographical reading of these things. As we will now see, they can be connected positively to places and to people Leupold visited during his expeditions.

A group of Kenyah artifacts as biographical objects

Approximately fifty kilometers upstream of Tanjung Selor lies Long Leju, a village of the Makulit tribe belonging to the Kenyah people. The place is stra-

37 See NIEUWENHUIS, 1907: 133.

38 See Ill. 3, in the right hand corner.

39 HEIN, 1890.

40 NIEUWENHUIS, 1913.

tegically well positioned on one of the crucial water routes, the Kayan River and was something like the capital of the "Bahau"-area. The chief of Long Leju, Amban Klisan, worked regularly with Europeans in colonial service, for instance on the occasion of a well documented expedition in 1909/1910 that explored the snowy mountains in western New Guinea under the leadership of H. A. Lorentz. Extensive reports of the trip exist, one of them by navy surgeon L. S. A. M. von Römer. [41] Even photographs have been preserved in the collection of the Wereldmuseum in Rotterdam, showing Amban Klisan and his men, in one case in a photographer's studio, in another in the open, most probably already in New Guinea.[42] A few years later, Carl Lumholtz, one of the Norwegian Borneo travelers mentioned earlier, also visited the area and met Amban Klisan: "Amban Klesau, the only son of the chief of Long Mahan, directed my prahu. He had taken part in an expedition to New Guinea and was an efficient and pleasant man who had seen something of the world."[43]

It is not surprising then, that Wolfgang Leupold, too, sought the services of this highly esteemed man, who was remarkably skilled in building boats and in navigating the treacherous river currents. Two photographs document Leupold's visit to Long Leju. The comment on the back of one of them (Ill. 9 re, vs), allowing the identification of place and people, reads as follows:

> In Long Ledju, one of the largest Dajak villages on the Sungai Kajan (Boeloengan river) about 50 kilometers upstream from Tanjung Selor. The village belongs to the Makúlit tribe, which in turn is part of the powerful Keniás people ruling the entire catchment area of the Kajan. The village consists of a single house 200 meters in length. In front of it stands, second from right, the chief Amban Klisan, a capital fellow who appears quite capable of enforcing his royal decrees by the strength of his arm. And yet he is still outmatched, in terms of physique, by the two Punans (nomadic Dajaks from the forest) standing to his right and left. The king has brought them into his village as special hunters. At the far left is an ordinary [...] Makúlit.[44]

41 VON RÖMER, 1913: 137–160.

42 Inv. Nos. 902577 and F 2626/76. See GROENEVELD et al. 1989: 46, 168.

43 LUMHOLTZ, 1920: 71.

44 "In Long Ledju, einem der grössten Dajakdörfer am S. Kajan (Boeloengan-Fluss), ca 50 km stromaufwärts von Tdg. Seilor. Das Dorf gehört zum Stamme der Makúlits, die wieder zum kräftigen Volke der Keniás gehören, die das ganze Quellgebiet des Kajan beherrschen. Das Dorf besteht aus einem einzigen, 200 m langen Hause. Davor steht (2. von rechts) der Häuptling Amban Klisan, ein Prachtskerl, der seinen königlichen Anordnungen wohl mit den Armen Nachdruck verleihen kann. Er wird aber an Körperbau noch übertroffen von den zwei Punans (nomadisierenden Wald-Dajaks), die rechts und links von ihm stehen und die

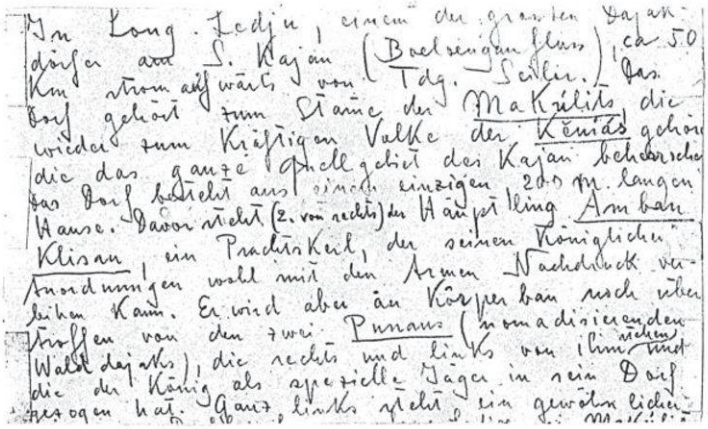

Illustration 9 re/vs: Long Leju, Kayan River, (photograph by Wolfgang Leupold), on the back a handwritten caption by Wolfgang Leupold

Various finely plaited skullcaps are visible on the photograph, as well as, though very small, an ear ornament hanging from Amban Klisan's left earlobe. Carved in hornbill ivory, a highly valued material, and showing the traditional dragon-design, the ear ornament is considered by the Dayak to be protective as well as indicative of status. The Leupold donation includes several plaited skullcaps and two such hornbill ear ornaments (Ill. 10, 11).

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der König als spezielle Jäger in sein Dorf gezogen hat. Ganz links steht ein gewöhnlicher [...] Makúlit."

Illustration 10 (left): Dayak scull-cap, Leupold donation, Ethnographic Museum of the University of Zurich
Illustration 11 (right): Dayak ear ornament in hornbill ivory, Leupold donation, Ethnographic Museum of the University of Zurich

The photograph is thus a many layered document – not, as the previously discussed interior photograph, of the integration of Dayak objects into the daily life of the family, but of a specific biographical situation, a point in time, when most probably an agreement between Leupold and Amban Klisan was reached, one that evidently led to an exchange of gifts, some of which are visible in the image and tangible to this day in the museum.

In theory, Leupold could have bought or received his Dayak shields anywhere. Nieuwenhuis writes that the items powerfully decorated with human and animal figures and masks were sometimes exported to Europe.[45] But this is not true for all the Dayak artifacts in his possession. Given that Leupold was in Long Leju and received some objects there, we can safely assume that this was the place where he obtained the majority of the remarkable, valuable, and socially prestigious artifacts in his possession.

There is also a group of objects of a very specific style, which finds no mention in the historical accounts and hardly any comparison even in important

45 NIEUWENHUIS, 1904: 154: "Die Schilde ("klebit") der Bahau haben die bekannte länglich viereckige Form mit dreieckiger Verlängerung nach oben und unten. Die mit Menschen- und Tierfiguren und Masken stark verzierten Exemplare, die bisweilen nach Europa ausgeführt werden, traf ich bei den Stämmen von Mittel-Borneo nur selten."

museum collections: four outstanding bark-cloth jackets that proved of eminent value for our research, in particular from our biographical perspective (Ill. 12).

Illustration 12: Dayak bark-cloth jacket, Leupold donation, Ethnographic Museum of the University of Zurich

These garments, cut to the shape of a sleeveless jacket, were reserved for aristocrats and thus symbolized high status in the stratified Kenyah society. They are beautifully ornamented on the front and back, with the contours of ever new variants of the dragon motif drawn freehand in pencil and subsequently filled with a red vegetable dye, with stripe(s) of embroidery in a blue indigo shade, and the lower rim cut lengthwise into fringes again dyed red. Thanks to recent studies, these jackets can be very specifically and exclusively attributed to Kenyah from the Upper Bahau River, much further upstream from Long Leju.[46] Leupold photographed scenes that document the "marvelous Dayak rapid rafting technique" in these upper regions of the mighty rivers of East Kalimantan. His meticulously drawn geological survey map contains marked entries up to very remote valleys but not to the Upper Bahau River.[47] However, he did reach the headwaters of the Tubu River from the North by relying on this map and thus

46 SELLATO, 2006: 153–168. See also NIEUWENHUIS, 1907; KOOIJMAN, 1963; TILLEMA, 1990.

47 The map is part of the Bulungan Report manuscript in the Naturalis. See above, note 2.

got very near to the area of the Upper Bahau River. He must have obtained the bark-cloth jackets somewhere in this remote interior district of the Bulungan Regency.

A group of baskets as objects in a colonial biography

While the jackets convey very specific information about Leupold's travels, we will now in conclusion discuss a group of artifacts that impart biographical information of quite another kind. Among the Borneo objects brought home to Switzerland by the Leupolds there is a group of cylindrical rattan baskets with shoulder straps (Ill. 13).

Illustration 13: Rattan baskets, Borneo, Leupold donation, Ethnographic Museum of the University of Zurich

Their ornamentation is, again, very sophisticated. The patterns are sometimes monochrome, though they are usually and most strikingly created by the contrast of the shiny, natural golden color of the rattan with the black of dyed rattan stripes. The design is mostly highly stylized, based on lozenges, triangles, meanders, and stars. These are often interpreted as symbolic representations of plant motifs. Such baskets were used almost everywhere to carry paddy or personal belongings and were worked in such a way – the endings on one side threaded with rattan – that they could be drawn shut and worn like a backpack.[48]

Produced by the nomadic Punan, these rattan baskets were important trading goods. However, Dayak tribes also made and traded them. Carl Lumholtz gives a description of baskets he saw in Tanjung Selor:

> The government has put up a kind of lodging-house for visiting Dayaks, and the many fine implements and utensils which these men had brought with them made the interior look like a museum. Their beautiful carrying-baskets and other articles were standing in a continuous row around the walls. These Kenyahs did not seem to have been here before and were agreeable people with whom to deal.[49]

On his second expedition to Borneo in 1932, the Dutch author, hygienist, and traveler Hendrik Tillema photographed a display of Punan baskets of woven rattan, which, as he states, he saw at Long Pangian in the possession of a Chinese trader.[50] These brief quotations and references, and of course the whereabouts and not least the dramatic change in quality over the last decades of the artifacts themselves all provide fascinating insights into social and cultural entanglements of their own to be discussed through and traced in the objects. The Leupold baskets are of very limited use, though, for our better understanding of his Indonesian years. There was no way for us to tell how the Swiss geologist acquired them. Leupold worked with Punan and Kenyah. He may very well have purchased or traded some of the baskets, they may have been offered to him as gifts, he may have used one or the other during his expeditions or simply have appreciated their beauty. He may also have noticed their popularity and diffusion as typical souvenirs well beyond Kalimantan. To this day the cylindrical rattan baskets are much appreciated articles for tourists and can be purchased outside of Borneo, too. In fact, when we first worked through the Leupold donation, we

48 SELLATO, 2012.

49 LUMHOLTZ, 1920: 60–61.

50 TILLEMA, 1938. See KING (ed.), 1990: 133.

came across two baskets of visibly more recent fabrication and inferior quality, probably purchased by Urs Leupold during his trip in 1989.

Coming back to the argument and the categories proposed by Morin, though the biography of this group of artifacts may be traced in part, hardly any conclusive statement can be made with regard to their precise significance as biographical objects. A very functional, much appreciated commodity, they have through time reached the status of a "pan-Indonesian" souvenir, one that is specific to many colonial biographies and thus also to the Leupolds'.

As the various and diverse examples presented illustrate, the study of "things-in-motion that illuminate their human and social context", to quote Appadurai once more, opens up ethnographical, geographical, and biographical fields that can be both very specific and at the same time very general.

Epilogue

Objects can go from one place to another through trade, thereby obtaining their own object biographies and stepping into the biographies of their owners. The exchange of goods creates a mutual liability between different persons, and these relationships, based on an obligation to reciprocate, shape biographies. They bear the bonds between people, but they bear other bonds, too, by their material constancy through changing times and places. When objects from different times and origins are found together in one room, for instance, a new set of questions is raised as to how this came about. This may be exemplified by reference to yet another photograph of one of the Leupolds' living rooms in Tanjung Selor (Ill. 14). In this picture, which shows the arrangement of a room rather than a family scene, we find an interesting mixture of European and Indonesian objects. Each of them in their commemorative function says something about the stages of the lives of their owners, who themselves are absent from the picture. The arrangement of the objects, their altar-like installation, which appears to show a state between everyday use and a presentation for the photograph, suggests an order within the biographical reality of things. It is an arrangement shaped by the family history, and in turn shaping it.

Illustration 14: Living room of the Leupold family in Tanjung Selor, ca. 1923/24 (photograph by Wolfgang Leupold)

Some objects catch the modern observers' attention because we know them from our own European environment and experience, e.g. the musical instruments. The Leupolds seem to have enjoyed music and appear to have played the clarinet and piano. These instruments indicate that their players are from a cultivated European, probably bourgeois background. The accordion as a typical instrument of folk music may be linked to their home country and their lives there as young people. Maybe playing music from home was one way to deal with homesickness, maybe it just brightened up a colonial life with not much entertainment.

Other objects in the room tell other stories. It is typical for Europeans, and in keeping with their own tradition, to make use of beautiful Indonesian textiles as the Leupolds did, by for example laying the batik fabrics on the bed as covers and hanging the textile from Sumba, a collectible highly appreciated by many colonial Europeans, horizontally on the wall behind the piano as a wall decoration. The nail on which hangs a reproduction of a well-known Swiss painting – Giovanni Segantini's evocative "Ave Maria on the lake" ("Ave Maria a tras-

bordo", 1886) – goes right through the Sumbanese cloth, a seemingly carefree combination of Switzerland and Indonesia and, to refer once more to Pratt's controversial but indeed very suggestive term, an exemplary "contact zone". In a biographical reading of these artifacts and the way they were combined, Erika and Wolfgang Leupold opened themselves to new and foreign impressions without losing their attachment to their homeland. In purely practical terms, of course, they needed to have some of these objects to live a European lifestyle. Others, such as the art reproductions or photographs of the Swiss mountains, were clearly reminders of their country of origin and of past moments in their lives as, for instance, their stay of several months in a village near Davos in the Swiss Alps the summer before they departed to the East Indies. In their turn, the new, locally acquired objects would take over the function of mementos after the Leupolds' return to Switzerland, while many of the Swiss objects lost a good deal of their significance.

Objects mark the different phases of people's lives, indicating biographical stations on a temporal, geographical, and personal level, to paraphrase Morin. When seen by a person other than the owner, they have two characteristics. On the one hand, they recount a specific historical biography or biographies. On the other, they are similar to objects a viewer may have already seen. Each of the Indonesian artifacts that Leupold brought back is representative of its region of origin, and bringing them back was a conventional thing to do. As the quotations above from travelers in Borneo indicated, almost everybody who returned from a stay in Borneo had mandau swords, war shields, basketry, bamboo containers, as well as goods from other islands, such as batik and ikat cloths, kris daggers and betel sets and cutters, in their luggage. While we tied many of Leupold's limited set of artifacts to specific times, places, and episodes in the couple's life in Borneo, the donation as a whole is so typical of the colonial entanglement of this time that it has the power to evoke other biographies, too. In other words, the objects are material documents in a supra-individual colonial biography. As Jost puts it in her investigation on things and material culture in social anthropology, objects – in their capability to structure time and space not just for individuals but likewise for societies[51] – are ideal media to address and to attract people as parts of a collective memory (Ill. 15, 16). It is thus a dialectic process, which may be observed and studied, one that concerns people's things as much as things' people.[52]

51 JOST, 2005: 107.

52 The thought is owed to Wolfgang Marschall.

Illustration 15, 16: Aufschlussreiches Borneo (Many layered Borneo), exhibition in the Ethnographic Museum of the University of Zurich, 2011

The photographs function in roughly the same way. While they are clearly of another time, and no one who saw the exhibition in Zurich in 2011 recognized any of the people Leupold photographed (with the exception, of course, of some family members and friends), the images do evoke the atmosphere of this part of Borneo. Moreover, the photographs of the interiors served as a bridge between the visitors and the Leupolds. By recognizing the objects on display in the pictures of rooms that were in many ways traditionally Swiss, the visitor was able to identify to some extent with the Leupolds despite the gaps in time and space.

Because the biography of the individual Leupold – or, more specifically, the Indonesian part thereof – is also the biography of a collective, we used his appealing story to frame the exhibition. The result was impressive for us. A lot of visitors were quite touched, telling us their own narratives of having grown up in the former colonies or, sometimes, of trying to come to terms with the experiences of having traveled and lived there. The following note in the guestbook is one of many similar examples:

> I'm in the exhibition for the third time, now with a part of the family (the daughter Bintang, who was born in Borneo). As a geologist for Shell I stayed in the North of Borneo in the 1970s with the whole family. The exhibition recalls a lot of memories.[53]

The fear of some of the Leupold grandchildren that handing over to a museum the objects of his Indonesian time would cause them to lose a part of the beloved grandfather gave way to relief when they realized that by reuniting the objects and putting them in a broader context, their knowledge of the biography of Wolfgang Leupold was not diminished but deepened. The exhibition wrote a part of the family history.

53 "Bin zum 3. Mal in der Ausstellung, diesmal mit einem Teil der Familie (mit der in Borneo geborenen Tochter Bintang). Als Geologe der Shell war ich in den 70er Jahren im Norden Borneos mit der ganzen Familie. Die Ausstellung ruft viele Erinnerungen zurück."

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