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COMPLEXITIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE MANAGEMENT AND EXHIBITION OF HUMAN REMAINS IN WESTERN MUSEUMS

THE ITALIAN CASE

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ABSTRACT

Complexities and responsibilities in the management and exhibition of human remains in Western museums. The Italian case.

The issue related to the retention, study and exhibition of human remains acquired in the last decades an increasingly importance within the Western museum institutions. The human nature of human remains imposes nowadays a more sensitive and respectful treatment of these materials, which cannot be merely considered as objects or artifacts, but rather as once living people who, as such, deserve a particular ethical attention to their treatment and exhibition.

This research investigates the main complexities raised by the management and the public display of anthropological finds within Western curatorial institutions and explores the main elements of controversy that have made them today objects of political struggle. In the light of the complexities associated with these finds, are presented, then, also the responsibilities of the museum professionals, scholars, and policy-makers who have to deal with their study, conservation and exhibition.

Through a careful bibliographic analysis, participation in conferences and direct dialogue with conservators, curators and museum workers has been possible to highlight the main theoretical and practical difficulties of working with this heritage, so important from an historical, scientific and cultural point of view, but also extremely sensitive and difficult to manage.

Starting from an international contextualization of the problem, this work finally focuses on the Italian case, where the lack of a legislative framework that defines and regulates the treatment of this heritage and a widespread lack of economic resources, makes very difficult to achieve a correct management and promotion of it.

Through the presentation of the case study of the Egyptian Museum of Turin, we have demonstrated the importance of a change in the attitude of the contemporary museum: not only towards the heritage it preserves, but also toward the communities that it represents within it and those that visit it. With this purpose has been draft a museum visitor study aimed at evaluating the public perception of ancient human remains exhibited within the Egyptian Museum of Turin.

The analysis carried out in this work has finally shown the impossibility of having a universally valid solution applicable to the different museum situations and to the different types of human artifacts preserved. Nevertheless, has clearly emerged the need for a rethinking of the museum's attitude towards the finds themselves, the communities of origin and the general public.

Keywords: Human remains, Museum ethics, Anthropology, Museology, Italy

RESUMO

Complexidades e responsabilidades na gestão e exibição de restos humanos em museus ocidentais. O caso italiano.

Nas últimas décadas o tema da retenção, do estudo e da exposição de restos humanos junto do público tem vindo a adquirir uma importância cada vez maior nas instituições museológicas ocidentais. A origem humana dos restos humanos impõe hoje em dia um tratamento mais sensível e respeitoso desses materiais, que não podem ser considerados meramente objetos ou artefatos, mas como vestígios de pessoas que um dia viveram e que, como tal, merecem uma atenção ética específica nos seus tratamento e exposição.

Este trabalho investiga as principais complexidades levantadas pela gestão e pela exposição de restos antropológicos nas instituições curatoriais ocidentais e explora os principais elementos de controvérsia que os tornaram hoje objetos de luta política. À luz das complexidades associadas a esses achados, são apresentadas, também, as responsabilidades dos profissionais do museu, investigadores e decisores políticos que precisam lidar com seus estudos, conservação e exibição.

Através de uma análise bibliográfica, da participação em conferências e do diálogo direto com conservadores, curadores e trabalhadores de museus tem sido possível destacar as principais dificuldades teóricas e práticas em trabalhar com esse património, tão importante do ponto de vista histórico, científico e cultural, mas também extremamente sensível e difícil de gerir.

Partindo de uma contextualização internacional do problema, este trabalho foca principalmente o caso italiano, onde a falta de uma estrutura legislativa que defina e regule o tratamento desse património e uma falta generalizada de recursos económicos dificulta muito a obtenção de uma gestão e promoção correta do mesmo.

Através da apresentação do caso de estudo do Museu Egípcio de Turim, demonstramos a importância de uma mudança de atitude do museu contemporâneo: não apenas em relação ao património que ele preserva, mas também no sentido das comunidades que o museu representa bem como daqueles que o visitam. Com esse objetivo, foi elaborado um estudo para visitantes do museu, para avaliar a percepção pública perante a exibição de restos humanos antigos no Museu Egípcio de Turim.

A análise apresentada neste trabalho mostrou ainda a impossibilidade de criar uma solução universalmente válida aplicável às diferentes situações do museu e aos diferentes tipos de artefatos humanos preservados. Surgiu claramente, no entanto, a necessidade de repensar a atitude do museu em relação a restos humanos, às comunidades de origem destes e ao público em geral.

Palavras-chave: Restos humanos, Ética em museus, Antropologia, Museologia, Itália

Table of Contents

FOREWORD

The idea of this work arises from the interest, which I have for some time now, towards a particular type of museum assets: anthropological remains.

The symbolic power of these materials and the richness of meanings and stories that they preserve, make them objects of curiosity, wonder, and amazement within the museum rooms and, at the same time, the main witnesses of the culture to which they belonged in life. Materials of fundamental importance for researchers, the remains of the dead, questioned in the light of modern technologies, tell their story, their past and, above all, their life.

In addressing the research over these materials has been interesting to note how the 'human remains' have been defined and redefined in many different ways from an author to another. Generally they are designated as the physical remains (bodies and parts of bodies) of the biological species *Homo sapiens* that includes "osteological material (whole or part of skeletons, individual bones or fragments of bone and teeth), soft tissue including organs and skin, embryos and slide preparations of human tissue" (DCSM 2005, p. 9). Some include also cremated remains, ritual or sacred objects in which human remains have been incorporated as well as hair, nails and body fluids, even if they come from people still alive (Monza, 2013). Nevertheless, we have to underline that in some case the definition can also be wider including grave goods and cultural materials. In some non-European communities, indeed, the cultural objects associated with the burial context or used for funerary ceremonies can be considered as an integral and fundamental part for the afterlife of the deceased. This is the case, for example, of the Ayamara people of Bolivia, according to which the textiles woven specifically for deceased individuals contain the spirit of the dead itself. This religious belief led to a strong controversy when some of these textiles were sold to a North American museum (Goodnow, 2006). The same type of spiritual beliefs can be found in many Native American communities and in ancient population as for example the ancient Egyptians for which the sarcophagus was as much important as the mummy itself. Curtis (2003, p. 27) noted that:

> the distinction between the body and culture is a product of Western thinking that sees a number of dualities, such as mind: body and nature: culture […] A consequence of this distinction is the placing of human remains within the remit of the natural sciences while cultural material is studied by the humanities and social sciences. This can mean that the finds from an excavated grave can be split into human remains and grave goods for curation by different museum departments.

Although in this work we will refer to human remains in the 'Western sense' of the term, it is therefore important to take into account that the definition is not univocal and that for many communities or groups of people, this description can be more extensive and also include artifacts and part of the material culture.

In this work the term 'Western' will be used to indicate all the peoples and communities from Europe, or of European origin, which, united by values, political, economic, social frameworks and a common religious belief, have operated starting from the fifteenth century a massive occupation and colonization of the overseas territories to the detriment of the native populations that lived there. These latter, foreign to the European tradition, will instead be defined as ‘non-European’, ‘native’, ‘indigenous’ or ‘aboriginal’. This terminological simplification does not intend to affirm in any way a supremacy of one over the other, nor to suggest a cultural and ethnic uniformity within these two groups. Aware of the extreme cultural, ethnic, and social diversity that characterizes the different communities of each group, the terminology used will have the sole and unique purpose of facilitating the argument within the work.

In the same way, we will refer to the patrimonial human bodies, or parts of them, with terms such as 'human remains', ‘biological finds', 'anthropological remains', ‘human finds’ or 'anthropic remains' trying to emphasize their substantial difference compared to other collections of artefacts and objects preserved in museums and academies. Consequently, terms such as ‘objects’, ‘items’, ‘things’, etc. will be avoided. The term ‘remains’ sometime seen as something different from the human being itself will be used in this work as a way of underline the human and sensitive nature that persists in the biological finds even after the death of the individual.

Methodology of the research

The following research originates from the collaboration with the Department of Life Sciences and Systems Biology in Turin and, in particular, with the figure of Rosa Boano, physical anthropologist and member of the scientific committee of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the University of Turin.

In 2018 it began an intense work of relocation and transfer of the headquarter of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the University of Turin in the *Palazzo degli Istituti Anatomici* of *Corso Massimo d'Azeglio 52*. The transfer was part of the *'Progetto Museo dell'Uomo*', conceived already in 1989, that established that the three museums of the University

relating to the human sciences, the Museum of Human Anatomy 'Luigi Rolando', Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography and the Museum of Criminal Anthropology 'Cesare Lombroso', were united in a single museum center. The transfer of the collections brought to light issues of space and placement of the numerous human finds, especially regarding the Egyptian anthropological collection, until then preserved in the warehouse of the museum. The Egyptian collection has more than 600 skeletons, about 30 complete mummies, 80 heads, around 1000 skulls plus other fragments and parts of mummified bodies. The wealth of this collection, whose preservation requires suitable spaces with controlled temperatures and humidity, arose numerous difficulties in its arrangement. In the spaces currently destined, inside the *Palazzo degli Istituti Anatomici*, a historical building built in 1890, it becomes indeed, very difficult to secure these materials according to the latest safeguard regulations. Hence the collaboration with the Egyptian Museum of Turin with which the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography began a cooperation intended for the promotion of one of the mummies which will be exhibited within the Egyptian Museum in January 2020.

The issues related to the long-term preservation and promotion of these anthropological finds raised, then, a deep ethical reflection within the Turin museum institutions which gave input to this research work.

This thesis focuses on the issues related to the preservation, study, and exhibition of human remains within museum context by the analysis of the literature on the topic and of the current public debate and museum practices, in Europe and worldwide. The first two chapters of the work have an exploratory nature and aim to develop the theoretical framework of the complexities related to the management and display of human remains within Western museums. It will be presented here the most critical issues related to the matter and the legal and regulatory responses implemented at European and non-European level. This theoretical framework will later be taken up in the analysis of the Italian case (chapter 3) and particularly in the case study of the Egyptian Museum of Turin (chapters 4-5).

The research presented in this work is qualitative and bibliographical. It is qualitative because, following the definition of Lune & Berg (2016, p. 12), "quality refers to the what, how, when, where, and why of a thing—its essence and ambience. Qualitative research, thus, refers to the meanings, concepts, definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols, and descriptions of things". The work will answer then, a series of qualitative questions as: Why human remains are exhibited? How we display them? Have the museological and popular approaches changed from the past to the present? When, where and why the attitudes toward

them changed? What can museum professionals do to improve museum practices for their treatment and exhibition? What are the practices and approaches that can promote the scientific value of the remains but at the same time do not forget their cultural significance? As one important part of the qualitative research, we will address the social norms, intended by Lune & Berg (2016, p. 13) as "patterns of behavior that are widely shared within any given society", in our case, in relation to displayed human remains in museums.

Moreover, the research is also bibliographic because, as mentioned above, it presents the problem starting from a careful bibliographical analysis and literature review on the matter. The use of different sources, both geographically (use of Italian and international documents) and temporally (from the first texts that addressed the topic to the current newspapers and peer review articles) allowed to better define the boundaries of the research and analyses the state of the art of the issue.

The bibliographical research has followed different channels depending on the type of document. In regard to printed books, in addition to those purchased, has been used the On-line Public Access Catalog of National Library Service (OPAC SBN), through which has been possible to find and consult the volumes within the university and civic libraries of the Italian territory. Regarding the search of articles and scientific publications, has been used web search engines and databases like 'JStor', 'Academia.edu' and 'Google Scholar' which facilitated the access to Italian and international sources.

The collection of information also took place through direct interviews with curators, researchers and museum directors especially from Turin. The participation in the International Conference 'Human Remains. Ethics, Conservation, Display' that took place at the Archaeological Park of Pompeii on May 20th and in San Marcellino, Naples, on May 21st, 2019 also allowed to directly attend to the interventions of anthropologists and museum professionals from Italy, France, England, and Australia.

The Italian laws were consulted mainly through the official channels made available online by the Italian government: the *Gazzetta Ufficiale della Repubblica Italiana*, the official journal of record of the Italian government and 'Normattiva.it', a web site created by the Italian government which contains the texts of the Italian laws from 1861 until nowadays. Also for the foreign laws, where possible, official government channels have been used.

INTRODUCTION

The following work, developed within the Master's degree in Cultural Heritage and Museology of the University of Coimbra, intends to address the complex international debate concerning the retention, study and exhibition of human remains within Western museum institutions and, specifically, in Italy.

These materials are divided into archaeological collections (ancient remains found during archaeological excavations), anthropological/colonial collections (indigenous remains collected during the colonial era by Western researchers and used for demo-ethnic-anthropological studies on man) and scientific collections (heritage linked to the medical and health field that also include anatomical preparations in liquid or dried form). According to some recent studies carried out in Europe, there are very few countries that attribute to this heritage a differentiation compared to the other finds and objects preserved in museums and there are even less countries and museum institutions that have elaborated particular codes or regulations for their treatment and exhibition. Today, this situation is translated into numerous issues that have involved several international museums, giving rise to debates and controversies which often failed to find a solution.

The preservation and study of human remains have made an important contribution to the understanding of our past and, with the development and discovery of new investigative techniques, continues to provide new insights. However, the particular status of these materials, the emotional and cultural bond they maintain with those who are still alive often makes their museum exhibitions difficult and problematic. The debate intertwines with a plurality of historical, ideological, cultural, scientific and social issues that invest the relationship with our own history and with our cultural identity. The museum institution, too often still tied to values and assumptions that belong to the past, faces today the need to adapt to the needs and perspectives of the contemporary society: a globalized, multicultural reality in which more voices must be heard. In this situation of radical change, the debate over the human remains held by museum institutions became emblematic because it reflects in many cases the lack of regulations and of adequate communication between museums and communities, both those that visit it and those that are represented within it.

This work starts with the analysis of the several critical elements and issues that gave rise to the debate and that still today are controversial and problematic for those museums that preserve and exhibit this type of collections. Giving importance to the different objections is

fundamental since it means not only to observe the debate from different perspectives taking in consideration different points of view but it also allows us to deepen our knowledge of these materials, of their complexity and their importance on the border between sacredness and science. This relativistic approach is therefore fundamental and indispensable in order to develop new and alternative strategies of study, treatment, and exhibition of human remains, more attentive to the needs and sensitivities of the different stakeholders inside and outside the museum environment. Only through this process, I believe it can be possible to ensure the maintenance and integrity of this precious historical, cultural and scientific heritage and find a solution that can allow a more peaceful interaction with these materials, both for those who work with them and for those who observe them in museums.

The purpose of this research is therefore to stimulate a multi-interdisciplinary ethical reflection that could encourage museum institutions to have an intercultural dialogue with the communities in which they operate and with which they interact. The great scientific and historical value of these materials must be safeguarded but not without taking into consideration also the sensitive, sacred nature and the cultural and identity meanings that the body preserves. These values, often ignored in the past, today require the need to be respected and taken into consideration through a more careful and dignified management and exposure of human finds.

In the first chapter, we will analyze the main controversies linked to the retention, study, and exhibition of human remains in museums institutions. Among these: the frequent objectification of the patrimonial body, to which we have historically approached by observing it as an object of study rather than as a once-living subject; the educational function of the museum, which if on the one hand has the power of widespread scientific knowledge and can allow a peaceful reflection and confrontation with death and the dead, on the other, it has had numerous implications in creating racial stereotypes towards non-European cultures or towards certain weaker social groups; finally the comparison between the scientific value of these materials and the sacred, identity and cultural meanings attributed to them by the communities of cultural or genealogical descendants.

In the second chapter will be presented the origin of the debate as part of the decolonization process that has prompted numerous indigenous groups of descendants to claim the restitution of the remains collected in the colonial era and now preserved and studied in Western institutions. The birth of these movements pushed several countries and their museum institutions to elaborate deontological codes, regulations, and laws aimed to facilitate the management of human remains preserved by them and which, in many cases, led to restitution

and to the following re-burial of the remains. As we will see, the debate as well as the elaboration of these codes have developed in different ways and forms in European and non-European countries. The weak pressure from overseas indigenous groups has allowed for European countries to address the issue more superficially resulting in lower impact in terms of renewal of policies and the development of ethical and deontological regulations. The strong focus on human remains of colonial origin had often monopolized the debate, but today the interest to address the issue has also expanded to uncontested remains, demonstrating greater sensitivity and attention by museum institutions and researchers toward the treatment and management of these materials.

The third chapter will introduce the Italian case. In this part will be presented the main Italian legislation regarding the management and treatment of the human remains. As we will see, the human body after death is scarcely defined within the Italian legal system, both in the civil and penal legislation and in relation to the ancient anthropological finds regulated by the *Codice dei beni Culturali e del Paesaggio*, the main Italian legal framework regarding the cultural heritage. Originated as an extra-European issue, the dispute over the use, treatment, and management of ancient human remains, is acquiring nowadays a growing importance also in Italy. Three Italian cases of retention and public exhibition of anthropological finds that have been objects of controversies and popular contestation will be briefly presented here: the skull of Giuseppe Villella exhibited in the Museum of Criminal Anthropology 'Cesare Lombroso' of Turin, the Australian bones held by the Museum of Natural Science of Florence and the mummified body of Rosalia Lombardo preserved in the capuchin catacombs of Palermo.

Finally, the last part of the work will be dedicated to the presentation of a particular Italian museum context: the Egyptian Museum of Turin. The fourth chapter will introduce the history, the policies, and the activities of the Egyptian Museum of Turin, the oldest museum of Egyptian antiquities in the world and the second more important after the Museum of Cairo.

Starting from 2015, with a new direction and management system, the museum has implemented a profound renovation of its policies, focused above all on the connection with the general public and directed to a new and a more sensitive approach on human remains. From this double interest originates a new exhibition project aimed at the promotion of the anthropological finds preserved in the deposits which will be preceded by a period of public consultation in order to investigate the opinion of the visitors and of the potential public on this delicate and sensitive topic. In the fifth and last chapter of this research, we will concentrate on the importance of the communication activity of the museum institution not intended only as

spreading of knowledge but above all as the ability of listen to the public and open a dialogue with the communities that visit the exhibitions and that are represented within them. In this section will be presented the research project implemented together with the Egyptian Museum of Turin, which provides a public consultation regarding the opening of the new *'Sala della Vita'* scheduled for May 2020.

CHAPTER 1

Human remains in museum collections

The presence of human remains within museum institutions and academies is certainly not a novelty of our times. Mummies, skulls, bones and anatomical parts have been collected, and exhibited publicly for centuries to satisfy scientific interest of anatomist, archaeologist and anthropologist and the curiosity and fascination of the general public. Nevertheless, today the retention and the exhibition of these materials have to deal with many ethical, political and social issues that in many cases have led to strong public debates and controversies.

The issue revolves around three main aspects. The first regard the sensitive status of bodies compared to others non-human collections. As we will see the human body is a polyvalent entity with a strong symbolic function. This status makes difficult to deal with the study, cure and exhibition of human finds and demand the need of a particular respect toward the remains themselves and toward the public that observe them in museums. The second important aspect concerns the modalities and intentions inherent in the process of appropriation, acquisition and museum incorporation of the remains in Western society. The holding of anthropological materials by Western museums and academies is today questionable due to the circumstances under which they were acquired and treated in the past. Often belonging to indigenous people or individuals on the fringes of society, these bodies have been collected by European researchers and used with scientific purposes often without asking for a proper authorization to do so and without taking into account the sacredness and the emotional, cultural and religious significance they could have for their relatives or community of descendants. Finally, the third aspect we will take in consideration is the interpretation and representation of these materials that museums have perpetuated in their public exhibition. The strong scientific interest related to the study of human remains has often led to their objectification, that is today facilitate further by the cultural and temporal distance that the public feels towards ancient human remains displayed in museums. Moreover, as we will observe, the museum does not limit to preserve, study and exhibit an object, but it recontextualize it, interpret it and explain it to its public. This approach has an educational purpose that invest the museum with a great responsibility because it often reflects, in the absence of shared exhibition approaches, relations of power and authority.

1.1 Human body: between nature and culture

The human body is an extremely complex organism, not only in its internal functioning but also for its multiple meanings within the human society. According to Isaacs (1995, p. 46-48),

> The body is the most palpable element of which identity – individual or group - is made… The body is at once the most intimate and inward, and most obvious outward aspect of how we see ourselves, how we see others, and how other see us… More than anything else, physical characteristics seem as a badge of identity, instantly establishing who are the we and who are the they (Isaacs 1995, p.46-48 in Burton 2001, p. 53).

In anthropology, the body has been defined as an unquestionable identity referent, a means by which the culture of the individual as well as of the community, is expressed and shown to the others. This is expressed not only through the shapes and colors that identify its ethnicity, but above all, through the ways in which it is cared, decorated, dressed, modeled and altered. As Reisher and Koo (2004, p. 297) claimed, "humans may be the only creatures that steadfastly refuse to let nature alone to dictate they appearance. [...] Our capacity to self-modification and adornment is a central and essential feature of our humanity thought the particular ways in which we alter our bodies are clearly a cultural phenomenon".

"The etching of a cultural aesthetic onto the body", as defined by Burton (2001, p. 60), represents a strong symbolic element through which the individual becomes a promoter and representative of his own cultural identity. Tattoos, body piercing and cosmetic surgery typical of the contemporary Western society, just like the practices of neck extension belonging to some Thai groups or the deformation of the feet practiced by aristocratic Chinese women until the last century, are a clear example of social molding of the body and cultural expression (Fig. 1, Annex). Bodies are indeed physically affected by their interaction and engagement in the world. According to Clifford Geertz (1987), culture plays an important modeling function, intervening not only in creating and shaping the thought, values and emotions of man, but also his organism, his brain and his body. Culture is defined, therefore, as a producer of humanity in which the individual becomes such only through the guidance of 'particular' cultural models, created historically and through which the human being gives form, order, purpose and direction to his life (Geertz, 1987; Remotti, 2013). The human being is defined not only as a producer of culture but as a cultural product himself: he is a cultural animal, an incomplete, unfinished being that is created and shaped mentally and physically only through a particular

culture, the one in which he born, grows and lives[1] (Remotti 2002; Remotti, 2013). Marcel Mauss, in 'Les Techniques du Corps' of 1934 has made a similar point underlying the powerful link between the body and the society in which we live:

l'enfant, l'adulte, imite des actes qui ont réussi et qu'il a vu réussir par des personnes en qui il a confiance et qui ont autorité sur lui. L'acte s'impose du dehors, d'en haut, fût-il un acte exclusivement biologique, concernant son corps. L'individu emprunte la série des mouvements dont il est composé à l'acte exécuté devant lui ou avec lui par les autres. [...] Cette adaptation constante à un but physique, mécanique, chimique (par exemple quand nous buvons) est poursuivie dans une série d'actes montés, et montés chez l'individu non pas simplement par lui-même, mais par toute son éducation, par toute la société dont il fait partie, à la place qu'il y occupe (pp. 8; 10).

The body manifests the phenomenology of learning. Human development is strongly related to the social world and the ways in which we create and modify our body is essentially based on our culture and on how we live in our society: we cannot separate the mind and the body as a different kind of material phenomenon because the body and also the brain is a product of a relation to culture (Sofaer, 2019). The body can be seen, then, as a social construction: it has the power to reflect the culture of the individual and of the community to which he belongs and express core social, cultural and religious values. It is a medium of expression, or, in the words of Burton (2001, pp. 1-2) a "cultural costume", a decoration through which the different cultural traditions intervene and manifest themselves on the body of the individual from birth to death.

However, the cultural transformations of the bodies do not end with the physical death. As well as the living bodies, the corpses are subjected to treatments and molding that reflect the culture to which they belong: as noted by Robert Hertz (1905) in them remains 'their own brand, their own model of humanity' (Favole, 2003/a). Adriano Favole (2003, p. 35) defined the management of the processes of disintegration and destruction of bodies after death as an inescapable necessity for human societies and as a characterizing phylogenetic element of the man that marks a clear distinction between human beings and animals. As noted by Luis Vincent Thomas (1976), man is the animal that buries his own dead, it is the only species for which biological death, fact of nature, is continually overcome by death as a fact of culture. Even in death, in fact, culture finds a way to manifest itself. The different human cultures have elaborated several ways to dealing with the dead and the biological disintegration of the corpses

[1] According to Geertz (1973), there is no such thing as 'natural culture'. The cultural models that shape man are never general, but always particular. Consequently, particular cultures cannot create universal human beings: "*esse riempiono dei 'loro' contenuti e delle 'loro' informazioni esseri che potrebbero essere riempiti di informazioni e contenuti diversi ed altrettanto particolari*" (Remotti 2013, p. 10).

according to their beliefs. The socio-cultural intervention of the community in relation to the death of an individual is expressed not only through the attempt to give a final shape to the body (burning it, burying it, drying it, mummifying it, etc.) but also through the care, the ritual attention and the ceremonies with which communities face death and relate to it over time (De Martino, 2000; Favole, 2003). Death, indeed, is not a fact that interests man only on an individual level, but on the contrary has strong repercussions for the entire social group. According to Hertz (1905, p. 123), death is a social phenomenon, because "*ne se borne pas à mettre fin à l'existence corporelle, visible d'un vivant; elle détruit du même coup l'être social greffé sur l'individualité physique, auquel la conscience collective attribuait une importance, une dignité plus ou moins grandes*".

As many anthropological studies have shown, dead bodies, exactly like those of the living, are necessary to the communities to sustain their own identities. They represent what of the human reality is no longer visible, its beliefs, its values, its culture and for this reason they are always accompanied by a profound emotional and symbolic attachment from the communities to which the individual belonged in life (Alfonso & Powell 2007; Burton, 2001; Favole 2003; Geertz, 1987; Remotti, 2002; Remotti, 2013; Simpson, 2012; Thomas & Spinella, 1976).

Remembering an interesting academic lesson given in 2018 at University of Coimbra by the Portuguese professor and philosopher António Pedro Pita, when we talk about heritage, we talk about *herança*, inheritance, intended as what is handed down from father to son, from generation to generation. Somehow, this definition can also be adapted to human remains: they are 'what remain', a trace, a testimony, expression and representation of a particular human cultural identity. The Italian anthropologist Adriano Favole (2003) defines them as 'remains of humanity': they cannot be considered by human beings as simple biological shell or organic waste, there is too much humanity on them.

This strong power of symbolic expression of the body, even after death, is one of the main aspects that contributed to raise the debate concerning the public display of human remains in museums. The social, cultural, economic and political values that they hold within a community is of vital importance for several human cultures. The well-being and closeness of the ancestors is in fact considered by many populations essential for the well-being of the living and for the good maintenance of their traditions and their culture. The remoteness, inaccessibility and desecration of the dead and their graves is a strong demoralizing element and therefore often used in times of war as an act of maximum offense against the enemy

(Favole, 2003; Simpson, 2012). As evidenced by Luis Vincent Thomas (1980), nothing is more tragic than the absence of the corpse and for this reason, in its lack, many societies resort to fictitious funerals and burials in order to have a proper leave from the dead and fulfill their own funerary cultural practices[2].

It is then this inevitable importance of the body together with the multitude of values and meanings of which they are imbued to make human remains materials substantially different from any other type of collection. Exposing human remains, in fact, does not only mean exposing bones, organs, skin, hair, and sections of tissue but also means exposing a very specific cultural, social, political and religious identity. As we will see later in this chapter, the exhibition is indeed one of the crucial and at the same time most difficult tasks for a museum. Together with the preservation and study of its collections, the museum recontextualizes the objects, interpreting and presenting them to the public, becoming then a complex system of production and distribution of meanings.

We have seen so far how the body and the human remains have a particular power in terms of the construction and understanding of social identities. We have now to address how we, as people, respond to them.

Although custodians of a strong symbolic and emotional identity, the bodies of the deceased evoke ambivalent and often conflicting feelings: empathy, affection, compassion but also repulsion, fear, and disgust. These feelings are widely shared in contemporary Western society; however, we must keep in mind that not always and not in all cultures the sensitivity towards dead, corpses and therefore Death has been the same.

Until the nineteenth century, life expectancy in Europe was extremely lower than today. The poor quality of life aggravated by situations of widespread poverty, poor public health, wars and the spread of great epidemies of smallpox, cholera, plague and malaria that regularly plagued Europe facilitated the contact with death and the closeness between the living and the deceased. As noted by De Sanctis (2017, p. 4),

[2] The suffering resulting from the absence of the corpse is a universal sentiment historically documented and well observable also in contemporary Western societies (Favole, 2003). A particularly emblematic case in this sense has been that consequent to the massacre of September 11, 2001 at the World Trade Center in New York. After the fall of the two twin towers only half of the victims were found and identified by the authorities. For all the other victims whose bodies were not found, a symbolic funeral ceremony was celebrated on May 29, 2002. During the ceremony an empty stretcher has been carried in a procession from the place of the disaster along West Street performing a fictional funeral and fulfilling the need of a collective form of mourning (Favole, 2003).

in the 18th century dried preparations of various parts of the body were worn around the neck or carried in handbags (fingers, ears, etc.) as lucky charms or simply ornaments and sign of distinction, particularly in the case of very well-made preparations. The cemeteries were often in the middle of town, and it was normal to see piles of bones, with the bodies of executed people generally left hanging from the gallows for days on end, on show to the public.

Starting from the second half of the nineteenth century, the progress of medicine together with the improving of the living conditions reduced the mortality and enhanced the longevity of Western people making death much less visible in everyday life (Khapaeva, 2017).

After the second post-war period, the attitude of Western society towards death and the dead seems to have changed radically. Nowadays death is a taboo of which is difficult to speak: it is abolished, censored and hidden from everyday life and from the thoughts of the living. Philippe Ariès (1975, p.13), described this attitude as a denial of death: "the old attitude, in which death was both familiar and near, evoking no great fear or awe, offers too marked a contrast to ours, where death is so frightful that we dare not utter its name". According to Dina Khapaeva (2017, p. 3), "unlike previous epochs, when rituals and rites surrounding death were a habitual part of everyday routine, […] modern society tries to silence it". In "The Pornography of Death" of 1955, Geoffry Gorer (1955) compare the denial of the death of the twentieth century to the denial of the sex of the Victorians of nineteenth-century England. Death became "more and more 'unmentionable'" (Gorer, 1955, p. 50). The contact and direct confrontation with Death has become very sporadic and generally mediated by media, newspapers, and movies. According to the American anthropologist Jasmine Day (2014, p. 34),

the professionalization of medicine, palliative care and the funeral industry has literally taken the dead out of our hands for nearly a century and as a consequence, widespread unfamiliarity with the visceral elements of death might produce extreme discomfort or sheer disbelief when museum visitor encounter mummies.

As demonstrated in her study, in many cases the museum is the place in which many people encounter the death for the first time and mummies are the first dead bodies that visitors see in their life (Day 2014). According to Sanchita Balachandran (2009, p. 197), "today, death is confronted more often within the context of a museum or academic institution or on television than in daily life".

Although the contemporary Western society may be defined as a death-denying society, people may be said to have an obsessive fascination with death and death-related phenomena. Death remains an elusive part of human existence, perhaps the most mysterious and fascinating because we cannot really know the essence of it. Several studies (Durkin, 2003; Khapaeva,

2017; Sharpley & Stone, 2009) have shown an exponential growth of popular interest in media representations of death, especially violent death since the last century. The thanatological themes and the thanatological entertainment, have become “a prominent and integral part of contemporary popular culture” (Khapaeva, 2017, p. 7) regularly appearing in movies, tv programs, games, literature and music. As Sharpley & Stone (2009) argue, also the dark tourism seems to be strongly improved in the last century making cemeteries, burial places, disaster sites and anatomical exhibitions very popular tourist attractions[3]. We are then facing a paradox: the denial of death and the growing anxiety and discomfort toward death and corpses in one hand and an obsessive fascination and the seeking of contact with death and the dead in the form of entertainment on the other. In Durkin’s opinion (2003, p. 47), the representation of death as a source of amusement, has a strong neutralizing effect: "it becomes innocuous, and thus less threatening, through its conversion and ephemerality in the media". Facing death through mass media can function, then, as a self-defense mechanism that helps people to deal with it and as a means by which society exorcises its fears. As well as death represents an event of strong impact and disturbance not only for the individual but for the entire social group, in the same way "such social neutralization can help to assure the disruptive impact of death and dying for the individual" (Durkin, 2003, p. 47).

Therefore, returning to the focus of this dissertation, we could say that the display of human remains in museums not only means exposing death in the most direct and brutal way possible, but it can become a means through which it is possible to confront ourselves with one of the most intimate and at the same time terrifying aspects of humanity. The exhibition of death according to Carrara & Scaggion (2016, p. 123) "measuring itself with social preconceptions and psychological obstacles, educating to reflection on them" and can become an effective means to remove the "taboos of death and [facilitate] the promotion of forms of interaction with it in order to face death with the minimum reaction of anxiety, trying to explain the social structure of dying”.

The analysis presented so far, aims to highlight the need for greater sensitivity in the care, research, and exposure of human remains by museum institutions. Every human remain

[3] An example is the great popularity of Gunther Von Hagens’s ‘Body Worlds’ travelling exhibitions. They display real human bodies embalmed through the technique of plastination, which makes the bodies rigid and odorless but it allows to keep unaltered their shape and colors (Fig. 2, Annex). These exhibitions have been one of the most visited of the last centuries attracting more than 48 million of people in over 140 cities across the globe since 1995 (Body Worlds, n.d). For more information about these exhibitions, consult https://www.bodyworlds.com .

embodies the signs of a culture and it is important to remember that every skeleton or corpse was once a living person with its own feelings, values, and beliefs. Observing a dead body somehow means confronting one's own idea of death and dying. The awareness of the importance of these remains at an individual and collective level obliges museums not only to take into consideration the dignity of the remains and the values and meanings they have for the different human cultures but also the sensitivity and attitude that the living people feel towards death and the dead. As underlined by the article 4.3 of the International Council of Museum (ICOM) Code of Ethics (2017, p. 25), which will be addressed more in detail in the next chapter:

> human remains and materials of sacred significance must be displayed in a manner consistent with professional standards and, where known, taking into account the interests and beliefs of members of the community, ethnic or religious groups from whom the objects originated. They must be presented with great tact and respect for the feelings of human dignity held by all peoples.

The museum must act with respect not only towards the anthropic rests in relation to their cultural belonging and their belief system, but also towards the community of descendants, if they still exist, and to the sensitivity of the visitors who relate with them within museums.

If the deep individual and collective significance of the body in human societies can be identified as one of the first aspects that can make their public display particularly sensitive and problematic, the methods and purposes through which these materials have been collected and studied represent the second element that contributes today to make their museum management strongly controversial and debated.

1.2 History and context of human remains collections in Western societies

The act of collecting is a tradition that, as Adalgisa Lugli suggested, can be defined as an 'archetype of human behavior' (Lugli, 1992, p. 52). The man, in fact, seems to have maintained this tendency to collect objects, works of art and artifacts of historical, artistic and sentimental value over time, and of this, each of us can find proof in our personal experience[4]. The collection and preservation of human remains do not lie outside this definition, and since ancient times,

[4] Each of us has, at a certain point in his life, collected and preserved an object that could serve as a reminder of a particular moment or place. In Sharon Macdonald's (2006/b, p. 81) opinion, "collecting is sometimes seen as a basic urge or instinct, and as a fundamental and universal human (and, indeed, sometimes also animal) activity". The Canadian museologist Duncan Cameron note that this is a universal behavior widespread as well among children as a tool with which they can deepen their knowledge of the environment around them (Cameron, 2004).

the different human cultures have intervened on the body of the dead, managing the processes of biological disintegration and in many cases blocking its natural putrefaction in order to preserve the remains (Favole, 2003/a). The practice of conservation and display of human remains has been, and still is, a widely spread tradition in Western societies where the collection and museum display process have changed over time acquiring different forms and aims.

The Christian relics are one of the oldest examples of conservation and public veneration of human remains in the West. The spread of the Christian cult of saints, already attested in Europe towards the end of the IV century AD, led indeed, to the collection and display of relics, to whose veneration was attributed a great saving and miraculous power (Brown, 1983; Canetti, 2002). The spread of this cult led to the exhumation, displacement, and dismemberment of the body of the dead: they were moved, manipulated, split up and displayed to the devoted as elements of contact with God. Vast collections of relics spread throughout the Middle Ages, from the fourth to the thirteenth century, in all the cities of Europe, acquiring great importance not only in religious terms but also in the political, social, and economic field. Even today the practice of embalming and exposing popes and saints is a widespread phenomenon practiced in the West; today, as in the past, the strong belief system underlying these practices justifies and legitimizes their wide use by excluding them from the contemporary ethical debate that instead involves museum exhibitions (Monza, 2013; Favole, 2003/a).

Collecting and trading human bones, indeed, has not been just a religious phenomenon. The collection and exhibition of human remains in secular field, is attested since the mid-sixteenth century with the birth of the firsts 'natural history cabinets' and 'cabinets of curiosities', also called '*camere delle meraviglie*' in Italy or *'wunderkammer'* in Germany. They were private collections of 'curiosities', rare and exotic different type of objects accumulated by nobles, academics and travelers throughout Europe and from every corner of the earth that in those centuries became more and more accessible to the Europeans (Lugli, 2005). As demonstrated by some representations of the time, it was not so uncommon to find in these primitive forms of museums human skeletal remains, sometimes belonging to the new populations encountered by Europeans in the overseas territories (De Sanctis, 2017) (Fig. 3, Annex). As several scholars have pointed out (Aranda, García, Díaz & Díaz, 2014; Favole, 2003; Sánchez, 2005; Simpson, 2012), the practice of collecting human remains have had a strong link with the past colonial and imperialist policies of European countries. According to Sánchez (2005), the origin of the collections of anthropological and ethnographic museums

arose in the interest of the human groups for the appropriation of the material culture of other peoples, in many cases conquered peoples. "*La apropiación de objetos y rarezas de los pueblos conquistados (trofeos bélicos, botines de guerra), fueron elementos a exhibir y ostentar como símbolos de apropiación, dominio y estatus social de sus propietarios desde los inicios del coleccionismo*" (Sánchez, 2005, p. 11).

Starting with the seventeenth century, the development of demo-ethnic-anthropological and scientific studies on man, together with the numerous geographical explorations operated by Europeans in the New World, encouraged the collection, study, and importation of many anatomical, osteological and paleoanthropological materials toward the main cities of Europe. As evidenced by Favole (2003) and Simpson (2012), the appropriation of human remains, condemned and long seen by Europeans as a barbaric and primitive practice belonging to savage peoples, turned out to be not unusual among Western settlers. Generations of explorers, collectors, traders and scientists, greedily collected skeletons, bones and anatomical parts, not hesitating to buy them from the natives, to plunder them from cemeteries and to kill in order to obtain materials of which the new nascent disciplines such as comparative anatomy, phrenology and physical anthropology needed for their studies and analysis (Favole, 2003; Pannell 1992; Roque, 2010; Turnbull, 2001; Urry 1989). The 'primitive characters' of the indigenous populations strongly attracted the interest of European anthropologists and academics, who thus began to join the settlers and travelers in the attempt to collect and accumulate anatomical samples, capable of demonstrate the primitive inferiority of the natives and providing important information on the evolutionist theories and the development of humanity (Favole, 2003; Creed & Hoorn, 2001). As Creed & Hoorn (2001, p. XVI) stated:

> The morphological peculiarities of Australian skulls and skeletons were viewed as a crucial source of information about the relation of modern Europeans to what were thought to be very ancient and primitive forms of humanity. In the hands of Europeans anatomists, the remains of Aboriginal people were […] made to perform acts of ventriloquism in so far as they were used by anthropologists to justify their beliefs in the primitive nature of Aboriginal ways and – as a consequence- the inevitability of the expropriation of their traditional lands by so-called superior people.

Moreover, these traits of primitiveness and wildness observed by Europeans in the overseas populations often served as elements of legitimation and justification for the work of colonization by the European armies. According to Ricardo Roque (2010, p.25):

the extermination of headhunting [among indigenous tribes] constituted a moral duty of the late-nineteenth century colonizer. Entrapped in the idiom of the Western civilizing mission, headhunting represented more than just a descriptive label for 'otherness'; it conveyed a prescriptive moralizing agenda that justified intrusions and repressions on the basis of the need to morally redeem the 'savage'.

As several scholars noted, the collection of human remains and their subsequent incorporation into Western museum institutions became part of a control policy of many European countries and constituted a form of 'domestication of otherness', an attempt to subjugate the other in favor of the strengthening of the own identity (Favole 2003/b; Pannel, 1990; Qureshi, 2004; Simpson, 2012).

The methods of acquisition of human remains and the reasons for their collection anger indigenous people and other who feel that they are evidence of colonial and racist attitudes, reminders of nineteenth century European attempts to prove the superiority of the white race over others (Simpson, 2012, p. 175).

As well as the ethnographic and anthropological studies, also the development of medicine and anatomy has strongly encouraged the collection of human biological materials. The interest in the structure and functioning of the human body dates back to ancient times but began to acquire greater concreteness especially since the Renaissance (Quigley, 2005; Richardson, 2000). The sixteenth-century illustrations of Leonardo da Vinci and Andrea Vesalius contributed to the emergence of anatomy as an empirical science whose study became much more systematic and pragmatic in the following centuries[5] (De Sanctis, 2017; Richardson, 2000; Quigley, 2005). The collection and conservation of anatomical remains underwent indeed a strong development especially since the eighteenth century, when the advent of the Enlightenment stimulated further the interest and development of medicine and scientific studies (Grant & Grant, 2007; Quigley, 2005). Public dissections of human corpses became a real social and cultural event and the anatomical preparations of preserved body parts in liquid or dried form widespread within medical schools as important teaching tools to train students and young doctors (De Sanctis, 2017). According to Riccardo De Sanctis (2017, p. 4) "naturally history cabinets do not only attract scientists, being places of research and recreation at the same time; visitors are shown the most wonderful things, and the most shocking". Between the eighteenth century and

[5] The anatomical illustrations of Leonardo da Vinci and those of Andrea Vesalius published in the *De Humani Corporis Fabrica* in 1543 became extremely influential in the history of the study of anatomy and in the development of the medical science. The body becomes an anatomical object, a machine to be studied and is detached from that previous medieval conception linked to the Catholic Church which for a long time had blocked the development of anatomical science (Mingazzini, 2010; Richardson, 2000).

the first decades of the nineteenth century, in several European countries, the scarce availability of corpses for surgery and anatomy studies favored the formation of a real black market of dead bodies and body-snatchers, predators of corpses specialized in exhumations and thefts of bodies to be resold to anatomical schools (Quigley, 2005). It is important to evidence that the corpses used for anatomical studies and public dissections were not randomly chosen but belonged to particular social categories of people considered to be at the limit of humanity: not only indigenous people, but also criminals, aborted fetuses, not baptized, and 'monstrosities', individuals with unusual or abnormal morphological features often due to particular medical conditions (Camporesi, 1991; De Sanctis, 2017) (Fig. 4, Annex). "Hydrocephalies, giant dwarfs, cripples, or the victims of a particular illness, all those who had the misfortune to suffer from a serious imperfection became the prey of unscrupulous doctors and surgeons who anxiously awaited their death in order to claim the body" (De Sanctis, 2017, p. 5).

The strong enthusiasm aroused by the new scientific disciplines brought, then, to the birth of numerous private collections of anatomical materials and later to the creation of anthropological, ethnographic and anatomical museums which became the main institutions that took charge of incorporate and preserve this great flow of corpses and remains (De Sanctis, 2017; Favole, 2006).

Also the archaeological interest certainly played a very important role in the collection of human finds. We may say, indeed, that the body is always been somehow at the center of the archaeological investigation; according to the English archeologist Joanna Sofaer (2019):

> If we want to study the past, tell stories about the past and engage public with the past, there is nothing closer than the physical remains of people themselves. They are literally the people of the past. […] The body is always there: whatever we study in archaeology, objects, food, architectures, iconography, the body is always implicated. Body is made a use object, body needs to eat food, body moves through space, body is draw and represented in iconography. The only presence of the body it is always central in the investigation of human actions. Whatever we are investigating, whether that is a burial, a domestic context, whatever… the body is there in some way.

The human remains are therefore central in the study of our past because not only, as seen above, they preserve the signs of a tradition or of a specific time period but studied and analyzed in the light of modern technologies they can reveal important information about our origins and about the populations of the past. A particularly interesting case that has encouraged between eighteenth and twentieth century the collection and incorporation of human remains for their historical and archaeological interest is represented by the so-called Egyptomania and Mummymania.

Egyptomania has been defined as a fascination with Ancient Egypt that influenced important areas of Western cultures as architecture, art, literature, fashion, theatre, and cinema (Fritze, 2016). Although it is a universal phenomenon already existed in ancient times, the interest in Egyptian antiquities has seen a considerable increase after Napoleon's Egyptian campaigns from 1798 to 1801. At that time, the military exploration of the territory has been accompanied by numerous archaeological investigations which led to the so-called '*Retour d'Egypte'*, a rapid growth in popular and scholarly interest on the country and a real craze for everything that came from it, from antiquities to jewels, from the decorations to the mummies (Moshenska, 2014; Candido & Magnani, n.d.). From the early nineteenth century, travelers, collectors, and archaeologists from all over Europe began to travel to the land of the pharaohs in search of artifacts and antiquities to add to their collections of 'curiosities'. The translation of the Rosetta stone in 1822 and the deciphering of the hieroglyphic language by Jean-Francois Champollion will give further impetus to Egyptomania and to the study of Egypt in the scientific and academic field. Archaeological investigations will increase especially between the end of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century and huge quantities of objects will begin to travel towards the major European cities to be studied and incorporated into the academies and the new born museum institutions.[6]

Although Egyptomania has been characterized by the strong impulse it gave to the study of Egypt in the scientific and academic fields, it is important to highlight how it was, actually, extremely widespread and persistent also in popular culture. As reported by Candido and Magnani, at the beginning of the twentieth century, Egyptomania pervaded the world of art and fashion where Egyptian-style motifs such as sphinxes, pyramids, beetles and lotus flowers became recurrent on clothes and jewelry. Also architecture, literature, theater, and cinema were affected by this fashion. Tales set in distant and exotic lands became very common in literature and theatre[7], while the discovery of rich pharaonic tombs like that of Tutankhamun in 1922, contributed to feeding myths and legends about the curses related to mummies and the profanation of their tombs.

[6] Most of the finds from excavations carried out in Egypt during the nineteenth century constituted the first collection core at the base of the largest Egyptian collections in Europe. These include the British Museum and the Patrie Museum in London, the Egyptian Museum in Turin and Florence in Italy, the Egyptian Museum in Berlin and the Louvre in France (Candido & Magnani, n.d.).

[7] Traces of Egyptomania are also found in novels such as *Le fleur de mal* of Baudelaire of 1857 and in theater, as in the Aida, the four-act opera by Giuseppe Verdi, represented for the first time in 1870 and commissioned to celebrate the opening of the Suez Canal (Candido & Magnani, n.d.; Fritze, 2016).

The swept of Egyptomania in the western world during the 19th and 20th century favored a strong increase of tourism in Egypt and the great popularity of mummies encouraged many travelers and collectors to buy mummified bodies as souvenirs[8] (Baber, 2016) (Fig. 5-6, Annex). The 'Mummymania' will be in fact a subfield and a parallel phenomenon of Egyptomania (Day, 2006; Day, 2006/b; Fritze, 2016). As many travel accounts testify, the high tourist's demand of Egyptian relics encouraged antiquities dealers to manufacture fake objects and mummies. As noted by one of them, wrote by Amos Wenger during his travels in 1899, "Many of the natives are engaged in making articles that very much resemble the genuine antiques and you must be exceedingly careful or you will get only imitations instead of relics of the ancients" (Baber, 2016, p. 65). During the nineteenth century, in Europe and America, mummies were often displayed in traveling exhibitions and unwrapped and examined as entertainment in public spectacles (Day, 2006/b; Cardin, 2014; Romey, 2016; Moshenska, 2014). Although the 'mummies unrolling' became very popular among collectors and travelers who conducted them as private spectacles for family and friends, many 'scientific' unwrappings were performed publicly by Egyptologist and academics (Fig. 7, Annex). According to Baber (2016, p.73),

> travelers who wished to promote a more "scientific" interest in Egypt's ancient dead donated their mummies to be unwrapped by professional mummy unrollers at public gatherings, the results of which were often published in local newspapers. These public unrollings proved so popular that it was often difficult to acquire tickets as was the case with the public unwrapping of the mummy of Horsiesi performed by famed mummy unroller Thomas Pettigrew (1791–1865) at the Royal College of Surgeons in 1834.

It is starting from the mid-twentieth century that the Egyptian preserved bodies became iconic figures and, using Cardin's words, "emerged as an entertainment trope centered in supernatural horror" (Cardin, 2014, p. XV). The movie "The Mummy" released in 1932, decreed a huge success of the mummies as 'horror stars' and after the success of the first one, the Universal Pictures produced other five mummy-themed films which inspired later movies until today (Fig. 8, Annex). As already highlighted above, cinema played a fundamental role in the construction of the popular idea about mummies. As evidenced by Jasmin Day (2006, p. 4), "since the nineteenth century, Western popular culture has represented mummies with reference to a myth

[8] From a letter wrote by Father Ferdinand de Géramb (1772–1848) to Pasha Mohamed Ali (1769–1849) in 1833, "[I]t would be scarcely respectable, on returning from Egypt, to present oneself in Europe without a mummy in one hand and a crocodile in the other." (Baber, 2016, pp. 60, 82).

called 'the mummy's curse', 'the curse of the pharaohs' or simply 'the curse'". The mummies reawaken from their death sleep, become ambulatory and with their rotten and tattered bandages, they revenge the sacrilege of entering and robbing their tombs by killing the offenders (Day, 2006/b). The mummy-motif and its definition as evil, became then a recurrent theme "throughout the popular culture, in comic books, television series, plastic models, trading cards, Halloween decorations, and more" (Cardin, 2014, p. XV). The interesting study of the Australian anthropologist Jasmin Day over the relation between the popular ideas about mummies arose by media stereotypes and the public interpretation of them in museum context shows how today "many visitors may interpret mummies with reference to horror films or cartoons rather than to archaeology books" (Day, 2006/b, p. 2).

As a matter of fact, it is therefore very important that in the display of ancient human remains, the contemporary museum detaches itself from the sensationalism that has characterized the past centuries and gives instead greater importance to the scientific/educational potential of these materials. As argued by Stephen Greenblatt (1991), the concepts of resonance and wonder are often unbalanced within today's museum institutions[9]. Very often the desire to marvel prevails over the resonance and in this process, human remains play an important role because they are frequently used as an object of attraction. According to the researchers Eklund and De Trafford (2003, p. 115):

> Exhibitions including archaeological human remains must have a clear intent and educational purpose; superfluous artistry involving the remains themselves would not be tolerated either within the museums profession or (it is believed) from the public. Although there is always some element of entertainment in good educational exhibitions, it must be controlled and serve only as a means but not an end.

The museums, places of expression of the Egyptomania in the past centuries, seem today to continue to attract a large number of visitors where a mummy is exposed. Not differently from the past, still today traveling exhibitions displaying mummies are very popular and attract a large number of people. Important museum institutions in the United States, Australia, Canada, and Europe organize periodically Mummies Exhibitions that somehow try to reveal new

[9] In Greenblatt (1991, p. 27) definitions, 'resonance' is intended as "the power of the displayed object to reach out beyond its formal boundaries to a larger world, to evoke in the viewer the complex, dynamic, cultural forces from which it has emerged and for which it may be taken by a viewer to stand". 'Wonder', instead, is "the power of the displayed object to stop the viewer in his or her tracks, to convey an arresting sense of uniqueness, to evoke an exalted attention".

mysteries hidden in the ancient Egyptian bodies and their coffins[10]. Quoting Matt Cardin, "mummies are not only one of the most ancient cultural fascination but one of the most current as well" (Cardin, p. XXIII).

Although mummies have been the most striking example of how also archaeological interest had played a decisive role in the collection and display of human remains that are now preserved in museums, they are not the only type of human finds collected within archaeological investigations. Still today archaeological excavations continue to bring out human remains from different eras and cultures. The collection, study and display of these archaeological finds, exactly as happens for ethnographic remains of colonial origin or for anatomical and scientific collections, may arise controversies and polemics from religious or cultural descendants or hurt the sensitivity of who observe them in museums rooms.

The scientific interest of European collectors, anthropologists, archaeologists and researchers of the past, as we have seen, has often prevailed over the respect for the cult of the dead, giving precedence to a scientific and secular vision devoted to the progress (Monza, 2013). The legitimacy of knowledge and scientific research has been placed in many cases before the interests of the single individuals and minorities. The collection and the often forced and violent acquisition of these materials have today been considered harmful and disrespectful of the beliefs and traditions of many non-European populations, minorities and suppressed cultures everywhere which have been plundered of the remain of their ancestors remains in the name of the scientific progress.

The retention of these materials is now strongly criticized, as we will see in the next chapter, not only by associations of indigenous groups but also by conservators, researchers, and scholars within the museum field. The medical collections of anatomical preparations containing fetuses, organs, and tissues preserved in the anatomical cabinets of universities and hospitals are nowadays defined by many "horror museums". No longer used in the medical field as educational tools, this heritage is now living in a state of quasi- abandon and a lack of interest from the general public that puts its survival at risk. However, we must remember that this heritage has an extraordinary relevance in witnessing the evolution of medical science, the steps

[10]Among others: the recently closed exhibition 'Mummies' of the Chicago Field Museum, 'Mummies of the world, The exhibition' of the Arizona Science Center in Phoenix, 'Egyptian Mummies. Exploring ancient lives of the Queensland Museum in 2018, "Ancient lives, new discoveries" of 2014-2015 of the British Museum and the current 'Una Moderna 'Camera delle Meraviglie'. Mummie Egizie tra Storia, Scienze e Tecnologia" of the Civic Museum of Natural Sciences of Brescia in Italy.

and ways in which the researchers of the past have allowed the medicine to evolve and find solutions to diseases from which today, thanks to those studies, is easy to heal. The anatomical museums, rearranged and explained to the public through the use of specific educational paths and workshops, have a great potential because they can show this evolution and sensitize the community about issues such as racism, prejudices or organ donation. Moreover, the museum education can help visitors to reflect "about the topic of presumed scientific 'certainty'" illustrating the errors, and sometimes the horrors, made in the name of science (Giacobini, Cilli & Malerba, 2016, p. 65; Bianucci, 2009). According to Francesca Monza (2013, p. 4):

i metodi con cui molte collezioni sono state raccolte, se pur legali all'epoca della loro costituzione, in alcuni casi non possono essere considerati accettabili alla luce della sensibilità contemporanea. Oggi l'ampliamento dei diritti umani e il confronto con le altre culture mettono in discussione la visione della scienza occidentale, che trova una sua speculare espressione proprio nelle esposizioni museali storiche.

1.3 Display human remains in Western Museums

We have observed how the social and cultural significance of the remains as well as the ways in which they were collected in the past have contributed to raising numerous complaints of ethical and moral nature towards their retention and collection within Western museums. Let see, now, how the modalities and aims of their public display have played an important role within this process.

One of the first contested aspects concerning the museum exhibition of human remains is related to the idea of their dehumanization and objectification inherent to their public display. They are human bodies but because they are dead, they are handled as objects with the risk that with the course of time their human nature could be definitively lost. Hallam, Hockey and Howarth (1999) have observed that temporal and cultural distance that in most cases exists between us and the displayed human remains in museums, together with the scientific investigations to which they are subjected and the contexts and ways in which they are exposed allow the body parts of the dead to shift from the category of 'dead body' to that of 'anatomical object' (Jenkins, 2011). Moreover, this passage is facilitated in the absence of cultural, religious or genetic descendants related to them that favor, therefore, their fall outside of social relationships: "[human remains] became a clinical object, a focus for scientific interrogation, an objectified ornament of antiquity" (Hallam, Hockey & Howarth, 1999, p. 92). Alberti, Bienkowski, Chapman & Drew (2009, p. 137) made a similar point arguing that:

When we display dead bodies, we treat them in the same way as things. We put them into a particular context, with restricted information that is carefully chosen to interpret the dead body for our own contingent purposes. In this way, we turn bodies into objects, 'things' to be used for our needs, for the purposes of the still living.

The scientific outlook is always more often seen as a problem because as claimed by 'The Report of the Working Group on Human Remains' (DCSM, 2003, p.352), researchers and museums have tended to objectify human remains "as this makes them easier to deal with". An English museum curator interviewed by Tiffany Jenkins (2011, p. 137) and whose name is not mentioned, states:

Skeletons are not the same as objects. They have an elevated position, or they should do […] You know I want to know who they are not their number. I am not religious at all but if you've exhumed them, studied them and put them in display, at least leave a note about what you know about them as people [laughs]. The numbers are bad, some of them are written on the bones, that's awful…science is too cold really.

Nowadays much more attention and sensitivity are afforded to the use, study and exposure of human remains: we wonder if they have to be retained in museums, how they have to be studied, which techniques are the best and less destructive to analyze them and how and whether they should be displayed publicly. These changes of attitudes are reflected in the use of new terminology by researchers and museum professionals. More and more often, in fact, terms such as 'individual', 'person' and 'human remain' that highlight a closer sense of connection with them are preferred to terms such as 'artifact', 'object', 'specimen', 'sample', 'decedent', and 'corpse' that convey a great distance from these materials (Cassman, Odegaard & Powell, 2007). In Cassman, Odegaard & Powell's (2007, p. 1) opinion, this "reflect[s] greater respect in order to promote improved care and management".

The American art historian Svetlana Alpers (1995), have talked about a 'museum effect': a phenomenon of objectification and at the same time transformation of all the museum finds which, extrapolated from their original context, are re-contextualized and exposed inside a showcase thus losing their function and becoming instead objects of art. In the same direction Dianne McGowan (2013, p. 94), who made a research about the de-sacralization of the dead body in contemporary European culture considering the transformation of Tibetan Buddhist ritual objects into Western art objects, claimed:

When museums exhibit Tibetan human bone they distance the cultural object from its cultural practices by deploying them in remote, sanitised, spotlighted museum cases, thereby effectively detaching a viewers' emotional or social response to something that, in another situation, may be abhorrent to the viewer. The human bone object

is re-contextualised into the Western art history paradigm, not as once being part of a human body, but as something created from artistic resources, such as, paints, canvas, metal, and clay.

The human remain is then removed from its original context and placed in the new context of the museum collection. With this shift, the body enters in a new stage of its biography: it loses the original function and meaning it has in its community or for its family group, and acquire a new interpretation, a new significance and a new function within the museum institution (Macdonald, 2006). If until not long ago the human remains were considered in the same way as any other museum object, today there is a strong need to highlight the human nature of these findings, a unique nature, polyvalent and rich in meanings that differentiates them from any other type of museum object (Monza, 2013).

Another aspect that we must take into consideration when we speak of museum exhibition concerns the educational role inherent in the museum institution. The act of exhibiting is a crucial and particularly delicate task for the museum since it is the means by which it communicates with the community and fulfills the very important function of educating and spreading knowledge, which is identified as one of the fundamental tasks underlying the museum institution (Hein, 2006). According to the ICOM Statutes, adopted by the 22nd General Assembly in Vienna, Austria, on 24 August 2007: "A museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, **communicates and exhibits** the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the **purposes of education, study and enjoyment**". ICOM (2017, p. 24) also states that "museums have an important duty to develop their **educational role** and attract wider audiences from the community, locality, or group they serve. **Interaction with the constituent community and promotion of their heritage is an integral part of the educational role of the museum**".

The museum, as previously stated, can be defined as a place of production and dissemination of meanings within which the public can increase its knowledge. According to the Canadian museologist Duncan Cameron (1971), the museum has long been considered as a temple in which the visitor could compare his personal idea of reality, subjective and individual, with an 'objective' vision, socially and culturally approved and then 'right' (Ames, 2007, p.21). He argues that "the public generally accepted the idea that if it was in the museum, it was not only real but represented a standard of excellence. If the museum said that this and that was so, then that was a statement of true" (Cameron, 1971, p. 17). We can understand then, how the interpretation and representation that museums make of their collections may, therefore, have

great importance in the creation and construction of the public perception of a certain reality or culture. According to Ames, (2007, p. 22):

> the nationalization of major collections leading to the establishment of national or publicly owned museums meant the nationalization of imagemaking as well. Museum now 'owned' by the public also became responsible for reflecting and promoting the public's definition of truth and value. […] A large public museum may express and authenticate the established or official values and images of a society in several ways, directly, by promoting and affirming the dominant values, and in-directly by subordinating or rejecting alternate values.

We could therefore say that 'the museum effect' introduced by Alpers is not only a way of seeing but also a precise way of representing. We must in fact emphasize that if, as mentioned above, every human remain holds a precise cultural, social, political and religious identity, also the museum has its own cultural, social, political and religious identity. The museum exhibition, of any type of collection, always implies an interpretation and representation of its items, and this can never be impartial, but always reveals the point of view of the narrator. According to Peter Mason (1990, p. 24), "the innocent eye has never existed. Portrayal always involves at root a degree of betrayal". In 'Exhibiting Cultures' of 1991, Lavine & Karp (p. 1) argue that:

> every museum exhibition, whatever its overt subject, inevitably draws on the cultural assumptions and resources of the people who make it. Decision are made to emphasize one element and to downplay others, to assert some truth and to ignore others. The assumptions underpinning these decisions vary according to culture and over time, place and type of museum or exhibit. Exhibition made today may seem obviously appropriate to some viewers precisely because those viewers share the same attitudes as the exhibition makers, and exhibitions are cloaked in familiar presentational styles. We discover the artifice when we look at older installations or those made in other cultural contexts. The very nature of exhibiting then, makes it a contested terrain.

This aspect is certainly one of the most contested of contemporary Western museums and the one that has triggered the first controversies about the museum exhibition of human remains. The Western public museums, born during the age of European expansionism and imperialism, have had in fact an important role in the promotion and affirmation of the dominant values of Western society, obscuring and neglecting the alternative values belonging to the indigenous populations[11] (Ames, 2010; Favole, 2003/b; Lavine & Karp, 1991; Simpson, 2012). Using the

[11] It is important to note that also the great universal exhibitions that widespread throughout Europe starting from the end of nineteenth century have had and an important role in the affirmation of Western supremacy upon other cultures and in the construction of the popular perception of races. As Cecilia Pennacini (2005, p. 73) states, "*le esposizioni universali offrivano la possibilità di raggiungere un pubblico vasto e popolare con allestimenti dal vivo, in grado di colpire profondamente l'immaginario collettivo. Persone provenienti da altre culture giunsero così in Europa, per essere esposte alla vista del pubblico nei loro abiti tradizionali, o talvolta anche poco vestiti*

words of Benedict (1983, p.52), the exhibition of people became an exhibition of power within the museum, "a symbolic performance demonstrating power relationships".

As Hopper-Greenhill (2013, p. 20) argues:

> Museum have become self-conscious (at last!) about their power to interpret and represent 'reality' in all its rich variations. This self-consciousness can be observed across the world, and has come about in large part because of the responses (and often extreme resentment) of those being interpreted and represented.

As we will see in the next chapter, many groups and associations of indigenous populations are now claiming their right to represent and express themselves, and to take distance from the traditional Eurocentric representation that for long time dominated Western museology.

As we have seen in this chapter, many elements intervene in making problematic the retention, the study, and the exhibition of human remains. The contemporary museum has been challenged by the transformation of society and the new sensitivity toward these materials. The body constitutes an extremely exceptional context since in its biological and material consistency it brings not only the circumstances and the events that made it such but also the interactions with the natural and anthropic environment with which it interacted during its life and after his death. The corpse thus, becomes a document, a text on which are inscribed the gestures and practices that accompany the human being from the status of 'individual' to that of 'deceased'. It witnesses the actions of the individual himself but also of those who took part in this process.

The remains preserved today in Western museums are intertwined with the political and social dynamics that led to their collection and their museum incorporation: they reveal their importance in the history of the development of historical and scientific knowledge but at the same time also modality of treatment that today would be considered terribly disrespectful to these materials.

The contemporary debate regarding the study, care, and exposure of human bodies requires, therefore, a multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary approach capable of giving the maximum expression and valorization to these materials where the only scientific interest, alone, could not give. The museums and those who work in contact with these materials must therefore act with responsibility to guarantee the physical safeguard of human remains and their

nel rispetto di un'iconografia che impone la nudità alle rappresentazioni dei selvaggi, sullo sfondo di scenografie posticce vagamente ispirate a paesaggi esotici" (Fig. 9, Annex).

scientific and historical values but at the same time they must act with sensitivity to guarantee the preservation of their equally important cultural, social and emotional values (Boano, 2019).

CHAPTER 2
Controversial human remains

As we have seen in the previous chapter, the human findings collected and exhibited within museum institutions cannot be considered and treated as mere objects of study. Nowadays, in fact, their acquisition, conservation, and exposure have very complex ethical, social and cultural implications. According to Moira Simpson (2012, p. 2),

> the plurality of contemporary, post-colonial society give rise to complex issues in relation to museums: display and interpretation; the classification and values attached to objects [and human remains]; cultural bias in representing other cultures; the lack of representation of cultural diversity in local history collections; demands for self-representation and self-expression. In this respect the issues which affect relationship between museums and indigenous peoples are very similar to those which influence museums and other ethnic groups.

The dispute over this issue is today at the center of an international debate that has triggered an ethical reflection upon the meanings of the dead body and above all had a strong political relevance and legal repercussion involving many museums worldwide, making, in many cases, the body a site of political struggle (Jenkins, 2011).

Starting from the late 1970s many human remains collected and exhibited in Western museums have become subject to a growing number of claims and controversies. The independence movements of many indigenous groups led these communities to fight to take back their right to define and represent themselves and to have back the numerous anthropological remains and sacred objects preserved in Western museums and academies. They denounced ways of appropriation often ethically and legally questionable, requested the withdrawal from the exhibitions and their return to the communities from which they were originally taken. The origin of the debate and of the restitution requests, took place at first within the Anglo-Saxon context. The controversies, as we will see, are strongly intertwined with the colonial question and especially with the process of decolonization that began in the second half of the twentieth century (Pinna, 2011). The difficult relationship between Western researchers and indigenous groups due to the clash of two different systems of values has been, indeed, the trigger element of the issue. As we have seen the collection and incorporation of indigenous human remains within Western societies has played a very important role in the process of colonization and Europeanization of the over-oceanic territories conquered by Europeans between the sixteenth and twentieth centuries; equally significant has been their role in the subsequent process of

decolonization and emancipation of the native populations that is still in progress. As Steven Conn (2006, p.499) stated:

> in the wake of decolonization, and with an increasing awareness of the connection between anthropology and imperialism, treating other people as objects of scientific study rather than as actors in their own history and culture has become increasingly problematic for natural history and anthropology museums. Likewise, newly independent peoples no longer wanted to see themselves represented anthropologically in museum galleries, especially when so many of those exhibits stressed the static and 'primitive' nature of their cultures.

The possession of indigenous human remains became then an important issue for the institutions that preserved and display these materials and the urgency of new policies related to this heritage became a priority in many contemporary museums. Since the end of the twentieth century, many codes, policy and laws have been created in order to regulate the retention, the management and the display of human remains held by Western museum and academies. Despite at first many anthropologist and curators that research these materials professionally, opposed the requests, in many countries several remains have been repatriated, re-bury or cremated.

2.1 Code of ethics and international laws

According to Giovanni Pinna (2011, pp. 29-30), the first countries to be involved in the debate and the most active in the development of deontological codes and museum policies for the treatment of human remains have been the so-called 'Settler States': "nations built by white settlers" who during the nineteenth and part of the twentieth century "conducted a colonization within the subjected territories aimed at marginalizing the indigenous populations, relegating them to ever smaller territories and destroying their cultural fabric, even as far as their physical elimination" as United States, Canada, New Zealand and Australia. In these countries the governments had to deal with the strong activism of the local native minorities that fought for the legal recognition of their cultures. The internal conflict in these territories pushed the authorities and the institutions holding indigenous materials, to face the debate and to elaborate collaborative solutions to the problem. In Europe, in the same way, countries with a greater colonial tradition such as United Kingdom and France have been the first to be involved in the debate (Monza, 2013). The acceptance of the restitution requests of human remains and sacred objects by the large settler states and the elaboration of a normative framework to regulate their

management within museums has been part of a post-colonial process aimed to reconcile colonizers and indigenous peoples.

> This meant passing from policies of assimilation to policies of reconciliation based on the three principles of mutual recognition, continuity and consent: mutual recognition as right to independence, self-determination and self-definition; continuity as right to exist in time; consent as recognition of the rights to traditional lands and cultural and natural resources (Pinna, 2011, p. 31).

As we will see hereinafter, if in some countries the debate has already been addressed and discussed, in many others, especially in Europe, it is still in its early stages.

2.1.1 Background for new museum policies and international legislations

As already anticipated, the origin of the debate has its roots in the activism of indigenous groups for the recognition of their cultural rights. It is important, then, to make a brief introduction to the concept of 'Western colonialism' and the subsequent 'decolonization process' in which the debate addressed in this research arose for the first time. The Western colonialism can be defined as a political-economic phenomenon begun in the late fifteenth century whereby several European nations explored, conquered, settled, and exploited large areas of the world (Nowell, Webster & Magdoff, n.d.). This phenomenon involved a very long-time span, which begins during the fifteenth century and ends only after the Second World War. According to many authors (Droz, 2007, Fanon 1974, Quinn, 2017, Said, 1995), starting from the nineteenth century colonial domination was encouraged and legitimized by the anthropological theories that defined non-western societies as 'primitive', 'inferior' and in need of Western paternalistic protection and directive. The bases of these theories was anchored on the concept of race and of a dichotomous view of the world which, as reported by Rahul Rao (2013, p. 272) , separate "the world into a series of us/them contrasts and to essentialize the resultant 'other', so that the backward, savage, benighted Orient is seen to confront the developed, rational, enlightened Occident in a Manichean opposition of civilizational proportions". This Western conceptualization of the colonial encounter originates from the studies of Edward Said (1985, pp. 2-3), one of the founders of the postcolonial theory and discourse, that introduce the term 'Orientalism' as a "style of thought" defining it "as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient—dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient".

The beginning of the post-colonial era, temporally conceived as the historical period immediately subsequent the Western colonialism of the non-Western world, dates back to the second half of the twentieth century. If the apogee of European colonialism is placed in the period between the two world wars[12], the process of decolonization through which colonies became independent of the colonizing country and emerged the indigenous nationalism that increases a common sentiment of belonging among native groups, begin especially from the second post-war period (Droz, 2007).

The postcolonial discourse emerged during the 1980s and can be defined as a phenomenon that aims to change the dominant ways of thinking about the relations between the Western and non-Western world, trying to overturn the image of the world by looking beyond, trying to understand the perception of the world of non-Western subjects that is always been placed under the dominion of the western-white model. Postcolonial theory, as evidenced by Quinn (2017, p.12), "critiques colonial inequality and the representation of colonized people as inferior. The idea that non-Western, non-white people are inferior is, in fact, still pervasive, and postcolonialism seeks to undermine this notion". The post-colonialist perspective aims to create a more egalitarian relationship between the different population of the world contesting the imbalance created during the colonial period and giving a political voice to the lower classes and oppressed groups. It is on this ground that the controversy on the human remains preserved by Western institutions born and grew up. It is in virtue of those identity and symbolic values linked to the body that were highlighted in the previous chapter that many anthropological remains held by Western museums became symbols of political struggle and their restitution to indigenous communities, a symbol of cultural and identity re-appropriation.

Another important aspect to take into account in analyzing the emerging of indigenous controversies and changing of museum policies related to human remains and indigenous cultural heritage, is the rise of the 'New Museology' paradigm starting between 1980 and 1990. As underlined by Stam (1993, p. 268), "the novelty of New Museological rhetoric lies in the high proportion of attention given to the relationship of the museum to its social, economic and political environment as part of the analysis of the pertinence, relevance and meaning". The

[12] According to Bernard Droz (2007), at the end of the 30s, Europe was at the head of an empire of 56.5 million square kilometers, that is 42% of the emerged lands, with a population of 610 million inhabitants (of which more than half lived in the Empire of the Indies) that means 31% of the world population. The first three colonial powers, Great Britain, France and the Netherlands, alone totaled 85% of the territories and 96% of the peoples subjected to European domination.

New Museology promoted a different approach of the museum within the society based on the idea that it has to follow and adapt to the changes of the contemporary world encouraging cultural empowerment, social redefinition, and dialogue with people and their communities (McCall & Gray, 2014). According to Macdonald (2006/a) and Sepúlveda, Ayala & Aguilar, (2008), these new purposes of the museum passes through the overcome of the notions of **collection**, **building** and **visiting public** substituting them with the concepts of **heritage**, **territory** and **communities**. In this shift, the overcome of the notion of collection is intended as the passage from the idea of a set of objects and ancient relics to a more open notion of heritage as a material and immaterial legacy of the past to be promoted and hand down to the future generations. The concept of territory overcome the boundaries of the museum walls and look beyond, pursuing a stronger museum interaction with the society and its complexities. Finally the notion of community aims to highlight the existence of more type of public and not merely one. These publics reflect the set of different groups of the contemporary society and highlight the different needs they have in actively participating in the museum production and interpretation process (McCall & Gray, 2014; Sepúlveda, Ayala & Aguilar, 2008). The New Museology approach appears as a challenge to the 'Old Museology' defined by Vergo (1989, p. 3) as "too much about museum methods, and too little about the purposes of museums". Regarding the museums "primarily as social institutions with political roles" (Stam, 1993, p. 268) and challenging their cultural authority to make decisions that reflect the interests of a narrow social group, the New Museology is part of that social and political post-colonial movements described above and strive for change the ways the museum give value, meaning, access, power and economic value to what it exhibit and represent within it (McCall & Gray, 2014; Stam, 1993). As Christina Kreps (2011, p. 75) argues:

> the post-colonial museum is fundamentally about inverting power relations and the voice of authority. In the post-colonial museum the voice of authority is no longer that of anthropologist, art historian and professional museum workers but the voices of the people whose culture are represented in museums.

Now that we clarified the social, political and museological background that laid at the bases of the debate, let's see how this was reflected in the development of new museum policies and ethical standards of practice. Among the several codes elaborated by the different countries, we must mention first some international regulations that constitute the background on which other codes have been elaborated. These regulations, drafted by large organizations, have had a

worldwide relevance pushing and inspiring many nations to elaborate their own laws and guidelines.

The 'Vermillion Accord on Human Remains' has been adopted in 1989 by the World Archaeological Congress (WAC) and is the first document specifically dedicated to the ethical treatment of human remains held by museum institutions. The document drafted during the first WAC Inter-Congress, 'Archaeological Ethics and the Treatment of the Dead', in Vermillion, South Dakota, had as main focus the settlement of the conflicts between Western researchers and native groups over the possession and interpretation of indigenous human remains. It was composed of six clauses in each of which appear the word 'respect' and demonstrated that mutual understanding and collaboration between archaeologists and indigenous people was possible (Zimmerman, 2003). According to Zimmerman (2003), the Accord represents one of the first attempts of reconciliation between Western institutions and indigenous communities where both the sacred and scientific values inherent in human remains preserved in museums were recognized by both sides.

The Vermillion Accord

1. Respect for the mortal remains of the dead shall be accorded to all irrespective of origin, race, religion, nationality, custom and tradition.
2. Respect for the wishes of the dead concerning disposition shall be accorded whenever possible, reasonable and lawful, when they are known or can be reasonably inferred.
3. Respect for the wishes of the local community and of the relatives or guardians of the dead shall be accorded whenever possible, reasonable and lawful.
4. Respect for the scientific research value of skeletal, mummified and other human remains (including fossil hominids) shall be accorded when such value is demonstrated to exist.
5. Agreement on the disposition of fossil, skeletal, mummified and other remains shall be reached by negotiation on the basis of mutual respect for the legitimate concerns of communities for the proper disposition of their ancestors, as well as the legitimate concerns of science and education.
6. The express recognition that the concerns of various ethnic groups, as well as those of science, are legitimate and to be respected will permit acceptable agreements to be reached and honoured.

In 1986 is drafted the 'ICOM Code of Ethics for Museums'. The International Council of Museums born in 1946 as a global non-governmental organization of museums and museum professionals and has as purpose "establishes professional and ethical standards for museum activities, makes recommendations on issues related thereto, promotes capacity building, advances knowledge and raises public cultural awareness through global networks and co-operation programmes" (ICOM, 2017/b, p. 2). The Code of Ethics has been revised in 2004 and

translated into 38 languages. ICOM (n.d.) define the Code as a "reference text setting standards for the practice of museum professionals" addressing "diverse museum-related topics such as acquisition procedures, compliance with legislation, management of resources, security, returns and restitutions". The ICOM Code of Ethics (2017) gave an important contribution to the debate involving human remains. It defined them, for the first time, 'Culturally Sensitive Material'. This has been an important turning point in the interpretation of these finds. If, as mentioned above, the anthropological remains collected in museums have been historically considered as scientific objects of study, the ICOM new definition of these materials marked a new way to see them. There are three articles specifically dedicated to human remains. The article 2.5 consider their acquisition:

Collections of human remains and material of sacred significance should be acquired only if they can be housed securely and cared for respectfully. This must be accomplished in a manner consistent with professional standards and the interests and beliefs of members of the community, ethnic or religious groups from which the objects originated, where these are known.

The article 3.7 deals with the study of human remains and material of sacred significance:

Research on human remains and materials of sacred significance must be accomplished in a manner consistent with professional standards and take into account the interests and beliefs of the community, ethnic or religious groups from whom the objects originated, where these are known.

The article 4.3 that regulate their display and exhibition has already been quoted on page 16 of this work and underline the importance of having tact and respect toward the remains themselves and to the beliefs of the communities, religious or cultural groups related to such collections.

The ICOM Code of Ethics for Museums has been and still is one of the most important references for all those counties and museums that do not have their own policies and protocols for their human remains collections.

In 2005, the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe adopted in Faro, Portugal, the 'Faro Convention' also known as the 'Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society'. The Convention is a treaty open for accession by the European Union and by the non-member States, whereby the signatory states agree to protect and promote the common cultural heritage of Europe and the citizen's rights to access and participate in that heritage. The document does not regulate directly the treatment and exhibition of human remains but introduced an important concept that is the 'heritage community',

intending “people who value specific aspects of cultural heritage which they wish, within the framework of public action, to sustain and transmit to future generations (Faro Convention, Art.2, p.2). In the Action Plan Handbook 2018-2019 (p.23) the definition is enhanced "as self-organized, self-managed groups of individuals who are interested in progressive social transformation of relationships between peoples, places and stories, with an inclusive approach based on an enhanced definition of heritage”. The recognition of the importance of the active role of the community in the promotion and safeguard of the heritage has been an important step in passing from a participatory strategy to a cooperative strategy and in encouraging a reflection on the ethics and methods of presentation of the cultural heritage, as well as respect for diversity of interpretations.

2.1.2 North America

North America has been certainly one of the most active countries concerning laws and ethic regulation on human remains collected in public institutions.

Starting in the 1960s, the Native Americans and ‘First Nations groups’[13] of the United States and Canada have been the first indigenous communities to actively protest against archaeological excavation of burial places and museum retention of anatomical remains (Fergurson, 1996). The concerns of repatriation raised by these groups were recognized as legitimate already in the 1970s by the Society for American Archaeology (SAA) which “recommended that archaeologists communicate more effectively with Native Americans and find ways to increase their participation in archaeological research” (Fergurson, 1996, p.68). In 1979 the United States Federal Government passed the ‘Archaeological Resources Protection Act’ (ARPA) a law that controls the archaeological excavation on federal and Indian lands and recognize to the native American groups the right to protect and manage their cultural heritage. But one of the main complaints by the native communities in the U.S.A. was the retention and exhibition within American museums of their ancestors' remains and cultural and sacred objects collected illegally by the white settlers. The issue has been addressed starting from the early 90s.

In 1989 was enacted the ‘National Museum of the American Indian Act’ (NMAI Act), an U.S. federal law that required the Smithsonian Institution to “inventory, identify, and

[13] The indigenous peoples of Canada, equivalent to Native American or American Indians of U.S.A., are called First Nations or First People (Cybulski, 2011).

consider for return—if requested by a Native community or individual—American Indian, Alaska Native, and Native Hawaiian human remains and funerary objects" (Smithsonian National Museum of American Indian, n.d.). A year later, in 1990, the United States Congress issued the 'Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act' (NAGPRA), another federal law that imposed to all federal museums and institutions to undergo the same process of inventory of their human remains collections, funerary items, sacred object and object of cultural patrimony to determine their possible cultural affiliation to existing American Indians tribes and Native Hawaiian Organizations. The Act enhanced the repatriation policy of human remains and cultural materials, already introduced by the NMAI Act, requiring all the federal museums to return them in case of a request by the affiliated indigenous community. NAGPRA also imposes the protection of the Native anthropological remains in case of inadvertent discoveries or archaeological excavations, the prohibition of marketing objects considered sacred by indigenous communities and the withdraw of many indigenous human finds displayed in museums (Brooks & Rumsey, 2007; Pinna, 2011). NMAI Act and NAGPRA recognized for the first time to the indigenous communities of North America the property rights over the remains of their ancestors, having then "a significant impact on the excavation, study and curatorial custody of archaeological human remains in United States of America" (Cybulski, 2011, pp. 526-527)[14].

Canada, differently from the U.S., has no elaborated federal legislations, but every Canadian museum has its own policies and guidelines concerning human remains (Cybulski, 2011). The study, handling and display of biological human materials in Canada follows the guiding principle of the 1992 'Task Force report on Museum and First People' which promoted a cooperative approach between museums and indigenous communities when it comes to deal with anthropological finds and cultural materials of First People.

In North America, many museum institutions are now strongly oriented towards the inclusion of native groups and the co-curation of their collections in the attempt to enhance the 'Native Voice'. Rick West, founder director and member of the 'Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes', describe the meaning of 'Native Voice' in the National Museum of the American Indian in Washington DC:

[14] For further information about NAGPRA, NMAI Act and other federal statutes in U.S.A. regarding the preservation of indigenous heritage, see Tsosie, R. (1997). Indigenous rights and archaeology. *Native Americans and archaeologists: stepping stones to common ground*, *68*.

Native people possess important and authoritative knowledge about themselves and their cultures, past and present and deserve to be at the Museological table of interpretation and representation... Exhibitions at the National Museum of the American Indian are developed in partnership with Native People. This practice is based in the belief that the indigenous people are best able to teach others about themselves. Their understanding of who they are and how they present themselves to the world is what the museum calls' Native Voice' (Kreps, 2011, p. 76).

2.1.3 South America

Also in South America the dispute has occupied an important legal space. In Brazil[15], Perù[16], Chile[17] and Argentina, for example, the complaints of the indigenous communities have promoted a strong debate about how to expose and manage human collections within museums. This has encouraged an ethical reflection within these institutions that has led in many cases to new exhibition policies and to a greater social inclusion of these groups in the management of these collections (Cury, 2016; Retamal, Pacheco & Uribe, 2018). In 2001 Argentina enacted the National law n. 25.517 that deals with the human remains of American aborigines that are part of public or private collections. The law establishes that the mortal remains of aborigines must be made available to the indigenous peoples or communities of belonging that claim them (Art.1) and that all scientific investigation involving native communities and their heritage must have the express consent of such communities (Art.3) (Cosmai, Folguera, Outomuro 2013; Cury, 2016; Reca, 2016; Sardi, 2011). During 2006, the debate about the exhibition of human remains was one of the main themes of the management of the Museum of La Plata: the debate promoted by the authorities of the museum, along with representatives of the area of

[15] In 2012 the Secretary of Culture of São Paulo in collaboration with the *Museu de Arquelogia e Etnologia* of the *Universidade de São Paulo* organized in Tupã the *I Encontro Paulista Questões Indígenas e Museus* as part of the *Seminário Museus, Identidades e Patrimônio Cultural.* The aim of the meeting, that involved many scholars and experts on the matter, was to discuss and reflect over the relation between museums and indigenous cultural heritage and communities. (Cury, Vasconcellos, & Ortiz, 2012). The forum has been organized annually since 2012 and every year addressed a different topic: *Enfoque Regional para um Debate Museológico* (2013), *'Saberes e ética, novos paradigmas em debate'* (2014), *'Direitos Indígenas no Museu – Novos Procedimentos para uma Nova Política: a gestão de acervos em discussão*' (2015), '*Museus Etnográficos e Museus Indígenas – Diálogo e Diferenciação'* (2016), *'Museus Etnográficos e Indígenas – aprofundando questões, reformulando ações'* (2017) and '*Políticas públicas para ampliação da gestão compartilhada'*(2018).

[16] The Museum of the Inca in Cuzco changed part of its exhibition considering the claims of the indigenous communities (Sepúlveda, Ayala & Aguilar, 2008).

[17] After the claims of the Atacameña indigenous community, in 2006 the Instituto de Investigaciones Arqueológicas y Museo (I.I.A.M.) in Chile took the decision to remove from the exhibition the archaeological human remains belonging to the Atacameña people (Sepúlveda, Ayala & Aguilar, 2008). The remains however were not re-buried as asked by the Atacameña people but placed in a deposit exclusively built for the purpose (Aranda, García, Díaz & Díaz, 2014).

anthropology culminated with the decision to remove from the exhibition the human remains and mummified bodies of American origin (Reca, 2016).

As evidenced by many scholars, the attempt of reconciliation with indigenous communities in the American continent has been expressed not only through an increasing participation of Native people in archaeological activities but more and more often also through a 'museology of collaboration'. Already conceived by the American anthropologist James Clifford in the late 1990s the cooperation between museum curators and native communities in the management and exhibition of indigenous human remains has favored a new reading and interpretation of the contents of the museum collections and a partial pacification with the Native people communities that suffered the colonial oppression (Clifford, 1997; Pinna, 2011). The Argentine anthropologist María Marta Reca (2016, p.39) states:

Son muchos los factores que en la actualidad fortalecen la construcción de renovados vínculos, pero podríamos decir, que el cambio más profundo está enraizado en la definición de estrategias más participativas, la comprensión de la complejidad de la tarea museográfica y la reflexión teórica que acompaña el problema de la representación de otras culturas.

Marília Xavier Cury of the Museum of Archeology and Ethnology of the University of São Paulo also highlights the importance of this approach, noting that, "*Dar voz aos indígenas e orientar-se por suas perspectivas constituem um modelo museal de prática social. Assim, da formação das coleções às exposições a presença indígena é essencial".* As Phillips (2003, p. 157) explained:

the collaborative paradigm of exhibition production involves a new form of power sharing in which museum and community partners co-manage a broad range of the activities that lead to the final product. These usually include the initial identification of themes, the design of the research methodology, object selection, and the writing of text panels. It can also include the integration of training and capacity building for community members and community input into other activities, such as conservation, the design of the installation, and the selection of gift shop products and poster images.

This collaborative strategy has had a strong effect in American museums as well as in other 'settler societies' as for example in Oceania.

2.1.4 Oceania

Also in Oceania the debate concerning the possession and treatment of human remains is strongly intertwined with the colonial question and the process of de-colonization of the

indigenous and Aboriginal communities that began in the second half of the last century. As noted by Michael Pickering (2011, p. 43),

> most contemporary Australian public museums have emerged from colonial museums that focused on the science, technology and natural history of the new country. Human remains collected by such institutions were, typically, those of the 'other', especially the indigenous population. Indigenous people were seen as part of the country's natural history rather than cultural history and, as such, their remains ended up as specimens in Australian major natural history museums.

The long period of struggles of Australian indigenous groups for the right to interpret their own history and culture resulted in the enactment of several laws at national level (launched by the Parliament of Australia that apply to the whole country) and in each of the six Australian States and two mainland territories. Among the firsts to be enacted, 'The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Heritage Act' of 1984, a federal law that has as its first objective the protection and preservation of the Aboriginal heritage and culture and the remains, objects and territories considered sacred for the different Australian native groups (Donlon & Littleton, 2011; Martínez Aranda, Bustamante García, López Díaz & Burón Díaz, 2014). The Australian government has also approved several legislative reforms in favor of Australian indigenous minorities, thus favoring cooperation between the scientific and native worlds both in the study and in the display of Aboriginal cultural and material heritage. In 1993, the Council of Australian Museum Associations launched 'Previous Possessions, New Obligations', a policy based in thirteen statement of principles in which is recognized the importance of collaboration, inclusion and support of the right of Aboriginal Australian groups self-determination in respect of their cultural property and in which is dedicated a specific part to indigenous human remains collected in museums (Griffin, 1996). The document, reviewed in 2000, address one after one the principle of Acquisition, Return, Custodianship, Storage, Access, Display and Scientific and Cultural Significance of this materials recognizing the right of ownership to their original indigenous communities, affirming the primacy of the cultural value over the scientific one and prohibiting their public exhibition. The text states that:

> Human remains will not be displayed to the public. The only acceptable exception is when the remains are a part of another item (for example, where human teeth form part of clothing) or they have been modified for use. In such cases the items can only be displayed if agreed to by the relevant community, their descendants or those authorised by them (Museums Australia, 2000, Art. 1.9, p. 2).

Museums recognise the potential value that human remains may have in understanding people's health and way of life in the past. However, before a museum can keep any human remains based on their research value the museum must first prove its claims to the satisfaction of the relevant Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. Age by itself does not establish scientific importance (Museums Australia, 2000, Art. 1.10, p. 2).

In 2005, the document 'Continuous Cultures, Ongoing Responsibilities' (CCOR) intended to give a further emphasis to the principle of 'Previous Possession, New Obligations'. CCOR is presented indeed as a guideline that, having as reference the statements launched in 1993, help museum institutions to develop their own codes and policies related to the Australian Aboriginal heritage (Museum Australia 2005). Australia government and museums have drafted and published many other protocols and guides aimed to regulate and protect the Aboriginal heritage of indigenous people of Australia[18].

However, the return of human remains preserved in museums or found through archaeological excavations has raised in some case many controversies between archaeologists and anthropologists. In Australia, a particularly disputed case of restitution has been that of the so-called Kow Swamp collection. Discovered between 1968 and 1972 in the Kow Swamp archaeological site in the Mallee region in north-central Victoria, the collection included several skeletal remains of individuals dated to the late Pleistocene era, aged between 9000 and 15000 years old. In 1990 the Aboriginal community located on that territory, the Echuca, although without evidence of a genealogical link with that ancient population, obtained the restitution of the remains that were subsequently re-interred. The re-burial of these finds led to the definitive loss of the materials and with them of a very important heritage capable, thanks to the modern investigative technologies, to give an important contribute on the study of prehistory and on the reconstruction of the population dynamics of the Australian continent (Favole, 2003/b).

Also in New Zealand the debate related to musealized human remains has been supported by an important legislative framework and also in this case, the topic is strongly intertwined with the Maori claims and requests of restitution and cultural recognition. Those indigenous movements brought to a progressive acceptance and recognition from the New Zealanders' government of these cultural groups through the elaboration and revision of many laws. It is important to highlight for example that in New Zealand the official languages are

[18] A comprehensive list of the Australian legislation for the protection of Indigenous heritage, is available in the Australian Government website, Department of the Environment and Energy, section 'Indigenous heritage laws' (http://www.environment.gov.au). To have further information about other ethical guidelines and protocols for museums and cultural institutions concerning indigenous peoples, consult the 'Ethical Research' section on the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander study's website (https://aiatsis.gov.au).

English and Maori. The *te reo Māori*, has been declared official in 1987 and is nowadays spoken by almost 150 thousand people in the country[19]. Museums, places, codes and laws have both English and Maori names officially recognized.

There are five main legislations with particular relevance to the treatment and management of Human remains in New Zealand: the 'Burial and Cremation Act' of 1964, the 'Protected Objects Act' of 1975, the 'Te Ture Whenua Maori Act' of 1993, the 'Coroners Act' of 2006 and the 'Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga Act' of 2014.

The 'Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga', named until 2014 'New Zealand Historic Place Trust', is the main entity regulating archaeology in New Zealand with the purpose "to promote the identification, protection, preservation, and conservation of the historical and cultural heritage of New Zealand" (Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga Act, Art. 3). Under the Act (Art. 4-d), that has as fourth principle the recognition of "the relationship of Māori and their culture and traditions with their ancestral lands, water, sites, wāhi tūpuna, wāhi tapu, and other taonga" the Heritage New Zealand has published in 2014 The Koiwi Tangata/Human Remains Guidelines, a manual to be used by all the workers involved in handling, preserve and research human remains belonging to Maori communities in New Zealand. The aim of this document is to provide guidelines for external stakeholders whose may accidentally discover indigenous human remains (as government agencies, local authorities, general public etc.) and define protocols and practice procedures for the Heritage New Zealand and Department of Conservation staff in the care and management of these finds (Heritage New Zealand, 2014). The Guidelines emphasize the particular and sensitive significance of these materials underling the cultural meanings they have for some local communities. In New Zealand the process of reconciliation has been focused in particular way on the recognition of the culture, belief and practices of the indigenous groups. In this process the museums have played an important role and nowadays many of them not only have English and Maori names but many are called 'Whare Taonga', in Maori, 'treasure house'[20] (Pinna 2011). Starting from 1970, New Zealand has implemented the restitution requests of the many Maori heads that have been collected and imported in Europe during the colonial domination of the country (Fig. 10, Annex). According

[19] Data source Census 2013, available at https://www.stats.govt.nz

[20] Some examples are: Akaroa Museum-Te Whare Taonga, Rotorua Museum-Te Whare Taonga or Te Arawa, Waikato Museum-Te Whare Taonga or Waikato, and Russell Museum-Te Whare Taonga or Kororareka (Pinna, 2011). To have further information about the relationships between the Maori and New Zealand museums, see Butts, D. J. (2003). Maori and museums: the politics of indigenous recognition.

to The Museum of New Zealand-Te Papa Tongarewa, since 2003 around 420 Māori and Moriori[21] ancestral remains have been repatriated from overseas institutions. They estimate that "there are still 600 ancestral remains still to be returned to New Zealand. Most of these are in European institutions" (Museum of New Zealand- Te Papa Tongarewa, n.d.).

As well as in America, also in Australia and New Zealand many human remains have been returned and removed from exhibition. However, in some cases Aboriginal and Maori groups have created together with museum institutions a sort of joint custody in which scientific and indigenous communities work together in the elaboration of common strategies of research and interpretation of these remains. The museum became a custodian with limited rights because the remains stay in the museum but are not displayed if not for some restricted number of people and researchers (Favole, 2003/b; Goodnow, 2006). This collaboration as noted by Adriano Favole (2003/b, p. 136) can be a valid alternative to the restitution that can overcame the risk to '*etnicizzare la memoria storica'* and the loss of important materials of study.

As we have seen so far, North and South America, Australia and New Zealand, have addressed for long time now the complex debate concerning the human remains displayed publicly in museums. The several legislations, codes and guidelines elaborated in these countries show the deep effort that governments and museums put in manage the protests and claims coming from indigenous groups asking for their cultural recognition and right of self-definition. In these countries the post-colonial debate resulted in the recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples and their cultural freedom, including the right to custody the remains of their ancestors, the strengthening of relations and communications between museums and indigenous groups and the attempt to overcome a traditional Western-scientific interpretation of the musealized objects and material culture of these populations through a more inclusive and participative strategy.

The acceptance of this power shift has had as a main objective the reconciliation with indigenous communities and, as Tiffany Jenkins (2011, p. 17) stated an attempt to "make amend of the past wrongs". The question, strongly related to the colonial past of this nations, is topical in these territories and for this reason the study and elaboration of codes and museum policies are still in progress. The reason why the native groups require to the Western communities to 'make amends' do not only concern the methods of acquiring the remains implemented during the colonial era, but also, and above all, the active role of museum institutions in perpetuating

[21] The Moriori are the Polynesian native people of the Chatham Islands in New Zealand.

the ideology of Western colonial supremacy to these days. According to many, in fact, the very presence of human remains within museums is a sign of a link with the colonial past. As claimed by Moira Simpson, "the presence of human remains in museum collections is in 'itself' evidence of the fact that the academic and scientific interests have been placed before the interests and wishes of the deceased and their descendants" (Jenkins, 2011, p.21).

2.1.5 Europe

Also in Europe the debate originated from requests of restitution from overseas indigenous groups. As previously mentioned, the most active counties in the development of codes were those with a lasting colonial past and particularly active in the collection and importation of indigenous human remains for scientific purposes.

Among the first European nations involved in the restitution claims there is the United Kingdom. UK has had indeed an active role in the elaboration of codes and regulations for the treatment of human remains in museums and for the management of requests for return. In 2001 is established the 'Human Remains Working Group', a commission born from the collaboration between the British and Australian Governments to evaluate the possibility and criteria of acquisition, exposure and restitution of Aboriginal anatomical remains preserved within English institutions. According to the 'Report of the Working Group on Human Remains', 90% of English cultural institutions possess approximately sixty-one thousand human remains which come from Africa, Europe, Asia, the Americas, the Pacific, New Zealand, Australia and Tasmania, the Middle East and Greenland[22] and 22% of those institutions have received requests for the return of human remains (DCSM, 2003). The Report (DCSM, 2003, p. 16) noted that:

> While the total number of requests for return perhaps appears low at first sight (and some of the claims repeat earlier claims), it is essential to recognise that in many cases the beliefs and emotions leading to individual claims are strong. As shown by the evidence received by the Working Group (Chapter 4), members of some indigenous communities continue to grieve until the spirits and bodies of their ancestors are at rest. The psychological, and arguably the physical and social, health of these communities is damaged.

[22] The data comes from a survey realized in 2002 and for this reason, the results may be different today.

This collaboration led not only to a change in museum policies, but also to subsequent legislative changes. In 2004 the 'Human Tissue Act'[23] was issued, a national law that provides detailed protocols to be followed for the treatment of human tissues with less than one hundred years and which it has allowed several English museums to return these findings to the communities of origin[24]. Following the enactment of this law, in 2005 it is published by the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCSM) of the British Government, the 'Guidance for the Care of Human Remains in Museum', a document that establishes further guidelines on ethical and legislative aspects in the treatment of human remains, in their care and above all on their restitution. An important aspect to highlight is the attention paid by the DCMS Guidance for the Care of Human Remains in Museums about the sensitivity of the public that sees human remains in museums, an aspect that has been less addressed in the Americas and Oceania.

> Human remains should be displayed only if the museum believes that it makes a material contribution to a particular interpretation; and that contribution could not be made equally effectively in another way. Displays should always be accompanied by sufficient explanatory material. Those planning displays should consider how best to prepare visitors to view them respectfully, or to warn those who may not wish to see them at all. As a general principle, human remains should be displayed in such a way as to avoid people coming across them unawares. This might be in a specially partitioned or alcoved part of a gallery (DCSM, 2005, p. 20).

Many museums in UK elaborated specific policies to address the issue related to the sensitivity of the visitors. The Bristol City Museum and Art Gallery, for example, displays an Egyptian mummified body in a fetal position inside a dark case that visitors can illuminate only by pressing a button (Kennedy, 2010). The Petrie Museum of Archaeology put Egyptian human remains behind a shroud that visitors lift if they wish (Gazi, 2014). The Museum of London adopted a policy for the care of human remains according to which "as a general principle skeletons will not be on 'open display' but located in such a way as to provide them some 'privacy'. This might be in a specially partitioned or alcoved part of a gallery" (Museum of London 2011, Section 6.3, art. 10). The Wellcome Collection in London has a 'Safeguarding children and vulnerable adults policy' that also take into account the content of the exhibitions.

[23] The Human Tissue Act has been enacted, among other reasons, also as a consequence of the Alder Hey organs scandal: in 1999 a public inquiry has brought to light the illegal activities of the Alder Hey Children's Hospital in Liverpool that between 1988 and 1995 removed and retained organs of patients, including children, without family consent (Jankins, 2011).

[24] National Museum of Arms and Armour, British Museum, War Museum, Museum of London, National Maritime Museum, National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside, Natural History Museum, Science Museum, Victoria and Albert Museum. From article n.47 of Human Tissue Act (2004), available in https://www.legislation.gov.uk.

The museum, that has two permanent exhibitions with human remains, informs the public with a clear signage outside of both the galleries. In the same way are stated all the materials of the temporary exhibitions that could hurt the sensitivity of the visitors (Wellcome Collection, n.d.).

Making the visitors more involved and informed about what they will (or will not) observe is an important element that can show more respect not only toward the public, but also to the bodies displayed, which will be observed in a more conscious and careful way. Some museums already adopted such policies, but they are still a minority. As we will see later in this work, also the Egyptian Museum of Turin adopted the same policy.

Also in France the question has been widely discussed. As Michel and Charlier (2011, p.153) stated, in France, archaeological human remains "do not have any particular legal status" and the national law concerning the archaeology heritage (2001-44) "considers that human remains are absorbed into the main archaeological legislation, thus being considered as having the same status as artifacts". The same thing applies to the French *Code du Patrimoine* where the human remains are not mentioned directly and they are included in the "*ensemble des biens, immobiliers ou mobiliers, relevant de la propriété publique ou privée, qui présentent un intérêt historique, artistique, archéologique, esthétique, scientifique ou technique*" (Art. n. 1). Even if the Code establish the inalienability of the French museum collections, starting from the early years of the last century the many human remains of colonial origins have been returned to the indigenous communities of descendants from which they have been taken.

The first case, that had a particular media resonance, concerned the remains of the South African Khoikhoi women Sara Baartman, also known as the 'Hottentot Venus' (Fig. 11, Annex). Born in South Africa in 1789 and slave of a Dutch farmer near Cape Town, in 1810 she went to London and later to Paris to be exhibited in public shows as curiosity for her overdeveloped buttocks. After her death, in 1815, her body was dissected, studied and her skeleton displayed at the Museum d'Histoire Naturelle and later to the *Musée de I'Homme* in Paris. The skeleton and a plaster cast of her bare body were displayed within the *Musée de I'Homme* up until the late 1970s, representing her as a scientific specimen (Qureshi, 2004). In 1995 the South African Government requested the restitution of her remains that after a long controversy of seven years have been repatriated in 2002 thanks to the elaboration of a specific law (2002-323)[25] (Fig. 12, Annex). The French Civil Code (Art. 16-1) that states the inviolability of the body and the impossibility of making it object of property has been used as

[25] For more information about the history and later studies and exhibition of Sara Baartman see Qureshi, 2004.

reference in relation to the dispute and finally prevailed over the legislation on Cultural Heritage.

In 2010 is enacted the law n. 2010-501 *visant à autoriser la restitution par la France des têtes maories à la Nouvelle-Zélande et relative à la gestion des collections* with which the Government authorize the restitution of all the Maori head held by French museums to New Zealand if they are identified. As Alain Froment, director of the *Musée de l'Homme*, stated, in France the restitutions are based on the principle of *laïcité*, that means that the religious thinking cannot influence political decision and so, religion is not taken into consideration as an argument when it comes to deal with restitution requests. Only if there is a specific identification of the individual the museum proceeds to the restitution (Froment, 2019). Starting from 2011 many Maori heads held by the two main anthropological institutions of Paris, the *Musée du quai Branly* and the *Musée de I'Homme,* have been returned to New Zealand.

In November 2017, the President of French Republic Emmanuel Macron made a speech at the University of Ouagadougou in Burkina Faso and states:

> I cannot accept that a large share of several African countries' cultural heritage be kept in France. There are historical explanations for it, but there is no valid, lasting and unconditional justification. African heritage cannot solely exist in private collections and European museums. African heritage must be showcased in Paris but also in Dakar, Lagos and Cotonou; this will be one of my priorities. Within five years I want the conditions to exist for temporary or permanent returns of African heritage to Africa (Élysée, 2017).

Following the statements of Macron, a year later is published the report 'The Restitution of African Cultural Heritage. Toward a New Relational Ethics'. The text is a vast consulting work of museum professionals and French authorities and four African countries: Benin, Senegal, Mali and Cameroon (Sarr & Savoy, 2018). It represents a comprehensive analysis of the restitution process that starts from the presentation of the meanings and the reasons why this process is considered important up to the elaboration of legal and financial models and frameworks through which the restitution can be realized. The intent of post-colonial reconciliation is marked and expressly declared in the document. The restitution is here intended as mean aimed to re-establishing good relations between the dominating state and dominated people and the collaboration and mutual trust, as part of this process.

Another important contribution comes from Germany. In 2013 the German Museum Association drafted the document 'Recommendation for the Care of Human Remains in Museums and Collections', a guide for the day-to-day handling and care of human remains

within German universities and museums institutions. The text gives a great emphasis to the sensitive nature of these materials, and with this purpose in the German version is used the term '*menschliche Überreste'* an emotional expression closer in meaning to 'mortal remains', that remind to the people that they are dealing with deceased human being. The document states indeed:

> the term 'menschliche Überreste' has an emotional resonance, and that was indeed the intention since this contributes to making people more sensitive to this issue. Efforts to raise awareness of this sensitive issue are particularly necessary in connection with the handling of human remains in all areas of the work of museums and collections, since such items in collections are not items like any other. It is often difficult to strike a balance between the interests concerned. Respect is owed to the deceased individuals and their descendants (German Museums Association, 2013, p. 7).

The German Museum Association underlined the importance of elaborating museums guidelines related to the managements of human remains: the 'Recommendation for the Care of Human Remains in Museums and Collections' is then intended as a starting point from which all the German institutions that hold and display human remains can develop their own guidelines and regulations.

The African colonial past of Belgium also led to some contemporary controversies. After five years of renovation works, the Royal Museum for Central Africa located in Tervuren near Brussels, that arose in the past some complaints about its supposed pro-colonial propaganda, reopened in December 2018 (Psaledakis & Lohman, 2018). Built by King Leopold II who ruled as an absolute monarch in the Congo Free State from 1885 to 1908, the museum has been for a long time seen as a symbol of colonial domination of Central Africa and as a place of celebration of the exploits of the Belgians and of the superiority of Europeans over African people. As stated by the museum itself, "the big challenge was to present a contemporary and decolonized vision of Africa in a building which had been designed as a colonial museum" (Africa Museum, n.d.). The new organization aims, then, to present a new interpretation of the colonial history and of the materials held by the institution, making the museum of colonialism no longer a source of pride but of reflection and awareness (Bonini, 2018). As stated by the director Guido Gryseels, "we also assume our responsibility that for more than 60 years, we've diffused, we've disseminated an image of a superior, western way of thinking to African cultures" (Psaledakis & Lohman, 2018). However the reopening arose some claims. The president of the Democratic Republic of Congo, Joseph Kabila, called for the repatriation of the artefacts looted and stolen during colonial era, more than 180.000, including

some skulls belonging to tribal chiefs and more than 500 stuffed animals (Crisp, 2018). As the Congolese writer Mireille-Tsheusi Robert argues, "there is no decolonization without restitution". Gryseels stated that the museum is willing to talk about restitution but within certain conditions that imply the need to address the complex issue related to the ownership and the legal status of the colonial heritage in contemporary times (Psaledakis & Lohman, 2018).

Also the North Europe has been involved in the debate. In Norway, 'The Norwegian National Committee for Research Ethics on Human Remains' was set up in 2008. Composed by ten experts of different professional background, the committee is an advisory body that evaluate "the ethical aspects of research where the source material consists of human remains which are in public museums and collections, or which will be found in future archeological and other surveys". The committee works taking into consideration existing Norwegian laws and international conventions, but it also elaborated its own guidelines (The Norwegian National Committees for Research Ethics, 2014). Among others, the 'Guidelines for Research Ethics on Human Remains', adopted in 2013.

Norway had to deal with restitution request as well. The first regarded two Saami[26] skulls belonging to Mons Somby and Aslak Hætta decapitated in 1854 and stored in the anthropological collection of the Oslo Institute of Anatomy. After an enduring opposition and a legal debate that involved the Saami Parliament, the Department of Justice, the Department of Church, Education and Research and the University of Oslo, the remains were finally returned and reburied on 1997 (Schanche, 2003; Sellevold, 2003). Another case regarded the restitution of the remains of Julia Pastrana, the Mexican woman who suffered from hypertrichosis and that starting from 1854 has been displayed in public shows in Europe, United States and Russia as 'the Ape woman' (Fig. 13, Annex). After her death she was embalmed and continued to be exhibited for many years by her husband/agent and from 1921 by Haakon Lund, a manager of a funfair in Norway. In 1990 the remains were transferred to the University of Oslo. After the request promoted by the Mexican Governor of the State of Sinaloa, the National Committee for Research Ethics on Human Remains elaborated a document in which was explained the ethical evaluation of the case and suggested the repatriation of the remains. Interesting one aspect that the Committee took into consideration:

[26] The Saami or Sámi, are the indigenous people inhabiting the norther territories of Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Kola Peninsula, in the Russian Federation. In these countries the Saami have their own Parliament that operates as political organ under the national State with the objective to represent and defend the rights of the indigenous Saami peoples (Spangen, Salmi, Äikäs, Ojala, & Nordin, 2015).

"A consideration which is central in bringing all of these features together as ethically relevant, is a **requirement concerning respect for persons**. This is also a central research ethical principle. In order to satisfy the requirement for respectful treatment of the individual, **the question of the person's own wishes is normally central**. In Julia Pastrana's case, we do not know with certainty what her wishes were. It is then reasonable, as part of an ethically sound reflection, to ask what one might reasonably think she would have wanted.

It seems quite unlikely that Julia Pastrana would have wanted her body to remain a specimen in an anatomical collection. The details of her life, and of what happened to the remains after her death, constitute a long story of being set up as an object of observation, classification, and study. Her background in a Catholic country in the mid-1800s makes it likely that she would have wanted a Catholic burial. From the perspective of asking what would constitute respectful treatment of the individual, the question of burial also seems more pressing than the question of returning the remains to Mexico: from this perspective, returning the remains to Mexico is first and foremost a way in which to ensure a responsible and respectful burial" (The Norwegian National Committee for Research Ethics on Human Remains, 2012).

Julia Pastrana returned in Sinaloa in February 2013.

In the last decades also Sweden has been involved in the return and rebury of Sámi skeletal remains. Among the main cases we find the *Soejvengeelle* remains held by the Nordiska Museet in Stockholm and reburied on 2002, the *Frostviken* remains preserved in the county museum in Östersund and returned on 2011 and the skeletal parts from an ancient churchyard in Rounala, that were excavated in 1915 and afterword incorporated in the anatomical collection of the Uppsala University (Spangen, Salmi, Äikäs, Ojala & Nordin, 2015). The Rounala case did not end up with the reburial of the remains but arose a strong dispute that involved the Sámi Parliament and the Sámi Council of the Swedish Lutheran Church from a side and the Swedish museum from the other: a hard confrontation between cultural / religious values and scientific values[27]. The debate that led to the restitution and in some cases to the re-internment of the remains, originated also in this case in the postcolonial indigenous claims of self-determination and cultural recognition. These remains collected in an historical colonial context with the purpose of demonstrating the Sámi biological inferiority have been a reason for reflection over the meanings, sensitivities, and values of Sámi communities and a way of "rethink ways of collecting, storing, studying, and displaying human remains and sensitive material culture" (Spangen, Salmi, Äikäs, Ojala & Nordin, 2015, p. 14).

As Kjell-Åke Aronsson (2013) noted, if the restitution and deaccessioning can be seen as a symbolic act, important in the process of reconciliation and empowerment of indigenous

[27] For more information about the Rounala Case, see Aronsson (2013).

communities, it is important to underline that it "can also be destructive and reduce the search for knowledge and access to the cultural heritage" (p. 225).

The restitution of human remains has been adopted in many cases as a sign of respect toward the remains themselves and the communities that claim for the re-appropriation of their cultural and political rights. However, as we have seen, the values and meaning related to the biological remains are numerous and all must be taken into consideration and valued with due dignity and respect. The scientific research is today more sensitive and attentive to the sacred and cultural meaning of the human remains and is more oriented towards a mutual collaboration with the community of origin, in the interpretation and representation of their material culture within museum context. The research and exposure of these remains becomes fundamental for the study of our past, to tell the story of the ancient populations, of their values, beliefs and traditions. The preservation and display of human finds, however, also become a testimony of the mistakes and abuses of the past. As Aronsson (2013, pp. 224-225) pointed out, "decolonization consists of not only self-determination but also efforts for the decolonization of the human mind". It is therefore important that the decolonization starts above all from the dialog, collaboration and mutual respect. The recognition of values and culture to ethnic, cultural and religious minorities is essential and fundamental as a prerequisite in order to not commit the mistakes of the past and looking to a peaceful and collaborative future. However, restitution cannot be considered as a general solution to the problem and it can be such only where there is no alternative that can ensure the mutual enjoyment of this fundamental heritage in the history of humanity.

In many European countries the debate over the retention, research and display of anthropological remains has not been addressed properly and did not led to the elaboration of legal standards of practice or deontological codes that museums and researchers can follow in the preservation and interpretation of human remains. Still today there is a great reluctance to open a debate on the issues of legitimacy, ownership and possession of these materials due to the fear that they may expand also to other types of museum collections (Giacobini, 2011).

The Portuguese case is interesting, and somehow unique, because despite it has been one of the first and more enduring colonial empire of Europe, the debate did not manifest so powerfully as happened instead, as we have seen, in other great European colonizing states. The reasons are multiple. On the one hand, as Ricardo Roque (2008, p.14) states, "*em comparação com França, Inglaterra, ou Alemanha, a antropologia em Portugal pouco peso quantitativo teve no tráfico mundial de crânios humanos como objectos antropológicos*".

Roque noted that the main interests of the academic anthropology of Portugal has been, until the first decade of the twentieth century, the study of the "*povo português, da sua essência e genealogia étnica, dos seus costumes e tradições populares, no passado e no presente, circunscrita a exploração ao território metropolitano*" (Roque, 2006, p. 797). According to João Leal, "Portuguese anthropology emerged and developed, from 1870 until 1960, as a 'nation-building anthropology'[28], that is, as an anthropology that not only favored the study of local folk traditions, but also conducted that study as part of a search for Portuguese national identity" (Leal, 1999, p. 11).

This does not mean that indigenous human remains have not been imported at all. In the former Anthropology Museum of Coimbra, for example, are collected twenty-nine skulls from the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, arrived in Coimbra around 1880[29]. This collection, however, is not exhibited publicly but used during anthropology classes with educational and academic purposes (Roque, 2008).

A tradition, well-documented both in archival and iconography terms is, instead, the strong slave trafficking from Africa implemented by Portugal starting mainly from the fifteenth century (Gabinete de Estudos Olisiponenses, 2017; Henriques, 2011) (Fig. 14, Annex). However, also in this case the biological remains of the slaves were not frequently preserved for research purposes or exhibited and only in few cases have been discovered archaeological evidence of this practice[30]. As Neves, Almeida & Ferreira (2011, p. 39) state, "*sendo a presença escrava bastante significativa tanto nesta cidade, como noutras do reino, não deixa de parecer estranha a quase completa ausência em contextos arqueológicos de vestígios materiais deste grupo social*". In Portugal it is in fact much more frequent to find inside museums ancient human remains as Egyptian and Sudamerican mummies or the remains of the Portuguese themselves, used in nineteenth and twentieth centuries for anatomical and medical studies, rather than remains of African slaves.

[28] João Leal presents two distinct orientations or approaches to the anthropology research: one, defined as 'anthropology of empire-building' focused on the 'study of other people' that prevailed in counties that ruled over a colonial empire, as Great Britain and France. The other defined as 'anthropology of nation-building' oriented on the 'study of one's own people' that was typical of countries with national problems and without colonial power. "This distinction" he said, "is somewhat paradoxical when applied to Portugal". (Leal, 1999, pp. 10-11).

[29] To have more information about the colonial past of the Portuguese empire in East Timor, see Roque, 2010.

[30] Very important was the finding in 2009 of a 'poço dos negros' (well of the blacks) in Lagos in which 155 individuals were found. According to Neves, Almeida & Ferreira (2011, p. 41) "*a identificação deste cemitério constitui um achado inédito em Portugal*" (Fig. 15, Annex).

On the other hand, we must note that the relationship between Portugal and its former colonies is nowadays more pacific and collaborative than in the past. In regard to African colonies (Angola, Cabo Verde, Guiné-Bissau, Moçambique and São Tomé e Príncipe), partnerships and collaborative projects as well as economic and cultural exchanges and agreements have been implemented. Today it exists an open interchange of people, goods and culture between Portugal, CPLP countries[31] and the other former colonized territories (Farnesina, 2017).

Numerous are also the exhibitions of Christian relics and human remains in religious buildings. In Portugal exist indeed many '*capelas dos ossos'* (bones chapels), churches in which skeletal remains of the members of the religious Order or of the faithful have been used as part of architecture for decorative purposes and as *memento mori*[32] (Fig. 16, Annex). In 2016 in the Monastery of Santa Clara-a-Velha, in Coimbra, an exhibition containing the skeletal remains of the nuns who lived in the cloister and that have been discovered in 1996-1997 during the works of restoration of the building has been organized. According to the curator Eugénia Cunha, the display of these remains has been important to explain to the public the history of the monastery and the lifestyle of the nuns who lived within it:

> a partir do estudo antropológico dos esqueletos foi possível perceber que o tempo dedicado à oração era origem de problemas físicos. As religiosas tinham lesões nos joelhos, o que pode ser associado a traumatismos de repetição causadas pela genuflexão [...] Nos ossos da comunidade, que estava entre os 40 e os 50 anos, foram ainda encontradas lesões nos ombros, normais em pessoas de idade avançada (Soldado, 2016).

In Portugal, as in many other European countries, there are no laws or guidelines directly related to the treatment of ancient and musealized human remains. In addition to the reasons highlighted above, an important reason can also be found in the fact that, as we have already noted, the issue is particularly sensitive and thorny and can be seen as a threat for other type of museum collections.

[31] With CPLP we refer to the *Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa: "uma comunidade de países e povos que partilham a Língua Portuguesa – nações irmanadas por uma herança histórica, pelo idioma comum e por uma visão compartilhada do desenvolvimento e da democracia"* (CPLP, n.d.).

[32] There are six main *'capelas dos ossos'* in Portugal. They are located in Alcantarilha, Faro, Lagos, Campo Maior, Monforte and Evora, where there are also two entire bodies semi-mummified (Lousa, 2017). However, the bone chapels are not only found in Portugal, but being part of an ancient tradition linked to the Christian culture, they are present in several European countries including Austria, Poland, Czech Republic, Spain, France and Italy.

2.2 Considerations

To summarize what has been presented so far, it is important to note that the debate over patrimonial human remains has not been addressed in the same way in Europe and outside Europe. In the majority of European nations there are no legislation or guidelines to regulate the treatment, study and display of human remains after excavation, in case of archaeological remains, or of the ones already preserved in museums[33]. Tristram Besterman (2006), former director of the Manchester University Museum, underlined a clear difference between the ways in which indigenous human remains are managed within European museums and in those of the countries from where they originate (such as Australia, New Zealand, Canada and United States). While the latter operate within legislative framework that in many cases protect and support the rights of indigenous peoples, in Europe, in the majority of the cases there is not a legal or deontological system that museums can follow for relating to the populations of which they preserve the material culture and the remains of their ancestors. "For Europe and its ex-colonies, the separation of geography has been allowed to override the connections of history in defining the legal and moral parameters of the museum" (Basterman, 2006, p. 436). The same aspect is highlighted by Moira Simpson (2012, p. 2) that argues:

> as former colonies now distanced somewhat from the problem they caused, there has perhaps been less pressure upon European Nations to address the issues of concern to indigenous people; this can been reflected in the limited extent to which issue concerning human remains and sacred object have been addressed and acted upon within European museums.

The possession, interpretation and exhibition of the material culture and of biological remains raised as noted by Basterman (2011, p. 40) "highly sensitive issues of 'representation' and 'ownership', in which cultural values beyond the material come into play and demand attention".

Who owns the human remains preserved in museums? Is it right to display these remains? If yes, how should they be exhibited? These are the questions that the texts and regulations seen above have tried to answer. They gave particular attention to the expositive and interpretative aspect of these materials while less attention has been given to the methods of study and deposition of human remains that are not exposed. In many cases the non-exposure

[33] Since has not been possible to address case by case all the countries worldwide and in Europe, have been presented in this chapter only the main texts and legislations capable to provide the reader with a general idea about the international legal frameworks and guidelines upon the issue addressed in this research. A more comprehensive literature reference on the matter is Márquez-Grant & Fibiger, 2011.

is considered as a form of respect, but the accumulation of these materials inside the warehouses cannot and should not be considered as a solution to the problem. The passage from a strategy of subjugation to a strategy of collaboration and inclusion of indigenous communities in museums and archaeological research has certainly promoted an improvement in the interpretation of these materials and, at the same time, has increased what Marie Louise Pratt (1992) called the 'contact zone'[34] which played a central role in favoring a partial reconciliation between colonizing and colonized communities. However, the great attention to the remains of colonial origin has somehow monopolized the debate and some types of human remains have been little considered, such as anatomical preparations and medical collections of anatomical museums, very numerous in Europe.

The international argue relating to the requests of restitution, even if in many cases did not lead to a solution, has certainly had the great merit of open the debate in relation of these biological materials and sensitizing the public but above all the researchers, curators, conservators and all the scientific community that works in the study, conservation and exhibition of human remains. According to a recent study conducted by the Dutch museologist Dieuwertje Wijsmuller titled 'Deaccessioning & disposal in Europe 2008-2017. A research on possibilities and attitudes across the European Member States', the author noted that in the last 10 years, many European countries have adopted new policies and laws on deaccessioning of their cultural heritage and many others have issued official museum guidelines on the matter.[35] In a previous research carried out in 2008, Wijsmuller identified two main attitudes or museological traditions on deaccessioning and disposal in Europe: the Latin tradition and the Anglo-Saxon tradition (Fig. 17, Annex). He states:

[34] Marie Louise Pratt (1992, pp. 6-7) defined 'contact zone' as the "space of imperial encounters, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations [...] A 'contact' perspective emphasizes how subjects get constituted in and by their relations to each other. It treats the relations among colonizers and colonized, or travellers and 'travelees', not in terms of separateness, but in terms of copresence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices, and often within radically asymmetrical relations of power".

[35] According to the Association of Art Museum Directors (2010, p. 2) Deaccessioning is defined as "the process by which a work of art or other object (collectively, a "work"), wholly or in part, is permanently removed from a museum's collection". Wijsmuller (2017, p. 12) defines the term 'deaccessioning' as "the administrative act of documenting the removal of an object from the museums inventory" and the term 'disposal' as "the process of shipping objects, including responsibilities from the museum managing it, to another managing institute or public body, via exchange, sale, donation or repatriation. If no public body wants to take the object, private new owners or managers can be found. As a last resort, total destruction of the object is a possibility".

Southern countries such as Spain, Italy, Greece, Romania and France, represent leading examples of Latin tradition where principles of inalienation of museum objects exist combined with strict legal restrictions and hesitant attitudes towards deaccessioning. In the Northwestern part of Europe countries such as the UK and the Netherlands lead the way in that deaccessioning and disposal have already been accepted as a proper collection management tool, supported by an abundance of guidelines and other tools, including being a topic of discussion (Wijsmuller, 2017, pp. 10-11).

However, as anticipated above, Wijsmuller noted that recently these attitudes changed and also the Latin tradition countries are gradually opening up to the elaboration of codes and guideline for deaccessioning and disposal of their cultural heritage.[36]

Emerged initially as part of the decolonization process, the debate has gradually widened, involving nowadays not only the problem of the retention of indigenous materials of colonial origin, but also taking into consideration the sensitivity of the visiting public and the actual usefulness and opportunity to exhibit corpses inside the museum rooms.

2.3 Uncontested remains

As noted so far, most of the controversies surrounding the ownership and the display of human remains within museum context focused on the complex relationship between Western scientific communities who preserve the remains, and the indigenous groups that request their return to the places where they have been originally taken. Nevertheless, not all the remains collected inside Western museums have cultural descendants that claim their restitution and not all of them have been collected within colonial context.

The current debate, indeed, did not involve only the indigenous human remains, but widened to all type of biological finds human origins collected in museum institutions. By 'uncontested human remains' we mean all those remains that no longer have cultural or genealogical descendants in life that share the same system of beliefs or that are biologically related to them. These remains have not been subject of claims or requests of restitution by their origin communities. As Tiffany Jenkins (2011) noted, regarding the human remains without claimers, the controversies and the disputes towards their exhibition and retention for the purpose of study are linked not only to the indigenous movements external to the institutions,

[36] As can be seen above, the case of France well represents this type of change being one of the most evident case of shift of attitude toward the deaccessioning and disposal of its cultural heritage. To have more information regarding the research conducted by Wijsmuller see Wijsmuller, D. (2017). *Deaccessioning & Disposal in Europe 2008-2017: A Research on Possibilities and Attitudes Across the European Member States*. Dieuwertje Wijsmuller and consult the website https://www.museumsanddeaccessioning.com/

but above all, by museum professionals operating inside them. Jenkins (2011) attributes the cause to a 'crisis in the cultural authority' in which, especially in Europe, the museum professionals themselves question the ethics of these exhibitions.

We have to note, indeed, that very often the deontological standards embraced by museum professionals and institutions have been incoherent and contradictory. Many authors have evidenced how not only some bodies are more accepted and expected to be conserved inside museums context than others, but also that the methods of approaching these remains by museum professionals and institutions are sometimes so different that often lead to double standards of practice (Balachandran, 2009; Kilmister, 2003). Many of the regulation implemented by museum institutions, indeed, aimed to smooth out the conflict and controversies arose by indigenous groups, but they have little regarded the remains that have not been the subject of disputes. According to Ratan Vaswani (2001, p. 35) of the UK Museum Association, "what standards do we consider it 'acceptable' to exhibit Egyptian mummies but decide to withdraw Maori heads from display?".

However, as noted above, in the last decade the development of the debate about indigenous human remains has considerably sensitized the scientific community and has encouraged museum professionals to manage and expose human remains in a more careful and sensitive way.

In May 2008, the unwrapped mummy of Asru, the partially wrapped mummy of Khary and the loaned child mummy from Stonyhurst College in exhibition in the Manchester University Museum, were covered (Fig. 18, Annex). The withdraw of these human remains was not consequent of a restitution request from indigenous groups or from the Egyptian government but has been a free decision took by the museum itself. The Museum stated that "the covering was carried out in order that the human remains be treated with respect and to keep the bodies on display in line with the Manchester Museum Human Remains policy" (Manchester Museum, 2008). The complaints did not wait to come. The museum received, indeed, many criticisms by the public who felt offended by the decision taken by the institution without a proper consultation with the visitors. In the blog page of the Manchester University Museum (2008) many visitors left messages of disagree to the new policy:

> The necessity to cover these remains to treat them with respect is according to which opinion? Academics, no. Scientists, no. The General Public, no; then whom? If none of these then is a minority opinion being forced on the majority? Apparently so, and possibly in a misinformed and misguided way?
> John Wilson, May 8, 2008 at 1:29 pm

To hide away a historical and scientific treasure for reasons of sensibility (as if anyone would be offended by such a wonder) is laughably 18th centure. It is certainly not respectful! Shame on the hand-wringing author of the policy. And on the brow-beetled museum for putting it into practice.
Daniel Sellers, May 8, 2008 at 9:19 pm

The mummies at Manchester have taught us much about conditions in the Ancient World and provided evidence that as individuals we can access of disease, physical condition, life, death and of course mummification techniques. The ability to view the whole body can be key to that experience. Occasionally for some individuals that may not be comfortable viewing, but who should choose if that is accessible or not to the general public? What right does the museum have to censor this?
John Billman, May 11, 2008 at 11:41 am

I hope they uncover the mummies again. What a disgrace for a museum to be influenced by puritanism instead of educative reasons.
Allen, June 3, 2008 at 8:26 am

Also many scholars intervened in the discussion. Jasmine Day, cultural anthropologist of the University of Western Australia already quoted in this work, wrote a comment in the blog page of the museum saying: “It concerns me that very little research has been done on this subject, worries me that museum visitors are largely excluded from museum decision-making about human remains exhibition” (Manchester Museum, 2008). Bob Partridge, chairman of the Manchester Ancient Egypt Society, defined the cover up of the mummies as “absolutely incomprehensible” and states that “the mummies have always been sensitively displayed and have been educational and informative to generations of visitors. We are shocked this has been done in advance of any results from the public” (Narain, 2008). George Mutter, professor at Harvard medical school in the United States argue: "For decades the Manchester Museum has been a leader in the scientific study of human mummies. The decision to hide the mummies from view is a step backwards" (Narain, 2008). In July 2008 the Manchester Museum uncovered the mummies. The director of the museum, Nick Merriman, stated that the covering of the mummies was part of a consultation process and that “as public feedback showed that this is not the most appropriate long-term solution, we are trying out a range of different approaches to gauge public opinion” (Jenkins, 2011, p. 128).[37]

[37] The Manchester Museum also published in its blog a public answer to the complaints arose in response to the post on the blog page of May 6, 2018. To read the full response of the museum see at https://egyptmanchester.wordpress.com/2008/07/29/covering-the-mummies-summary-of-discussion-and-museum-response/

In November 2016, after the opening of the new Egyptian galleries of the National Museum of Antiquities of Leiden, the curators took the decision to remove from the permanent display the unwrapped Egyptian Roman mummy of a six-year old child, known as 'the mummy boy' (Weiss, 2018) (Fig. 19, Annex). As noted by the Egyptologist Lonneke Delpeut (2017), the mummy has been in exhibition for fifteen years and "he has been one of the highlights of the Egyptian collection in Leiden". Even so, the director of the museum together with the museum staff decided to remove him from the public display. According to Lara Weiss (2018, p. 219), the reorganization of the permanent display of the mummies has been carried out with a particular attention to the ethical principles aimed at conferring respect and dignity to the remains:

What is important is the manner in which the mummies are now displayed separated from objects, in a shrine-like construction out of direct sight, and relatively close the rear wall of the room. These measures shall encourage the visitors to a respectful rapprochement with the human remains.

Also in Italy there have been similar cases. In 2012 during the renovation works for the new opening of the Egyptian Museum of Turin, the director of the time Eleni Vassilika declared publicly the intention of the museum to cover up all the mummies and to not make them visible to the public. She stated:

Il macabro non ci interessa, non è dignitoso. Non siamo un museo antropologico o etnologico. Siamo un museo di arte antica. […] Il nostro percorso museale va ben oltre l'esposizione di qualche mummia. È una dialettica tra il pubblico e una civiltà antica durata più di 2000 anni, che va ricordata per molto più che i suoi riti funerari (Minucci, 2013).

The declaration raised strong and conflicting reactions. On the one hand many of the exponents of the Turin scientific community such as Silvio Curto, former director of the museum and Adriano Favole, cultural anthropologist already mentioned in this work, have spoken out in favor of the new museum choice considering it ethically necessary and in line with other international policies[38] (Tortello, 2013/b). On the other hand, instead, the political community and the public opinion have broadly lined up in favor of the exhibition of the mummies inside the museum, considering them the principal attraction of the institution (Torino Today, 2013; Tortello, 2013/a). Evelina Christillin, president of the *Fondazione Museo delle Antichità Egizie*

[38] In the Egyptian Museum of Cairo the mummies are displayed in two separate rooms external to the museum path. The bodies of the mummies are totally covered with sheets and only the heads, arms and feet are visible. Inside the room it is forbidden to take pictures or video of the bodies (Fig. 20, Annex).

di Torino, together with the new director of the museum Christian Greco, have finally decided to maintain the mummies in exhibition within the museum, whose new organization was inaugurated and opened to the public on April 1st, 2015.

In April 19th, 2013, shortly after the statements made by Evelina Vassilika of the Egyptian Museum of Turin, was inaugurated in Padua, Veneto, the exhibition 'Egypt in Veneto' aimed to promote the Egyptian archaeological heritage of the region and in particular of the city of Padua. The University of Padua, organizer of the exhibition, decided to recreate a burial chamber that housed the mummy of the first Toth's priest named Nas and his sarcophagus, held by the Museum of Anthropology of the city. The intention of the curators was "to recreate in visitors the experience of the archaeologists in discovering such graves" (Carrara & Scaggion, 2016, p. 126). However, the recent discussion surrounding the possible withdraw of the mummies from the Egyptian Museum of Turin influenced the plans of the organizers and questioned the exhibition of the mummy. As Carrara and Scaggion (2016, p. 126), argued:

> The debate during the design of the route had arrived even to suggest not to exhibit the mummy, leaving a sort of empty tomb: it was coming to the paradoxical situation to talk about the conception of death for the Egyptian culture, without mentioning the dead themselves. The final expositive choice was the result of an internal mediation among the Scientific Committee, undoubtedly influenced by debate of the Turin's case. The mummy was exhibited but his vision, however, was 'filtered' by loopholes that prevented the complete view of the find.

Moreover, it was decided not to present the results of the Computed Tomography exam carried out on the mummy that had given important information about the mummification techniques used on the body and the cause of death.

The cases mentioned above underline two very important aspects. First as nowadays the issue related to a respectful conservation, study and exhibition of human remains become an urgency not only in regard to indigenous or colonial remains but it is today a need promoted directly by the museum institutions also in regard to uncontested human finds preserved within them. The ethical dilemma that confronts the objectives of museum institutions and the values and beliefs of the communities of origin of the anthropological remains sees today, as noted by Francesca Monza (2013, p. 43), an important meeting point: a widespread intercultural consensus on the principle that human remains must be treated with respect and dignity. On the other side, it is clear that the role of the public as one of the main stakeholders cannot be ignored anymore and the museum institution must involve it in its decision and curatorial practices. We will address further the importance of the public involvement within museum practices later in this work.

CHAPTER 3
Human remains and Italian museums

Until a few years ago, as in many other European countries, the management and the public display of human remains in Italy was not considered a problem. The public exhibition of human bodies or part of them in the Italian territory, is a very ancient tradition, not linked to simple voyeurism, but strictly related to the religious worship (Oliva, personal communication, July 16th, 2019). As we have already mentioned in this work, Christian relics are one of the oldest forms of conservation and display of human biological remains in Europe. In Italy this practice has certainly been more felt than in other countries, being the seat of the Christian Catholic Church and the place where these objects of veneration have been produced for more time and in a more systematic way. However, the birth and development of anatomical and anthropological studies on man has not been an immediate and natural passage as one might think. For a long time the Church has hindered scientific studies of the body assuming often ambiguous and contradictory positions. As suggested by Canetti (2002), if on the one hand the anatomical dissection for scientific purposes was strongly criticized and condemned by the Catholic Church, on the other hand the need to obtain relics from the body of the deceased saints became more and more often a requirement not only of religious nature, but also economic. The history of ecclesiastical thought, in fact, was often contradictory, alternating positions of strong condemnation that marked late antiquity (III-VII century) with subsequent attitudes of tolerance and concessions of the late Middle Ages (XIII-XVI centuries) (Canetti, 2002). The overcoming of ecclesiastical resistance came finally from the sixteenth century, when anatomy became "a subtle instrument useful for the rediscovery of God" (De Sanctis, 2017, p. 1) and also adopted "by the Catholic intellectuals and the ecclesiastic culture to underline the most extraordinary miracle the divine might have performed: the creation of man" (Camporesi, 1991, p. 120, also in De Sanctis, 2017, p. 1).

These collections will constitute the basis of the first cabinets of curiosities and later of the anatomical museums which will be joined by the anthropology collections that will arise throughout Italy starting from the second half of the nineteenth century (Soncin, Belli & Manzi, 2017). The ISTAT data of 2017 show that on the Italian territory there are 4.889 museums and similar public and private institutions open to the visitors. Among these, the ethnographic-anthropological institutions constitute 12,8% (627 entities), the archaeological ones are 12,7% (620 entities) and those of natural sciences are 6,6% (323 entities): 32% of the total.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to quantify exactly the number of anthropological finds preserved within curatorial institutions since the Italian legal system set, as we will see, many limits on the inventory of human remains. However, it is important to note that beyond these museums institutions there are also many religious entities that possess and exhibit human bodies and that, thanks to their strong power of attraction, they play today an important role in the exhibition of human remains. These sacred areas, indeed, have now become important tourist destinations and transformed into real museums that are strongly visited not only by the faithful but by a much wider, national and international public that can access the collections according to specific opening hours and by paying a ticket. Among these the famous catacombs of the capuchins of Palermo, the church and crypt of *Santa Maria della Concezione* of the capuchins in Rome, the cemetery of the Fontanelle in Naples[39] and many others.

Despite this abundance of human biological remains within Italian museums and academies, the legislation regarding these materials turns out to be very scarce, especially in relation to their consideration as a cultural heritage.

In Italy the debate on human remains is quite recent and still relatively circumscribed. As anticipated, except for some cases that we will see in detail later, the issue did not develop from strong public disputes or the claims of indigenous activists but rather from the initiative of the museums themselves and of the professionals who work in the management and promotion of this heritage. The international debate that has affected other European countries such as France, England and Belgium together with the increasing internal difficulties in the management of this heritage, has stimulated an ethical reflection within the Italian scientific community, which today more than ever, feel the need to face more directly and broadly possible the topic, trying to involve not only the museum professionals but also the several stakeholders that can have interests on the matter, such as the visitors of the museums and the communities of inheritance.

Nevertheless, also in Italy the situation has often been conflicting. In many cases, in fact, the fear to open a debate that could endanger the collections and the national cultural heritage has led many researchers to avoid the discussion over this issue and to be reluctant to fully open up to a dialogue with the communities.

[39] To more information about these sacred/museum places see: capuchins catacombs of Palermo at http://www.catacombepalermo.it/ (Fig. 21, Annex); Church and museum of *Santa Maria della Concezione* in Rome at http://www.cappucciniviaveneto.it/ (Fig. 22, Annex); Cemetery of the Fontanelle at https://www.cimiterofontanelle.com/it/ (Fig. 23, Annex).

3.1 The body in the Italian legislation

The difficulty of regulate the body after death in the Italian law reflects, as highlighted by some authors (Baud, 1993; Esposito, 2014), the same inadequacy of definition within the international and European legal framework[40], where the complexity of the concept of 'corporeality' as a limbo between thing and person, object and subject, has often relegated the body to a natural datum, not requiring of "a specific juridical attention" (Esposito, 2014, p. 73).

According to the Italian law, from the moment of death the human body ceases to be an element of the human person and object of personality rights: the corpse, becomes *res*, a 'thing' (Treccani, n.d.). There is not a precise definition of the term 'corpse' in the Italian legal system but in general it refers to the inanimate human body following the occurrence of death, described by the law n. 578, 'Rules for the Assessment and Certification of death' (1993) as an irreversible cessation of all functions of the brain (Antolisei, 2008; Rossi, 2012; Rapisarda, 2016). According to Rescigno (1982, p. 638), death is conventionally conceived as the moment in which occurs the passage of the body from the world of the people to the world of the things. The death extinguishes indeed the legal capacity of the person but his mortal remains, as *res*, continue to have a legal protection of the State.

The *Codice Penale* (Penal Code) includes four articles dedicated to the dead body. The article n. 410 of the Criminal Code regulates the '*Vilipendio di cadavere'*, that is the offense through a behavior that harms the feeling of *píetas*[41] towards the dead and the respect of their remains. The article states that *"chiunque commette atti di vilipendio sopra un cadavere […] è punito con la reclusione da uno a tre anni. Se il colpevole deturpa o mutila il cadavere, o commette, comunque, su questo atti di brutalità o di oscenità, è punito con la reclusione da tre a sei anni".* The article n. 411 states that the destruction, suppression or removal of a corpse, or part of it, without specific authorization of the State or in a way different to what was expressed by the deceased before death, is sanctioned with imprisonment up to seven years and

[40] At European level can be seen, for example, the 'Charter of fundamental rights of the European Union' (2000, art. 4) and the 'Convention of the Council of Europe on Human Rights and Biomedicine' (1997); at extra-European level, the UNESCO 'Universal Declaration on Bioethics and Human Rights' (2005).

[41] The term can be translated in English as 'pity', 'compassion' or 'sympathy' and indicates a sentiment of affection and devotion related to the dead that is not associated to the religion belief but is inherent in human nature (Fiandanca & Musco, 2007). Francesco Antolisei (2008, p. 228) defined the sentiment of *píetas* as "*l'amore riverente dovuto all'entità che trascendono la vita dei singoli e che per tale riflesso si impongono al nostro rispetto e, potrebbe anche dirsi, alla nostra venerazione".*

a fine up to 12.000 euros. The Article n. 412 prohibits the concealment of the remains and the article n. 413 sanctions the illegitimate use of the corpse, for which the dissection or the use for scientific or didactic purposes without the legal consent, is punished with imprisonment or a fine of up to 516 euros.

The Italian Penal Code protects the ethical-social feeling of *píetas* for the dead, sanctioning the crimes against their respect. The body, even if conceived as a 'thing', continue to be connected to the idea of 'person', and for this reason must be treated with respect and dignity. According to Stefano Rossi (2012) and Ilenia Rapisarda (2016), part of the doctrine affirms that should not be neglected the link that somehow continues to be recognized between the body and the identity of the individual, even after death. The law 1999/91, that regulates the removal and transplantation of organs and tissues, states at the article n. 14 the importance of avoiding unnecessary mutilation or dissection of the corpse and to reconstruct the body with the utmost care after the removal of the organs. As Rapisanda (2016, p. 29) notes, "*secondo parte della dottrina, dunque, il valore della dignità umana merita di essere protetto allo stesso modo anche dopo la morte del soggetto cui inerisce*".

The online legal dictionary 'Brocardi' (n.d.), defines 'Part of the corpse' as "*parti che, per entità, natura, specie e caratteristiche in genere, siano idonee a suscitare il* ***sentimento di compassione*** *verso i defunti o comunque siano rilevanti, al punto da* ***suscitare rispetto*** *per il cadavere*". The *píetas* seems to be of primary importance in approaching the dead and their remains. However, according to the Italian law, the definition of 'corpse' as subject of *píetas* does not include the ancient human remains, often not identifiable, which are kept in museums or research institutes for scientific purposes (Antolisei, 2008). The legal and penal notion of corpse, indeed, does not include mummies, skeletons, skulls and bones preserved in museums and scientific institutes, which, due to their destination and use, seem to have ceased to be subjects of sympathy and pity[42].

Before going into the analysis of human remains as heritage, we must mention some other laws governing the dead body within the Italian legislation that are relevant at the end of this discussion.

The legal safeguard of the corpse, in Italy, also guarantees the protection of its image and of the people who might be hurt in their sensitivity by it. In 1991, the publication by the

[42] In 1969, the Supreme Court of Cassation, asserted that it was necessary to widen the notion of 'corpse' also to the skeleton after the complete dissolution of the perishable parts. This do not include anyway the ancient biological remains preserved within museums (Antolisei, 2008).

Italian weekly magazine "Visto" of some photographs portraying the naked dead body of the countess Alberica Filo della Torre, murdered in her house in July of the same year, arose a great indignation and the family sued the two journalists of the magazine who published the pictures. Almost ten year later, the two journalists were condemned by the Judgment n. 293/2000 of the Constitutional Court. This sentence highlighted the impressive and gruesome value of the photographs and as such, detrimental to the decorum and the 'common sentiment of morality'. The Constitutional Court, called attention to the article n. 2 of the Italian Constitution about the protection of the right of the human person, stating that: *"Quello della dignità della persona umana […] è, infatti, valore costituzionale che permea di sé il diritto positivo e deve dunque incidere sull'interpretazione di quella parte della disposizione in esame che evoca il comune sentimento della morale"*[43]. The sentence was confirmed also by the Court of Cassation (third penal section) n. 23356 of June 8th, 2001: "*La pubblicazione di fotografie del cadavere della vittima di un omicidio può costituire reato se le immagini sono caratterizzate da particolari impressionanti e raccapriccianti, lesivi della dignità umana*". The judges claimed that the publication of the photos of the murdered woman added nothing from the information point of view and instead caused a further outrage to the victim and her family members.

The Italian law also prohibits the purchase, sale or trading of the corpse or of any part of it[44] and establishes that no one can own the remains of a human being. They can at most be 'held' by the State or by other authorized institutions or people (Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo, 2007). The concepts of property and commercialization are indeed strictly intertwined. As Stefano Rossi (2012, p. 226) noted, in the classical conception, the property, as an expression of individualistic control and unconditional alienability, presupposes that every object is negotiable on the market and, consequently, can be evaluated in purely monetary terms. The attribution of a patrimonial right on the body would consequently make possible its commodification which would constitute an offense to human dignity (Rossi, 2012).

However, the living subject has the power (not patrimonial but very personal) to decide for his own future corpse in relation to its treatment and destination, including the donation of

[43] It is possible to consult the complete text of the sentence 293/2000 of the Constitutional Court at https://www.cortecostituzionale.it/actionSchedaPronuncia.do?param_ecli=ECLI:IT:COST:2000:293

[44] According to the article n. 22 of the Law 1999/91,"*Chiunque procura per scopo di lucro un organo o un tessuto prelevato da soggetto di cui sia stata accertata la morte, ovvero ne fa comunque commercio, è punito con la reclusione da due a cinque anni e con la multa da lire 20 milioni a lire 300 milioni*". The condition of *extra commercium* of the corpse was also expressed in the sentence of the Court of Cassation n. 1584 of May 9th, 1969 (Sezione I civile).

organs. This right is regulated by the Law n. 130 of 2001, for which the disposition of his own body after death, such as inhumation or cremation is a personal, absolute and non-transferable right of the subject that can be exercised with a testamentary declaration (Rossi, 2012).

As underlined by Rossi, the corpse within the Italian legislation is not precisely defined and constitute therefore an ambivalent and thorny entity regulated by many different laws from which it is possible to infer the general definition reported above. If on one hand the body is comparable to *res*, as a material component of the human being, on the other, it constitutes the essential biological substrate that makes man tangible and recognizable as such. This substantial inseparability of the mental component from the physical one makes its legal regulation extremely difficult. As noted by the above-mentioned laws, in Italy the corpse is protected criminally and civilly as such only if it is contemporary, considering it as a 'thing' but without losing sight of its human nature and the feeling of empathy and compassion related to it typical of the human race.

Also the regulation of anthropological remains preserved within the museum institutions seems to be vague and poorly defined. The ancient dead body or his remains within a museum context, is not a subject with legal rights: it is protected by the State, but not as a subject of *píetas*, but rather, as cultural good, object among other objects.

3.2 The body as Heritage

The ancient human remains that are part of the cultural heritage, such as those preserved in museums, those found during archaeological excavations or accidentally discovered are not protected by the criminal or civil jurisdiction, but their treatment and disposition are regulated by the so-called '*Codice dei Beni Culturali e del Paesaggio*'.

3.2.1 The 'Codice dei Beni Culturali e del Paesaggio'

The *Codice dei Beni Culturali e del Paesaggio* (Cultural Heritage and Landscape Code), is the main Italian legal framework regarding the cultural heritage. The Code defines the cultural heritage and disciplines the methods through which public institutions (State, Regions, Municipalities and other local Public authorities) and private bodies must preserve, protect, promote and manage the cultural and natural heritage on the Italian territory. The Code, also called '*Codice Urbani'*, from the name of the Minister that promoted its elaboration, Giuliano Urbani, has been issued on January 22nd, 2004 with the Decree n. 42 and subsequently enriched by the Decrees n. 156, 157 of 2006 and n. 62, 63 of 2008. The *Codice dei Beni Culturali*

incorporates the previous 'Bottai laws' drafted in 1939 during the Fascist period: the n. 1089 regarding the protection of 'historical and artistic things' and n. 1497 regarding the protection of 'natural beauty' (Mastrangelo, 2005; Piombino-Mascali & Zink, 2011). The Bottai laws were followed by other texts and regulations that played an important role in the future development of the *Codice Urbani*. Among these is the *'Commissione Franceschini'* established by the Italian Parliament in 1964, thanks to which for the first time the expression 'cultural good' is included in the Italian legal and political language.[45] The Commission was created to carry out an 'investigation for the protection and promotion of things of historical, archaeological, artistic and natural interest' made necessary due to the strong reformation of the urban historic centers started in the early 60s and the serious state of deterioration of the Italian heritage (Corti & Marcon, 2003; Marzocca, 2007). The *Commissione Franceschini* issued 87 declarations, the first of which was dedicated precisely to the definition of 'cultural good' described as "*ogni bene che costituisca testimonianza materiale avente valore di civiltà*" (Mastrangelo, 2005, p. 20). This definition was an important turning point because it allowed for the first time a distinction between the legal regime of 'good', as a material having a value and destined for a universal fruition and that of 'thing', also implementing a different approach on the protection and enhancement of the Italian cultural heritage (Corti & Marcon, 2003; Mastrangelo, 2005; Marzocca, 2007).

The current version of the *Codice dei Beni Culturali e del Paesaggio*, counts 184 articles divided into five sections: General Provisions (articles 1-9); Cultural Goods (articles 10-130); Natural Goods (articles 131- 159); Sanctions (articles 160 - 181); Transitional provisions, sanctions, abrogation and entry into force (articles 182-184). The first part includes the principles in which is sanctioned the obligation for the public and private authorities to protect and promote the cultural heritage in order to preserve the memory of the Nation and promote the development of the culture. The second part disciplines the protection, fruition and promotion of cultural goods. The third part concern the protection and promotion of the natural landscapes. The fourth part sanctions the violations of the Code and the last section indicate all the abrogation and final provisions.

Since we have presented the structure of the Code, the main Italian legislative reference in the protection, conservation and promotion of cultural heritage, we will address now more

[45] The term was already been adopted in Europe within the Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict of 1954. The Convention adopted at the Hague in Netherlands in the wake of the destructions occurred during the Second World War, was the first international treaty aimed to the protection and preservation of cultural heritage in Europe and world-wide (UNESCO, n.d.).

specifically how human remains, their treatment and protection are regulated within this legislation and in general within Italian territory.

3.2.2 Definition

It is important to underline that within the Cultural Heritage and Landscape Code, human remains are never explicitly mentioned. There is not a specific description regarding this particular type of cultural asset but they are generally included in the definition of 'cultural goods' presented in article n. 10:

Sono beni culturali le cose immobili e mobili appartenenti allo Stato, alle regioni, agli altri enti pubblici territoriali, nonché ad ogni altro ente ed istituto pubblico e a persone giuridiche private senza fine di lucro, ivi compresi gli enti ecclesiastici civilmente riconosciuti, che presentano interesse artistico, storico, archeologico o etnoantropologico. Sono inoltre beni culturali le raccolte di musei, pinacoteche, gallerie e altri luoghi espositivi dello Stato, delle regioni, degli altri enti pubblici territoriali, nonché di ogni altro ente ed istituto pubblico.

Moreover, the Code specify that beyond to belonging to a public or private institution and have artistic, archaeologic or ethno-anthropologic interest, a cultural good is *"testimonianza avente valore di civiltà"* (Codice dei Beni Culturali e del Paesaggio, 2004, art. 2) and must be more than 50 years old (paragraph 5, art.10).

With regard to musealized human remains, therefore, their belonging to a public collection preserved within a museum determines their status as a cultural asset and their protection under the cultural heritage law. The lack of a clear definition of this type of cultural goods and their differentiation, also terminological, in relation to other museums objects, begins to be, also in Italy, more and more often a problem for those who operate within the curating institutions.

In May 2019 took place in Pompeii and Naples the Congress 'Human Remains. Ethics, Conservation, Display', the first Italian conference focused on human remains as sensitive material (Doc. 2, Annex). The meeting, organized by the Archaeological Park of Pompeii and the University Federico II of Naples in partnership with the Egyptian Museum of Turin, was aimed to allow a confrontation between the main Italian professionals, researchers, conservators and museum directors on the topic of the ethical management and display of human remains within Italian museums and academies. As stated by the organizers:

"Italy possesses an incredible and extremely varied bioarchaeological heritage, which includes not only skeletal remains, but also mummies, ethnographic objects, or the famous Pompeian casts. Unfortunately the safeguard and

conservation of many of these "materials" are not specifically regulated by the Cultural Heritage and Landscape Legislation, and are therefore often left to the care and common sense of the physical anthropologists, archaeologists and superintendents (Human Remains International Conference, n.d.).

Many times during the conference has been highlighted the lack of Italian guidelines and codes able to guarantee a greater respect and value to anthropic remains and to regulate their treatment and public exhibition in an ethical way. One of the objectives expressly stated during the meeting was in fact to create a programmatic document integrating the *Codice dei Beni Culturali e del Paesaggio*.

According to the bio-archaeologist Luca Bondioli who participated in the conference the definition of 'anthropologic good' has deliberately not been included in the legislation because of the intrinsic complexity in its meaning. Its definition, according to Bondioli, is in fact well expressed in the description of 'cultural good' elaborated by the abovementioned *Commissione Franceschini* and subsequently integrated in the Code in the art. n. 2, 'every good that constitutes material testimony having the value of civilization', an extremely broad definition which, as highlighted by Marzocca (2007), was strongly influenced by the socio-anthropological sciences established in Italy starting from the 1960s. This definition could then include from the smallest human cell or bacteria founded within archaeological excavation to an entire human body overcoming the difficulty to define what could or what could not be defined a human remain (Bondioli, 2019).

3.2.3 Acquisition

As highlighted above, in the Italian legal system, the body constitutes an *extra commercium*, not marketable or suitable to be an object of commodification. This directive also applies to all human remains preserved within scientific institutions and academies which cannot be sold or purchased, and due to their belonging to a public institution are part of the category of inalienable goods of the State. Within the *Codice dei Beni Culturali*, indeed, the inalienability of the cultural heritage is sanctioned in the article n. 54 that states, "*sono inalienabili i beni del demanio culturale […] le raccolte di musei, pinacoteche, gallerie e biblioteche*"[46].

[46] The inalienability of these assets is also established by article n. 822 of the Civil Code *'Demanio Pubblico'*, available at the website https://www.normattiva.it/uri-res/N2Ls?urn:nir:stato:codice.civile:1942-03-16;262. The term 'inalienability' refers to the condition for which certain goods, or particular rights, cannot be sold or transferred to third parties (Treccani, n.d./b). The term 'demanio' refers to all the assets belonging to the State and to other territorial public bodies, as they are intended for the direct or indirect use of the citizens (Treccani, n.d/c).

The inalienability of cultural goods, implemented to guarantee the protection of the cultural heritage and avoid its dispersion, prevents Italy from any form of restitution, contrary to what happens in many other European countries and especially in America and Oceania. Also in Italy, as we will see later, there have been some cases of requests for restitution in relation to human remains held by museum institutions which however, precisely by virtue of the provisions of the Code, cannot be deaccessioned[47].

Nevertheless, human remains can be acquired and incorporated within a museum collection in the event of donation by private people. The donation is regulated by the Legislative Decree 346/1990 and has to be officialized through a contract between the donator and the museum institution (MIBAC, n.d.).

A channel through which very often human remains are recovered is that of the archaeological excavations or researches and even in this case the property is public. In Italy, in fact, archaeological investigations can only be carried out in the public sphere and they are authorized by the 'Superintendences', *Soprintendenze*, public bodies of the *Ministero del Beni e delle Attività Culturali* (MIBAC)[48] with the task of protecting and promote the cultural and natural heritage in the territorial area (each *Soprintendenza* covers the territory of one or more near provinces). All artifacts of archaeological interest found during an excavation, including anthropological remains, belong to the Superintendence that authorized the excavation and that is responsible for the area where the investigation is carried out. In case of accidental discovery of a body or of its remains, instead, it is necessary to contact the mortuary police and later the Department of Health to examines the remains and establish the absence of criminal irregularities. Once the antiquity and the archaeological value of the find have been ascertained, the protection of the body passes, as seen above, from the penal jurisdiction to the regulations of the *Codice Urbani* (Piombino-Mascali & Zink, 2011).

However, nowadays very rarely new human finds become part of museum collections. Frequently, the large quantity of biological finds already preserved in museum deposits makes impossible their total exhibition and promotion due to the lack of exhibition spaces and

[47] As we have already seen in the previous chapter, according to Wijsmuller (2017), Italy is one of the leading countries of the Latin tradition for which museum objects are inalienable and then not removable from museum collections.

[48] The *Ministero del Beni e delle Attività Culturali* or MIBAC is the Ministry of the Government of the Italian Republic responsible for the protection of culture, entertainment and the preservation of the artistic and cultural heritage and the natural landscape. For more information see the official website http://www.beniculturali.it/mibac/export/MiBAC/ .

resources. Many of the human remains found during archaeological excavations are preserved in the university departments of anthropology where they are studied and analyzed. Most of them, however, are stored in the warehouses of the Superintendencies or of the university departments. The great quantity of these materials poses today great problems of logistics and above all of ethics. Many of these materials, in fact despite having an archaeological value, are often not sufficiently relevant from a historical and scientific point of view to be exhibited in museums, which, as already said, in many cases do not have enough space to exhibit and store their own collections. At the same time, however, their antiquity and their incorporation into public bodies makes them an inalienable patrimony of the State. As mentioned in the article n. 20 of the *Codice dei Beni Culturali*, *"I beni culturali non possono essere distrutti, deteriorati, danneggiati o adibiti ad usi non compatibili con il loro carattere storico o artistico oppure tali da recare pregiudizio alla loro conservazione".*

This means that they must be stored in the deposits of the Superintendencies, of the universities or of the museums, which are more and more often without adequate spaces and resources for ensuring a correct preservation of this heritage. Frequently, indeed, many of them end up being boxed and abandoned in the warehouses often without a proper attention to the conditions necessary to ensure their long-term preservation. This practice became often a common procedure in Italy because the theoretical good practice of conservation clashes with the real possibilities of spaces and funds of the public curatorial institutions, especially in relation to university museums.

As stated by the ICOM Code of Ethics for Museums (2017, art. n. 2.5) "Collections of human remains and material of sacred significance should be acquired only if they can be housed securely and cared for respectfully". What to do then with these materials? How can this conservation be ethical when it does not allow a promotion and ethical treatment of these materials? This dilemma, already addressed in other countries where have been issued specific guidelines and reference texts, remains open and without a solution[49].

[49] An important reference text that provided guidelines and rules of conduct for museums that preserve and display human remains is 'Regarding the dead: Human remains in the British Museum', published in Great Britain in 2014. In regard to the problem concerning the deposit and storage of human finds, it is very useful and interesting the contribution inside the volume of Daniel Antoine and Emily Taylor, 2014, Collection Care: Handling, Storing, and Transporting Human Remains. See also Cassman & Odegaard (2007): Storage and Transport. In Human Remains–Guide for Museums and Academic Institutions.

3.2.4 Protection

The safeguard of the Italian cultural heritage, as established in the article n. 3 of the Code, "*consiste nell'esercizio delle funzioni e nella disciplina delle attività dirette, sulla base di un'adeguata* ***attività conoscitiva****, ad individuare i beni costituenti il patrimonio culturale ed a garantirne la protezione e la conservazione per fini di pubblica fruizione*". As noted by Corti and Marcon (2003), it is not possible to apply the principles of conservation and protection to a cultural asset without first carrying out a preliminary survey and study of what the curatorial institutions hold and preserve. Cataloging, as a research and knowledge tool of cultural heritage, assumes therefore a fundamental role in ensuring heritage protection. It represents then a fundamental principle for the preservation and protection of the cultural assets and it is indeed sanctioned at the article n. 17 of the *Codice dei Beni Culturali* as one of the obligations of the Ministry.

According to the *Codice dei Beni Culturali e del Paesaggio*, the items and objects preserved and officially registered within public museums or institutions such as university departments or ministerial bodies as the Superintendences, constitute the national patrimony of Italy: they are inalienable and the government is the sole owner of these collections. What is part of a public institution and is catalogued, is then a public cultural good belonging to the State that must be protected and preserved. However, in relation to human remains there is an exception. The Italian legal system, indeed, prohibits that a human body could belong to someone. Consequently the human remains that are part of a museum collection cannot be inventoried because this would attribute their belonging to the museum as well as giving them a monetary evaluation, also prohibited by the law.

Before to address the consequences of these inability of make an inventory of patrimonial human finds, it is important to define the two concepts of 'catalog' and 'inventory' within Italian legal system and how and why they are important for the protection and safeguard of the cultural heritage.

The cataloguing of cultural goods can be defined as a set of very articulate and detailed information in relation to every specific cultural asset held by a curatorial institution. In the catalog, the cultural good is described according to its characteristics of material, form, technique and production, its history, origin, the relationships that connect it to other objects or the events it has undergone over time, the state of conservation, the current localization, the property, patrimonial data, etc. (Corti & Marcon, 2003). Thanks to the development of the computer science and technology, the way of cataloguing evolved from the written or

typewritten form to the digital one. This evolution led to the digital catalogs that not only collect all the information about the single cultural goods but allow to have a synchronic and diachronic framework of the cultural heritage preserved in a specific city, region or country. It is possible for example, to reconstruct collections separated in different museum exhibits, to have an overlook of the local heritage of a specific territory or city and of a particular historical period (Corti & Marcon, 2003). In Italy this system has been implemented with the *Catalogo Generale dei Beni Culturali*, a database that collects and organizes the information of the cultural heritage catalogued in Italy. Thanks to the *Sistema Informativo Generale del Catalogo* (SIGECweb system) where the catalogue cards of the cultural goods are upload, it is possible the public consultation of the catalogue and to have access to all the information related to the cultural assets recorded in the system[50].

Regarding the anthropological finds, the *Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione* (Iccd), drafted a special catalog card called the *'Scheda AT'*. As stated by the Iccd, the *Scheda AT* is intended for the cataloguing of the biological testimonies in close relation with archaeological, paleontological, historic and cultural contexts that regard the evolution, the life and history of the studies of the human race and its predecessors[51].

Moreover, the *Scheda AT* can be integrated by another type of document that represents a previous moment of the knowledge activity about the anthropological find: the '*Scheda di Campo'* that is used during the activity of recovery of human finds on the territory and contains data about the archaeological context in which the human remains have been found. The *Scheda di campo* and *Scheda AT* correspond to two different moments in the knowledge of the good and the data of the first are verified and then integrated into the second (Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, 2007)

The cataloging models released by the Iccd and available to the public institutions to carry out their cataloging activities can be compiled according to three different levels of completeness: inventory (minimum level, only basic information), pre-catalog (medium level,

[50] The *Catalogo Generale dei Beni Culturali* has been elaborated by the *Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione (Iccd)*, which has the main task of developing, in agreement with the Regions, standard methods and procedures for cataloging the archaeological, architectural, artistic, ethno-anthropological, scientific and technological heritage. For more information consult the webpage of the MIBAC http://www.beniculturali.it/mibac/opencms/MiBAC/sito-MiBAC/Luogo/MibacUnif/Luoghi-della-Cultura/visualizza_asset.html?id=154448&pagename=129 and the website of the Iccd http://www.catalogo.beniculturali.it/sigecSSU_FE/Home.action?timestamp=1564731947553

[51] For further information about the *Scheda AT* drefted by the Iccd, see, http://iccd.beniculturali.it/it/150/archivio-news/4632/

more information and more detailed), catalog (high level, complete in every part). The inventory then, can be considered as the first step in the cataloging process, containing only the essential information for the identification, definition, location and documentation of the good.

As emerged from the Congress 'Human Remains. Ethics, Conservation, Display' the greatest difficulty for professionals working in anthropology and archeology museums and therefore preserving human finds is that the anthropological finds cannot be inventoried except in rare cases[52]. This because the inventory requires as main information the ownership of the find and above all its patrimonial value. These two areas, as already noted above, collide with the principles of the Italian Constitution whereby the possession and monetary valuation of the human body are strongly prohibited. It is therefore very difficult to manage the cataloging of these assets. In many cases either they are not inventoried, thus one of the basic principles for the protection of the good is missing or when the conservator catalogs and inventories the find, the property of the good and the attribution to it of a monetary value result in conflict with the basic principles of the Italian Constitution. A common practice is therefore to catalog these assets but not to inventory them, thus skipping the passage relating to the patrimonial data. This, however, can be a danger for the very protection of the asset. In the case of loans for exhibition, for example, it would have an insurance value that in case of damage may not be compensated precisely because the value of the good it would be theoretically zero.

Actually, as claimed by Bondioli, the anthropological remain has not an intrinsic value but only the information it contains has value (Human Remains International Conference, 2019). So how to give a price to a skeleton? How much and why a bone could have more or less value than another one? Does an Egyptian mummy head have more or less value than a Maori head? And can the value inherent to human remains be monetized? The ethical problem collides with a strong practical need to protect these assets. If the contemporary debate concerning the musealized human remains aims to underline the human and sensitive nature of these finds and strongly criticizes their objectification, on the other hand this sensitivity puts at risk their preservation because the impossibility on a legal level of treating these finds in the same way as of the other non-human finds, makes it very difficult for the institutions that preserve them to implement the same protection and safeguard practices.

[52] Are exceptions the remains acquired and incorporated by museum institutions before the current constitutional and cultural legislation (Belcastro, 2019).

3.2.5 Restitution

As already mentioned, the Italian cultural heritage belongs to the State and is inalienable. The restitution of cultural objects or biological human remains is then prohibited by the law and they can only be temporarily transferred or loaned to other institutions to be exhibited, studied or stored previous authorization of the Superintendence (Art. n. 21 of the *Codice dei Beni Culturali e del Paesaggio*). However there are cases in which the human finds are restituted and re-buried. The human finds, in fact, are materials found quite frequently in archaeological excavations even if not always they have a particular relevance from an historical and scientific point of view such to have to be preserved or exposed. In these cases the remains undergo a preliminary study in order to document the context of the recovery and their basic information and subsequently it is possible to request the authorization of the *Soprintendenza* to rebury the remains back in the place where they were originally discovered. In this way, the biological remains that do not have a particular archaeological interest are not uselessly held in the deposits but at the same time they are documented and photographed in order to keep archived the information about them and their location. This step is possible because the actual status of these materials does not fall within the legal definition of 'cultural heritage' since they are not officially incorporated into a collection. These materials, indeed, are not catalogued with the *Scheda AT*, but only with the *Scheda Antropologica di Campo* that is used only as first tool for the documentation and study of the finds. However, once the finds from the laboratory are inserted into a public collection, they become immediately inalienable goods of the State and therefore not transferable or returnable.

3.2.6 Conservation

According to the disposition of the MIBAC, there are precise parameters to be followed for the conservation of cultural assets depending on their characteristics and material peculiarities. In relation to human remains the Superintendence, following the directives of the '*Atto di indirizzo sui criteri tecnico-scientifici e sugli standard di funzionamento e sviluppo dei musei'* of the *Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Cuturali* (2001)[53] regulating the technic-scientific criteria

[53] The ministerial decree titled '*Atto di indirizzo sui criteri tecnico- scientifici e sugli standard di funzionamento e sviluppo dei musei*' of 2001 has been sanctioned by the article n. 150, paragraph 6 of the Legislative Decree n. 112 of March 31st, 1998. The standards to be used within museum institutions in order to preserve and promote the cultural heritage have been introduced in the Italian legal system starting from 1999, thanks to a mixed technical working group composed by Region representative of ANCI (Associazione nazionale Comuni Italiani) and UPI

and minimum standards assuring the protection and preservation of cultural heritage and guarantee an adequate level of collective fruition of the goods, advise to keep the osteological and biological collection within the following parameters:

Ivory, Bone, Horn	T (°C) 19-24	UR %	45-65	Lux	≤ 150
Leather, Skin	T (°C) 19-24	UR %	50-60	Lux	≤ 50
Organic material in general	T (°C) 19-24	UR %	50-65	Lux	≤ 50

Moreover, the *Codice dei Beni Culturali e del Paesaggio*, sanctions the conservation of cultural heritage in the article n. 27, stating that:

*1. La conservazione del patrimonio culturale è assicurata mediante una coerente, coordinata e programmata attività di **studio**, **prevenzione**, **manutenzione** e **restauro**.*

*2 Per **prevenzione** si intende il complesso delle attività idonee a limitare le situazioni di rischio connesse al bene culturale nel suo contesto.*

*3. Per **manutenzione** si intende il complesso delle attività e degli interventi destinati al controllo delle condizioni del bene culturale e al mantenimento dell'integrità, dell'efficienza funzionale e dell'identità del bene e delle sue parti.*

*4. Per **restauro** si intende l'intervento diretto sul bene attraverso un complesso di operazioni finalizzate all'integrità materiale ed al recupero del bene medesimo, alla **protezione ed alla trasmissione dei suoi valori culturali**. Nel caso di beni immobili situati nelle zone dichiarate a rischio sismico in base alla normativa vigente, il restauro comprende l'intervento di miglioramento strutturale.*

We have already seen the importance of the study of the cultural heritage in order to assure its preservation and protection. According to the Code, the conservation of the cultural assets is assured also by their constant maintenance and preventive measures capable to guarantee the physical integrity of the goods and limit potential risk situations. Another important element quoted by the Code is finally the restoration, defined as an important tool for the protection and transmission of the cultural values of the asset.

According to Cinzia Oliva, restorer specialized in textiles and one of the main Italian experts working on Egyptian mummies, the restoration of human remains undergone a profound change over time passing from a mere interest over "the scientific aspect of the

(Unione Provincie d'Italia) and by the members of ICOM Italy and of the National Association of Local and Institutional Museums (ANMLI), who drafted the document *'Standard per i musei italiani'* inspired in the principle of the ICOM Code of Ethic. The elaboration of the document took into consideration sources and documents already elaborated in other countries that were adapted to the Italian context. Among these, the quality certification programs and accreditation procedures by the American Association of Museums (now American Alliance of Museums), the ICOM Code of Ethic and the UK Museum Accreditation Scheme (Ministrero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali, 2001; Jalla, 2010).

bodies" to a more focused attention over "the conservation and care of the associated materials" (Oliva, 2016, p. 122). In relation to the restoration of Egyptian mummies, for example, Oliva (2016) underlines that in the past the lack of attention to archaeological textiles and the use of techniques not properly suited to that type of material have led to aggressive restorations that in many cases have caused a loss of important information on mummies and their history. Nowadays, the principle of 'minimum intervention' is the most widely used in relation to the restoration of ancient human finds; as Oliva (2016, p. 123) argued:

> Conservation has a key role in making human remains available and accessible for long-term study. For this reason, it is essential to avoid, as much as possible, using materials and techniques, which in the long term, could alter the artifact and compromise future analyses. The aim of any treatment should be to extend the 'life' of an artifact in order to keep all the intrinsic information available, for example the history of the object, collection or human remains. Any treatment which involves human remains and their accessories (wrapping, cartonnage, shrouds, bed nets, etc.) create a sort of filter which can conceal, reveal or highlight different aspect of the object, and the conservator is always responsible and emotionally involved in these decisions. I would like to bring attention to the emotional, and potentially distressing emotions that can be present when carrying out conservation work in the presence of the dead.

The ethical component in the conservation of human remains is strongly present in the work of the restorer. The restoration is finalized indeed to the conservation and protection of the find regardless of its exhibition and aims not only to its aesthetic improvement but also, and above all, to a more in-depth knowledge of it, capable to secure the find and ensure its long-term preservation and study. The current practice, then, avoids the use of solvents and additives neither for cleaning nor for consolidation because they would contaminate the organic material and make the treatment permanent and irreversible (Oliva, personal communication, July 16th, 2019). Therefore, minimal, non-invasive and above all reversible treatments prevail: the use of destructive techniques is strongly avoided, for which it is necessary to request authorization to the *Soprintendenze* and which are permitted only in the case of analyzes that are strongly necessary for the interpretation of the find and that cannot be deduced otherwise[54]. The display of mummies that have been unwrapped in the past also includes in some cases the use of non-original fabrics that cover the nudity of the body ensuring a respectful and dignified display of the find on one side and protect the sensitivity of the public on the other (Malgora, personal

[54] It is important to underline that also dating analyzes such as Carbon 14 are destructive techniques and for this reason they are avoided where dating can be deduced from other elements deriving from the archaeological context or from elements of a cultural nature that can be identified starting from the methods of treatment and deposition of the body.

communication April 30th, 2019; Oliva personal communication, July 16th, 2019). Also in the restoration, however, there is not an Italian legal regulation or guidelines that can give direction to the professionals working with ancient human remains. As noted by Cinzia Oliva (2016), in Italy there is a lack of literature on the matter and in most cases the references directions come from other countries[55].

3.2. Promotion and public display

The Code of Cultural Heritage and Landscapes sanction at the article n. 6 that:

La valorizzazione consiste nell'esercizio delle funzioni e nella disciplina delle attività dirette a promuovere la conoscenza del patrimonio culturale e ad assicurare le migliori condizioni di utilizzazione e fruizione pubblica del patrimonio stesso, anche da parte delle persone diversamente abili, al fine di promuovere lo sviluppo della cultura.

The Code underline the importance of enhancing the cultural heritage in order to promote the public fruition and the development of the culture. As we have already seen in the first chapter, the role of the museum as educational agency is today well recognized and promoted by the curatorial institutions themselves and the global organization working in the management and promotion of the cultural heritage worldwide. Unfortunately, also in this case, scarce attention is paid to the anthropological human finds. In Italy there are not specific guidelines to follow about the exhibition of human remains within museum institutions and, also in this case, the question is entrusted to the sensitivity and the judgment of the individual curators, conservators and museum directors. As already pointed out, the exhibition of human remains could be a valid educational tool, and as stated by the DCSM (2005, p. 20), "there are many valid reasons for using them in displays: to educate medical practitioners, to educate people in science and history, to explain burial practices, to bring people into physical contact with past people, and to encourage reflection". However, we cannot fail to take into consideration the sensitive nature of these materials and that of the visitors who observe them. The drafting of policies and standardized methods of exhibition, starting from an ethical reflection and from the dialogue between professionals and communities, is today a requirement that can no longer wait.

[55] Once again United Kingdom offer a great help thanks to the documents and regulations elaborated in relation to the treatment, study and exhibition of ancient human finds. The volume 'Regarding the Dead' published by the British Museum in 2014 has dedicated several chapters to the ethical conservation and restoration of human remains preserved in museums. Moreover, also the 'Guidance for the Care of Human Remains in Museum' drafted by the DCSM in 2005 provide important guidelines for the care, conservation and use of human remains in museum institutions.

3.3 The Italian juridical status of the Museum

It is interesting to note that within the Italian legal system the notion of Museum as an institution with a juridical status and autonomy is quite recent. Most of the Italian museums originate from the dynastic and royal collections or from the ecclesiastical collections assembled alongside the great Christian temples, which mean that the museums remained installed in historic buildings such as civic and noble palaces, residences and villas, ecclesiastical complexes, etc. This historical process led to consider the museums often more as 'institutions of antiquity and art' rather than as entities with their own identity and autonomy (Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali, 2001). The scarce 'typification' of the museum is well attested by the lack until the early 2000s of specific regulations governing its organization and functioning in order to orient its activities. The abovementioned 'Bottai Law' n. 1089/1939, which had been one of the first legal reference of all the activities of protection of the historical-artistic heritage of the country, did not give specific emphasis to the organizational and managerial aspects of museums, especially regarding their public use. It is starting from the 90s that a process of reform and renewal of the Italian museums system became which overcame the so called *'museo-ufficio'* model, result of the strong museum dependence to the central State, giving management autonomy to the museums and the Superintendences. It is in this process that was issued the Legislative Decree 112/1998 and in particular the article n. 150 which sanctions the decentralization of the management of the museums and other cultural assets from the State to the other local authorities such as regions, provinces and municipalities. The transfer of direction required therefore to pay more attention to the management aspects related to the museum and to define "*criteri tecnico–scientifici e gli standard minimi da osservare nell'esercizio delle attività trasferite, in modo da garantire un adeguato livello di fruizione collettiva dei beni, la loro sicurezza e la prevenzione da rischi*" (article n. 150, paragraph 6). According to Jalla (2010), the need to identify minimum standards to implement the management transfer of state-owned places of cultures and museums has been a methodologically innovative element and, at the same time, an opportunity to stimulate a general reflection on the subject of museum management. In 2001 is issued the ministerial decree '*Atto di indirizzo sui criteri tecnico- scientifici e sugli standard di funzionamento e sviluppo dei musei'* that can be considered the very first normative tool elaborated by the Italian Ministry aimed to provide museums with statutes and regulations that recognize their juridical status. The decree articulates the activities of management, conservation and promotion of

museum institutions in eight main areas of reference: I *Status giuridico;* II *Assetto finanziario;* III *Strutture;* IV *Personale;* V *Sicurezza;* VI *Gestione delle collezioni;* VII *Rapporti con il pubblico e relativi servizi;* VIII *Rapporti con il territorio.* In relation to the museum standards, the document takes into particular consideration also international regulation on the matter as the ICOM Code of Ethics for Museums and the UNESCO 'Recommendation concerning the Protection and Promotion of Museums and Collections'.

Unfortunately the decree has been scarcely implemented by the Ministry. An example of this scarce implementation of the decree in the State sphere is clearly visible with regard to university museums, very numerous in Italy and representative of an extraordinary historical and cultural heritage. The management of these institutions is very poorly regulated and assisted by the ministerial regulations and often entrusted to university staff, professors and researchers who take charge as scientific referents to promote and better manage these collections (Human Remains. Ethics, Conservation, Display, 2019). Moreover, according to a recent survey carried out by the *Associazione Nazionale Musei Scientifici* (ANMS), the Italian scientific museums of local authorities (including precisely the University Museums) are in a critical situation due above all to financial constraints, scarcity of personnel and an increasing lack of attention by local administrators which makes the management, protection and promotion of their assets very difficult to achieve (Aspes &Vomero, 2011).

However the Decree has been an important point of reference for the Regions which starting from its directives have developed their own standards and defined museum accreditation procedures (Jalla, 2010). In 2014 is created the *Direzione Generale dei Musei* aimed to take care of the collections of the State-owned institutions and cultural sites, with reference to the policies of acquisition, loan, cataloging, use and promotion[56]. Finally in 2018, after a long work period was created the *Sistema Museale Nazionale* defined by the MIBAC (2018) as "a network of museums and cultural places connected to each other in order to improve the use, accessibility and sustainable management of the cultural heritage"[57]. The System is intended as a new type of sustainable and participative governance aimed to connect all the Italian museums (State-owned, regional, municipal, private and diocesan) and encourage

[56] More information about the *Direzione Generale dei Musei* and its functions and organizations at http://musei.beniculturali.it/struttura#normativa-e-testi-di-riferimento.

[57] For more information about the main Italian legislation in regard to the management of museum and about the Sistema Museale Nazionale, consult MIBAC, 2018 at http://musei.beniculturali.it/en/notizie/notifies/italys-national-museum-system-has-kicked-off.

a wider co-participation of museum professionals as well as of the communities, in line with the trends and museological needs expressed at European and international level (see the Faro Convention, p. 36 of this work) in order to improve the public service of the museums.

In 2014 with a Ministerial Decree the MIBAC incorporated within the Italian legal system the official ICOM definition of Museum, adding to it a final clarification:

Il Museo è un'istituzione permanente, senza scopo di lucro, al servizio della società, e del suo sviluppo, aperta al pubblico, che effettua ricerche sulle testimonianze materiali ed immateriali dell'uomo e del suo ambiente, le acquisisce, le conserva, e le comunica e specificatamente le espone per scopi di studio, educazione e diletto, ***promuovendone la conoscenza presso il pubblico e la comunità scientifica.***

Nowadays at international level the same definition of Museum promoted by ICOM is strongly debated and is in the process of being redefined. In 2016, ICOM (n.d./b) nominated a Standing Committee on Museum Definition, Prospects and Potentials (MDPP) to study and modify the definition, perspectives and aims of the Museum institution that "no longer seems to reflect the challenges and manifold visions and responsibilities" imposed by the contemporary society (ICOM, n.d./b). According to the MDPP (2018):

The Committee for Museum Definition, Prospects and Potentials explores the shared but also the profoundly dissimilar conditions, values and practices of museums in diverse and rapidly changing societies. Combining broad dialogue across the membership with dedicated expert fora, the committee will address the ambiguous and often contradictory trends in society, and the subsequent new conditions, obligations and possibilities for museums, and advise the Executive Board and Advisory Council on these issues.

3.4 Considerations

Summing up, we can say that the belonging of human remains to a public collection determines their status as a cultural asset and their protection by the State. However, the absence of a specific legislation that regulates the ownership and the methods of treatment and exhibition leaves many questions open. The poor Italian legislation and museum regulations and codes on the matter makes very difficult an improvement in the promotion, conservation and exhibition of human finds within Italian museums and institutions. Their treatment, from an ethical point of view, is entrusted to the personal sensitivity of the many museum professionals and scientific researchers who cure and study these materials. In the absence of national guidelines, European and international protocols and codes are often use as reference. The ICOM Code of Ethics for Museum is certainly one of the most widely used guidelines in Italy, but also the laws and museum policies developed in UK are widely used as reference point.

Although there has been a certain reluctance to open a debate and a public discussion about human remains and their treatment and exhibition within Italian museums, the topic has not been completely ignored. Between 2000 and 2004, two different national research projects were approved, coordinated by Francesco Remotti and financed by the Ministero dell'istruzione, dell'università e della ricerca (MIUR) which attempted to define and investigate the complex topic related to the death and the dead body from an anthropological and interdisciplinary point of view. The first project held in the years 2000-2002 and entitled '*Luoghi dei vivi e luoghi dei morti. Confini, separazioni, intersezioni: prospettive interdisciplinari e comparative*' has had as the main objective the examination and study of the relationship between the places conventionally attributed to the living and those dedicated to the dead, investigating how different societies face death by having places specifically dedicated to it[58]. The second project entitled '*Tanatometamorfosi. II corpo dopo la morte in una prospettiva multidisciplinare e comparativa*' took place between 2002 and 2004 and addressed the topic of the treatment of the body after death. However, the projects did not address specifically the museological issues related to the sensitive nature of the body. More oriented toward this direction was instead the conference that took place in November 2016 intitled '*Luoghi dei Vivi, Luoghi dei morti. Resti umani e musei, una complessa eredità*'. The conference saw a large participation of scholars and representatives of many Italian museums and universities who public discussed the topic related to the management of the Italian anthropological collections, of their public exhibition and possible restitution.

Nevertheless, the organization in May 2019 of the first Italian conference 'Human Remains. Ethics, Conservation, Display' can be seen as an important turning point on the Italian debate that reflects a strong need of discussion between museum curators, anthropologists and bio-archaeologists, and above all a strong desire to develop a practical solution to the problem. The Congress has been a fertile ground for reflection within which the main museum professionals and researchers from different parts of Italy expressed a strong difficulty in managing and handling human finds in the light of the current Italian laws and regulations. Without an adequate legislation that takes into consideration the sensitive nature of these findings but at the same time establishes practical rules for the protection and safeguarding of this particular type of heritage, it is not possible to ensure its ethical conservation and display

[58] The anthropological contributions to the project have been collected in the Journal 'La Ricerka Folklorica', n. 49 of 2004 titled *'Luoghi dei vivi, luoghi dei morti. Spazi e politiche della morte'* curated by Adriano Favole, Gianluca Ligi and Pier Paolo Viazzo.

equal to that of other Europeans countries who have long been committed to the creation of guidelines and regulatory frameworks on the matter.

The Italian scientific community is today more than ever determined to directly and openly engage a dialogue between professionals and non-professionals on the management, care, promotion and exhibition of human remains collections. On the next September 30th and October 1st in Turin it will take place the second part of the Conference "Human Remains. Ethics, Conservation, Display". New Italian and international professionals will participate to the event bringing their experiences and professionality and giving continuity to the work of reflection started in May. The goal remains to create a document capable of integrating the shortcomings of the *Codice dei Beni Culturali e del Paesaggio* and providing a regulation at national level that can facilitate the cure, protection and promotion of this important heritage.

3.5 Controversial Italian cases

At the conclusion of this chapter dedicated to the Italian legislative framework and the debate on ancient human remains within museum context, hereafter three controversial cases that have had a particular resonance at the public and scientific level, triggering somehow an ethical reflection on the issue will be presented.

3.5.1 The Criminal Anthropology Museum 'Cesare Lombroso'

The controversy regarding the restitution of human remains has often been represented in Europe as a purely exotic and indigenous issue, but it is not only the overseas communities that desire and request the return of their dead. In Italy, an important case of controversy has involved the skull of the Calabrian brigand Giuseppe Villella[59] and other skeletal remains held by the Museum of Criminal Anthropology 'Cesare Lombroso' in Turin.

Cesare Lombroso (1835, Verona – 1909, Turin), Italian physician who lived between nineteenth and twentieth centuries, was one of the pioneers in the study of criminology and is today considered the founder of the criminal anthropology (Montaldo & Tappero, 2009; Raine, 2013). The large collection of skulls and anatomical samples held by the museum dedicated to

[59] Born in 1801 or 1802 in the small Calabrian village of Motta Santa Lucia, he was probably a simple laborer arrested for theft. He spent the last years of his life in the prison of Pavia and died in the hospital of the same city in 1864. During his autopsy, Lombroso described him as a 69-year-old man with black hair and little beard, shy and taciturn. Six years later, reviewing his skull, Lombroso noticed the unusual indentation in its base that was interpreted as the cause of the criminal behavior of the subject (Montaldo & Tappero, 2009; Montaldo, 2012).

him was originally born as a private collection of study, collected inside his home and used by Lombroso as object of his researches.

The collection of skulls and human anatomical materials began in 1859, during his service as Italian army surgeon during the Second War of Italian Independence that will continue also after his discharge. In Southern Italy, Lombroso fought against the 'brigandage', a civil war between the civilian rebels of the south (Kingdom of the two Sicilies) who opposed the unification, supported by the Bourbons on one side and the Italian army on the other[60]. The fight led to the execution of thousands of brigands and the killing of many civilians (Montaldo & Tappero, 2009).

Lombroso started then to study and measure the shape and size of the skulls of many brigands killed and brought from the South of Italy to Piedmont and from 1864, during the period in which he was director of the psychiatric department of the Civic Hospital of Pavia, focused his anthropological studies on criminals and mentally ill people, which led him to the first formulations of his theory on the criminal atavism. According to the atavistic theory elaborated by Lombroso, the presence of morphological anomalies on the body of certain individuals are signs of deviations and regressive and socially dangerous pathologies. The discovery of an anomaly in the skull of Villella allowed Lombroso to confirm this theory which established, therefore, a connection between delinquent behavior and biology (Fig. 24, Annex). As underlined by Adrian Raine (2013) neuropathologist at the University of Pennsylvania,

> Criminals, he [Lombroso] believed, could be identified on the basis of physical characteristics, such as a large jaw and a sloping forehead. Based on his measurements of such traits, Lombroso created an evolutionary hierarchy, with Northern Italians and Jews at the top and Southern Italians (like Villella), along with Bolivians and Peruvians, at the bottom.

In November 2009, one hundred years after the death of Cesare Lombroso, the Museum of Criminal Anthropology dedicated to him reopened to the public[61]. The mission of the new

[60] The 'brigandage' was a phenomenon already existing before the independence wars and continued also after the unification (1861). The opposition of the rebels demanding for social justice, agrarian reform and reduced taxation was due to a strong economic and social unease in the territories of southern Italy that got worse even more after the unification. To the territorial unity was opposed in fact a legal and economic separation between the north and south Italy that brought the conditions of life of the southerners to a strong deterioration (Museo Lombroso, n.d.).

[61] The reorganization of the museum involved a large team of Italian and international experts and consultants capable to deal with the deontological and scientific communication issues and to appease the climate of protest and the negative judgments that in part had already preceded the re-opening of the museum (Giacobini, Cilli & Malerba, 2009).

exhibition, as underlined by the museum director Silvano Montaldo (2012) and the president of the *Sistema Museale di Ateneo* (University Museum System) Giacomo Giacobini (personal communication June 4th, 2019), is not to celebrate the theories of Lombroso but to denounce them. The museum wants to educate the visitor to observe the theories of Lombroso from a historical point of view and with a critical spirit, demonstrating the errors of method and interpretation that led to their formulation (Montaldo, 2012).

Soon after the opening of the new exhibition, the *'Comitato NoLombroso'* was created, a popular movement, expression of southern and Neo-Bourbon political groups that demand the restitution of the biological human remains preserved and exhibited in the museum and its closure, accusing the institution of anti-Southern racism (Montaldo, 2012). According to the supporters of the movement, the museum would be a tribute to the theorist of the "genetic inferiority of the people of southern Italy" and the largest mass grave of the brigands of Southern Italy (Montaldo, 2012, p. 144; Comitato NoLombroso, n.d.). The movement has made an extensive use of social networks and web pages to launch online petitions and organize public events and demonstrations that have obtained, at least initially, a wide popular consensus[62] (Fig. 25, Annex). However, the controversy focused above all on the skull of Giuseppe Villella which has been in the last seven years at the center of a strong legal battle. In 2012 the municipality of Motta Santa Lucia, homeland of Villella, that requested the restitution of his skull, obtained from the court of Lamezia Terme a sentence in favor of the restitution of the remains. However, the appeal sentence of 2017 overturned the first instance decision, rejecting the request of the Calabrian municipality and stating that the Lombroso Museum had the legal right to exhibit the skull of Villella (Assandri, 2017; ICOM, 2017/c).

The debate fed by the *NoLombroso* movement has had a strong media impact on the national territory and a great resonance at international level as well. The intervention of the ICOM (2017), which took sides in favor of the museum, emphasize its educational aims underlining the strictly scientific interest of the collections and recognizing its ethical correctness to continue in its work. After the further appeal of the *Comitato NoLombroso* to the Court of Cassation, the highest court of appeal, in August 19th, 2019 was finally confirmed the decision of the previous sentence giving to the Museum of Criminal Anthropology 'Cesare Lombroso' the right to held and display the skull of Giuseppe Villella (Maciocchi, 2019).

[62] The petitions of the movement can be found in the '*Comitato NoLombroso'* website at https://www.nolombroso.org/it/, which collected 9915 supporters, and in the platform Change.org, https://www.change.org/p/chiudiamo-il-museo-lombroso which collected 17044 supporters and is now closed.

The diatribe between the museum that promotes the cultural and scientific nature of the exhibition and the Committee *NoLombroso* which instead emphasizes the social injustice of this exhibition and the need to give to the remains a proper burial, reflects that international debate that involved the Americas, Australia and New Zealand. The return of the skull of Villella thus became the emblem of Southern movements that recognize the return of this find as a compensation for the injustices suffered, a way through which the northern Italy can 'makes amend for the past wrongs'. This case shows that also Italy is facing an internal issue of restitution of human remains, in which the contenders are representatives of the same nation, but with different histories, in which the lack of an economic unification never accomplished remain an element of conflict still alive (Monza, 2013). As suggested by Francesca Monza (2013), the controversy arose by the reopening of the museum was a predictable element and therefore a good practice for the museum would have been to create an ethical advisory committee that could evaluate and predict the critical points of the exhibition and possibly take a preventive contact with the communities of origins of the remains. The sole attention of the museum to the scientific and historical value of the remains, has shown once again that the sensitive nature of these materials can never be taken for granted, even in the case of human remains from long time incorporated within the curatorial institutions. In this case, the lack of a shared ethical reflection on the type of cultural asset exposed has increased the controversy, bringing into question a serious and accurate scientific research and communication activity such as that carried out by the Lombroso Museum and therefore putting the integrity of the collection itself at risk.

3.5.2 The restitution request to the Museum of Natural Science of Florence

In 2010, the Australian Government wrote to the Ministry of Culture of Italy to request the restitution of some human skeletal remains coming from the Australian territory and preserved in the Museum of Natural History of the University of Florence. The request arose a strong debate within the Italian scientific community and after consultation with the Italian Association of Scientific Museums (ANMS) and the Italian Anthropological Association (AAI), was established a national joint committee composed by experts of high-level experience with the purpose of dealing with the above-mentioned request (ANMS & Museo di Storia Naturale dell'Università di Firenze, 2011).

The committee, chaired by Giovanni Pinna, former Director of the Museum of Natural History of Milan, held a first meeting on September 2010 in the Anthropology and Ethnology

Section of the Museum of Natural History of Florence and drafted a document in which the impossibility to return those materials is stated. Reporting some passages of the document (ANMS & Museo di Storia Naturale dell'Università di Firenze, 2011, pp. 12-13), the Committee pointed out that:

the human skeletal remains in Italian collections are of great scientific importance since they have allowed and still allow the study of the evolution of human populations, of their living conditions, of the relationships among human groups, of the origin and diffusion of diseases...;

that these remains form part of collections whose scientific importance persists only to the degree to which their integrity is maintained, which also assures the historical-documentary value and the educational value expressed in the teaching function of museums;

that the remains (regularly inventoried and catalogued) are part of the patrimony of the museums and thus the inalienable heritage of the State as established by the Code of Cultural Materials (Urbani Code);

that these remains did not come to Italy illegally as a result of plundering or genocide, but via purchase, barter, donation or exchange, and hence that Italy does not have any type of responsibility or, however, such as to involve a duty of reconciliation with the communities resident in the countries of origin of these remains;

that it cannot be excluded that the request for restitution of human remains may be followed by request for restitution of ethnographic religious object of object merely representative of the different cultures, whose restitution would constitute an enormous impoverishment of the historical-cultural patrimony present in Italian museum and would binder the museums in their principal function, the dissemination of knowledge about the diversity of the world's cultures.

The document well expresses the concern of Italian museum professionals towards the opening to the subject of restitution and the possibility of a gradual impoverishment of the collections they conserve that would have a very strong negative impact in the development of science. At the same time the inalienability of Italian heritage is reaffirmed as a fundamental principle of Italian cultural legislation and it is underlined the scientific but also educational importance of the human biological collections. Moreover, the document highlights the 'legal' and 'peaceful' nature of the acquisition of these skeletal findings that were incorporated by the museum not for mere economic or aesthetic interest, but as a result of scientific interest and "knowledge of poorly know places and peoples" (ANMS & Museo di Storia Naturale dell'Università di Firenze, 2011, pp. 16-17). According to the Commission, therefore, Italy differently from other countries such as the USA, Canada, New Zealand and Australia, does not have a historical

responsibility that justifies a reconciliation with the communities of origin of the indigenous human findings.

One of the aspects that we consider important to emphasize and which often emerges in relation to the debate concerning the retention and exhibition of human remains within Italian museums, is the legal nature of their acquisition and incorporation. Italy has had indeed a quite short and less violent colonial past compared to other European countries.[63] The human finds and objects of material culture belonging to indigenous communities overseas, have arrived in Italy mainly through sales, exchanges, donations and archaeological missions. Although many scholars state that these 'peaceful' methods of acquisition justify and legitimize their presence within Italian museums and the substantial difference compared to other countries that have acquired indigenous remains and objects through violent acts, predations, looting and sometimes mass genocide, we think it is important to underline that this cannot be a valid justification for not addressing the issue of restitution requests which today is one of the main and more complex challenges that European museums, including Italian ones, have to face. As evidenced by some authors, even if apparently seem a 'non-violent' way of appropriation, the purchase must be analyzed in the context of asymmetric and unequal relations between European and indigenous populations that in many cases have had very negative consequences (Favole, 2003; Bargna, 2019). It is then important to highlight that even in buying and selling there are power relations and that also Italy must face a past, and unfortunately sometimes even a present, of social injustices and abuse of the strong over the weak, of the white over the indigenous, of the Italian over the foreigner.

3.5.3 The case of the mummy of Rosalia Lombardo

The third case concerns a mummy preserved and displayed within a Christian cemetery context

[63] Although it is true that Italy cannot be defined as Settler State and has not carried out a permanent and enduring colonization overseas as instead happened for other European countries, it is necessary to highlight that Italy has not been exempt from violent acts towards the native populations of the colonized territories. During the Fascist period, for example, the Italian State financed a lot of researches to anthropologists and ethnographers in colonial territory with the aim of involving Italian scientists in the project to demonstrate the biological and cultural superiority of the 'Italian race' later affirmed with the *Manifesto della Razza*, issued in 1938. It is important to remember for example the activity of Lidio Cipriani, anthropologist and naturalist and one of the signatories of the *Manifesto della Razza*, as well as one of the supporters of the inferiority of the African people and of the legitimacy of the Italian conquest and exploitation of the African territory (Scaggion & Carrara, 2015). He conducted his studies in Africa between 1927 and 1939 where he collected and imported in Italy many botanical and zoological specimens, facial masks, skeletal remains, prehistoric tools and thousands of photographs (Landi & Moggi Cecchi, 2014; Scaggion & Carrara, 2015) Cipriani, often encountered the resistance of the local communities but, as many other researchers, he did not hesitate to use the violence in order to accomplish his research and collects the samples he needed for his studies.

although cataloged as a museum item and protected by the Superintendence. This is a quite anomalous case because as mentioned above there are many religious realities that preserve and expose human remains, but since they are usually belonging to the same members of the religious order or because of the religious belief that underlies these expositive practices, very rarely they became part of the ethical debate that has instead regarded the secular museum exhibitions.

The catacombs of the Capuchin Convent of Palermo are one of the most particular and unique case of exhibition of human remains in the world. Their construction dates back to the end of the sixteenth century when the community of Capuchin friars of the convent built a hypogeum for their own use. Due to the natural environmental conditions which brought the bodies to undergo a natural process of mummification and drying, the catacombs became very soon a privileged burial place not only for the Capuchin friars but also for the faithful, especially nobles and the high-status citizens of Palermo[64] (Sineo, Manachini, Carotenuto, Mascali, Zink & Palla, 2008). After being dried in a particular area of the catacombs, the corpses were cleaned with vinegar, dressed and exposed along the niches of the walls or inside coffins (Fig. 26, Annex). Mummification was a practice wanted by the deceased themselves and was part of a secular Christian tradition for which the exposure of the dead was both a consolation for the relatives and an act made as *memento mori* (Monza, 2013).

Among the bodies preserved and exhibited inside the catacombs, particularly known is that of Rosalia Lombardo, born in Palermo in 1918 and deceased of pneumonia or diphtheria in 1920. Rosalia was the last body to be buried inside the crypt and was artificially embalmed by the Sicilian embalmer Alfredo Salafia, who placed her inside a wooden coffin covered by a glass. The peculiarity of this mummy is due to the fact that it is totally preserved and intact, with no signs of deterioration or decomposition, so much that she is commonly called the 'sleeping beauty', because she does not seem dead but rather asleep (Fig. 27, Annex). In 2011, due to a worsening of the environmental conditions in the crypt, the mummy of Rosalia was moved into a hi-tech case created by the EURAC (a private research center of Bolzano) to maintain a constant temperature and humidity. The increase in humidity and fungal spores in some parts of the crypt, indeed, caused the biodegradation of many of the mummies exposed and gave rise to the study and conservation project *'Mummie Siciliane'* of the Institute for

[64] The Catacombs do not only conserve naturally mummified bodies, but also anthropogenic mummified remains preserved artificially through evisceration, injection or immersion in preservatives (Sineo, Manachini, Carotenuto, Mascali, Zink & Palla, 2008).

Mummies and the Iceman of the EURAC in collaboration with the Capuchin friars and the Superintendence of Cultural Heritage starting from 2008. The investigation that aimed, above all, to the study of the diseases of the single individuals in order to define the *patocenosi*[65], has thus led to the cataloging of all the mummies, to a study on the DNA of the remains and to a research on the environmental conditions of the catacombs (Monza, 2013).

The investigations within the Catacombs had a strong media resonance and the displacement of the coffin of Rosalia inside the hi-tech case attracted the attention of many newspapers and national and international televisions broadcasting stations. In 2010, National Geographic produced a documentary intitled 'Italy's mystery mummies' while many TV shows and YouTube channels, dedicated to the mummy of Rosalia special episodes often giving them a macabre and frightening tone[66], as noted by Monza (2013, p. 89) "*costruiti per avvallare ipotesi che sconfinano nel paranormale, con una grafica gotica 'Halloween style' improntata alla paura e al misterioso, che certo travisa il senso delle catacombe come luogo del ricordo e del riposo eterno*".

Following the restoration works of Rosalia, some people noted some changes on the face of the mummy that raised criticism towards the conservative restoration and the research activities[67]; these controversies were later joined by those of the relatives of the child, who, first through the press and social networks and then through legal action, accused the Superintendence of having disrespected the deceased and her family and asked for a high compensation (Brunetto, 2012; Monza, 2013). Rosalia Lombardo, sister and namesake of the little mummy and her niece Rosanna La Ferla accused the public institutions to have damaged the wonderful aspect of Rosalia opening the coffin and handling the mummy without a proper authorization and using her image to make profit (Brunetto, 2012; Monza, 2013). Gaetano Gullo, superintendent of the cultural heritage of Palermo, responded to the family stating that:

La mummia di Rosalia è un bene culturale che fa parte di una collezione più ampia. Un bene, fra l'altro in possesso

[65] The *patocenosi* can be defined as the set of diseases of a given population in a given environment and at a given time (Monza, 2013).

[66] Many of them are still available online on YouTube, as the one produced by the American TV show 'The Scariest Places on Earth' conducted by actress Linda Blair, known for playing the girl in the movie 'The Exorcist' with the narrative voice of Zelda Rubistein known to the public for the role of Tangina Barrows in the American horror film series 'Poltergeist' (Monza, 2013).

[67] The polemics have been raised by the writer Tiziana Lanza who during the promotion of her book '*Rosalia per sempre'*, followed the work of restoration of Rosalia and reported in her blog some changes caused by the investigation techniques used by the researchers and by the exposure of the body to the flashes of the cameras during the television shooting (Monza, 2013).

dei frati cappuccini che si sono preoccupati di arrestarne il processo di degrado. La teca, infatti, permetterà a Rosalia di essere conservata nel tempo. Per il resto, la famiglia non si è mai fatta viva in questi 90 anni, e se un giudice proverà che ha qualche diritto sulla mummia, procederemo con delle sanzioni, perché a quel punto sarebbe stato compito della famiglia tutelare la mummia, cosa che non è mai avvenuta. Al momento questo diritto non ci risulta e sono sempre stati i cappuccini i nostri interlocutori a cui abbiamo concesso regolari autorizzazioni per procedere agli studi (Brunetto, 2012).

Gullo underlined the core importance of the mummy of Rosalia as a symbol of the Catacombs, and as such, common heritage and accused in turn the family of exploiting the strong media interest on the mummy to gain visibility and economic gain.

Francesca Monza (2013) noted that the case of the mummy of Rosalia is very peculiar because it involves a minor, deceased less than one hundred years ago, buried within a cemetery context but catalogued as cultural good and with relatives still alive. However, as Monza (2013) underlined, it would be a mistake to consider the controversy only as an attempt of the family to have an economic compensation. Also in this case the issue is related to the fact that the human remains regardless from their final destination of use and disposition do not cease to be subject of *píetas* and as such to trigger a feeling of empathy and compassion in the human beings. The only interpretation of Rosalia as 'cultural asset' result then insufficient and inadequate to define the mummy, and for this it needs a further reflection and drafting of guidelines capable to take in consideration not only her scientific values but also the sensitive and symbolic ones.

CHAPTER 4
The Egyptian Museum of Turin

We have finally reached the third and last thematic part of this work. Up to here we have analyzed the main complexities related to the retention, management and display of ancient human remains within Western museums. In particular, we have described the strategies that European and non-European curatorial institutions, with a focus on the Italian scenario, have used to address these issues. Now, we present a case study which will take into consideration a specific museum context, the Egyptian Museum of Turin, Italy.

As we have observed, the complex museum debate in relation to human remains is today a priority in many curatorial institutions. The lack of proper regulations and common museum standards to be follow, cause great difficulties to these institutions in managing and presenting to their publics this heritage, so important from the scientific and cultural point of view but also extremely delicate, sensitive and controversial.

As noted previously, the authority of the museum institutions has played for a long time a core role in favoring the interest of the few to the detriment of the many and making prevail the values of the dominant culture, ignoring the need of the minorities. However, the current museological trend foresees a reversal of this perspective starting by the active involvement of the public and of the communities of origins of the heritage, which becomes particularly urgent when it comes to human remains.

Here we will analyze the meaningful case of the Egyptian Museum of Turin. This curatorial institution of Egyptian antiquities is one of most important globally and constitutes one of the most visited museums of Italy. It preserves and displays a great number of human remains and, for this reason, it is developing and implementing a particular reflection over the issues related to their preservation, exhibition and presentation to the public.

4.1 History of the museum

As we have seen in the first chapter, the Egyptomania has been a global phenomenon which starting especially from the beginning of the nineteenth century brought many European collectors and explorer to travel and visit the land of the pharaohs. Starting from the end of the nineteenth century great collections of Egyptian antiquities have been imported from Egypt to many European countries becoming the first collections of the future European Egyptian museums. The *Museo delle Antichità Egizie*, simply known as the Egyptian Museum of Turin,

is the oldest museum in the world dedicated entirely to the Egyptian culture and the second most important after that of Cairo.

The Egyptian Museum of Turin was founded in 1824 but its roots dates back to the first half of the seventeenth century when the Mensa Isiaca, a bronze tablet with an Egyptianizing style but of Roman origin, arrived in Turin constituting the starting point of the museum collection (Fig. 28, Annex). In the second half of the eighteenth century, the growing interest toward the Egyptian antiquities led Carlo Emanuele III, Duke of Savoy and King of Sardinia, to charge Vitaliano Donati, botanist and professor of the Royal University of Turin, to undertake a scientific and commercial mission in Egypt. Donati brought to Turin three monumental statues and many other minor antiquities that have become part of the royal collections (Roveri, 1980).

The official foundation of the museum took place in 1824, when Bernardino Drovetti, French consul of Italian origins and antiquities collector, sold his Egyptian collection to the King Carlo Felice of Savoy (Fig. 29, Annex). During his stay in Egypt, he gathered a great amount of antiquities to be sold in Europe: his first collection was composed by 5.268 finds including statues, papyruses, sarcophagus, mummies, steles and many other objects of the ancient Egyptian culture. This massive collection, firstly rejected by France, was later bought by Carlo Felice of Savoy who placed it in the *Palazzo della Accademia delle Scienze*[68], where it still stands today (Dawson, Uphill & Bierbrier, 1995) (Fig. 30, Annex)**.** The richness and historical value of the collection immediately attracted the interest of numerous researchers, including Jean François Champollion, who came to Turin to study the materials. It will be Champollion himself to draw up the first catalog of the Museum and to confirm its importance by stating that 'the road to Menfi and Thebes passes through Turin' (Roveri, 1980; Vassilika, 2008, p. 2). In the following years the collection has grown up thanks to further donations, acquisitions and, starting from the first years of the twentieth century, also through archeological investigations. In 1831 the collection is opened to the public and a year later is officially founded the *Museo d'Antichità ed Egizio*. As it emerges from its name, in the beginning the museum did not hold Egyptian artifacts only, but also classic, pre-roman and prehistoric antiquities together with a natural history collection (Museo Egizio, n.d.).

In 1894 the Egyptologist Ernesto Schiaparelli, former director of the Egyptian section of the Archaeology Museum of Florence and pupil of the famous French Egyptologist Gastone Maspero, became director of the Egyptian museum of Turin. Determined to increase the

[68] The Palace is a seventeenth-century building and was built by the famous Italian architect Guarino Guarini, one of the main exponents of the Piedmontese baroque (Fig. 31, Annex).

collection of the museum, Schiaparelli organized, between 1903 and 1920, the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* (M.A.I.) in Egypt: twelve excavation campaigns in places carefully selected in order to provide finds related to historical periods and cultural layers not yet represented within the museum (Roveri, 1980; Vassilika, 2008). Among the main sites of excavation, Giza (1903), Heliopolis (1903-1904), Ashmunein (1903-1904), Qaw el-Kebir (1905-1906), Hammamiya (1905), the Valley of the Queen and Thebes (1903-1906), Deir el-Medina (1905-1909) where the tomb of Kha and Merit, the most famous and important of the Museum, comes from, Assiut (1905, 1908, 1910, 1911-1913), Gebelein (1910, 1911, 1914, 1920) and Assuan (1914) (Roveri, 1980; Vassilika, 2008).

The interest of Schiaparelli in photography also provided an extensive documentation of around a hundred stereoscopic photographs depicting several moments and situations during these Italian archaeological excavations in Egypt (Fig. 32, Annex). Thanks to these investigations more than 18.000 objects arrived in the museum. The growing of the collection made necessary an enlargement of the exhibition spaces that was realized first with the construction of a new area behind the original building that closed the courtyard and later with the addition of two new floors above the new wing of the building (Vassilika, 2008).

After the death of Schiaparelli in 1928, Giulio Farina took his place as director of the museum and accomplished new acquisitions in Gebelein during the thirties. Due to the Second World War and to the increasing bombing of the city of Turin, the museum was closed to the public from 1942 to 1945 and the objects and statues were packed and transferred in part to the basements and in part to the Castello di Agliè, away from city center. In 1946, after the relocation of the materials inside the original building the museum reopened to the public.

Between 1958 and 1965, the Egyptologist Sergio Donadoni and the new director of the museum Silvio Curto participated in the international campaign for the documentation and rescue of the monuments of Nubia, threatened by the waters of the new Aswan dam (Vassilika, 2008). The Italian support in Nubia was rewarded by the Egyptian government with the donation of the rock temple of Ellesiya, completely recomposed within the Egyptian Museum of Turin in 1970 (Fig. 33, Annex). In the same year the not-Egyptian antiquities were transferred from the *Palazzo della Accademia delle Scienze* to new spaces inside the Royal Palace of Turin, few hundreds of meters far (Vassilika, 2008). The space left free by the Museum of Antiquities and the construction of new galleries (in 1986 and in 2000) allowed a better exhibition and finally a more systematic thematic subdivision of the Egyptian collections.

In 2004 the '*Fondazione Museo delle Antichità Egizie'* (FME) was created, a public-private entity to which the management of the museum was entrusted. This is the first case of privatization of an Italian state-own museum, a pilot experiment of the Government that sees the collaboration of the MIBAC, the Piedmont Region, the City of Turin and, as private entities, the *Compagnia di San Paolo* and *Fondazione CRT*[69] (article n. 1 of the Museum Statute). As Eleni Vassilika (2008), director of the museum from 2005 to 2014, noted, until 2004 the museum was visited almost exclusively by national and international scholars and researchers. The establishment of the FME allowed the growth and improvement of the didactic and educational role of the museum alongside to the scientific one, opening the institution to the needs of the general public. The result was surprising and immediately visible. In 2006, visitors grew by 86% compared to the previous year and the number continued to grow to the present day (Vassilika, 2008).

The creation of the Foundation has therefore brought many innovations, not only in its mission and socio-educational activities, but also in regard to practical and structural interventions within the museum. In 2006, on the eve of the Turin Winter Olympic Games, the statuary room was redesigned in collaboration with the Oscar-winning scenographer Dante Ferretti (Fig. 34, Annex). In 2008, a long project of re-functionalization of the museum began. The interventions included an expansion of the exhibition rooms for the display of the artifacts until then preserved in the deposits and a re-arrangement of the collections with a new museum itinerary in line with the contemporary museological needs and directives (Vassilika, 2008; Museo Egizio, n.d.). The completion of the works and the definitive reopening of the renovated Egyptian Museum took place in April 2015, under the direction of the new director Christian Greco.

4.2 A museum policy of connection

The reopening of 2015 marked a new beginning for the Egyptian Museum of Turin and the transition to a new phase of activity. The renovation of the museum, in fact, concerned not only the architectural aspect, countersigned by the expansion of the exhibition spaces (10.000 square

[69] The CRT is a non-profit bank foundation of Turin that works for the development of the Piedmont and Valle d'Aosta regions. Also the *Compagnia di San Paolo* is a foundation of bank origins of Turin and one of the major private foundation in Europe. It pursues activities of social utility to promote civil, cultural and economic development.
For more information about them, consult the web pages http://www.fondazionecrt.it/ and https://www.compagniadisanpaolo.it/.

meters in four floors), but above all a new approach of study and display of the collections implemented around the idea of 'connection' (Bondielli, 2015). This new path has been strongly desired by the current director Christian Greco and has been applied to the different areas of activity of the museum.

4.2.1 Connection with history

First of all, the new exhibition path tried to increase the connection between the artifacts, their history and their archaeological context. As stated by Greco, the finds of the museum cannot be perceived only as art objects but they have to be seen as historical documents that, properly interviewed, are capable of telling their stories (Bondielli, 2015). The collections become, then, a means of connection between the different finds and their past through their accurate archaeological re-contextualization. Moreover, the new exhibition also wants to highlight the history of the museum itself, founded and grown along with the collections that have been incorporated over time. The history of the museum and of those who have contributed to its development is thus narrated through the help of the finds and the photographic evidences that documented the several archaeological campaigns and the acquisitions that made the Egyptian Museum of Turin one of the most important in the world.

4.2.2 Connection with the territory

The second important focus on connection sought by the new Egyptian Museum of Turin is with the territory. Greco, quoting Philippe De Montebello, historical director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York, has stated on several occasions that no institution of the twenty-first century can exist by divine right and can think of surviving without a solid relationship with the social national and international fabric in which it is inserted (Bondielli, 2015; Museo Egizio, 2018). Every museum, he said, must gain its right to exist: *"come una scuola, un'università, anche il museo non ha senso se non fa parte della polis, mirando ad acquisire un ruolo politico nel senso etimologico del termine*" (Museo Egizio, 2018, p. 6).

The museum has therefore worked to strengthen its integration with the territory starting from public meetings, conferences, workshops and thematic visits. In particular way has been sought a cooperation with schools and universities to promote a closer contact with the students and the younger generations and facilitate their access to the institution and its activities[70]. In

[70] Among these, important partnerships have been signed with the Turin based 'Holden' school of storytelling and performing arts and with the University of Pisa. The collaboration with the first turned into the realization of a

2018 the museum was visited by 6.300 school classes for a total of over 100.000 children (Museo Egizio n.d./b). The classes that visited the museum are mainly primary schools from the Piedmont and Lombardy regions and constitute the 54,6% of the total amount of the visitors (Museo Egizio, 2018).

Particular attention has also been given to those who, for different reasons, are unable to visit the museum. Within the program 'The Museum outside the Museum', the institution created two specific cooperative projects with the inmates of the 'Lorusso-Cutugno' prison and the children and teens hospitalized at the Regina Margherita hospital of Turin. Within the first project, titled *'Liberi di Imparare'*, the inmates created replicas of some of the objects held by the Egyptian Museum, that have been later collected in temporary exhibitions.

The second project *'Il bello che fa bene'*, instead, has its roots in 2014 and provided laboratories and activities addressed to children and teenagers that took place within the hospital library and rooms. These activities, as stated by the museum itself, "grew out of a commitment to make the contents of the Museo Egizio's collections accessible" and to create "an access channel that allows different groups of users to actively experience the collection" (Museo Egizio, n.d./c).

The great attention payed to the national and local territory, however, did not exclude the pursuit of internationality, which remains one of the primary objectives of the museum. The aim of the Egyptian Museum is indeed to become a reference point for the world archaeological research, a pole of attraction for scholars and professionals from all over the globe. Starting from 2015, the institution has strongly worked to establish a deeper dialogue with the main national and international museums and research institutions in order to encourage interdisciplinary cooperation, bring into contact different expertise and improve the investigation and interpretation of the collections through new innovative methods and technologies.

With these objectives, the museum has joined several European and international projects. Starting in 2015, the Egyptian Museum became part of a joint excavation project in Saqqara together with the National Museum of Antiquities of Leiden. This partnership has

promotional video and into the design and recording of the texts intended for audio guides in temporary exhibition as 'Missione Egitto 1903-1920' in 2017 and the current *'Archeologia Invisibile'*. With the second, instead, the Egyptian Museum has created the Summer School 'Egyptologists as museum curators: an immersive training', a project holds in the Museum and aimed "to provide a theoretical and practical approach to ancient Egyptian objects [and] a foundation for starting more specific programmes of curatorial work in museums" (Università di Pisa, n.d.).

favored the creation of an international work network led by the curator of the Egyptian collection of the Leiden Museum Lara Weiss and the director of the Egyptian Museum of Turin, Christian Greco. The working group is composed by different experts that since 2015 have been cooperating in the investigation of a necropolis of the New Kingdom (1550–1069 BC). The excavation activities are carefully documented in order to make public not only the results of the researches but the whole process of excavation and approach to the materials discovered. On the website of the Egyptian Museum of Turin it is indeed possible to consult the excavation diary, written by the participants of the campaign. These lasts, by virtue of their expertise, describe the ways in which the finds are excavated, documented and finally preserved. Particularly interesting for the purpose of our research is the contribution within the excavation diary of Ali Jelene Scheers, the physical anthropologist of the Saqqara mission, who presents the activity of collecting and preserving the human remains found during the excavation. With the help of some photographs (Fig. 35, Annex), and the description of her work, Scheers shows how the numerous ancient human finds excavated in the necropolis are collected and secured according to ethical and scientific parameters (Museo Egizio, n.d./d).

Another important international partnership that saw the Egyptian Museum of Turin in the forefront, has been the European project 'Transforming the Egyptian Museum of Cairo'. A unique partnership operation with the participation of prestigious European institutions[71] in support of the Egyptian Museum of Cairo in the creation of new exhibition spaces and a long-term strategy to promote and protect the heritage of the museum. The three-year project financed by the European Union with a 3.1 million Euros grant, will led then to an important cooperation between Egypt and Europe in which the major European excellences in museums and collections management will work together to elaborate a master plan for to the reorganization of the Museum of Cairo (Museo Egizio, 2019).

4.2.3 Connection with the communities

Particular attention was given to the connection of the museum with the communities. As highlight by several museological studies (Hopper-Greenhill, 1994; Tobelem, 2003; Bollo, 2004), the knowledge and the active communication with the public is an essential and fundamental element for any museum institution. Knowing its audience allows the museum to

[71] Together with the Egyptian Museum of Turin, the project involved the Louvre, the British Museum, the Egyptian Museum of Berlin, the National Museum of Antiquities of Leiden, the *Bundesamt für Bauwesen und Raumordnung* (BBR), the French Institute for Oriental Archaeology in Cairo (IFAO) and the Italian Central Institute for Archeology (ICA).

best meet its needs and interests and therefore to develop a more targeted, effective and efficient cultural offer.

Focusing only on one's own audience, however, is no longer sufficient to meet the needs of contemporary society and above all to fulfill the social, cultural and educational role that the Museum plays today. It is precisely on this aspect that the Egyptian Museum of Turin has concentrated its energies, becoming a promoter of social inclusion and developing special projects and initiatives aimed to involve minorities and those who, for various reasons, do not constitute the regular public of the institution. Among these projects, some have been specifically directed to the Egyptian and North African communities, strongly present and rooted in the city of Turin[72]. In December 2017, the museum launched the four-month promotional campaign 'Lucky to speak Arabic' for which two Arabic-speaking citizens could visit the Museum for the cost of one full ticket. The campaign has had as a main purpose the promotion of an active integration of the 'new Italians' with North African origins enabling them to be part of the community where they have chosen to live, enjoying the cultural offerings of the city and having the opportunity to know the heritage that somehow share with them the same roots (Museo Egizio, n.d./c)[73]. After all, as claimed by Greco (2018), "*la collezione torinese è ambasciatrice di una cultura che ha le sue radici altrove*", and this, cannot be ignored.

In 2016-2017 the museum, in collaboration with the association *Mondi in Città ONLUS*, promoted another initiative of social integration that involved eleven women of Egyptian and North African origins living in Turin. The project entitled *'Il mio museo*' included a training course divided into ten lessons, which enabled these women to explore the ancient Egyptian culture and to acquire the necessary knowledge to carry out thematic guided tours in Arabic (Museo Egizio, n.d./c).

However, the initiatives of social integration promoted by the museum in these years have not been directed only to the North African community, but regarded various foreign

[72] According to the ISTAT data for January 2019, the North African population regularly residing in the city of Turin amounts to 32.534 people, more than any other group from other geographical areas (Tab. 1, Annex).

[73] The campaign was strongly criticized by Giorgia Meloni, leader of the National center-right political party and some of her followers which defined the promotion as unfair and discriminating for those who do not speak Arabic. In February 2018, during her electoral tour, Giorgia Meloni went, together with some of her followers, under the museum's headquarters to personally contest the initiative. The director addressed the group of protesters highlighting the incorrect political use of this promotion, emphasizing the diversification of its promotions to different audiences, and reconfirming the museum as an institution that belongs to everyone. The debate between Giorgia Meloni and Christian Greco is visible online at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jCc2gvV3_Jg . The video has been realized by the Holden school of storytelling and performative arts of Turin.

groups living on the territory. For the project 'I am welcome', organized for the World Refugee Day the museum offered to each visitor a free entry in exchange of a welcome message to be posted on the museum Welcome Wall, a symbol, as stated by the museum, "of openness and welcome". In 2018 the museum established a partnership with the Migrant community Football Cup called 'Balun Mundial' an event of intercultural dialogue through sport that involved the communities of thirty different countries. The museum has granted specific reduced fare during the period of games dedicated to all the members of the communities involved in the championship[74].

The museum has strongly worked to establish and keep a contact with the territory in which it is inserted and with the various publics that inhabit it. To better know its visitors and improve its cultural offer, the Egyptian Museum of Turin carried out a survey that was held in 2018 and aimed at establishing its economic impact on the territory.

The investigation conducted over a period of ten months (September 2016-June 2017) was divided into three different analyses: quantitative, qualitative and of economic impact. The quantitative analysis was carried out through the administration of 3.181 questionnaires to the visitors of the museum and provided above all, demographic indications concerning the type of public that visit the institution.

The qualitative analysis included three focus groups of nine people each, aimed at investigating the perception of the museum by the public and the evaluation of the visit experience highlighting any critical issues, useful for an improvement in the offer of the museum. Finally, the third type of analysis attempted to produce a reliable estimate of the impact of the Egyptian Museum on the economy of the city of Turin. The results obtained have confirmed the museum as one of the cultural excellences in the area, capable of attracting a large number of tourists to the city. As highlighted by the research, these tourists and travelers will remain on the territory for several nights, contributing significantly to the local economy.

As data demonstrate, the highest percentage of public that visit the museum is composed of tourists who live outside the city of Turin, with medium-high cultural level (prevalence of public with a degree) and who are regular visitors of museums (more than three visits for year). The sample surveyed showed a prevalence of women (55.3%) and more than one respondent out of four identified the visit to the Egyptian Museum as the main reason for his trip to Turin.

[74] All the special projects and the initiative of social inclusion of the Egyptian Museum of Turin, are consultable at the webpage of the museum https://museoegizio.it/en/discover/special-projects/.

4.2.4 Connection as 'connectivity'

The connection is also been intended as 'connectivity' that is related to the use of modern technologies, new means of communication and social network (Bondielli, 2015). During the last years, the museum wanted to give more centrality and recognition to the role of the scientific research concealed behind the exhibition of its collections. To accomplish this, a competent staff of Egyptologists and professionals in the field of communication and multimedia has been set-up (Bondielli, 2015). The museum adopted new technologic tools for the study, analysis and exhibition of its collections. During the renovation works of the museum, an area of 600 square meters exclusively dedicated to temporary exhibition projects has been created, aimed to put into practice the results of the scientific studies conducted by the museum researchers and to make them available to the general public. In this area, a new temporary exhibition untitled *'Archeologia Invisibile'* dedicated to the evolution of the technologies applied to the archaeological and museum field is currently open, and it will be until January 6th, 2020. The exhibition retraces the history of the museum by presenting to the visitors the tools through which the objects have been documented and studied over time and creating, then, a sort of meta-history in which the presentation of the collections merges with the presentation of the history of the museum and of the technologies and instruments of analysis used by the contemporary researchers and their predecessors. According to Greco, in fact, even if the collection of the museum always remains the same, the reading keys and the methods of study and analysis are multiple and always capable of revealing new information. In one of the initial panels of the exhibition, the following statement of Greco is reported:

> Today we found ourselves immersed in what is called the digital revolution, which has already profoundly transformed our cognitive approach and working methods. In archeology, photogrammetry and 3D modelling enable archaeologist to document the whole excavation process and reconstruct context even after they have been removed. […] The data we glean is increasingly detailed and complex and requires an even greater level of interpretation. The scientist and the humanist have to work together even more closely to try and unravel the complexity of the contemporary world. […] Our task, however will always be to improve the visual, aesthetic and intellectual experience of every visitor who comes face to face with a piece of the past, and to provide all the information necessary to enrich their understanding. So the future of museums is, as it has always been, research.

The development and application of new technologies become particularly relevant and interesting in regard to the study and display of human biological finds. As we have already seen, the use of less invasive techniques allowed a less destructive study and analysis of the finds preserving their integrity. A new, great innovation both for the study and for the exhibition

of human anthropological remains, is represented by the virtual autopsy made possible by the use of the Computed Tomography scan and X-rays. Starting from the 60s, indeed, radiology became a bridge between physical anthropology and Egyptology, allowing the overcome of the irreversible and destructive physical unwrapping of the mummies, very common until the beginning of the last century, and giving rise to the virtual unwrapping that is today one of the main tools used for the analysis and exhibition of the ancient Egyptian mummies.

The Egyptian Museum of Turin has greatly invested in the use of these innovative techniques both in research field and as an aid to exhibition events in which these new technologies become effective tools of communication with the public and of popularization of science. In the exhibition *'Archeologia Invisibile'*, the two wrapped mummies of Kha, the royal architect and his wife Merit lived during the New Kingdom, in the XVIII dynasty (between 1425 and 1353 BC.), are presented to the public in a way that nobody sees before. The two mummies are virtually unwrapped in front of the visitors, discovering the jewels and amulets hidden under the bandages and reveling the anatomy of the two spouses (Fig. 36-37, Annex). Through the virtual exploration of the bodies of Kha and Merit the museum has the extraordinary power to tell the story of their life, showing the evidences of the embalming process and of their skeletal anomalies such as the loss of teeth and bone fractures that also provide information about their life styles, their everyday works, their diet, illnesses, age of death and so on.

The museum, thus, reaches a new level of spreading of knowledge: it does not limit itself to merely shown the results of its researches, but presents to the public the investigation process that led to those results, showing the tools and technologies that were used by the scholars to interrogate and interpret the remains of the ancient Egyptian culture. This aspect is very important because it demonstrate that the educational role of the museum is not static but is evolving, acquiring different aims and perspectives. An objective, this one, fundamental for the contemporary Museum, often still too tied to the methods and traditions of the past.

4.3 Human remains exhibition policy

The collection of the museum counts today around 40.000 artifacts. Of these, 3.300 are currently in exhibition, the others are preserved in the deposit and some of them are cyclically displayed during temporary exhibitions. According to the general catalog (Grilletto, 1991), the anthropological finds held by the institution are a total of 94, distributed among the rooms of the museum and the storage warehouses. Currently, 24 human mummies are visible within the

exhibition rooms. As noted in the previous chapter, in 2014 the former museum director Eleni Vassilika declared her intention to remove the mummies from the display. The proposal, however, was not implemented due to the negative response of the public and the change of direction, which then decided to maintain the visibility of the mummies. Since its reopening, however, the museum has paid a special attention to this type of finds.

First of all, the presence of human remains, has been carefully signaled to the visitors at the entrance of each room and inside the room itself at the point where the mummies are placed. The information panels placed at the entrance of the rooms and the signs placed along the museum galleries are identifiable thanks to a red triangle with a stylized mummy drawn on them (Fig. 38, Annex). The panels are written in Italian and English and warn the visitors about the presence of human remains. They report the following advertisement: "The red triangle marks the spots in the museum galleries where human remains are displayed. Depending on their individual sensibilities, the public can choose whether to view these finds and their archaeological context, or skip them".

However, the ethical reflection of the museum in relation to these finds did not stop there. The human remains in the museum are presented to the public along with their grave goods and artifacts in order to allow their archaeological contextualization and overcome that archaic separation between 'bodies' and ‘objects' that according to Balachandran (2009, p. 48) "ignores the deep interconnectedness of these different elements in a grave, and violates the sanctity, original intent and conceptual integrity of the burial". The archaeological approach is therefore the privileged one within the museum and in relation to all the bodies and objects on display.

Nevertheless, when it comes to ancient human remains, this approach can be inadequate to explore and present their sensitive and human nature. From this awareness, therefore, a reflection was born, encouraged also by the Italian debate on the issue, which led the Egyptian Museum to dedicate a new exhibition approach to the mummies preserved until now in the deposits. The Egyptian Museum is in fact developing a new exhibition project aimed at creating a new permanent area entirely dedicated to the display of biological human finds.

The new hall will be called *'Sala della Vita'*, a symbolic name that is also a declaration of intentions of the museum that want to tell the life of the ancient Egypt through the stories of the people whose remains have been preserved and have become part of the collection of the institution. The gallery will host the mummified and skeletal remains currently kept in the storage rooms and some of them, six in the specific, will be visible to the public. The project

will involve the use of black windows which, if illuminated, will reveal the bodies placed behind them (Fig. 39, Annex). The remains, however, will be not separated to their archaeological context but they will be displayed along with their associated objects and artifacts and also with multimedia materials to support the narration.

The new exhibition, scheduled for May 2020, will provide a new approach of the museum to the anthropological finds preserved within it. The set-up of the exhibition wants to trace a journey through the main stages of life: birth, childhood, adolescence, adulthood and maturity, showing the everyday life of these people, their social conditions, their work and leisure activities and so, the elements directly related to the cultural and social identity of the Egyptian culture of which these remains are symbol and representation. An exhibition, therefore, that overcame the traditional approach of the museum towards the display of human remains with a new prospective not only focused on the archaeological aspects but more oriented instead to emphasize the human and sensitive nature of the finds. Moreover, the room will be separated from the mandatory museum path giving to the visitors the opportunity to choose whether or not to see the remains.

In relation to the exhibition of human finds the museum has paid, then, great attention to the main complexities that we have identified in the first chapter of this work. First of all, attention to the anthropological finds themselves and their treatment and interpretation as people rather than things. Secondly, attention to the communities of origin through the active involvement of the current Egyptian communities in the museum activities. Finally, attention to the general public that visits the museum and which may find itself uncomfortable observing human remains within it. The sensitivity linked to the nature of these remains has in fact pushed the museum to carry out a study on the visitor perceptions of ancient Egyptian human finds. The survey that will start on September 1st, has the objective to know the public opinion in regard to the exhibition of human remains and to know in which aspects of their lives the visitors are more interested. The results will be used by the curators to implement the exhibition project and better meet the expectations of the public. We will better address this investigation in the next chapter.

4.4 Considerations

The Egyptian Museum of Turin represents a forefront institution, not only on the exhibition level, but above all in the research field becoming the core of an international cooperation network capable to compete with the great international museum institutions. The museum does

not represent only a place of conservation, but through its initiatives and projects, it has expanded its terrain of influence, becoming a place of meeting, sharing, and integration, overcoming the limits of a Western institution for Westerners and developing inclusion strategies aimed at the idea of the museums as a common good for everyone. The current direction of the museum promotes a curatorial redistribution for which its activities and exhibition choices are not dictated only by those who work within it but are shared with the territory and the publics that visit it. The goal of this co-curatorial strategy is to best adapt the activities of the museum to the needs of the visitors, but also to make the institution fully integrated into the society and part of a system that sees different stakeholders as main characters, among which we have researchers, public and private organizations of the territory, national and international institutions, and the general public, that includes the Italian communities and the foreign ones.

It is necessary to note, however, that the possibility of investing permanently in research, conservation, restoration, exhibition and in the use of innovative techniques, has been made possible above all thanks to the economic and financial autonomy of the institution accomplished with the creation of the public/private *Fondazione Museo delle Antichità Egizie*. As highlight by the institution itself, "*la produzione del museo vicino ai 10 milioni di euro ha saputo dare stabilità a un modello oggi in grado di garantirne l'auto-finanziamento, conseguendo nel triennio 2015/2017 avanzi di gestione per un totale di 1.833.360 euro (destinati al sostegno di nuove progettualità interne)*" (Museo Egizio, n.d./b).

4.5 The Egyptian collection of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of Turin

The Egyptian Museum is not the only institution in Turin to hold an important Egyptian collection.

Between 1911 and 1920, the last excavations of the M.A.I. under the leadership of Ernesto Schiaparelli were carried out with the collaboration of the Piedmontese doctor and anthropologist Giovanni Marro. During these excavations he collected a large number of mummies, skeletal remains, and photographs which were later incorporated within the Institute of Anthropology of the University of Turin where in 1923 Marro was charged of the chair of Anthropology (Vassilika, 2008; Museo di Antropologia ed Etnografia, n.d.). This collection, later increased by Marro through other archaeological campaigns in Egypt along with Giulio Farina, constituted the origin of the future Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the University of Turin founded by Marro in 1926.

The first location of the museum was within the *Palazzo Carignano*, where Marro created a first set-up of the collections and conducted the first studies on the mummified Egyptian bodies (Fig. 40, Annex). In 1936 the museum was transferred within the seat of the old Saint John the Baptist hospital and continued to grow with anthropological, ethnographic and paleontological collections. At the death of Giovanni Marro in 1952, the direction of the museum and the chair of anthropology passes to Savina Fumagalli who conducted and manage the first cataloguing and reorganization of the collections (Museo di Antropologia ed Etnografia, n.d.). After her death in 1961 the museums undergone another reorganization phase between 1962 and 1968. In 1984 it closed to the public because the old spaces that housed the collections did not longer satisfy the safety standards.

In 1989, the museum became part of the *'Progetto Museo dell'Uomo'*. The project, born from an agreement between the University of Turin, the Piedmont Region and the Municipality of Turin, involved the construction of a new museum center dedicated to the university collections relating to the human sciences. The site of this exhibition center was identified in the *Palazzo degli Istituti Anatomici*, the historic headquarters of the Anatomical Institutes of the Faculty of Medicine.

The collections of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography began to be transferred in the new spaces in 2017 and will complete the exhibition project giving a common seat to the Museum of Anatomy 'Luigi Rolando', the Museum of the Fruit (moved in 2006), and the Museum of Criminal Anthropology 'Cesare Lombroso' (moved in 2009). The *Palazzo degli Istituti Anatomici* will constitute, then, the museum center dedicated to the Turin scientific positivism between the end of the nineteenth century and the begin of the twentieth century that exactly in this city has had its most important national center (Giacobini, Cilli & Malerba, 2009, p. 37).

4.6 The Egyptian 'mummy in the dress'

The relocation of the collections of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography brought to light several Egyptian anthropological finds of considerable scientific importance that had been stocked in the deposits of the museum probably since the 1960s, due to the lack of adequate spaces and resources for their study and exhibition. The collection includes the finds gathered by Giovanni Marro during the excavations of the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* in Egypt between 1911 and 1937. They are coming mainly from the dynastic necropolis of Assiut and from the predynastic and dynastic necropolises of Gebelen, in Upper Egypt (Ricca, 2018).

The biological human remains, found in a critical state of preservation, led the museum to elaborate a project for their restoration and promotion in collaboration with other entities of the territory. Some of the mummies, have been brought to the *Centro Conservazione e Restauro della Venaria Reale* to undergo a process of restoration and cleaning. Among these, the so called 'mummy in the dress', which hold a particular scientific interest due to the fact of being one of the oldest dynastic mummies of the collection (lived between 2407 and 2199 BC) (Fig. 41, Annex).

The mummy was recovered in Gebelein in 1920. As assessed by a previous study conducted in 2005, "the body belonged to a young woman, 154 cm tall and likely 19-21 years old at the time of death" (Pedrini et al., 2005, p. 56). The mummy lies on her left side, on a natural position over the remains of a wooden coffin and with her head supported by a wooden headrest. According to the field documentation, the mummy has been described by Marro (1928, p. 15) as "*un campione magnifico, trovato in un sarcofago completamente roso dalle termiti. Noi fummo colpiti da meraviglia quando questa mummia ci apparve, come emergendo dai miserevoli e fragilissimi avanzi del suo sarcofago*". Marro documented also the presence of several grave goods including jewelry, a comb, and other small artifacts, today lost.

The studies carried out on the body revealed the presence of internal organs that witnesses the process of embalming typical of the first dynasties. An important characteristic of this mummy is related to the pleated dress that she wears over her bandages and that gave her the abovementioned nickname.

The high scientific and historical value of this mummy led the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography to seek a collaboration with the Egyptian Museum of Turin in order to give her the promotion she deserves. With this purpose has been drafted a cooperative temporary exhibition project. The mummy will be displayed within the Egyptian Museum starting from January 2020.

The 'rediscovery' and recovery of these Egyptian anthropological remains from the deposits of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography is priceless. At the same time, however, it has also brought into light new responsibilities for the workers of the museums of Turin: the need of a proper conservation, display and ethical promotion of these finds.

It is from this ethical reflections and discussions that the Egyptian Museum of Turin decided to draft another exhibition project aimed to relocate and promote the collection of the mummies preserved in its deposits. The exhibition of the 'mummy in the dress' represents indeed a preview of the new museum approach to the display of the human remains that will be

implemented within the *'Sala della Vita'*. As Rosa Boano (personal communication, 8th July, 2019) stated:

i corpi oltre ad avere una dimensione biologica, di tangibile fisicità, diventano la rappresentazione culturale della società a cui appartenevano. Da individuo a persona, da una dimensione materiale a una dimensione sociale. Ri-acquistando il loro ruolo sociale, i corpi acquisiscono una nuova vita in museo. La conservazione, lo studio e l'esposizione dei corpi deve mettere al centro dell'attenzione la dignità della persona umana che essi rappresentano e la dignità del visitatore che osservandolo ne vuole comprendere il ruolo nella storia dell'umanità.

This new approach toward anthropological remains, led consequently to the need of a deeper communication and consultation with the general public. This need brought the Egyptian Museum to undergo a museum audience research capable of revealing the visitor perceptions over the retention and public display of these materials.

CHAPTER 5

Museum visitor studies

In the first chapter of this work we presented the main complexities related to the retention study and exhibition of human remains within Western curatorial institutions. Along our research we underlined as well the responsibilities of the museum workers and of the scholars that, studying and working with anthropological finds have the duty to recognize their sensible values and manage them with respect and dignity. The exhibition of these remains became certainly one of the most sensitive moments because as we have seen, the exhibition requires an interpretation, a mode of representation. The museum has indeed the delicate task to recontextualize human remains, explain and present them to the public. The display can be, then, particularly controversial because involves not only the ethical approach of the curators in regard to the remains themselves but also the sensitivity of the public that visit the museums and observes the bodies inside them.

The communicative aspect becomes therefore a cornerstone in the work of the museum: not only because is the mean by which it fulfills its educational function, but, because the ways in which it communicates and the ideology[75] that is communicated represent a great responsibility for the institution and the principal object of criticisms and claims by groups or individuals (Monza, 2013).

As highlighted in the previous chapter, the Egyptian Museum of Turin has, from some time now, implemented new communication policies directed to the active involvement and dialogue with its actual and potential public in order to respond to the needs of the visitors, develop new audiences, and stimulate social integration and inclusion. The communication with the public became particularly urgent and necessary when it comes to the exhibition of human remains because, as demonstrate by some museum cases presented in this research (as the Manchester University Museum and the Museum Cesare Lombroso of Turin), the lack of a public consultation could put at risk the exhibition itself and question the work of the museum.

[75] As noted by Hopper-Greenhill (1994, p. 3), the museum, as socio-cultural institution, is "susceptible to analysis through the 'semiology of signification'. The museum has, as we have already seen, its own identity made by the set of people who work in it, managing, interpreting, and displaying the collection. It communicates, then, specific ideological messages that can be often hidden and unintentional. Hopper-Greenhill (1994, p. 3) highlight indeed that, "Ideology is the metaphorical sea within which we swim, the social air that we breathe. It is not possible to live outside ideology; it permeates our existence as social beings".

In this chapter we will discuss how the Museum can efficiently communicate with its public and through which means it can collect information about its visitors and its pattern of use. This must be accomplished in order to elaborate exhibition projects and policies more focused on the audience interest and sensitivity and to make the visit experience more significative for the visitors. We will present also a practical case of museum audience research born from our collaboration with the Egyptian Museum of Turin.

5.1 Communication and public consultation

The participation of individuals in the cultural life of society is considered today a fundamental human right. Several laws[76] have over time promoted this right by defining the participation not only as a simple enjoyment of heritage, but as an active involvement of the community in its production, interpretation, preservation, and promotion, thus contributing to the cultural progress of society (Baldin, 2018). We are assisting indeed to a progressive change of perspective that promote a new approach to the conservation of the cultural heritage, not only entrusted to the specialists but increasingly oriented towards the awareness of the value and importance of these resources for individuals and their socio-cultural identity (Baldin, 2018). As underlined by Cury (2016, p. 12):

Sobretudo, ocorre o que poderíamos denominar início de uma revolução comunicacional nos museus, pois passam a existir mudanças nas relações com a sociedade e no direito de participação das fragmentações e segmentações sociais nos processos de musealização, além do direito a tecer suas micro-histórias, construir suas memórias, eleger e preservar seu patrimônio. No cenário intensificado da globalização a participação ganha força e os museus passam a ver no público um elemento constitutivo. Os museus vislumbram que o patrimônio está no território e, também, é um conjunto de elementos materiais e imateriais que dialogam entre si, ou seja, não estando isolados, fazem parte da dinâmica cultural.

Communication has been defined by the UNESCO (2015) as one of the primary functions of the museums alongside to preservation, research, and education. It cannot be considered something additional, but a constituent element of the museum institution, an activity that has museological dignity, which permeates every phase of the museum (ICOM, 2018). However,

[76] Among the main: UN 'Universal declaration of human rights' of 1948 (art.27); UNESCO 'Recommendation on Participation by the People at Large in Cultural Life and their Contribution to It' of 1976; UNESCO 'Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity' of 2001; Council of Europe 'Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society' (Faro Convention) of 2005; UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights 'General comment no. 21, Right of everyone to take part in cultural life' of 2009.

communication cannot be merely conceived as the act of producing and spreading information. As underlined by ICOM Italia (2018),

Non è un processo lineare, ma circolare che costruisce sempre nuovi contenuti in un equilibrio tra l'esperienza del pubblico e quella dei professionisti del museo. Per questo è fondamentale l'ascolto del pubblico: "non si può comunicare se prima non si ascolta". Il pubblico è quindi una componente attiva della comunicazione che deve anche essere messo nelle condizioni di operare a favore del museo.

If, until some time ago, the museum paid a much greater attention "to the effective crafting of messages and strategies for delivering them" (Munley, 2013, p. 46) working on new strategies of communication in order to talk efficaciously to its public, nowadays the museum attention is increasingly directed towards the listening part of communication, implementing new ways for a two-way dialogue with public where the museum is not the only one to process and transmit information.

Knowing the pattern of visitors, and the pattern of use of the museum is indeed a fundamental aspect of the contemporary museum activities, through which the institution can improve its performance, implement good practices and accessibility, enhance the management of the collections, and foster cultural democracy, equal exchange, and co-production. In order to achieve these goals, visitor research and evaluation[77] became indispensable management information tools. According to Hopper-Greenhill (1994, p. 68), they

should include both qualitative and quantitative research, and be carried out as part of a systematic and planned programme. In the past, museums and galleries have seen this as expensive and time-consuming, but as museums strive to get closer to their audiences, the need to know who they are, and second, what they think, will become more and more imperative.

Moreover, the researches on the public are evolving in their contents and purposes. If many of the audience studies are conducted in order to improve knowledge of the museum visitors, new lines of interests are emerging. In particular, are growing the researches aimed at assessing the cognitive impact produced by the visit and those aimed at describing the social interactions and the behavior of the users within the museum (Bollo, 2004).

[77] According to Randi Korn, the concept of 'evaluation' can be defined as "the systematic collection of data and information about the characteristics, activities, and outcomes of an exhibition or public programme (educational or leisure session, event) that is useful in making decision about the programme's continuation or improvement"; the 'research', instead, "involves the generation of new knowledge and the exploration of hypothesis, which, while not necessary providing immediately useful information, does offer material for the development of theories" (In Hopper-Greenhill, 1994, p. 69).

The goal of museum audience investigations is not only to increase participation, an objective this one however desirable, but above all to improve the quality of service, of the experience offered and survey the attitudes that the public may have in relation to specific topics (Bollo, 2004; Coffee, 2007). Another very important reason for addressing a public analysis in relation to an exhibition project concern the attempt to avoid, and possibly mute, the curatorial authoritative voice (Hein, 2006). As noted by Gilane Tawadros (1990, pp. 30), indeed, "the notion of western culture as inherently progressive, sophisticated and, above all, superior...remains firmly imbedded in the cultural institutions of western Europe, not at least in its museums".

Very often, indeed, the representation made by the Western museum institutions have, as we already seen, reflected the interest and attitudes of the dominant cultures, making prevail the Western perspectives on other cultures perpetuating a cultural imperialism and promoting principles and ideas of social injustice. The involvement of different people and stakeholders in the exhibition project development, can be, then, a useful resource to implement the interdisciplinary and multicultural dialogue facilitating the confrontation of different perspectives and points of views and providing, as noted by Hein (2006, p. 347), "several different interpretations of an object or exhibit".

The analysis of the visitor perceptions can be carried out in different moments of the exhibition process. It can take place at the beginning of the development of the project (front-end evaluation) in order to identify possible complexities or elements capable to arise controversies; it can aims at examining some of the aspect of the exhibition while it is in process (formative evaluation) allowing the curators to directly observe or interviewing the visitors within the museum galleries; and finally can be carried out at the end of the exhibit (summative evaluation) to evaluate the results achieved and obtain information about the effectiveness of the exhibition and communication strategies useful for future projects (Hopper-Greenhill, 1994; Bollo, 2004).

5.2 What are the museum visitor studies?

According to Hopper-Greenhill (2006, p. 363), the notion of 'visitors studies' refers to a wide range of researches and evaluations "involving museums and their actual, potential, and virtual visitors which collectively might be termed the 'audience' for museums". We have seen so far how the communication with the publics and the visitor studies can be a very useful instrument for the museum, not only in order to optimize the resources and better respond to the visitor

needs, but also to share and recognize the different scenarios, opportunities and limitations of the activities carried out by the institution.

According to Jean Michel Tobelem (2003, p. 260), "*la fonction des études de publics est principalement de réduire l'incertitude des décideurs par l'apport d'informations utiles*". It is important indeed that the visitor researches provide information with a practical utility for the institution which can be translated into reorganization projects, new action plans and therefore capable of influence and enhance the activities of the museum.

As suggested by Bollo (2004, p. 9), the museum must pursue a circular process aimed to transform the data in information, the information in knowledge and the knowledge in action. In order to do so, it is important to establish clear objectives, involve the museum staff and develop a clear plan of the time and the methods used to conduct the survey. There are two methodological approaches, quantitative and qualitative. They are directed to two different types of audience research and adopt different type of investigation tools.

5.2.1 The quantitative research

The quantitative approach is mainly aimed at measuring the phenomena and generalizing the results obtained. The information are generally acquired through standardized procedures that allow the codification, measurement and statistical interpretation of the data collected (Bollo, 2004). One of the most used tools for this type of research is the questionnaire.

The questionnaire

Consisting of a structured list of questions, the questionnaire is the basic tool to obtain the statistical information that quantitative research pursues. As noted by Bailey (1997), the questionnaire is a particular form of survey which consists in administer a certain number of questions, in a specific moment, to a group of subjects chosen so as to be representative of the entire population that is observed.

Through the questionnaire it is possible to obtain personal data, demographic, and socio-cultural information concerning the origin, age, level of education and religious beliefs of the visitors, thus obtaining a general idea about the museum visitor pattern and the identity of the museum visitor-type. Moreover, the questionnaire is also used to investigate the methods of use, the motivations and evaluate the visiting experience of the public. The advantage of this investigative tool is that it is possible to administer a certain number of questions, generally not too high, to a large number of people, obtaining results that can be generalized and standardized

(Bollo, 2004). However, in order to obtain useful results and information it is important to follow some specific rules in the elaboration and organization of the questions.

Alessandro Bollo (2004), expert of management and cultural planning, underlined some of the main aspects to take into account during the design of a questionnaire, which will be presented hereafter. First of all, the questionnaire cannot to be too long. A range between 10 and 15 question is considered a good quantity in order to not discourage the visitors to participate to the survey and allowing them to maintain a good level of concentration from the beginning to the end without asking too much time and effort in the compilation. Secondly, it is important to avoid ambiguous or inaccurate questions and the use of technical terms. The questions have to be short, with a simple and immediate language, easy to understand by everybody, especially the non-specialists. The questionnaire may include open-ended questions, in which the respondent can answer freely without specific response categories or closed-ended questions, in which the respondents can answer selecting between two or more options provided by the researcher (Bailey, 1994). However, closed questions generally prevail because they are easier to answer for the respondents and easier to analyze for the researchers[78]. In order to have reliable results, the interviewees must feel comfortable during the compilation of the questionnaire and for this reason the potentially embarrassing or compromising questions must be avoided. In the elaboration of the questions it is also necessary to avoid the use of formulations that can influence the answers of the respondents. Finally, it is important to draft questions that can allow an easy confrontation of the answers over time and between different museum institutions. The results of the questionnaire in a quantitative research, indeed, should be easily measured and standardized.

5.2.2 The qualitative research

As evidenced by Hopper- Greenhill (2006, pp. 371; 373):

> Measuring, counting, and mapping have formed the basis of the vast majority of museum visitor studies. But demographic studies only provide certain sorts of information. A map of the pattern of use of museums, whether on a small or a large scale, does not provide an understanding of the value of that experience to visitors, and structured questionnaires are of limited use in developing an in-depth knowledge of attitudes, values, and feelings. […] This demands a turn to interpretative philosophies and qualitative research methods.

[78] To have more information about the advantages and disadvantages of the open-ended and close-ended questions, see Bollo (2004) and Bailey (1994).

The qualitative approach is indeed less focused on measurable and countable results and more directed instead on assessing the meanings of phenomena (Bollo, 2004). We could say that the qualitative researches aim to describe a situation rather than measure it. The main objective of this approach in the field of visitor studies within museum institutions is to interpret the subjective viewpoint of the visitors in regard to specific topics, exhibitions or museum practices. In order to achieve these types of information, the main tools used are the focus group, the interview and the observation.

Focus group

The focus group is a research technique based on the discussion between a small group of unrelated individuals, guided by one or more specialized moderators, focused on a particular topic to be investigated in depth. The moderators may use a series of open-ended questions and projective techniques such as visual inputs, simulations and role-play games, to stimulate the discussion and the interactions between the participants and encouraging them to express their opinions and thoughts on the particular topic of interest. (Bollo, 2004; Lune & Berg, 2016).

Also in the focus group research it is necessary to pay attention to some particular aspects in order to obtain effective results and useful information. We can summarize the main ones in four points: 1) first of all it is important to have a clear and defined research objective and specialized moderators able to direct and focalize the discussion towards this objective; 2) the moderators must be able to provide a comfortable environment in order to facilitate discussion and dialogue between the participants; 3) in general, it is preferable the participation of a small number of individuals but still higher than the number of moderators, in an ideal proportion of 10 to 1; 4) in addition to the moderator who directs the discussion it is useful the presence of an assistant who observes the group and the social interactions between the participants. Videotaping and audio recording in order to document the session can be very useful even if not always possible to realize (Lune & Berg, 2016).

The focus group is a useful method to investigate the expectations, perceptions, and behaviors of the visitors towards a given experience, as well as to deepen and explain the reasons behind them. Focus groups can also be used to test the public satisfaction in relation to new activities, new educational programs or potential exhibition projects (Bollo, 2004).

Interview

The interview can be defined as a two-way dialogue between the interviewer and the interviewee (Bollo, 2004). It is a face-to-face social interaction in which the researcher has the possibility to directly converse with the visitor, or the potential visitor of the museum inquiring its opinion about a specific question. The museum interviews can be semi-standardized or unstandardized (Bollo, 2004; Lune & Berg, 2016). The first type uses a structured protocol in which the interviewer has a list of the topics and issues that he intends to address during the interview. It is then a formally structured conversation in which there is not a rigid list of questions to answer, but the flow of the conversation is led by the interviewer and the informants are required to address each of the topic presented by the researcher. The unstandardized interview, instead, is a more open-ended conversation in which there are not written specific questions but "as much as possible, the interviewer encourages the informant to lead the conversation" (Lune & Berg, 2016, p. 68). The researcher provides a set of topics to discuss, entrusting the flow of the conversation to the cues, indications, and responses provided by the respondent. Generally every interview is recorded and transcribed by the researcher (Bollo, 2004).

The interview allows the researcher to investigate in depth the topic of interest, but at the same time, compared to the methods mentioned above, it is more expensive and difficult to achieve on a large scale.

Observations

The observing investigation is a qualitative method of research based on the observation of the behaviors of a particular subject or groups of people. It is an instrument of investigation deriving from of the ethnographic research field and it is particularly suitable for the museum audience studies. As noted by Bollo (2004), in the observation carried out within the museum field, unlike what happens in anthropological and ethnographic investigations, there is no form of participation of the researcher or interaction between observer and observed. The lack of a direct relationship with the individual investigated avoids those behavioral conditioning that can occur in the interaction between these and the researcher. Stoddart (1986, pp. 108-109) defined the 'invisible researcher' as "the ideal researcher who sees without being observed and, consequently, captures the natural field without tainting it".

Observation is a very useful method of research in the museum audience studies because provides the researcher with the possibility to observe and read the body language of the visitors

within the museum galleries, generally more spontaneous and instinctive than the verbal language, which can be more easily influenced by the desire of the individual to give a better or different image of itself. The ways in which the visitors approach with the exhibited finds, their expressions, and potential comments and interaction with other visitors often reflect the inner emotions and thoughts of people and from these it is possible to obtain very valuable information for the purpose of qualitative research.

According to Bollo (2004), non-participative observation may be particularly useful in order to: 1) identify the elements or areas of the exhibition that most attract the attention or that are ignored (attractive or repulsive power); 2) analyses the 'museum proxemics' that is the analysis of the distances and interactions between users and objects, between user and user, and between object and object; 3) assess the museum fatigue of the visitors and measure the visit itinerary and relative times of permanence within the museum.

As noted by Lune & Berg (2016, p. 12), "Qualitative and quantitative methods give us different, complementary pictures of the things we observe". In order to obtain results as complete and reliable as possible, capable of returning not only an idea of the pattern of audience visiting the museum, but also the pattern of use of the museum, the visitor motivations, and the opinion of the public on a particular topic, is therefore necessary to use both quantitative and qualitative research techniques in an integrated and complementary way.

5.3 The visitor study at the Egyptian Museum of Turin

As Hugh Kilmister of the Patrie Museum of London noted in 2003 (p. 57), "although the issues of retention and display of human remains have become topical over the last decade, the thoughts of museum visitors about this topic have not been registered, despite their being the museums' main stakeholder". This situation has remained unchanged up to the present days.

Jasmine Day (2014) defined the visitors as the 'forgotten stakeholders', underlining that the museums audiences have been rarely consulted in relation to the debate regarding the management and exhibition of ancient human remains. As we have already noted, in Europe the origin of the debate has been mainly related to the initiative of the museum workers and researchers rather that from public contestations. The opening of the debate to the general public is often feared by the museum workers because it could raise controversies that might be subsequently difficult to manage, jeopardizing the integrity of the collections (Giacobini, 2011). However, the few public consultations carried out in the United States, Australia, and Britain,

demonstrated that the majority of visitors favour the exhibition of ancient human remains and as stated by Day (2014, p. 32), “the older the remains, the less objection their exhibit raises”.

The scientific and cultural importance of ancient human finds and the growing ethical attention of contemporary museum institutions to their management and public display cannot ignore the opinion of the public, both actual and potential.

In light of this awareness, a visitor research project has been drafted in collaboration with the Egyptian Museum of Turin, aimed at investigating the public perceptions of ancient Egyptian human remains preserved and exposed within it. The research can be defined as a fore-front evaluation in view of the future opening of the new area entirely dedicated to the display of human remains, the *'Sala della Vita'*. The evaluation aims to analyses the aspects that could hurts the sensitivity of visitors becoming potential sources of controversy. At the same time, the results of the investigation will provide useful information to the curators about the interests of the visitors in relation to the lives of the ancient Egyptians, that will be later used as guidelines for the development of the new exhibition project.

5.3.1 The methodology

The Egyptian Museum of Turin has been chosen as research field for the study on visitor perception on ancient human remains for different reasons.

The first reason resides on its great relevance at national and international level. According to the MIBAC data of 2017, the Egyptian Museum of Turin is in fact at the eighth position in the national ranking of the most visited museums of Italy with around 845,000 visitors in 2017 (Tab. 2, Annex). As shown by the 2018 survey ‘*Visitatori e impatto economico del Museo Egizio sul territorio. Analisi e scenari futuri*’, the public visiting the museum is predominantly Italian but with relevant percentages also from Europe and countries outside the European Union (Fig. 42, Annex). Moreover, as already seen in the previous chapter, the museum of Turin also constitutes the second most important museum of Egyptian antiquities in the world after the Museum of Cairo.

This general framework gives an image of the Egyptian Museum of Turin as an institution with a strong attractive power and, as such, with a strong cultural and educational potential. The relevance that it plays at European and non-European level, therefore, makes of it a meaningful field of research capable of returning results not limited only to the local area in which the museum is inserted but to a much wider national, European and extra-European reality.

Another reason is due to the particular interest of the museum in relation to the issue addressed in this work. As noted above, the museum will open in May 2020 a new exhibition area entirely dedicated to the display of human remains. This stimulated an ethical reflection toward the exhibition modalities of the finds in the future new hall.

In the prospective of the curatorial redistribution promoted by the museum, has been decided to launch a public consultation that could provide useful guidelines for the redefinition of the developing project and ensure ethical correctness, combining the scientific needs with those of the public enjoyment and of cultural respect.

The groundwork for the Egyptian museum visitors study begun in June 2019. The first meeting took place on June 13th at the Egyptian Museum of Turin. During this meeting the first draft of the questionnaire, previously elaborated by the author of this research, was presented to Paolo del Vesco, curator of the museum and of the new exhibition project. Two members of the communication and marketing office, Caterina Ciccopiedi and Virginia Cimino were also present. Following this interview, the Egyptian Museum accepted to carrying out the research.

The second meeting was held in July 2019. This time, together with the director of the Museum Christian Greco, two representatives of the social research and political communication agency 'Quorum' have been invited as well: Lorenzo Pregliasco, journalist and co-founder and Andrea Viscardi, Project Manager. The Egyptian Museum had already recourse to the services provided by this agency in 2018 for the realization of the visitor survey '*Visitatori e impatto economico del Museo Egizio sul territorio. Analisi e scenari futuri*'. During this meeting has been presented the first draft of the questionnaire to Pregliasco and Viscardi and the reason behind the need of this survey and the main objectives pursued have been explained and discussed.

After this confrontation, Quorum committed to work on the drafting of a research and financial proposal to be presented to the museum by the next meeting set for July 8th.

The third meeting was focused indeed on the analysis of the Quorum proposal. The project presented involved both quantitative and qualitative analysis. For the quantitative research the use of the close-ended survey initially previewed has been confirmed. For the qualitative analysis, instead, has been established the use of two focus groups to be administrated, as for the survey, to actual and potential visitors. Quorum gave a final estimate of 15.000 euros to realize the proposal that has been accepted by the museum.

The final meeting took place on July 31st. In this occasion the questions of the quantitative survey have been re-discussed and analyzed more in detail, one by one.

5.3.2 The questionnaire

The questionnaire is articulated in a total of sixteen closed-ended questions (Doc. 1, Annex).

The survey will take place along the month of September 2019 and will be directed to the quantitative data of the actual and potential public of the Egyptian Museum of Turin. The actual visitor data will be collected at the end of the current permanent visit path of the museum and will involve people who have actually just finished to visit the exhibition coming into contact with the human remains on display. To collect these data tablets with the CAPI (Computer Assisted Personal Interview) technology will be used. The objective is to collect the data relative to about 250 visitor experiences.

In regard to the potential visitor data, instead, the survey will be conducted with people that never visited the museum and that never came into contact with the current human exhibition choices of the institution. The data will be collected using CATA/CAWI technologies on a sample of around 400 Italian informants.

The first six questions (1-6) are aimed at investigating the personal records and the demographic and socio-cultural profile of the visitors interviewed. These data represent important indicators to be taken into consideration since they constitute the basis of our thinking and significantly influence our idea of ethics and of what may or may not be appropriate. The religious affinity of the respondents (question 4), can be particularly interesting to investigate in order to assess if, and in which measure, the different spiritual beliefs and the related viewpoints over the death and afterlife could affect the opinion about the public display of human remains in museums.

The survey continues with four questions (7-10) dedicated to evaluating the general idea of the visitors about anthropological finds and how they should be displayed within museum institutions. The main objective of these questions is to understand the opinion of the visitors about the public exhibition of human remains and if they generally agree or not with it.

The question n. 7 will ask to the respondents to indicate the main reason for which they have decided to visit the Egyptian Museum of Turin. The possible choice of the ‘mummies’ as main interest of the museum visitors it would be very interesting, revealing how the already mentioned mummymania continue to be a strong contemporary phenomenon.

The questions number 8 and 9 are the first to go deeper into the issue of the popular perception of the cultural and historical meaning of the human remains.

The question n. 8, places the visitor in front of a dichotomy between 'object' and 'subject', asking to define Egyptian mummies as 'things' or 'people'. The question was created to investigate not only the public perception of this specific type of find, but also the historical value that these bodies have maintained over time in the eyes of the visitors. The mummification process undergone by these bodies, implies in fact a substantial difference with respect to the bodies that have been naturally preserved: they have been created by the intervention of other people and this, somehow, facilitate their objectification and definition as artefacts rather than human beings. The subject can choose between 4 options, three describing the mummies as objects and one as humans being.

The question n. 9 asks the respondents what they think human remains are. There are 10 options and the visitors can choose as much options as they want.

The question n. 10 intends to analyze the opinion of the visitors in regard to the retention and study of ancient human remains within museum institution. This question is directed to evaluate the extent to which visitors agree with the preservation, scientific research and public display of ancient human remains within museums.

Two questions (11 and 12) are are directed to investigate the public viewpoint about the exhibition methods of human remains adopted by the Egyptian Museum of Turin.

The question n. 11 require the visitors to define with an adjective the exhibition policy of human mummies within the museum. The question aims to evaluate the emotional and cognitive impact of the exhibition choices adopted by the institution.

The question n. 12 asks informants to evaluate the museum arrangement of the mummies along the exhibition itinerary. Visitors are asked if the placement of the mummies within the obligatory museum path may constitutes a lack of respect for the remains themselves or of the sensitivity of those who, for personal reasons, would not like to see them.

The questions 13 and 14 address the issue related to the contemporary Western denial of death and the exponential growth of interest toward thanatological themes and entertainment.

The question n. 13 asks respondents to express their opinion about the main reason for which people are attracted to the mummies. The options include ‘morbidity’ as possible answer which reflects the obsessive fascination with death, topical in our contemporary society.

The question n. 14 reflects the possibility for the museum to promote a positive interaction between visitors and dead in contrast with the increasing popular and media representations of violent death (see pp. 13-16 of this work). As noted by Day (2014, p. 29),

indeed, 'if perpetuated rather than halted, the display of mummies could be used to actively combat disparaging media stereotypes".

The last two questions of the survey, finally, are dedicated to investigate in which aspects relating to ancient human remains the visitors would be more interested.

The question n. 15 and 16 require visitors to indicate to which aspects they are most interested in relation to funerary and mummification practices and in relation to the lives of the subjects exposed. The answers of these two questions will be very important in order to construct a hierarchy of contents in the future '*Sala della Vita'*.

5.3.3 The Focus groups

The qualitative research will consist of two focus groups.

The first will involve a group of 10 participants that already visited the museum after the reopening of 2015. This meeting will be focused on the analysis of their perception in regard to the treatment and exhibition of human remains of the current museum path. During the focus group some of the renderings elaborated for the future '*Sala della Vita'* will be presented. This will be accomplished in order to collect, discuss, and analyze data on the new exhibition project.

The second focus group will involve instead a group of 10 potential visitors of the museum selected among people that never visited it before. The meeting will be divided in three parts. An introductive discussion in which will be analyzed the general people perceptions on ancient human remains in museums. To it will follow a second part during which the participants will be leaded through a brief visit tour (around 30 minutes) of the museum collections. This visit will be preparatory for the third part of the focus group. In light of the experience they just lived and in regard of the ideas they matured during the latter, the participants will return to discuss the human remains exhibition policies of the museum.

5.3.4 Future Results

The results of the qualitative and quantitative researches will be elaborated by Quorum and will be made available approximately by the end of September / beginning of October 2019.

This public consultation is seen by the Egyptian Museum of Turin as an important and meaningful tool of communication with its public and with the communities which represent the stakeholder of the collections. The visitor feedbacks are indeed a valuable resource for the museum that wants, according to them, analyse, and possibly rethink its exhibition choices regarding mummies and human remains.

The results obtained by this research on the public perception over this issue will be presented during the Turin conference 'Human Remains. Ethics, Conservation, Display' of September 30th - October 1st, follow-up of the previous like-themed meeting organized in Pompeii and Naples in May 2019 (Doc. 3, Annex).

The information collected during this research will be finally displayed inside the new exhibition area opening in May 2020.

CONCLUSION

As we have seen in this work, the museum retention, study and exhibition of human remains has taken over time different forms and purposes that nowadays can raise controversies and polemics, especially when the remains on display belong to other cultures.

The encounter with otherness, indeed, always poses difficulties of communication, interpretation, understanding, and acceptance. The museums undergone over time a profound process of change, both in their relationship with their internal structure and in their relationships to the outside. As noted by Hopper-Greenhill (1994, pp. 1, 6), "museums are changing from being static storehouses for artefact into active learning environments for people. […] New forms of museums, new ways of working with objects, new attitudes to exhibitions and above all, new ways of relating to museum publics, are emerging".

The analysis addressed in this research related to the issue of conservation, management and display of human finds within Western museum institution has shown that there are not universally applicable solutions to the problem, because not all the remains held the same complexities and rise the same controversies.

However, we have demonstrated how the museological ethic discourse related to human remains must be addressed taking into consideration three different subjects: the remains themselves, the communities of origins and the general public.

First of all, the museum must pay attention to the ethical treatment of the human remains themselves.

Some people could state that the non-exhibition is the only way of respecting the ancient bodies, but can this really be a solution? What to do then to all the human remains currently preserved and exhibited within the museums and academies? Do we have to rebury them? Even if most of the controversies arose in relation to human remains came from indigenous communities of descendants, only a small part of the remains retained by the curatorial institutions have cultural or genetic descendants still in life. What to do then with the others? A possible reburial operated by contemporary people, in other places, with other rituals can be really seen as respectful treatments of these people?

As demonstrated by this research, displaying is not just a merely act of showing, but involves several implications and complexities. This, however does not mean that the act of exhibit human remains cannot be ethical. As noted by Telmo Pievani (2019), the system that

sees a conflict between science and ethic is strongly wrong because also within the scientific sphere is possible to work ethically and in many cases science and ethic can coincide.

In this regard, we must point out that also the restitution cannot always be seen an ethical solution to the problem. The return, in fact, always implies a further new recontextualization of the finds: the original context cannot longer be restored and the past circumstances of collection and disinterment cannot be undone or erased from history.

Restitution can be a useful solution only if it serves to satisfy specific religious, emotional and identity requirements that may arise in relation to some cultural minorities that see in those remains not an object of political struggle or economic gain, but rather a real cultural and social need. However, the solution that museums should prefer and pursue is that of collaboration.

The cooperative management and interpretation of the human remains displayed within museum aims indeed to satisfy the needs and interests of the communities of origin, of the scientific community and of the publics that visit the museums. This must be accomplished in order to guarantee the dignity and respect of the exposed human bodies, of their history, of their beliefs and at the same time to promote their scientific significance and the power they have in the reconstruction and study of our origins as human beings.

We believe, then, that also within the museum environment a respectful treatment of the ancient dead can be promoted and accomplished. The enhancement of ethical museum standards, collaborative and co-participative practices, and transparency in the research and exhibition policies can have, in fact, a key-role in the improvement of respectful human remain exhibition and attentive to the different sensitivities involved. Through their study and their exhibition, human remains regain their biological and cultural meanings and can have a new social life within the museum.

It is important, however, that the museum is the first to confer respect to these materials, and not just demand it from its visitors. The use of separate rooms specifically dedicated to human remains can be seen as a valid strategy to implement a differentiation between them and the other objects exhibited suggesting the particular symbolic meaning they have as remains of once living people. This separation, that does not involve the grave goods and the objects associated with the burial, which must be maintained and displayed together with the deceased, it can allow the museum curators to recreate a more sacred and intimate area in which the visitor that enters can feel the need to adopt a more respectful behavior. Soft lighting, bans on taking

photographs, videos and speaking aloud can also be useful aids to encourage greater attention and respect within these rooms.

On the other side, the exhibition of the remains, explained and presented to the public from a scientific point of view allow the visitors to interact directly with people of the past, learning the values and traditions of different cultures and learning also to appreciate the biological and cultural diversity of peoples.

The work of conservators, researchers and museologists, indeed, cannot be limited to the scientific investigation of ancient human bodies and their physical conservation. The potential of these remains goes far beyond their scientific value alone. As emerged in this work human remains retain in themselves the signs of the past and tell, in their status of dead, their life and that of the people who surrounded them. The attention of museum professionals must therefore also focus on the cultural, identity and religious care and preservation of these finds. Physical conservation is essential and inseparable from cultural conservation.

Taking up the words of Christian Greco (2018), we cannot think the museum as a mere container of objects that we merely display. The find that enters in the museum is not only decontextualized from its place and meaning of origin but is also recontextualized, because it is inserted into a new reality and within new exposition logics. These are tied to a specific historical time and place and therefore influenced by specific political, economic, cultural and social currents. This re-contextualization becomes part of the history of the remains, being no less important than other phases and events that the individual has lived from the moment of his birth to that of his museum incorporation. The afterlife of the finds, as it is defined by Greco, has its own importance and dignity that must be respected and not ignored or hidden. This is what Ivan Bargna (2019) has called the ‘stratification of meanings’.

It is important, indeed, that the museum presents the different ethnographic contexts in which these materials have lived in the past and in which they live today, questioning them about their original meanings and about those they have acquired over time up to their museum incorporation, until the moment in which the visitor observes them inside the museum. The presence of human remains in museums, culturally and physically distant from the communities in which they were born and from which they were taken, is part of the history of these finds, tells the identity, the society and the culture in which the individual was born and at the same time also the values that Western society attributed to them through the ways in which they were interpreted and used. In this way the remains also tell part of our culture, our society and our history.

As noted by Rosa Boano (2019) during her speech at the Conference 'Human Remains. Ethics, Conservation, Display', the topic of the passing time, destroying and sometimes preserving part of the past history, should be more enhanced and promoted within museum institutions. In the course of time and space, in fact, the finds maintain the signs of the interactions with the people and the institutions that produced, used, abandoned, collected, acquired, studied, and exhibited them, thus creating a network of cultural, social and temporal relationships.

This led us to the second important subject to which the museum must pay attention in its ethical approach on human remains: the community of origin.

The reflection over the logic and modalities of acquisition, incorporation, and exhibition of human remains within Western museums can be seen indeed as an important part of that process defined by Favole (2003/b) as 'de-colonization of the anthropological thought'.

As we have seen, the museum as sociocultural agent has its own identity, express a certain ideology and then has a powerful influence on the society in which it is inserted. According to the thought of Fred Lightfoot (1983, p. 140), that we still consider valid today, the real challenge of the contemporary museum institution is "to interpret non-Western cultures honestly and sympathetically to European museum audiences. By 'honestly' one means without condescension and by 'sympathetically', that the interpretation should take into account those distorting internal/external pressures that exist in any culture". Moreover, we think that the museums also have a moral duty to show the cultural multiplicity and diversity of the world and explain how and why they collect and preserve the material cultures, sacred objects and human remains belonging to other cultures.

During the analysis addressed in this research, we have noted that an aspect very often hidden in the museum exhibition of human remains is indeed the explanation of the way through which these remains have been collected and incorporated within the institution. In most cases, the audience is unaware of the historical process and the motivations that led to their acquisition, especially when the remains have colonial origins. However, as we have demonstrated in this work, an open and clear communication with the public and the communities is nowadays essential to guarantee a respectful and dignified conservation of the remains and at the same time to ensure continuity in the scientific study of materials and the public enjoyment of this heritage.

We think that the real challenge of our contemporary society and therefore of contemporary museums is not "to make amend of the past wrongs" (Jankins, 2011, p. 17), but

instead to take awareness of the past wrongs. We cannot change our past and hiding in storerooms indigenous objects and human remains cannot be seen as a solution. Explain and show to the publics the past wrongs we have committed can be the first step toward the self-consciousness that can led to finally achieve a true and meaningful museum decolonization of non-Western societies. Moreover, the withdraw of human remains from exhibition and their preservation in laboratories and deposits make them accessible only to specialists, researchers and museum workers making them invisible to the public eyes and therefore making their history and their cultural contents nonexistent and unavailable to the visitors.

As we have already pointed out, the collaboration with the community of origins, is today fundamental to assure not only a proper and ethical treatment and display of the remains, but also to achieve a more truthful, reliable and complete understanding and interpretation of the other cultures and of their symbolic and cultural meaning. Furthermore, giving voice to the minorities and to the indigenous groups can facilitate the overcome of the traditional Eurocentrism in which the Western museum has its roots.

We have in fact observed how dangerous can be the authoritarian voice of the museum if not shared and confronted to that of other stakeholders. In a world that sees an increasing return of nationalisms, racial violence and discrimination, the museum must act as an agent of social change promoting values of tolerance, social cohesion and dialogue between cultures and social groups. The museum of today must substitute its traditional authoritarian attitude with the commitment of being a place of cultural production, dissemination and open-dialogue capable of translating expert knowledge to a non-specialist audience. Communication with museum audiences and with the communities of origin thus becomes the most powerful tool in the hands of museum institutions to be able to fulfill a positive and respectful ‘democratization of knowledge’ and in order to overcome many of the complexities behind the issues related to the retention and display of ancient human remains.

Finally, as emerged from our research, the third important subject to take into account in the implementation of an ethical museum approach on anthropological finds is the general public.

As we have demonstrated, the attitude of the visitors in relation to human remains exhibited within museum institutions can be very different. Still today they are often seen as object of curiosity and marvel: the cultural, social and temporal distance between who observe and who is exhibited facilitate the objectification of these latter and their representation as exotic alterity to which is possible to interact only within the museum galleries. Moreover, the

remains hold also the fascination of the unknown and of what we commonly cannot observe: the mystery of death and the biological evolution of the body after it.

In this regard, we have demonstrated that we should not overlooked the power of the ancient human remains in favoring a peaceful and educational interaction with death. The morbidity with which death is presented today through the media sometimes makes difficult to address it in educational and non-violent terms. The innate curiosity of the human being towards death can find in the museum exhibitions a peaceful, positive and didactic satisfaction. In order to do so it is important that the museum implements policies of exhibition oriented toward educative and didactic explanation of the scientific, cultural and social meaning of the remains rather than enhancing spectacular displays that use macabre and scary themes for the sole purpose of attracting the public attention. In the exhibitions of ancient human remains, therefore, scientific value and academic/educational purpose must always prevail over sensationalism.

However, depending on the personal sensitivity, part of the public may not feel comfortable in observing human remains within museums. It is important, then, to adequately indicate the presence of anthropologic finds within the exhibition rooms to make the visitor aware of their presence. Furthermore, when possible, the display of the remains in rooms separated from the mandatory visit path allows the public to decide freely whether or not to see them.

The public consultation and the enhancement of communication strategies aimed to understand the audience viewpoint over the exhibition of these remains and evaluate the better approaches to implement for their presentation, are today essential management tools to avoid controversies and guarantee an ethical and respectful display that take into account also the public sensitivity.

We have also demonstrated how important is the elaboration of codes and new museum policies directed to the management and display of the anthropologic heritage. The elaboration of general regulation can be seen as a very useful tool for the museum workers, conservators and practitioners in order to have a general deontological standard to follow. The codes of ethic should be a core element in every institution, especially in those that preserve and exhibit human remains and sensitive materials.

Finally, in regard to the Italian case, we have observed how the lack of a systematic reflection on the issue at a national level has made very difficult to implement careful and

ethical conservation methods that take into consideration the complexities surrounding human biological finds.

The lack of protocols, codes and of a legislative framework specifically aimed at regulating the management and display of these finds places a great responsibility in the hands of conservators and museum workers. The absence of a legal clear definition of human remains as heritage, even at the terminological level, has entrusted their conservation and protection to the discretion of the individual researchers who deal with their study and their conservation. Moreover, as demonstrated in this work, the Italian law is often conflicting because in highlighting the human nature of these finds, it denies their value as patrimony, making very difficult to manage and preserve them, which, as a matter of fact, constitute an important cultural heritage of all humanity.

In recent years, however, a greater awareness is emerging from the part of Italian museum professionals and above all from the physical anthropologists who work in the study and conservation of these materials. As already happens in other European and non-European countries, the elaboration of new museum policies to deal with the conservation and promotion of sensitive materials is a requirement that cannot wait longer and that is today strongly sought and pursued also by Italian curatorial institutions.

The Egyptian Museum of Turin has proven to be very ahead of its time in this regard. It demonstrates to have accomplished a profound reflection on the mission of the contemporary museum, whose function goes far beyond that of the sole conservation.

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Figure 34: Museo Egizio (n.d.). La storia del Museo. Available at https://museoegizio.it/scopri/storia/.

Figure 35: Museo Egizio (n.d./2). Diario della campagna di scavo a Saqqara – quinta settimana. Available at https://museoegizio.it/esplora/notizie/diario-della-campagna-di-scavo-a-saqqara-quinta-settimana/.

Figure 36: a), c) Giallombardo, F.M. (March 21st, 2019). Archeologia Tecnologica. Al Museo Egizio di Torino. *Artribune.* Available at https://www.artribune.com/arti-visive/archeologia-arte-antica/2019/03/mostra-tecnologia-museo-egizio-torino/; **b)** Photo of the author, April 30th, 2019.

Figure 37: a), c) Photo of the author, April 30th, 2019; **b)** Giallombardo, F.M. (March 21st, 2019). Archeologia Tecnologica. Al Museo Egizio di Torino. *Artribune.* Available at https://www.artribune.com/arti-visive/archeologia-arte-antica/2019/03/mostra-tecnologia-museo-egizio-torino/.

Figure 38: Photo of the author, April 30th, 2019.

Figure 39: Cimino Virginia, personal communication, July 7th, 2019.

Figure 40: a) Museo di Antropologia ed Etnografia (n.d.). Collezioni fotografiche. Available at http://museoantropologia.unito.it/index.php/it/il-museo/collezioni/122-collezioni-fotografiche; **b)** Museo di Antropologia ed Etnografia (n.d./1). Storia. Available at http://museoantropologia.unito.it/index.php/it/il-museo/storia.

Figure 41: a), b) Boano Rosa, personal communication, October 30th, 2018; **c), d)** Photo of the Author, January 29th, 2019.

Figure 42: Museo Egizio. (2018). *Visitatori e impatto economico del Museo Egizio sul territorio. Analisi e scenari futuri*. Quorum.

ANNEX

Figures


a


b


c

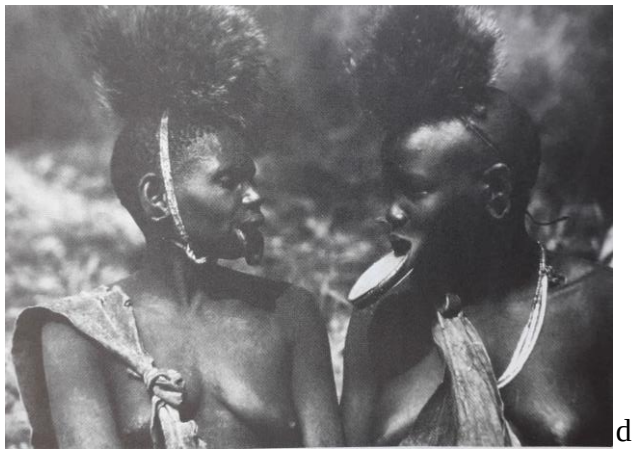

d

Figure 1: Some example of how the culture permeates the shape of the body. **a)** Thai woman with neck extension rings (Burton, 2001, n.p.); **b)** Woman with tattooed back (DeMello, 2000, Front cover); **c)** Feet of a Chinese woman. The use of bandage the feet of the young girl of the aristocracy was still practiced at the beginning of 1900 (Burton, 2001, n.p.); **d)** Suri women in Ethiopia with and without their lip plates (Burton, 2001, n.p.).

Figure 2: **a)** 'The Reclining Pregnant Woman', **b)** 'The Ponderer', **c)** 'The Winged Man'. Some of the bodies from Gunther Von Hagens Body World exhibitions. The harshness with which certain bodies have been presented to the public have often aroused indignation and controversies (Moore & Brown, 2007, pp. 8; 11; 13).

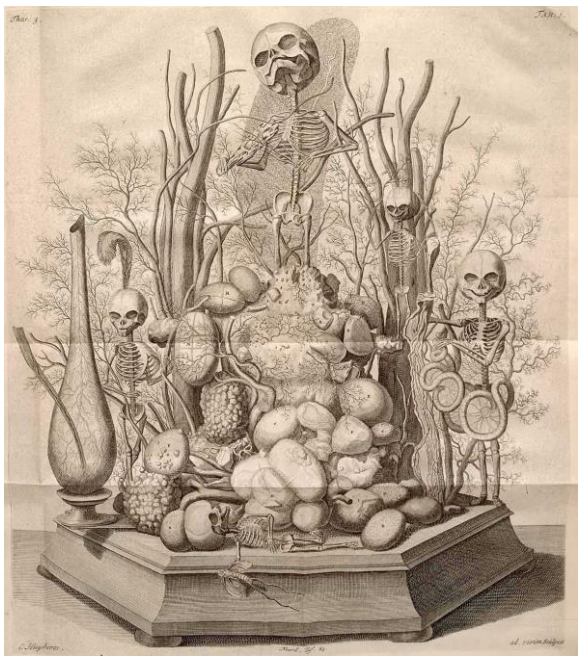
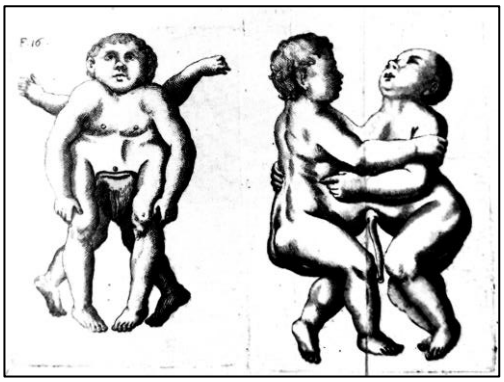


Figure 3: Illustration of the anatomist Frederick Ruysch (1638 - 1731). The illustration shows a scene created using skeletons and body parts which were included in his cabinet of curiosities, 1710 (British Library, n.d.).

a



b

Figure 4: a) The public anatomical dissections were often performed over the corpses of the criminals which were seen as an additional punishment beyond the execution over the scaffold. Hogart's Fourth Stage of Cruelty, 1751, an official dissection at the company of Surgeon (Richardson, 2000, p. 33). **b)** Anatomical drawings of human monstrosities (Abbate, 2001, p. 19).

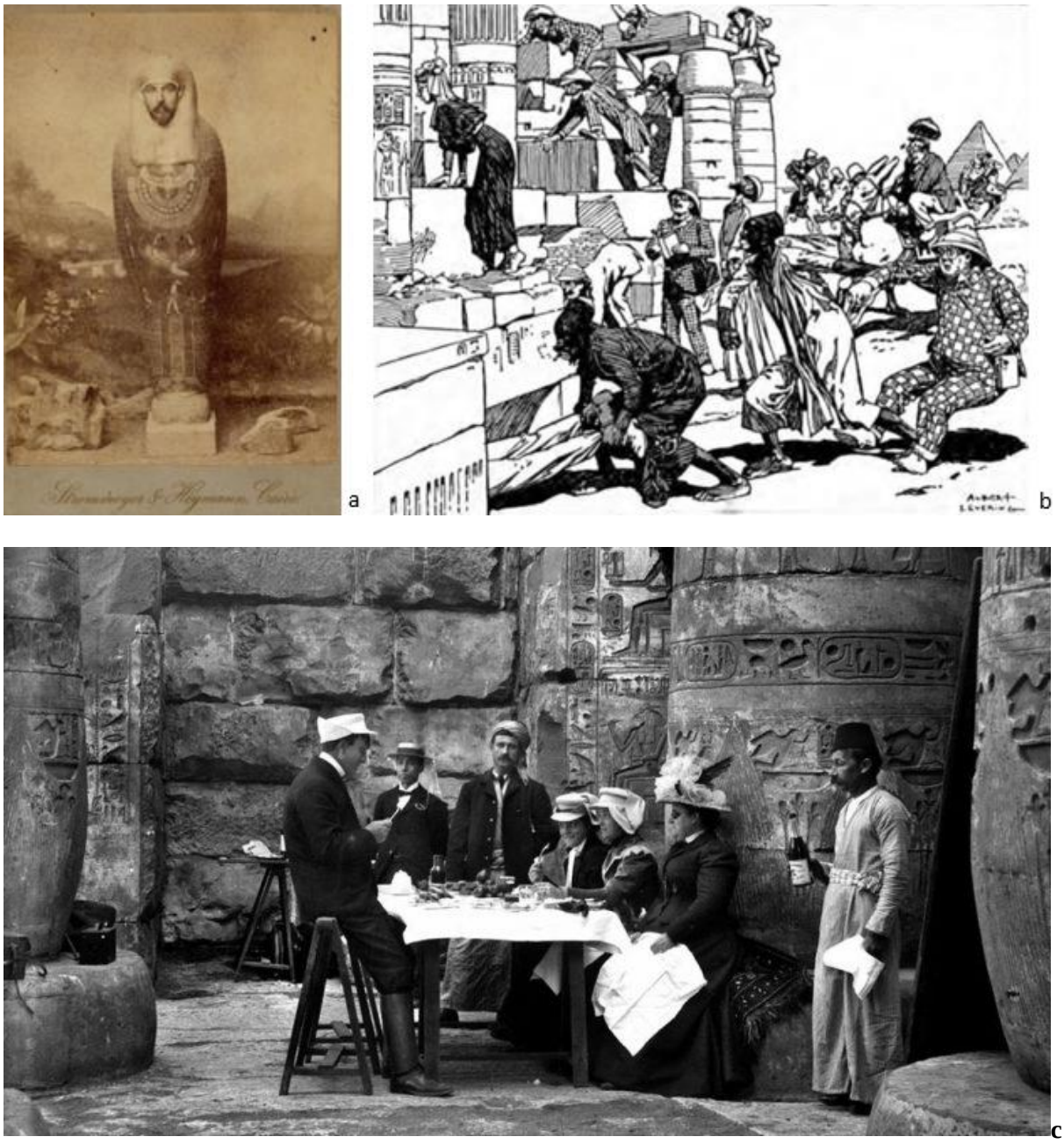


Figure 5: Starting from eighteen century Egypt became a very popular destination for European tourists. **a)** An unknown tourist poses as a pharaoh in the Strommeyer and Heymann photographic studio in Cairo, c. 1885. Private collection, © František Gregor, (Baber, 2016, p. 64). **b)** A comical cartoon depicting travelers and tourists clambering an Egyptian temple. From the Pastures New, 1906. (Baber, 2016, p. 61). **c)** Picnic of a group of European tourists inside the temple of Karnak, Luxor, around 1900 (Assalto, 2017).

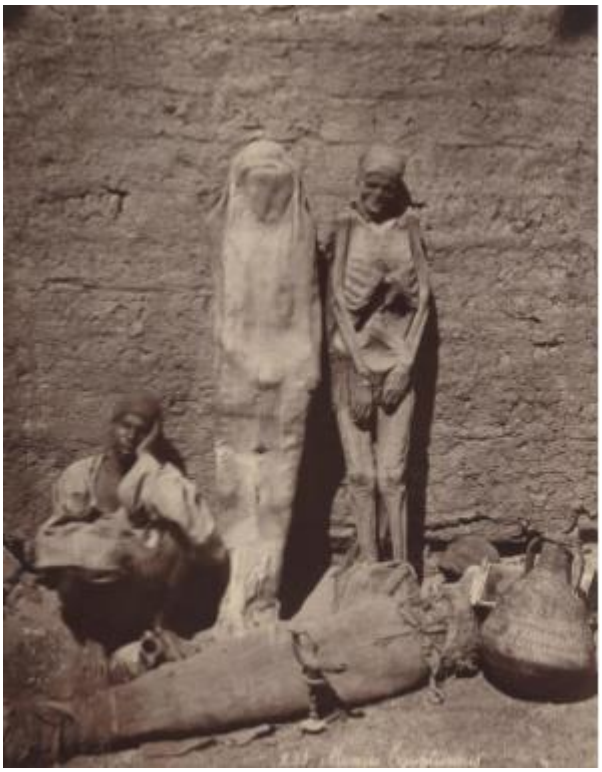
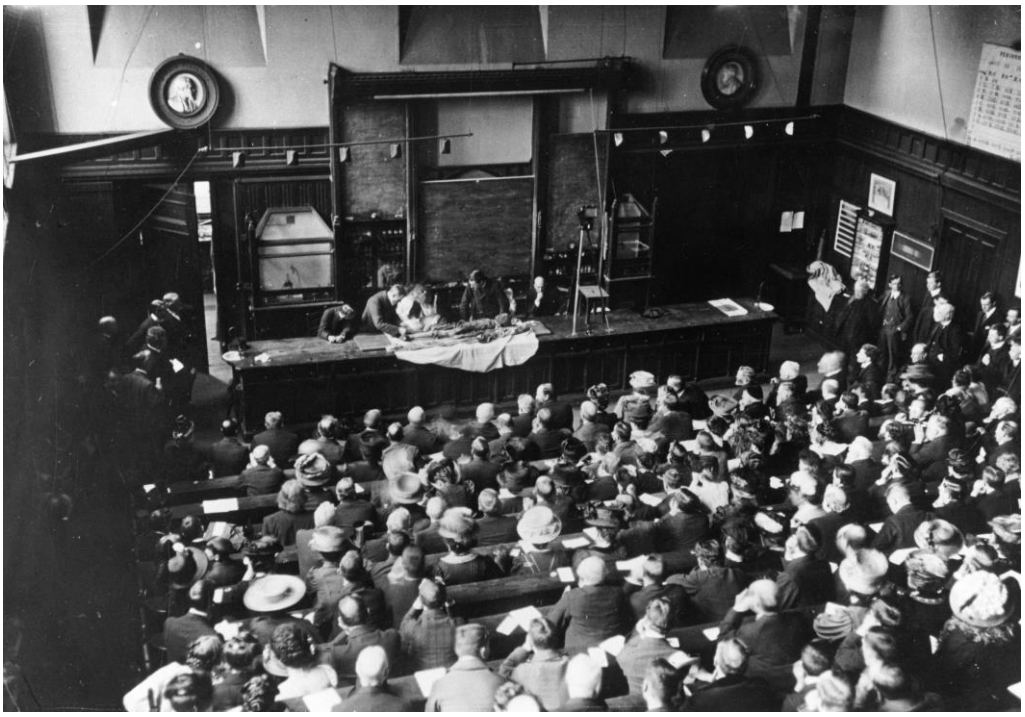


Figura 6: During the nineteenth and up to the middle of the twentieth century the Egyptian mummies became popular objects of curiosity and were often bought by travelers and tourists as souvenirs. In the picture a mummy seller at Cairo in 1870 by Félix Bonfils (1831–1885). (Baber, 2016, p. 68).

a



b

Figure 7: a) The French Egyptologist Gaston Maspero unwrapping a mummy in front of British officers at the Boulaq museum in Cairo. Illustration from 'The Illustrated London News', 1886 (Darby, Hoare, 2016). **b)** The Egyptologist and anthropologist Margaret Murrey unwrapping the mummy of Khnum-Nakht at the Manchester Museum in 1908 (Waldron, 2015).

a

b

c

Figure 8: Media representations of mummies as evil. **a)** Lon Chaney Jr. as Kharis in the horror movie 'The Mummy's Tomb', Universal, 1942 (Cowie & Johnson, 2007, p. 66); **b)** Forbidden Worlds, © American Comics Group 1952 (Day, 2004, p. 2); **c)** Movie poster of 'Day of the mummy', horror movie of 2014 (IMDb, n.d.).

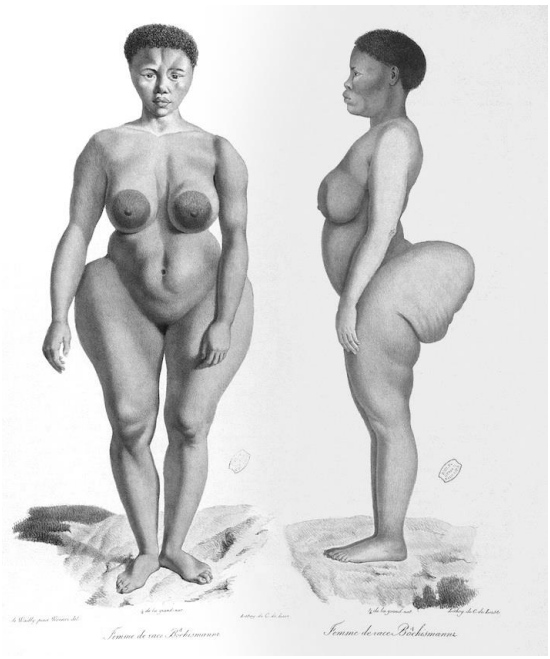

a


b

Figura 9: a) A visitor poses in a photograph with a group of Filipino igorot 'head hunters' exhibited in a human zoo in Seattle in 1908 (Domenici, 2015, p. X). **b)** An elegant Parisian couple observes a group of Africans displayed in an enclosure at the *Jardin Zoologique d'Acclimatation* in Paris in 1907 (Domenici, 2015, p. X).

Figure 10: Horatio Robley, Portuguese collector with his collection of Maori tattooed head in 1895. Robley claimed that "the trade of heads had filled the museum warehouses of Europe but considerably reduced the population of New Zealand" (Larson, 2016, p. 38).

a



b

Figure 11: Portraits of Sara Baartman, known as the Hottentot Venus. **a)** Sartjee, The Hottentot Venus, 1810 (British Museum, n.d.); **b)** 'The Hottentot Venus' (Cuvier, 1817).

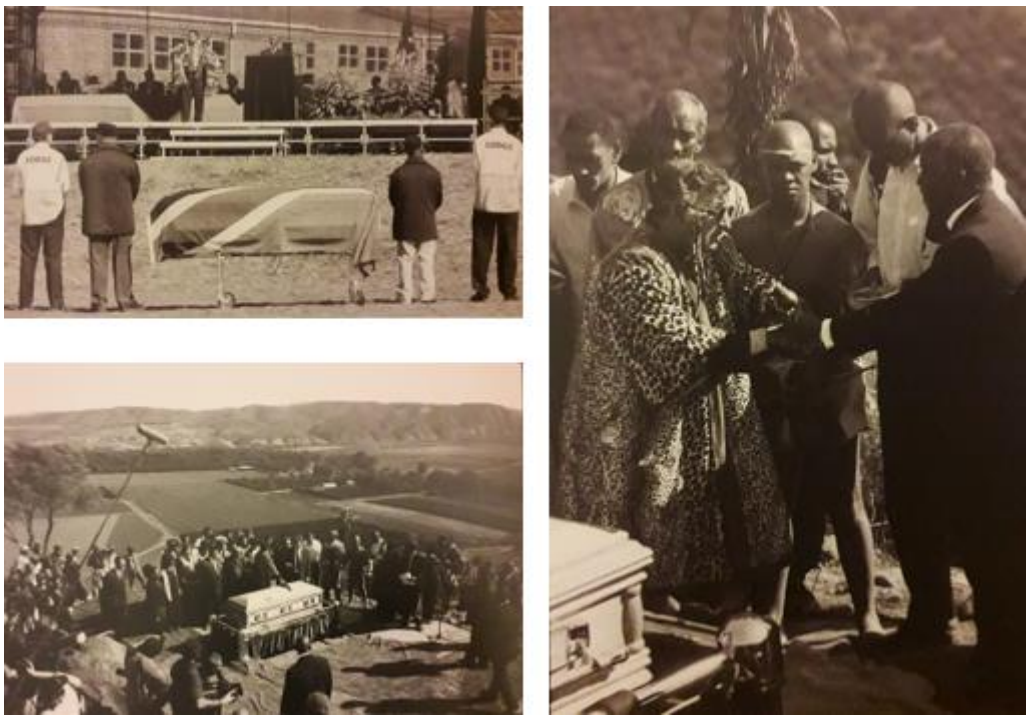


Figure 12: The reburial of Sara Bartmann (Bredekamp, 2006, pp. 31-32).

Figure 13: Julia Pastrana, known in popular imagination as the 'ape woman' or the 'bear woman'. Here two images of the nineteenth century depicting Julia Pastrana during her public exhibition (Wilson, 2013).

Figure 14: *O Chafariz d'el Rey*, Lisbon. Anonymous author, c. 1570-80. Coleção Berardo (Henriques, 2011, p.24). The paint, that depicts the Rua Nova dos Mercadores in Lisbon, witnesses the high presence of African people and slaves in the everyday life of the city. According to the Gabinete de Estudos Olisiponenses (2017, p. 21), "*no século XVI estima-se que cerca de 10% da população fosse negra, ou seja, em 1551 haveria 10mil escarvos na cidade, o que levou a que o escritor espanhol Bartolomé de Villalba e Estaña se referisse a Lisboa como 'mãe de negros*"'.

Figure 15: Remains of the slaves found in the *Poço dos negros* in Lagos. **a)** The position of the skeleton is suggesting that the individual died with his hands and a leg tied behind his back (Neves, Ferreira & Almeida, 2015, p. 155); **b)** Double deposition of a mother with a new born in her arms (Neves, Ferreira & Almeida, 2011, p. 41).

Figure 16: Capela dos Ossos Evora (Igreja de São Francisco, n.d.).

Figure 17: Representation of the two larger museological European traditions identified by Wijsmuller regarding deaccessioning and disposal: the Anglo-Saxon tradition, in green, and the Latin tradition, in red (Wijsmuller, 2017 p. 11).

Figure 18: One of the three covered mummies at the Manchester Museum in 2008 (Manchester Museum, 2008)

Figure 19: The Egyptian Roman mummy-boy preserved at the Dutch National Museum of Antiquities of Leiden (Rijksmuseum van Oudheden). The mummy has been removed from the exhibition in 2016 after the reorganization of the new Egyptian galleries of the museum (Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, n.d.).

Figure 20: Covered mummies exhibited in the mummy hall of the Egyptian Museum of Cairo (Associated Press, 2015).

Figure 21: The mummified and skeletal remains of the capuchins catacombs of Palermo were divided in different corridors according to the profession, sex and social status of the deceased. The corridor of the capuchin friars constitutes the first core of the catacombs where was buried the first friar Silvestro da Gubbio, still exhibited today within the crypt. (Catacombe di Palermo, n.d.).

Figure 22: Crypt-ossuary of Santa Maria della Concezione dei Cappuccini of Rome. The crypt is decorated with the bones of around 4000 capuchin friars collected between 1528 and 1870 in the old cemetery of the church of Santa Croce e Bonaventura dei Lucchesi (Fabietti, 2016).


Figure 23: The *Cimitero delle Fontanelle* is an old cemetery of the city of Naples that dates back to the mid-seventeenth century and host the skeletal remains of the thousands of people died during the great plague. The cemetery is known for the so-called rituals of the '*anime pezzentelle'*, the adoption and cure of the skull of an abandoned soul in exchange of protection (Tredici, 2017).


a

b

c

d

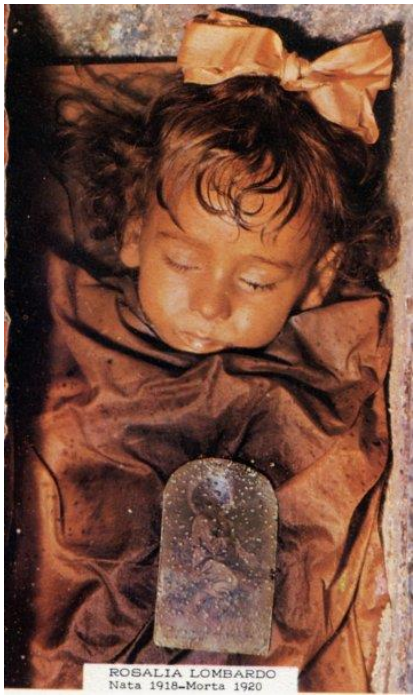
Figure 24: a), b) The skull of Giuseppe Villella. In the inside it is possible to see some notes handwritten by Lombroso (Montaldo, 2012, pp. 140- 141); **c)** The Museum room dedicated to the theory of atavism developed by Lombroso, © MAC (Museum of Criminal Anthropology, n.d.); **d)** Central hall of the Lombroso's Museum containing part of the collection of skulls and wax masks of the faces of criminals (Museum of Criminal Anthropology, n.d./1).

a

b

Figure 25: a) Official website of the NoLombroso Movement (NoLombroso Committee, n.d). **b)** Poster of the protest march against the Lombroso Museum of May 8th, 2010 (Monza, 2013, p. 111).

Figure 26: Mummified bodies placed in the niches of the catacombs of the capuchins of Palermo (Monza, 2013, p. 95).



a

b

Figure 27: a) The embalmed body of Rosalia Lombardo in the Catacombs of the capuchins of Palermo (Monza, 2013, p. 94); **b)** The wooden coffin of Rosalia Lombardo in the new hi-tech box created by the EURAC in 2011 (Brunetto, 2012).

Figure 28: The Mensa Isiaca, 1st century BC. (Hoare, 2017, p. 88).

Figure 29: Bernardino Drovetti (in the centre) portrait in Egypt in 1819 (Borla at al., 2015, p. 23).

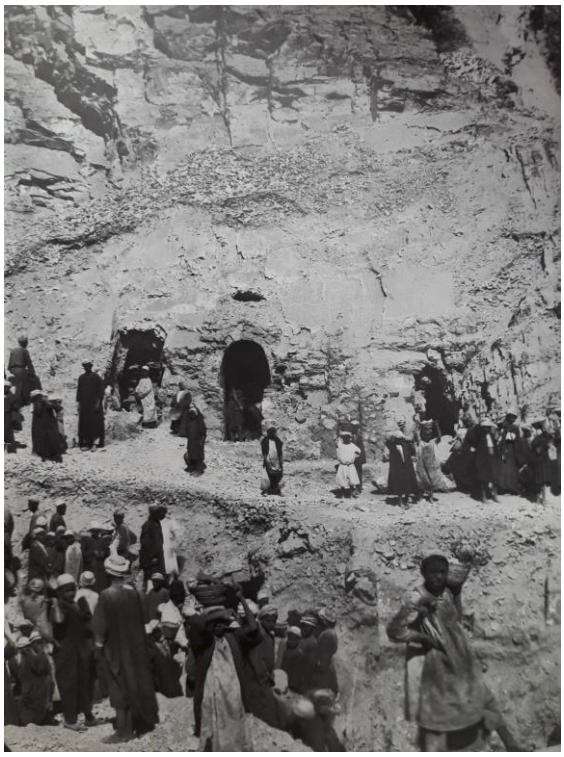
Figure 30: The first arrangement of the Drovetti collection inside the Palazzo della Accademia delle Scienze, nineteenth century. Wotercolor by Marco Nicolosino. (Roveri, 1980, p. 5).

a

b

Figure 31: The Palazzo dell'Accademia della Scienza, seat of the Egyptian Museum of Turin. **a)** Façade (MuseoTorino, n.d.); **b)** Internal courtyard (Bondielli, 2015, p.5).


a


b


c


d

Figure 32: a) Plate camera used by Ernesto Schiaparelli during the M.A.I. excavation activities in Egypt (Moiso, 2016, p.68); **b)** Deir el-Medina, excavation works in the necropolis during the excavation campaigns of 1906 (Moiso, 2016, p. 82); **c)** Tombs of Khamuaset XIX dynasty (1292-1190 BC.) (Borla at al., 2015, p. 30); **d)** Deir el-Medina, transfer of the grave goods and furniture of the tomb of Kha and Merit (XVIII dynasty, 1539-1292 BC), 1906 (Borla at al., 2015, p. 31).


a


b

Figure 33: Reconstruction of the Ellesija temple within the Egyptian Museum of Turin. A small temple ordered by Tuthmosis III (1479 – 1425BC) and dedicated to the gods Horus of Miam and Satet (Davies, 2015): **a)** Entrance (Davies, 2015); **b)** Intern (Museo Egizio, n.d.). Only four other cities in the world received in donation Nubian monuments: the Dendur temple at the Metropolitan Museum of New York, the Temple of Taffeh at the National Museum of Antiquities of Leiden, the Temple of Debod in Madrid and the gate of the Temple of Kalabsha at the Egyptian Museum of Berlin (Vassilika, 2008).

Figure 34: New organization of the Statuary room of the Egyptian Museum of Turin realized in 2006 by the scenographer Dante Ferretti (Museo Egizio, n.d.).


a

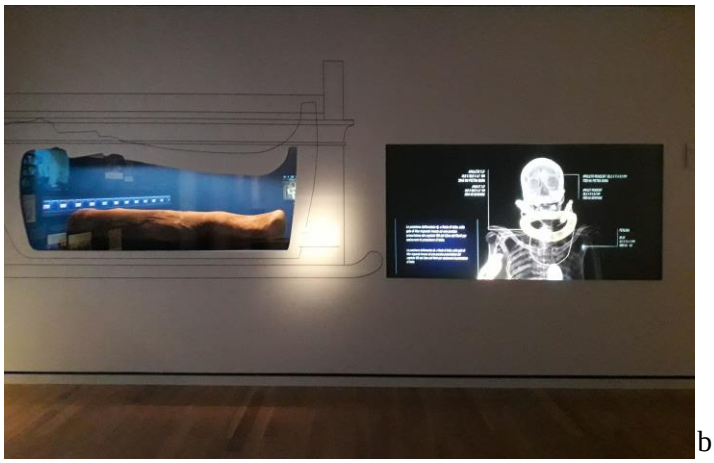

b


c


d

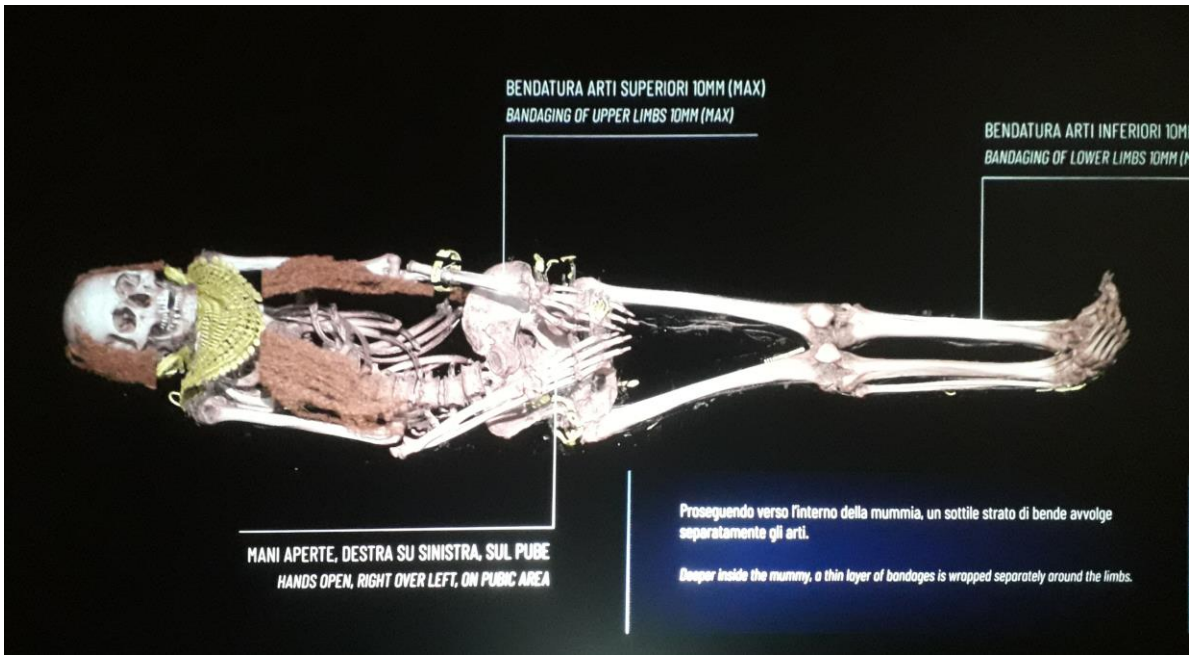
Figure 35: Research and conservation activities on human remains during the joint Italian-Dutch archeological excavation in Saqqara, photos of Nicola Dell'Aquila and Ali Jelene Scheers (Museo Egizio, n.d./2). **a)** Ali Jelene Scheers labeling the bones; **b)** inventory of the crates containing anthropological finds; **c)** Ali Jelene Scheers with a crate containing skeletal remains excavated in the necropolis of Saqqara; **d)** Crates containing all the skeletal finds discovered during the 45 years of excavation at the necropolis of Saqqara (started in 1975).

a


b

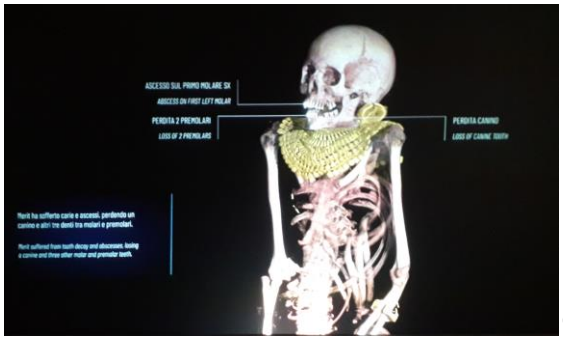

c

Figure 36: Digital unwrapping of the mummy of Kha within the temporary exhibition '*Archeologia invisibile'*. **a), c)** Giallombardo, 2019; **b)** Author's photo, 2019.



a


b



c

Figure 37: Digital unwrapping of the mummy of Merit within the temporary exhibition '*Archeologia invisibile'*. **a), c)** Author's photo, 2019; **b)** Giallombardo, 2019.

Figure 38: The panels located at the entrance of the galleries advising the visitors of the presence of human remains (author's photos).

Figure 39: Rendering of the display windows of the new '*Sala della Vita'*. On the balck glasses will appear multimedia contents that will explain curiosities related with the different aspects of the every say life of the subjects and informations in regard to the embalming and mummification process, the funerary rituals, religious beliefs, and the CT scans of the bodies (Cimino, personal communication, July, 4th, 2019).


a

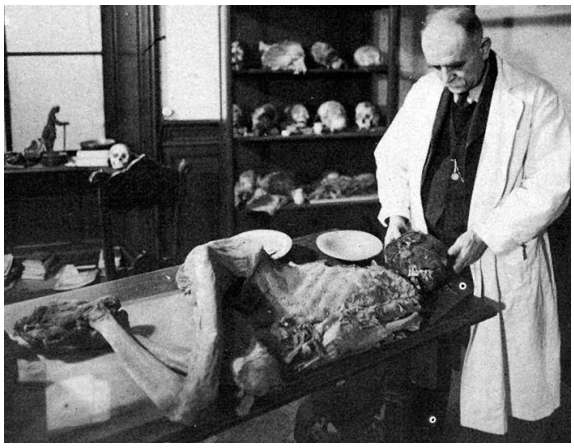

b

Figure 40: a) The first collections of the future Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of Turin conserved within *Palazzo Carignano* in 1925 (Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of Turin, n.d.); b) Giovanni Marro analyzing an Egyptian mummy coming from the excavations of the Italian archaeological expedition in Egypt (M.A.I. 1911-1936) (Museo di Antropologia ed Etnografia, n.d./1).

a

b

c

d

Figure 41: The mummy in the dress. **a), b)** The mummy before the restoration at *the Centro Conservazione e Restauro La Venaria Reale*, 2019 (Boano, personal communication, October 30th, 2018); **c)** The mummy during the restoration process (Author's photo, January 29th, 2019); **d)** During the restoration has been identified a tattoo (or a paint) on the right leg of the mummy (Author's photo, January 29th, 2019).

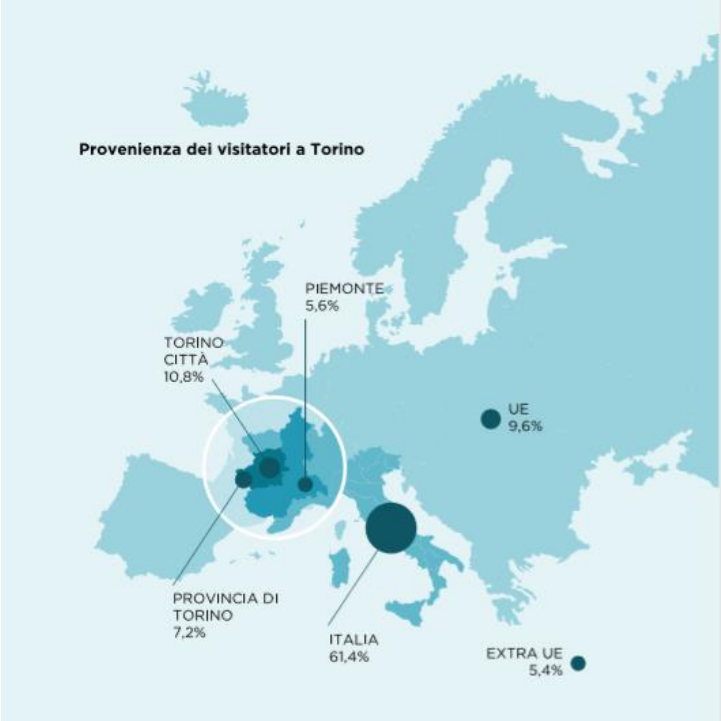


Figure 42: Provenance of the visitors of the Egyptian Museum of Turin (Museo Egizio, 2017, p. 17).

Tables

Dataset:Stranieri residenti al 1° gennaio - Cittadinanza			
Territorio	Torino		
Tipo di indicatore demografico	popolazione straniera al 1°		
Seleziona periodo	2019		
Sesso	maschi	femmine	totale
Paese di cittadinanza			
Mondo	104437	117405	221842
Unione europea (28 paesi)	47381	61486	108867
Altri paesi europei non Ue 28 (aggregato che cambia in base al contesto)	9310	12803	22113
Africa settentrionale	17323	15211	32534
Africa occidentale	8949	4982	13931
Africa orientale	1011	589	1600
Africa centro-meridionale	858	752	1610
Asia occidentale	1192	839	2031
Asia orientale	7343	8208	15551
Asia centro-meridionale	4142	1512	5654
America settentrionale	224	288	512
America centro-meridionale	6659	10674	17333
Oceania	18	34	52
Apolide	27	27	54

Table 1: Foreigners resident in the city of Turin at January 1st, 2019. The North African community residing in Turin is the most numerous among the non-European ones. ISTAT data, Retrieved on August 21st, 2019.

		Visitatori 2016	Visitatori 2017	Variazione percentuale	Variazione posizione classifica
1.	Colosseo	6.408.779	7.036.104	+10%	=
2.	Pompei	3.144.348	3.382.240	+7,60%	=
3.	Uffizi	2.010.917	2.219.122	+10,40%	=
4.	Galleria dell'Accademia di Firenze	1.461.185	1.623.690	+11,10%	=
5.	Castel Sant'Angelo	1.234.506	1.155.244	-6,40%	=
6.	La Venaria Reale	994.899	1.039.657	+4,50%	=
7.	Giardino di Boboli	881.463	1.000.482	+13,50%	=
8.	Museo Egizio di Torino	852.095	845.237	-0,80%	=
9.	Reggia di Caserta	683.070	838.654	+22,80%	=
10.	Palazzo Pitti	473.203	579.640	+22,50%	+5

Table 2: Top 10 of the museum more visited in Italy in 2016 and 2017. MIBAC data, Retrieved on August 21st, 2019.

Documents

Document 1: Questionnaire on the visitor perception of human remains within the Egyptian Museum of Turin.

1. To which gender identity do you most identify?

   a. Male
   b. Female
   c. Others (please state)
   d. I prefer not to answer

2. Where are you from?

   a. Turin
   b. Province of Turin
   c. Piedmont, outside the province of Turin (state)
   d. Other regions of Italy (state)
   e. Other European countries (state)
   f. Non-European country (state)
   d. I prefer not to answer

3. Could you please tell me your age?

   a. 18-24
   b. 25-34
   c. 35-44
   d. 45-54
   e. 55-64
   f. 65+
   d. I prefer not to answer

4. What is your current religion, if any?

   a. Christian (Catholic, Coptic, Orthodox, Protestant, etc.)
   b. Jewish
   c. Muslim
   d. Hindu

e. Buddhist
f. Others (state)
g. None
d. I prefer not to answer

5. What is your highest level of education?

a. No formal education
c. High school/Secondary school diploma
e. Bachelor's degree, or equivalent
i. Master's degree, or equivalent
j. PhD or equivalent/higher

6. What is your current work status?

a. Homemaker/housewife
b. Unemployed
c. Employee
d. Entrepreneur
e. Teacher
f. Self employed
g. Worker
h. Retired
i. Manager/Executive
j. Student
k. Others
l. I prefer not to answer

7. What is the main reason for your visit to the Museo Egizio?

a. Discovering more about ancient Egyptian culture or increase my knowledge
b. Study/business purposes
c. Accompany friends/parents
d. The interest for the temporary exhibition
e. It was recommended to me
f. I wanted to see human mummies
g. Other (state)

8. In your opinion, the Egyptian human mummies are mainly:

a. Human remains
b. Artworks

c. Objects of worship
d. Religious artefacts
e. Other (state)

9. In your opinion, which of the following options fall within the definition of "human remains"? (Multiple answer)

a. A relic
b. An anatomical specimen for medical and scientific purposes
c. A mummy
d. A skeleton
e. Bones
f. Teeth
g. Body parts
h. Hair
i. Skin
j. Organs

10. Do you think that human remains of historical interest should be:

a. Exhibited in museums
b. Carefully preserved in the warehouses of museums, and used only for research purposes
c. Neither shown nor used for research purposes
d. Repatriated and eventually buried or cremated, in accordance with their own cultural traditions..
e. Other (state)

11. In your opinion, the method of exhibition of human mummies used by the Museo Egizio is…

a. Fascinating
b. Educational
c. Macabre/morbid
e. Other (state)

12. What do you think about the exhibition of the human mummies in the Museo Egizio?

a. Mummies should be shown in a separated area of the museum, so that each visitor can decide whether or not to see them, according to their sensitivity.
b. Mummies should be shown in a way that lend them more holiness.

c. The exhibition does not describe the life story of the people the remains belonged, and this is, in a sense, a lack of respect.
d. Mummies shouldn't be shown at all.
e. The current way of exposition is already appropriate.

13. Which is, in your opinion, the main reason that explains why people are attracted to human mummies?

a. Curiosity
b. Morbidity
c. Scientific interest
d. Historical interest
e. Other (state)

14. Do you think that human mummies have an educational potential that can also stimulate a reflection on death?

a. Yes, I do
f. No, I don't

15. Regarding a future exhibition of human mummies in the Museo Egizio, how much would you like the museum tour to explore the following topics? Please give a score between 1 (meaning "not at all") and 5 (meaning "a lot").

a. The evolution of techniques and materials used in the Ancient Egypt for the preparation of human mummies
b. The lives of people to whom the mummified remains belonged
c. The reasons why dead people were mummified
d. The relationship between the living and the dead in the Egyptian culture
e. The geographical origin of mummies and how they have been discovered
f. The religious views about death in the Ancient Egypt
g. Ethical issues linked to the conservation and the exposition of mummies
h. The evolution of graves where mummies laid and of the objects that were with them

16. In your opinion, how much interesting is each of the following topics concerning the life of the people the remains belonged to? Please give a score between 1 (meaning "not at all") and 5 (meaning "a lot").

a. Their profession and social status
b. Their names
c. The age at the moment of death
d. The causes of death
e. The illnesses and traumas during life

f. Their diet
g. Their daily routine

Document 2: International Conference "Human remains. Ethics, Conservation, Display". 20th - 21st May, 2019. Pompeii Archaeological Park – Naples, San Marcellino.

HUMAN REMAINS
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

ETHICS
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21st MAY 2019 | 9.30
NAPLES, SAN MARCELLINO

MINISTERO PER I BENI E LE ATTIVITÀ CULTURALI · POMPEII PARCO ARCHEOLOGICO DI POMPEII · MUSEO EGIZIO

20th MAY, POMPEII ARCHEOLOGICAL PARK

SAN PAOLINO CONFERENCE ROOM, VIA PLINIO 4

9:30 *Registration.*

10:00 **Alfonsina Russo** (Parco Archeologico di Pompei), *Welcome speech.*

10:10 **Massimo Osanna** (Università Federico II, Napoli), **Christian Greco** (Museo Egizio), *Conference aims: the partnership between the Pompeii Archaeological Park and the Egyptian Museum.*

10:20 **Valeria Amoretti** (Parco Archeologico di Pompei), and **Paolo Del Vesco** (Museo Egizio) *Conference opening.*

Ancient Bodies: an ethical approach (chair: Carlo Rescigno)

10:30 **Telmo Pievani** (Università di Padova), *Il patrimonio biologico: una sfida interdisciplinare.*

10.50 **Maria Giovanna Belcastro** (Università di Bologna), *I resti scheletrici umani: cose o persone?*

11:10 **Joanna Sofaer** (University of Southampton), *Archaeologies of Social Identity and Human Bioarchaeology.*

11:30 **Paolo Boccuccia** (Museo delle Civiltà, Roma), **Paola Francesca Rossi** (ICCD, Parco Archeologico di Ostia antica), *Materiali sensibili: situazione legislativa e di catalogo.*

11:50-12:10 *Discussion.*

12:10-12:30 *Coffee break.*

The Biological Heritage of Pompeii (chair: Luigi La Rocca)

12:30 **Massimo Osanna** (Università Federico II, Napoli), *I calchi di Pompei nella storia degli scavi fra '800 e '900.*

1

12:50 **Valeria Amoretti** (Parco Archeologico di Pompei), *Non solo calchi: stato dell'arte e prospettive di studio dei resti scheletrici pompeiani.*

13:10 **Henry Duday** (Université Bordeaux 1), **William Van Andringa** (École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris), *Archeologia del gesto funerario nella necropoli di Porta Nocera.*

13:30 **Manuela Valentini**, **Stefania Giudice** (Parco Archeologico di Pompei), **Sara Masseroli** (Soprintendenza ABAP Como, Lecco, Monza e Brianza), **Annalisa Capurso** (Soprintendenza ABAP Bologna, Modena, Reggio Emilia e Ferrara), *Il restauro dei calchi nell'ambito del Grande Progetto Pompei.*

13.50-14:00 *Discussion.*

14:00-14:40 *Lunch.*

The Biological Heritage of Pompeii (chair: Francesco Sirano)

14:40 **Alberta Martellone** (Parco Archeologico di Pompei), *Interdisciplinarietà per una maggiore comprensione del record archeologico.*

15:00 **Estelle Lazer** (University of Sidney), *Encased in Plaster: The Pompeii Cast Project.*

15:20 **David Caramelli** (Università di Firenze), **Valeria Amoretti** (Parco Archeologico di Pompei), *Analisi preliminare del DNA antico pompeiano: la "Stanza degli scheletri".*

15:40-16.00 *Discussion.*

16:00-16:30 *Coffee Break.*

16:30 *Excursion: Pompeii Archaeological Park.*

21st MAY, SAN MARCELLINO, NAPLES

LARGO SAN MARCELLINO 10

9:00 *Registration.*

Multidisciplinariety and different perspectives (chair: Giorgio Manzi)

9:30 **Henry Duday** (University of Bordeaux 1), *La sépulture prénéolithique de Bonifacio (Corse): réflexions sur les méthodes d'approche archéothanatologique et paléopathologique.*

9:50 **Rosa Boano** (Università di Torino), *Responsabilità e sensibilità nel restauro, nella conservazione e nell'esposizione dei reperti umani antichi.*

10:10 **Alissa Mittnik** (Harvard University), *Ancient DNA. Strategies and Perspectives.*

10:30 **Niels Lynnerup** (University of Copenhagen, Paleopathology Association, Forensic Anthropology Society in Europe, Danish Association for Natural

Sciences in Archaeology), *The Ethics of Paleopathological Studies of Human Remains: When different perspectives clash.*

10:50-11:10 *Discussion.*

11:10-11:30 *Lunch.*

The dead and the living: ethical issues (chair: Niels Lynnerup)

11:30 **Franco Nicolis** (Ufficio Beni Archelogici, Trento), *Il corpo come testo. I resti dei soldati della Grande Guerra da scarti di umanità a memorie della materia.*

11:50 **Alain Froment** (Musée de L'Homme, Paris), *Human remains in French Museums: the cases of Musée de l'Homme and Musée du quai Branly.*

12:10 **Rebecca Redfern** (Museum of London), *The ethics and practice of displaying and curating archaeological human remains, a British perspective.*

12:30 **Luca Bondioli**, **Alessandra Sperduti**, **Gaia Delpino, Loretta Paderni**, **Filippo Maria Gambari** (Museo delle Civiltà, Roma), *Il Museo delle Civiltà di Roma: Problematiche fra ricerca scientifica, conservazione, valorizzazione e restituzione.*

12:50 **Luigi La Rocca**, **Elena Dellù**, **Francesca Radina** (Soprintendenza ABAP Bari), *Eticamente Sapiens - Percorsi di tutela e valorizzazione dei resti umani nel territorio barese.*

13:10-13:35 *Discussion.*

13:35-14:30 *Coffee break.*

The situation of Human Remains in Italy: thinking about the future

(chair: Luca Bondioli)

14:30-15:30 **Francesca Alhaique** (Museo delle Civiltà, Roma), **Valeria Amoretti** (Parco Archeologico di Pompei), **Francesca Candilio** (Soprintendenza ABAP Cagliari, Oristano e Sud Sardegna), **Claudio Cavazzuti** (Museo delle Civiltà, Roma), **Deneb Cesana** (Soprintendenza ABAP L'Aquila e cratere), **Elena Dellù** (Soprintendenza ABAP Bari), **Irene Dori** (Soprintendenza ABAP Verona, Rovigo e Vicenza), **Leonardo Lamanna** (Soprintendenza ABAP Cremona, Lodi e Mantova), **Nico Radi** (Soprintendenza ABAP Genova, Imperia, la Spezia e Savona), **Alessandro Riga** (Soprintendenza ABAP Firenze, Pistoia e Prato), **Paola Francesca Rossi** (ICCD,Parco Archeologico di Ostia Antica), **Mauro Rubini** (Soprintendenza ABAP per l'area metropolitana di Roma, Provincia di Viterbo e Etruria Meridionale, Soprintendenza ABAP per le province di Frosinone, Latina e Rieti), **Alessandra Sperduti** (Museo delle Civiltà, Roma).

Document 3: International Conference "Human remains. Ethics, Conservation, Display", follow-up. Torino September 30th, October 1st, 2019.

ETHICS \\\\\\ CONSERVATION \\\\\ DISPLAY

HUMAN REMAINS

30TH SEPTEMBER \ 1ST OCTOBER 2019

MUSEO EGIZIO

PROGRAM

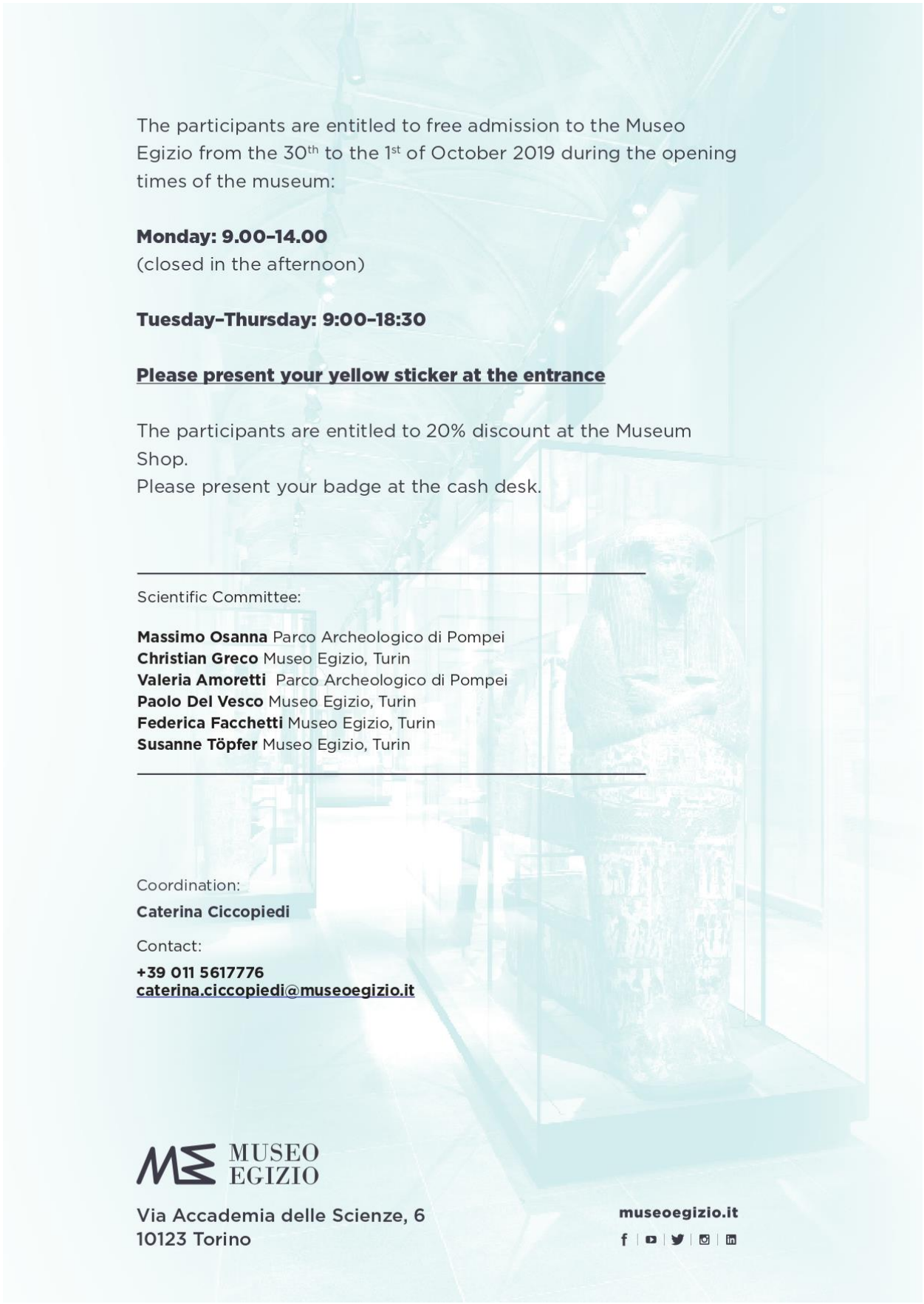
DAY 1 MONDAY 30.09.2019

8.30 - 9.15	**REGISTRATION** CONFERENCE ROOM, Museo Egizio
9.30 - 10.30	**INTRODUCTION** **Christian Greco** *(Director Museo Egizio)* **Massimo Osanna** *(Director Parco Archeologico di Pompei)* **Paolo Del Vesco** *(Museo Egizio)* **Valeria Amoretti** *(Parco Archeologico di Pompei)*
10.30 - 12.00	SECTION 1: **THE LIVING AND THE DEAD**
10.30 - 11.00	**KEY NOTE LECTURE** **Kees Van der Spek** *(Independent scholar)* **Mountain of the dead, community of the living: archaeological fieldwork in the Theban necropolis and the people of Qurna**
11.00 - 11.30	**Neil Curtis** *(University of Aberdeen)* **The Vermillion Accord and the display of Ta-Kheru in Aberdeen**
11.30 - 12.00	***Coffee break***
12.00 - 12.30	**Emmanuele Petiti** *(Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin)* **STRANGER THINGS. Bioarchaeology of the Upside Down, a case study from Arbil, Iraq**
12.30 - 13.00	**Dario Piombino-Mascali** *(Vilnius University)* **The Capuchin Cemetery of Palermo: Research, Ethical, and Curational Challenges**
13.00-14.00	***Lunch break***

14.00 - 16.30	SECTION 2: **PRESERVING THE BODY, PRESERVING THE MUMMY**
14.00 - 14.30	**KEY NOTE LECTURE** **Susanne Töpfer** *(Museo Egizio)* **Mummification and Embalming from an Ancient Egyptian point of view: on the religious concepts behind the 'eternal preservation'**
14.30 - 15.00	**Albert Zink** *(Eurac),* **Sara Aicardi** *(Museo Egizio)* **The Eurac Project**
15.00 - 15.30	**Daniel Antoine** *(British Museum)* **The analysis and storage of mummified human remains, ethical considerations and a British Museum perspective**
15.30 - 16.00	***Coffee break***
16.00 - 16.30	**Deneb Cesana** *(Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per la città dell'Aquila e i comuni del cratere (MIBAC)* **Conservation and preservation strategies for human remains in L'Aquila territory**
16.30 - 17.00	**Frank Rühli** *(University of Zurich)* **Mummified human remains: Paleopathologiocal research, experimental data and ethical perspectives**
17.00 - 17.30	**Stephanie Zesch** *(Curt-Engelhorn-Zentrum für Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen, Mannheim)* **Mummy Research and Museum Work – Examples from the German Mummy Project at the Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen in Mannheim**
17.45 - 18.30	**SPECIAL LECTURE** **Cristina Cattaneo** *(Università di Milano)*

DAY 2 **TUESDAY 1.10.2019**

9.00 - 18.00	SECTION 3: **MUSEUMS AND EXHIBITIONS: CASE STUDIES**
9.00 - 9.30	**KEY NOTE LECTURE** **Moamen Osman** *(Egyptian Museum, Cairo)* **To Be Confirmed**
9.30 - 10.00	**Angela Stienne** *(University of Leicester)* **Contested Bodies: Egyptian Mummies in the 21st Century Museum**
10.00 - 10.30	**Ashley Cooke** *(National Museums Liverpool)* **Rise like a phoenix: redisplaying Liverpool's firebombed collection**
	10.30 - 11.00 ***Coffee break***
11.00 - 11.30	**Daniela Picchi** *(Museo Civico Archeologico, Bologna)* **Egyptian mummies in constant uncertainty between exhibition and storage: the case studies of Bologna and Modena**
11.30 - 12.00	**Marie Vandenbeusch** *(British Museum)* **Researching, displaying and touring mummies at the British Museum**
12.00 - 12.30	**Federica Facchetti** *(Museo Egizio)* **Paolo Del Vesco** *(Museo Egizio)* **Between Life and Death. A new display of the Museo Egizio mummies**
12.30-14.00	***Lunch break***
14.00 - 14.30	**Cecilia Pennacini** *(Università degli Studi di Torino)* **From the field to the museum. Cultural anthropology and the problem of human remains**
14.30 - 15.00	**Fausto Barbagli** *(Università degli Studi di Firenze)* **Human remains in Italian scientific museums**
15.00 - 15.30	**Silvano Montaldo** *(Università degli Studi di Torino)* **The three meanings of the anatomical collection of the Lombroso Museum**
15.30 - 16.00	**Giacomo Giacobini** *(Università degli Studi di Torino)* **Displaying human remains: the case study of Turin's Museum of Human Anatomy**
16.00 - 16.30	***Coffee break***
16.30 - 18.00	SECTION 4: **ETHICAL ISSUES AND POINTS FOR DISCUSSION**
16.30 - 18.00	**Christian Greco** *(Museo Egizio)* **Massimo Osanna** *(Director Parco Archeologico di Pompei)*



The participants are entitled to free admission to the Museo Egizio from the 30th to the 1st of October 2019 during the opening times of the museum:

Monday: 9.00–14.00
(closed in the afternoon)

Tuesday–Thursday: 9:00–18:30

Please present your yellow sticker at the entrance

The participants are entitled to 20% discount at the Museum Shop.
Please present your badge at the cash desk.

Scientific Committee:

Massimo Osanna Parco Archeologico di Pompei
Christian Greco Museo Egizio, Turin
Valeria Amoretti Parco Archeologico di Pompei
Paolo Del Vesco Museo Egizio, Turin
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MUSEO EGIZIO

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