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

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CHAPTER SIX

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Circulating Images

Introduction: Circulating and Certifying Knowledge

Even before Br. Aegidius Müller started to take photographs in 1897, his predecessors had produced photographs of their subjects' "economic life" (cf. Pels 1994:341), activities in the homestead, architecture, agriculture etc. Despite the fact that they had been originally produced for the purpose of enticing benefactors, such potentially exotic photographs suddenly carried an interest for ethnographic museums, when Müller started targeting them as an additional market in 1898. Already in Chapter One I argued that many of these photographs were inspired by genre paintings and photographs, and could therefore be easily sold as "ethnographic" photographs because both intended to depict "daily life". We shall see that—despite such ambivalences—museum-based scholars in the evolving transnational network of ethnology during the last quarter of the 19th century and beyond, heavily relied on knowledge, object collections, and photographs provided by missionaries.

Depending on the individual perspective of either ethnologists or missionaries, the ways how both groups recorded, processed, interpreted, and discussed information, were at times arbitrary. Evaluations of the relationship between representations (such as photographs and texts) and what had actually happened on the ground, were thus heavily layered and troubled by uncertainties. Even though both missionaries and ethnologists thought photographs could solve some of the uncertainties in knowledge production, photographs indeed also introduced new ones. Few ethnologists and missionaries, however, considered these uncertainties in published accounts. Pinpointing some of these uncertainties can help us to reassemble the network constituted by ethnologists, missionaries, objects, and photographs.

In Chapters One to Four I showed that there were indeed discontinuities between Mariannhill's photographic record and the historical situation established through other sources: despite the overall intention to convert people, Mariannhill Missionaries employed photographs to visually maintain the divide between "uncivilised" and "civilised", "traditional" and "modern", "heathen" and "Christian" for propaganda purposes. Ethnologists instead had already argued by the early 1870s that "traditional" life in the colonies had started to dissolve irretrievably due to colonial contacts, and therefore had to be salvaged in form of objects and photographs. In order to increase their stocks of these, museum ethnologists had to "muster allies" (cf. Latour 1990, 2005). This they hoped to do—just like missionaries—by staging a crisis.

While Mariannhill Missionaries regularly invoked the devil at work in South Africa to impress their benefactors, ethnologists claimed that the influx of Western "modernity" in the colonies threatened "traditional" life and its material manifestations. For this reason, so they argued, also European lay people in the colonies should engage in what has often been referred to as a "salvage anthropology" (eg. Clifford 1988b:231, also see below). After the establishment of anthropological and ethnological societies and museums in Europe since already before the mid-19th century, such societies took renewed structured measures since the early 1870s to bring

missionaries, administrators, and other colonial actors into the fold.[493] For example, they provided them with questionnaires and written instructions on how to collect specimens, as well as additional knowledge on them. Similar to the "problem of resemblance" and the "native problem" I described in earlier chapters, "salvage anthropology" can be retraced even more clearly as an intentionally constructed scenario, supposed to entice others to join in the project of securing "complete" ethnographic collections.

Ethnologists considered objects, photographs, and texts provided by missionaries as potential source material for their studies. At the same time, however, they had to scrutinise the providing missionaries as sources themselves. Even if ethnologists were thus critical about missionaries, they nevertheless had to maintain and educate them as important allies, in order to secure and maintain the flow of material. Before both Catholic and Protestant missionaries became active participants in the ethnological discipline during the early 1900s, they were explicitly considered as auxiliary to trained scholars. Also the self-perception of German-speaking Catholic missionaries as providers of valuable knowledge only started to solidify during the 1890s, as exemplified in the last chapter's opening quote. This phase of increasing activity and exchange between approximately 1896 and 1906 was also the most active period in the career of Br. Aegidius Müller. Along with the rise of a Catholic ethnology during the first decades of the 20th century, active scholarly work also started to develop at Mariannhill. I already mentioned some of the monastery's most active members in previous chapters. Once South African social anthropology had been professionalised academically and administratively during the 1920s (cf. Geest and Kirby 1996, Hammond-Tooke 1997, also see Chapter Seven), scientific work at Mariannhill Monastery eventually ceased along with the passing of the last individuals of the Trappist generation during the 1930s.

Like missionaries, ethnologists attempted to use photographs, not only to bridge the distance between centre and periphery, but also to fix the perceived problem of representation: until the late 1880s, it was a constraint—not a choice—to use engravings in publications instead of photographs. Even before the 1890s, many ethnologists and in particular physical anthropologists like Gustav Fritsch, preferred photographs above engravings and drawings. Fritsch argued that photographs are more accurate and thus more "objective", compared to the subjectivity of paintings, drawings, and engravings (Broeckmann 2008:146; Theye 1989a:15; also see Ankermann 1914:14; Graebner 1911:54; Im Thurn 1893:185, 189; Schlaginhaufen 1915:54). Next to the factor of visual accuracy, there was the factor of time: according to Fritsch, it simply took travelling artists far too long to finish their work adequately (Fritsch 1906:761). As far as photography was concerned, Fritsch mentioned the lack of colour as its only downside. As a starting point, we must assume that the idea of a "mechanical objectivity" with photographs made ethnologists and anthropologists prefer the medium above others (cf. Daston and Galison 2007). Nevertheless, we shall see in this chapter and the next that there were indeed arguments

[493] On the history of research instructions during the first half of the 19th century and before, see for example Urry (1993:17-40).

for the use of drawings and paintings in the sciences until the 1920s and beyond (also see Geismar 2014). It is important to note that such preferences cannot always be generalised, but often simply depended, first, on the interest and subject of study, and second, on the artistic capability of the respective scientist, or the availability of a capable collaborator (cf. Chapter Seven).

"Ethnographic" objects were, next to bodily specimens, the raw material for ethnologists to study colonial subjects from a distance. Objects and body parts from far-away places initially served as documentary evidence. German scholars referred to both as either "*Belegmaterial*" or "*Belegstücke*" and accordingly treated them as documents (cf. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998:23). As such, in particular German museum ethnologists used them for an explicitly inductive approach to the study of an imagined periphery (cf. Hoffmann 2012, Penny 2002, Zimmerman 2001).[494] In combination with basic textual information, photographs therefore constituted the ideal medium that could bring bodies and objects together, in order to show how the latter had been employed by their makers.

As we already established in Chapter One, photographic "objectivity", in particular as "mechanical objectivity" was never a given, but always had to be established through arguments. In this chapter I follow how photographs evolved through the exchanges between Mariannhill Missionaries and ethnologists—not so much as scientific "evidence" (cf. Tucker 2005)—but rather as "working objects". Daston and Galison employ this term for documents that enabled scientists to perform "collective empiricism" over great distances (cf. Daston and Galison 2007:19-22; Daston 2015; also see Edwards 2001:56). "Working objects" are surrogate objects allowing scientists to practice empirical discernment in the absence of original specimens or subjects. Photographs can therefore only be understood as "working objects" in between the specific spaces and actors that (re-)constituted and employed them (cf. Tagg 1993). To study the working of photographs through time, one therefore has to trace with them the parallel biographies and traditions of related iconographies, objects, texts, and individuals. If we now conceive of ethnographic objects and photographs as being equal in constituting subjects within actor-network relationships (cf. Hevia 2009, Latour 2005), photographs in particular become interesting because they allow us to consider both objects and subjects, before and behind the camera.

In order to better understand why ethnologists required photographs at the time and how they used them, we must distinguish yet another mode of employment. First, they were used in the just mentioned way as either "working objects" for research, or evidence and illustration for publication, either depicting isolated objects, bodies, or objects in use while being handled by a person. Second, ethnologists also used photographs of objects in co-presence with the actual objects in public exhibition displays, as developed for example at Cologne's Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum. This circumstance entailed the then popular, but today rarely acknowledged genre of

[494] For a closer, however oversimplified analysis of a German "anthropological vision" before 1900, see Zimmerman (2001b).

exhibition- and object-photographs (but see Edwards 2001). We already followed this practice for the case of Mariannhill's exhibitions after 1900 in the last chapter. In similar ways, exhibition photography was also practiced, for example at the ethnographic museums of Cologne, Stuttgart, and Pietermaritzburg, in order to attract, educate, and maintain relationships with both visitors and benefactors. I will delineate these developments by following Mariannhill's photographs to these and other museums, such as in Munich, Leiden, Vienna, and Oxford. In particular the museums of Berlin and Cologne allow us to observe a shift in approaches to objects and photographs, and how curators used them as both "working objects" and exhibits. Müller actively marketed his photographs as "ethnographic" and formulated ideas in close correspondence with European and South African museum ethnologists. His personal correspondences with Felix von Luschan (1854-1924) in Berlin and Fritz Graebner (1877-1934) in Cologne will show that he closely followed related developments in the museum world.

Müller's engagement with ethnological networks was triggered by the already mentioned instructions and questionnaires for the collection of objects, photographs, and ethnographic descriptions. In particular Von Luschan advocated the publication of such instructions since 1896 at the ethnographic museum of Berlin, to which Müller eventually replied in 1898. It is neither possible nor desirable to trace all potential connections of the contemporary scholarly network here (but see Rippe 2016). Nevertheless, I want to indicate at least some of its crucial nodes, which facilitated the circulation of Mariannhill's photographs. These nodes were constituted by particular people, events, and institutions. Müller facilitated most sales directly through the photographic studio, and alternatively through lay intermediaries. It will therefore be necessary to consider the cross-connections between the involved anthropologists and ethnologists, as well as the respective intermediaries.

The perceived scientific value of "ethnographic" objects for German ethnologists was increased through their proper documentation and contextualisation (Penny 2002:84). Glen Penny stated that "aesthetic, economic and scientific value of artefacts are neither mutually exclusive nor interdependent. They are potentially interdependent" (ibid.:70). As I showed, the same may be said for photographs, in particular regarding their potential interdependence with objects. The physical, pictorial, and rhetorical construction of objects thus depended on a "culture of circulation" (Lee and LiPuma 2002) in a limited timeframe and involved a fairly narrow network of people. This network was made up of the object producers, missionaries, ethnologists, and occasionally intermediaries, in Africa as well as in Europe. How objects were photographed, modified, and described within this "culture of circulation", determined the construction of the very "culture", from which the objects had been derived (cf. Edwards 2001:52). Like in preceding chapters, I will show how this culture of circulation involved the creation of particular image traditions, the materialities and limitations of a South African photographic studio, and the relations of both to the fluctuations of the European photographic market. This market must therefore be considered as being both commercial and academic, both popularising and scientific.

In the previous chapter I showed how Mariannhill's curatorial work included moments of collection, the exhibitionary situation at Mariannhill's museum, and eventually the combined curation of both objects and photographs in South Africa and Europe. In this chapter I further trace Mariannhill's photographic production and circulation in interaction with German and British ethnologists. The first three sections analyse methodological and epistemological questions regarding photographs and objects as discussed by European ethnologists, at Mariannhill, and by other missionaries. The last three sections attempt to follow the pulse of Mariannhill's photographs as closely as possible once they were in the hands and minds of European ethnologists.

Instructing Allies

Around 1900, Berlin's ethnographic museum was the biggest of its kind in Germany and many scholars even considered it the biggest in the world in terms of the sheer number of accumulated objects (eg. Dalton 1898,[495] Juynboll 1905:6, Foy 1910:21). The number of objects was so great that attempts to make sense of the collection eventually drowned within it. South Africa, and the "Zulu" in particular, were well represented in the public exhibition, however only with a fraction of the material stored in the museum's depot. By 1911, Natal and Zululand were counted amongst the areas rated as "entirely or almost complete collections".[496] In fact, the coastal region from Port Elizabeth to Maputo was next to the Sudan and the German colonies Togo, Cameroon, German South West Africa, and German East Africa, the only area on the African continent described as such (Krieger 1973:112). But just like at Mariannhill, there was no explanation of how an object collection from one particular region could ever be "complete". Like other racial classifications as claims to objectivity (cf. Chapter One), a collection of objects said to represent an actual situation, must rather be considered as an ideal, not a practice (cf. Pels 2014:221). Eventually, striving towards "completeness" (by collecting as many objects as possible) undermined the original attempt of inductive analysis, as envisioned by Adolf Bastian, the museum's first director (Zimmerman 2001:190). As we shall see, in order to amass objects and basic information, ethnologists relied on missionaries as allies, who had to be instructed for this purpose.

The "Zulu" had first appeared on Berlin's ethnographic museum stage in the early 1870s, when Bastian described them in the guide book of the Royal Museum's ethnographic section as "wild barbaric hordes, having re-appropriated the weapon-trade" (Bastian 1872:50). This identification did not change after the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879, and the guidebook only added the event by identifying "objects of the Zulu arranged from the spoils of war [*Kriegsbeute*]" (Bastian 1881:26).[497] Once the ethnographic collection had received its own building in 1886, the description was much expanded, but the context of the recent war no longer mentioned (Generalverwaltung 1887:98-99). The edition of 1890 listed even more objects, but again no characterisation of the people who made them (Generalverwaltung 1890:63). Then, at least between the guide's seventh edition of 1898 and the 18th edition of 1926, the "Zulu's" general description and the one of objects ascribed to them, remained almost unchanged in the museum's public guide books for a period of approximately 30 years:[498]

b) The Sulu (Zulu) in Natal and in Sululand. They are the most warlike and best organised of all Kafir tribes. With their regular wars against the whites they take up a lot of space in the history of South Africa. Amongst them are also the Matabele and Amaswasi.[499]

[495] Cited in Penny (2002:1).
[496] My own translation from the German original: "*ganz oder nahezu vollständige Sammlungen*".
[497] These objects had been donated by the German consul in South Africa, Dr. Keller (Stelzig 2004:291).
[498] I did not have access to the fifth (1892) and sixth (1895) edition.
[499] Generalverwaltung (1911:63): My own translation from the German original. The text quoted here is identical

Even if narrating "history", the guide books remain in the present tense when referring explicitly to the objects on display. From the presence, quality, and quantity of a certain arrangement of particular objects—not based on statistics *in situ*, but based on objects *selected from the collection*—the catalogue draws the conclusion that

> [i]n accordance with their inclination to war, weapons take up the first place within their cultural possessions, such as evident from the many weapons for attack and protection. Next to the strange clothing of fur, the incredibly rich adornments are remarkable; furthermore there are the artistic carvings (snuff boxes, sticks) of the Sulu, the magic dices of the Amakosa and the water-containers made from ostrich eggs.

By 1911, the catalogue explicitly mentioned for this section that only "selected samples" were exhibited and that the "by far biggest part of the collection" had to be "stacked away" due to the restrictions in space. In contrast to the judgmental presentation of the "Zulu" as warlike in Berlin, Cologne's Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum presented "Zulu" objects from the very first museum guidebook of 1906 onwards without any connotations. Nevertheless, the ethnographic museum in the German capital dominated the scene. Because *guided* tours were not yet a common practice, and even discontinued after 1900 in the Berlin Museum, we must assume that the guidebooks had a considerable impact on visitors. They put visitors' views on Africans into context, when gazing at African objects.[500]

A "temporal incoherence", which Clifford (1988a:202) observed for the exhibition of alterity in the 1980s, was already in place before 1900. Already for cases of this earlier period, "[t]he time and order of the collection erase the concrete social labor of its making" (Stewart quoted in Clifford 1988b:220). In the case of Berlin, the backstories of "ethnographic" objects were likewise overridden. However, even if equally biased, the curator at Mariannhill's museum could make less distanced claims for the present "Kafir curios". He considered them in a more contemporary idiom due to his access to directly related backstories. Such temporal distortions only appeared in Mariannhill's exhibitions and publications several decades later, as I described them in the last chapter for the 1927 exhibition in Trier.

Despite the fact that photographs neither appeared in Berlin's contemporary exhibition, nor in the museum's guidebooks, curators still sought them, apparently only for research and publication purposes. Once Müller had taken on the position of photographer at Mariannhill in late 1897, he soon conceived of the idea to actively approach curators of museums in Europe and South Africa as a potential sales market. On 20 July 1898, from his studio in South Africa, he composed a letter to the ethnographic museum of Berlin, part of which reads:

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throughout the fourth (1898) and seventh (1911) edition. The one of 1926 is abbreviated, but only differs little in its formulation.

[500] See Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) on the difference between "*in situ*" and "in context" presentations. The use of "*in situ*" in the case above, however, refers to the actual geographical place where objects have been supposedly collected or photographed, as used by Im Thurn (1893:195). Also see below.

We herewith allow ourselves to offer you the delivery of an album of photographic images from South Africa. These images depict groups, entire figures, portraits, homesteads, house-ware tools, weapons of different Zulu tribes and Basuto, as well as rock paintings of Basuto and Bushmen. There are beautiful and characteristic portraits, dresses and hairstyles in their diverse ways. Such an album would present a vivid and truthful image of the Kafirs' peculiarities, the heathen aboriginals of South Africa. Considering the busy work of missionaries, one might no longer be able to capture such images in 50 years to come.[501]

Müller clearly distinguished photographs of people and photographs of objects. Even if he referred to "different Zulu tribes [*verschiedene Zulustämme*]" in the letter, this common designation is not repeated once in the catalogue he should soon prepare. After being motivated by the ensuing correspondence with the museum, he compiled detailed descriptions to each of the photographs on offer (Müller 1899). A "Zulu" identity only appears in a short introduction to the "Zulu language [*Zulusprache*]" at the outset. Instead, his text glosses over all photographed individuals either with the designation "Kafir [*Kaffer*]" or "Basuto". Only a few individuals he identified separately as "Kafirs" of the "*Amaswazi*", "*Amabaca*" and "*Amatembu*" tribes. Other than that, Müller used the term "Kafir" without specification, in order to denote Africans living near Mariannhill. This is one more indication that a "Zulu" identity was not all-pervasive in Natal at the time (cf. Hamilton and Leibhammer 2016a, Mahoney 2012).

Also the "*Amagwabe*" of the Transvaal are included in the catalogue, but the respective photographs had not been taken by the monastery's photographers. Mariannhill did not have stations in the Transvaal, and instead Müller had copied the respective nine photographs from the 1888 publication *Picturesque Aspects of the Transvaal* by the Swiss photographer H.F. Gros. He even covered up the original captions and presented the photographs amongst his own. As we already learned in Chapter One, copyright issues for photographs were not yet formulated as clearly as today, and at the same time photographers, publishers, and consumers were often not fully aware of their legal rights and obligations.

Despite being directed explicitly at museum ethnologists,[502] Müller's published text is spiced with ironic allusions to the still non-Christian state of some of the depicted individuals. Furthermore, several photographs depict missionaries in transformatory activities, such as baptisms, or the recruiting of children for school. The inherent civilising mission is thus still very present in the mission's "ethnographic" mode as Christian observers (cf. Harries 2005). The excerpt from Müller's letter to Berlin even shows his awareness of an apparent contradiction: on the one hand, his profession's modifying impact on Africans, and on the other hand, museums' efforts to document and preserve "cultures" in the vein of a "salvage anthropology". His formulations, the enumeration of various image categories, as well as the explicit antagonistic relational logic between missionaries and museum interests, all suggest that he had earlier received inspiration from German ethnologists. For the remainder of this section I shall discuss potential forms of motivation, the specific networks creating them, and the generally shared methodological considerations between 1896 and 1906, which influenced Müller's decision to

[501] EMB: letter, Müller to MfV, 20.07.1898.
[502] *"Den wohllöblichen Direktoren der Museen, ethnographischen Sammlungen ec."*.

participate in the scientific projects of ethnology and physical anthropology.

German ethnologists and anthropologists of the Berliner Gesellschaft für Ethnologie, Anthropologie und Urgeschichte (BGAEU) issued instructions for travellers, missionaries, and other colonial actors on how to collect zoological, botanical, geographic, as well as ethnographic data in the colonies as early as 1872, initially for use in the German Navy[503] (also see Neumayer 1875).[504] These instructions related to all sciences more generally and were developed, published, and disseminated in a holistic effort. Adolf Bastian, director of Berlin's ethnographic museum, wrote the contribution on the "general concepts of ethnology"[505] since the first edition in 1875, and most likely also in the first draft of 1872.[506] But it was only in 1896 that Felix von Luschan, the assistant curator for Oceania and Africa, started to issue a small booklet with the request to collect information, objects, and photographs specifically for Berlin's ethnographic museum.[507] Due to their very small format, as compared to the British *Notes and Queries*, or Neumayer's *Anleitung*, Von Luschan could liberally distribute his instructions amongst potential collectors free of charge (cf. Melk-Koch 2009:87). The instructions had the format of questionnaires, which were refined, expanded, and further specified with every new issue. They had a handy size to be carried into the field, with every second page left empty to be filled with notes.

The crucial importance of these widely circulated instructions—in particular from the perspective of those colonial actors and missionaries who provided objects, drawings, photographs, and descriptions—has only been vaguely acknowledged in previous studies of German (museum-) ethnology and photography (Zimmerman 2001, Von Briskorn 2000, Wiener 1990), or even been completely ignored (Penny 2002, Smith 1991, Kohl 2016, Stappert 2009). Even accounts dealing explicitly with German ethnographic research instructions only cover limited time periods or desired media, with some being either incomplete, or incorrect regarding the publication dates (Broeckmann 2008, Buschmann 2009, Hoffmann 2012, Krautwurst 2009 [2002], Melk-Koch 2009, Sarreiter 2012, Schneider 2009, Schindlbeck 1993, Theye 1989, Westphal-Hellbusch 1973).[508] While Von Luschan wrote and also advocated these instructions and questionnaires for lay people (1904, 1905), his former student and colleague Fritz Graebner

[503] The first draft appeared in a special issue of the BGAEU's *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* in 1972. See Schneider (2009) and especially Stelzig (2004) for a detailed analysis on the situation concerning scientific instructions for ethnographic collecting in German since the 1870s. The German instructions preceded the similar effort of the British *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* for some years.

[504] Like the British *Notes and Queries*, Neumayer's *Anleitung* was updated repeatedly (1888, 1906).

[505] "*Allgemeine Begriffe der Ethnologie*".

[506] Rudolf Virchow instead wrote the contribution on physical anthropology. Gustav Fritsch added a separate contribution on the use of photography (see below). Bastian's essay on ethnology did not yet mention photography as useful to his concerns.

[507] The five issues of instructions for collecting released by the ethnographic museum of Berlin are in chronological order: Von Luschan (1896); Seidel (1897); Von Luschan (1899); Von Luschan (1904); Ankermann (1914). A full discussion of all instructions cannot be provided here. In addition one may nevertheless mention Von Luschan's instructions in Neumayer's *Anleitungen* (1906).

[508] But see Stelzig (2004) for an excellent overview. Read in conjunction, these accounts provide most valuable insights, and Theye's (1989a, 1989b) account must still be considered as the best introduction to the early discourse on photography in German ethnology. For discussions of the development of the British *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* see Stocking (2001a) and Urry (1993).

in Cologne repeatedly criticised them. According to Graebner, questionnaires could not replace the training and experience of a professional ethnologist (Graebner 1908) and indeed made lay researchers biased (Graebner 1911:44).[509]

I already discussed how Mariannhill's museum curator, Fr. Alexander Hanisch, distributed his own instructions for collecting objects between 1894 and 1910, directed at confreres and benefactors alike. Now I will discuss Von Luschan's instructions in relation to the circulation of Mariannhill's photographs within the network of contemporary ethnology, the network's developing and differing attitudes, and its role in the discourse on the epistemological value of photographs for ethnological study; in other words, I consider what value Mariannhill's photographs had for ethnologists in the production of knowledge, and what the latter hoped to learn or gain from them. So far, scholars have only explored the early history of photographic epistemologies for German ethnology during the 1870s and 80s (Schneider 2009, 2011; Theye 1989, 2004), but not the continuities and ruptures beyond 1900, which I just mentioned.

In accordance with archaeology, Rudolf Virchow and Adolf Bastian[510] had considered collections of objects as an archive of historical "texts", which could be "read" *independently* of the lived situations they emerged from (Penny 2002:26, 36; Zimmerman 2000:75, 2001:49).[511] The object's exact "backstory" (Hamilton 2011), before it had arrived at the museum, was not of interest, as in many instances it could not be recovered anyway. Often ethnologists were not in a position to collect themselves, and thus had to rely on others. The kind of information they requested from the providers of objects and photographs was an object's "ethnicity", its indigenous name, and its function, but not the personal and social identity of its maker. This holds true for both objects as ethnological evidence, as well as for photographs as representations of the latter: thus neither the African producer of an object, nor the missionary making a photograph were considered crucial agents, due to the assumed inherent "objectivity" of both objects and photographs. Even though ideas on African "authorship" were already present (cf. Chapter One), these would only change radically during the 1920s (cf. Chapter Seven).

In the second half of the 19th century, ethnologists distanced themselves increasingly from the uncertainties of paintings and drawings by claiming a "photographic [mechanical] objectivity", which was thought to close "[…] the space between the site of observation on the colonial periphery and the site of metropolitan interpretation" (Edwards 2001:31-32, also see Daston and Galison 2007, Hempel 2009, Schneider 2009:61). Müller had become aware of this situation by 1898, and started to present some of Mariannhill's available stock of photographs as "ethnographic" source material, which had previously been framed as depictions of potential

[509] Also see Ernst Grosse (1896) and Oswald Richter (1908), who spoke out against collecting by amateurs. See Coombes (1994:166) on the contemporary discourse in England regarding the need of "anthropological training" for missionaries.

[510] Virchow was considered as one of the main authorities on physical anthropology, and Bastian as the father of German ethnography and ethnology. Other members of the BGAEU's authoring committee were Braun, Hartmann, Fritsch, Kuhn, and Deegen.

[511] The same may be said for the case of representations of people in form of photographic "types". Also see Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998:31) on Goode's "textualised objects" at about the same time.

converts. While the first were supposed to follow scientific rigour, the latter were only bound by the aesthetic principles I described in Chapter One. But despite (or as I suggest, exactly because) being based on painterly conventions and aesthetics, Mariannhill's photographs were well accepted by contemporary ethnologists. This was even the case for Graebner, who had previously criticised missionaries for their lack of training.

The initial 1872 statement by a committee headed by Rudolf Virchow and Adolf Bastian on who would be eligible to carry out research, suggested that

> while the collections of zoological, botanical, mineralogical and geological specimens always depend on some expert studies, the engagement with ethnology and anthropology—even if alleviated by medical knowledge—is generally within the range of possibilities of every refined person. Especially these two branches of knowledge need most addition, as they have been totally neglected so far and have only at this moment in time come to full advantage. This particular moment in time can be called opportune due to easier means of communication. At the same time it is also the last [chance], because through these very same means of communication and the absorbing progress of civilising influences, the primitive types, which we demand to fixate [*die primitiven Typen, deren Fixierung verlangt wird*], are in a state of swift disintegration. (Virchow et al. 1872:325-326)

In 1886, Wilhelm Joest donated objects to Berlin's ethnographic museum from his South African journey in 1883. At this time, so Joest, it was still possible to acquire "ethnographic objects". He went on to complain, however, that "soon the point would come that every originality is gone", since "the British had taken away shields, clubs, and assegais in the hundreds as loot or memorabilia" during the Anglo-Zulu war, and Africans had already started to *imitate* and *forge*, and to produce "Zulu curios [Engl. in original]" to sell to passing foreigners for horrendous prices (Joest 1886:147). But still 18 years after Joest's warning, Felix von Luschan (1904) pleaded for the "careful and monographic treatment of every single tribe [*Stamm*]". He explicitly mentioned in the very first lines of the third edition of his instructions for collecting that

> [m]odern traffic circulation is a dreadful and relentless enemy of all situations primitive; whatever we cannot safeguard and salvage for posterity within the next years will be heading towards total demise and can never be obtained again. Situations and institutions that developed over the course of thousands of years in their specific ways, do change under the influence of the White man almost from one day to the other. This necessitates to get hold of things quickly [*da heißt es rasch zugreifen*], before it is too late.[512] (Von Luschan 1904:3)

Von Luschan closed his introduction with the remark that the "faithful collaboration" by missionaries and the "warm goodwill" of colonial government and society towards his museum, were a result of ethnology's practical value for political success and the creation of economic markets in the colonies (cf. Six-Hohenbalken 2009:17[513]).[514] At least in public, Von Luschan was particularly fond of contributions by missionaries, as they spent considerable time in the respective countries and often mastered the local languages (ibid.:181, also see Stelzig 2004). In the remainder of this chapter I argue that this was a strategy of recruiting allies, in order to build

[512] My own translation from the German original.
[513] For a similar analysis for the British context, see Urry (1993).
[514] For a similar analysis for the British context, see Urry (1993).

collections in times of fierce competition.

In the form of questionnaires, Von Luschan's instructions gave directions to describe social situations ethnographically, to collect objects, to draw, photograph, and to provide models of architectural structures. Müller's choice was apparently photography, and it is therefore necessary to further survey the contemporary epistemological conventions within the disciplines of physical anthropology and ethnology. Most instrumental in creating the first standards for photographs in German physical anthropology and ethnology was Gustav Fritsch, even before the above-mentioned instructive literature issued by Berlin's ethnographic museum in 1896. As I showed in Chapter One, Fritsch closely collaborated with Hermann Vogel during the late 1860s. Vogel also presented at meetings of the BGAEU in the 1970s, and taught photography to other ethnologists, like Franz Boas in the 1880s. Fritsch therefore was well-versed in photographic technology and practice.

Fritsch first developed and applied his photographic standards during his travels in South Africa between 1863 and 1866.[515] A few years later, he contributed the earliest articles on photography for German research instructions (1872) and thus introduced a canon that distinguished between "physiognomic" photographs and "ethnographic" ones (cf. Broeckmann 2008:145, also see Schneider 2009).[516] The first category represents a person's clear frontal portrait, and at least one profile view. "Ethnographic" photographs, after Fritsch, instead focused on a person's "general impression", circumstances of life, clothing, weapons and tools: "To this category belongs any image that relates to man or his environment, as long as he has modified the latter by his own action" (Fritsch 1888:562). For Fritsch, the ethnographic category was definitely the one less scientific, less difficult to take or purchase, and more likely to "leave more space for the artistic ambitions of the photographer" (ibid.:571). In his view, they were only complementary to the physiognomic images. Eventually, it would have been unlikely for photographers who only established themselves within the scientific project to produce proper physiognomic portraits. Especially for Catholic missionaries it would have been morally impossible to publicly undress the photographic subject, in order to study physiognomic detail. Müller therefore took the liberty to employ the "artistic freedom", which Fritsch had suggested for ethnographic portraits. As the correspondences about Mariannhill's photographs suggests, they were initially considered most relevant within Fritsch's second category, "ethnography". In order to fully understand these correspondences, I now turn to the related events leading to the publication of Luschan's instructions and the establishment of Catholic missionaries in the academic field.

[515] See Dietrich and Bank (2008) for a wide-ranging discussion of Fritsch's photographic oeuvre from South Africa.

[516] As Broeckmann observes, the changes in Fritsch's instructions between the 1875, 1988, and 1906 versions were only minor (2008:146).

Missionaries' Objects and Photographs in Auxiliary Ethnography

In 1922, Felix von Luschan recalled that when he first arrived at the ethnographic museum of Berlin in 1885, others "held the opinion that 'the mission' was the greatest enemy of ethnology [*Völkerkunde*] and therefore one had to fight it by all means" (Von Luschan 1922:VII).[517] But over time, Von Luschan himself became fond of missionaries as a source for objects, and legitimised their contributions with their long presence and experience in the respective country (Stelzig 2004:199-201). According to him, ethnologists and missionaries depended on each other, a fact he stressed publicly with increasing urgency between 1896 and 1904.[518] We shall soon explore the reasons for this strategy.

Despite their reservations, even ethnologists and museum curators of Adolf Bastian's generation had early on identified missionaries as potential sources for objects, photographs, and related textual data. Bastian, who was Von Luschan's predecessors as curator in Berlin, had indeed been in contact with missionaries before, such as the Protestant Moravians:[519] in the late 1870s, they were rather uncooperative and instead concerned about the economic value of their collections, thus treating them as mimetic capital. They focused on their task of proselytising and considered contacts to European museums as competition and leakage of their own propaganda resources (Jensz 2012:73). However, the Protestant Basel Mission's help to the museum in 1875 with the acquisition of ethnographic objects (Unseld 1996:186), or interactions with the Berlin Mission in the 1880s (Stelzig 2004:251), shows that missionaries' resistance to cooperate with museum ethnologists cannot be regarded as a distinctly Protestant characteristic. While Von Luschan—at least publicly—had favoured missionaries as informants more and more, the

[517] The main point of criticism was the missionaries' iconoclastic attitude towards their subjects' "*Götzenbilder*" and "fetishes" (cf. Von Luschan 1922:VII). Still in 1899, Von Luschan tried to intervene with the German foreign office against the destruction of such "idols" by the Protestant Basel mission in Cameroon. The mission replied that they must not appear as "collectors" in the eyes of their subjects, for otherwise these objects would attain a "trade value" in the latters' eyes. But eventually the mission gave in to the request (Krieger 1973:115; also see Thomas 1991:157). The questions of whether Catholic missionaries were more likely than Protestants to collect objects (and photographs), due to their own traditions of embracing materiality in ritual, and whether their Protestant colleagues were more prone to have iconoclastic tendencies, cannot be generalised and is in need of more comparative case studies. I am not aware that Mariannhill missionaries ever destroyed objects on purpose. Existing research on collections of Protestant missionaries indeed indicates that divisions about this question existed even amongst Protestants (Corbey 2000, 2003; Thomas 1991:155).

[518] Some missionaries also reported on their research during meetings of the BGAEU (Stelzig 2004:357). Also British ethnologists, such as Henry Balfour at Oxford's Pitt Rivers Museum relied on objects, as well as contextualising information from Protestant missionaries (Edwards 2001, Coombes 1994:148). To the contrary, at the same time in Vienna opinions were again very different: in the journal *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie* of 1900, the Austrian ethnologist Wilhelm Hein criticised an exhibition of the Catholic St. Petrus Claver Sodality in Vienna: "[…] The other collections from South Africa (Namaqua- and Zululand, Natal) contain a great number of objects, which bear unmistakable European influences, and will thus not be reviewed here. Of the 231 photographs, which the museum owns, none are usable from an ethnological standpoint, as they concern mission life in most cases" (Hein 1900:170). Several of these objects and photographs may have been supplied by Fr. Franz Mayr (cf. Gütl 2004). His patron Maria Ledochowska was the founder of the St. Petrus Claver Sodality, and is considered as the foundation patron of Mariannhill's station Centocow.

[519] Also known as the Herrenhuter Brüdergemeinde.

London-based Bronislaw Malinowski at the same time (1922), more similar to Graebner's position after 1908, played down administrators, missionaries, and traders as "biased" and "prejudiced […] practical men", however with "a few delightful exceptions" (Malinowski 1922 quoted in Pels 2014:211-212).

As we shall see in the course of this chapter and the next, even if positions changed towards cooperation, the relationship between ethnologists and missionaries remained ambivalent and often instrumental, even after the First World War. As I mentioned in Chapter Four, and as the quote at the very beginning of Chapter Five indicates, missionaries actively claimed expertise in a distinct field of knowledge production, which was based on their prolonged presence in the field. But this claim nevertheless remained entangled with efforts of propaganda, and therefore was never without its critics as far as the missionaries' ethnographic texts were concerned. Missionaries had nevertheless always been accepted as providers of objects, photographs, as well as related documentary information.

However, Catholic missionaries were only able to institutionalise their ethnographic efforts once a considerable number of them had established themselves as ethnologists under Fr. Wilhelm Schmidt SVD (1868-1954) in Vienna by the 1920s as the so-called "*Wiener Schule*". Missionaries of both denominations also became officially involved in the anthropological discourse on Africa, in particular as members of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures (IIALC). Therefore, since the arrival of Schmidt in Vienna, and the linguists Meinhof and Westermann in Hamburg with their background in Protestant theology, it is necessary to further divide missionaries into trained and untrained interlocutors in the ethnological project (cf. Harries 2005; Marchand 2003; Pels 1990, 1999; Pugach 2012). Such a division is at least possible with Mariannhill, as I showed for some members in Chapter Five.

Retrospectively, missionaries of all denominations can therefore no longer be considered as "*Randfiguren*" (Fischer 2003, also see Cox 2005:7), as marginal figures or background actors to the history of the anthropological discipline's foundation period, or to the writing of colonial histories more generally (cf. Pels and Salemink 1994 and 1999).[520] Missionaries have been considered as "incidental ethnographers" (Michaud 2007), or as "handmaidens" of European anthropologists (Harries 2005), who themselves have been retrospectively considered handmaidens to the colonial project. But of course also missionaries were actively involved in German colonial efforts at a political level (Marchand 2003, Schubert 2003), and therefore participated in major colonial exhibitions, such as the one of 1896 in Berlin, which I already introduced in the previous chapter.

Even before Felix von Luschan formulated the first edition of his instructions in late 1896,[521] Catholics had already started an initiative to motivate their missionaries to collect

[520] In South Africa they were retrospectively "equalised" in several instances, such as in the 1921 editorial to the first edition of the journal *Bantu Studies*. Later, the South African government-ethnologist Jacobus van Warmelo (cf. Chapter Seven) included the writings of missionaries of all denominations in his *Anthropology of Southern Africa in Periodicals to 1950: An Analysis and Index* (1977).

[521] Von Luschan's first instructions appeared in the *Mittheilungen von Forschungsreisenden und Gelehrten aus den*

objects *systematically*.[522] It is even very likely that both initiatives were directly related. The SVD historian Karl Rivinius suggests that the project of Fr. Johannes Bumüller[523] (1873-1936) was the pivotal foray by Catholics towards professional anthropology and ethnology (Rivinius 2005:106-108).[524] But other than mentioning some of Bumüller's efforts to popularise missionary writing, Rivinius does not follow up on Bumüller's investigations. However, there is more to it. In early 1896, after consulting with the Mission Benedictines of St. Ottilien[525] near Munich, Bumüller requested with the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte (DGAEU)[526] to supply missionaries with instructions for collecting in the colonies. By mid-1896, Johannes Ranke,[527] professor for physical anthropology at the Ludwig Maximilians University in Munich, indeed presented Bumüller's request during the society's annual meeting. Eventually, he promised to form a committee for the compilation of adequate instructions (Ranke 1896).

In a letter to Ranke, Bumüller had expressed that "German missionaries would surely be well-suited to engage in anthropological studies, and that they indeed would like to carry out such studies, if only they would be given the necessary instructions to do so". Without giving an explicit reason, Ranke added that "taking this opportunity, I would like to remark that the accounts, which missionaries could provide, would be less related to the measurement of bodies, but surely lie closer to questions of an actual ethnological nature" (Ranke 1896:144-148).[528] As this view was later confirmed by Bumüller himself, it is clear that at this point in time Catholic missionaries did not yet consider themselves as fully qualified providers of scientific knowledge, but still maintained an auxiliary position (cf. Ranke 1897). Rivinius states that Bumüller now started spreading articles on the scientific importance of the work by missionaries in mission periodicals.[529] By late 1897, Bumüller had also extracted "anthropological-ethnological" writings

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Schutzgebieten, which was an addendum (*Wissenschaftliche Beihefte*) to the *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*. The editorial office of the *Mittheilungen* closed on 8 December 1896. Von Luschan's instructions would therefore have first circulated individually in the course of 1897. Von Luschan had special separate prints made to supply potential collectors.

522 Already in 1883 the Vatican had motivated presumably rather *unsystematic* efforts to collect (cf. Colini 1886:2). Also see Wates (2006), who discusses the wider context, but not this specific initiative.

523 In 1896 Bumüller was Stadtkaplan in Neuburg an der Donau.

524 Like Brandewie, Rivinius is a member of SVD, the same congregation Janssen (its founder) and Schmidt belonged to. Like CMM, SVD have a tradition of academic publishing on their own history. While these may indeed show greater familiarity with the internal sources of the congregation, some also have selective and hagiographic tendencies. This is not to say that today's anthropologists would never idealise their professional ancestors.

525 The Archabbey of St. Ottilien was relatively close to Neuburg and Munich. It still maintains a "*Missionsmuseum*" today (cf. Chapter Seven).

526 The DGAEU was the national umbrella organisation of the BGAEU and other local societies. It was founded in 1870, one year after the BGAEU.

527 Bumüller studied physical anthropology in Munich between 1897 and 1899. He wrote his dissertation under Ranke, who was a co-founding member of the DGAEU and also edited its journals. In 1902, Bumüller became Ranke's assistant (cf. Weiß 1995:232).

528 My own translation from the German original.

529 Rivinius, however, did not follow up on respective anthropological/ethnological journals and the involvement of the DGAEU and BGAEU (cf. Ranke 1896, 1897).

from mission periodicals, and had forwarded these to Ranke, who then consulted with Rudolf Virchow and Max Bartels in Berlin,[530] both members of the BGAEU. Virchow replied that such reports by missionaries may indeed be published in the BGAEU's *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, and also Bartels reported on his previous positive interactions with the Protestant Berlin Mission (Ranke 1897:165).

From May to October 1896, the first colonial exhibition was held as a part of the Berlin trade fair. Both Protestant and Catholic missionaries had representative booths, SVD missionaries being main actors (cf. Meinecke 1897:118-131, also see Chapter Five). Also Felix von Luschan was involved to a considerable extent, by carrying out anthropological measurements on the present African performers, and by contributing the section on anthropology and ethnography in the exhibition publication (ibid:203-269, also see Zimmerman 2001). During the same event, Von Luschan also tapped the stock of the SVD's "ethnographic objects" from Togo, which the congregation's founder Janssen "left to the museum willingly" (Janssen 1897:127-128). As I explained in the previous chapter, also the 1896 ethnographic mission exhibition in Budapest[531] acquired objects and photographs from Mariannhill, as well as other missionaries. According to Hegedüs (2001), ethnologists and anthropologists from Berlin (Virchow and Ehrenreich) and from Vienna (Heger and Hein) were involved in the evaluation of the material. At one point in 1895, instructions regarding desired items must have been sent out to Catholic congregations—including Mariannhill—but are no longer in existence today (Fogarasi 2001:142, also see Bátky 1896).[532]

Suddenly, in 1896, a multiplicity of intersecting conversations took place between colonial lobbyists, professional anthropologists, ethnologists, and several mission congregations in German-speaking countries. It was also in 1896 that Mariannhill's Abbot Amandus Schölzig entered colonial politics, when Catholic missionaries were performing on a colonial stage such as the Berlin trade fair, as equals next to their Protestant peers. Schölzig applied for mission land in German East Africa, hoping that such a "patriotic" act may open the possibility to establish a noviciate in Germany, where the relationship between Catholics and the state still suffered from the aftermath of the anti-Catholic "Culture War" (Stirnimann 1969, Wendl 1998).[533] These interactions opened up many possible conduits how ethnographic research instructions from Germany could have reached Br. Aegidius Müller, either at the end of 1897 or in early 1898. It is yet unclear whether Von Luschan's (1896) instructions were indeed a direct outcome of Bumüller's initiative. But Virchow's and Bartels' involvement, as well as Von Luschan's

[530] At the time, Bartels was responsible for the BGAEU's photographic collection, and would purchase a set of Mariannhill's photographs only two years later.

[531] As a part of the 1896 "Hungarian Millennial Exhibition".

[532] The makers' initial motivation for the ethnological exhibition in Budapest apparently came from a visit to the Vatican in 1895, where curators were in the process of sorting out existing collections at the Lateran Museum (Hegedüs 2001:133).

[533] Mariannhill Monastery eventually established mission stations in German East Africa in 1897, but due to internal conflicts had to transfer these to the Spiritans in 1907. A noviciate was only opened in 1911 in the Netherlands.

interactions with missionaries at Berlin's colonial exhibition in 1896, make a connection very plausible.

In a next step in 1899, both Protestants and Catholics were granted permanent niches in Berlin's Kolonialmuseum, which had evolved from the colonial section at Berlin's 1896 trade exhibition (Van der Heyden 1996, 2012). Here the exhibitionary situation differed crucially from the presentation of mission-collected objects in ethnographic museums: in the Kolonialmuseum missionaries themselves were able to curate their own objects on a prominent public stage. Even though missionaries initially fulfilled an auxiliary role in relation to professional ethnology, mission congregations now became increasingly aware of their own potential role as interlocutors between colonial governments, their subjects, the European public, and the European academic community (cf. Gardner and Philp 2006:185, and below). Mariannhill Missionaries therefore engaged in the collection, curation, and study of material culture for several decades. Their efforts in this particular regard, nevertheless, remained short-lived, and as I show, indeed auxiliary to professional practice in Europe. Their activities were nevertheless far from "incidental", as Michaud (2007) would have it for the case of Catholic missionaries in Papua.

Rivinius speculates that these intense interactions between missionaries, anthropologists, and ethnologists since 1896 also stimulated Fr. Wilhelm Schmidt SVD to engage with the disciplines (2005:108). Schmidt started his initiative to publish an ethnological journal in 1900, which finally culminated in the foundation of the journal *Anthropos* in 1905. Schmidt's ultimate goal was to prove his theory of an ancient and universal monotheism (cf. Brandewie 1990). The motivation for *Anthropos* was thus the collection of material, but also the justification of missionary writing about non-Europeans, explicitly positioned against anthropologists, ethnologists, and Protestants. Schmidt wanted *Anthropos* to be an inter-congregational, academic propaganda publication, providing a continuously updated archive of knowledge on best conduct and practice, thus a *vade mecum* for Catholic missionaries (ibid:118, 125-127). In the years to come, Schmidt indeed considered himself a "mobiliser of auxiliary troops" in order to reintroduce the interests of Catholicism into science (quoted in Marchand 2003:306). The first issue of *Anthropos* in 1906 was preceded by a call for papers in 1905, containing a list of questions, just like the ones produced by the ethnographic museum of Berlin.[534] In fact, this list is an adaptation of Von Luschan's third edition of the *Anleitung für Ethnographische Beobachtungen und Sammlungen in Afrika und Oceanien* (1904). But apparently also the previous editions of 1896 and 1897 had already entered missionary networks, for example at Mariannhill.

Fr. Franz Mayr and Br. Aegidius Müller were the only missionaries from South Africa to respond to Schmidt's invitation in 1905. They may have discussed amongst themselves who would contribute to which questions of Schmidt's list. Both published three articles each in

[534] See Rivinus (2005) for a complete facsimile reproduction.

Anthropos until 1918 (Mayr 1906, 1907a, 1907b; Müller 1906, 1907, 1917/18).[535] But in fact both merely recycled earlier articles for this purpose: Müller used segments, which he had previously written for Mariannhill's own propaganda periodicals and publications (cf. Chapters Five and Eight). Mayr had used identical material for his articles in the *Annals of the Natal Government Museum* (1907c).

Mayr clearly followed Schmidt's suggestions by separating his essay into the sections "dwellings and their disposition", "food", "luxuries", "medicines and charms", and "clothing and ornaments". Müller instead partially replicated these categories photographically in form of the arranged displays in his last article on "material culture" (Müller 1917/18, also see Frey 1907). Of Schmidt's 25 suggested topics, Mayr only picked five and adapted them to the local particularities of Natal. For his first two articles in *Anthropos*, Müller instead only picked the topic "divination", which would fall under Schmidt's heading "Religion".[536]

I will discuss Müller's two *Anthropos* articles on divination in Chapter Eight. Here it suffices to say that Catholic missionaries promoted similarly practical reasons for doing ethnography and couched them in religious motivations, as suggested by Felix von Luschan above in economic and colonial terms. Both stated a crisis, in order to motivate allies. But while Schmidt was outspokenly critical of secular anthropologists, some scholars like Von Luschan seemed to contently consume what missionaries had to offer (at least publicly). Others, like Fritz Graebner in Cologne, were rather critical of missionaries, even in public. We therefore still need to provide a more nuanced picture of missionaries' and ethnologists' mutual perceptions.

Andrew Zimmermann mentioned that German-speaking anthropologists, like Fritsch and even Fr. Wilhelm Schmidt, judged missionaries as producing "idealised" and "trivialised" accounts, due to their extended contact with local people, what would no longer allow them to recognise differences to their own society (2001:218-219). Von Luschan, in fact, used the exact same argument to point out the value of contributions by missionaries. Zimmermann's evaluation is in fact incorrect, as Schmidt made this statement only retrospectively for the early days of ethnographic work by missionaries in the 19th century (Schmidt 1906:494). While acknowledging that inaccuracies have previously been the case, he apparently wanted to advance the project with the foundation of *Anthropos* in 1906. Five years later, he even re-evaluated the missionary influences on Frazer's *Golden Bough*, whom he accused of not having acknowledged contributions by missionaries adequately (Schmidt 1911). Schmidt also had similar arguments about the competence of missionaries with British colleagues (Pels 1990:85), saying that they excelled precisely because of their extended sojourns and competence of local languages. But like their German colleagues Graebner and Fritsch, British anthropologists nevertheless considered it dangerous to rely on ethnographic data presented by untrained researchers, especially missionaries (Urry 1993:28, 39). The still existing journal *Anthropos*, however, started

[535] Several years later, also Br. Otto Mäder, Fr. Albert Schweiger, and Fr. Willibald Wanger published articles in *Anthropos*, mostly related to either linguistic or archaeological issues, "bushmanpaintings", "superstitions", or ethnographic topics, such as circumcision. Only Mayr and Müller published on objects.

[536] Schmidt never used derogative expressions like "superstition" in his pamphlet.

an era for the involvement and integration of Catholic missionaries in the professional anthropological project, which eventually culminated during the 1920s, when Schmidt was able to establish his own school of thought at the university of Vienna (Brandewie 1990, Rivinus 2005, Michaud 2007).

On 8 October 1908, Fritz Graebner published an article in the popular weekly journal *Globus—Illustrierte Zeitschrift für Länder- und Völkerkunde* (Graebner 1908). Next to the necessity of a new building for Berlin's ethnographic museum due to the rapid increase of its collections, Graebner discussed general problems he saw in the current practice of German ethnology, such as who should carry out research, and how. Even though Fritz Graebner and the director of the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, Willy Foy, were in an ongoing conversation with the Catholic priest and emerging ethnologist Fr. Wilhelm Schmidt at the time, and also published in the latter's journal *Anthropos*, Graebner clearly indicated in his article that he generally considered missionaries to be lay people, menial labour to the *trained* ethnologist, and therefore auxiliary to the professional sciences. Still years later, Graebner considered Schmidt as subjectively biased and accused him repeatedly of criticising those sources, which did not fit his theory (eg. Graebner 1911:39, 125). This disdain was indeed a mutual one, but apparently held at bay to maintain a working relationship (Marchand 2003:297, 302).

I suggest that unlike their texts, at least photographs and objects made and provided by missionaries were often evaluated positively by the wider scientific community. This hypothesis may be supported by a review in the issue of the journal *Globus*, preceding Graebner's earlier-mentioned article (1 October 1908). This anonymous review considered the publication compiled by Mariannhill's editors for its 25th anniversary in a very positive light (Frey 1907, cf. Chapter One). The author praised the "many exceptionally well-reproduced Kafir types" and indicated the value of those photographs depicting objects for ethnological study. These are in fact the vertical object displays Müller had photographed in 1906, and which he eventually republished once more in *Anthropos* in 1917/18 (cf. Chapter Five).

It is likely that Graebner came across this review while browsing issues preceding his own article.[537] As it was his opinion that ethnologists could not take on the great challenge of surveying all ethnographically relevant areas by themselves, they still had to rely—critically—on objects, testimonies, and photographs provided by missionaries and other colonial actors (Graebner 1908:215). Inspired by the review, Graebner must have ordered Mariannhill's jubilee publication for the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, which is still present in its library today.[538] He then must have approached Mariannhill explicitly for photographs. The museum's archive still holds one single letter, written by Br. Aegidius Müller to Fritz Graebner on 21 January 1910.[539]

[537] When read in the bound volume of 1908, the review precedes Graebner's article by only three pages.

[538] Graebner may also have read Müller's articles with photographs in *Anthropos* (1906, 1907), or even may have followed Von Luschan's correspondence with Müller between 1898 and 1899, while he had been assistant in Berlin.

[539] As noted on Müller's letter, Graebner had received it on 18. February and replied on 21. But no correspondence ever received by Müller remains in Mariannhill's archives. Their correspondence must have started in the course of 1909, considering that letters between South Africa and central Europe could travel for more than a month,

Next to 128 photographs[540], Müller also supplied Graebner with a printed catalogue for a collection of photographs, which he had originally compiled for Felix von Luschan more than ten years earlier.[541] Many of the photographs sent to Cologne, however, were produced after 1900 and differed considerably from the set that Von Luschan and several other museum ethnologists, such as Johannes D.E. Schmeltz in Leiden, or Henry Balfour in Oxford, had bought and partially used between 1898 and 1899. Including the acquisition of Mariannhill's photographs after 1904 by Stuttgart's Linden Museum, I will explore these occasions throughout this chapter, in order to evaluate the indicated shifts in the production, perception, and use of Mariannhill's photographs.

We realise that the arguments for and against the work of missionaries at times contradicted each other. It is therefore crucial to realise that the criticism listed here referred to missionaries' *ethnographic* work, not to their contributions in form of object collections and photographs. After all, these arguments were part of a discourse on the *quality* of knowledge that could be produced from either objects or photographs, or their combinations. While some missionaries thus eagerly embraced the ethnological and anthropological disciplines around 1900, Müller was satisfied with supplying material. He may have returned from Germany in 1897 with Von Luschan's (1896), or, more likely, with Seidel's (1897)[542] "instructions" to Mariannhill. Alternatively, they may have been sent by mail, in particular because Mariannhill was expanding into German East Africa by 1896. In fact, Von Luschan had written the first version of 1896 explicitly for research in German East Africa. These instructions must have also been the reason why Müller contacted the ethnographic museum of Berlin first.[543] He did not attend to every section of the instructions, but, as suggested in his letter to Von Luschan in 1898, he appropriated those categories which were easiest to depict in photographs. Before fully turning to Müller's and Von Luschan's correspondence, we need to evaluate the epistemological turn around 1900 within German ethnology regarding the interpretation of objects and photographs.

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and correspondents did usually not answer right away.

[540] RJM: letter, Müller to Graebner, 21.01.1910: Müller initially sent 196 photographs. Graebner only selected and payed for 128, and returned the rest. Today only 123 photographs remain in the archive of the RJM.

[541] The Mariannhill collection at the RJM was therefore not a part of the Küppers-Loosen collection, and was therefore not donated to the RJM in 1911, as stated by Edwards. Also the date provided by Edwards for Balfour's purchase of the Mariannhill collection is incorrect, which must have been 1899, not 1896 (see Edwards 2001:41).

[542] This is an elaboration of Von Luschan's first attempt of 1896, and at least in its title geared for use in the German colony of Togo.

[543] In his first letter to Von Luschan, Müller used the exact same postal address as suggested in Seidel (1897).

New Source Criticism between South Africa and Europe

In 1921, Mariannhill's Br. Otto Mäder published an essay titled "A Plea for More Method", as the very first article in the first issue of the new journal *Bantu Studies*.[544] His former confreres, Fr. Alfred T. Bryant and Fr. Willibald Wanger, had just unsuccessfully applied for the newly created chair of social anthropology in Cape Town, which was eventually given to Alfred Radcliffe-Brown (Schapera 1990:7).[545] The latter wrote the final article in the third issue of the same volume of *Bantu Studies* on "Problems with Bantu Sociology", as carried out in South Africa at the time (Radcliffe-Brown 1922). But unlike Mäder, Radcliffe-Brown disapproved of what he simply referred to as "the ethnological method",[546] and instead favoured a sociological and psychological approach, useful to ruling over South Africa's native population (1922:39). This apparent divide between Mäder, advertising pre-war German diffusionism and "*Kulturkreislehre*", and Radcliffe-Brown, proposing what would become structural-functionalism, can be seen as the first South African diversion of new directions in research and the sources they would rely on (cf. Stocking 1995, Zimmerman 2001). Photographs may still have had a clear purpose in the study of ethnology with a focus on "material culture" and "art", but social anthropology, sociology, and psychology with a focus on social relationships, had no explicit need for photographic visualisation.[547]

A part of Mäder's article was in fact a review of Fritz Graebner's study *Die Methode der Ethnologie* (1911). After it had immediately stirred some interest and critique in the international scientific community, Graebner's *Methode* eventually was read at Mariannhill, surely not only by Mäder. In the 1917/18 double volume of the journal *Anthropos*, Müller had re-published his

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544 We already know Mäder as painter of photographic studio backdrops, as linguist, as well as scholar of Bushman paintings from the last chapters. The journal *Bantu Studies and General South African Anthropology* was founded in 1921 and renamed *African Studies* in 1942. Mäder's contribution may have come about through introduction by A.T. Bryant, who was a member of the journal's "publication committee" (In 1940 Max Gluckman published his article "Analysis of a Social Situation in Modern Zululand" in this journal).

545 The report stated that "[t]he others were dismissed briefly. Bryant and Wanger, although authorities on the Zulu language and people, had had no training in anthropology" (paraphrased in Schapera 1990:7).

546 He considered the ethnological method as a "co-ordinated study of physical characters, language, and the various elements of culture, and with the help of such archaeological knowledge as is available, to reconstruct hypothetically the past history of a people in its main outlines". He considered this method as "interesting", but so far it had, according to him, also "attracted the dilettante and the speculator", while furthermore "this ethnological method does not often provide, and does not seem likely to provide, results that will be of any assistance to the administrator or the educator in the solution of the practical problems with which he is faced". He added that unlike the sociological and psychological methods, knowledge about the transfer and migration of culture elements "would give little help to the missionary who is wondering what will be the effect on the moral life of a Bantu people of an attempt to get rid of the custom of lobola" (Radcliffe-Brown 1922:39). As we shall see below, similar arguments about the political importance of ethnology and its usefulness for the colonial project have been made by German ethnologists around 1900. Radcliffe-Brown's aversion against the German *Kulturkreislehre* and Catholic missionaries may have been rooted in earlier quarrels with Fr. Wilhelm Schmidt in 1910 (Marchand 2003:302-303).

547 Br. Otto Mäder, for example, illustrated his articles on Bushmanpaintings in *Anthropos* with photographs, which had most likely been taken by Müller. Also see Haddon (1910) below on the national differences in research on material culture before the First World War. See Griffiths (2002) on Haddon's and Spencer's cinematic work.

annotated series of photographs with the new title "*Zur Materiellen Kultur der Kaffern*". As I explained in the last chapter, this new title focusing explicitly on "material culture", the additional photograph showing the act of production, the consideration of "art", as well as several modified captions, indicate Müller's thinking process since 1907 in relation to both his photographs and the objects they show.[548] Even if Müller did not rely on a close study of Graebner's work, he nevertheless followed the shift taking place in German ethnology. As a matter of fact, Müller and Graebner did carry out personal correspondence during the years 1909 and 1910, and indeed exchanged literature references. It is thus very likely that Graebner also informed Müller about the book he was about to publish.

In his 1921 review, Br. Otto Mäder considered Graebner as "the leading authority on ethnological questions", but also wrote that his method "might be adopted and developed", especially for Mäder's own interests in archaeology, comparative philology, and "bushman paintings". Following Graebner, Mäder suggested to consider the "strata" of ethnological material in their vertical and horizontal, thus temporal and spatial extensions. Mäder went on to suggest that "[a] further method of eliminating errors is the use of several independent series of observation". According to the general purpose of *Bantu Studies*, as stated in its first editorial,[549] Mäder proposed a form of "peer review", in order to improve cooperation between South African scholars. Co-publications by scholars working in the same region, so he thought, would generate better academic results.

As I will show in Chapter Seven, still by the late 1920s, the South African ethnologist Jacobus van Warmelo considered the research done on the ground as insufficient. As a consequence he mined earlier "ethnographic" work by missionaries, and also called upon non-professionals, such as Max Kohler at Centocow. In order to better comprehend the role played by missionaries and their photographs within the project of ethnology until this point in time, we now turn to the beginning of Graebner's career. It is an apt starting point, as it indicated not only an even earlier crucial shift in German ethnology regarding the use of photographs, but also a shift in the production of Mariannhill's photographs.

In April 1906, Fritz Graebner left his position as assistant under Felix von Luschan at the ethnographic museum of Berlin, where he had accessioned the object collection from Oceania since early 1899. Instead, he relocated to the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum in Cologne (RJM), which opened the doors of its new building to the public in November 1906. Here he was eventually employed as assistant curator in April 1907.[550] The museum was named after the

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[548] According to Hicks (2010:37), the term "material culture" was first employed in British social anthropology at about the same time and indicated a shift from the term "technology".

[549] "A considerable amount of information of a very valuable kind has been collected by missionaries, administrators and others. But the inadequacy of their training, which is often none other than that to be obtained from personal application and long residence in native areas, frequently results in the collection of data which need careful co-ordination by trained workers. It is intended that the publication of Bantu Studies shall serve as a clearing agency for this work".

[550] Trained as a historian, Graebner was an exception to his many colleagues of the previous generation, who had been trained as medical doctors (eg. Bastian, Virchow, Fritsch, Joest, Von Luschan etc.). Graebner became

explorer Wilhelm Joest—whom we already know from his visit to Mariannhill Monastery in 1883—and his sister Adele Rautenstrauch (cf. Chapter Three). After Joest's death in 1897, his sister had bequeathed his ethnographic collection to the city of Cologne, in combination with a substantial sum to build the museum and to employ a director. By 1909, the first director, Willy Foy (1873-1929), considered it to be the "most modern ethnological museum in entire Europe" (Foy 1909:4).[551]

In the eyes of Foy, part of this "modernity" was constituted by the use of the visual media he established in form of slide projections, and especially film projections during presentations,[552] picture postcards of the exhibition displays on sale for visitors, as well as photographs, drawings, maps, and especially stereoscopic images as illustrations in the exhibition (Foy 1909:63). Just after 1900, this development was enabled by the earlier mentioned shifts in popular photographic aesthetics and technology, reproduction and printing technologies, but also in the international photographic economy and related copyright laws. Foy hoped that these images would help to illustrate how non-Europeans used particular kinds of objects in their original environment (Foy 1910:109).[553] At the same time, images were virtually absent from the displays in the ethnographic museum of Berlin,[554] as its collection was notoriously overcrowded, partially due to the museum's monopoly in acquiring objects from the German colonies. Nevertheless, even beyond 1900, due to its size, many contemporary scholars considered the ethnographic museum of Berlin to be the most important museum of its kind worldwide.

Some curators at the time hoped to find a solution for the problem of space by separating the object collection into a "*Schausammlung*" for common visitors, and a "*wissenschaftliche Sammlung*" for local and visiting scientists.[555] In opposition to Berlin's jumble, accumulated over several decades, Cologne initially had far lesser objects. This was also due to the fact that it was explicitly designed as an *ethnological* museum, unlike the museum in Berlin, which also included archaeological and European collections. Cologne's objects were thus easier to present in an accessible and visitor-friendly exhibition. While Von Luschan in Berlin was at least theoretically and reluctantly considering possible forms of a "*Schausammlung*" that would only contain a few replicas and photographs (Von Luschan 1905), Foy and Graebner strongly opposed the idea of spatial separation (Graebner 1908, Foy 1909). Instead, they arranged objects of each continent according to an alleged hierarchy of "development", beginning with Australia, along New Guinea, Oceania, Northern America, Africa, the Near East, India, Indonesia, eventually culminating in East-Asia as being equal to Europe. As Penny argued, this brought the displays in close proximity to evolutionist ideals, despite Graebner's outspoken anti-evolutionary stance

director of the RJM in 1925, but had to retire already by 1928, due to a chronic illness (Leser 1977).

551 For the only exisitng (but somewhat sketchy) history of the RJM's beginnings, see Pützstück (1995).

552 Apart from images, phonographic recordings and film screenings were presented to interested visitors during particular days of the week.

553 See Coombes (1994:146-147) for a similar contemporary practice by Balfour at the Pitt Rivers Museum.

554 See the various photographs of pre- and post-1918 exhibition-spaces in Krieger and Koch (1973).

555 This division was only realised with new museum buildings after 1923 in Berlin-Dahlem (Saalmann 2016, Westphal-Hellbusch 1973:32).

(Penny 2003:112-114).

Occurring between the two museums in Berlin and Cologne, Penny (2002, 2003), Smith (1991) and Zimmerman (2001) diagnosed a shift in Germany's institutionalised ethnology, which emerged with the new generation of ethnologists by the first years of the 20th century. This shift was initiated by the papers presented by Fritz Graebner and Bernhard Ankermann at a meeting of the Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte (BGAEU) in 1904.[556] The generation of Graebner, Foy, and the africanist Ankermann in Berlin started to approach their sources in a different way. Instead of continuing to collect as many objects as possible, and leaving the *inductive* analysis to later generations, as suggested by the first director of Berlin's ethnographic museum, Adolf Bastian (Penny 2002:164), Graebner and his colleagues heralded the idea to eventually form theories, which turned towards *deduction*. As Zimmerman puts it:

> The new method allowed curators to situate artifacts in historical narratives, rather than cataloguing them, and to organize displays that communicated with the public more effectively than the simple massing of material in glass cases that Bastian had advocated. […] In fact, only when the public returned to anthropology by visiting the museum of ethnology did anthropologists receive impetus to reground their discipline and transform it from a fact-collecting to a knowledge-producing enterprise (2001:213).

In addition, Penny (2002, 2003) stresses the growing importance of ideas on prestige and education within municipal strategies, which also motivated museum directors to make their exhibitions more accessible and visitor-friendly. As I have already shown in the last chapter, a similar development occurred at Mariannhill's museum, from its setup in 1894, to exhibitions held at and near Mariannhill, just before and after the First World War. While the museum at Mariannhill grew and became overcrowded, exhibitions held elsewhere could be curated much easier and more effectively.

This change also clearly expressed itself in the use of terminology. The German-speaking discourse employed the terms "*ethnographisch*", "*ethnologisch*", and "*völkerkundlich*" inconsistently before and after 1900, in order to address the profession at large and museums in particular. Even before 1900, "*Ethnographie*" was rendered as "*beschreibende* [descriptive] *Völkerkunde*", and "*Ethnologie*" as "*vergleichende* [comparative] *Völkerkunde*". Nevertheless, eminent scholars like Adolf Bastian (eg. 1894) and still Fritz Graebner (eg. 1908) used the terms "*ethnographische Museen*" and "*ethnologische Museen*" alternately—even within the very same essay.[557] These terms were applied synonymously with "*völkerkundliche Museen*". Some scholars at the time addressed this confusion of terminology explicitly (eg. Richter 1906-1910, Winternitz 1900). After the foundation of Cologne's Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum in 1906, Willy Foy, thus explicitly considered his museum as "*ethnological*", as he had introduced didactic exhibition

[556] Only after a few years it was referred to as a "systematically planned revolution" (Schmidt 1911:1010). Graebner himself claimed this shift retrospectively in his own "History of Ethnology" (1923).

[557] Also Gustav Fritsch used both "*ethnologische Photographie*" and "*ethnographische Photographie*" inconsistently in his instructions (1875, 1888, 1906).

with the intention to *theorise* on collections (Foy 1909:V, 53).[558]

During the time of his correspondence with Mariannhill, Graebner was working on his book *Die Methode der Ethnologie*, which was eventually published in 1911 in close collaboration with, and an introduction by the museum's director Willy Foy.[559] The book was immediately criticised internationally (eg. Boas 1911, Haberlandt 1912), but also appreciated by others (eg. Haddon 1912, Hartland 1914). Still recently it was considered as the first serious attempt to supply the emerging discipline of ethnology with a structured and foremost a critical approach to its materials and sources (Striedter 2001, Johansen 1992). Retrospectively, some still consider it "a classic" (Barnard 2000:51) or even as the "bible of German diffusionism" (Gaillard 2004:44). In 1910, Alfred C. Haddon in Cambridge evaluated the state of research by saying that "the objects made by man have only recently been subjected to critical study. In this the archaeologists have been in advance of the ethnologists. The distribution of objects and its significance have been studied more in Germany than elsewhere, and already afford promising results" (Haddon 1910:154).

Graebner and Foy, together with Ankermann in Berlin, developed a new agenda by applying the methodology of history to ethnology,[560] followed suit by Fr. Wilhelm Schmidt. They built on the work of Leo Frobenius and Friedrich Ratzel to develop the idea of the so-called "*Kulturkreislehre*" (cf. Zimmerman 2001:207), which posited clearly circumscribed "culture circles", characterised by particular manifestations of religious, economic and political features, as well as the use of particular objects. They argued that these "culture circles" could be mapped out by tracing the "diffusion" of such manifestations in space and eventually in time. Therefore, scholars following these ideas were usually referred to as "diffusionists" and the study itself also as "*Kulturgeschichte*" or "cultural history". The critics of Graebner's work concentrated on the differences in interpretation of evidence as referring to either the distribution and diffusion of cultural phenomena, or their parallel development independently in different places. The latter was commonly referred to as "convergence [*Konvergenz*]". Unlike Graebner, Felix von Luschan was known to have rooted for "convergence", and I will accordingly discuss his interpretation of Mariannhill's photographs within this divide in the next section.

Like Von Luschan, Graebner is one of the benchmarks[561] that allow us to better understand

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[558] I thus follow Penny (2002) in referring to the museums as "ethnographic" (due to their ongoing focus on collection and inventory) and to the practitioners dealing with objects as "ethnologists". Zimmerman instead glosses German institutions and practitioners as "anthropological" and "anthropologists". The latter approach may be misleading regarding the contemporary German discipline of "physical anthropology" (also see Penny and Bunzl 2003:1).

[559] Still in 1909/1910 Foy and Graebner had planned to co-author this very book with the much broader title *Begriff, Aufgaben und Methode der Ethnologie* (*Concept, Purposes and Method of Ethnology*) as the first issue of a massive publication series called *Ethnologische Bibliothek - Kulturgeschichtliche Bibliothek* (cf. Foy 1910:15). Only very few titles of this series were eventually published.

[560] Graebner (1911) often relied on Ernst Bernheim's *Lehrbuch der Historischen Methode und der Geschichtsphilosophie* (1908 [1889]).

[561] For an analysis of Graebner's position within contemporary ethnology see for example Zimmerman (2001:201-216).

the role of Mariannhill's photographs as source material for the ethnological community. Just like Von Luschan, Graebner never carried out long-term fieldwork. Nevertheless, he was not only involved in reshaping the public side of exhibition-making in ethnological museums, but also theorised on the use of sources in academic work. Under the rubric "source criticism [*Quellenkritik*]", § 11. of his *Methode der Ethnologie*, Graebner discussed the value of photographs together with phonographic recordings as a "special group of sources" for ethnological research, which I here translate in its entirety:

> § 11. A special group of sources, a product exceptional to the modern time, is constituted by phono-, and photographic recordings and the reproductions based on them. They do not represent the appearances themselves, but replace the medium of the human psyche with the medium of the lifeless apparatus and therefore cannot be conceptually considered as immediate witnesses. They nevertheless approximate the latter methodologically in terms of the objectivity of representation. This approximation is made apparent through a comparison with the ways of recording in earlier times, such as melodies being jotted down from hearing, or hand-drawings and -paintings. Regarding the latter category I can only remind you of those Polynesians, whom the travel writings of Cook and his contemporaries presented in a classical way through the way how they drew the bodily stature and the arrangement of the clothing's folds. Of course, also in the presentation of phono- and photographic recordings, the mental element cannot be entirely excluded. It shows itself particularly through the possibility of retouching, and with phonograms in potential mistakes when choosing the correct rotational speed. This may cause errors not only with the absolute pitch, but even more importantly, with the tempo. The most crucial errors, however, exist with the nature of the recording devices themselves: the photographic camera may often represent the form of objects with a considerable distortion, and even the best of today's phonographs and gramophones are not capable of reproducing the phonetic value and the tone colour in an entirely correct manner. All these errors and possibilities for mistakes have to be taken into consideration in a critical way, and they have to be deducted if necessary, in order to make the correct essence of the sources emerge [*um…herauszuschälen*]. (Graebner 1911:54)

Photographs and phonographic recordings appear in the book's index under the heading "objectivity". Like written accounts, Graebner considered photographs as "mediate [*mittelbar*] witnesses", as opposed to "immediate [*unmittelbar*] witnesses", such as ethnographic objects (also see Zimmerman 2001:209). In the former case, Graebner perceived an object or subject as being *mediated* by a photograph. In the latter case, he considered an object as a *direct* expression, thus an actual part of the culture under study. Like the practitioner and guiding intellectual force in the field of photography, Hermann Vogel (cf. Chapter One), Graebner as historian, ethnologist, and museum curator was apparently aware of a photograph's constructed nature, and accordingly pointed out its pitfalls.

Like most of his colleagues at the time, Graebner recognised the medium's technological shortcomings, such as potential distortions and the possibility of retouching, but he did not explicitly acknowledge or question the epistemic quality and value of photographs in his writings, as far as their "theatricality" was concerned (cf. Chapters One and Two). Graebner also does not consider that photographs are as much an expression of the social relationship of photographers and their subjects, as much as the objects produced or collected during their interactions. What Graebner suggested instead as an approach to photographs approximated a "mechanical objectivity" (photographs being superior to drawings). But at the same time he

incorporated what Daston and Galison (2007) termed "trained judgement".[562] As I explained in Chapter One with Br. Aegidius Müller, these "epistemic virtues" could well exist next to each other (ibid.:318). Therefore, according to Graebner and others, a particular ethnological training was considered necessary to *analyse* photographs after 1900, but apparently no ethnographic training was considered necessary to *produce* them in field situations.

In *theory* this meant for Graebner that, despite the lack of ethnographic training with missionaries,[563] their photographic observations could still be trusted and used: Graebner considered a big part of the interpretation to be with the judgement of the trained ethnologist. In his *Methode*, Graebner wrote many pages about the fact that ethnographic objects could be forged, and what skills were needed to recognise the forgery. But he did not discuss the possibility whether the same could apply to photographs. As accounts like Graebner's are mainly theoretical, without concrete examples, we need to ask how ethnologists and missionaries approached photographs in *practice*; for example in relation to their preferences for either "diffusion" or "convergence".[564] We need to know, not only how they discussed epistemic qualities of photographs, but also how they facilitated and reasoned their use in either publications or exhibitions, in correspondence, and even beyond this, as a part of public and academic social relationships.

Pels (2014) tracks a parallel transition for the development of intersubjectivity in British social anthropology, following Daston and Galison's "epistemic virtues". Around 1900, anthropologists invoked "native categories" to establish ethnographic authority, while after the 1970s, a self-reflexive stance towards scholarly authority became essential part of anthropological practice. Apparently, at the same time around 1900, expertise, training, and skills became an issue in the conversations between German ethnologists and missionaries. Ethnologists indeed urged missionaries and other colonial actors in the earlier-mentioned instructions not only to record phenomena, but also to provide designations in local languages, as well as to explain and position them against each other in their most "typical" forms. At the same time, they hardly considered the social relationships missionaries had with their subjects (intersubjectivity), which after all preconditioned the collection of information. This could express itself in the kinds of objects that were selected, or the people who were chosen (or chose) to be photographed (cf. Pels 2014:217). However, missionaries' main interest was in the conversion of people, and not in the conservation of all of these peoples' objects. Instead they often focused on those, which could service their own arguments, such as the ones we have identified earlier as "converted artifacts" (Chapter Five).

We already know from the previous chapters how missionaries depended on photographs.

[562] Hicks apparently observes a more drastic shift in this regard in the study of "technology" towards "material culture" in British social anthropology (2010:37).

[563] A training which was demanded, but still hard to facilitate, as ethnology was marginalised at the universities until the 1920s (Grosse 1896, Westphal-Hellbusch 1969). Also Graebner himself, a historian by training, had gathered his expertise in practice at Berlin's ethnographic Museum under Von Luschan.

[564] The same opinion had already been expressed in the 1892 edition of the British *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* (Stocking 2001a:178).

In the next section I further explore if and how ethnologists depended on both missionaries and their photographs. Through a description of this relationship I hope to show that the ethnographic activities of Mariannhill Missionaries around 1900 were indeed intentional and never incidental, but must still be considered as auxiliary to the work of ethnologists.

Working Objects

It is only against the backdrop of the previous three sections that we can understand the changes in perception occurring in the scientific arena around 1900. In the remaining three sections I shall describe such perceptions and how users of Mariannhill's photographs employed them in concrete situations, either in direct correspondence with the monastery, or independently.

On 23 August 1898, Albert Grünwedel (1856-1935), at the time assistant director of Berlin's ethnographic museum, eventually replied to Müller's letter by stating that he should send "preferably whole figures, generally entire image bodies, but not of singular objects (houseware, weapons), which are not handled or treated by people, and which are therefore only photographed as 'still lifes'. Such things would be of little use to us, […]".[565] Müller countered by responding that "we have to remark that especially with these images [bust-length portraits], physiognomic features of the face come to the fore".[566] He thus knowingly indicated their value for studies in physical anthropology, once more showing awareness of potential expectations in Germany. As curator of an ethnographic museum, however, Grünwedel demanded photographs that focused on the use of objects.[567] He therefore did not want photographs of either bodies or objects in isolation. Apart from the publications by Fritsch, German and British instructions for photographing ethnographic and anthropological specimens at the time, usually did not discriminate between ethnography and physical anthropology (cf. in chronological order: Im Thurn 1893:195, Neuhauss 1894:18, Portman 1896:77, Haddon 1899:239-240). Even if not excluding photographs of isolated objects, all authors preferred "objects-in-use", or photographs of objects "*in situ*", as Im Thurn called it.[568] One reason for Grünwedel's request may thus have been that the museum already had many South African objects in storage. Therefore one already thought to know what the majority of objects looked like. Now one needed to know how they were used after all.

After Müller had sent seven images as a preview, it was Felix von Luschan, Berlin's assistant Africa curator,[569] who replied instead of Grünwedel. He stated that only with proper descriptions of the depicted objects, the collection would be of any value to him. He then went on to probe for information in several of the seven photographs in relation to the purpose and names of weapons, instruments, and adornment. Objects—not physiognomic characteristics—seemed to be his only interest. He contrasted the visual details he could gather from Müller's photographs to his own previous knowledge—testing the information: apart from asking for the indigenous name of a small shield held by a man posing with it in addition to a spear in a

[565] EMB: letter, Grünwedel to Müller, 23.08.1898. Original underscore.

[566] EMB: letter, Müller to Grünwedel, 08.10.1898.

[567] Grünwedel's regions of expertise were India and Tibet. His requests to Müller were therefore likely based on a common policy regarding photographs handled at the museum, not on a personal interest.

[568] By focusing on the British *Notes and Queries*, Stocking (2001a:181) dates this shift only to the edition of 1912.

[569] Von Luschan was "*Directorial-Assistent*" for Africa and Oceania between 1886 and 1904, when he became director for the same department (Stelzig 2004:89). For a comprehensive evaluation of Von Luschan's biography and work see the edited volume by Ruggendorfer and Szemethy (2009).

fighting position, he inquired whether it "was indeed part of the typical war equipment [*Kriegsausrüstung*] of most Kafirs". "Previously", so he wrote, "one only has described such small shields to us as toys for children". He then inquired whether the spear was used for stabbing or for throwing. In a second case he wanted to know whether "the musical instrument in the hand of a women indeed appears often in Natal, or whether it may have been only displaced [*verschleppt*] there occasionally". He again supported this claim with background information, writing that "until now, similar [instruments] are only known to us from Madagascar and from the area North of the Zambezi". He repeated the need for the exact indigenous names for each photographed item several times, and in a third case complained about the overexposure of a photograph. As the received one made it impossible to study details properly, Von Luschan asked for a brighter copy. Regarding yet a fourth photograph, he asked for the specific material of long reeds, which the depicted man wore as adornment through his pierced ears.

Von Luschan's questions thus related to five distinct object ontologies: their indigenous designations; their authenticity (the "real thing" or a replica as toy?); their origins and distribution; the exact modes of their use; and the materials they were made of. In addition to his goal to collect as much material as possible, Von Luschan at the same time indeed attempted more than basic documentation. In regard to the third point, he was apparently concerned about where particular objects originated, and considered the possibility of a parallel development in different places. Even if he was not known to have ever theorised extensively, like his younger colleagues in Cologne, he employed the idea of "convergence [*Konvergenz*]" to the occurrence of particular object classes throughout his publications between 1902, 1910, and eventually most explicitly in 1918 (Six-Hohenbalken 2009:165). Apparently, also in this case he was interested whether an item may have been brought in from elsewhere, or occurred there independently. He considered photographs as an opportunity to tackle such questions, however, only by using them as "working objects" in the correspondence with the maker of the photographs (cf. Introduction Chapter Six). The identity and agency of photographed users and makers of objects was not important to Von Luschan, and neither was the relation of both to the missionaries. He was not interested in the photographs' "backstories" prior to entering his archive, but considered both photographed subjects and objects as objective types.

Eventually, Von Luschan ordered the entire photographic set on offer, under the condition that he should be able to return those photographs "without any ethnographic interest". In response, Müller insisted that "all images have an ethnographic interest, at the most one could criticise that some objects are repeated throughout the images in yet another form".[570] In the explanations, which he eventually provided in his catalogue for each image, he wrote that the small shields indeed were not only used by boys, but also by young men, when going for a walk or when courting. Regarding the distribution of the musical instrument, he replied that it indeed appears in entire Natal. Also for the adornment of the ear, he noted that it is in fact a cornstalk. He presented such details for most of the altogether 113 descriptions, as a direct response to Von

[570] EMB: letter, Müller to Von Luschan, 02.03.1899. My own translation from the German original.

Luschan's inquiry (Müller 1899). Effectively, Müller and Von Luschan *negotiated* what it meant for objects and photographs to be "ethnographic".

The photographs in the final compilation sent to Berlin had been taken between 1891 and 1897, while nine of these had been culled from a foreign collection compiled during the 1870s and 1880s (Gros 1888). The remaining 104 photographs can be distinguished as 29 full-length portraits of individuals and groups, 25 bust portraits of single individuals, 30 photographs of distinct activities (either posed or unposed)[571], nine landscape views, six displays of museum objects, and five photographs of rock art.[572] Of the 48 portraits[573] with less than four sitters, 26 are of women, 19 are of men, and three of children. Eight photographs show interactions with either a Trappist brother or priest. Despite all previous concerns, Von Luschan apparently accepted all of these photographs as "ethnographic", as he did not return any of them. This even included photographs showing mission activities, such as an emergency baptism (Figure 47), or the photograph of a father handing his child to a Trappist lay brother for education. Without further questions, Von Luschan even ordered 16 additional photographs of the harvest feast in East Griqualand, which I discussed in Chapter One (Figures 33 and 34).

Von Luschan and Müller carried out a conversation as interlocutors with particular expertise, resources, and interests: the scholarly anthropologist/ethnologist and museum curator with financial resources obtained photographs and related data from the mission's photographer/"ethnographer"[574] in dire need of money, but with access to interesting material and a perceived experience to contextualise it. This conversation took place over a great spatial, as well as professional distance, which did not seem to allow in-depth discussion. Just like Graebner in 1910, Von Luschan never inquired about the circumstances of photographic production. The question whether the photographs were staged or snapshots did apparently not matter to him. It seems that both could pass as "authentic" representations. Nevertheless, he indeed scrutinised the depicted objects' "authenticity" in terms of their "ethnographic" value, either in relation to their employment and use, or in relation to their origin.

However, as we learned in Chapter One, the question of the photographs' authenticity did indeed come up in the correspondence regarding an extended series of "snapshots [*Momentaufnahmen*]", depicting the visit to a first-fruits festival. Here, Müller explicitly indicated that these snapshots differed from his other photographs regarding their epistemological value. But we also know that Von Luschan himself staged photographs for the

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571 These can therefore also be considered as genre scenes (cf. Chapter One).

572 While none of these can be dated exactly, at least one of the paintings is applied on the inside wall of a mud-plastered hut ("*Löwen in einer Basutohütte*"), and must therefore have been of a more recent date.

573 Of which nine had been taken inside the photographic studio.

574 Strictly speaking one may question Müller's identity as either "missionary" or "ethnographer/ethnologist". He held no religious title by 1899 (in fact, he was not even a lay brother any longer, despite the fact that he kept his religious title and name) and had no academic education. Therefore he was neither in a position to either actively convert people (eg. by baptising them), nor was he in a position, as Graebner and others would have it, to describe them ethnographically in an adequate way. But apparently—in practice—even lay people could carry out an emergency baptism, and even lay people were accepted as providers of ethnographic information, objects, and photographs, given these were then evaluated adequately by a trained ethnologist.

sake of presenting particular objects with the help of models (cf. Zimmerman 2001, Stelzig 2004:335). Even though Von Luschan's successor, Bernhard Ankermann, was against this practice (Stelzig 2004:229), it was still accepted, and even encouraged in German ethnological literature after the Second World War, if necessary (Bernatzik 1947:33-34). It thus appears that ethnologists at the time did not mind a staged photograph, as long as it allowed to perceive the "typical" way of how objects were used, and where they came from. Once more, like with Fritsch and Graebner, the "trained judgement", based on comparative evidence and earlier experience, thus seems to have been sufficient to ethnologists at the time, in order to tell these things apart.

Even though Von Luschan was a medical doctor and a proponent of physical anthropology, as the curator of an ethnographic collection he never broached the subject of physiognomic images, perhaps understanding the reason for their absence at Mariannhill. The photographers of Mariannhill initially never followed the contemporary aesthetics of physiognomic photography in the first half of the 1890s, but rather engaged semi-profiles in accordance with contemporary portrait conventions in European photo studios, which however resembled the physiognomic styles (cf. Figure 79). Even if Müller indicated the photographs' potential to be used in physiognomic analysis to Grünwedel, it remains open whether this was initially a conscious decision taken by his predecessors Leyendecker and Fresen. They had made several of the photographs, which Müller sold to museums in 1899.[575]

The semi-profile view thus had the advantage that it could be put to multiple uses: among others, the image of Umdamane (Figure 79) was eventually used in works such as the *Naturgeschichte des Menschen: Grundriss der Somatischen Anthropologie* by Carl H. Stratz (1904:341).[576] Stratz, who sourced several photographs from the ethnographic museum of Leiden, obviously considered it suitable to illustrate his descriptions of the physiognomy of Natal Africans, and thus to "fixate types", as demanded by Virchow and Bastian since 1872 (see above). Umdamane's portrait is identified as "the head of an elderly Kafir", as a "typical Negro face", with a "broad and clearly circumscribed nose, bulging and raised lips, dark, smooth skin, and frizzy hair, which feels hard to the touch" (Stratz 1904:340). This is an astoundingly

[575] The portrait convention of close-up semi-profiles ("*en face*"), can for example be traced back to the studio of Leyendecker's father in Bernkastel during the 1870s and 80s (cf. Chapter One).

[576] Stratz (1858-1924) was a widely-travelled Russian-German gynaecologist turned anthropologist. He lived in The Hague since the 1880s, and was in frequent correspondence with Schmeltz in Leiden and Fritsch in Berlin. Since 1902, he was a member of the BGAEU. He eventually became (in-)famous for his many publications, all heavily illustrated with photographs of nude women. For discussions and critiques of Stratz's work, see for example Theye (1989b:98-99) and Stoler (1995). Also see my discussion below. Not all curators who bought Mariannhill's photographs did eventually use them for their own purposes and projects. Schmeltz for example only created encyclopaedic stocks of photographs, where others—like Stratz—would draw from (cf. Edwards 1992:4 and 2001). Stratz considered photographs as straightforward "objective evidence": "[Physical] anthropology [*Anthropologie*] is a very young discipline. It received a mighty support through the high development of photography in the last decades, so that the discipline is now in a better position to collect material as objective evidence [*objektives Beweismaterial zu sammeln*]. In this book, great emphasis has been given to work with photographs as much as possible. The competent editor Mr. Alfred Enke conscientiously took care of their reproduction" (Stratz 1904, preface).

deductive observation and generalisation based merely on a photograph, considering the fact that Stratz himself had never touched Umdamane's skin or hair. But eventually, the flexibility of this photograph—in contrast to a rigid, frontal or profile portrait "à la Fritsch"—allowed it to be published at the same time next to romantic mission stories in Mariannhill's propaganda periodicals (Figure 102).

While Mariannhill's photographers produced a considerable number of bust portraits in semi-profile ("*en face*") during the 1890s, there is not one to be found in the photographic collection of Mariannhill that was made after 1900.[577] Depicting sitters at full- or sometimes half-length instead, Müller's photographs acquired even greater potential for flexibility and narrative quality. This allowed him to better present visual narratives in form of conventional "genre photographs" (cf. Chapter One), according to his study of German photographic instructions and journals. Due to compositions of an aesthetic tradition, comparable to genre photographs involving the earlier described *tableaux vivants,* these photographs could accommodate even more interpretations for different interests.

Figure 120, for example, was described in one of the mission's albums plainly as "two men in native dress". Alternatively, Müller captioned the same photograph as "two spies" on the outlook for enemies, playing on the stereotype of the Zulu's warlike nature. In the first instance of inscription, however, Müller had presented the true identity of the two men on various glass plate negatives: they were Bulawayo, whom he had earlier photographed in his studio (Figure 96), and Umviyane, both two younger brothers of *Inkhosi* Lokothwayo, photographed around 1905. Possibly in order to provide "ethnographic" content, Müller used the anonymous identification of the two men as "spies" when sending the image to Fritz Graebner in 1910. This general shift, from half-length to full-length portraits, was an outcome of Müller's reception of contemporary pictorial photography and genre painting and photography, and possibly also of his conversations with Von Luschan and other ethnologists around 1899. Both photographic conventions, "genre photography" and "ethnographic photography", were highly compatible in their attempt to portray a scenic and particularly "typical" version of "[t]he daily life of the natives".[578]

[577] In case they were published as such after 1900, they had often been cropped.

[578] "*Das tägliche Leben der Eingeborenen*", as demanded by Seidel with the heading of one subsection in his instructions for collection (1897:12).

Figure 120: original caption: "*Zwei Spione*"—"Two Spies", approx. 1905 (Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum, Cologne, 2235).

The production of photographic knowledge at Mariannhill was thus once more closely connected to textual instructions, like those of photographic aesthetics in Part One, and tourist guidebooks in Part Two. Through the preliminary reading of research instructions, the missionaries adjusted knowledge to the needs of German ethnologists in an auxiliary mode. Photographs of people and objects were easy to produce and—other than material "ethnographic" objects—they were even easier to re-produce. For scholars like Von Luschan in Europe, they could at times literally re-place objects and subjects for scientific inquiry (cf. Theye 1989b:67, also see Edwards 2001) as "working objects". The claim that the photographs conveyed either "ethnographic" or "anthropological" information could also be made once the image had already been taken, even if it had originally been made to constitute an exotic experience for the purpose of Catholic propaganda.

Within this particular "culture of circulation" (Lee and LiPuma 2002), Mariannhill's photographs thus gathered value, partially as authenticating illustrations, but also as "working objects" (Daston and Galison 2007). Müller even explicitly compiled the photographs in his ethnographic set in order to be used as such. He advised both Von Luschan in Berlin and Schmeltz in Leiden that the photographs would have to be properly mounted on a carrier, and only by a professional photographer. Only in such a way, he argued, they could develop their full potential for the production of knowledge. He also indicated that he had designed the accompanying booklet (1899) in such a way that the respective descriptions could be cut out and pasted onto the back or underneath the mounted photographs. In this way, each photograph could be used and handled as an individual object that contained both visual and textual information. Schmeltz did indeed follow this advice.

Eventually, it had been the photographs' initial purpose for propaganda, which prompted their high aesthetic quality. This had been achieved through careful posing of sitters, the arrangement and lighting of objects, retouching of negatives, as well as a composition according to contemporary aesthetic principles. As a consequence, the photographs were also successful in enticing museum curators, who generally praised the images in their reply letters. Even though Müller's ethnographic set eventually contained several of the bust portraits and object displays, which Grünwedel had hoped to avoid, Von Luschan wrote to Müller that "[…] these images surpassed our expectations by far. They are indeed very instructive, and constitute an important supplement to every great ethnographic collection".[579] When offering his photographs to Schmeltz in Leiden, Müller even used the positive feedback he had received from Von Luschan, as well as the one by Max Bartels, secretary of the BGAEU and archivist of the societies photographic collection. Müller introduced both feedbacks with the headline "competent judgements on our photographs":[580] Bartels had written that "[…] after I had presented my collection of your photographs during yesterday's board meeting, we decided to ask you to send

[579] EMB: letter, Von Luschan to Müller, 04.11.1898.
[580] "*Urteile über unsere Bilder von competenter Seite*".

your entire collection".[581] Either because Schmeltz knew his two Berlin colleagues well, and trusted their judgement, or because he indeed saw value in the photographs himself, he too bought the entire set without further questions. Müller had by now turned his offer into a standardised letter—handwritten and then lithographed—with the same two recommendations from Berlin on the verso. The fact that he had made the effort to reproduce his letter mechanically indicates that he intended a wide distribution. While thus referencing the already traversed part of the newly established network, he advertised his set with other potential buyers:[582] Müller was in the process of making Von Luschan's network into his own.

Once the photographs entered storage in the archive, both at Berlin and Leiden, they were once more evaluated and considered with praise (and in fact certified scientifically) in the annual reports, as "of great importance for ethnography"[583] in Leiden, and as "very important" in Berlin.[584] It was however never argued why they were considered important and potentially exceptional at the time, neither in the letters to Müller, nor in the published annual reports. As the second public evaluations were as positive as the original ones directed at Müller personally, it appears unlikely that Von Luschan, Bartels, and Schmeltz only attempted to flatter Mariannhill's photographer, and so to maintain a contact and source in South Africa. On first impression, all curators were truly convinced of the photographs' quality, regarding both their appearance and content. However, Christine Stelzig indeed identified such enthusiastic formulations in Berlin's annual reports as being at least in part a justification for new acquisitions in a competition for funds with other Berlin museums (2004:253). Professional judgements and evaluations of Mariannhill's photographs must therefore be considered with this information in mind.

Mariannhill's photographers used styles that enabled the easy employment of their photographs in different contexts, and therefore produced what I would call multi-purpose photographs. In this regard it is possible to draw a comparison with Mariannhill's museum: the photographic collection and the museum collection were both very diverse regarding the audiences they addressed; both were also highly eclectic in terms of the materials they collected, as well as the methods they employed to do so; eventually both collections experienced very opportunistic ways of employment. While photographs may have been intended to constitute something like "immutable mobiles" in the sense of Latour (1990), some were indeed rather mutable: as I shall explain in the next section, some photographs were mutable not only regarding interpretations applied to them historically, but also in their form and materiality. Once certain cultural markers were established, however, photographs could indeed establish photographic traditions.

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581 NMVW: letter, Müller to Schmeltz, 11.07.1899. My own translation from the German original.

582 A letter identical to the one sent to Leiden can for example be found at the University Library of Jena, pasted into one of Müller's booklets (1899). He may have sent it to the curator of the University's ethnographic collection at the time.

583 "*Van groot belang voor de etnografie*" (Schmeltz 1899).

584 "*Ferner wurde eine sehr wichtige, über 100 Nummern betragende Sammlung von den Trappisten in Mariannhill in Natal käuflich erworben*" (Virchow 1899:742).

Photographic Traditions and Transformations

It is apparent that there were many uncertainties in the process of knowledge production based on Mariannhill's photographs. Indeed, the missionaries initially had rather little expert knowledge of the objects they collected and the people they portrayed. Whenever the photographs became disconnected from the knowledge of the original occasion, the respective user needed to source knowledge on the photographs elsewhere, and occasionally introduced photographically established ethnographic traditions. In the remaining two sections I will retrace some of these traditions.

Only after von Luschan's request to provide written explanations, Müller replied that he had returned to respective homesteads in early 1899. As he and his predecessors had taken some of the photographs several years earlier, he had to research the names and nature of the depicted objects:

> For the reason of his manifold obligations, the signed photographer could only devote a minor part of his time to the necessary investigations; and it required several visits to the kraal huts of knowledgeable Kafirs, in order to finally separate the generally correct from the often contradictory information. The reason for this is the fact that even the most extensive dictionaries of the Kafir language contain only few designations for the beadwork adornments of the Kafir; and even for these few words, a precise and correct definition is lacking.
> […] The price we demand is in fact so low (50 M for 100 images) that one cannot speak of an actual profit [*Verdienst*], considering the expenses for the production of such photographs. We are content if only we come out even, especially in the interest of our extensive mission, which has recently also founded filial stations in East Africa. Once your excellency [*Hochwohlgeboren*] has received the images and the commentary, you will be assured that the signed [photographer] considers it as an honour to support scientific endeavours, as far as it is in the range of his weak powers […].[585]

Müller claimed not to be in for the profit while dealing on this academic market. Instead, he claimed to have devoted his time and labour to science freely as an auxiliary. However, as I have shown in Chapter Three, the prices handled at Mariannhill—and likewise demanded in this instance—were well in tune with the increasing prices on the commercial market for photographs in Europe at the time. Müller also did not present his research on and with the photographs as an outcome of mission work, but as a special and independent effort. He created value by expanding the transaction beyond the direct exchange with Von Luschan, by involving the non-commercial idea of science. He more or less disguised the photographs as gifts, thus inducing Von Luschan to compensate. At the same time, Müller used the opportunity to point to the mission's activities and its recent expansion to German East Africa between 1896 and 1897. As I already explained, Abbot Amandus Schölzig made this initiative to foster positive relationships with colonial lobbyists. Also Von Luschan's original instructions (1896) had been crafted for this particular German colony, thus showing his particular interest at the time.

Unlike other Catholic missionaries in the years to come, Müller never became a full member of the scientific community. The correspondence clearly shows that Müller and his

[585] EMB: letter, Müller to von Luschan, 02.03.1899. My own translation from the German original.

predecessors had not taken the photographs with either scholarly interest or method. The exchanges he participated in were effectually commercially directed, and initially not motivated by a personal interest in the creation of ethnographic knowledge beyond the mere exotic. He therefore only discovered the Zulu name of, for example, Umdamane's choker of beads and leopard claws (*umgexo wamazipo engwe*), as well as Umdamane's social identity and place of residence during his inquiries in early 1899 (cf. Chapter Five). Eventually, in response to Von Luschan's request, Müller produced the aforementioned booklet (1899) with concise descriptions of all photographs. Later he also provided it as added value to other buyers, such as Schmeltz, Balfour, and Graebner.

As Müller told Von Luschan, he had elicited information by interviewing "knowledgable Kafirs", either the photographic subjects themselves, or people close to them. Only by taking along the 113 photographs in question could he have referenced details of their content and discussed these with his informants; in case the real objects or subjects could no longer be traced. "Photographic elicitation" would only much later become an established research methodology (to start with Collier and Collier 1986 [1967]). As Umdamane had died in the meantime, Müller was no longer able to interview him in person, or to reference the actual objects of his adornment. During his tour of interviews in 1899, Müller still gathered the Zulu names for Umdamane's adornment, his exact social position, as well as the location of his former residence. Therefore, it is likely that with Umdamane's photograph in hand, he also elicited narratives on the circumstances of the latter's death (cf. Chapter Four).

Unlike any other photograph in the entire ethnographic set of 1899, Umdamane's high social profile motivated the photograph's exceptional description including rank and residence. Accordingly, it also influenced the photograph's wide circulation after 1899 and its prominence during my interviews in 2007. As I have already suggested in Chapters Four and Five, various identities accumulated around Umdamane's personality. Based on these and previous identities, Mariannhill's photographers successively attached at least three identities to Umdamane's portrait photograph, first the "*Kaffrischer Häuptling*" in 1893, then the "*induna*" in 1899, and eventually the "*doctor*" in 1910. Accordingly, these identities constitute different *potential* "photographic traditions" by grounding and authorising textual information through its attachment to photographs in form of captions. Even though they are very different identities, all are "traditions" because all are based on Müller's experiences during "occasions" involving a photograph that somehow directly related to the respective occasion. However, during my interviews in 2007, it was only the identity of the "*induna*" which evolved as persistent, due to its evidentiary potential in current micro-politics (cf. Chapter Four). Even though Figure 120, identified by Müller as "two spies", may likewise be considered a photographic tradition, it differs from the case of Umdamane's photograph. The applied identity was derived from the Zulu stereotype as warlike, and Müller's imagination and creation of genre scenes, rather than a situated ethnographic or photographic occasion.

Another interpreter of Umdamane's photograph, the curator of the Pitt Rivers Museum,

Henry Balfour, first travelled to South Africa in September 1899. He purchased the same ethnographic set as Von Luschan, but apparently on the spot at Mariannhill's photographic studio.[586] Balfour engaged with Umdamane's portrait in more detail back in Oxford. The photograph's copy at the Pitt Rivers Museum bears two different captions: the caption "*Zulu*" in black pen was probably inscribed by Balfour. It may have been a later curator, who extended the original caption with a question mark and added the identity "*Shangaan*" with a pencil. Also known as "*BaThonga*" in the ethnographic record, this ethnic denomination was usually ascribed to people much further north, beyond Johannesburg in the Transvaal (cf. Junod 1912). As we already know, Umdamane was neither truly "Zulu" nor "Shangaan". Possibly this confusion came about because Müller's set also contains photographs by the Swiss photographer H.F. Gros (1888) from the Transvaal. The Swiss missionary Henri-Alexandre Junod, an early authority on this region, had used these same photographs by Gros as illustrations in his ethnography *The Life of a South African Tribe* (1912). Furthermore, Junod used yet another photograph showing a man with great resemblance to Umdamane, in particular regarding the exact same arrangement of his headdress (1912:408). The correlation of the photographs just described may thus have led to the identification of Umdamane as "*Shangaan*". We thus realise that ethnographic facts can be easily transmitted through the resemblance between photographs. Ethnographic and photographic traditions established photographically according to the material culture setup of certain ethnic identities are thus often no longer related to the original photographic occasion.

Once Mariannhill's photographs began to circulate, the link to knowledge about the photographs' original occasion easily broke. This applies to the identity of the sitter and photographer and thus to the circumstances of the photographic occasion. We saw this already with the interpretation of Umdamane's photograph by the physical anthropologist Stratz. In 1902, Balfour wrote an article on musical bows in Southern Africa (Balfour 1902). He used one of the set's photographs showing a woman playing a calabash string instrument (*imiqangala*) as an illustration (Balfour 1902:179, Müller 1899:15). It was likely Balfour himself who redrew the photograph for the article by hand. He was an able draughtsman, as many illustrations and caricatures in his travel diaries show. Balfour identified Mariannhill as the source of the photograph, but not Br. Aegidius Müller as the provider of the instrument's name and description. Balfour eventually used his illustrations as accumulative evidence: by showing four images of musicians holding the bow to their teeth, he argued that it was a common practice to use the human body for resonance, in order to increase the volume of sound.

In 1928, also the Austrian physical anthropologist Victor Lebzelter visited Mariannhill. Fr. Wilhelm Schmidt had sent him to South Africa to carry out research on a broad spectrum of topics.[587] Lebzelter used a variety of Mariannhill's photographs in the resulting publication

[586] Balfour was likely to have recognised the similarity of Umdamane's "choker" to the one he bought during the same trip, or to the one he saw and photographed five years later with Laduma, during the trip of the BAAS in 1905 (cf. Chapter Five). But one may also speculate that he went looking for one just like Umdamane's choker, once he had seen it in the photograph.

[587] For an account of Lebzelter's journey through South Africa see the study by his granddaughter (Lebzelter 2005).

(Lebzelter 1934).[588] While he had some photographs reproduced as drawings, others were printed in half-tone. The drawings are identified with the signature of the copyist "R.[osa] Koller", but no longer attributed to Mariannhill. The photographs, however, are identified as originating from the "Photostudio Marianhill [sic]". When Balfour used Mariannhill's photographs, only three years had passed since he purchased them. With Lebzelter it was more than 35 years that divided the photographs' production and their publication in 1934. This fact may either not have mattered to Lebzelter, or he was simply not aware of it. The drawings are set within a section on "Zulu tales" and do not relate to the text. Lebzelter presented these images selectively, as Koller only reproduced the heads in her drawings, possibly according to Lebzelter's general interest in physical anthropology. The reproduced photographs instead show ethnographic "scenes", such as domestic work, or a "rain incantation" by a diviner.

One possibility why Balfour and Lebzelter chose to reproduce photographs as drawings may have been to flatten and equalise different styles of photographs on the same page of their publications. Even more likely they intended to make particular features more prominent. While Balfour reproduced a sitting women playing an instrument, he excluded the entire background. Lebzelter's selection focused on the extraordinary hairstyles of women. Again, photographs appear as highly mobile and mutable, but not as fully "immutable" in the sense of Latour (1990); neither are they immutable in their appearances, nor in their capabilities of creating knowledge. Claims at "immutable mobiles" are thus an ideal to convince allies, hardly a reality. Even if a drawing can still be recognised as being derived from a photograph by its remaining resemblance, this is only possible with knowledge of the original photographic collection. The effort of reassembling the process of knowledge production thus relies on multiple layers of information, in particular the interactions between photographs, drawings, and captions. These layers came about through the participation of multiple actors and their varying intentions, as well as their specific knowledge, which had been created in particular places and moments in time. Once it is no longer possible to retrace the provenience to the photographic occasion, the creation of knowledge from such spatially, temporally, formally, and qualitatively removed images is therefore fundamentally different.

The next case of appropriations illustrates the competition and prestige involved with donations of objects and photographs for ethnographic museums, so to make them excel above others. Glenn Penny (2002) has earlier pointed to the importance of ethnographic collections within the agendas of municipal competition in Germany. The competition between Berlin and Stuttgart eventually became legendary in this regard. Founded in Stuttgart in 1882, the Würtembergischer Verein für Handelsgeographie und Förderung Deutscher Interessen im Ausland established a "*Handelsgeographisches Museum*" in 1884.[589] Other than most ethnographic museums, and with a history of being a "trade museum" or "colonial museum", the

[588] Lebzelter worked at the anthropological section of Vienna's Natural History Museum between 1923 and 1936. From here the photographs were later transferred to the ethnological museum of Vienna in 1972 (personal communication, Maria Teschler, 2009; Barbara Plankensteiner, 2011; also see Lebzelter 2005).

[589] Since the annual report of 1901 it was referred to as "*Museum für Völker- und Länderkunde*".

early collection efforts in Stuttgart focused even more explicitly on products relevant for colonial commerce (cf. Frese 1960:29-30). Headed by Count Karl von Linden since 1889, the project eventually developed into the establishment of a new building for a municipal ethnographic museum. The Linden Museum of Stuttgart opened in 1911.

With only a minor attempt at the creation of knowledge, the role of photographs in this case appears explicitly within the creation of relationships: like I argued In Chapter Five for the purpose of photographs and objects at Mariannhill Monastery, also for European scholars they were essential to create and maintain social, scientific, as well as political ties. It is thus crucial to acknowledge backstories of how photographs and objects entered repositories, in order to determine the quality and intentions of knowledge production through them and the ethnographic traditions they enabled. Like the Vatican, Mariannhill, the BGAEU, and the ethnographic museum of Berlin, also Von Linden's society encouraged its members and their networks of allies to collect objects and photographs by publishing calls for donations in the society's "*Jahresberichte"* (annual reports). These changed inconsiderably in their wording since 1884: the call published in the report for 1903-1904 (XL-XLI) asked for "mineral-ores; products of nature from the realms of animals and plants; industrial goods from foreign countries; samples of industrial goods as they are produced for the needs of the natives; tools of all kinds; musical instruments; original boats and models of such, as well as of buildings; idols and amulets; and eventually photographs and other depictions of landscapes, buildings, people and dresses".[590]

In October 1905, this call was answered by the Stuttgart industrialist Adolf Mayer (1870-1916), who had become a member of the society either in 1896 or 1897.[591] Mayer first offered photographs, which he had received from Mariannhill in 1905 and once more in 1909, apparently through a friendly business relationship. In his letter of gratitude Von Linden evaluated the photographs as "extraordinarily beautiful [*hübsch*] and clear, presenting a complete image of the respective tribes' body types [*Körpertypen*], as well as of their dresses". The only thing he criticised was that Mariannhill's museum keeper, "Br. Alexander [sic], who is apparently a capable worker in the matters of ethnology and anthropology, and also in full command of the art of photography, had refrained from labelling the types with the designation of the tribe". Von Linden nevertheless confirmed that "the photographs show the characteristic adornments and weapons so clearly and explicitly that there should hardly be any doubt about the tribal affiliation [*Stammeszugehörigkeit*]".[592]

However, Von Linden and Mayer never broached actual "tribal" names in their correspondence. In 1909, another batch of photographs from Mariannhill arrived in Stuttgart, some labelled "Basuto" by Br. Aegidius Müller. Von Linden inquired with Mayer whether he is correct to assume that the area of Mariannhill was mainly inhabited by "Basuto".[593] Mayer

[590] This is my summary of a much more detailed list, but the individual groups of objects remained stable over time.

[591] He is first listed in the register of members in the annual report of 1898.

[592] LMS: letter, Von Linden to Mayer, 21.10.1905. My own translation from the German original.

[593] LMS: letter, Von Linden to Mayer, 11.05.1909. My own translation from the German original.

confirmed this assumption,[594] even though the denomination "Basuto" was commonly only used to describe people of northern Natal close to the Drakensberg. Clearly, both men were unfamiliar with South African geography and ethnography. Von Linden was only interested to procure visual and indeed material references that would help him to cover a particular geographical area, in order to further the goal of making his collections more "complete".

Von Linden thus inquired insistently in 1905 and once more in 1909, whether Mayer would be able to negotiate with Mariannhill's museum for so-called "*Dubletten*".[595] Mayer then procured a selection of objects from Mariannhill in 1910, and eventually gifted them to the museum, as Von Linden claimed to be short of money due to the construction of the new museum building. The entire collection donated by Mayer contains approximately 97 objects and 140 photographs.[596] The object collection consists of mainly dress and pearl adornments, 13 weapons and sticks, a few musical instruments, tobacco containers and spoons. The origins were Mariannhill's station Triashill in Mashonaland,[597] Centocow Mission, and Mariannhill Monastery itself. Mayer had acquired all items through direct contact with the museum's curator, Fr. Alexander Hanisch, and indirectly with Fr. Emanuel Hanisch at Centocow.[598] Such an acquisition from missionaries was no exception in Stuttgart: as listed regularly in the yearly reports between 1882 and 1911, many missionaries of undefined confessions presented during the frequent lecture series of the Verein für Handelsgeographie, and also donated objects on a regular basis.[599]

As Penny (2002) and Buschmann (2009) have shown for early German ethnology, the economy of collecting and donating objects to ethnographic museums was entangled in a system of strong competition between curators. Within this economy, rewards were often given to donors in form of prestige and decorations, rather than money. At least since 1903, Von Linden quarrelled with Von Luschan over Berlin's privilege to receive the first pick from objects brought in from German colonies. This privilege had been established in the late 1880s through the so-called "*Bundesratsbeschluß*".[600] Acting against this official regulation, Von Linden directly

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[594] LMS: letter, Mayer to Von Linden, 12.05.1909. My own translation from the German original.

[595] A common term at the time to denote doubles of the same type of object, which were so similar to those already in a collection that they did not constitute valuable objects in themselves, and could therefore be bartered for more interesting items with other museums (cf. Hoffmann 2012).

[596] The exact number of photographs from Mariannhill can no longer be determined, as the collection has been rearranged several years ago and mixed up with other photographs from South Africa in a rather unclear manner. The Linden Museum is the only museum that has a substantial number of objects from Mariannhill. I could only confirm acquisitions and donations of objects from Mariannhill before 1914 in altogether three museums: The Linden Museum of Stuttgart, the Museum of World Cultures in Basel, and the Deutsches Museum in Munich. However, in all cases the transactions of objects were made by intermediaries, and were partially not collected around Mariannhill Monastery itself. Objects in the collection of the Basel museum were sent directly from Mariannhill's filial station in German East Africa (1897-1907).

[597] At the time Rhodesia, today Zimbabwe.

[598] Both are repeatedly mentioned in the correspondence and accessioning list. Fr. Alexander was the uncle of Fr. Emanuel.

[599] One of the collection's first curators during the 1890s was the retired missionary Adolf Mann, who probably worked either for the Basel Mission or the Church Missionary Society in Lagos (cf. http://digitallibrary.usc.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/p15799coll123/id/41503/rec/6, accessed 22.07.2016).

[600] The "*Bundesratsbeschluss*" was issued in 1889 and officially lifted only in 1911. It regulated Berlin's monopoly

requested donations of objects by appealing to the vanity of German colonists: he argued that in Stuttgart they would at least be on display and well presented, while they would instead disappear in the storage at Berlin (Krieger 1973:114).

A common way to reward donors was to arrange for decorations in the form of medals. This was possible at least for museum curators with the proper entitlement and the necessary social connections. Apparently, Von Linden was the most successful mediator amongst German curators in this regard, due to his good relationship with the Monarchy of Württemberg (Buschmann 2009:56). Even if Berlin's ethnologists considered Von Linden's practice as a violation of the *Bundesratsbeschluß*, the latter's connections provided him with a considerable leverage to counter Von Luschan's authority. In the fourth edition of his *Anleitungen* (1904), Von Luschan retorted that indeed "only with one single exception" all minor ethnographic museums in Germany complied with the *Bundesratsbeschluß* (Luschan 1904:5). Through this experience, Von Luschan became aware that he had to draw closer those allies that were not bound by the law, and eventually started to emphasise the importance of missionaries more generally, by praising their "indeed genuine scientific conviction", as well as the "mutual support and help between mission and ethnology" (ibid:101).

Likely through expectations raised by the reward system involving decorations and general prestige, Mayer was particularly keen on having his name connected to the South African objects from Mariannhill in the Linden Museum's public displays.[601] When visiting the exhibition in 1914, Mayer recognised the displayed photographs from Mariannhill, but he anxiously pointed out that he had not been able to identify any of the objects he had donated. At least, so he complained, these were not "labelled with the name of the donor".[602] Accordingly, he proclaimed that he would only be willing to provide "another selection of nice things" under the condition that they were well presented together with the earlier ones, and only if he was identified as donor. He then reiterated that it was indeed not unlikely that in time more allocations may follow. As Von Linden had died in 1910, it was the museum's new curator Heinrich Fischer who replied to Mayer's letter in 1914, and assured that the object collection would soon be in order, with name labels attached (cf. Figure 121). He further mentioned that also the photographic collection had recently been put in order. Therefore both collections were ready to be inspected by Mayer.[603] As part of the process, so Fischer wrote, the objects donated by Mayer had even been photographed, and copies would be sent to him soon.[604]

Eventually, neither Von Linden nor Fischer had been trained in either anthropology or ethnology, or had any clear regional specialisation.[605] Apparently, the two Stuttgart curators

to redistribute objects from the German colonies, which had been acquired either through official funds, colonial personnel, or through colonial military interventions, such as punitive raids (eg. Melk-Koch 2009:86).

601 Cf. Richter (1906-10, 10:48) on the common practice to label objects with the donor's name.

602 LMS: letter, Mayer to Fischer, 12.05.1914.

603 LMS: letter, Fischer to Mayer, 16.05.1914.

604 LMS: letter, Fischer to Mayer, 05.06.1914.

605 Von Linden had been an advocate before retiring in the 1880s, and Fischer had been a precision engineer and a hobby zoologist before joining the Linden Museum in 1910 (Kußmaul 1987:14).

accepted all objects and photographs that were gifted to them. Other than von Luschan in Berlin, they accepted them without any description other than the origin and ethnic denomination (cf. Buschmann 2009:56). For them, photographs served a double function: first, *in situ* photographs served as illustrations of objects, not unlike their original purpose in Cologne. But other than with Von Luschan's meticulous inductive investigations, in Stuttgart knowledge was attributed to photographs haphazardly. Secondly, once objects were in place within the exhibition displays of the Linden Museum, photographs made of such arrangements served as social capital to reconfirm benefactors' benevolence. Photographs thus did not always serve as scientific "working objects", but rather as catalysers between museums and audiences, and between museums and benefactors.

Figure 121: "*L 959, S.*[üd]*afrika. no. 31—Halsband, Centreow* [sic]*, Natal. 64118, Gesch.*[enk] *Fabr.*[ikant] *Ad.*[olf] *Mayer*". The label attached to a beadwork necklace indeed proves that it had been gifted by Mayer and originated from Centocow. Its origin as having been collected by Mariannhill Missionaries remained unmentioned.

As I already explained above, Fritz Graebner purchased 128 photographs directly from Mariannhill at the same time in 1910. But only for four of these can we trace any contemporary form of employment. At a yet undetermined moment in time—either before 1914, or in the early 1920s—four of the photographs were reproduced as positive glass slides for projection in the museum.[606] It is unclear who used these slides and also what kind of argument this user had in

[606] I am grateful to the photo curator of the RJM, Lucia Halder, for her efforts to trace these reproductions.

mind. It is nevertheless important to note that all four slides show "scenes from daily life"; those genre photographs I described in Chapter One. The four photographs depict: four children in a village carrying containers on their heads past huts in single file; five women posing for the camera, also with containers on their heads; children and two men (one with umbrella) herding cattle before the backdrop of a village; and a young woman and a girl pretending to be asleep on straw mats before a hut in bright daylight, apparently demonstrating how to position their heads on customary wooden head rests. In the last case, the staging of the event is most evident, but apparently was once more sufficient to demonstrate a "typical" situation. The development and employment of genre photographs at Mariannhill after 1900 thus paralleled the diffusionist idea to create narratives in exhibition spaces (cf. Penny 2003, 2008). Museum scholars apparently chose to present similar narratives in presentations with the help of slide projections.

As late as 1916, the director of the ethnographic Museum of Munich, Lucian Scherman (1864-1846) approached Mariannhill's house in Würzburg in order to acquire "ethnographically relevant photographs". He was following up on the booklet that Müller must have sent to Munich in about 1899. In this year, Scherman's predecessor, Max Buchner, had apparently not bothered to purchase the offered photographs. However, in 1916, Mariannhill's representative in Würzburg, Fr. Balduin Reiner[607] had never heard of the mentioned booklet.[608] The ethnological engagement at Mariannhill, especially regarding photographs and objects, was indeed short-lived and limited to initiatives of singular members, such as Br. Aegidius Müller. Nevertheless, as a result of the conversations with anthropologists and ethnologists, such as Von Luschan between 1898 and 1899, a more sophisticated engagement with objects and a general ethnographic interest in objects-in-use were gradually introduced into Müller's work. Photographs of ethnographic objects in their own right on the one hand (despite Grünwedel's dislike), as well as the photographic representations of people and their material culture on the other, became more and more complementary engagements of creating enticing imaginations for Europe. Over time, Müller photographed objects in increasingly sophisticated display setups at Mariannhill, while other photographers did the same in Europe. Also in Graebner's and Foy's project at Cologne, objects and photographs were cumulatively used in exhibitions and displays. Von Linden did the same in Stuttgart, however, here it was possible to reconstruct the additional motivation of fostering benefactor relationships through photographs of objects.

On the side of ethnologists we must therefore note that attitudes towards ethnographic objects and photographs were in fact more complex than they have been presented so far. Von Luschan had—contrary to his reputation—quite specific theoretical interests, while still approaching the image in a very inductive manner. It was in fact this conversation with Von Luschan that triggered Müller to rethink his photographic work accordingly. The physical anthropologist Stratz instead projected things he already thought to *know* (not to *see*) into Umdamane's portrait. Balfour, and later Lebzelter, in fact even manipulated and transformed

[607] Reiner had spent a considerable period of time in South Africa since 1889, partially at Centocow Mission.
[608] MFKM: correspondence, Scherman and Reiner, 1916.

Mariannhill's photographs to fit their own needs, either for comparison of how an object was used, or simply as a picturesque illustration. Eventually, it was only the "[un-]skilled judgement" of established scientists that legitimised these interventions. Other European museum curators instead mostly worked in a mode of accumulation and exchange. In particular Schmeltz at Leiden, in his capacity as editor of the journal *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, focused on the proper publication of illustrations, in order to make objects visible and accessible to colleagues. Like with Von Luschan, Schmeltz felt obliged to legitimise his expensive purchase of photographs in his annual report with extraordinary praise. Graebner and Foy in Cologne employed photographs not only in exhibitions, but also as slides in lecture series and as sophisticated reproductions in their house journal *Ethnologica*.[609] Evolving from the intentions of a "colonial museum", Von Linden and Fischer rather saw the importance of photographs in the creation of prestige and colonial propaganda. Even if Von Linden claimed that "there could be no doubt about the tribal affiliations" of the depicted, he clearly had no understanding of the subject matter, but nevertheless established Mariannhill's subjects exclusively as "Basuto". In the final section we shall see how such colonial fantasies in form of photographic traditions once more impacted the photographic production at Mariannhill in return.

[609] Like Schmeltz, Graebner and Foy were concerned with the question how to best represent objects photographically, and how to make them accessible to peers. For the purpose of photographing objects, the museum had an in-house photo studio.

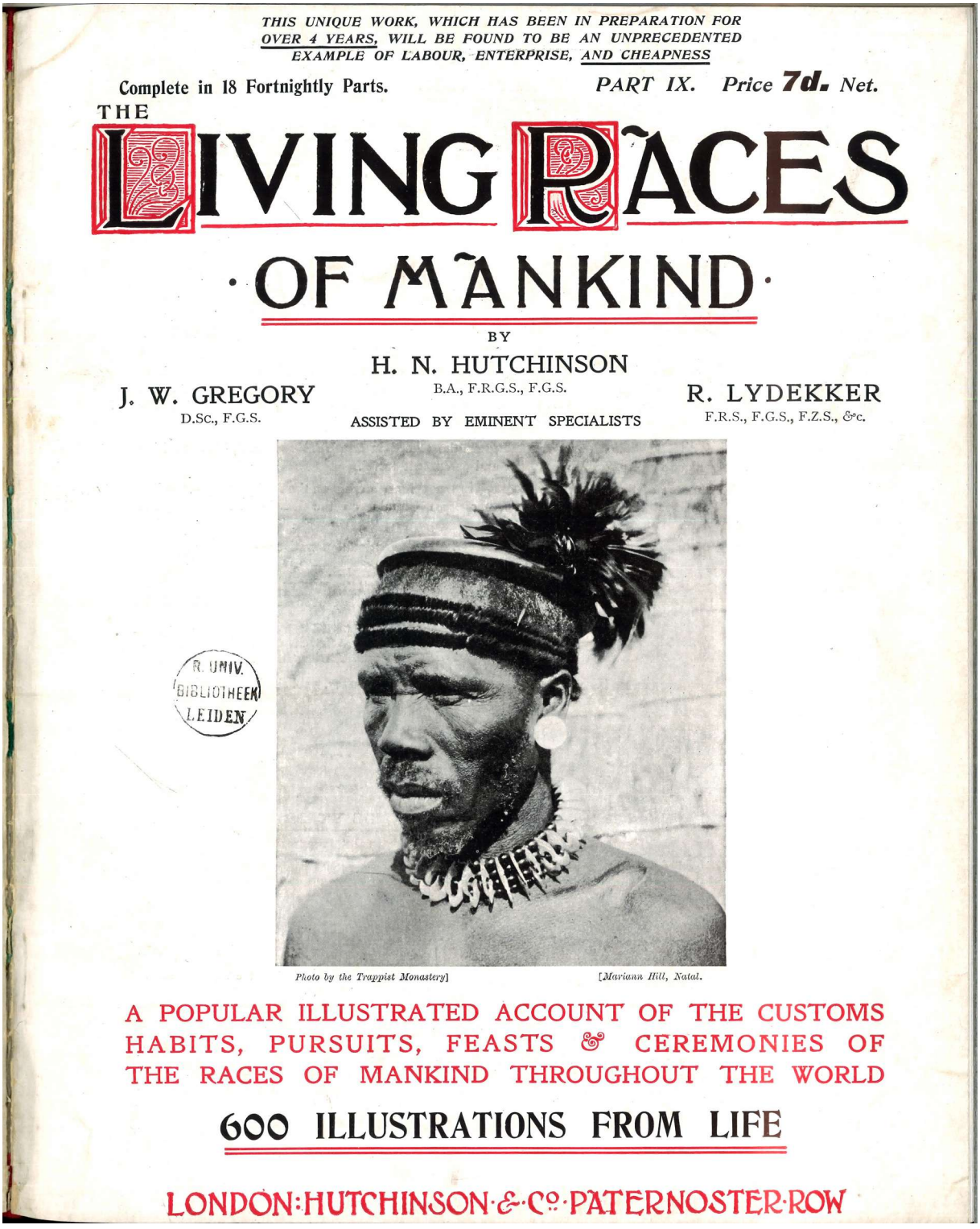

Figure 122: Frontispiece, part IX (of XVIII). *The Living Races of Mankind* (Hutchinson 1901a).

Around 1900, when the high points of European colonialism and new printing methods coincided, encyclopaedic overviews of the diversity of the world's population were revitalised. While the popular English translation of Friedrich Ratzel's *Völkerkunde* (1885), *History of Mankind* (1896), still used reproductions of photographs in the form of engravings and paintings, the following decade saw an abundance of popularising writings on otherness, using large quantities of "real" photographs as illustrations.[610] After their transit to German and British Museums, photographs from Mariannhill were used in several publications of this kind; prominent among them was the familiar portrait photograph of Umdamane (Figure 79). The most widely distributed example of such publications was *The Living Races of Mankind* by Rev. Henry Neville Hutchinson, first released in 18 fortnightly parts between 1900 and 1901 in the UK. The series was an instant success, which foremost depended on its photographic illustrations: "It was the first of the Hutchinson part works, which revolutionised the whole part-work market" (Harris 1991:163-164, also see Bowler 2009:151). Due to this success, it was republished in early 1901 as a bound volume (Harris 1991:163). But already before March and July 1901, the London-based company Hutchinson & Co[611] once more re-released the work unchanged in two volumes with altogether 24 chapters.[612] In 1906, a (probably) third, by now entirely rewritten edition followed (Johnston et al. 1906). The authors of the 1901 edition claimed it to be the first encyclopaedic attempt to cover all of the world's human groups, while illustrating them with "original photographs":

> In the illustration of this subject an entirely new departure has been taken, and the author and publishers claim to have produced a work which is unique. Pictures, or wood engravings may sometimes be prettier, but they can never be so absolutely trustworthy as the products of the camera, which show us the natives of other climes as they live in their natural surroundings, their dress (or want of it), their weapons, dwellings, and the tattoo-marks on their bodies, or the flesh-wounds and scars of which Australians—and some negroes—seem so proud. (Hutchinson 1901b:III-IV)

Similar to Mariannhill's propaganda publications, photographs are never referred to or discussed in the text, but merely provide visual stereotypes to the mentioned classifications. Within a year, foreign publishers nevertheless committed to a German (Lampert 1902), Dutch (Snelleman 1903, 1904), as well as a Spanish adaptation (Hutchinson et al. 1902). They used photographs in the same way, but made alterations to the text, as some of the original authors were not considered as fully accredited academics (Bowler 2009:151). Johannes F. Snelleman in Rotterdam even complained that "the English version of *The Living Races of Mankind* was not good enough to be translated into Dutch"; and that he, "to be honest, had not expected that there were so few usable

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[610] Cf. Edwards (2001:52). Also see Guy (2002) for an example of popularising compendia involving a photograph from South Africa in the 1860s.

[611] The identical name of author and publisher is incidental.

[612] See the reviews in *The Spectator*, issues March 16, 1901 (Volume I), and July 27, 1901 (Volume II). I herewith correct my earlier attempt at dating the publications (Rippe 2016). None of the editions is dated or numbered, and publication dates had to be reconstructed either through dates mentioned in the text itself, or through reviews. Also Harris (1991) and Bowler (2009) are inconsistent regarding dates and other details.

things in it" (Snelleman (1903:introduction).[613] He therefore felt the need to rewrite the entire text in Dutch. Even if other reviewers were not as negative, it appears that the publication was appreciated foremost as a stockpile of good images—thus an atlas of "working objects"—rather than for the quality of its texts. The Smithsonian's curator Otis T. Mason wrote in close accordance with the authors themselves that

> two characteristics of this sumptuous volume are most noteworthy: (1) the nearly seven hundred pictures are photogravures, far more trustworthy in ethnology than any drawing can be; and (2) since the authors regard these many peoples in all continents as coming patrons of British trade, they treat them fairly, not grotesquely, and present always fine types of each. (Mason 1902:306)

Johannes D.E. Schmeltz, the director of Leiden's ethnographic museum, appreciated Hutchinson's effort for making a journey along the museums of almost entire Europe (including Schmeltz's own) to acquire "illustrational material, as far as it was not available in England" (Schmeltz 1902:73). As indicated in the introduction of the English first edition (Hutchinson 1901), the Mariannhill images must have been sourced either from the museum in Leiden or the one in Oxford.[614] In the final notes, Hutchinson expressed his gratitude to Fritsch, Von Luschan, Schmeltz, and Balfour, amongst many others, for their assistance with procuring photographs.[615] At about the same time, the Natural History Section and Zoology Department of the British Museum in London launched a permanent exhibition by the same title, which continued at least until the early 1920s. The exhibition employed many portrait photographs, enlarged to almost real size in the physiognomic style (cf. Lydekker 1921 [1908]). Among them were several portraits from Mariannhill, confirming their acceptance in the context of physical anthropology.

Despite the huge popularity of the publication *The Living Races of Mankind*, neither during the time of publication, nor many decades later has it ever been accepted as integrate part of the "ethnological" and "anthropological" disciplines. Book projects like this did thus often only work as mere conduits for the photographs they contained. Retrospectively, Pinney frames the publication as "an early exercise" in "popular anthropology" (1990:279), and alternatively in "para-ethnography" (1992:84). Young goes as far as adding it to a genre of publications, which he considers as "ethno-porn" (1995:192). The volumes indeed hold many depictions of bare breasts, but are hardly "pornographic", as they contain no images of sexual intercourse, only

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613 My own translation from the Dutch original.

614 As the colophon of the third edition (Johnston 1906) indicates, the editors even contacted Mariannhill directly for more photographs after the success of the first two editions, and thanked "the Trappist Mission of Marienhill [sic], Natal, for some beautiful Zulu photographs". While the second edition (1901b) holds only 4 portrait photographs by Mariannhill (648 total), the third edition (1906) has altogether 20 photographs by Mariannhill alone (909 total). The additional photographs include village scenes and also some genre photographs. Several captions in both editions, however, are incorrect: they turn people into chiefs, who did not hold this status, and displace others to Zululand, where they did not live.

615 Already in 1899, Hutchinson had suggested to the Anthropological Society of Britain (today RAI) to create an even larger collection of photographs than the one he had accumulated for his publication. Having visited museums in "Paris, Leyden, Hamburg, Berlin, Dresden, and Leipzig", he also advised to examine collections of "the principal missionary societies" (Hutchinson 1899 [not 1909, as cited by Coombes 1994:245]).

very few images of entirely naked men, and none of women.[616]

Also the earlier-mentioned physical anthropologist Carl H. Stratz did consider *The Living Races* as "important literature" (1904:208). In the case of Stratz's own publications, however, one has to consider the highly ambivalent illustrations. This holds true in particular for *Die Rassenschönheit des Weibes*, which also contains one portrait photograph by Mariannhill (1904[1901]:27). The term "pornography" has been used repeatedly to describe Stratz's highly popular publications (eg. Schick 1999, Stoler 1995). Even in the contemporary reception some considered this publication as "obscene [*unzüchtig*]". This resulted into several lawsuits for Stratz, in which Gustav Fritsch had to act as defender.[617] This also has to do with the fact that Stratz's style of writing can be considered as both sexist and racist, not only from today's standpoint. In his introductions he made it clear that his intention was to reach an audience as wide as possible—not only scholars.[618]

The ambivalence in the argumentations of both Stratz and Fritsch was that they attempted to legitimise the use of potentially voyeuristic photographs through their scientific goals and their capacity of "trained judgement". Both saw the need to mediate scientific knowledge about the female body in a popularising way to a lay-audience by using photographs, which they had culled from various sources that had originally not been produced for scientific purposes. According to the aesthetics of the photographs used in Stratz's work, they may be located within the artistic tradition of pictorialism during the 1890s, and more specifically artistic "nude photography [*Aktphotographie*]". Apparently, such photographs were perceived as easily shifting towards the "pornographic". Without the sexualised dimension, the same may be said for the *Living Races*, where artistic photographs were justified scientifically (cf. Edwards 2009).

The photographic traditions established through Mariannhill's photographic production had thus yet another dimension by being drawn repeatedly into the popularising and "pornographic" domain. The 1901 edition of *The Living Race* contains 4 photographs by Mariannhill, which are all portraits and may therefore hardly be sexualised. Hutchinson had the possibility to choose from a much wider array of Mariannhill's photographs at Leiden and Oxford, but did not do so. The team around Johnston and the 1906 edition, however, included 15 more photographs by Mariannhill, including full-body images. Among these is the

[616] On the differences between "pornographic" and "erotic" photographs see for example Barthes (1993), and for an overview of "ethnopornographic" publications before and after 1900, see Schick (1999) and Zimmerman (2001). For overviews of racist and sexualised colonial imagery see Nederveen-Pieterse (1990) and Corbey (1989). For a critique of such "re-presentations" see Bal (1996). However, Bal herself fails to present a critical re-evaluation of colonial imagery involving (for example) the production process.

[617] In his obituary for Stratz (1923), Fritsch remembered that he had argued that "obscene are only those depictions, which somehow direct the attention of the beholder towards the genitals or their function". According to him, also a dressed person could therefore be obscene, either through behaviour, gestures or attributes etc. (Fritsch 1923:213). Here he repeated his Latin motto "*naturalia non sunt turpia* [what is natural is not dirty]", which he had already put forward in his instructions for photography (eg. 1888).

[618] At the time, apparently every public exposure of photographs showing either naked women or men was considered indecent. In particular those of "two unclothed Zulu" sitters caused public distress in 1879, as the public proclamation of a perceived "indecency" clashed with a public demand for information about the ongoing war in South Africa (Edwards 2007:55).

"traditionally"-clad Chief Lokothwayo, which was clearly composed to present African male physique (cf. Chapter Eight).[619] While the identification of sexual intentions is most often in the eye of the beholder (cf. Bal 1996), Mariannhill's studio in fact also produced more "explicit" photographs. The few of those that remain depict groups of African women in the monastery's studio while striking poses according to a European convention: raised arms crossed behind the head, however with covered torsos. This particular pose was common in the artistic tradition of classic nude painting and nude photography. Furthermore, it had been frequently adapted in colonial photographs of Africans, and those identified as "Zulu" in particular (cf. Blier 2014, Corbey 1989, Stratz 1904[1901]).[620] Versions of such photographs were nevertheless acceptable in contemporary photographic journals, such as *Das Atelier des Photographen* (cf. Peters 1979:248ff). We learned in Chapter One that Müller consulted this particular journal and also published in it. Even if these kinds of photographs were never used in Mariannhill's propaganda periodicals, they were apparently sold commercially at the studio, according to the demands of the male-dominated *préterrain* I described in the previous chapters.

Clearly, "sex sold" the many editions of Stratz's various publications beyond the 1920s, and it may also be that Müller indeed became part of a network of "naughty boys" (Bal 1996), involving Fritsch, Stratz, and several others. But further analysis—which I cannot provide here—would have to consider their engagement with these images within the wider context of the *Lebensreform* movement, to which at least Fritsch and Stratz had some proximity. One aspect of this movement was the "naturalisation" of nudity, in order to discipline and elevate body and mind. In so far, the movement functioned as a conduit for artistic ideas on "ideal beauty", which both men propagated in their (net)works after 1900 and thought to have found in the "European type" (Hau 2003, Lewerentz 2008). Thus we cannot simply call a singular photograph "pornographic", but must consider particular images, visual tropes, and conventions, while at the same time traversing the discourses of art, tourism photography, pornography, anthropological science, medicine, and even the production of a Catholic mission's photographic studio in Natal; not one-directionally, but circulating back and forth.[621] Like in the previous chapters, we realise that the process of images shifting across this wide terrain, both created and released "mimetic excess".

In their new and conspicuous vestments, such as the *Living Races*, Mariannhill's photographs indeed had new possibilities to circulate, and eventually "returned" to South Africa. As I explained in Chapters One and Two, Mariannhill's archive also contains many commissioned studio portraits of South African Whites and Europeans, a smaller number of Muslims and Indians, and also what seem to be either *Amakholwa,* or non-Christian Africans in

[619] Those photographs, which Johnston and his co-editors considered as particularly picturesque, were presented full-page and even hand-coloured. Photographs by Mariannhill apparently fulfilled these conditions more often than those by other photographers in the same volumes, and had therefore even been chosen for the frontispieces of both the 1901 and 1906 editions.

[620] Against Fritsch's judgement (1923) this pose clearly accentuates the breasts (cf. Blier 2014:84).

[621] As Blier (2014) speculates, Stratz's illustrations (1904[1901]) were instrumental in inspiring Picasso during his engagement with African themes after 1906, including those depicting Zulu women.

Western dress. These images of visitors, who either came for trading or had participated in the tour described in Chapter Three, were to great parts taken between 1900 and 1914. Sitters in the studio often posed with props, such as a rustic bench, a tree trunk, or a table. Many sitters can be seen handling objects. Books, however, are the only objects that can be ascertained as "props" in the strict sense of the term: as belonging to the studio's inventory over an extended period. A closer look at the spines and covers of these books reveals many of them as the 1901 two-volume edition of *The Living Races of Mankind*.

Figures 123 and 124: unidentified sitters in the Mariannhill Photographic Studio in front of the same backdrop, approx. 1904-14 (Linden Museum Stuttgart and CMM Archives).

While it is not clear what such a prop meant to the sitters, one can observe that some displayed it in a particular way, so that the title can be read easily. It may have been the case that the photographer equipped his sitters with the book; that it was the only book available in the studio; or that all sitters accidentally chose the same book to pose with. It may have been supposed to mediate an exotic, but also an intellectual ambience. Be that as it may, these photographs at least give evidence that Müller was cognisant of the circulation of Mariannhill's photographs through European publications, and as we will see, far beyond a scope he had expected initially.

Eventually, he was also proud enough to promote the book, and even made sitters aware of the included photographs from Mariannhill's studio. In one case, Müller even brought image and sitter into visual correspondence, when he photographed an Indian boy with the first volume of the *Living Races* on his lap—opened on page 186—showing "two Toda girls".[622]

The photograph of the two Toda girls is ascribed to "Edgar Thurston, Madras Museum". As Pinney explains for the construction of Indian castes and people (1990:279-80), in particular the Todas were often photographed and presented in a vein of European classical antiquity. One cannot but recognise the similarities to the photograph for which Müller received the first price in *The State* in 1909, and which was labelled as "The Naiads of Natal" (cf. Chapter One). Romanticised representations of the Todas were criticised for this reason by the British ethnologist Rivers. But as we saw, Mariannhill's photographs, with their similar tendencies, were generally appreciated by German ethnologists: when Von Luschan analysed similarly "romantic" photographs of Mariannhill's collection, he only focused on the depicted objects, and not on the performance of the subjects within their environment.

The *Living Races* also played a role in yet another group photograph, taken in the studio during a visit of the Governor of Natal, Sir Matthew Nathan, on 30 January 1909 (Figure 74). Here, Br. Nivard Streicher can be seen pointing out details in one of the volumes to one of Nathan's female companions, while Nathan himself is holding on to the second volume. Br. Nivard used the book in order to virtually extend the tour he had just given to the visitors. The two tomes thus became representative and inspiring "coffee table books" in the most literal sense. Unlike other props, these books are multi-referential objects. They include photographs that had been produced by the very same studio some ten years earlier: most prominently the one of Umdamane, which Müller had sold to Europe multiple times since 1898. Text is an integral part of such photographs, both visually and metaphorically: on the one hand, the visible title *The Living Races of Mankind*, as well as the book as such, could perform a supposedly superior knowledge about the colonial Other (Figure 123). On the other hand, it allowed to perform the alleged achievement of civilisation and the possession of literacy through the missionaries (Figure 124). Both perspectives of course depended on the beholder of the image and the context of publication and viewing.

Photographs of Africans with books (not necessarily the Bible) made by missionaries, are a recurring example of representing the desire for, the anxiety about, or the achievement of literacy and knowledge (cf. Krüger 2011, Webb 1992, Kriel and Fossey 2018, also see Figure 97).[623] Similar to the image of the photographer staging the staging of a photographic *mise en scène* in Chapter One, we can see a meta-referential instance, indicative of the missionary's consciousness—and boasting—about their own excessive use of "modern" media. The effect is

[622] Whether this was merely for the attention of the boy, or instead directed at the audience of the photograph, remains unclear.

[623] Also see Kaufhold (1986:99), and Starl (1991:33) on the use of books as photographic props for the German *Bildungsbürgertum*, or educated class. See Wendl (2001:90) for the appropriation of "modernity" through props in 20th century Ghanaian photographic practice.

in the case of the book even amplified through various media and materialities: text, image, and object are unified and doubled in the book, and again in the photograph itself. Similar to the situation of the museum, Mariannhill Missionaries visually stressed an awareness of intermediality towards their European audiences. In so far, the *Living Races* had become certified and authorised "mimetic capital" for Mariannhill, as the books had amplified the photographs' "reproductive power". As I explained in Chapter One, after a few years of experience with this particular publication, Müller eventually became confident enough to map out his very own version of the *Living Races* of South Africa (Müller 1909).

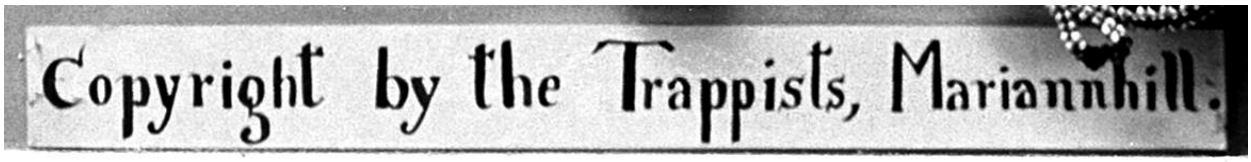

Figure 125: detail of digitally inverted glass plate negative: "Copyright by the Trappists, Mariannhill" (CMM Archives).

By 1906, Müller had experienced what it meant to take part in the ethnological project, and had also learned lessons what it meant to be a professional photographer. He had published in the journal *Anthropos* (Müller 1906b and 1907b), and also in several other German newspapers and popular magazines on Zulu "material culture", divination, and other cultural practices. Suddenly, from about this point in time, he started issuing several ethnographically relevant photographs with labels added at the bottom of the image frame: "Copyright by the Trappists, Mariannhill" (Figure 125). Assuming that he indeed had returned to Germany between 1895 and 1897, he was well acquainted with many German photographic periodicals, and henceforth regularly posted questions in the Q&A section of the periodicals *Photographische Chronik* and *Photographische Mitteilungen*.

In October 1906, he inquired anxiously with the editor of the *Photographische Chronik* about his legal rights in relation to a case of photo plagiarism by an unnamed German publisher, and his possibilities to sue and claim for compensation (Müller 1906a). "Some time ago" he had offered "an article on Kafir life with 12 photographs or more" to "a big publishing house in Stuttgart". Some time later, he discovered that some of the 20 photographs he had sent eventually, had been plagiarised by a French magazine, for which he identified neither name nor year. His concern was that once the photographs freely circulated in Europe without the label "Mariannhill", the mission would no longer have benefited exclusively.

A survey of early illustrated magazines showed that Müller's original article with 10 photographs had appeared in the highly popular *Über Land und Meer* in 1901, published by the *Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt* in Stuttgart (Müller 1901).[624] The mentioned plagiariser was very likely

[624] As I described in Chapter Two, this journal had already caused great distress in 1897, in particular with German professional photographers, for offering cheap reproductions of customers' portraits.

the French namesake *Journal des Voyages & des Aventures de Terre et de Mer*, which had published an article by André Charmelin with the title *Les Peuplades de L'Afrique Australe: Les Kaffirs*, in January 1906. Charmelin had used three unreferenced photographs by Müller, however not the same ones as the latter's 1901 article. These may have been taken from the 10 surplus images of the 20 he had initially sent to the German publisher, and which the latter had apparently sold on to the French publisher. In order to become aware of this plagiarism, Müller must either have read even beyond his already wide subscriptions to German popular periodicals, or more likely, he relied on a network of people who made him aware of the plagiarism.

While Müller had himself imitated art works—some concrete, others only in particular style—and even presented photographs of others (Gros 1888) as his own, he suddenly developed an anxiety about the unintended circulation of his own photographs; against reason, one may think, as it attested to the success and appreciation of his work. Nevertheless, after discovering the plagiarism in 1906, Müller took extra precautions, in addition to the copyright signs. He admonished museum curators, such as Fritz Graebner in 1910, that they would have to pay an extra fee for reproduction rights, in case they wanted to publish any of the photographs. The big question mark, which Graebner placed next to the respective underlined column of Müller's letter, indicates the fact that clear copyright regulations and laws for photography were still in a state of development:[625] only a few months after Müller's complaint, in January 1907, a new law ("*Kunstschutzgesetz*") was released in Germany. This regulation eventually brought rights of photographers and artists under a common "copyright [*Urheberrecht*]" (cf. Dommann 2006:362, also see Ricke 1998).

These new regulations of copyright were a direct outcome of the disturbances, which had upset the photographic market in Germany in the course of 1898 (cf. Chapters One and Four). In 1897, the Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft in Stuttgart had dumped prices for reproduction, causing professional photographers to lobby for their own rights in their journals. The publisher of *Über Land und Meer* had thus not only offered cheap reproductions of private photographs to the masses, but also resold its photographic stock to other publishers, such as in Müller's case. Especially photographs of "exotic" people and of people in "erotic" poses not only circulated widely, but they crossed both disciplinary and national borders easily. As they were widely desired and some of them appeared as offensive, both photographers and lawmakers saw a need to restrict their circulation. The first to protect their work and income, the latter to protect moral standards. In both cases, law crucially impacted production and circulation. Such articulations of several interlinked crisis, however, make these developments traceable after all.

[625] Also see Schindelbeck (1989), on how the BGAEU started to adjust its handling of legal issues concerning photographs at the same time.

Conclusion

The evolving needs of both missionaries and scientists led to an interdependence, which was both limiting and enabling. Missionaries needed scientific, public, and specifically colonial stages to promote their interests, and ethnologists often depended on the far greater number of missionaries all over the world as auxiliary providers of objects, photographs, and information. This manifested itself for example during the colonial exhibition at the 1896 Berlin trade fair, the later inclusion of missionaries in Berlin's colonial museum in 1899, as well as Abbot Amandus Schölzig's simultaneous efforts to establish filial stations for Mariannhill in German East Africa. Through efforts like those of Bumüller and Schmidt since 1896 and in particular 1906, some Catholic missionaries eventually moved from being auxiliary to the project of ethnology to fully participating in it. Most of them, however, remained just missionaries.

Missionaries and ethnologists considered the process of translating photographs and objects from "propaganda" to "ethnography" as both possible and feasible. This process nevertheless included many uncertainties and laborious correspondences. As we could see, the preparation of photographs as "working objects" depended on a considerable chain of decisions, including selections, modifications, as well as exclusions. This chain was however not, or rarely acknowledged in the final act of interpretation. Nevertheless, Mariannhill's photographs were successful, exactly because of their aesthetic and theatrical qualities, not despite of them. Entanglement situations involving subjects, objects, and images worked through their interconnectedness in material terms, within photographs, as well as rhetorically. In the introduction to the last chapter I explained that entanglement situations eventually necessitated the continuous adjustments and propping up of photographs, similar to the connections of different media in Chapter Two.

Despite of all these shortcomings, ethnologists considered photographs as a legitimate and "objective" way to determine the ethnic identities of people through depictions of their physique and material culture. By the early 1880s, however, Natal Africans South of the Tugela, who were not per definition "Zulu", had started to imitate "Zulu curios" from North of the Tugela, in order to serve an expanding market for tourists and other travellers (cf. Joest 1886:147). By negotiating supply and demand, Africans and various interest groups of colonial actors had thus joined in the creation of a particular "material culture" and a particular imagery commonly referred to as "Zulu". The indeed high demand for these objects had established an economy, which subverted ethnologists' demand for authenticity. This necessitated the establishment of professional skills to tell apart the supposedly "real" from the "forgery" (eg. Graebner 1911). Even if Graebner was indeed critical about photographic epistemology, there was no way of scrutinising them equally to scrutinising objects. As we saw for the copy of Umdamane's portrait at the Pitt Rivers Museum, once certain traditions based on photographs had been established, ethnic identities and their metonymic appearances through photographs served to identify other photographs. Nevertheless, one trusted the certification through ethnologists' skilled judgement.

Müller's own scholarly efforts, such as his catalogue (Müller 1899) and his publications in *Anthropos* (1906, 1907) came as a relatively short-lived spin-off project, but still left considerable traces in influential key studies on "Zulu" social life and material culture: Eileen Krige relied on several Mariannhill scholars in *The Social System of the Zulu* (1936). John W. Grossert (1968) studied objects in the Mariannhill Museum for his dissertation *Art Education and Zulu Crafts*. Object-related photographs also made reappearances in the *Annals of the South African Museum* during the 1970s and 80s. Also internationally, Müller's texts on, and photographs of diviners were used, for example, in the work of eminent—if popularising—scholars like Cesare Lombroso and Lucien Lévy-Bruhl.

I hope to have shown that the popularity of Mariannhill's photographs both in South Africa and Europe in fact relied on a considerable chain of certifications. With the *first* public release of the photographs for an ethnological audience in 1899, Müller employed several arguments to raise their value. He certified them as authentic representations by accompanying them with explanations based on scientific instructions, as provided by Felix von Luschan. Still, the photographs' content was, even to Müller himself, highly uncertain and constructed: some of the photographs Müller had not taken himself and he initially struggled to comprehend the function, attributes, and names of the depicted objects and subjects, even of those photographs he had indeed taken himself.[626] This is evident through his limited efforts to explain the photographs for Von Luschan. Müller indeed described 113 photographs of the entire collection for his catalogue (1899), but only once Von Luschan had strongly urged him to do so. Müller then provided a superficial description as certification with mainly a lexical analysis, so that his photographs—now with added scientific value—may enter museum collections for a monetary value.

Additionally, Müller tried to raise the value of his collection with Von Luschan by pointing out the photographs' rarity: to begin with, he stressed the destructive impact of European missionaries, the to-be-expected future scarcity of "ethnographic" objects, and thus the impossibility to photograph them any longer. Later, he authorised his photographs by stressing that he had reviewed their content with "knowledgeable Kafirs" and that the information gathered in this way could not be found in any Zulu dictionary. And indeed, several of the terms can neither be found in Bryant's (1905), nor in Colenso's (1905) dictionaries.[627] Furthermore, Müller pointed to the technological dimensions of his efforts with an exceptional series of snapshots (cf. Chapter One), in order to create an argument about the increase of photographic authenticity. Commercial dealers in "primitive art", like ethnologists before them, still create the value of collections in exactly the same way by folding objects into time, effort, and expertise (cf. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998:33). Like Müller, they publish descriptive catalogues, richly illustrated with artistic photographs of objects and authorise these with texts.

[626] Several of the photographs sold to ethnographic museums since 1898, such as the one of Umdamane, had been taken by either Fr. Isembard, Fr. Desiderius, or Anton Schmidt.

[627] These were even further expanded dictionaries than the ones Müller would have had access to in 1899 (cf. Chapter Eight).

Only one year later, in 1900, ethnographic museums in Oxford and Leiden initiated the *second* dispersal of Mariannhill's photographs to the publisher Hutchinson. The museums employed photographs with a certification that was now officially scientific, or as Griffiths put it, they had undergone a "process of decontamination" (2002:118). In the *third* release through publications, such as the popularising *Living Races of Mankind*, it was still scientific experts who authorised the photographs through their texts, even if many peers evaluated the publication as being of lesser academic quality. The umbilical cord via the museums, and back to the mission, at first remained intact through captions and the identification of Mariannhill as source institution. But eventually, Müller—initially much to his own distress—lost control over the commercial circulation of Mariannhill's images, as they were reproduced by the thousands within the public sphere.

In the course of these efforts, Müller nevertheless gathered skills and experiences, and learned to position himself within the international art world and the scientific world. This eventually allowed him to fabricate his own "atlas" of "South African Races" in 1909 (cf. Chapter One). Moments of crisis, such as the plagiarism of his photographs in Germany and France, forced him to actively claim legal authorship for his photographs as unique commercial products, rather than as artworks, or as scientific working objects. However, he himself plagiarised too, photographically in 1898 and textually in 1906, as we shall learn in Chapter Eight. As Edwards (2009) already pointed out for the British case, receptions of photographs shifted between the popular and the scientific realm. Müller was an accountant by training, but became a collector, writer, photographer, and somewhat of an ethnographer during his mission career. Due to his eclectic acquisition of various interests and skills related to scientific and popular spheres, he was able to engineer his photographs in a manner that made them highly successful. As a result, the photographs became entangled within a global visual economy, so that keeping them under control became exceedingly difficult and eventually impossible. Photographs as entangled objects are "unruly" and once in circulation their maintenance as "mimetic capital" became an entrapment of sorts (cf. Hodder 2016). A dependency had evolved, which even the employment of copyright signs could not resolve. The circulation of photographs of course included archival interludes, when museums and publishers stored and filed photographs in their archives. As mimetic capital, photographs are here still awaiting potential use for maybe totally different representational projects than those of missionaries and ethnologists.

This chapter then is one possible backstory to the photographs of the sitters in the Mariannhill Studio, who posed with a volume of *The Living Races of Mankind*. Once the photographs had circulated in, out of, and subsequently back to South Africa and onto Müller's desk, he continued to refine his photographic style. This was partially the result of his experiences with these different trajectories of circulation. The style he employed for photographs after 1900 moved away from bust portraits and towards the depiction of narrative sceneries and genre arrangements. This may partially be explained with Müller's adjustments to

the developments in photographic aesthetics in Europe (Part One) and developments on the German market (Part Two). Due to already existing economic pressure, professional photographers in Germany started turning to the employment of more "artistic" aesthetic models. In 1897, the "Stuttgart Case" had disturbed the market in photography with cheap reproductions of portraits, and photographic studios in department stores followed by offering even cheaper portraits. The trend to specialise in certain themes thus intensified with professional photographers (Kaufhold 1986:80-81, 217). As the respective professional discourse took place in the journals Müller had subscriptions to, he was apparently aware of these changes, and quickly adjusted to them.

The artistic genre photographs I explored in Chapters One and Two worked better in propaganda publications, and they also worked better for ethnologists who increasingly used photographs in order to illustrate how people employed objects. Ethnologists of the time thus readily accepted Mariannhill's photographs throughout their stages of development, because of their continuous high standards of aesthetic composition. Furthermore, they never questioned the circumstances or time of production. I therefore differ with Broeckmann's (2008) conclusion that photographs were theoretically devalued in European ethnology and anthropology after 1880. Maybe Fritsch's canon did not pay off for producing anthropological and ethnological knowledge through visual means in the way he intended. In fact, as Lewerentz (2008) points out, and as I elaborated in the previous section, after 1900 even Fritsch himself changed his attitude towards photographs of an explicitly artistic style. As I showed, both anthropologists and ethnologists still used and highly valued photographs as "working objects", evidence, and illustrations for many decades, while not even questioning their temporal, spatial, institutional, and aesthetic origins. This was despite the fact that the very same images simultaneously served in an increasing popularisation and legitimation of the colonial spectacle in all of its religious, scientific, and utterly mundane dimensions.

However, this particular culture of circulation did not yet involve or acknowledge Black Africans as either authors or artists: neither as object makers, photographic models, nor as photographers or painters. Also missionaries were initially only auxiliary providers, and only some of them gradually established themselves in the scientific community and its networks after 1900. As we shall learn in the next chapter, during the 1920s this situation changed considerably for some missionaries and their associates with scientific ambitions, as well as for some Black South Africans with artistic ambitions.