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Ebifananyi : a study of photographs in Uganda in and through an artistic practice

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Ebifananyi

A study of photographs in Uganda in and through an artistic practice

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geboren te Roermond
in 1974

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R: I am confused about this word *Ekifananyi* because the translation here says picture but what is image in Luganda?

N: Image... is... it is actually *Ekifananyi* too.

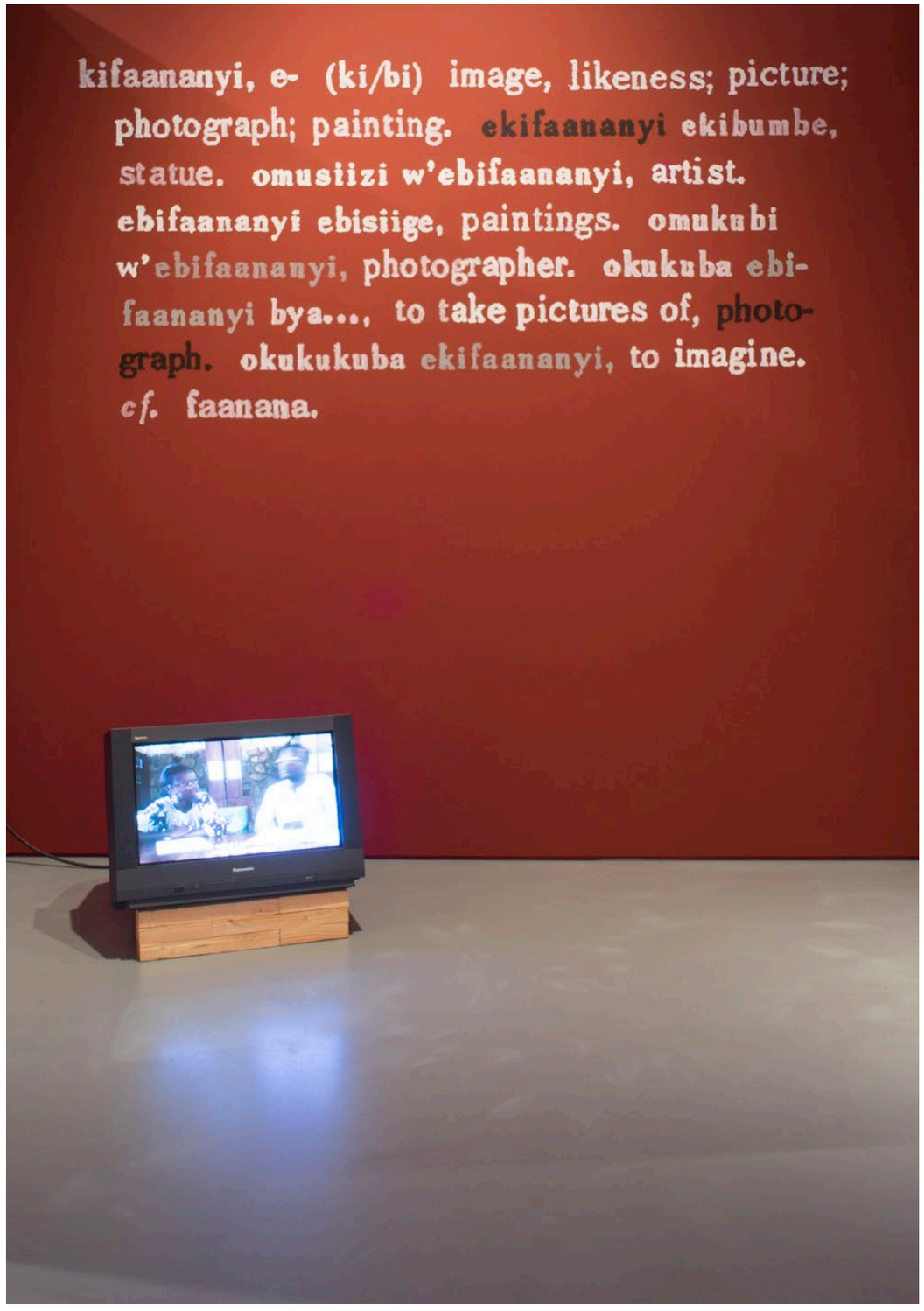
R: And photo?

N: *Ekifananyi.*

R: And picture?

N: *Ekifananyi.*

R: So we have three words, meaning just one word. *Ekifananyi.*[1]



Ebifananyi exhibition, FoMu, 26-10 2017 / 18-02-2018

Dictionary lemma from Murphy, 1972, p.184. As is the often the case with Luganda, there are different spellings of ekifa(a)nanyi.

[1] Fragment of a conversation between curator Robinah Nansubuga and artist/lecturer Nathan Omiel, Uganda Society, Kampala, October 2014. Full conversation: https://vimeo.com/244005305 Last accessed 25-09-2018. Fragment on 2:35.
N.b. footnote 67 explains the use of hyperlinks in this dissertation.

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Abstract

In Luganda, the widest spoken minority language in East African country Uganda, the word for photographs is *Ebifananyi*. However, ebifananyi does not, contrary to the etymology of the word photographs, relate to light writings. *Ebifananyi* instead means things that look like something else. *Ebifananyi* are likenesses.

My research project explores the historical context of this particular conceptualisation of photographs as well as its consequences for present day visual culture in Uganda. It also discusses my artistic practice as research method, which led to the digitisation of numerous collections of photographs which were previously unavailable to the public. This resulted in eight books and in exhibitions that took place in Uganda and in Europe.

The research was conducted in collaboration with both human and non-human actors. These actors included photographs, their owners, Ugandan picture makers as well as visitors to the exhibitions that were organised in Uganda and Western Europe. This methodology led to insights into differences in the production and uses of, and into meanings given to, photographs in both Ugandan and Dutch contexts.

Understanding differences between ebifananyi and photographs shapes the communication about photographs between Luganda and English speakers. Reflection on the conceptualisations languages offer for objects and for sensible aspects of the surrounding world will help prevent misunderstandings in communication in general.

Glossary

Definitions

Notions referring to visual material:

Images: Mental constructs that refer to imagined or existing realities without a material form.

Image objects: Material objects containing a picture.[2]

Pictures: Depictions that refer to imagined or existing realities.

Likenesses: Pictures that are primarily appreciated because they look like something else.

Photographs: Pictures captured on light sensitive surfaces with the use of a camera.

Photographic pictures: Visual responses to photographs in other media and materials.

Photography: A broad and encompassing word that includes the act of making photographs as well as the "means of production, reproduction and distribution"[3] resulting from that act.

Notions central to the research as a whole:

Based on a definition by French philosopher Jacques Rancière, artistic practices are thought of as "**'ways of doing and making'** that intervene in [and respond to other] generally distributed ways of doing and making as well as the relationships they maintain to modes of being and forms of visibility".[4] The interventions and responses that acknowledge the constant ebb and flow of mutual influence are part of the artistic practices that are based on encounters and correspondences with and around photographs in Uganda.

A photograph is considered "the product of an **encounter** between several protagonists", as proposed by scholar of comparative literature Ariella Azoulay.[5]

Anthropologist Tim Ingold uses the word **correspondence** to refer to "the dynamic of lives going along with one another. [...] Correspondence is a joining with; it is not additive but contrapuntal, not 'and...and...and' but 'with...with...with'".[6] In this dissertation correspondences unfold between non-human and human actors who share a connection with a particular narrative and history, in and with photographs as material in an artistic practice. These particular correspondences have resulted in the artistic outcomes of this research project. The outcomes themselves are experiments that serve as starting points for new correspondences.

2 **On photographs as image objects, see Edwards and Heart (ed.) (2004)**
3 **Zaatari (2014), p. 1**
4 **Rancière (2004), p. 13. The notion of intervention is used by Rancière in his definition, the notion of response is added by AS.**
5 **Azoulay (2010), p. 11**
6 **Other terms, such as intersubjectivity, have been taken into consideration. However, Ingold's correspondence affords agency to both human and non-human actors (i.e. photographs) which best facilitates the related discussions here, and is therefore the most suitable to use in this context. Ingold (2017-3), p. 9, 13**

On Uganda:

Uganda*:** The word 'Uganda' originally was used to refer to the land of the ***Ganda people in Swahili; it was later adopted by the British who claimed terrain extending to the east, west and north of the kingdom of ***Buganda***.[7] In present day terms, Uganda refers to a country in Eastern Africa that was colonised by the British Empire from 1894 until 1962.[8]

Buganda*:** One of several kingdoms in present day Uganda (being of particular relevance as a basis of identification to the Baganda and as the region in which the majority of the collections of photographs in this study were encountered). Other kingdoms in Uganda mentioned in this dissertation include ***Ankole (South-Western Uganda) and ***Tooro*** (Western Uganda). These kingdoms and 'traditional chieftaincies' in other parts of the country play an important role in the construction of identity for many Ugandans.[9]

***Luganda*:** One of many vernaculars in use in Uganda,[10] the primary language in South-Central Uganda belonging to the Bantu languages that are spoken in a large part of Sub-Saharan Africa, whereas English is the official language in the country; historically it is the language of the Baganda (subjects of the kingdom of Buganda).

The words on the spines of the *Ebifananyi* books:

***Ebifananyi, Ebishushani*:** The words used to signify photographs and other two-dimensional pictures that look similar to something else in, respectively, **Luganda**, and **Runyakitara** (the language that is used in a large part of western Uganda). *Eki* and *ebi* are prefixes with a function similar to the English article 'a' or 'the', while also signifying the singular or plural forms of the noun.

Picha: Kiswahili word used for photographs, derived from the English word picture. Similarly to *ebifananyi* and *ebishushani*, *picha* refers to photographs, drawings and paintings. Kiswahili is not widely spoken in Uganda,[11] but played an important role in the 1960s when the colonised countries in the Great Lakes Region were gaining their independence.

Diversity of signifiers and key players in the research project.

The diversity in the languages that were relevant to key players in the research project is made apparent in the words on the spines of the eight photobooks that were produced as part of it. Below, I list the variation in these words and key players. The names used in the sections of this dissertation written as letters are referenced between brackets.

Traditionally, Ugandan names are not constructed with a first name and a surname. Names are connected to a clan rather than to the paternal lineage and often accompanied by a title or a nickname acquired during a lifetime.[12] Nowadays, names usually have a Christian (or Muslim) component.

7 See Uganda: Reflections Around the Name, by Manuel Muranga, in Okoth (ed.) (1995), Uganda a Century of Existence. Reid (2017), p. 2

8 1894 is the year in which the Uganda Protectorate was declared, albeit its terrain was limited to Buganda and later expanded to what is now Uganda. See Mutibwa (2016), pp. 1-31

9 Reid (2016), pp. 284-346

10 Pawliková-Volhanová (1996), p. 163

11 Ibid.

12 See the discussion between Nathan Omiel and Robinah Nansubuga in *Ebifananyi* #4 on "Luganda [being] famous for giving names": http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/4-simuda-nyuma-forward-ever-backward-never-based-images-ham-mukasa/59/

Ebifananyi #1: **Deo Kyakulagira** (1940-2000, Deo), dad of **Denis Kalyango** (1969, Denis). Deo is short for Deogratias and only used by Catholics in Uganda.

Ebishushani #2: **Musa Katuramu** (1916- 1983, Musa), father of **Jerry Bagonza** (1946, Jerry). The name Musa is derived from Moses.

Ebishushani #3: **Elly Rwakoma** (1938, Elly), husband of **Stella Rwakoma** (Stella).

Ebifananyi #4: **Ham Mukasa** (ca. 1870-1959) had a prominent place in late 19th till mid 20th century society in Buganda. He is generally referred to using both names while sometimes his Christian name is adapted to the 'Ugandan' Hamu and often Sekibobo, his title as a chief, is added.

Picha #5: **Engineer Martin Wangutusi Wambwa** (1928, Engineer Wambwa) always includes his title when signing his correspondence. **Mary Khisa** (Mary) is his lastborn daughter.

Ebifananyi #6: **Brother Anthony Kyemwa** (1930-2017, Brother Anthony), former headmaster of **St. Mary's College Kisubi** (SMACK).

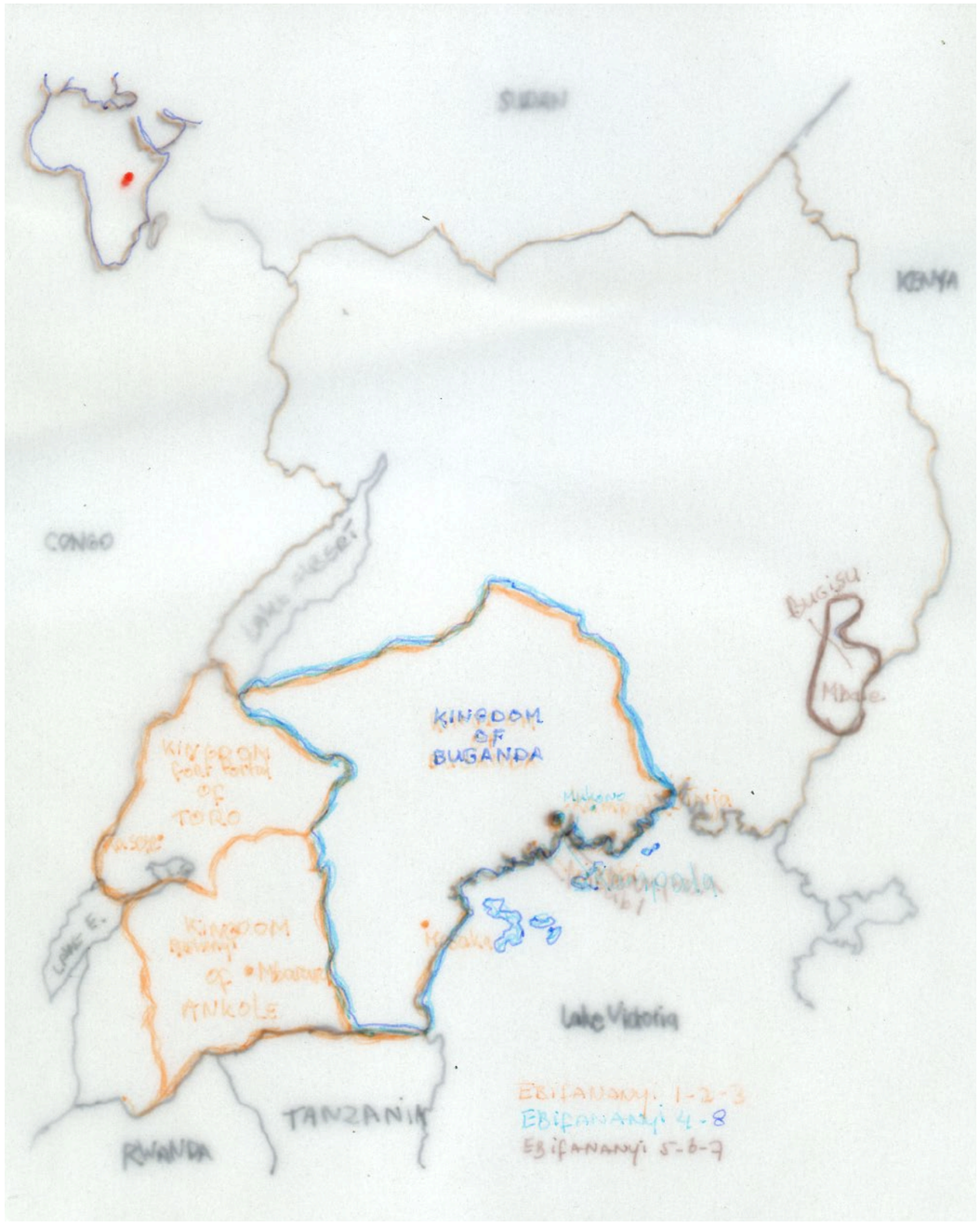
Ebifananyi #7: **Kitizo Paul** (Ca. 1960-unknown, Kizito), former patient of the Uganda Cancer Institute (UCI).

Ekifananyi #8: **Kabaka Muteesa I** (1837-1884, Kabaka Muteesa I). *Kabaka* is the title of the king of Buganda. The name Muteesa is spelled in different ways. I adopted the spelling that is currently used by the Buganda Kingdom. The double e signifies the stretching of the vowel in the pronunciation of the name. In most academic literature and writing from or about the colonial era the name is spelled with one e, while early explorers and missionaries sometimes used other variations such as M'tesa. When quoting sources the spelling in the source is used.[13]

Individuals, other than the key players, who made important contributions to the research project are acknowledged in the dissertation using their full names, taking into account how they refer to themselves, which means that the Christian or Muslim name is sometimes mentioned first, and sometimes mentioned after the Ugandan name.

Artist **Rumanzi Canon Griffin** (1991, Canon) has been of utmost importance throughout the research project. Canon grew up in Western Uganda speaking Runyakitara, and since 2010 lives in Kampala, where he mainly speaks English and Luganda. He was my partner in the digitisation of collections of photographs, which formed the basis of this research project, and the production of exhibitions resulting from it. Canon made me aware of customs, conventions and their contexts that otherwise would have escaped my notice. He produced photographs for the 2nd, 3rd, 6th and 7th volume of the books series and contributed as an artist to the 5th and 8th volume.

13 Further musings on the spelling of the name can be found in this blog post: http://www.hipuganda.org/blog/ekifananyi-kya-muteesa-the-show-is-on-week-2. The great grandson of Muteesa I, Muteesa II was the *Kabaka* of Buganda from 1938 until his death in exile in Britain in 1969. When Ugandans mention Kabaka Muteesa they usually refer to Muteesa II.



Uganda with, in colour, the regions in which the photographs addressed in this dissertation originate

Introduction

The title *Ebifananyi* refers to the fact that photographs in Uganda are conceptualised in language as likenesses. Accepting the idea of linguistic relativism according to which language shapes the way the world is perceived,[14] it is assumed that the way photographs in Uganda and in The Netherlands produce meaning is different. I became aware of this difference while already working as a Dutch artist with photographs in Uganda. The initial idea that the unknown encountered in Uganda could be explored through photography as I knew it therefore turned out to be a misconception signalled by the conceptualisation of the photograph in language as *ekifananyi*. This was for me, as a trained photographer and artist, a sobering insight, which became the premise for this dissertation.

Research questions

The research question is twofold. The first question is topical and asks about the difference between photographs and *ebifananyi* and how this difference may be relevant when communicating with and about photographs in Uganda and in the Netherlands. The second question concerns the method of research and asks how my artistic practice contributes to research into photography.

Ebifananyi / photographs have ambiguous roles in this research project. They are the objects of study in relation to the first question. They are also used as material in, and as part of the outcomes of, my artistic practice. This introduction positions the multiple roles of photographs in my artistic practice as research method. It argues why the notions of encounter and correspondence as brought forward by Azoulay and Ingold are of crucial importance. It also briefly discusses the interdisciplinary field that addresses 'photography in Africa' and the relevance of Uganda as a case study for this research project, closing with the framework of the project and the form in which it is presented.

Images, Pictures, Photographs

The ubiquitous presence of photographs and their appearance as, what French philosopher Roland Barthes called, 'a message without a code,'[15] creates the impression that they can be instantly interpreted.

[14] **Whorf (1956), Brons (2015), p. 79, Staszak (2008), p. 43**
[15] **Barthes (1977), p. 17**

Photographs, however, result from and relate to culturally specific "generally distributed ways of doing and making"[16] that are present in their production, in their application in mass media, in the way they are used for remembrance, to narrate history and in the conventions that shape their institutional utilisation.

This research project studies photographs in Uganda through an artistic practice. They are the objects that are studied as well as agents that guided me through Uganda. My artistic practice intervened in the state in which historical collections of photographs were encountered. I engaged with modes of production of photographs and other pictures in present day Uganda, which resulted in a series of books and exhibitions with the same title as the dissertation: *Ebifananyi*.

The word *ebifananyi* signifies a category of pictures that looks like something else. This category of pictures can only be differentiated further, for instance in their mode of production, through the context in which the word is used. Sometimes this is done by adding other words. A photograph is then *ekifananyi kya mu camera*, translated as a likeness 'made in' a camera. *Ekifananyi ekisiige* is a likeness that is drawn. However, in most cases this kind of explication is not made and the mode of production and materiality of *ekifananyi* is not specified. The difference between *ekifananyi* and photograph then is signalled by the absence of a particular word for photograph in Luganda and the conceptualisation of the image / picture / photograph as a likeness.

The meaning of pictures obviously depends on context as well. In the words of art historian Hans Belting,

> "They migrate across the boundaries that separate one culture from another, taking up residence in the media of one historical place and time and then moving to the next, like desert wanderers setting up temporary camps."[17]

In the *Ebifananyi* books and exhibitions I purposefully made use of this versatility of pictures. The attempts to do this in a way that is critical, transparent and reflexive are made explicit in this dissertation.

Ebifananyi wants to contribute to the field of study of 'photography in Africa' through responses to collections of photographs in Uganda, and through an analysis of the processes around these responses. I follow the line of thinking of British anthropologist and art historian Christopher Pinney. He calls for a 'world system photography' that decentralises the theorising of photography, which, as he and others have argued, still tends to universalise a Euro-American perspective.[18] In addition, this dissertation takes a reflexive approach as it hopes to contribute to debates about 'artistic research' by considering the possibilities and consequences of a particular artistic practice. This particular practice is based on the idea of the photograph as an encounter, and on research as a correspondence based process.

My artistic practice as research method

Thinking of artistic practices in terms of responding to 'what is already there' rather than creating something new makes it possible to identify myself as an artist. Addressing questions which relate to current academic

16 Rancière (2004), p. 13
17 Belting uses the word images in his comparison. Taking the definitions used in this context into account pictures is more appropriate here. Belting (2011), p. 21
18 Pinney (2010), (2012). Also see Oguibe (2004), pp. 78-89 and Peffer (2012), p. 12

discourses renders my artistic practice relevant as a research method. I respond to the notion of photography as understood through my upbringing and education in the Netherlands. As explored in Chapter 2 I build upon encounters with collections of photographs in Uganda.

Each person who engages in both the making of and subsequent experience with a photograph becomes part of an encounter between, in Azoulay's words, "several protagonists, mainly photographer and photographed, camera and spectator."[19] She continues to say that,

> "Understanding the photograph as a product of an encounter extricated me from dead-end discussions of the photograph in terms of the 'inside and outside' organized and embodied by the camera – those standing in front of the camera and behind it at the moment the photograph is taken, and inside and outside the frame at the moment the photograph is viewed."[20]

The inside and outside positions which Azoulay mentions have been cultivated from the moment photographs were used as part of empirical ambitions and documentary efforts.[21] They have been used to emphasise differences and thus create others.[22]

In the second half of the 20th century photographers, artists and anthropologists have increasingly become aware of this problem, reflected on it, and developed photography projects that presented alternatives to the prevalence of photographs from elsewhere that generated spectacle and distance. Particularly influential have been photographers Lary Sultan (USA, 1946-2009), Susan Meiselas, (USA, 1948), Santu Mofokeng (SA, 1956) and Julian Germain (UK, 1962), and artists Akram Zaatari (LB, 1966) and Roy Villevoye (NL, 1960). The practices of these photographers and artists overlap in their use of historical material and an emphasis on narratives that address contemporary issues related to identity formation and relations between self and others. They have been influential to my practice in different ways. Sultan and Germain both positioned in their books historical photographs from personal (Sultan and Germain) and institutional (Germain) collections alongside photographs they produced themselves to inform each other.[23] Meiselas and Mofokeng did not only work with historical photographs but produced collections that shed light on how photographs were produced and used in the past and how available histories are the result of highly selective processes. Mofokeng experimented with different temporal and special forms of presenting the collection of photographs which he put together in a slideshow, exhibition and later a book.[24] Meiselas made use of the possibilities of web 1.0 to crowd-source photographs and information attached to photographs.[25] Next to the, already mentioned, Arab Image foundation, of which Zaatari is a founding member, this was an example for HIPUganda, the platform I set up to collect and share photographs that is discussed in chapter 1. Zaatari and Villevoye both explore photographs beyond the photographic in ways that opened doors within my practice.[26] Meiselas and Villevoye explicitly foster collaborations with the people whose stories they engage with as well as with anthropologists and other academic partners.[27]

In my artistic practice I initiate encounters that lead to correspondences as a result of which photographs move from one context to several other ones in processes that unfold over periods of time. It is assumed that a limited understanding of the conditions in which these processes unfold can cause misunderstandings in the encounter. The notion of the encounter signifies both the excitement and wonder as well as the unease and friction that

19 Azoulay (2008), p. 25, (2010), p. 11
20 Ibid.
21 Landau (2002), Riis (1890)
22 Brons (2015), Hall (1997), pp. 223-279
23 Sultan (1992), Germain (1990)
24 Mofokeng (2013)
25 Meiselas (2008b), http://www.akakurdistan.com/ Last accessed 25-09-2018. Also Meiselas (2008a, 2008c)
26 Raad & Zaatari (2005), Zaatari (2014), Villevoye (2004), www.royvillevoye.com Last accessed 22-09-2018
27 Meiselas (2003, 2008c)

appear when I see a collection of photographs in Uganda for the first time. The excitement and wonder spring from the promise of new vistas and connections,[28] while the friction and unease relate to the privilege I have, just like other artists and researchers who work in cultures other than their own. Excitement and wonder, and the consequences of privilege are topics that return throughout this dissertation.
Thinking of photographs as encounters helps to practice a form of 'narrative humility', a term coined by American physician Sayantani DasGupta who is interested in 'narrative medicine'.[29] Narrative medicine is a discipline in health care that places emphasis on the stories of illness taking the different positions of patients and medical professionals into account.[30] In the context of this dissertation this means that I am aware that my pre-conceived ideas about photography do not fully apply in Uganda, and that the consequences of the versatility of meanings attached to photographs can only be grasped by listening to and observing how people in Uganda deal with them.

Rancière's definition of artistic practices, as mentioned in the glossary above, is part of an argument on how what we sense is distributed. He defines this "distribution of the sensible" as,

> "[...] the system of self-evident facts of sense perception that simultaneously discloses the existence of something in common [a community] and the delimitations that define the respective parts and positions within it. A distribution of the sensible therefore establishes at one and the same time some thing common that is shared and exclusive in parts. This apportionment of parts and positions is based on a distribution of spaces, times, and forms of activity that determines the very manner in which something in common lends itself to participation and in what way various individuals have a part in this distribution."[31]

When different people see the same picture this generates an at least partially shared experience, for instance when people have read a certain book or visited an exhibition. In either case the experiences create a community of insiders and outsiders to that experience. The notion of the encounter that allowed Azoulay to be extricated from discussions on photography in terms of "the 'inside and outside'" also generates inside and outside positions. I take Rancière's "parts and positions" to result from the particular conditions that generate meaning and attach value to what is seen. These "parts and positions" are formed by circumstances that differ slightly from one person to the next and can inform the potential of a book that is read or an exhibition that is seen.

The production of the *Ebifananyi* books and exhibitions makes it possible to study these circumstances in and through what Ingold calls correspondences: "In correspondence points are set in motion to describe lines that wrap around each other like melodies in counterpoint [...] To correspond with the world, is not to describe it, or to represent it, but to answer to it."[32] In this research project "the world" consists of collections of photographs as well as people who have a stake or interest in these collections. Both people and photographs have agency and, sometimes intentionally and sometimes accidentally, they become part of these correspondences.
In this sense correspondences answer to the world while acknowledging that one is changing it, and allowing oneself to be changed while formulating this answer.

28 **Behrend (1998-1)**
29 **DasGupta (2008), p. 981**
30 **DasGupta (2004)**
31 **Rancière (2004), p. 12. Between brackets an insertion by the translator of the text.**
32 **Ingold (2013), p. 108**

The books and exhibitions produced in and through the artistic practice are answers to the encounters with collections of photographs and generate partially shared experiences among audiences who read the books or visit exhibitions. Analysing the correspondences - that lead to the books and exhibitions and result from them - makes the artistic practice that produced the books and exhibitions a research method. The "ways of doing and making" of the artist are the method of the researcher.

Photography in Africa

The broad and encompassing word photography is often used to refer to particular photographs or the practices that produce them. Taking the observed differences between *ebifananyi* and photographs that are explored in this dissertation into account, the use of the word photography potentially adds misunderstandings. When the word 'photography' is used in this dissertation it refers to conventional uses of the term within certain discourses, examples including 'photography in Africa' and 'history of photography'.
Historians, anthropologists and art historians meet each other in a loosely defined and interdisciplinary field of inquiry that finds its origin in the conference *Photographs as sources for African History* that was organised in London in 1988.[33] German anthropologist Heike Behrend notes that colonial photographs were critically studied from the 1970s, but that it "is scandalous that anthropologists and art historians realised so late [in the early 1990s] that Africans, too, had worked as photographers and created their own visual traditions".[34] Studies in the field of photography in Africa contribute, for instance, to the narration of the history of photography on the continent,[35] and to the understanding of photographs as part of visual culture,[36] as well as opening a space to reconsider the relevance of photographic archives.[37]

American art historian John Peffer points out some of the challenges the study of photography in Africa faces. He notes that its history has largely left us "to assume inaccurately that the historical experience of photography – the phenomenological basis for considering photographic meaning – is a cultural universal on European terms."[38] He goes on to note that it is problematic that,

> "exhibition catalogues of contemporary photography from Africa, while recognizing the need for alternative historical approaches, still often tend to offer mostly universal humanist interpretations [...] while photographs] contain time- and place bound worlds of gestural and sartorial (and phenomenological) meaning that constitute a language, one that will be missed or misconstrued if not recognized by later viewers."[39]

Pinney agrees, as do I, with Peffer, and connects the problematic history and theory of photography and its Euro-centrism explicitly to the notion of culture, noting that,

> "Perhaps it is useful to imagine a spectrum with 'photography' at one end and 'culture' at the other. What might be called 'core' photographic history (by which I mean that which describes Euro-American practices) erases 'culture' as a problematic whereas 'peripheral' or 'regional' histories by virtue of their very regionality tend to foreground 'cultural' dimensions of practice."[40]

I think of culture as a shared normality in which people live their lives in an environment that balances a sense

33 **Vokes (2012), p.1, Schneider in Sheehan (2015) p. 176**
34 **Behrend (2014), p. 11**
35 **Schneider in Sheehan, (2015), p. 172, Vokes (2012), p. 1**
36 **Peffer (2012), p. 5**
37 **Vokes (2012), p. 3, Garb (2014)**
38 **Peffer (2012), p. 3**
39 **Ibid., pp. 3-4. Also see Haney in Vokes (2012), pp. 127-128**
40 **Pinney (2010)**

of connection and individual expression. This particular use of the term builds on American anthropologist Clifford Geertz's thinking. Geertz considers the study of culture to be an experimental science in search of meaning.[41] This search is continued here through the production of meaning that builds on correspondences. It also builds on the articles in the publication *Writing Culture, the Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, which reflects on ethnographic practices and the 'writing' it results in. The book's editor James Clifford (USA) argues that "culture is always relational, an inscription of communicative processes that exist, historical, *between* subjects [...]."[42]

The modes of production and habitual use of photographs in Uganda has certain parallels to, and differences from the Netherlands. By using the cultures in the Netherlands and Uganda as points of reference while studying photographs in Uganda, this research project attempts to avoid the pitfalls of cultural universals and peripheral histories.

Photographs in Uganda

When I embarked on this research project only few studies on photographs in Uganda were available. In publications that contribute primarily to an art-historical discourse, Uganda was only mentioned in relation to photographs produced by non-Ugandans or members of the Ugandan diaspora.[43] Several articles by scholars with backgrounds in anthropology and history do address photographs in Uganda, but these studies are incidental.[44] Internationally distributed artworks that have photographs in Uganda as their subject were part of practices of artists who are members of the Ugandan diaspora rather than living in the country.[45]

An infrastructure for critical engagement with photographs in particular, and visual arts in general was virtually absent in Uganda's capital city Kampala at the time I embarked on this research project. However, this situation has dramatically changed partly owing to the establishment of arts centre 32° Degrees East, the ambitions of artist and gallery owner Daudi Karungi and his Afriart Gallery,[46] and the presence of German curator Katrin Peeters-Klaphake at Makerere University Art Gallery.[47] For photography in particular the activities around the Uganda Press Photography Award (UPPA) have been an important factor in connecting local photographers to international developments.[48] UPPA was established in 2012 and organises an annual award, exhibition and discussions on photography with local and international speakers. The interplay between these organisations and individuals created a situation in which it was necessary to be critical towards self and others on a local level while international connections unfolded. Artistic outcomes of this research project were presented in collaborations with, but not limited to each of these organisations and individuals.

Ekifananyi / The photograph

There are significant differences between the words used for 'pictures captured on light sensitive surfaces with the use of a camera' in Luganda and in English. *Ekifananyi* is the Luganda word that is used to signify a

41 Geertz (1973), p. 5
42 Clifford (1986), p. 15
43 Njami (ed.) (2001), Enwezor (2008), Njami (1998), (2010), (2014), Haney (2010), Peffer (2012), Garb (2014), Nwagbogu (2015)
44 Morton (2015) pp. 19-38, Vokes (2010-2), (2012), pp. 207-228, Behrend (2001)
45 E.g. Zahrina Bhimji, Caroline Kamya, Emma Wolukau-Wanambwa, Sunil Shah
46 See http://ugandanartstrust.org/ and http://afriartgallery.org/ Last accessed 25-09-2018
47 Peeters Klaphake worked as a curator at the gallery from 2010 till 2017. She currently lives in Germany where she works on a research on the art collections from the university.
48 See http://www.ugandapressphoto.org Last accessed 25-09-2018

photograph, but it does not mean a photograph. The noun *ekifananyi* is derived from the verb *kufanana* - to be similar to.[49] The literal translation of *ekifananyi* is then a likeness. The English word photograph is constructed from the Greek *photos* and *graphé*, referring to a drawing made with light. The word photograph places emphasis on the production process (drawing) of the picture and the material used (light). This excludes paintings or drawings from the category of pictures that is signified and makes the camera and a light sensitive surface central to it. The Luganda word *ekifananyi* makes it possible to erase the camera from the encounter with the picture and produces a more inclusive category that can refer to a photograph, but also to a painting or a drawing.

I encountered the word *ekifananyi* for the first time in a document related to the collection of photographs that is presented in *Ebifananyi* #4. When this document appeared I had been searching for collections of photographs in Uganda for four years. During this search people repeatedly brought paintings and drawings to the table while (I thought that) the conversation was about photographs. Once I was aware of this inclusive category of pictures generated by the word *ekifananyi* I asked other Europeans who worked in Uganda whether they had heard of it. None of them had. These Europeans included professionals working in arts institutions, photographers and lecturers at a film school. I also brought up the topic in conversation with Ugandan artists. They told me it was an interesting observation they had not thought about.
The absence of a particular word for photographs in Luganda was not something English speakers in Uganda were aware of while it was so much part of the normality of Ugandans that they had never given it any consideration.[50] Studies on photographs in East-Africa take note of this. British anthropologist Richard Vokes mentions *ebishushani*, the Runyakitara equivalent of *ebifananyi*, in an article about vernacular photography in Western Uganda. He relates *ebishushani* particularly to the twin portraits and double prints of photographs he encountered, instead of to the photograph as a picture among pictures.[51] Behrend notes, in relation to the Kiswahili word *picha* that "some popular photographers conceptualized photography and painting not so much as distinctive media and genres, but as different phases in the production of "pichas.""[52] From my observations and these references it follows that thinking of photographs as 'pictures captured on light sensitive surfaces with the use of a camera' is not sufficient if we want to understand the uses of and the practices around *ebifananyi* / photographs. This observation and position has led to a range of questions on the cultural and historical contexts of *ebifananyi* / photographs that are addressed in the artistic products of this research project and analysed in the following sections of the dissertation.

Framing *Ebifananyi* as a research project

A photograph is inscribed with information and given value in each encounter with it. British historian of photography Elizabeth Edwards has argued the importance of the social biography of historical photographs when trying to understand their present day positions.[53] Photographs are not static but subject to change. Their materiality continually shifts as they move through different hands and in this way 'live' in morphing social contexts.[54] My artistic practice engages with particular social contexts and enters into the social bio-

49 Luganda English dictionaries do not make this etymological connection; Kaddu Wasswa, an elder from Buganda who I have been working with since 2008, gave it to me.
50 Mulder(2004), pp. 34-42, Foucault (1972), pp. 124-131
51 Vokes (2012), p. 222, p. 224
52 Behrend (2013), p. 89

graphies of photographs in Uganda. This is where the approach of my practice differs from both Edwards' work as well as from most studies on photography in Africa.
The collections of photographs are objects of study and, in order to study them, they are used as material in my artistic practice. The *Ebifananyi* books are central to this practice. They are the response to the collections and they aim to present them in an appropriate way. Through these books photographs reach new audiences, stories are added to them and an awareness of the potential values of collections usually grows as illustrated in *Ebifananyi* #4.[55]

The book *Mapping Sitting: on Portraiture and Photography,* presents a wide variety of photographic portraiture practices from the Middle East that was brought together by the Arab Image Foundation.[56] The introduction to the book states that isolating an individual photograph from the book would not do justice to that photograph or to the wider collection of portraits they are part of. The same can be said about the photographs in the *Ebifananyi* books. During the first year of the research project I was introduced to Musa Katuramu's photographs (*Ebifananyi* #2, chapter 3). It soon became obvious that it was impossible to understand the pictures made by professional photographers Deo Kyakulagira and Elly Rwakoma (*Ebifananyi* #1 and #3, chapter 3), without taking Musa Katuramu's older amateur oeuvre into account. Meanwhile other collections were digitised and other connections were established. The connection between wealth, privilege and the possession of portraits became obvious in the extensive collection of photographs owned by the Ham Mukasa family (*Ebifananyi* #4, chapter 4).[57] Ham Mukasa appears in Musa Katuramu's portraits, which demonstrates the link between Buganda and Ankole elites. These and other connections led to the final eight collections that feature in the *Ebifananyi* series. The end comes to the beginning in *Ebifananyi* #8 that departs from what appears to be the first portrait that was made in present day Uganda (chapter 4).

Each of the chapters discusses aspects of the artistic practice as "ways of doing and making" that responded to the social biography of the photographs presented in the *Ebifananyi* books and exhibitions. My artistic practice as a research method is elaborated on in Chapter 1.
Chapters 2 through 6 discuss the *Ebifananyi* books and exhibitions as both outcomes and sources of correspondences. Chapter 2 discusses the use of the epistolary form in this dissertation and includes a 'circular letter' to the individual addressees of the letters in chapter 3-5.[58] Each addressee plays an important role in one of the books. The pictures in the books are 'theirs' in different ways: they made them, own them or appear in them. In this 'circular letter' I introduce my background and my interest in photographs in Uganda, and motivate the general choices that were made towards the production of the books.

The letters in chapter 3, 4 and 5 are preceded by brief texts. These texts were produced for the first exhibition that presented all the collections in the *Ebifananyi* project together. The texts were originally meant to give the, mainly Western European, audiences of the exhibition that took place in Belgium access to the collections. Here they give the reader of the dissertation information about the collections and are meant to contribute to the tangibility of the presence and relevance of the different voices that give context to pictures as discussed

53 **Edwards(2001), (2002), Edwards & Heart (ed.) (2004)**
54 **Edwards (2002), p. 68**
55 **See the opening and closing section of *Ebifananyi* #4.**
56 **Raad and Zaatari (ed.), 2005. The book is edited and authored collectively by artists Walid Raad and Akram Zaatari, designer Karl Bassil and cultural studies scholar Zeina Masri.**
57 **Vokes in Vokes (2012), p. 216. See *Ebifananyi* #4 for the collection of the Ham Mukasa family and chapter 5 for a letter to Ham Mukasa.**
58 **Schofield (1928)**

in chapter 6.

Chapter 3, 4 and 5 follow the sets in the book series. The books with yellow covers (*Ebifananyi* #1, #2 and #3, chapter 3) present correspondences with photographs produced by particular photographers. The books provide insights in the conditions in which 20th century Ugandan photographers produced and distributed their pictures, which are taken to be "ordinary and regional artifacts"[59] that are produced by a "vernacular mode".[60] The presentation of the photographs in the *Ebifananyi* project is compared to other appropriations of photographs made in this vernacular mode.
The books with blue covers (*Ebifananyi* #4 and #8, chapter 4) present correspondences that respond to the historical context in which photographs were introduced in Uganda. A variety of makers of pictures contributed to these correspondences and led to an unanticipated addition to the research method described in chapter 1.
Chapter 5 discusses unsolicited correspondences to *Ebifananyi* #5, #6 and #7, which resulted from the production of the *Ebifananyi* books. It thus makes an argument for an open mode of investigation, acknowledging that certain aspects of a context can never be fully understood by an outsider.
Chapter 6 asks how the collections of photographs can and should be understood as a whole through the two *Ebifananyi* exhibitions that presented all eight collections together. The first exhibition, which took place in the FotoMuseum (FoMu) in Antwerp, is analysed leading up to the proposal for the second show that is scheduled for August 2018 at The Uganda Museum in Kampala.

A written dissertation as artistic practice

One of the bigger challenges of this research project has been to bridge the perceived gap between my artistic practice, and the academic reflection and analysis that was expected in the context of a doctoral trajectory. An important question in this respect was how to build on a vital connection between the realities I worked in Uganda, which include the lives and social environments of the people who made or amassed the photographs in the *Ebifananyi* books, as well as the often bureaucratic institutions that own collections of photographs and emerging art initiatives in Uganda. Ignoring this question would have perpetuated a structure of exclusion, reminiscent of colonial strategies that I consider to be problematic and therefore necessary to avoid. The way out of the rather paralysing status quo caused by this question was found in acknowledging that the writing of this dissertation is also part of my artistic practice. Writing a doctoral thesis is in itself a "generally distributed way of doing and making" and thus something an artistic practice can respond to and correspond with.

Correspondences as positioned above have taken on many forms in this research project. These forms range from hands-on work with photographs while digitising and categorising them, to informal interviews with their owners, to Collective Making in which producers of pictures respond to my request to existing documents that raised questions on photographs and pictures in Uganda. In the following chapters I will make use of letter writing as a form of correspondence as reflected in Ingold's interpretation of the term as a way of doing

59 **Batchen (2001), p. 57**
60 **Vokes (2012), pp. 214-219**

research with instead of about people and aspects of their lives and environment. The choice for this form is further elaborated on in chapter 2.

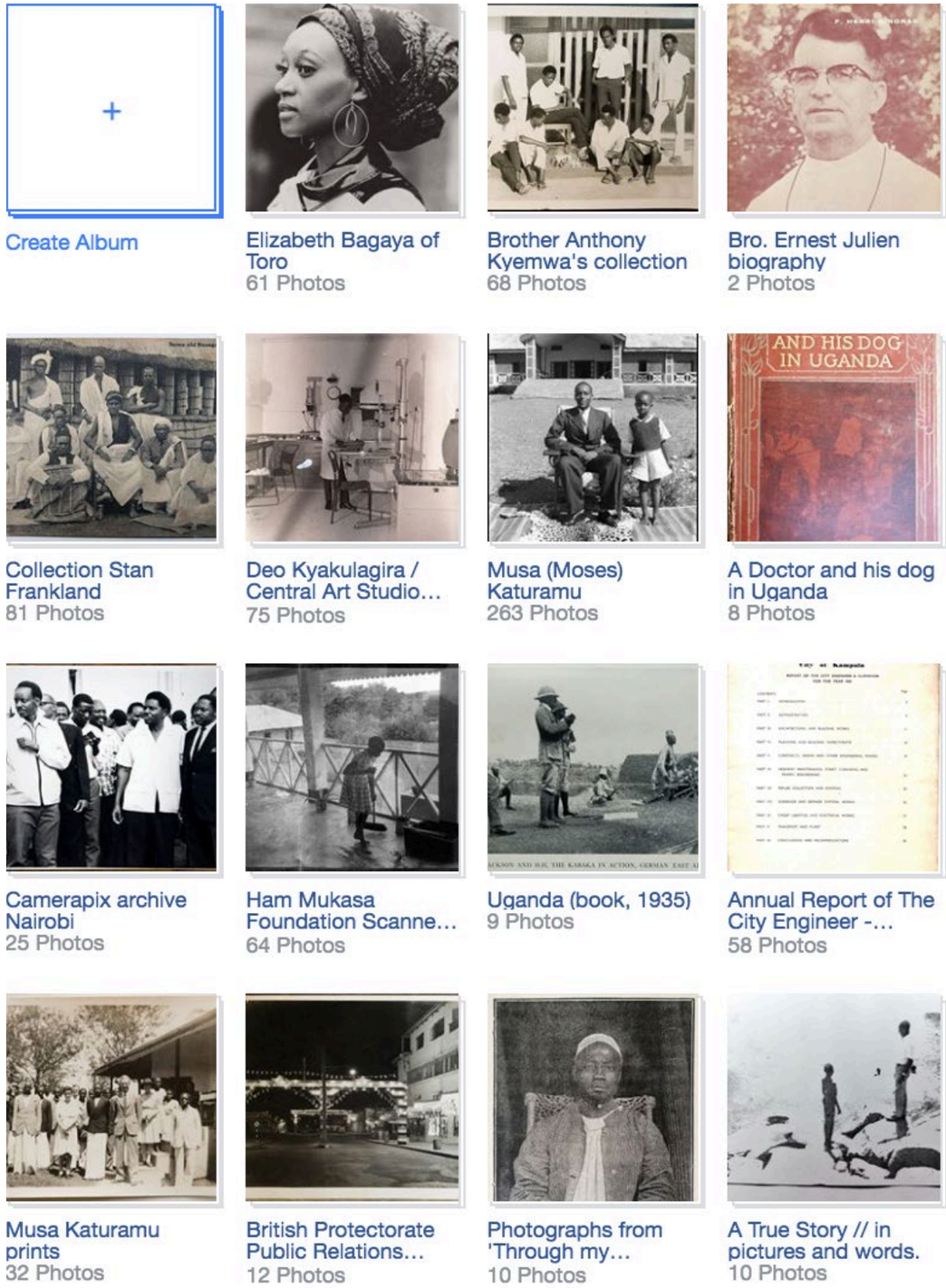
The, often assumed and misguiding, self-evidentiary mode of transmitting information through photographs is, as stated above, part of the issue this dissertation addresses. In the context of academic research, both in publications and in conferences I attended, photographs are mostly used as side-notes to illustrate or ground arguments that are made in words, even when they are the objects that are studied.[61] American art historian James Elkins categorises the use of pictures in the article 'An Introduction to the Visual as Argument'. He does this in the context of visual studies, a field that despite its focus on the visual "is mainly engaged with kinds of argument that do not need to make continual, close, concerted, dialogic contact with image"[62] and is "not yet a visual enterprise".[63] Pictures, he says, are used with texts to remind the reader of the object of discussion, as examples that "provide evidence or veracity to an argument" developed in the text, or as an illustration that is "an ornament, a conventional accompaniment" of the text.[64] In addition these three functions of pictures are often positioned using ekphrasis, "a literary description of or commentary on a visual work of art".[65] Whereby ekphrasis becomes a rhetorical devise, which relies on an assumed authority on the side of the person making the description. The relative ability this person has to recognise and read what is depicted can lead to its own kind of misunderstanding.[66]

I read Elkins's description of how pictures could function as "visual arguments" as a plea to make room for encounters between text, pictures and the reader. These encounters will become correspondences once the reader takes up the invitation to engage with the pictures. I take correspondence to be a prerequisite of a visual argument and therefore the reader of this dissertation is invited to engage with the sequences of pictures that are part of this dissertation in two ways. Firstly, sequenced photographs accompany the texts in the following chapters. Different from the photographs in the *Ebifananyi* books, these pictures have captions that mention their context and, where relevant, sources are added to these captions. Secondly, links to photographs that were shared on Facebook, and documentation of the *Ebifananyi* books and exhibitions that have been made available online, are provided in these captions and in the footnotes of the text. These links regularly cut across collections of photographs and the different forms and events in which they have been presented, which makes the network of photographs that was generated by this research project tangible.[67]
In the electronic version of this dissertation the hyperlinks are active and instantly accessible. They extend the invitation offered by the pictures to the continuously changing online presence produced in the outcomes of this dissertation and the realities they relate to. Finally, the bold and italic texts that precede the letters in chapter 3, 4 and 5 were produced to serve as texts with the *Ebifananyi* overview exhibition at FoMu in Antwerp. Here they serve both as introductions to the letters as well as to stress the importance of acknowledging different voices and their potential deficits. This argument is made in chapter 6, after the reader of the dissertation has encountered these texts.

61 **e.g. Haney (2010), Morton (ed.) (2015), Peffer (ed.) (2012), Vokes (2012)**
62 **Elkins (2013), p. 25**
63 **Elkins (2012)**
64 **Ibid,, pp. 26-27**
65 **https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/ekphrasis Last accessed 25-09-2019**
66 **Zeitlyn in Morton (ed.) (2015), pp. 72-74**
67 **www.facebook.com/HIPUganda, www.andreastultiens.nl and www.HIPUganda.org are the most ubiquitous home pages of specific hyperlinks that are used. In the case of the last two websites I am in control of the content as administrator of the pages, therefore these hyperlinks are not accompanied by a 'last accessed' date.**

Chapter 1

Artistic Practice as a Research Method



Screenshot of the 'albums' with photographs on the HIPUganda Facebook page.

In 2014 the Buganda Kingdom offered HIPUganda a stand at their annual tourism fair. This is a detail of the display.

The method that developed during this research project unfolds in three stages. These include the collecting, digitising and sharing of photographs, the production of books as part of my artistic practice, and exhibitions and other presentations related to these books in Uganda and Western Europe. They have developed around the encounters which this project has facilitated. My interchangeable role as both a researcher and an artist will be discussed in this chapter, reflecting on my artistic practice as a research method.

During the first stage dozens of collections are digitised and photographs are made available online under the name History in Progress Uganda (HIPUganda). Eight of these digitised collections formed a starting point for the next stage, which is the production of the *Ebifananyi* books. The selection of the collections was based on three factors. The quantity and the quality of the photographs in the collection, the connections that could be made with practices around photographs outside of Uganda, and the insights they seemed to provide into the production and uses of photographs in Uganda. These criteria will be clarified more in detail in the respective chapters. In the third stage the *Ebifananyi* books are distributed alongside exhibitions and other presentations, which generated new, and in some cases still ongoing correspondences.

HIPUganda, the *Ebifananyi* books, and exhibitions are discussed here in relation to the Ugandan contexts in which I worked. My background as a photographer alongside the theoretical discourses that informed my actions will be explored in order to arrive at a conclusion, which explains how the three stages mentioned above constitute this research method.

HIPUganda

From the moment I expressed interest in historical photographs in Uganda in 2008, I heard one story after another from Ugandans about photographs that no longer existed due to political turmoil or neglect.[68] Once a collection of photographs was encountered I therefore immediately asked for permission to digitise them. HIPUganda was founded in 2011 with the aim to find audiences that might be interested in the photographs encountered, while at the same time creating the possibility for information about these photographs to be added to them.
Social network Facebook functions as HIPUganda's primary platform because of its popularity among Ugandans. This locates

[68] **e.g.: http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/3-tricks-elly-rwakoma/104/ and following pages in *Ebifananyi* #3, and http://www.hipuganda.org/blog/buganda-tourism-expo-meeting-1-no-photo**

the project firmly in a timeframe in which social media are used as part of research methods - which would not have been possible a decade earlier. Photographs were shared here on a daily basis and responses to photographs were monitored. Full collections of photographs shared on Facebook were also uploaded to a website that was meant to function as a database.[69]

HIPUganda is not considered to be an archive but a collection, the distinction being that the documents in an archive are catalogued and accessible, while a collection is an accumulation of documents that was brought - or ended up - together for one reason or another. This reason can be found in the production of the documents or the interest of their owner. For the collections presented in this research project it is in most cases a combination of the two, while a myriad of different, and sometimes random, factors are also playing a part. Where these factors were considered to be relevant and obvious at the time of production of the *Ebifananyi* books they appear in them. If this relevance resulted from correspondences following from the books it is addressed in the chapters to follow.

Archives have been problematised through contrasting and contradictory understandings, such as a contested colonial and post-colonial institution of power and knowledge,[70] or as a source of information that can counter dominant histories through the activation of tacit narratives embedded in its records,[71] or as a metaphorical space that offers an opportunity for critical reflection.[72] The act of archiving is, as Dutch professor of Archivistics Eric Ketelaar (1944) argues, preceded by 'archivalization',

> "the conscious or unconscious choice (determined by social and cultural factors) to consider some thing worth archiving. [...] The searchlight of archivalization has to sweep the world for something to light up in the archival sense, before we proceed to register, to record, to inscribe it, in short before we archive it."[73]

HIPUganda's stance is critical of the practice of 'archivalization', because of its sense of entitlement, of knowing what is worth archiving. The encountered collections of photographs survived the test of time against many odds, caused by political, economical, cultural and climatological circumstances. This is part of their social biographies and, in my view, renders them worthy to be preserved and made publicly available. The digital form in which photographs were documented made it possible to distribute them through HIPUganda's online presence.

Archives in Uganda

American historian Kathryn Barrett-Gaines and political scientist Lynn Khadiagala describe what it is like to work in archives in Uganda in an article that was meant to be a guide for fellow researchers.[74] They mention the sometimes challenging logistics of access, messy rooms, files covered in dust and the (un)willingness of underpaid staff members to answer questions. More recent articles describe the conditions encountered in Ugandan archives along the same lines. However none of these articles specifically address the presence of photographs.[75] This raises the question as to whether photographs were part of the archives, or whether they simply had not been considered in 'archivalization' processes.

Most of the photographs collected and made accessible through HIPUganda were part of private collections and not of formal archives. The most noteworthy exceptions are the photographs in the National Archives of Uganda and in the Africana collection of Makerere University.[76] The collection from the National Archives consisted of three boxes with photographs, which were digitised in a matter of hours.[77] The photographs had barely any information attached to them.[78] The archive of Makerere University included hundreds of glass plate negatives made by two missionary officers including Dr. Schofield (who is mentioned again in chapter 2 and 3).[79]

69 See https://www.facebook.com/pg/HIPUganda/photos/?tab=albums Last accessed 25-09-2018 and http://www.hipuganda.org/smart-collections
70 Mbembe (2002), p. 19
71 Ketelaar (2001)
72 Foucault (1972), p. 129
73 Ketelaar (2001), p. 133
74 Barret-Gaines (2000)

The presence of these collections in the archives illustrates the randomness mentioned above. In the case of the National Archives they give the impression of being leftovers of what once may have been a larger collection. The boxes included, for instance, photographs made as documentation of events during the Idi Amin regime as well as two much older photographs of Polish refugees in Uganda[80] and a set of exhibition prints of African statesmen.[81] A wall with photographs in the archive is mainly devoted to "local rulers" and "colonial administrators".[82]

Dr. Schofield's descendants donated the glass plate negatives to the University.[83] After the digitisation of the collection at Makerere University by HIPUganda the library staff initially did not grant permission to share the pictures online, as they did not feel they held an authoritative voice on the issue. The suggestion that this was an opportunity to crowd-source information on the photographs was dismissed as this was not considered to be part of the task of the library. The photographs were not thought of as potential sources of information, but as pictures connected to and depending on facts about what was depicted. This changed when a new deputy librarian was appointed who did understand the HIPUganda strategy.[84]

Encountering such randomness within the collections and in the way they were guarded was initially puzzling and disorienting. These encounters made me aware that I come from a context in which photographs are understood through genres referring to either a context in terms of their mode of production and use (e.g. news photograph, snapshot, documentary photograph) or the depiction building on art-historical conventions (e.g. portrait, interior, landscape etc.). Accepting the merits of serendipity turned out to be a valuable addition to searching for materials that I was interested in. For example, once I embraced the existing variety of photographs, in terms of production, depiction and distribution within encountered collections, I was able to note unexpected connections. Moreover, approaching the world with a particular focus can obstruct the view into valuable insights that are outside of it, which was the case with the absence of a particular word in Luganda for photograph and the literal translation of *ebifananyi* as likeness.

Considerations on the availability of historical records in digital format

American historian Derek Peterson (1971) worked on numerous archives in Uganda[85] and is concerned with the availability of digitally accessible materials where he states that,

> "Digitisation is a fundamentally modern project in so far as it kind of marshals up collections that exist in a variety of formats into one singular template where the collection can be organised, studied and used by scholars. But also edited, controlled by government officials who might want to suppress aspects of an inconvenient history for their own benefit. At the same time digitisation also allows Western institutions [...]

75 Barret-Gaines (2000), Peterson (2013), De Haas et al (2016)
76 Makerere University is the oldest institute of higher education in the great lakes region, located on Makerere Hill in Kampala. Motani (1979)
77 Access to this collection and permission to digitize and share it was possible thanks to Prof. Derek Peterson.
78 See https://www.facebook.com/pg/HIPUganda/photos/?tab=album&album_id=357258324350020 Last accessed 25-09-2018
79 See http://www.hipuganda.org/collection/glass-plate-negatives-dr-a-b-fisher and http://www.hipuganda.org/collection/schofield-glassplate-negatives
80 http://www.hipuganda.org/collection/polish-refugees-photos-from-uganda-national-archives
81 See https://www.facebook.com/pg/HIPUganda/photos/?tab=album&album_id=387792691296583 Last accessed 25-09-2018
82 http://www.hipuganda.org/collection/uganda-national-archives-display
83 Information provided by Makerere University Library staff and confirmed by one of Schofield's granddaughters in a chat resulting from the sharing of photographs on the HIPUganda Facebook page.
84 Namagenda (2016)
85 See https://derekrpeterson.com/archive-work/ Last accessed Last accessed 25-09-2018

to get access to materials that Africans rightly regard as their own national heritage."[86]

Peterson stresses the danger of a situation in which researchers no longer are obliged to visit an archive to access the information it contains. The digital archive isolates documents from their materiality and context, both of which contribute critically to the information an archived record gives.[87] As a solution Peterson proposes to limit long distance access to (digitised) archives.[88] The issue that Peterson raises concerns the access by researchers from the West. If they only work with data provided by digitised documents, the reality on the African continent could remain an abstraction without an embodied experience of the archive and its context. While I agree with him on the danger of research based on de-contextualised documents, I would still argue that it is important to open these documents up to the public in order to reach out to a wider audience. Documents are not only sources of data, but also can give access to tacit narratives[89] and establish connections between otherwise isolated pictures[90] if encounters with them are made possible. The photographs can only prove their relevance to audiences both in Uganda and in the West if they are available and accessible. HIP-Uganda generated, through its website and its Facebook page, the opportunity to engage with and monitor responses to photographs by, predominantly, Ugandan audiences.[91] These responses led to new connections between photographs, and to insights into the distribution of photographs that were previously unavailable.[92] Sharing photographs online further led to introductions to collections with *Ebifananyi* #4, #7 and #8 as a result of this process.

Doing rather than Making

In this stage my role is that of an interface between collections of photographs as part of the material world and photographs as visualities that can be seen and responded to by online audiences. The emphasis is, in terms of Rancière's definition of artistic practices, on a "way of doing", rather than a "way of making".

Under the name HIPUganda I intervened in the state in which collections of photographs in Uganda were encountered. The collections were digitised in order to preserve this state. This 'dematerialisation'[93] of the photographs also made it possible to make them available to audiences on social medium Facebook.

Facebook statistics provided quantitative data on the popularity of certain posts, and the demographics of profiles that accessed the page.[94] These data in combination with the engagement with photographs and members of the audience in the online environment influenced the choices which informed the *Ebifananyi* books and exhibitions in terms of points of interest on the one hand and underexposed topics on the other.

86 Peterson (2011)
87 Edwards and Heart (ed.) (2004)
88 Peterson (2011), 11:30 in the podcast
89 Ketelaar (2001)
90 This is addressed in *Ebifananyi* #8 and chapter 5 with a case study of pictures of Kabaka Muteesa that circulate in Uganda and are present in a Belgian archive.
91 Based on statistics provided by Facebook.
92 See for instance these blogposts: http://www.hipuganda.org/blog/hipuganda-weekly-august-1-7-apolos-face-again-and-again and http://www.hipuganda.org/blog/what-does-a-converted-king-look-like that link the Schofield Fisher glass plate negatives in the collection of Makerere University to other collections both in and outside of Uganda.
93 Zeitlyn in Morton (ed.) (2015), p. 65
94 From May till October 2016 the most popular posts on Facebook were evaluated on a weekly basis on the HIPUganda blog, see posts from here: http://www.hipuganda.org/blog/reviving-the-blog-hipuganda onward.

Ebifananyi **special edition developed with gallerist Johan Deumens, Amsterdam, 2014**

Bibles sold on Kampala Road, Kampala, 2018

Ebifananyi books sold at Afriart Gallery (above) and the Uganda Society (middle and below), Kampala, 2018

Books in Uganda

Walking along Kampala-Jinja road in the centre of Kampala one meets numerous street hawkers selling books. The vast majority of these books are bibles in different sizes and languages. Next to the bibles one sees schoolbooks for primary and secondary school students. A third category that is present in abundance is that of self-help books. The chain of Aristoc bookstores, which has a shop along Jinja road, offers a large variety of books that includes novels and coffee-table books for a limited clientele that can afford them.
Elsewhere in downtown Kampala one finds a street on which Qurans are sold in, again, a large variety of sizes.

Qurans (from the 1860s onwards) and bibles (from the 1870s onwards) were the first books that were brought into 19th century Buganda for the local population and were intricately connected to the development of literacy and formal education.[95] The Luganda word for book is *ekitabo*, which has a striking similarity to the Arabic word *kitab*, suggesting that it could be a loanword used to signify a new concept.[96] Catholic and
protestant missionaries started to teach reading and writing immediately after their arrival in the late 1870s.

Observing how books are generally used in present day Uganda it is obvious that they are still primarily connected to their role as sources of knowledge, and valued as objects that hold authority and should be treated with respect. Other than the repeated stories of collections of photographs or negatives that were burned or discarded for unclear reason,[97] I have never heard of books that were destroyed in Uganda.

Photobooks as a literary form

Between 2004 and 2014 the three volumes of *The Photobook: A History* by British photo historian Gerry Badger and photographer Martin Parr were published. These books are part of a growing interest in and availability of photobooks in the West. Developments in digital photography, the availability of printing on demand services[98] and inkjet printers made it possible for aspiring photographers to make a book of their own in a small edition, independent of a publisher. This led to a further appreciation of photobooks, signalled by photo- book awards and festivals. In Uganda however, photobooks do not have a presence among photographers or in bookselling venues.

Badger defines the photobook as "a book with or without text – where the work's primary message is carried by photographs".[99] What Badger calls the primary message of the photobook is what is conveyed through rather than about photographs. The photobook distinguishes itself from, for instance, catalogues that are also filled with photographs. Badger suggests, and I agree with him, that photography is essentially a literary art "where the photographer is not so much a manipulator of forms within the picture frame, but a narrator using images rather than words, a storyteller."[100]
The pages of a photobook offer a form in which an individual photograph naturally gives meaning to - and gets its meaning from - the sequence it is part of. The readability of the sequence depends on the continuity in form and/or content between the pictures as well as the willingness and ability of the reader to interpret them.

95 **Pawliková-Vilhanová (2006), p. 199**
96 **Stephens (2013), pp. 25-26**
97 **One such story is related to the collection of slides presented in *Ebifananyi* #5: http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/5-uhuru-minor-accidents-eng-m-w-wambwa/4/**
98 **See for instance http://www.blurb.com/photo-books and http://www.lulu.com/create/books#photobook. Last accessed 09-04-2018**
99 **Badger (2004), p.5**
100 **Badger (2015), 'Why Photobooks are Important', Zum Magazine 8, https://revistazum.com.br/en/revista-zum-8/fotolivros Last accessed 25-09-2018**

The *Ebifananyi* books and their paratexts

In a photobook the 'messages' of photographs are most often accompanied by textual 'messages' and its design often takes the function of the book beyond being a container of information and suggests meaning in its appearance and materiality. French literary theorist Gérard Genettte (1930) speaks of paratexts that enable "a text to become a book and to be offered as such to its readers and, more generally, to the public."[101] Paratexts are conventions that make the book speak prior to and beyond its primary message.
In designing the *Ebifananyi* books these conventions were approached as "ways of doing and making" and are responded to in my artistic practice. For example, each *Ebifananyi* book has two textual elements on its front cover and a quote on its back cover. The larger textual element on the front cover refers to its content, and the smaller one to the source of the collection the book is based upon. The conventional position of the author on the front-cover of a book is used here to mention the individuals and institutions that produced or own the pictures in the book. My name appears under the texts in the double sheet of paper that forms the cover of the book. These texts introduce the collections in the book and position the name on the front-cover. This is a deliberate subversion of the conventional layout on book covers, which connect title and author in specific ways. The quotes on the back covers are not explicitly authored but the determiners, which indicate possession, connect individual voices to the wider contextual narrative running through the book as a whole (for example My dad [...] (*Ebifananyi* #1), These must be [...] (*Ebifananyi* #6)). On the back of *Ebifananyi* #8 the same connection is made through the visual, using a picture that is a blend of many other pictures in the book that portray Kabaka Muteesa I. This picture responds to and intervenes in the presence of textual quotes on the backs of the other books in the series. It is a visual and not a textual paratext, just as each of the books is itself in its materiality a paratext responding to the most ubiquitous books in Uganda.
The modest size of the *Ebifananyi* books resembles that of pocket Bibles and Qurans, the paper used on their covers is similar to the archive folders that are ubiquitous in Uganda. Their small size (10.5x14.5cm) makes it possible to use the spreads in landscape as well as in portrait mode as a self-evidentiary gesture. The readability of the pages guides the hands of the reader who effortlessly turns the book ninety degrees. This possibility is used from the second book in the series onward as one of the ways to suggest meaning through form.
Particularly in *Ebifananyi* #4 the shift from a landscape to a portrait orientation of the spreads serves to distinguish different parts of its content. The landscape orientation relates to the collection of photographs the book is based on whereas the portrait orientated section of the book investigates and relates to aspects of Ugandan history.[102] More is said about the use of conventions in the design of the books as a response to "ways of doing and making" in the letter in chapter 2.

The *Ebifananyi* books as outcomes of and experiments with the research method

The *Ebifananyi* books respond to the particular presence of books in Uganda, and relate to the popularity of photobooks in the West. The content of each book is an attempt to activate a collection of photographs rather than a conclusive gesture or remark about this collection. The scale and design of the books creates an intimate space for the reader to engage with its content. Each reader, whether in the Netherlands or in Uganda, looks at the same content, but sees something else since each encounter with the book is unique and can lead to new correspondences. In the next stage of

101 **Genette (1997), pp. 1-2**
102 **The first shift in the orientation of the book from landscape to portrait mode occurs between the spreads in the following links: http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/4-simuda-nyuma-forward-ever-backward-never-based-images-ham-mukasa/29/ and http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/4-simuda-nyuma-forward-ever-backward-never-based-images-ham-mukasa/30/**

the research method, the role of the books changes from the outcome of a correspondence with a particular collection of photographs, into an agent, which facilitates ongoing correspondences.

Exhibiting *Ebifananyi* in Uganda

The third stage of the research method, following the work towards and production of the *Ebifananyi* books starts when these books are presented in exhibitions and other presentations. In Uganda these exhibitions took place in cultural spaces such as galleries and museums, but also on locations of particular relevance to one of the collections such as schools and a hospital. The presentations in Europe all took place in galleries and museums that are explicitly dedicated to art in general or photography in particular. The exhibition designs were made in correspondences, which in this case means responses to the exhibition spaces and engagements with the people who operated them, where numerous factors played a role. I brought my understanding of what an exhibition can, and should, be to spaces in Uganda and my experiences in Uganda
to subsequent exhibitions in Western Europe. The willingness and ability of the people working in spaces used to exhibit required flexibility in the communication. Given the spaces themselves were not designed for exhibiting photographs, the curatorial strategies deployed had to meet the demands of the particular context. An example is the exhibition that accompanied the launch of *Ebifananyi* #6 that took place at The Uganda Museum during Writivism, a literary festival, in August 2016.

In this example, I proposed to use the natural history wing of The Uganda Museum for the exhibition because the displays include "skeletons prepared by Mr. Sebastiane Nsubuga with the kind permission of Brother Adrian St. Mary's College Kisubi".[103] The exhibition brought two related histories of institutional knowledge and education together. In line with the book the combination of photographs and objects suggested the problematic relationship between photographs of colonial subjects,[104] personified by the students of the school, and the appropriation of the environment into natural history,[105] for example the butterflies and the rest of the gallery display.

The exhibition prints were locally produced on canvas and mounted into blind windows opposite the permanent display and copies of the book were placed in empty niches. The electric wiring in the space had to be fixed for the lights to work and the books to be visible, and the festival rented the space for five days. However the last time I was at the museum in January 2018, the prints were still up. They were losing their colour, but as one of the senior curators of the museum said: "they look nice and we have nothing else to put there".
In contrast, in Europe the conditions and agreements around exhibitions were easier to grasp and prepare for than in Uganda. This was largely due to my familiarity with the conventions from which the spaces worked and communicated.

103 **See documentation of the exhibition http://www.andreastultiens.nl/exhibition/ebifananyi-6-exhibition-launch/**
104 **Vokes (2012), p. 212**
105 **Pratt (2008), location 929 of 6792 of e-book**

Compared to the Dutch way of working with its strict distribution of roles, I am involved in the full production of the exhibition. The remark that display materials "must have been made from out",[106] was regularly made and could be interpreted as a euphemism meaning that the exhibition looked good and therefore could not have been produced in Uganda. Partly as a response to these remarks I made it a point for all the exhibitions, including those in Europe, to display prints produced in Uganda. As a result I now know which resources are available to produce prints in Uganda. In hindsight this provided insights into the resources that are available to produce photographic prints in present day Uganda and helped me to understand the conditions in which Ugandan photographers work.

Ethical considerations

Honesty, transparency and confidentiality regarding information supplied by informants are key principles of ethical research.[107] In this research project, visibility in and through photographs plays a key role and engagements around these photographs regularly emerged outside of the immediate context within which I worked, causing tension between these principles.

Correspondences unfold between individuals amongst each other, and between individuals and non-human actors such as photographs. The human actors are active participants in the research rather than providers of information. They have their own interest in and questions about certain photographs or collections of photographs. Their questions, knowledge and experiences stem from different vantage points than my own, yet meet around our shared interest in the photographs. These correspondences develop, as we will see in the following chapters, in unpredictable ways, which requires a flexible ethical framework.
For example, given that this project uses social medium Facebook as a means of engaging with participants, it was not always possible to inform individuals of the goals and methods of the research prior to their online contributions. That said, the individuals and institutions whose collections are digitised gave explicit permission to share material online - if permission was refused, or only partially granted, it was respected. The sons of the photographers whose work is presented in *Ebifananyi* #1 and #2, Elly and Stella Rwakoma (#3), Engineer Wambwa and his daughter Mary Khisa (#5) saw the text and designs of the books prior to their production. Their objections and remarks led to a final editing round.

In *Ebifananyi* #1 and #3 instances where the production and publication of photographs did cause severe danger for individuals arose during the 1970s. In an attempt not to implicate others or myself in current politics and power play photographs that are digitised and shared are at least twenty years old.[108]

Visual Methodologies and the Method of my Artistic Practice

The research method discussed in this chapter creates different interfaces that result from encounters and that facilitate correspondences with and around collections of photographs. In her book *Visual Methodologies*, visual culture scholar Gillian Rose describes a wide range of "sites, modalities and methods for working with found visual materials".[109]
The sites she identifies are those of "production, the image itself, and audiencing". The modalities are "technological,

106 **"made from out" is a typical Ugandan English or 'Uglish' phrasing.**
107 ***The Netherlands Code of Conduct for Academic Practice*, revised 2014, pp. 3, 5; *The European Code of Conduct for Research Integrity*, revised edition 2017; Economic and Social Research Council, UK: "Framework for Research Ethics", 2010, updated 2012. Rose (2007), pp. 251-254**
108 **This is an arbitrary number that I now question, being increasingly aware that I work in a country in which the president has been in power since 1986 and in politics for longer. Tumusiime (2012), pp. 345-355**
109 **Rose (2007), p. 30**

compositional and social". Together they form a surface on which Rose positions particular questions concerning 'visual materials', such as what their relations are to other texts, what their "meanings and effects" are and how, when, why and for who they were made. Rose argues that the meaning of 'the visual' is made where site, modality, question and a method to answer the question meet. The methods discussed by Rose are applied "on only one of the sites at which the meaning of images are made".[110] Rose acknowledges that mixing methods has benefits as "it allows a richly detailed picture of images to be developed, and in particular it can shed interesting light on the contradictory meanings an image may articulate."[111] She recommends to be "methodologically innovative" as long as "the power relations that saturate all ways of seeing: producers', images' and audiences'" are kept in mind.[112]

Throughout the three stages described above I move freely across Rose's sites and modalities believing this to be integral to the way we understand photography as a whole. I position myself among people who have an interest in and specific knowledge of historical photographs in Uganda. These people are scholars concerned with photography in Africa, artists and photographers who work with historical pictures in their practices, as well as the owners of collections of photographs in Uganda, and Ugandan artists. The owners of collections of photographs and the Ugandan artists bring their knowledge as insiders to the correspondences and to the artistic outcomes of the research project. I try to share my agency as an artist and a researcher with everyone involved in the correspondences. In this way I try to answer questions concerning photographs in Uganda and artistic practice as a research method. As an artist I am a maker among makers who initiates correspondences. The two roles cannot be separated but depend on each other even though the emphasis shifted in different moments of the research process. The ambiguity inherent in such a position typifies or defines this research project as a research in and through the arts. It also enables me to work from the premise of a privileged outsider doing research in a post-colonial setting in which problematic power relations are obvious and persistent, an issue that is addressed in the next chapter.

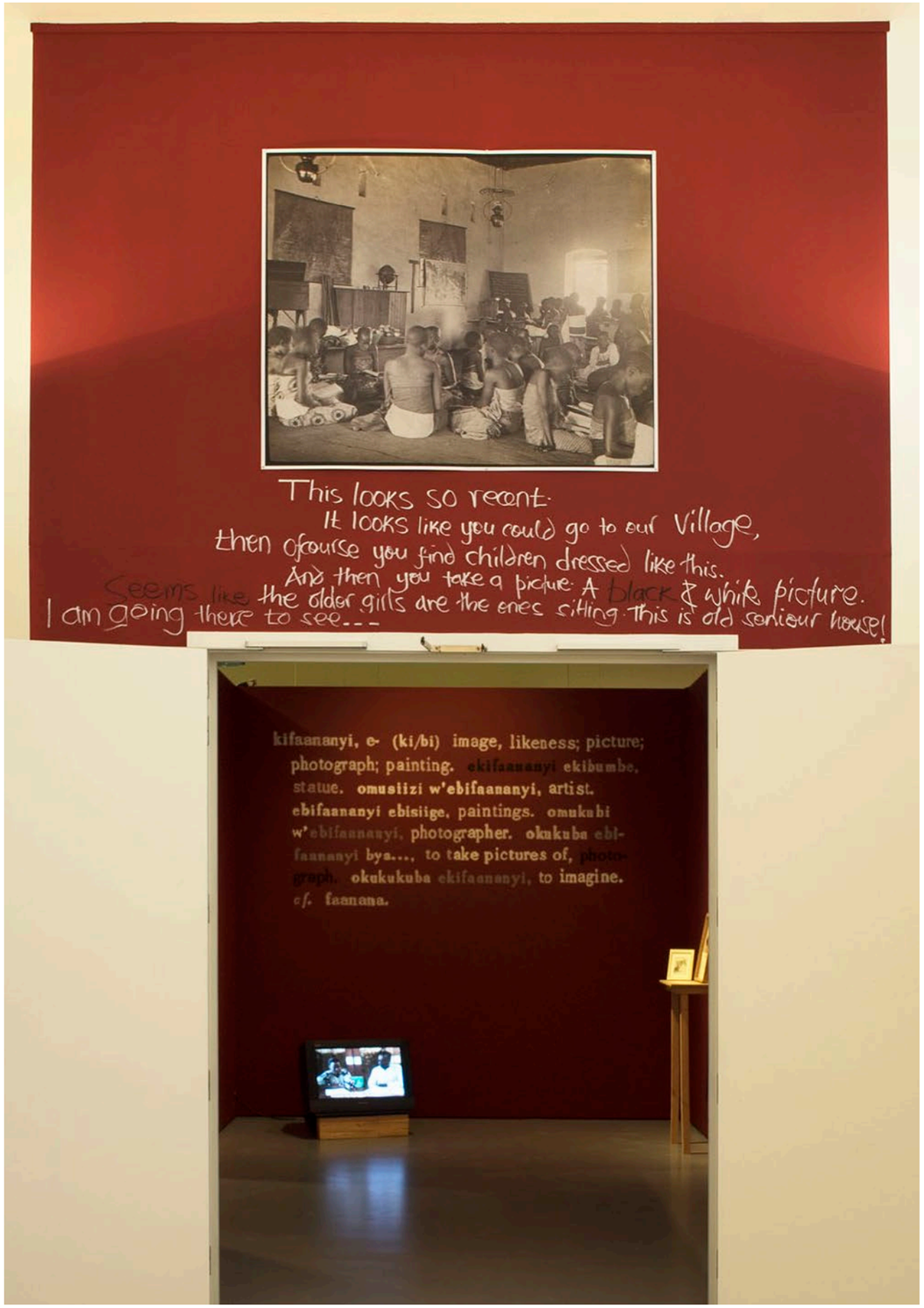
110 **Ibid., p. 260**
111 **Ibid., p. 261**
112 **Ibid., p. 262**

Photographs made by the Uganda Protectorate Information Services, Photographic Division, probably 1950s

Previously part of the collection of the Uganda Broadcasting Corporation, now with an anonymous private person, digitised by me in 2010

Photographs made by the Uganda Protectorate Information Services, Photographic Division. Jubilee of Gayaza high school, 1955

Part of the collection of the Gayaza high school, digitised by HIPUganda 2012



Entrance to *Ebifananyi*, Fomu Antwerp, October 2017 / February 2018

Print above the door: lanternslide from the collection of Gayaza High School, digitised 2012.

Quote with print, from conversation with Gayaza High School student, 2013

Chapter 2

Letter Writing and Correspondence

The pictures following this introduction constitute a small selection of documented letters that were encountered during this research project. The letters put the photographs in context and taught me about when, where and under which circumstances they were produced. The selection offers different materialities, ranging from original handwritten documents, to typed carbon duplicates, to publications in books, and also interpretations or translations.
The purpose of the sequenced letters is to illustrate how the multi-vocality that is practiced in the Ebifananyi books is present in the encountered documents. The letter writing in the following chapters supports the purpose of this project to use correspondences with photographs and documents as a research method.

I began to consider writing letters for this purpose after the rejection of *Ebifananyi* #5 by Engineer Wambwa, whose photographs and writing are presented in the book. His response made it necessary for me to explain to him why and how the book was made, which created an instant and interpersonal urgency to reflect on my actions. More will be said about this in the letter to Engineer Wambwa in chapter 4.

British sociologist Liz Stanley states that "the epistolary or letter form can be easily recognized and distinguished from other kinds of writing, because of existing in a social context with shared and largely stable conventions governing its form."[113] Letters have "dialogical", "perspectival" and "emergent properties".[114] They are part of an exchange between particular individuals who both affect the perspective from which the letter is written. The particular context and moment in time in which letters are written is part of their relevance and influence the way in which certain topics are addressed. These conventions and characteristics of letter writing allow the analysis of my artistic practice to be shaped by individuals who have a direct relationship with the photographs in the books and thus keep writing connected to the realities in which the photographs were produced, used, and preserved.

In the context of the dissertation, readers may understand the letters in relation to one another, yet they may not be familiar with certain particularities that are mentioned in individual letters. The letters position the reader of the dissertation outside of the correspondences that unfolded up to the moment the text was written. This is an attempt to include the people I worked with in Uganda and their photographs as experts, rather than to exclude the reader. At the same time it serves to keep the reader aware of her or his outside position in relation to the material discussed and introduces a voyeuristic element that has been part of the research project - both as a factor that brings excitement as well one that

[113] **Stanley (2004), p. 207**
[114] **Ibid., p. 203**

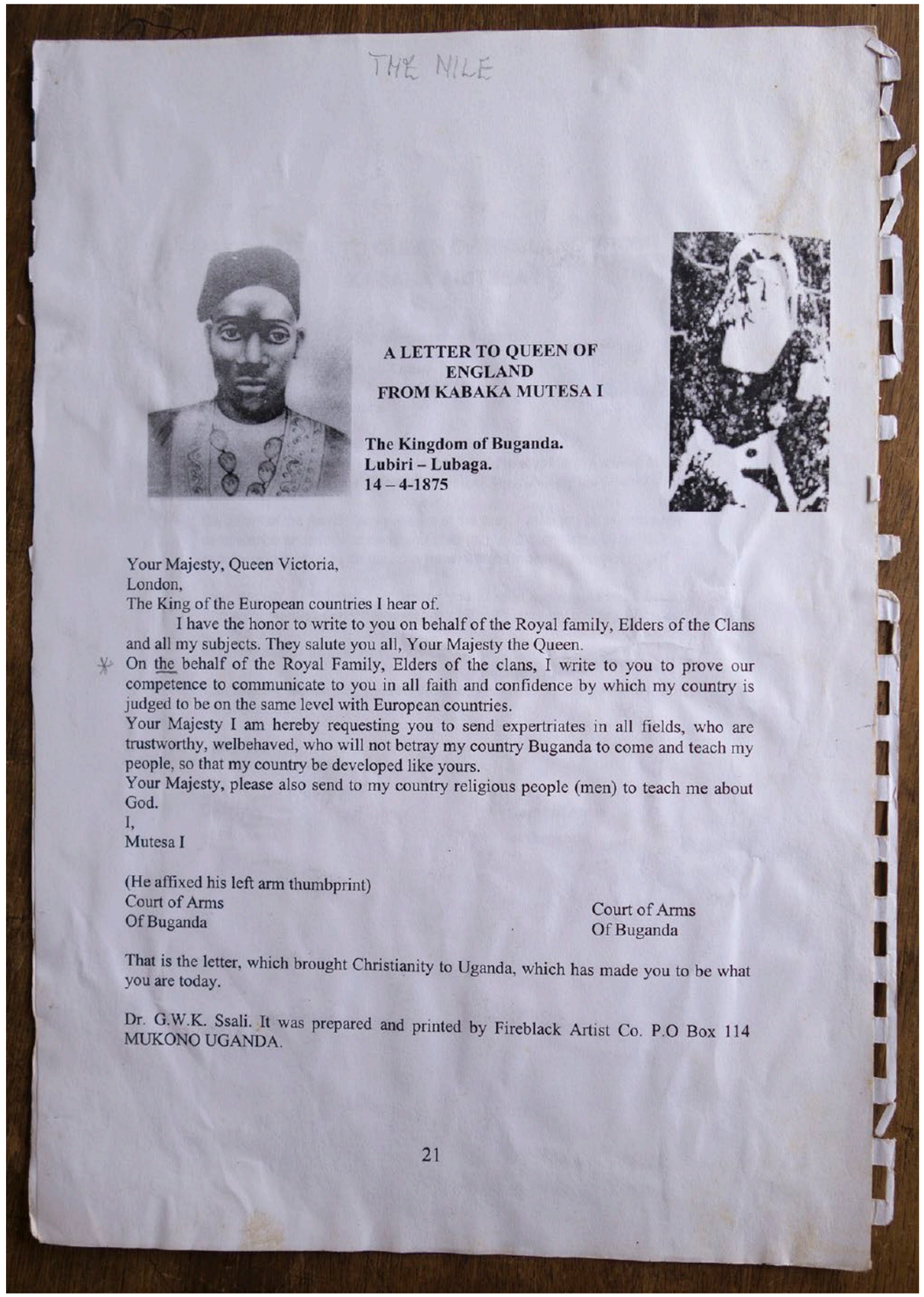
continuously raises questions of legitimacy. Why am I, and why is the reader of the dissertation, in a position to look at and discuss these photographs? Rather than saying we should not look at these photographs, I use letters as a form that does not universalise the positions of the different agents in the encounter generated by my artistic practice and research.

Footnotes are not part of the conventions of epistolary texts. They do however appear in the letters I wrote to Ugandans who I worked with, or whose materials were used in the *Ebifananyi* books as there are things that I can assume they know while the reader of the dissertation does not. The addressees of the letters and the reader of the dissertation are part of different "generally distributed ways of doing and making". Just as footnotes are used with the readers of the dissertation in mind, other elements such as an additional pre-amble or postscript, have been considered, but I decided that these would unnecessarily complicate the structure of the dissertation. The footnotes also connect statements to relevant literature and provide links to particular pages in the *Ebifananyi* books and other primary sources generated as part of the research project.

The relationship between the addressees of the letters and myself differs, and is addressed in the introductions to each chapter. The letters related to *Ebifananyi* #1, #2, #3, #5 and #6 are written to people who I worked with in person, while the addressees of the letters related to *Ebifananyi* 4 and 8 died long before I embarked on this research project and I do not know whether Kitizo Paul (*Ebifananyi* #7) is still alive.

At the particular moment in time in which my letters are written it is possible to look back and relate collections of photographs to each other, notice outcomes of my actions that were not obvious before, and anticipate what is still to come with an exhibition presenting the whole project in The Uganda Museum as a primary concern.

The length and complexity of the eight letters is affected by how and to what extent I got to know their individual addressees through personal interactions, photographs and various other documents. The letter in this chapter addresses all of them and constructs a common ground as I introduce myself and the *Ebifananyi* books and exhibitions, and address the privileges that are connected to my background. The reproduced circular letter on p. 61, written by missionary doctor Schofield and his wife in 1929, informed the way the letter in this chapter was written. A digitised version of the letter was shared to the HIPUganda Facebook page by one of their granddaughters after I started to post some of Schofield's photographs. Its presence in and influence on this dissertation is a result of the first stage in the research method described in the previous chapter.



THE NILE

A LETTER TO QUEEN OF ENGLAND FROM KABAKA MUTESA I

The Kingdom of Buganda.
Lubiri – Lubaga.
14 – 4-1875

Your Majesty, Queen Victoria,
London,
The King of the European countries I hear of.

I have the honor to write to you on behalf of the Royal family, Elders of the Clans and all my subjects. They salute you all, Your Majesty the Queen.

On the behalf of the Royal Family, Elders of the clans, I write to you to prove our competence to communicate to you in all faith and confidence by which my country is judged to be on the same level with European countries.

Your Majesty I am hereby requesting you to send expertriates in all fields, who are trustworthy, welbehaved, who will not betray my country Buganda to come and teach my people, so that my country be developed like yours.

Your Majesty, please also send to my country religious people (men) to teach me about God.

I,
Mutesa I

(He affixed his left arm thumbprint)
Court of Arms
Of Buganda

Court of Arms
Of Buganda

That is the letter, which brought Christianity to Uganda, which has made you to be what you are today.

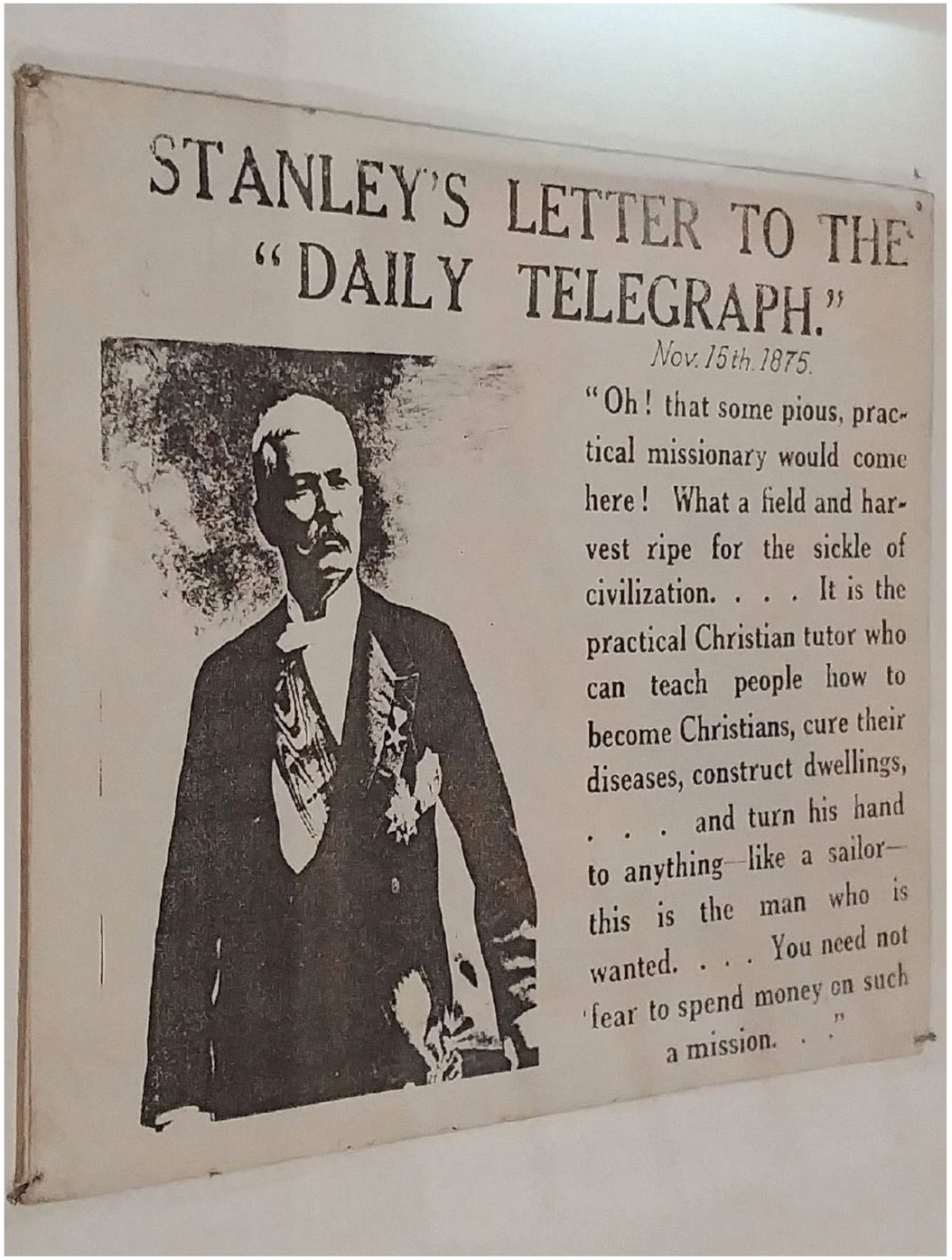
Dr. G.W.K. Ssali. It was prepared and printed by Fireblack Artist Co. P.O Box 114 MUKONO UGANDA.

21

Letter encountered in personal documents that were made available to HIPUganda, with portrait by Prince Joseph Walugembe Musanje (*Ebifananyi* #8)

The documents were presented as part of a manuscript on Buganda hiostry with working title The Nile

Another version of this letter, including the two photographs, can be found framed on the walls of the tourist information centre at the Lubiri, the palace grounds of the *Kabaka* of Buganda in Mengo.



STANLEY'S LETTER TO THE "DAILY TELEGRAPH."

Nov. 15th. 1875.

"Oh! that some pious, practical missionary would come here! What a field and harvest ripe for the sickle of civilization. . . . It is the practical Christian tutor who can teach people how to become Christians, cure their diseases, construct dwellings, . . . and turn his hand to anything—like a sailor—this is the man who is wanted. . . . You need not fear to spend money on such a mission. . . ."

Fragment of a letter by Henry Morton Stanley. The letter is here dated in November as published in the "Daily Telegraph".

In Stanley (1875), it is dated in April of the same year and written for the members of the Royal Geographical Society.

This fragment was photographed as part of a display in the history room of the Uganda Museum, December 2017

3. KABAKA MUTESA I, COLONEL GORDON AND THE FIRST CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES, 1876–7

Kabaka Mutesa I to Colonel Gordon, 6 February 1876.*

To Sir Canell Gorlden February 6th, 1876.

My Dear Freind Gorden hear this my word be not angry with Kaverega* Sultan of unyoro. I been head that you been brought two manwar ships but I pray you fight not with these Wanyoro for they know not what is good and what is bad. I am, Mtesa king of uganda for if you fight with governour if you fight with governour you fight with the king. I will ask you one thing but let it may please you all ye Europeion for I say if I want to go to Bommbey if the Governour and if the Governour of Bommbey refuse me to past will I not find the orther road therefor I pray you my friends hear this my letter stop for a moment if you want to fight put ships in the river nile take west and north and I will take east and south and let us put wanyoro in to the middle and fight against them but first send me answer from this letter. Because I want to be a freind of the English. I am Mtesa son of Suna king of uganda let God be with your Majesty even you all Amen.

Mtesa king of uganda.
February 6th, 1876.

Kabaka Mutesa I and Dallington to Gordon, 24 March 1876.

To Sir Colonel Gordon, My dear Friend, I wish you good day. It is I M'tesa, King of Uganda who sends you this letter. I wish to be the friend of the white men, Therefore, hear my words which I say.

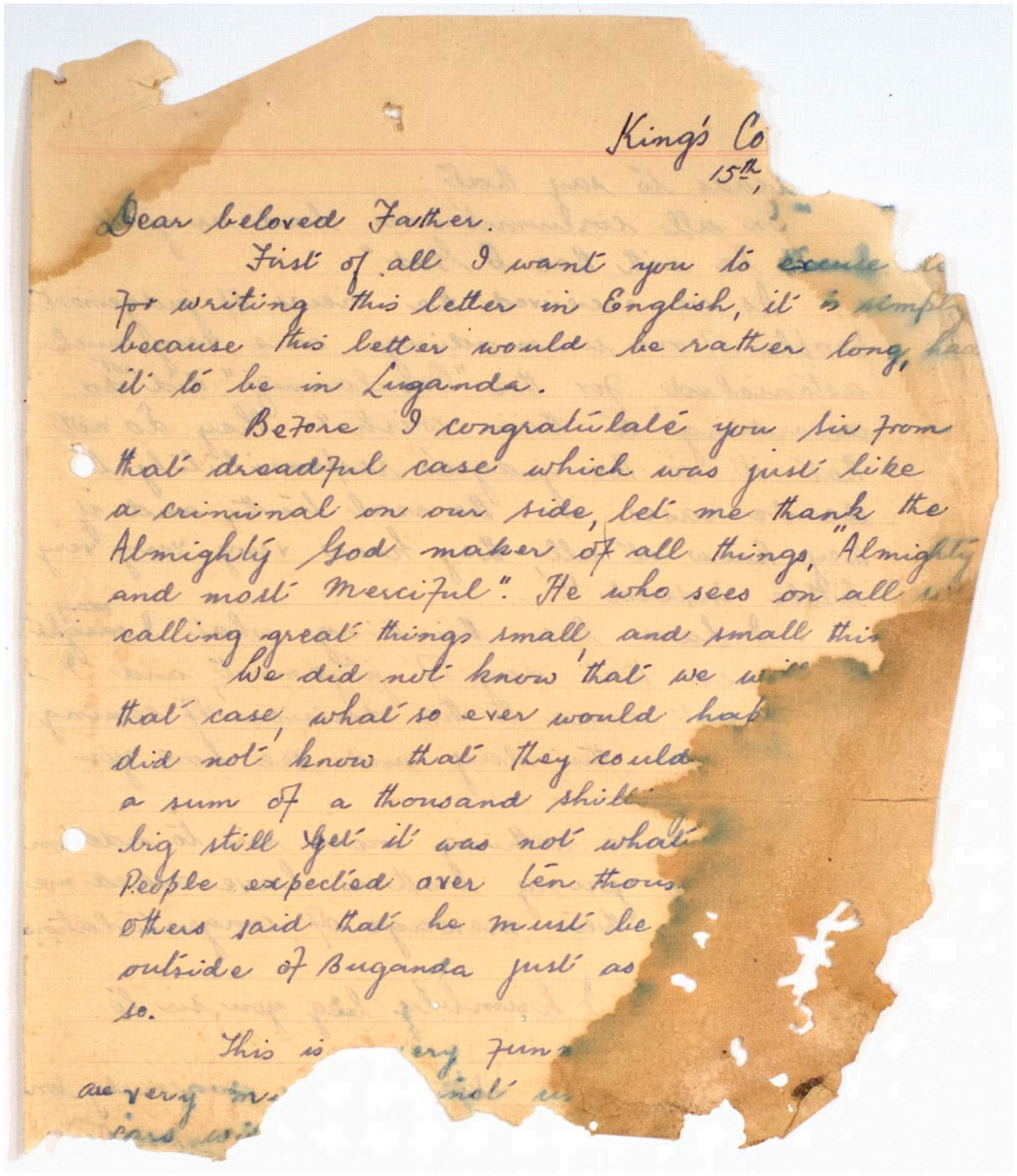
1. I want a priest who will show me the way of God.
2. I want gold, silver, iron and bronze.
3. I want clothing for my people and myself to wear.
4. I want excellent guns and good cannons.
5. I want to cause to be built good houses for my country.
6. I want my people to know God.

Kabaka Mutesa I to Gordon, 3 April 1876.

From King M'tesa, the greatest King of the interior of Africa, 3 April 1876.

This letter is from M'tesa, the greatest King in Africa. It is I M'tesa, King of Uganda, Usoga* and Karagwe. Listen then to my word which I

Letters by Kabaka Muteesa in Low (1971), p.5



King's Co
15th,

Dear beloved Father.

First of all I want you to excuse me for writing this letter in English, it is simply because this letter would be rather long, had it to be in Luganda.

Before I congratulate you sir from that dreadful case which was just like a criminal on our side, let me thank the Almighty God maker of all things, "Almighty and most Merciful". He who sees on all things calling great things small and small things

We did not know that we would win that case, what so ever would happen, did not know that they could ... a sum of a thousand shillings big still yet it was not what ... People expected over ten thousand others said that he must be ... outside of Buganda just as ... so.

This is ... very fun ... are very ... ial ... cars ...

One of many letters in the collection of the Ham Mukasa Family Archive (*Ebifananyi* #4)

Musa_letter.txt

Private Carpentry Shop
Luharo, MBARARA.
9th November 1950.

Ya Rubambansi* Ch. G. Gasyonga II
Omugabe w'Ankole*
Kamukuzi - MBARARA.

**[NOTES: Rubambansi is like a praise title, like your majesty, in this case praising the kings unimaginable dominion over the world. Omugabe w'Ankole is :), King of Ankole.]

My King,

I am so happy to write to you replying your letter to me from 7/11/50 with your that i send the large photographs i took on the baptism anniversary of your lady the younger. (* Direct translation would be - The younger Muhinda lady. Bahinda are a group of clans in Ankole who were the contemporary dynasty. So, this is the king's second wife's baptism day.)

2. The photographs, i sent you many samples mounted on two cards, and requested that you let your private secretary let us know which ones you need enlarged. But unfortunately, since then up to now, i have not received any notification. When you return the samples i sent, I will promptly send them to Kampala so they can make us the big ones.

3. I have sent you the photographs from Prince* Katanga's wedding.

*[NOTES: 'Omurangyira' is borrowed from the Buganda court style, where it's 'Omurangira', it's not exactly prince all the time, it's something like prince or some kind of royal. The female one is called 'Omumbejja']

3 Big copies @ 6/- each	18/-
1 Half Size Copy @2/50 each	2/50
1 Small Print @ /50 each	/50
	21/=

You may make your desired selection.

Your Beloved Son,
MM ... Katuramu.

Translation by Canon of a letter written by Musa Katuramu to the Omugabe (king) of Ankole

See http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/2-people-poses-places-musa-katuramu/123/ for the original letter in *Ebifananyi* #2

10th November 1975.

The Chief Engineer,
Uganda Electricity Board,
P.O. Box 7059,
Kampala.

Dear Sir,

For quite some time I have been meaning to write and express my disatisfaction resulting from frequent disconnections of power to Uganda Cancer Institute. I am aware that a lot of maintenance has been carried out along the main line supplying this Institute. However, the frequency with which power is disconnected and no prior warning is given to us the consumers, disturbs me considerably.

I would like to point out that Uganda Cancer Institute is a hospital and as such we find it extremely difficult to render efficient services to our patients when power is disconnected for long periods without prior notice. Furthermore, we have a walk-in cold room where drugs are kept at -20^{0} and a Revco refrigerator where valuable medical drugs, specimens and chemicals are stored, and it is now becoming virtually impossible to keep these drugs at the temperature recommended by the manufacturers. We have in the past relied on your prior notice and transferred some materials to other buildings, but of late no notice has been given to us and recently our patients even went without food as we had not made prior arrangements. I would be appreciative if you would help to rectify the above situation.

I am sincerely yours,

Charles L.M. Olweny,
Director,
Uganda Cancer Institute.

Duplicate of a letter encountered by American medical historian Marissa Mika in her doctoral research on the Uganda Cancer Institute.

See http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/7-staying-alive-uganda-cancer-institute/117/

Dr.A.T.Schofield's Circular Letter.

C.M.S. Hospital,
P.O. Box 161,
Kampala,
Uganda.

August 30th, 1929.

Dear Friends,

I must first of all apologise for keeping you so long for another "Circular". We arrived back in Uganda some ten weeks ago, but have been so busy that a lot of things seem still waiting to be done.

As most of you will know, we are located to Mengo Hospital, at any rate till Dr. Stones' return here in a year's time. All of you who have followed the wonderful history of this Hospital will know that this big work needs at least two male doctors, and certainly, at present, should have more. We have to put on double shifts of operating days, and so on, as it is, to get through the work.

It was a very great privilege again to be associated in their work with Dr. & Mrs.A.R.Cook, and I was very glad to be able to take a 'relief' in the operating theatre when we had been only fourteen hours back in Uganda. Dr. Cook was far from well, and badly needed relief. He quite soon took a holiday up at his lovely 'rest cottage' overlooking the lake (Victoria Nyanza) at Makindye, and we are all very pleased to see him looking fit once more. But all this, coupled with getting our things from Toro and settling into our house, has meant that you have had to wait for this letter till now.

We reached Uganda late in the evening of June 13th, and it would seem to me that this first 'circular' might well be an account of our impressions of the great advances which we have noticed in Kenya and Uganda in the year we have been away. We have really been astounded at some of the changes, particularly in Kenya, and I doubt whether any place in the world can show such rapid strides. It is almost bewildering the pace made along the road of Progress made by these 'Younger Sons' of the British Commonwealth during the last few years.

The word 'strides' hardly describes it. Rather must we turn to motoring terms of speed not only as an illustration but because the key-note is just motors - and motors by the thousand. The railway advances - and has nearly reached Kampala - but it is the vast number of motors and better roads which have chiefly impressed us. And with the plans already made under the Loan of the Colonial Developement Act for even more and finer roads especially in the west and north of Uganda we shall soon be fully linked up with almost every part of the Protectorate and with the nearer Congo.

As we landed at Mombasa we met the sight of that week's arrivals of cars from the factories of Detroit - 250 cars in their cases standing in a long line on the quay - and instead of the old rickshaws we were besieged by the drivers of countless luxurious 'taxis'. Then again in Nairobi and other towns it was the great number of cars and lorries which impressed us most, with large parking areas filled with cars in all the business parts. Unfortunately almost all the cars one sees are

Page 1 of 4 of the circular letter the Schofield's wrote to their friends in England

For a link to the file on the HIPUganda Facebook page see Schofield, 1929

Introductions in a circular letter

Dear all,
I must first of all apologise if the tone and content of this letter strikes you as too informal or otherwise inappropriate. I am aware of your respective societal positions and, to some extent, familiar with the conventions attached to these positions. The people of the Netherlands, my country of birth, are known for their directness, bluntness even. If I come across as rude or ask questions that are impertinent from your perspective, please keep in mind that these questions are the result of a combination of ignorance and genuine interest in your lives and the pictures they are connected to. Based on that interest and a more general curiosity concerning photographs in Uganda I made books and exhibitions with those pictures.

This circular letter serves as an introduction to letters written to each one of you individually. These letters explain what I have done with your photographs and why. When this is relevant they will also include how people responded to the books and exhibitions that present your pictures.

It feels as though I have gotten to know each one of you through your pictures and stories connected to them. To make sure we are on somewhat common ground I thought it might be a good idea to introduce myself to all of you at once, and to tell you about the way in which your photographs are presented in the books and exhibitions in general terms.

I was born in 1974 and grew up in a village in the predominantly Catholic south of the Netherlands. My parents moved to this village from elsewhere in the region after their marriage. The village is not considered to be ancestral ground. I grew up speaking Dutch and 'Limburgs', a local dialect related to German. My father is now retired but worked a middle class job in a post office and my mother is a housewife. My (only) sister and I were regularly taken to museums, theatre performances and concerts. A primary school in the village and a secondary school in the nearest town took care of my initial education, which was continued in a city further up north in the Netherlands. After some deviations with programs left unfinished, I finally realised that I wanted to be a photographer which led to further studies at three different universities in my country and ended up with a bachelor and two master degrees in photography.

When visiting a Dutch friend living in Uganda the experience of feeling both connected to and alienated from the people I met made a big impression on me. This led to an attempt to use something supposedly known - photography - to familiarise myself with something unknown to me - Ugandan culture. Over time this turned out to be a naive and problematic position that I will return to later.

I found that there were, compared to the Netherlands, few historical photographs in Uganda. Not long after graduating as a photographer I became aware of the limitations of my particular gaze. I am a woman and my eyes are positioned five foot two above the ground when I stand. These are among many other factors that

influence, and to some extent limit, the way I see the world. My interest also extended beyond the here and now that I was able to picture. I therefore placed my photographs alongside pictures made by others. This happened for instance in books I made about two villages in the Netherlands, one being the place I grew up in, the other one situated on the other side of the country. Juxtaposing these two villages was an attempt to discuss through pictures how people organise themselves in small communities with the help of both old and more recent traditions. The photographs kept in municipal archives and albums of people living in the villages were necessary to reflect on the similarities and differences my photographs showed.[115]

The first thing I did as a photographer in Uganda was to invite primary school children from a Dutch and from a Ugandan village to make photographs of the things that mattered in their lives to show them to each other. These photographs made it possible to compare life in these villages from insider perspectives. This juxtaposing of different contexts has taken on different forms in the books I made with your photographs, but I still take it to be necessary to develop an understanding of things outside of what is already known.[116]
Before I became acquainted with your photographs I met Kaddu Wasswa, an elder who documented his life extensively in photographs. While we worked on a biography about his life[117] I continued to search for, and therefore encountered, other collections of photographs. These collections were not easily accessible, and therefore I developed strategies to contribute to a diverse and critical documentation of Uganda's past by making the outcomes of my search publicly available.

Searching for and encountering collections of photographs in Uganda led to numerous experiences and observations that complicated my point of departure. I learned that historical photographs would mainly provide information about the lives of Ugandans that were in relative privileged positions, because having and making photographs was for most of the 20th century, and to some extent still is, connected to particular societal positions and financial resources. I was also confronted with differences between the Netherlands and Uganda in the educational systems in order to become a photographer. It was and still is not possible to be trained as a photographer in Uganda through vocational or university education. Photography courses are included in programs in mass communication and art, but the classes mainly teach the theory of how to make photographs and do not offer hands on practice or reflection on the medium.
All the photographers who I met and heard about in Uganda were either self-taught, travelled abroad for their education, participated in workshops that were usually facilitated by foreigners, or were informally trained by other photographers.[118]

After searching for collections of photographs for several years I learned that the words *ekifananyi* in Luganda and *ebishushani* in Runyakitara do not only signify a photograph but any kind of likeness. From this moment on I started to take into consideration that the distinctions that were made in my education between photographs and likenesses made in paint or pencil had to be reconsidered in the Ugandan context. While I intended to learn **about** Uganda through photographs, it became apparent that I had to learn **from** them. I needed to widen the categories of pictures that were relevant in order to understand them in your context.

[115] Stultiens, 2002
[116] The exhibition Things That Matter took place in the Uganda Museum, Kampala, August 2008, and the Africa Museum in Cadier en Keer October 2010. A video of the opening in of the exhibition can be found here: https://vimeo.com/147171679 Last accessed 25-09-2018
[117] Kaddu Wasswa was born in 1933. Our initial work led to The Kaddu Wasswa, a visual biography (Stultiens 2010-a). Kaddu Wasswa and I are currently working on a follow up to this publication. Two other publications (Stultiens 2010-a and 2013) show, respectively, photo studios in Uganda and how the visualisation of Uganda in the Tourism industry relates to aspects of everyday life.
[118] Vokes (2012), pp. 214-215 and Behrend (2001), p. 303 confirm these stories.

In addition to the pre-conceived ideas of what a photograph is, my skin colour and the geographical, political and economical background I came from were important factors while working with your photographs. The differences between the choices and opportunities the Ugandans, who try to earn a living by making photographs, and I have, are striking. Most of these Ugandans cannot afford to travel to the Netherlands. Getting a visa to enter Europe can be a complicated and costly process these days, without guarantee of success while it is possible for me to simply pay an amount of money at the border and enter Uganda.
My privileged position has historical roots that can be traced back to the colonial history connecting Europe and Africa to each other. The books written by early European explorers who came to the area that is present-day Uganda are based on the ambitions of European countries to build empires, and these explorers seemed to take their (privileged) positions for granted.[119] Speke, Stanley and other early European visitors to Buganda were received in person by the *Kabaka*,[120] and they were given accommodation and food. Instead of showing surprise about the honour of being received by a local ruler, the visitors mention at length the whims of their host.[121]
Times have changed. It is no longer unusual to meet white people in Uganda, particularly in urban areas. I am nevertheless often still first a white person when meeting new people. This feels uncomfortable but, ironically, my work might have been a lot harder without the trust I was given because of my skin colour. The first time someone told me that this was the case it was hard to believe, but the remark was repeated over and over. I grew increasingly aware that it was impossible to escape the privileges attached to skin colour, both the discomfort it caused and the benefits it gave. I decided that the access to collections of photographs gave me the responsibility to make your photographs available to audiences in appropriate ways.

The English noun 'appropriation' stems from the verb to appro**priate** and the Latin *appropriatus*, to make one's own. When used as an adjective, the meaning of the word shifts. To appro**priate** becomes ap**pro**priate, as in suitable, or proper. You could say that your photographs were appro**priated** for my particular interest in how photographs are used and function. I, however, tried to develop ap**pro**priate ways to present your pictures. Whether the books that were made with your photographs indeed are appropriate ways to present them, and when and for whom they might actually become misplaced appropriation is part of what is addressed in the next letter you will receive from me.
The efforts in working with your photographs serve two purposes. The first one is, as already mentioned, to make more photographs that relate to Uganda's past available to audiences with an interest in that past. Members of this audience are mostly found in Uganda. But there is also quite a following among the Ugandan diaspora in the United Kingdom, Northern America and among scholars with an interest in Uganda's past.[122]
The second purpose is to reconsider what photographs can be, taking their particular uses in Uganda into account. A recurring issue in this respect is what we can know through these photographs beyond the *ebifananyi* or likenesses they show. The audience for this second purpose is not necessarily interested in photographs of the Ugandan past, but in photographs in general. Members of this audience can be found for instance at conferences and at the exhibitions of your photographs that took place in spaces that are dedicated to art and photography.

119 See Speke (1864), Grant (1864), Chaillé-Long (1877), (Stanley) 1878
120 The *Kabaka* in the words of Ugandan artist Violet Nantume: "is elevated above all and everything else": http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/4-simuda-nyuma-forward-ever-backward-never-based-images-ham-mukasa/78/
121 e.g. Speke (1864), p. 286, Stanley (1878), p. 336
122 Based on statistics provided by Facebook and Wordpress in relation to the HIPUganda Facebook page and website, and personal exchanges with researchers working on topics related to Uganda's past.

While designing the books, selecting photographs, sequencing them and then placing them on the pages, two rules were developed. The first rule is that the materiality of your photographs had to be visible in the re-productions in the books. This materiality is found in the paper that carries the picture, in the frame or album a photograph is placed in. These objects tell us about whether and how pictures were protected against dust and insects, how photographs were valued and where they were kept. A date, a name or an anecdote written on the back of a photograph tells us which information someone, at some point in the picture's existence, thought should be preserved with it. These and other marks are traces that can be read as witnesses to the passing of time between the moment the picture was produced and the moment in which it was reproduced in the book. Not only the picture is considered to be worth sharing, these traces are too.[123]
The second rule was that there always had to be at least two views or voices present alongside each other to avoid the suggestion that the book delivers a conclusive history.[124] There are, for instance, on several occasions in the books different people who comment on or interpret the same photograph, either in words or in pictures.

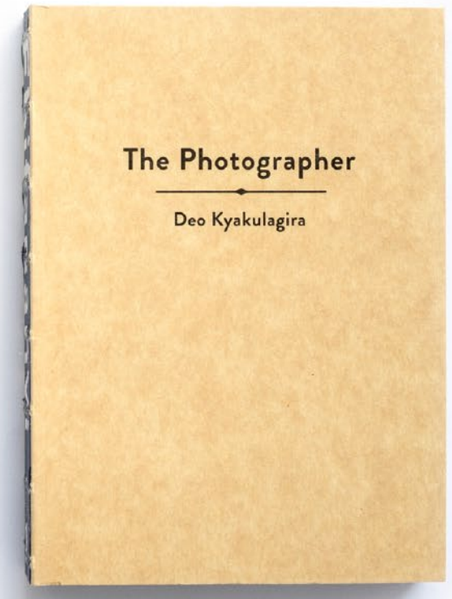
History is thought of as a version of the lived past that is communicated in one way or another. While working with your photographs people responded and connected them to pasts in different ways. This made it possible to compare what I heard and saw myself to what I read in books that were written by explorers and other authors who rarely reflect on their own positions. Sometimes stories that related to photographs seemed to contradict each other or claims made in these books. Since there was no reason to distrust the people who told me the stories they were treated as the results of different perspectives on the same past and are presented in the books without a hierarchical order.

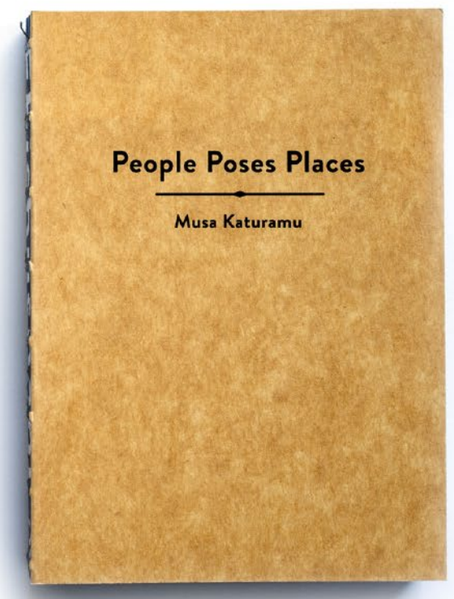
The books themselves are small and may remind you of pocket Bibles or Qurans. They are bulky, which is meant to suggest that their content is substantial. The covers are made of plain paper in one colour. Each book has a title and a subtitle on its front cover, one word on its spine, and a quote on its back. The books have a slightly rough and sturdy look due to their binding that is not covered as is usually seen. The threads that hold the pages of the book together can be seen. The pages of the books are mostly filled with pictures. These pictures either fill the page or bleed off it. There are also texts, but they are meant to complement the pictures and not the other way around. The pictures are placed in sequences. Their meaning is partly formed by the way in which they complement or contradict the pictures on the previous and following pages. The texts provide facts or otherwise create a context, which helps the reader of the pictures to understand what can be seen on them. The cut of the pages shows when a page has content that bleeds off it, which makes it instantly clear that these are not textbooks. The books are made to be objects that not only carry meaning in the sequenced pictures **on** their pages, but also **in** their materiality.

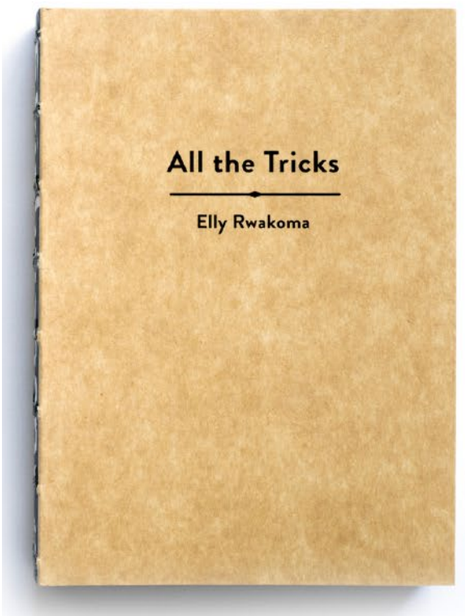
With the hope that this informs your reading of the book that presents your photographs, I look forward to further correspondences with you and others interested in your photographs.[125]

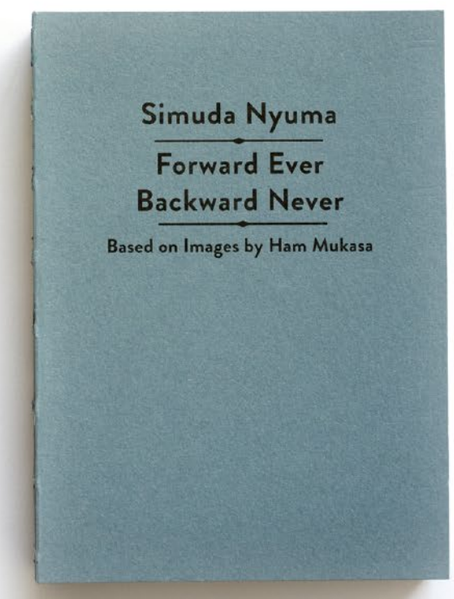
With best regards,
Andrea

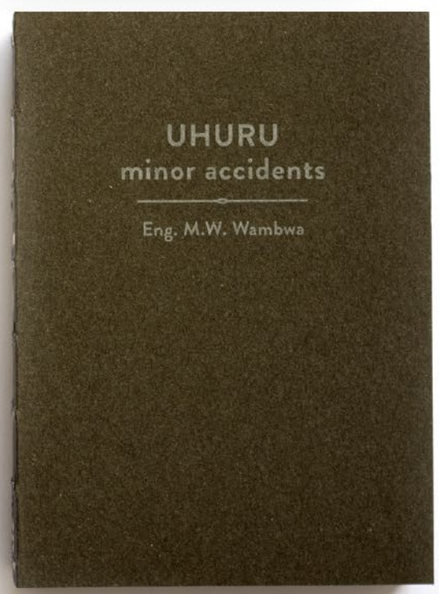
123 Edwards (2002). Also see Geissler (ed.) (2016)
124 This rule leads to what anthropologist Jay Ruby (US) calls "a multi-vocal documentary. Ruby (1991)
125 Correspondences is here used ambiguously. It refers directly to the other letters written, but also to the concept as used by and adopted from Ingold.

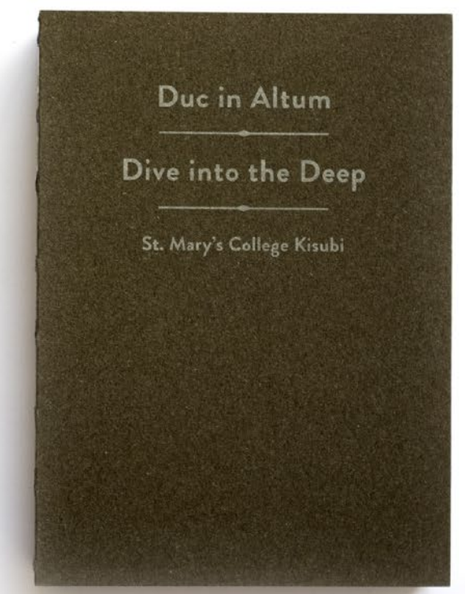

The Photographer
Deo Kyakulagira

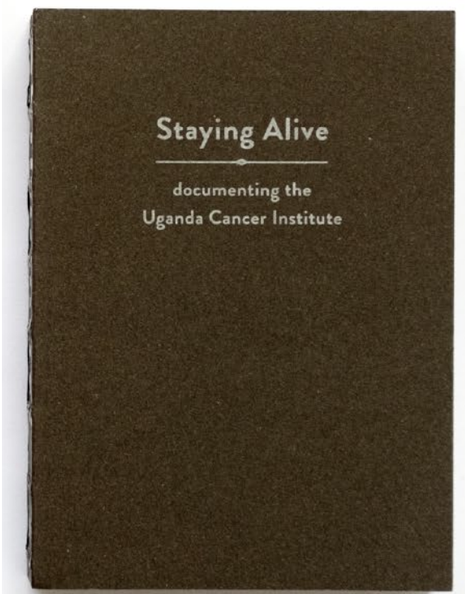

People Poses Places
Musa Katuramu

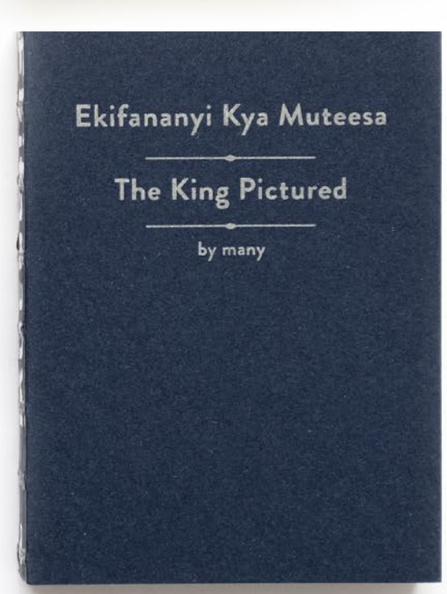

All the Tricks
Elly Rwakoma


Simuda Nyuma
Forward Ever
Backward Never
Based on Images by Ham Mukasa


UHURU
minor accidents
Eng. M.W. Wambwa


Duc in Altum
Dive into the Deep
St. Mary's College Kisubi


Staying Alive
documenting the
Uganda Cancer Institute


Ekifananyi Kya Muteesa
The King Pictured
by many

Photography in Uganda.

By Dr. A. T. Schofield, a.r.p.s.

the many fine pictures in our recent Exhibition made one feel that there are many photographers in Uganda

I was glad recently to find that the experts in Washington of the National Geographical Society of America bought their cameras in London, built by a well-known English maker—in other words, the finest cameras made to-day are English.

Certainly in Uganda, if not everywhere, one hardly ever has occasion for a faster lens than F 4.5

Especially in the Tropics lenses get vitrified as well as dirty, while our Uganda roads are far more dusty than at home.

To begin with, I believe our altitude (4,000 feet) and the very hot air mean that there are fewer droplets of water in the air and so less blue and more yellow in the light. But I believe the reason to be the far greater contrast between light and shadow. The old-fashioned rule was: "Expose for the shadows and the rest will take care of itself". The point is that our shadows under the fierce sun of the Equator are more intense and deeper than at home and that therefore we need more exposure to get out any detail—the alternative is a "soot-and-whitewash" effect. Again and again people have come to ask my advice as to why they do not get such good results as they used to in England and in nearly all cases it is a question of under-exposure, while several professional photographers have told me that they did not get good results until they gave a more generous exposure. To get somewhat closer to conditions at home, it is better to choose a time when the sun is over half-way down—the times for the best results are from 3.30 to 4.30 p.m., or 8 to 9 a.m. The sunlight value is then about as good as an English day in June, though still the shadows are much denser.

the "filter," usually a piece of thin glass coloured a light yellow. is placed on the front of the lens, and I advise everyone who wants to get the best out of our lovely Uganda landscapes to get one.

Developing in this climate is not a big problem. Certainly without running water it is a little more troublesome, but as it is less than a month since water was laid on at my house I think I can safely say it is not a necessity.

Working at the temperature we have in this country, and perhaps running water from a tank or pipes that are out in the hot sun, before we know where we are a whole batch of plates may be spoilt. It is changes in the temperature of our solutions and washings that matter, not the actual heat.

The dark-room in this counrry is not a great difficulty. We only have to wait till 6.30 p.m. and the ordinary bathroom is good enough.

In our hot climate, good plates keep very well in their tins before exposure, but once they are exposed the latent image deteriorates quite soon and a good picture may be lost by waiting too long before developing it. The plate is left in the developer for the required

I am afraid my account of "photography in Uganda" has been somewhat sketchy, but I hope that some of the advice I have been enabled to give here from my own experience may be of use to amateur photographers amongst the readers of the *Journal* and will encourage them to come forward with an account of their own experiences in pursuit of this most fascinating hobby.

Composit of fragments from Schofield (1935)

Chapter 3

Photography in Uganda
Three Producers of Photographs

In 1935, Dr. Schofield, whose 'circular letter' inspired the letter in the previous chapter, published an article on photography in Uganda.[126] Schofield compares conditions 'back home' in England to those in Uganda; his remarks are made from the position of an Englishman and for an audience of fellow Englishmen who reside in Uganda. In the article Schofield refers to photographs that are part of the collections from Makerere University and the Uganda Society,[127] and were digitised and partly shared by HIPUganda.[128] On these photographs we see landscapes, Ugandans who are framed within ethnic groups or as workers in colonial services, and white men traveling through Uganda.[129]

The first three books in the *Ebifananyi* series present photographs produced by Deo Kyakulagira, Musa Katuramu and Elly Rwakoma. These men made their photographs under the same physical conditions that Schofield described. They too had to deal with fine red dust, harsh sunlight and the absence of running water or electricity. Their photographs, however, show portraits of individuals rather than types of people, and life events such as weddings and graduations rather than rituals. These pictures were made by and for Ugandans. Prior to the presentations of these photographers within the research project, photographs by Ugandan photographers had, as far as I know, not been presented within an artistic context. As argued in the introduction, photography in Uganda had only been part of academic research to a limited extent. This chapter addresses aspects of the practices of these three men and discusses the ways in which the contextualisation of the photographs they produced in the project relates to other presentations of, as well as studies concerned with, photographs by African photographers from elsewhere on the continent.

A well-known example of an African photographer whose photographs have been presented to audiences beyond his immediate clients is Seydou Keïta (1921-2001), who produced a large amount of black and white portraits between approximately 1948 and 1963 in Bamako, Mali. These photographs have been widely exhibited in the West and have a dominant position in the discourse on African Photography.[130] The portraits he and other photographers from the continent made, served originally as "study documents" for Western scholars, but were from the early 1990s understood as "works of art in themselves, integral to a broader history of photography."[131] This conflation of practices from one geographical context, and relevant theories developed in another, raises questions about the categories of 'art' and 'photography'.

127 Schofield (1935)
127 The Uganda Society (anno 1928) is a membership-based society to promote Uganda's literary, scientific and cultural heritage.
128 These photographs are part of the collections of Makerere University and the Uganda Society (a membership based society (anno 1928) that promotes Uganda's literary, scientific and cultural heritage). See: http://www.hipuganda.org/collection/schofield-glassplate-negatives and https://www.facebook.com/pg/HIPUganda/photos/?tab=album&album_id=643431392399377Last acessed 25-09-208
129 The pictures presented in Monti (ed.) (1987), show similar subjects as those in the links in the previous photnote. The photographs in Monti were brought together from collections in Europe (Italy in particular) and (to a lesser extent) Africa.
130 Haney (2010), p. 76
131 Paoletti and Biro (2016)

These questions apply to how practices of African photographers are presented to Western audiences and studied by predominantly Western scholars. In this research project these issues were continuously present, but they are most explicitly dealt with in relation to the photographic practices of Deo Kyakulagira, Musa Katuramu and Elly Rwakoma. The following letters each emphasise aspects of the three respective practices and respond to other ways in which vernacular photography by African photographers has been presented in, and outside of, the vernacular context.

The letter that addresses Deo Kyakulagira's son Denis Kalyango is concerned with questions on authorship such as, when is a photographer considered to be the author of a photograph in the West? As well as, are photographers thought of as authors in Uganda? A shift in Deo Kyakulagira's authorship that occurred through the use of his photographs in this research project is compared to developments around the presentation of Keïta's portraits to Western audiences.

The second letter considers how two appropriations of Musa Katuramu's photographs changed their audiences. Musa Katuramu's son Jerry Bagonza, who is the letter's addressee, made some of his father's photographs available to the editors of a picture book on Ugandan history.[132] The question can be asked, how does this use of Musa Katuramu's photographs compare to their presence in this research project?

The third letter is written to Elly Rwakoma and his wife Stella. Stella Rwakoma, who has a PhD in pedagogy, corrected the texts in the book and she is quoted on the back cover. Elly Rwakoma's practice extended beyond the portraits he made in his studio. He was also commissioned to document events and had photographs published in Ugandan newspapers in the 1960s, '70s and '80s. How are the conditions in which he worked and published these photographs particularly relevant for the Ugandan context? The following letters and their introductions will address the questions as in the above in relation to the application of authorship, different uses of photographs and various working conditions experienced by photographers in Uganda.

132 Tumusiime (2009)

Published May 2014

From a conversation with Deo Kyakulagira's son, June 2011

Introducing Deo Kyakulagira's photographic legacy

Deo Kyakulagira's (1940-2000) photographs attest to a multifaceted photographic practice. Through the years, he not only runs several studios but also works with the Ministry of Agriculture and as a medical photographer for a referral hospital.

Deo Kyakulagira's son and heir Denis Kalyango invited me to make a book about his father. Several searches conducted together with Denis and his family turned up a wealth of negatives and prints. The photographs reveal a flourishing photography business and a committed father. Deo's intriguing series of self-portraits suggests that being a photographer was very important to him.

Deo's photographs familiarised me with his world and, to a certain extent, with Deo himself. One day, I entered a reed shack in Kisubi, not far from where Deo's first studio was located. Various sculptures stood around outside. Above the door was painted "Artist Billy".

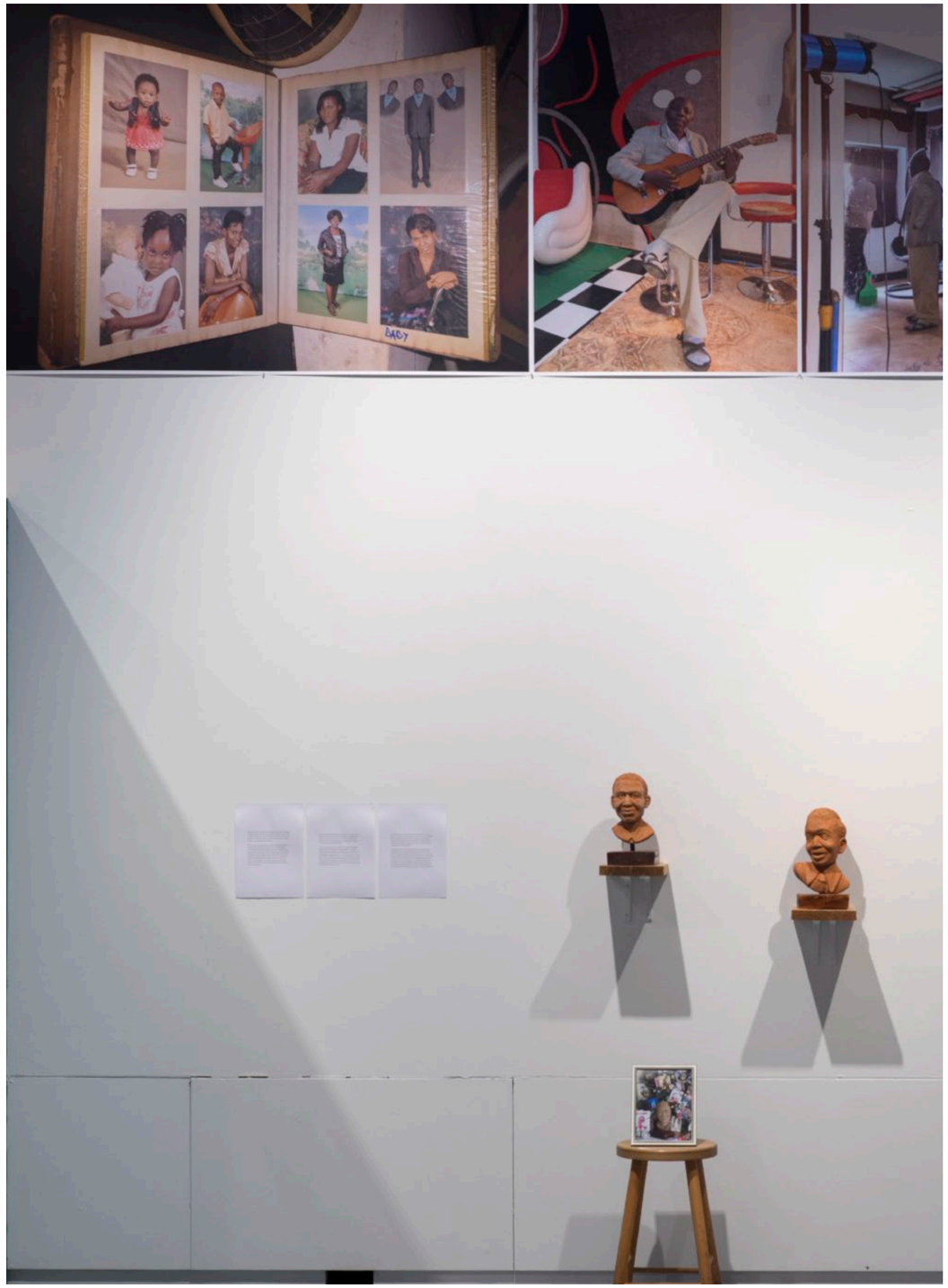
I saw a small ceramic bust inside on a shelf and instantly recognised Yoweri Museveni, the president of Uganda. Billy seemed to be skilled at creating sculptures based on photographs. I asked him if he could make a bust from one of Deo's self-portraits and let him choose whether to make it of a young or an older Deo. This resulted in three sculptures. The family quickly agreed on the one that looked most like the photographer. The bust now enjoys a prominent position in Deo's widow's living room.

Deo Kyakulagira at the first HIPUganda exhibition, Mishmash Gallery, Kampala, August 2012

Launch and exhibitions *Ebifananyi* #1, Makerere University Art Gallery & Afriart Gallery, Kampala, May 2014

Above: Makerere University Art Gallery, Kampala, May 2014, Below: Denis Kalyango, Deo's son and heir with his copy of the book

Discussion on “The Photographer” on the occasion of the opening of the exhibition, Makerere University Art Gallery, Kampala, May 2014



Ebifananyi, Fomu Antwerp, October 2017 - February 2018

A letter about Deo Kyakulagira's photographic legacy (on authorship)

Dear Denis,
Four years have passed since we launched the first book in the *Ebifananyi* series that has your dad's name on its cover. In the mean time I worked with other collections of photographs and made seven more books that further shaped my thinking about photographs in Uganda.

In this letter I want to share my thoughts on how your dad's position as a photographer has been changed by the existence of the book. I believe that his position is different from the one he had when you first introduced his photographs to me, and I do not recall whether we ever explicitly thought about what I had in mind. What I do vividly remember is how fondly you spoke of him as a father and how much you expressed your admiration of him as a photographer for his technical and social skills.

On the cover of the book your dad is made exemplary for other Ugandan photographers by the words 'The Photographer'. The presence of his name that is printed under the title, gives him the position of an author. From the stories you and members of your family told me I understood that he was, despite the appreciation for his craft, not seen as an author. At the same time there were the self-portraits your dad made as a photographer that, to me, do make him an author. These self-portraits have a prominent place in the book, which takes its reader through photographs that show different aspects of your dad's practice. Stories that are told by you, your mum, your siblings and a few others add anecdotes about the circumstances in which he produced the pictures.

When I first saw photographs made by your dad there were two African photographers whose photographs came to mind. Both of them lived and worked in Bamako, capital city of Mali. Their names are Seydou Keïta and Malick Sidibé. The former was born in 1921 and died in 2001. The latter was born in 1936, four years before your dad, and passed on only recently in 2016, six years later than your dad. The portraits they made have been exhibited widely in Europe and Northern America. American art historian Erin Haney wrote about them that their "photographic portraits [...] still remain among the most recognizable of African photographs for western museum-going audiences [...] because of the flurry of exhibitions, publications, collections and marketing of [their] photographic archives".[133] I admire and enjoy looking at the photographs Keïta and Sidibé produced, but there is something that annoys me about the way their work was and is presented to audiences in the West. They have been positioned as artists and authors rather than as entrepreneurs, while I think that would do their practices more justice without taking away the power of their pictures.

Let me give you some background information about Keïta, who is the main focus of my argument. He operated a photo studio from 1948 till 1963 and made portraits on glass plate negatives resulting in amazingly detailed photographs. From 1963 onward Keïta worked in the service of the Malian government for more or less the same amount of time as running his own studio before retiring.[134] A couple of negatives produced by Keïta

133 **Haney (2010), p. 76**
134 **Bigham (1999), p. 61**

were sold by his family to American art historian Susan Vogel in 1974. Vogel made prints from the negatives and exhibited them in New York in 1991 in a show titled 'Africa Explores, Twentieth Century African Art'. In the years between 1974 and 1991 Vogel lost the notes with Keïta's name, and the nametag with the photographs in the exhibition said 'anonymous'. André Magnin, a French curator who worked for a collector of African art, saw the exhibition. Magnin traveled to Mali in search of the maker of the portraits.[135] He found and met Keïta through Sidibé, and started to work with photographs made by both of them as a curator. Magnin made selections of pictures from Keïta's and Sidibé's archives that then started to circulate in exhibitions and publications around African art and African photography. The photographs gained economic value on the European art market. Keïta's fame and the value of his portraits even culminated into a fight about "who owns him" after his death.[136] The photographs Keïta made while working for the government are not available and may have been destroyed. The appreciation for Keïta as a photographer is primarily based of the portraits Keïta produced in his studio and the enlargements that Magnin made in 1996.

In 2016 a big retrospective exhibition of Keïta's photographs took place in the Grand Palais in Paris. A review of the exhibition on an online platform that is popular among photographers particularly struck me as odd, "despite its age, Keïta's work remains a breath of fresh air. Too often, even today, the Western world's exposure to the African continent is in the context of war, famine and enduring symptoms of colonization and corruption. In this respect, Keïta departs from the (post-)colonial narrative, rejecting previous representations of Malians as objects to study and scrutinize on the part of the Western gaze."[137]
The reviewer seems to claim that Keïta's photographs are responses to other photographs made by photojournalists who "expose the context of war, famine" and ethnographers who "study and scrutinize" Malians as objects. However, those photographs were made for Europeans and not for the Malian audience that Keïta was part of and produced his portraits for. The reviewer makes Keïta the source of a message that is hers rather than his. It is the reviewer and the context she is part of that generate Keïta's authorship.[138]

This reminds me of a request I got while preparing for the overview exhibition of all the *Ebifananyi* books in Belgium. The set of press photographs included one of the two pictures with your mum, dad and two other ladies in the studio with beer bottles.[139] A big American photography magazine responded with an e-mail that included this picture and asked for more photographs like those by Malick Sidibé. I was appalled by the request because it neither does justice to your dad's or Sidibé's practice, nor to my much wider investigation into photographs in Uganda.

Part of the problem that is illustrated by this anecdote is the way in which the Western notion of authorship is applied to photographs by curators and art historians. Where the term concerns somebody who **produces** something, Keïta, to return to that example, is obviously the author of his photographs. However, when an author is understood to be someone who **creates meaning**, the author is the curator who presents his work rather than Keïta himself. I wanted to avoid this confusion when presenting your dad's photographs. This is

135 **Bigham (1999), p. 62. Magnin (1998), p.22. In an exhibition catalogue from the Leila Heller Gallery in Dubai in 2016 Jean Pigozzi, the art collector, claims the 'discovery' himself by stating the "I asked my curator, André Magnin, to go to Bamako, Mali, and find the person who took these wonderful images".**
http://www.leilahellergallery.com/attachment/en/5570913907a72ca707c6918d/Publication/575fae90b9c0380258ed2462
Last accessed 25-09-2018
136 **Rips (2006)**
137 **Temkin (2016)**
138 **Jedlowski (2008), p. 44. British visual culture scholar Kobena Mercer calls this 'auteurism', "the uncritical quest for museum validation without questioning the institutional habits". Mercer in Blokland & Peluppesy (2010), p. 77**
139 **http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/1-photographer-deo-kyakulagira/14/ and previous page**

done by a play on conventions of authorship in which your dad, his photographs, you and your family members and I speak about your dad's practice.

The diversity in the photographs your dad left behind made it possible to present the variety in his practice over more than three decades. The context in which your dad's photographs were made had to be part of the presentation and should not be obscured. Since 2008 I have met other photographers and their descendants and have learned that their hybrid practices generating multiple sources of income are common in the way Ugandans support themselves. I also visited numerous studios in Uganda. They all advertised their services in printed photographs that were mounted on the wall of the studio or in albums. What I heard from photographers and saw in the studios and on the photographs suggests that your dad's studio practice is exemplary within the Ugandan context.[140] A significant difference between the Ugandan practices and Keïta's and Sidibé's is the presence of negatives with the photographer. Keïta and Sidibé kept their negatives as a potential source of income, which made it possible to present their photographs in a unified way with new prints from negatives. This mode of presentation however, disconnected the photographs from their original purpose.[141] In your father's collection the available negatives were those of personal photographs, and photographs of customers who never came to pick up (and pay) for the portraits. I now understood this to be a general practice for Ugandan photographers to give the negatives of photographs they made to their customers. Could this have to do with a difference in the value that is attached to negatives in Mali and in Uganda? Or could it simply be explained by an inherited practice from the Indian studio owners who also gave negatives of photographs to their customers? In any case, it makes it virtually impossible to present photographic practices in the same way as Sidibé's or Keïta's.

The pictures that convinced me to take up your invitation to make a book about your dad were not the photographs that were made for customers, but the set of self-portraits. I do not recall seeing photographs like these in Uganda or anywhere else. They show your dad at work in and around three different darkrooms. In two photographs your dad's left hand reaches out to an enlarger.[142] The lights in the room, including the red safety light, are switched on. In another photograph I can tell that a flashlight was used to properly expose the picture. A colleague, who is in the photograph with your dad, makes a gesture as if opening a box of photographic paper.[143] Actually opening the box would, of course, spoil the papers in the box. The gestures that can be seen on these photographs are obviously planned and the scenes were carefully staged in complicated light situations. They are a demonstration of craftsmanship and at the same time suggest a strong identification on your dad's side with the profession of photography.

Your mum identified the spaces in which the photographs were made as your dad's own darkroom behind the studio in Kisubi, the darkroom of the Department of Medical Illustration and the darkroom of the Ministry of Agriculture. She dated the photographs in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

I find it hard to imagine the audience your dad had in mind for these photographs other than family and

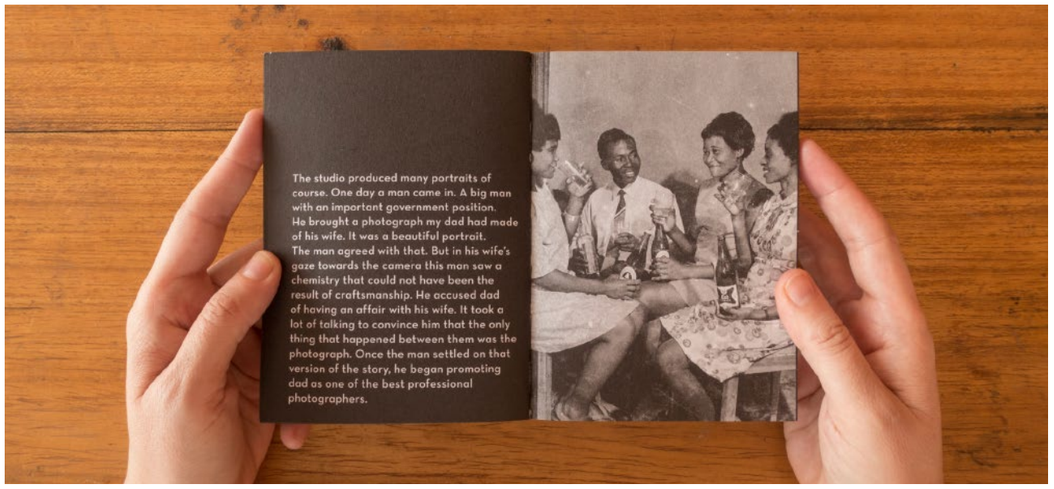
140 **Also see Behrend (2013), pp. 92-93**
141 **Over time this has changed, see for instance the publication Malick Sidibé: Chemises, which presents contact prints mounted on sheets used by Sidibé to give potential buyers access to the photographs he made. Sidibé (2008)**
142 **http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/1-photographer-deo-kyakulagira/6/ and following page**
143 **http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/1-photographer-deo-kyakulagira/8/**

friends. Decades after the pictures were made, I as a photographer from the Netherlands happened to see them and identified with your dad because I was reminded of the magic of a photograph appearing in the developer, and the joy of working in a darkroom. These pictures convinced me that he was in control of, and responsible for, the photographs he produced, and that he wanted to show that to the world. Therefore, he is for me 'The Photographer', as his practice is exemplary for those of many other photographers in Uganda, while his self-portraits make him exceptional. The way in which the self-portraits and the stories I collected present your dad's practice, suggests a shared authorship of the books and exhibitions. It set an example that was pursued in different variations throughout the *Ebifananyi* series.

At the exhibition in Belgium, prints of the self-portraits were admired once again. Two of the three busts that were made by Billy were also in the show.[144] As already mentioned in a WhatsApp message I am preparing a film that connects all the *Ebifananyi* books, with this show as its starting point. I would like to come to your mum's house to film the third - best resemblance - bust for what hopefully will become a film about the whole *Ebifananyi* project.[145]
Until then I will be looking forward to seeing you and your family again.

Yours,
Andrea

144 **Kabande Billy is a Ugandan sculptor who Denis and I met when walking into his studio, after visiting St. Mary's College Kisubi. Billy's studio was then located on the main road near the entrance to the campus. This encounter led to the three ceramic busts of Deo Kyakulagira based on his self-portraits: http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/1-photographer-deo-kyakulagira/122/**
145 **http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/1-photographer-deo-kyakulagira/116/**



Ebifananyi #1 spreads referenced in footnotes with the letter to Denis Kalyango

See http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/1-photographer-deo-kyakulagira/ for full version

Published November 2014

From a conversation with Musa Katuramu’s son Jerry Bagonza, April 2014

Introducing Musa Katuramu’s photographic legacy

Musa Katuramu (1916-1983) trains as a carpenter in the 1930s. He then works as a teacher and contractor and also keeps cows, as many people from western Uganda do. What is unusual for the time is that Musa has a cam era. Photography is mainly reserved for Western colonists and missionaries, while studios are generally owned by Goans and Indians. Musa makes portraits, sometimes on his own initiative and sometimes on commission.
In contrast to the custom of placing people in front of fantasy, painted studio backdrops, Musa photographs his subjects in front of the hilly landscape.

Jerry Bagonza is Musa Katuramu’s son. During a bus journey through Uganda, Jerry met a good friend of mine and told him about his large collection of photographs. This is how I became acquainted with Jerry. When I look at Musa’s portraits, I am struck by how the people portrayed want to present themselves. Musa put his camera, knowledge of photography and gaze at the service of the subjects he photographed. His pictures move me for this reason, time after time.

I visited Mr. and Mrs. Kayangire together with Jerry. They were good friends of Musa and recognised many of the people in the portraits. Mrs. Kayangire suddenly began to sing. She recounted the past in a recitative style called Ekyevugo. This form of oral historiography brings the past to life in a completely different ay than the photographs do.

Canon grew up in the same region and speaks the language. He revisited the Kayangires to make recordings. I asked him to capture one of the sung stories, which led to a scroll and a film.[139]

[139] **The scroll is appears prominently in the film and its holder can be displayed as an object itself. See https://vimeo.com/215511587 for the film. Last accessed 25-09-2018. See the uppor photo on p. 93 for the holder as part of *Ebifananyi*, FoMu Antwerp, October 2017 / February 2018**

Ebifananyi #2 at Noorderlicht Gallery, Groningen, November 2014

Ebifananyi #3 at Makerere University Art Gallery, May 2015

One day exhibition of Musa Katuramu's photographs, Mbarara High School, May 2015

Ebifananyi, Fomu Antwerp, October 2017 / February 2018

A letter about Musa Katuramu's photographic legacy (on audiences and different perspectives on the past)

Dear Jerry,
When I think about the pleasant days we spent together, working with your father's photographs, I realise there are topics which escaped our conversations. In this letter I bring up some of these topics in the hope that we will talk about them on another enjoyable day.

The words printed on the back of *Ebifananyi* #2 have fascinated me from the moment they came up in our conversation. It seems as though your father was of the opinion that a photograph is not made by the person who operates the camera, or by what or who can be seen on the picture, but by each individual person looking at it. I adopted this grounded view on photographs as a motto when making the book. The pictures are largely left on their own to speak to the 'private eye', sometimes accompanied by brief texts that present mostly facts and figures, and resist interpretation. This was not so easy to do, because I was, for reasons I will explain in a bit, fascinated by what I saw in many ways, and was eager to share my admiration for your father's photographs. First I would like to talk about the people whose 'private eye' engaged with these pictures.

Based on the records your father kept of orders that were made for prints of his photographs, it looks as though they were seen by a limited number of people.[147] You and I changed this, each one of us in their own way, and based on our different interests.

While digitising your father's negatives I found myself categorising them into piles in order to get a grip on the hundreds of photographs of faces and places that I could not recognise.[148] There were large groups of negatives with portraits that I categorised according to how many figures were in each picture. The photographs of construction sites, travel and people with cars formed the smaller stacks. These piles have nothing to do with how I heard you categorising the photographs, while commenting on the digital files. You identified places that to me were just backdrops to the portrayed people. Every time you recognised someone, your eyes sparked and you mentioned several times the possibility of connecting family members of the people on the photographs to the pictures. This difference in the way you and I relate to your father's photographs is rather obvious, but it nevertheless shaped my understanding of the different ways in which pictures can be relevant to different audiences. These audiences, to make a rough distinction, can be interested in particular pasts and realities shown on pictures, or in how photographs are exemplary for certain phenomena and practices. These categories are not mutually exclusive, but do lead to other questions. In hindsight I would place myself in the second category when we first met.

Initially your father's photographs were of interest to me as variations of other portraits either made by African photographers or by Europeans. I was thrilled because their quantity and consistency makes them into a body of work that can stand next to that of celebrated vernacular photography from another side of the

147 This observation is based on the orders for duplicates on the backside of some photographs, duplicates of letters from clients and to the photographer who made prints for Katuramu, and that his photographs were most likely not printed in media during his lifetime.
148 This collection is an exception to the observation made in the letter to Denis Kalyango that photographers did not keep their negatives, which might be explained by the fact that Katuramu did not run a professional photography business, or simply to an awareness of the potential value of the negatives on his side.

continent like Malick Sidibé and Seydou Keïta (I will show you their photographs the next time we meet). The first portraits made by Ugandans in the Mbarara area, have been said to be made in the late 1950s.[149] This confirms the impression that your father, who was active at least since the mid 1940s, was an early Ugandan photographer in this region. I read your father's photographs as statements of trust between the photographer and the people who pose for the photograph. They continue to touch me because they provide an alternative for photographs resulting from a Western outsider gaze photographing others. It is not easy to put one's finger on this, but browsing through the pictures of Dutch anthropologist Paul Julien, that I recall showing you at some point, and then looking at your father's, the difference is obvious.[150] Julien primarily photographs types, people who belong to and are made to represent a certain group. In your father's photographs people present themselves. The portraits show striking similarities to portraits that were made in studios in Uganda from the 1930s until the 1970s.[151] His outdoor portraits show, both in the poses and in the props that are used in the photographs, an awareness of conventions that are visible in photographs made in photo studios around the same time.[152] The studio, however, takes people out of the flow of everyday life, while your father portrayed people where they live, go to church or to school or visit friends. The control people seem to have of their poses, the connection to the landscape, and the quantity of available material is what makes, for me, this collection special from the point of view of someone who is looking for patterns that have little to do with who and what is actually depicted.

On my second or third visit to your house you showed me an album that you put together. I could tell that most of the photographs in the album were reproductions from books because some of the pictures were accompanied by captions and I could see the printing raster on most of them. You told me who the people on the photographs in the album were and why it was relevant to look at them. I remember seeing pictures of the early days of the scouting movement in Uganda, church leaders, Ankole royalty,[153] and politicians who operated on a local or national level. The photographs in the album in this case showed what the people you spoke about looked like. They filled in the details of the facts that were given orally and in the captions.

I purchased a copy of *Uganda, A Picture History, 1857-2007* long before we met.[154] Recently, years after the book on your father was published, I opened it again. I do not remember exactly when, but at some point you mentioned that you contributed to this book and I now found your name among the acknowledgements. I recognised several of the reproductions in your album and also noticed two photographs that were made by your father. The individuals depicted on these photographs are identified in captions that function in the same way as the comments you gave with the album. The words seem to anticipate the question 'who is this, what do I see?'[155]

149 Vokes in Vokes (ed.) (2012), p. 215
150 Paul Julien's legacy is the starting point for another part of my artistic practice: http://collectie.nederlandsfotomuseum.nl/nl/zoeken-in-de-collectie?f_fotograaf_naam%5B0%5D=Julien%2C+Paul+Fr%C3%A9deric+Alphonse Last accessed 08-04-2018
151 An example of such a studio photograph made in 1945 can be found in *Ebifananyi* #2: http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/2-people-poses-places-musa-katuramu/13/
The portrait, on which Katuramu poses himself on his wedding day, was made by Peter & Son, a famous Goan owned studio in Kampala at that time. The studio would later change its name to Central Art Studio Ltd. After the expulsion of the Asians Deo Kyakulagira (*Ebifananyi* #1) started to operate it.
152 Behrend (1998) and Stultiens (2010-2)
153 Ankole is the kingdom in western Uganda where Musa Katuramu lived most of his adult life. The 1900 Buganda, and 1901 Ankole agreement were important steps in the development towards the colonization of the Uganda Protectorate as part of the British Empire.
154 Tumusiime (ed.) (2009)
155 Scott (1998), pp. 49, 54

In *Uganda, A Picture History, 1857-2007*, photographs with very different appearances, including your father's, are placed next to each other. Some are full colour, others have a monochrome sepia tone or are black and white. Some of the photographs show a lot of detail, others do not. It is obvious from their appearance that the photographs come from different sources. Sam Obbo, senior journalist and editor of *Uganda, A Picture History, 1857-2007*, told me why these sources are not mentioned with the photographs.[156] James Tumusiime had been collecting photographs with the ambition to make this book but he did not know how to structure and edit the material he brought together.[157] A previously appointed editor also did not manage to do the job. This is when Sam Obbo was brought in and received a heap of prints. He was given a list of people and institutions that contributed to the heap, but could not connect names to pictures.

Sam Obbo brought structure to the pictures through themes that would become the chapters of the book. The selected prints were digitised. Some of the small ones, not more than the size of a stamp, had to be enlarged and now became pixelated. Sam Obbo was not familiar with this process and it was done by the designer of the book.[158]

British historian Richard Reid mentions *Uganda, A Picture History, 1857-2007*, in his book *A History of Modern Uganda* as "a brilliantly illustrated pictorial history of Uganda published in 2007 [sic]."[159] Next to his appreciation for the book, Reid also questions the timeframe in which the book is positioned where he writes that, "One of the fascinating aspects of this book is that it was published to commemorate '150' years' of Uganda - and yet the selection of '1857' as a starting point is difficult to explain."[160]

In 2007, CHOGM was organised in Kampala.[161] There were endless construction works in town and CHOGM was the buzzword that connected them to each other. Numerous hotels popped up and roads were repaired. The Uganda Museum opened an outdoor section with houses illustrating the different building styles from across the country.[162] All in all it seemed to me as if the city got a quick and superficial upgrade. *While Uganda, A Picture History, 1857-2007*, was actually published in 2009 I thought that the mention of 2007 in its name was related to CHOGM. Sam Obbo confirmed my hunch:

> "1857 was geared at denoting an estimated 150 years of Uganda's contemporary history; before and after colonialism. The idea was that economic, cultural and political activity in Uganda did not start at the advent of British Colonialism. CHOGM was just a clincher; an appropriate marketing entry point, an entry point that would excite a global audience. More so because one can never ade quately understand the country's history, without factoring in Britain, which had a huge positive and negative impact."

156 **Sam Obbo has worked for national newspapers in Uganda for decades. The conversation and a subsequent chat that this paragraph is based upon took place in December 2017.**
157 **James Tumusiime is a friend of Jerry Bagonza's. He is also the director of the biggest publishing house in Uganda and a cultural entrepreneur who runs a private museum not far from Jerry Bagonza's home in western Uganda.**
158 **The photographs in the book give another impression. It looks like they were placed straight in there from digital files that were used bigger than their pixel ratio permitted without showing itself. Maybe Sam Obbo's memory is off, maybe the designers searched for the pictures online and used what they found.**
159 **Reid (2017), pp. 6-7**
160 **Ibid.**
161 **CHOGM was and still is part of the general vocabulary in urban Uganda and is an abbreviation referring to the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting.**
162 **The houses in the open-air section of The Uganda Museum could be thought of as exemplary for the superficiality of the upgrade. For some time after 2007 the houses were open to the public. But "maintenance is a problem" and the houses are currently not an active part of the museum displays.**

From Sam Obbo's words it looks as though Reid is right when he sees a connection between 1857 and Europeans coming to Uganda "around this time, although it is a rather imprecise temporal hook on which to hang the argument [...]."[163] In relation to the dates in the book's title Reid asks "when is Uganda".[164] I would say that the answer to this question depends on who formulates it, and which purpose it is meant to serve. Reid, a historian, looks for an answer in the past. The answer *Uganda, A Picture History, 1857-2007* gives is now. It approaches the past from the present.

Uganda, A Picture History, 1857-2007 was much more relevant to me now that it was possible to make connections between what I learned over the years and the content of the book. This may seem to be a commonplace observation, but it is at the same time a constant struggle when outsiders like myself try to project their own understanding onto realities encountered in Uganda.

The imagined audiences when making the book with your father's photographs were both Ugandan and European. I tried to stay true to your father as I got to know him through your stories, his photographs and the documents you own. He was an enterprising man, starting up his own school as a Ugandan in a time when schools were almost exclusively run by missionary institutions. He had a no nonsense attitude, was straight to the point in his communication, precise and conscientious as illustrated by his handwritten autograph that looks as if it is printed. The sections in the book are loosely structured in topics such as Mbarara high school, scouting, St. James Cathedral, travel and Ankole royalty. The book starts and ends with your father visible in the pictures. In the opening sequence we see him as a young man (how remarkable that there are no photographs at all of him beyond the 1950s...). In the closing sequence we only see his shadow. An abbreviated version of a conversation between you and I that signals the different perspectives we have on your father's photographs is placed on the last page of the book.

My perspective on your father's photographs changed both during and after making the book. Initially the photographs, and how they introduced me to moments in the lives of anonymous people, mesmerised me. However your conversations with Uncle Tom about the photographs, confronted me with the realities the photographs connected to. This made me understand your wonder about my fascination with some of the photographs on which the person posing could not be recognised. In addition, listening to Uncle Tom's wife Mereal reciting her version of history[165] made me aware of a form of narrating the past that made the potential of photographs not obsolete but at least relative.

The exhibitions in the Netherlands,[166] Uganda[167] and Belgium showed about one thousand small prints of portraits. The audience in Europe looked for general patterns in the sea of photographs, they were, like me charmed by the aesthetics of the photographs and sometimes struck by details that French philosopher Roland Barthes calls the photograph's punctum; a detail, an "accident which pricks [...] bruises [...] is poignant".[168]

163 **Reid (2017), p. 7**
164 **Ibid., italics from source**
165 **Mereal Kayangire sang in a style called ekyevugo, a recitative form of oral history, practiced in western Uganda. For recording of a performance by Mereal Kayangire, in a video piece by Canon Griffin commissioned for this research project see footnote 139**
166 **http://www.andreastultiens.nl/exhibition/musa-katuramu/**
167 **http://www.andreastultiens.nl/exhibition/ebifananyi-2-3-at-makerere-university-art-gallery/ and http://www.andreastultiens.nl/exhibition/musa-katuramu-at-mbarara-high-school/**
168 **Barthes (1981), p. 43, p. 27**

In Uganda the collection turned out to be a resource for members of the audience who were looking for particular details of what a certain milk pot or other culturally significant details looked like.[169]

I was particularly impressed by the responses of students at Mbarara High School where we installed a selection of photographs for a day. To me this experience, again, showed the relevance and relativity of the photographs as points of identification for different groups of people.[170] The students stared for significant amounts of time at the portraits your father made of their predecessors, while their teachers showed no interest in the photographs whatsoever.

I have always been interested in how photographs are exemplary for certain phenomena and practices. However, through your father's photographs I was introduced to the particular pasts and realities shown on his pictures and as a result I think I understand your relation with those pictures better. I hope that we will be able to have a drink soon. On that occasion I would like to hear whether the *Ebifananyi* book changed your view on your father's photographs at all, as it has for me.

Looking forward to that day,
Andrea

169 Milk is a culturally important product in western Uganda attached historically to the life of cattle herders.
170 See footnote 167 for documentation of the event.

Ebifananyi #2 spread referenced in footnotes with the letter to Jerry Bagonza

See http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/2-people-poses-places-musa-katuramu/ for full version

Published April 2015

From a conversation with Elly Rwakoma's wife Stella. August 2014

Introducing Elly Rwakoma's photographic legacy

Elly Rwakoma (ca. 1938) fortuitously receives a camera when he is a teenager. He sets out to learn how to use it and how to earn money from taking photographs. Alongside his job as a social worker, he has a photo studio and occasionally sells photographs to local news outlets.

In the 1960s, Elly photographs President Obote during an official visit and he is the first of the photographers present to offer his pictures to the president. From then on, he is hired intermittently by successive regimes as a presidential photographer.

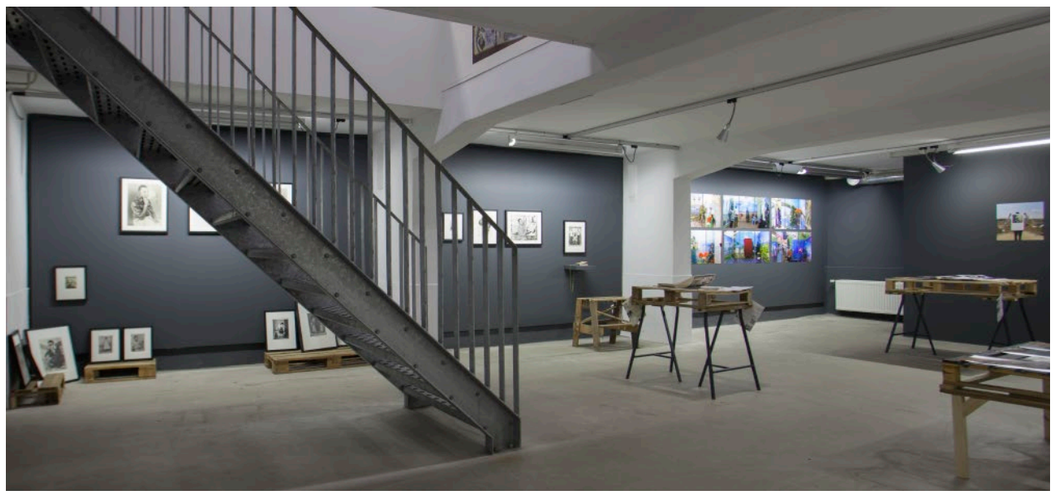
Elly Rwakoma is the father of a friend of a friend. He talks passionately about his time as a photographer. His stories are closely linked with troubling political periods in history. The versions espoused by the country's rulers, the international press and the people who personally lived through the events, often contradict each other.

I came across a set of negatives in Elly 's collection in which a political rally appears to descend into chaos. As I was putting the finishing touches to the book of his work, Elly's wife Stella told me about the time her husband came home with bullet holes in his trousers. The negatives belonged to this story.
At last I could understand what I was looking at: her husband had photographed an incident that he described as an attack on the former Ugandan president, Godfrey Binaisa.

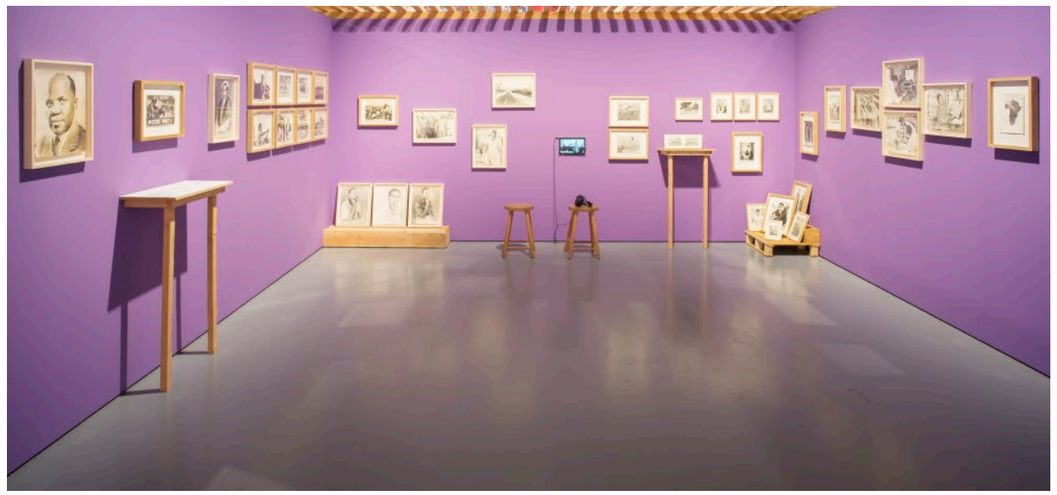
I wondered why I had not heard of this attack before and why there was so little information available about it. So I began to search through newspaper archives in Uganda and Kenya and found several articles. The reports contradicted each other given that those who control the media also control to a large extent how history is written.

Elly Rwakoma during an interview with Uganda Radio Network, Makerere Univeristy Art Gallery, April 2015

Ebifananyi #3 at Makerere University Art Gallery, May 2015



Elly Rwakoma's photographs at group show "Keep the Best of Your Life", Noorderlicht Photo Festival, Groningen, September 2016



Ebifananyi, Fomu Antwerp, October 2017 / February 2018

A Letter on Elly Rwakoma's photographic legacy (on photojournalism in Uganda)

Dear Stella and Elly,
How have you been since we last, accidentally, saw each other at your daughter's wedding? While I talked to Elly on the phone since then, we have not had a chance to catch up properly, and therefore I was not able to share with you what I have been doing, following the publication of the book on Elly's photographs.
I followed up on the photographs Elly made on the 21st of September 1979 and would like to discuss them further here.[71] The story has become increasingly complex and as a result I am gaining a better understanding of the conditions in which photographers in Uganda have their work published in newspapers. Elly occasionally contributed photographs to the state newspaper. I did not understand why this newspaper refused to publish pictures of, in Elly's words, an attempted assassination on the president.

After *Ebifananyi* #3 was published I started to search for more information about the events that took place in Iganga almost forty years ago. I found three newspapers that reported about it[172] and the first article I saw was on the front page of the Uganda Times.[173] Three days after the event the paper's headline basically claims that this is a case of 'fake news'. The feature is accompanied by a photograph captioned "President Binaisa
[...] during the weekend rally at Mbale".[174] This rally took place on the day after the shooting. The article was written by a reporter "who travelled with the president". The text claims that Kenyan newspapers spread
rumours about an attack on Binaisa's life, but that this was propaganda fuelled by economic motives.
What actually happened was that "one policeman, on seeing a snake in the crowd, shot it dead."[175]

This sounded unlikely to me. Why would a snake be among a mass of people?

The Kenyan Daily Nation and The Standard published about the rally on the 20th of September. Neither one of their articles is accompanied by photographs of the event. The Standard mentions "a flying object trailing smoke"[176] and the Daily Nation speaks of "a shot", and that it was President Binaisa himself who told the Ugandans who stayed after the shot was fired that "it was a snake that had been spotted among the crowd".[177]

The findings related to the story on Idi Amin and the photographs of the rally made me wonder how photojournalism, as I understood it, relates to photojournalism in Uganda. I thought of a photojournalist as someone who uses his camera to report on events that are news worthy. The editor who works for news media decides which photographs have enough news value to publish. I knew that reporting, in words or in pictures, could not be objective. It is always done from a particular vantage point. I nevertheless thought

171 From http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/3-tricks-elly-rwakoma/71/
172 The newspaper articles are accessible in this blog post: http://www.hipuganda.org/blog/president-binaisa-and-the-snake
173 The Uganda Times was the state newspaper after the fall of Idi Amin regime in 1979. It was preceded by the Voice of Uganda (1971-1979) and the Uganda Argus that was, up to 1971, a continuation of a colonial gazette.
174 Binaisa was the president of Uganda after the coup on Idi Amin's regime between June 1979 and May 1980. Tumusiime (2012), pp. 221-297
175 Front page article of the Uganda Times, September 24th 1979, collection Makerere University main library, Africana section, accessed July 2015
176 Newspaper in McMillan Library, Nairobi, accessed April 2017
177 Digital copy of a newspaper from Daily Nation Archives, Nairobi, accessed April 2017

that photographs in news media contribute to the communication of significant events that happened on both a global and local scale. This did not add up with the differences between Elly's story, the refusal by the Uganda Times to publish the photographs, and the difference between the newspaper reports. I therefore approached photographers and newspaper editors, and had a long conversation with them,[178] and what they told me was rather distressing. The content and appearance of newspapers in Uganda, I was told, is first and foremost anticipating potential sales since there are no subscribers that guarantee a certain amount of income. On top of that, press freedom is limited by funders of the papers as well as by ideological concerns pushed by authorities.[179] I came to understand that photographers are rarely seen as providers of content.

In an additional attempt to understand the choices newspapers made, a workshop was organised by the Uganda Press Photography Award. Five Ugandan photographers were asked to choose a remarkable news event and research how it was reported in newspapers. While browsing newspapers for this workshop I stumbled upon a surprisingly topical article by Kenyan Scholar Ali Mazrui. He writes that,

> "the genesis of African journalism lay in dry official publications of colonial governments [and, ironically,] the medium which had been used by colonial governments was adopted and adapted by African nationalistic forces and directed against those governments themselves. [The] printed word in Africa [faced] the basic dilemma [...] whether it should be used to create a nation or used to create an intellectual heritage. [These two uses are] not necessarily compatible. The immediate problem of creating a nation might demand self-censorship, and involve a policy of trying to avoid dissensions between groups and protecting the legitimacy of government from the dangers of reckless public criticism. But the task of creating an intellectual heritage might demand exactly opposite requirements."[180]

Is it too cynical when I, based on a combination of Mazrui's argument and the publications in which Elly's photographs did not feature, think that nothing changed since the article was published? It seems to me that the readers of newspapers are still not considered to be able to make up their own minds when confronted with information that comes from an authoritative rather than an investigative position.

This now leads me to the other story featuring in *Ebifananyi* #3 that is relevant to not just the functioning of the press on a regional level, but takes it beyond this, to an international context. In response to Elly's mention of Kenyan photographer Mohamed Amin I visited his archive in Nairobi twice, once before and once after the book was published.[181] Neither one of those visits led to a positive identification of the photograph that pushed Elly into exile.[182] During the second visit, however, I asked Amin's son Salim what he thought about Stella's remark on Elly being "too brave" sometimes as a photographer. Salim replied that his father used to say that the local photographers were the ones who ran the real risk because they were at the mercy of local circumstances and governments while his father's fame worked as a protective shield. If those in power would harm his father, this would attract undesired attention while this was not the case for local photographers.

178 http://www.hipuganda.org/blog/on-photojournalism-in-uganda-contributions-to-a-discussion
179 Also see Lugalambi (2010), pp. 15-18, Wasswa (2013)
180 Mazrui (1966). Also see Lugalambi (2010), pp. 4-8
181 Mohamed Amin (1944-1996) was an internationally well-known 'cameraman' whose photographs and film footage was published world wide through his own company Camerapix. Tetley (1988), Smith (2013)
182 See opening and closing sequences of *Ebifananyi* #3 for Rwakoma's mention of Mohamed Amin (From http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/3-tricks-elly-rwakoma/5/) and my initial research at his archive in Nairobi (http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/3-tricks-elly-rwakoma/122/)

In Uganda there was Jimmy Parma, who was supposedly killed for making a photograph of the body of one of the hostages of the Entebbe raid in 1976.[183] The irony is here that Elly did not have access to the international network that protected Amin, yet ended up in exile partly because of it.[184]

The two stories, involving Mohamed Amin and the events in Iganga, both have loose ends. In the case of the former there is a story and no photograph, in the case of the latter there are photographs yet no clarity about what happened. I spoke to several people who either heard an eyewitness account or were present at the event. This did lead to more details, but not to a clear view on what caused the chaos.[185] Was it indeed an assassination? Or was it simply an outcome of the chaos in Uganda at the time?[186]
One of the people I spoke to said that the snake must have been a metaphor for a person meaning harm and not actually an animal.[187] This shook, again, my naïve ideas on how news is narrated in newspapers. I was under the impression that the language used would avoid metaphors to be as neutral as possible in informing the readers of what happened. If a traitor is called a snake in a main newspaper feature, then what else is hard to understand without a certain cultural insiders position? This additional remark made all the stories I heard in relation to photographs with a political implication relative: "I have to be careful with what I remember. I do not want to cause trouble for people."

It is not new that photographs have been used to spread what is now often called 'fake news', or tell partial truths. Similarly it is not a revolutionary insight that censorship is present in Uganda and elsewhere. I hope that the book about you, and the exhibitions that resulted from it, make these issues tangible, as they did for me, beyond their theoretical implications for audiences both in and outside of Uganda.

I also hope we will be able to talk about all this soon with a cup of tea in your house in Bwera that I have not yet seen in the finished state I assume it is now in.

Warm regards,
Andrea

183 Kasozi (1994), p. 121, Lugalambi (2010), p. 9, Wasswa (2013), p. 12
184 See, again, opening sequence of *Ebifananyi* #3, first link in footnote 174.
185 I got in touch with these people by sharing details from Rwakoma's photographs on the HIPUganda Facebook page: https://www.facebook.com/HIPUganda/photos/a.1464890616920113.1073741988.154821697927018/1463810807028094/?type=3&theater Last accessed 25-09-2018
186 The Kenyan newspapers Daily Nation and The Standard mention the murders and other violent acts unfolding in neighboring Uganda on regular basis during the weeks leading up to this event.
187 The snake is a figure that reappears in myths from Buganda. See Baskerville (1922), Kizza (2010), p. 26

Ebifananyi #3 spreads referenced in footnotes with the letter to Elly Rwakoma

See http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/2-people-poses-places-musa-katuramu/ for full version

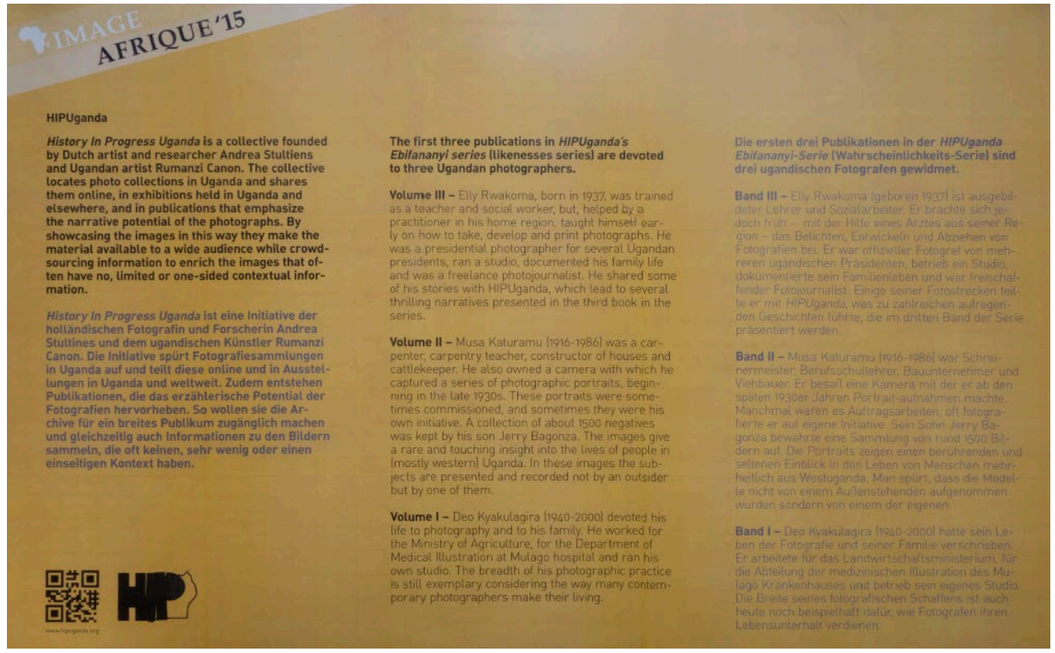
Epilogue to chapter 3: Keeping and Finding Connections

My original research proposal, upon entering the PhD research trajectory, mentioned only two collections of photographs: Deo Kyakulagira's and Elly Rwakoma's. I had not yet encountered Musa Katuramu's photographs and did not yet see how I could engage with the other digitised collections in my artistic practice. The proposal assumed that working with these two collections, while identifying with Deo Kyakulagira and Elly Rwakoma as photographers based on my educational background, would be an opportunity to reflect on the way photography in Africa had been presented to audiences in the West.

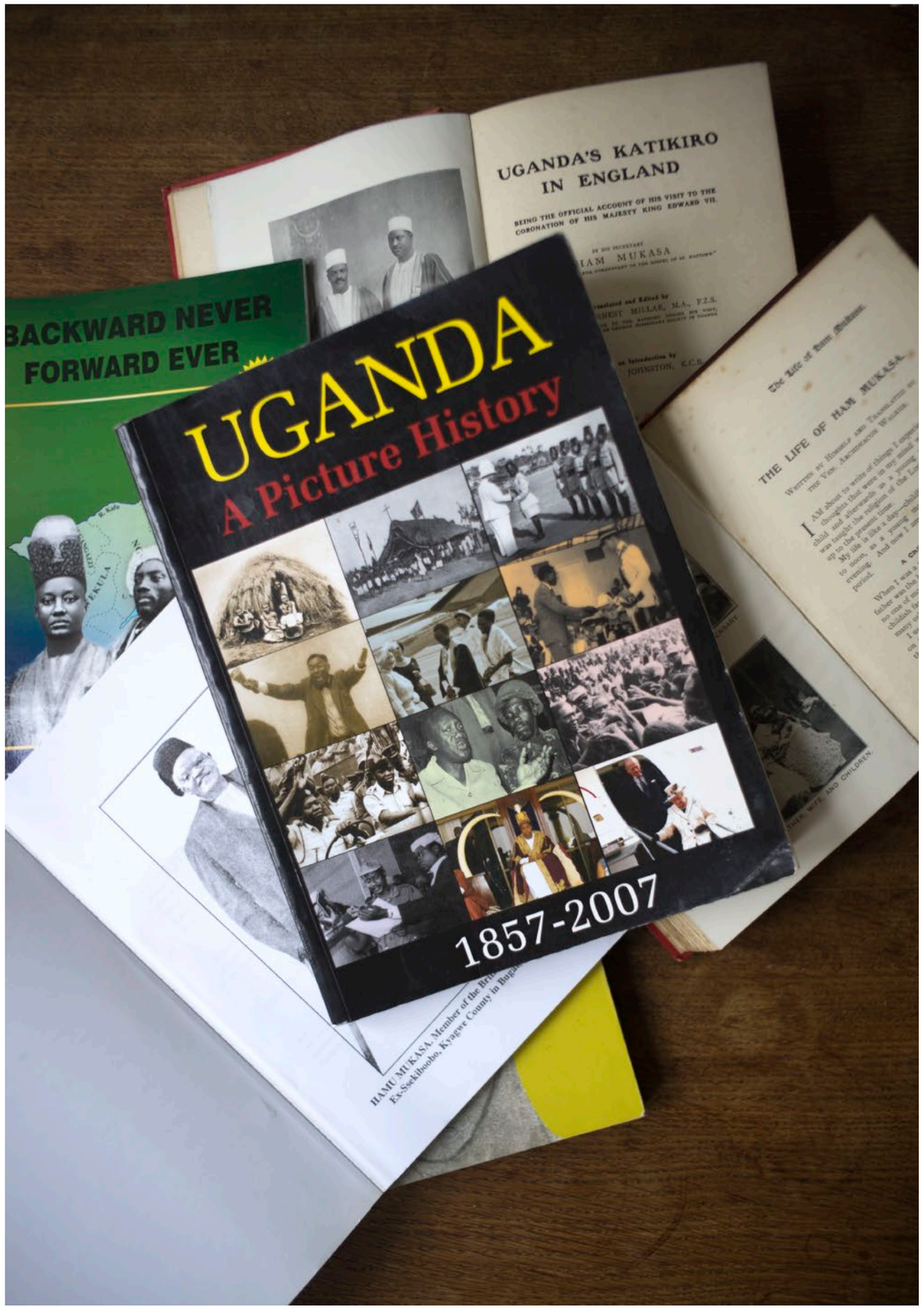
Photographic practices from West-Africa have dominated the discourse on African photography since the early 1990s.[188] The vantage point from which historical materials are presented to an audience, and the attention that members of this audience are willing and able to pay to what they see, often only remain an implicit part of considerations concerning the presentation and appreciation of these photographs.

Ebifananyi #1, #2 and #3 provide examples of how vernacular photographs can be presented while keeping vital connections to the contexts in which they were made and function accessible. This is done in a multi- vocal mode of storytelling, which allows different versions of the visualised and narrated past to exist next to each other, whilst also generating multiple points of entry to, and identification with, the respective practices and their protagonists for both Ugandan and non-Ugandan audiences. In this way, the books serve as alternatives for the still prevailing reductive mode in which historical vernacular photographs are appropriated for contemporary audiences.

188 Haney (2010), Schneider (2011), Schneider in Sheehan (2015)



Ebifananyi #1, 2, 3, Image Afrique '15, Basel, June 2015



Chapter 4

Mind the Gaps and Make Pictures

This chapter is concerned with the gaps between different temporalities, media and visual cultures. It considers how these gaps can be bridged through attempts to translate documents produced in a certain medium and as part of a particular visual culture in the past, into the present, and asks what these translations can tell us about both this past and the situated present.

Ebifananyi #4 and #8 both include a collection that was made on my initiative by many producers of pictures. Ugandan artists, designers, art students and crafts people (*Ebifananyi* #4 and #8), as well as art students in The Netherlands (*Ebifananyi* #4), were invited to engage with historical documents that testify to an absence rather than a presence of pictures in Buganda - a facet of the discussion which I will return to later. They were asked to produce visual responses to the documents in a medium of their choice. I have started to think of this, initially intuitive, approach as an essential part of my artistic practice that is carried out from the changing position of a relative outsider.
A photograph made in Buganda in 1875 (*Ebifananyi* #8) and a list that describes illustrations meant for a history of three *Kabakas* from mid-19th until early-20th century Buganda (*Ebifananyi* #4) formed the starting points for explorations of pictures rather than of photographs in Buganda. These explorations lead to new pictures, which were made by others who then became part of my artistic process.

Every message, whether in a picture or in words, has a form in which it communicates. The message is fully readable if its receiver can interpret its form. Even if this is not the case, the form can be meaningful. The awareness that a form is not accessible, that a picture cannot be understood but still has value for others,
is in itself a powerful message.
The question of whether historical documents formulated in a particular language or form are translatable can be rather paralysing when the essential quality of the form in which a message is offered is, as German philosopher Walther Benjamin stated, not "communication or the imparting of information".[189] I argue that
the translatability of a message, or lack thereof, cannot be found in its form, but in the expectations and questions that are brought to the encounter with this form.[190] In this project effort has been made to use this form appropriately, and as an accessible vehicle, around which correspondences unfold.

This view resonates with ideas argued by American and Italian anthropologists William Hanks and Carlo Severi re-

189 **Benjamin (1996), p. 253**
190 **Ibid., p. 254**

spectively, and Kenyan comparative literature scholar Ngugi Wa Thiong'o. Hanks and Severi argue that translation is at the heart of any anthropological inquiry and that the process of translation, including failures, may be "our best tool in discerning what is specific" to both the society that is studied, as well as the society that is the audience of the study. Any translation, they say, is in principle "selective, which implies loss of features from the original" and "also adds in supplementary features absent from the original [...,] the interpretant can be said to translate its object into an understanding of it". The translation is then an interpretation and itself is a source of information.[191] Within a literary context Ngugi Wa Thiong'o has repeatedly claimed that it is important to make statements in one's native language, because this makes these statements accessible to the community one belongs to and understands.[192] However, he also states that,

> "Translation is the language of languages. It opens the gates of national and linguistic prisons. It is thus one of the most important allies of world literature and global consciousness. But most important it is the globalectic reading of the word. [...] Globalectic reading means breaking open the prison house of imagination built by theories and outlooks that would seem to signify the content within is classified, open to only a few."[193]

I agree with Ngugi Wa Thiong'o that translations are important vehicles to attempt to communicate beyond the limited scope of one community. They make comparisons between cultures and places possible and their particularities apparent beyond structures and boundaries that are laid out in theories.[194]

The translations of historical documents presented in *Ebifananyi* #4 and #8 are explicitly interpretations rather than attempts to stay true to the message of the original. Each one of these interpretations contributes to a collectively made whole and posits the question, how do these collectively made collections contribute to an understanding of photographs in Uganda as well as what is their position in my artistic practice as a research method?

The letter that relates to *Ebifananyi* #4 addresses Ham Mukasa, the Baganda chief whose pictures and writing in the book are based on. In relation to *Ebifananyi* #8 I wrote to Prince Joseph Walugembe Musanje, who produced the most ubiquitous portrait of Kabaka Muteesa I in Uganda.

191 Hanks & Severi (2014), pp. 2, 3. Also see Imbo (2002), pp. 109-128
192 Ngugi Wa Thiong'o (1987), (1993), (2012)
193 Ngugi Wa Thiong'o (2012), p. 61
194 Ibid.

Published June, 2015

Quote from Mukasa, 1904-1, p.27

Introducing Ham Mukasa and his documents

Chief Ham Mukasa (ca. 1870-1956) was a prominent figure in Uganda. To his descendants, he is known as the scholar who never went to school.
Ham Mukasa befriends high-ranking colonists and missionaries and is photographed by them. He is involved in the establishment of formal education in Uganda and donates land to the Church of Uganda for educational and medical purposes.

In 2012, I came into contact with several of Ham Mukasa's grandchildren after someone spotted a photograph of one of his daughters on the History In Progress Uganda Facebook page. The family's collection of photographs struck me as a treasure trove because of the variety of the available materials and their age and quantity – all of which I was allowed to digitise.

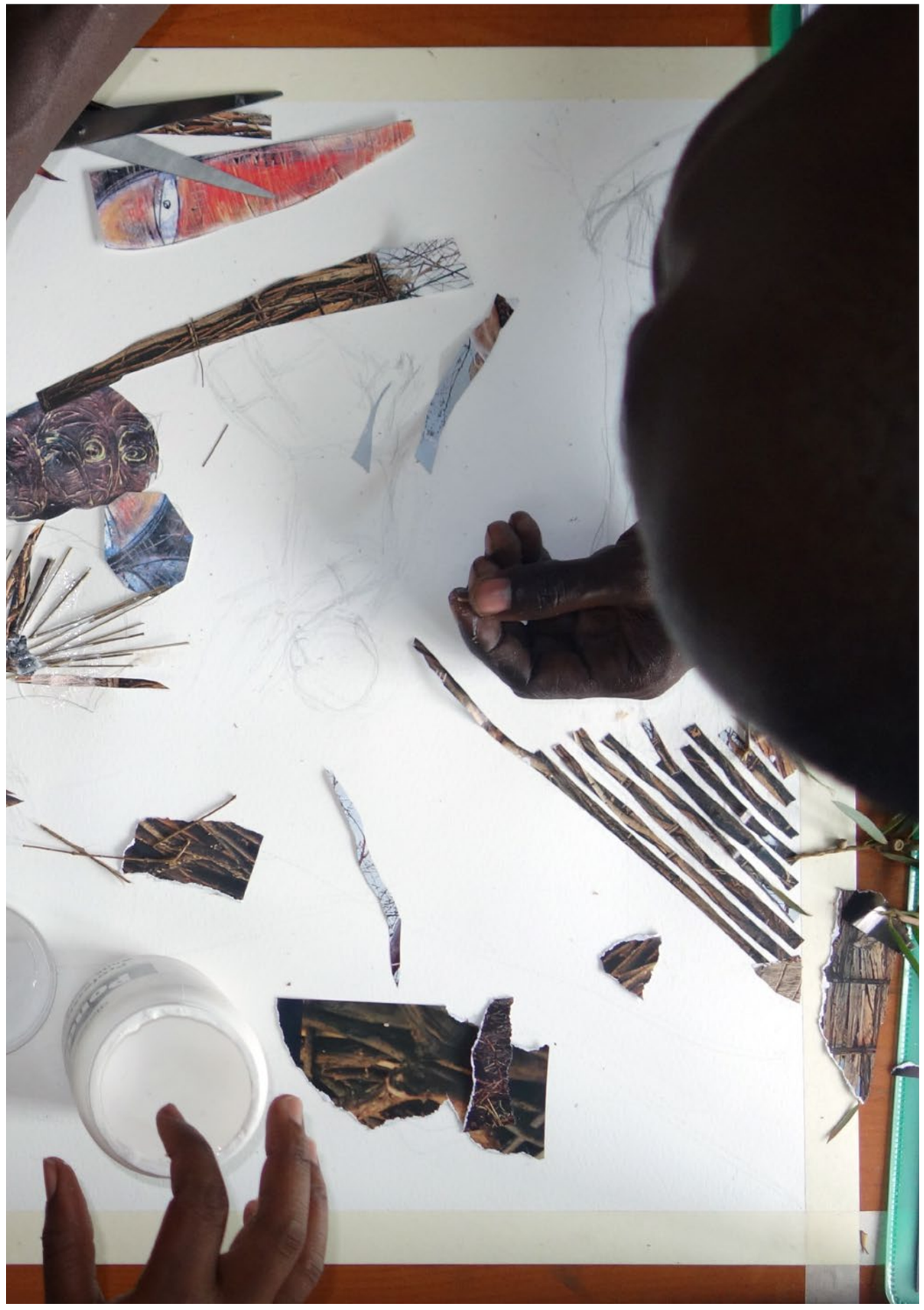
The family tried to turn Ham Mukasa's house into an attraction for tourists who have an interest in cultural history. Every time I visited the house, there were more framed pictures in the sitting room. I saw photographs that I had reproduced elsewhere with other members of the family. They were recognisable to me because I had also photographed the frames.

Ham Mukasa's relatives' collection does not only consist of photographs. There are also a lot of documents. These are mainly letters, minutes of meetings and short memos. Amongst these papers, I came across five typed pages stapled together. Although the text was written in Luganda, I immediately realised that it was an important document. It transpired that the text consisted of brief descriptions of illustrations. In the 1930s, Ham Mukasa wrote a history of Buganda. These were illustrations intended for that history titled 'Simuda Nyuma'.

This history is known and was partly published, but it would appear that the illustrations were never realised. I invited Ugandan artists and Dutch and Ugandan students to create them. We encountered ambiguities and clichés, but we also brought the past to life.

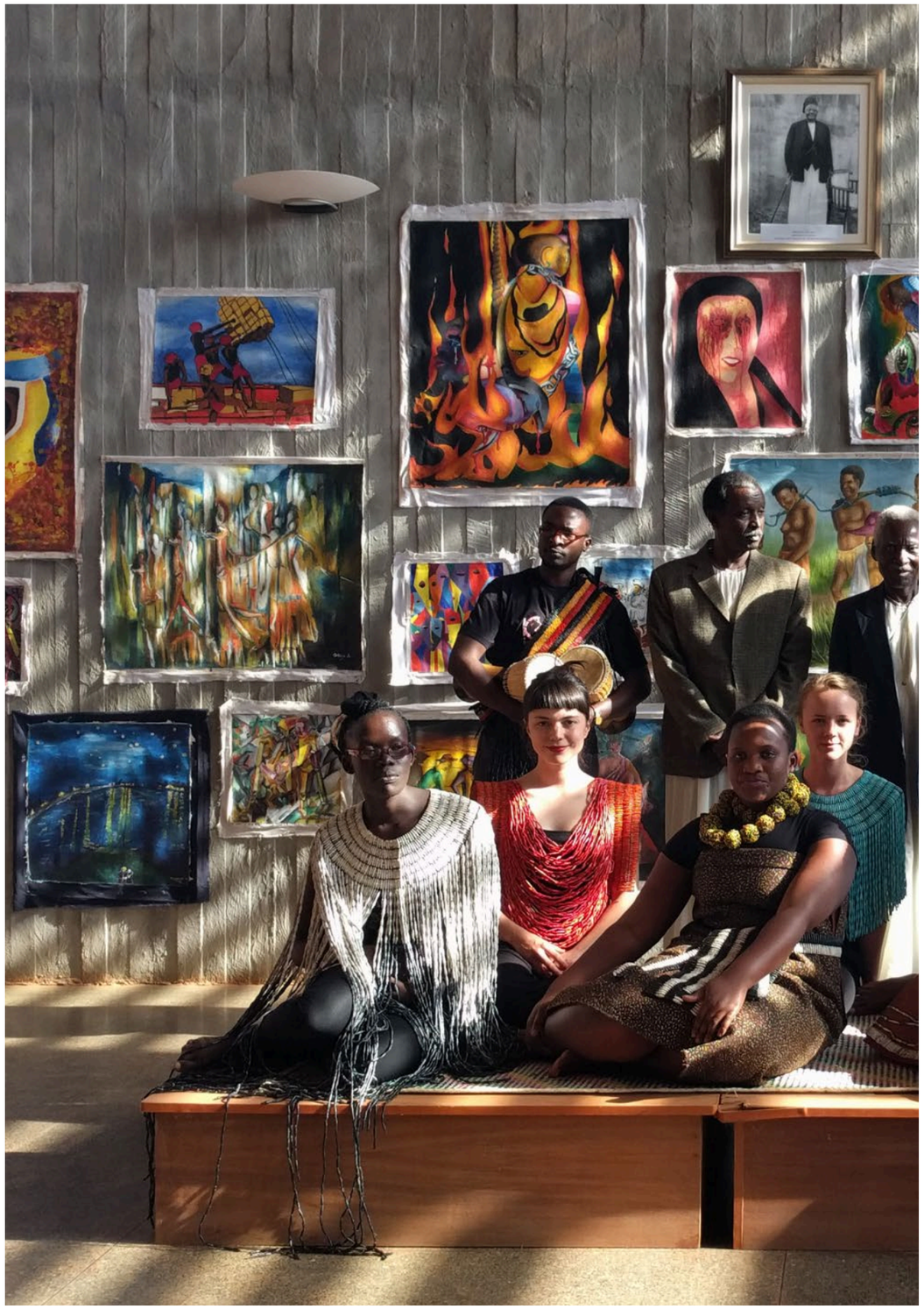
Gallerist Daudi Karungi at book launch of *Ebifananyi* #1, Afriart Gallery, Kampala, 2014

To Daudi Karungi's right, on the notice board, hangs the call for the residency towards *Ebifananyi* #4 at 32 Degrees East



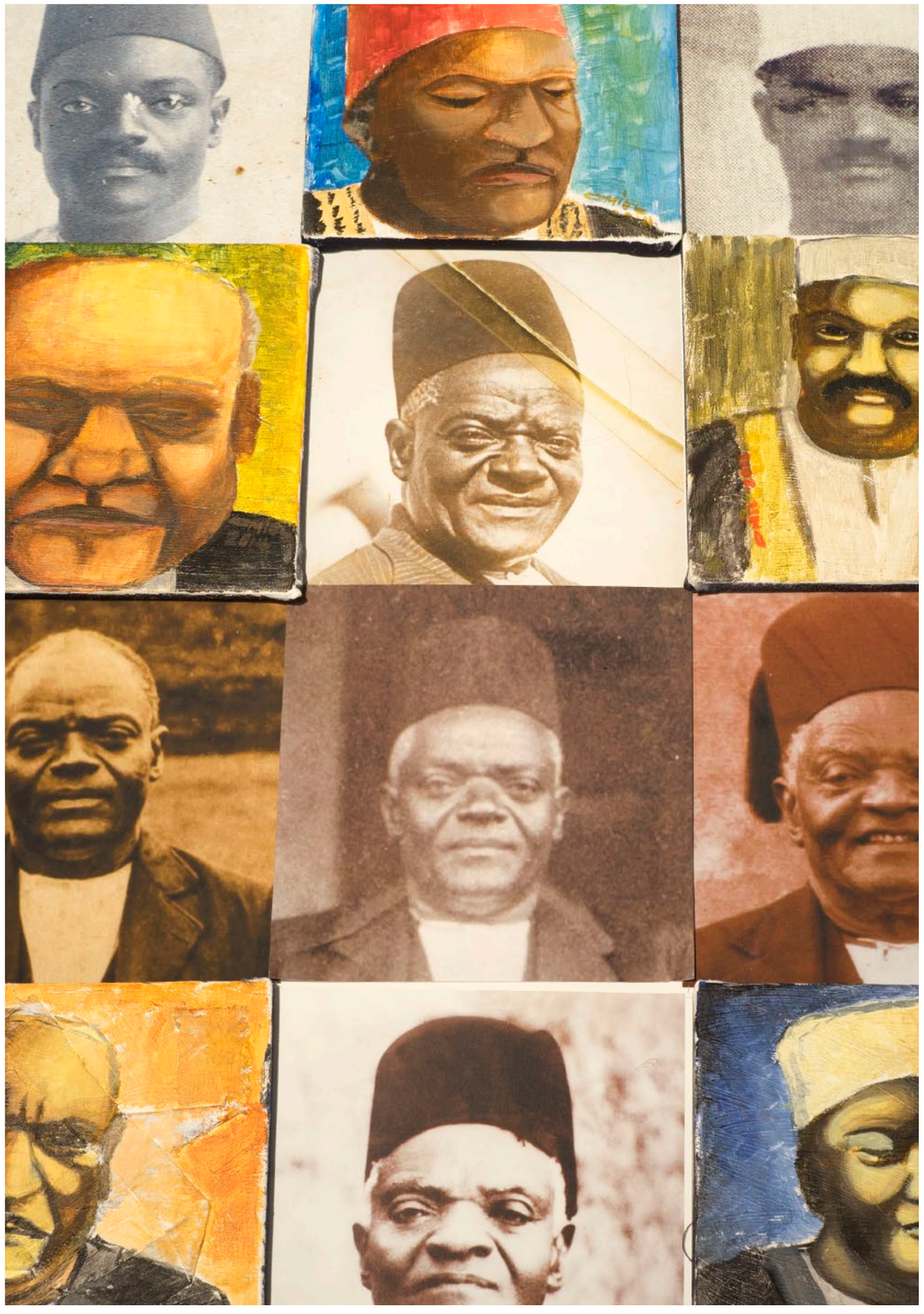
Workshop that kicked of the course in which Ham Mukasa's described illustrations would be realised by students.

Uganda Christian University, Mukono, 2014



Performance by Sanaa Gateja with students and volunteers at the Ugandan launch of *Ebifananyi* #4

Hamu Mukasa Library, Uganda Christian University, Mukono, 2016



***Ebifananyi*, Fomu Antwerp, October 2017 / February 2018**

A letter about Ham Mukasa's documents and the emergence of Collective Making as a research method

Dear Mwami Ham Mukasa,
After having worked with the wealth of writing and photographs that you left behind it is an honour and a pleasure to now direct these thoughts to you. It would appear that there is little that we share because we lived through different times and grew up on different continents. Nevertheless, encountering your writing and the photographs in your family's collections made me think about the challenges that come with the translation of meaning from one context to another. These contexts include your past and my present, Luganda and English, meanings conveyed in words and pictures in the Ugandan and Dutch context.

The fourth book in the *Ebifananyi* series presents the outcome of my engagement with photographs that testify to your life and a document with descriptions of over a hundred pictures, that I assume was written by you. I intended the book to be a proposal on how to deal with the challenges of translations and the gaps between different realities and media that sometimes appear to be hard to bridge.
Before I tell you more about the book and how it came about I want to share some observations on my encounters with your world and your writing because they made certain pitfalls I wanted to avoid apparent.

While browsing through the documents in Kwata Mpola House I wondered how it was possible that all the duplicates of letters, drafts of memos, the books filled with minutes of meetings, and the travel reports were produced in just one lifetime.[195] Your autobiographical account in The Wonderful Story of Uganda,[196] and the book on the journey made with Katikiro Apolo Kagwa[197] to England in 1902[198] both impressed me because of the details with which you describe your experiences. Both texts are accompanied by introductions written by Reverend Mullins.[199] He claims that "[your] style, whether owing to the writer or the translator, has a delightful naiveté and charm and recalls the rhythmical cadence of the Bible"[200] and that "some of [your] impressions are obviously false ones, and many of the numbers given are quite unreliable."[201]
These words caused unease and made me wonder how you felt when reading them. It looks as though you were not considered to be a member of the audience of your own texts. Mullins may have appreciated your words, but he undermines them at the same time. It is as if he cannot accept them for what they are and how they try to communicate. It looks as though, as far as Mullins was concerned, your imagined audience, "the natives of Uganda", was different from his imagined audience, the "English Reader", and that these were mutually exclusive categories.[202]

I own two editions of your account of the journey with the Katikiro. There are differences between these two books that I consider to be significant in relation to the mutually exclusive categories of 'us' and 'them'.

195 **Kwata Mpola House is located in Mukono, ca. 30km to the east of Kampala. This is where the biggest part of the family collection resides in a library and the sitting room of the house. Additional material was encountered in Mukasa's house in Mengo, near the *Kabaka*'s palace, and brought for digitization by one of Mukasa's granddaughters. The digitization of the Ham Mukasa family archive was funded by the British Library's 'Endangered Archives' programme and carried out in collaboration with Richard Vokes / University of Adelaide: https://eap.bl.uk/project/EAP656 Last accessed 25-09-2018**
196 **Mukasa in Mullins (1904)**
197 **Apola Kagwa (1864-1927) was prime minister (Katikiro) of the kingdom of Buganda from 1880 until 1927. He is also known as a historian who wrote about Buganda in Luganda (Rowe (1998), p. 64).**
198 **Mukasa (1904)**
199 **Mullins also translated Mukasa's texts that were written in Luganda.**
200 **Mullins (1904), p. ix**
201 **Mullins in Mukasa, (1904), p. v-vi**
202 **Ibid., p. VI**

These editions were published with an interval of 70 years. The one that was published in 1904 is, as you know, titled *Uganda's Katikiro in England*. The second edition, published in 1975, is titled *Sir Apolo Kagwa Discovers Britain*. Apolo Kagwa is present in both titles, but the position he had as Katikiro disappears. Rev. Mullins must have considered it to be known to or otherwise acceptable for the British audience in 1904. In 1975 however, with Uganda being no longer part of the British Empire after it gained its independence in 1962, Katikiro's proper names and the British title Sir were used.[203] I assume that this difference is related to the growing distance between Uganda and the British Empire. In addition, the older book was illustrated with photographs that were made in Uganda around 1900, while the newer one shows impressions of the U.K. from the same period. This can be explained if we consider which difference between the described and pictured reality is significant. In 1904 this is the difference between Uganda and Britain, whereas in 1975 it is the difference between the described past and the present in which the book is read. The 1975 edition was edited by Taban lo Liyong, a writer who was born in Sudan and studied at Makerere.[204] Rev. Mullins' introduction is no longer part of the book, and Taban lo Liyong removed what he considered to be creative editing of your words by the Reverend. Taban lo Liyong claims to have left out many of the "favourable remarks" that substituted omissions that were unfavourable to the Reverend and his family or friends.[205] I wonder though whether Taban lo Liyong had access to the Luganda original written by you, because another paper that reflects on the book mentions that it is lost and I have found no other reference to it.[206]

German anthropologist Heike Behrend compared your mention of 'wonder' on the account of your journey to England with the wonder of European explorers when traveling to Africa,

> "By the nineteenth century [...] English, French, and German travellers no longer wondered about anything. Their glance had achieved a confidence that allowed them to objectify and take possession of what was foreign to them. It was now the various Others, the objects of their glance, to whom they imputed the wonder they themselves were no longer capable of."[207]

Behrend also seems to think that your wonder was appropriated. She reads your travel report as "a hybrid construction, formed in dialogue in a field of power relationships."[208] It seems to me that she takes away some of your agency in interpreting the text. Ugandan literature scholar Danson Kahyana gives that agency back to you when he interprets your writing as a performance of "a certain kind of ambivalent subjectivity – marginal in relation to England and yet central enough to the institution of Empire and Englishness to merit response." I read their interpretations – arguably closer to translations - of your writing as a performance of how a German scholar and a Ugandan scholar speak from their different vantage points while writing about your words. The former reads your text from a European position, the latter from a Ugandan position. However, neither of them makes this explicit in their writing.

Being an artist who works both in the Netherlands and in Uganda, I was particularly struck by the connections you made between the reality you come from and the one you encountered, for instance when you compare the sizes of houses of prominent Baganda[209] to the ship on which you travelled.[210] I read these comparisons

203 I speak of proper names here as this is done in Uganda to make a distinction between titles and names, which are often used without differentiating between the two.
204 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Taban_Lo_Liyong Last accessed 25-09-2018
205 Taban Lo Liyong in Mukasa (1975), p. V
206 Kahyana (2016). August 2018 I met Prof. Taban Lo Liyong in Kampala. He could not clearly recall having seen the Luganda text but said that "They have a lot in Britain. You should check it out".
207 Behrend (1998-1), p. 55
208 Ibid., p. 57
209 *Baganda* are the people (plural, singular is a *Muganda*) of the kingdom of Buganda.
210 Mukasa (1904), p. 19. Other explicit comparisons can be found on pp. 13, 27, 100.

as attempts to translate your experiences into images that could in turn be translated further into pictures, which brings me back to the list of illustrations that I mentioned above.

This list was meant for *Simuda Nyuma*, your "three volumes of historical narrative and personal memoir", that American historian John Rowe thought of as "one of the most impressive literary achievements in Uganda".[211] It is a five page long document that I encountered among piles of letters in Kwata Mpola House. In the margins and between the typed lines of the pages there are scribbles in a handwriting that is very similar to letters that were signed by you. I therefore assume that you wrote the list in the 1930s, just before or around the time that the first part of *Simuda Nyuma* was published.[212] When I initially asked a native Luganda speaker what this document is about, I was told that it is a list of photographs. Later, when a full translation of the text was made, I heard for the first time of the multiple meanings the word *ekifananyi* can have and that there is no specific word for photograph in Luganda. Taking the content of the list into account the translator concluded that we were dealing with a list that described illustrations meant to accompany the text of *Simuda Nyuma*. Because these illustrations were, as far as we knew, not made, the best translation for *ekifananyi* in this case seemed to be an image, a picture that exists in one's head.

I was embarrassed that I, as a photographer, had not come across the ambiguities in the translation of photographs into Luganda before. English was the default language I used to communicate in Uganda and there had not been a necessity to ask which word is used for photograph in Luganda. Only now that I knew the answer, the question seemed to be both urgent and fundamental.

Ekifananyi was not the only word in the list that was hard to translate. The Luganda was considered to be old fashioned, and I was told that the list included outdated cultural practices. I started to show the list, both the original and the translation, to artists in Uganda who generally saw it as a rare and much desired opportunity to work with a source that connected their present with various moments in Buganda's past - the ones described by you, and the one in which you wrote the descriptions. Seven professional artists took up the opportunity and produced pictures based on your images. One of the artists, Eria Nsubuga also teaches art, just like me. He suggested to extend the invitation to work with your descriptions to students and we then went on to both teach courses based on this idea. Eria Nsubuga did this at Uganda Christian University (UCU) in Mukono, which I considered to be particularly wonderful because this institute developed from Bishop Tucker Theological College that was built on your land.[213] I involved students from Minerva Art Academy in Groningen, in the north of the Netherlands. There were significant differences in the procedures in the respective schools, and in the approaches the Dutch and the Ugandan students used in making the pictures that could only become apparent in the way they did, thanks to this experience.[214]

In the Netherlands the course was elective. I heard colleagues complain about a general lack of engagement with 'the world' by students and was afraid nobody would enrol. But the class filled up quickly, and there was a genuine interest to hear about and connect with the students in Uganda. There were young Dutch people

211 Rowe (1969), p. 17
212 Hamu Mukasa (1938), *Simuda Nyuma: Ebiro bya Mutesa*, and *Simuda Nyuma: Ebya Mwanga*, both SPCK, London. I have only seen the first volume in the collection of Makerere University.
213 Ham Mukasa donated land to the church of Uganda for this purpose.
214 See http://www.andreastultiens.nl/exhibition/simuda-nyuma_ucuminerva/ for documentation of the exhibitions at UCU and Minerva Art Academy and the process that led up to them at UCU.

in the course, but also students who were American, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Turkish and Chinese. They were in the Netherlands for a semester long exchange program between their respective art schools and the one in Groningen. All the students knew that Uganda was a country in Africa, but none of them could locate it and they were not familiar with Ugandan history. Each student chose three images from the list and worked on the pictures individually.

All the students at UCU were Ugandan, but they came from different parts of the country and therefore they did not all speak Luganda. For Eria Nsubuga's students the course was obligatory. The library on the UCU grounds is named after you, so even if students did not know your accomplishments, they did know your name. They also knew of the past existence of the *Kabakas* mentioned in Simuda Nyuma and were familiar with the story of the Uganda Martyrs; a history that a substantial part of your list is devoted to.[215]

Eria Nsubuga feared that the task we wanted to give his students might be too unusual for them. They were normally, he said, given assignments that were more straightforward and did not involve the research or critical thinking that this task required. We therefore started the course with a discussion of the list, and an afternoon in which students worked in groups on one image of their choice. Once the groups started to make the picture it looked as though it already existed collectively among the members of the group. Their mode of making was collective, involved almost no discussion and seemed to be as natural to them as it was alien to me or to the students in the Netherlands. Based on this experience, I decided to explore more intentionally what this Collective Making could bring to the individuality of making I was used to.

An anecdote from the Netherlands forms a sharp contrast with this experience in Uganda. A colleague, who teaches illustration, told me that he would not want to teach a course like this because it could only lead to exoticising of a past. When I told Eria Nsubuga about this response he said: "Our past is just as exotic to us as it is to you". He referred to the limited availability of resources on Ugandan history in everyday life, and to the ideological twisting of the past that he considers to have taken place during colonial times as well as during the various regimes that governed Uganda since.[216]

My colleague saw a limited understanding of the past, which your descriptions refer to, as a reason not to engage. Eria Nsubuga and I considered the limited knowledge of that past to be an opportunity to explore it. My colleague preferred to leave the interpretation and translation of a past up to 'others' who might be better prepared for the task. I chose to generate correspondences with that past and invited others to become part of them by translating of your words into pictures. My colleague created an open category of people different from himself, whereas I chose to accept and engage with these differences. This created a space where it became possible to bridge the gap between us. We started to interact with each other as individuals with the shared mission to produce your illustrations. We all contributed to an open ended and collective construction of a particular past. I think of this construction as performances of pasts in pictures. These performances do not make truth claims about these pasts but are an invitation to think about history as a translated, interpreted

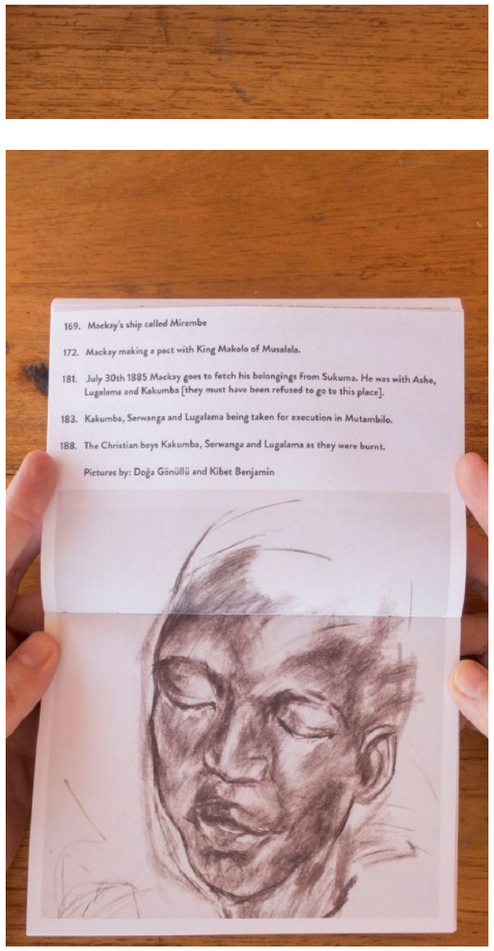
[215] **http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/4-simuda-nyuma-forward-ever-backward-never-based-images-ham-mukasa/100/ and following pages.**

[216] **Examples of this are given in the other letter in this chapter with *Ebifananyi* #8, and in the letter with *Ebifananyi* #3 in chapter 3.**

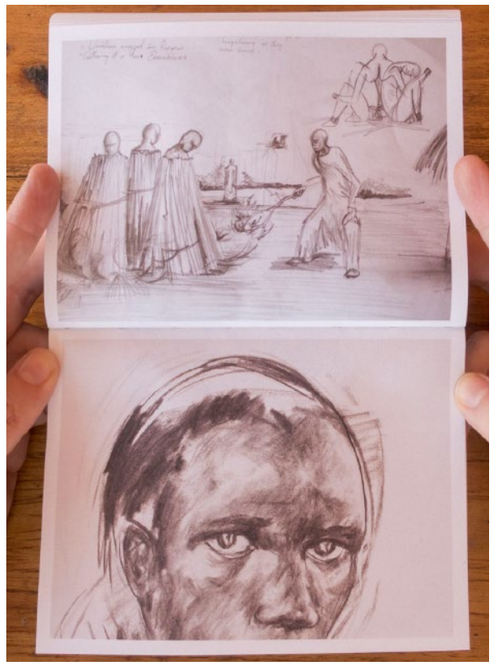
version of the past. Eria Nsubuga and I are now pursuing our own research projects, but intend to continue our engagement with your images. He would like produce all of them, while I hope to continue the search for existing pictures that you responded to in your images. It looks like the past you described will stay with us while we live towards engaging with it once again.

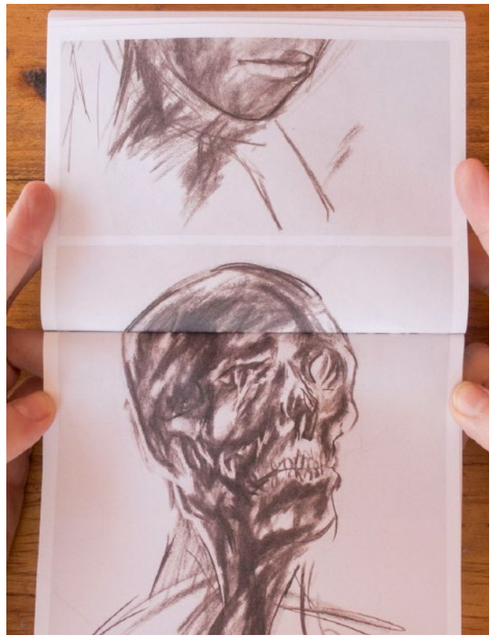
Yours truly,
Andrea

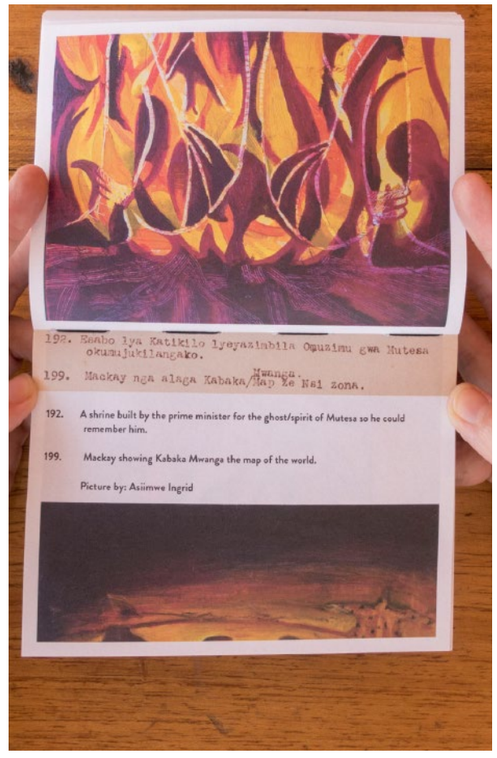
P.S. One of the risks of something being found is that it gets lost. This is, for now, the fate of your list of images. Your son George told the family librarian to give it to a translator who was working on the English translation of Simuda Nyuma. But the librarian fell ill and died. The document was, up to now, not seen again. I am very sorry about this, and hope that the activation of the list in *Ebifananyi* #4 compensates for it because the book at least preserves its content.

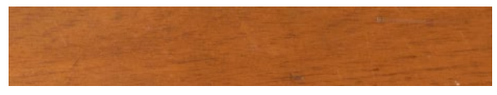


169. Mackay's ship called Mirembe
172. Mackay making a pact with King Makolo of Musalala.
181. July 30th 1885 Mackay goes to fetch his belongings from Sukuma. He was with Ashe, Lugalama and Kakumba [they must have been refused to go to this place].
183. Kakumba, Serwanga and Lugalama being taken for execution in Mutambilo.
188. The Christian boys Kakumba, Serwanga and Lugalama as they were burnt.
Pictures by: Doğa Gönüllü and Kibet Benjamin






192. Ssabo lya Katikilo lyeyazimbilla Omuzimu gwa Mutesa okumujukilangako.
199. Mackay nga alaga Kabaka Mwanga. Map ze Nsi zona.
192. A shrine built by the prime minister for the ghost/spirit of Mutesa so he could remember him.
199. Mackay showing Kabaka Mwanga the map of the world.
Picture by: Asiimwe Ingrid



Published October 2017

Merge of several portraits of Kabaka Muteesa encountered and produced for this research project

Introducing the photograph Henry Morton Stanley produced of Kabaka Muteesa I

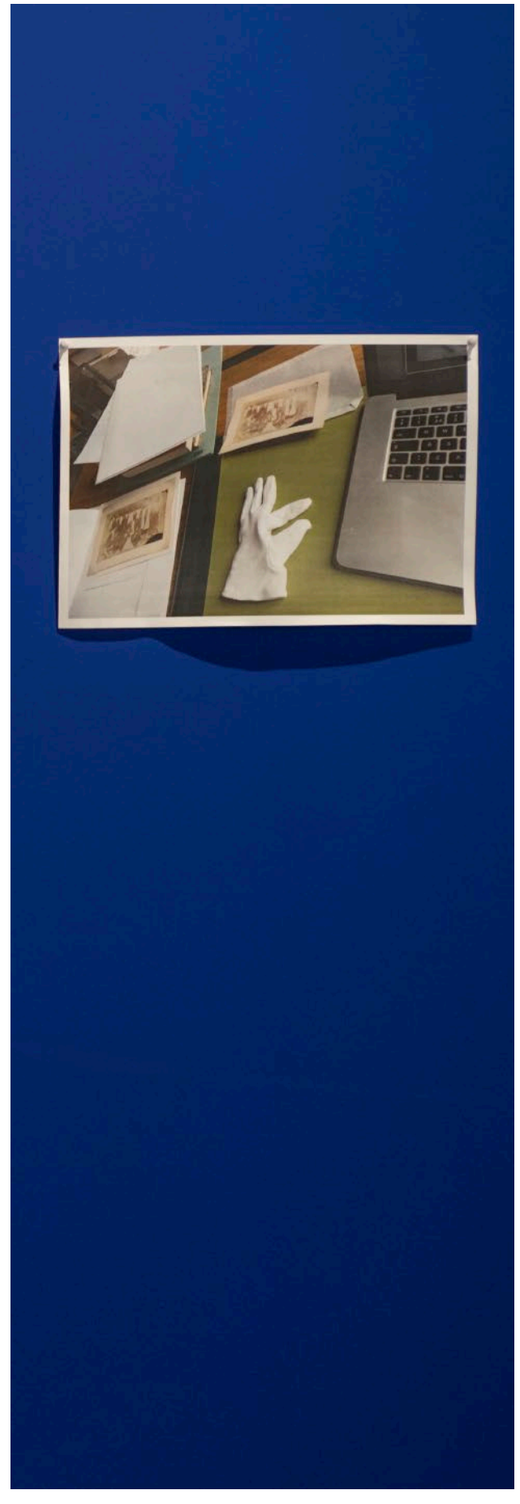
142 years ago, explorer Henry Morton Stanley takes a photograph of Kabaka (King) Muteesa (1837-1885) and his chiefs.
Muteesa's land lies on the northern shore of a body of water that we now call Lake Victoria, in a country that would later be named after his kingdom.
The three known vernacular prints of Stanley's photograph are part of a larger collection that was acquired by the King Baudouin Foundation. They are now in the collection of the Royal Museum for Central Africa in Tervuren, Belgium.

When, in Uganda, I broached the subject of this photograph, almost no one seemed to know about it. I considered this photograph to be relevant because of its age and its subject matter. While the photograph was unknown, everyone had seen pictures that interpreted it. I went in search of the stories attached to these interpretations and composed a sort of visual biography of Stanley's picture.

An engraving based on the photograph of Kabaka Muteesa and his chiefs can be found in a book about Stanley's journey through East Africa in 1875. Here, the faces of the men have been changed. They no longer look like Baganda (subjects of the king of Buganda), but instead resemble Arabs or Europeans. I believe that the reason is related to the image of Muteesa that Stanley wished to convey. The king was, he thought, the light of Africa: a man one could depend on to develop the continent. So, if my contention is correct, the men in the photograph were made to appear not so different from white British men: the latter would then be able to identify with Muteesa and his chiefs.

I invited Ugandan artists to make their own interpretations. The visual responses to my request vary from formal explorations of the photograph to sharp critiques of the way in which colonialism and globalism manifested themselves in the period when Muteesa received Stanley as a guest at his court.

Ebifananyi, Fomu Antwerp, October 2017 / February 2018



"We would have prefered to show one of the prints that are located in Belgium. However, various loan requests were not successful."

A letter about the use of Collective Making to investigate a historical photograph

Dear Prince Joseph Walugembe Musanje,
With this letter I humbly ask for another moment of your time and attention to take into account my attempts to understand photographs in Uganda.

For several years you existed for me simply as a man named "Prince Joseph", who was famous among the Baganda for his drawing of a portrait of Kabaka Muteesa I. Last year this superficial 'acquaintance' was extended when one of your descendants invited me to visit his family and add a portrait **of** you to the famous royal portrait produced **by** you.[217] I would like to share a hypothesis with you that I developed as a result of an investigation on the photograph that was produced by British explorer Henry Morton Stanley of Kabaka Muteesa I and his chiefs in 1875. The outcome of this investigation is presented in the last book in the *Ebifananyi* series, and your portrait of Kabaka Muteesa I has a prominent place in it.

The first half of the book traces the origin of the photograph and the pictures that were derived from it. In the second half of the book contemporary producers of pictures respond to the photograph and, in some cases, the historical interpretations of it that were familiar to them. I will come back to this collection of pictures and the place your portrait has among them, but first would like to give you more context for my investigation and the hypothesis that I think you might be able to shed some light on.
Towards the middle of the book, fragments of notes and memories tell the reader how my surprise about the initial lack of interest in the photograph by Ugandans led from one picture to another, slowly weaving a web of likenesses of Muteesa that relates to this one photograph. I draw this conclusion based on the light on Muteesa's face. The direction of the light produces a particular play of white spots and dark shadows that is repeated in all of the pictures.

Stanley's photograph does not carry details. The figures of the chiefs and the *Kabaka* in the picture consist of blurry shades of grey. Some of the chiefs are barely visible, either because they are behind their neighbours or because the photograph is badly damaged. All the interpretations that are shown in the book added detail to what the photograph shows.

Next to your drawing two other interpretations need to be mentioned. The first one is the engraving that appeared in Stanley's travel account. It fills part of the picture that is obscured by the damaged photograph, and adds details where the photograph has none.[218] Stanley's wife Dorothy, who was a Victorian artist, made the second one. The book does not only show the portrait Mrs Stanley made, but also a portrait her sister made of Stanley, his wife and their houseboy Sali. Despite the different angles on the faces it seems to me like Mrs Stanley took some inspiration from Sali's appearance and blended it with her interpretation of her husband's portrait of Kabaka Muteesa I.[219] The watercolour Mrs Stanley made shows a remarkable similarity to the drawing produced by you.[220]

217 See http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/8-ekifananyi-kya-muteesa-king-pictured-many/71/
218 http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/8-ekifananyi-kya-muteesa-king-pictured-many/29/
219 http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/8-ekifananyi-kya-muteesa-king-pictured-many/31/
220 The drawing appears several times in the book, this is one of them:
http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/8-ekifananyi-kya-muteesa-king-pictured-many/30/

In your drawing, and in Mrs Stanley's watercolour, Kabaka Muteesa I wears a richly decorated robe with a fez that has a tassel on the left side of the picture. The background of the reed fence and banana leaf in Mrs Stanley's picture is not there in yours. Kabaka Muteesa I's face is slightly wider in your picture and the tassels on the robe that are on the left in Mrs Stanley's picture, are on two sides in yours. Could it be the case that the drawing you made is a response to at least two, and maybe three existing pictures; Stanley's photograph, Mrs Stanley's watercolour and the engraving?

British journalist and writer of children's books Barbara Kimenye lived in Uganda in the 1950s. In her memoir she writes that you consulted old princesses who had known Kabaka Muteesa I to produce your portrait.
I have been wondering, would it be possible that they described a picture rather than a memory?[221] This has led me to question if your response to those pictures was an indirect one? But in any case you effectively re-appropriated a detail of the picture that Stanley made, that was then misinterpreted in the engraving in his book, and, if my assumption is right, blended with the appearance of a *mukopi*, a simply household help.[222]

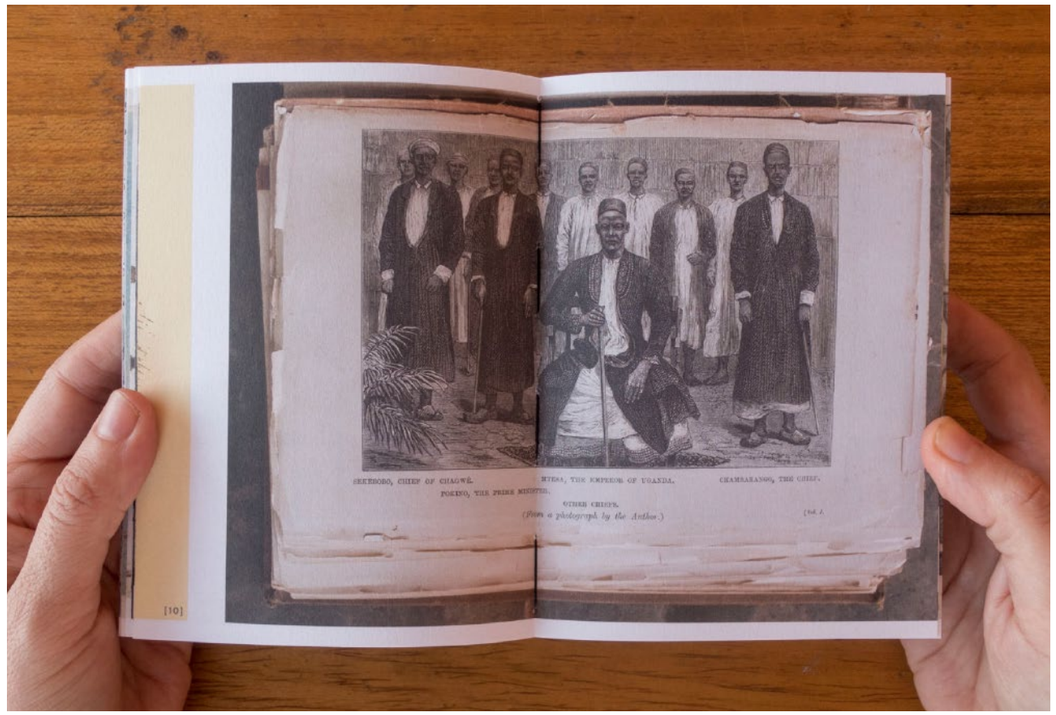
This reasoning reminds me of a letter that is up on the walls of the tourist information centre in The Lubiri.[223] The letter is attributed to and signed by Kabaka Muteesa I, and is said to have been written on the 14th of April 1875.[224] Your picture is added to the letter, and so is a photograph of Queen Victoria, who is its addressee. For two reasons I highly doubt that it was Kabaka Muteesa I who wrote this letter. Firstly the choice of words and tone of voice do not come across as originating from the 19th century, or from a man who had only started to acquaint himself with writing and with the English language. Secondly Stanley also wrote a letter on the same day and with a similar message, not mentioning a letter written by Kabaka Muteesa I. I would then argue that this document in The Lubiri is a newer statement, written in the form of a letter. It is based on the letter that Stanley wrote and other letters that are attributed to Kabaka Muteesa I and were published in a book with other important documents on the history of Buganda.[225] These letters have similarities in content: the former was written by Stanley, the man whose presence is generally thought of as the starting point of the colonisation of Buganda, and the latter includes crude phrases such as "I wish to be the friend of the white men, Therefore, hear my words which I say" [sic].[216] I imagine that neither of these phrases were a reflection of the identity being developed by the *Kabaka* of Bugunda at the time. It is as though this letter comments on the crudeness of the other letter and almost apologises for it in the following statement: "I write to you to prove our competence to communicate to you in all faith and confidence by which my country is judged to be on the same level with European countries."[227]

I would love to hear from you whether there or not there is some sense to my reasoning. If there is, then the portrait you made is simply the oldest interpretation of Stanley's photograph in the book that re-appropriates a Western gaze.

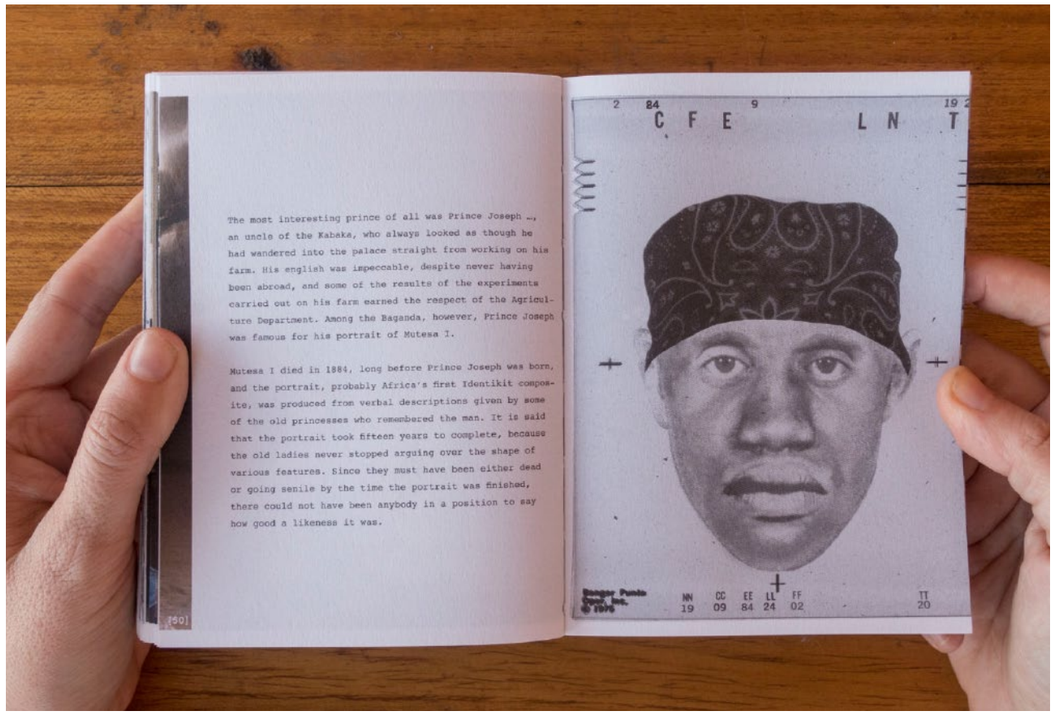
221 Kimenye, undated manuscript, p. 50. This and other fragment from the manuscript were published in the Ugandan newspaper the Monitor, October 2015. In *Ebifananyi* #8 the fragment can be found here:
http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/8-ekifananyi-kya-muteesa-king-pictured-many/124/
222 See the section of the discussion between Nathan Omiel and Robinah Nansubuga in *Ebifananyi* #4 on Bakopi (plural of Mukopi):
http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/4-simuda-nyuma-forward-ever-backward-never-based-images-ham-mukasa/73/
223 The Lubiri, generally referred to with the article 'the', is the royal enclosure in Mengo. It was established by Kabaka Muteesa I, and is still in use.
224 See p. 56 of this dissertation
225 Stanley (1875) and Low (1971). For the latter see p. 57 of this dissertation
226 Low (1971), p. 5 and p. 57 of this dissertation
227 See p. 55 of this dissertation

Ebifananyi #8 shows how likenesses can depict one subject, but speak about many different things. The pictures in the book are all responses to, and in most cases likenesses of, the photograph Stanley produced. Some of the pictures place Kabaka Muteesa I in the company of other powerful figures from past and present, whereas others play with and respond to its form. Within the context of the book they all critique the way history has been made accessible, and provide alternatives to pictures made by non-Ugandans. If I am along the right lines with my hypothesis, this is something you already did long ago - for which you cannot be thanked enough.

With best regards,
Andrea



***Ebifananyi* #8 spreads referenced in footnotes with the letter to Prince Walugembe Musanje**



See http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/8-ekifananyi-kya-muteesa-king-pictured-many/ for full version

Epilogue to chapter 4: Collective Making and the origins of *ebifananyi* / pictures in Buganda

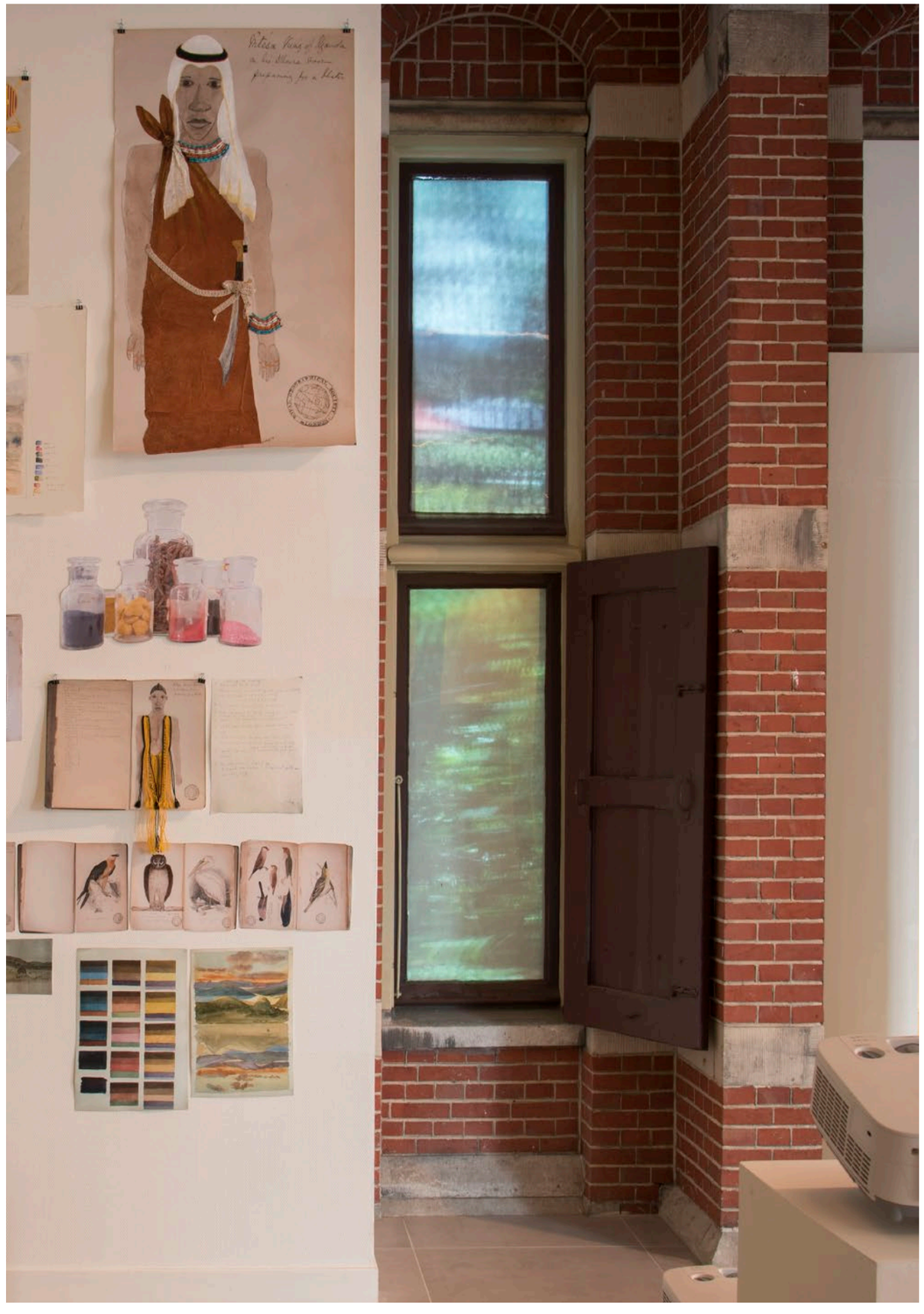
From the onset of the research project I wanted to work **with** photographs, rather than do research **about** them. Thinking of photographs as encounters made the people who own, or have an interest in them part of my artistic practice. While working with the collections of pictures that formed the basis of *Ebifananyi* #4 and #8 a research method was developed that builds on the idea of multivocality discussed in the previous chapter. Here, in addition to historical pictures and responses to them, numerous picture makers were invited to engage with and respond to existing images and pictures. I consider this to be a useful method to investigate historical documents that I have started to call Collective Making.

Translations from Luganda into English, interpretations from text into pictures and responses to one picture in another were produced through this method. These translations, interpretations and responses, although reflected through text as three separate categories, are by no means mutually exclusive concepts. They became connecting factors from which different cultural practices were brought into contact with one another. This can be seen, for instance, through the combination of Ham Mukasa's practice of historiography and the production and use of bark cloth (a material used by several of the artists in their response to *Ekifananyi Kya Muteesa*). As a result of this fusion between translations, interpretations and responses, each picture that was produced contributed to an understanding of the way in which the historical documents are understood in the present.

The correspondences presented in *Ebifananyi* #8 led to an awareness of the absence of pictures in Buganda until explorers and missionaries brought their photographs and illustrated bibles along with their sketchbooks and cameras.[228] The simultaneous introduction of intentionally produced referential visualities, which made their appearance elsewhere in distinct and documented moments in time (such as drawings and photographs) explains why there is only one linguistic concept for them.[229] The absence of pictures in 19th century Buganda, which is touched upon in *Ebifananyi* #4 and more explicitly brought forward in *Ebifananyi* #8, needs further study and this historical factor should be taken into account when thinking about present day visual culture and artistic practices in Uganda.

228 **Kakande (2008), p. 45**

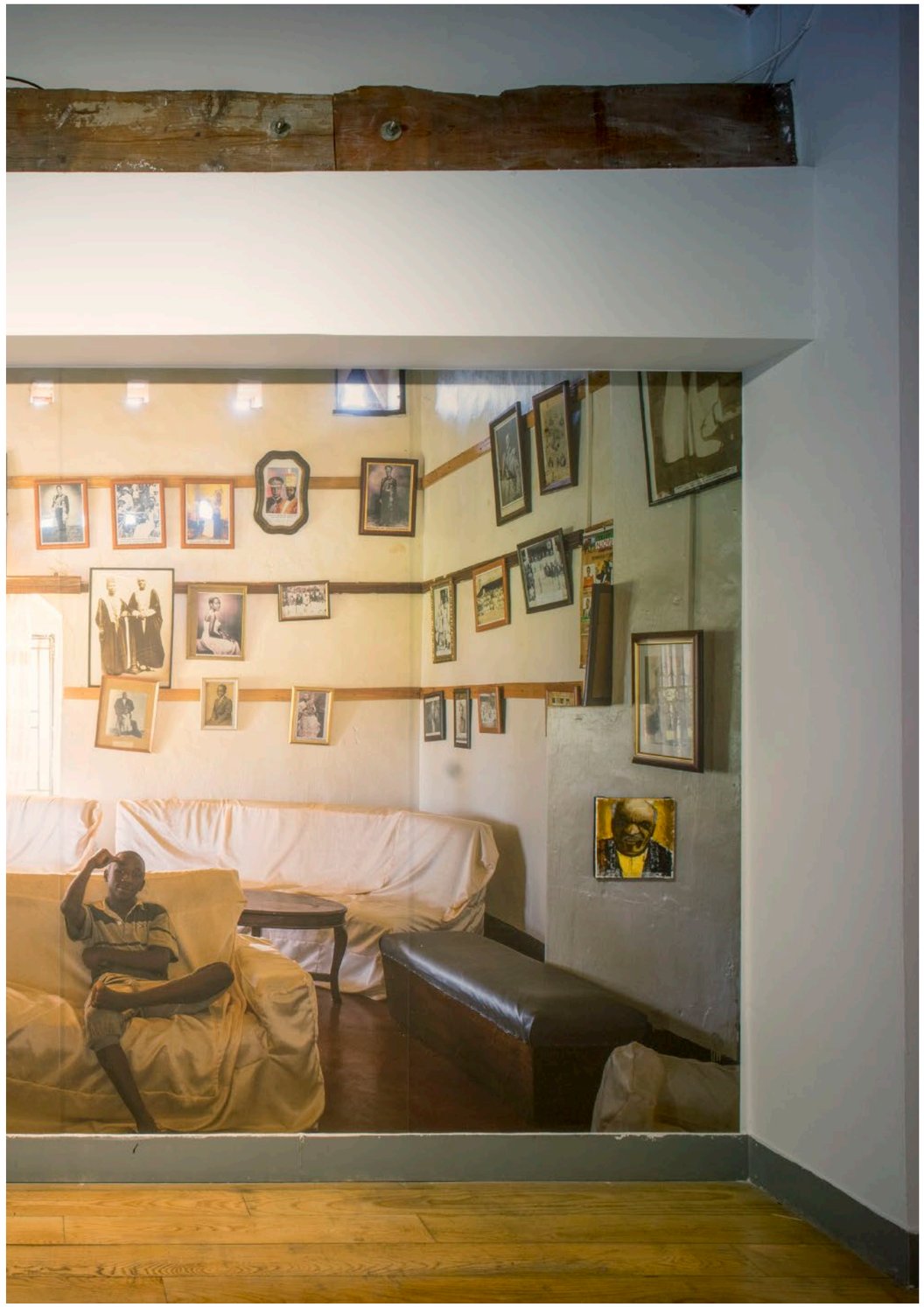
229 **For ideas on the relationship between the invention of photography and the development of the gaze through painting see Galassi, (1981), Batchen (2000), pp. 3-24. See Behrend (2013), p. 65 and chapters 4 and 10 for a discussion of relationships between photographs and other media prevalent on the East-African coast in an attempt to decentre Western versions of media history.**



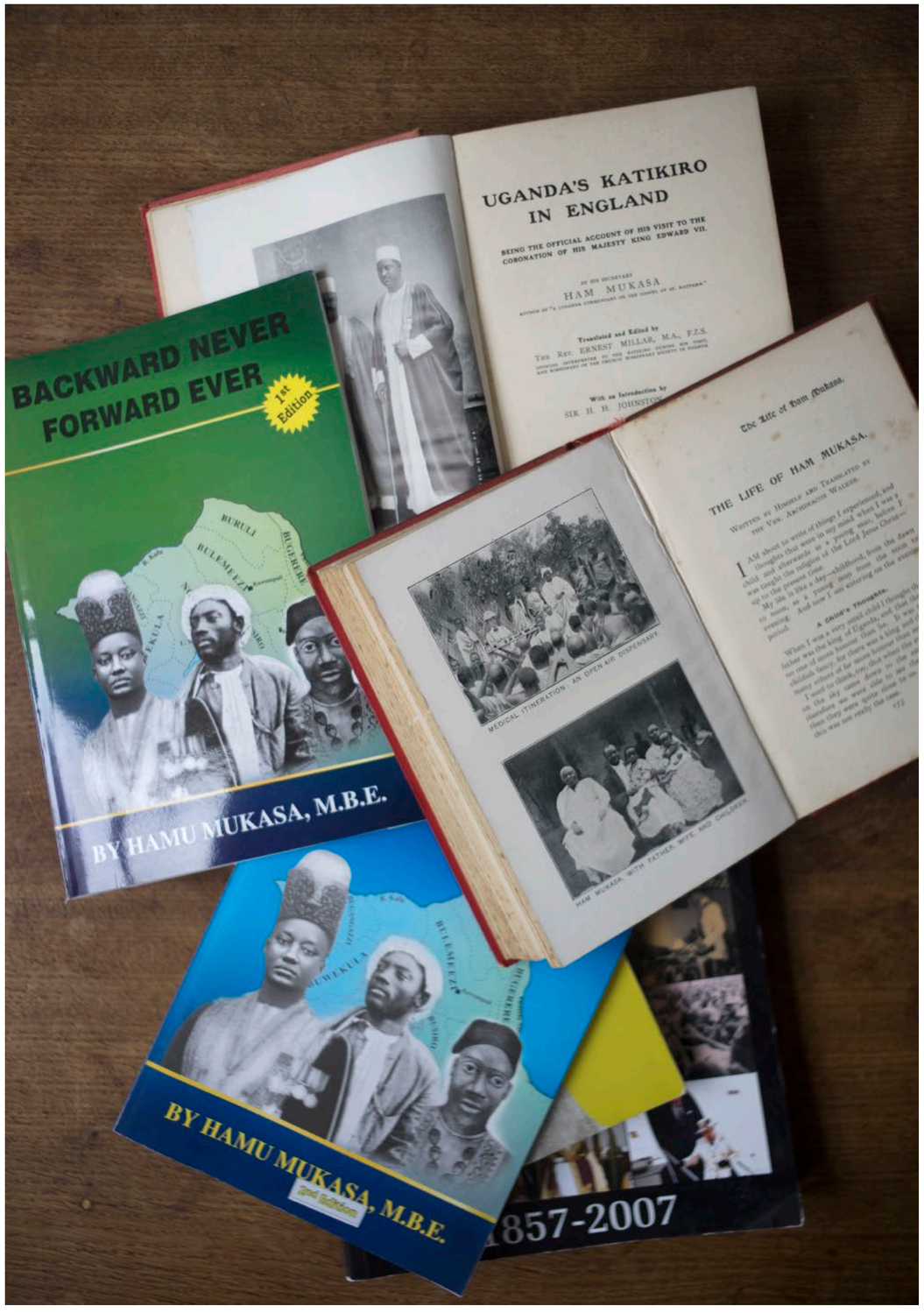
Presentation of ‘My Guide Through Africa’, on the ‘prehistory’ of the photograph Henry Morton Stanley made of Kabaka Muteesa I

Groningen, December 2017

Detail of *Ebifananyi*, Politics of Presentation



Thessaloniki Photobiennale, Capitalist Realistm - Past continuous, October 2018



Chapter 5

Unsolicited Correspondences

The previous chapters discussed solicited responses to the collections of photographs presented in this research project. The emphasis of this chapter is on the unsolicited responses to the books, each one of which has had an impact on my intentions and position. It argues the relevance of the *Ebifananyi* books as experiments without an anticipated outcome. Returning to Ingold, "In correspondence points are set in motion to describe lines that wrap around each other like melodies in counterpoint."[230] The "motion" of the "points", however, is not continuous. Other points enter into the movement; add a dissonant that may dissolve or change the "melody" all together.

The letter with *Ebifananyi* #5 is written to Engineer Wambwa,[231] on whose slides and autobiography the book is based. I expected the appropriation of existing photographs in my artistic practice to lead to critical and negative responses sooner or later. Engineer Wambwa's rejection of the book in an e-mail, written several months after it was published, nevertheless came as a surprise. I thought I had been careful and consistent
in explaining to him in e-mails the reasons behind why I had selected only fragments from his autobiography.
Engineer Wambwa's response made it obvious that I was wrong to assume I had done so, as the book
I made did not get close enough to fulfilling the dream of having his manuscript published. In the letter,
I respond to his objections.
The letter to Brother Anthony Kyemwa (*Ebifananyi* #6) follows several meetings that took place in 2012 and 2013 on the veranda in front of his room in one of the buildings of the congregation of the Brothers of Christian Instruction. Canon was present during these meetings and I therefore speak of 'us' and 'we'.[232]
Brother Anthony was a student at St. Mary's College Kisubi (SMACK) and trained as an art educator (and therefore as an artist) by Margaret Trowell in the 1950s; Trowell was an artist and the wife of a missionary doctor. She informally started to educate artists at her house, which eventually led to the foundation of the faculty of applied arts at Makerere University, that is still named after her.[233] Brother Anthony complained during our meeting of memory loss. Not long after our meeting he was diagnosed with Alzheimer's. The progression of the disease prevented further discussions about the history of the school and his photographs. Brother Anthony died in November 2017.[234]
Kizito Paul, the addressee of the letter on *Ebifanany* #7, is a former patient of the Uganda Cancer Institute (UCI). His face appears in the book. Other people who were photographed during the same period were anonymised by translating photographs into drawings. The letter explains why I did this and how the book answered two questions I had about the pile of photographs in which Kizito Paul's face appears.

230 Ingold (2013), p. 108
231 Engineer Wambwa was trained as an engineer and used the abbreviation of this title to sign his e-mails to me. It is therefore used when addressing him or speaking about him.
232 See https://vimeo.com/album/4863294/video/231497812, https://vimeo.com/album/4863294/video/231496161 and https://vimeo.com/album/4863294/video/231497015 for video documentation of one of these meetings. Links last accessed 25-09-2018
233 Peters-Klaphake (2017), Walukau-Wanambwa (2014)
234 Obituary in the Ugandan newspaper, New Vision, 26-11-2017: https://www.newvision.co.ug/new_vision/news/1466413/smack-alumni-honour-bro-kyemwa Last accessed 25-09-2018

Published March 2016

From the manuscript of Eng. Wambwa's autobiography

Introducing Engineer Wambwa

If Engineer Martin Wangutusi Wambwa (1928) had not been able to become an engineer, then he would have chosen a career as a writer and photographer. He is one of the first Ugandan engineers to be trained in the West. Engineer Wambwa works as a city planner in the Ugandan capital of Kampala and in Mbale in the east of the country. He produced a series of colour slides in the 1960s, which was quite unusual at the time, as most photographs were black-and-white. These slides provide an optimistic and literally colourful image of the years immediately following Ugandan independence.

Mary Khisa, Engineer Wambwa's youngest daughter, thought that I might be interested in her father's collection. She brought me to Mbale, where Engineer Wambwa told me that he had burned his photographic negatives just a few months earlier. An acquaintance had advised him to do this since what might happen if the pictures fell into the wrong hands? He had not burned the colour slides but cherished them, which suggests he attributed different values to them.[235]

I looked at modern Kampala with the photographs of Engineer Wambwa on my mind. In the 1960s, he photographed an urban environment under development. Kampala was growing quickly and organically as so many African cities.

Artist Canon Griffin[236] *documents the city as it is today. He lives on a busy road near Makerere University, the oldest such institution in East-Africa.*

[235] **Engineer Wambwa told me that the decision to burn the negatives was the result of a comment made by a visitor. See the introduction to *Ebifananyi* #5: http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/5-uhuru-minor-accidents-eng-m-w-wambwa/4/**

[236] **See p. 17 of this dissertation**

Printed version of the manuscript of Eng. Wambwa's autobiography, Mbale, 2015

Ebifananyi, Fomu Antwerp, October 2017 / February 2018

A letter in which I apologise for the choices made

Dear Engineer Wambwa,
I hope that this letter finds you in good health and spirit. While I sit in my garden and enjoy a couple of warm Dutch spring days, I finally found the proper state of mind to reflect on your response to *Ebifananyi* #5.

The book is the result of an introduction made by Mary, because she heard about my interest in historical photographs and knew about your collection of slides. Mary and I met through a mutual friend in Kampala, and it is a pleasure to currently be working with her and her architectural skills towards an exhibition that is scheduled for August. I visited you accompanied by Mary, with Canon, or alone in the year following our introduction. You gave me access to the manuscript of your autobiography that I recognised as a unique document in itself. We spoke about the slides you kindly allowed me to digitise, but it was hard for you to answer my questions due to challenges you had with your eyesight. Details of photographs could not be identified when you looked at them on a computer screen. If I zoomed in digitally, the picture as a whole was lost. Certain passages of the manuscript, however, connected to the scenes I saw on the slides. I felt these two different sources provided a unique opportunity to connect your personal history to collective memory and my interest in photographs in Uganda.

In the periods between my visits we exchanged e-mails in which I told you about what I was doing. With the last e-mail I sent before the book was printed, you received a digital version of the design. Almost two years have passed since we celebrated the launch of the book, first publicly at Makerere University in Mary's presence, then privately with your wife in your home in Mbale. In the months that followed these events I received e-mail messages in which you rejected the book and questioned my choices and intentions. I replied with a brief but sincere apology and referred to the earlier e-mails in which I tried to inform you of my intentions. I did not go into the matter in more detail, which is what I intend to do in this letter by describing and evaluating the book and some of the other responses to it.

The slides and the manuscript were the materials from which I started to work towards the book. The slides were all made in the 1960s, in the period just before - and the years following - Uganda's independence. Within the collections of photographs that I have encountered in Uganda, this collection was (and still is) unusual because of the quantity of the slides and the preservation of the colours.[237] The manuscript covers your whole life, with an admirable amount of detail on several topics, including your personal life, your career as an engineer, Ugandan politics in a global perspective and the Catholic Church in Uganda. It was unfortunately impossible for me to fulfil your dream to publish the manuscript. I do however stick to my promise to support the continuing efforts Mary and her sister are making towards this end, as the manuscript is clearly an account that would be relevant for many to read.

[237] **Compare, for instance, the slides in *Ebifananyi* #5, with those in *Ebifananyi* #3: http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/3-tricks-elly-rwakoma/65/, or this set of (mass produces) slides on the Uganda Martyrs, that was also part of Eng. Wambwa's collection: http://www.hipuganda.org/collection/martyrs-of-uganda-a-set-of-slides**

I enjoyed reading the manuscript and proposed to use fragments from it to give context to the slides. These fragments are centred around Uganda's independence or, in the Swahili word you use in your manuscript, *Uhuru*. I hoped that the text fragments I selected would help the reader of the book to see the pictures as resulting from your particular view on Uganda's past. Your writing and slides made it possible to address an important period of time beyond, but not disconnected from the often-told political history. On that note I will now go to through the structure of the book.

The cover of the book has a title, a subtitle, and your name on it. The choice for the title, *Uhuru*, is obvious. The subtitle "minor accidents" is ambiguous and could lead to misunderstandings. In my memory I literally quoted the words from your manuscript. I thought that they were part of a section on your driving career, but I checked, and my memory has failed me. You make mention of "a few accidents involving slight damage", but do not use the phrase "minor accidents".[238] Here is what I think happened.

While I was reading the manuscript and selecting fragments for the book, I shared quotes with Canon to hear his thoughts. He pointed out how history is, like your driving career, characterised by 'accidents' that are meaningful to some and of relative importance to others. Events that make it into history books (such as *Uhuru* and Idi Amin's economic war), obviously have consequences, but can at the same time be inconsequential for people whose voices are rarely heard. Canon's remark made sense to me. It resonated with the way you made clear that your father's circumcision coincided with the Russian revolution, the introduction of cars and a great famine in the region.[239] Your remark that "to the village folk the importance of *Uhuru* [was only understood] in the context of reduced taxes" supported it too.[240] I take history to be a particular view of the past that is constructed by those who are part of the infrastructure that makes it possible for their voice to be heard. For those outside of this infrastructure and this particular view historical events may be "minor accidents", and vice versa.

I do remember feeling unsure about whether using "minor accidents" would be appropriate or not, but was convinced by Canon that it was a relevant, albeit slightly provocative title.

The pictures on the first sixteen pages of the book introduce the slides and time period they originate from. The cardboard in which the slides are framed is partially visible and gives presence to the materiality of the slides. The information that was printed on these frames is included to the left of the picture.[241] The first two pictures show independence arches, which takes us back to the moment of *Uhuru*. In the second slide the arch has the year 1962 on it. The following slides are dated on the cardboard and presented in chronological order. The last photograph in the sequence is dated May 1965 and shows a roundabout with a "road closed" sign.[242] This picture is meant to be a metaphor that foreshadows the dramatic events that end the next section of the book.

[238] **http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/5-uhuru-minor-accidents-eng-m-w-wambwa/30/ A check with the full manuscript confirmed that the words are not Engineer Wambwa's.**
[239] **http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/5-uhuru-minor-accidents-eng-m-w-wambwa/30/**
[240] **http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/5-uhuru-minor-accidents-eng-m-w-wambwa/42/**
[241] **http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/5-uhuru-minor-accidents-eng-m-w-wambwa/5/ and following pages**

Pages with text fragments and photographs alternate in this next section.[243] The pictures are black and white to distinguish them from the slides. They show fragments of the interior of your home and reproductions of pages from your photo albums to give an idea of the context in which you wrote your manuscript. The text consists of fragments from the first 166 pages of the manuscript. Your words take the reader from aspects of the culture and time in which you grew up, through your educational path, to the years around independence in which you were a young professional and one of the first Western trained Ugandan engineers. The last text fragment is your account of the attack on the Buganda palace by President Obote in which the 1966 Kabaka crisis culminated.[244] You describe the event as a turning point in which the optimism following independence changed into a period of struggle. This text seemed important in two ways; you identify a turning point in history and give the reader an idea of how this turning point related to your everyday life.
The first spread after this section of the book reminds us of *Uhuru* in pictures of an independence parade.[245] Your slides are now presented in a black frame and alternate throughout the remainder of the book with photographs made by three contemporary photographers. Their pictures respond to your slides and add other views to it.

Dutch photographer Luuk van den Berg did not visit the African continent before taking up my invitation to contribute to this project. He photographed on black and white film, which brings some confusion to the book because for many people black and white photographs relate to a more distant past compared to colour photographs.[246] This was a deliberate strategic choice which I adopted to cause slight confusion in an attempt to invite active viewing of photographs.
Sudanese photographer Elsadig Mohamed was familiar with other cities in the region, but had not yet been to Kampala or Uganda. He explored the past that is visible on the slides by making out of focus photographs, based on a curiosity on when and how the fuzzy shapes this strategy produced would still refer to a particular place.[247]
Canon has been photographing Kampala extensively ever since he moved there in 2010. His contributions to the book are digitally constructed photographs that transform places you photographed in the 1960s into what he calls "tunnels and planets with holes in the world".[248]

The idea was that each one of these modes of photographic depiction of reality was so different from the other ones, including yours, that none of them could be taken for granted.
The book closes with pictures of the national independence monument by Gregory Maloba who, in your words, "described new Uganda as a child growing out of bonds".[249] The monument is shown, as other places before, in different ways; a colour slide from the 1960s, an out of focus photograph by Elsadig Mohamed and a "planet" by Canon.[250] The text on the back of the book, finally, is a direct quote from your manuscript and connects photographic documentation to progress in your country.

242 **http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/5-uhuru-minor-accidents-eng-m-w-wambwa/14/**
243 **http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/5-uhuru-minor-accidents-eng-m-w-wambwa/15/**
244 **http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/5-uhuru-minor-accidents-eng-m-w-wambwa/50/**
245 **http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/5-uhuru-minor-accidents-eng-m-w-wambwa/51/**
246 **http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/5-uhuru-minor-accidents-eng-m-w-wambwa/57/**
247 **See http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/5-uhuru-minor-accidents-eng-m-w-wambwa/68/ and previous pages**
248 **http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/5-uhuru-minor-accidents-eng-m-w-wambwa/60/ and http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/5-uhuru-minor-accidents-eng-m-w-wambwa/61/**
249 **http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/5-uhuru-minor-accidents-eng-m-w-wambwa/40/ Maloba is also the sculptor who made a bust of Ham Mukasa (*Ebifananyi* #4: http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/4-simuda-nyuma-forward-ever-backward-never-based-images-ham-mukasa/51/, right hand page) that is now part of the permanent display at The Uganda Museum.**
250 **http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/5-uhuru-minor-accidents-eng-m-w-wambwa/135/ and following pages**

As I hope I have shown, the different elements of the book do connect to each other, and add up to a whole in which your photographs and fragments from your manuscript give access to a period in Ugandan history that is usually told in terms of power and politics.

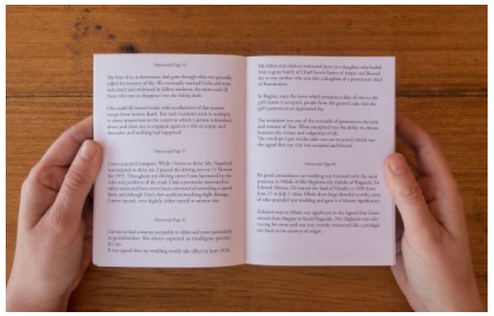
The launch of *Ebifananyi* #5 was accompanied by two versions of an exhibition titled "City Remixing." The first one took place at Makerere University, the second one in the gallery of the art school in the Netherlands where I teach. These exhibitions gave a kaleidoscopic view of the development of the city, as documented by you in the 1960s, the three photographers who contributed to the book in 2015, and missionary doctor Schofield in the 1920s and 1930s.[251] In addition a monumental print of an areal photograph of Kampala reached from ceiling to floor. At the Makerere show this photograph led to musings on the development of the infrastructure of the city.[252] I think that this photograph is from the 1960s, but so far it is still not conclusively dated. I am sure that, had your eyesight not bothered you, your knowledge of the development of Kampala would have settled the matter easily.

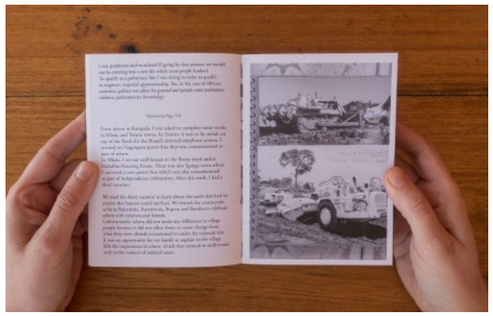
An evening of discussion around a campfire or *ekyoto* was organised with the Makerere exhibition.[253] About forty people attended the event. Most of them were artists or art students at the university. Mary and I shared our favourite fragments from your text with the audience. I chose the last page on the Kabaka crisis. I assumed that Ugandans would instantly know that these words and the date, May 24th,1966, referred back to the attack on the palace. I was curious how the crowd would respond to your particular rendering of the event.
The current president of the UPC[254] was the one person who was familiar with the event. It turned out that I had overestimated the historical knowledge and collective memory of the *ekyoto* crowd.

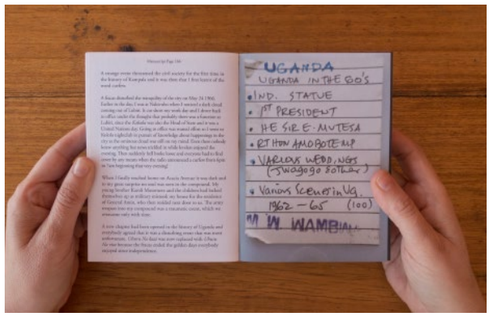
It is painful, but I have to come to the conclusion that *Ebifananyi* #5 is a failure in at least two ways. Firstly, because I misjudged how the book's content resonates with collective memory in Uganda. It so happened that coincidental encounters with documents on Uganda's past, such as your manuscript, resulted in an almost accidental knowledge of Ugandan history on my side. I started to take this knowledge for granted. However, going from the experience at the *ekyoto*, the events you describe are not part of the history that young, relatively highly educated Ugandans know and feel connected to. It looks as though the Ugandan and non-Ugandan audiences share their outsider position to the history that is presented in the book, which makes the dialogue between text and pictures much weaker within the Ugandan context than I expected it to be.[255]
Secondly, the book is a failure because you no longer feel presented by the book in an appropriate way, however, I have explained in this letter how the book is set up and hope that this does contribute to an understanding on your side of what I tried to do. Beyond that I am afraid that the only thing I can do now is to apologise and learn.

With best regards,
Andrea

251 **Documentation of the two shows can be found here: http://www.andreastultiens.nl/exhibition/city-remixing-_-kampala/ and here: http://www.andreastultiens.nl/exhibition/city-remixing-nl/**
252 **See https://vimeo.com/161904324**
253 ***Ekyoto* has connotations that relate the fire to oral history, a meeting place for serious discussion and traditional rituals.**
254 **The UPC is the Uganda People's Congress, the party of former President Milton Obote, who ordered the attack of the palace.**
255 **This confirms the remark made by Eria Nsubuga, mentioned in the letter to Ham Mukasa in chapter 4.**

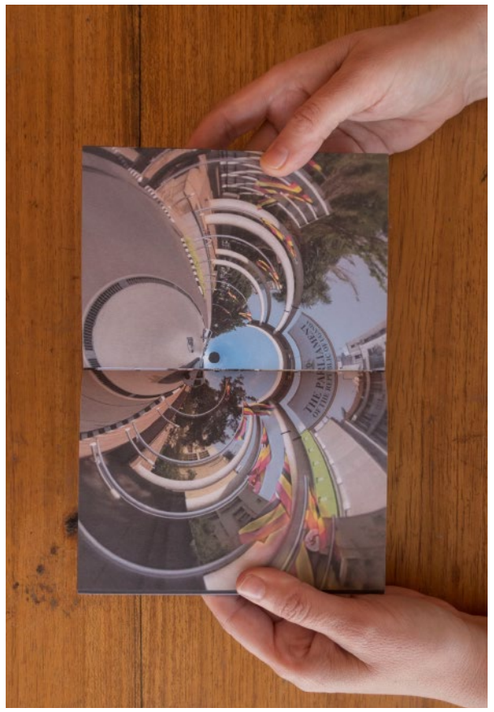






Ebifananyi #5 spreads referenced in footnotes with the letter to Engineer Wambwa

See http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/5-uhuru-minor-accidents-eng-m-w-wambwa/ for full version



Published August 2016

From a conversation with Brother Anthony Kyemwa

Introducing St. Mary's College Kisubu

St. Mary's College in Kisubi (SMACK) was founded in 1906 by the White Fathers. It is one of the oldest Catholic missionary schools in Uganda.
In 1926, the White Fathers transferred the management of the school to the Brothers of Christian Instruction, a religious education organisation that was founded in the early 19th century.
The friars still play an important role in the educational programme and organisation of the school. Only boys with very high grades at the end of their primary education are admitted. The expectation is that you will do well in life if you study here.

Denis Kalyango, Deo Kyakulagira's son, took me to the school and the adjacent friary. Considering the history of the school and its prominent status, he believed that it would have a collection of photographs. The brother in charge of the archive initially did not want to just hand us everything on a plate, but he did let us in.
My heart beat faster when I found a set of negatives hidden among a huge stack of printed photographs. Since they were negatives, it was not possible to instantly see what was depicted and they appeared to have no value for the brother. I was allowed to take them to the Netherlands to digitise them and then bring them back afterwards.
The negatives were mainly of missionaries and schoolboys.
Through these pictures, I learned that a group of Canadian missionaries travelled to Uganda in the early 1940s to work at the Catholic boy's school. The men produced photographs of the boat and the train on their journey and then of their new life.

In the building where biology is taught, there are a great number of insects. The dead creatures are packed into drawers and boxes. I was enchanted by the butterflies. They embody freedom but have been pinned down and classified for almost a century. Elsewhere in the school I saw massive picture frames. From each one, dozens of boys stare into the lens. The arrangement of the boys and that of the butterflies is similar: it is an encyclopaedic method of presentation. This Western concept was first used by the Swedish botanist Linnaeus in the 18th century as a method of classifying nature. The system still has a profound impact on how we think about knowledge and knowledge transfer.

When the publication of the school collection was presented, Daniel Omara, deputy editor- in-chief of the annual school magazine, approached Canon and me. He wanted to rephotograph[256] some of the historical photographs and publish them in the next issue of the magazine.

256 **Rephotography is a rather selfexplanatory term used to signify the remaking of an existing photograph as precisely as possible at a later time. See Klett et al (2004)**

Photograph made during meeting with Brother Anthony Kyemwa, first Ugandan Headmaster of St. Mary's College Kisubi, 1969-1980, July 2012

The only remake for the school magazine based on a photograph published in *Ebifananyi* #6 , November 2016

SMACK

Duc In Altum

MAGAZINE

THE EAGLE 2016

Campus

HISTORY IN PROGRESS @ SMACK 110

In 2012, Canon Griffin (Uganda) and Andrea Stultiens (Netherlands), both artists, were advised to visit SMACK and the Brothers of Christian instruction, because they had been looking for and digitising photo collections in Uganda. They do this under the name History In Progress Uganda (HIP).

HIP aims to make photographic materials on Uganda's history available to various audiences. But it also wants to collect information related to those materials and to develop books and exhibitions with and about them. These books and exhibitions are developed in collaborations between Andrea Stultiens and a wide variety of other image makers and artists. In these collaborations, the number of potential meanings of - and stories attached to the photographs are expanded, which does justice to the versatility of photographic pictures, not in what they show, but in how they can be read, used and given meaning.

HIP spoke to SMACK's first Ugandan headmaster, Brother Anthony Kyemwa, who has an extensive personal photo collection and worked with the late Brother Kizza, who was running the archive room of the brothers at the time. Both collections were digitised. Based on the etymological collection of the school, a set of negatives dating back to the 1940s, and the 'Facebooks' with portraits of students, a book was developed. The different source materials are presented in a sequence with photographs made at SMACK in 2013 and 2014, and the story of the unfortunate accident in which 12 SMACK students died in 1964, told by eye witness Eng. Walusimbi.

During St. Mary's day 2016, the book on SMACK, titled with the school motto, was launched at the school, and a week later at the Uganda Museum. The book can be bought at the SMACK art room, or in Kampala at the Uganda Society (building of Uganda Museum) or AfriArt Gallery, both in Kamwokya.

The Eagle Magazine caught up with Andrea Stultiens during the SMACK 110 Feast Day Celebrations at the college as she launched the DUC IN ALTUM photo collection. She introduced us to Canon Griffin Rumanzi, one enthusiastic artist whose impressive views and concepts of nature and the world will leave you in need of more.

We shared with Andrea the idea of reposing for some selected photographs in the DUC IN ALTUM Collection and she was genuinely interested in how it all works out.

Because she was always on the move, she delegated Canon to work with us on the project.

We then identified the original locations where the photos were taken from plus the students with the physique that most closely resembled our brothers in the photographs.

We made the right schedules with Canon and at the end of this experience, we have these comparison to share with you;

SMACK

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several photo collections that led to thinking that the now digital information would not be of much use just sitting on my heard drive. When discussing this with Canon Griffin we came up with HIPUganda.

2. When did HIP Uganda start its activities and How many institutions have you worked with?

August 2011. And not sure... But they include the National Theatre, National Archive, Gayaza High School, the Uganda Society, the Ham Mukasa Foundation and the Uganda Cancer Institute.

3. In your engagement with SMACK, do you have any exceptionally unique experience? If so, what amused you?

I loved attending some Biology classes that included practicals and wish I would have been taught Biology like that. I also love the setup of the Biology class rooms, that, when I walked in for the first time made me imagine a Ugandan Harry Potter sequel.

4. To what extent are the works of HIP Uganda recognized and appreciated around the world?

That you should ask 'the world' and not me...

5. What parting thoughts and advice do you offer to any student with a heart and interest in photography and artistic expression?

Keep asking questions, do not ever be sure you know what you see.

In case you want to know more about Canon, I can tell you. Well, during the course of our project, I realized that Canon actually likes SMACK rice, posho, beans and beef more than any other delicacy that Kampala hotels and restaurants can offer. In his perspective about nature, he believes such meals that are prepared in large excess amounts bear within them a natural unique freshness and the accompanying comfort that at least 1000 more people are sharing with you the same taste.

I am definitely considering a longer experience with art and photography after this with Andrea Stultiens and Canon Rumanzi.

Daniel Omara
Deputy Editor-in-Chief

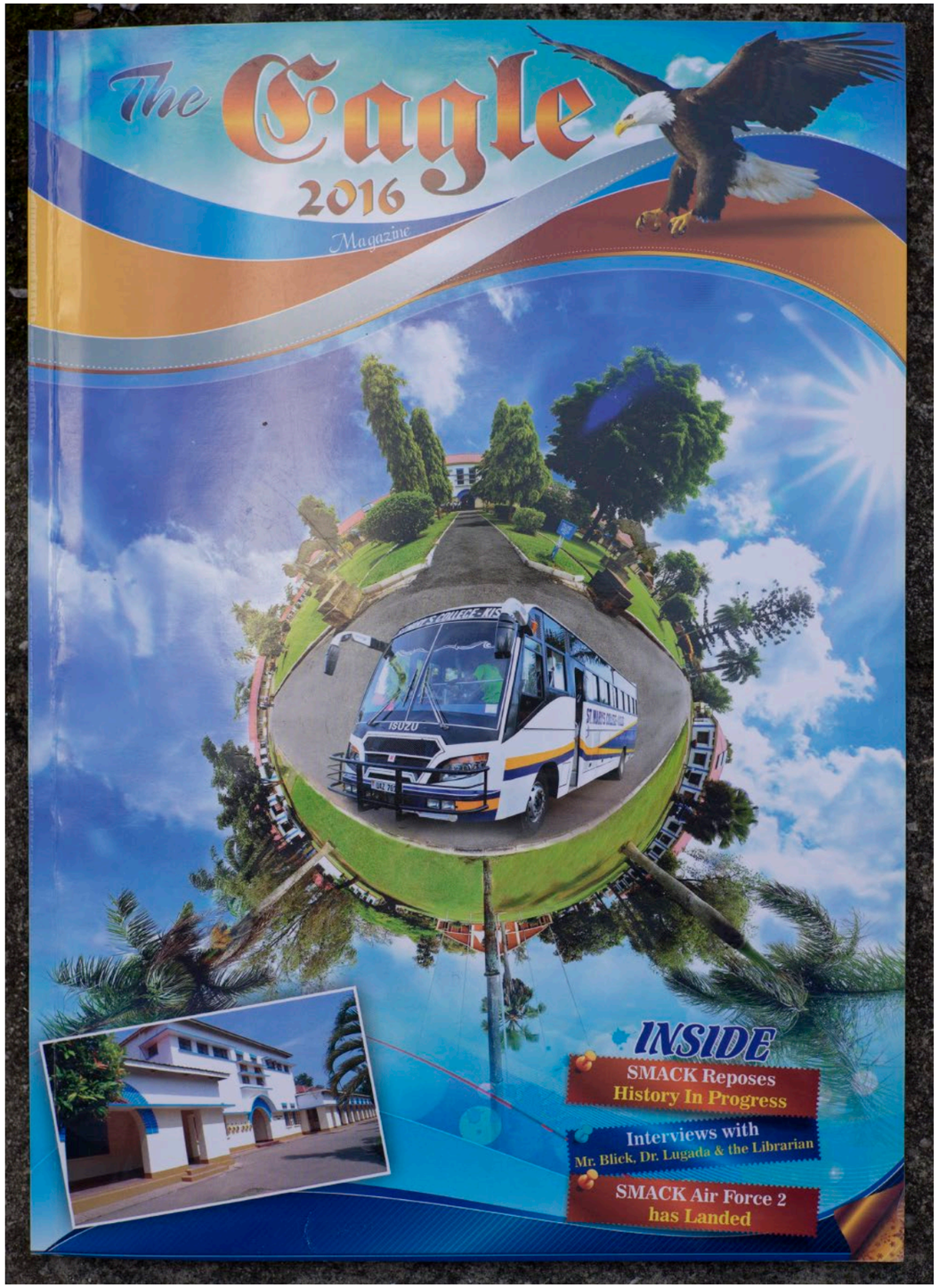
To satisfy our anxiety, and that we knew you too would experience, we asked Andrea just these five (5) questions which I'm sure respond adequately to your anxiety.

1. What inspired the inception of HIP Uganda?

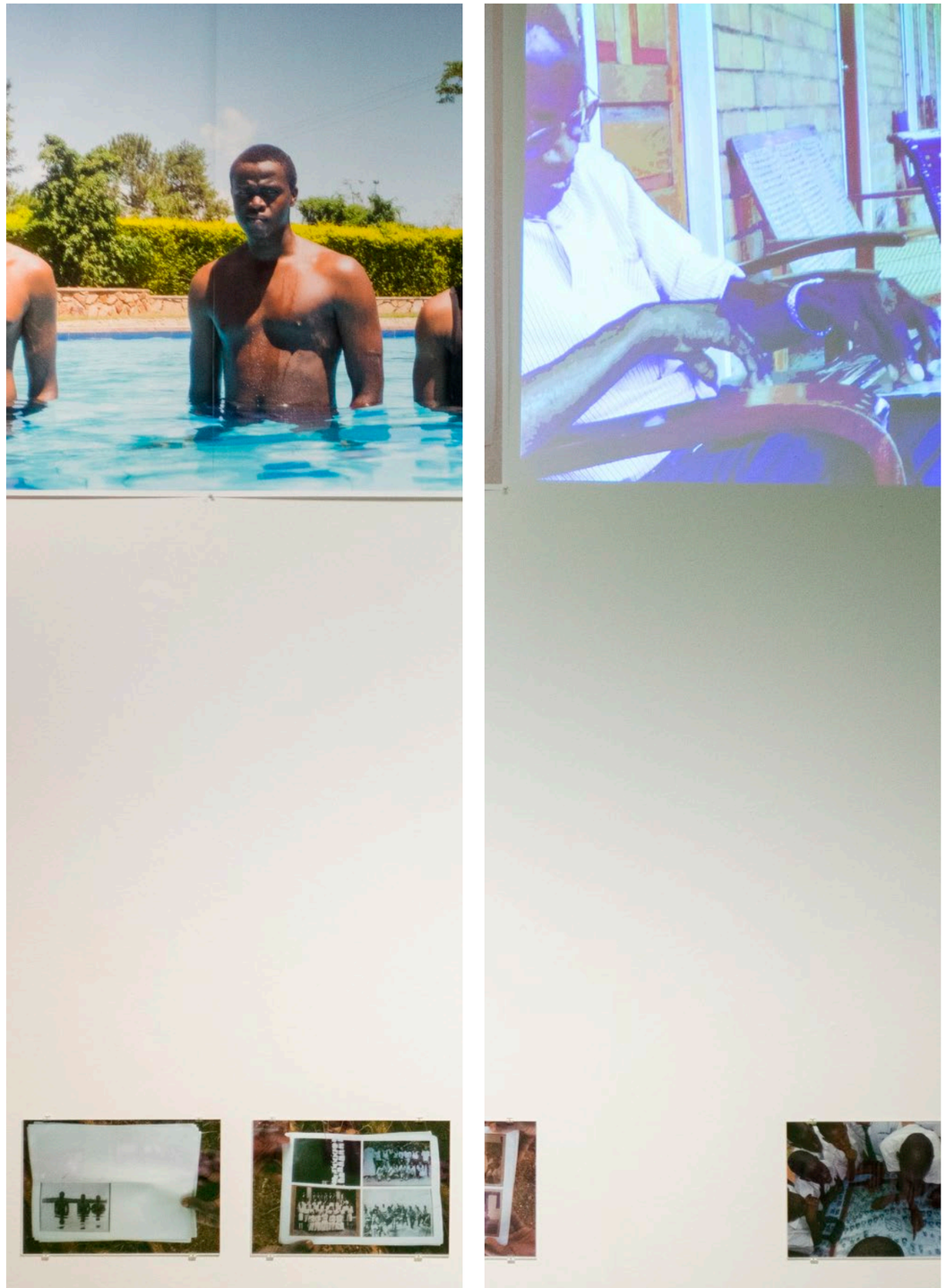
An interest in everyday life in Uganda that led to the at least partial misconception that this could be learned from historical photographs that led to the digitisation of

This and following pages, St. Mary's College Kisubi annual school magazine 2016

See http://www.hipuganda.org/blog/reposes-of-smacks-photographic-heritage



Published 2017, re-photographs and “little planet with school bus” by Canon Griffin



Ebifananyi, Fomu Antwerp, October 2017 / February 2018

A letter about what happened as a result of the choices made

Dear Brother Anthony,
Years have passed since the last time we met, and the memories of the afternoon during which we looked at your albums are dear to me.[257] It saddens me that it is not possible to hand the book I made about SMACK to you in person and this letter is a meagre substitute for what could have been. I would nevertheless like to make use of this opportunity to reflect on the making of the book, and what happened after it was launched, with you in mind.

The experiences of going through photographs with you and with Brother Kizza, who at the time took care of the archive room of the congregation, were strikingly different. You generously shared stories and connected photographs to each other and to your life. In contrast, Brother Kizza was rather protective of the identities of the people on the photographs, which surprised me because most of the photographs were made at public functions, and some had been published in newspapers with captions that identified them. You obviously had different relations with the material. You spoke about your own albums, Brother Kizza took care of photographs that came from personal sources and were now institutionalised.

In the archive room I came across an envelope with black and white 6x9 negatives, and noticed the cabinet with entomological specimens, which led to the much larger collection of insects in the school's biology lab. During a meeting with the head master I saw large frames with groups of graduate students and faculty in his office. My admiration for these frames led to a tour around the school. I photographed the frames, which I started to call 'face books' and the spaces they were in.[258]

The pictures on the negatives, the biology lab with its butterflies, and the 'face books' became the main ingredients for the book. The story you told us about the tragic accident with the students in 1964 is what gives the content in the book particularity and a connection to the politics in which the school operated.[259]

With Brother Kizza's concern about the privacy of the people on the photographs in mind, it came as a surprise that he instantly gave permission to take the negatives to the Netherlands for digitisation. I was thrilled by the find because negatives are closer to the actual production of a photograph rather than an interpretation in the way that prints are.

Quite a number of the pictures on the negatives show members of the congregation, traveling to Kisubi by boat and train. Others reveal scenes from everyday life at the school, and explorations of the region. Thanks to framed photographs up on the walls in the archive room one of the men could be identified as former SMACK head master Ambrosius Meek, which dates the negatives to the second half of the 1940s. Is that the period in which you were a student at the school?

257 **See links in footnote 225**
258 **The photographs of the head master's office:**
http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/6-duc-altum-dive-deep-st-marys-college-kisubi/63/
259 **See link in footnote 247 for Brother Kyemba's account of the event and the section of the book starting from this page:**
http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/6-duc-altum-dive-deep-st-marys-college-kisubi/85/ for another one.

The opening and closing sections of the book are made of the same brown paper as the cover. The pictures on these pages are printed with white and black ink. This way of printing is an attempt to create an experience for the reader of the book that is somewhat similar to trying to figure out what was photographed while looking at the negatives. The appearance of the pictures has some resemblance with the silver residue on the old negatives. People who shared the experience of handling this type of negative with me understood what I was referring to, but these were all Europeans. Some people made the remark that they were looking at negative pictures, and others still were simply annoyed that they had to "strain their eyes" in order to see what was depicted.[260]

The opening sequence of the book shows scenes in which Ambrosius Meek and his companions travel to Uganda towards Kisubi.[261] Before the brown papers changes to white we have arrived with them at the school. On the last photograph in the book, again printed in white and black on brown paper, Ambrosius Meek stands in front of an airplane.[262] I took this to be an appropriate farewell picture.

The inner section of the book takes the reader back and forth between pictures from the negatives, the biology lab and the 'face books' with their context. I hoped to give the reader and idea of SMACK's rich past as well as of the prestige the school has in present day Uganda.

While I was working towards the book I also heard and read critical views on education in Uganda. Friends told me how misguiding the curriculum was, which, for one of them led to the remark that he had been "miss-educated" at SMACK. Connie Nshemereirwe, who is a consultant in education in Uganda, wrote that formal education was set up during colonial times as "a means by which the colonial machinery trained low-level clerical staff".[263] And an article on the early years of Makerere College, by historian Nizar Motani even speaks "educational retardation" to type the inadequacy of the colonial administration in response to the need for educated Africans in the colony.[264]

The book then is a celebration of SMACK as an admirable institute with an impressive past, but also tries to raise questions on the system of missionary education that my friends and these authors refer to. It does this by alternating the photographs of the boys and the butterflies, resulting in a structure that is meant to be a metaphor for the involuntary submission of both boys and butterflies to the educational and taxonomical systems that were imposed on them by outsiders.

While I was designing the book, Ugandan and British friends, all of them living in Uganda and working in the arts, gave me feedback. There was a remarkable difference between their responses. The British friends felt I was too critical. While I do not recall what their exact reasoning was the rejection was obvious. The Ugandans, however, expressed their support for the conversation this juxtaposition tried to bring up. This was something, they felt, that needed to be said and spoken about. As a result of these two contradicting responses I tweaked the design. The alternation between boys and butterflies became less rigid but is still present.

260 **See this review by Ugandan author and blogger Joel Ntwatwa:**
http://nevender.com/just-read-ebifananyi-6-duc-altum-dive-deep-st-marys-college-kisubi/ Last accessed 25-09-2018
261 **http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/6-duc-altum-dive-deep-st-marys-college-kisubi/5/ and following pages**
262 **http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/6-duc-altum-dive-deep-st-marys-college-kisubi/134/**
263 **Nshemereirwe (2016). Also see Bagunywa (1980), Mudimba (1988), p. 44**
264 **Motani (1979). Also see Sanyal (2013) for an insightful analyses that focusses on art education.**

The book was first presented at SMACK during St. Mary's day, together with an exhibition of student work in the art room.[265] Prints were installed on some of the outside walls of the school buildings. Those who were interested could browse through a large size book of reproductions of the 'face books'. Students carefully looked through the *Ebifananyi* book, and tried to identify parents or grandparents of their fellow students in the 'face books'.[266]

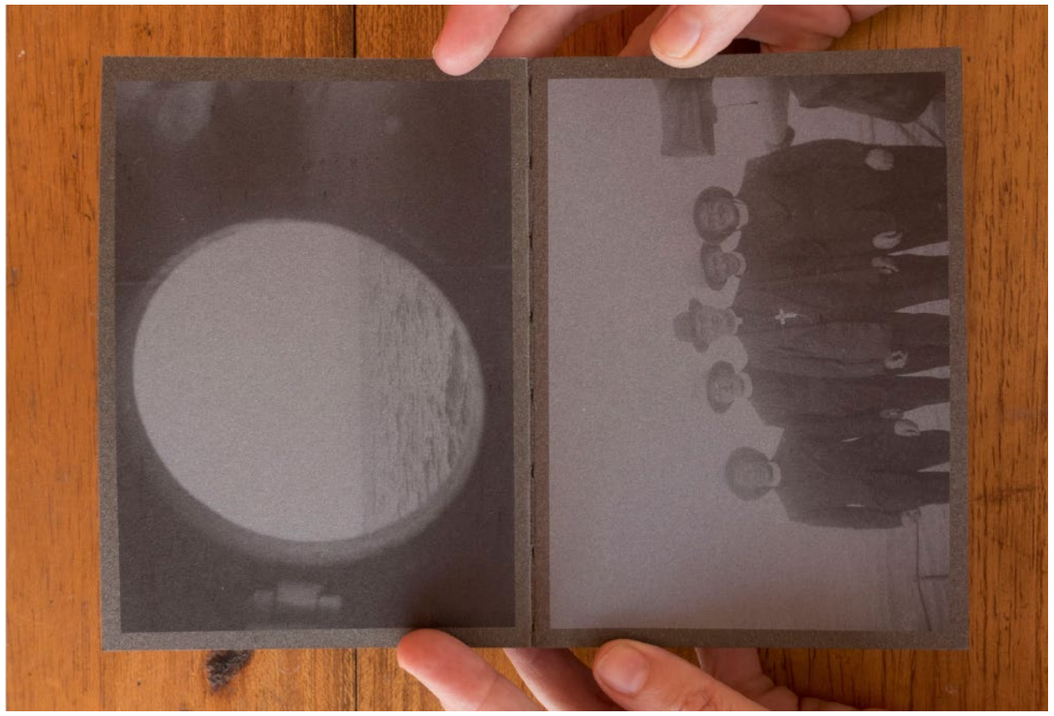
Daniel Omara, an A Level[267] student and the deputy editor in chief of The Eagle, wanted to pay attention to the old photographs in the school magazine. He proposed to do this by producing remakes of selected photographs. I provided him with reproductions of photographs that were not in the book. He particularly admired your photographs from the 1960s and 70s, which resulted in a selection of photographs that I, with one exception, had not included in the book.
Daniel Omara was particularly concerned with the similarities between the boys on the photographs and his fellow students, who were to pose for the remakes, which was a surprise to Canon who produced the photographs. For both Canon and I, the individuality of the people in the historical photographs could not be replaced anyway, whereas this was different for Daniel Omara, and his attempts did confirm the importance of resemblance in *ebifananyi*.[268]

The official launch of the book took place at the Uganda Museum, with a debate on education in Uganda. It was a lively discussion among people who largely agreed with each other and were critical of the educational system in present day Uganda. There was so much to be said though that the discussion barely touched on the photographs in the book and how they were relevant to the discussion. There were no responses that echoed those given to the design in progress. This made me question the extent to which this was the appropriate audience for the issue and whether the criticism in the book, expressed through pictures, was suitable for a public discussion or not.
How wonderful it would have been to hear your thoughts, as both an artist and an educator, of the book in which honouring and criticising the institute to which you devoted your life go hand in hand.

With warmest regards,
Andrea

265 An annual celebration on the name day of the patron of the school in August for staff, students and their parents.
266 http://www.andreastultiens.nl/exhibition/ebifananyi-6-pre-launch-smack/
267 Advanced Level, a subject-based qualification in the English school system that the Ugandan system builds on. A level, different from O (ordinary) level gives access to university education.
268 See this blogpost http://www.hipuganda.org/blog/reposes-of-smacks-photographic-heritage in which Daniel Omara gives his views on the efforts to rephotograph his selection of historical photographs, and I contextualise where possible the photographs and comment on Omara's views.

Ebifananyi #6 spreads referenced in footnotes with the letter to Brother Anthony



See http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/6-duc-altum-dive-deep-st-marys-college-kisubi/ for full version

Published July 2017

From an e-mail exchange with Dr. John Ziegler, first director of the Uganda Cancer Institute, 1967-1970

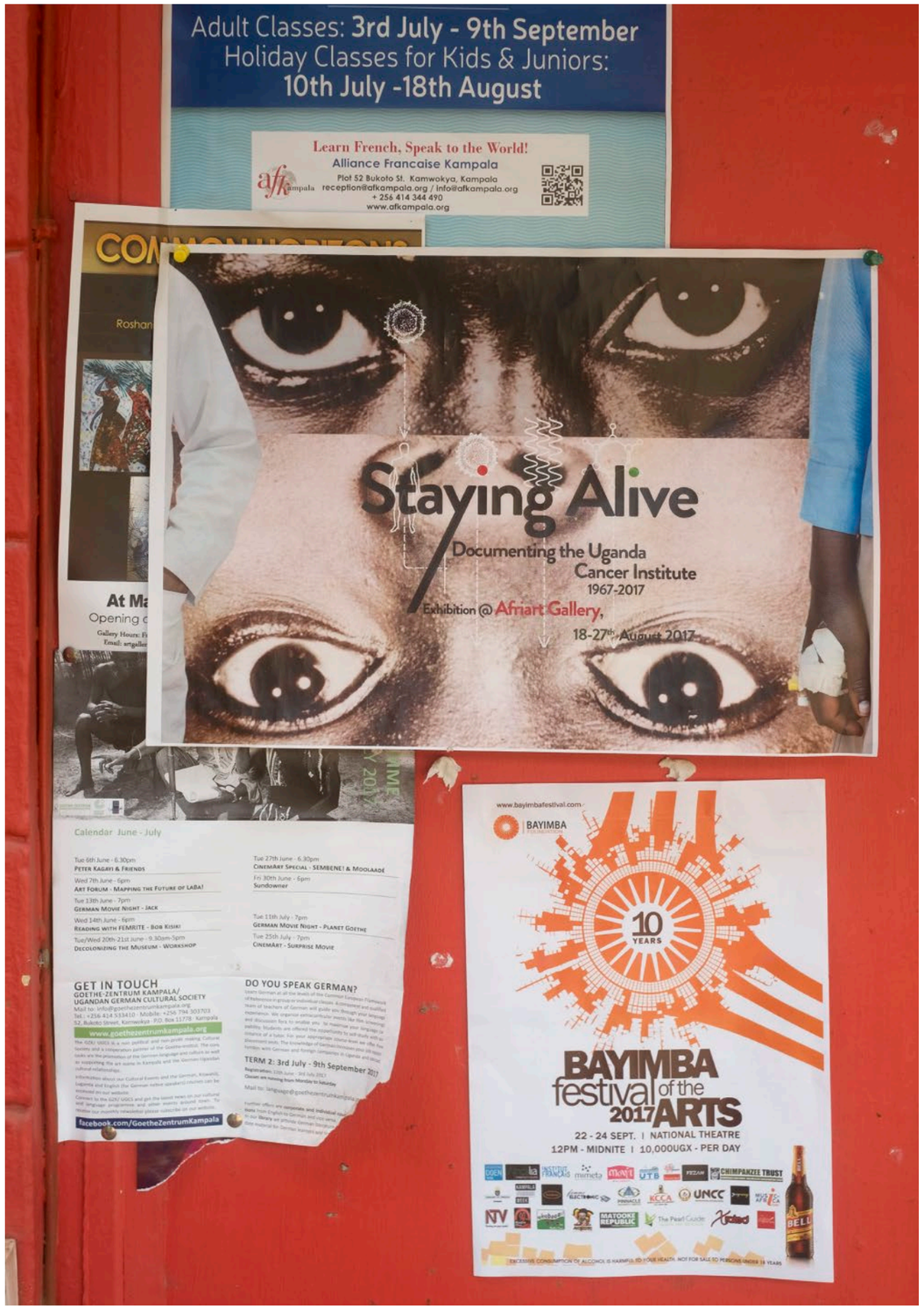
Introducing the Uganda Cancer Institute

The Uganda Cancer Institute (UCI) celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 2017. Photographs play an important role in the institute's history.
American physician Denis Burkitt (1911-1993), who gave his name to a type of cancer that is relatively common in East Africa, uses an old camera to document his observations. This allows him to convince his colleagues of the link between cancerous tumours occurring in different parts of the body.
In the early years of the institute's existence, all patients are photographed by the medical illustrators of Mulago hospital - the institute to which the UCI is attached.

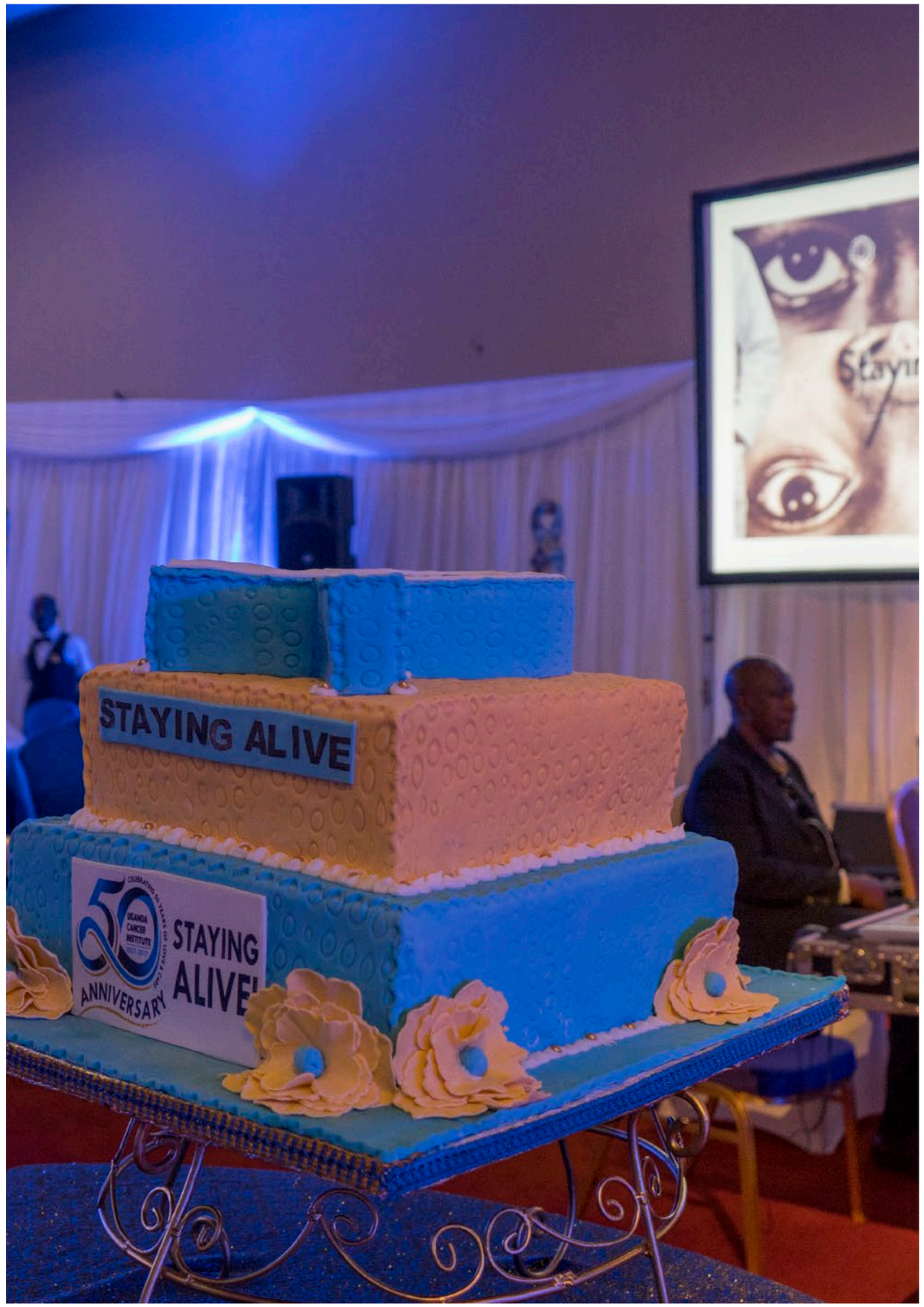
During her doctoral research, American medical historian Marissa Mika (1981) stumbled on slides and prints in the collections of oncologists who worked in Uganda around 1970. Together, we decided to document the current state of the UCI before it underwent dramatic changes due to the new building that was planned.
My own cancer treatment played a role in this narrative that I could not ignore. If I had lived in Uganda when the malignant cells began to form, I would not be alive today.

It was extremely difficult for me to look at the photographs taken of all the UCI patients between 1967 and 1970. They usually – but not always – show children. Swellings had deformed faces and transformed eyes into craters. Nevertheless, I thought it would be important to show these pictures: as a phenomenon and as a warning.
At the same time, I was aware that doing this would be inappropriate for various reasons. I could not ask for permission of the people portrayed nor expose viewers to the horrific pictures. And then there was the nudity, an unavoidable aspect of some of the photographs.

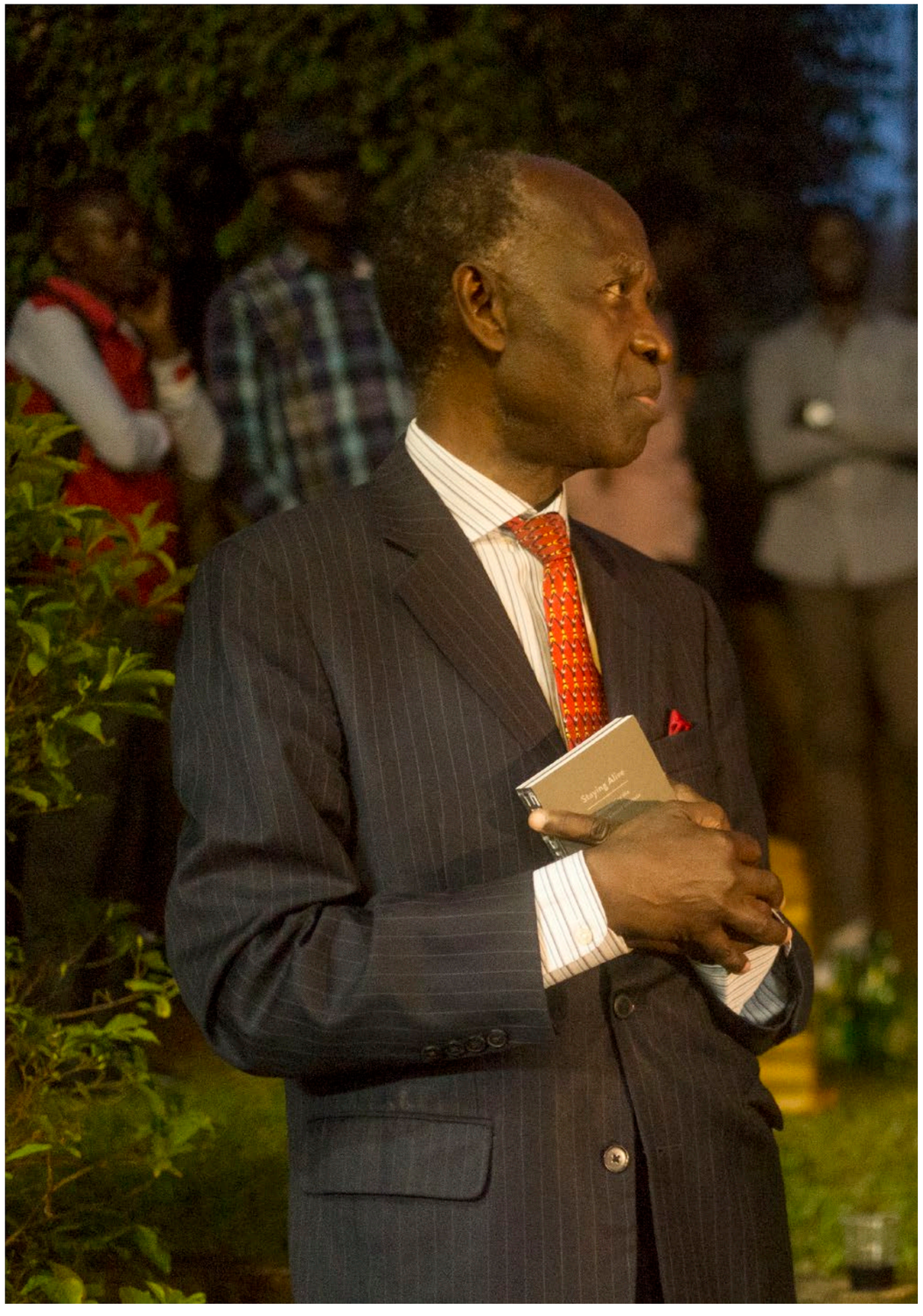
During the opening of the first Kampala Art Biennale, I was introduced by chance to a medical illustrator from Mulago Hospital. I asked him and a colleague of his to make the photographs more acceptable by abstracting the individuals in their drawings as this would serve to navigate around the ethical problem.



Poster announcing the exhibition with *Ebifananyi* #7, Afriart Gallery Kampala, July 2017



Celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Uganda Cancer Institute, Speke Resort Kampala, August 2017

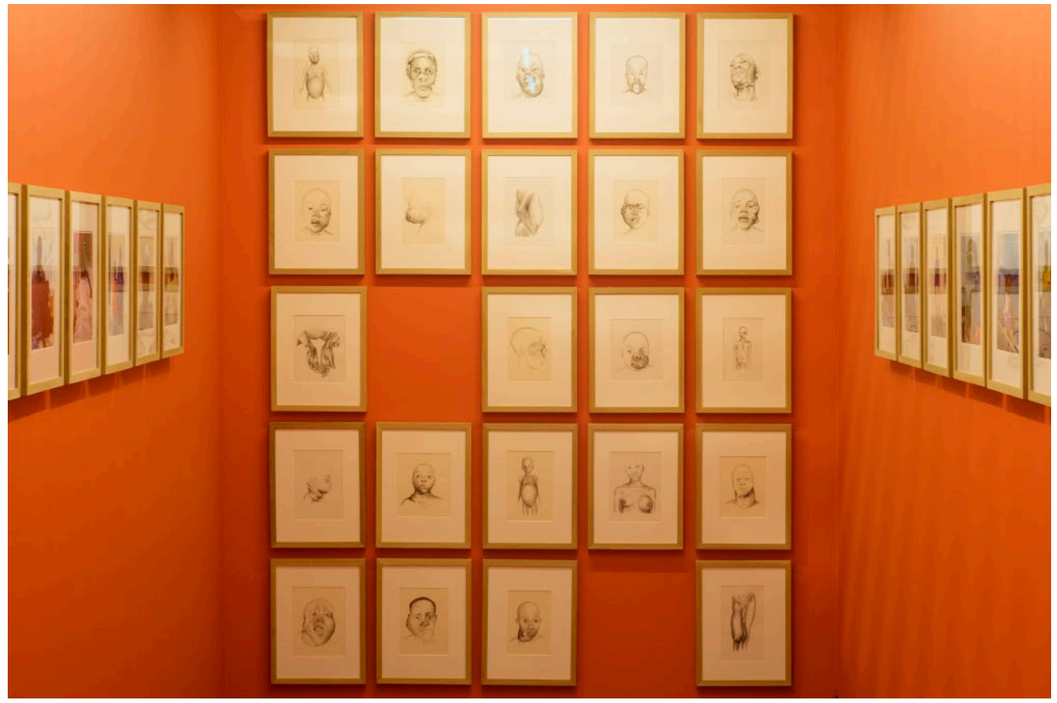


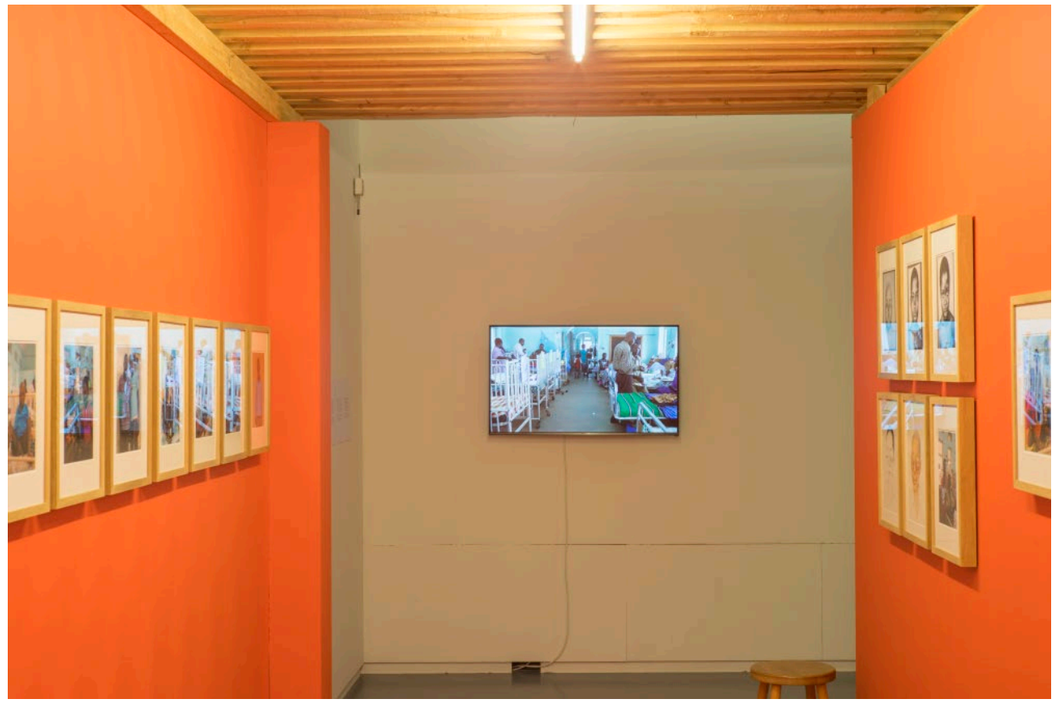
Prof. Olweny, director of the Uganda Cancer Institute in the 1970s, receives the first copy of *Ebifananyi* #7, Afriart Gallery Kampala, August 2017

Dr. Jackson Orem, current director of the Uganda Cancer Institute, at the booklaunch of *Ebifananyi* #7, Afriart Gallery Kampala, August 2017

Staying Alive desktop calendar 2018, produced for Uganda Cancer Institute staff members

Photographed in the administration office of the institute, December 2017





Ebifananyi, Fomu Antwerp, October 2017 / February 2018

Another letter about what happened as a result of the choices made

Dear Kizito,
I am writing this letter without knowing anything about you except that you were treated at the UCI in 1969. Photographs with your name on them are part of a collection of several hundreds of photographs that were made of patients in the early years of the institute's existence. The collection raised two questions. The first one instantly came to me, and asked why these photographs were produced. I could imagine that they were used to identify patients, or to illustrate presentations of physicians who worked at the institute or, maybe, to inform Ugandans about deformations to look out for and act upon.[269] The second question was how I could include these pictures in a book as a phenomenon, without making a spectacle out of the people who appear on them - an answer to this second question is given in the book. I would like to tell you how and why your face is the only one that is printed in the book as a photograph. Towards the end of the letter I will also tell you how an answer to the first question was given. But initially I need to say something about the setup of the book and my relation to the UCI.

Ebifananyi #7 is the most personal book in the series because I am, like you, a cancer survivor. I noticed how this term 'cancer survivor' is constantly used for our status in Uganda, while in the Netherlands we would usually be called former cancer patients. In the Netherlands we are victims while in Uganda we are victors. I was regularly asked to explain my interest in particular histories or photographs, but as soon as people knew of my medical history this was a sufficient explanation and people expressed their respect and admiration instead. The illness made me an insider to the story told by the book, while I felt more an outsider than ever because, as is mentioned in its introduction, it is unlikely that I would still be alive if I had lived in Uganda.

The book opens with photographs of the inactive record room of the institute.[270] From there, photographs of the institute and the people in it, patients, nurses, doctors and caretakers, alternate with text fragments written by American medical historian Marissa Mika. She wrote a history of the UCI and introduced me to the historical photographs that she had encountered during her research. In the centre of the book a section is printed with silver ink on brown paper and a text written by me explains why the historical photographs were translated into drawings.[271] However, you appear in photographs and the text does not explain my reasoning for this.[272]

The selected portraits that were translated into drawings appeared to me to have been made because of **what**, rather than **who**, people were. They were patients rather than individuals and the pictures were records of their status as patients rather than portraits. Your gaze caught mine when I first browsed through the pile of photographs. It seemed as though you were in control of the way in which you were pictured even if you were not in control of the disease. When I look at these photographs I primarily see a person and not a patient. The dates of the photographs, written in pencil on the back, suggest that you were successfully treated. Your gaze transforms the medical photograph into a portrait of an individual who happens to be caught by a disease. You therefore became the embodiment of the mission of the UCI, to help people to stay alive.

269 **See the remark by Deo Kyakulagira's wife in *Ebifananyi* #1 and photographs on the following pages: http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/1-photographer-deo-kyakulagira/70/. Kyakulagira worked as a medical illustrator at Mulago Hospital in the late 1960s, and may have made some of these photographs.**
270 **http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/7-staying-alive-uganda-cancer-institute/6/**
271 **From http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/7-staying-alive-uganda-cancer-institute/54/**
272 **From http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/7-staying-alive-uganda-cancer-institute/84/**

I decided to include your portrait in the book to make the possibility of survival of cancer in Uganda tangible to the reader.

The last part of the book takes its reader through microscopic photographs of cancer cells and documentation of activities connected to the work at the UCI, to the new multi-story building that now carries the name The Uganda Cancer Institute.
The launch of the book was scheduled to coincide with the 50th anniversary of the UCI and I was both surprised and pleased that the title of the book was adopted as the motto for the festivities. To me this is a homage to you and your arresting gaze.

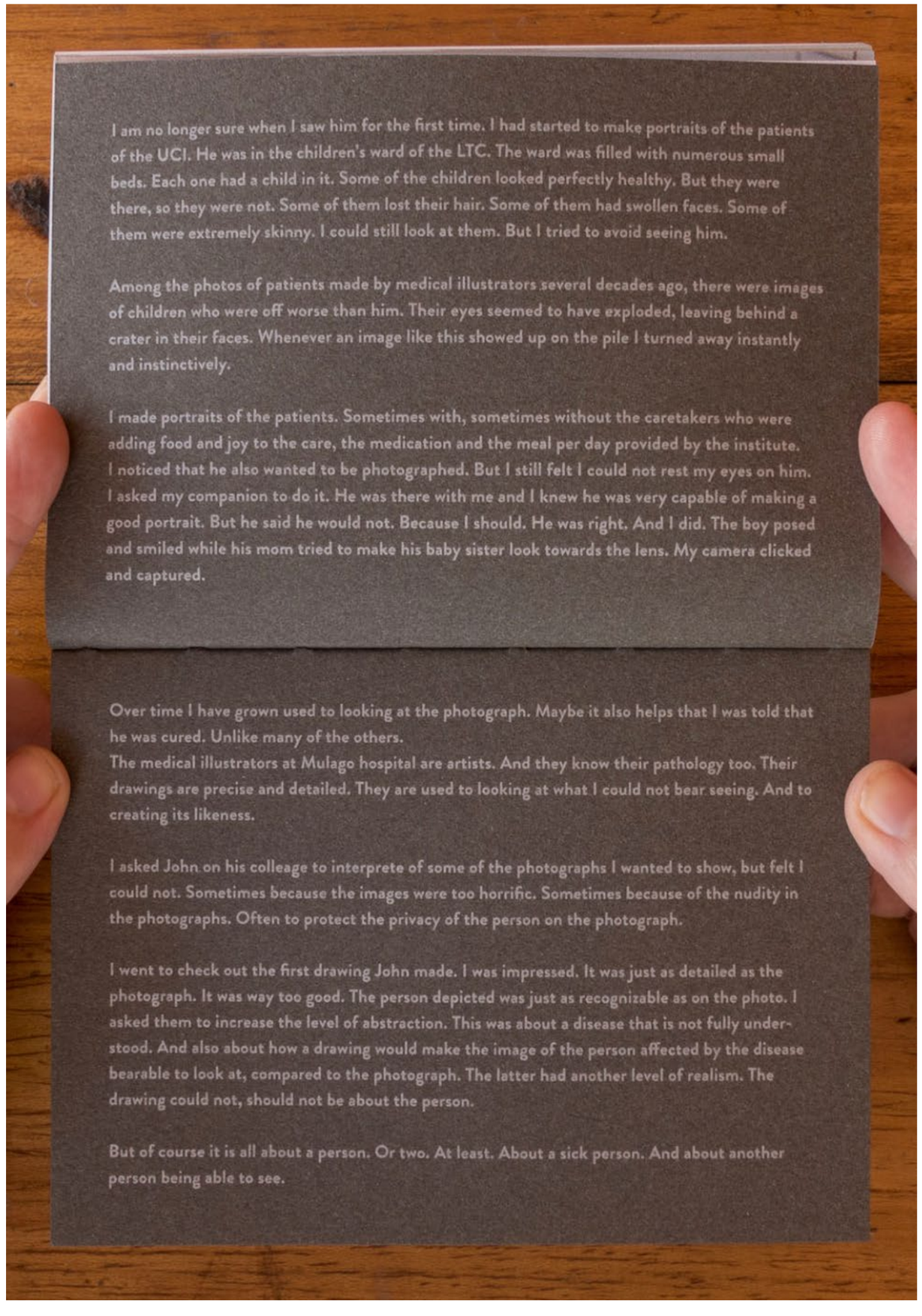
Prof. Olweny, who took over the leadership of the UCI from Dr. Ziegler in the 1970s, received the first copy of the book at its launch.[273] In his speech he mentioned how consistently making photographs of patients led to the identification of the type of cancer that we now know as Burkitt's disease. This answered my first question. You were photographed because of a habit that developed from a success story. That and the agency I see in the photographs that were made of you led to your presence in *Ebifananyi* #7. Dr. Ziegler did not remember specifically why the photographs he gave to Marissa Mika were made. He did remember, however, that you were among the long-term survivors among the patients he treated, so I am hopeful that we will indeed have an opportunity to meet. Somewhere among the files in the inactive record room there must be a factsheet on you. I intend to ask permission to find it, and hope that it will lead me to you. I continue to look forward to that day.

Yours,

Andrea

273 **See this blogpost for a transcription of Prof. Olweny's speech: http://www.hipuganda.org/blog/staying-alive-6-one-eye-one-camera-one-institute**

Ebifananyi #6 spreads referenced in footnotes with the letter to Kizito



I am no longer sure when I saw him for the first time. I had started to make portraits of the patients of the UCI. He was in the children's ward of the LTC. The ward was filled with numerous small beds. Each one had a child in it. Some of the children looked perfectly healthy. But they were there, so they were not. Some of them lost their hair. Some of them had swollen faces. Some of them were extremely skinny. I could still look at them. But I tried to avoid seeing him.

Among the photos of patients made by medical illustrators several decades ago, there were images of children who were off worse than him. Their eyes seemed to have exploded, leaving behind a crater in their faces. Whenever an image like this showed up on the pile I turned away instantly and instinctively.

I made portraits of the patients. Sometimes with, sometimes without the caretakers who were adding food and joy to the care, the medication and the meal per day provided by the institute. I noticed that he also wanted to be photographed. But I still felt I could not rest my eyes on him. I asked my companion to do it. He was there with me and I knew he was very capable of making a good portrait. But he said he would not. Because I should. He was right. And I did. The boy posed and smiled while his mom tried to make his baby sister look towards the lens. My camera clicked and captured.

Over time I have grown used to looking at the photograph. Maybe it also helps that I was told that he was cured. Unlike many of the others.
The medical illustrators at Mulago hospital are artists. And they know their pathology too. Their drawings are precise and detailed. They are used to looking at what I could not bear seeing. And to creating its likeness.

I asked John on his colleage to interprete of some of the photographs I wanted to show, but felt I could not. Sometimes because the images were too horrific. Sometimes because of the nudity in the photographs. Often to protect the privacy of the person on the photograph.

I went to check out the first drawing John made. I was impressed. It was just as detailed as the photograph. It was way too good. The person depicted was just as recognizable as on the photo. I asked them to increase the level of abstraction. This was about a disease that is not fully understood. And also about how a drawing would make the image of the person affected by the disease bearable to look at, compared to the photograph. The latter had another level of realism. The drawing could not, should not be about the person.

But of course it is all about a person. Or two. At least. About a sick person. And about another person being able to see.

See http://www.andreastultiens.nl/ebifananyi/7-staying-alive-uganda-cancer-institute/ for full version

Epilogue to chapter 5: Responses and Consequences

A shared concern in the set of three books discussed in this chapter is how photographs relate to ideas of education and the development of knowledge in Uganda. In hindsight, these books are also of particular relevance for this dissertation due to the responses to the books that confronted me with the consequences of what DasGupta's methodological use of 'narrative humility' may offer. When intending to connect to others through narrative humility, they are approached and engaged with as dynamic entities while the Self, in relation to the Other, simultaneously "remain[s] open to their ambiguity and contradiction, and engag[es]
in constant self-evaluation and self-critique about issues such as our own role in the story, our expectations in the story, and our identification with the story [...]".[274] The responses by Engineer Wambwa, Daniel Omara and Professor Olweny provide examples which make visible what it entails to make oneself vulnerable in a context to which one is alien. It is one thing to state that one has to continuously and as candidly as possible communicate with all those involved in a research project, but it is another to understand who could be implicated as a result of it, and this has helped me to understand how transparency on assumptions and method should translate into actions. I have come to uphold the value and importance of transparency in order to understand my own assumptions, communicate them to others and appreciate how this influences my research in and through my artistic practice.

The responses to the books underline differences between those who respond and myself in a variety of ways. It is not the owners of the photographs, the people who were photographed or the Ugandans responding to the picture who constitute the differences, but my own European reading of and responses to them. My otherness is, as argued earlier, an ambiguous position that brought both unease and opportunities to the research project. Philosopher Lajos Brons traces the notion of otherness from the point of view of Hegel's master-slave dialectic, through Derrida's deconstruction of binary positions which constitute otherness, to theories of self-other distantiation and identification in psychology. Brons mentions how "by necessity all interpretation of the other takes place in the terms of the interpreting self, and with that interpreting self as a model, at least initially."[275] The interpreter is always implied in the way difference is established and valued. Therefore, if we agree that 'othering' is undesirable, the question is how to move beyond the initial position in which others are interpreted in terms of self. The responses to the *Ebifananyi* books confirm, and make tangible, the solutions theorised by Azoulay and Ingold in terms of encounters and correspondences, which is further supported through DasGupta's deployment of 'narrative humility'. The combination of these ideas has provided useful theoretical positions from which I have attempted to transcend the limiting binary between self and other through my practice.

274 **Dasgupta (2008), p. 981. Capitalisation from reference**
275 **Brons (2015), p. 79. Italics from reference**

Interlude

An e-mail exchange with Engineer Wambwa

On May 30th 2018 I sent the letter in which I apologise for the misunderstandings that rose from *Ebifananyi* #5 to Engineer Wambwa in an e-mail.

On May 31st 2018, at 14:25, MARTIN WANGUTUSI wrote:
Dear Andrea,
Thank you very much indeed for the nice letter about my memoirs. You have nothing to apologise about. You did a good job from any viewpoint from which Mary or anyone else can continue with the publication of my full autobiography, which you have kindly described as, "clearly an account that would be relevant for many to read". And another good point for which I thank you is, "Your writing and slides made it possible to address an important period of time beyond but not disconnected from the often told political history".

The above two paragraphs I have quoted and more from your kind comment on my memoirs apply to the entire writing and that is what prompted my comment on your publication of my autobiography titled 'UHURU minor accidents'. So, when I read through, I was struck by omission of my writing beyond 1966 and you concentrated on journalistic paragraphs as if I was a journalist with a camera on my shoulder, which is correct if applied only to that time in my life, whereas the published autobiography should read to from 1928 to date.

It is nice reading your long letter and I thank you for co-operating with Mary and acquainting her with your exemplary knowledge and experience, and we look forward to seeing you again.
Thanking you and wishing you a blessed summer,
Eng. Martin Wambwa

On Thursday, May 31st, 2018 03:56:51 PM EAT, Andrea Stultiens wrote:
Dear Engineer Wambwa,
Your swift response is such a relief to me. The idea that I disappointed you troubled me throughout the past years. I do understand (and acknowledge) your concerns on my focus on the brief period of the 1960s, while your memoirs encompass so much more. As stated before, I will continue to support a possible publication of your full manuscript in any way possible.

It might in addition be good to mention that in the case that there is a financial gain from, or commercial interest in, your photographs I will of course be in touch with you and Mary before steps are taken. I am aware that additional permission for the use of your photographs and a discussion of how to deal with possible income is then needed.

Our communication was, and still is, extremely important for me. It is through correspondences like ours that

I have increased my understanding of photographs and their relation to history, and social and cultural practices in Uganda. I am currently finalising the dissertation on photographs in Uganda, of which the *Ebifananyi* books are an important part. Would you be comfortable with me quoting this mail exchange in this context? If this is not, or only partially, the case then please tell me and I will of course fully respect your position.

I hope to be able to visit you again in good health on one of my next visits to Uganda.
With still more warm regards,
Andrea

On May 31st 2018, at 19:16, MARTIN WANGUTUSI wrote:
Dear Andrea,
Sorry, in my previous e-mail, I omitted to write my full name as Martin Wangutusi Wambwa.

It's good you've received my reply to yours. We now face a host of problems, some of which are loss of network, lack of power, and for myself with a computer lacking a battery it's necessary to react quickly to e-mails, as if by luck everything is in order as now.

I would be glad to reap from my photos because it took a lot of time and money to make them, but for you it was free because you're so friendly to Mary, and my family loves you as much as she does. It's good that you would not only request further permission to use my photographs, but also a discussion of how to deal with possible income from them.

But please note that the photographs, which are ascribed to me, are quite distinct from those I may have acquired from other sources during my travels overseas. Mine were printed by Kodak and photographing I did not use a digital camera as today.

I would not object to your quoting of the correspondence you refer to provided it does not legally implicate me or anyone connected with me.

I also wish to inform you of my fear of money minded people who may use my photographs of the 60s for enriching themselves at my expense and then later they assume copyright as if they actually took those photographs.

Thanking you for the cooperation and looking forward to seeing you in our home when you revisit Uganda.

Greetings from Mary and all of us and may God bless you always,
Eng. Martin W. Wambwa

Chapter 6

Ebifananyi

Synthesising the research in two exhibitions

The correspondences with individual collections of photographs that were discussed in the previous chapters have all been presented in exhibitions that took place both in Uganda and in Western Europe. A selection of these correspondences was first brought together in an exhibition that took place in the FotoMuseum Antwerp (FoMu), Belgium. An additional exhibition based on the same content is, as I write this, scheduled to take place at The Uganda Museum, August 2018.

The conditions around exhibitions depend on socio-economic and historical circumstances that are largely beyond the scope of this research project. However, the present day circumstances that facilitated these particular exhibitions are part of my concerns as they are part of the infrastructure in which *ebifananyi* / photographs function. The earlier exhibitions, which related to individual *Ebifananyi* books, familiarised me with the differences between circumstances in Western Europe and Uganda, while also giving me the opportunity to engage with different audiences. Taking previous circumstances into account, FoMu was generous in terms of space, funding and support given in planning and production. This complicated the translation from the exhibition at FoMu to the exhibition in The Uganda Museum.
This chapter discusses the way in which the output of the research project was synthesised in one exhibition and sheds further light on the Ugandan and Western European conditions in which these exhibitions were, and will be, presented.

Exhibition venue 1 - FoMu

FoMu developed as an institution after the exhibition, '125 years of photography' that took place in a provincial museum for applied arts in 1965. In 1986 the museum moved into a renovated warehouse that was remodelled to its current state in 2004.[276] The mission of the museum is to be an expertise hub for contemporary and historical photography in all its forms and relating facets which reach a broad and varied audience.[277] FoMu presents temporary exhibitions lasting several months, as well as collection exhibitions, which run for longer.
The Ebifananyi exhibition at FoMu was the result of a personal interest in my work expressed by curator Joachim Naudts. The exhibition was co-produced by FoMu and Paradox, a Dutch foundation that develops "projects around contemporary issues with documentary authors".[278] The museum budget was expanded by a grant from the Dutch Mondriaan Foundation for the presentation of Dutch artists and I received a fee for my work on the exhibition. The museum and Paradox managed costs of materials, staff, media players and other technological equipment.

[276] **Agfa_Gevaert was a producer of photographic materials with its headquarters in the town of Mortsel in the province of Antwerpen. https://www.fotomuseum.be/en/about-FOMU/history.html Last accessed 25-09-2018**
[277] **My translation of the Museum's Dutch mission statement as formulated on their website: https://www.fotomuseum.be/over-het-fomu/beleid.html Last accessed 25-09-2018**
[278] **http://www.paradox.nl/ Last accessed 25-09-2018**

Exhibition venue 2 - The Uganda Museum

Collections of objects brought together by district commissioners displayed in an old colonial fort formed the first Uganda Museum that was established in 1908. In 1954 the Museum moved to a building that was designed for this purpose and additional wings and storage spaces have been added since.[279] Ideologies, conventions and technological possibilities connected to the time periods in which the museum developed are manifest in the displays. The museum is part of the ministry of Tourism, Wildlife and Antiquities and its government funding does not include a budget for temporary displays.[280]

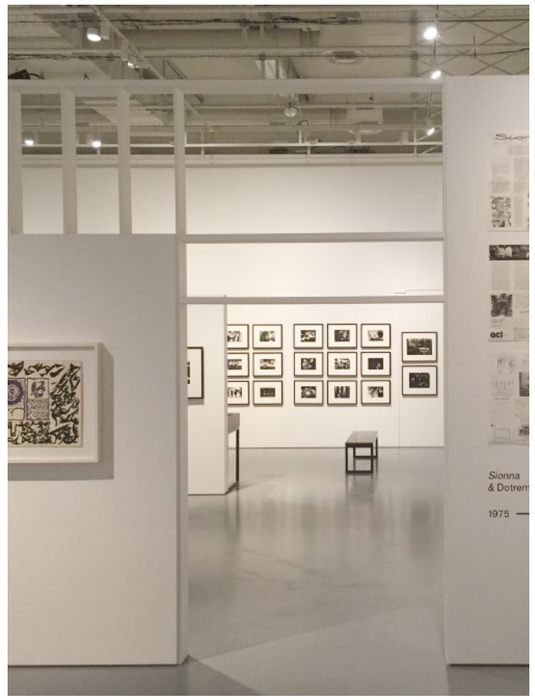
Two smaller presentations that were part of the *Ebifananyi* project took place in the Uganda Museum in 2016. These exhibitions were part of larger events, which were organised separately by the Uganda Press Photography Award and literary festival 'Writivism'.[281]

The upcoming *Ebifananyi* exhibition at the Uganda Museum is funded by a grant I received in the Netherlands. Large numbers of school children from the region visit the Uganda Museum. Several school buses can be found simultaneously in the Museum parking, particularly towards the end of the second school term. National and international tourists also form a substantial part of the audience and in comparison to FoMu visitors mostly tour the museum with a guide. I vividly remember how uncomfortable the obligatory presence of a guide felt when I first visited the museum in 2006, as if the exhibits could not speak for themselves. I now take the presence of this guide to be part of the museum visit as an event, rather than an encounter between an individual and a stable display of information.

279 Trone (1981), p. 1, Rivet , (1984), pp. 11-12, and https://www.britannica.com/topic/history-of-museums-398827#ref608916 Last accessed 25-09-2018

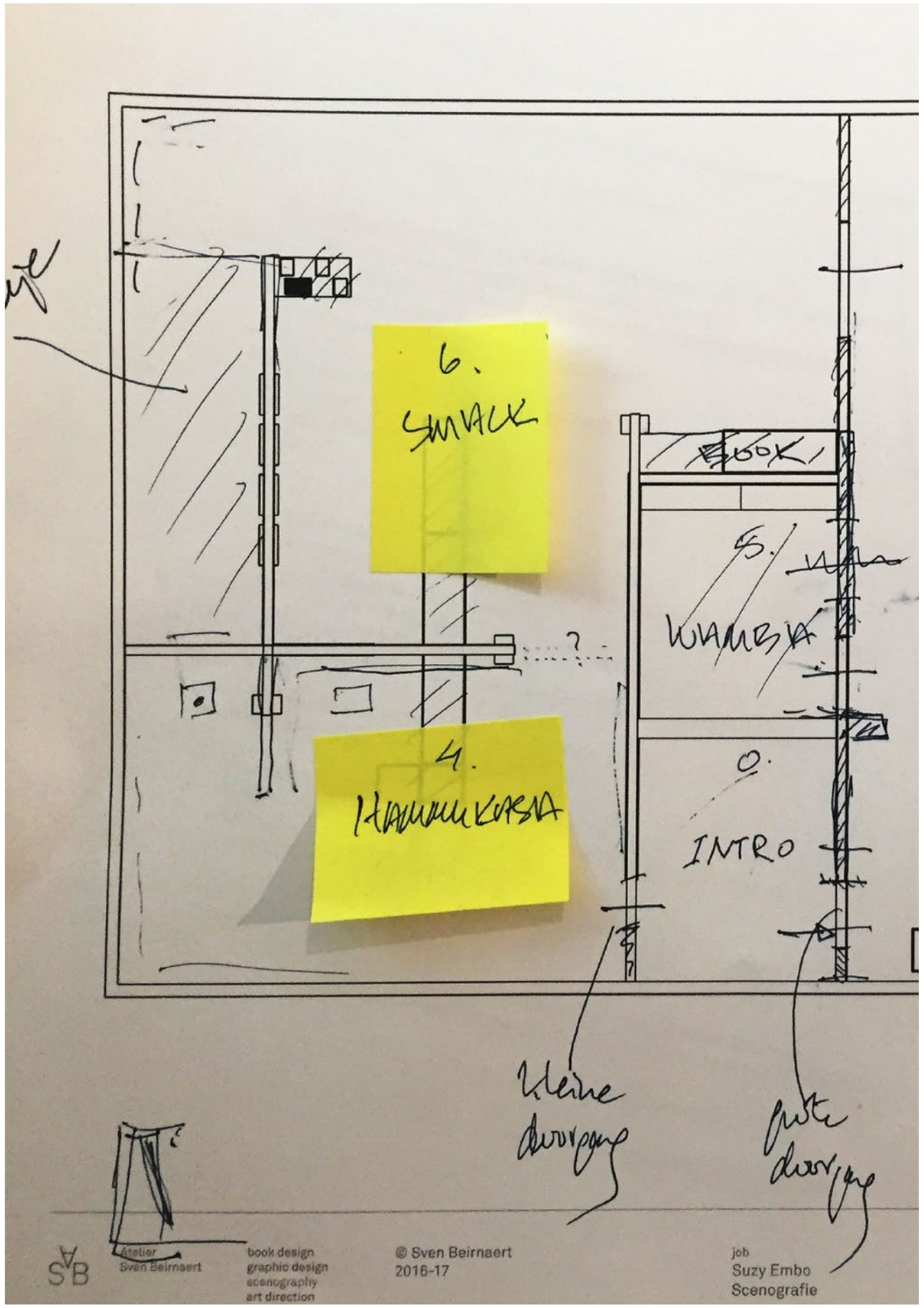
280 Based on personal observations and conversations with museum staff members that took place over the years since 2007 and Ministerial Policy Statements for the years 2011/2012 through 2017/2018

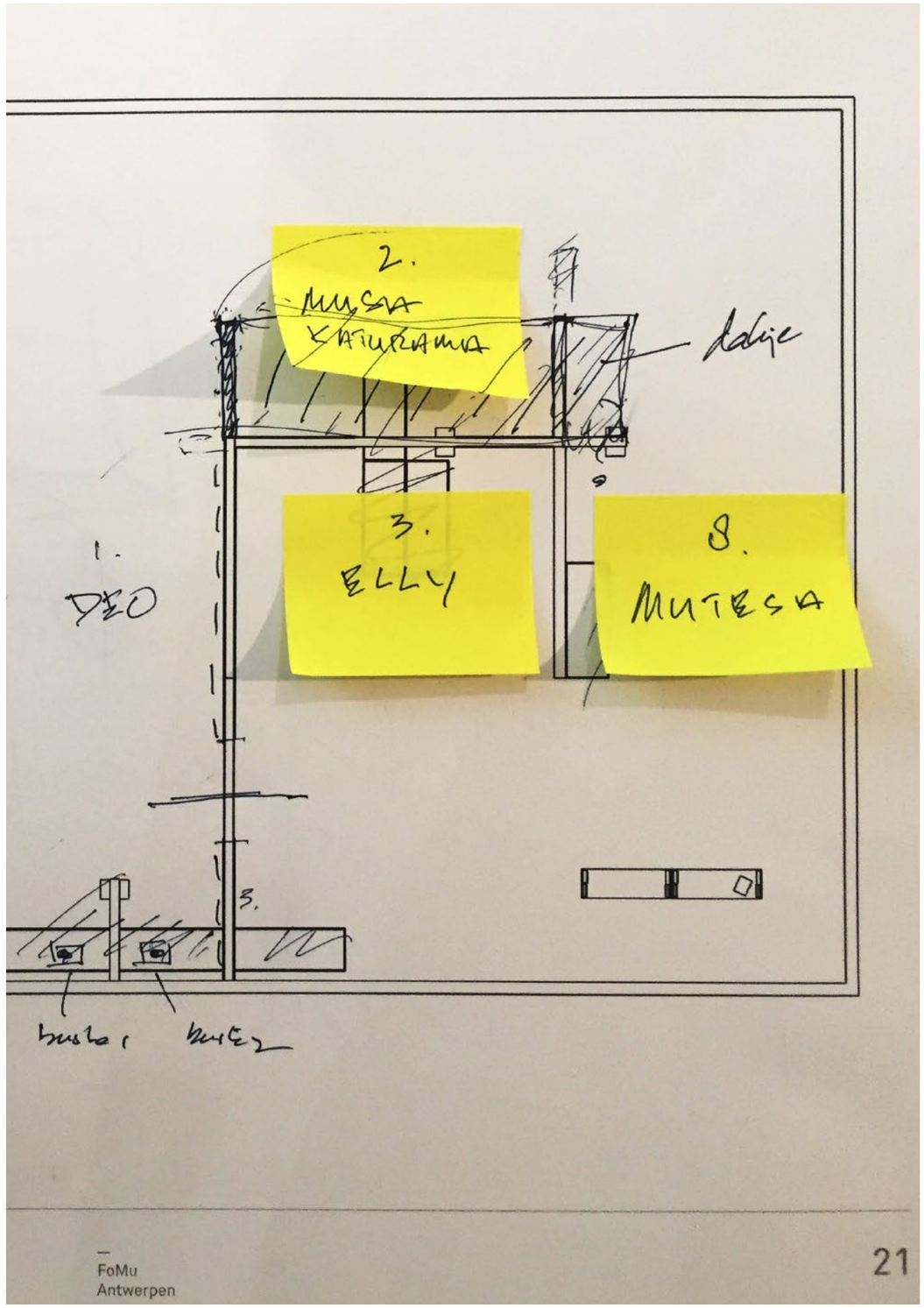
281 http://www.andreastultiens.nl/exhibition/updates-six-investigations-use-photographs-ugandan-new-media/ and http://www.andreastultiens.nl/exhibition/ebifananyi-6-exhibition-launch/ for documentation of these exhibitions.



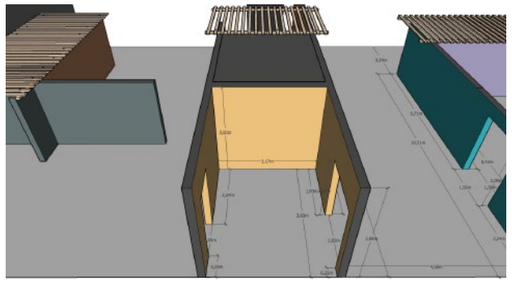
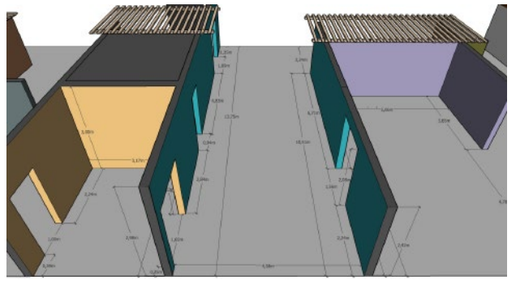
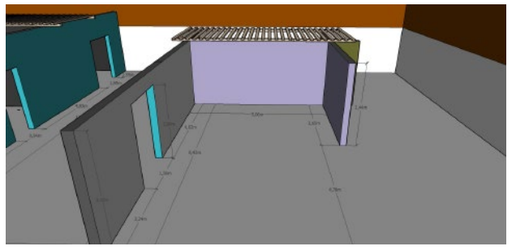
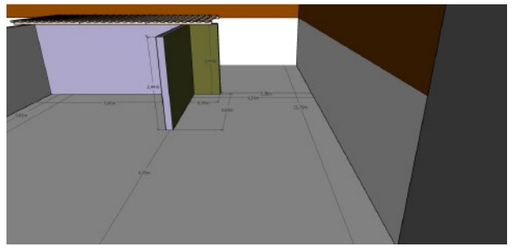
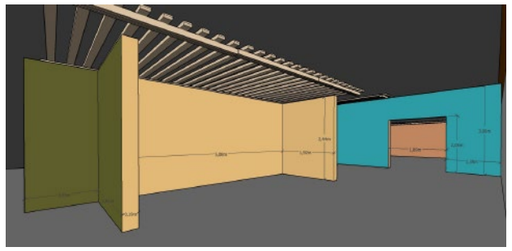
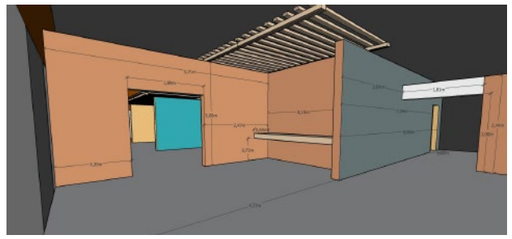
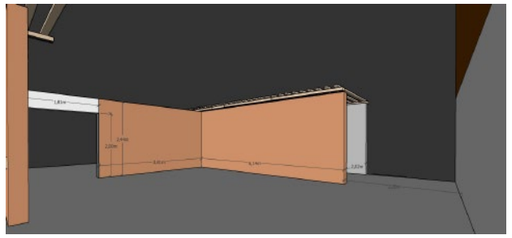
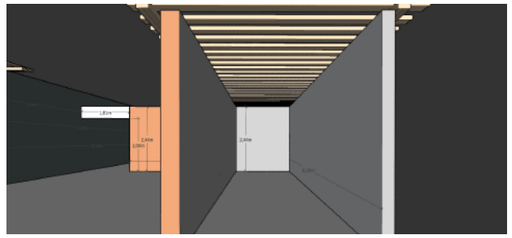
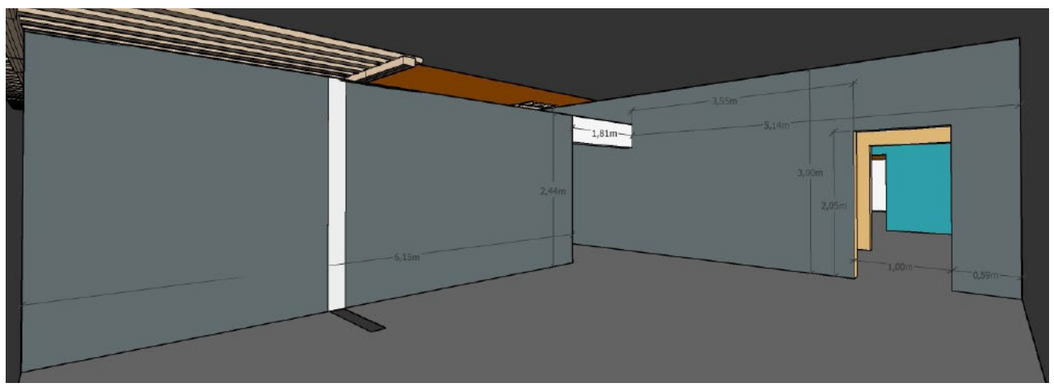
Installationshots of the Suzy Embo exhibition, that preceeded *Ebifananyi*

Fomu Antwerp, July 2017. Photographs by co-curator Bas Vroege





Planning *Ebifananyi* at FoMu, based on the plan of the Suzy Embo exhibition, July 2017

3d set up of *Ebifananyi* at FoMu for carpenters, October 2017

Dear Visitor

Let us begin with a caveat: there is no such thing as one single history of a country and photographs sow confusion more often than they shed light. The exhibition that you are about to see, therefore, is not a straightforward one. You will be confronted with a multitude of images and interpretations that will raise far more questions than they will answer. So you have been warned.

Over a decade ago, researcher, artist, documentalist and curator Andrea Stultiens (NL, 1974) ended up in Uganda. There, she came across a number of historical collections of photographs and began to conduct research without knowing where it would lead. She launched the *History in Progress Uganda* platform in 2011, together with the artist R. Canon Griffin (UG, 1991), in the hope that it would give these collections a contemporary relevance. Numerous artists were invited to tackle the material.

Join Andrea and Canon for a tour through eight historical collections that coincide with eight publications. For each collection, you will also see some *derived observations*: this may be an interpretation by a contemporary artist, a filmed document of an encounter, a modern photograph of a historic site or a reproduction of an illuminating newspaper article.

Do not expect the definitive story of Uganda. Instead, this is a journey into the complexity of historiography, the universal language of photography and the all-too-often enduring, stereotypical images of Africa.

Welcome,
Joachim Naudts and Bas Vroege,
co-curators of *Ebifananyi*

Introduction text to *Ebifananyi*, Fomu Antwerp, October 2017 / February 2018

Transforming eight books into an exhibition in Belgium

In 2016 Joachim Naudts, Paradox's director Bas Vroege and I formed the curatorial team for the *Ebifananyi* exhibition in FoMu. Each of us contributed to the process from a particular position and expertise. I was the one who had the overview of the available material and I am used to working with limitations related to space and budget. Vroege tends to think big, literally in print and display sizes as well as for example in terms of the use of multiple projections. In addition he brought an understanding of the use of a variety of media in photography exhibitions. Naudts is intimately familiar with the museum and its audience well and made me aware of how much I had become attuned to Ugandan audiences. Earlier exhibitions of parts of the project, that took place in venues in Uganda, Addis Ababa (Ethiopia), the Netherlands and Switzerland, were taken into account.[282] Our discussions led to collectively made decisions and as a result individual influences became hard to trace.
Based on my experiences and photographic documentation of these exhibitions we decided which earlier modes of presentation would be suitable to use again, taking the Belgian audience of the museum into account. It was decided that my voice had to be present in the exhibition to guide this audience, which we considered to be largely unfamiliar with the Ugandan context, through the different collections in brief texts.

The layout of the exhibition hall that was at our disposal usually changes with each new show. We decided to recuperate the walls of the previous exhibition. This was partly the result of my preference to respond to a given situation whilst also being a matter of cost efficiency. This meant that we started off with a network of bright white walls that was used to present the photographs of the Belgian modernist era photographer Suzy Embo.
Naudts and Vroege made a proposal for the re-use of the space and the adjustments to this network of walls. I was keen to use saturated colours, which appear in the *Ebifananyi* books, in response to the white and grey that is generally used in exhibitions in FoMu.

A synthesis was created between the content of the *Ebifananyi* books and the displays connected to them in multiple layers. In the first layer pictures presenting the historical collections were mounted onto the coloured inner walls of the exhibition hall. In these displays emphasis was placed on the different materialities in which the collection were encountered. For example, Deo Kyakulaira's pictures, which only existed as negatives when I was introduced to the collection, therefore were presented as contemporary darkroom prints from negatives. Framed vintage prints in different sizes showed the diversity of pictures produced by Elly Rwakoma. A photograph of the interior of one of Chief Ham Mukasa's houses was printed on wallpaper to present the collection of the elite Buganda family, while simple colour-copies of photographs showed reproductions of the 1875 photograph of Kabaka Muteesa I circulating in Uganda.

Responses to the collections formed the second layer and were placed on the outer walls that remained white. These presentations were again wide ranging in their appearance and materiality, offering the variety of outcomes of my research method, including video's (*Ebifananyi* #2, 4, 5, 7, 8), sculptures (*Ebifananyi* #1, 4, 8), newspaper articles (*Ebifananyi* #3) and paintings and drawings (*Ebifananyi* #2, #4, #7 and #8), and reminding the visitors of the open category of pictures signified by the word *ebifananyi*.
A frieze of still and moving photographic pictures with a height measurement of 1.2 meters ran through the whole

[282] e.g. the sculptures in the first exhibition related to Deo Kyakulagira's work, Mishmash gallery, Kampala (http://www.andreastultiens.nl/exhibition/hipuganda-mishmash/), the 'sea of photographs' by Musa Katuramu presented at the Noorderlicht Gallery in 2014 (http://www.andreastultiens.nl/exhibition/musa-katuramu/), the large size book presented at St. Mary's College Kisubi in 2016 (http://www.andreastultiens.nl/exhibition/ebifananyi-6-pre-launch-smack/) and the tables with butterflies at the exhibition related to *Ebifananyi* #6 in Pasquart Photoforum in Biel (SE) in 2016 (http://www.andreastultiens.nl/exhibition/ebifananyi-booklaunch-6/).

space. The pictures in this frieze were produced as documentation of encounters and correspondences over the years and related loosely to the content of the presentations on the lower level. This third layer aimed to connect the presentations on the coloured inner walls and white outer walls and emphasises the absence of a distinct beginning or end point of both the exhibition and the project as a whole.

Given that we decided that I was to guide visitors through the exhibition, brief texts were written to accompany the displays for the first two layers. I wanted the exhibition to be what American comparative literature scholar Mary-Louise Pratt calls a 'contact-zone': a "social space [...] where disparate cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination – such as colonialism and slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today."[283] The text should give visitors to the exhibition access to the other realities presented in pictures and therefore switched between tenses when referring to events in the past and collections in the present.

A member of the FoMu staff edited first drafts of these texts and framed their content in the historical present, narrating past events in present tense. The propagandistic nature of photographs made during colonialism in Uganda, and the effects of colonial language and education strategies ran through this project, and had been part of my interests since I began work in Uganda.[284]
I was now personally confronted with an appropriation of agency, effectively described by Ngugi Wa Thiong'o in relation to literature and vernacular languages.[285] My voice was taken away from me by the use of the historical present and I strongly felt that its use created a fiction rather than the opportunity to connect to another reality. An assistant curator pointed out that this was museum policy meant to generate an 'effect of immediacy' for the visitor and that there was a misunderstanding about who was speaking in these texts. We now could move forward from what felt to be a painful impasse. The texts that accompanied the first layer remained in what I have come to think of as the 'museum voice', while the texts on the white walls were 'my voice'. The bold and italic texts introducing the letters in chapter 3 through to 5 have remained as they were in this exhibition to demonstrate this point.

When Canon and I arrived at FoMu, just over a week before the exhibition would open, the walls in the space had been adjusted and painted. Therefore, the installation of the pictures could immediately begin and people employed by the museum were present at all times to assist us.

During the exhibition period over 38.000 people visited FoMu. This number exceeded expectations and is largely the result of the other exhibition in the museum, which presented the photographic work of renowned Chinese artist Ai Wei Wei that was accompanied by extensive media attention. Over 1.100 people attended the opening of the exhibitions. Slightly over 10% of the registered visitors toured the exhibitions as a group (including school visits) where some of these groups made use of the opportunity to do a guided tour.[286] Most visitors then engaged with the displays on their own terms. Museum staff, in the form of a tour guide, was not part of the encounter with the exhibition. Visitors to the exhibition had to invest a certain interest in what was on show. Based on feedback from particular individuals as well as observations made during several afternoons spent in the exhibition, I can say that the strategy largely worked as intended. Nevertheless, some visitors missed factual context on Uganda despite the introduction letter by Joachim Naudts and Bas

[283] Pratt (2007), electronic version of the book, location 344 of 6792
[284] *Ebifananyi* #4 in particular addresses this, albeit implicitly. The discussion at the book launch, in The Uganda Museum mentioned in chapter 5 was fully devoted to the topic.
[285] Ngugi Wa Thiong'o (1987), (1993), (2012)
[286] Based on statistics provided by FoMu.

Vroege, which explained that this exhibition was not intended to give information about the country. I observed how this issue in some cases dissolved while visitors engaged with the displays. It was a pleasant surprise to see the amount of time that was spent in the exhibition by many visitors. Dutch photography critic Taco Hidde Bakker spoke of a,

> "deeply engaging exhibition [which] cannot be considered anything close to definite – even though the book series now forms some sort of complete whole – but rather a temporary stop in an exploration in full swing. This protean endeavour is so alive, so pleasantly unpredictable in its outcomes, so varied in its cross-medial performances, so imbued with the spirit of cross-cultural collaborations, that it serves as a preeminent example of how photography (because that's the kernel and ultimate reference point can be an inspirational force for alternative ways of popularizing Africa's troubled recent histories and its complex web of relations with the rest of the world."[287]

While I was happy both with the facilities and opportunities offered by FoMu and the responses to the exhibition, the set up of the exhibition also posed a challenge as I intended to present this project overview exhibition also in Uganda. It so happened, due to the planning of the museum, that the exhibition in Belgium was the first one of the two. The solutions designed to present the variety of collections of photographs and the responses to them to Belgian audiences had to be translated to a space in Uganda and its audiences.

287 Quoted from a review by Bakker, published in Camera Austria 141 (2018), p. 77

Upper photograph: *Ebifananyi*, Fomu Antwerp, October 26th 2017, view from scissor lift used to install the exhibition

Lower photograph: Ethnography hall at The Uganda Museum, January 2018

Adapting the FoMu exhibition for The Uganda Museum

Several options were considered for a Ugandan version of the exhibition at FoMu. There is no space dedicated to displaying photography in Uganda, and both the gallery at Makerere University as well as the commercial Afriart gallery, in which several *Ebifananyi* related exhibitions had been presented, would too be small to house the show. Larger exhibition spaces, which popped up in recent years in Kampala, would most likely only reach a small audience, while exhibiting in public space would need a time investment to prepare on the ground that was not available.

I exhibited in Uganda for the first time in 2008. This exhibition took place in the Uganda Museum and I have since stayed in touch with the director and one of the curators of the institute. The spaces in the museum were constructed in different times and by particular people, reflected both personal ideas as well as conventions on good museum practices.[288]

In 2018 the second school term will end on August 25th, making the weeks preceding this date the busiest time of the year in The Uganda museum. In addition, the third edition of visual arts festival KLAART, organised by 32° Degrees East,[289] is scheduled for August 2018. The festival is titled Off the Record and it aims to present "hidden histories, open histories, current stories and new futures to create alternative 'memory banks' and new narratives". This largely overlaps with what HIPUganda wants to achieve and with what I try to do in my artistic practice, which offers an opportunity to connect HIPUganda, to the festival and the museum. After several conversations with staff members of 32° Degrees East and the Uganda Museum I wrote an exhibition proposal that was accepted and will be realised, albeit with a limited budget. What follows are sections of the proposal for an exhibition at the Uganda Museum, addressing Rose Mwanje and Abiti Nelson, director and curator at the Uganda Museum, and Teesa Bahana and Nikissi Serumaga, director and staff member of 32° Degrees East.

An exhibition proposal

Dear Rose and Abiti, Teesa and Nikissi,

After earlier conversations and e-mail exchanges with each of you separately, I hereby send you a proposal for an exhibition at the Uganda Museum during KLAART 18. This exhibition marks the end of the first seven years of HIPUganda's activities, the completion of the *Ebifananyi* books series, and a decade of work in Uganda on my side, a period during which Kampala has become my second home.

HIPUganda's activities and my practice as an artist and researcher have been based on the idea that visualisations of aspects of life on the African continent, which emphasise poverty, violence and the lack or abundance of natural resources,[290] can only be addressed by explicitly being non-conclusive and open to voices that complicate hegemonic pictures presented through mass media. This is why HIPUganda has particularly been looking for private collections of photographs, and why digitised photographs are shared on online platforms that allow comments to be added to them. In the *Ebifananyi* books these strategies resulted in the inclusion of either multiple versions of stories that accompany photographs from one source, or different pictures from multiple sources that accompany a single story.

This proposal builds on an exhibition that took place in FoMu, a museum devoted to photography in Belgium.[290]

The proposed *Ebifananyi* exhibition at the Uganda Museum consists of different components that have two main aims:

1. To place the Belgian *Ebifananyi* exhibition 'on the record' in Uganda.

   The conditions for the *Ebifananyi* exhibition in FoMu contrast with the possibilities in the Uganda Museum. Making this exhibition 'present' in the Uganda Museum tells a story of what cultural production in these two particular contexts entails. The story is told with the help of a model of the space in FoMu on a scale of 1:10. The model will have the size of a small room and, of course, includes scaled versions of the photographs that were on display at FoMu. What some of these photographs show can no longer be seen once they are scaled, therefore, the model will be accompanied by photographic documentation that is presented in a large book that shows overviews as well as details of the FoMu exhibition. (The large scale book will resemble the book that was used in the first exhibition of my work in Uganda in 2008, a video with the book in use can be found here: https://vimeo.com/147171679)

2. To establish a conversation between the museum displays and the use of photographs in them, and the HIPUganda collections.

   The *Ebifananyi* project activated only a part of the photographs encountered and digitised by HIPUganda. These activations were initiated by me, and included contributions by many others who brought their own interests to the pictures. The proposed exhibition serves as an evaluation of the HIPUganda activities so far, but also wants to be starting point for further explorations of the production and uses of photographs in Uganda in a way that is relevant for Ugandans. I propose to bring photographs from the whole HIPUganda collection in conversation with the permanent museum displays. This will be done in combinations of photographs and brief texts. The placement of these temporary additions to the museum will, of course, be done with the museum staff.

The exhibition would ideally take place from early August until the 23rd of the month. While an opening event may be important to spread the word of the exhibition, I am particularly keen to organise a closing event that doubles as both a moment of celebration as well as evaluation with members of the art community in Kampala. This event would be an *ekyoto*[291] during which the exhibition, literally, comes to an end by burning the model of the show in FoMu in the fire. My hope is that this will be an opportunity to celebrate what was achieved and to critically assess ways forward.

288 **Trowell (1957), Posnansky (2010) and a personal e-mail exchange with Merit Posnansky, curator of The Uganda Museum between 1957 and 1966.**
289 **KLAART is "a visual arts festival which celebrates public art for, in and with the city" Statement from http://klaart.org/ when announcing the third edition of the festival. The site has been updated since.**
290 **Campbell & Power (2010)**

291 **See the epilogue of this volume where the documentation is juxtaposed with photographs made during the exhibition in Kampala. Addressees received the documentation of the exhibition with the e-mail.**
292 ***Ekyoto* is a bonfire, a traditional place to meet, tell stories and perform rituals. Also see the letter to Engineer Wambwa in chapter 5.**

32° Degrees East responded positively to the proposal and several long distance conversations took place since. Canon passed by the Uganda Museum where the mail had arrived but the proposal was not read. Canon orally followed up and informed the director and curator of the museum of the content of the text.
The proposal was then, also by them, accepted which means that I will now continue to prepare for the exhibition.
I expect many of the final decisions only to be made when I will be in Uganda, in the weeks prior to the exhibition.

Epilogue to chapter 6: The big picture

Throughout the course of this research project I produced exhibitions that were based on one collection of photographs with different audiences in Western Europe and Uganda in mind. Doing this made the differences between the conditions in which photographic pictures were presented apparent in terms of production and reception. The experiences around these exhibitions were the basis for the evaluation of the show at FoMu and for the proposal for the Uganda Museum.
The different statuses of the exhibitions are meant to place emphasis on the emergent conditions in which they are produced. Examples of these conditions include the decline in the opportunities to fund exhibitions and other art projects in the Netherlands since I started to work in Uganda. Meanwhile, in Uganda the possibilities to make exhibition prints have increased, even though a limited level of quality control of prints is still a factor that needs to be taken into consideration.
In Belgium I was part of a trio of curators while preparing for the exhibition, and assisted by a team of technicians while installing it. I was taken to be the author of the exhibition, while the museum policy on exhibition texts led to an experience in which it felt as if my voice was taken away from me.
Based on past experiences I know that, in Uganda, I will have to make all the decisions in the production of the exhibition, while negotiating with the museum staff. Authorship is, as discussed in chapter three, rarely considered to be a factor in relation to photographs. This is no different with the *Ebifananyi* exhibitions.
I try to intervene in this situation by connecting my name to the exhibition in an effort be clear about my role, while at the same time not claiming ownership over the historical photographs that are presented. This is, and will continue to be, an ambiguous position in emerging conditions that will be informed by the proposed closing event of the exhibition in the Uganda Museum, where it is my hope that critical conversations about the future may unfold.

Conclusion

The research project *Ebifananyi* was concerned with two issues. Firstly, it questioned how the conceptualisation of photographs as *ebifananyi* in Uganda differs from the way in which I, as a photographer educated in the Netherlands, understood photographs. On the artistic side of the project I worked with eight collections of photographs that I encountered in Uganda in order to gain an understanding of the historical and cultural contexts which shaped how *ebifananyi* / photographs are produced and function. Secondly, in the discursive part of the research project reflected on and analysed how my artistic practice serves as a research method and how it relates to other methods employed in the research on photographs in the interdisciplinary field in which history, art history and anthropology meet.

Azoulay's conceptualisation of the photograph as an encounter and Ingold's notion of correspondences as meaningful engagements between human and non-human actors have theoretically grounded this research. Rancière has helped me to position the things I do with photographs as an artistic practice that responds and intervenes, rather than creates. Working with photographs from the notion of encounter means that differences between *ebifananyi* and photographs are not confined to objects, but produced in encounters. This means that the research has a phenomenological approach in the sense that it attempts to understand *ebifananyi* / photographs by engaging with different points of departure that turned into shared experiences through correspondences. Since my artistic practice is the research method itself there is no boundary between me, as an artist, and the academic fields this research relates to.

The *Ebifananyi* books and exhibitions have made a wealth of previously tacit materials available, both for a general audience in Uganda as well as for additional research. The availability of historical photographs from Uganda has expanded as a result of the digitisation of photographs as part of my artistic practice. Moreover, the *Ebifananyi* books and exhibitions, led to a growing awareness of the potential of personal collections to develop collective memory[293] whilst also providing a ground for further explorations of the introduction of photographic imagery in Uganda. In this dissertation the emphasis has been on the southern part of the country, due to the origin of the encountered collections of photographs. The majority of research on Uganda also stems from the south of the country in general and the kingdom of Buganda in particular as a result of the central position Buganda had in the colonial formation of the present day nation state Uganda. This

[293] Signalled, next to informal feedback given to the *Ebifananyi* books and exhibitions in Uganda, in several newspaper articles published in local and regional newspapers in Uganda.
e.g. http://www.monitor.co.ug/artsculture/Reviews/Learning-about-Uganda-through-old-photos/691232-1491726-ev7m3kz/index.html
Last accessed 25-09-2018

should, where it concerns the past and present day production and use of photographs, be expanded upon in future research.

Working with *ebifananyi /* photographs within the context of doctoral research confronted me with the limitations, as well as with the medium specific qualities, of both written language about and visual documentation of my actions. This resulted in artistic outcomes in which texts were needed to position the photographs that were sequenced in books and spatially arranged in exhibitions. While in this dissertation photographs do not only illustrate but are necessary parts of the written arguments. They relate what is written to a reality and make it accessible beyond description.[294]

Photographs are mostly referred to and often problematised as representations.[295] Representation emphasises an indexical mode of signification. The notion of representation makes it possible to denaturalize power imbalances at play in the production and uses of photographs, which will continue to be necessary but can also take attention away from other affordances of photographs.

Ebifananyi are pictures that look like something else. The signifying capacity of *ebifananyi* mainly relies, in semiotic terms, on their iconicity. For example, the students who posed for the remakes of the photographs in the school magazine of St. Mary's College Kisubi (*Ebifananyi* #6, chapter 5) do not represent the students they saw in the historical pictures, but simply look like them. *Ebifananyi* are then presentations rather than representations, where the emphasis is on the creation of meaning which lies between the picture and the person who sees it. As a consequence, *ebifananyi /* photographs in Uganda should be taken to be presentations rather than representations, which leads in the everyday use of photographs to an emphasis on the encounter with historical photographs in the present rather than their referentiality to particular pasts.

The conceptualisation of photographs in a category that links them to drawings and paintings in the word *ekifananyi*, while thinking of them as presentations, led to an unanticipated freedom in the generation of correspondences which resulted in an expansion to the initially outlined research method. In this expansion, that can be found in *Ebifananyi* #4 and #8, insights on *ebifananyi /* photographs are generated by the production of referential visualities by a wide variety of picture makers in any material or medium. Each picture that is made on my request and as part of an investigation into other pictures becomes part of what I have started to call Collective Making.

The rigor of this research lies in the acceptance of views on *ebifananyi /* photographs which emerged from the various correspondences I initiated. These views differ, sometimes only slightly and sometimes quite radically, from my own. The postponement of judgement on the qualities of *ebifananyi /* pictures, in terms of information and aesthetic qualities, made me aware of the presuppositions I had on photographs stemming from my position as a white European artist who was educated in photography. This is not a position I take to be problematic, but rather one that can lead to insights by allowing encounters and correspondences to

294 **Balsom (2017)**
295 **e.g. Tagg (1988), Hall (1997)**

affect me. This means that I am vulnerable, that I have to continuously and as open as possible communicate with all who were involved in - and could be implicated by - the correspondences I initiated. These are 'tasks' that generated confrontations and painful moments, and are part of a lifelong learning process. My artistic practice makes the insights so far generated by this process available to audiences in Uganda and in Western Europe, while this dissertation places them in discourses on photography that generally do not question the presuppositions from which photographs are discussed.

The *Ebifananyi* books and exhibitions are outcomes of my artistic practice, and can be seen as ongoing processes rather than conclusions. When these processes are, as Ingold states from an anthropological position,[286] also generous, comparative and critical, the refusal to be conclusive is not a weakness. Therefore the fluid and open-ended structure of this research project renders its outcomes relevant within artistic and academic discourses. It insists that *ebifananyi /* photographs may be pictures that easily move from one context to another, but that these contexts have to be present in order not to unnecessarily misappropriate them through isolation or ideologically coloured inscriptions.[297] My artistic practice as a research method allows both human and non-human actors in the Ugandan and Western European contexts to move beyond their outside positions in relation to the lives of others, through the continuous possibility to change and be changed by each other.

296 **Ingold (2017b)**
297 **Latour (1985)**

Detail of *Ebifananyi* - The Photographers Trilogy, at Photoville, New York, September 2018

Epilogue

alternating views on *Ebifananyi*

The Uganda Museum Kampala
01-08-2018 / 24-08-2018

FoMu Antwerp
26-09-2017 / 18-02-2018

Groningen, 21 September 2018

Four weeks have passed since the model of the Ebifananyi exhibition in Antwerp was burned during another Ekyoto[298] in Kampala. The event marked the end of the Ebifananyi exhibition in the Uganda Museum. The preparations for the exhibition 'on the ground' in Kampala followed the printing of the model in the Netherlands. Canon, Engineer Wambwa's daughter Mary and I started to put the model together six weeks before the Ekyoto. The temporary exhibition hall of the museum was not in use and therefore available as a workspace, which was fortunate for us. While working in this space I saw the number of school classes that visited the museum day after day. The number of children passing through the halls was rather overwhelming. We nevertheless went ahead as planned. The photographic documentation of the exhibition in Antwerp was placed on the large table in the central dome of the museum. The model was positioned in the forestry section of the Science and Industry hall, just behind the dome. Pictures were added to the permanent museum display in files placed on small tables. The organisers of the KLAART festival told me they were happy with the exhibition as an addition to their "Off the Record" activities that mostly took place in public spaces.[299]

After the exhibition opened I spent several days in the museum to experience responses to the presentation. Next to the never-ending stream of children there were also tourists and small groups of people who were interested in KLAART. Possibly the most rewarding response to the *Ebifananyi* exhibition was given by a young man who spent almost an entire day in the museum. It was another busy day with school visits. There was no guide available to tour him through the museum. He took a remarkably long time to look at the displays. Once he reached the model I asked him what the purpose of his visit to the museum was. "I pass by on a daily basis, but have not entered the place since I came here on a school visit," he replied and looked up while continuing, "like these ones".
I asked what he liked about the museum. He responded "The photographs, and..." while pointing at the carriage and car positioned opposite to the *Ebifananyi* model, "these things". "The rest", referring to the displays behind glass, "is not real". He was not able to clarify there and then what he meant by his remark, so I said that there were many more photographs in the books, in case he still wanted to see more. He sat down among the children that had gathered around the model and started going through the books one by one.

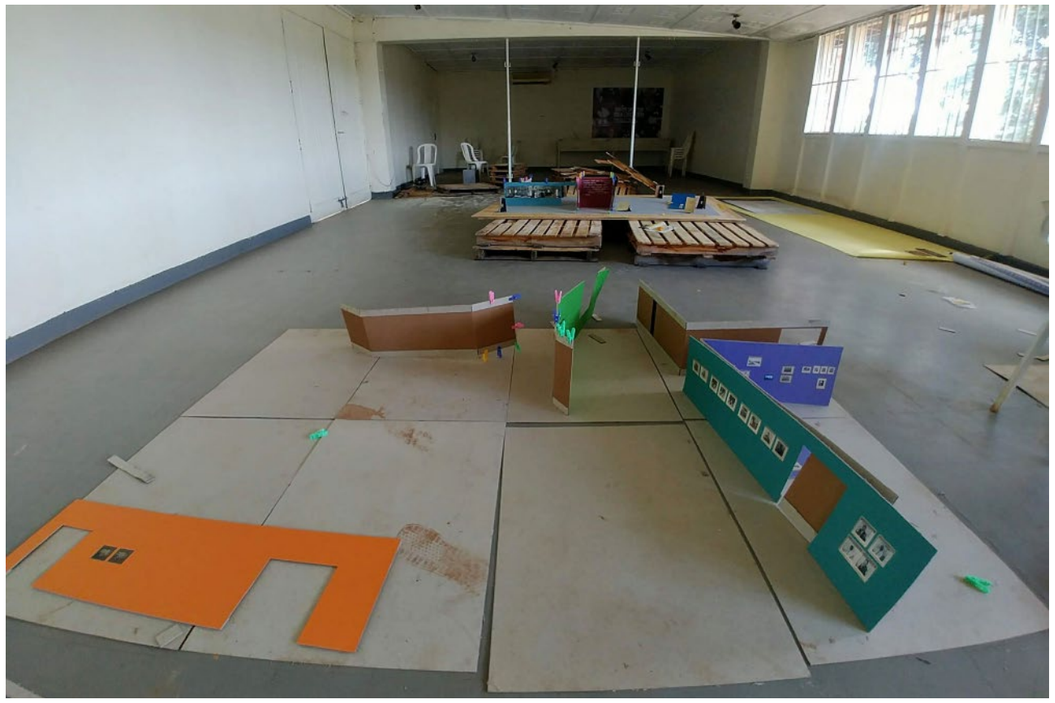
The burning of the model during the ekyoto was intended as an opportunity to have an intimate discussion about the exhibition and the future of HIPUganda. It was also a comment on the presentation related to *Ebifananyi* #6 that was, as mentioned in chapter 6, meant to be on display for five days only, but can to this day still be found in the natural history section of the museum. Due to the decision to keep it up I became aware that the museum could and maybe should be read as a place full of relics of earlier, often temporary, exhibitions. It is a palimpsest of opportunities that came along in the past and challenges the museum faces in the present, relating to lack of funding and government support.[300] From the corner behind the model, in a space where I usually sat while spending time in the museum, I looked at a cow's head. It had been part of an exhibition about milk, organised by The Uganda Museum in collaboration with and funded by the Swiss-African Research Cooperation.[301]
Even though people did plea for the *Ebifananyi* exhibition to remain on display, I wanted it to properly end it this time. The model was carried out and positioned in an open area between the huts in the cultural village behind the museum. As the sun set behind Nakasero hill the fire was lit. The flames that ate the model were big, the photographs made of

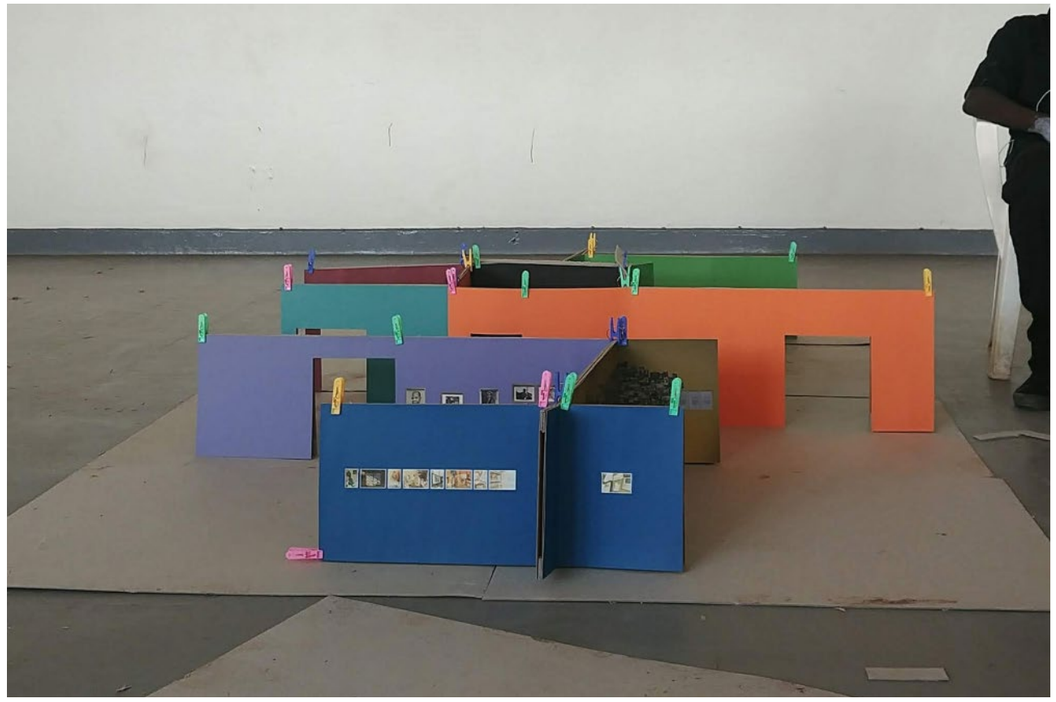
298 **Bonfire, see footnote 251**
299 **See http://klaart.org/ last accessed 25-09-2018**

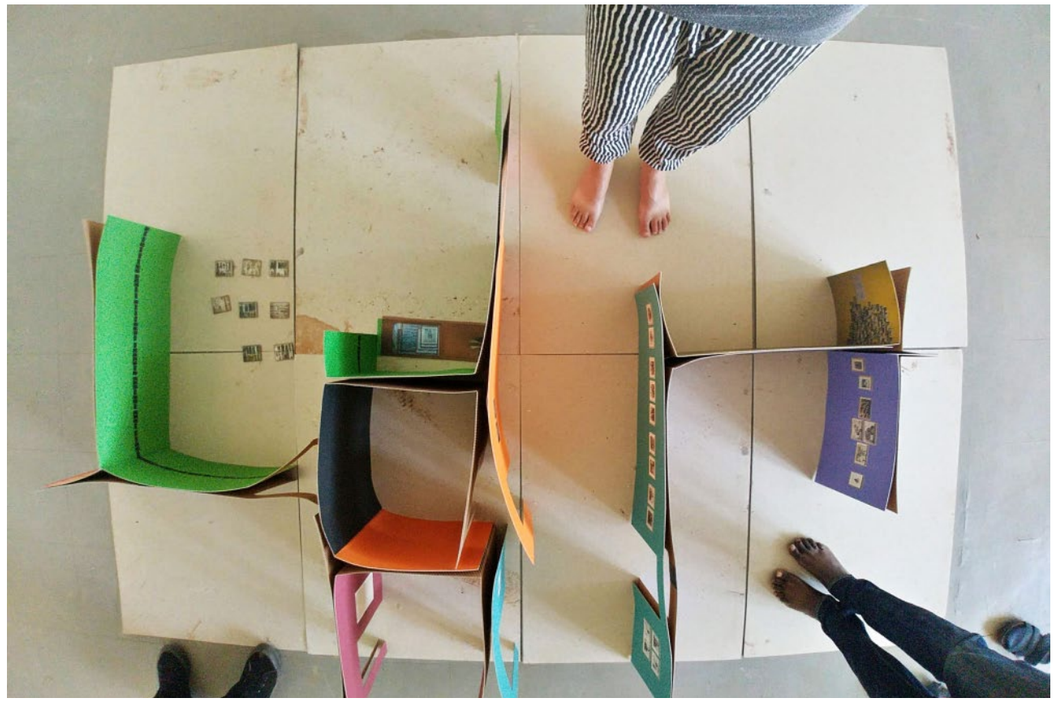
the event were dramatic. For now they seem to be too dramatic even to share.

Over the past four weeks I have been going through photographs and films made of the exhibition. While I started to work on the digital files, I also finally managed to make an edit of the film documentation of the show in Antwerp that ended more than six months ago. In two days I will leave for Greece to install a show that juxtaposes documentation of the presentations in Antwerp and Kampala at the Thessaloniki Photobiennale. In November an exhibition in the gallery of the Royal Academy of Art in The Hague will accompany the public defence of my research. I am certain that these exhibitions will help me to eventually reflect in more depth on the presentations in Kampala and in Antwerp through words. For now the photographs I have made are reminders of the encounters that took place. The exhibition documentation is also a starting point for new correspondences that shift the initial focus of the research project towards conventions around exhibitions and other presentation practices of photographs. While I am figuring out which photograph to use for the invitation of the exhibition in The Hague, my mind wanders to thoughts about how to ensure that my work will continue to actively engage with other artists, as well as to maintain strong dialogical academic conversations. Such conversations, when productive, offer ways to decentralise the dominant Western perspectives on the production, uses and understandings of photographs.

300 **This was confirmed several times by museum employees in informal conversations. Senior curator Nelson Abiti added the challenges the museum faces because it was built for a population of 5 million people while it now serves 35 million during his speech at the opening of the exhibition.**
301 **https://www.sareco.org/profile/drinking-deeply-from-museum-work-milk-in-switzerland-uganda-an-international-coop-between-museums-in-uganda-ethnographic-museum-at-university-of-zurich/ Last accessed 25-09-2018**

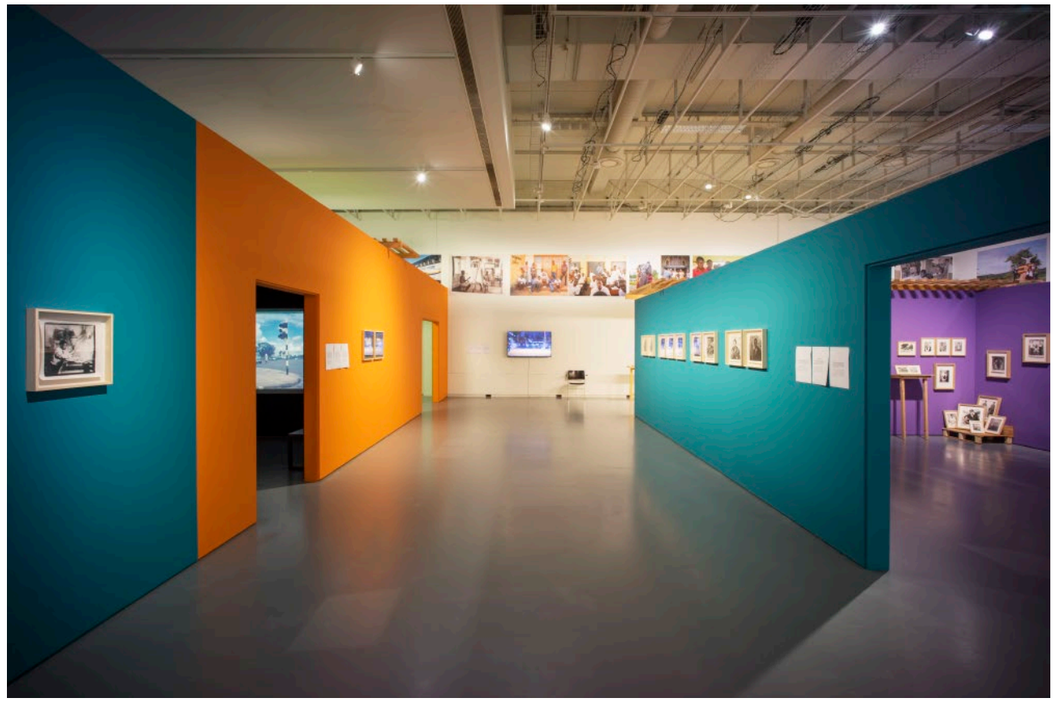


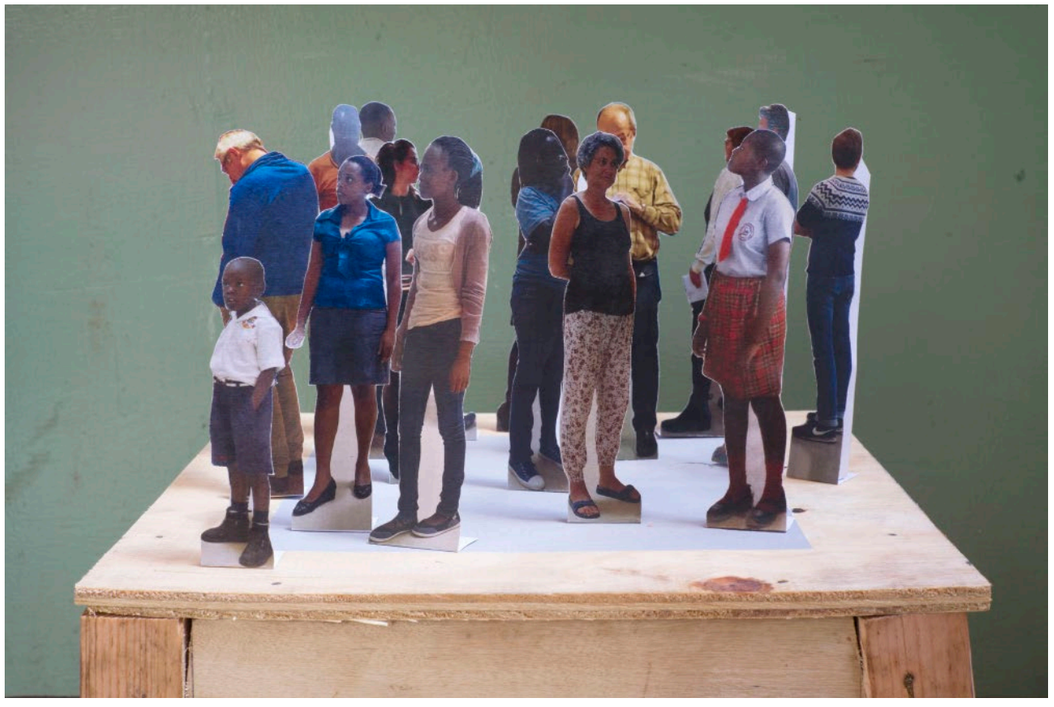


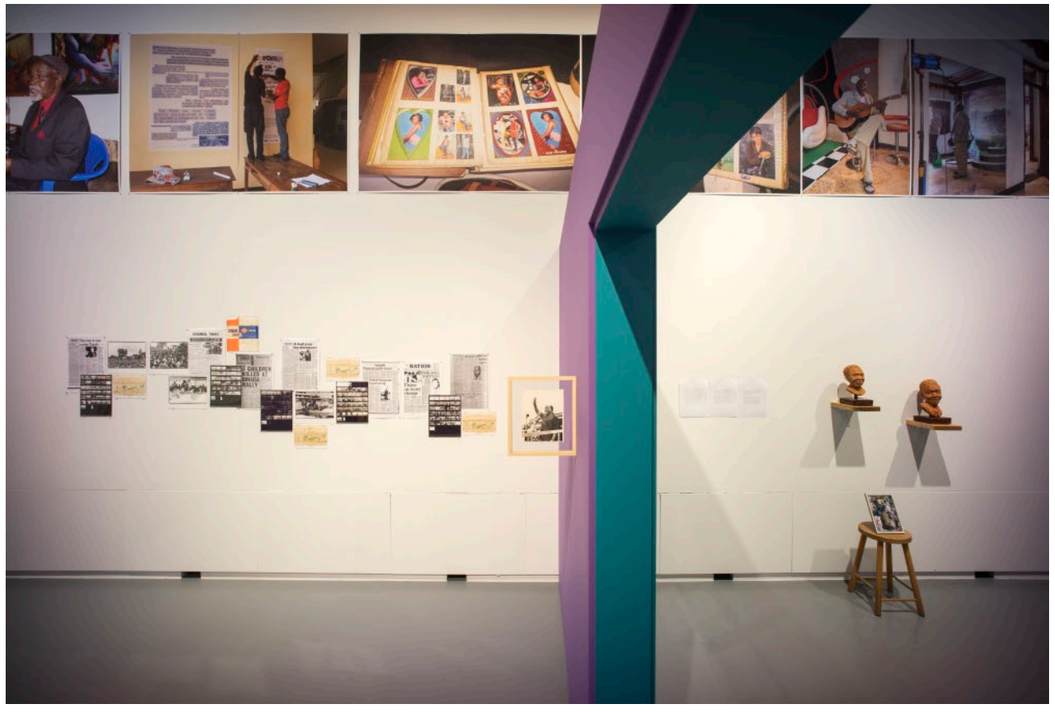


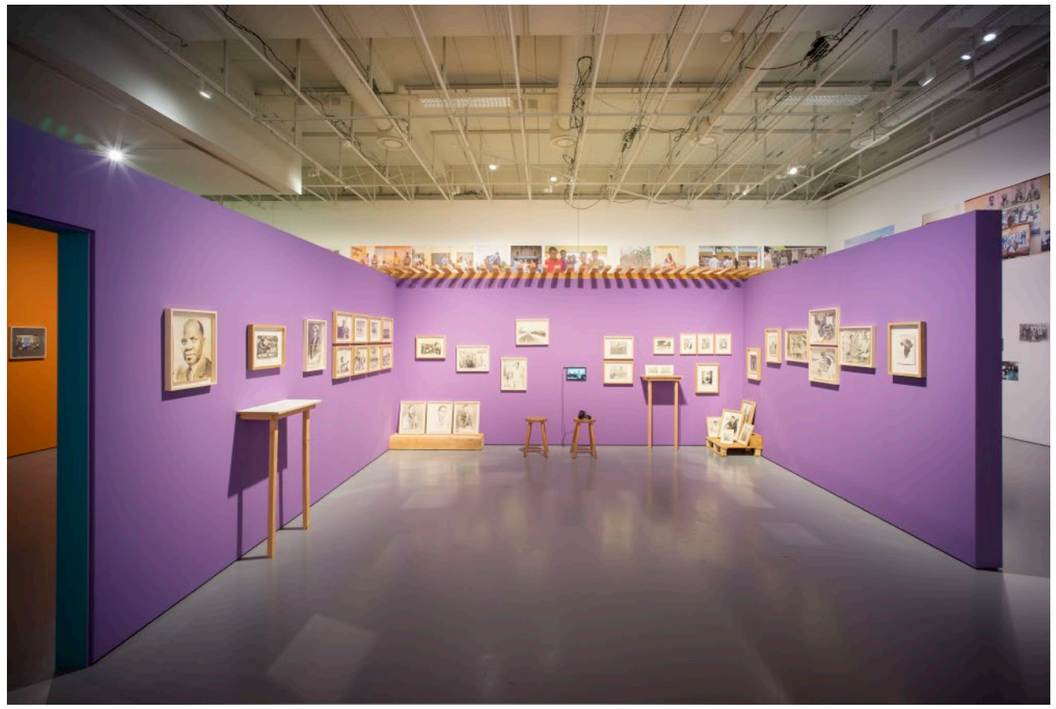
Ebifananyi

kifaananyi, e- (ki/bi) image, likeness; picture; photograph; painting. ekifaananyi ekibumbe, statue. omustizi w'ebifaananyi, artist. ebifaananyi ebisiige, paintings. omukubi w'ebifaananyi, photographer. okukuba ebifaananyi bya..., to take pictures of, photograph. okukukuba ekifaananyi, to imagine. cf. faanana.

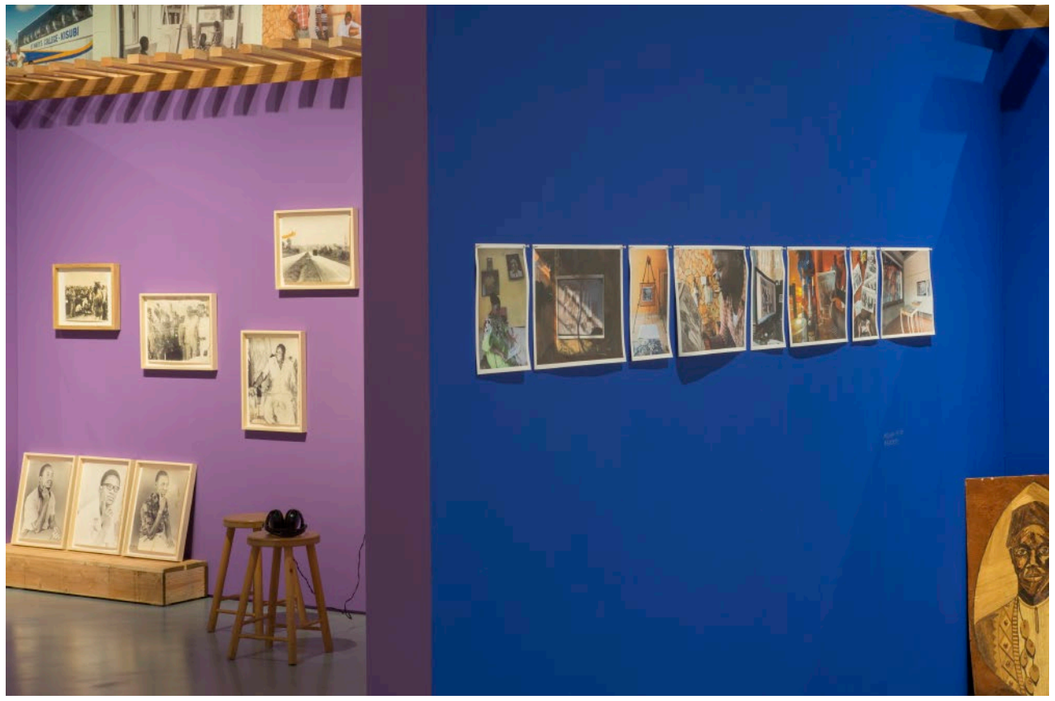


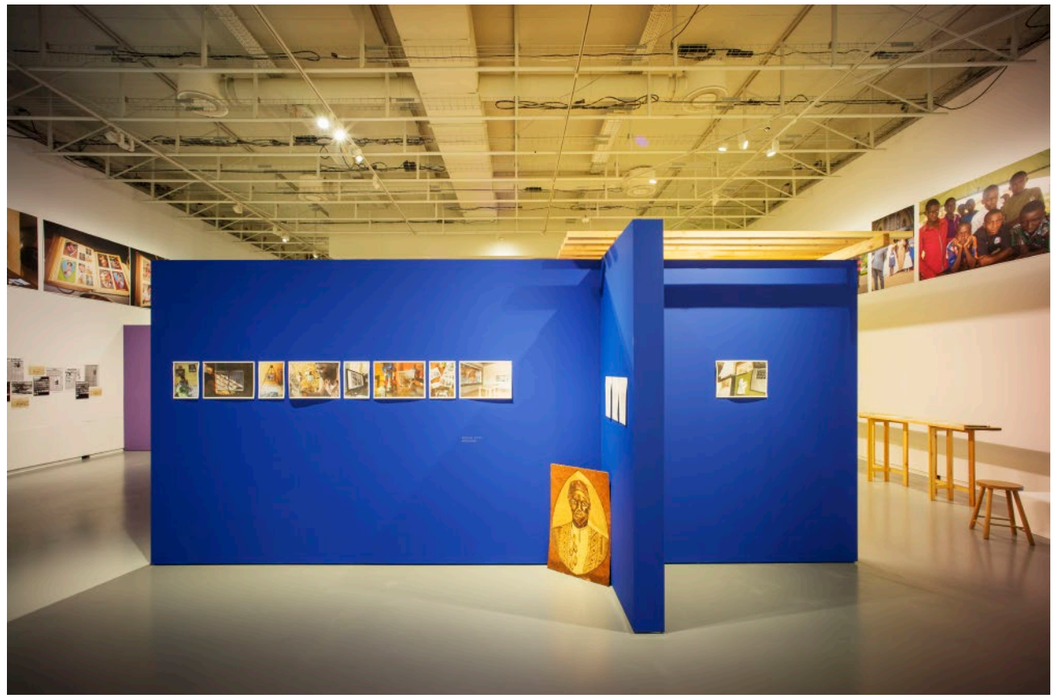






Ebifananyi
@The Uganda Museum
Aug 1 - 23 2018





THE MUSEUM IN PICTURES
MY MUSEUM
My Heritage
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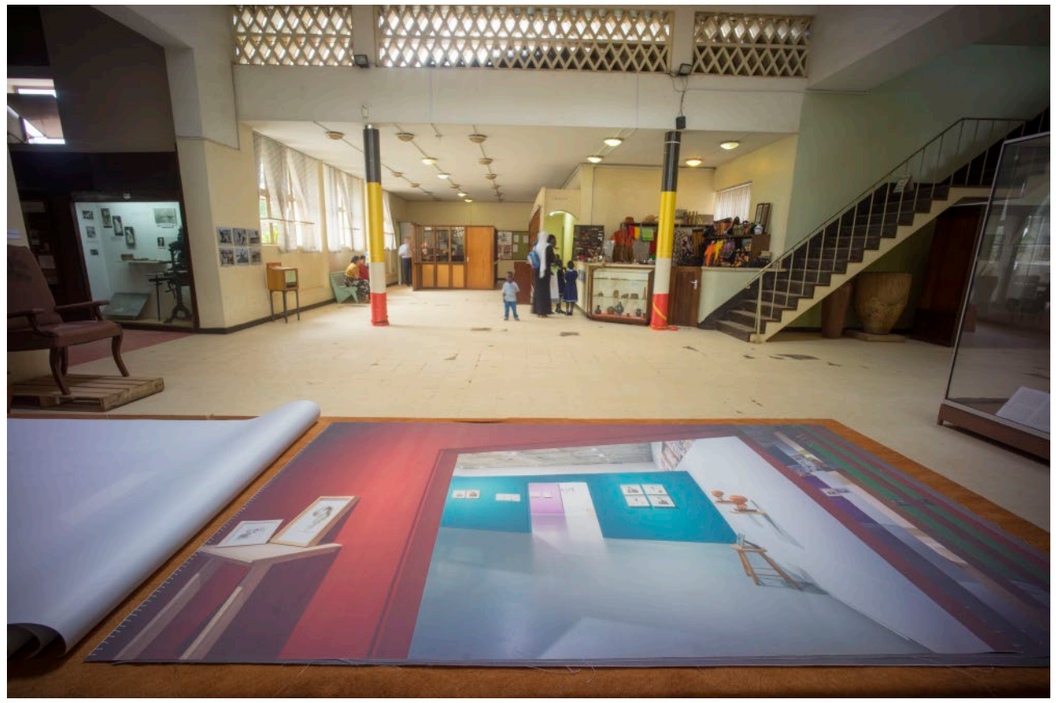

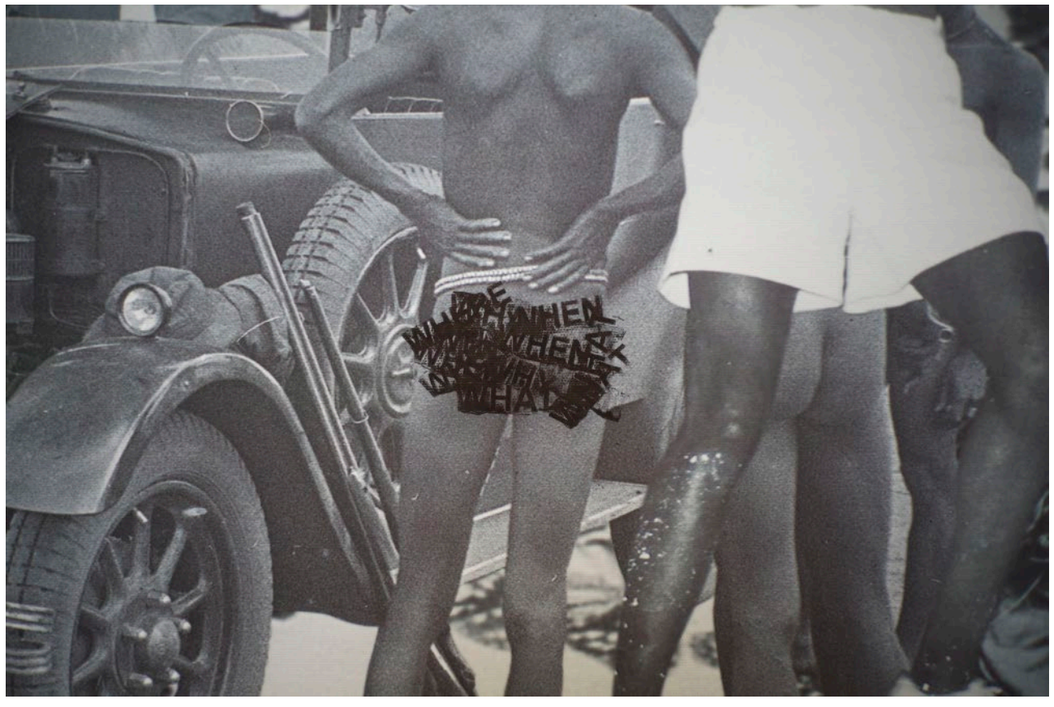

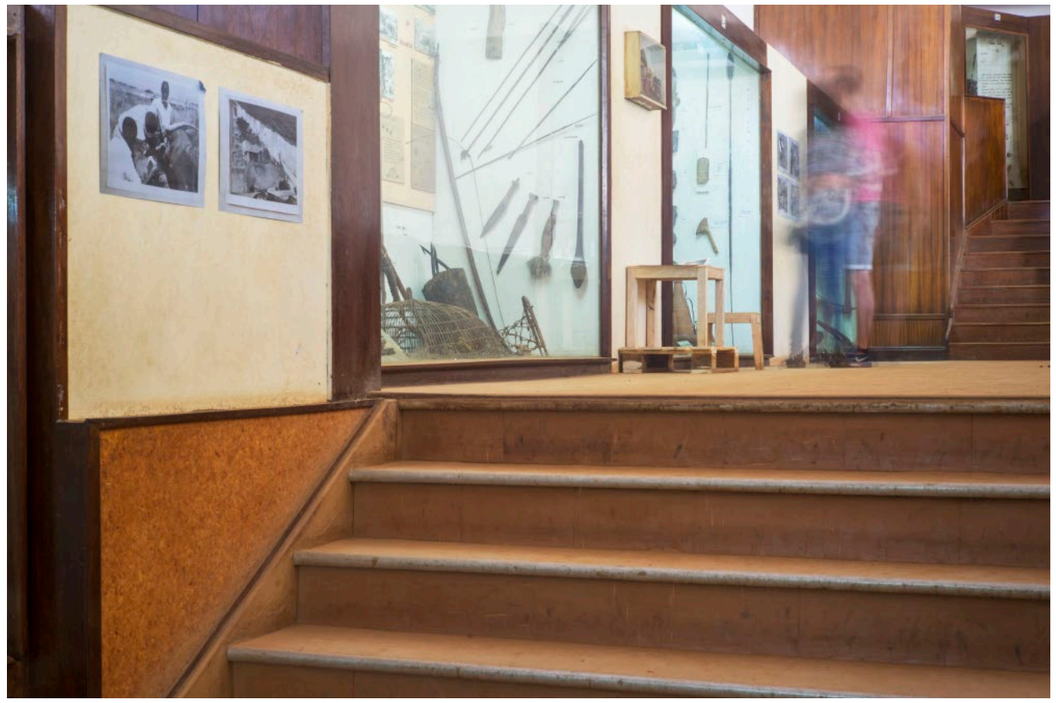

Ebifanenyi
Ebifanenyi
Ebifanenyi
WHEN
WHERE
WHO
WHY

WE
BELIEVE
2 GUNS LOST,
DEAD IN ATTACK

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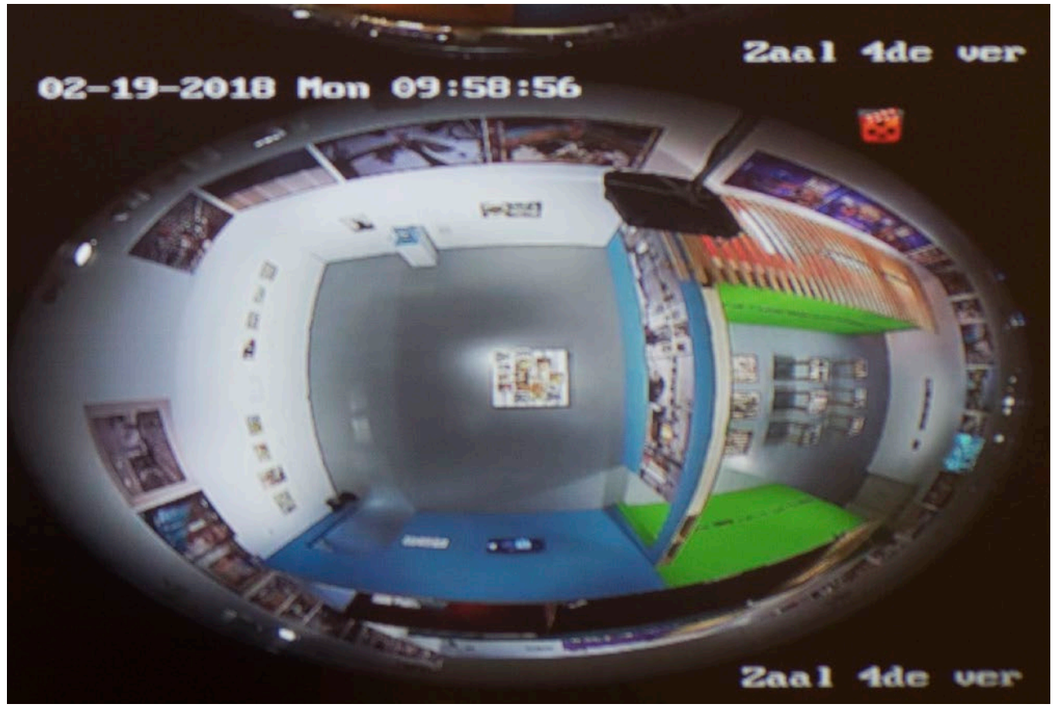
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Summary

The research project presented in this dissertation emerged from personal visits to Uganda and is concerned with two issues. Firstly, it questions how the conceptualisation of photographs as *ebifananyi* (likenesses) in Luganda differs from the way in which I, as a photographer educated in the Netherlands, was taught to understand photographs. The answer to this question was explored in my artistic practice while I worked with collections of photographs encountered in Uganda. Secondly, it reflects on and analyses how my artistic practice serves as a method of research, and how it relates to other methods deployed to research photographs on the African continent in the interdisciplinary field in which anthropology, history and art-history meet.

In this project photographs are treated as 'encounters' and I focus on engagements with them through 'correspondences' - notions adapted from Ariella Azoulay, who is concerned with theories of photography and citizenship, and anthropologist Tim Ingold. A photograph is the result of an 'encounter' between a camera, a camera operator and a photographed reality whereby members of the audiences viewing these photographs generate meaning. In a 'correspondence' different actors meet on a shared path where they engage with each other's positions.
This dissertation argues, by virtue of numerous examples, that any understanding of ebifananyi / photographs needs to be framed by the historical and cultural context of their creation and use, and as a means to do so, various correspondences were set up. Collections of photographs encountered in Uganda were activated by sharing them on social medium Facebook, which resulted in comments that added information to what the photographs depict. Subsequently selected collections served as material in my artistic practice, which led to the eight volume Ebifananyi book series accompanied by exhibitions that took place in Uganda and Western Europe.

My research resulted in a large number of connections between historical events and depictions thereof that were not previously recognised. At the same time, fundamental differences between apparently and even deceptively similar positions and uses of photographic imagery in Uganda and the Netherlands surfaced. It is important to take these differences into account when engaging with cross-cultural communication that makes use of photographs.

Letters are part of an exchange between specific individuals or groups of people at a particular moment in time. This dissertation is partly written in the form of letters addressing Ugandans who have a relationship with the photographs presented in one of the *Ebifananyi* books. The conventions of letter writing allow me to reflect on my actions in relation to the particular perspectives the addressees of the letters have on Uganda's past and present.

The *Ebifananyi* books and exhibitions that are the artistic outcomes of my research project have made a wealth of previously tacit materials available both for a general audience in and beyond Uganda as well as for additional research. The expanded presence of historical photographs provides a ground for additional explorations of the introduction of photographic imagery in Uganda that I argue to be necessary.

In my artistic practice other artists and picture makers added, often invited by me, sometimes on their own initiative, their understanding of the studied materials. An example of this is the set of pictures made in response to an engraving that I consider to be a misinterpretation of the historically significant yet not widely known photographic group portrait made by explorer Henry Morton Stanley in 1875. These and other similar correspondences unfolding in and through pictures led to a research method which I call Collective Making, which became a productive way to deal with the potentially problematic position I, and many others, have as white Westerners doing research in Uganda. Even though differences between the Ugandan and Western European contexts need to be acknowledged and reflected upon, my artistic practice as a research method allows both human and non-human actors to continue to change and be changed by each other.

Samenvatting (Dutch Summary)

In deze dissertatie behandel ik twee onderwerpen die indirect voortkomen uit bezoeken aan het Oost-Afrikaanse land Oeganda. Ten eerste toon ik aan hoe de conceptualisering van foto's in het Luganda als *ebifananyi* (gelijkenissen) leidt tot een begrip van fotografisch beeld dat zich onderscheidt van het conventionele idee van foto's zoals we dat kennen in het Westen. Deze kwestie heb ik verkend in mijn artistieke praktijk door te werken met fotocollecties die ik aantrof in Oeganda. Ten tweede heb ik mijn artistieke praktijk als onderzoeksmethode onder de loep genomen en heb ik onderzocht hoe deze methode zich verhoudt tot andere onderzoeksmethoden op het gebied van foto's op het Afrikaanse continent, in een interdisciplinair veld waar antropologie, geschiedkunde en kunstgeschiedenis elkaar ontmoeten.

Foto's worden in het kader van dit project gezien als ontmoetingen ('encounters') en de omgang met foto's wordt benoemd als correspondenties ('correspondences'). Deze begrippen zijn ontleend aan het werk van respectievelijk Ariella Azoulay, die zich bezig houdt met theorievorming rondom fotografisch beeld in relatie tot burgerschap, en antropoloog Tim Ingold. Encounter wil hier zeggen dat de foto wordt opgevat als het resultaat van opeenvolgende ontmoetingen tussen verschillende actoren. Eerst is er de ontmoeting tussen een camera, iemand die de camera bedient en mensen en/of een omgeving die gefotografeerd worden. Vervolgens ontmoeten mensen en foto's elkaar en wordt betekenis gegeven aan de gefotografeerde werkelijkheid. In een correspondentie begeven verschillende actoren zich op een gedeeld pad en leren zij zo elkaars posities kennen.
Deze dissertatie laat door middel van verschillende voorbeelden zien waarom het belangrijk is om *ebifananyi* / foto's te begrijpen in relatie tot de historische en culturele contexten waaruit ze voortkomen en waarin ze functioneren. Deze voorbeelden zijn gebaseerd op talloze correspondenties die voortkwamen uit mijn handelen. Fotocollecties die ik aantrof in Oeganda werden geactiveerd doordat ik ze deelde op sociaal medium Facebook. Daar werden ze regelmatig van commentaar voorzien, hetgeen nieuwe inzichten verschafte omtrent de getoonde gelijkenissen. Vervolgens werd een selectie van deze fotocollecties materiaal voor mijn

artistieke praktijk, wat heeft geleid tot een achtdelige serie boeken met de titel *Ebifananyi* en bijbehorende tentoonstellingen die plaatsvonden in Oeganda en West-Europa.

Mijn onderzoek leidde tot een veelvoud aan niet eerder gelegde verbanden tussen historische gebeurtenissen en daaruit voortkomende beelden. Daarnaast heb ik gewezen op verschillen tussen de slechts ogenschijnlijk gelijke posities van fotografisch beeld in Oeganda en Nederland. Het is belangrijk om deze verschillen in ogenschouw te nemen wanneer er in de communicatie tussen, bijvoorbeeld, deze landen gebruik wordt gemaakt van fotografisch beeld.

Brieven worden geschreven naar aanleiding van specifieke omstandigheden. Deze dissertatie is deels geschreven in de vorm van brieven in dit geval gericht aan Oegandezen die een relatie hebben met foto's die in de Ebifananyi boeken gepresenteerd worden. Deze vorm maakt het mogelijk om te reflecteren op mijn acties in relatie tot de specifieke blikken die de geadresseerden hebben op het Oegandese heden en verleden.

De Ebifananyi boeken en exposities die de artistieke uitkomsten van het onderzoek zijn hebben een grote hoeveelheid foto's beschikbaar gemaakt, zowel voor een breed publiek in en buiten Oeganda alsook voor verder onderzoek. De uit dit materiaal voortgekomen inzichten tonen aan dat aanvullende studies omtrent met name de introductie van fotografisch beeld in Oeganda nodig zijn.

Andere kunstenaars en beeldmakers droegen, soms op uitnodiging en soms op eigen initiatief, bij aan mijn artistieke praktijk door, in beeld, reacties te geven op de bestudeerde materialen. Een voorbeeld hiervan is de set beelden die gemaakt werd als reactie op een gravure die ik beschouw als een misinterpretatie van de historisch belangrijke maar grotendeels onbekende groepsfoto gemaakt door ontdekkingsreiziger Henry Morton Stanley in 1875. Deze en andere gelijkaardige correspondenties leidden tot een onderzoeksmethode die ik Collectief Maken ben gaan noemen. Deze methode maakt het mogelijk om te werken vanuit de potentieel problematische positie die ik, en velen met mij, heb als witte westerse onderzoeker in Oeganda. Terwijl het belangrijk is om verschillen tussen de Oegandese en West-Europese contexten te benoemen en erop te reflecteren, biedt dit Collectief Maken een onderzoeksmethode die mensen en dingen als actoren in contact brengt met elkaar en van daaruit bijdraagt aan een groeiend wederzijds begrip.

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Curriculum Vitae

Andrea Stultiens was born in Roermond (July 12th1974) in the south of the Netherlands. She received a Bfa in photography from HKU University of the Arts (1998), an Mfa from AKV St Joost in Breda (2001), and an MA in photographic studies from Leiden University (2012). She divides her time between the Netherlands and Uganda.

Stultiens' artistic practice deals with photographs in relation to the ways in which particular histories are presented. Since 2007 she mainly works with photographs made on the African continent. She thinks of her artistic and research practice as a non-hierarchical Collective Making that is necessary to explore photographic imagery in complex and potentially problematic post-colonial settings.

From 2002 onward Stultiens has been teaching at Minerva Art Academy / Hanze University of Applied Sciences in Groningen (NL). Since 2013 she is involved in the research department of this university. Her work is here concerned with the use of photographs in artistic practices, and the position exhibitions can have in research in and through the arts.
Stultiens exhibits and publishes the outcomes of her artistic practice internationally, with a focus on Uganda and the Netherlands.

Propositions

1. The Luganda word *ebifananyi* signifies 'likenesses' in the broadest sense of the word, among them photographs. The conceptualisation of photographs as 'likenesses' has important consequences for their production and uses in contexts where Luganda is the primary language.

2. The absence of historical pictures observed in Uganda is not only related to political, economical and environmental circumstances, but also to cultural conventions. This is vital to an understanding of the way in which photographs are valued in Uganda.

3. A fact rarely taken into account is the coincidence of the introduction of photographs, drawings, and other representational depictions in the Kingdom of Buganda with the arrival of European explorers. This fact affects the visual culture in this Kingdom to the present day.

4. The assumption that photographs encountered in Uganda are indiscriminately of interest to the researcher when researching photographs, resulted in connections between historical events and depictions thereof that were not previously recognised.

5. Depictions that **look like** something else differ fundamentally from depictions that **stand for** something else. The former **present** while the latter **represent**. The conceptualisation of photographs as likenesses relieves them from the representational function they are often primarily burdened with.

6. Scholars who are concerned with theories of photography must recognise that photographs do not 'speak' a universal language. This insight has not yet taken effect in the uses of photographs in academic contexts.

7. Understanding the situated production and uses of photographs is only possible by comparing them with photographs that are situated differently.

8. Generosity, understood as the intention to be of use to the direct context in which a subject of study lives or functions, should be added to criticality, reflexivity and rigour, which primarily serve an academic discourse.

9. Authorship should be an acknowledgement of responsibility of mediated content rather than a claim to ownership.

10. Listening and postponing judgment are undervalued competencies.

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