The things in between: photographs from the Mariannhill Mission in KwaZulu-Natal and other objects in situations of intermediality

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PART THREE

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Photographs and Objects

CHAPTER FIVE

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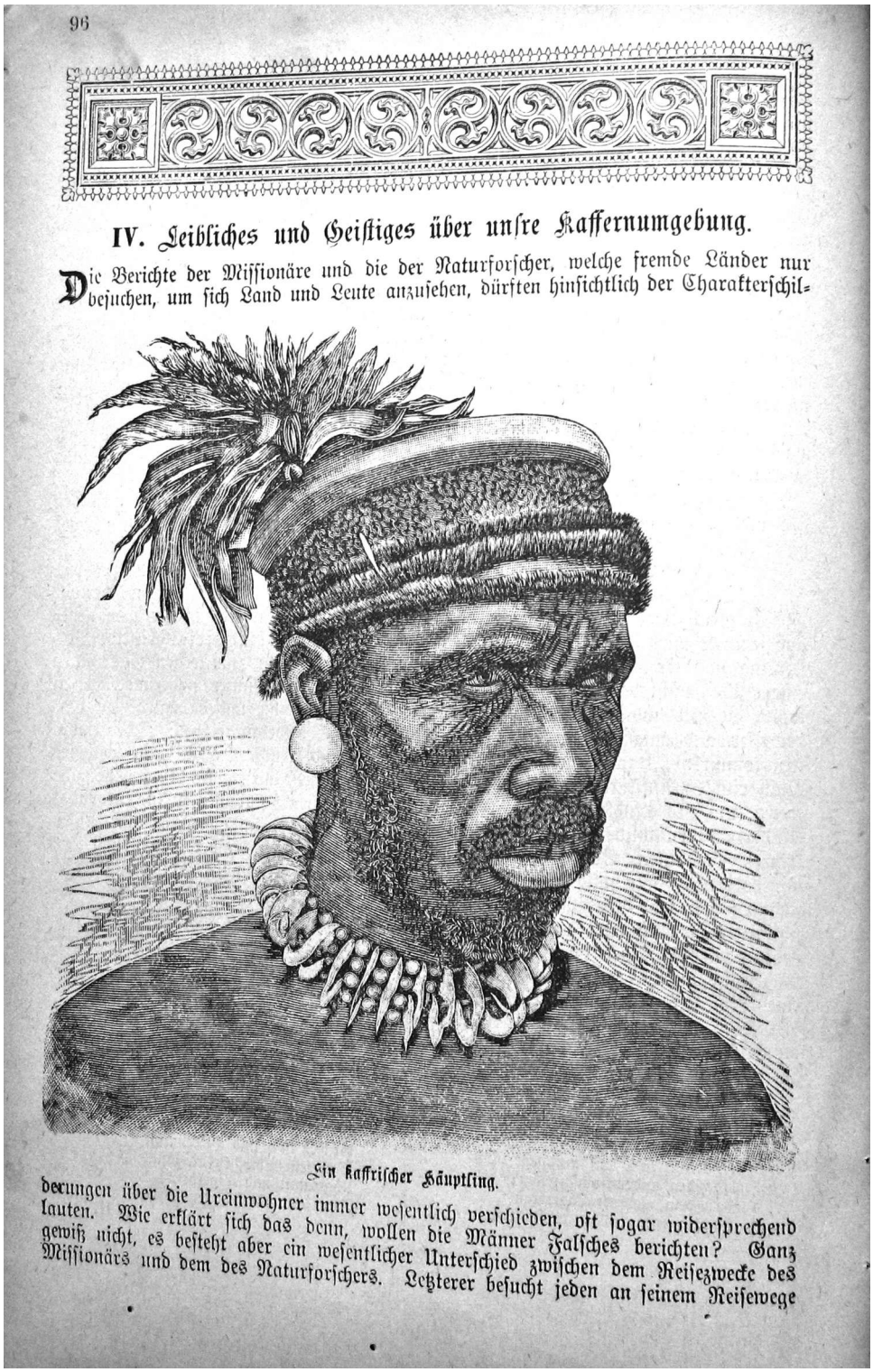
Curating Relationships

Introduction: Entangled (in) Images



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IV. Leibliches und Geiſtiges über unſre Kaffernumgebung.

Die Berichte der Miſſionäre und die der Naturforſcher, welche fremde Länder nur beſuchen, um ſich Land und Leute anzuſehen, dürften hinſichtlich der Charakterſchil-

Ein kaffriſcher Häuptling.

derungen über die Ureinwohner immer weſentlich verſchieden, oft ſogar widerſprechend lauten. Wie erklärt ſich das denn, wollen die Männer Falſches berichten? Ganz gewiß nicht, es beſteht aber ein weſentlicher Unterſchied zwiſchen dem Reiſezwecke des Miſſionärs und dem des Naturforſchers. Letzterer beſucht jeden an ſeinem Reiſewege

Figure 102: original caption: "*Ein Kaffrischer Häuptling*"—"A Kafir Chief". Mirror-inverted engraving (as published in *Mariannhiller Kalender* 1893:96).

The reports of the missionary and the one of the natural scientist [*Naturforscher*]—the latter only visiting foreign countries in order to study the land and the people—are probably rather different, even contradictory, considering their descriptions of the natives' character. But how can this be explained? Do these men want to give false accounts? Certainly not, however, there is an essential difference between the purpose of the missionary's travels, and the one of the natural scientist. The latter visits every tribe along his way only for a short time; at the most he stays for a few days or weeks on a superfluous and businesslike basis, without succeeding to study the character of the people. It is different in the case of the missionary. He came to the heathen countries to sacrifice himself for the instruction of the native. Here is his new home; the heathens shall become his new students and brothers. In order to influence them in a salutary way he has to study their character intensively. This is demanded by his profession and his Christian intelligence. For these reasons the accounts given by missionaries probably come closer to reality than the ones of the travelling natural scientists. The Catholic missionary, as psychologist and priest, does certainly get to know spiritual life of people much better than anyone else in the world. Just think about the priest's interaction with his newly acquainted parishioners. […][392] (Anon., *Mariannhiller Kalender*, 1893:96-97)

Once more I invoke the portrait photograph of Manzini's *induna*, Umdamane Zungu. It provides us with an ideal entry point to the central question of the following two chapters, how the circulations of images and objects—at times referred to as "ethnographic"—constituted intentional and unintentional relationships with desirable and undesirable consequences.[393] Transcending the original intention to create definite knowledge, the photograph of Umdamane in particular provoked repeated "objectifications" (Miller 1987, 2005a)—the mutual constitution of subjects and objects—rather than being a once inscribed ("ethnographic") fact. Through its buoyancy and its entanglement with the life of people around Mariannhill, the photograph became involved in ongoing conversations amongst various interlocutors.

The very first publication of Umdamane's photograph was a relatively well-made, but mirror-inverted engraving in the *Mariannhiller Kalender* of 1893 (Figure 102).[394] The image is framed by the above quoted anonymous text, titled "*Leibliches und Geistiges aus unserer Kaffernumgebung*".[395] Even though the engraving is not referred to in the text, Umdamane is made to stand in as the mentioned "heathen", to whom both missionary and the "natural scientist" directed their attention. It is not my aim to judge whether missionaries, or instead

[392] My own translation from the German original.

[393] Objects collected by ethnographic museums have been inconsistently referred to as either "ethnographic" or "ethnological", as well as either "objects" or "artefacts". Some accounts argued that the latter term is appropriate to stress the epistemological production process in the line of collection by Westerners and their consequent construction as either "art" or merely "artefacts", ie. "skilfully made" (eg. Fabian 2004, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, Vogel 1988). For the sake of consistency I settle for the contemporary adequate term "ethnographic objects". Being aware that also photographs may be "objects [/artefacts] of ethnography" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998:30), I use "objects" and "photographs" next to each other for practical reasons. While indeed granting objectness to photographs, this separation appears necessary to focus on the capacities of photographs as images.

[394] As the *Mariannhiller Kalender* for the year 1893 had to be both written and printed by mid-1892, the photograph was likely taken in 1891. At this time, Fr. Isembard Leyendecker, Fr. Theoderich Sonnen and Fr. Desiderius Fresen made their first extensive tours to take photographs outside of the monastery compound. While the missionaries produced this print with the availability of still limited technology and expertise at Mariannhill Monastery, from 1895 they had the Kalender and its images printed professionally with much higher accuracy and quality in Germany. The original printing block of this image is still stored in the museum at Mariannhill Monastery.

[395] My own translation from the German original: "About the Physical and Mental Features of our Kafir Environment".

secular scholars were the "better" ethnographers, but rather to specify what their particular interests were in people and how both interpretative communities hoped to produce knowledge about them by collecting, exhibiting, curating, and circulating both objects and photographs. In this chapter I will explain how Mariannhill Missionaries dealt with both objects and photographs in the material practice and social performance that is the curation of museums and exhibitions.[396] I argue that they employed the knowledge produced in the process of curation to construct relationships with their subjects, and thereby attempted to establish lasting relationships with benefactors and other allies.

In Chapter Six I shall explain how Mariannhill Missionaries became auxiliary, yet important contributors to the ethnological discourse on South Africa. Amongst those just-mentioned allies were also European ethnologists and anthropologists, such as Henry Balfour, Alfred C. Haddon, and Felix von Luschan, who, like Gustav Fritsch and Wilhelm Joest several decades earlier, indeed visited South Africa, Natal, and even Mariannhill Monastery. However, they experienced South Africa mostly through organised tours, which allowed only for brief encounters with Black South Africans. Furthermore, they relied on the mediation by either missionaries, government officials, and object dealers, all providing pre-arranged experiences, as well as pre-selected objects and photographs. Accordingly, the evaluations by both professional scholars and missionaries were equally jumbled and always depended on the oral and textual accounts produced during respective occasions of object collection and photographic production.

In this sense, missionaries and ethnologists belonged to interlinked communities, but have been generally diagnosed with an uneasy relationship and mutually ambivalent evaluations regarding their (textual) ethnographic work. Reevaluations of this relationship have taken place more consistently since missionaries joined professional ethnology and anthropology in the years before the First World War, once more in postcolonial and postmodern reflections in the early 1980s, and again in the early 1990s.[397] But as these previous attempts foremost focused on texts, we still need to evaluate more clearly missionaries' perspectives on those objects and photographs deemed "ethnographic".[398] Scholars have indeed considered how missionaries employed objects in what Bennett has called an "exhibitionary complex" (1995), but so far not addressed the crucial importance of photographs in the process of exhibition-making by

[396] The noun "curation" and the verb "to curate" are employed in their conventional sense of organising and taking care of a permanent museum collection. I furthermore use it for the practice of temporary exhibition-making. See Hamilton and Skotnes (2014) for recent case studies situated in South Africa and extended applications of this practice, as well as related problems and uncertainties.

[397] For overviews by scholars with backgrounds in both mission and anthropology, see for example Bonsen et al. (1990), Van der Geest (1990), Pels (1994, 1999), Burton and Burton (2007). An ongoing problem with the construction of a dichotomy between the two groups is that both are still stereotyped in popular, but also in academic evaluations (Pels 2009, Rapoport 1991:741). Also in my own experience, positions, motivations and convictions of both are too varied to be generalised, and must therefore be discussed within their contemporary circumstances. Over the past years, a flood of studies has appeared on the involvement of missionaries in the production on colonial knowledge more generally (see footnote below).

[398] In particular confessional differences in perspective on objects and materiality, need more research, such as those between Catholics and Protestants.

missionaries (Coombes 1994, Hasinoff 2011, Jensz 2012, Wingfield 2012).[399]

In particular, we still need to learn more about how German ethnologists and missionaries interacted just before and after 1900, especially regarding the circulation of objects and photographs from Africa. While ethnologists often criticised the textual, thus *ethno-graphic* work of missionaries, objects and photographs provided by missionaries seemed to be much less of a problem: In the cases I discuss, ethnologists regarded objects and photographs provided by missionaries as being free of previous interpretations and prejudice (see below, also see Griffiths 2002:109-111, 118). Even though there are analyses of ethnologists' viewpoints, so far there have been no detailed grass roots studies on missionaries' actual practice of collecting ethnographic objects and the related production of photographs. Mariannhill was an important participant in this expanding community for several decades. Furthermore, at the monastery we have an exceptional perspective on photographic authorship within the situated production of images, and at the same time a concrete situation of a localisable and connected practice of object collection and curation. This allows us to better comprehend the interactions of clearly situated historical actors with images and objects in processes of entanglement.

The archaeologist Ian Hodder describes the process of human-thing entanglement in so far "[…] that humans get caught up in a double bind, depending on things that depend on humans" (2011:164, 2016:4). This also applies to ethnographic objects and photographs, which eventually depended on humans to attain and maintain the status of the "ethnographic", not only in a classificatory sense, but equally in material terms (cf. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, Edwards 2007). These material dimensions seem crucial in addition to the insights already provided by Miller regarding "objectification". These material terms are eventually curatorial and conservational, leading to an authorisation of particular objects through processes of selecting, storing, arranging, presenting, preserving, and, if necessary, fixing them. A crucial part of these activities—which allows us to study them after all—was the common practice of photographing objects in their own right (cf. Edwards 2001). As we have already seen in the previous chapters, the same applies to the missionaries' treatment of photographs as physical objects, for example by inscribing, coating, and retouching glass plate negatives.

Throughout this study, I successively build up the idea that photographs are entangled with (ie. depend on) other media, such as paintings and their narratives, theatre, writing, film, ethnographic objects, paintings, and eventually people in their "distributed" form. Also, all of these media depend on photographs, in order to be employed more successfully. I have already shown that the success of Mariannhill's photographs depended on radical interventions by Br. Aegidius Müller. Next to providing the infrastructure and material framework of the

[399] The literature on knowledge networks in the natural and social sciences involving missionaries has grown immensely for many regions worldwide over the past few years and cannot be fully evaluated here. But see Gosden and Larson (2007), Habermas (2008, 2010), Habermas and Przyrembel (2013), Habermas and Hölzl (2014), Harries (2007), Harries and Maxwell (2012), Van der Heyden and Feldtkeller (2012). For various histories of scholarly work and networks in Natal and beyond see Hamilton and Leibhammer (2016). See Harries (2007, 2012) for an attempt at comparing early Catholic efforts in the natural sciences to those of other missionaries.

photographic studio, he had to retouch, crop, and preserve the negatives and prints, all involving the considerable effort of procuring equipment, skills, and expertise from Germany. In this chapter I suggest that the same is the case for the curation of various kinds of objects, in their relation to photographs, and particularly in the process of being photographed. This chapter's anchoring topic therefore is the process of how Mariannhill Missionaries accumulated and curated both objects and photographs as inter-dependent "mimetic capital" in order to establish, represent and maintain relationships. As a result, the involved people, objects, and photographs developed certain forms of dependence and dependency.[400]

Neither Coombes, Hasinoff, Jensz or Wingfield regarding missions, nor Hodder, Thomas (1991), or Wendl (2001) specifically address the exceptional role images or photographs may have in entanglement situations.[401] The exceptional status of photographs in such circumstances is based on claims to both their iconicity and indexicality, while at the same time being highly reproducible. As I have explained already, we therefore need to write a photograph's biography not only for the material object, but at the same time for the image (cf. Edwards 2007:48). The relationships and networks established in this process not only point to the material aspects of photographs in relation to objects, but even more to the changing ideas on their ontological and evidentiary status. Photographs and people therefore were, and still are entangled at Mariannhill. Initially, the missionaries depended on the circulation of photographs in order to anticipate an ideal future for benefactors and attract novices. Today, they still depend on their circulation with the same audiences in order to maintain, or rather to re-evoke the congregation's past, amongst other things for the ongoing beatification process of the mission's founder (Chapter Eight).

A better analysis of the historical intersection of photographs and objects may be facilitated in the following way. In the main introduction I discussed the advantages to analyse a photograph's biography by distinguishing its provenance, as well as its provenience.[402] This

[400] Despite Hodder's primary background in archaeology, his discussion of "entanglement" is the most sophisticated and interdisciplinary yet. According to him, entanglement may occur between things and humans, between humans, and between things. But also humans turn into things when they die. The other way round, objects such as relics, or portrait photographs may be treated as near-human, and as such re-enter social interactions (Chapter Eight). Instead of only focusing on how people rely on things, Hodder investigates how things rely on the maintenance by people (2011, 2012, 2016). He thus distinguishes between "dependence" and "dependency". The first means an enabling reliance between the participants in a relationship, while the latter indicates an entrapment, or constraining reliance. This *asymmetry* between human-thing relationships, as he argues, distinguishes his approach from the one of Latour's "actor network theory", which relies on considering objects as actors in *symmetric* relationships. Even if Hodder's claim to universalism may be unjustified, his thoughts provide a useful entry-point.

[401] The respective authors use the term "entanglement" differently, and theorise it to varying degrees. For example, Thomas never used the expression "entangled traditions", as claimed by Wendl, who himself only uses the term to denote a certain connectedness between phenomena. Also Thomas rather writes about processes of appropriation and exchange. Hodder is the only author who actually identifies an "entanglement theory" outside of the natural sciences. This can be closely related to recent reformulations of "exchange theory" in anthropology (cf. Myers 2001). Hevia's (2009) "photography complex" also resonates with Hodder's ideas on "entanglement" (Hodder 2016:6).

[402] The ethical relevance of researching the "provenance" of ethnological museum objects from the colonial period, as well as their potential restitution, is currently hotly debated, in particular in France and Germany (eg. Förster et al. 2018). Despite the fact that such research has been carried out already for several decades (with indeed less

allows to track the "extended archive" of Mariannhill's photographs back to various origins. Due to the different ontological nature of objects and photographs, a more nuanced understanding of the situations, processes, and effects of storage and curation in related museums and archives is necessary, when the social biographies of both objects and photographs intersect. This may be facilitated by Hamilton's use of the concepts "archival biography" and "backstory" (Hamilton 2011; Hamilton and Leibhammer 2016b). Hamilton suggests to make this distinction for the analysis of archival repositories and the documents and objects they contain. While the first begins with the moment an archival object enters a repository, the latter describes the period before the moment of its collection. "Archival biography" in this sense has to be understood as the vantage point from which an object's "backstory" was recollected and then told or written up. Any information on an object deriving from a moment of time prior to the moment of the object's integration into an archive or collection, generally does not exist independently of the archival context, periphery, collector, and infrastructure. Hamilton and Leibhammer argue that "backstory" thus allows to analyse objects beyond what is commonly referred to as their "provenance", the moment and place of their collection (ibid.:235-236). The moment where a collector first puts eyes or hands on an object is however much harder to reconstruct, once compared to the case of photographs. In the latter case we often have the advantage of the photograph's indexical potential, thus the concrete relationship to a spatial environment. This "provenience", as I explained in the introduction, can hardly ever be reconstructed with absolute certainty in the case of a museum object. "Backstory" may thus be considered as the artificially crafted "provenience", thus the excavation or material conditions of an object's coming or returning into the social world.

Applied to the intersection of photographs and objects, the concept of "backstory" thus allows another perspective on their accumulation and social involvements: "[t]he concept of backstory alerts us to the change involved when a view of the past is drawn into a particular preservatory script, […]" (Hamilton 2011:9). This allows us to reassemble multiple media from the perspective of the archive (cf. Hamilton and Leibhammer 2016b:423), a view that becomes pertinent when I describe the movement of objects into storage at Mariannhill's museum, exhibitions, and photographic studio. In these spaces, the missionaries not only stored objects, but they exhibited them together with photographs showing how people used these objects. In order to document such accumulations as extraordinary arrangements of mimetic capital, they once more photographed such displays containing both photographs and objects. It was precisely an object's alleged "backstory" the missionaries were interested in, and which photographs allowed to tell more efficiently. Narrating an object's alleged "backstory" to benefactors, enabled the missionaries to literally materialise the relationships with their subjects by turning these objects into "converted artifacts" (Thomas 1991). Often, it is only the missionaries' backstories

intensity and structure), it has hardly ever been explicitly referred to as "provenance" research (But see Gosden and Larson 2007, Plankensteiner 1998). Only during the past few years this term has been appropriated from the art historical discourse on looted art and its restitution in the context of the NS-Regime.

we can recover, in order to research provenance and provenience. In some cases, however, photographs present an alternative perspective on the presentation and curation of objects. It is therefore crucial to distinguish the related concepts, in order to better understand how particular subject, images, and object developed agency within networks and to scrutinise the stories about them. It is, however, also this double edge that makes photographs and objects in combination ambivalent today: on the one hand, they serve as evidence for alternative histories, which colonialism may have muted or excluded. On the other hand, there is a "public wariness" about the colonial power relations from which these object-image constellations evolved (cf. Hamilton 2011:21).

First, I shall explain these dynamics related to the particular subject-object-image-nexus involving Umdamane. Then I describe the following three interconnected practices at Mariannhill in the given order: the collection of objects in the vicinity of Mariannhill Monastery and its missions; their accumulation in a permanent museum at the monastery; and eventually their curation in combination with photographs, which had become necessary for exhibitions away from the monastery. While these three practices cannot be neatly kept apart analytically, I analyse them in relation to how they were dealt with and represented in specific back- and frontstage scenarios. This will allow us to understand how the missionaries consciously positioned objects and photographs in social space to further relationships with people they hoped to win as allies.

Umdamane's Choker

In 1899, Br. Aegidius Müller produced a catalogue with descriptions of photographs for Felix von Luschan, curator at the ethnographic museum of Berlin, where he identified Umdamane's adornments—exactly five objects—including their names in Zulu: "A choker [*Halsband*] made of leopard claws (*umgexo wamazipo engwe*), a headband, made of animal fur (*imisinto*), a 'wedding ring' [head ring] (*isigcogco*), a tuft of feathers (*isidhlodhlo*), as well as earrings made of porcelain (*isitshaza*)" (Müller 1899:19). A small white pin—stuck into the hair above the visible ear—goes unnoticed in the description. Before I turn to the conversation between Müller and Von Luschan in Chapter Six, I want to use the photograph, as well as the subject and objects it displays, as a starting point to consider the mission's practice of collection and curation. We already met Umdamane several times. So far, however, we have payed no attention to his extraordinary necklace. Doing this for its past and present significance will allow us to better understand the process of musealisation, the transition between reconstructions of the photographic occasions I described in the last chapter, the use of objects within them, and eventually the function of the same or similar objects once they have entered the museum space, understood as both repository and exhibition. This process is of course complicated once we involve photographs as intermediary representations.

During my meeting with the current *inkhosi* of the *Amanganga* in 2007 (cf. Chapter Four), the convened entourage investigated the presented photograph of Umdamane and focused on the necklace with a particular interest (Rippe 2007). According to them, this specific type of necklace was only reserved for the family of a chief, or even Zulu royalty. In order to understand this statement we will have to reconsider the intersecting biographies I described above. As in many other regions of the world, teeth and claws of large predators have been used in adornment to represent rank and status (Pickenpaugh 1997, 2005). Even if Umdamane's "choker" no longer exists, very similar objects do, most of them supposedly originating from the Natal region. The definition of the object, however, as either "choker" or "necklace", depends on the way it is worn, and accordingly performed during a photographic occasion.[403]

Items from the late 19th century, exactly like the one of Umdamane, are still circulating on the secondary art market today:[404] they are present in private and public art collections, as well as ethnographic museums. Some are also still in the possession of, and publicly worn by South African dignitaries. This particular type of adornment was made almost exclusively of red beads and allegedly with either leopard or lion claws.[405] But as contemporary accounts confirm, at least

[403] The OED defines a choker as "a necklace or decorative band worn close up against the throat". This definition is also more adequate to the German term "*Halsband*", as used by Müller. Contemporary translations of the Zulu term "*umgexo*" are rather vague: "String of beadwork worn encircling the neck" (Bryant 1905:182), or "String of beads worn on the neck, or, if long, thrown over one shoulder and under the arm" (Colenso 1905:170).

[404] For almost identical items in European, South African, and American art collections see for example Kennedy (1978:14), Klopper, Nel and Conru (2002:178-179, 223), Stevenson and Graham-Stewart (2005).

[405] Pickenpaugh (1997, 2005) observes that red is the colour used worldwide most often together with claws or teeth of large predators in adornments, in order to signify (political) power.

since the late 1870s such claws have been carved exclusively from bone (Mayr 1907b:637, also see Davison 1976:125).[406] Also Henry Balfour, curator of the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, stated this fact on the label of a similar specimen in the museum's collection.[407] According to his entry in the museum records, he had purchased this "necklet" on his first trip to South Africa in 1899, somewhere in or around Durban, where it was described to him as having been "worn by witch-doctors". During the same trip, Balfour also visited Mariannhill Monastery and purchased a print of Umdamane's portrait photograph, amongst many others. It is very unlikely that he missed the resemblance between photograph and object. It may even be that his encounter with the one influenced the purchase of the other. Another example of the same kind is exhibited in Durban's "Mashu Museum of Ethnology", as part of the Killie Campbell Africana Library, and even three items are stored at the KwaZulu-Natal Museum in Pietermaritzburg. Yet another one can be found at the ethnological museum L. Pigorini in Rome. This is only a small selection of the more than 25 highly similar items I located so far, and I hope to follow up on this topic more specifically elsewhere.

These examples must suffice to show the diversity of origins, collectors, and ideas ascribed to the very same type of object. The piece at the KCAL for example, is said to have been collected during the Zulu War in 1879, as a trophy of war. The second one was collected to the South of Natal in Pondoland, and was attributed to a female witchdoctor. The third was collected by an Italian Waldesian missionary, without further specifications. Mayr (1907b:634) referred to this type of "circlet", as he called it, as *amazipo ezilo*: this literally means "claws of a wild beast": in some instances translated as "leopard", in others as "lion". *Isilo* is also the *isibongo* (praise name) of the Zulu King. However, it has been suggested that body parts of leopards did not have the same signifying power in the 19th century, which they accrued during the 20th century. Claw necklaces appear to have been more and more appropriated exclusively as signs of Zulu royalty only after the Second World War (Papini 1996:193-194; Klopper 1992 cited in Papini 1996; Klopper 1996, 1999).

A crucial turning point in the use, performance, and perception of "Zulu" material culture as mimetic capital appears to have been the year 1954. During the unveiling of the King Shaka memorial at Stanger, Zulu Royals, including the future Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, wore the kind of adornment we are concerned with. Its performance has been well recorded photographically (see Klopper 1996). Uses of the "Zulu" past by Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom

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[406] One reason may have been over-hunting in coastal areas. But the popular tourist guide *Brown's South Africa* (1893) still advertises an abundance of leopards, which South Africa's White population considered as "vermin" until later decades of the 20th century, for them preying on livestock (Brooks 2001:148). Also Mariannhill Missionaries hunted leopards at the time, and so did the monastery's tannery process leopard hides at least until the 1920s. They even prepared them taxidermically to be shown at propaganda exhibitions, or in their museums (cf. Chapter One). A decline in wildlife may have eventually been a reality, which however did not stop Europeans to hunt. Africans instead faced legal restrictions to hunt from the 1880s onwards (Lambert 1995:112), and may thus have been forced to resort to substitute materials, such as bovine bone (cf. Papini 1996).

[407] PRM: 1899.75.4. accessioning book, entry by Henry Balfour, Oct 5. 1899: "Kaffir necklet of imitation (bone) claws & red beads, worn by witch-doctors, 4/6".

Party (IFP) has been a topic of public and academic concern since the late 1980s (Forsyth 1992, Golan 1991, Hamilton 1998, Harries 1993, Marks 1986), and can best be understood as an ongoing fusion process of oral history and colonial sources. But only Klopper (1996, 1999) has explored this political history in relation to the employment of concrete historical objects. As she explains, the performance of cultural symbols during the event in 1954 was an ambivalent reaction to the introduction of the Bantu Authorities Act in 1951, just after the victory of the National Party in 1948, and thus the beginning of the Apartheid period. Despite the furthering of segregation, this legal act also meant more power and jurisdiction for the Zulu Royal House (Klopper 1996:60) and therefore seems to have asked for a performative reconfirmation of its particular national and cultural past. Zulu Royals re-appropriated material culture as exclusive cultural property for the means of ethnic nation building (cf. Handler 1985, 2003). When the later prime minister of the KwaZulu Bantustan, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was photographed during his inauguration as chief of the Buthelezi in 1958, he too wore a very similar item to the one of Umdamane (see Klopper 1999:40). Also chief Albert Luthuli wore a variant in 1961, when receiving the Nobel Peace Price in Norway, and so did Zulu Royals once more as a widely received political statement in 1994 (see photographs in Klopper 1996:57, 59, 62). Also in the more recent past, Buthelezi, Zwelithini and Prince Gideon Zulu have regularly worn versions of the necklace, also with white beads, for important official occasions or photographs.

Besides its immediate role in politics, the item has also been appropriated on a fictional and artistic level. Impersonating his maternal great-great uncle and Zulu King Cetshwayo, Mangosutho Buthelezi can be seen with a version of the item in the famous 1964 feature film *Zulu*, which recollects events of the so-called Anglo-Zulu War in 1879. Henry Cele, the actor performing as King Shaka Zulu in the highly popular 1986 TV mini series of the same name, wore a variant with black beads. In 1999, the same type of adornment was eventually reproduced as an oversized monument at the Isandlwana Battlefield, at a site commemorating the 1879 war. The responsible artist, Gert Swart, combined it (consciously or unconsciously) with other loaded items of material culture into one installation (Marschall 2008:257). Here the claws became mixed up with "*iziqu*", a kind of "war honour badge" (cf. Guy 2009:211, Knight 1995:18-20). Historically, however, both objects were not related. In its multiple manifestations, the choker has therefore been repeatedly transformed from a rather uncertain "original" status as power object, to being an "ethnographic object" with multiple attributions, a widely valued art object, a post-apartheid monument, possibly via the detour of a movie prop through the popularity of the films *Zulu* and *Shaka Zulu* (cf. Hamilton 1998).

These examples show that this kind of adornment has constituted mimetic capital for a considerable time. As such, is was available for current re-interpretations, such as the recent one by *Inkhosi* Shozi and the necklace's explicit political framing as "royal". Due to these parallel biographies, it is crucial to delineate the *historical* interpretations of such items, and differentiate them from "modern recollections" of objects (cf. Clifford 1988b:247). Just like photographs, they may have precursors coming from particular moments in time (cf. Pinney 2005). First, this

can be indicated by the way how the item has been worn more recently as "necklace" by politicians and movie actors: all mentioned examples of the second half of the 20th century show only one single row of claws and beads, which are exclusively worn loosely around the neck. In particular in the case of the two historical films, depicting events taking place in the 1820s and 1870s, a particular style of wearing material culture was projected back in time.

Made in 1891, the photograph of Umdamane allows us to review these representations of history. It is the earliest photograph I am aware of that shows a person wearing such adornment. However, according to how it was worn by Umdamane, it must indeed be referred to as a "choker", instead of a "necklace". Furthermore, Umdamane is wearing two chokers above each other, with the claws facing inwards. This seems to have been the common style at the time, as one compares the photograph of Umdamane to other photographic evidence. In 1905, the earlier-mentioned Henry Balfour photographed Chief Laduma ka Tetelegu of the *Mphumuza*, as well as another unidentified man during his second trip to South Africa[408], as part of a visit by the British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS). Together with several other well-known ethnologists, such as Alfred C. Haddon from Cambridge, and Felix von Luschan from Berlin[409], Balfour had been invited by the Natal Government on an outing to attend wedding festivities at Laduma's homestead in the Swartkop Reserve, not far North of Mariannhill.[410] Both photographed men wear chokers, very similar to the one of Umdamane. The photographs of both Umdamane and Laduma therefore confirm that the chokers were not simply replicas for the tourist market at the time. Even while using bone replicas, instead of real claws, they were considered as appropriate adornment for important (photographic) occasions.

But after all, we can still not determine the chokers' exact historical meaning in daily use, that is to say *in between* the moments of their initial creation, the historical photographic occasions in 1891 and 1905, and perceptions mediated by photographs today. During other occasions of collection they were attributed to either chiefs or witch doctors, and over time received a status as collectables, either as ethnographica, tourist curios, or art objects. During the photographic occasions in 1891 and 1905, both Umdamane and Laduma wore them for social performances in front of a partially White audience. Considering the fact that a second man at Laduma's homestead wore such a choker in Laduma's presence, the two photographs at the Pitt Rivers Museum allow us to ponder the possibility that the choker may have indeed been allowed to *indunas* of higher ranks, unless the second man was also a chief.[411]

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408 PRM: 1999.11.19 and 1999.11.20. I am grateful to Nessa Leibhammer for directing me to these photographs.

409 Both curators, just like Balfour, purchased photographs from Mariannhill for their collections through different channels. All three would thus have had the chance to compare ideas on photographs and objects. Again, it is unlikely that Balfour missed the resemblance of the chokers he himself photographed in 1905, if he had already established a resemblance in 1899 through both purchased object and photograph.

410 For other analyses of this event see Hamilton and Leibhammer (2014, 2016b), Morton (1999). Laduma's father Tetelegu had been a particularly trusted *induna* of Theophilus Shepstone, first SNA of Natal (Guy 2013), a tradition which may have facilitated this meeting. For an account on the 1905 BAAS visit to South Africa in a wider context of scientific culture see Dubow (2006).

411 Whatever the situation was, it is definitely not the case that this type of choker was "very rare" in the late 19th century, as stated by Klopper (1999:40). It was only the case that there were apparently few chokers made of real

And this brings us to the question of a second kind of authenticity. Not only do we have to consider the claims to authenticity through material (bone vs. real claw), but also the claims to authenticity through performance. Since the 1950s, the chokers were only worn in single-row, and as a much looser necklace. Even if the use of material culture may legitimately change over time and still be "authentic" (Handler 2003:355-357), the different ways how this particular item has been worn, suggest a break with "tradition" at some point between the 1910s and 1940s (cf. Hamilton 1998). As Zulu royalty employed the adornment since 1954 explicitly to reference the object's precolonial use, the new way of wearing it as *necklace* instead of as *choker*, suggests a re-appropriation, instead of a continuity. We may nevertheless consider all kinds of chokers in museums and art collections as "authentically" African-made. Just like with European art and its copyists, South Africans re-evaluated available mimetic capital, not only around 1900 when the chokers were worn during photographic occasions, but also when they were re-appropriated as necklaces in the 1950s. In both timeframes, practices and interpretations relied on particular circulating prototypes, as well as the logic of demand and supply of the required raw materials, such as beads, claws, and bones. While the cases I described are not "invented traditions" in the sense of Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983), particular practices formed around supposedly traditional objects, the interpretation of which is influenced and bound by the traces they related to over time (Hamilton 1998).

Due to the distinct history of leopard claw chokers as powerful mimetic capital, the photographs of the choker worn by Umdamane, became material evidence to *Inkhosi* Shozi's assumption in 2007 that Umdamane had illegitimate aspirations to question Manzini's power. The creation of power (and more importantly the opposition to it), worked through the imitation and replication of claws of a powerful animal. This, for all involved, convincingly grounded the narrative of Umdamane's grandson in visual, but at the same time in material terms (cf. Chapter Four). The photograph had thus been repeatedly transformed through various ethnographic stereotypes and colonial classifications, and finally became a valued and inalienable family photograph, as well as a photograph potentially instrumental in current local micro-politics.

When first published in the *Mariannhill Kalender* in 1893, the photograph of Umdamane was titled a "Kafir Chief [*Kaffer Häuptling*]".[412] In the above-mentioned booklet explaining photographed objects for European museums, Müller framed Umdamane as an "*induna*" (1899). When he sent the same photograph to the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum of Cologne in 1910, he instead privileged the person's identity as "a rainmaker and doctor". Even if Müller had not taken

claws. The item worn by Buthelezi in 1958 may thus indeed have been an authentic "heirloom" made of real leopard claws, as described by Klopper. While all the chokers I mentioned so far had been collected during, or after the defeat of the Zulu Kingdom in 1879, the British Museum houses a range of similar items made of real claws, however without red beads. According to the accession records, these have been collected prior to the defeat, and may thus confirm the hypothesis that hunting restrictions where not yet in place at the time. Another interpretation may be that the chokers with replicated claws were not restricted to the Zulu royal family alone, but that historically the royal family claimed the real claws.

412 Whether the author translated the German title "*Häuptling*" from the Zulu term "*inkhosi*" or "*induna*" remains unclear. The term "*Häuptling*" was often used as a gloss for higher hierarchical positions.

the photograph of Umdamane himself in the first place, he nevertheless engineered several stages of the photograph's biography in relation to his own evolving understanding of the social world around him. He had various ethnographic guidelines and literature at his disposal, but he also had to react to fluctuations in the visual economy Mariannhill was involved in. I will analyse both dimensions in the course of this chapter and the next.

As ambivalent as the biography ascribed to Umdamane in relation to his photograph, so is the one of the type of choker he is wearing. While it is generally associated with "Zulu royalty", Balfour and Bowden described it to be worn by "witch-doctors". Balfour may have been given this information wherever he purchased the item, either in or around Durban in 1899. Also the choker at the KwaZulu-Natal Museum was allegedly worn by a "diviner" and collected in Pondoland. Only when catalogued, it was labelled as "Zulu" by the respective curator. And so did Müller and his confreres ascribe separate (not cumulative) identities to Umdamane, as either "*Häuptling*" (1892), "*induna*" (1899), or as "rainmaker" and "doctor" (1910). Nevertheless, I do not attribute these ascriptions to intentional acts of faking, but due to the respective stories about Umdamane, which concerned Müller and his predecessors at the respective points in time.

The photograph of Umdamane and the idea of the choker as powerful object interacted in the establishment of the authenticities of both photograph and choker. During the historical photographic occasion, the object may have been in "authentic" use as perceived by its wearer Umdamane, despite its seriality and replicated materials. During our conversation in 2007, the *inkhosi* himself applied an abstract and mediated imagination of the choker to the photograph, while stating that "real" leopard items would be far too expensive for him to purchase. Through the repeated interactions and influences between photographs and objects throughout the 20th century, the idea of the choker/necklace as mimetic capital thus acquired reproductive power.

Once approached diachronically, however, provenances multiply due to the manifold versions of the same object, backstories abound due to the number of historical interpretations, and clear proveniences are rarely to be found, unless we are lucky enough to have photographs of objects being worn, such as the one of Umdamane. The social life of any object I discuss from hereon can thus never be deduced from its alleged symbolic characteristics. However, after being musealised, the items do not become devoid of "meaning" and practical use: rather the use value they accrue, differs according to the intentions of the curator. Similar to photographic portraits of people (Chapter One), photographs of objects can suggest resemblances between objects, which too easily lead to the attribution of identical origins, ethnic identities, or social meanings. But already at the time when most ethnographic collections were created, curators realised that resemblance between objects in form was not a good indication to trace their origin and distribution, due to the subjective perceptions of curators (Graebner 1911:63).

Photographs are as much "entangled objects" as the ones they depict, such as in the case of Umdamane's choker. Photographs and objects are therefore "not what they were made to be, but what they have become" (Thomas 1991:4). Umdamane's photograph and his choker are particular cases, however, due to their seriality. Like a photograph more generally, the particular

category of the choker was a "successful" object in so far that it has been reproduced and circulated excessively in a very similar form, despite repeated claims to its exclusiveness. It is this ambivalence that distinguishes it from the snuff spoons and fly whisks of the last chapter, which are rather functional items, to be used in particular ways during particular occasions. As such, spoons and snuff could be appropriated as catalysers in situations of negotiating power relations between Africans and missionaries, and a fly whisk was appropriated by a White policeman while disciplining Black civilians.[413]

With photographs, as much as with objects, we are therefore confronted with similar questions concerning authenticity. As I explained in Chapter One for the case of photographs, collected objects too provoke the question whether they were "taken from real life", or instead made or chosen explicitly in anticipation of the moment of collection or a photographic occasion (cf. Graebner 1911, Isaac 2011). Objects deemed "ethnographic", such as chokers, snuff spoons, and fly whisks, and in particular their allegedly "true" native names, functions and ethnic identities, were the key interests of ethnologists. The objects' alternative functions, and their often complex backstories, were never inscribed on the labels that we find attached to objects in ethnological museums today. In order to study how Mariannhill Missionaries positioned these media, it is exactly the triangulation of objects, text, and photographs in particular moments of time that can provide us with an idea beyond this apparent limitation.

[413] The alternative employments of fly whisks as either power symbol or *isangoma* paraphernalia of course complicates the matter.

Collecting Things "Worthy of Exhibition"

Many chokers, such as Umdamane's, have been photographed, collected and described, but their backstories before entering a collection so far remained highly uncertain, ambivalent, and unstable. According to a powerful master narrative postdating the moment of collection, they are too easily re-connected to the Zulu royal house alone. In the last chapter I already explored how snuff spoons and a fly whisk played an ambivalent role in the social relationships between Trappists, magistrates, and African subjects close to the missions; how they were part of performances and appropriations; how the Trappists indeed photographed them, but never involved them into narratives individually. Textual descriptions, however, became crucial for particular other kinds of objects, to which I now turn. I argue that the missionaries collected particular objects because they were especially suited to describe their relationship with Africans to benefactors. When recollecting objects, it is important, however, to bear in mind the intentions of such "ethnographic" narratives, as well as the particular materiality of the related objects. The possibilities objects provided through both their prior social use and their materiality made them either likely or unlikely to be picked up by the missionaries for inclusion in their museum.

While snuff spoons and the fly whisk apparently had a use value for Europeans too, there were other objects, which could not be appropriated by Europeans in the same way, but still served the purpose of relating to, and defining one's relationship for both Trappists and Africans. In the following I will show how such objects were actually acquired, but also why and how the acquisition process itself was represented, textually, as well as photographically. Next, I will describe the process from collecting towards exhibition and curation at Mariannhill, and how the missionaries eventually began to construct and present objects in more sophisticated terms, as either "ethnographic", "african art", or "material culture", depending on who was involved in the conversation, and at what time.

Public, artistic, and academic discourses beginning to separate these categories, started to evolve more clearly in the decade before the First World War. Of course all objects may have been deemed "*ethno-graphic*" at the time, in case they allowed for defining the "Other" in explanatory and comparative writing, and thus to distinguish them from European material culture as different and exotic. However, we will see that while indicating differences, the missionaries also pointed out similarities in objects to make them digestible for benefactor audiences. As we shall see, yet other objects in the missionaries' museum, such as sticks, pots, and even postal stamps, have been circulated and traded, but never received extensive backstories due to their lacking potential to explain relationships between missionaries and their subjects. It is therefore impossible to trace the latters' provenance or even provenience. The mission's trade in objects for means of propaganda is, like with the photographs I described in Chapter One, often impossible to trace.

It will indeed be possible, however, to re-trace global collection and distribution networks on a market of "ethnographic" objects and photographs in Chapter Six. The network and

identities of all of Mariannhill's collectors on the ground, however, remain unknown. Only few of the combined more than 400 members of Mariannhill's both male and female communities around 1900, can still be identified for their involvement with scientific studies. Still, many must have been actively engaged with collecting objects and specimens for the museum. At least since 1894, the museum's first curator, Fr. Alexander Hanisch, repeatedly encouraged all members to collect. He also asked his confreres and the sisters to motivate their converts and school children to do the same. Considerable manpower, the great number of Trappist mission stations located all over Natal and East Griqualand, and the resulting stable collection network, explains Mariannhill's clear advantage over other missions. The monastery apparently was the only mission station in the region, able to devote time to collect extensively, to establish a museum, and even to redistribute surplus material to Europe, as well as locally. Mariannhill's earliest collection activities were random, eclectic, and opportunistic. By the late 1880s, however, the monks collected African objects intentionally, systematically stored and presented them at the monastery, and redistributed them in form of travelling exhibitions to Europe. Even before becoming a photographer, Br. Aegidius Müller had been one of the foremost collectors of local objects since 1890. He and his confreres established an awareness of, and reacted to prominent European discourses that were both scientific and popular.

Two years after the Trappist's arrival in late 1882, Prior Franz Pfanner was the first at Mariannhill to write empirically and in a distinctly "ethnological" way about an African object, in so far that he approached it comparatively to what he considered as a European equivalent. In 1885, Pfanner described the chain of production, collection, social relevance, as well as the intended circulation of a male Zulu head ring. He anticipated to send this object to Europe, in order to exhibit it there as a "trophy" of conversion. Two years later, Alfred T. Bryant re-narrated the same occasion in English. As the accounts differ regarding focus and detail, it is worthwhile discussing both. In his history of the early days of Mariannhill, *Roman Legion on Libyan Fields* (1887), Bryant recounted the story of the "intermediary" Fotsholo, whom I already introduced in Chapter Four. Like Umdamane, Fotsholo was a former *induna* of *Inkhosi* Manzini. When publicly denouncing him, Fotsholo fell foul of his chief, and, instead fraternised with the Trappists. In order to performatively distance himself from Manzini, Fotsholo willingly let a missionary cut off his head ring. According to Kidd (1904:33)[414], any affront afflicted to a head ring, was also an affliction caused to the chief, who had granted the ring to the respective man as a token of social standing. Bryant recounted this story as follows:

> Be it known that there is nothing of which the Zulu is more proud than his head ring. This it is that makes the Zulu a Zulu, a man a man. And to be without it is regarded as being effeminate, which to a savage whose highest virtue consists in an exterior valour, is a disgrace and a shame. Fotsholo had often been requested to remove that harbour of filth and lice, but, despite his intimate connection with the missionaries, he could never be got to do so—he would just as soon have allowed them to take his life as his head ring. […] So on the morning after the fray, before the Chief's arrival, Fotsholo wended his early way towards the Monastery; and before an hour had flown by, a pair of cruel scissors had completed the painful and nauseous operation of removing from his woolly cranium the crown of

[414] Also see Mayr (1907c), who probably copied from Kidd.

filthy gum that had stuck there for unnumbered years. It was resolved to send this Zulu crown to Europe as a curiosity worthy of exhibition, but it baffled all attempts to remove from it the fatty dirt and dispel its fetid smell; for with cold water it was impossible to obtain the slightest effect, and, when warm was employed, a speedy dissolution of parts took place, the firm ebony-like ring gradually lost its consistency and soon resembled the black 'stick-jaw' of our childhood. (Bryant 1887:144-148)

The same story had already been presented in German two years earlier by (then Prior) Pfanner in the periodical *Ein Vergißmeinnicht aus Mariannhill* (Pfanner 1885). This is the case for several of the stories that Bryant recounted in *Roman Legion,* suggesting that the booklet had in fact been co-authored by both men. In the earlier German version, Pfanner gave a very detailed description of what he called the "*Ehering* [wedding ring]".[415] Pfanner wrote that he had acquired his knowledge about the ring through "various investigations", and had his informants show him the "*umschluschluo*" plant, of which the red berry "*ungiane*" was harvested when the maize was ripe. Its resin was then boiled and formed into a ring that was attached to a man's head, on a framework of stabilising plant fibres.[416] The South African historian Vukile Khumalo explains that it required the attendance of a particularly skilled expert to prepare, apply, and maintain the head rings, which in fact had to be restored on a regular basis (2001:36-3[417]).[418]

In Pfanner's description, a chief granted the ring to the respective man, which functioned as a sign of loyalty. Pfanner compared this exchange to the formality of European civil marriage, and the related application of the wedding ring.[419] In order to break this bond of "heathen memory", Pfanner obliged all men who were about to be baptised to remove their rings. According to Pfanner, it was ridiculous to wear the ring any longer after the assimilation of European clothing, as it would not allow to wear a hat.[420] He also would "not consult the chief [Manzini] in this matter, as on the Farm Zeekoegat, [*he*] was chief". This was a title, which Pfanner claimed by the trophy of the head ring, the separation of which was at the same time an insult to Chief Manzini. Then he recounted the story of Fotsholo, who had brought him his head

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415 Also see the descriptions collected by James Stuart, cited by Khumalo (2001:40-41), and in the JSA more generally.

416 Also Doke and Vilakazi (1948) define *ungiyane* as "[g]um exuded by mimosa trees". But according to texts published some 20 years after Pfanner's ethnography by Kidd (1904) and Mayr (1906), the most common material to constitute a head ring's substance was a framework of either tendons or plant-fibres, coated with the secretion of certain small insects, referred to as *ungiyane* (Mayr 1907b, 1907c and 1908). Rather than being produced by the plant itself, the lac-insects that inhabit these particular plants appear to be the origin of the shellac substance used to create the shiny appearance of the polished head ring. This appears to be a classic case of ethnographic and linguistic subject-confusion (ie. insect/plant). This is once more confirmed in Bryant's late writing (1948:141-145).

417 An extended caption to a photograph of the three men who can be seen in Figure 14, explicitly attributes this expertise to women instead, "who keep the preparation of the used ingredients, as well as their mixture as a great secret" (*Vergißmeinnicht* 25, October 1907:219).

418 An extended caption to a photograph of the three men who can be seen in Figure 14, explicitly attributes this expertise to women instead, "who keep the preparation of the used ingredients, as well as their mixture as a great secret" (*Vergißmeinnicht,* 25 October 1907:219).

419 As he used this metaphor, he may also have been aware of the fact that the granting of the head ring by a chief to a commoner, at the same time included the right of marriage (cf. Khumalo 2001).

420 Zulu Royalty at the time however combined both styles—head rings and top hats—without problems (Khumalo 2001:37).

ring “like a trophy of the victory, which the latter himself had achieved”. In the course of this story, the man himself—but also the object, which had been actively detached from him—were converted: “An indigenous object became an artifact of history for missionary discourse, an artifact made to speak at once of its original purpose and the transaction through which it had been detached from that purpose” (Thomas 1991:156).

Nevertheless, Africans countered this perceived threat at least in one recorded occasion before 1898, when Mariannhill Missionaries at the station Einsiedeln told their subjects to get rid of their head rings. While pointing at the Trappists’ tonsures[421]—the remaining circle of hair on their shorn heads—they called out in return: “But you yourselves are wearing the head ring” (Anon. 1897a:84). The tonsure was in fact—like the head ring—a visible sign of initiation. Even if the story was like the one of Fotsholo re-narrated for the entertainment of European readers, it shows that the situation of encounter was embedded in processes of mutual translations, negotiations, and imagined imitations of involved materialities. Like Pfanner had earlier compared head ring and wedding ring, Africans compared the head ring to the closest equivalent at hand.

Just like Bryant called the head ring a “curiosity worthy of exhibition”, Pfanner considered it “a good sign that one broke with these things”, and planned to “ship the ring to Europe for an exhibition”. The several stages of the head ring’s appropriation were thus a display of power and contestation of the chief’s authority: first its association with the familiar concept of the “wedding ring”, and second the appropriation by separating it from the wearer, attempts of “cleansing” it, as described by Bryant, and eventually the plan to exhibit it in Europe as a “trophy”. Likewise, Pfanner wrote during the 1880s about various instances when newly baptised women discarded their bead ornaments voluntarily, at the moment they received clothing from the mission. He described such moments as conscious alterations of opinions, while such acts may indeed have also involved other economic motivations, and indeed may have been intentions to barter beadwork for other goods.

Missionaries elsewhere used “idols” in order to symbolise and condense their subjects’ “anti-Christian” attitude (eg. Thomas 1991:153). In Natal, the range of objects available to Mariannhill Missionaries for the appropriation by image and text was apparently limited. This may have been due to the lack of figurative objects in the area, which I discuss below. Objects that may have come close to the ones described by Thomas were the paraphernalia of *izangoma*, also referred to as diviners or “witch doctors”. Since the 1920s, the Mariannhill Priest Fr. Gregory Zier collected objects that formerly had belonged to *izangoma*, whom he had “successfully” converted. Among these were for example fly whisks, which he exhibited in the

[421] The so-called “tonsure” (lat. *tondere*, “to shear”) was a “sacred rite instituted by the Church by which a baptized and confirmed Christian is received into the clerical order by the shearing of his hair and the investment with the surplice [clerical vestment]. The person thus tonsured becomes a partaker of the common privileges and obligations of the clerical state and is prepared for the reception of orders. […]”. Of the three kinds of monastic tonsures, the one received by the Trappists was “the Roman, or that of St. Peter, when all the head is shaved except a circle of hair; […]” (Fanning 1912:779).

style of hunting trophies on the walls of his "museum" (cf. Chapter Eight). CPS sisters destroyed big parts of this collection in the 1970s, after the organic material had been infested with an insect pest. Apparently they had lost their status as important mimetic capital, which would have made them "worthy of exhibition", and thus equally worthy to be treated and preserved.

Even though the missionaries photographed such objects in the hands of practitioners or in museum setups, they never described them in texts. As I explained in the last chapter, fly whisks had a considerable range of usage, but they lacked an appropriate or convenient European equivalent, in order to serve as ideal "converted artifacts". Therefore the missionaries had to objectify the relationship with their subjects in other ways: Pfanner described the head ring as "trophy", as well as "wedding ring", and thus created a similarity with an European object, which benefactors were able to recognise. The same representative strategy had earlier been applied when the Trappists appropriated the landscape around the monastery with a Germano-Austrian topography (Chapter Three). Fabian (2002, 2004) described a similar mode of writing for German travelogues and ethnographies, where authors compared phenomena encountered abroad to familiar landscapes, fauna, flora and objects, despite the explicit notion in academic ethnology against such comparisons.[422]

Another example will help to illustrate this establishment of a relation between texts and objects. In 1894 and 1896, anonymous articles appeared in the *Vergißmeinnicht*, which described the explicit "confiscation" of what the authors described as "pocket pharmacies [*Taschenapotheken*]". One such item had been taken from a student, whose father was a known "Kafir doctor". Once these bundles had been "incorporated [*einverleibt*]" into the museum and thoroughly described in the articles, they were compared—as likewise powerless—to "Matthei's 'homeopathic' *Zuckerstreukügelchen"* (Anon. 1894a and 1896).[423] The author once more connected the South African objects to a European popular discourse, and therefore converted them in order to make them commensurable and comprehensible for European audiences. The process of artefact conversion is therefore closely connected to translation. At this stage, head rings and pocket pharmacies had not yet been presented in photographs. This happened only in a separate effort, which I explore in later sections.

By collecting particular objects, the missionaries deprived them of their use value, excluded them purposefully from circulation, and exhibited them. Accordingly, from the perspective in the mission's museum, they described an object with an argument, which relied on a backstory that directly led up to the object's collection. Like with the head ring, the pocket pharmacy's backstory built on the very social interactions that had led to the object's acquisition. Scholars have earlier described objects collected by missionaries and other colonial actors as trophies (Coombes 1994:71, Nettleton 1988:51). These had however often not been described as

[422] Fabian distinguishes the "ethnographic object" from the "ethnic artefact". The latter goes back to the writings of the Austrian Alois Riegl (1894), and denotes folkloristic artefacts, made by European peasants, as opposed to "modern" European fine art (Moravánszky 2002). See my discussion below, as well as of the "genre scenes" in Chapter One.

[423] The medical efficacy of homeopathic "sugar-granules" was just as much debated around 1900, as it is today.

such by historical actors themselves (but see Thomas 1991:153, Stevenson 2005:15). Therefore we should be careful in using this particular term, unless it formed an explicit part of a historical relationship and narrative.[424] During the 1930s, Pentecostal missionaries in the Congo even went as far as describing converted chiefs, their bodies, or better their photographic representations in periodicals, as "trophies" (Maxwell 2011:63). These efforts suggest that the gathering of objects, bodies, and souls, was closely connected; at least in the practice of representation for the end of propaganda.

But the collection of such items also had material limitations. Other than beadwork and necklaces, head rings, fly whisks, and medicine bundles apparently were hard to acquire and even harder to preserve. Partially for this reason, these objects had been selected as "converted artefacts" and their material features even became an essential part of the objects' backstory.[425] Furthermore, the latter objects did not lend themselves as easily to long-term preservation, or even to wide circulation on the secondary art market. Mariannhill's Museum still holds three head rings of unknown provenance, and also Henry Balfour bought at least two rings during his trips in 1899 and 1907 for the collection of the Pitt Rivers Museum. An array of South African head rings can also be found at the British Museum. In all three collections the rings have disintegrated considerably. While still being worn on the head, the rings had to be restored on a regular basis to preserve their shiny appearance (Khumalo 2001). After all, it was an object's aesthetic presence, which made them valuable, not only for their original purpose, but also in circulation, collection, exhibitionary presentation, and during photographic occasions. A dull, black and cracked ring (Bryant's "stick-jaw") may not have drawn as much attention with collectors in the first place, and later with museum audiences, once it is compared to a flashy necklace with claws and bright red beads. Some object categories where thus simply more "collectable", therefore in higher demand, and thus started circulating in greater numbers than others. Some of these objects were even re-produced explicitly for the tourist market around Durban since the early 1880s (Joest 1886:147).

Objects which were rare and hard to acquire due to their social and material status, were likely to be employed with a more complex backstory, if only this backstory provided qualities that allowed to turn the respective object into a "converted artifact". But also objects available in abundance, like those beads presented to Pfanner allegedly on the occasion of conversion, had already been entangled in relationships of exchange and appropriation as commodities since the missionaries' arrival in the early 1880s. In his annual report for 1884 under the section "Trade and Barter", the magistrate of the Umlazi Division, W.P. Jackson, enlisted the commodities dealt with at the district's trade stores: "There are 50 stores at which goods in demand by natives can

[424] For the particular tradition of (photographing) "trophy displays", derived from the arrangement of weapon arsenals, see Edwards (2001:66-67). The term may thus be understood as a rhetorical, as well as a particular style of material and visual framing.

[425] Just like Pfanner, Bryant, and Kidd, Wilhelm Joest (1886:147) reported that a head ring he acquired in Natal in 1883 (and presented to the ethnographic museum in Berlin on his return) had been difficult to get hold of. The fact that "it had been cut from the head of an executed man", suggests that it could not have been acquired otherwise.

be procured. These may be described as clothing of different kinds, woollen and cotton blankets, sheets, Sallinpore, colored Calicat […], Shawls, Bells, Beeds [sic], Knives, Rings, Brass Buttons, Hoes, Picks, Ploughs etc".[426] Imported from Europe, beads were thus widely available in the area. Manufactured into colourful adornment by South African women, they became the most typical category of "Zulu" objects and are today most often represented in museum collections worldwide.

Pfanner instead used beads at least in one case to invoke a problematic relationship with other colonial actors, just like the head ring suggested a relationship of its wearer to his chief. Three years after the head-ring-incident involving Fotsholo, Pfanner wrote in 1888 about beads as part of a disagreement with one of the stores for "trade and barter": in the *St. Josephs Blättchen*, an addendum to the *Vergißmeinnicht*, Pfanner ranted about complaints by the White population around Mariannhill (in particular complaints by certain Ex-Trappists) about the monastery's buying in bulk, their cheap sales to Africans, and the distribution of clothing. Part of the accusations was that the monastery had ruined one of those above mentioned traders. Pfanner retorted:

> This "businessman" could play his game with the Kafirs, as long as they remained naked. He had his store packed with glass beads and strings. For a lot of money he sold these pearls to them, to cover their naked bodies. We in turn bought those pearl strings from them, or traded them against clothing. Then the man had no more business, he was ruined as a matter of fact—he went looking for honest work.[427] (Pfanner 1888a:13)

Pfanner argued towards European audiences that the *primary* bead trade between Europe, the stores, and their African customers eventually became obsolete,[428] because the missionaries were clothing their African subjects. What he did not mention was the resulting scarcity of raw material for more beadwork objects to be produced. This meant that while the Trappists collected beadwork from Africans in a *secondary* trade situation, and thereby produced them as "converted artifacts", a *tertiary* bead trade back to Europe (this time as "ethnographic" objects) was hampered at the same time. Even though motivations to collect and ways to narrate objects changed over time, we cannot reconstruct whether, or how, the missionaries tried to regulate the bead trade. However, as I describe in the following section, from the next year, 1889, the missionaries started to realise the value of local objects with exhibitions travelling to Europe.

[426] DAR: 1_UMB-3/1/4-1885-86: draft of the year report for the Umlazi Division, by W.P. Jackson.
[427] My own translation from the German original.
[428] Most of the beads available in Southern Africa at the time were imported from Eastern European countries or Italy.

Only one year later, in 1889, Müller crafted the first extensive description of a considerable object collection, which eventually appeared in the periodical *Vergißmeinnicht* (Müller 1890). This collection of some 200 pieces was still intentionally mobile as a travelling exhibition, and therefore had not yet taken the form of a stationary and permanent museum. As will become clear below, the missionaries nevertheless perceived it as a bound and "complete" entity, which was defined by the objects' common origin and makers. Initially, the Trappists framed objects as "curiosities" or "rarities [*Raritäten*[429]]", but in 1890 the editors of the periodical *Vergißmeinnicht* also introduced an awareness for scientific discourses, by adding the line "informal paper for ethnology (*Völkerkunde*)[430] and church history" to the periodical's subtitle (Figure 103). The term "curiosity" was nevertheless upheld in formal registers, as well as in colloquial use, at least for the next 20 years.[431]

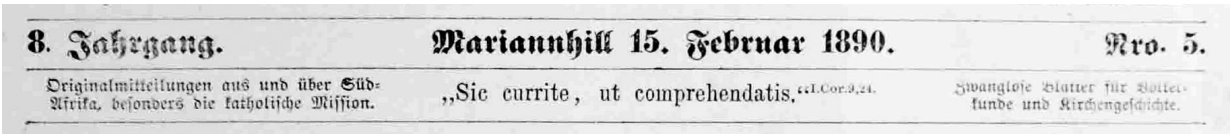
8. Jahrgang. Mariannhill 15. Februar 1890. Nro. 5.
Originalmitteilungen aus und über Süd-Afrika, besonders die katholische Mission. „Sic currite, ut comprehendatis." (I.Cor.9,24. Zwanglose Blätter für Völkerkunde und Kirchengeschichte.

Figure 103: header of the *Vergißmeinnicht* 1890: "*Originalmitteilungen aus und über Süd-Afrika, besonders die Katholische Mission.—Sic currite, ut comprehendatis.' (I.Cor.9.24.)—Zwanglose Blätter für Völkerkunde und Kirchengeschichte.*"—"Original reports from and about South Africa, in particular about the Catholic Mission. —'run, so that you may win [the price]' (I.Cor.9.24)—informal paper for ethnology and church history."

A few months after his arrival in 1889, and probably due to his previous experience as an accountant, Müller was appointed as the monastery's *Equipierungsrat*.[432] He was therefore responsible for the management of the monastery's in- and out-going assets, as well as those of the by then ten outstations. This would have included the transfer of "Kafir products", occasionally brought in by his confreres on return from the stations. A few months later, in 1890, Müller recounted the following details in an article about a forthcoming mission exhibition, which was about to tour in Europe:

[429] The German term "*Raritäten"* (sing.: *Rarität*) may be translated with "curiosities", especially in relation to the contemporary institution of the "*Raritätenkabinet*". Here, things that where considered rare, strange, or special, but not necessarily foreign, where collected.

[430] German "*Völkerkunde*" was generally divided into "*beschreibende Völkerkunde*" (ethnography) and "*vergleichende Völkerkunde*" (ethnology). It is unclear why a move to Völkerkunde was made at Mariannhill in 1890, as active engagements with ethnologists only took place several years later (cf. Chapter Six).

[431] The term was common with colonial actors when missionaries started selling objects to the ethnographic museum of Berlin in the 1870s, but later avoided at museums in both Germany and England (Stelzig 2004: 240, Coombes 1994:113). South African museum professionals still employed the term after 1900 (cf. Warren 1906).

[432] The *Vergißmeinnicht* of 1 February 1890 mentioned the transfer of the duties of the "*Equippierungsrat"* to Fr. Ludgerus and Br. Aegidius (Anon. 1890:15). While the translation "cellarer" would foremost refer to the distribution of food and drink, the "*Equipierungsrat"* dealt with the monks' other daily essential needs, such as clothing.

A collection of Kafir products [*kaffrische Erzeugnisse*] has been compiled by our *Equipierungsrat* Fr. Severin Grimm, consisting of weapons, clothing, adornment- and luxury articles, as well as house and kitchenware. As we speak, it is on its way from Mariannhill to Europe. Soon it will be exhibited in Germany's major cities.

Still about two years ago it would have been a rather difficult undertaking to assemble such a reasonably complete [*vollständig*] collection. Back then, one could only convince the Kafir with a high degree of eloquence and hard cashffffffff to hand over the bead strings from his breast, neck, ears and head. But for no money would he have sold his loin fur (*Umutsha*) or his head ring (*Inkehla Isigcogco*), not even to speak of the war shields and spears (*Assagay* [sic]) or the bridal ornaments of a Kafir woman. Nevertheless, we are now in possession of a comprehensive [*reichhaltig*] collection of Kafir objects [*Gegenstände*]. What the Kafir in former times would never have given into the hands of a White man, he now offers us for sale, or in exchange for clothing. It is thus a great demonstration of trust by the Kafirs. Once we send them to the English with these things, they reply: "*Ka*, (No) We rather endure the greatest needs and even starvation before delivering our belts and weapons to the Englishmen".

The collection conveys interesting insights into the cultural state [*Kulturzustand*] of the Kafirs. The war shields, made from the hide of oxen, have different meanings according to their size and the colour of the hide. For example, a war shield made from black Ox-hide with a nice round spot in the centre may only be carried by a chief (*inKosi*). The spears (*Assagay*) are used as projectiles, or for stabbing. With their tips dipped into poison they become a terrible weapon in the skilful hand of the Kafir. If the shields and assegays of our collection could talk, some of them would be able to tell horrifying stories about the Zulu wars under Tshaka's tyrannic rule from their own experience. Also the many clubs and sticks made from ironwood, which the Kafir carries next to his spear while travelling, do testify to the Kafir's readiness for war. However, if not provoked, he is a good-natured and affable human being. Strange horns for smoking, pots for drinking, snuff boxes and requisites for dancing, do tease an involuntary smile with the European beholder. The straw and grass weaving, as well as the great amount of beadwork do attest to good taste and a skilful hand; it is a pity that not all aptitudes are so well developed. The Kafir people pay special attention to the dressing of hair. With his primitive curling tongues the Kafir forces the black curly wool of his head into manyfold curlicues and geometrical figures; he puts feathers of both Emu and birds of prey into these high constructions as decorations, just like snuff spoons, inflated bladders of sheep and the like.—a strange fashion, which after all demands the sacrifice to sleep at night with one's neck on a wooden block, so that the head may hover freely and the hairdo won't be damaged. We succeeded in acquiring two female and three male hairdos for our collection, including the complete and strange accessories, made from real Kafir-hair, and prepared by Kafir hands. Especially the ladies may be pleased to know that the goddess by the name of fashion also unleashed her strange moods upon the Kafir womanhood. The latter do not miss their fair share of Eve's inherited trait. The copper-, brass- and iron-rings for the feet, lower and upper arms, the adornment for a kafir bride, as well as the big and strange wooden earrings attest to this opinion. Strange indeed are the self-made earthen pots and the wooden spoons, which have been carved with the help of a piece of broken glass. For the lovers of music we need to mention the three peculiar string instruments, which the Kafirs play along with their wedding dances. This is enough from this extensive collection. A detailed catalogue will give the necessary explanations for the approximately 200 exhibition objects. The newspapers will soon report about the opening of the exhibition and in the interest of our mission we expect a lively attendance. (Müller 1890:15-16)[433]

Like his Protestant colleagues and museum curators in Europe at the time, Müller indicated in this quote that the missionaries of Mariannhill tried to achieve the paradox of compiling an exemplary, but at the same time "complete" collection. But neither Müller, nor other European collectors ever specified what exactly justified his claim, and therefore never defined "completeness". In order to approximate what such a complete array of items ideally looked like, I compare this article in the next section to the accession list, which had been compiled for shipping these same items to Europe in December 1889.[434] In a second step, I compare the claim to completeness to similar efforts at Berlin's ethnographic museum in the next chapter.

In particular in the article's second half, Müller stressed the objects' strangeness, their

[433] My own translation of the german original.

[434] It is uncertain whether the planned exhibition was ever realised, as no reports—or the mentioned catalogue—appear in any of Mariannhill's periodicals.

comical potential and their status as evidence for Africans' remaining readiness for violence. He pointed out the artistic potential of some objects, but at the same time stressed that such excellence does not apply in other (probably moral) areas. He thus explores how the objects may work as exotic curiosities in capturing the attention of the mission's benefactor audiences. Once the missionaries narrated objects as a single collection unit, it was much more difficult to point out their resemblances to European objects. The overall exotic ambience of an entire collection of curiosities becomes more dominant than singular processes of transformation and conversion. It is thus impossible to maintain that "converted artifacts" were the dominant representational strategy employed by missionaries. As we shall see in many more instances, the mode of presentation always depended on both the writing or talking missionary's own inclination, the interest and knowledge of the respective interlocutors, as well as the market and modes of exchange that brought them together.

Some 15 years after this article, Müller was still involved in maintaining the supply of ethnographic objects, beadwork in particular, as can be seen in Figure 104. A Stuttgart industrialist by the name of Adolf Mayer had personal contacts at Mariannhill and donated this photograph to the ethnographic Museum of Stuttgart, as part of a bigger collection of objects and photographs between 1904 and 1912 (cf. Chapter Six). The acquired collection contains many photographs, but also a selection of objects, foremost beadwork, some collected around Centocow Mission. The photograph was not made by any of Mariannhill's photographers, but by an unknown acquaintance of Adolf Mayer, whom Müller took on a tour to nearby homesteads on horseback. One of the visitors' mounts is visible in the background. It is thus not one of Müller's genre composition, but rather a snapshot, of which he seems to have been unaware while being distracted by bartering for beadwork.

Figure 104: Br. Aegidius inspecting beadwork. Approx. 1904. Unknown photographer (Linden Museum Stuttgart).

As the photograph shows, not all objects were offered to the missionaries in the process of conversion (ie. became "converted artifacts"), but the missionaries also actively collected, and more importantly *selected* objects at peoples' homesteads. An entry in Mariannhill's accounting books of 15 August 1906 registered the payment of one Shilling "*für Kaffernschmucksachen* [for Kafir adornments]", while in 1911 "*15 Kaffernstöcke* [15 Kafir sticks]" where bought for £1 in one transaction. When missionaries embarked on longer journeys in the same year, they received money in advance "*zum Ankauf von Couriositäten* [for the purchase of curiosities]". In September 1911, Mariannhill's General Council eventually ordered every station superior to put up one suitable person to collect for the museum. An overall £20 was set aside for this purpose *per annum*. At the same time, the protocol stated that objects may only be resold at their actual cost price (*Selbstkostenpreis*), meaning without profit.[435] This renewed collection effort may have been established due to Fr. Alexander's observation in 1910 that other missions had already surpassed them by now (see below). Ledochowska's St. Peter Claver Society in Austria, for example, had established small museums at their houses in Europe (cf. Gütl 2004). Competition

[435] CMMA-GR: Unpublished research notes of Fr. Dietmar Seubert.

with other mission congregations and societies thus became another driving force behind collecting.

In accordance with Müller's history of collecting (1890), the accounting books I just described show the regular *acquisition* of "objects for the museum", which are rarely defined in detail. At the same time, the books also show the regular *selling* of "Kafir sticks and pots" during the 1890s and the first years of the 20th century. These two object categories were apparently of interest for a local consumer market, or as gifts to benefactors of the mission.[436] The above-mentioned official order of 1911 to sell without revenue, makes it likely that the practice had previously indeed been profit-oriented. In their simple, practical, and universal form as container and stick, they may thus have been re-invested with a use value for both Black and White customers. The South African historian Hlonipha Mokoena, for example, speculates about such re-appropriations for Zulu *knobkerries* into swagger sticks as used by White members of Natal's police force (Mokoena 2016, also see Chapter Four). Regarding pots, Mariannhill's architect Br. Nivard Streicher wrote in 1904 to his confrere Fr. Pius at Mariannhill's house in Würzburg:

> Some weeks ago I sent a crate with curiosities to Würzburg. In it you will find a small box with Kafir pots and a bag of *Amabele* [South African grain]. Please send these things to the given address in Erding. My friend Michl had earlier conveyed to me an expensive model of a modern baking oven for terracotta and pottery from the *Keramische Fachschule Landshut*. In return I am sending him some Kafir pots, which Patwa had procured for me.[437]

The intermediary in this case seems to have been the *Amakholwa Induna* Umpathwa Phewa (cf. Chapter Four), known well enough to both correspondents to be mentioned casually with only his first name. Six years earlier, "Umpatwa, *induna* in charge at Mariannhill" had had to deal with yet another, rather drastic method of object acquisition. On 10 October 1898, Umpatwa reported to the magistrate's office of Umlazi that a "European constable" had taken four *Assegais* from his son's house.[438] The magistrate's office then inquired with the Pinetown police station, only to discover that the alleged "constable" had instead been a "holidaymaker from Durban", who had claimed before Umpatwa to be "a policeman in plain clothes".[439] He may have been a stray tourist, who had done the tour at Mariannhill, but was still in need of souvenirs before returning to Durban.

As we could see, Africans near Mariannhill experienced multiple ways in which their objects were "collected". These ways differed considerably, and ranged from Africans' voluntary offerings at the mission, acquisition tours by the missionaries, acquisitions through African intermediaries, "confiscations" by the missionaries, and eventually plain theft by tourists. Crucial

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436 Already in August 1889, during a meeting of the monastery council, the superior of Centocow, Fr. Gerard Wolpert, complained about the selling of big "*Utshwala* [Zulu: beer] *Häfen* [Austrian-German: pots]" at the mission stations, and asked to call this practice off. For unspecified reasons his request was rejected by the council (Zürrlein 1999:29). With all likelihood, Wolpert considered it unjustifiable to sell receptacles for alcohol at a mission station.

437 Letter, Br. Nivard Streicher to Fr. Pius Rudlof, 19.10. 1904, in Seubert and Streicher (2003).

438 DAR: 1_UMB-3/1/11-98, memorandum, mag. office Umlazi to Natal Police Pinetown, 10.10.1898.

439 DAR: 1_UMB-3/1/11-98, letter, Bertram Rodius to J.R. Currie, Umlazi Court, Durban, 14.12.1898.

for all cases is that Africans' own experience of these moments cannot be recovered in any detail. They certainly differed from the narratives presented by the missionaries or colonial officials, which I presented here. It is therefore only the mode of presentation by White colonial actors, which I analysed here. The missionaries only represented the mode of "voluntary" offerings in the context of conversion, as well as the "confiscation" legitimised by objects' allegedly "superstitious" nature. It was thus only these latter objects that could become "converted artifacts" in the mission's periodicals.

The missionaries recollected their own practice of collecting in textual form, in order to create effective backstories for European readers. This practice of collection was however only photographed once by an outsider (Figure 104). We realise that missionaries and other colonial actors did not collect every existing "African" object, which had been in daily use at the time. Clothing and utensils of Western import were not included, unless they had been sufficiently transformed and inscribed with a certain degree of alterity, such as in the case of glass beads turned into beadwork.[440] Imported goods must nevertheless have been present in equal amount and co-constituted all Africans' lifeworlds, as suggested by the magistrate's list for "trade and barter" of 1884, which I quoted in the last section.

In case Mariannhill Missionaries photographed entire homesteads displaying imported goods, these were usually identified as "Christian" through image captions. Those homesteads with no imported goods instead were identified as "heathen" (cf. Chapter One). Effectually, this created an unreal dichotomy for overseas audiences at the time, as much as for historians today. Whenever an object entered Mariannhill's museum, the chain of events leading to this moment not only depended on selection processes based on social relations, but also on an objects's social function, its materiality, aesthetic potential, and its resulting collectability. An object's social and material ontologies were thus entangled with its potential for establishing agency (cf. Chapter Eight). The reproductive power of mimetic capital was already constituted in social relations during the process of collection. The resulting eminence of particular objects through their *collectibility*, eventually influenced not only their inclusion in ethnographic collections and narratives, but also their *photographability* for this purpose, which I discuss in the last two sections. In the following two sections I deal with Mariannhill's collection at large in an institutional setting, once it had been transformed into a permanent museum, and curators furthermore started to include "non-African" objects.

[440] Also see the definition by Gustav Fritsch (1888, 1906) for "ethnographic" objects and photographs in Chapter Six.

Mariannhill's Museum and its Categorisations

> Their museum is a sight worth seeing, the collection, although smaller than most public museums contain, has in some individual collections perhaps a more numerous and varied selection than a good many of them. Their stock of native curios, amongst which were many rare and valuable articles, is an exceptionally good one. There were a number of antique things from all parts of the world, obtained from the other monasteries scattered throughout Europe. A fancy glass bottle of the year 1650 is said to have its sister reposing in the museum at Munich. There was an old piece of Vienna chinaware for which the monkish curator stated he refused £25, considering its value to be twice that sum. The collection of entomological specimens was far in advance of that in the museum in Pietermaritzburg. In the way of coins this little museum contained as complete a stock as could be imagined, their weight in silver and gold alone making them of considerable value, to say nothing of their antiquity.
>
> H.O. Andrews, *The Monks of Natal* (1909:51-52).

> The miscellaneous collection accumulated in the museum defies description. An enormous number of large frogs reposing in spirit jars, dreadful snakes, including the deadly "Black Mamba," a golden mole, small fox mice, dozens of scorpions—yellowy brown and black, with their elongated tail and tiny tip from which they exude their poison—all are there. Lovely birds are splendidly mounted; and Kaffir curios in very-well-done bead work. Some pieces of rock with Bushmen painting I found most interesting, the colours of the dark red men on brown stone striking me as unlike anything I had ever seen before.
>
> Charlotte Cameron, *A Woman's Winter in Africa* (1913:158).

At least in their descriptions and calls for collections, Mariannhill's museum curators attempted to cover the various stages of the world's "art" and "artefacts" that were thought to constitute civilisation. In addition they collected specimens of the local South African fauna and flora. As I explore in this section, the "monkish curator", Fr. Alexander Hanisch, at least claimed a connection to such European and American metropolitan museums as an ideal, which had been inspired by the contemporary popular notion of what Duncan and Wallach once termed the "universal survey museum" (2004 [1980]). Thereby Hanisch attempted to strategically position Mariannhill internationally in relation to other museum institutions, nations, and religions. While he promoted scientifically inspired ideas of universality, I suggest that he instead considered the museum's main purpose as propaganda and commerce based on the attraction of the curiosity cabinet: his main focus was to curate relationships with potential allies, rather than object collections in order to create scientific knowledge.

For the first time in 1894, the monastery opened a permanent museum space, which was referred to as "*Naturalien und ethnographische Sammlung*". This space was first inside the monastic enclosure. Once the collection had grown significantly by 1900, it was successively relocated to various spaces outside of the enclosure. Next to "home missionary museums", Chris Wingfield has identified museums in the missionaries' field of action as "mission field museums". So far, only very few examples of the latter kind from either India or China are known[441] (Wingfield 2017). Mariannhill's museum is therefore exceptional in this regard: it was established in the field of action because the monastery itself was considered as the

[441] No comparative study of mission museums exists (either diachronic or synchronic), but one unpublished thesis for the case of Germany, which I have not been able to access (Schlegel 1997).

administrative centre, resulting in a less clearly defined distinction between "home" and "field".

At the same time as European ethnographic museums around 1900, the museums in the South African colonies experienced an excessive overcrowding with objects. Similar to European, and in particular German ethnographic museums (cf. Penny 2002, Zimmermann 2001), they followed the 19th century salvaging paradigm until the First World War. Just like these museums far and near, also Mariannhill Monastery became entangled in an international and local market pressure, which made repeated expansions and relocations of its museum necessary. In the sense of Hodder, the dependency on objects and photographs turned into an inconvenient entrapment, which necessitated other repeated material interventions.

As a result of such developments, also the public collections in Natal's biggest cities Durban and Pietermaritzburg were rehoused around 1900. Müller and other members sold and exchanged collectables, including photographs with these museums, as well as the South African Museum in Cape Town. The two former members of Mariannhill, Fr. Franz Mayr and Fr. Alfred T. Bryant, as well as Mariannhill's second museum curator, Fr. Paschalis Boneberg, even exchanged ethnographic, botanical, and zoological information and specimens more regularly after 1900 with these two museums (Guest 2004:35). Mayr and Bryant also published in the journal of the Natal Museum.[442]

These national and international settings of institutions were connected in a particular way. Bennett (1995 [1988]) describes the development of an "exhibitionary complex" in the second half of the 19th century, in which the available knowledge of the world was related to particular institutions, such as "history and natural science museums, dioramas and panoramas, national and, later, international exhibitions, arcades and department stores". According to Bennett, these spaces "served as linked sites for the development and circulation of new disciplines (history, biology, art history, anthropology) and their discursive formations (the past, evolution, aesthetics, man) as well as for the development of new technologies of vision" (Bennett 1995:59). He goes on to argue that it was anthropology that connected "the histories of Western nations and civilisations to those of other people" (ibid:77), and that "[t]he space of representation constituted in the relations between the disciplinary knowledges deployed within the exhibitionary complex thus permitted the construction of a temporally organized order of things and peoples" (ibid:79). According to Bennett, in particular the world exhibitions introduced two shifts: one from process to products, which was again subordinated to "the dominating influence of principles of classification based on nations and the supra-national constructs of empires and races" (ibid:81). In this constellation, White audiences were supposedly able to reflect and adapt by actively experiencing their own situation in the exhibition.

While Bennet's notion of the "exhibitionary complex" may be used to understand

[442] It is impossible to deal with Mariannhill's entire museum history here. As it was almost exclusively the collection of local material culture that was involved in photographic practices, I will exclude a detailed discussion of the collection concerning natural history, geology, zoology and related personalities.

Mariannhill's institutional setup, Bennet's notion of a "civilising museum" may only have limited analytical value for the case of Natalian museums. It is nevertheless helpful to clarify the differences between museums in Europe, Pietermaritzburg, Durban, and the one of Mariannhill. First, Penny (2002:206) argues against Bennett for the case of German museums that the displays' overcrowding made them useless as sophisticated social and political tools, and therefore the same may be said for Natal museums just before 1900. Second, MacKenzie (2010) argues that the situation with "colonial museums"[443] (also see Sheets-Pyenson 1988), such as those in the South African metropoles, was rather different from those in Europe. While Bennett's idea was that elites attempted to educate the working class during the 19th century through the engineering of museum architecture and displays, Black South Africans were hardly to be counted amongst the regular audiences of South African museums around 1900.

But other than the two museums in Cape Town and Grahamstown that Mackenzie studied, the Natal Museum in Pietermaritzburg did indeed welcome the "coloured races" (Natives, Indians, and Arabs); however, only on Sunday afternoon,[444] only if properly dressed, and only under the supervision of a native constable, or a native attendant (Guest 2006:28, also see Warren 1906:28-29). Statistical numbers of such "Coloured" visitors are however unknown for either Pietermaritzburg, Durban, or Mariannhill.[445] In general, it can be stated that Africans indeed rarely constituted (or provided) parts of the narratives on the museum as visitors (cf. MacKenzie 2010:96). But as I showed in the last chapter, Africans indeed visited Mariannhill Monastery for various reasons. The visit and tour of Chief Lokothwayo, for example, was at least presented as a civilising measure, regardless whether he himself had indeed experienced it as such.

Africans nevertheless must have consciously followed the trajectories of their objects, once they had been collected by Mariannhill Missionaries, other colonial actors, or tourists around Mariannhill. Next to the earlier-mentioned occasion involving *Induna* Pathwa Phewa, this can be shown for several cases. Therefore, both the (re-narrated) mission space, and its own museum can be considered as "contact zones" in the sense of Clifford (1997), in which missionaries, other colonial actors, and Africans physically and intellectually engaged with objects and the *préterrain* of the colonial world at large, and which thus brought forth particular statements other than the missionaries'. We may further consider the situation at Mariannhill itself as a specific "exhibitionary complex" in the sense of Bennett (1995): the monastery's

[443] I will later distinguish museums *situated* in the colonies from those in European metropoles *concerned* with the colonies. In Germany the latter were referred to as either *Kolonialmuseen* or *Handelsmuseen* (trade museums). The *Kolonialmuseum* of Berlin (1899-1915) even included designated sections for both Protestant and Catholic Missionaries, while the objects of mission origin in ethnographic museums were no longer displayed in order to show this relationship. It was thus only at Berlin's *Kolonialmuseum* that missionaries were publicly involved in co-representing the colonies together with other colonial lobbyists.

[444] It is unclear whether this was indeed a restriction based on colour, or a necessity due to Africans' occupation through work.

[445] The visitor books at Mariannhill from 1908 onwards mostly show European names with few exceptions in the early years. This does not mean that no Africans visited Mariannhill, as many were illiterate and therefore would not have signed in.

workshops, the store for Africans, the church, the archive, the library, the museum, temporary exhibitions, the photographic studio, as well as events like Catholic holidays and theatre performances, all constituted institutions that facilitated the storage, display, and distribution of the mission's work and products towards the outside world. These institutions were also reproduced textually as perceived during tours, or reported on by outside correspondence otherwise. They not only fulfilled the role of production and storage, but had performative qualities and were therefore connected in between themselves. At the same time, these institutions connected Mariannhill's entire network of mission stations to Europe in an effort to promote the project of mission. Mariannhill's photographs play a particularly important role historically, as both objects and images; but through their image content they also allow for the reconstruction of other histories for institutions and objects.

In order to make the situation of Mariannhill's museum and the objects it contained comprehensible within the Euro-American discourse on "foreign" objects in general, I need to briefly discuss some of the relevant scholarship. This is necessary, because we already learned in Parts One and Two that Mariannhill tapped into every source possible in order to improve their media landscape. This awareness also influenced the missionaries' ideas about the collectability and photographability of objects. By way of connecting to local and international institutions, as well as popular and scientific discourses, Mariannhill's museum curators simultaneously used conceptions like "Kafir curios", as well as "art". The same objects would alternatively be labelled "ethnographic", once they had been transferred to European museum collections. A division between non-European "ethnographic" objects and European "art" objects existed in Europe until the first decade of the 20th century.

Since about 1900, "ethnographic" objects were either scientifically perceived as cultural artefacts, or aesthetically as works of art (Clifford 1988b:222). This division indeed became very ambivalent when European artists "discovered" African "art" as inspiration for their own (cf. Flam and Deutch 2003). But at the same time, this process furthered a divide of "modernism" and "primitivism" as categories within the art discourse itself (Antliff and Leighten 2003, Clifford 1988a:198). It has been argued that it was curators of ethnographic museums who prepared this change of view by stockpiling the necessary "mimetic capital" since the 1870s (cf. Williams 1985:159). Penny (2002) and Stelzig (2004) show that a move towards the art paradigm eventually also took place in several German ethnographic museums just after 1900, for example by re-designing exhibitions.[446]

In South Africa, however, the division between Western "art" on the one hand, and "ethnographic" objects, "crafts", or "curios" on the other, existed much longer (Leibhammer 2011:51-52). As I will further explore in Chapter Seven, also just before 1900, German ethnologists began to indulge a certain form of reflexivity, by analysing commissioned "native

[446] When the city of Munich, for example, made municipal funding available for art, the ethnographic museum's curator Scherman reshaped the exhibition accordingly (Penny 2002). This was an effort that apparently persisted until the end of the 20th century (Clifford 1988a:206) and beyond (also see below).

drawings" in order to consider the mimetic faculties and psychological abilities of non-Europeans through their visual expressions. It was only since the mid-1920s that the White South African art world encouraged Black South African artists to express themselves professionally in the form of figurative art, painting, and drawing in the European tradition. While this had been done previously foremost in the educational realm, by the late 1920s Black artists eventually were granted space within exhibitions and the public art scene. Even though this approach took place within the European tradition of fine art painting and sculpture, White art lobbyists and patrons curated segregated exhibitions, so to retain an exotic inflection of "African" style. Anitra Nettleton suggests that this development was inspired and paralleled by the tendency in the USA to promote a distinct Black identity (2011:143).

For the first time during the 1930s, figurative and pictorial art by Black South Africans fully entered the Euro-American art market and discourse in its own right (cf. Shaw 1949). South African artefacts, however, were excluded in this perception, as they had not been inspirational to European artists (Leibhammer 2011:53). At least until the 1970s, artefacts such as listed by Müller above (1890), were framed as either "material culture" or "crafts" in anthropology, and not much desired within the secondary art market (Klopper 2004:18). In the transitional era of the 1970s and 1980s, texts and photographs by Mariannhill in particular served as sources for a reevaluation of Natal's material culture, as systematic depictions of historical artefacts accompanied by descriptions were otherwise scarce.[447]

Eventually, since the 1970s, art dealers and art historians (re-)collected South African historical objects locally and internationally as "art" (cf. Nettleton 1988:51, Stevenson 2005), which then started circulating within, out of, and eventually also back to South Africa. The post-1980s and post-apartheid discourse continued to re-frame South African historical objects more generally as "art", partially to promote an emerging nation (cf. Leibhammer 2016:59-60, 72), partially in order to create value on the secondary art market. With these material circulations *retrospective* writing on "South African art" also intensified. The German ethnologist Katesa Schlosser (Schlosser 1975, also see Kennedy 1978, Vogel 1981:239, 241, Stevenson 2005:33), like her South African colleague Ella Shaw during the first wave of appropriation in the 1930s and 1940s,[448] retrospectively diagnosed a general lack of "traditional art" and especially a lack of "figurative art" in South African material culture:

> Ethnology considers the Bantu-areas of South Africa as lacking in art. There is no court art as such, in so far that chiefs support artists. There is no traditional religious art with depictions of deity- or ancestor figures. Totemistic art is developed vaguely. Free-standing sculpture is rare. Singular carvings are used with the Venda and northern *Suthu* as demonstration-objects in "bush-schools" [for initiation]. Otherwise sculptures foremost appear as toys: clay-sculptures of cattle and people. Artistic craftwork [*Kunsthandwerk*] and ornamental work dominate. They serve the

[447] For example essays in the *Annals of the South African Museum* used material culled from a purchase of Mariannhill photographs in 1899, as well as Müller's article from 1917/18.

[448] "Every object of art that was made was primarily an object of use, whether it was a household utensil elaborately decorated, an object connected with religious or magical practices, or a toy (the nearest to 'art for art's sake'). It is possibly this fact, coupled with traditional conservatism, that lies behind the absence of pictorial art not only in South Africa but throughout Bantu Africa" (Shaw 1949:629).

adornment of the human body, of homesteads and utensils[449] (Schlosser 1975:38).

Europeans promoted these ideas retrospectively, and it is therefore questionable whether this indeed was the perception of Africans, as well as of local Europeans at the time.[450] Below and in Chapter Eight, I show instead that conversations between Africans and Europeans indeed showed a considerable sophistication regarding the perception of images:[451] already before the First World War, Mariannhill Missionaries constructed—however unstable—a dichotomy between "art" ("art objects") and "artefacts" ("non-art objects") and associated valuations, either as distinguished objects worthy of appreciation, or as mere functional objects.[452]

As pointed out critically for the first time by Nettleton (1988), Black South Africans did indeed produce figurative wood carvings, but related ethnic identifications have often been applied indiscriminately. According to Nettleton, a "Zulu" identity has in fact been applied incorrectly to sculptures in several cases, probably because of the general dominance of the Zulu identity in the colonial discourse. Even if scarce, "figurative" expressions were thus indeed present in South Africa before 1900. Nevertheless, before the 1920s, neither Black South Africans nor White collectors engaged with them through art fora, institutions, and discourses, which could promote them as "art". Also Mariannhill Missionaries indeed collected and photographed sophisticated clay sculptures. These, however, did not allow for their construction as "superstitious idols", and the missionaries therefore could not use them as "converted artifacts" like the head rings and medicine bundles described above. Because the missionaries could not circulate such clay sculptures for propaganda purposes, and because they were generally most fragile, it is likely that they never entered trading circuits.

Contemporary documentation of what the museum at Mariannhill contained exactly at particular points in time does not exist. The curators apparently kept no records of what they accumulated successively between the 1880s and today. Likewise, there are no records of what they eventually de-accessioned, sold, gave away, or of what was in fact stolen. It is therefore difficult to evaluate the missionaries' contemporary categorisations of objects. As I explained in the main introduction, the missionaries did not keep an official archive until the separation from the Trappist order in 1909. Today, only three accessioning lists of objects *leaving* to Europe can be found, one of them related to the touring exhibition described by Müller above[453] (Müller

[449] My own translation from the German original.

[450] At least A.T. Bryant does confirm this view in a letter to the Natal Museum's director Ernest Warren in 1908, however, by supporting one cliché with another: "Being essentially a warlike tribe, the Zulus were exceptionally poor in all that pertains to the arts & crafts of peace" (KZNM: letter, Bryant to Warren, 18.11.1908).

[451] Also see the introduction of Chapter Two.

[452] For a discussion of the "art/artefact" dichotomy, see Vogel (1988, 1991). The definition of the term "artefact" may of course be drawn much wider in its meaning as "human-made". Despite furthering the discussion about the conceptual division between "art" and "artefacts" in Western museums, Vogel's work remains partially polarising and stereotyping. For an overview of critiques see Jones (1993).

[453] The second one is undated, but must also have been drawn up in the 1890s. The third one was put together for the 1925 Vatican exhibition. The earliest lists are crafted in sloppy *kurrent* handwriting (both Zulu and German) and have been perforated considerably by the earlier mentioned insect plague.

1890). These lists mostly name African artefacts, as well as print matter and photographs, but none of the other exhibits from the permanent museum. An accession list for the museum itself was eventually created for the centenary in 1982, but holds no information about the objects' provenance, or when they entered the collection. Therefore, the only way to produce new knowledge about the different layers of processed and unprocessed information on the museum and the archive, is to relate photographs, texts, objects, as well as the people who are referenced through these sources. This not only brings us closer to the knowledge single objects were thought to convey initially, but provides ideas on how they came to be in their current configuration in between the entities labelled as Mariannhill's various "archives" and "museums" (cf. Hamilton and Leibhammer 2016b).

We have various examples of photographed objects from Mariannhill's museum collection. The curators and photographers presented them either in exhibition settings, or in arrangements that had been set up especially to be photographed. Nevertheless, only few explicit indications survive as to how Mariannhill Missionaries dealt with objects in the museum, after they had registered them visually and textually. We also know very little of people other than Br. Aegidius Müller at Mariannhill, who had an interest in the collection of objects, such as the museum's first keeper, Fr. Alexander Hanisch, or the short-term member Fr. Franz Mayr (but see Gütl 2004). Unlike with Müller and Mayr, I could only discover few texts authored by Hanisch.

In previous sections I looked at how the propaganda periodicals narrated objects before they had entered the collection. In the next section I follow the practices promoted by Mariannhill's museum curator, Fr. Alexander Hanisch, in the permanent museum space on a public exhibitionary frontstage towards visitors. Here he positioned artefacts in various ways to establish relationships between Africans, missionaries, and the wider colonial society. In the following three sections I furthermore present curatorial practices involving photographs *of* exhibited artefacts, but also *as* exhibited objects. This process of photographic aesthetification also contributed to the later presentation, circulation, and perception of Mariannhill's object collection as "art".

We will thus be able to observe a shift from "curiosities" towards the further inclusion of ideas on science and art, which indicates that both the photographer, Br. Aegidius Müller, and the museum curator, Fr. Alexander Hanisch, followed the developments in European ethnology, popular culture, and the art world. Over the remaining sections I will discuss moments when Müller and Hanisch were involved in crafting statements on African people and their objects in documents dated to 1889/90, 1894, 1898/99, 1904, 1906/07, 1910, 1911/12, and 1917/18. The general assemblage of the types of collected objects did not change drastically throughout these years. The terminologies both Müller and Hanisch employed, however, did undergo a transformation: in 1889, Müller referred to objects as "rarities" and in 1890 as "Kafir products". In 1894, Fr. Alexander exclusively described "Kafir things, such as curiosities", but already in the same year, the museum was referred to as "ethnographic". In 1899, eventually, Müller explicitly labelled his photographs as "ethnographic" when addressing the ethnographic museum

of Berlin. In 1904, Fr. Alexander used “natural produce or curiosities”, which he pitted against the general idea of Western art. For the first time in 1907, and later in 1912, Müller explicitly applied the idea of “art” to South African objects. By 1910, eventually, Fr. Alexander used the term “ethnological things” next to “Kafir things”. For the first time in 1917, Müller employed the term “material culture”, while at the same time having further refined his ideas on South African “art”. We shall see that these wordings must be analysed according to the involved correspondents and their interests.

Mariannhill's "African Museum" as Frontstage

Figure 105: original caption on verso: "*P. Alexander Hanisch, Museums-Kustos, in 1898*" (CMM Archives).

In one of the archival rooms at Mariannhill Monastery, an old-fashioned writing desk holds a multitude of letters, photographs, and other documents. In a drawer labelled "museum" I found a battered photograph depicting Fr. Alexander Hanisch (1868-1937), who was the keeper of Mariannhill's museum from approximately 1894. The inscription on the verso refers to him as "*Museums-Kustos*" (Figure 105). His glasses resting on his forehead and apparelled with an Arabic Fez, he examines an embroidered piece of cloth. He is further surrounded by a multitude of objects: several large tomes of unknown subjects, a painting of the crucified Christ, a Chinese vase, and the skin of a scaly anteater at his feet. This photographed arrangement shows some of the objects, which were stored in the museum at the time. The seemingly eclectic collection however excluded objects referencing local people.

The photograph must have been taken approximately at the same time as the orientalist performance of the photographer Br. Aegidius Müller (Figure 15). It is therefore worth pointing out that this particular *mise en scène* resembles classic portraiture of explorers engaging in tactile contact with their collected curios, such as Joseph Banks (cf. Thomas 1991:142). At the same time, the photograph bears striking resemblance to the arrangement of Spitzweg's orientalist painting *Schleich und Odaliske*, in a monastic setting obviously without the odalisque (cf. Ronnefahrt 1960:301). Despite this performance of an intimate relationship with museum objects, it remains unclear what Hanisch's curatorial skills and expertise were, other than a training-by-doing. Before his arrival at Mariannhill in 1891, Hanisch had been a baker in the secular world.

The photograph's purpose for the museum curator, Fr. Alexander Hanisch, may thus have been to fashion himself, the museum's collection, and the mission at large as a "cultured" institution, which was in consequence capable of "en-culturing" others. The necessity of such self-fashioning had once more been provoked by the earlier mentioned Europe-wide "Culture War": the Jesuits, for example, a congregation of Catholic missionaries known for their early scientific efforts and collections, had been banned, in particular in Germany since 1872 (Gross 1998, 2004). The idea of "*Kultur*" held by the Protestant Bismarckian regime appeared not to be compatible with the one represented by Catholics, especially once the Papacy had declared its infallibility in 1870. But the following repression, accusations of ultramontanism, and the announcement of a "Catholic backwardness", "[…] only reinforced the existence of a separate Catholic subculture" (Blackbourn 2003:195-203). As we shall see, this also expressed itself in a catholic culture of collecting.

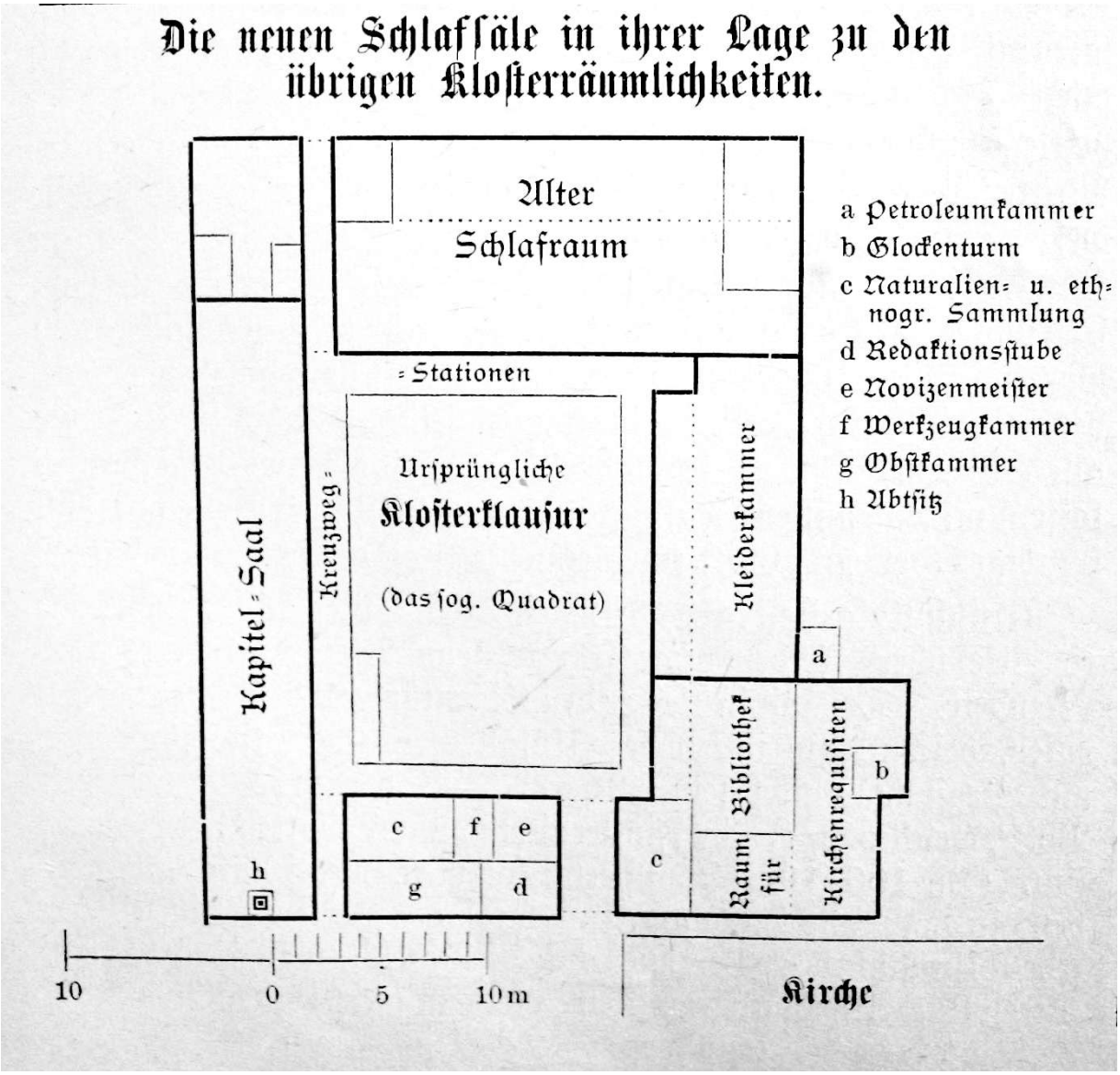

Figure 106: original caption: "*Klosterräumlichkeiten*"—"Premises of the monastery". Layout of Mariannhill Monastery in 1894 (published in *Vergißmeinnicht* 1894:44).

The objects, which Müller and his confreres collected during trips, were initially sent to Europe, but at least since 1894 primarily accumulated at the monastery: in the same year as the photographic studio was built, Mariannhill opened a "*Naturalistisches Museum* [natural science museum]" (Anon. 1894b:49).[454] These concerted efforts indicate a necessity to intensify a local representative agency. This first instalment of the museum was located within the monastery's enclosure, and on a contemporary map referred to as "*Naturalien- u. ethnogr.*[aphische]

[454] The term "natural history museum" may not be adequate here as the term "*Naturalien*" only refers to "natural produce". The term "*Naturalistisches Museum*" however rarely occurs in the contemporary literature, and one may wonder whether the author was not indeed thinking of a "*Naturhistorisches Museum*".

Sammlung".[455] While it was still referred to as "*Sammlung* [collection]", and not yet strictly as "museum", it was housed in the same building as the "*Bibliothek* [library]", and the storage room for "*Kirchenrequisiten* [church paraphernalia]" (Figure 106).[456] Approximately in 1900, the collection was moved into a small circular building next to the compound's entrance gate[457], and before 1910 the collection was once more moved to a more extensive room on the second floor of the former hospital, right behind the photographic studio (Vorspel et al. 1921-1989:216). In 1932, for the third time, the installation was moved into the newly purpose-built eastern wing of the monastery; and eventually for the last time in 1981, to its fifth and present location in the old tannery.

When Fr. Amandus Schölzig became the second Abbot of Mariannhill in 1894, he could look back at his experience of 30 years at the Augustinian Monastery of Klosterneuburg in Austria between 1858 and 1888. This monastery had a renowned collection of religious art and antiquities, dating back to the 18th century.[458] As novice master and lecturer of Oriental languages, amongst other tasks, Schölzig would have been familiar, not only with the collections of several other nearby monasteries, but also with those of secular museums (Ludwig and Reitterer 1995:29). At the time, not only state-funded ethnographic and natural history museums, but also German and Austrian monastic museums housed extensive collections of "curiosities", zoological, petrological, and botanical specimens (Schrott 2010). Schölzig was therefore well-situated to direct the installation of the museum at Mariannhill, which addressed both South African and European audiences. Together with the museum's opening in 1894, Schölzig circulated the first internal "*Filialverordnung*" as an official order "to collect as much as possible for the 'African Museum' at Mariannhill". This directive gave specific details for collecting "native kafir items, such as curiosities ec.", "all kinds of postage stamps",[459] mammals, insects, "all kinds of stones", and eventually "also other kinds of "*Naturalien*", such as "special plants".

At the time, similar collections existed close-by at the Natal Government Museum in Pietermaritzburg, as well as the Durban Museum. When a correspondent of the local newspaper, *The Natal Witness*, visited Mariannhill in December 1904,[460] he implied that Mariannhill's museum, at least regarding parts of the natural history collection, surpassed those of the Natal Museum in Pietermaritzburg: "There were cases upon cases of exquisitely tinted butterflies, the like of which it is doubtful if we have in Maritzburg" (Anon. 1904). And indeed, just like the museums in Pietermaritzburg and Durban, Mariannhill's own museum grew enormously in the

[455] As the letter "h", indicating the office of the Abbot (*Abtsitz*) cannot be found anywhere on the map, I assume that the second "c" indicates not a second museum-collection, but is rather a misprint, which should instead read "h". This would also make sense within the order of letters from right to left.

[456] The German term "*Requisite*" means "prop" as in "theatre-property". I employ the same term for objects used in the photographic studio.

[457] CMM-MM: unaccessioned panorama map, 1901.

[458] The "*Kunstkammer*" of Klosterneuburg Monastery housed religious art, paintings and paraphernalia (Röhrig 1982).

[459] The curators attempted to create a philatelist collection, to exchange with outsiders and eventually to sell off for revenue.

[460] Also see the above quotes from 1909 and 1913.

years just before and after 1900.[461] The museum's expansion was paralleled by reiterations of urges to collect within the congregation, but also beyond. In 1894, 1904, and 1910, the Abbots Schölzig and Wolpert released circulars asking both confreres and benefactors to collect.[462] They released these appeals at the moments of the museum's instalment, and whenever the museum was expanded and relocated. Every time the museum moved to a bigger premises, more space had to be filled. While in 1894 the call focused more on natural specimens, the one of 1904 stressed that "African natural specimens and curiosities" have priority, but also European objects would be of interest. Accordingly, the instructions indicated the confreres' obligation to collect African artefacts, and asked for the benefactors' generosity to donate non-African artefacts. The circulars also suggested that both categories could be bartered for one another, in case the monastery had doubles of the African "curiosities".[463]

Other than the circulars of 1894 and 1910, the one of 1904 was meant to address a wider public, why the editors added it to the *Mariannhill-Kalender* of the same year. For this reason, the request also had a more elaborate, explanatory, and inclusive tone. Fr. Alexander Hanisch formulated parts of the motivation to collect in 1904 as follows:

> Amongst other things, the mission-monastery Mariannhill has been labouring for several years now to install a modest museum. Its purpose and usefulness should not be in need of detailed reasoning. Artefacts of all areas of human knowledge, which used to be generally only in the possession of a few, become—through collections like this—common property. Things that are commonly only known through books, do here appear *in natura*, or at least in faithful illustrations. The peoples of the present, and the tribes of all countries and areas, become known through products of their agency and creation, and in so far, they are brought together in closer proximity; achievements of different culture periods are thus passed down to the marvelling posterity by mute, but nevertheless eloquent witnesses. After all, and this remains the main reason, the human spirit is lead up to the creator and the source of all things through the contemplation of the creatures and their works.[464]

The circulars indicated even more detailed reasons for the accumulation of objects in the museum: to impress visitors; to acquire artefacts as illustrative material for Mariannhill's schools, as well as for the priest seminar at the monastery; but also to create a repository of gifts for benefactors. However, unlike other Catholic congregations and Protestant societies at the time, Mariannhill did not establish permanent museums at European dependancies before the mid-20th century (cf. Chapter One). Even though the Trappist Generalate was in Europe, Mariannhill took an afrocentric perspective by first establishing a museum in South Africa. This was realised as a shortcoming by Fr. Alexander in the circular of 1910, which he, however, did not explain. The museum also did not explicitly represent Trappist Missions in other places, like those congregations and societies with multiple localities presented objects of their various

[461] I further discuss the Natal Museum in Pietermaritzburg in Chapter Eight. It was impossible to retrieve more information on the Durban Museum in the time given, as today even the curators themselves have immense difficulties to reconstruct the historical collections.

[462] CMM-GA: All three circulars are present, but unaccessioned in Mariannhill's Roman Generalate archive.

[463] Also see the correspondence between Fr. Mayr and his benefactor Ledochowska on these forms of exchange (Gütl 2004).

[464] CMM-GA: unaccessioned circular "Das Museum Mariannhill", 1904. My own translation from the German original.

houses.[465]

In 1904, Fr. Alexander wrote further that the museum cannot compete with the "great public museums in Europe and America", but that, as Trappists, they "merely wanted to collect for art and the sciences after the example of their forefathers". He stressed a "desired universality [*gewünschte Allseitigkeit*]", and accordingly listed required objects from natural history, various art objects, to coins and stamps. Hanisch here implied institutions such as the American Metropolitan Museum, the French Louvre, and the British Museum. It is unclear whom Hanisch addressed with the appellation "forefathers", but it is very likely that he indicated the general collection efforts by monastic museums, such as the one of the "*Kunstkammer*" at Klosterneuburg. Hanisch may even have referred to the encyclopaedic attempts at collecting by earlier generations of Catholic Jesuit missionaries (cf. Findlen 1989). Rosemary Seton adds for the case of the London Missionary Society that they were at the same time as Mariannhill influenced by "universalist ideas" in vogue at the British Museum, and reflecting an Enlightenment curiosity (Seton 2012:99). In order to compare the narrative directed at benefactors to the actual museum and exhibitions, we must now turn to photographs and other descriptions.

[465] See for example Seton (2012) and Wingfield (2012a) on the London Missionary Society [LMS]. Mariannhill's museum did in fact house artefacts from East Africa and Zimbabwe, which however came from its own foundations.

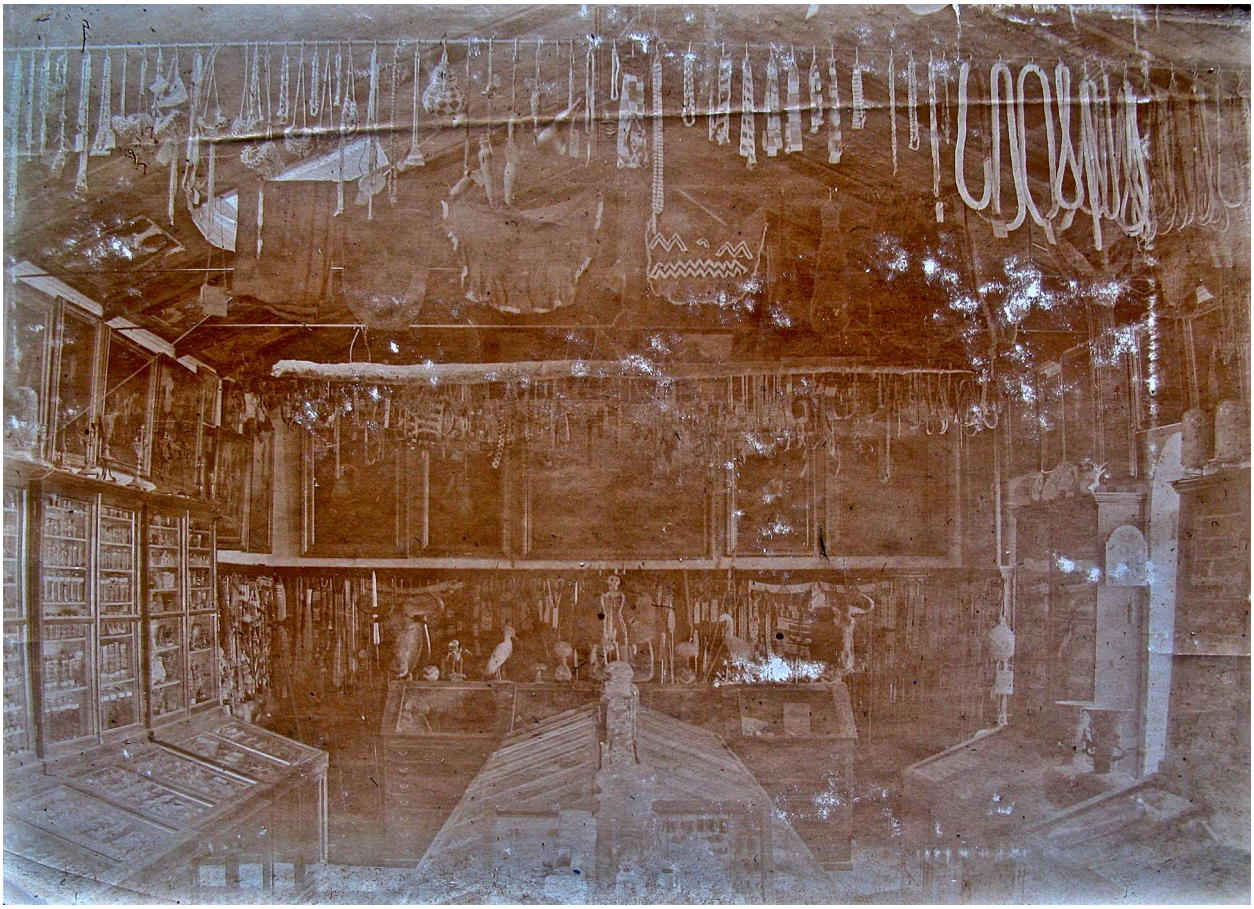

Figure 107: Mariannhill museum interior. Approx. 1900-1910 (CMM Archives). Two photographs of this particular space exist, taken from different angles. The number of objects and the architecture make it likely that this is the museum's third instalment, and that the photographs have been taken at a point close to 1910. The bad physical condition of both photographic prints as compared to others of the time, may speak for an earlier date.

In a photograph of the museum's setup after 1900 (Figure 107), we see that objects were displayed in a mode of *horror vacui* (Corbey 2000:55), a "fear of the open space". This dense presentation may have been an attempt to stun and impress, rather than to neatly file and reference objects for the creation of detailed understanding. Another reason must have been the lack of available space, due to the rapid increase of objects. As I explained, the collection was moved repeatedly into larger buildings, initially each time after approximately 10 years. At the same time, the museums in Durban and Pietermaritzburg faced the same problem of growing collections and shortage of space (Quickelberge and Campbell 1987, Guest 2004). As I will show in the next chapter for museums in Germany, most contemporary museums followed the paradigm of a "salvage anthropology". This repeated utterance of a panic claimed that African people and their material culture were becoming extinct, at such a rate that the remaining objects needed to be collected and preserved as quickly as possible.

But despite the density of display in Mariannhill's museum, the photograph shows that objects were still clearly divided into sections: zoology (mammals, birds, butterflies and

amphibians in formaldehyde), geology, as well as local material culture. As can be seen in Figure 107, the objects referred to by visitors as either "native" or "Kafir curios" are draped from rafters in three long rows under the ceiling, as well as at the room's far end behind the last cupboard holding zoological specimens. Most of these items are very hard to discern and distinguish, but according to heir shape and patterns, a majority appears to be beadwork and adornment. We may get a better sense what kinds of artefacts have been collected from Müller's earlier description (1890) and the shipping list of the same collection. Even if the production of the texts and the photograph of the museum space are approximately 15 years apart, there is some continuity nevertheless. In the next sections we will eventually see that the classifications of these objects also match with objects extracted from the museum in order to be photographed in approximately 1896 and 1906.

The above mentioned handwritten list is dated December 1889 and explores the collection described by Müller's article (1890) in more detail. It is headed with the title "*Raritäten Verzeichnis* [catalogue of rarities]". This catalogue groups 122 objects with names in Zulu into four larger categories:[466] 5 (34) "*Amahau*" (Shields), 17 "*Umutsha*" (men's loincloths made of fur), 16 "*Umqele*" (head and neck rings made of fur), and 84 "*Perlenschmuck u. andere Geräthschaften* [pearl adornments and other utensils]". Constituting the majority of the 84 items, the adornments (mostly beadwork) are distinguished by gender and age group, as well as where on the body and how they were worn. The other utensils include receptacles and utensils for eating and drinking, decorative bags, tobacco boxes and snuff spoons, instruments for the styling of hair (as well as entire shorn-off hair pieces), medicines (*umuti*) in various containers, sticks and spears, musical instruments, a headrest, as well as one single head ring. Apart from the shields of considerable size, this distribution of objects could match those visible in the photograph of the exhibition space (Figure 107), as well as the ones arranged specifically to be photographed in more detail in 1896 and 1906 (see below).

Comparing this collection with the one of the Protestant London Missionary Society, which held "heathen images, curios, artefacts, and natural history specimens" (Seton 2012:98, also see Coombes 1994:169), Mariannhill's museum may appear as a common mission collection. But displayed on top of the specimen shelves were European artefacts, such as clocks, chalices, and candleholders. In even greater number the photograph shows paintings, mounted all along the upper walls and even against the roof. As far as they can be recognised, the paintings in Mariannhill's museum show classic religious motives, such as Maria with child.

Although a direct influence is unlikely, the setup of paintings above the natural history specimens resonates with the arrangement, as well as the attempted implications of hierarchies of civilisation, in Peale's "Philadelphia Museum" around 1800 (cf. Hart and Ward 1988:394-395). Another commonality can be found between Hanisch's announcement and the presentation of Peale's collection as the "divine design of the universe" (Schofield 1989:25, Kirshenblatt-

[466] Many of the listed objects, such as the shields, consist of multiple sub-items. This fact may have brought up Müller's count of "almost 200 items" in his published report on the collection (Müller 1890).

Gimblett 1998:23, 27). As Müller already announced in 1890, there was the idea that the collection could be somehow "complete". According to Hanisch in 1904, the museum collection at Mariannhill showed "god's creation" and could therefore represent—like Peale's—"a world in miniature" (Schofield 1989:24). Even if the arrangement on the walls shows a hierarchy between "natural" and "cultural" objects, the "native curios" hanging from the rafters on the same level as the paintings contradict this hierarchy. The additional use of the rafters may be explained by the fact that the museum became increasingly overcrowded with the years. Attempts at "hierarchy", "completeness", and in particular "universality" may have been an attempt in the narratives of both Müller and Hanisch, but were never transferred into actual practice (cf. Pels 2014:221).

In front of the museum's window, we can observe a pair of Chinese vases (Figure 107), of which one also appears next to Fr. Alexander in Figure 105. In the 1904 circular, Fr. Alexander had asked for "antiquities and art objects of any kind, as far as they are fit for marine transport", without any preference for a national origin. In addition, benefactors were also approached individually: after a German-speaking visitor by the name of Barth had visited Mariannhill and the museum in 1905, Br. Nivard requested a contribution to the museum with him a while later: "[…] you could send him [Fr. Alexander] something interesting for his museum, maybe stamps, or any kind of curiosity, if something like this may fall into your hands. I am happy to hear that your visit to Mariannhill has satisfied you […].[467] Requests like these evolved after the experience of touring Mariannhill's grounds and a visit to the museum. Ensuing negotiations for objects could apparently be very unfocused and utterly eclectic. This speaks for the assumption that at least until the first decade of the 20th century, the efforts of collecting at Mariannhill did not take place according to academic standards (cf. Chapter Six), but rather attempted to curate social relationships with benefactors by exchanging various kinds of "curios", rather than scientific objects.

Several other Mariannhill Missionaries nevertheless developed serious research interests and specialisations, in particular after the 1910s. Some published in scientific journals with some acclaim, such as the before mentioned painter Br. Otto Mäder, Br. Aegidius Müller, Fr. Paschalis Boneberg and Fr. Willibald Wanger. Mäder received some recognition for his rock art studies and especially his artistic copies. Boneberg eventually followed Hanisch as museum curator, and, in 1912, named the "Natal Frog" or "Kloof Frog" (*Natalobatrachus Bonebergi*). In 1914, Boneberg was sent to study palaeontology, zoology, botany, geology, and biology at the Ludwig Maximilians University in Munich, apparently to increase the knowledge and skills necessary to perform as museum curator.[468] Other researchers of note, working mostly after the First World War, were Fr. Albert Schweiger and Fr. Bernard Huss. Like Mäder, Schweiger mostly worked on rock art. Huss was more widely concerned with educational, economical, and sociological studies of African communities (also see Chapters Two and Seven). Especially the contributions

[467] Letter, Streicher to Barth, 19.11.1905, in Seubert and Streicher (2009). It is unknown whether Mr. Barth ever delivered any of the items he was asked for.

[468] CMM-GA: the unaccessioned personalia of Fr. Paschalis Boneberg include parts of his university records.

by Boneberg still require more research.[469] As these lay scholars mostly worked after 1914, and none ever engaged with photography or material culture to an extent as Müller and Hanisch, I will not deal with them here.

As became clear during my description of the guided tour at Mariannhill in Chapter Three, visitors were usually taken along the same route, often with the museum as final destination. I explained that Mariannhill itself often appeared as an exotic, austere, and inward-looking phenomenon to some South Africans, and was also burdened with an "anti-cultural" image in Europe. Therefore, Fr. Alexander indicated in the circulars of 1904 and 1910 that he felt a need to fight (especially Protestant) visitors' "traditional prejudice regarding the Catholic church's—and in particular the monasteries—hostility towards culture". Through the museum it was possible to counter such opinions, so he wrote, "not only with words, but with loudly speaking facts". As already alluded to in Müller's earlier description (Müller 1890), Hanisch measured Mariannhill's overall standing through their success in competing with non-Germans and non-Catholics. In such narratives, the missionaries positioned themselves against local English-speaking communities, as well as other non-Catholic missionaries. Hanisch hoped to support such textual narratives in the periodicals with the object collection in the museum. Before the background of the aftermath of the "Culture Wars" in Europe, this seemingly nationalistic attitude has to be understood foremost as a representational and rhetoric effort towards German-speaking benefactors (cf. Chapters One and Two).

Representations directed at South African White communities instead had to be more appeasing in their tone, especially with the beginning of the First World War. In 1915, a pamphlet sanctioned by Provost Gerard Wolpert and intended for local circulation in South Africa, eventually attempted to re-position Mariannhill as "wholly and solely a South African institution":

> Bound no longer by any ties of affiliation to the parent Order of La Trappe, in France, the Missionary Congregation of Mariannhill is now independent of all European connection and control. It is now wholly and solely a South African institution. Speaking in a general sense, no atom of the products of its labour, no penny of its funds, will leave these shores for other lands. South-Africa alone is its only home and headquarters; there alone are all its means and energy expended; therein alone does all its future lie. (Anonymous 1915:9)

Even if many of Mariannhill's first-generation members either came from Austria or Germany, several individuals also hailed from non-German-speaking countries, such as Ireland, England, Australia, the USA, and Poland. Nevertheless, holding a very "German" reputation, most members—since 1914 enemies of the state—faced considerable antagonism from the nearby English communities. Therefore the non-German members often worked as stewards at the monastery's gate during these times.[470]

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[469] Among other things, Boneberg was responsible for Mariannhill's exhibition at the 1925 Mission Exhibition in Rome, which was later transformed into the founding stock of objects for the Vatican Museum's ethnographic section. For an analysis of the collection's development see Wates (2006).

[470] For example, the American Fr. Benno Pierson (1867-1941), who worked at Centocow, in Rhodesia, and at

Similar to how Duncan and Wallach (2004) describe visitors' social experience of the Louvre, the collected objects in their particular constellation at Mariannhill worked as reflexive "culture documents". As Fr. Alexander phrased it, they not only "spoke" about the particular "culture" they had been extracted from, but likewise helped to construct the Trappists' own "culture" by publicly staging the monks' appreciation of objects in the museum. For example, the photograph depicting Fr. Alexander (Figure 105) performs his "cultured" interaction with objects as the "monkish curator", referred to in the quote above. Together with the photograph of the museum interior (Figure 107), it also shows that the paintings in the museum were mostly of religious nature. While Mariannhill Missionaries needed to mediate an exotic image to Europe and America with the help of stereotyped Africans, they also saw it fit to maintain a modern cosmopolitan image of themselves towards the South African contemporaries through the museum. Mariannhill's museum was arranged to have an impact on, and to be experienced by visitors as representations of what the missionaries had to tell about their new, but equally about their old lifeworld. Either way, in Fr. Alexander's words, they needed "loudly speaking facts", in order to show that they were "having a culture" (Handler 1985, 2003). They eventually also used photographs to visualise this connection between subjects and objects.

As evident in the travelogues presented in Chapter Three, visitors never entered the museum without its curator. As there are no labels visible in photographs of the displays, the objects needed a narrator. Just like in the periodicals, he would regularly have pointed out the objects' relationship to the process of conversion (Thomas 1991, and above). Due to the close spatial proximity of African and European objects in the museum, missionaries could use them as mnemonic devices and individual reference, in order to illustrate their narratives about the civilising process when guiding visitors, tourists, and customers over their premises (also see Pels 1999:59-60). Only in few accounts by outsiders these voices are disentangled and thus reveal the one of the narrating visitor on the one hand, and the one of the guiding missionary on the other. For example, in 1904, a correspondent of *The Natal Witness* commented only briefly on African artefacts, by glossing over them as "a number of Kafir curios". Instead, he praised the rareness and monetary value of particular European items at length. Once the correspondent explicitly followed the missionary's narrative, the opposition between the two worlds emerged:

> Then we were shown a number of savage and civilised war weapons, side by side. There are a variety of Assegais, some with a barbed blade; some with the broad, flat blade; others with a blade quite 3 feet long, and beside them were a selection of bows and arrows from German East Africa. Several flint-lock guns stood near to these, and one old piece had, we were told, killed many tigers[471] and a few lions. This had been the property of an old missionary. Some natives, who once formed a high opinion of the value of those assegais, broke in and stole a number, but they were recovered.[472]

Mariannhill Monastery from 1903 until 1941 (cf. Welzel 1951:171). The situation was again slightly different at Centocow Mission, where superiors could build lasting positive relationships with the surrounding White community and the magistracy, despite parallel antagonisms (see Chapter Three).

[471] Leopards are still today sometimes referred to as "tigers" in South Africa, due to a tradition of confusion, dating back to the arrival of the Dutch.

[472] Anonymous author in *The Natal Witness*, Saturday, 03.12.1904.

Like in the stories of the periodicals, the anonymous guide—probably Fr. Alexander—provided the visitor with "backstories" to particular objects from the perspective of the museum collection and the script it enabled (cf. Hamilton 2011, also see Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998:26). The guide was likely to have refined these stories whenever he told them.[473] The one backstory portrayed the missionaries as adventurous, because they not only fought wild beasts, but also collected and even recovered spears. The latter backstory described Africans as being wrongly nostalgic about objects—in this case spears, which referenced past warfare. Concrete placements of artefacts in the museum space and their routine repetition allowed for narratives creating antagonistic and thus more powerful evocations. Mariannhill's "African Museum" was a repository, able to provide mimetic capital, not only for religious and propagandistic narratives, for nationalistic and commercial ends, but also for scientific and "cultural" interests. In so far, the monastic guides could position Mariannhill as an influential institution in all these regards. In the two remaining sections I explore how the missionaries curated objects and photographs in combination, in order to further improve their reproductive power in this regard.

[473] Many of the formulations in the text by Andrews (1909) quoted above are very similar to the text in *The Natal Witness* (1904). This either means that Andrews plagiarised fragments from the *Witness*, or that Mariannhill's guide and curator repeated his stories almost verbatim five years later and that both writers quoted him directly. I consider the last option as less likely.

Curating Objects and Photographs in South Africa

The practice of curation in museums involves activities such as selecting, registering, classifying, displaying, arranging and conserving both objects and photographs.[474] Being a curator also means to simply know stories about objects and photographs that legitimate their presence in storage and the exhibition space. Mariannhill Missionaries expressed such alleged familiarity with objects through narratives during the guided tour. These were then once more reproduced in visitors' reports and travelogues. The missionaries further distinguished objects for example in the making of accessioning lists. In effect, the practice of curation produced similar documents to the practice of ministry: as I explained in the last chapter, baptism brought forth registers categorising people and relating them spatially to the mission's land as either "Christians" or "heathens". Acquisitions and sales relating to Mariannhill's museum produced lists that categorised objects accordingly.

At the same time, the physical process of museum curation and the making of exhibitions both distinguished and grouped objects physically. Such spatial arrangements can partially be reconstructed through photographs. However, like with the human sitters in Br. Aegidius Müller's studio, we have to consider the possibility that he arranged objects specifically for the photographic occasion. Initially, value was created narratively in periodicals or during tours for the spectacle of exhibitions. Only when Müller listed photographs and depicted objects for European ethnologists since 1898 as explicitly "ethnographic", their value production in circulation was based on certification according to academic standards. I will turn to this process in the next chapter.

The effort of collecting and curating "Kafir curios" at Mariannhill was furthermore entangled with efforts of procuring, but also of producing other kinds of objects. In order to understand these efforts and the role of photographs, I analyse their epistemic construction against each other. Apart from natural science specimens, Mariannhill's curators distinguished five other object categories. Next to "artefacts" produced by Africans, and "art" and "artefacts" from non-European as well as European countries, the missionaries regularly displayed "crafts" produced by African converts, who were employed at the monastery's workshops. They presented the latter kind of objects in exhibitions held separately from the museum, but also in photographs placed in the mission's propaganda periodicals. The periodicals also employed the three media—objects, photographs and exhibitions—in various combinations, such as in the following examples.[475]

In April 1912, an article appeared in the mission's periodical *Vergißmeinnicht*, stating that in July 1911 Mariannhill had been invited to Durban by American Board Missionaries from nearby Amanzimtoti, to participate in a mission exhibition. All other invited participants were

[474] See Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998:18), Vogel (1991) and Lidchi (2013) for the case of objects, and Edwards (2001, 2007) for the case of photographs.

[475] As an assemblage of photographs and objects, an exhibitions (permanent or not) may become a special kind of medium, which may be once more represented through text and image, also in combination.

Protestant mission societies (Müller 1912:80). The article's author is not identified, but I suspect that it was Br. Aegidius Müller, as he displayed a detailed understanding of the difficulties with indoor photography relating to the one photograph illustrating the article (Figure 108). The author first created a clear division between Protestants and Catholics ("we" and "they"), and further wrote that all Protestant participants presented mainly the "Kafirs' folk art [*Heimatkunst*]",[476] which consisted of "woven furniture and other items, such as sticks, knobkerries, headrests, pots, containers, animal figurines, shields, and finally beadwork in form of bead adornment, earrings, necklaces and bracelets, tobacco containers etc.".[477] Even if the term is not used in the article, the items described would have been labeled "ethnographic", if sold to an ethnographic museum at the time. Müller instead explicitly considered these objects as "art", even if this was of a "lesser" kind—similar to the one of European peasants—and not "fine art". Four years earlier, he had published photographs of objects, which he simply referred to as "adornment objects [*Schmuckgegenstände*]", "house- and kitchen utensils [*Haus- und Küchengeräte*]", and goods such as "wickerworks and clayworks [*Flechtwaren und Tonwaren*]" (Frey 1907:123-131). Six years later, in the title of an article for the journal *Anthropos* (1917/18 [1907]), Müller clustered the very same object categories explicitly as "Zulu material culture" and distinguished those with a use value from those with artistic value. As I will go on to show in Chapter Six, between 1906 and 1917 he was writing for different audiences, had had more correspondences, read more literature, and therefore included various discourses on objects along the way.

Unlike their Protestant colleagues at the Durban exhibition in 1911, Mariannhill instead decided *not* to exhibit any "folk art", but to show only "industrial works [*industrielle Arbeiten*]" produced by their African converts from Mariannhill, Centocow, and Reichenau. These goods were sold commercially with much success during the exhibition, and also received several awards. The author, whom I believe to be Br. Aegidius Müller, emphasised that these could not be matched by the Protestants' "few poor embroideries" and sewing works, "neither in quantity, nor in quality". As illustrated in the accompanying photograph, Mariannhill instead presented "rather practical articles for daily use, such as tables, chairs, suitcases, washing tables, pushcarts, rakes, watering cans, works of a stonemason, artistically painted door signs, horse harnesses, shoes, clothing, book covers, book printing etc.". This enumeration of "industrial" objects in few cases equalled the "Kafir" objects in purpose and function in a typological sense. But, by their order, number, and foremost their functionality (indicative of "civilised" occupations), the author presented the "industrial" objects as reducing the "(folk) art" to fancy, thus rendering them less useful. The author eventually mentioned that in addition to the objects on exhibition, "about 150 photographs showed what the Mariannhill Mission had achieved so far".

[476] Müller further specified this definition by saying that "the Kafirs possess an equally original and tasteful decorative style, which is indeed their own and not borrowed" (anon. 1912:80).

[477] My own translation from the German original: (anon. 1912:80).

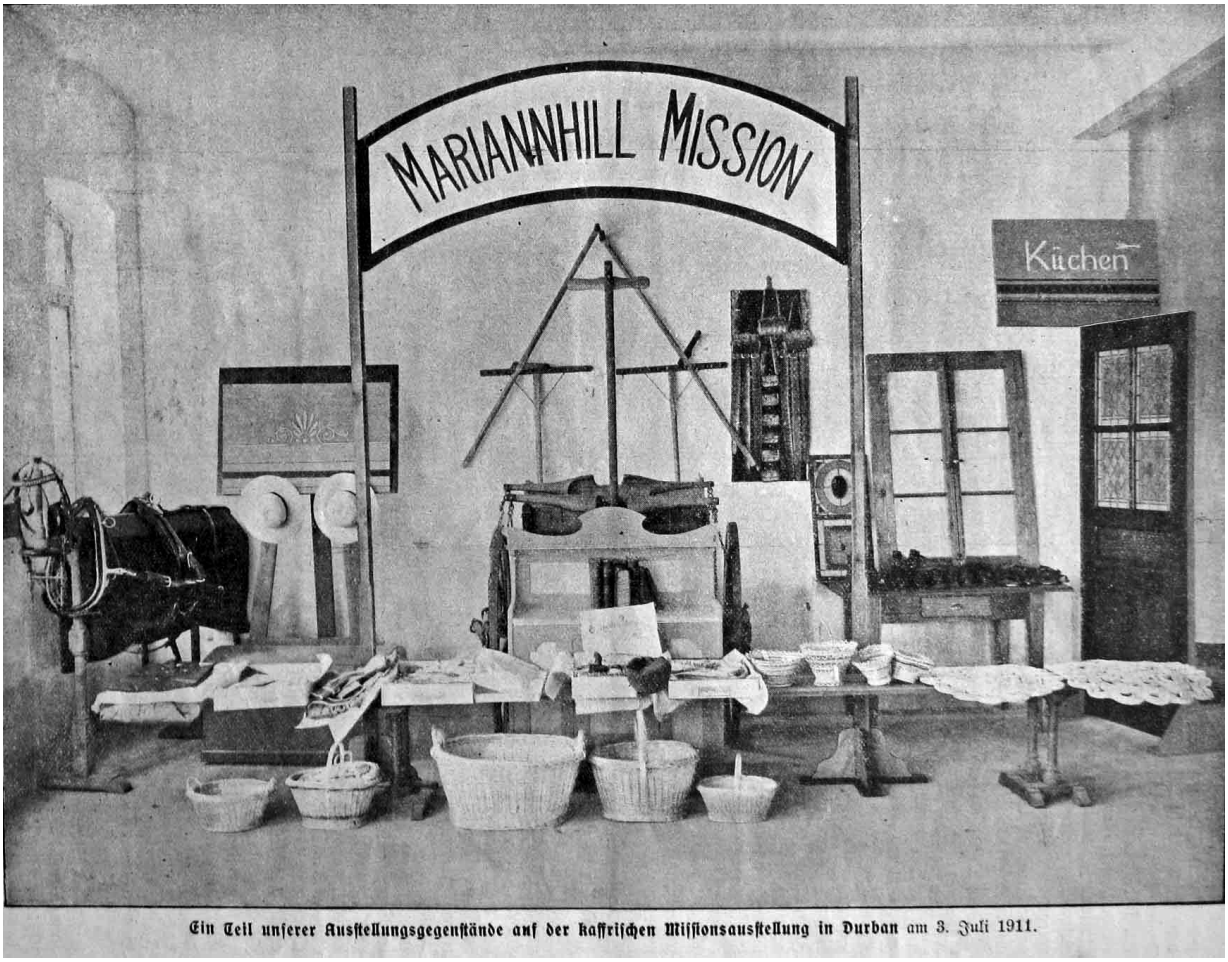

Figure 108: original caption: "*Ein Teil unserer Ausstellungsgegenstände auf der kaffrischen Missionsausstellung in Durban am 3. Juli 1911*"—"Parts of our exhibition objects at the Kafir mission exhibition in Durban, on 3 July 1911". Published in *Vergißmeinnicht*, 1912:28. According to the author, this arrangement had been set up exclusively for the photograph, while the material presented in the exhibition itself was much more extensive.

The author thus presented—through a conscious curatorial decision—not only the argument for the just mentioned dichotomy between African and European objects, but also in logical consequence a divide between Catholic and Protestant missionaries in their capabilities (or lack thereof) to educate and animate Africans to produce "better" goods. This curatorial strategy also implicitly criticised the Protestants' capabilities to *mediate* these differences to audiences, effectively exposing the Protestants as bad curators. Pitting "folk art [*Heimatkunst*]" against "industrial objects" would have also resonated with German audiences, who may have drawn comparisons to rural peasantry at home through the specific (generally positive) connotations of the contemporary notion of "*Heimatkunst*" (cf. Jäger 2009, also see Fabian 2002, 2004). I now briefly explore two earlier exhibitions, one in 1867 Paris, and one in 1896 Berlin. This will show that this curatorial strategy was neither related to a specific time period, nor related to Catholics as such, but an often-used mode to create differences between confessions.

In fact, Protestant missionaries had employed similar curatorial strategies of

distinguishing confessions already twice on much larger scales. In 1867, the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society organised an "Evangelical Missionary Museum" at the *Exposition Universelle* in Paris, where they hoped to challenge their Catholic peers with a better presentation of objects. 19 Protestant societies presented material allegedly representing their subjects' state before and after conversion. By opposing particular objects according to the common "before/after" dichotomy (cf. Chapter One), they attempted to show the change brought about (Jensz 2012:68-70). In the case of 1867, however, it remains unclear how exactly Protestants positioned themselves against Catholics, and how the latter reacted. There is also no mention of photographs being used in the effort.

Almost 30 years later, in 1896, both Protestant and Catholic missions working in the German colonies had booths at the first colonial exhibition (*Kolonialausstellung*), as a part of Berlin's great trade exhibition (*Gewerbeausstellung*). The first were championed by the Berlin Mission, the latter by the Steyl Mission (SVD).[478] Similar to Müller in 1911, it was Alexander Merensky of the Protestant Berlin Mission, who argued that it was unnecessary to exhibit "ethnographic" objects— like their Catholic peers did in their booth:

> While setting up the plan it was decided to do without the exhibition of ethnographic curiosities [*Curiosa*], on the one hand because it could be assumed that other exhibitioners would present these in sufficient amounts, on the other hand because they do not illustrate the mission enterprise as such.[479] An exception should only be made for those objects, which have a recognisable relationship to the religious life of the respective heathen peoples![480] (Merensky 1897:121)

Most important to Merensky was the print matter, periodicals and dictionaries produced by Protestant missionaries. The only non-European and non-Christian objects that Merensky described as being exhibited were indeed those identified with "idols", "magic", and those related to "divination". With Thomas (1991) we already identified such items as "converted artifacts", used by missionaries to reveal their subjects' alleged superstitions existing prior to the missionaries' arrival. Much more than the Catholic colleagues, who indiscriminately presented "ethnographic objects" (Janssen 1897:127), and an "ethnological collection" (Linckens 1897:131), Merensky also emphasised the use of photographs. In particular Moravian missionaries in German New Guinea had provided photographs of both Christian and heathen "natives' habitations, life, and endeavours". Merensky claimed that "this collection of photographs is of a high value and was not surpassed by any similar collection at the exhibition" (Merensky 1897:127)[481]. Like Müller, Merensky had evaluated the quality of different media in order to define relationships with both the mission's subjects and competitors. The preferences I just described for three scenarios are therefore not confessionally specific, but as curatorial

[478] SVD: *Societas Verbi Divini*, also known as "Congregation of the Divine Word" or "Steyler Missionare".
[479] "[…] *weil sie den Missionsbetrieb nicht veranschaulichen*".
[480] My own translation from the German original.
[481] For a general overview of Berlin's 1896 colonial exhibition in relation to missionaries, as well as their relation to the 1897 Transvaal exhibition in Berlin see Van der Heyden (1996).

strategies rather related to particular exhibitionary situations and media. In Chapter Six we return to such developments parallel to other denominations and ethnographic museums, in order to understand and position Mariannhill's curatorial decisions.

In the permanent setup of the museum at Mariannhill Monastery, however, Fr. Alexander Hanisch excluded the "industrial" artisan products. These were unnecessary because they were already present in their proper environment of production at the workshops, or presented infrequently in separate local exhibitions on the mission's premises. As I explained in Chapter Three, Mariannhill's compound in its entirety can be thought of as a curated exhibition space—not unlike an "exhibitionary complex" of its own (Bennett 1995)—which visitors always toured in the same order. Whenever visitors received a tour, they would have been guided through the workshops first, and then to the photographic studio and the museum. Accordingly, they received a narrative that emphasised similar distinctions as the narrative of the mission exhibitions in Berlin and Durban, although within a situated live performance by African artisans.

The museum was a central institution in Mariannhill's globally oriented propaganda and media machinery. Therefore, it contained next to the "typical" local produce also items that would be universally perceived as "exceptional" or "rare". Thus the museum's exhibition space upheld a divide between "foreign" and "European" objects, by spatial separation. Within the museum itself, as well as in between the workshops and the museum, Self and Other were brought *closer*, but not made *same*. In texts on, and photographs of the workshops, the production of "proper" objects was always presented as dependent on the presence, supervision, and instruction of a Trappist lay brother (Figures 109 and 110). Fully *independent* African production of "modern" industrial objects—similar to the production of photographs I discussed in Chapter Two—was thus never represented through photographs.

In separately held exhibitions, the Trappists presented agricultural products or functional items manufactured by African apprentices at the workshops either as "native produce" or "native handicraft". They presented both during the tour to visitors, held exhibitions at Mariannhill, the stations, or when attending agricultural price competitions. Additionally, they presented agricultural or artisan goods in re-staged setups in the photographic studio until the 1930s (Figure 110). Other than the "converted artifacts" (Thomas 1991), the Trappists presented industrial artisan products as artefacts of conversion. They presented the latter as a product, as well as a part of the process towards a successful conversion. Such objects further distanced their producers from their own material past.

Figure 109: shoemaker's workshop, photographed on location at Mariannhill Monastery. Approximately 1900 (CMM Archives).

Figure 110: original caption in the image centre: "Wagonbuilding Mariannhill—Native Produce Exhibition 1925." Employees of Mariannhill's wagon building workshop in the monastery's photographic studio (CMM Archives).

Mariannhill's curators created meaning in the visitor's experience by pointing out relations between objects and photographs within a spatial setting (cf. Edwards 2001:67). Duncan and Wallach (2004) see the early European museum visitor's relationship to aristocracy and the state being constituted through their exhibition experiences. Such a situation may also be observed for experiences within mission spaces, as described by visitors taking guided tours at Mariannhill (Chapter Three). Mariannhill's museum even evoked more nuanced narratives on relationships: not only were the missionaries involved as both curators and guides, but also as actors in their own narratives. This resulted in a complex entanglement with the presented objects. The multi-faceted relationships of missionaries, visiting benefactors, but also of converts and those-to-be-converted, were here performed through objects, as well as photographs. During the actual tour, visitors could purchase photographs of mission activities at the studio, and group portraits together with the missionaries were even presented as gifts to more illustrious guests. Exhibitions external to the mission station, mission periodicals, or albums and series of photographs, instead reconstituted these relationships for spectators outside of the mission space.

Curating for and at Home

We now leave the space of Mariannhill Monastery and South Africa. Instead, we follow how the missionaries and mission sisters extracted objects from Mariannhill and how they presented them, on the one hand by photographing arrangements in display setups, and on the other hand in exhibitions abroad, which they photographed in addition. Photographs provided the possibility to present objects from the museum collection or the artisan workshops by mobilising them in a convenient format for circulation amongst stakeholders. At the same time this entailed the *necessity* to re-arrange objects according to established aesthetic standards and proper lighting, like in the case of the Durban exhibition (Figure 108), or in the photographic studio (Figure 110). I consider these new photographic arrangements and positionings as a crucial part of the curatorial practice and thus the entanglement process.

For the first time in approximately 1896, the studio at Mariannhill photographed five display setups of objects, which were however not organised according to strict object categories. Two of these displays combined earthenware, beadwork, wickerwork, kitchenware, mats, and domestic utensils, such as a headrest (Figure 111). These photographed displays eventually became part of a photographic set—possibly even explicitly created for it—which Müller marketed to ethnographic museums since 1898 (cf. Chapter Six).

Figure 111: example of object display, approx. 1896. See Müller (1899:3-4) for a description (NMVW-A15-1).

In 1906, Müller made yet another, but more structured, sophisticated, and aestheticised attempt to arrange objects photographically; this time on a vertical display surface. He numbered this assemblage and described it meticulously with denominations in Zulu. The set was eventually published two times, first in the publication for Mariannhill's 25. anniversary (Frey 1907), and again in the journal *Anthropos* (Müller 1917/18). In his photographic arrangements, Müller presented clear distinctions between four object classes in seven displays: 1.-4. clothing and adornment; 5. wickerwork; 6. woodwork; and 7. earthenware. The photographs published in 1907 were part of a longer article, titled "*Ein Blick ins volle Kaffernleben*".[482] The photographs did not relate to the article as such, but were only supported by extended captions. Müller instead titled his 1917 stand-alone version in *Anthropos* "*Zur Materiellen Kultur der Kaffern*".[483] It provides additional reflections and modifications of the captions, and indicated that otherwise important issues had already been covered in the *Anthropos* articles by Fr. Franz Mayr (1906, 1907).[484] Here, Müller not only defined the photographed objects as "material culture", but he once more adds the information that "some of the presented specimens of beadwork indicate artistic taste [*künstlerischen Geschmack*]" (Müller 1917/18:852).

The third display is labelled "dress and adornment of the Kafirs" (Figure 112), and also features a detached head ring. Of all the displays, this head ring is the only object with an attached label. The information provided on the label still reiterates the ascription "wedding ring [*Ehering*]", the materials it was made of, and the fact that it had once been a permanent attachment to someone's head (Figure 113). This description is clearly reminiscent of Pfanner's 1885 analysis of the head ring, which I described above. Also, the head ring's photograph reminds us of Bryant's 1887 description, for it displays a considerable deformation, several major dents, as well as substantial cracks in at least four places. The biggest of these cracks to the centre-right clearly shows a shiny coating all along both sides of its line of fracture. This may indicate a failed attempt at mending the fracture with a transparent adhesive. The head rings thus not only depended on appropriate maintenance by experts while they were actually worn (Khumalo 2001:37), but also once displayed either in exhibitions or photographs. The head ring had once more been singled out, first to be described textually and now to be photographed. Apparently, it was the only object in need of additional labelling due to its indistinct form.

[482] "A View on Kafir Life".

[483] "Concerning the Material Culture of the Kafirs".

[484] Müller's original correspondence with the editors of the journal *Anthropos* no longer exists. The historical archive of the Anthropos Institute has been "lost" during a relocation in 1962, from Fribourg, Switzerland, to St. Augustin, Germany (Personal communication with Fr. Joachim Piepke SVD, March 2008). This is also relevant for Müller's earlier *Anthropos* articles of 1906 and 1907, which I discuss in Chapter Eight.

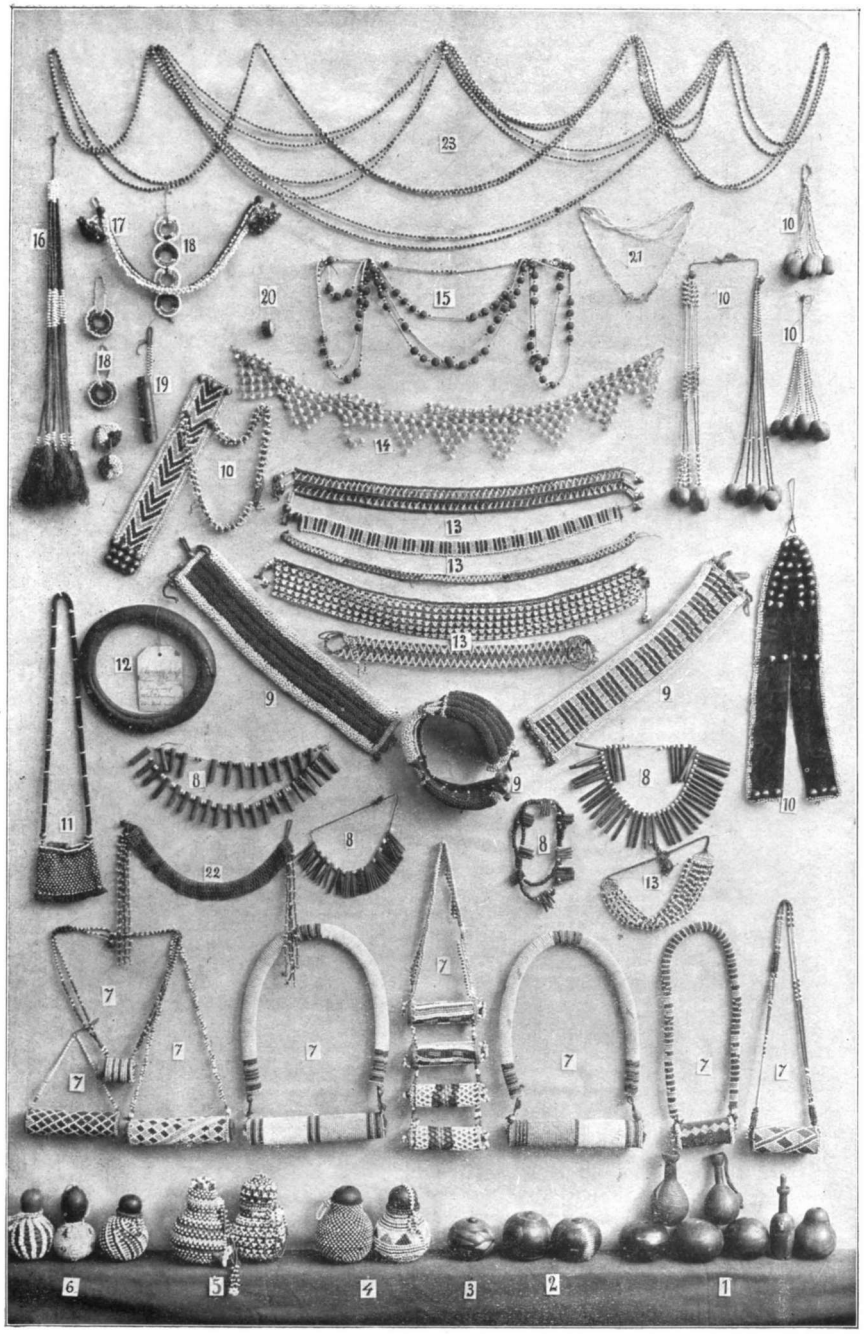

Photo von Br. Müller. Anthropos XII—XIII.

Tafel III:

Kleidung und Schmuck der Kaffern.

Figure 112: one object display produced in 1906 (as published in Frey 1907 and Müller 1917/18).

Figure 113: detail of Figure 112: original inscription on label: "*Ehering der Kaffern aus Gras & Pech gemacht. Wird lebenslang auf dem Kopf getragen*"—"Kafir wedding ring, made from gras and resin [*Pech*]. It is worn on the head for a lifetime".

While Müller draped the clothing and adornments on a vertical surface, he neatly arranged the last three object categories (wickerwork, woodwork and earthenware) on multi-storey benches (Figure 114).[485] In the article's second version of 1917, Müller even added one photograph

[485] As suggested in the instruction for collecting produced by the ethnographic museum of Berlin (Seidel 1897:21, see below).

showing a scene of the earthen pots' production close to Mariannhill. This may indicate that the items were produced on demand, as several of the unbaked pots "in production" match the shape of the baked ones in the display. Other than the head ring, the objects in most of the displays generally show little signs of use. This is another indication that they may have been collected, or even been commissioned for the displays' photographic occasion.[486] Vogel's (1988, 1991) statement that museum objects were usually never made with the intention of being exhibited, thus stands and falls with such observations.

Müller closes his 1917 article by stressing that he presented the adornments' names as they were commonly used near Mariannhill Monastery. As we shall see, his accuracy in regard to such details as local names, authorship, and provenance, is likely to have originated from earlier correspondences with German ethnologists: first in 1898-99 with the ethnographic museum of Berlin, and in 1910 with the ethnological museum of Cologne. The first preceded the attention to "native names" in 1907. The second preceded a rewriting of Müller's last article for a professional audience of ethnologists in 1917. In the second version, Müller stressed (and tried to capture photographically) the agency of the pots' makers.

Figure 114: original caption: "*Tafel VII, Tonwaren der Kaffern*"—"Figure VII. Earthenware of the Kafirs" (CMM Archives, photographed in 1906, published in Frey 1907, Müller 1917/18).

[486] I thank Catherine Elliot for pointing me into this direction. Elliot has extensive research experience with the Natal collection of the British Museum, and compared it to the discussed photographs.

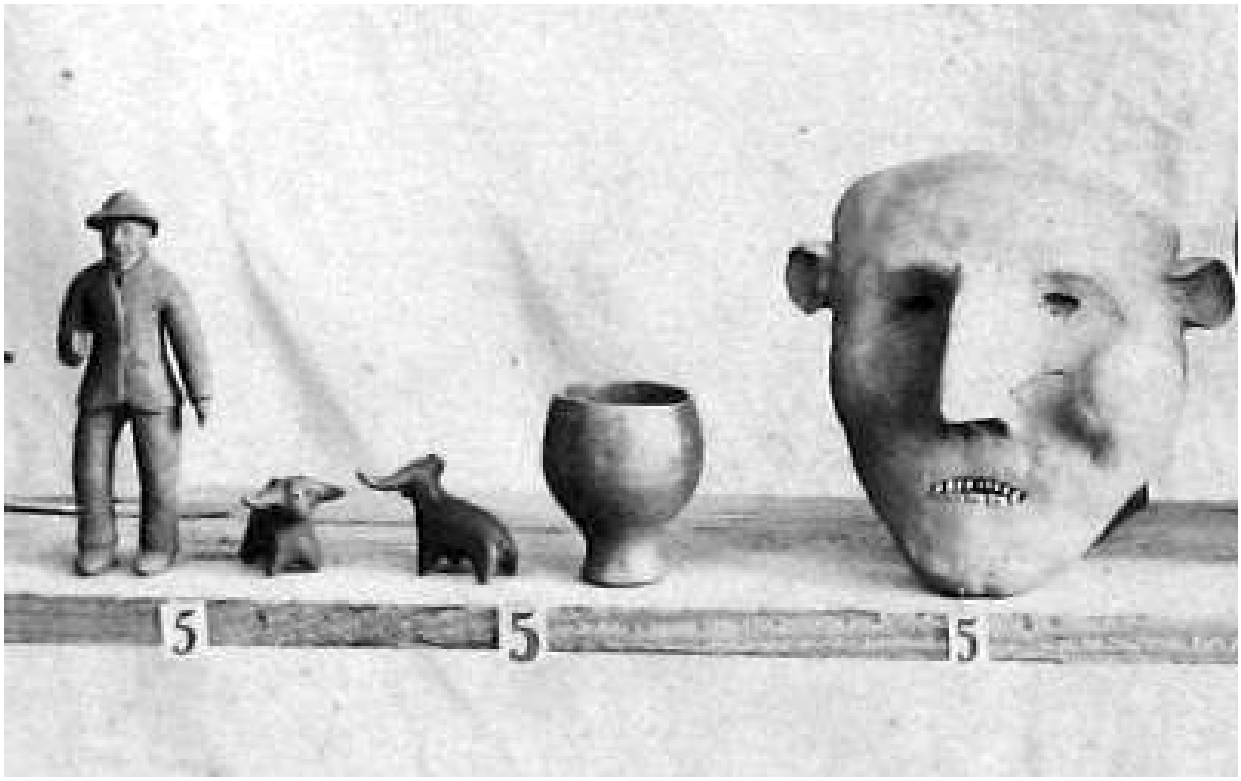

Figure 115: detail of Figure 114.

Another photograph of the displays arranged in 1906 contains a detail I wish to discuss, as it refers to the linguistic construction of both photographs and figurative art (Figures 114 and 115). Five objects are displayed as nr. "5" in "*Tafel VII*" on the central level to the very left. Müller labelled all of these as "*Umfanekiso* (image[*Bild*]): objects [*Gegenstände*] made by small boys of unbaked clay, the face of an *umlungu* (White person), a small cup, oxen, and one image representing a *boer*" (Müller 1917/18:858). Müller did not discuss these five objects in any more detail, but obviously considered them as typical local objects, all going under the category of "*Tonwaren* [earthenware]", like the other objects in the same display. Even though he considered some of the dresses and adornments as artistic, he did not describe these five images as "figurative art". Instead, he infantilised them as toys for children. He nevertheless labelled them —after consultation with Zulu-speakers—as *umfanekiso*. *Umfanekiso*—next to *isithombe*—was a term used in Zulu to describe any two- or three-dimensional image that showed likeness or resemblance to something else.[487] Despite the fact that they have supposedly been made by children, this is apparently one of the very few—if not the only—contemporary known example of freestanding figurative sculpture of the area, as observed by Anitra Nettleton (1988:48). It is furthermore exceptional that the article links a photograph of such sculptures to the term Zulu-speakers in the area would have used for it at the time. Nevertheless, these sculptures did not

[487] Both terms were also used to refer to photographs. I discuss the etymological history of these and related terms in more detail in Chapter Eight.

play any role in religious practices, and could therefore not be used to explain and promote the relationship between missionaries and their subjects, like the "idols" discussed by Merensky (1897) and Thomas (1991). As I will explain in Chapter Seven, only by the 1920s a discourse and lobby evolved that allowed Mariannhill Missionaries and their associates to effectively position and promote their subject's creations as "figurative art".

After these two moments, in which displays were captured photographically (1896 and 1906), the missionaries used both objects and photographs cumulatively in exhibitions: they presented objects together with photographs showing people, who used such objects. In several cases, these exhibition displays were then photographed once more. Figure 116 shows Mariannhill's booth at a mission exhibition in Trier in 1927, and is representative for mission exhibitions held in Europe at least since 1896 (see above and below). Unlike the museum at Mariannhill Monastery or at the exhibition held in Durban in 1911, Mariannhill's exhibitions in Europe primarily showed South Africans objects, excluding the previously discussed "industrial" products made by converts. At the same exhibition in 1927, however, the booth of Mariannhill's female congregation, the Missionary Sisters of the Precious Blood,[488] was indeed set up with some of the above-mentioned mission-made products, such as wickerwork, basketry, and embroidery (Figure 116). This constellation apparently represented the perceived ideal relationships with African subjects: active mission work and encounter on the one hand, and education and the training of household skills on the other. Some of the exhibitions in Europe where thus additionally gendered, once more as a curatorial strategy to establish the familiar dichotomy of before/after or already/but still. At the 1927 exhibition in Trier, however, only Catholic missions were present, why Mariannhill missionaries and sisters did not have to position themselves against Protestants. Nevertheless, the two congregations created a similar divide between themselves, in order to make the idea of transformation more prominent.

[488] It is unclear why the display uses the superlative "Missionsschwestern vom *kostbarsten* Blut", ie. "most precious".

Figure 116: original caption: "*Mariannhiller Mission*". Booth of the Mariannhill Missionaries at mission exhibition, Trier 1927 (CMM Archives).

Figure 117: original caption: "*Missionsschwestern vom Kostbarsten Blut*". Booth of CPS at mission exhibition, Trier 1927 (CMM Archives).

The two photographs placed in Mariannhill's booth above the miniature hut, date back to the mid-1890s (Figure 116). They show a Zulu man bedecked with the paraphernalia of a "warrior" to the left, and a woman engaged in the domestic labour of carrying water to the right. Originally, the two photographs were part of a collection tailored for ethnographic museums in 1898 (Chapter Six). Like the exhibition in 19227, also Mariannhill's periodicals used these early photographs of African individuals in non-European dress from before 1914 as representations of a contemporary reality until the 1960s; however, without mentioning their temporal origins (also see Arnoldi 1999). In both cases, editors and curators thus consciously reiterated stereotypes. In the case of the 1927 exhibition, the curators even enhanced the opposition by presenting Africans and their objects on the left wall of the booth, while contrasting these with the congregation's dignitaries, churches, converts, and scenes of encounter between missionaries and potential converts on the right wall. Still more than three decades after the photograph's original production in the 1890s, this assemblage and opposition conjured a photographic quasi-presence of "traditional" people.

The booth of the CPS sisters, instead showed the complementary situation almost throughout, involving the mentioned handicrafts produced by converts, as well as related photographs of dressed converts in situations of schooling, or otherwise engaged with the sisters (Figure 117). Nevertheless, some few "pre-industrial" objects had still slipped in, and also a photograph of the very same female diviner, who is present at the booth of the male congregation, and whom we shall later get to know as the *Isangoma* Ugitschigitschi (cf. Chapters Three and Eight). By having historical photographs stand in for a contemporary situation, the exhibition and its photographs inscribed a temporal, as well as a spatial distance between Christianity and "heathendom": "everything but coeval with the Western observer", as Fabian notes for the history regarding the representation of Bali, which may be considered similar to the one of Natal (Fabian 2003:135). Even in cases where the missionaries and sisters included themselves in the photographic illustrations as part of the displays—appearing as observers and bringers of change in co-presence with their subjects—this does not add up to coevalness.

As we can see in the display setup of bead adornment at the back wall in Figure 116, the aesthetic rendering of objects, their isolation from people, as well as their repetition within one frame, amplified their presence. The mounted frames made objects highly transportable, comparable, and in combination with similar objects shown "in use" within photographs, they were also easier to "think with" for visitors. This intention became even more explicit with a photograph of an exceptional display case made at Mariannhill in 1906 (Figure 118). The display is titled within the image itself as "Zulu-bride's outfit" and exists in at least four different variations. In the most literal sense like a fashion model, the "bride" poses within a picture frame set into a vertical surface. Mounted on this surface are such adornments, which are supposedly distinct to the bride's new marital status. In all four versions, the bride displays varying degrees of gestural coquetry, however always with stern looks.[489] The adornments she was supposed to

[489] One version is published in Frey (1907) another in Johnston (1906). Yet another version can be found in Theye

wear as bride, are instead exploded around her onto display. At the same time, they are explored through reference with an indexed information board at the bottom. Once more, Zulu names are presented for each item. Just like the title of the arrangement, this board is integrated into the image frame. Müller repeatedly used this mode of "breaking" real and representational space with the use of a picture frame to create entertaining arrangements, mostly involving children. Like with other ideas for arranging photographs, he may have been inspired by contemporary popular photographic advice literature for entertainment purposes, copies of which can still be found in the archive at Mariannhill Monastery (see Parzer-Mühlbacher 1905:78).

One photograph of the "bride" was once more used 19 years later as the centre piece in one of Mariannhill's display cases at the 1925 Vatican mission exhibition (Figure 119). In a style similar to the exhibited photograph itself (geometrically creating a balanced impression of display), objects are surrounding the "bride" on yet a second level. This time, however, the assemblage no longer represents gender divisions. Instead, it mixes various kinds of adornment, snuff spoons, and as a second centrepiece just above the photograph of the "bride", another male head ring.[490]

(1989), sourced from the collection of the Weltkulturen Museum in Basel.

[490] It is untraceable, and even unlikely that the curator saw their connection in terms of marriage.

Figure 118: original caption: "Zulu-bride's outfit". One of at least four variations, all made in 1906 (digitally inverted glass plate negative, CMM Archives).

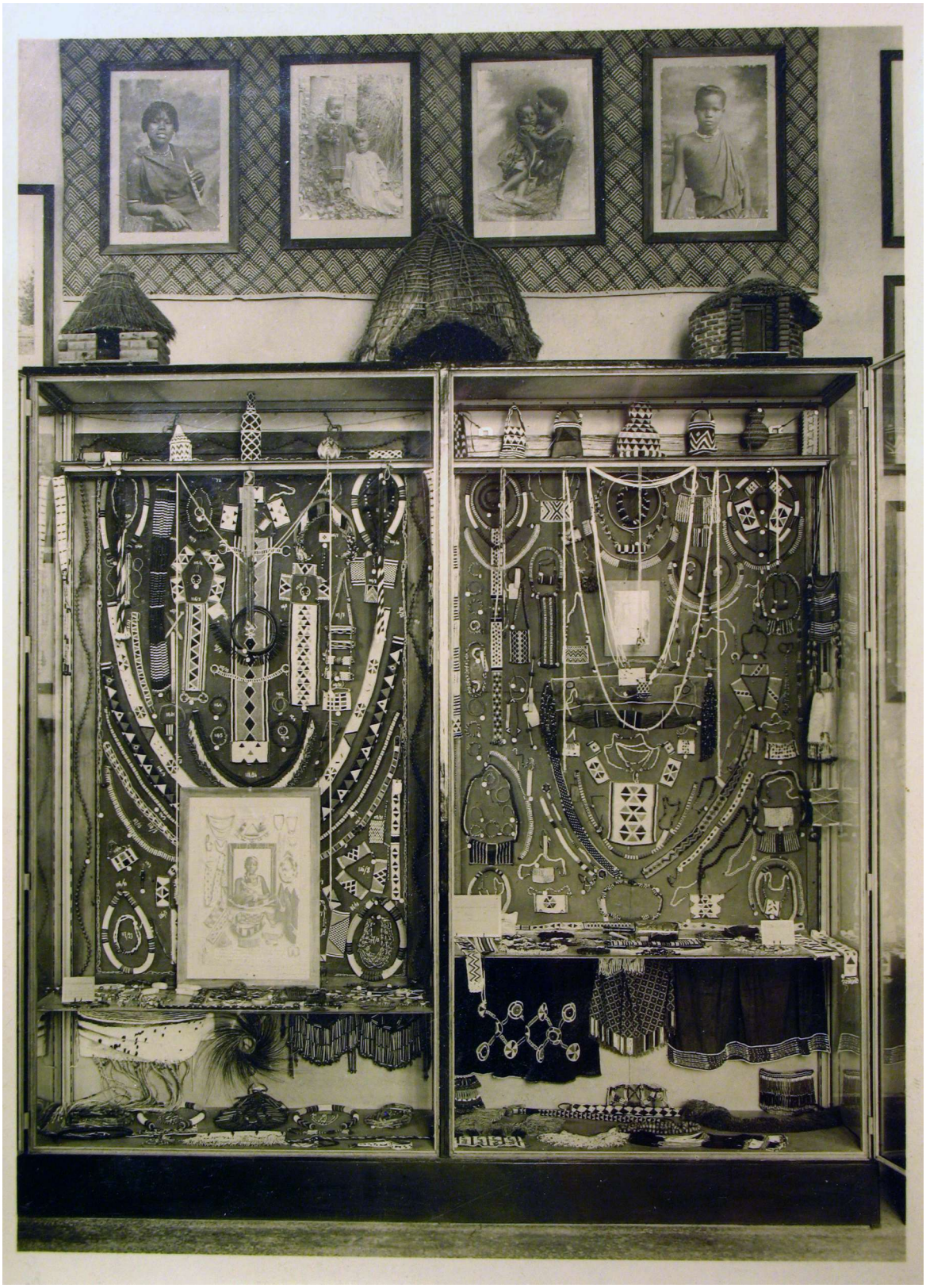

Figure 119: one of the photographed displays of Mariannhill's collection at the Vatican Mission exhibition in 1925, including a version of Figure 118 (CMM Archives).

While the display cases in the exhibition spaces at Trier (1927) and Rome (1925) showed real objects, Müller's just described photographic arrangements of objects had become *like* display cases (Frey 1907, Müller 1917/18). It is difficult to trace additional inspirations to the publication by Parzer-Mühlbacher (1905), which Müller had for these display photographs. I will make some suggestions in the next chapter. Mariannhill's curators showed African objects within photographs as they were used by Africans.[491] At the same time these photographs were presented next to objects, similar to the ones they depicted. Like with contemporary ethnographic museum displays, audiences were thus able to experience foreign people, even in their absence. Objects could be presented as supposedly more "real" and "objective", by being exhibited in conjunction with photographs showing them in their allegedly "natural" environment. In this way objects were simultaneously presented in a combination of "in situ" and "in context" (cf. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998): on the one hand attempting to simulate the original destination, on the other hand describing the exhibited object through labels and oral explanations. By mutually enhancing each other's alleged authenticities towards the visitor, images and objects—even more so if they belonged to those "converted objects" I discussed above—could more convincingly fulfil their role as evidence of the mission encounter, in few cases even explicitly as "trophies".[492] In so far, the exhibitions could serve as more effective mimetic capital than they could have been through textual descriptions, or as objects could have been by themselves. This idea was explicitly expressed in the review of a mission exhibition, held 1896 in Budapest. Amongst many others, the exhibition notably showed objects and photographs from Mariannhill:

> Of a special interest from a culture-historical standpoint is the consignment of the mission school of the Trappists at Marianhill [sic], handicraft, drawings, and paintings by the pupils, which are all evidence of the savages' significant cultural progress. […] Apart from the photographs of anthropological types, these images complement the collection of objects in the most instructive way; they teach us about those peoples, whose industrial products we could contemplate already; they present the biological moments [*biologische Momente*] of the collection, by showing these peoples' objects [*Gegenstände*] according to the ways and manners of their use; in this way they certify [*beglaubigen*] them. (Bátky 1896:33-35)

The same form of presentation was employed—and written about—vigorously by missionaries like Merensky during the colonial exhibition at Berlin's great trade exhibition of the same year. In particular during this colonial exhibition, German ethnologists interacted with popular exhibition styles for representing both the human sciences and the German colonies (cf. Zimmerman 2001). But as I will show in the next chapter, German ethnographic museums started to employ such popular exhibition formats only several years later, thus combining objects with other media like photographs, moving images and other media (Chapters Six and Eight, also see Griffiths 2002, Edwards and Lien 2014). As the last two sections showed,

[491] The same may be said for the displays of many other Catholic congregations, as can be seen in an album showing other booths at the 1927 Trier exhibition (unpublished collection of photographs in the CMM archives).

[492] As I mentioned above, Pfanner used the term "trophy" at least in one case as a sign of, reference to and artefact of success in the accomplishment of the conversion narrative's goals and promises.

exhibition formats involving objects labeled either as “industrial”, “artistic”, “curios” or “ethnographic”, related to the positioning and creation of the curators’ social relationships, rather than to the creation of knowledge about the mission’s subjects and their objects.

Conclusion

Mariannhill's museum and the monks' general engagement with South African and Western "material culture" served multiple purposes. Next to exoticising propaganda for Europe, its second dimension was the missionaries' own self-fashioning as open-minded cosmopolitans in Natal. Through this effort the museum had a strong emphasis on a Catholic tradition of collecting *as culture*. As I showed, the collection, curation, and the re-distribution of African, European, but also of "material culture" from other parts of the world, presented one way for Mariannhill Missionaries to manifest, perform, and therefore to reconfirm their own "culturedness" towards various audiences. Mariannhill Missionaries established their own "exhibitionary complex", which allowed them to position objects and images in order to build relationships and attract allies. Much more than scientific intentions, this complex involved propagandistic and commercial motivations towards a local and international market. Mariannhill's museum and exhibitions presented objects as material evidence of their subjects' conversion, as well as proof of Mariannhill's own "culture" against accusations during the "Culture Wars" to European audiences. Eventually, the effort of curation was not simply about the creation, maintenance, and distribution of object collections for the sake of creating knowledge, but even more so about establishing and maintaining subject relationships. Photographs played a particular role in this effort by mediating in between subjects, objects, exhibition spaces, and the mission's potential allies.

Influences on the constitution and development of Mariannhill's museum and photographic practices regarding material culture can thus be traced back to at least three different conventions and disciplines. Being embedded within a colonial experience, these conventions influenced each other: first, collection practices inspired by a Catholic monastic tradition (cf. Schrott 2010), and possibly even a mission tradition of science and collecting, as exemplified by the Jesuits (cf. Findlen 1989); second, the parallel development of several South African and especially Natalian "colonial museums"; and third, the engagement with European and foremost German curators of ethnographic museums, to which we now turn in the next chapter. We shall see that ethnologists after 1900 learned to restructure their exhibitions in the same way, in order to attract benefactors, object donors, and visitors (cf. Penny 2002, 2003).

Mariannhill Missionaries were deeply involved with the circulation of mimetic capital from Natal over a long period of time, in particular through photographs. But neither the staged photographs, the accounts describing Mariannhill's museum and exhibitions (just like those in Europe), or the arrangements of objects in exhibitions themselves, can be equalised with certainty to a historical situation where these objects had actually constituted an authentic and exclusive "material culture". Nevertheless, missionaries and ethnologists used photographs to strengthen exactly this claim (cf. Mitchell 1992:298). Photographs thus played a mediating role for Mariannhill's exhibitions, just as they did during and after the guided tour at the monastery. Visitors at all times experienced the tour as a narrated walk with a steward along the same

course, culminating at the museum and photographic studio. As I already showed in Chapter Three, to many visitors the monastery appeared as an assemblage of European industrialism, "where the real world, as at the exhibition, was something organized by the representation of its commodities" (ibid.:299). Not only White visitors recalled this in their travelogues, but according to the story of Fr. Emanuel, also Africans like Chief Lokothwayo had similar perceptions.

Other than the representations of Egypt described by Mitchell, Mariannhill Missionaries not only had to create a version of South Africa for Europeans, but they also had to create a version of Europe in South Africa. In the latter case, European objects at the museum, as well as "industrial objects" produced by Mariannhill's converts, were presented as a success of Germano-Austrian industrialism against the odds of non-Catholics and non-German-speakers in South Africa. The construction of both European and African material cultures—in particular their polarisation—were concerted efforts to position Mariannhill in social space.

Mission, museum, press, and photographic practice at Mariannhill Monastery were thus closely connected. As the missionaries argued themselves, all efforts to circulate and curate both photographs and objects should financially benefit the "civilising process" of the very people whom these photographs and objects referenced in the first place. In order to achieve the best financial return from the printing press, the photographic studio, and the museum, the mission's modes of presenting subjects and objects through these institutions had to be finely attuned and optimised in relation to a religious visual economy. This economy not only involved information, money, and people, but as I have shown, also specific constellations of objects and images. The missionaries informed potential benefactors why they should donate in the first place, and those who were already involved, were kept informed how their donations contributed to the work of the mission (cf. Chapter One). In the next chapter we shall see how this economy involving both objects and photographs, by the second half of the 1890s connected to an already existing market established by Euro-American ethnographic museums.

Regarding the combined presentation of objects and photographs, we thus have to distinguish three exhibitionary settings for Mariannhill: the museum at the monastery, "industrial" exhibitions at or near to it, and eventually exhibitions held in Europe. In all three situations curators positioned South African objects against Western ones in specific constellations, in order to create and reference two specific kinds of people: *potential* converts and *converted* subjects. Especially in exhibitionary situations away from the mission, the mission's curators needed photographs to manifest the supposed fact that subjects and objects of the same category mutually constituted each other: particular people produced particular objects, but eventually the (photographed) objects defined people as either "civilised" or "primitive" in the first place (cf. Pinney 1990).

Once the mission's subjects had passed the process of conversion, the missionaries represented them as dressed and settled Christians, who had become not only consumers, but also producers of allegedly more "refined" and "civilised" products, made with skills acquired at

the mission's workshops and schools. Photographs depict African settlements, including clothed people, more "advanced" architecture, and the fact that people were seated on European chairs. The missionaries envisioned the facts that their subjects could walk through their own doorway upright, and sit on chairs, as the appropriate life-world of a Christian (Gütl 2005:297, also see Ross 2008:95). Mariannhill's photographers instead had avoided such "modern" objects or people in those photographs they captioned as "heathen". At times, they even retouched or cropped them, as we could see in the photograph of Umdamane's homestead.

Even if Müller explicitly claimed the "completeness" of Mariannhill's collection of "Kafir products" already by 1890, we realised that this arrangement was at the same time highly selective and haphazardly "local". The missionaries produced descriptions including backstories of acquisition only for objects like head rings or medicine bundles. These could serve the purpose of making a clear statement about the missionaries' relationship to their subjects, and thus became "converted artifacts" in the narration of the acquisition process (Thomas 1991). The missionaries presented local artefacts as analogies, commensurable with objects familiar to Europeans, so that they could become part of the same visual economy (Poole 1998, also see Edwards 2001:58). Objects like the head ring and the medicine bundle therefore served as "tangible metonyms" for both Zulu and European culture (cf. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998:30). At the same time, a dependency evolved, as missionaries had to repeatedly identify and collect such entangled artefacts (cf. Thomas 1991, Hodder 2016). Furthermore, they had to maintain them materially, narratively, and photographically. In Chapters Seven and Eight I explain that other images in Mariannhill's visual economy depended on even more material and narrative fiddling and enhancement, in order to become and remain mimetically effective.